THE CHANGING PERCEPTIONS OF GENDER ROLES AMONG TWO
COHORTS OF WOMEN: A STUDY IN ANKARA

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ABSTRACT

THE CHANGING PERCEPTIONS OF GENDER ROLES AMONG TWO COHORTS OF WOMEN: A STUDY IN ANKARA

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The purpose of the thesis is to try to examine whether there is change in the perception of gender roles between two cohorts. The focus point of this study is what the difference between old women and young women is; how these women define their gender roles in the public and private spheres and how they describe their relations with their husbands and their children. The main argument in this thesis is that altering the perception of gender roles might be a way to create different policies regarding the problem of gender inequality. To achieve this aim, first gender roles are presented in different sociological approaches. Then, the term socialization is examined in different approaches to analyze how gender roles occur at micro-level of social relations. Finally, the term patriarchy is discussed to

interpret macro level definitions of gender roles within private and public spheres. In this study, the general tendency of the perception of gender roles is formulated in the discussion of these concepts. The perception of gender roles of two cohorts women were conceptualized within the context of gender, marriage, work life and violence against women.

In general, the analyses of perceptions among two cohorts' women showed that younger women have more egalitarian perception on gender roles. One of the most important results of this study is that education was emphasized as the key variable in achieving gender equality.

Consequently, if studies had paid sufficient attention to the perceptions of gender roles, the issues of gender inequality or equality in policies and programs could have been discussed more profoundly and gender consciousness and awareness could have been promoted. The stereotypical perceptions of gender roles, that have been developed and standardized over a long time, have been the major obstacles in the formation of a gender-equal society.

Key words: Gender roles, Perception, Socialization, Patriarchy

ÖZ

İki Grup Kadın Arasında Toplumsal Cinsiyet Rollerinin Algısında Değişme: Ankara'da Bir Araştırma

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Bu çalışmanın amacı, toplumsal cinsiyet rol algısının iki grup kadın arasında yaşa bağlı değişip değişmediğini incelemektir. Çalışmanın odak noktasını yaşlı ve genç kadınlar arasındaki farkların neler olduğu, kamusal ve özel alanda toplumsal cinsiyet rollerini, eşi ve çocukları ile ilişkilerini nasıl tanımladığı oluşturmaktadır. Çalışmanın ana iddiası, toplumsal cinsiyet rolleri algısının değişmesinin toplumsal cinsiyet eşitsizliği problemi ile ilgili farklı politikalar yaratmada bir yol olabileceğidir. Bu amacı gerçekleştirmek için ilk olarak toplumsal cinsiyet rolleri farklı sosyolojik yaklaşımlarla sunulmuştur. Sonrasında, sosyalleşme kavramı mikro düzeyde sosyal ilişkilerin nasıl oluştuğunu analiz etmek için farklı teorik yaklaşımlarla incelenmiştir. Son olarak, ataerkillik kavramı, mikro düzeyde toplumsal cinsiyet rollerinin tanımlanmasında özel ve kamusal alan içinde yorumlanmak için tartışılmıştır. Bu üç kavram yardımı ile toplumsal cinsiyet rollerinde genel eğilimler formüle edilmeye çalışılmıştır. Toplumsal cinsiyet rolleri algısı, toplumsal cinsiyet, evlilik, çalışma yaşamı ve şiddet algısı ile

kavramsallaştırılmıştır. Genel olarak, yaşa bağlı iki grup kadın arasındaki analiz genç kadınların daha eşitlikçi bir toplumsal cinsiyet rol algısı olduğunu göstermektedir. Bu çalışmada ile ulaşılan en önemli sonuçlardan biri çalışmaya katılanların toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliğinde eğitime aşırı vurgularıdır.

Sonuç olarak, toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliği konusundaki çalışmalarda toplumsal cinsiyet rollerinin algısına dikkat edilirse, toplumsal cinsiyet eşitsizlikleri veya eşitlikleri program ve politikalar içinde daha derin tartışılabilir ve bu konuda toplumsal bilinç ve farkındalık artırılabilir. Çünkü insanların zihninde uzun zaman kalıplaşan ve gelişen toplumsal cinsiyet rolleri içinde stereotip algı toplumsal cinsiyet açısından eşit bir toplumun yaratılması için ana engellere sahiptir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Toplumsal Cinsiyet Rolleri, Algı, Sosyalleşme, Ataerkillik

To my husband and family

Thank you for your support

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

DHS: Department of Homeland Security

NGO: Non-Governmental Organization

SIS: State Institute of Statistics

SPO: State Planning Organization

UN: United Nations

UNDP: United Nations Development

UNFPA: United Nations Population Fund

UNHCHR: United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights

TURKSTAT: State Institute of Statistics

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 The Aims and the Scope of the Study

The purpose of the thesis is to try to examine whether there is change in the perception of gender roles between two cohorts. In order to reach this aim, everyday life experiences of two cohort women in private and public spheres is examined. The study is expected to answer the questions how does the perception of gender roles and age intersect in different domains and how does the concept of gender equality because reconstructed in terms of these perceptions.

In this study, I tried to analyze the perception of gender roles within gender equality conceptualization. Gender equality refers to equal level of empowerment, participation and visibility of both sexes in all spheres of public and private life (Mikkola, 2005). Therefore, this study aims to contribute to the promotion of the full participation of women and men in society. Although gender inequality is similar to other systems of inequality such as race and class, gender equality refers to women's inequality and pays less attention to men related issues.

Discrimination against women is widespread all over the world but causes and consequences vary from one country to the other. In fact, the statistical explanations about women in UNDP Gender Equality Briefing Brochure (2006) support these ideas. According to this brochure: "From 1.3 billion people living in poverty, 70% are women; this has been directly linked to the unequal situation of women in the labor market, their treatment under social security systems and their status and power in the family." As far as the issues mentioned above are concerned, I proceed to review the literature on gender equality in this study. Although it is useful to keep in mind that the issues where gender role biases also show destructivity in men's lives, women continue to be less advantageous than men in terms of rights and opportunities, access to resources, services, benefits and decision-making processes.

The achievement of gender equality is a continuous process which is constantly being questioned and redefined. Therefore, equal partnership between women and men requires not only the gradual structural transformation of society, but also a change in perception, attitudes and mentalities. In order to achieve gender equality, it is essential to review gender roles and attempt to change the perception of gender roles.

Unlike sex, which is a biological concept, the term "gender" refers to the social, cultural and psychological aspects that pertain to the norms, stereotypes and roles of men and women in any given social context (Doyle, 1985). Gender, therefore, may be used when referring to the non-biological features of a person's ascribed male or female status in a given society, community or social group. The concept of gender refers to the social relationships beyond individual characteristic between women and men that shape personal identity.

Gender roles are structured not only in a social system that is supported by values, legislation, religion, etc., but also the relations between men and women at the personal and private level. Even though

unequal gender relations are historical, gender roles and gender relations change over time and therefore they have the potential for modification through development process.

Gender roles often vary by among cultures and gender role definitions may even be different. In many cases, societies made up of numerous subcultures. Subculture is defined as a social group within a larger culture that has distinctive patterns of behavior and beliefs (Chris, 2005). The subculture may be distinctive because of the age of its members, or by their race, ethnicity, class and/or gender. In this study, I focus on age-based subculture to understand the perception of gender roles in two cohorts' women since youth, adulthood and old age are socially constructed categories similar to gender roles.

Gender roles are learned to be male or female in the society and they define what is expected from us on the basis of the difference, which are constructed and reconstructed in everyday interaction (Andersen & Kaspersen, 2000). Gender roles are the activities ascribed to men and women on the basis of perceived differences. For example, division of labor is seem as a term used in gender literature to mean the roles and tasks assigned to women and men on the basis of perceived sex characteristics instead of ability and skills. Therefore, to determine the perception of gender roles in gender studies might be a way to define different interventions regarding the problem of gender inequality. Although perception is only on mind and it is not in action, gender awareness in any situation or condition can be started with the change of beliefs, perceptions and attitudes. Perception is the method or the way of thinking and it can be defined as a process by which individuals organize and interpret their sensory impressions in order to give meaning to their environment like gender roles, personal perception can be changed with learning (Parashar et al, 2004).

In fact, Poonjani (2004) discusses perception process as selective and subjective. He claims "we perceive the world in our own term and expect the world to 'fit' into our constructs. Throughout our development we have learned to distinguish what is important to significant from informational which is additional and contextual".

Perceptions of gender roles are most often reinforced by society, since sources of perception are culture, family, media, and environmental factors including school, friends, and so on. Therefore gender roles change in the relations, at home, workplace and school.

The perception of gender roles can be used in gender equality analysis in order to provide a basis for evaluating one's own position and for forming one's own behavior. Consequently, if studies had paid sufficient attention to the perceptions of gender roles, the issues of gender inequality or equality in policies and programs could have been discussed more profoundly and gender consciousness and awareness could have been promoted. The stereotypical perceptions of gender roles, that have been developed and standardized over a long time, have been the major obstacles in the formation of a gender-equal society.

Recent research in Turkey has shown that gender inequality with social, economical and cultural dimension is accepted as "normal" situation. According to the result of Research on Conservatism Values in Turkey (Yılmaz, 2006), 35 percent of people define themselves as "conservative" and 45.6 percent of these people claim that family is the most important institution to conserve. In this research, 85 percent of participants state that "we have common values in the society coming from past to the present" and 54, 2 percent of them express that "traditions are affected from family life and relation between men and women". In addition, the sources of learning traditions in percentage are 66% from family, 23.7% from school, 3.4% from newspaper, television and books and 2.4% from religious. Also the attitudes of participants towards traditions in this

research show that old, women, peasant, poor and religious people are more conservative than young, men, rich, urban people.

Recently, UNDP and UNFPA carried out research to understand the view of NGO's, state institutions, women and men who have different education level, age and social structure about honor killing. In these reports, socio-economical, cultural, traditional, psychological reasons and patriarchal relations between men and women are mainly mentioned as reasons of honor killing (Kardam, 2005). According to their findings, majority of participant states that honor killing can not be prevented due to gendered culture. There is also a lot research statistically examining gender inequality in Turkey. Indeed, according to Human Development Report (UNDP, 2005). Turkey is in the rank of 76 among 80 countries in terms of gender inequality. Similarly, SIS- Labor Market Survey (2005) indicates that the labor force participation of men is higher (74%) than women (27%). Also, DHS Report (2003) has similar results about gender inequalities. According to this report, 40% of the women in Turkey accept their husband's violence and 63% of women between 15 and 19 age state that the violence in marriage can be tolerated. These recent research indicate that in spite of many changes in law and many social policies and programs about gender, gender inequality can not be change positively in practice of daily life. This leads us to understand the importance of the perception regarding gender roles. Also if the perception of old people is compared to the perception of young, the dimension and direction of change in gender inequality can be determined more precisely and the interventions can be more effective.

This study aims to understand how the perception of gender roles in two cohorts' women changed. The focus point of this study is what the difference between old women and young women is; how these women define their gender roles in the society and how they describe their relations with husbands and their children. To achieve this aim, the second

chapter involves the formulation of the necessary framework for the analysis of gender inequality. Therefore, I provide the overview of the literature on three concepts which are gender roles, socialization and patriarchy in the second chapter. In the literature, sociological explanations for this conceptualization are guided by different theoretical perspectives. The reasons why these concepts are selected are that gender is shaped by gender roles but gender roles constructed by socialization process and continued by patriarchal social relationships in the society. Firstly, gender roles are presented in different sociological perspectives to understand the cultural and social dynamics of gender system in the society. Then, the term socialization is examined in different approaches to analyze how gender roles occur at micro-level of social relations. Finally, the term patriarchy is discussed to interpret macro level definitions of gender roles within private and public spheres.

Firstly, gender roles are discussed four sociological perspectives which are symbolic interaction, functionalism, conflict theory and feminism. First one, symbolic interaction tends to examine gender roles on the micro level of everyday behavior. As symbolic interaction theoretical perspective, men have social privilege and more power than women because gender identities are socially constructed as different Second, functionalism emphasizes that the functional utility of assigning tasks on the basis of gender contribute to social equilibrium and stability so this theory supports gender differentiation between men and women, especially in household. According to functionalist viewpoints, values concerning gender roles, marriage and the family are central to functionalist arguments regarding social equilibrium. Third, feminist perspective focuses on the oppression of women in gender roles. According to this view, women and men should be valued equally and have equal rights. Moreover, this perspective argues that by women's empowerment, which is the ability for women to exert control over their own destiny, will disappears in the dynamics leading to the power of men over women. Last, conflict theory focuses on women's

economic roles and analyzes gender roles on class conflict. In conflict theory, gender differences are discussed as one of unequal powers of men in a dominant position over women.

Second concept is socialization which is used to explain how people learn gender identity and behavior associated with their gender roles. Socialization is discussed in four different approaches: role-learning theory, cognitive development theory, gender schema theory, psychoanalytic socialization theory. First, role-learning theory focuses on the learning that occurs within primary socialization stage. It considers that child learn the appropriate behavioral roles by observational learning, modeling and imitation from his/her family. Second, cognitive development theory investigates how children's thinking are developed. There are two major aspects to the theory: the process of coming to know and the stages we move through as we gradually acquire this ability. Third, gender schema theory refers to the theory that children learn about what it means to be male and female from the culture in which they live in. According to this theory, children adjust their behavior to fit in with the gender norms and expectations of their culture. Last, psychoanalytic socialization theory stresses the importance of mother and child relations to learn masculinity and femininity. Also the agents of socialization process in culture which is taking place on many fronts are discussed in this part. The agents of socialization which are family, school, peers and media have important effects to reproduce the ideology of gender roles.

Third concept is patriarchy which is also discussed with three branches of feminism because patriarchy is one of the most important concepts in feminist theory. Patriarchy is selected as a concept in this study to analyze male-dominated social structures leading to the oppression of women. Also patriarchy is discussed by three branches of feminist perspectives: radical feminism emphasis that existing political and social organization should change and women should create women-centered institutions; Marxist

feminism states that patriarchy is used to reproduce capitalist relations and they emphasis the importance of women's domestic work; socialist feminist theory, or dual-system theory, focus on both patriarchy and capitalism to explain gender roles and gender relations.

A theoretical discussion of gender roles in terms of perception is tried to be compiled in this chapter. Using socialization and patriarchy as the interpretive tools, the existence of gender inequality is explained as a direct effect of the social, political, economical and cultural values in the society. To strengthen this theoretical position, different theoretical explanation about gender roles, socialization and patriarchy are included.

Arguments in this chapter will initiate questions like "What is the impact of changes in everyday activities or habits on the change of gender roles?", "What kind of conditions in the society affect the perception of gender roles?", "Are the differences and discriminations between men and women the result of the biological variety?"," Does the existing theories of gender roles explain the relationships between age and the perception of gender roles?", "Are there any effect of perceptional change to erase gender inequality?", How in turn is the perception of gender roles related to the relations in the household?" These questions will be discussed to explore the effects of the perception of gender roles over gender equality in this thesis.

In third chapter, I gave information about research techniques, the space of field work and socio-demographic profiles of respondents. First part of this chapter deal with research techniques which includes sampling, questionnaire and pilot study. In second part of the chapter, Ankara was taken as a case study area of the thesis so I tried to give general information about urban history of Ankara, especially Şahintepe, Boztepe and Battal Gazi neighborhoods in Mamak Township. In this chapter, I tried to tackle the questions of "Are there any effects of gecekondu life and hemşehirlik on the perception of gender roles?", "Whether urbanization has

any effect on the perception of women in helping them to notice their lives and in creating a powerful effect on their roles as women?" In the third part of the chapter is about the profile of two different cohorts' women to compare to two cohorts. In this chapter, I gave information in terms of demographic profile (age, occupation, education, marriage age and type), socio-economic situation (ownership, income, furniture); migration history (why/how/where/ how long ago did they come to Ankara) and the relation of women with their neighbors and their relatives. In this chapter, I will try to discuss the following questions: "How does age affect to form the perception of gender roles?", "What are the differences between two cohorts in terms of the perception of gender roles to transfer among generations?"

In the fourth chapter, I tried to explore the perception of women about gender roles. The perception of gender roles was conceptualized with gender, marriage, working life and violence perception of two cohorts. In this chapter, the study focused on the analysis of in-depth and focus group interviews that were carried out with two cohorts: first group is 25 women in the age of 47-68 who have started to live in urban after internal migration, second group is 25 women in the age of 25-42 who were born in city or come to city when they were child. In order to measure the perception of gender roles in private sphere, questions related to marriage perception were asked to women and questions about working life perception were asked to measure the perception of gender roles in public sphere. Since expression of violence in household is mentioned quite often in pilot study by women, violence perception is tried to measure within social facts other than theoretical framework.

In the conclusion chapter, general tendencies about the perception of gender roles tried to be formulated. In addition to this, I aim that an attempt is made to raise potential questions for further studies.

1.2 Methodology

The aim of this study is to understand how the perception of gender roles in two cohorts changed. Hence the focus point of this study is what the difference old women is in comparison to young group; how these women define their gender roles in the society and how they describe their relations with husbands and their children.

This thesis includes a case study that establishes interplay between the theoretical discourse about gender roles and the practical experience. Besides the exploration of the relevant literature regarding the issue, multi-method approaches are used to collect data in order to discover the profile of the women in this study. Firstly, qualitative data through in-dept and target group interviews with two cohorts are carried out. Meanwhile, documentary-historical methods such as life histories are used. From this qualitative information, a questionnaire is developed and followed by a pilot study as a survey. At the end of this study, questionnaire developed that is applied to two different groups. Hence, both qualitative and quantitative data collection techniques were used to understand changes in the perception of gender roles between two cohorts.

The sample group for the pilot study is chosen from one of the projects which are still executed by Fişek Institute, a non-governmental organization. This project as called "Young Girl's House in Türközü" includes migrant women and their daughters under 16 years-old and aims to improve their self-confidence for participation of urban life, to intervene in poverty and to overcome the traditional expectations regarding gender roles. In "Young Girl's House" project, three generation women, who are daughter-mother and daughter-in-law- mother-in-law, selected randomly.

After the pilot study, the scope of the study expands to be used by snowball technique because some families didn't accept to join this research. Therefore, in addition to the "Young Girl's House" project of Fisek

Institute, the data of this study is obtained from two cohorts who are living at different gecekondu districts in Ankara which are Battal Gazi, Boztepe and Şahintepe in order to demonstrate the changes of the perception of gender roles within the same family.

CHAPTER II

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The concept of equality can be defined as a condition of being equal in terms of social status and legal rights. Equality includes equal opportunities to everyone regardless of their citizenship, ethnic origin, age, gender or sexual identity. According to Ann Oakley (1972), Western cultures had exaggerated gender differences to define women's role as housewife and mother in history. Therefore, men historically have had a higher social status and more extensive legal rights than women. Also Simone de Beauvoir had explored this distinction in The Second Sex book with her statement that "One is not born, but rather become, a woman" (1972:295). Women are subjected to inequalities both in law and in real-life because of their gender roles. This situation is both caused and raised by the existence of discrimination in the family, in the community and at the workplace. While causes and consequences may vary from country to country, discrimination and unequal conditions against women is widespread.

Why do we need gender equality? Equality is an essential precondition for human development and it is hardly possible to ensure equitable resource allocation without participation of women in all spheres. Therefore, gender equality means equal level of empowerment, participation and visibility of both sexes in all spheres of public and private life (Mikkola, 2005). It is also about providing women and men with equal opportunities to contribute to political, economic, social and cultural developments in their society and benefiting equally from the results. There are different approaches which discuss how gender equality can be created to acquire the necessary resources, knowledge, political voice and organizational capacity. If people take control over their lives, gender equality can be protected. But it is a process, which can be long and complex.

Gender constructs both political, economical, social, cultural relations and personal life experiences such as, personality, occupation, education, etc. Each of them influences perceptions and expectations of gender roles. Therefore gender roles can be defined as a process both creative of and created by relations. Even though gender has historical root, gender roles and gender relations change over time.

The purpose of this study is to create new viewpoints to increase awareness of gender inequalities. The main argument in this thesis is that altering the perception of gender roles might be a way to create different policies regarding the problem of gender inequality. To achieve this aim, first gender roles are presented in different sociological approaches. Then, the term socialization is examined in different approaches to analyze how gender roles occur at micro-level of social relations. Finally, the term patriarchy is discussed to interpret macro level definitions of gender roles within private and public spheres.

2.1 Gender Roles

Gender is an important concept to identify ourselves, our relations and society and culture around us. Because all norms, values, attitudes and perceptions in society have been affected by gendered conceptualization and that have influenced both personal and social relationships in the society.

In literature, the term "gender" is generally discussed with term "sex". However, it is important to distinguish differences between sex and gender. The term "sex" is defined as categories of men and women in biological base. Unlike sex, which is a biological concept, the term "gender" refers to the social, cultural and psychological aspects that pertain to the norms, stereotypes and roles of men and women in any given social context (Doyle, 1985). As feminist thought, sex constructs us men and women which refer to the more biological dimensions of sexual differences, but gender builds us masculine and feminine to refer to social construction based on cultural and social norms, values and perception. Therefore, generally, sex is defined as an ascribed status because person is born with it but gender is defined as an achieved status because it must be learned (Wood, 1996, Jackson & Scott, 2002).

