

WOMEN'S CHANGING EXPERIENCES WITH PATRIARCHY DURING
RURAL TRANSFORMATION OF TURKEY: A CASE STUDY IN A
CENTRAL ANATOLIAN TOWN AVANOS

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ABSTRACT

WOMEN’S CHANGING EXPERIENCES WITH PATRIARCHY DURING RURAL TRANSFORMATION OF TURKEY: A CASE STUDY IN A CENTRAL ANATOLIAN TOWN AVANOS

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This thesis is a qualitative study on women’s changing patriarchal experiences after 1980s during rural transformation process of a central Anatolian district – Avanos- from a feminist perspective. The main argument of this research that patriarchy and capitalism are the main sources of women’s oppression today, and a change in one affects the other closely. According to the findings of the research, the organization, control and intensity of both productive and reproductive labour of women determine the patriarchal experiences in their life-cycle. Although the rural transformation process enables women to expand their mobility, increase their agency and gain autonomy albeit limited in terms of education, marriage and employment patterns one cannot mention women’s liberation from patriarchy without a revolutionary change in the nature of gender division of labour specifically without a revolutionary organization of care.

Keywords: Patriarchy, Rural Transformation, Gender Division of Labour

ÖZ

KIRSAL DÖNÜŞÜM SÜRECİNDE KADINLARIN DEĞİŞEN ATAERKİL DENEYİMLERİ: BİR ORTA ANADOLU İLÇESİ- AVANOS- ÖRNEĞİ

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Bu tez bir Orta Anadolu ilçesi olan Avanos'ta 1980'lerden sonraki kırsal dönüşümle birlikte kadınların değişen ataerkil deneyimlerini incelemek üzerine yapılmış feminist bir araştırmadır. Bu araştırmanın temel argümanı ataerkil ve kapitalist sistemin kadınların ezilmesinin temel kaynakları olduğu ve bu yapılardan birindeki değişimin diğerini yakından etkilediğidir. Araştırmanın bulguları göstermiştir ki, üretken ve yeniden üreten (reproduktif) emeğin nasıl örgütlendiği, bu iki emek tipinin yoğunluğu ve kontrolü kadının yaşam döngüsü içerisindeki ataerkil deneyimlerini belirlemektedir. Bu bağlamda, kırsal dönüşüm sonucunda eğitim, evlilik ve istihdamdaki değişiklikler kadının hareketliliğini arttırmış, sınırlı da olsa otonom aktörler olmasını sağlamış olsa da, toplumsal cinsiyete dayalı iş bölümünün doğasında, özellikle bakım emeğinin örgütlenmesinde temel bir değişim olmadıkça kadının özgürleşmesinden söz etmek mümkün olmamaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Ataerkillik, Kırsal Dönüşüm, Toplumsal Cinsiyete Dayalı İş bölümü

To My Grandmother Mihriye...

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

EEM	The new order: Education-Employment-Marriage
ETI	The European Tourism Institute
IMF	International Monetary Found
IPS	The Institute of Population Studies in Hacettepe (IPS)
METU	Middle East Technical University
NUTS	Nomenclature of Territorial Units for Statistics
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development.
PCP	Petty Commodity Production
TSI	Turkish Statistical Institute

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Living and dying for others

Once upon a time, there was a young woman living in Ürgüp, a Central Anatolian town. She was betrothed at seventeen through an arranged marriage to a man whom she had never seen before. They moved in to her husband's extended family's house as soon as they were wed. She was single handedly responsible for the entire household. Her father-in-law was the only authority at home. She gave birth to five children. During the early years of their marriage, her husband intended to travel to Germany for work. However, his parents did not consent because he was the only son and they did not want him to travel abroad. They claimed that their land was enough to sustain a reasonable income for him and his family. He reacted to his parents by refusing to work for the rest of his life. As for the young woman, she had no choice but work to obtain an income for her children and husband. Beside the housework, she started to work in her husband's family's vineyards and garden as an unpaid family worker during the summer. During the winter, she weaved carpets at home and gave all the money she earned to her husband. She never had her own property.

Years later, her eldest son enrolled in medical school at Ankara University and moved out of Ürgüp. She was over the moon with her son's achievement; her hope, her everything, was going to be a doctor. Her son decided to marry a woman who was studying at the same university and got engaged in his last year of Medical school. She was thrilled with such exciting news. During that period, she also found out that she was pregnant with her sixth child. She felt so embarrassed about the idea of having a baby at the same time as her 'urban' bride. Therefore, she decided to terminate her pregnancy immediately. Abortion was not favored culturally in her society; moreover, access to abortion was limited in

hospitals. Due to these reasons, she decided to terminate her pregnancy by herself using a traditional method. Unfortunately, this attempt led her to a massive bleeding and her short life ended on the way to the hospital in Ankara.

That young woman is my grandmother, and her eldest son is my father. That young woman's story is unique in that it inspired me as her granddaughter in my Ph.D. research. I never met my grandmother. I heard her sad and short life story from my father. Her life was a frequent example of women who lived in rural Turkey during the 1970's. In the 1970's in rural areas women had arranged marriages at early ages. They were obliged to live with their husband's extended families. Furthermore, they had to be in charge of the entire household, childcare, and elderly care throughout their life, which meant they had to work as unpaid family workers. They did not have the chance to live with their nuclear families in their own houses. In addition to these patriarchal burdens, pressure to bear a son, inability to own property; and lack of easy and direct access to abortion were some of common patriarchal experiences of those women. My grandmother's story has been a knot inside me since I heard this unfortunate event. The effort of untying this knot, and getting acquainted with her, and with my generation still living in Central Anatolian districts, has turned after years into an academic interest and subject of this thesis.

I attempt to trace my roots as being a daughter of a Central Anatolian father as well as being a granddaughter in my research. My father did not return to Ürgüp after graduating from medical school. He worked in Vakfikebir, Kayseri, Sivas, and Denizli respectively. Before his final assignment to İzmir, he was posted to Sivas once again. My parents opted to pursue their goals as academicians at university. I was moved to learn that my grandmother sent a letter to my mother and asked her to look after her children in case of her absence just one month before she passed away. Due to the cultural tradition in Ürgüp, as an Ürgüp bride my mother took responsibility of taking care of her husband's siblings. My uncle, my two aunts, and my cousin lived with us through their high school and university education during the first fifteen years of my parents' marriage. My

mother was able to finish her Ph.D. when I was 15 years old. This was mainly due to the responsibilities that she held to her husband's family. My mother is a retired assistance professor; my father is a retired professor now.

For me, Ürgüp is a small district where my father was born. It was a small and distant town we used to visit during summer vacation. We used to stay in hotels or the teacher's lodge, just like other tourists. I keep asking myself what distinguishes my life today from my ancestors'. Am I really exempt from this cultural patriarchal heritage, just by living in a big city far away from Ürgüp? I aim to search and explore what has changed and what has remained the same for those of my generation who are still living in this region.

Despite having roots in this region, I was feeling so distant to Ürgüp. At the beginning of the field research I unintentionally positioned myself as an outsider. The people living in the area also approached me as a stranger rather than a town girl with local ancestors who's living in Ankara. I could not enter the field easily. However, towards the end of my research, I could not free myself from feeling like an Anatolian woman. To this day, I still haven't fully left the field. In this context, this study has been a personal journey towards a self- discovery of myself as well.

1.1. Purpose of the Study and Previous Research on the Subject

This study attempts to explore the changing forms of dominance and experiences of women during the rural transformation of Turkey. It has been over thirty years since my grandmother's death. Since then, especially after 1980, Turkey has undergone rapid rural transformation¹ due to structural adjustment policies under

¹ The transformation process does not have the same effect on women's and men's economic and social position in developing countries. The process of "development in the developing countries has, by and large, marginalized women and deprived them of control over resources and authority within the household, without lightening the heavy burden of their 'traditional duties'" (Afshar 1991:15). There has been a growing research on this subject. Currently, this issue has become an integral part of development perspectives and policies. Intensification of debates on gender and development has been also closely related to the UN system's handling of the issue. Through feminist critics on development theories, women have become first visible as a sociological category, and later their experience and its socio-economic implications have dealt with seriously

the neoliberal wind.² The transition from subsistence farming to production for the market has changed not only production relations but also power relations in daily life. Changes in the material conditions challenge institutionalized patriarchal values. However, patriarchy adapts itself to new economic systems rather than being dissolved.

In the social sciences literature, the issue of rural women and urban-migrated women has received considerable attention.³ The impact of rural transformation on women in Turkey was examined in detail by Kandiyoti (1977). Kandiyoti analyzed sex role behaviors of women living in the nomadic tribe, the traditional peasant village, the changing rural environment, the small town, and the large urban center through a comparative perspective. Although extensive research has been carried out on the above mentioned topics, little is known about the experiences of women still living especially in rural towns today. The effect of the transformation process on the current situation of town women is a challenging research subject that requires elaboration.

in development literature. Due to these alternative development discourses, a new path breaking theoretical ground has emerged; in which social construction of sexual division of labour and close relationship of production and reproduction mechanisms to unequal development and international asymmetries has been explored (William 2005).

² The developed and developing world have experienced economic crisis since 1970 due the stage of capital reaches. The solution has been found in reorganization of capital. As a result, the developing countries have strated shifting their industrialization strategies from import substitution industrialization (ISI) to export led industrialization (ELI). In the similar way, Turkey has also started to abandon ISI oriented economic policies which she followed since 1960. ELI period in Turkey has been introduced through the structural adjustment and stabilization policies in January 1980 under the guidance of IMF and World Bank.

³ Abadan-Unat 1977, 1986; Azmaz 1984; Aksit 1985; Berik 1987; Çınar 1994; Delaney 1991; Kağıtçıbaşı 1982; Ecevit 1993; Erman, 1996, 1997, 1998a, 1998b; Ertürk 1987; Gökçe, 1993; Gündüz-Hoşgör and Smits 2007; Ilcan 1994; Kandiyoti 1977, 1984, 1988; Kadioğlu 1994; Kalaycıoğlu and Rittersberger-Tılıç 2001; Karpat 1976; Kuyaş 1982; Moghadam, 1993; Morvaridi 1992; Özbay 1981, 1990; Şenyapılı, 1981; Sirman 1990; Stirling 1965; White 1994.

1.2. Theoretical Background and Research Question(s) of the Study

Turkey is one of those countries⁴ where a classic patriarchal system has prevailed. This system is composed of patrilocally and patrilineally extended households which give the senior men authority over everyone. Marriages are generally arranged by the families. Women are forced to get married at a very young age. Young brides enter the household of their husbands' families as dispossessed individuals and can only guarantee their place by giving birth to a male offspring. The patriarchal order in the household rests on appropriating both women's labor and fertility. As a strategy, women internalize this patriarchal order, which is full of deprivation and hardship, with the future expectation of having authority over their daughters-in-law in the future. The cyclical nature of inheriting power and control over young brides is an old age security for women, and requires ensuring life-long loyalty of their son (Kandiyoti 1988; 279). Today in urban areas, significant changes have occurred in the above-mentioned classical patriarchal patterns, due to integration of capitalist production relations. During the modernization process in urban centers, family, marriage, education, fertility and labor experiences of women have differentiated from women living in rural areas, including small towns.

Contemporary feminist perspectives, including Liberal, Radical, Marxist and Socialist feminism, agree that patriarchy is a system of power relations resting on male domination. They only differ in explaining the source of women's subordination and discuss root causes of this subordination. Among them, the socialist feminist approach emphasizes both women's reproductive and productive labor. It also links women's oppression with the interrelation of patriarchy and the capitalist organization of labour process. Within this theoretical paradigm, the main research question of this thesis is: How have women's experiences with classical patriarchy changed over generations in rural Anatolian towns and districts during rural transformation after the 1980's? In this context, related sub-

⁴According to Kandiyoti (1988: 278) the clearest instance of classic patriarchy may be found in a geographical area that includes North Africa, the Muslim Middle East (including Turkey, Pakistan, and Iran) and South and East Asia.

questions are as follows: How has household structure transformed during this period? How have patterns of education, marriage, employment, and property ownership changed? How have women's productive and reproductive experiences and gender division of labor within the domestic sphere changed? How have women's mobility and their access to the public domain changed? How have women's perception and interpretation of the structure changed? How have women's coping strategies with patriarchy differed among generations in the process of transformation? Did rural transformation create empowerment for women?

My main argument in this research is that patriarchy and capitalism are the main sources of women's oppression today, and a change in one closely affects the other. In this scope, I argue that patriarchy keeps up with the pace of economic transformation in Central Anatolian towns rather than being dissolved. Dissolution of material bases of classical patriarchy and realization that schooling has functional value in current capitalist relations affect women's access to mass education. In this context, it is argued that today in Central Anatolian towns, women have easy access to mass education due to the modernization process of the capitalist state in terms of educational infrastructure.

Due to the demise of the sustainable economy, extended households that are based on exploitation of unpaid child and women's labor are transformed to nuclear households. Marriage experiences of women have changed in parallel to these developments. Marriage age has risen, and young couples are starting to choose their spouses rather than entering marriages arranged by their families.

Regarding women's labor in the earlier phase of the rural transformation period, women were isolated from production because of low labor market demand. Their isolation from production and their economic dependence on men limited their autonomy and access to resources. In later phases, women were integrated into the labor market as cheap and flexible labor. It is also argued that working as waged labor outside the home increases women's mobility and autonomy.

Although changes in education, marriage and employment patterns raised second-generation women to a more empowered status and increased their mobility and public access relatively, the nature of gender division of labour between women and men within the domestic sphere resists change. It is not possible to claim women's liberalization without a change in gender division of labour.

In addition, the transformation of the extended household into the nuclear family weakens women's old patriarchal ability to ensure their care by their daughter-in-laws in their old ages. Aging has therefore become a serious family problem in rural areas. However, women from both generations keep developing new empowerment strategies against current capitalist-patriarchal order.

1.3. Significance of the Thesis

This research aims to contribute to the literature on rural transformation in Turkey by exploring the intergenerational differences of women's experiences with patriarchy during the transformation process. I intend to contribute to the growing literature of feminist studies on women in Turkey by conducting a case study using feminist methodology. This study also aims to contribute sample cases from the field on women's current strategies to cope with patriarchy in Central Anatolian Districts using the "patriarchal bargaining" concept of Kandiyoti.

Regarding practical implementation, the findings of the research would be convenient in distinguishing primary requiring intervention for women living in the region. In this context, I aim to contribute to a design of gender focused social policies and/or development projects.⁵ In addition, during this field research (2010-2011), the local government of Avanos⁶ and a women's organization in the

⁵Focusing on women's experiences creates the possibility of uncovering the partial and distorted understandings of women and preventing systematic silencing and devaluing of the voices of women. For Harding (1987), by doing so, it could be possible to analyze women's experiences and their implications on social structures; and adapt this knowledge into design and administration of social institutions (p.7).

⁶The province of Turkey, located in Central Anatolian Region, where the field study was conducted.

field have supported this study from the beginning as the first comprehensive research on women conducted in their district. The results will provide firsthand information on the profiles of women living in Avanos.

1.4. Research Design and Methodology

Feminist methodology is used in this research. Theory cannot be considered separate from its epistemology, ontology and methodology. Such consideration led this study to be designed through the feminist methodological perspective.⁷ Furthermore, I believe that how we approach to our subject determines our theory. Therefore, I prefer to use the feminist methodology to place women at the center of the research and analyze women's experiences from their standpoint. All those women are subjects of their own experiences and stories. Therefore, I aimed to use feminist methodology to analyze women's experiences from their perspective. In the feminist methodological approach, the researcher performs non-hierarchical, self-reflexive research based on women's experiences. Moreover, since the foundations of feminist research lies in critical theory,⁸ the results of the research also have political implications. The nature of feminist theory aims to change women's subordinate position in society by empowering them as well as analyzing it.

As I mentioned above, this research has emerged from my own grandmother's short life story. Therefore, as a researcher I preferred not to exclude myself by using objective language and retrieving data from women as if they were objects.

⁷Harding (1987) relates the unresolved dispute in feminist literature on whether there is a distinctive feminist method to the confusion on what method refers. According to her the discussions of method and methodology have been intertwined with each other and with epistemological issues. Method generally used to refer all these three aspects. In this context, Harding recommends a useful distinction between method, methodology and epistemology. From this point, it would be useful to shift the question from "is there a feminist method?" to "what makes feminist research different from traditional social research". According to Campell (2000, p.278) the difference of feminist research is in its guiding philosophy on the nature of knowledge (epistemology) and the process by which research is created (methodology) define a research as feminist research.