When the concept of role is added to gender and sex concepts, the discussions of differences between sex and gender become more complex. Because biological characteristics are mixed with social and cultural conditions which imply social expectation and vary depending on place, time and personal situation. In fact, traditional theories of gender usually assume that one's gender role is a natural given. For example, it is often claimed that women are naturally fit to look after children (Epstein, 1999:46). However, gender was started to discuss beyond sex gained ground during the 1980's thanks to the influence of feminist studies.

Male and female or masculine and feminine are general concepts. However, how they are defined varies significantly from one country or culture to another, even within specified country or culture. According to Järviluoma &Vilkko (2003:5), gender role is "more relational rather than essential, structural and individual… Gender is a fluid social category, which is always being negotiated a new". Because gender roles are learned to be male or female in the society and they define what is expected from us on the basis of the difference, which are constructed and reconstructed in everyday interaction (Andersen & Kaspersen, 2000).

The sociological literature shows that there are different theoretical approaches to explain gender roles. To give the overview of the literature on gender roles, sociological explanations for gender roles are guided by four theoretical perspectives: symbolic interaction, functionalism, feminist sociological theory and conflict theory.

Symbolic interaction tends to examine gender roles on the micro level of everyday behavior. As this theoretical perspective, people interact based on the persuasion in another's mind and the meaning of the interaction occurs in social environment which supply the stimulus and framework for all personal growth. This theory argues that people automatically make sex categorization others to render them as stereotypes of men and women in cultural meanings, which play a central role in shaping behaviors in interaction (Ridgeway & Smith-Lovin, 1999; West & Zimmerman, 1997; Lindsey, 2005).

Gender differences are strengthened by norms that are determined by culture. Although cultural norms are modified whenever social interaction occurs because people bring their own ideas about appropriate behaviors to the interaction, "doing gender" is unavoidable in these kinds of culture norms. Gender inequality or differences are supported by social interaction because men have social privilege and more power than women in a perceptional level and gender differences penetrates the basic cultural

norms (Ridgeway & Smith-Lovin, 1999; West & Zimmerman, 1997; Lindsey, 2005).

Symbolic interaction theory stresses on socialization process in culture. Because Ridgeway and Smith-Lovin argue that gender segregation is learned from early childhood to whole life by gendered culture. Socialization is uneven process taking place on many fronts. People are socialized by family, school, peers and other social institutions.

Symbolic interactionists are criticized to ignore macro level process. Particularly, feminist approaches argue that men have more power and privilege in the society than women as a result of patriarchal relations in the society (Hartmann, 1976, Davies, 1989, Stanley & Wise, 1993).

The second school, functionalism, maintains that society consists of interdependent parts, each of them contribute to the functioning of the whole society in order to overall social stability, balance and equilibrium. According to functionalism, social control and stability are enhanced when people share beliefs and value in common so value consensus is important concept. Values concerning gender roles, marriage and the family are central to functionalist arguments regarding social equilibrium (Wharton, 2005, Lindsey, 2005).

Parson and Bales (1955) state that the family requires adults specialize in particular roles. They view the traditional gender roles as arising out of the need to establish a division of labor between marital partners. Because functionalism emphasizes that the functional utility of assigning tasks on the basis of gender contributes to social equilibrium and stability. Generally this theory supports gender differentiation between men and women, especially in household.

According to Parson and Bales (1955), there are two types of role complementing each other: expressive role and instrumental role. Women

take the expressive role which refers to the internal emotional affairs of the family, emotionally supportive role. Men take the instrumental role which means the external relationship between one's family and other social institutions, practical role. Also dividing tasks between spouses are functional for the family as a unit. Therefore, contemporary functionalists acknowledge that there is a sharp division between the public and private sphere (family and work), particularly for women (Johnson, 1993, quoted in Lindsey, 2005). As a result, functionalist assumptions regarding gender roles are mainly criticized by feminist perspective to justify for male domination and gender stratification (Lindsey, 2005).

Thirdly, conflict theory focuses on women's economic roles and analyzes gender roles on class conflict. In conflict theory, gender differences are discussed as one of unequal powers of men in a dominant position over women. According to Collins (1979), conflict is not only based on class struggle and also occurred almost in all groups, such as men and women, husband and wife, young and old and these are endless.

Conflict theory views the family as an extension of the basic patterns of social conflict. Because conflict theorists assume that family is characterized as power systems built on gender and age stratification. Also they argue that power is unequally distributed in family, men have more power than women but at the same time women have more power than their children in the family. It is argued that these essential power differences are reflected in the issues such as differential participation in household labor or participation in decision-making. Therefore conflict theory generally claims that the family as a social institution reflects inequalities in all social institutions (Chibucos & Leite, 2005; Lindsey, 2005).

According to Shelton and Firestone (1989), household responsibilities for women have an effect on occupational location, work experience and work time. Household labor is defined as lack of power and unpaid so women can do easily. Therefore men who have power should work outside

to earn money and they don't spend his time in house. Household is regarded as too little to undervalue.

Gündüz-Hoşgör's (2001) approaches to marginalization and exploitation can be helpful to clarify the effects of household responsibilities on women. Because she states: "women are integrated as 'use value' in household production since they reproduce the labor force while men are drawn into the labor force to produce commodities in exchange for wages. However women's isolation from production outside the house and consequently their economic dependence on men, limit their autonomy and access to resources. This leads to a disadvantaged status for women".

Despite the fact that critical theory is also criticized to overemphasis on the economic inequality and to define competition at the centre of family relations, it supports the idea that men are consciously organized to keep women in subordination position in the society. However, Lindsey (2005) states that both men and women are harmed by patterns of gender stratification in the society. Because gender stratification means unequal distribution of wealth, power and privilege between men and women and so men have to have more responsibility than women in the society.

Finally, feminist perspective focuses on the oppression of women in gender roles. Generally feminism analyzes gender roles both in the personal and social relations level and also in the institutional level. Therefore feminist theorists adopt different theoretical approaches, especially social interactionism and conflict theory, to explain gender inequality. Conflict theory and feminist theory come together in inequality research between men and women in terms of accessing to opportunities and resources in the society. For example, more women than men engage in low-prestige and low-paying work (Epstein, 1970; Hartmann, 1986); women participate less in political decision-making roles (Elpstein & Coser, 1981); women assume more responsibilities for the performance of family duties (Hochschild, 1983; Delphy & Leonard, 1992) and men produce the

knowledge to protect their privileged social position (Smith,1974; Ingraham,1994).

Feminist approaches are compatible with social interactionism in terms of the unequal power relations between men and women from the point of view of women who have subordinated position in the society. To illustrate, men enjoy higher status than female (Ridgeway, 1993). Gender is also reproduced because social scripts for many tasks are associated with one gender. For example the division of labor provides gender scripts for numerous tasks (West & Zimmerman, 1987).

Patriarchy is also one of the most important concepts in feminist theory since it is defined as a system that includes male-dominated social structures leading to the oppression of women (Stacey, 1993). Many feminists consider patriarchy to be the basis on which most modern societies have been formed and a women's history emerges from the notion of patriarchy (Lerner, 1987). By women's empowerment, which is the ability for women to exert control over their own destiny, will disappears in the dynamics leading to the power of men over women. Feminist thought argues that women's empowerment is necessary and desirable to get away from this system to achieve gender equality. Because women's empowerment can lead to women's ability to formulate their own visions for interpretations and changes to cultural and gender norms.

2.2 Socialization

Socialization means the lifelong process by which individuals learn the culture of particular society they live in. Each generation transmits essential cultural elements to the next generation through socialization. The concept of socialization also includes the process of how individuals learn to become feminine and masculine, appearance, values and behavior. Socialization is a forceful element serving both gender role continuity and gender role change. To explain gender socialization in society, it is necessary to

understand cultural diversity in all its forms. Socialization is lifelong and individuals continually encounter new and various situation. Therefore individuals learn new perspectives of femininity or masculinity throughout their lives (Goslin,1969; Lindsey,2005; Lee, 2005).There are a number of different theoretical approaches to understand how gender socialization takes places, including role-learning theory, cognitive development theory, gender schema theory and psychoanalytic theory.

According to role-learning theorists (Parsons and Bales 1956; Hartley1966; Weinrich, 1978), primary socialization stage is important to learn the appropriate behavioral roles for their sex. Also the social practices of adults reinforce doing either "girl" or "boy" things. For example, pink for girls, blue for boys is "appropriate" colors; also doll for girls, gun or car for boys is "appropriate" stock of toys. Gender roles are learned directly through a system of rewards and punishments but indirectly through imitation and observation. Role-learning theorists state that family is important institution during the critical primary socialization years because child imitate and observe mother and father role model. But education system and the mass media are also regarded as key agencies because they can encourage the stereotypical models of masculinity or femininity

Role-learning theory has been criticized that children are described as passive recipients of rewards and punishments (Lindsey, 2005). The other critic may emphasize the social acquisition of roles but Connell (1987) argues that it implicitly relies on a dichotomous biological distinction so this theory has a non-social conception of the basis of differences between men and women. In Connell's words, "individuals are not 'cultural dopes', passively accepting pre-written scripts for gender behavior, but nor are they entirely free to develop and act out their own scripts" (1987:185).

For Walby (1990), role-learning theory fails to explain the reasons and the results of differentiation of gender roles. Moreover, Stanley and Wise state : "the existence of feminists, lesbians, men who opposite sexism and

other people who aren't like the stereotype for their sex is inadequately explained by this theory, other than as 'failed products of socialization'"(1993:104). Therefore, role-learning theory is criticized to minimize the importance of social change because families can be more diverse than the stereotypical model, such as divorce or single parents, transsexual or homosexual parents.

Cognitive development theory is dealt with how children's intelligence and thinking are developed. According to Piaget (1954), cognitive abilities are developed in stages through ongoing social interaction because behaviors of individuals are shaped by personal perception of social situations at each cognitive stage. Kohlberg (1966) argued that children learn their gender roles in their level of cognitive development. But by three-years old, children begin to self-identify by gender and label gender-related behavior and by age six, gender constancy is in place. As children get older, they increasingly agree with adult gender role stereotypes (Egan and Perry, 2001, quoted in Lindsey, 2005). According to this theory, early in life, children develop the abilities to classify characteristics by gender and choose behavior according to that classification.

Cognitive development theory has been criticized to be insufficient to clarify all of gender role socialization. Also it is difficult to test which one of gender identity or gender constancy comes first, while this theory accepts that gender identity must come first. (Intons-Peterson, 1988: 44 quoted in Lindsey, 2005)

Third theory of gender role socialization is gender schema theory which is seen as a subset of cognitive development because schema is defined as cognitive structures used to interpret and understand perception. According to Bem (1983), once a child learns cultural definitions of gender, this schema are determined all other information about gender. Also, schema have affected children's behaviors and influenced their self-esteem. Even though cultural impacts on gender can be refined further

using a gender schema model, the theory claims that there are positive correlations between parents and child gender schema. Bem (1983) uses the concept of "cultural lenses" to explain society's values, beliefs and norms. She suggests that three gender lenses are most prominent:

- Gender Polarization: it shares beliefs that females and males are different and opposite beings
- Biological Essentialism: biology produces natural, inevitable gender roles.
- Androcentrism: males are superior to females.

These three concepts cause some discussions among theorists. But, generally, gender schema theory explains how gender stereotypes are modified in gender identity. Gender schema theory also identifies age as a kind of schema but age is at the core of symbolic interactionism.

Lastly, psychoanalytic socialization theory is provided by Nancy Chodorow (1978). Like Freud, Chodorow emphasizes the importance of the mother and child relationship. For Chodorow, the mother's primary role in the socialization of children acts to produce a psychology and ideology of masculine dominance and feminine subordination. It is important to show the source of the reproduction of gender inequality. Chodorow's ideas about "reproduction of mothering" are valuable for its attention to the emotional socialization process. However, Sayers (1986 quoted in Lindsey, 2005) criticizes Chodorow's thesis to ignore the wider social contexts which affect mother and child relations. Also child does not learn everything in house and by mother.

2.2.1 Agents of Socialization

The Family, the school, peers groups, the media, also the other, such as religion, state or work place can be counted as important agents in socialization process because all of them have important influences from

creating self, perception, emotions, attitudes and behavior of a person. These agents do not exist independently without one another. However, they can have inconsistent in the gendered ideas or attitudes. Therefore, each agent should be analyzed separately in order to determine their effects on gender roles in socialization.

2.2.1.1 The Family

The family is the most important agent of socialization, especially in primary socialization process. According to Parson and Bales (1956), infants and children learn what is considered appropriate or inappropriate behaviors for their sex by their family. Color-coded, pink for girls and blue for boys, and gendered typed clothing of infants and children are widespread and take for granted. These preferences reinforce the persistent gender-related messages that are sent to children through the toys. Also, these provide the initial labels to ensure that children respond to according to gendered norms (Thorne, 1993).

On the other hand, by preadolescence, children expect their parents to respond to them according to traditional instrumental-expressive gender role stereotypes. It means standardized ideas or images about individuals on the basis of their gender. For example, women are emotional, unpredictable, or bad drivers and like chocolate but men are rational, strong, or bad at housework and like sport. Children learn to spend more leisure time for football with father and household chores are divided according to gender in their family. These patterns of gender intensification increase as children get older (Schuette, 2000 quoted in Lindsey, 2005). Also, children may recognize the inequality in their parent's actions because gender roles expectations concerning child rearing can show us how the differences are produced between men and women. Learned first in the family and then reinforced by other social institutions, gender is fundamental to shaping of all social life.

2.2.1.2 Peer Groups

Peers refer to people who are roughly the same age and who share other social characteristics (e.g., students in a class). Although family establishes gender role patterns, peers have more effects children's gender socialization. According to Lindsey (2005), parents initiate first friendships for their children and they are not separated in terms of gender at two or three years-olds children. Later peer relationships shape children's choice. On the one hand, they want to make their choices themselves. On the other hand, parents want to play their children with the same-gender friends. Because activities and games are strongly related to gender roles and positive reinforcement for the behavior of same-gender peers occurs more frequently than with other-gender peers. Gender boundaries are enforced by the peers in childhood and then the worlds of male and female are further divided.

2.2.1.3 School

The school is the agency responsible for socializing groups of young people in particular skills and values in the society because of critical role of schools in the lives of children for twelve to twenty years if the children participate in this process. School is generally seen as a method to take on positions necessary to maintain society. Therefore, school provides the learning of values and norms appropriate to the culture and stereotypical thinking about gender roles. In a study of secondary schools, Riddell (1992) finds that teachers stereotypes girl as mature, neat and emotional, while boys are seen as aggressive and having lack of discipline. In addition to this, Gümüşoğlu (1997) states that studies of reading materials and textbooks used in schools have been shown to contain gender stereotypes. Two figures (Gümüşoğlu, 1997) are selected to explain how school affects in order to construct gender specific stereotypes. Figure 1 was taken one of secondary school books in Turkey. This book was read as a compulsory lecture for girls and the lecture name is" Household Economics and

Practice". Figure 1 explains the effects of good appearances on the girls'
life. Figure 2 was taken one primary school books in Turkey. This book
was also read as a compulsory lecture for all students and the name of
lecture is "Knowledge of Life". Figure 2 explains sexual division of labor in
the household which show children go to school, father work outside the
house and mother clean the house.

"Iyi bir dış görünüşün açtığı kapılar"!
(*Ev Ekonomisi ve Uygulaması*, Orta Okullar İçin, 1993)
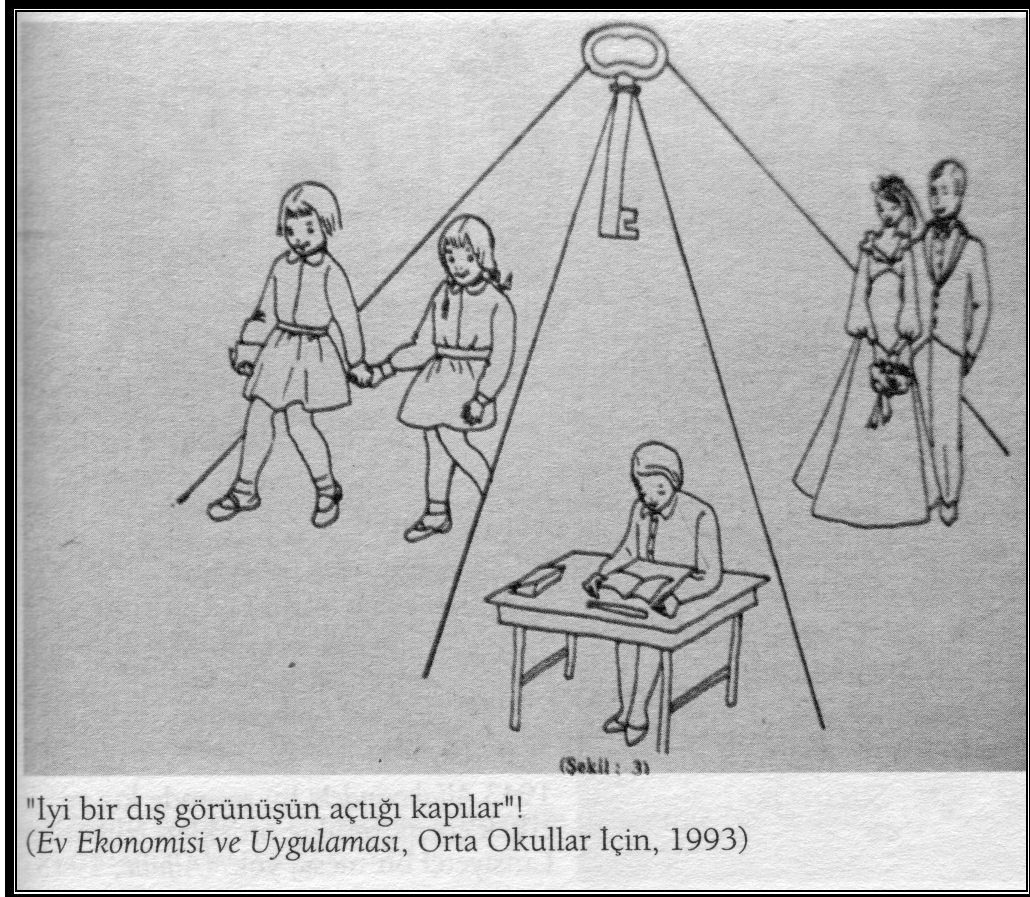
Figure 1. The effects of good appearances

Source: Gümüşoğlu, F. (1997). Ders Kitaplarında Toplumsal Cinsiyet,
Cumhuriyetin İlk Yıllarından Günümüze, İstanbul: Çağdaş Eğitim Vakfı
Yayınları 10.

Biz okula gideriz.

Annem evde çalışır.

Babam işe gider.

52

Cinsiyetçi işbölümü devam ediyor.
(*Hayat Bilgisi*, 1. Sınıf, 1997)

Figure 2. Sexual division of labor

Source: Gümüşoğlu, F. (1997). Ders Kitaplarında Toplumsal Cinsiyet, Cumhuriyetin İlk Yıllarından Günümüze, İstanbul: Çağdaş Eğitim Vakfı Yayınları 10.

2.2.1.4 Media

The impact of mass media on our lives is profound, but especially television is very important device in socialization process. Television is strengthened by advertisements, magazines, film and other media that present the genders in stereotyped ways. A report by the European Commission (1999) argues that changes in the characterization of gender can be best described as "tentative and ambiguous". Moreover, compared with men, "women defined in the media are younger, more likely to be

shown as married and less likely to be shown in paid employment"
(1999:12). Although media representations state that they only show
gendered "reality" in the society and even if audience can not accept
passive and fully accepting of the dominant gender stereotypes in media,
the powerful effects of mass media to establish gendered stereotyped are
not ignored.

In functionalist perspective, the primary socialization has the crucial
importance because of social integration. In fact, Parsons defines the
process of socialization as concerned with the internalization of sets of
"reciprocal" expectations which exist between the child and the other. In
brief, Parsons explains socialization as the product of society. However,
Weinrich (1978) criticizes Parson's ideas and she claims that society as the
product of socialization. All theoretical discussions about socialization
mentioned above show that gender stereotyping is dependent on agents of
gender socialization. Therefore, Weinrich's approach will be supported in
this study.

According to Althusser (1984), the agents of socialization are defined
in Ideological State Apparatus (ISAs). Although ideology as a Marxist
concept are shown as a system of false ideas, a statement of class position,
and a justification for class rule, Althusser criticizes the economic
determinism of Marxism and he discussed the concept of ideology as a
more complex role than Marx's theoretical perspective. For Althusser, the
family and education are the most affective dominant ideological apparatus
in capitalism and the effects of them are felt in the private sphere while the
agents of socialization used to reproduce the ideology of gender role in
public domains. Moreover, Stanley and Wise (1993) argue that the
perpetuation of capitalism and patriarchy require that people should
behave, think and become in social norms and values. The requirements
are explained as an ideology of family life. Socialization and gender roles

are two significant concepts to explain the ideas about ideology of family life for "the system".