⁸ "The critical approach shares many features with an interpretive approach but it blends an objective/materialist with a constructionist view of social reality. The key feature of the critical approach is a desire to put knowledge into action and a belief that research is not value free." (Neuman 2006, p.44)

As mentioned, this research is based on a case study conducted in Avanos, which is a rural central Anatolian town located in Cappadocia. I used qualitative research as a tool. I opted to design this study in two parts; in the first part I aimed to obtain data on the structure, while, in the second part my aim was to collect data on the agency.

In the first part of this study, I personally conducted all interviews during 2010 in Avanos. First, I conducted interviews with women; I collected data on the Avanos's current socio-economic structure and history of its transformation by collecting documents and conducting thirty-five semi-structured interviews with representatives of public institutions and unstructured interviews with elderly local women inhabitants. In addition to interviews, I also carried out participant observation. The full logistic support of the governor of the province at that time, who was among the first female district governors in Turkey, was very helpful. Through her instrumentality, the appointments for interviews with public institutions were made in an easy and quick manner, and rich data was obtained.

The second part of this study was performed during the summer of 2011. An intergenerational research was conducted in order to understand the change in women's experiences with patriarchy. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with twenty-three mother-daughter couples living in Avanos. During the interviews, women were asked to tell their life stories. The criteria for selecting the couples was that the time period of living in Avanos should be at least thirty years for the mother and twenty years for the daughter. The snowball sample technique was used in selecting the interviewees. In this second phase of the research, I used participant observation. I attended informal gatherings of women such as *gün*, *Mawlid* and *okuma*,⁹ and joined dinner and picnic invitations of families.

⁹ *Gün*, *Mevlüt* and *okuma* are special events that bring women together in their immediate neighborhoods. Among them *gün* and *okuma* are routinized meeting activities of women within the same network. In *gün* the host generally serves cake, cookies and pastry with tea for visitors. In

1.5. The Plan of the Chapters

Following this introduction chapter, in chapter two, I will provide the theoretical perspective of this research by reviewing the contemporary feminist theoretical perspectives on patriarchy; this chapter also focuses on the dual/unified system of socialist feminism, which is the main approach of this thesis. Also, in chapter two further discussions will include the concept of “gender division of labour” of unified system analysis, which captures the complex organization of labour at the intersection of patriarchal and capitalist modes of production. The last section of chapter two will cover the concept of agency for the operationalization of women’s empowerment.

I will provide the methodological organization of the research in chapter three. In the first part of chapter three I am going to introduce the design of the first phase of the case study, which focused on structure. In the second part of chapter three, organization of the second phase of the case study, which is on the agency, will be elaborated. In this part, first the process of data collection and analysis, and secondly the profiles of interview participants will be described in detail. This chapter will end with a discussion of field experiences.

In Chapter four I am going to give detailed information on characteristics of petty commodity production (PCP) and the patrilocally extended household in rural Turkey. Next I will elaborate the effects of rural transformation on women living in PCP based households. Lastly, I will describe rural transformation of the Avanos in terms of demographics, economy and education.

Chapter five and chapter six will present the data and its analysis along with major findings of the research. In Chapter five, I will examine the findings with regards

gün women generally talk about daily issues and share information about their neighborhoods. Okuma differs from gün in terms of religious purpose. In okuma women read passages from the Quran. Mawlid is a religious text telling about the birth of the Prophet Mohammed. The reading of this text is occasionally arranged occasionally on special occasions, such as after a birth or death, or as part of a marriage ceremony or return from Hadj.

to changes in household structure and education and marriage experiences of women. In Chapter six, I will discuss findings of changes and continuities in the labor process of women. I will also examine how current patriarchal structure is internalized and projected in women's expectations and dreams for change in the future.

I will conclude this research with a summary of the changing and resisting patriarchal patterns that women experienced in their lifecycle as discussed in Chapter Four and Chapter Five in detail. Furthermore, I will argue that classical patriarchy, rather than dissolving, takes a new form in the face of changes in material conditions. The current organization of patriarchy is based on resisting the gender division of labour, as in the classical patriarchal order. Within the current order, women seem to be relatively empowered through marriage, education, and employment patterns, and through new bargaining strategies that they developed. However, women's socio economic position and gender division of labour condition all these changes. By linking all this discussion to the feminist theoretical paradigm, this chapter will end by concluding that, although women's agency has increased in the current socio-economic order, without a profound change in the nature of gender division of labor, namely more equal share in household chores and care of elderly and children, one cannot claim women's liberation.

CHAPTER TWO

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: STRUCTURAL EXPLANATIONS ON WOMEN'S OPPRESSION WITHIN PATRIARCHY AND POSSIBILITIES FOR WOMEN'S AGENCY IN PATRIARCHAL STRUCTURE

2.1. Introduction

Theoretical chapter of this study mainly focuses on discussions of the basis/roots of women's oppression. This research aims to explore women's experiences according to changing forms of patriarchy during the rural transformation of Central Anatolia after 1980's. Therefore, two major areas of this research; patriarchy and women's agency will be the core discussions in this study.

In this regard, I will first attempt to define patriarchy as the basic concept of the research. There is an ongoing debate on how patriarchy is overused and became meaningless or how became an outdated or dead¹⁰ concept in explaining women's oppression in modern society. My standpoint is controversial in respect to some discussions or arguments defending patriarchy as the preeminent concept framing gender inequality throughout history all over the world as well in Central Anatolia. However, I favor the idea that patriarchy has been still used by feminists

¹⁰ One of the concepts among alternatives to patriarchy is "hegemonic masculinity" developed by Connell (2005). The concept refers practices guaranteeing the masculinity that occupies the hegemonic position in a given pattern of gender relations (ibid: 76). The concept has attracted many criticisms. Then reformulated by Connell and Messerschmidt in four areas; "a more complex model of gender hierarchy, emphasizing the agency of women; explicit recognition of the geography of masculinities, emphasizing the interplay among local, regional, and global levels; a more specific treatment of embodiment in contexts of privilege and power; and a stronger emphasis on the dynamics of hegemonic masculinity, recognizing internal contradictions and the possibilities of movement toward gender democracy" (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005, p. 829). Another proposed concept instead of patriarchy is Kyriarchy. It derives from the Greek words for 'lord' or 'master' (kyrios) and 'to rule or dominate' (archein). This concept first used by Elisabeth Shüssler Fiorenza (1993) is an intersectional extension of the idea of patriarchy beyond gender. It refers a social system where sexism, racism, homophobia, economic injustice, and other forms of dominating hierarchies in which the subordination of one person or group to another is internalized and institutionalized (Teraudkalns 2003).

for explaining the dynamics of women's oppression and subordination as a key concept.

Following the definition of the concept, I will review the conventional feminist perspectives and changes in their respective dealings with patriarchy. Each feminist perspective attempts to investigate the source of particular forms of this oppression. Their conceptualization of patriarchy reflects their different ascriptions of specific experiences in public and private sphere and its political implication. Main distinction of these theories is how they approach the dilemma of a universal idea of women and the historical particularities of specific women (Farganis 1994, p.17). Among those accounts, socialist feminist approach will be the main theoretical paradigm that I attempt to analyze and interpret during my data analysis. Women's experiences with patriarchy have been shaped by changing capitalist relations through the transformation process. I will review feminist theories which are a conceptual base to socialist feminist thinking with their separate analyzes of patriarchy and class. Further to my review, I aim to tackle dual system discussions and alternative proposals for analyzing capitalism and patriarchy together in details.

With regard to latter, I will discuss empowerment as an analytic concept and Kabeer's (1999) approach to empowerment under the scope of women's agency. In this regard, after defining the concept, I will review Kabeer's perception of empowerment as "ability to make strategic life choices". Subsequently, I will examine three interconnected dimensions of "ability to exercise choices", these are; resources, agency and achievements respectively. On the other hand, second dimension which is agency will cover a discussion on A. Sen's capabilities approach.

Finally, I will review some case studies conducted on the various effects of transformation process on women living in Turkey in the conceptual framework. The aim of this section is locating the research in a theoretical position between a

Western sourced feminist paradigm and its reproduction and adaptation by local research.

2.2. Defining Patriarchy

Patriarchy originally means “the rule of father.” Its meaning extended to describe a more general system where the power is secured in the hands of men (Meagher 2011, p.441). There are several definitions of patriarchy as a concept in feminist literature. In example some use the term simply to refer a historical specific concept as male power women and younger men (Millet 1969; Hartman 1979) ; some use it by referring a male ideology having base in the psychological level by referring symbolic power of (Mitchell 1974), others use social system of gender relations, among them some emphasizes the root of patriarchy is biological and argues that it is a sexual system of power depends on male hierarchical ordering of the society (Eisenstein 1979) ; and others emphasize its manifestation in the economic relations of production.

Pioneer definitions of patriarchy were non-feminist accounts explaining patriarchy as a feudal system resting on hierarchical structure among men. For that reason, patriarchy belongs to a pre-modern and pre capitalist era of an agrarian society. For instance, Max Weber (1947) explains patriarchy as women and younger women ruled by older men, who were heads of households.¹¹ Due to women’s movement efforts feminist scholars challenged the a-historic definition of patriarchy that belongs to a pre-modern system and lacks of explanation on women’s subordination throughout the history across the cultures. They regenerate this concept as a useful tool in analyzing gender inequalities in contemporary industrialized societies. In this context, few feminist scholars adopted this Weberian conceptualization by narrowing the definition. By

¹¹ For Weber patriarchy is the most important type of domination by the ruler as father, husband or the master of a slave, and its legitimacy of it rests upon tradition. “Patriarchalism means the authority of the father, the husband, the senior of the house, the sib elder over the members of the household and sib” the rule of the master and patron over bondsmen, serfs, freed men; of the lord over the domestic servants and household officials' of the prince over house- and court-officials, nobles of office, clients, vassals; of the patrimonial lord and sovereign prince over the 'subjects.’” (Gerth and Mills 1958, p. 296).

discarding the power relations between older and younger males, they define patriarchy as the system of social structures and practices in which men dominate and exploit women¹² (Dahlerup 1987, Walby 1990, Miller 2001). Some feminists followed Weber by insisting hierarchical organization of patriarchy. For instance, Hartmann (1979, p.11) defines patriarchy “as a set of social relations between men, which have a material base, and which, though hierarchical, establish or create interdependence and solidarity among men that enable them to dominate women.”

2.3. Transformation of Patriarchy

In related literature on patriarchy there is growing interest on transformation of patriarchy as well as defining the concept (Murray 2005; Hooper 2000; Moghadam 2004; Kandiyoti 1988; Sharabi 1988, Lie 1996, Walby 1990). The common trend in their inspection is to describe adaptation of patriarchy to material changes in certain historical and socio-cultural context. Among above mentioned feminist scholars, only Walby (1990) analyzes the transformation of both degree and form of patriarchy by looking the changes from a socialist feminist perspective in Britain over the last century. Accordingly Britain has experienced the movement from private to a public form of patriarchy (1990, p.24). Walby distinguishes two major forms of patriarchy. Private patriarchy is related with household production as the main site of women’s oppression and women’s exclusion from social life. In private patriarchy there is an individual patriarch who appropriates women’s services in the private sphere. Public patriarchy mainly related with in public sphere, such as with sites of state and employment. In public patriarchy women are not excluded from these sites, rather they are subordinated within them. In public patriarchy, women’s labor is appropriated collectively rather than by an individual patriarch. The exclusionary

¹² According to Miller (2001, p. 81) “defining patriarchy solely in terms of men’s domination of women means treating both men and women as two separate undifferentiated groups that have sustained their coherence over time and between different cultures”. This account of unified notion of men and women has attracted criticisms including black feminists (hooks 1984, Collins 1999) regarding to the intersections of class and race. Postmodern feminists (Helen Cixous, Luce Irigaray, and Julia Kristeva) develop their works on the post-structuralism notion defending neither men nor women are unitary categories.

strategy of private patriarchy is changed to segregationist and subordinating in public patriarchy.

Walby specifies six structures that are constructing patriarchy as a set of patriarchal relations in waged labor, the relations. These structures are patriarchal mode of production, patriarchal state, male violence, patriarchal sexuality, and patriarchal culture which all forms patriarchy. In this context, according to Walby, the change from private to public patriarchy involves a change both in the relations between the structures and within the structures;

In the private form household production is the dominant structure; in the public form it is replaced by employment and the state. In each form all the remaining patriarchal structures are present –there is simply a change in which are dominant. There is also a change in the institutional forms of patriarchy, with the replacement of a primarily individual form of appropriation of women by a collective one. (Walby 1990, p.24)

Different from Walby, Sharabi (1988), Kandiyoti and Moghadam (1993), have more specific explanations on reconfiguring of patriarchy in the Middle East region where Turkey also located. Sharabi (1988) calls current form of patriarchy as “neopatriarchy” which derives its meaning from two realities which make up its concrete structure, modernity and patriarchy. On one hand he describes patriarchy as a universal form of traditional society having different characteristics in each society; on the other hand he emphasizes the unique character of modernity as a historical development that origins from Western Europe’s break with traditionality. From dependency school¹³ perspective, he further explains;

¹³ Dependency Theorists advocate opposite of Modernization School’s assumptions that assert close contact between West and Third World for development. According to them, rather internal characteristics such as traditional culture, this close link leads underdevelopment of third world countries which is created by the long history of colonial domination in Third world countries; and transition to peripheral capitalism (Amin 1976, Dos Santos 1970, Frank 1967). Main obstacle to national development could be found in historical heritage of colonialism and unequal international division of labor rather than lack of capital, entrepreneurial skills or democratic institutions (So 1990, p. 104). Dependency is continuously perpetuated through creating a system wherein capitalist ‘metropole’ benefiting from a dependent, peripheral Third World. Therefore separation from metropole; a critical attitude toward Western technology; and commitment Third World self-reliance could be main paths towards for Third World Development. (Connelly et al 2000, p. 59)

This unique transformation, in going beyond patriarchy, constituted it and, by the same movement, established the distinction, vital for our discussion, between traditional patriarchy and modernized patriarchy. The latter must be viewed as the product of a hegemonic modern Europe; but "modernization" as the product of patriarchal and dependent conditions can only be dependent "modernization": dependency relations inevitably lead not to modernity but to "modernized" patriarchy, *neopatriarchy*. Modernization, in this context, is the metonymy of inverted modernity (p.4).

In this context, Sharabi suggests that, the effects of Islam, patriarchal structures of Arab Society, colonization and dependent capitalism all together strengthened a kind of inverted modernity resulted with neopatriarchy which refers neither modern nor traditional patriarchy. The capitalist transformation in the Arab Society leads material modernization and served to “remodel and reorganize patriarchal structures and relations and to reinforce them by giving them “modern” forms and appearances” (p.4). In this context, considering to the field of this research, Turkey -as an modernizing country still practicing both pre-capitalist and capitalist relations of production and socio-cultural reflections of these relations- experiences neo-patriarchy.

Kandiyoti (1988) contrasted two systems of male dominance to propose two ideal types of patriarchy Sub-Saharan Africa and the areas covering North-Africa, South and East Asia including Muslim Middle East¹⁴ where Turkey, Pakistan and Iran are located. Kandiyoti describes Sub-Saharan form of patriarchy as based on polygyny, relative autonomy of women in return to men’s weak responsibility for his family as bread winner. Kandiyoti termed the type of patriarchy prevailing also in Turkey as “classical patriarchy”. She contends that classical patriarchy reproduced through the relations conducted in patrilocally extended household¹⁵. Kandiyoti describes this system as follows;

¹⁴ Caldwell (1978) referred the regions consisting of Middle East, North Africa and South Asia as “the *patriarchal belt*.” Main characteristics of patriarchal belt are male domination, son preference, restrictive codes of behavior for women (Moghadam 2004, p. 143).

¹⁵ Timur (1981) in his study on “Determinants of Family Structure in Turkey” analyzed the factors and forces underlying structural changes within the Turkish family. The findings of his research show that the type of family is usually shaped by property and work relations. Accordingly; “when

Under classical patriarchy, girls are given away in marriage at a very young age into households headed by their husband's father. There, they are subordinate not only to all men but also to the more senior women, especially their mother-in-law. ... Among the Turks ... husband is principally responsible for a woman's honor. ... The patrilineage totally appropriates both women's labor and progeny and renders their work and contribution to production invisible. Woman's life cycle in the patriarchal extended family is such that the deprivation and hardship she experiences as a young bride is eventually superseded by the control and authority she will have over her own subservient daughters-in-law. The cyclical nature of women's power in the household and their anticipation of inheriting the authority of senior women encourages a thorough internalization of this form of patriarchy by the women themselves. In classic patriarchy, subordination to men is offset by the control older women attain over younger women (1998, pp. 278-279).

According to Kandiyoti this patriarchal system resting on male authority has its base in material conditions and generally associated with the reproduction of peasantry in agrarian societies. The changes in the mode of production, namely impact of new market forces, capital penetration in rural areas (Kandiyoti 1984) leads dissolving of classical patriarchy. Kandiyoti contends that the results of the breakdown of the system are uniform as follows;

The breakdown of classic patriarchy results in the earlier emancipation of younger men from their fathers and their earlier separation from the paternal household. While this process implies that women escape the control of mothers-in-law and head their own households at a much younger age, it also means that they themselves can no longer look forward to a future surrounded by subservient daughters in-law. For the generation of women caught in between, this transformation may represent genuine personal tragedy, since they have paid the heavy price of an earlier patriarchal bargain, but are not able to cash in on its promised benefits (1998, p.282).

Similar to Kandiyoti, Moghadam focused (1993) on the regions locating in "the belt of classical patriarchy". She also adapted Sharabi's concept of "neopatriarchy" along with Kandiyoti's "classical patriarchy", in her analysis of transformation of patriarchy in Middle East and North Africa. In this context she attempts to describe "the contradictions and challenges that patriarchy and the

income and occupation come to depend on factors not controlled by the extended family, as when wage labor becomes common, this creates the possibility of change in the extended family. Independent nuclear families become more prevalent, whether or not urbanization, industrialization, or modernization involved." (p.73)

family have encountered from economic development, the demographic transition, legal reform, and a woman's increasing educational attainment" (2004: p. 137). Moghadam delineates the main characteristics of patriarchal society as follows;

Patriarchal society is a precapitalist social formation that has historically existed in varying forms in Europe and Asia in which property, residence, and descent proceed through the male line. In classic patriarchy, the senior man has authority over everyone else in the family, including younger men, and women are subject to distinct forms of control and subordination. ... The subordination of women in kinship-ordered or agrarian societies is linked to the reproduction of the kin group or the peasantry, as well as to the sexual division of labor. Childbearing is the central female labor activity. But just as in capitalism what a worker produces is not considered the property of the worker, so in a patriarchal context a woman's products—be they children or rugs—are not considered her property but those of the patriarchal family and especially the male kin (2004, p. 141).

Moghadam also identifies common practices persisting in patriarchal belt as male domination, son preference, restrictive codes of behavior for women, and the association of family honor with female virtue, legitimation of the practices of veiling and sex segregation by Quran or hadith in Muslim areas (2004, p. 143). She describes the family structure within this area as extended, patrilineal, patrilocal, endogamous, and occasionally polygynous (2004, p. 144). She tries to explain the persistence of patriarchal order in family, society and family law in the capitalist economies of patriarchal belt. According to her one of the reasons behind this persistence rather than weakening of patriarchy is pre-capitalist forms of social organization pertaining in recently urbanized rural populations (2004, p. 144). Other reason that facilitates the endurance of the patriarchy is state policy including the legal system. Accordingly;

Islamic law changed little between its formulation in the middle ages and the early modern period, when the Ottomans introduced legal and administrative reforms in the nineteenth century. Commercial, penal, and criminal laws changed, but Muslim family law, which had been practiced through the centuries, remained unchanged. But with the advent of reform movements in the early twentieth century, Muslim family law became subject to challenges from reformers and modernizers who sought changes in marriage, divorce, polygamy, child custody, and inheritance. This was part of the process of nation-building, but concerns about women's position also motivated reforms (2004, p. 145-146).

According to Moghadam although Muslim family law determines women's legal status and shapes their social position and options, for explaining the persistence of patriarchy we must also consider in our analysis economic organization, property relations, class relations which form the social structure (2004, p.157). She contends that since 1960s Middle East has experienced rapid transformation through industrialization, and capital penetration. During this process the material bases of patriarchy were dissolved. In parallel states has begun modernize their infrastructures with legal reforms, mass education and employment. The family structure has also changed from being extended household to a more modernized version which is considered a shift towards neopatriarchy (2004, p.157).

In Turkish context, Kağıtçıbaşı (1982b) analyzed the relationship among economic transformation, education, the economic and psychological value of children. According to the findings of the research there is positive relationship between socioeconomic development and fertility decline. The son preference is widespread within families where children's economic value has great importance as the main future breadwinners and old-age security. According to Kağıtçıbaşı with socioeconomic development and education, the economic value of children decreases whereas their psychological value increases (p.91).

In this research, I conceptualize patriarchy as historically oppressive system of power based on hierarchical organization of age, gender and socio economic status. In addition, I agree with Kandiyoti and Moghadam's discourses or arguments address that capitalist transformation of the society contributed dissolution of classical patriarchy in the areas of patriarchal belt including Turkey. That is breakdown of the hierarchical male power system based on the land, and patrilineal extended household resulted with redefinition of authority relations between men. Additionally, this transformation has a potential effect on women by enabling them living in nuclear households, and decreasing their productive labor in the home due to increased contact with markets (Kandiyoti 1977, p. 72).

In the current socio-economic conditions patriarchy takes modified form and continues to control women's labor, body, and mobility both in private and public sphere. My main argument is that patriarchy is a dynamic system; adapting and readapting itself by resisting nature of gender division of labor in the course of economic transformation of society. I also agree with Kandiyoti and Moghadam that women are not passive receivers of the patriarchal system. Rather women as active agents develop empowerment strategies in different phases of their life cycle. By fostering these strategies they continuously reproduce and/or erode patriarchy for securing themselves throughout their life. With this conceptualization I have the same standpoint with the socialist feminist paradigm which drives me committing to understanding the system of power deriving from capitalist patriarchy (Eisenstein 1977, 1979). Considering that socialist feminism is the result of convergence between Radical and Marxist feminist approaches, I will firstly review these two approaches and their understanding of women's oppression. However, I shall start with a brief review of liberal feminist approach since the roots of radical, Marxist approaches based on the criticisms of liberal feminism's sameness notion; lack of conceptualization of patriarchy and inadequate analysis of structural inequalities.

2.4. Feminist Approaches on Women's Experiences of Oppression

The women's oppression problem was first handled by liberal feminists¹⁶ in the context of inequality of opportunity. Liberal feminists emphasize that women are

¹⁶ First wave feminism appeared during the end of the seventeenth century and lasted to the end of the eighteenth century parallel to the civil rights movement in United States. First liberal feminist thinkers and activists mobilized around the Age of Enlightenment ideas¹⁶. Their demand to have same "inalienable" or "natural" rights like men stated both by the American Declaration of Independence (1776) and the French Declaration of the Rights of Men (1789) (Donovan, 1992, p.30). The idea behind this demand underlies the belief that women are individuals possessed a reason; they are entitled to full human rights, and that they should therefore be free to choose their role in life and explore their full potential in equal competition with men (Bryson 1992, p.159). Nineteenth century feminists kept on these demands and struggled for attaining public existence and legal personhood especially in marriage (Okin 1979, p.249). In this context, they struggled particularly for the rights of education, employment, property, inheritance, custody, divorce and vote. Besides they assert that full legal and political equality would benefit not only women but also men and the whole society.

During the period of two World Wars, women's demands for equal rights have been frozen. Besides in this era women are supported for staying in their traditional roles. With the Second wave feminism of post- Second World War, feminists began to criticize the failure of American

rational individuals having their own choices and abilities. Their presence as autonomous individuals in the public sphere would overcome inequalities. Accordingly, “female subordination is rooted in a set of customary and legal constraints that blocks women’s entrance to and success in the so-called public world” (Tong 2009, p.2). They demanded equal opportunities for women to access equality in the public sphere with their personal merit. Through political and legal measures, educational and work opportunities women could attain places they have already deserved. Main characteristics of liberal feminist approach its handling equality issue through “sameness” concept; lack of criticism on private sphere; emphasizing actor rather than structure; and demanding intervention from patriarchal state

Different liberal feminism, radical feminism emerging during the end of the 1960s brings fundamental criticism of private sphere and makes structural explanations on women’s subordination. It emphasizes the autonomous basis of women’s oppression. Main arguments of radical feminism are “personal is political”; the basis of the oppression of women is patriarchy; the necessity for the women of perceiving themselves as a class or cast and directing their energies together with other women towards struggling against male oppression in a movement. Within radical feminism, the difference between women and men rather than equality is

dream that promises independence, self-expression and fulfillment for all citizens including women. During this period, Betty Friedan wrote most celebrated text of the second wave feminism, *The Feminine Mystique* (1963). According to her, since the Second World War the supported ideology of ‘feminine mystique’ which means ‘the highest value and the only commitment for women is the fulfillment of their own femininity’ laying in domesticity destroyed all earlier feminist demands for equality. This ideology focused woman’s role in the domestic sphere through supporting her commitment to a life consisting of attracting and keeping her husband and caring him and her children. Through ‘feminine mystique’ which is supported by women’s magazines and advertising industry, women had been manipulated and persuaded to stay at home. However, women as housewives who failed to adapt themselves this sexual role framework have started to feel desperate. According to Friedan the cause of this desperation is American’s women’s denial of independence or self-development. Friedan termed this social problem ‘the problem that has no name’. Many of housewives have frustrated by this problem in their homemaker-child rearer -wife roles. She stresses education as the main way for fulfillment of women outside the home for their full potential and following their own career.

emphasized. With this motto, they assert both of the two spheres¹⁷ are not immune from power relations (Okin, 1979).

Radical feminists claim that patriarchy is the main domination system that pre-dates all systems, and organizes all relations and subordination of women in all societies through control of their sexuality. Rather than liberal feminist view of reforming the system, radical feminists call for a revolution to alter the patriarchal system.

Radical feminism is important for its detailed analysis of patriarchy. Although it ignores class issues, it gives valuable analytical tools for the private sphere related with reproduction, sexual violence etc. Main critics on radical feminism are about its tendency to essentialism, to an implicit or explicit biological reductionism, and to a false universalism which cannot understand historical change or take sufficient account of divisions between women based on ethnicity and class (Walby 1990, p.3). In this context, Marxist feminists differ from radical feminists by their explanation of the roots of women's oppression with class analysis.

Different from radical feminists, for Marxist feminists main reasons of gender inequalities are relations of production and women's lack of access to critical resources. Bandarage (1984; 502) contends during the transformation process towards integration into development, the sexual division of labor in reproduction, local class structure, the articulation of specific regions and sectors of production within national economies and the international economy are the main determinants of the diversity or the complexity that women experience.

Similar to Bandarage, Moghadam (1992) proposes that the relation between industrial transformation and women's status depends on following factors; class,

¹⁷ "The trick for liberal feminists seemed to be simply to get the powerful structures in society to treat women as though they were rational and, therefore, according to the classical liberal definition, human being. Radicals, on the other hand, were politicized within the context of social movements attuned to the limits of liberalism and committed to a critique of economic and cultural imperialism. Absent the connection to liberal statism, radical feminists were free to make a much broader criticism of the private/public distinction" (Grant 2013, p.19).

the type of development strategy, the structure of pre-industrial relations, and women's pre-existing positions in their communities (pp. 235-236). Accordingly "middle-class women generally benefit more from development than do proletarian and peasant women, whether in terms of income, status, working conditions or quality of life" (p.235). Regarding to the development strategy, industrialization based on import-substitution type marginalized women and "through capital intensive technologies has favored male labor over female labour" (p.235).

In this regard, during the early phase of transformation women stay home for reproducing labor force and mostly keep away from waged works. The presence in labor market in later phases is as cheap laborers. (Gündüz- Hoşgör and Smits 2008) Gündüz- Hoşgör summarizes the marginalization thesis as follows;

... women are isolated from production and political control. Women are integrated as "use value" in household production since they reproduce the labour force while men are drawn into the labour force to produce commodities in exchange for wages. However, women's isolation from production outside the home, and consequently their economic dependence on men, limit their autonomy and access to resources. This leads to a disadvantaged status for women. ... According to the marginalization thesis, despite the ideology of egalitarianism, development has generally increased women's economic and social marginality. (2001, p. 118)

Among the studies addressing marginalization issue in Turkey, Özbay (1995) reviewed labor force participation of women in rural and urban Turkey. Accordingly, due to the capitalist change in production relations in rural a rapid shift from rural to urban areas started after 1950's. Accordingly, the low rates of women's labour could be explained by the scarcity of nonagricultural jobs in comparison to the amount of labour coming from rural areas. For this reason women do not switch their occupation from agriculture to nonagriculture and become housewives or engaged in informal jobs (p.4). For Özbay; marriage, child bearing and rearing are important for employment decisions of women. Hence, uneducated married women are more disadvantaged position in labor force participation. Özbay argues all these factors combining with low demand of

labour market do not promise a striking rise in women's labor force participation in the future.

Abadan-Unat (1981) in her study "Social Change and Turkish Women" assessed the effects of planned and casual changes in first fifty years of Turkish Republic on women. She asserts that republican reforms have resulted in partial changes in both the status and role of women. Accordingly, the differences persist between rural and urban, class and region in terms of marriage patterns, inheritance, and education. Additionally, in the section of "women in small towns" (pp. 22-23) she claims that the marginalization of women's labour in early phases of development resulted in small towns' women confinement to their residential neighborhoods and introduction of new types of female leisure such as "gün". Similarly, Kıray (1981) in her study "The women of small town" focused intra-familial relationships, consumption patterns, family-problem solving, leisure time and labour patterns of women living in Ereğli. She also discussed how education and gainful employment have the potential to decrease the segregation and particularism of women's world in Ereğli. Her findings also verify that there is strict gender division of labour between women and men. She concludes her research with the fact that "the time has not yet come for women to obtain and to occupy strategically important jobs outside their homes, to contribute to the community directly and to deal with their fellow men equally (p.273).

Boserup being among the first scholars investigating what happens to women in the transformation process, in her empirical study (1970) *Women's Role in Economic Development* argues that the development process does not have the same effect on women's and men's economic and social position in developing countries. In the same line Afshar argues in the introduction of the edited book "Women, Development and Survival in the Third World"¹⁸, that "development in the developing countries has, by and large, marginalized women and deprived

¹⁸ This book includes case studies about the effects of economic transformation on women living in Africa, China, India, Iran, Malaysia, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Southern Africa and Vietnam.

them of the control over resources and authority within the household, without lightening the heavy burden of their “traditional duties” (Afshar 1991, p.15).

Moghadam (1992) is one of the feminist scholars who studies on gender and development issues in Middle East. In her essay “Development and Women’s Emancipation: is there a Connection” she reviews the related research on effects of transformation on women living in Asia, Africa, Latin America and Middle East including Turkey. She contends positive effects of development and modernization on women.

The status of women has been tied to and shaped by forms of production and property relations. Changes in production and distribution, including macro level changes in demography, technology and the economy, and changes in consciousness and political forces have also affected the sexual division of labour, gender systems and the status of women (1992, p.219). She insists on positive case studies confirming that women do well when given opportunities to be independent and to earn income (ibid, p.233) However, Moghadam concludes that the association between development and women’s status depends on three factors; class factor, type of development strategy and the structure of pre-industrial relations, and women’s pre-existing positions in their communities (ibid, p. 235-236).

Among the researchers working on development and women; Ward (1984) ; Sen and Grown (1987), Beneria and Sen (1981) Tiano (1987), also argue that development deteriorated the economic status of women, resulting in marginalization and impoverishment.

Elson and Pearson (1981) in their case study on women working in World market factories in the Third World, provide an analysis on the effects integration of women into the economic transformation process. The World Market factories usually produce on subcontract to the order of a particular overseas costumer. The production is relocated in the Third World for the profitability concerns, since in those parts of the World the labor force is cheaper and easier to control then their

home (p.89). The authors draw attention to distinctive characteristics of internalization of labor on the subordination of women as a gender as follows;

Women are considered not only to have naturally nimble fingers, but also to be naturally more docile and willing to accept though work discipline, and naturally less inclined to join trade unions, than men; and to be naturally more suited to tedious, repetitious, monotonous work. Their lower wages are attributed to their secondary status in the labour market which is seen as a natural consequence of their capacity to bear children. The fact that only young women work in World market factories is also rationalized as an effect of their capacity to bear children- this naturally means they will be either unwilling or unable to continue in employment much beyond their early twenties. Indeed the phenomenon of women leaving employment in the factory when they get married or pregnant is known as 'natural wastage', and can be highly advantageous to firms which periodically need to vary the size of their labour force so as to adjust to fluctuating demand for their output in the World market (1981, p.93).

Explaining the roots of women's oppression with class analysis is made exclusively by Marxist feminists. Accordingly gender inequality derives from men's domination over women's labour in the capitalist system rather than from an autonomous system of patriarchy (Walby 1990, p.4). In Marxist feminism, there are varied explanations for the relationship patriarchy and mode of production. For Beechey (1979), two prominent tendencies in Marxist Feminist analysis of patriarchy are based on ideology and mode of production.