2.2.2 Explanation of the Relationship between Gender and Violence

Researchers studying family violence state that the family is the most violent social group and individuals are harmed more likely by their family than by anyone else (Gelles & Straus, 1979 and Witt, 1980 quoted in Witt, 2005). There are different theoretical approaches about violence but violence is not the main subject in this study. On the other hand, violence is tried to debate only to reflect how gender role support the stereotypes of aggressive men and passive women. Also violence has important effects to prevent women's empowerment. Violence strengthens patriarchal relations or vice versa

According to "culture of violence" theory (Gelles & Straus, 1979), violence committed towards children and spouses is lower in the highest income groups than that of lower. Also violence in the family is normative in its nature to abandon socially unacceptable behaviors and to produce a mechanism for disciplining the child in terms of social and cultural norms. Therefore, Gelles& Straus (1979) states that violence in family, most of time, never reaches public consciousness since it seems "normal violence" in the culture, which means that men have the ownership of children and spouses. Norms according to "culture of violence" permit to violence within one's family in spite of disapproving such violence towards persons outside one's family because family life is defined in private sphere by cultural norms. In other words, behaviors occurring "behind the closed doors" of the household should not discussed with outsiders. In fact the notion of home as a private place is shared by other social institutions.

According to social learning theory, violent behaviors are defined as a learned response (Gelles & Straus, 1979). Similarly, the results of much

research support this idea because there is a consistent relation between exposure to violence in childhood and appearing of those same attitudes in adulthood (Gelles & Straus, 1979). The statement that "violence begets violence" is verified by social learning theory.

Witt (2005) states that violence in the family can be discussed in terms of personality development by Cooley's concept of looking-glass self and Mead's concept of generalized other. Firstly, Cooley defines the concept of looking-glass self which means my imagination of how others see me, my imagination of how others feel about me, and my own emotional reaction to the above. The looking-glass self affects the daily life of all individuals (Cooley, 1964). Secondly, G.H. Mead (1934) claims that child constitutes her/his self by means of imitation of his/her social environments. Then the child perceives other's evaluation of one's behavior through others' eyes that is conceptualized "generalized other" by Mead. Also he discusses the distinction between "I" and "me" .Taken together they constitute a personality as it appears in social experience. The self is essentially a social process going on with these two distinguishable phases. The self can be continued his/herself by using society as a reference. According to Witt (2005), like the dialectic relations between "I" and "me", the relation between norms of a culture and the perception of violence can be analyzed.

According to conflict theory, the structural determinant of culture and ideology are discussed together to explain family violence. Also, conflict theory states that economic depressions cause violent behaviors as a result of disappointment. Gelles & Straus (1979) state that the levels and intensities of family violence are directly associated with social stress.

As Liazos (1972: 112) points out: "In violence, a person is violated-there is harm done to his person, his psyche, his body, his dignity his ability to govern himself... Seen this way a person can be violated... by a system that denies him a decent job or consigns him to slum or causes him brain

damage by near-starvation during childhood, or manipulates him through the mass media and so endlessly"

The reasons of family violence such as unemployment, social stress and inadequate income influence to facilitate violence in family but these factors are not sufficient to justify violent behaviors. In fact, feminism criticizes conflict theory which derives most of the explanatory power from the dynamics of capitalist economy. Because they (Millett, 1970; Scully, 1990; Stark & Flitcraft, 1993 in Jackman, 1999) state that spousal violence is not strongly related to social class. Also they argue that violence is gendered. In other words, violence exhibits patterns of difference between men and women. Connell identifies a range of ways in which men "predominate across the spectrum of violence" (1987: 22).

According to Walby (1990), violence has been identified as a mechanism in the subordination of women by the men. Also, some of men do habitually use violence to assert their authority. According to Jackman (1999), most of men direct their physical violence toward male rivals rather than toward female subordinates.

Gloria Steinem (1968) asserts that "The patriarchy requires violence or the subliminal threat of violence in order to maintain itself...The most dangerous situation for a woman is not an unknown man in the street, or even the enemy in wartime, but a husband or lover in the isolation of their own home." Feminist analysis thus states that a patriarchal society is a direct cause of domestic violence against women.

2.3 Patriarchy

Literally, patriarchy is defined as a social system in which the father is the head of the family and men have authority over women and children (Marshall, 1999). Although patriarchy is the anthropological term used to define the sociological condition where fathers have supreme authority

within families, it is more controversial concept in feminist studies because different writers give different reasons for the origins and the causes of patriarchy to identify the basis of women's subordination to men. Also many feminist writers argue that it is necessary and desirable to get away from this model to achieve gender equality.

Three of the most important theories in which patriarch are a central concept are those commonly classified as "Radical Feminist", "Marxist Feminist" and "Dual Systems Theory or Socialist Feminist".

In radical feminist analyses, women's oppression or patriarchy is the basic system of power upon which human relationships in society are arranged. Patriarchy is regarded as the primary and fundamental social division in society. Radical feminists argue that men's patriarchal power over women is the primary power relationship in all human societies because women's oppression is the model for all other kinds of oppression (Friedan, 1981). Even though, the patriarchal relationship is the hardest form of oppression to eliminate, all other form of oppression in society, such as class, cannot be overcame if patriarchal relations continue (Friedan, 1981). Radical feminists argue that the women make the conclusion that ending patriarchy was the most necessary step towards a truly free society.

Patriarchy characterizes all relationships between the sexes in all known societies and the relationship between the sexes is also a kind of political relationships (Millett). Therefore radical feminism opposes existing political and social organization in general because it is inherently tied to patriarchy. Thus, radical feminists tend to be skeptical of political action within the current system, and instead support cultural change that undermines patriarchy and associated hierarchical structures

For Firestone (1971), the origin of patriarchy or inequalities between women and men has biological basis because of different reproductive capacities of women and men. However Spender (1985) argues that as

describing the roots of patriarchy, raising awareness of the structures as an institution, which covers patriarchy is important so that these may be eliminated (Spender quoted in Tong, 1998). In some radical feminist analyses, the institution of the family is identified as a key factor through which men's domination is achieved (Millett, 1977).

In other radical feminist analyses, patriarchy is masculine control over women's bodies through sexuality, viewing the source of men's sexuality as deriving in part from the culture and socialization process, not exclusively from biology, or male violence in the form of rape that is regarded as being of central important (Rich, 1980; Brownmiller, 1976).

Radical feminism focuses on men as oppressors, yet says little about the possibility of the woman being an oppressor of other women or of men. Women are also exploiters of other women.

Radical feminists have been criticized for being essentialist and reductionist by postmodernists and they argue that many forms of gender identity complicate any absolute opposition between "men" and "women". Other critics of radical feminism from socialist feminists strongly disagree with the radical feminist approach that the oppression of women is fundamental to all other forms of oppression; these critics hold that issues of race and of class are as important as or more important than issues about gender. Therefore socialist feminists argue that radical feminist ideas are a false universalism in order to disregard historical change.(Walby, 1990).

Both the Marxist and radical feminist schools of thought emphasize the role of power relationships and both emphasize the potential for exploitation of the weaker party. Beyond that, however, their views differ fundamentally from each other. Radical feminists focus on the role of gender and patriarchy, while Marxists focus on the role of class and capitalism (Folbre, 1993; Nelson, 1993; Jefferson & King, 2001).

Marx views capitalism as the dominant global mode of production of material life, which determines and shapes political/state institutions, ideologies, consciousness; etc. Although he did not attempt to explain women's subordination at first, Marx stated (1841): "the change in a historical epoch can always be determined by the progress of women towards freedom" in the first volume of Capital. According to Delphy (1984), Marx focuses on the family in relation to the reproduction of labor force but seldom mentioned women's work or gender. On the other hand, Engels has rather more to say about the position of women in society. He (1884) argues that development of private property lead to class divisions. This leads to male domination of women in family; when households became private and women/children became private property of men. Changes in mode of production lead to changes in family life.

Although Marxist feminists apply classic Marxist theory for women's situation in the labor market and the family, they extend Marxist analysis to consider the 'sexual division of labor' as well as distinctions based on class. Also they challenge some of the key tenets of classic Marxism, emphasizing the role of patriarchal ideology and the importance of women's domestic work.

According to Marxist feminists, patriarchal system, which is seen as 'relatively autonomous' from capitalist system, is argued to arise from the works of the capitalist economic system because capitalism requires and benefits from women's unpaid labor in the home. In particular, Marxist feminists show that the institution of the family is related to capitalism. Women's domestic work is not accepted 'real' work; and women are generally concentrated in the most boring, low status and low-paid jobs. Marxist-feminist perspective argues that women's largely unpaid domestic work (including childcare) in households is 'productive', since it creates value for capitalism. Housewives are not 'mere consumers' because

their domestic work is unwaged, this does not mean that it is not productive or alienating (Oakley, 1974).

Marxist feminist theory is developed reserve army theory which refers basically to the unemployment in capitalist society. Braverman defines women as a long-term reserve of labor which is now being brought into employment by the development of capitalism (Braverman quoted in Walby, 1990). According to Beechey (1978), married women in particular can be used as a reserve of labor. However Barrett and Mackintosh (1985) argue that reserve army theory does not have enough theoretical evidences to eradicate its internal contradiction

Also, some Marxist feminist argue that the family is considered to benefit capital to reproduce a constant supply of labor. Capitalism reproduces in two senses. Firstly, the worker, or men, must be kept fit enough to work each day and thus must be fed, clothed and sheltered. Secondly, the working class reproduces itself over time through rearing the next generation of workers (Kaluzynska, 1980; Rushton, 1979, McDonough &Harrison, 1978).

According to Humphries (1977), women should not enter the labor market and the working class because they need a family wage in order to raise their standard of living (Humphries quoted in Barrett, M and Mackintosh, M.1985). Since the domestic labor of the housewife comprise the production of labor power of the husband to the labor market and women can affect to raise the price of men who enter in the labor market. But the family wage theory is criticized since higher wages for men is justified as an ideology (Barrett & Mackintosh, 1985).

According to Marxist feminists, the subordination of women to men in society basically is seen as a by-product of capital's subordination of labor. Class inequality is argued to be the central feature of society and is seen to determine gender inequality (Barrett, 1980). Marxist feminists tend to

determine and discuss classism rather than sexism as the ultimate cause of women's oppression (Walby, 1990).

Generally Marxist Feminism is criticized being insufficient to explain gender inequality apart from capitalism. Also, they are criticized not being aware of the independence of the gender dynamics (Bhopal, 1997). In fact, Marxist-feminist had relatively little to say about women's reproductive concerns, women (and men's) sexuality, domestic violence or sexual violence.

A third group of feminist perspectives is a theoretical synthesis of Marxist and radical feminist theory which is called as Dual-Systems Theory. This theory argues that both capitalism and patriarchy are important to take into account to the structure of gender relations (Jaggar, 1983). Indeed, as Eisenstein (1981), two systems are so closely interrelated because both patriarchy and capitalism provide benefits from the exploitation of women and their disadvantageous position in labor market. According to some socialist feminists, the changes or development of capitalism have transformed patriarchal institutions or vice versa. Because dual system or socialist feminist approaches explain capitalism and patriarchy as independent, mutually accommodating systems of oppression, whereby both systems structure and benefit from women's subordination (Hartmann, 1981).

According to Hartmann (2002), job segregation by sex is the primary mechanism in capitalist society that maintains the superiority of men over women because men play a crucial role in maintaining sexual divisions in the labor process. Although the household women do more labor than men, even if they also have paid employment, women can earn lower wage than men. Lower wages keep women dependent on men because they encourage women to marry. Married women must perform domestic chores for their husband. This process is the present of the continuing interaction of two systems, capitalism and patriarchy. She states: "the resulting mutual

accommodation between patriarchy and capitalism has created a vicious circle for women". (Hartmann quoted in Jackson & Scott, 2002). Therefore, she claims that if women are to be free, they must fight against both patriarchal power and capitalist organization of society.

Hartmann (2002) argues that patriarchy pre-dates capitalism, and men learned the techniques of hierarchical organization in patriarchy so expropriation of women's labor is not new in capitalist societies. It is a powerful and important contribution to the theoretical debate on gender relations. However, Walby (1990) has criticized Hartmann's theory. He does not reject the dual systems approach, but has argued that there is more tension between the two systems of capital and patriarchy than that of suggested and inequality needs to be taken into account.

The resulting mutual relationships between patriarchy and capitalism show us that exploitation of women and their disadvantageous position in labor market or, generally in the house or public and private sphere, have been continued and interacted with each other. Therefore gender equality requires a long and hard struggle, especially for women and by women.

Patriarchy is one of the important concepts in the feminists' analysis but it has also been the subject of considerable debate. There are numerous different ideas about the relationships between patriarchy and gender relations. All interpretation can be summarized that the discussion of patriarchy tends to be analyzed firstly "ahistorical", which means failure to explain historical variation. Secondly, it is "reductionism", which is the explanation of the basis of patriarchy to one or two factors such as family or capitalism. Thirdly, it attempts to be limited conceptualization of gender relationships, which include only the discussion of relationships between men and women. Fourthly, it is "universalism" which suggests that relations between men and women are the same in the world over. Lastly, theories are criticized for their abstract structuralism since they have a tendency to overemphasize structure and they don't take into consideration the effects

of individuals both in the creation of gender equality and in resistance to it (Walby, 1990).

Walby(1990) states that all earlier problem of patriarchy can be solved in her theory of patriarchy by means of developing more than one causal base about a theory of patriarchy. According to Walby (1990), patriarchy is a system of social structure and practices, in which men dominate, oppress and exploit women. Also she identifies six structures of patriarchy which consists of paid work, housework, sexuality culture, violence and the state and their relationships of these create different forms to capture the depth of women's subordination.

However, Anthias and Yuval-Davis (1992) criticize Walby's definition of patriarchy and her treatment of the relationship between gender and other forms of inequalities. They claim that her definition separates capitalism, patriarchy or racism as systems independent of one another. Also Pollert (1996) claims that Walby's theory of patriarchy combines all explanation but she is not explain the origin of patriarchy and the root of its perpetuation.

For these reasons, there is a growing consensus that patriarchy should be abandoned as an explanatory concept and that should only be used to describe relationships where men dominate women. Various writers state that patriarchy can be used to encourage a focus on the specifics of social relations, rather than on homogeneous social system (Maynard, 1995:276, see also Connell, 1987; Marshall 1994; Pollert, 1996). Marshall (1994) finds the concept of the gender order for the analysis of gender because gender order is a patterned system of ideology and it is achieved by individuals in a society. For Marshall, the gender order provides 'the mode of interpretation' through which individuals construct social identity so gender relation is open to change. (Marshall, 1994:117)

2.3.1 The Relation between Patriarchy and Public-Private Sphere

The origin and development of public and private dichotomy has been discussed in variety of ways. In fact, Davidoff (1998) discusses how these are structured women's relations to public sphere. However, Ortner (1974) explains women's association with the private sphere. In liberal political ideas, the concept of public and private completely differ from each other.

Historically, men have acted within public realm and have moved freely both public and private spheres while women have been mostly restricted to the private sphere and they subjected to the authority of men within private sphere.(Davidoff,1998).These traditional ideas support traditional domestic division of labor in which men have primary responsibility for the necessary financial provision of their family and women have primary responsibility for the management of housework and caring children. On the other hand, this liberal politics generally attempt to explain the legitimacy of state. Therefore, they argue that public is political and need masculine one. On the other hand private is removed from politics and private sphere include women. The ideas of "men are privileged over women" are justified in this approach (Dietz, 1998; Squires 1999).

The traditional liberal formulation of the public and private has criticized. First, it is separated into two spheres but the boundaries of public and private spheres are fluid and changeable because of their mutual dependency to each other. Second, traditional formulation defines politics as taking place only in the public sphere. This view separates politics activities from relations of private sphere because they claim that gendered relation should live behind its "closed doors". Feminists criticize these ideas because they state that "personal is political" so private sphere can not be isolated from public sphere, or politics (Dietz, 1998; Squires 1999).

The concept of public and private has had a role in the development of theories of women's subordinated status and, in this study; these concepts are discussed in patriarchy theories. Some socialist feminists explain women's secondary status in the public sphere, in combination with theories of patriarchy to account for women's subordination with the private sphere (Hartmann, 1979). Moreover, Walby argues patriarchy changes from the private form to the public form. In private patriarchy, the oppression of women is based on the household and it involves men exploiting the labor of women. Under this form of patriarchy, women are excluded from public sphere or have limited participation in it. As Walby, in the public patriarchy, women should pass some barriers to participate in working life and politics since patriarchal segregation and subordination cause unequal and discriminatory conditions for women (Walby, 1990).

In addition to these, studies in labor market have shown that the ideas about public and private sphere have been shaped in the relation with paid work, occupational groupings, training or promotion, in the other words the experience and opportunities of women and men determine the ideas (Crompton,1997). In fact, Lister (1997) argues that it is necessary to deconstruct the gendered role in public and private sphere because patriarchal ideas are accepted as a natural authority in private realm. Also, the effects of the relationships between public and private sphere on gender inequality should be admitted in order to change their boundaries.

2.3.2 The Relationships between Patriarchy and Age

Patriarchal relations include not only men's oppression on women but also older women have supremacy over younger women. When women get older, young and old women are evaluated by different standards in cultural norms and this is advantageous for older women (Rosaldo, 1974:26). Moreover, Kandiyoti (1970:62)   claims that there is a clear hierarchy in household between the bridge and mother-in-law because

young women, especially new brides, are subjected to the authority of the mother-in-law in the extended family whether new brides live with their husband's family or not. On the other hand, Morsy (1990, quoted in Moghadam, 2003: 125) states that "quarrels between women in domestic groups reflect the conflicts and tensions between the men upon whom they are dependent".

Apart from the male domination over female, the intra-family power dynamics among generations is important to analyze gender inequality. Because as Moghadam (2003:130) paraphrased from Marx (1978): "the traditions of dead generations weigh heavily on the minds of the livings", gender inequality reproduced in intra-family relations.

In fact, Sen and Rastogi (2005) argue that the other centers of power in the family, such as father-in-law or mother-in-law, are important because extended families are quite common in many parts of the developing world. In such families a woman's position in the household depends not only on her relation to her husband but also to other members in the household. Also they state that the daughter-in-law or the younger sister in- law in a household is the most disempowered member in the house (2005:5). Because, female status is affected negatively by traditional criteria of age and women subordinate to all the males and older females in the house.

For Kandiyoti, older women power in the house can be explained with mother-son relationships. He states that a man's relationship with his mother is usually stronger than that with his wife. Because the relationship between mother and son is defined as self-sacrifice and women, or mother think that her son is future security in her life. Therefore, in spite of men, mother-in-law is the centre of authority in the family (Kandiyoti, 1970:64).

On the other hand, according to Moghadam (2003), the control of women in the reproduction of the patriarchal unit, such as the extended

family and the state can be revealed as a political strategy. Because he states that patriarchal structures provide welfare and security for individuals and responsibilities of the state for citizens decreases. Therefore, the patriarchal family and patriarchal ideology are reproduced by protecting the traditional family structure.

2.4 Summary

As a conclusion of this chapter, we have examined three concepts in different sociological approaches to explain gender inequality. Gender roles are discussed by four theoretical perspectives: functionalism focus on how gender roles support social equilibrium; conflict theory stresses women's economic roles and gender roles on class conflict; symbolic interactionism emphasis how people "do" gender in everyday life. The feminist perspective focuses on the oppression of women in gender roles. Also feminist theory adopts different theoretical approaches to analyze gender roles. Feminist theoretical perspective contributes to our study in analyzing both personal level and institutional level of gender roles in public and private spheres.

Socialization process is also discussed in four different theoretical approaches to explain how people learn gender identity and behavior associated with their gender roles: role-learning theory focus on primary socialization stage and a system of rewards and punishment to learn gender roles; cognitive development theory emphasis that behaviors of individuals are shaped by personal perception of social situation at each cognitive stage; gender schema theory asserts that individuals learn cultural definitions of gender roles in all cognitive stages, or schema and then this information determines all relations; psychoanalytic socialization theory focus on mother-child relations to reproduce patriarchal ideology. All these theories contribute to our study in terms of giving hints how gender stereotype are modified in gender identity. In addition to this theoretical discussion, gender socialization discussed in agents because these agents

have important effects to reproduce the ideology of gender roles. Agents of socialization help to explain what kinds of relations between socialization and patriarchy.

In this study, I have examined the concept of patriarchy because patriarchy contributes to our study to summarize ideology and social structure. Also patriarchy is discussed by three branches of feminist perspectives: radical feminism emphasis that existing political and social organization should change and women should create women-centered institutions; Marxist feminism states that patriarchy is used to reproduce capitalist relations and they emphasis the importance of women's domestic work; socialist feminist theory, or dual-system theory, focus on both patriarchy and capitalism to explain gender roles and gender relations. In this study, socialist feminist perspective contributes to analyze exploitation of women in both public and private spheres by explaining the mutual relationships between patriarchy and capitalism.