Main criticism towards Marxist Feminism is about its explaining women's oppression with capitalism. Marxist feminists emphasis on women's work and their effort to demand especially on socialization of housework and child care and wages for housework makes invisible other dynamics lying under women's oppression such as gender inequality. In this context, it is accused as being "unable to deal with gender inequality in pre- and post-capitalist societies and that it incorrectly reduces gender inequality to capitalism, rather than recognizing the independence of the gender dynamic" (Walby 1990, p.4). According to Bandarage, Marxist approach has given inadequate attention to social relations of gender within classes and fails to undertake a full-scale analysis of the relationship between patriarchy, differing modes of production, and women's subordination and oppression and since they see sexual inequality as an aspect of

inequity created by capitalist accumulation (1984, p. 502). Evolving from Marxist feminism, these criticisms are better answered by socialist feminist theorists who address that both patriarchy and capitalism play an allied role in women's oppression.

2.4.1. Explaining women's oppression with two systems (Patriarchy and capitalism; are they interrelated or autonomous?)

Socialist feminism could be considered a synthesizing theory that attempts to revise of Marxist feminism's inability of explaining women's oppression through capitalist class theory; and completes lack of economic dimension of radical feminism's account of patriarchal system as the main source of women's oppression. For Socialist feminism both systems have same importance in defining current gender structure in the society. Although Marxists consider patriarchy exists with capitalism, Socialist feminists like radical feminists claim that patriarchy predates capitalism and today still exists.

There are various perspectives how to deal these two systems of power together. Under the name of *dual systems analysis*, main theoretical debates are on whether considering capitalism and patriarchy as fused into one system, as in Zillah Eisenstein's work (1979); or totally distinct systems as Heidi Hartmann's (1979) and Juliet Mitchell's (1974) works. On the other hand, some theoreticians such as Iris Young (1981) claim impossibility of dual analysis of these systems. As a synthesis Walby (1986; 1989; 1990) introduces her dual system analysis by recognizing analytic independence of these systems.

2.4.1.1. Dual System Analysis

Zillah Eisenstein (1979) contends these systems are interrelated and an analysis of power relations within those systems requires dialectic method. Her synthesis of socialist feminism emerged from Marxist class analysis as the thesis, radical feminist patriarchal analysis as the antithesis. According to her socialist feminist synthesis capitalism and patriarchy are neither autonomous systems nor identical, they are, in their present form, mutually dependent. In this context, Eisenstein

calls socialist feminist synthesis of patriarchy and capitalism as *capitalist patriarchy* and aims to analyze the system of power deriving from it.

Although there are socialist women who are committed to understanding and changing the system of capitalism, socialist feminists are committed to understanding the system of power deriving from capitalist patriarchy. I choose this phrase, capitalist patriarchy, to emphasize the existing mutual dependence, of the capitalist class structure and male supremacy. Understanding this “interdependence” of patriarchy and capitalism is essential to the political analysis of socialist feminism. It becomes necessary to understand that patriarchy (as male supremacy) existed before capitalism and continues in post-capitalist societies. And yet to say that, within the present system of power, either patriarchy or capitalism causes the other is to fail to understand their present mutually reinforcing system and dialectical relationship, a relationship which must be understood if the structure of oppression is to be changed. Socialist feminism in this sense moves beyond singular Marxist analysis and isolated radical feminist theory. The capitalist class structure and the hierarchical sexual structuring of society are the problem. (Eisenstein 1977, p.3)

Accordingly, she uses this term to emphasize the mutually reinforcing dialectical relationship between capitalist class structure and hierarchical sexual structure. For Eisenstein, capitalist patriarchy breaks through the dichotomies of class and sex, private and public spheres, domestic and wage labor, family and economy, personal and political, and ideology and material conditions.

In Eisenstein’s (1979) account, socialist feminists do not consider exploitation and oppression as equivalent concepts. Moreover they found equation of them problematic.

Exploitation speaks to the economic reality of capitalist class relations for men and women, whereas oppression refers to women and minorities defined within patriarchal, racist, and capitalist relations. Exploitation is what happens to men and women workers in the labor force; woman's oppression occurs from her exploitation as a wage-laborer but also occurs from the relations that define her existence in the patriarchal sexual hierarchy-as mother, domestic laborer, and consumer (p.24).

Marxist’s reduction of oppression to exploitation is based on the idea that economic class structure corresponds to power structure in a society. However, according to socialist feminists, oppression of women derives not only from their class status but also from their position within patriarchy. In this context for

Eisenstein, these two positions exist together and could not be understood when isolated.

Different from Eisenstein, Hartmann offers analytic separation of patriarchy and capitalism as distinct systems and conceptualizes it as dual system theory. She develops an account of patriarchy as itself a system of material social relations, existing independently of and interacting with the social relations of production (Young, 1981, p.45). According to Hartmann in the analysis tradition of “women question” in a capitalist society does not treat equally to Marxist method and feminist analysis; rather feminism subordinated to Marxism (1979, p.1). She contends the relation between Marxism and feminism resembles a marriage, where feminist struggle is sacrificed into the ‘larger’ struggle against capital. For this reason Hartmann claims unless equal weight is given to patriarchal system as well as capitalist system, this marriage would not be healthy for understanding women’s oppression. In this context, she questions how to proceed this relationship; as towards a healthier marriage or a divorce.

Hartmann believes that each of these analyses could not thoroughly explain women’s oppression and subordinated position in a capitalist society by separately since gender blindness of capitalist analysis and history blindness of feminist analysis as follows;

(...) while Marxist analysis provides essential insight into the laws of historical, development, and those of capital in particular, the categories of Marxism are sex-blind. Only a specifically feminist analysis reveals the systemic character of relations between men and women. Yet feminist analysis by itself is inadequate because it has been blind to history and insufficiently materialist. Both Marxist analysis, particularly its historical and materialist method, and feminist analysis, especially the identification of patriarchy as a social and historical structure, must be drawn upon if we are to understand the development of western capitalist societies and the predicament of women within them (1979, p.2).

According to Hartmann, Marxism provides strong tools for understanding the structure of capitalist societies. She claims that Marxist theory of the development of capitalism is a theory of development of ‘empty places’. As said by Marxists,

capitalism creates hierarchical places for workers. However, the question of who fill these empty places according to which criteria could not be explained thoroughly in Marxism; since Marxist categories such as class, reserve army of labour, wage laborer could not answer this question since they are gender blind. For Hartmann, Marxist analysis of the woman question has suffered from this basic problem. As a result since gender and racial hierarchies tell us who will fill which places we need patriarchal analysis. For her, only with patriarchal analysis we can learn why it is women who are dominated and how. In this context, she defined patriarchy as

(...) a set of social relations between men, which have a material base, and which, though hierarchical, establish or create interdependence and solidarity among men that enable them to dominate women (1979, p.14).

Hartmann, explains how these two systems, capitalism and patriarchy, are autonomous and sometimes conflicts through “family wage” system of 19th century. In 19th century as a result of industrial revolution factory system has risen and it demanded more labor with less wage. Women and children have entered to supply this capitalist demand into labor force with long working hours as cheap laborers. However this situation has created direct conflict of interests between the two systems; namely patriarchal interests and capitalist interests.

According to Hartmann, patriarchal authority of men has been destroyed in two manners. First of all, women and children could earn separate from men; nevertheless by keeping wages low for everybody. Secondly, women’s participation to labor force means for men not only that their wives creating cheap competition; but also the impossibility of serving their wives to two masters in a well manner. Hartman supported her claim with Kautsky’s (1971) arguments;

The capitalist system of production does not in most cases destroy the single household of the working-man, but robs it of all but its unpleasant features. The activity of woman today in industrial pursuits means an increase of her former burden by a new one. But one cannot serve two masters. The household of the working-man suffers whenever his wife must help to earn the daily bread. (p. 26)

In this sense, working men did not desire their wives and children's participation to labour force. With the aim to keep their wives at home to serve them, they fought for "family wage"; which is in a sufficient amount for supporting their families alone by themselves. In addition to excluding women from labour force, men tried to exclude women from union membership also. By this way, they secured union protection for themselves and protective laws for women and children. Through protective laws in one hand women and children protected against abuses; however on the other hand women's participation to labour force limited. Towards the end of the 19th century, through male worker unions family wage system became a norm for working class families; and non-wage working wife became a part of standard of living of male workers (Hartmann, 1979, p.16).

Men's struggle for "family wage" rather than equal wages for both sexes could be regarded as a litmus test of their solidarity for their unwillingness to abandon their comfort arising from patriarchal system. In this sense for Hartmann, "family wages may be understood as a resolution of the conflict over women's labor power which was occurring between patriarchal and capitalist interests at that time" (ibid: p.16). This resolution which benefits both patriarchal and capitalist system is reinforced by job segregation in the labor market. Lower wages applied not only to women, but to also young people and men who belongs to inferior groups in the patriarchal hierarchy. According to Hartmann, family wages supported men's domination in two ways;

First, women earn lower wages than men. The lower pay women receive in the labor market perpetuates men's material advantage over women and encourages women to choose wifery as a career. Second, then, women do housework, childcare, and perform other services at home which benefit men directly. Women's home responsibilities in turn reinforce their inferior labor market position. (pp. 16-17).

Without an analysis of patriarchy as a distinct system from capitalism, in the case of family wage it should be easily argued that sexism rooted simply from capitalism. Hartmann's analysis of family wage supports her socialist feminist proposition to analysis patriarchy and capitalism as a combination. In addition to

family wage, Hartmann (1976) also operationalizes how patriarchy and capitalism oppress women in relation to employment through the “job segregation by sex”.

Job segregation by sex is the primary mechanism in capitalist society that maintains the superiority of men over women, because it enforces lower wages for women in the labor market. Low wages keep women dependent on men because they encourage women to marry. Married women must perform domestic chores for their husbands. Men benefit, then, from both higher wages and the domestic division of labor. This domestic division of labor, in turn, acts to weaken women's position in the labor market. Thus, the hierarchical domestic division of labor is perpetuated by the labor market, and vice versa (p.139).

Accordingly, job segregation by sex is an outcome of current interaction of capitalism and patriarchy. Patriarchy as being still powerful shapes the modern capitalist forms as capitalism has transformed patriarchal institutions. As a result, the mutual accommodation between patriarchy and capitalism has created a vicious circle for women.

Juliet Mitchell (1974) is considered also among dual system theoreticians. As mentioned above she explains the universal existence of patriarchy through Freud's Oedipus complex, which “reflects the original exogamous incest taboo, the role of the father, the exchange of women and the consequent difference between the sexes” (p. 376). Her analysis of patriarchal structure is on ideological and psychological level rather than material level. Both Millet and Eisenstein agree that patriarchy precedes capitalism. However, different from Eisenstein who argues that patriarchy precedes capitalism through the existence of the sexual ordering of society which derives from ideological and political interpretations of biological difference (1979, p.25); Mitchell (1974) uses unconscious level in her explanation. For her, patriarchy describes the universal culture and each specific economic mode of production must express this in different ideological forms.

Men enter into the class dominated structures of history while women (as women, whatever their work in an actual production) remain defined by the kinship pattern of organization. Differences of class, historical epoch, specific social situation alter the expression of femininity; but in relation to the law of the father, women's position across the board is a comparable one. (p. 406)

She contends patriarchal system and capitalist system should be analyzed separately in terms of economic and unconscious levels. Accordingly capitalist relations governed economic level; and the level of the unconscious governed patriarchal relations. For this reason, according to her women's oppression could not be understood by isolating different levels of patriarchy or capitalism in the analysis.

The overthrow of the capitalist economy and the political challenge that effects this, do not in themselves mean a transformation of patriarchal ideology. This is the implication of the fact that the ideological sphere has a certain autonomy. The change to a socialist economy does not by itself suggest that the end of patriarchy comfortably follows suit. A specific struggle against patriarchy - a cultural revolution - is requisite. The battles too must have their own autonomy. It seems to follow that women within revolutionary feminism can be the spearhead of general ideological change as the working class is the agent of the overthrow of the specifically capitalist mode of production. (1974, p.414)

In this context, Mitchell claims that an analysis of women's oppression should analyze the interaction between the ideological and psychological structures with the material relations of society.

2.4.1.2. Unified System Analysis

Iris Marion Young (1981) claims that treating capitalism and patriarchy as dual systems is hardly possible. According to her the dual systems theory could not patch up the unhappy marriage of Marxism and feminism as Hartmann and majority of socialist feminists suggest. She criticizes dual systems theoreticians who insist separating patriarchy. If patriarchy and capitalism are manifest in identical social and economic systems as Hartman (1979) suggests as the same features, such as division of labour, often reinforce both patriarchy and capitalism, and in a thoroughly patriarchal capitalist society, it is hard to isolate the mechanisms of patriarchy (p. 29); they should admit capitalism and patriarchy belong to one system not two (Young, 1981, p.47).

Main difference of Young's point from dual system theorists is her claim that women's oppression under capitalism has its source in capitalism's nature. Since,

rather than merely using or adapting to gender hierarchy, capitalism from the beginning founded on gender hierarchy which defined men as primary and women as secondary. However, Young does not argue gender patriarchy and capitalism exist at the same time;

This does not mean, of course, that gender hierarchy did not exist prior to capitalism, nor does it mean that the development of capitalism's gender division of labor did not depend on the prior existence of sexist ideology and a feudal gender division of labor. Many other aspects of capitalism developed out of feudal society, but at a certain point these developments took a specifically new form (1981, p.61).

Young also criticizes separate spheres model of dualist feminists who assume the primary sphere of patriarchal relations is the family. Accordingly this model fails to bring women's specific experiences outside the family into focus such as sexist oppression that women face in the workplace. On the other hand, the marriage between feminism and Marxism cannot be happy, if socialist feminist continue to leave the analysis of all production activity of women outside home to traditional Marxist analysis. Without a feminist challenge to the traditional Marxism, Marxism will dominate feminism. In the same manner, if Marxist theory lacks the theoretical tools for analysis of oppression of women, one can say it is an inadequate theory of production. Alternative to these shortages of dual systems Young proposes a single theory of capitalist patriarchy developed by socialist feminism which will catch best perceptions of both Marxism and radical feminism in one system for understanding women's oppression (1981, p.44).

(...) we need a theory of relations of production and the social relations of production and the social relations which derive from and reinforce those relations which takes gender relations and the situation of women as core elements. ... We must develop an analytical framework which regards the material social relations of a particular historical social formation as one system in which gender differentiation is a core attribute. (p.50)

Young proposes gender division of labour for such a theory. Since many socialist feminist analyses including dual system theoreticians use this concept in operationalizing patriarchy, she also suggest taking gender division of labour as a central category.

2.4.1.2.1. Gender division of labor

Young refers with this concept to all structured gender differentiation of labor in a society, including bearing and rearing children, caring for the sick, cleaning, cooking etc. According to her gender division of labour analysis could answer the following questions;

- What are the major lines of gender division of labor in a particular social formation and what is the nature and social meaning of the gender specified tasks?
- How does gender division of labour underlie other aspects of economic organization, and how does it underlie relations of power and domination in society, including gender hierarchy?
- How does gender division of labour led to changes in the relations of men and women, other economic relations, political relations, and ideological structures? (1981, p.53)

In comparison to dual systems analysis, for Young, gender division of labour analysis is more useful than dual system analysis. Only through this kind of analysis the specific situation of women and gender relations could be focused. A historical materialist account without gender division of labour analysis has the danger of reducing the significance of male domination and being absent of crucial elements of the structure of economic and social relations as a whole. What is important in Young's analysis is her perception of gender division of labor not just as a central aspect of relations of production rather as fundamental to their structure .

Gender division of labor analysis can also explain the origins and maintenance of women's subordination in social structural terms. Neither a biological account nor a psychological account, for example, can show how men in a particular society occupy an institutionalized position of superiority only if the organization of social relations arising from laboring activity gives them a level of control over and access to resources that women do not have. Gender division of labor can help explain this differential access to the means of labor and control, and thus can help explain how the institutions of male domination originate, are maintained and change (1981, p. 54).

Another advantage of gender division of labor analysis is that its avoidance of universalization and generalization of women's experiences in a society, different from dual systems theory which claims that patriarchy as distinct system underlies

the oppression of women and posits that all women are in an identical situation whatever their historical location or situation. However, for Young,

Gender division of labour analysis ... can avoid this false identification while still focusing on the gender specific situation and oppression of women. Gender division of labour analysis notices the broad axes of gender structuration of the relations of labor and distribution, and notices that certain tasks and functions in a particular society are always or usually performed by members of one sex. This does not necessarily commit it to any claims about the common situation of all members of that sex. In some societies every women must perform some tasks, but in most societies the tasks and positions of women vary, even though they are gender specific (1981, p.55).

Young is also aware that gender division of labour analysis not enough to reveal the entire dimensions of women's condition in a society. However, she claims that gender division of labour should be always a part of analysis and its relation should be articulated to explaining of particular aspect of women's situation. For Young, if we want to understand the economic structure and relations of domination as a whole within a feminist historical materialism we should concentrate on the structure of the gender division of labor. This category enables socialist feminists to view the phenomena of class, domination, relations of production and distribution, on the one hand, and phenomena of women's oppression, on the other hand, as aspects of the same socio-economic system (p.56).

Regarding to the studies on gender division of labour in Turkish context, Berik (1987) studied carpet weavers living in small rural communities from different regions of Turkey. According to the findings of her research weaving does not challenge existing gender relations and the ideology embedded in daily social practices and do not confer power on women. Women continue to carry on their other productive and reproductive responsibilities in the rural household in addition to weaving. Accordingly carpet weaving as a paid work different from

her non-paid agricultural reproductive and productive work does not bring any difference¹⁹ in the status of women in the household and in the community.

Y. Ecevit (1991) in her case study on women factory workers in Bursa analyzed the relationship between women's participation labor market as wage laborers and their emancipation. Accordingly women's employment creates an alternative to their restriction within private sphere as reproducers, nurturers, and subsistence producers. Moreover, participation in social production and control of income has the potential for increasing women's autonomy and power (p.55). The findings of her research show that economic transformation of Turkey brings some changes in the sexual division of labour in Turkish industry. In the case study both women and men are employed in the same factory sections. That kind of material changes which enables mixing women and men in same working place weakens women's seclusion and exclusion patterns. Additionally, there is a tendency among working women as having growing autonomy in decision making and financial control. However, women's domestic duties are still keeping their full access to all sectors of the labour market. The findings of this research show although changes in material relations gender division of labour in the household resists to change.²⁰ Domestic work, the care of children, the sick or elderly is still seen under the responsibility of women (pp.75.76)

¹⁹ Kantor (2003), conducted a case study on women's empowerment through home-based work in India. In her research, Kantor defines empowerment in terms of control over income and decision making within the household. The findings of the research shows; "increased income alone is not sufficient to directly facilitate women's empowerment within the household in urban India. Income is not unimportant, as it indirectly affects income control, but relying on improving women's access to income to facilitate their empowerment is not sufficient because social norms, likely to be related to women's social dependence on men in the Indian context, intervene in women's ability to convert resources into power. (ibid 442)." This findings of both of the case studies emphasize "why access to resources may not lead so directly to improvements in women's position in the household"(ibid: 425)

²⁰ Similar to Ecevit's case study, Kabeer et al. (2011) in their work "Does paid work provide a pathway to women's empowerment? Empirical findings from Bangladesh" explored the impact of women's paid work on various indicators of women's empowerment in Bangladesh. They define the indicators of empowerment as control over income; mobility in the public domain, participation in public life, change in attitudes and perception and paid work. According to the one of the findings of this research there is little evidence that the gender division of labour in unpaid domestic chores and childcare has changed with women's greater breadwinning responsibilities (ibid, p22).

Regarding to the gender division of labour in rural Turkey, M. Ecevit (1999) conducted a case study on the status of petty commodity production during the capitalist transformation process in rural Gökçeada village in Turkey. He analyzed the strategies of petty commodity production for resisting within capitalist formation rather than dissolving. Within this context he also discussed women's labour in PCP's. Accordingly, basic conditions of use of women's labour consist of patriarchal structure of PCP, property relations, different forms of socialization of girls and boys. There is strict gender division of labour in PCP households. Women are both producers and reproducers in PCP. The domestic chores performed by women members according to age and marriage status. They are dispossessed and their labour is controlled by head of household. All the findings of Ecevit correspond to classic patriarchal extended household's characteristics.

Similar to M. Ecevit (1999) Karkiner (2010) conducted a feminist research with the aim of understanding the social, economic, and ideological actions of rural women in PCP households. She analyzed the patriarchal experiences of rural women by referring production relations in PCP's. In this context she focused women's unpaid household labor, wage labor, gender division of labor and subsistence economy and land. Among the findings of her research rural transformation deepened unequal gender division of labour in the household and increased her exploitation as unpaid family labor.

Gündüz-Hoşgör (2010) in her case study on rural women in Turkey analyzed the effects of development policies in the status of married women living in rural settings. Specifically she searched the regional differences by looking practical applications of birth registration, use of educational rights and use of marriage related civil rights. The findings of her research showed the "top-down" implementation of legal interventions have limited effect on changing status of women. The research also showed women living in town access educational rights than women living in villages. Women living in Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia are in most disadvantageous position regarding to education and

marriage patterns. The findings of this research showed in Turkey there is a need for alternative development projects which takes the regional differences into consideration. Gündüz-Hoşgör (2011b) in another case study analyzed the effects of economic and political transformation in Gaziantep after 1990's on women from different class positions. She mainly focused women's employment patterns. Among the findings of this research strict gender division of labour in household (such as household chores, child and elderly care) appears as a primary limiting factor of women's participation in paid employment

2.4.1.2.2. Tension between two systems

Walby (1989) agrees with Young in her criticism on dual system theorists' effort to keep patriarchy and capitalism analytically distinct systems by allocating patriarchy and capitalism to different levels. She has the same opinion with Young on that dualist theorists by doing so are not able to account for patriarchal aspects of women's oppression in that level they have allocated to capital, or capitalist elements. However, Walby believes that although Young exposes key problems in dualist texts she exaggerated it by stating these problems as inherent in any future dualist analysis (p.216). Walby, different from Young defends separation of capitalism and patriarchy as two distinct systems. With this claim she takes her place among dual system theorists. She agrees with Hartmann in that patriarchy operates through exploitation of women's labour by men both within paid work, and household level. However, Walby finds Hartmann's analysis problematic for ignoring the tension between patriarchy and capitalism, and unsatisfied with her description of different structures of patriarchy.

In this context, Walby defends a degree of tension between these two systems over the exploitation of women's labor. Patriarchy does not exist in isolation from capitalist institutions. This tension could not be understood outside of an analysis which recognizes their analytic independence, as well as their historical and empirical interlinkages (1986, p. 243). As an example she shows the conflict between capitalists and husbands on time spent by women who are at the same

time workers and providers of domestic work. More time spent on one results with less time for the other.

The independence of patriarchal relations from capitalist ones has also been demonstrated, as indeed, has the conflict and tension between patriarchal and capitalist interests. There is no harmonious fit between the two sets of interests, but rather considerable antagonism and rivalry over the exploitation of women's labour. At certain times the struggle is particularly overt as was the case during the struggle in the nineteenth century over factory legislation, or over the restoration of patriarchal practices in employment which had been partially suspended for the duration of war (especially after the First World War), or over access to employment which had been partially suspended for the duration of war, ..., or over access to employment in the depths of the inter-war depression. At some other times there appears to be quiescence in this struggle as a result of compromises hammered out. The relative lack of political agitation in the second half of the nineteenth century may be partially attributed to a compromise between these rival interests over women's labour. Part-time work for married women since the Second World War is similarly a result of compromise between patriarchal and capitalist demands for women's labour arrived at during the war. Other analyses which attempt to reduce gender inequality to the workings of capitalism- or those which assert that patriarchy simply reinforces capitalist social relations- cannot account for such conflicts (1986, p.247).

For Walby, historically, the strategy for subordination of women in relation to paid employment has changed throughout time from exclusion to segregation. In earlier times of industrial capitalism; women's greater involvement to labor force in 19th century resulted in their exclusion from best paid sectors of work²¹ and men's privileged access to paid work through state's legislative support (1989, p. 216). However, exclusion of women has not longed between two world wars. Due to the women's larger participation into employment and women's movement's efforts for demanding equal citizen rights, state had to revise its legislation. After that, in 20th century, new mode of women's oppression within capitalism has been job segregation by sex. Walby (1990) summarize this concept as follows;

(...) the division between part-time and full-time work, the former being performed almost exclusively by married women. The conditions of work are different between part-time and full-time in two main respects; part-time jobs pay less than full-time ones on average; part-timers have less

²¹ "The mills and the mines were better paid and had shorter hours than agricultural labor, domestic service and housewifery, which were the main alternatives" (Walby 1989: 216)

secure contracts of employment, making them vulnerable to dismissal (p.54).

In Walby's analysis segregation denotes also confining women to jobs which are graded lower than those of men.

2.5. Women's Agency

2.5.1. Empowerment as an analytic concept

Within the boundaries of research I am also questioning women's agency within the structural change. There are various studies in the feminist literature emphasizing that women are not passive receivers of the patriarchal system but also maintained, undermined, or reconfigured patriarchal system through developing strategies for empowerment. Recent focus of related literature on Turkey is mainly on working-class or middle class women's daily life strategies to cope with patriarchy and market relations and/or the role of paid work in women's empowerment (Beşpınar 2010; Bora 2008; Erman 2001, Erman et al. 2002; Gündüz-Hoşgör and Smits 2008; Isvan 1991; Kalaycıoğlu Rittersberger- Tilic 1998). On the other hand Kandiyoti through more cultural understanding (1988) contrasts sub-Saharan Africa and Middle East, South and East Asia describes women's strategies and coping mechanisms within patriarchal system's constraints. She identifies strategies that lead women's active or passive resistance for maximizing their security and optimizing life options as "patriarchal bargains" (1988 p. 274). Similar to "patriarchal bargain", Moghadam (1988) suggests "patriarchal gender contract" as an alternative concept. Moghadam (1988) refers with "patriarchal gender contract", the order based on men's responsibility for the support of their wives and children. According to this contract²², in return to men's protection women are obliged to maintain home, care for children and obey their husband. In this system the husband "is entitled to exercise his marital authority by restraining his wife's movements and preventing her from showing herself in public" (2004: p.145).

²² The neopatriarchal state upholds the patriarchal gender contract which mean a gender ideology, a set of cultural norms, and a social relationship predicated on the male breadwinner- female homemaker role (Moghadam 2004: 24).

Similar to Kandiyoti, in this thesis I shall answer the question of “whether rural transformation creates opportunities for empowerment of women”; and “are there any breakdowns and transformation of women’s empowerment strategies between generations.” Within this context I have to clarify how I conceptualize empowerment in my analysis. I find very functional using Kabeer’s (1999, 2011) perception of empowerment as ability to make strategic life choices.

2.5.1.1. Ability to make strategic life choices

According to Kabeer, empowerment refers to the processes by which those who have been denied the ability to make choices acquire such an ability (1999, p.437). She distinguishes the choices which are relevant to power as “strategic life choices”. Accordingly;

some choices have greater significance than others in terms of their consequences for people's lives. We therefore have to make a distinction between first- and second-order choices, where the former are those strategic life choices which are critical for people to live the lives they want (such as choice of livelihood, whether and who to marry, whether to have children, etc.). These strategic life choices help to frame other, second-order, less consequential choices, which may be important for the quality of one's life but do not constitute its defining parameters. Inasmuch as our notion of empowerment is about change, it refers to the expansion in people's ability to make strategic life choices in a context where this ability was previously denied to them. (1999, p. 437)

In Kabeer conceptualization, the ability to exercise choices include three interconnected dimensions; resources, agency and achievements.

The degree of having ability to exercise choice is closely related to the resources. For Kabeer, these resources include not only economic resources but also human and social resources. They are acquired through social relationships conducted different domains in the society (namely family, market, community).

Such resources may take the form of actual allocations as well as of future claims and expectations. Access to such resources will reflect the rules and norms which govern distribution and exchange in different institutional arenas. These rules and norms give certain actors authority over others in determining the principles of distribution and exchange so that the distribution of 'allocative' resources tends to be embedded within the

distribution of 'authoritative resources'.. ability to define priorities and enforce claims. Heads of households, chiefs of tribes or elites within a community are all endowed with decision-making authority within particular institutional contexts by virtue of their positioning within those institutions (1999, pp. 437-438).

Agency as the second dimension of empowerment process refers the ability to define one's goals and act upon them. The tendency in social sciences literature is operationalization of agency with "decision making". Kabeer offers other forms of agency in addition to decision making; bargaining and negotiation, deception and manipulation, subversion and resistance (p.438). Kabeer also discuss the meanings of agency in relation to positive and negative forms of power as "power to", "power over" and power as not exercising agency. Accordingly;

In the positive sense of the 'power to', it refers to people's capacity to define their own life-choices and to pursue their own goals, even in the face of opposition from others. Agency can also be exercised in the more negative sense of 'power over', in other words, the capacity of an actor or category of actors to over-ride the agency of others, for instance, through the use of violence, coercion and threat. However, power can also operate in the absence of any explicit agency. The norms and rules governing social behavior tend to ensure that certain outcomes are reproduced without any apparent exercise of agency. Where these outcomes bear on the strategic life choices noted earlier, they testify to the exercise of power as 'non-decision-making' with decision-making authority within particular institutional contexts by virtue of their positioning within those institutions (P.438).

Kabeer's argues that two dimensions of empowerment, agency and resources corresponds together Sen's (1984) "capabilities". Sen's capability approach is about evaluating the ability of people to achieve various valuable functionings as part of living (p.271). Sen's conceptualize functionings as the main concern of capability approach as follows;

Functionings represent parts of the state of a person – in particular the various things that he or she manages to do or be in leading a life. The *capability* of a person reflects the alternative combinations of functionings the person can achieve, and from which he or she can choose one collection The approach is based on a view of living as a combination of various 'doings and beings', with quality of life to be assessed in terms of the capability to achieve valuable functionings (1984, p.271).

Sen distinguishes functionings according to their complexity. I.e. some functions are very basic and strongly valued by all such as being in good health and nourished well. Other functionings are more complex and not equally valued by individuals. I.e. achieving self-respect or being socially integrated are also widely valued, however individuals differ in their attachments to these functionings (p. 272).

Achievement, the third dimension of empowerment, is for Kabeer (1999) most difficult to measure. In regard to the ability of making strategic life choices there are inequalities in people's capacity. For Kabeer measuring empowerment should interest in these possible *inequalities* rather than the *differences* in the choices people make. However, interpretation of inequality is problematic for Kabeer as follows;

An observed lack of uniformity in functioning achievements cannot be automatically interpreted as evidence of inequality because it is highly unlikely that all members of a given society will give equal value to different possible ways of 'being and doing' (1999, p.439).

For Kabeer, one of the strategies to cope this challenge, adapted by Sen (1984), may be focusing to basic survival related achievements without concerning the context;

One way of getting around the problem for measurement purposes would be to focus on certain universally-valued functionings, those which relate to the basic fundamentals of survival and well-being, regardless of context. For instance, it is generally agreed that proper nourishment, good health and adequate shelter all constitute primary functionings which tend to be universally valued. If there are systematic gender differences in these very basic functioning achievements, they can be taken as evidence of inequalities in underlying capabilities rather than differences in preferences (1999, p. 439).

However, Kabeer contends that inequalities in basic functions occur in extreme scarcity. This strategy brings us narrowing our analysis of women's disempowerment as a matter of poverty and lacks of analyze disempowerment in better-off sections of society. It also missed forms of gender disadvantage among the poor which do not take the form of basic functioning failures (1999, p 439).

Kabeer's second suggestion for analyzing achievements is moving from the basic functions to the functions in more complex form.²³

The second issue might be measuring achievements of defining the power. There is a tendency equating power to choice "as long as what is chosen appears to contribute to the welfare of those making the choice" (Kabeer 1999, p.440). However equation between power and choice hinders analysis of forms of gender inequality chosen by women themselves. In this context Kabeer offers that;

... they are also choices which stem from, and serve to reinforce, women's subordinate status. They remind us that power relations are expressed not only through the exercise of agency and choice, but also through the kinds of choices people make. This notion of power is a controversial one because it allows for the possibility that power and dominance can operate through consent and complicity as well as through coercion and conflict. (1999, p.441)

2.6. Summary

This research suggests that any intention to analyze women's subordinate position in contemporary societies should include patriarchy and relations of production as analytical tools. The capital pursue its own interests, during the rural transformation process, the new organization of production unintentionally facilitate broadening the public sphere for women. Within this context I shall argue that improvements in women's access to public sphere such as getting further education and job opportunities; changes in type of and age at marriage; and transition from extended households to nuclear families are all the results of recent capitalist production relations and created inherent contradictions within classical patriarchal structures. However, patriarchy does not disappear; rather it concurrently takes new forms of control in accordance with historically changing relations of production. By doing so, patriarchal ideology, which predates capitalism, sustains itself in a strong manner and maintains the nature of gender division of labour based on subordination of women. Women as active agents also develop new empowerment strategies pursuant to new conditions.