Socialization and patriarchy as the key concepts seem to me most influential in constituting the theoretical framework of the study to explain different women's position within social dynamics. Because the literature about gender roles show that gender inequality is constructed in the socialization process by means of agents (family, school, peers group, media) that is made up strengthen directly patriarchy but indirectly capitalism. Patriarchy has mutual relationships with capitalism to create gender inequality because both patriarchy and capitalism provide benefits from the exploitation of women and their disadvantageous position in labor market. Gender inequality reproduced in this process by agents of socialization.

In conclusion, new analyses of gender roles are necessary in order to determine perceptional and practical differences in social life. Therefore, I construct theoretical debates on socialization process and patriarchy to understand how gender roles create in perceptional level and how they

structure in practice, respectively. On the other hand, I try to measure how the perceptional change affect the practical change of gender roles with two cohorts women and what gender equality means for them.

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

As mentioned, the main question of the thesis is to demonstrate whether there are any differences between two cohorts in perceiving gender roles. Cohort means a group of people having approximately the same age. In the study, two cohorts consist of old and young women from the same family and they all live in shanty town areas. While the old women are between the ages of 45-68, the young women are between the ages of 25-42 in this study. The research attempts to examine two cohort women's everyday experiences in public and private spheres in order to understand their gender roles perception in these spheres. As described, gender roles are the activities ascribed to men and women on the basis of perceived differences in everyday interaction. For this reason, gender awareness in any situation can be initiated with the change of perceptions, beliefs and attitudes. To understand how the perception of those two cohorts' women changed in this study, the differences between these women are compared with regard to age.

In this study, I didn't discuss women's perception of gender roles from one specific theoretical approach. Rather, socialization process and

patriarchy are chosen as keys concepts to understand how gender roles are created in perceptional level and how they are constructed in practice, respectively. Although socialization, as one of the symbolic interaction concepts, is used at micro levels studies, patriarchy, as one of the conflict and feminist theories' concept, is discussed at macro level studies. Many studies in the literature argue that gender roles are shaped at the micro level of social relations, but a wider perspective on macro definitions and their interpretations within public and private domains need to be addressed for a better understanding of the perception of gender roles. Also one of the arguments in this study is necessity of new analyzes for gender roles which can be at meso-level in order to determine new ways about gender inequality.

3.1 Research Techniques

The purpose of the thesis is to examine how the perception of gender roles changed between two cohort women. The sample is composed by 25 old and 25 young women who are from the same family living in shanty-town areas in Ankara. The data, which is assumed to provide answers for the basic questions posed in the introduction of the main theme of this study, were obtained through qualitative and quantitative techniques. The field study as a part of the main thesis was established interplay between the theoretical discourse about gender roles and the practical experience. Besides the exploitation of the relevant literature regarding the issue, multi-method approaches of feminist methodology are used. Also a questionnaire is used to collect data. In-dept interviews and documentary-historical method with two cohorts are applied. Also target group interviews are designed in order to understand their perceptions and responses regarding gender related issues.

In-depth interview technique enabled me to create an emotional closeness with the research group and also made these invisible women

speak about how they perceive their experiences or roles as women, wife and mother without being limited to the structured categories as in the survey. I applied documentary-historical method and focus group or in-depth interviews to provide alternative ideas about gender equality. Through applying qualitative techniques, the validity of research is sustained. However, this study is not limited by qualitative techniques and it provides a survey in order to obtain reliability. Hence both qualitative and quantitative data collection techniques were used to understand changes in the perception of gender roles between two cohorts and to sustain validity and reliability of the research issues.

3.1.1 Hypothesis

The main hypothesis of the research is "The perception of gender roles changes between two cohort women at the same family regarding age". To this end, the below research questions are mainly discussed:

• What is the impact of changes in everyday activities or habits on the change of gender roles?

• What kinds of conditions in the society affect the perception of gender roles?

• Are the differences and discriminations between men and women the result of the biological variety?

• Do the existing theories of gender roles explain the relationships between age and the perception of gender roles?

• Is there any effect of perceptional change to erase gender inequality?

• How in turn is the perception of gender roles related to the relations in the household?

• Does the process of socialization affect the re-construction of gender roles?

• How gender roles transferred among generations?

• Are there any effects of "gecekondu life" and "squatter-house neighborhood" on the perception of gender roles?

• Whether urbanization has any effect on the perception of women in helping them to notice their lives and in creating a powerful effect on their roles as women?

• How does age affect to form the perception of gender roles?

• What are the differences between two cohorts in terms of the perception of gender roles to transfer among generations?

I attempted to answer these questions in order to measure the perception of gender roles in private and public sphere. Therefore questions related to marriage and working life perception were asked to women in order to measure the perception of gender roles in private sphere and public sphere, respectively. Since expression of violence in household is mentioned quite often in pilot study by women, violence perception is tried to measure within social facts other than theoretical framework.

3.1.2 Questionnaire

A questionnaire was developed as the main research tool of the study (Appendix-A).The questionnaire consisted of 77 questions with 8 different sections. The first section was related to the socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents. The second was relevant to the socio-economic status of the respondents. The third sections included the questions regarding migration history processes of the respondents. The fourth section included the perception of gender roles. The fifth section was

investigating the perception of marriage. The sixth section was related to the perceptions of violence. The seven section included perception of work of women outside house and the last one was relevant to the perception of future expectations for themselves and for their children. Fieldwork was started in March of 2006 and was finished in June of 2006.

3.1.3 Sampling

The sample group consisted of 50 questionnaires and in-depth interviews that were applied to 25 old women in the age of 47-68 who have started to live in urban after internal migration and 25 young women in the age of 25-42 who were born in city or come to city when they were child. In the survey, the technique of sampling was used mainly in order to gather data about two cohort's women. Women were selected such that all were married and had at least one daughter sharing the house. Also, young women firstly found to reach old women at the same family. Two cohort women have been living either in the same house or close to their houses each other. The relationships of twelve women are daughter-mother; thirteen women are daughter-in-law and mother-in-law. Participants are similar to each other with respect to social status and class.

At the beginning of the thesis, I wanted to study child labor in textile sector. When I searched about this issue, I reached some research of Fisek Institute about child labor in Denizli textile sector. Then I've met Oya Fisek who is chairwoman of Fisek Institute to help me. She stated that child labor in textile sector is too difficult to explore enough cases in Ankara. Instead she proposed me to study about their project called "Young Girl's House in Türközü". This project was including migrant women and their daughters under 16 years-old to improve their self-confidence for participation of urban life, to find solutions for poverty and to overcome the traditional expectations regarding gender roles.

The aims of project, especially "overcome the traditional expectations regarding gender roles" help me to decide this topic. When I searched this issue, I noticed that there is not enough study about gender roles perception in the literature. Also, I recognized that there hasn't been enough study about two cohorts women related to age. At the end, I think that the research about the perception of gender roles between two cohort women regarding age can be contributed to the literature. Also, I hope that, my thesis can be an attempt to raise potential questions for further studies.

3.2 Pilot Study

A pilot study had been made with 4 questionnaires and in-depth interviews in this project as called "Young Girl's House in Türközü". In "Young Girl's House" project, two generation women, who are daughter-mother and daughter-in-law and mother-in-law, selected randomly. The result of this pilot study became clear that the questions which were unfit for this study needed to be dropped. One question was "what kind of jobs you can do" and "how much money do you want to earn as a salary". Some of questions on the questionnaire also were rewritten because of the result of the pilot study. These questions were not encoded on the questionnaires and they transformed to the encoded form.

After the pilot study, the scope of the study expands to be used by snowball sampling technique because some families didn't accept to join this research. In Boztepe, I asked the woman to suggest another woman of their social group with a background like hers who might be willing to talk with me. Two women called their friends and relatives and one woman accepted to help my research in Battal Gazi. Four women who have been living in Battal Gazi shanty-town have relatives who are living in Şahintepe neighborhood and they were recommended to be interviewed. The respondent was easily accessible as they had already spoken to someone

who had participated in the research and trusted me. Therefore, in addition to the "Young Girl's House" project of Fisek Institute, the data of this research is obtained from two cohorts who are living different gecekondu districts such as Battal Gazi, Şahintepe and Boztepe in Ankara in order to demonstrate the changes of the perception of gender roles within the same family.

On the other hand, I have faced with some problems. Firstly, the respondents were unwilling to help me at the beginning of the research. This situation might be as a result of several reasons. The first reason is that the Great Municipality of Ankara gives coal and stored food to many of these women each every three month, therefore, they hesitated to answer the questions of the questionnaire, especially about their socio-economic status, at the beginning of the research. I used to the advantageous of snowball sampling technique by the help of the mediator because all respondents have persuades others directly or indirectly to participate in the questionnaire. Secondly, respondents were able to open up and confide in me, which allowed them to reveal very personal and intimate details of their lives, for example some women ask me which method is best in birth control also some women want to talk about how a child should be brought up. At the end, I had established good relationships with the participants of this research, and some of them invited me again to continue these relations in the future.

In addition to field survey, I faced some further difficulties; the research sample is small in size to represent the differences about perception of gender roles among women. However, this problem of the size of the research sample is the common problem of all studies of social sciences due to the time and budget limitations. Moreover, the study only looks at the perception of gender roles on women who reside in Ankara. In other cities in different regions of Turkey, the perception of gender roles may have very different reasons, impacts and consequences, especially

since customs and religious codes can be more effective but this study can be selected as a model to analyze gender roles and to aware gender equality. Therefore, it is in spite of small quantitatively, meaningful qualitatively to help other studies in different region or cities.

In this study, qualitative methods are mainly used to identify with the women who are studied and a part of what is being researched. According to Reinharz, the participatory model of research is useful; it aims to produce non-hierarchical, non-authoritarian and non-manipulative research relationships (Reinharz quoted in Acker, 1999). In fact, according to feminist methodology, qualitative methods are better than quantitative methods because qualitative methods include more equality between researchers and studied and they allow the viewpoint of them researched to be taken into account. Also Mies (cited by Çakır & Akgökçe, 1996:50) argue that unless women's studies analyzed in terms of quantitative methodology of social sciences for women's emancipation, these studies will lead to an instrument of oppression for women at the end.

For this study I focus on the qualitative method as the most suitable method for three major reasons. One is that the participants of the research are women to provide for women's explanations of their life, which can be play a role in gender awareness. Secondly, the subject of the study is inquiring the perception of gender as a topic in the formation of gender roles, which is a very sensitive issue and makes the use of qualitative methods indispensable. Thirdly, this study is tried to create alternative solutions for gender inequality studies so it needs to personal experiences and new ideas.

3.3 The Space of Field Work

A case study was conducted in Ankara within the boundaries of Mamak Municipality district in order to test the hypothesis that the perception of gender roles changes between two cohort women at the

same family. This study is selected three shanty-towns in Ankara which are Battal Gazi, Boztepe and Şahintepe neighborhoods as a result of snowball sampling.

Ankara as a capital city of Turkey and the second biggest city in Turkey in terms of the classification in dimension of socio-economic development (see Appendix-B) is one of the most important settlements in Turkey (SPO, 2003). After being chosen as the capital of the state, Ankara experienced a rapid development and the population of Ankara has been increasing steadily (Tekeli, 1982). While rate of net migration in Ankara is 25.59%, Ankara is third important city in terms of rate of in-migration after Istanbul and izmir (TURKSTAT, 2000) because new opportunities associated with the development process in urban-based industry and services provide the main motivation for movement not only poor people but also rich people who desire to increase their capital in the developed place (Kocaman & Beyazit, 1993:3).

According to Tankut (1990), Ankara was planned as a model city because Turkey need to a symbolic meaning for the unification of the nation. After Ankara was chosen as a capital, at the same time, it was the administrative centre for the nations. Therefore, the development of Ankara was faster than other cities. In fact Keleş (1982:74) argue that the growth rate of Ankara in last 30 years was %9 which could not reach any city in Turkey until the near future.

When it is thought that the level of development for the destination place plays a quite fundamental role in the initiation of migration flows within the country, the rate of increase in the population of Ankara depends on the rate of migration in general. But the population of Ankara have been increased faster then the urban proportion of the population in Turkey. Even though, the urban proportion of the population in Turkey increased from 19 percent in 1950 to 59 percent in 2000 (TURKSTAT, 2000), as it is seen from figure 3, the population of Ankara has increased 10 times

from 1927 to 2000.   According to the census of 2000, the population of Ankara is 4.007.860.
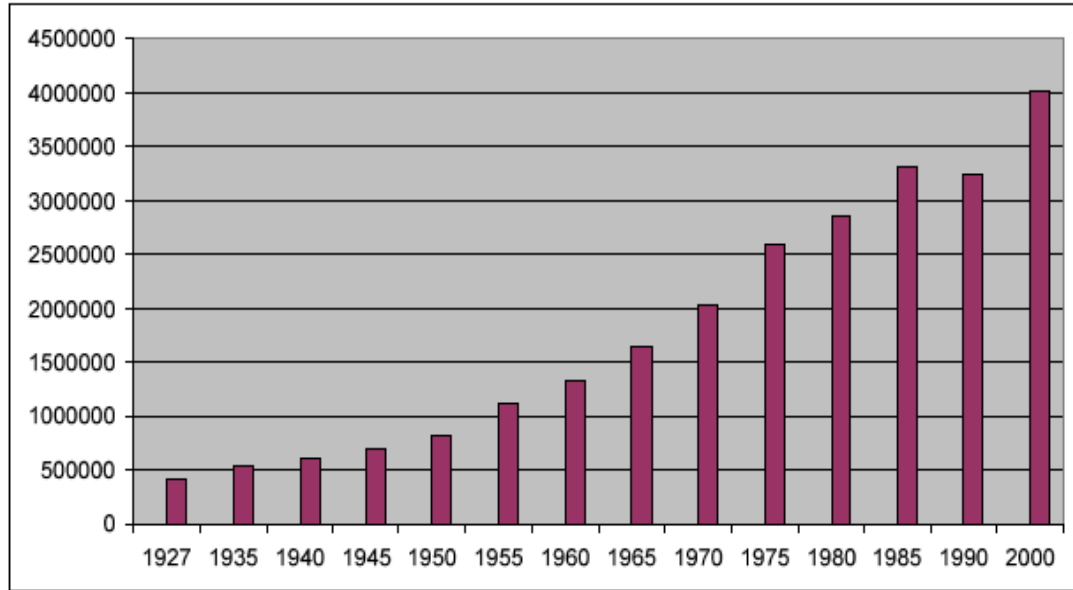
Figure 3. The size of the population of Ankara 1927-2000 (SSI-2001)

As it can be seen in Table 1, Çorum, Yozgat, Çankırı, Kırşehir and Sivas are the most important cities in terms of rate of out-migration for the population of Ankara. Distributions of city population of Ankara concerning the city of origin are %4.3 Çorum, %3.8 Yozgat, %2.7 Çankırı, %2.3 Kırşehir and %2.1 Sivas. In addition, two important reasons can be argued why Ankara attracts people especially from those cities. Firstly, all of cities mentioned before are in rank fourth in terms of socio-economic development level in Turkey as Ankara is rank first (shown in Appendix C). Secondly, these cities are closer than many of cities in Turkey. In fact, the research in this study was to prove this situation.

Table 1. The population of Ankara with construction of born places, 2000

Province	Population	Province	Population
ADANA	20 792	KONYA	45 578
ADIYAMAN	5 215	KÜTAHYA	5 842
AFYON	13 587	MALATYA	28 084
AĞRI	10 556	MANİSA	9 139
AMASYA	24 470	KAHRAMANMARAŞ	15 785
ANKARA	2 106 146	MARDİN	12 616
ANTALYA	8 832	MUĞLA	5 036
ARTVİN	17 875	MUŞ	6 164
AYDIN	7 535	NEVŞEHİR	31 691
BALIKESİR	13 969	NİĞDE	27 819
BİLECİK	3 676	ORDU	28 803
BİNGÖL	3 439	RİZE	19 896
BİTLİS	6 171	SAKARYA	7 924
BOLU	47 621	SAMSUN	38 476
BURDUR	3 673	SİİRT	5 600
BURSA	13 219	SİNOP	11 449
ÇANAKKALE	5 858	SİVAS	84 591
ÇANKIRI	110 262	TEKİRDAĞ	4 242
ÇORUM	174 084	TOKAT	32 854
DENİZLİ	7 916	TRABZON	27 324
DİYARBAKIR	18 753	TUNCELİ	8 328
EDİRNE	4 639	ŞANLIURFA	19 746
ELAZIĞ	15 681	UŞAK	4 099
ERZİNCAN	19 931	VAN	8 395
ERZURUM	57 267	YOZGAT	152 306
ESKİŞEHİR	28 470	ZONGULDAK	13 111
GAZİANTEP	11 428	AKSARAY	22 892

Table 1: Continued

Province	Population	Province	Population
GİRESUN	11 519	BAYBURT	8 309
GÜMÜŞHANE	18 427	KARAMAN	4 471
HAKKARİ	1 404	KIRIKKALE	85 530
HATAY	14 623	BATMAN	4 121
ISPARTA	12 223	ŞIRNAK	1 930
İÇEL	15 581	BARTIN	7 880
İSTANBUL	50 515	ARDAHAN	20 271
İZMİR	23 471	IĞDIR	4 325
KARS	47 867	YALOVA	805
KASTAMONU	20 498	KARABÜK	10 709
KAYSERİ	54 990	KİLİS	2 755
KIRKLARELİ	3 682	OSMANİYE	5 363
KIRŞEHİR	94 080	DÜZCE	4 188
KOCAELİ	7 442		

As a result of rapid growth rate, Ankara also is affected by a distorted urbanization structure like any other cities. Because rural migrants constructed illegal buildings, which are very cheap and lack of infrastructure, to solve housing problems in city by occupying lands in the outskirts of big cities and building squatters in a short period (Kartal, 1978). Like other big cities in Turkey, illegal housing or gecekondu increased with rapid urbanization in Ankara. According to Mübeccel Kıray's study of gecekondu, published in 1973, 61 percent of Ankara's population, 45 percent of Istanbul's population and 43 percent of İzmir's population were living in gecekondu districts and any explanation for the definition of classical class was not enough to understand and analyze the gecekondu's people (Kıray, 1998: 91-99). Nowadays, one of third persons in Turkey has been living in gecekondu (Keleş, 1996: 386). From the 1960s until 1990s,

more than half of the population of Ankara was living in gecekondu areas (Keleş, 1996:383-4)

Table 2. Number of gecekondu houses and gecekondu population in Ankara (Keles, 1993: 383-4; cited by Duyar-Kienast, 2005:109)

Year	Number of Gecekondu Houses	Gecekondu Population	% of Gecekondu Population in Total Urban Population
1950	12,000	62,400	21.8
1960	70,000	364,000	56.0
1966	100,000	520,000	57.4
1970	144,000	748,000	60.6
1975	202,000	1,156,000	64.9
1978	240,000	1,300,000	68.4
1980	275,000	1,450,000	72.4
1990	350,000	1,750,000	58.3

As we see from Table 2, 250.000 gecekondu houses were built from 1966 to 1990. In 1991, however, statistics show that only 27% of the total numbers of gecekondu neighborhoods in Ankara are classified as gecekondu (Şenyapılı, 1996:30-31) because a large number of gecekondu houses have been transformed into apartment houses. Although gecekondu areas decreased by means of Improvement Plan, this situation has not reflected direct proportion of improvement in the environmental and social conditions.

In fact, it can be said that this new way of life and housing, called gecekondu, has provided an articulation of rural social and cultural values with urban life-style, and this way of life quickly spread throughout Ankara and other big cities. Urban life provides a new point of view to the migrants because most of them decide to stay in the urban to become city man. After a short time, it is understood that there is not a unique way to become a city man and "the period of half villager and half city man" identity starts (Genç, 1996:314). At the end of this process, which is

defined by urban sociologists as "incomplete urban structure" and/or "urban areas becoming villages", different cultural structures with very weak communication and interaction emerge in urban areas (Erman, 1998: 49).

The preference of gecekondu for rural migrants becomes a survival strategy to cope with urban difficulties. A gecekondu settlement is formed by arrival of several families from the same home-town to the empty place around the city. Later, the relatives and friends of these families join them. As gecekondu is building without the approval of the landowners and permission from the authorities, gecekondu people are under a permanent threat of eviction and lack of basic infrastructure and services. Since the urban services get limited, these areas; which tend to be overcrowded, have lack of maintenance and poor quality; become poverty districts, where the migrants from coming to rural place. Consequently a local increase in poverty occurs (Keleş, 1982: 69-70, Göktürk &, Kaygalak, 1999: 111-147, Erman, 1998: 45).

These kinds of houses (gecekondu) cannot be evaluated only in terms of housing problem. This issue is both a social problem including family and economical values and also effective in the total development of the urban areas (Peker, 1999: 298-299). Apart from these problems, health, education, water supply, sewerage system, roads, warming systems, pollution and transportation problems can be discussed as a result of urbanization or pseudo-urbanization. Therefore gecekondu, unemployment, transportation and security are classified as main problems while Ankara is tried to be planned as a capital city.

The research of the thesis included only three shanty-towns which are Battal Gazi, Şahintepe and Boztepe districts in Mamak which are chosen as a result of research methodologies of the thesis (see Figure 4: General View of Mamak).