²³ This is the strategy adopted in the UNDP's gender-disaggregated Human Development Index as well as its Gender Empowerment (GEM) index (UNDP, 1995). (Kabeer 1999, 439)

In the scope of thesis, socialist feminist approach is main theoretical paradigm which attempts to answer the main research question of this research “how women’s experiences with patriarchy have changed between generations in rural Anatolian towns/districts throughout rural transformation after 1980’s” Regarding to this theoretical paradigm, patriarchy is conceptualized as a system of power derives from hierarchical organization of gender, age and class. This system is based on the control of women’s productive and reproductive labour, sexuality and mobility in both private and public spheres. Patriarchy, rather than being an a-historic system, sustains by reconfiguring itself according to mode of production of the society and certain socio-cultural contexts.

Regarding the dual systems discussions within socialist feminist, I am taking my position similar to Walby’s (1989) and Young’s (1981) criticism on keeping patriarchy and capitalism analytically distinct systems. In this context, I will use Young’s suggestion to use “gender division of labour” as a central category in operationalization of patriarchy. In this context the change and/or steadiness in gender division of labor and its relation to particular aspects of women’s oppression will be a part of the analysis of this research. The use of the concept gender division of labor will save us from limiting ourselves to “male breadwinner, dependent housewife and children” model in grasping change within the household since this model underwent critical changes. It is believed that, this kind of operationalization enables us to analyze the complex interaction individuals, families, generations, genders and classes.

This research also aims to understand how women’s agency has changed within the current capitalist patriarchal structure by asking whether transformation process creates opportunities for empowerment of women. In this context, I will use Kabeer’s perception of empowerment as “ability to make strategic life choices”. The issue of agency is elaborated in the way Kabeer conceptualized as one of the three interrelated dimensions of empowerment with the dimensions of resources and achievements.

CHAPTER THREE

DESIGN OF THE FIELD: HOW INTERGENERATIONAL EXPERIENCES WERE LEARNED BY WOMEN

3.1. Introduction

The methodology of this Ph.D. research rests on feminist theoretical paradigm. The main motivation of a feminist research is to understand women's own experiences from their perspectives. The interest in valuing women's voices as the main source of data brings feminist researchers often consulting qualitative research methods. As Hakim (1987) suggests (1987, p.26) qualitative research is concerned with

... 'individuals' own accounts of their attitudes, motivations and behaviour. It offers richly descriptive reports of individuals' perceptions, attitudes, beliefs, views and feelings, the meanings and interpretations given to events and things, as well as their behavior; displays how these are put together, more or less coherently and consciously, into frameworks which make sense of their experiences; and illuminates the motivations which connect attitudes and behaviour, the discontinuities, or even contradictions between attitudes and behaviour, or how conflicting attitudes and motivations are resolved in particular choices made (p.26).

In this context, the present research with the aim of *apprehending the intergenerational changes and continuities in women's patriarchal experiences* is designed as a qualitative research. A case study is conducted in Avanos, representative of a Central Anatolian district/town. As Iacono et. al (2009, p. 40) indicate that the case study is a research strategy which focuses on understanding phenomenon within its natural setting. Accordingly case studies are preferred when the phenomenon cannot be separated from its context, the focus is on contemporary events, and the experience of the actors is important.

The case study is designed in two phases. First phase aims to discover Avanos' socio-economic structure and history of transformation, while the second phase

focuses on investigating possible changes of patriarchal patterns in women's experiences. Multiple qualitative data collection techniques are used throughout this study. Semi structured interviews with key informants; in-depth interviews with women; group interviews resembling to focus group; documents; archival records; direct observation and participant observation have been main sources of data.

In this chapter, I shall delineate the research process from entering field to data collection and data analysis for both of two phases of the research. In this scope, this chapter is organized in five sections. The first section will be the field induction; the second section will be designed for detailed data collection process on the structure and transformation of Avanos. Subsequently, in the third section the history, demographic, economic and educational profile of Avanos will be examined under the title of description of field. In the fourth section the data collection and analysis process on women's experiences will be discussed in details. Finally last section will cover experiences including the challenges and opportunities in reaching informants; reciprocity issue and unexpected situations encountered during the research.

3.2. Entering the Field

As I described in the Chapter 1, when I targeted Central Anatolia as my focus area, it took long time to decide the exact field where my case study will be conducted. At first, I was planning to conduct my research in Ürgüp. During this period, I have visited several times Nevşehir and Ürgüp. In 8 March 2010, I was invited by Nevşehir Hacı Bektaş Veli University for a conference organized for celebrating Women's Day. This organization enabled me to meet academicians, Prof. Dr. Nimet Karataş (Head of College), Asst. Prof. Dr. Ayşegül Özcan and Instructor Simla Adagide from Semra and Vefa Health School who are also working on the women living in the Cappadocia region. The general focus of their studies is on women and children's health related issues; such as fertility, post-natal mother and newborn care as well as psycho-social development of women.

Above-mentioned people told me that they would be pleased to collaborate with me during my field research.

My purpose of visit was also to be able to meet with Ürgüp Sub-governor, I got in contact with the Chief Director and explained him that I would like to get an appointment from the sub governor in order to introduce myself, my research study and seek for assistance and advice during my field research. However, I sensed that the Chief Director was reluctant to schedule me an appointment with the Sub-governor, and informed me that due to busy programme of the sub governor he could not give me a date for an appointment. I realized that it was almost impossible to persuade the Chief Director over the phone, for that reason I decided to go to sub governor's office with a random visit. When I hang up the phone, I was upset for not getting a positive and cooperative answer in my first attempt. I felt that awkward feeling down in my heart, I felt as if I was treated like an elementary school student trying to meet sub governor for doing her homework.

Frankly speaking, I had a prejudice to the Chief Director because of this phone conversation. Controversially, he warmly welcomed me when I arrived to his office. In fact, he was not by his own, he had audience in his office, and there were two other guests. The Director of Civil Registry and the Director of Agriculture were also with him. It was a chance to find those people together, and I made a face-to-face interview with them. I had the chance of finding all those people at the same time. I realized the impact of face-to-face meeting, instead of the phone conversation. After our long interview, the Chief Director suggested me that he could assist me in getting an appointment with the sub governor the same day afternoon. However, when I arrived to his office, he explained me that he omitted the busy programme of the sub governor. In fact, he seemed very anxious about our prior interview, he told me not to write or mention his name in the research analysis. Hence, he is a civil servant; such things might jeopardize his official position.

When I returned to Ankara, I was feeling discouraged and confused. I felt discouraged since, I lost my entire motivation with my previous experience with the sub governor office. I was hoping and planning to meet with the entire bureaucrats, government administratives of Ürgüp and conduct interviews with, Sub governor, General Directorate of National Education of Ürgüp for instance. This experience made me understood that I must be more consistent, decisive and stubborn and be patient about getting appointment from each of them.

I felt confused, since according the interview on rural transformation of Ürgüp that I made with directors in sub governorate, the effects of tourism in Ürgüp's current socio-economic structure came forward as a central issue needs to be elaborated. Undoubtedly, I had already foreseen²⁴and prepared to hear that tourism is one of the economic activities during the transformation process. However, I have not planned to put the effects of unsustainable tourism development as a central issue in my research. With these aspects, Ürgüp was not presenting a typical central Anatolian town for conducting a research on women's changing experiences.

I shared my discouraging field experience and concerns on conducting a case study in Ürgüp with my Supervisor Professor Dr. Ayşe Gündüz Hoşgör. She suggested accompanying me next time in the field during summer after the end of classes in METU. Surprisingly, four months later, Ahiler Development Agency²⁵ invited her for a seminar on gender and development issues in Nevşehir. This invitation was an opportunity for us in order to visit the sub governor and other

²⁴Besides, I have already conducted a research in Ürgüp on transformation of Kayakapı Neighborhood (Kayakapı Mahallesi) in the scope a PhD course (Soc 641 Sociology of Industrialization and Modernization) project. The findings of that research indicate the negative effects of unsustainable tourism development in Ürgüp.

²⁵Ahiler Development Agency has been established as per the Board of Ministers Decree no. 2009/15236 published on the Official Journal with date 25th of July 2009 within the framework of the "Law on the Establishment, Coordination and Duties of Development Agencies" with date 25th of January 2006 and no. 5449. The center of the Agency that covers the TR71 NUTS 2 Region comprising of Aksaray, Kırıkkale, Kırşehir, Nevşehir and Niğde provinces, and there are Investment Support Offices (ISO) (Yatırım Destek Ofisleri - YDO) in these provinces where the Agency is operational.

Town Administratives in Ürgüp. We saw this invitation as an opportunity to visit my intended field and we planned a trip together to Nevşehir. We arranged our accommodation in Ürgüp which is 20 km (maximum 15 minutes) away from Nevşehir. During our stay we made an all-day observation in the neighborhood. Undoubtedly, Ürgüp is a touristic town where the 80% bed capacity of Cappadocia region is located here.

We did not have any difficulties in getting an appointment since a professor from Middle East Technical University was requesting it from the Sub governor of Ürgüp. During our meeting with the Mr. Ömer Faruk Kala, he informed us that he was Deputy Sub governor ad interim for a month, until a sub governor is assigned to the town, therefore, he did not have comprehensive information on the region. Deputy Sub-governor strongly advised us to pay a visit to sub governor of Avanos who was a woman. We again easily got an appointment from Avanos Governor. The following day we visited Avanos Governor Aylin Kırıcı Duman.²⁶ She seemed very excited after learning that we are coming from METU Sociology and our plan to conduct a Ph.D. research on women living in this region. She was very interested in gender issues and told us that she was carrying out handful of projects on women living in Avanos. She stated that there is a need of such a research on socio-economic status on women in Avanos. She also mentioned that the outputs of this research would also provide detailed information on problems of women, so that the local government could produce projects or take measures according to the findings of this research. She promised to give all kind of logistic support in case of selecting Avanos as the field. After leaving the office of Aylin Kırıcı Duman we spent time in Avanos and observed the region. Our regional observation, the positive support of sub governor, led us to come a conclusion that we were in a right place, we chose the appropriate field for conducting our Ph.D research.

²⁶She was among the first women governors in Turkey and has been in her mission since August 2009. After graduating from department of political science in Ankara University in 1991, she wanted to get sociology education. She was enrolled to METU sociology department as undergraduate student but did not complete it.

From that day till now, I have never regretted that I chose Avanos as the field of my Ph.D study. My supervisor's presence with me in the field, encountering with a women governor with gender perspective and her promising full support from the initial day, encouraged me to conduct and take my research to further stage.

3.3. First Part of the Research: Getting the Data on Avanos's Socio-economic Structure and Profile

The main aim of first part of this research is retrieving information about Avanos's socio-economic structure and transformation story. I conducted the first part of the case study during the summer 2010. I periodically travelled to Avanos from Ankara between June to September 2010. The Governor's support for free accommodation in Avanos Teacher Guesthouse gave me the chance to stay longer in my field of research. I conducted 32 semi-structured interviews including key informants, local people, artisans and members of organizations (see Table 3.1. and Table 3.2.). I arranged most of my interview appointments through Didem Dileri who is secretary of Governor.²⁷ During my interviews, I also made direct observation and collected documents and archival records for discovering the structural profile of Avanos.

Table 3.1. List of interviews with key informants (representatives of local government institutions)

The duty/ institution	Person/people interviewed	The person who help me to make an appointment	Type of record
The Foundation for Social Solidarity and Aid	Director Officer	Via secretary of Avanos governor	Tape recorded
The District Directorate of Land Registry	Director	Via secretary of Avanos governor	Refused to tape record
The District Directorate of National Education	Director	Via secretary of Avanos governor	Tape recorded
The District Directorate of Agriculture	Director Agricultural Engineer	Via secretary of Avanos governor	Tape recorded

²⁷So that I quickly skipped this time consuming step of setting up interviews with busy informants. I think it could last at least six months long to meet all key informants interviewed in this part.

Table 3.1. (Continued)			
The duty/ institution	Person/people interviewed	The person who help me to make an appointment	Type of record
The District Directorate of Population	Director	Via secretary of Avanos governor	Refused to tape record
The District Directorate of Security	Director	Via secretary of Avanos governor	Refused to tape record
Avanos Tourist Information Bureau	Director	Just entered his room and asked to interview	Tape recorded
Mufti	Mufti	Via secretary of Avanos governor	Tape recorded
Avanos Municipality	Officer	By myself	Tape recorded
Judge (Hakim)	Judge	Via secretary of Avanos governor	Tape recorded
Public Prosecutor (Savcı)	Public Prosecutor	Via secretary of Avanos governor	Refused to tape record
Social Service and Children Protection Institution (SHÇEK)	Expert	Via secretary of Avanos governor	Tape recorded
The Directorate of Employment Organization/Nevşehir (İş-Kur)	Director	Via secretary of Avanos governor	Tape recorded
The Unit of Equality for Women and Men in Nevşehir Governorate (Kadın Erkek Eşitlik Birimi)	UN <i>Women Friendly</i> Cities 2 Project Local Coordinator	Via secretary of Avanos governor	Tape recorded
Director of Girls Dormitory of General Directorate of Credit and Dormitories Agency	Director	Via secretary of Avanos governor	Tape recorded

Table 3.2. List of interviews other than institutions

Person/people interviewed	The person who help me to make an appointment	Type of record
Semra and Vefa Health College: Prof. Dr. Nimet Karataş; Ins. Dr. Simla Adagide; Asst. Dr. Ayşegül Özcan	By myself	Tape recorded
Avanos Women Solidarity and Cultural Association of Importers Exporters: Sibel Pirinç Aplaç (Member) Burcu Kılıç (Member)	Via secretary of Avanos governor	Tape recorded
Avanos Cooperative of Women's Entrepreneurs: Eftal, Fatma, Necla, Nermin, Nurcan, Nurten, Meryem (Members of the Restaurant Part of the Cooperative) And anonym members of Ceramic Part of the Cooperative	Just entered to the restaurant and asked to interview	Tape recorded

Table 3.2. (continued)		
Person/people interviewed	The person who help me to make an appointment	Type of record
Young woman living in Avanos: Safiye Kavak	By myself	Note taken
Three old women living in Avanos: Bakiye Teyze, Kezban Teyze, Cemile Teyze	Just meeting in front of their houses (Bakiye, Kezban) Via İsmet Demir-Teacher in Alaettin Elementary School (Cemile)	Tape recorded
A young co-wife (kuma)	Via The Foundation for Social Solidarity and Aid	Tape recorded
A worker from Avanos Öğretmenevi, Tolga Bey	By myself	Note taken during the breakfast time
Teachers: Director of Kalaba Elementary School A teacher from Alaettin Elementary School: İsmet Demir	Via The District Directorate of National Education	Tape recorded
Owner of a beauty salon, and her two daughters	Via Safiye Kavak	Tape recorded
A middle age women living in Avanos: Gülper Gündüz Yassı	Via Safiye Kavak	Tape recorded
The owner of Kızılırmak Avanos Newspaper: Kemal Çelik	Just entered the printing house and asked for interview	Tape recorded
University students from Girl's Dormitory	Via secretary of Avanos governor	Tape recorded
Pot artisans: Yaşar Usta (Master), Mehmet Usta	Via secretary of Avanos governor	Tape recorded

I was able to record most of my interviews on my voice recorder. I explained my purpose of research and sought permission of each interviewee for recording. I was able to get consent of my interviewees apart from the District Director of Land Registry, the District Director of Population, the District Director of Security, and Public Prosecutor. They refused tape recording. Their common reason was being civil servant. I did not try to persuade them for the voice recording. Instead, took notes during the interviews.

I asked questions within the following framework; during my semi-structured interviews with key informants

- General information about her/his duty in Avanos?
- How does she/he tell the story of transformation of Avanos after 1980s related to her/his field of duty?

- How does she/he does asses women’s current status in Avanos (inequality, access to resources, poverty and violence)
- How does she/he assess the change in the experiences between old/middle ages and young women living in Avanos?

I followed similar framework during my interviews with local people, artisans, and organizations by adapting questions of my previous interviews. I asked women whom I interviewed in this part following additional questions. I considered the interviews with women as pilot interviews for the second part of the research designed for the experiences of women.

- General information of the women (Age, education, occupation)
- If married, the story of marriage (Type of marriage, age of marriage, age of first child etc.)