In fact, the webpage of Mamak Municipality gives general information about neighborhood in terms of socio-economical situation and housing conditions. Although Mamak District argues in its official website that many housing stocks in Mamak are built according to plans and projects, Mamak is a district where largest groups of gecekondu are clustered. The inhabitants living in gecekondu areas in Mamak are low class families. The main reason is high migration rate of mainly rural originated families. (Source: the website of Mamak District).

A large of number of gecekondu houses in Ankara has been transformed into apartment houses by means of Improvement Plan. On the other hand, Mamak district did not experience such a transformation and their housing stock is still mostly composed of gecekondu. The reasons of this situation are explain by Duyar-Kienast's study (2005:24). Firstly, Mamak geographically is one of the inaccessible, non-marketable areas and dangerous places because both the construction costs are high and it is far from the existing urban infrastructure and main roads. Therefore, Mamak does not attract investors. In fact, the distances of Şahintepe, Battal Gazi and Boztepe Neighborhoods to Kızılay and Ulus are shown in Figure 5 and Figure 6.

Even though Battal Gazi and Şahintepe neighborhoods have gecekondu house and apartment house at the same road, there is not data about both Ankara's gecekondu housing stock and these neighborhoods in recent official records. Because it can be argued that there is no cooperation between the District Municipalities and the Greater City Municipality of Ankara. In addition to this, housing stocks within the boundaries of District Municipalities do not have updated information. Also, another reason for the lack of information on the recent gecekondu stock is that gecekondu neighborhoods have not been evaluated on the success of the transformation process in Improvement Plans (Duyar-Kiesnast, 2005).

3.4 Socio- Demographic Profile of the Respondents

3.4.1. General Description

The questionnaires were applied to 50 women that were applied to 25 old women who have started to live in urban after internal migration and 25 young women who were born in city or come to city when they were child. Women were selected such that all were married and had at least one daughter sharing the house. Also, young women firstly found to reach old women at the same family. Two cohort women have been living either in the same house or close to their houses each other. The relationships of twelve women are daughter-mother; thirteen women are daughter-in-law and mother-in-law. Participants are similar to each other with respect to social status and class. Although mean duration of residence in Ankara was over 10 years, 50 % of the participants had been living in Ankara for more than 25 years.

Table 3. The Duration of Residence in Ankara

		Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	12-17	7	14,0	14,0
	18-22	6	12,0	26,0
	23-28	15	30,0	56,0
	29-33	5	10,0	66,0
	34-39	8	16,0	82,0
	40—45	9	18,0	100,0
	Total	50	100,0	

Median Age: 44, 50
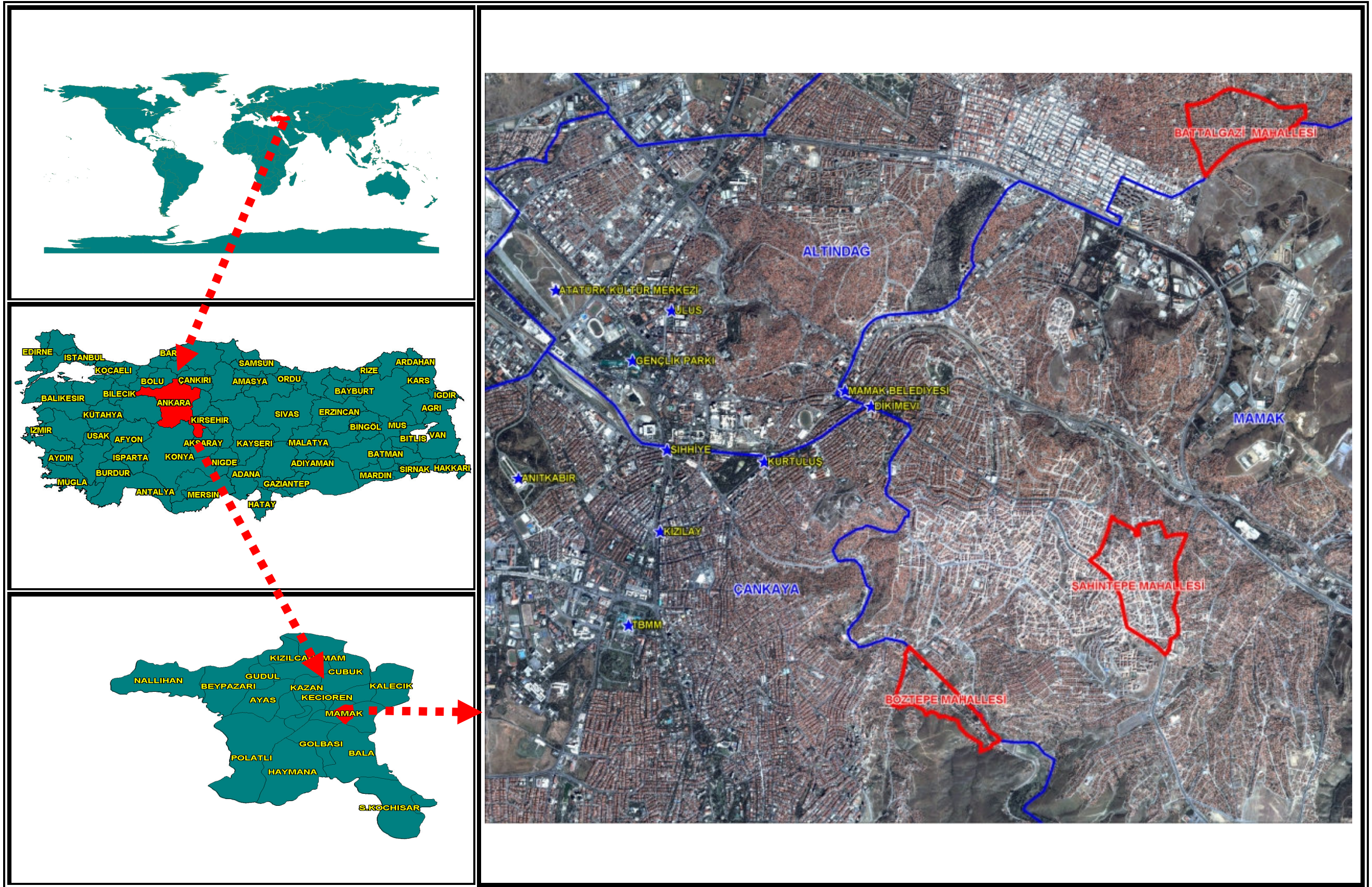
Figure 4. General view of Mamak (Source: Inta Spaceturk, 2006)
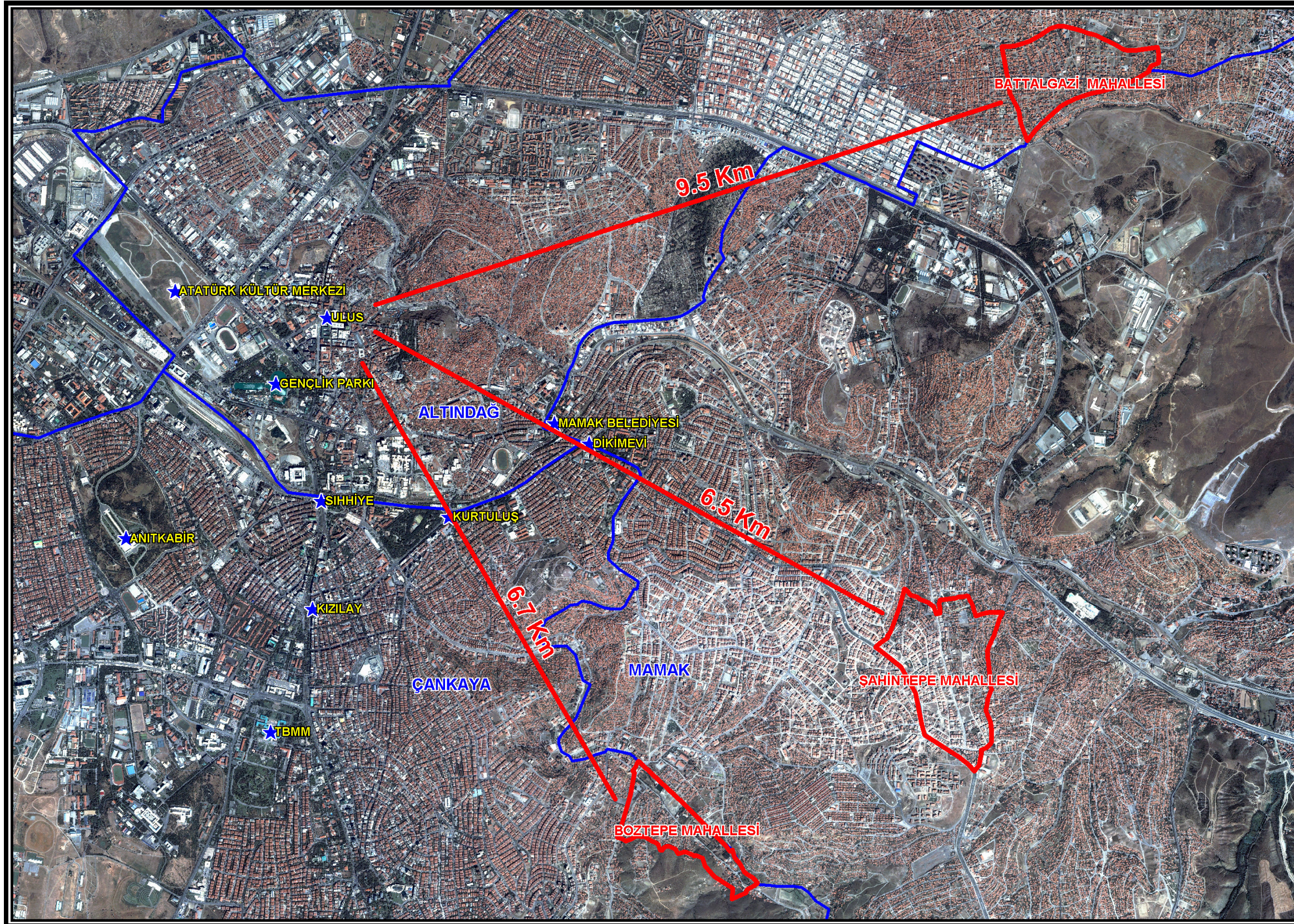
Figure 5. The Distances of Settlements to Ulus (Source: Inta Spaceturk, 2006)
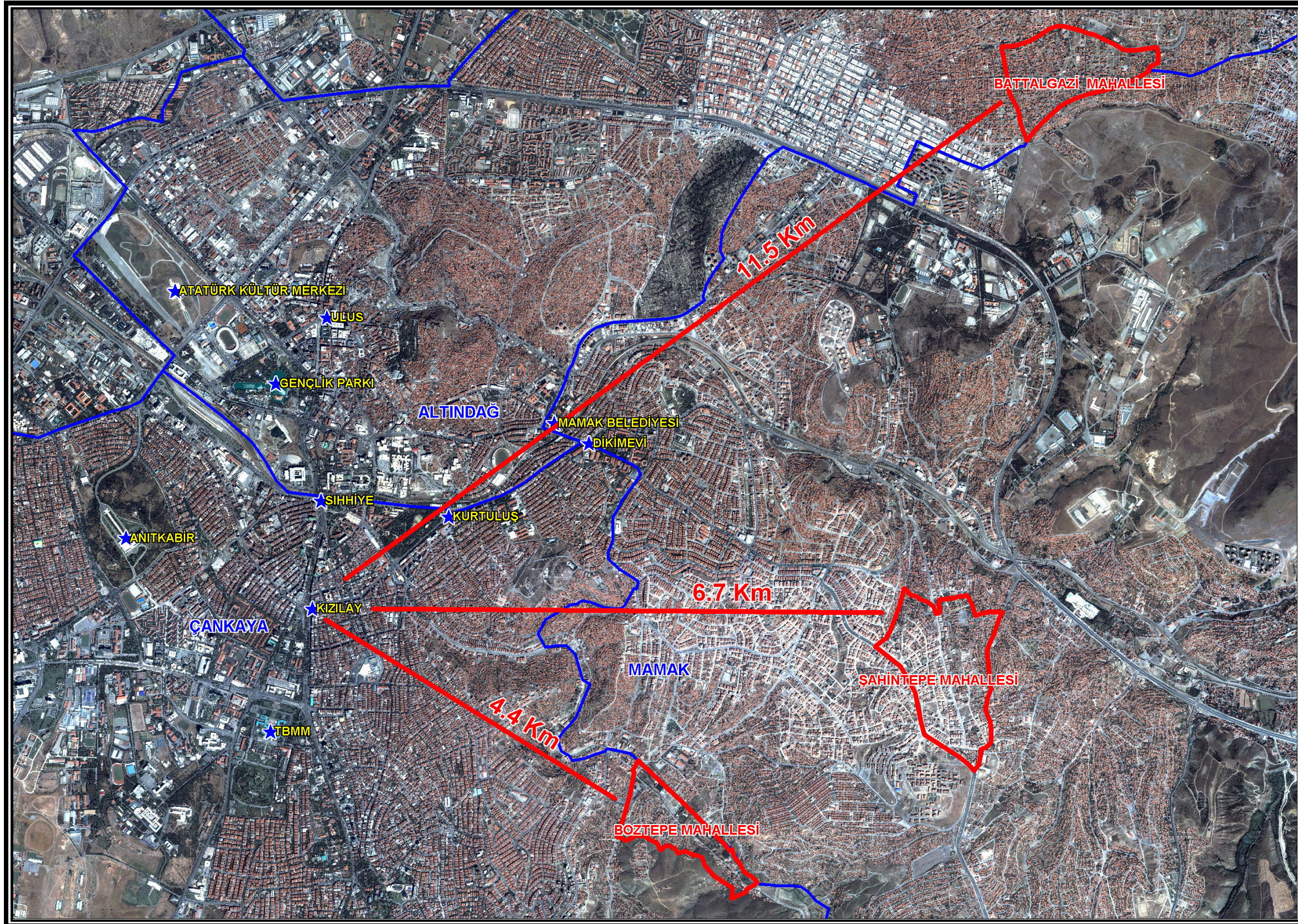
Figure 6. The Distances of Settlements to Kızılay (Source: Inta Spaceturk, 2006)

3.4.2 Educational Level of the Respondents

It seems that illiterate and literate are the basic categories that characterize educational level of the old women. In addition to this, the rest of the percentage consists of primary school categories. As it is shown in Table 1, 14 of those who participated in the questionnaire expressed their educational level as illiterate, 8 of the respondents stated that they had no schooling but was literate. The number of those who expressed their educational status as having graduated from primary school is 20, those who graduated from secondary school is 5, those who graduated from high school is 3. As a result of these statistics, it can be said that the number of those who have graduated from primary school, literate and illiterate are 40 women. It seems that illetared and litered are basic categories that characterize educational level of the old women respondents while other categories of education secondary and high school show the educational level of young women. There are 20 women who are graduated from primary school that show mainly the educational level of young women.

Table 4. Educational Level of Respondents
Person: old women=1, young women=2

What is your education level?	Mean	N	Std. Deviation
Illetared	1,14	14	,363
Litered	1,25	8	,463
Primary school	1,65	20	,489
Secondary school	2,00	5	,000
High School	2,00	3	,000
Total	1,50	50	,505

When we compare educational level of the respondents with old women's and young women's educational level considering the outcome of the fieldwork, it seen that there is a dramatic shift due to migration, modernization and urbanization. Because young women can have chance to go to secondary school and high school by means of living urban, while old women who migrated from rural to urban dominantly characterize

educational level of illiterate, literate and primary school because they did not have enough chance to go to school. Also, patriarchal ideas about girls' education and the perception of gender roles can be shown as important reasons. Two of the participant women who are illiterate, migrants and old women described her experiences in the following sentences:

"In our village, girls couldn't have education. On the other hand, my parents let my brother have education since he is a man. If you don't have any education, you cannot have any dream"

"People in our village argued that if girls have education, they can run away. Hence, my father did not allow me to go to school. However, I was very willing to have education. I wouldn't live like this if I had education... I could have better life and I couldn't repeat my mistakes"

3.4.3 Age of the Respondents

As it is shown in Table 5, the ages of the participants ranged from 25 to 68, most of the women were middle-aged, the average being 44. This age interval is constructed regarding to the boundary that distinguishes one generation from another. Between 25 years-old and 42 years old are old women and between 47 years-old and 68 years-old are old women.

Table 5. Age Profile of Respondents

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Person	50	1	2	1,50	,505
Age	50	25	68	44,40	14,170
Valid N (listwise)	50				

3.4.4 The Size of the Respondents' Household

The size of the respondents' household consists of more than 4 persons. This number reflects 64 percent of all respondents. This percentage indicates that the most of those who participated in the study do not live in a nuclear family setting. The participants live either with their own parents and/or with their adult-married children. The number of the household which consists of 2 or 3 persons is only 24 percent. Also when we look at the statistical data about the family size in gecekondu settlements, it can be said that migration, modernization and urbanization do not dramatically change the size of the respondents' household. Extend family dominantly characterized the family structure of the respondents. In fact, previous gecekondu research indicates that the family size in gecekondu was 4.92, 5.16 and 4.54 persons in İstanbul, Ankara and İzmir at the end of the 1980s (Alpar&Yener, 1991:25).

Also Şenyapılı argue in his study that 25% of the households were composed of more than one family (Şenyapılı, 1996:27). The reasons of having high family size is that although the children are mostly married, married sons sometimes prefer to stay with their family. They could not afford to rent and build another house or flat or for buying or building a house, or opening a shop and so on. In this study, 12 young women stated that they have to live with their husband's family because of economic reasons. One woman said her ideas about extends family with this statement:

"It is very difficult to manage to live without my husband's family. My husband is plasterer and he does not have a permanent job. In case, he had regular job, we couldn't have our own house apart from my mother-in-law since I've got married for 15 years and we've lived together for ages. However I always say my daughter that how a relationship begins,

everything continues so like that beware of not living with your husband's parents"

Table 6. The Size of the Respondent's Household

		Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	1	1	2,0	2,0
	2	5	10,0	12,0
	3	12	24,0	36,0
	4	15	30,0	66,0
	5	8	16,0	82,0
	6	4	8,0	90,0
	7	4	8,0	98,0
	8	1	2,0	100,0
	Total	50	100,0	

3.4.5 The Socio-Economical Characteristics

As it is seen from Table 7, the most significant numbers of the respondents do not working out of home and not have job streaming income. The main trend in types of work consists of housewives that which 35 women in this study. During the process of the survey, I was faced with the respondents who stated that their job was "housewife" because of their roles as a woman and mother need to stay in house. Also 6 women have an activity in house to earn money and 2 women are retired. Only 6 women join working life out of house as cleaning women.

Although these women's families mostly constitute a low-income group, some families have urban real estate and many have durable goods as color TV, washing machines, dish machine, computer and DVD. As we see table 8, some families in gecekondu settlement have one more TV, and dish machine. The number of TV is important detail to give hints socio-economic conditions. Also, all of women who are living in gecekondu have one washing machine and 7 women in gecekondu settlement have dish machine in their house.

Table 7. Occupational Status of the respondents

		Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Not working out of home and not have job streaming income	35	70,0	70,0
	have an activity in home streaming income	6	12,0	82,0
	Worker	1	2,0	84,0
	Regular employment	5	10,0	94,0
	Retired	2	4,0	98,0
	Other/specify	1	2,0	100,0
	Total	50	100,0	

Table 8. Durable Goods in the House

		What is the type of your house?		
		Gecekondu/ Shanty House	Apartment	House
Number of TV	1	16	4	-
	2	12	1	4
	3	3	6	1
	4	3	-	-
Number of Dish Machines	0	27	2	2
	1	7	9	3
Number of Washing Machines	1	34	11	5

3.4.6 The Type of Housing

While 22 percent of the respondents inhabit an apartment, 68 percent of the respondents inhabit a squatter's house. This ratio corresponds to the where the questionnaires were given to the respondents, because all of the respondents live in Mamak where is known as a gecekondu area and there are less apartments. Although Ankara has been reconstructed by Seventh

Improvement Plan, Mamak district did not experience such a transformation and their housing stock is still mostly composed of gecekondu.

Table 9. The Type of Housing

		Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Gecekondu/shanty house	34	68,0	68,0
	Apartment	11	22,0	90,0
	House	5	10,0	100,0
	Total	50	100,0	

As it is seen Table 10, 76 percent of the respondents stated they own their house, and 24 percent of them stated that their housing situation is that of a renter. Among the owners 16 percent stated that their house belongs to their family but they live together with their husband's family.

Table 10. The House Owner

		Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	It belongs to us	30	60,0	60,0
	Rent	12	24,0	84,0
	It belongs to our family	8	16,0	100,0
	Total	50	100,0	

3.4.7 The Size of Income of the Respondents

As seen from Table 11, the highest density in the distribution of salary was between 500 million and 800 Turkish Liras. 12 percent of the respondents reported their monthly salary as being 500 million Turkish Liras and under. 38 percent of the respondents reported that their monthly

salary was between 500 million and 800 Turkish Liras. Also, the first two groups constitute 50 percent of the whole. When 68 percent of the respondents inhabit a squatter's house, in this sense, it seems that there is a significant relationship between income of the respondents and their place of residence. Although 28 percent of respondents did not explain their income, 14 percent of respondents stated that their monthly salary was between 800-1000 and 8 percent of respondent said that their monthly salary was above 1000 Turkish Liras.

Table 11. Level of Income

		Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	0	14	28,0	28,0
	500-under	6	12,0	40,0
	500-800	19	38,0	78,0
	800-1000	7	14,0	92,0
	1000-1300	1	2,0	94,0
	1300-above	3	6,0	100,0
	Total	50	100,0	

3.4.8 The Migration Process of the Respondents

Those who were given to questionnaires came to Ankara from different cities of Central Anatolia at various time periods. Only some of the participants, (11 out of 50) were born in Ankara. The participants' place of birth is diverse. Ankara seems to receive migrants mainly from Central Anatolia in the sample. Nearly all of the participants were born in the Central Anatolia region, if not in Ankara. As it is seen in Table 12, the distribution of the respondents to these different cities is: 6, 16, 12 and 3 women who came to Ankara from Sivas, Yozgat, Çorum, Kırıkkale respectively and two women come to Ankara from Ağrı. These statistics seem to fit the distribution of the rate of out-migration for the population of Ankara (see Table 1).

Table 12. Place of birth

		Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Ankara	11	22,0	22,0
	Sivas	6	12,0	34,0
	Çorum	12	24,0	58,0
	Yozgat	16	32,0	90,0
	Kırıkkale	3	6,0	96,0
	Agri	2	4,0	100,0
	Total	50	100,0	

In addition to that, nearly more than half of participants stated that their husbands came to Ankara as the first member of the family and then brought the other members of family (see Table 13). "Associational migration" is a widely experienced phenomenon in Turkey, where women follow their husbands/fathers and where rather than deciding independently to migrate, they move depending on their status in the family; either as wives, mothers or girl-child (İlkkaracan & İlkkaracan, 1998). Moreover, the majority of these women migrated to urban areas for marriage. They get married to men living in the city, and then migrate to the city to start living with the relatives of husbands.

Also 33 women in this study claim that men in their family such as brother, husband, grandfather or father have the decision to migrate from rural to urban. However 17 women stated that urban life affect their life negatively and 10 women said that want to go back their village. On the other hand, the relationship between internal migration and gender is an important question since existing internal migration studies have showed that migration is a process experienced differently by women and men. Apart from the sex-selectiveness of migration, İpek& Pınar İlkkaracan (1999) argue that the differences between women and men in the migration process constitute division of labor in household and gender roles by shaping customs and traditions in a society.

Table 13. Migration

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	0	13	26,0	26,0	26,0
	Step by step	25	50,0	50,0	76,0
	Altogether	10	20,0	20,0	96,0
	I dont know	2	4,0	4,0	100,0
	Total	50	100,0	100,0	

Also the data (see Table 14) shows us that the most of the respondents, 96 percent, have relations with their same hometown people (hemsehri). This data indicates a very clearly the strong relationship among migrants and their hemsehri. In moving between rural and urban areas, migrants must seek to adapt to life in an environment where the pace of life may be much faster than that they may be familiar. On the other hand, the most of the migrants is likely to be very reluctant to return to the village in case of failing to achieve his/her objectives in spite of the difficulties of life in town (Gökçe, 1993). Because most rural families have relatives, neighbor and friend in the urban areas and a candidate migrant is much better informed about the opportunities for finding gainful employment at the place of destination because of the communication among them. Thanks to social networks, those who migrated earlier arrange housing or finding jobs for new migrants. One of the characteristics of this networking is that families from the same hometown (hemsehri) settle together in the same neighborhoods in the metropolitan areas to help in the initial process of adaptation after migration by providing mutual support (Altuntaş, 2001; Gökçe, 1993; Erman, 1998, Tatlıdil, 1989).

The shortsighted plans of the authorities about problems causing migration process enforce the social network between migrants. Therefore, migrants firstly have chosen to move near to the settlement of their relatives, villagers and/or tribal kin. Gecekondu dwellers generally apply to

informal ways and relations in urban life conditions of life through a long time because they can help them to find jobs and to build a squatter house (Erder 2000 in Keyder). The research of SPO (State Planning Organization) in 1991 indicates that the density distributions of the same hometown people (hemşehri) are %75 in Ankara, %73, 4 in İstanbul and %62, 1 in İzmir.

The feeling of solidarity among kin and co-villagers, which obstructs the integration mechanisms in urban conditions of life, is transferred from rural areas (Kıray, 1982). Günes-Ayata (1990:89) states that if migrants couldn't adopt the city life, they have strong relations with their relatives, kin and co-villagers to cope with difficulties in urban together and these solidarity groups are described as an acquiring identity mechanism. Moreover, Kalaycioglu and Rittersberger-Tiliç (2000) argue that the family and the networking of relatives are so important that their absence leads to downward social mobility. In this study, 48 participants state that they live with their relatives in the same neighborhood. One woman who is 67 years olds summarizes all discussion in the following words:

"We are living with our relatives and the same hometown people. We always live with the same people both in the village and in the city. Therefore I weren't constrained and I easily adapted here."

Table 14. Social Network

Do you have any relatives, acquaintances in your living place?		Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	0	1	2,0	2,0
	Yes	48	96,0	98,0
	No	1	2,0	100,0
	Total	50	100,0	

CHAPTER IV

PERCEPTION OF GENDER ROLES

In this chapter, I will examine findings of the interviews with 50 women. The main concerns of this chapter are to explore women's perceptional level regarding constructing gender roles by everyday activities in social relations. This chapter consists of four parts which are the perception of gender relations, marriage, work life and violence.

In the first part of this chapter, I will try to analyze the definition of gender and gender roles, sexual division of labor in the household, equality for both men and women and then their effects on children socialization. In second part, I will try to explore women's ideas with regards to their marriage practices and expectations. In the following part, I will investigate these women's standpoint concerning work life for women outside house. In the last part of this chapter, I will focus on women's definitions of violence and their viewpoints of violence in the family environment. Consequently, I will try to compare the differences between the old women and young women points of view with regards to age. Also I will analyze the effects of socialization process and patriarchy on the perception of gender roles.

4.1 The Perception of Gender

In the interviews, none of the women could define the question of "what is gender?" However, while most of women answered the question that "I don't know", some of them argue that gender is to become man and woman as biologically and one woman said that gender is homosexuality. As seen that, these women confuse the term gender, which means the culturally and socially constructed differences between females and males, with the term sex that refers to biological distinction between men and women. One is "biological" while the other represents its transformation into "culture". My approach to gender is to examine it as a social construction, which involves in the whole research process. Therefore, I argue that if people perceive the differences between men and women as the result of biological variety, the conditions of gender inequality can more difficult to change in the society. Because women can not notice the unequal distribution of wealth, power or resources unless they think the construction of gender inequality as a result of social, historical, political, economical and cultural dimensions of the society.

The biological differences between men and women determine the expectations from women and men in the society. In other words, gender roles are learned to be male or female in the society and they define what is expected from us on the basis of the difference. Gender roles are created and recreated in everyday interaction with social structure such as family, school, and media and so on. In respect with gender socialization, each of the agencies could reinforce the gender stereotypes**.**

Household Tasks

It was found that the perception of gender roles related to the relations in the household built wholly traditionally arranged as the assumption of traditional theories of gender that one's gender role is a naturally assigned. The major responsibility of women is mainly defined by

the household chores such as cooking, washing and cleaning and taking care of their children and husband. On the one hand, all of women in this study stated that men or their husband should look after their family and earn money. On the other hand; the only thing they expect from their husbands is responsibility-sharing for the children's problems. Also many men lack domestic skills such as, cooking, home-making or child-care skills because these are seen as womanly pursuits. The point of view regarding sexual division of labor in the household does not crucially differ for old women as compared to young women. While as a 30 years-old woman stated that "Women's main responsibility as a woman and mother is to sacrifice themselves for their husbands and children. Men must work hard, provide a good life and supply a good future for their children", a 63 years-old woman said that "Women are for serving their men, giving birth to and taking care of children. A man is also for earning money and looking after their households".

Although most of the young woman (18 women in this study) said that they want to do every household chore together with their husbands, most of old women (21 women in this study) don't agree with this idea. Young women demand more help from their husband than old women for domestic chores. Even if we can not argue that this situation is an indicator for altering sexual division of labor in the house, it is important detail in terms of the indicators of changing perceptional level regarding gender roles.

On the other hand, these young women argue that the meaning of sharing household chores is not equality in division of labor in the house. Because, it seems that the expectations from men in household chores is special to men's work such as repairing, whitewash and carrying coal and woods and they do not share the responsibility in other household chores. Also shopping is mainly defined as one of men's works in the house. As we seen that men do not allow women to do anything outside house because

there is a sharp division between the public and private sphere. As Davidoff (1998), men have acted within public realm and have moved freely both public and private spheres while women have been mostly restricted to the private sphere and they subjected to the authority of men within private sphere and so it seems that most of them afraid of taking place in public sphere. The statement of two women explains this situation clearly. A 30 years old woman said that "I cannot go to Kızılay[*] alone. Can a man and woman be equal? Everything can make trouble to woman outside. We are watching such things on TV everyday. If a woman has a good education, she can have a head for everything. I hardly finished primary school". In addition to this, a 25 years-young woman stated that "I cannot go outside of home until a couple of years ago. If a woman is young and beautiful, freedom is very difficult for her. Not only have my husband but also my mother-in-law and father-in-low got angry about going out of the house."

Child Care

Moreover, most of old women (21 women) state that growing children are defined in the responsibility of women because most of women argued that a woman was biologically born as mother. Compared to old women's and young women's ideas, it seems that there are not rigid differences. Even though half of young women said that taking care of children are both men's and women's duties, these women support the differences between men and women. Because a 28 years-old woman argued "women take care of children. On the other hand, men also should be interested in their children since an authority is necessary for them." In addition to this statement, a 27 years-old woman stated that "Taking care of children is responsibility of both women and men. However, men are not hygienic enough. For this reason, women must take care of children for their health and cleanliness. Nobody can bring up a child like a mother even if this is his/her father."

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[*] Kızılay is the city center of Ankara

As observed above, there is deep stereotypical ideology that only women can look after children. According to Erci (2005), this thinking is related with women's self-esteem. Women with low self-esteem consider motherhood as a way of compensating for their deficiencies and these women might believe that motherhood gives back self-worth through serving the needs of others. In fact, motherhood is a sublimate concept in cultural and social discourse. These kinds of perception and belief influence the effect of strengthening the gendered division of labor.

Also mentioned in Chapter 2, it seems that the social practices of women reinforce doing either "girl" or "boy" things. For example, pink and yellow for girls, blue and green for boys is "appropriate" colors; also doll for girls, gun or car for boys is "appropriate" stock of toys. The statement of a 37 years olds woman explains how gender roles expectations are constructed very early ages, "I differentiate clothes and toys purchasing for my son and daughter. I choose pink for my daughter and blue for my son. I beat my son if he plays with doll. I can never permit him."

While the perception of gender roles start with color-coded and gendered typed clothing of infants and children, the patterns of gender intensification increase as children get older. As far as Chodorow (1978)'s opinion about socialization of children is mentioned that the mother has primary role to produce a psychology and ideology of masculine dominance and feminine subordination. These kinds of perception, attitude and behavior for children are important in order to show the source of the reproduction of gender inequality. In fact, when the question of "From whom do you want help while doing housework: your daughter, son, husband, or other living in the house, from whom want to help most?" was asked women, 20 old women and 18 young women answered "I want help from my daughter" and they explain the reasons by gender roles. As seen that the viewpoints of two cohorts' women in the following sentences support the discussion above:

A 63 years-old woman, "I mostly ask my daughter for help while I am doing housework. Woman must be talented. For this reason, housework and handwork should be taught to daughters in early ages. Mother teaches such things at home so that they should not be in difficulty and slashed when they get married."

A 28 years old woman, "I mostly ask my daughter for help when I am doing housework. I want her to learn and get used to"

Gender Equality

With regard to the equality between men and women, the question – Can women be equal to men? - was asked women. The analyses for two cohorts' women did not yield rather different results. Because only 4 old women and 6 young women answered the question was "Yes" and the rest of participants (21 old women and 19 young women) said "No". Unequal power relations between men and women are crucial obstacle to gender equality. Also, peer pressure, socialization processes and belief systems influence adherence to gender-specific stereotypes. Ideas of the inferiority or superiority of either of the sexes, and of stereotyped roles for men and women not only limit progress in achieving gender equality, but also perpetuate inequalities.

A 64 years old woman, "Woman's responsibility is child and man's responsibility is woman in the life. Woman should serve her children and her husband."

A 37 years old woman, "Women can not be equal to men. Men should be like men and women should be like women.

According to the gender-specific stereotypes, men should be strong, rational, dominant, independent, less concerned with appearance and women should be weak, emotional, nurturing, dependent, and anxious about appearance. Therefore, there is strong belief that power is

associated with physical strength. The deep stereotyping concerning this belief makes difficult to change the mentality of women. In fact as a 56 years old woman, "woman can not be equal to men in all fields of life, for example man always superior from woman in terms of physical strength"

On the other hand, age had a positive effect on the equality. Young women had more complains than those with old women. Even though there is a huge gap between egalitarian attitudes and social practice, most of young women express the wish to be equal to men. However, they argued that if a woman willing to do so, both men and social network do not permit them being equal because of social and cultural pressure and stereotypes.

A 28 years old woman, "Man always wants to realize what he tell, how can woman be equal to men?"

A 27 years old woman, "Woman has never been equal to men because nobody interferes in man's business if he deceives or beats his wife that is consider as not important. Everyone thinks that man has rights to do everything. How woman can be equal to man in these conditions. If woman willing to be equal to man, neither man nor our social networks are not allow woman, especially if woman have been lived in shanty-town areas like us."

Accessing to Education

Also some women suggest that the prerequisite for equality between woman and man is education. Also 21 old women and 24 young women stated that "I want to have more education". For women, education is required to work outside the house, to go shopping and outside alone but particularly education can lead women to be equal to man.

A 30 years old woman, "Woman can not be equal to man in all fields of life, but woman should be equal to man in education"

A 38 years old woman, "Woman should be equal to man in education. Is education based on sexual segregation? I know that illiteracy is so hard in the life"

A 51 years old woman, "I wish to take education as much as I can go shopping alone."

The trend towards education equality generally has been increased to eliminate gender inequality. Old women who have more traditional thinking stress that man should have priority in education. Regarding the effects of patriarchy, these old women argued that men are the dominant sex and are expected to control the home environment. In this way, boys should firstly have education to look after their own family. Also, they emphasized the superiority of the boys over the girls. On the other hand young women have counter arguments compared to old women regarding educational equality. While a 63 years old woman argued that "boy should have priority in accessing education, he should be education and find job. Eventually he should look after his family; the boy is more important than the girl", A 35 years old woman claimed that "girls should have priority in education. In any case, boy can recover his life but if girl does not have education, neither has she had a job, nor she defenses her rights, so girls have smashed more than boys."

As this study indicates, gender roles are divided into the sexes and children learn their roles in terms of their sex in the family beginning from primary stage of socialization process. It is widely held that parents play a significant role in shaping a child's gender role behavior. Socialization process in the family is used as a production of patriarchal ideology. Two cohorts' women clearly define their roles in house or private sphere and their husband's role outside house or in public sphere. They state that the house is identified as a place that is "female" and caring as "female work". This does not only design the behavior within the household regarding sex, but also submit the gender inequality in terms of how they identify

themselves. As Morgan (1985), in general, the home is the site for the creation, reproduction and maintenance of patriarchal relations.

4.2 The Perception of Marriage

In this part, perception of two cohorts' women toward marriage were measured by four questions (1) How can be defined a good partner both for women and men?, (2) What expects a woman from her husband, (3) What expects a man from his wife?, and (4) How should be a good marriage?, it seems that answers of two cohort's women these questions, marriage is a system supported gender stratification in family.

Before answered these questions, I asked their marriage age and their ideas about suitable age to get marriage for their daughter or for a young girl. One common belief about marriage is that children, especially girls, married young and particularly most of old women support this belief. On the other hand, parents do not think that the children are too young to understand what is taking place. In some situations, marriages were indeed contracted at a young age, for reasons of property and family alliance. However, it seems in this study that the average age of marriage of young women was a bit older than that of old women. Because this study indicates that while the mean marriage age for old women is 16.80, the mean marriage age for young women is 17.32.

In addition to this, the ideas regarding suitable age to get married for a young girl or for their daughter differ for old women as compared to young women. The effects of urban life or more education level or age factors on young women can be argued the reasons of different ideas among two cohorts' women.

A 56 years-old woman stated that "I've got married with my uncle's son when I was 16 years old. I always have financial difficulties. My two children died in two years after they were born. Somebody told that the

reason for their death was because of relative marriage. However, I currently have three children. One of them is handicapped and the other two are very clever and healthy. I am very happy with my husband. Therefore, my daughter's got married with our acquaintance and far relative when she was 17 years old. If a girl is over 20 years old and still not married, men do not prefer them in my home town." Similarly, a 63 years-old woman said that "A girl must get married in 16-17 years old. She should learn his home and bed (she should adapt to her new life). If she gets married late, there cannot be peace in her family."

Even though some young women have got married early age, they have counter arguments regarding suitable age to get married. Because as a 28 years-old woman," I've got married when I was 15 years old. Both my husband and his family depressed me most. During this period, I did not answer whatever they said. I want my daughter to marry in 25 years old, to maturate, to take education and to be aware of life. I don't want her to slash similar to me." Also, a 30 years-old woman stated that "If a girl doesn't get married until 20 years old, they are seen to remain a spinster. However, a girl should not get married until 23-24 years old in my opinion. In order to take responsibility of marriage, I also want my daughter to get married in those ages".

As it is observed, there is a significant difference among two cohorts' women. Young women expressed their ideas as not to get married at such an early age and they have more positive approaches in terms of attitudes and perception of marriage than old women.

Marriage Type

Almost all young men and women have been well socialized to be culturally good spouses. Therefore, parents can arrange marriages with little thought about whether or not the two individuals involved are personally compatible because they know that the partners will be

culturally compatible. On the other hand, most of young people in city life choose their own mates. In fact, all old women in this study stated that their family decided their spouse and 21 old women are defined marriage type as "arranged marriage " but 4 old women said that they got married with "forced". However, while 17 young women who you lived in city before getting married defined their marriage type as "arranged marriage". Only two young women got married with forced and 6 young women who were born city got married through dating and falling in love. These results indicate that integration of the city life affects ideas about marriage type but some rigid traditional families need to time to alter the perception of marriage.

Becoming a Good Partner

When the question of "How can be defined a good partner both for women and men?" answered generally support unequal distribution of power in the family. As discussed Chapter 2, these essential power differences between men and women are reflected in the issues such as differential participation in household labor or participation in decision-making in the family. Also some women, particularly old women, accept subordinated position in the family with their statement in the following words,

A 63 years-old woman, "A woman doesn't respond to her man's every words. A woman should stand by her husband's word in order to be a good partner. Woman should be insightful for a good marriage. She shouldn't hear man's every word. She should know to remain silent. Woman should be modest."

A 37 years-old woman, "If you want to have a good marriage and your husband gets angry with anything, you will not respond to him. She should not opponent and to be gentle. It is necessary to be tactful otherwise marriage can not go on."

These women thought that talking too much with husbands is not an appropriate behavior for women. Instead, they should be submissive. All of these statements reflected gender-specific stereotypes. On the other hand, it can be argued that there is a difference between young women and old women to change this circumstance because most of young women complaint about obeys men's power in the family and they have given advises their girls. Even though, these women have male-dominated family structure and also there are some critics these women's resistance in their social network, it shows one of the perceptional changes among two cohorts' women.

A 38 years old woman stated that "If a man does not beat and bother his wife, a woman knows the way not to be writhed under insult. If you don't indulge your husband, you can be a good wife. Goodness does not have one side. Marriage, respect and love should be mutual. I was illiterate and did not have enough money. I writhed under insult. I did not have a good marriage. But, I always tell my daughters that they had to have your own life, work, earn your own money and never indulge your husbands." Also, a 26 years-old woman said that "I do not have a good marriage. My mother, family, neighbors and my mother-in-law always say that you can be a good wife, if you indulge and know to remain silent. Whereas, why everything happen like my husband want. In my opinion, everything should be solved by dialog. If my husband never break my heart, we can have a good marriage, can't we?"

Expectations from the Partner

When the question of "What expects a woman from her husband" was asked these women, 9 old women emphasize mostly their husband's breadwinner role and firstly they stated that women wanted to money and to live comfortable, but the rest of the participants said that women firstly wanted to respect affinity and love from their husband. On the other hand, the answers of "What expects a man from his wife?" question are so

strange because 40 out of 50 women stated that men wanted to service, whatever he want immediately women do and not to talk too much, especially not to complain the life conditions. Even one woman who is 51 years old stated that "My husband wants unlimited power and respect like king but when I criticize his irresponsibility behaviors, he angry me and shout me".