3.3.1. First interview in the field

My first interview in the field was with a group of women from Avanos Cooperative of Women’s Entrepreneurs.²⁸ Before going to Avanos I had no information on such a women’s cooperative. In fact, I arrived to Avanos on Saturday and my plan was to conduct interviews with the Directors of public institutions during the weekdays. My initial plan was to stay in Avanos city center and observe the area until Monday. Teacher guesthouse is very close to the Sub governorate building which is in the city center. In first day, just across Sub governorate building I saw the Women’ Cooperative Restaurant signboard. I walked in the restaurant, took a seat and I began to observe inside of the restaurant soon after I ordered my meal. There were three rooms and one kitchen in the restaurant. Women were gathered in one of those rooms preparing the food for their customers. Their menu was mainly consisting of Manti, Baklava, and stuffed grape leaves (dolma). Those women were rolling the meat doughs, Baklava dough, and were making dolma on a table in the room. That room was designed in a traditional way. There was a wooden stove in the center of the room for heating and for boiling tea. The stove was centered between the floor cushions. The other

²⁸ I will mention about Avanos Cooperative of Women’s Entrepreneurs as Women’s Cooperative in later pages of this study.

two rooms were designed as lounge for the customers with tables. While having my meal, I asked several question regarding the women cooperative to the woman who was serving me. She invited me to the room where women were currently preparing manti. I introduced myself and offer to help them while we were talking about the women cooperative.

With their permission, I turned on my tape recorder and began to my first semi-structured interview while folding the meat doughs. The interviewees were generally of Avanos origin and have lived in Avanos for their entire life. Only one interviewee had lived 4 years in several cities due to her husband posting as a civil servant. I found out that the cooperative was quite new- just 4 months old. The women were endeavor for set up and improve the condition of the cooperative.

I had the benefit of knowing those women since the initial of my field research. Those women were supportive and very kind to me throughout my two years of field research. I spent most of my spare time with them in their cooperation. I had long chats with them, listened to their life stories, often gave them a hand whilst they were rolling meat balls, and manti. Especially, on the second phase of my field study, those women were very helpful in getting me in contact with other women who were dwellers in Avanos.

3.3.2. Daily routine in the field

Throughout my field research, as a first thing to do, I used to visit Ms. Didem Dileri in the Subgovernate office. She was arranging appointments for me. I was careful not to make more than two interviews with representatives of institutions. In the remaining time, I made observation in the town center, collected documents, and I made interviews with local people. I generally had my meals in the Restaurant of Women's Cooperative. In the following days, I was invited by people or families to the luncheons, dinners or weekend picnics in their gardens in riverbank. I tried to attend most of those invitations. I took notes of my daily observations during such events till the time I went bed. I used to transfer all my

notes and organize them on my laptop every morning until 10.00 in Teacher Guesthouse. I wrote a detailed report at the end of each return to Ankara.

3.3.3. Organizing the data retrieved from the first phase and planning of the second phase

I read field notes, field reports; collected documents and transcriptions of interviews several times before starting to the second part of the research. I organized the obtained data into three categories. First category of data was description of the structure. Second type of data included related field notes for method part such as field experiences including difficulties that I faced and my strategies; further guiding recommendations to myself for the next part of the research. As the third type of data, I considered my interviews with local women as pilot interviews and preparation for in-depth interviews of the next part of my research. After re-integrating all these type of data, I kept reading until I had the comprehensive understanding of the transformation matrix²⁹ of Avanos. As natural part of dissertation, I discussed the findings of this part with my thesis committee in February 2011. Subsequent to their feedbacks, I designed the second part of the research for exploring the last step of this matrix which is women's changing experiences. Now, I will introduce those of my findings.

3.4. Second Part: Getting the data on Women's Changing Experiences

I started to conduct my second part of this research one year after the first part of, induction of the field research. I preferred to start the second part end of the term in METU just same as I did during the induction part. I periodically visited Avanos between May to August 2011, I stayed at least for a week in each visit. If I have to compare first part and second part of the research, I was feeling different from previous visits of first part. Previous year, at the very beginning of field induction, I was completely feeling a stranger who belongs to nowhere. However, this time I entered the field as a feminist researcher, whose roots belong to this

²⁹The set of conditions (neo-liberal policies in developing world, Turkey's adaptation to the new status-quo through structural adjustment policies) that provides the new socio-economic order resulted with rural transformation of Central Anatolia including Avanos.

geography and ready to embrace all kind of information coming from women. I had already strengthened my personal contacts in Avanos. I had built up strong friendship with all those women last year. Photo frames (that I took photos of women and gave as gift) adorning the walls of Women's Cooperative Restaurant; local people that I came across on the streets; "my lovely-little coffeehouse" by the river which I regularly visit; guesthouse personal that used to serve me additional home grown tomatoes in the breakfast... Actually, I began to mix up where actually was my home and where was my field.

3.4.1. Intergenerational approach

In this part of the research, I aimed to investigate women's changing experiences in Avanos through interviewing women from different age cohorts. I assumed that successive cohorts are differentiated by the changing patterns of education, marriage and employment as a result of rural transformation. I conceptualized generations in this research as As Giesen (2004) does. Accordingly, "generations are communities of experience that differ with respect to this experiential background. Most important in this respect are triumphant or traumatic experiences that devalue the experience of the parental generation and provide a frame for the collective identity of a generation." (p.27)

The sampling method of this research was purposive non-probability sampling. I categorized generations according to two age cohorts. I determined the age range for the first generation from 41 to 70; while for the second generation from 20 to 40³⁰. The criteria for first group was living in Avanos at least 30 years in the young or middle ages during 1980's; for the second group the criteria was being currently in young or middle ages and have been living at least 20 years in

³⁰ I defined the age range for second generation between 20 and 40 since I assumed the average age of the marriage age rises to 20 in second generation. So that, I could be able to listen the marriage experiences of second generation. With the assumption that the possibility of having grandchild increases after 40 age leads me cut out the age range in 40. So that I could be able to categorize grandchild care labor in my analyze the labor experiences of first generation.

Avanos.³¹ I conducted interviews with mother-daughter couples. It can be assumed that since daughters socialized by their mothers within the family, the way of perception and interpretation of experiences of mothers and daughters would roughly resemble each other. Differences in the interpretations of experiences thus enables me follow changes and by controlling their class position.

I reached the informant couples matching predefined criteria through snowball technique. I identified respondents mostly through informal networking activities. Additionally, I got the help of several organizations. The women that I have already known and maintained our relationship from the first phase of the research³² directed me their relatives or neighbors who match the criteria³³.

It was quite difficult to reach mother-daughter pairs who were matching the interviews criteria for two reasons. Firstly, the couples both living in Avanos were in a limited number since the tendency in the second generation was migrating outside through marriage and/or education and employment opportunities (mostly for employment of their husbands). Therefore, it was a challenge insisting on interviewing with mother-daughter couples. I could have interviewed individual women matching the age and “minimum years of living” criteria for each generation. However, I did not want to eliminate my option of controlling changes and continuities in experiences of women who are from same economic classes. My second challenge was the informant couples who were reluctant on taking part in my research. I neither insist on an interview with them nor allow any mediators to convince them for an interview. Because, it was reluctance or willingness of

³¹Just two of women from the second generation have exceeded the age limit (D6: 42 and D7: 47). However, strategically I preferred to include them into the interviewees, since I could reach their mothers matching the criteria for the first generation.

³² Member women from Avanos Women’s Entrepreneurs Cooperative, Member women from women’s organization in Avanos, Governor’s secretary Didem Dileri, Safiye Kavak and his mother’s suggestions.

³³ Local women organization and Dr. Ayşegül Özcan³³, a professor from Nevşehir University Health College also helped me to find matching couples in Avanos.

women were critical, since, the subject of research based on experiences of women.³⁴

3.4.2. Introducing the participants

In this phase of field study, I have interviewed with 44 informants (23 from mother’s generation; 21 from daughter’s generation). They vary in terms of socio economic status. The younger cohort varies in terms of marital status. Relevant information should be found in Table 3.13., Table 3.14., and Table 3.15. where the letters “M” and “D” represent, respectively “mother” and “daughter“. Each number represents one couple. For example M1 is the mother of informant D1. The lists and profiles of the participants (Table 3.3.), socio economic status of participants (Table 3.4.), and household structure of the participants (Table 3.5.) are presented below.

Table 3.3. The lists and profiles of the participants

Interview Number	Age	Education	Current/Last Occupation	Marital Status	Type of Marriage	Age of first marriage	Age of first Child	Child Number	Property ownership
M1	60	illiterate	Housewife	Two marriages in total- first divorced last widow	Arranged	13	14	5 death 2 miscarriage 5 alive	Her own share of house from her second husband
D1	28	Drop out of middle school	Housewife	First marriage divorced Second Religious Marriage	Arranged	15	16	1	1 house Territory

³⁴By doing interviews with couples, just in two cases daughters rejected to talk with me. Among them, D8 was a tourist guide and stated she is very busy and have no time to talk with me. It was summertime and the tourism season. She was working long hours and after the work she had to take her little baby from her mother -who is sitting her daughter’s baby during the day time- than had to prepare meal etc. I could even not meet D9, although she has already accepted to talk with me (I arranged this meeting through an intermediary person who is her friend). I have later learned just before meeting day she had a quarrel with her mother, and as a reaction to her she refused to interview. However, I decided to evaluate both of two interviews that I have already done with their mothers. I could at least get data from these interviews about profile information on their daughters such as age of marriage, education, occupation

Table 3.3. (continued)									
Interview Number	Age	Education	Current/Last Occupation	Marital Status	Type of Marriage	Age of first marriage	Age of first Child	Child Number	Property ownership
M2	50	Drop out of high school	Cleaning worker at Teachers Lodge (Öğretmen Evi)	Divorced	Arranged	23	23	2	1 house
D2	24	High school	Housewife	Married	Own decision(Dating)	18	20	1 + pregnant	residing in a rental house
M3	44	Primary school	Housewife	Married	Arranged	15	16	4	Territory
D3	23	(AÖF) Distant Learning Public Administration	Housewife	Married	Arranged	19	20	2 1 Miscarriage	residing in a rental house
M4	60	Drop out of primary school	Housewife	Widow	Arranged	17	18	3	Her own share of house from her deceased husband
D4	40	High school	Cicerone (Tourism)	Married	Own decision	20	21	2	Residing in rental house
M5	58	illiterate	Housewife	Married	Arranged	15	16	5 alive 1 death in her 6 months	territory
D5	40	Primary school	Housewife	Married	Arranged	15	16	3 1 miscarriage	Residing in rental house
M6	67	Primary school	Worked 6 months in Germany as a worker (1972)	Married	Arranged	16	17	4	Residing in rental house
D6	42	High school	Security in a Park	First marriage: divorced Second: lived with a married man together Third: Married	Own decision	23	24	4	Residing in rental house
M7	66	Drop out from primary school	First woman officer in the Avanos Municipality (btw 1985-1996)	Divorced	Arranged	16	17	3	1 house
D7	47	Vocational Higher Education School- Nursery - Nevşehir	Nurse in Avanos Health Center (Sağlık Ocağı)	Divorced (first marriage with a widowed man no kids)	Arranged	34	37	1 (through infertility treatment)	1 car

Table 3.3. (continued)									
Interview Number	Age	Education	Current/Last Occupation	Marital Status	Type of Marriage	Age of first marriage	Age of first Child	Child Number	Property ownership
M8	61	-	Produced Piecework in France (btw 1967-68)	Married	Arranged	16	17	3	1 House
D8	34	-	-	Married	Arranged	-	-	-	1 house from her mother
M9	55	Middle School	Retired from Avanos Municipality	Married	Arranged	21	22	3	Residing in rental house
D9	-	University degree	-	Married	Arranged	-	-	-	-
M10	41	Primary School	Housewife	Married	Arranged	16	17	3	1 house
D10	22	Drop out of high school	Works in hairdresser/ Avanos	Married	Own decision(Dating)	17	18	4	1 Plot
M11	70	Primary School	Housewife	Married	Own decision(Dating)	23	24	4	
D11	37	(AÖF) Distant Learning-Business Administration	Housewife	Single	-	-	-	-	Residing in rental house
M12	58		Housewife	First marriage: divorced Second marriage: co-wife (kuma) to a married man without children (45 years older than her)	Arranged	14	15	4	Residing in rental house
D12	35	High school	Contracted employee in a preschool/ Avanos	Married	Own decision (Dating)	21	22	3	Shares a house with her husband Has a plot from her father
M13	49	High School	Housewife	Married	Arranged	19	20	3	Residing in rental house
D13	26	Graduate School/ Economics	Contracted officer in Avanos Governorate/ Women's Unit	Engaged	Own decision (Dating)	(27)	-	-	Residing in rental house
M14	55	Primary school	Worked during 1990s in a pottery workshop	Married	Arranged	15	16	4	Residing in rental house

Table 3.3. (continued)									
Interview Number	Age	Education	Current/Last Occupation	Marital Status	Type of Marriage	Age of first marriage	Age of first Child	Child Number	Property ownership
D14	37	Girls' vocational high school	Worked with her mother during 1990's at a pottery workshop< Currently she works as a cleaner	Married	Own decision (Dating)	22	23	2	Residing in rental house
M15	56	Primary school	Housewife	Married	Arranged	16	17	3	Residing in rental house
D15	33	Middle school	Worked at pottery and tile making workshop (1993-1998) Working as sales officer in a pottery shop for touristic tours (esp. Japanese tourists)	Got divorced at the age of 17, broke up with fiancée	Own decision	26	27	1	Residing in rental house
M16	60	Primary school	Worked 9 years in France as a worker (1976-85)	Married	Arranged	18	20	2	Residing in rental house
D16	33	High school	Worked at pottery workshop (1997-1999) Painted for 6 months Rapido drawinf as piecework (2007)	Married	Own decision (Dating)	22	28	1 (through infertility treatment)	Residing in rental house
M17	62	Primary school	Housewife	Married	Arranged	23	24	3	Residing in rental house
D17	35	University /Computer and accountancy education - Cyprus	Working as financial manager in her own family firm	Married	Own decision (Dating)	22	23	2	Residing in rental house
M18	55	Girls' vocational high school	Housewife	Married	Arranged	18	19	2	1 house
D18	33	University/ Language Education- Konya	English Teacher in Anatolian High School- Avanos	Married	Own decision (Dating)	25	26	2	Residing in rental house

Table 3.3. (continued)									
M19	52	Drop out of University / Ankara University Language and History and Geography- Ankara	Worked for 2 years in a textile factory in Kalaba/Avanos (1980-82) Worked their own market in Germany (1990-1994) Working in their own canned food factory in Avanos	Married	Arranged	23	24	2	House, car, and a factory
D19	27	Doing her masters in Gender and Women's Studies /ODTÜ	Master student	Single Has a boy friend	-	-	-	-	Residing in rental house
M20	50	Girls' vocational high school	Housewife	Married	Arranged	21	22	3	Share of property from her deceased father
D20	23	University/ Faculty of Education- Erciyes Uni. Kayseri	Just finished university	Single	-	-	-	-	Lives with parents
M21	61	Primary school	Housewife	Married	Arranged	29	30	4	Residing in rental house
D21	38	High School	Housewife	Married	Arranged	23	24	2	Residing in rental house
M22	52	Middle School	Working with her husband in their own gift shop	Married	Arranged	17	18	3	1 house from her father
D22	34	Vocational Higher Education School/ Business - Niğde	Working with her husband in their own coal sales shop.	Married	Own decision (Dating)	23	24	2	1 car and sales shop
M23	46	Vocational Higher School/ Office Management and Secretaryship- Erciyes Univ. Kayseri	Housewife	Married	Arranged	20	21	2	1 house from her mother
D23	24	Going to University/ Faculty of Education- Bolu	University student in Bolu	Single / Has a boy friend		-	-	-	Lives with her parents

Table 3.4. Socio-economic status of participants³⁵

Interview Number	Age	Education	Current/Last Occupation	Occupation of Husband	Property ownership	Occupation of Father and Mother
M1	60	illiterate	Housewife	First husband- shepherd – worker in Germany Second husband- public transport driver	Her own share of house from her deceased husband	Petty Commodity Producer (PCP)
D1	28	Drop out of middle school	Housewife	Real Estate Agent	1 house Plot/land	Father-Truck Driver
M2	50	Drop out of high school	Real Estate Agent	Civil servant	1 house	Father-farmer Mother weaves carpet
D2	24	High school	Housewife	Former Public Transport Driver Sales officer in Carpet Shop	None	Father contracted worker Mother cleaner
M3	44	Primary school	Housewife	Works in post office	Land	Father farmer and driver (PCP)
D3	23	(AÖF) Distant Training- Public Administration	Housewife	Airbaloon controller	None	Father-postman
M4	60	Drop out of primary school	Housewife	Works in National Rail. Retired worker from Germany Used to run restaurant/and a hotel	Her own share of house from her deceased husband	Father baker

³⁵ In this research, within the limitations of this thesis I preferred use the term “socio-economic status/position” rather “class situation” since social class is an issue requires different measurement and operationalization. Additionally, from a life-course perspective, I preferred not to disrupt the natural flow of the interviews by asking question on measuring class position of the women. In this context, I determined the socio-economic position of women regarding to their education, occupation; occupation of their husbands and parents; and property ownership.