These answers show us not only power relationships but also a kind of alienation between spouses. The sexual division of labor in the family can not create family solidarity. Rather, sexual the division of labor is seen as one expression of family's problem. Because women feel worthlessness in the family and these women should obey decisions made by spouse. This situation affects women's self-esteem. As mentioned before, women afraid of go outside house as a result of their low self-reliance.

 Olson (1982) analyzes duofocality of family structure as a model of sexual separation which characterizes Turkish society in general. According to this model, the division of labor by sex in the marriage provides sexual satisfaction and a stable system for childbearing. Olson (1982) claims that marriage in Turkey does not involve in a highly "joint" relationship between the spouses compared to the ideal "Western" relationship between the spouses since men and women have different focal structures and practices each other. Even though Olson criticized many study to define as a patriarchal family structure of Turkish family, most women continue to lead less public life than men in Turkey because patriarchal extended family still is prevalent in Turkey.

Also, like conflict theorists arguments, the family as a social institution reflects inequalities in all social institutions. Because married women must perform domestic chores for their husband and this process is the present of the continuing interaction of two systems, capitalism and patriarchy with low status and low-paid jobs. Therefore, the origin of alienation between

spouses does not cope with these individuals, nor can the problems, it is created as a result of capitalism.

10 young women's answers to the question "What expects a man from his wife?" have more positive perception than old women because they said generally, respect, interest, love and what woman expects from her husband, or vice versa. The statements of these young women imply more equality between man and woman as perceptional level than old ones.

In fact, some young women (8 women) stated that love should be as the basis for marriage. But they also know that love is a less stable foundation for marriage than social and economic considerations. Therefore, when asked them the question of "How should be an example or good marriage", one 29 years-old woman who got married with her boyfriend stated that "I've got married with a man, who I felt in love. We talked along 5 years and came to an understanding about our life. If there is not enough money, a marriage can not be good, even if there is a love between man and woman. This makes trouble and the relationship frays in time. However, love has a priority in order to get married."

Extended Family

In addition to this, under patriarchal relations, the young bride lives with husband's family under control of her in-laws and other members of the household. At home, she works under the order of mother-in-laws. Also, they have limited rights to participate in household decision-making because of their husband's family. Also, these women have very low status and power and traditionally oppressed by the extended family-structure, particularly mother-in-law. One woman who is a 38 years old woman stated that "my husband and mother-in-law decide what purchased for home. My husband never asks me anything when we are together with my mother-in-law."

Also married couples have a difficult to separate their private relations with each other from their relations to their family to live for a long time. Therefore, women generally do not want to live close to their relatives in the city. Because when the question of "How should be an example or good marriage?" some women who had live or have lived with husband's family stressed their husband's family as a provision to have good marriage. For example, as a 28 years old woman, "if you don't live together with your mother-in-law and father-in-law, you can have a good marriage." Also a 47 years old woman said that "My mother and father in law have lived together with us when they died. Since they are parent, we always have guest in our home such as my sister-in-law and brother-in-law. If you live only with your husband and children, you can have a good marriage. You cannot hesitate when you say anything to your husband or children."

Generally speaking, it seems that there is also difference the perception of marriage in terms of definition of having good family for old women as compared to young women. Since, most of young women emphasized on respect, love and insightful each other between spouse, while old women stressed violence and respect for husband.

Marriage life has a profound effect on the reproduction of gender inequality and the perception of traditional gender roles. In the socialization process, parents have prepared their children to marry since early age. Therefore, our culture gives the young an idealized marriage, especially for women. In social and cultural discourse, marriage is the key to happiness and raising children is identified as one of life's greatest joys, especially for women. On the other hand, marriage is a system established on the assumption of a division of labor based on gender-role stereotypes. As mentioned Chapter 2, the traditional gender roles as arising out of the need to establish a division of labor between marital partners. Also dividing tasks between spouses are introduced functional for the family as a unit.

However, sexual division of labor between couples can be perceived to justify for male domination and gender stratification.

4.3 The Perception of Work Life

Women's lives are shaped by the responsibilities of traditional family. Also their roles shape women's work patterns, the type of occupation they work in and their earning. Most of old women define men as the "head of the family" and men must earn enough money to look after their own family. If women should work outside house, it depends on weakness of men, poverty or education level. Therefore, most of old women (20 women) express negative feeling about working outside house.

According to a 63 years old woman, "If you are very poor, women can work. Otherwise, there cannot be a relationship between work and women. A woman can face many things, which are hard put to it. If you have a good man, he can look after the household. He never sends his wife to work. My husband does not make me tired as sending me shopping." Moreover, A 65 years old woman stated that "God bless my husband that he never allowed me to work. My husband was very hard working, why I will work. A woman should not work out of the home. You can find food and bread in any case. Men bring food. Women should deal with home. Working women are not good women."

City Life and Work Life

According to modernization theory, urbanization is considered to be one of the most important factors leading to the improvement of the status of women because of providing more opportunities for women. However, women can not take control over their lives in urbanization as opposite to modernization theory (Kandiyoti, 1977, 1984, 1988; Berik, 1987; Afshar, 1985; Moghadam, 1992). Even, women in urbanization process has more disadvantageous position in terms of their roles connected with gender

since women in urban life have decreased amount of possibilities to work outside house because of patriarchal ideas, economic structure, educational level, etc. As a result, these women are marginalized both economically and socially in the society and gender inequality also reproduces in this process like other inequalities in capitalist system.

When women go out of the house and join the working life, women are defined as a cheap labor in labor market because of sex segregation. For this reason, some kind of jobs available to migrant women in the city are in low status, low paid and also generally without social security (Alpar & Yener, 1991). According to exploitation approach, capitalism supports the sex segregation approach with patriarchal ideas since women have important effects for capital accumulation (Gündüz-Hoşgör, 2001).

All of old women in this study migrated from rural place. While they were working outside the home in the village and village life for them meant "hard work" and "lot of work, they have negative ideas about work outside the home in the city. Also most of them stated that they have preferred to live in the city because city life is "comfortable" and "there is not a lot of work to be done in the city". Statements by participants are shown that women who can work outside the house in the rural place are difficult to be taken out of the house in urban place. Because women as unskilled worker can work in the village but urban place requires skilled worker because of industrialization or urbanization. Most of migrant women don't have enough qualification to find a job to have a respectable income in the city because they don't have enough education and qualification for labor market and those who work outside the house are exploited in the labor market. Therefore they are usually housewife in the city. It can be argued that these women have more disadvantage position in the city than in the village because they are highly dependent on their husbands both economically and socially. These women in marginalized position concentrate on domestic chores and their expectation from their husband

fulfill their breadwinner roles in the family. By this way, they reproduce patriarchal gender roles.

On the other hand, there is an important difference between two cohorts' women in terms of willing to work outside the house. Because when I asked them "do you want to work outside the home", 7 old women said "yes", while 23 young women answered this question "yes". It seems that young women want to work outside the home but they generally claimed that while there is not good job for their husband and well-educated people, it is difficult for them to find a good job which is regular, high-paid and with social security.

As seen before, especially in old women ideas, while patriarchal ways of thinking generally do not approve women's working outside the home, women's place is defined at the home and men is as the breadwinner. Also one old women stated that regarding women's working and earn money can be seen as a threat to the male breadwinner image and hence to men honor. A 65 year-old woman stated that "Women should work but they should earn money less than that of their husband. If a woman earns more money, this hits in her husband's pride."

Another relevant issue concerning women's position in the society is religion which contributes to create gender stereotypes. Islam also plays a significant role in reproducing patriarchal ideology by promoting segregation of men and women. A 63 years old woman said that "We are religious and conservative. In our environment, women cannot work. They work in house."

The Conditions of Work

Religion and traditional culture play a significant role in women's positions in the society by dictating women's seclusion and dependency on men. In the interviews, women, particularly old women, stated that there

should be two important conditions for women to work outside the home: education and poverty. Therefore many women who are mostly old women firstly endorse women's working outside the home when economic conditions necessitate such an activity. The conditions of work available to women are accepted only poverty conditions in the family. Also education, which is discussed details later, is also defined as a provision to women's work outside the house because education is perceived to increase respectability and social status of women in the community.

A 51 years-old woman, "If a woman is in very poor situation, she should work. Otherwise, women's place is their home."

A 67 years old woman, "Why a woman in a good condition wants to work instead of sitting in the home and taking care of children. In my opinion, no woman wants to work but she has to work instead of depending on anybody if she is poor."

A 65 years old woman, "To work is not for women if there is a man in the home. If they are educated or good career, they can work in that case. Women's work should be useful. Otherwise, it is unnecessary and ugly."

As understood these words, normative expectations for many old women have not changed with regard to gender roles and the reasons why "women don't work" because these women have never worked outside house in the city life. However, women who work in paid employment and outside house can notice that their status improves within family. Because a woman's decision-making power in the family directly affects relation with women's economic level.

A 52 years old woman, "We were poor when we came to city. My husband's family was poor. We've done everything with our own effort. I might work in that time but my husband never wanted me to work. One day, my husband said 'when you had started to work, our house didn't

have abundance'. It was also very hard situation for me to work. I've worked for my children. At the moment, I thought that working was a good decision. I have retired pay. I am well. My children have taken education and had good jobs. Women should work in case they are rich. They should have an assurance in life. They shouldn't face with financial difficulties in order ages."

A 65 years old woman, "A healthy woman must work in all conditions. They should never depend on their husbands. Woman, who earns money, becomes influential at home. She does not wait for husband's decision while purchasing something."

Although many theorists argued that if women's participation in the public sphere has been realized, men's roles within the home have been changing and men take an equal share of household chores. However, many survey indicated that there is a small ratio in men's involvement in household chores and men don't abandon the model of the breadwinner, so the responsibility for domestic chores is still expected to be women's. As Bolak (1997) suggests, working outside the home does not automatically improve women's positions in the house and it can not a way challenging the patriarchal ideology in the society because women's economic contribution to their families invisible. Also, paid work is seen as extension of women's traditional roles and activities so women start to work both in the house and outside the house and women have more disadvantage position under "double burden". The statement of 64 years old woman reveal clearly the dimensions of disadvantage positions, she said that "I've worked in field and as a maid servant for 15 years. However, I've never had a social security from these jobs. My boss hid me when social security officers came. I needed to work. I did not take notice of these kinds of things but I writhed under bad course of attitudes. My children were little at that time. I was working stranger's work until night and then I was working at home at night. I writhed under housework and taking care of

children. I still state that women should work. They should not trust on their man."

It can be seen that women do home-based work, but it is also found in outside work when women work as cleaners. The kind of jobs available to women in the city is low status and low paid also generally without social security due to their low educational level. However, if woman join the work life, they can develop more strategies than woman in the home for "bargaining with patriarchy" (Kandiyoti, 1988:275).

According to most of old women, the male head of household has to be hardworking, responsible and ready to sacrifice for others and women should be modest, server for their husband and children and arrangement of house. This definition concerning men and women as a role reminds us Marxist-feminist discussion with related to capitalism. Because the perception of women role in the society reproduce not only patriarchy but also capitalism by preparing men for work such as to be fed, clothed and so on , and by bringing up the next generation of workers with having children. Patriarchal ideology and capitalism are supported to each other by helping these kinds of perception. On the other hand there is perception of work life have some symptoms as positive change in the perception of young women as compared to the perception of old women because most of young women state that women should work unconditional. Economic necessity, or poverty and education can be said as main reasons but self-esteem and self-efficiency are also claimed as reasons to women's work outside the house.

A 26 years old woman, "Surely, women should work. They become free and increase their self-respect to themselves but also they become a little bit social"

A 29 years old woman, "Women should work in all cases even if they are very rich. So, they learn how to stand on their own legs. They have self-confidence."

A 28 years old woman, "If women work outside the house, their psychology gets better because of feeling self-efficiency

4.4 The Perception of Violence

Regarding the perception of violence was firstly asked women "What is violence" because it is an important initiative to describe which any act is identified as an act of violence. All women accepted broad definition of violence which includes both physical and psychological violence and they stated that violence covers from hitting every part of the body to and slapping to insulting, slashing or cursing and feeling nervous with you or shouting when you are together with other people. Although some people argued that hitting only hands or foots of children is not violence, it is only punishment for discipline, most of women (41 women) said that hitting only hands or foots of children is also defined as violence. As a matter of the fact that one woman was conceptualized violence perfectly, the woman who is a 30 years old woman mentioned that, "If you hit to hands or face, they are all same and give pain."

Although physical violence is faced as a fact, psychological violence is difficult to be defined as clear as those on physical violence for women. Therefore, the respondents take violence in the first place as a physical act. One woman who is so often and immensely subjected to violence claimed that verbal violence is not defined as violence because the verbal violence is in a continuous process of reconstruction in her private's life. The women who is a 37 years old woman argued that, "Slashing and getting angry are not violence. Violence can no be committed with words. If you beat or hit, these can be accepted as violence."

However, the evaluation on outcomes of in-dept interviews conducted with 50 women show that psychological violence are designed as equal as physical violence in the perception of most of two cohorts' women because 23 old women and 23 young women said that both of violence is equally bad and damage people. A 50 years old woman mentioned that, "being scolded and beaten are the same when together with strangers. Both of them bother and hurt." Likewise, a 36 years old woman said that "Everything which is done by anger is violence. If a person bothers someone both physically and verbally, he/she can expose violence to others."

Beating

Moreover, the definition of beating is asked these women because of examining their experiences. 26 women defined beating as hitting, 15 women as hurting, 7 women as violence and two young women as a weakness. As a 29 years old woman, "Weedy people beat other people. For example, have educated and cultured people's children or wives ever beaten? As far as you are concerned as educated and cultured person, you could beat someone. In my opinion, violence is a way applied by illiterate people."

When I asked them "have you ever been beaten in your life", all of them answered this question "yes" either in family or in school or by friends. As a result of the answer, it can be argued that violence or beating is as a kind of behavior or attitudes which emanate from social relationships by the agents of socialization.

As mentioned Chapter 2, individuals are harmed more likely by their family than by anyone else because violence in the family is normative in its nature to abandon socially unacceptable behaviors and to produce a mechanism for disciplining the child in terms of social and cultural norms. Also, parents and men have rights on children and women because they

are ownership of children and spouses in the culture. Due to family life perceived in private sphere by cultural norms, violence in the family are permitted and accepted as a "normal" behavior. In fact, one of participants who is 56 years old in this study stated that "Someone's partner, mother, father can both love and beat someone. But the others have no right to beat." In addition to this, a 63 years old woman revealed that "They are right to beat to make me well-mannered. However, people cannot be beaten if they are married. For this reason, my husband did not have right to beat me. However, I have deserved to be beaten a couple of times for responding my husband when I was young."

Husband's Violence

Violence reflects traditional gender roles which bear the effects of the traditional value of the society persist. As Walby (1990) suggests, violence indicates differences between men and women because violence is defined as a mechanism in the subordination of women by the men and some men do habitually use violence to assert their authority. In this study, 19 old women and 8 young women stated that they were so often exposed to violence by their husband. 6 old women and 15 young women said that they were one or two times subjected to physical violence but mostly psychological or verbal such as to make fun of women's appearance, insulting, slashing or cursing and feeling nervous with you or shouting when you are together with other people. Also 2 young stated that they have never been exposed to physical violence but they also argued that they sometimes quarrel their husbands. One women's violence experience was so terrible because she damaged very much from her husband's violence. She who is a 63 years old woman told that "I hurt my back; I had problems with my eardrum. I've never forgot how my husband treated me. We've lived and ended. These are all fate and we cannot change. My husband did not have a regular job. There were youth and illiteracy. After my eardrum problems, he's never beaten me hard since I lost

consciousness. He thought and was afraid of I died. However, we are now happy. We got older and he became quiet. He has never beaten me for 10 years."

When I asked "Have you ever believed that your husband has right to beat you and you are guilty? Although many women do not find themselves guilty in some sense in their inner worlds when they experience such events, some women believe that they are guilty in their inner worlds but they don't want to share these feelings to prevent violence or in some way rationalize the behavior and attitude of husband. As being subject to violence, they seem to be passive or regard such acts as routine things which happen to anybody in the marriage.

A 47 years old woman, "I've remained silent not to give a raise to problem when he slashed and beat me. However, I've never found him rightful. If I beat him, he could find me rightful. Is there any right like beating right? We've been living with my mother-in-law when my children were little. I sometimes beat my children for being indulged by my mother-in-law. I feel very sad when I thought those days. At the moment, I never beat my children. It was ignorance. People could not think everything when they were young."

A 30 years old woman, "Man beating his wife is illiterate. My husband beat be a lot until 7-8 years before. He was young and illiterate. Now, he became mature. Sometimes, he beat me again. But, what can I do? I know that this will also end one day. In fact, I have a good marriage. There is no marriage free of problems, isn't there?"

On the other hand, the expressions below reveal that when they look at the acts from the window of their experience, some of women don't bother much about husband's power. Even they endorse the superiority of men in the family and some women believe that their husband has rights on their body and life. Therefore, they believed that their husband can be

beaten them if they need such events. Statements by participants clearly reveal that women are under the influence of traditional norms and rule patterns of the society. These are also clear examples showing how the system reproduces itself and how patriarchy is more dominant than woman's dignity as a person in the society.

A 26 years old woman told that "My husband is excellent at all. I try to deserve his excellence. However, he has beaten me a couple of times for responding him when he was nervous. On the other hand, I also got nervous about my husband when we are together with other people. In fact, I deserved to be beaten." Like this young women, a 67 years old woman stated that "My husband has right to beat me. He is man. If I do not make mistakes, do not deserve to be beaten, he will not beat me." Also a 63 years old woman said that, "My husband can beat me if I am guilty."

Another important point is that, these kinds of perception for violence affect mostly women in the family because traditional values in patriarchal family system extend "the right of violence" in the family, especially extended family. In this study, 22 women stated that apart from their husband, they are exposed to the members of their husband's family such as mother-in-law, father-in-law, brother-in-law and some relatives in the family or their husband is subjected to their wife because of the other members of family.

A 38 years old woman, "My husband has beaten me for other's gossip about us. My mother-in-law was prompting my husband to bear me. He used to beat me hard. But, it does not get purple now."

A 65 years old woman, "I've been beaten by my mother, father-in-law and brother-in-law when I was in village. At the moment, I don't want to talk about. I tolerated a lot of things since I was young. Thanks to God for now"

Violence to Children

Most women pointed out that violence is the necessity of restricting children behavior in order to teach children good manners. Therefore, children are also exposed to physical and psychological violence by their mothers. As Gelles & Straus (1979) states, there is a consistent relation between exposure to violence in childhood and appearing of those same attitudes in adults. When most of women in this interview have been subject to violence since they were childhood, they used violence behaviors as a learned response. The explanations of two women support the arguments of Gelles & Straus because on woman who is a 25 years old woman said that "My mother has been beating me since I was aware of myself. She beat me when I was engaged and preparing for marriage. If my children don't obey my words or I hear a complaint from school or neighbors, I beat them at that moment. But, it is not so often. It is just one in a month." The other woman who is a 68 old woman said that, "I beat my children to teach them right."

Also, violence consists of unequal power relationships and it means a type of attempt of powerful to impose their dominance on weak. Therefore, there is no difference between the violence of men on women and the violence of women on children. Therefore two women stated that apart from discipline of them, they have beaten their children because of having more power than the children. It seems that violence causes psychological damage as something overlapping with psychological violence.

A 35 years old woman stated that "when I got angry somebody, I didn't control my nerves and I beat my children beforehand. But now, I try not to beat them."

A 30 years old woman said that "when my husband beat me, I hit him and I throw something which are found my around. Sometimes if I didn't control my nervous and beaten my husband, I beat my children. I know

that these kinds of things are not good but I have a bad marriage with my husband. I couldn't divorce him. What can I do with two children?"

Violence is a mechanism which contributes to the reproduction of patriarchal relationships. Men's power is strengthen by violence in the family. However, as mentioned before, the ideas about the superiority of men from women are learned in socialization process. In fact, as a 65 years old woman, "I have two daughters and one son. I beat my daughters a lot but my son was one and only. I could never misbehave to him. I sometimes bothered my son but I never beat him."

As a conclusion, violence is a mode of relationship in all participants' life in this study. We can not clear differences between two cohorts' women regarding age but there are two important points which give a hint about change in the perceptional level. First finding is that young women reject all dominance in their perception and viewpoints of violence more than old women. The question I asked was "Do you believe that someone has right to beat you?" The interviews pointed to the fact that there has been a differentiation among women's perception about violence. While 11 old women answered this question as "yes", 5 young women said "yes". From that figures, it can easily be understood that there is positive correlation between women's age and their perception of violence. Also it show us that women, particularly young women (20 women), do not tend to rationalize violence in their life. On the other hand, even if some of women, especially young women, have to subject to the domination of men on their wife in their real life; at least, they believe that they do not deserve such treatment at all.

Another finding was that age happens to be a variable which affects women's willingness to talk about the relations with their husbands or not. The young women seemed more willing to discuss their marital relationships in terms of violence whereas the older ones were reluctant to disclose information about their marriages. These differences can be helped

100

to start the discussion of domestic violence as a public problem. Because family as a private sphere is so difficult sphere to enter and women has drawback to talk about being subject to violence from their husband in the family. The main reasons are that they think to be exposed to violence more and to define marriage as an intimate life.

Violence reflects one of the parts of inequalities in the system. The inequality between men and women is not subject to be solved independent from class inequality. Therefore, violence is a result of patriarchal power relationships as well as the production of capitalist unequal relationships

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

Gender is embedded in the images, ideas, and language of a society. Gender is also used as a means to divide up work, allocate resources, and distribute power. As it was discussed in theoretical chapter extensively, the source of gender inequality is possible to explore in three main concepts: gender roles, socialization and patriarchy. There are some different approaches in these concepts that appraised the reasons of gender inequality within social dynamics. As a result, literature review shows that there is a gender stereotype for men and women and gender inequality is one of unequal power relationships with men in a dominant position over women. Stereotypes are representative of a society's collective knowledge of customs, myths, ideas, religions, and sciences. It is within this knowledge that an individual develops a stereotype or a belief about a certain group. Gender specific stereotypes is a part of socialization process and gendered socialization is used to recognize the inequality because it produces and reproduces the difference between men and women by means of family, school, media and so on. In socialization process, as seen the survey, women's continuing performance of domestic work for children,

men and elderly relatives is a striking continuity not only in rural place but also in urban place.

The gender roles differences in the socialization process emanate from patriarchy so it can be argued that patriarchy strengthen gender inequality. However, patriarchy has mutual relationships with capitalism to create gender inequality because both patriarchy and capitalism provide benefits from the exploitation of women and their disadvantageous position in labor market, generally in the house or public and private sphere.

In this study, I tried to formulate general tendency of the perception of gender roles in the discussion of these concepts. The perception of gender roles were conceptualized with gender roles, marriage, work life and violence perception of two cohorts' women.

The aim of the study was to analyze whether there is a change in the perception of gender roles between two cohorts women. In order to reach this aim, I conducted in-dept interviews with 25 old women and 25 young women lived in three shanty-towns, which are Battal Gazi, Sahintepe and Boztepe neighborhoods in Ankara. Two cohort women have been living either in the same house or close to their houses each other. The relationships of twelve women are daughter-mother; thirteen women are daughter-in-law and mother-in-law. Participants are similar to each other with respect to social status and class.

The general conclusions that are drawn from this survey indicate the possible tendencies of the perception of gender roles among two cohorts' women. In general, the analyses showed that, young women respondents have more egalitarian perception on gender roles. I present the conclusion of the survey in four parts which are the perception of gender, marriage, work life and violence.

The first conclusion is that two cohorts' women have traditional gender roles and most "sex differences" are socially constructed "gender differences". On the other hand, when they increase more and more integration to the city life and increase the education level, the perception of gender roles start to change and construct new expectations about the relationships between men and women. Perceptional change may not affect directly social life, but perception can be the first step to create behavioral change. When the perception of old women is compared to the perception of young women concerning gender roles, there are important differences among them. Firstly, young women in this study have more positive perception to do every domestic chore together with their husbands. Also most of young women stated that both women and men have same responsibility for taking care of children. Even though, young women stressed social and cultural control are high over them because they have been living shanty-town and half of women have been living with their husband' family in the same family, the general tendency of young women is more egalitarian about the relationships between men and women. Also young women support their daughter's education because they don't want their daughters to live a dependent life similar to theirs and saw education as a safe way to achieve independence.

Secondly, most of young women as compared to old women contradict to marry such an early age and a type of arranged marriage. Especially young women who take more education such as graduated from secondary and high school and have more integration of city life emphasized that love is the basis of marriage. Another importance difference between young and old women in the perception of marriage is that most of young women emphasized on respect, love and insightfulness to the spouses in order to have a good marriage, while old women stressed violence and respect for husband.

On the other hand, for both old and young women, such stereotypes continue to place greater value, on the role of men in public life and in the work place, as opposed to women's role in unpaid family labor, care giving and community work. Stereotypic behavior is learned, transmitted, and changed by information that is received from the sources such as parents, peers, teachers, political or religious leaders and the mass media because it is result of the socialization process as well. Also, two cohorts' women showed similar behavior to support gendered socialization process because children's clothing and toys reflect their parents' gender expectations and children are often assigned household tasks according to gender.

The perception of gender roles and marriage can easily be understood through the lens of the household with the emphasis on intrahousehold inequalities in terms of access to both resources and power. Therefore, the tasks, duties and relationships of women and men within the household arranged as gender-specific stereotypes. The family and marriage is one of the important institutions to produce patriarchal relationships in the society. Moreover, the place of women in the household affected negatively the conditions of their participation in the non-domestic production process. However, if women can join work life outside the home, the changing socio-economic status of women may contribute to the development of gender equality in the household.

Thirdly, there is an important difference between two cohorts' women in terms of willing to work outside the house and most of young women want to work outside the home as compared to old women. On the other hand, women don't have merged labor market in the city because of the effects of patriarchal ideology and the conditions of jobs available to women, namely, insecure, low-paid jobs. Although young women in this study in general are more positive to women's labor market participation and less favorable of the traditional division of labor between men and women than old men are, they don't have enough qualification for labor

market in the city. At the same time, even if men don't have enough qualification and education, they have to find job in informal sector because the fact that he is "head of family".

In this study, while most of old women mainly claimed women can work outside the home, only these conditions are poverty, the weakness of men' power, education, almost all of young women added them two reasons to work outside the home: self-esteem and self-efficiency of women. The last two concepts are important because if women have high self-esteem and self-efficiency in the household, it indicates that women have decision-making power in the family. The importance of decision-making processes within household is drawn attention because the decision making processes within household serve to structure the distribution of rights, resources and responsibilities among members in systematically different ways. On the other hand, this study about decision-making process indicates that women who have lived in the shanty-towns do not move away from traditional and patriarchal authority in the city and they can not empower to exercise greater autonomy over their own lives because of extended family structure and traditional social network.

Moreover, education was emphasized by the participants. The reason for emphasizing on education is to deal with one of the effects on modernization project of Turkey. According to Cindoğlu & Toktaş (2002:33), "women, in Turkey modernization project, were not only to be emancipated from the traditional restrictions to education and work, but also to take active roles in modeling the society as a whole." Although, traditional gender roles are not interrogated by the state and gender equality into workplace culture are not built in social practices, the state try to create a modern outlook with law and political policies and women have been encouraged to attend education and to join work and social life.

As Arat (1994) states, in all of these modernism movements, the state indicated that marriage and children are the national duties of

women. The women who are wives and mothers have been expected almost exclusively to fulfill the domestic roles of physical and emotional care of their husbands and children. Therefore, with the encouragement of women in education, work and social life, gender equality can not be created with modernization project because the clear-cut gender roles differences in patriarchal society is not questioned, even in perceptional level.

In my opinion, the relationship between the state and the family, related to social policy, family policy, taxation policy, day care provision, employment legislation etc. is important for women's choice between housework and employment. Also, all state policy are arranged to change on the gender values expressed in people's attitudes towards women's labor market participation and towards the division of labor between men and women. Because the engagement of women in achieving gender equality requires much greater attention to gender stereotypes and expectations about women's roles and responsibilities and how these expectations influence female behavior.

Lastly, when the perception of violence is compared between old women and young women, almost all of them are exposed to physical or psychological violence. On the other hand, it seems that verbal or psychological violence loses ground while its physical dimension expands. Also, violence, especially verbal type of violence is used as a discipline mechanism which emanate from social relationships by the agents of socialization. Therefore, violence in the culture seems "normal behavior". But keeping in the minds, violence begets violence. In fact, all women stated that they beaten their children and the reasons of their violent behaviors on their children explain the same rationalities such as discipline to learn good manner and so on.

However, there are two important differences between young and old women in terms of the perception of violence. First one is young women

have more reaction against their husband's violence than old women have. Second difference is that young women are more willing to talk about their husband's violence in the household than old women do. Therefore these differences can be helped to start the discussion of domestic violence as a public problem.

Violence continues to be a serious social problem, especially in women's life. As a result, gendered socialization and patriarchal ideology have negative consequences on the person life. Therefore, policy implications should include educational programs designed to sensitize parents, teachers and media programs to the adverse effects of gender role socialization.

As a conclusion, all participants in this survey stated that "our children have not lived similar to us". This statement should take as a demand to change and education and political policies should be arranged to create gender equality. In capitalism, it can not be argued that gender equality can completely exist. Because the inequality between men and women is not subject to be solved independent from class inequality or other inequalities in the system.

There are some deficiencies that need to be mentioned in regard to the aim and framework of this study. The first shortage that this study has is relevant to the perception of men concerning gender roles. In this study, the survey includes only the perception of two cohorts' women because discrimination against women is widespread not only Turkey but also all over the world. However, it's obvious that there is need of further surveys that are concerned with how men perceive the gender roles; conceptualize the differences between men and women and patriarchal relationships compared with women. Also, if men don't simultaneously have changed with the perception of gender roles with women, it is difficult to eliminate gender inequality in the public and private spheres. Therefore, if the perception of men concerning gender roles can be measured and discussed

as compared to the perception of women, new approaches and solutions for this problems can be created.

The second point that should be mentioned relates to every component that constituted the framework of this thesis. In order to draw a general picture that shows the perception of gender roles among two cohorts women, many variables are constructed as the subject of this thesis. Gender, marriage, violence and working life that were analyzed with related to the perception of gender roles indicates different and important dimensions of gender roles so there is a need for surveys that will examine these sub-questions as a distinct subject. As mentioned before, the main aim of this study is that general tendencies about the perception of gender roles can be formulated. Hopefully, this study can be reached the main aim by raise potential questions for further studies.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Questionnaire Form

A. Demographic/Personal Information

1. Place of Birth:

2. Age -Last completed age:

3. The place you've lived until 12 years old:

( ) Village   ( ) Town   ( ) District

( ) Small City   ( ) Metropolitan City

4. Marriage Form:

( ) Only formal marriage

( ) Only religious marriage

( ) Both formal and religious marriage

( ) Unmarried

5. How long have you been married?

6. Age of marriage?

7. Marriage Type:

( ) Arranged marriage   ( ) Voluntary   ( ) Compulsory

8. The place where you have lived before you got married?

9. How many children do you have?

( ) Daughter...........   ( ) Son ....

10. What is the age of your oldest child?

11. What is your educational status?

( ) Illiterate

( ) literate

( ) Primary school

( ) Secondary school

( ) High school

( ) Vocational High School

( ) University

( ) Vocational Course

( ) Other

12. Do you have any social security?

( ) Yes ( ) No

13. If you have a social security, from which institute

( ) SSK ( ) Bağkur ( ) Emekli Sandığı ( ) Other/ Specify

14. Do you have green card?

( ) Yes ( ) No

B. Income Information

15. What is your current occupation?

( ) Not working out of house and not have a job to support household budget

( ) Have an activity in home to support household budget

( ) Worker

( ) Regular employee

( ) Retired

( ) Other/ Specify

16. What are the sources of your income?

( ) Only my husband is working

( ) Only I am working

( ) Both I and my husband are working

( ) Our children are working

( ) My husband's family is supporting us with money

( ) My family is supporting us with money

( ) My husband's family and my family are sending as food supplies for winter

( ) Our relatives are supporting us

() We are having help from government and NGO's (Please specify type of help if you are concerned)

17. What is your monthly income?

18. What is the type of your house?

( ) Gecekondu/Shanty house   ( ) House

( ) Apartment   ( ) Other/ Specify

19. Does your house, which you have been living, belong to you?

( ) It belongs to us

( ) Rent

( ) It belongs to our family

20. How many people have been staying permanently in the house?

21. Which of the furniture below exist in your house?

( ) TV (number)

( ) Washing machine (automatic/rolling)

( ) Dish machine

( ) Music set

( ) Oven

( ) Other /Specify

C. Perception of Migration and Historical Information

22. How long have you been living in Ankara?

23. Have you ever lived in a big city before?

( ) Yes, if yes, where?   ( ) No

24. Why did you migrate?

25. Why did you migrate to Ankara?

26. Who made the decision to migrate? How?

27. Did whole family migrate together or step by step?

28. Did you have any acquaintances, friends, hemsehri or relatives, if yes, did your relatives, hemsehri or friends help you when you migration?

29. Did you have land, house, and garden in your living place before migration? Do you still have them?

30. Has your husband ever gone to another city to work as a seasonal or temporary worker before migrating here?

31. Do you have any relative, hemsehri or acquaintance in your living place? How often do you meet them if you have?

32. You think whether staying in Ankara or returning your place of origin? What is your opinion now?

33. Generally, how are affected your family and each individual in your family by migration?

34. Where do you have much more acquaintance or relatives: your living place or your husband's working place?

35. Does migration change the expectations from women and men as far as you concerned? Has migration changed in your life?

36. Have your husband's expectations from you changed since you came to Ankara?

( ) Wants you to work

( ) Interrupting your relationships with your neighbor more

( ) Expressing resemblance of someone to you or you to someone

( ) Generally your husband attitudes

37. Are you happy to migrate and come to Ankara? Why?

D. Gender Perception

38. What is your duty as a wife and mother? What is your role as a woman?

39. What is your husband's duty as a husband and father? What is his role as a man?

40. Do you know what gender is?

( ) Yes   () No   ( ) I don't know

41. Are men or women open to changes more?

42. Which field does a woman expect to be equal?

( ) Men   ( ) Education   ( ) Wearing

( ) Salary   ( ) Social Life   ( ) Every field

43. Can women be equal to men?

44. Who has been responsibility about growing child, woman, man or both?

45. To what do you pay attention while purchasing or giving toys to your daughter or your son? What kind of toys do you purchase?

46. Does your husband do any housework? (Repairing something, cooking, taking care of children or shopping)

47. From whom do you want help while doing housework: your daughter, son or husband, from who want to help most?

48. Do you want to do housework together with husband if he wants to help everything in house? Are you satisfied this situation?

49. Is there anything only to do with your husband? (Watching TV, chatting, walking together. etc)

E. Perception pf Marriage

50. How can be defined a good partner both for women and men?

51. What expects a woman from her husband?

52. What expects a man from his wife?

53. How should be an example or good marriage?

54. Which age is suitable to get married for a young girl? Why?

55. Which age did your daughter get married or you want her to marry? Why?

56. Do you want a marriage like your parents'? Why?

57. How do you find your marriage?

F. Violence Tendencies

58. What is violence?

() Slapping

() Insulting, slashing or cursing

() Hitting every part of the body?

() Feeling nervous with you or shouting when you are together with other people?

() All of them

() Other /Specify

59. Which kind of violence is the worse: verbal, physical or both?

60. Have you ever exposed to violence?

() Yes   () No

61. Who exposed you to violence, if you face to violence?

( ) Husband   ( ) Mother   ( ) Father

( ) Children   ( ) Grandmother/ mother-in-law

( ) Grandfather/ father-in-law   ( ) Neighbor

( ) Relatives   ( ) Friend   ( ) Other

62. What does beating mean?

63. Have you ever been beaten?

( ) Yes (how often, how, when, what was the reason?)

( ) No

64. Do you believe that someone has right to beat you?

65. Has your husband ever exposed you to violence?

( ) Yes, if yes, how often, how, when, why?

( ) No

66. Have you ever believed that your husband has right to beat you and you are guilty? If yes why?

67. Is your husband or your father more insightful, tolerant, and lovely?

68. Are you or your mother more insightful, tolerant and lovely?

69. Have you ever exposed violence to your children or beaten them? If yes, why?

G. Working Life

70. Should a woman work out of home in payment for? Why?

71. Do you want to work?

( ) Yes

( ) No (what is the reasons for not working?)

72. Have you ever worked anywhere?

( ) Yes (where? how long?   ( ) No

H. Future Expectation

73. What do you change in your life, if you are given a chance?

74. Did you want to have education?

75. Did you want to have a job?

76. What did you want to become when you were child? Why?

77. What do you want your children or grandchildren to become by the time they will have grown? Why?

APPENDIX B

Socio-Economical Development Level for Cities in Turkey (2003, DPT- Regional Development)

License Tag	Cities in Turkey	Socio-Economical Development Level in 81 Cities in Turkey	Socio-Economical Development Indexs
1	ADANA	8	0,94901
2	ADIYAMAN	65	-0,77647
3	AFYON	44	-0,27246
4	AĞRI	80	-1,28116
5	AMASYA	39	-0,18591
6	ANKARA	2	3,31483
7	ANTALYA	10	0,91480
8	ARTVİN	43	-0,26018
9	AYDIN	22	0,42025
10	BALIKESİR	15	0,56540
11	BİLECİK	18	0,50429
12	BİNGÖL	76	-1,12469
13	BİTLİS	79	-1,15736
14	BOLU	14	0,60860
15	BURDUR	31	0,14395
16	BURSA	5	1,67890
17	ÇANAKKALE	24	0,36924
18	ÇANKIRI	59	-0,51917
19	ÇORUM	46	-0,32761
20	DENİZLİ	12	0,71624
21	DİYARBAKIR	63	-0,66993
22	EDİRNE	16	0,56234

23	ELAZIĞ	36	-0,10131
24	ERZİNCAN	58	-0,49288
25	ERZURUM	60	-0,53286
26	ESKİŞEHİR	6	1,10368
27	GAZİANTEP	20	0,46175
28	GİRESUN	50	-0,36696
29	GÜMÜŞHANE	71	-0,92501
30	HAKKARİ	77	-1,13956
31	HATAY	29	0,19613
32	ISPARTA	28	0,21187
33	MERSİN	17	0,51934
34	İSTANBUL	1	4,80772
35	İZMİR	3	2,52410
36	KARS	67	-0,81944
37	KASTAMONU	51	-0,37558
38	KAYSERİ	19	0,47748
39	KIRKLARELİ	11	0,86287
40	KIRŞEHİR	42	-0,22870
41	KOCAELİ	4	1,94329
42	KONYA	26	0,25254
43	KÜTAHYA	40	-0,20684
44	MALATYA	41	-0,22627
45	MANİSA	25	0,34165
46	K.MARAŞ	48	-0,34968
47	MARDİN	72	-0,98944
48	MUĞLA	13	0,71238
49	MUŞ	81	-1,43956
50	NEVŞEHİR	34	-0,07483
51	NİĞDE	49	-0,35582
52	ORDU	62	-0,64489
53	RİZE	37	-0,17840
54	SAKARYA	23	0,40404
55	SAMSUN	32	0,08791
56	SİİRT	73	-1,00644
57	SİNOP	57	-0,48518
58	SİVAS	53	-0,40597
59	TEKİRDAĞ	7	1,05893
60	TOKAT	61	-0,59010
61	TRABZON	38	-0,18582
62	TUNCELİ	52	-0,40003
63	ŞANLIURFA	68	-0,83158
64	UŞAK	30	0,16867
65	VAN	75	-1,09297
66	YOZGAT	64	-0,71652
67	ZONGULDAK	21	0,44906

68	AKSARAY	56	-0,45183
69	BAYBURT	66	-0,80176
70	KARAMAN	35	-0,09852
71	KIRIKKALE	33	0,05851
72	BATMAN	70	-0,90456
73	ŞIRNAK	78	-1,13979
74	BARTIN	55	-0,41550
75	ARDAHAN	74	-1,07318
76	IĞDIR	69	-0,89089
77	YALOVA	9	0,93541
78	KARABÜK	27	0,21332
79	KİLİS	54	-0,41175
80	OSMANİYE	47	-0,33321
81	DÜZCE	45	-0,27995

APPENDIX C

The Socio-Economic Development Index of

Ranked City Groups (SPO, 2003)

1st Level Developed Cities	2nd Level Developed Cities	3rd Level Developed Cities	4th Level Developed Cities	5th Level Developed Cities
İSTANBUL	ESKİŞEHİR	BİLECİK	KASTAMONU	TUNCELİ
ANKARA	ANTALYA	AFYON	ÇORUM	ADIYAMAN
İZMİR	TEKİRDAĞ	EDİRNE	GİRESUN	KARS
KOCAELİ	ADANA	AMASYA	ARTVİN	GÜMÜŞHANE
BURSA	İÇEL	KARAMAN	ERZİNCAN	BAYBURT
	MUĞLA	RİZE	SİVAS	BATMAN
	AYDIN	ZONGULDAK	AKSARAY	MARDİN
	BALIKESİR	KIRŞEHİR	K.MARAŞ	VAN
	KIRKLARELİ	ÇANAKKALE	BARTIN	SİİRT
	KAYSERİ	SAMSUN	TOKAT	IĞDIR
	DENİZLİ	ISPARTA	ÇANKIRI	HAKKARİ
		MALATYA	SİNOP	BİTLİS
		MANİSA	ORDU	ARDAHAN
		USAK	ERZURUM	BİNGÖL
		KONYA	DİYARBAKIR	AĞRI
		TRABZON	YOZGAT	ŞIRNAK
		GAZİANTEP	ŞANLIURFA	MUŞ
		ELAZIĞ		
		HATAY		
		NEVŞEHİR		
		SAKARYA		
		KÜTAHYA		
		BOLU		
		BURDUR		
		KIRIKKALE		