Table 3.4. (continued)						
Interview Number	Age	Education	Current/Last Occupation	Occupation of Husband	Property ownership	Occupation of Father and Mother
D4	40	High school	Cicerone (Tourism)	Stationery shop – partner with brother-in-law	None	Works in National Rail. Retired worker from Germany Runned restaurant and a hotel
M5	58	illiterate	Housewife	Retired worker of the Municipality	territory	PCP
D5	40	Primary school	Housewife	Waitress in a hotel	None	Retired worker from Municipality
M6	67	Primary school	Worked 6 months in Germany as a worker (1972)	potteryman worked in Germany for short time	None	PCP
D6	42	High school	Security in a Park	First husband worked in the hotel. Co-driver	None	Potteryman Shepherd PCP
M7	66	Drop out from primary school	First women officer in the Avanos Municipality (btw 1985-1996)	Potteryman	1 house	PCP Father carpet seller
D7	47	Vocational Higher Education School- Nursery - Nevşehir	Nurse in Avanos Health Center	Public official	1 car	Potteryman Mother Retired worker
M8	61	-	Produced Piecework in France (btw 1967-68)	Worked in France	1 House	PCP Mother weaves carpet
D8	34	-	-	-	1 house from her mother	Parents retired workers from Germany
M9	55	Middle School	Retired from Avanos Municipality	Clerk in the Juridical office	None	PCP
D9	-	University	-	-	-	-
M10	41	Primary School	Housewife	Converted their house to a guesthouse /cafehouse Glassware shop	1 house	PCP (with paid labor) (Irgat)

Table 3.4. (continued)						
Interview Number	Age	Education	Current/Last Occupation	Occupation of Husband	Property ownership	Occupation of Father and Mother
D10	22	Drop out of high school	Works in hairdresser	Hairdresser	1 plot	Converted their house to a guesthouse Ran a cafehouse Currently have a glassware shop
M11	70	Primary School	Housewife	Elementary school teacher	None	PCP (with paid labor) Owner of carpet shop Mother weaves carpet
D11	37	Distant Training-Business Administration	Housewife	Glazer	None	Father teacher Mother Housewife
M12	58	Never went to school	Housewife	PCP Potteryman	None	PCP
D12	35	High school	Contracted employee in a preschool/Avanos	Partner with brother in law Glazer shop	Shares one house with her husband Garden from her father	PCP Father potteryman
M13	49	High School	Housewife	Owner of brick factory	None	Father vendor Mother weaves carpet
D13	26	Graduate School/Economics	Contracted officer in Avanos Governorate/Women's Unit	Police officer	None	Brick factory owner
M14	55	Primary school	Worked during 1990s in a pottery workshop	cook(retired)	None	Owner of restaurant
D14	37	Girls' vocational high school	Worked with her mother during 1990's at a pottery workshop Currently she works as a cleaner	Left civil servant position works at pottery shop	None	Cook

Table 3.4. (continued)						
Interview Number	Age	Education	Current/Last Occupation	Occupation of Husband	Property ownership	Occupation of Father and Mother
M15	56	Primary school	Housewife	Civil Servant in Municipality Watchman	None	PCP Mother weaves carpet
D15	33	Middle school	Worked at pottery and tile making workshop (1993-1998) Working as sales officer in a pottery shop for touristic tours (esp. Japanese tourists)	Salesperson in the gift shop	None	Civil servant in Municipality-Watchman
M16	60	Primary school	Worked 9 years in France as a worker (1976-85)	Worked as police than resigned. Worked in France as a worker Owned a tea garden in Avanos Currently works in a pottery shop	None	PCP (with paid labor)
D16	33	High school	Worked at pottery workshop (1997-1999) Painted for 6 months Rapido drawing as piecework (2007)	Worked as an accountant in Brother-in Law pottery shop (10 years) Was unemployed for a while during economic crisis Works in municipality carpark	None	Parents are retired workers from Germany
M17	62	Primary school	Housewife	Building contractor	None	PCP (with paid labor) Father owns pottery shop Mother weaves carpet

Table 3.4. (continued)						
Interview Number	Age	Education	Current/Last Occupation	Occupation of Husband	Property ownership	Occupation of Father and Mother
D17	35	University /Computer and accountancy education - Cyprus	Working as financial manager in her own family firm	Dentist	None	
M18	55	Girls' vocational high school	Housewife	Retired teacher	1 house	Father tailor Run cinema and Home appliance shop Mother weaves carpet
D18	33	University/ Language Education- Konya	English Teacher in Anatolian High School- Avanos	teacher	None	Father-teacher
M19	52	Drop out of University / Ankara University Language and History and Geography- Ankara	Worked for 2 years in a textile factory in Kalaba/Avanos (1980-82) Worked their own market in Germany (1990-1994) Working in their own canned food factory in Avanos	Food factory	House, car, and a factory	PCP + stonemason
D19	27	Doing her masters in Gender and Women's Studies /ODTÜ	Master student	-	None	Parents own food factory
M20	50	Girls' vocational high school	Housewife	Small wares shop	Share of property from her deceased father	Father worker in Germany Mother weaves carpet
D20	23	University/ Faculty of Education- Erciyes Uni. Kayseri	Just finished university	-	None	Trader-sells construction materials

Table 3.4. (continued)						
Interview Number	Age	Education	Current/Last Occupation	Occupation of Husband	Property ownership	Occupation of Father and Mother
M21	61	Primary school	Housewife	PCP Tailor Retired municipality worker	None	Father potteryman Mother weaves carpet
D21	38	High School	Housewife	Driver in tourism agency	None	PCP Tailor-retired worker from Municipality
M22	52	Middle School	Working with her husband in their own gift shop	First civil servant- shareholder of brick factory went bankrupt Works at gift shop	1 house from her father	Father-owner of a brick company
D22	34	Vocational Higher Education School/ Business - Niğde	Working with her husband in their own coal sales shop.	Trader- sells coals	1 car and sales shop	First civil servant later his brick company went bankrupt Parents own giftshop
M23	46	Vocational Higher School/ Office Management and Secretaryship- Erciyes Üniv. Kayseri	Housewife	Runned a supermarket- Runned a cafe Unemployed Retired work in a relative office	1 house from her mother	Father potteryman Than migrated to Germany as worker PCP
D23	24	Going to University/ Faculty of Education- Bolu	University student in Bolu		None	Runned a supermarket- Runned a cafe Unemployed Retired work in a relative office

Table 3.5. Household structure of participants

Interview Number	Type of family when she first married and later
M1	Extended Family
D1	Nuclear family
M2	Extended Family
D2	Nuclear Family
M3	Extended family (10 years)
D3	Nuclear Family
M4	Extended
D4	Extended (1 year)
M5	Extended (23 years)
D5	Extended
M6	Extended
D6	Nuclear Family
M7	Extended
D7	Nuclear Family
M8	Extended
D8	Not known
M9	Extended (intermittently)
D9	Not known
M10	Extended (family apartment)
D10	Extended (1 year)
M11	Nuclear Family
D11	Single
M12	Extended
D12	Nuclear Family
M13	Extended (family apartment)
D13	Nuclear Family
M14	Extended
D14	Nuclear Family
M15	Nuclear Family
D15	Nuclear Family
M16	Extended
D16	Nuclear Family
M17	Extended (family apartment)
D17	Extended (family apartment)
M18	Nuclear Family
D18	Nuclear Family
M19	Nuclear Family
D19	Father planning to buy the next door house for the daughter when she gets married
M20	Extended (family apartment)
D20	Single
M21	Extended
D21	Extended (family apartment) (5 years)
M22	Nuclear Family
D22	Extended
M23	Extended
D23	Single

3.4.3. Interviewing process

The interviews mostly were conducted in the participants houses seperately. (Usually one (daughter or mother) used to come to other's place and I used to interview them one by one). I got the consent of all interviews on tape-recording with the assurance that their names would be kept anonymous. There was no third party during our interviews but occasionally their kids. The interviews were conducted generally during late morning or early in the afternoons. I preferred to conduct interviews with a couple at that same day. Interviews lasted, on average, about one and half hour.

3.4.3.1. Establishing rapport with mutual disclosure

During the field, I entered directly into women's lives and asked them to tell about their experiences in a detailed manner. I was aware of the importance to building rapport in my first encounter with women for accessing their life stories. I share similar concerns with feminist researchers (Finch 1984; Oakley, 1981; Reinharz, 1992) on the degree of women's disclosure. Heightening the disclosure was closely related the level of rapport between women and me (Dickson-Swift et al. 2007, p. 331). I ensured a high level of rapport during the interviews by self-disclosure (Oakley 1981; Reinharz 1992). Based on nature of feminist research I tried to conduct interactive and non-hierarchical relationship between interviewees and myself. At the beginning of each interview, I introduced myself and clearly stated the purpose of my presence as a researcher. I emphasized that my family origin is from Ürgüp, even though I never lived there. I also mentioned the importance of the opportunity to be able to spent some time and learn stories of women who live in the region. Some of them were very curious about my story and were keen on learning more about my life. I was able to change the direction of the conversation towards their life story soon after I satisfy their curiosity. In some cases, when I came across and asked by interviewees I shared my personal experiences. I was quite comfortable with a certain level of talking about any private aspect of my life and never felt vulnerable (Fontana and Frey; Oakley 1981). I think, this reciprocity of disclosure has led minimizing hierarchical nature of the interview process as well as conducting rapport.

3.4.3.2. Life-course perspective

I conducted semi structured and in-depth interviews with women through life-course perspective. Life course perspective provided me a historical framework for investigating intergenerational differences. As Hareven (1996:3) suggests life-course approach brings me toward an understanding of the location of mother-daughter generations in their respective historical contexts. It enables me also to examine how rural transformation of Avanos has affected the lives of two different cohorts and helps explain the differences in the historical experiences shaping their respective life histories.

Within this context all the informants asked to tell their life stories. As a strategy to express what I expected during the interviews I used a famous reality show, *Film Gibi*,³⁶ as sample. I started most of the interviews by asking whether they know Sinan Çetin. All the informants stated that they knew him. Then, I continued with this sentence “suppose that he came to your house, asked to shoot your life story”. I think this strategy worked well especially for the first generation. According to my observation, most of the first generation were in need to tell their entire bitter-sweet life story, personal experiences to a young woman researcher. As for the second generation, I aimed to build peer-relationship encouraging them to tell their story to me as peers who have similar experiences with them.

In my pilot interviews, I interviewed women with a text in my hand containing a list of open-ended questions. Nonetheless, I noticed the alienating effect of this piece of paper in the environment, even though I did not read those the questions literally but asked in a conversational manner. Upon this problem, I decided to re-organize my questions and created a simple checklist rather than open-ended questions. This checklist (Table 3.6.) contained various information that I definitely intended to obtain from each interviewees. I did not mention or display

³⁶Film Gibi was a reality Show that first started in Show Tv in 1999, than broadcasted in Kanal D and Star TV respectively. It broadcasted in 2013 once again. It got attention of people for focusing on ordinary people's life in Turkey when it was first broadcasted.

the checklist during the interview and kept it in my bag until the end of conversation. For similar reason I also put the type recorder out of sight whilst interviewing the women.

Table 3.6. Checklist for interviews

Age
Level of education
Occupation/ work
Number of siblings
Occupation of father
Occupation of mother
Type of household
Type of marriage
Age of marriage
Property ownership
Relations with husbands and close relatives
Relations with children
Gender division of labour in home
Aspirations

During the interviews I endeavored to develop self-discipline and refrained myself interrupting women during the interviews. In some cases (D5, M5, D7, M18, D18 and M20), I could not successfully implement this self-control during silence or hesitation of the women. I reached to D5 and M5 through a Health College Student. I later heard from the student that D5's husband did not have consent for this interview at the beginning. I think, as I stated before using student as an intermediary and D5's husband position held them off a comfortable interview with me. Other women (D7, M18, D18 and M20) who controlled themselves throughout the interviews (such as not giving details, picturing a happy and ideal life without problems) were sharing similar educational background. Among them

D7, M18 and M20 were graduated from vocational high school. Currently D7 was working as nurse in Avanos Health Center. D18 was graduated from language department of a university and currently was working as a teacher Anatolium Gymnasium in Avanos. During data-analysis process, I evaluated these interviews as unsuccessful for a life-story narrative. However I used the data of those these interviews in comparing two generations' socio-economic profiles.

Just in three cases (M22, M25 and D14) I have to keep the interviews short. In M22's case, I have learned she is getting psychological support and using drugs. Occasionally she has been crying when she was telling bitter memories, experiences of her life. Similarly, M15 has cried throughout the interview, and so did I. Some of the interviewees cried from time to time, but those two women were depressed and I had to keep the interviews short in order not to harm them more. Additionally, in D14's case I could not control the environment. D14 had a little baby, she could not find a babysitter while I was conducting an interview with her, and therefore, the baby was an obstacle and was often interrupting our interview.

I concluded interviewing with couples when the data become saturated. I finished field research after realizing the basic trends among generations and convincing that following interviews will replicate formers.

3.4.3.3. Data analysis

Transcription process for me was not just a technical issue including transformation of spoken words into written data. Since the research topic is sensitive, I paid attention and carefully selected two people who have gender aspect for assisting me in transcription of the tape records.

I followed such route during my data analysis; firstly I read many times my notes that I took during the field research and my reports after my return from the field. My main purpose was to underline/find out the common points of those texts. Secondly, I generated a trend list consisting the persistent similarities and

differences of cases. Later, I read twice each transcription of interview. I tackled those readings from mother-daughter couple aspect. Therefore, 21 mother-daughter couple and 2 mothers I tackled 23 group in total. I had notes which I took after mother-daughter interviews. Each reading was gathered with my notes and analyzed with my findings to my existence trend list.

I returned to my text readings after I organized my trend list. This time I created 24 field templates to make more systematic reading (See Table 3.7.). I created a table with 2 column and 23 lines for each mother and daughter. I added each mother and daughter according to conversations in transcripts to appropriate line and column. I handled twice all transcription using such strategy.

In the final stage, I did my analyzing stage using those templates and through the trend documents that I generated. I organized my analyze chapter upon women's life cycle, and I interpreted the generated trends upon common life cycle experiences of the two generations

Table 3.7. Templates for data analysis

Household structure
Mother and marriage
Aspirations
Mother's and Father's Profile
About Avanos
Labor
Children
Leisure time activity
Education
Marriage
Daily routines
Where she starts her story
Gender division of Labor
Decision taking
Siblings
Mother-in-law
Own income
Husband
Mobility
Property ownership
Empowerment strategies
Social security
Age
Places previously lived (migration story)

3.5. Field Experiences

I experienced several challenges during two years of field research. I was able to find relevant solutions for each challenge, and I implemented those solutions for any further challenges that I came across in later stages of my field research. I will mention how I managed those challenges in the challenges part, reciprocity issue will follow as second part, while I will finally mention about the unexpected situations.

3.5.1. Challenges

I was aware since inception of the field study that how and through whom I organized interviews had a crucial role towards the structure and the agent. As I mentioned earlier, support of Sub-governor Aylin Kırıcı Duman, had a positive impact and fastened my approach to the interviewees. Getting my appointment with interviewees through Didem Dileri, secretary of the sub governor, enabled me to meet with the individuals on the purposed dates and time.

As for the second stage of the field research, it was more appropriate to find interviewees with my personal contacts rather than using the position and contacts of the Sub governor's office depending on my pilot research. I went to my pilot interviews using car of The Foundation for Social Solidarity and Aid, which is under the sub governor office and the driver was an official from this foundation. The woman who I was going to interview was getting financial support from the charity. That was an unsuccessful interview. The main reason was not organizing a date/ time beforehand and due to persistency of the official from the foundation we went there without notifying that woman. It was not easy for me to stop her prejudice on me and image that I might be sent by the sub governor to inspect her especially while there was an official car outside of her house. That experience taught me that I must go to interview or find new ones with my own sources. Therefore, I opted to travel from Ankara to Avanos with my own car at the second stage of the research. I also visited my interviewees with my car. While I never used Sub governor office as mediator between myself and interviewees I informed them that I was conducting my research with permission of the sub governor

office. Ms. Didem from sub governor office informed me that only a couple (M18-D18) called them for confirmation. Support of sub governorate was assisting me to develop trust between us.

I used to tell them that I was there to search for my own roots and telling the life story of my grandmother. Indeed, the fact that I was actually of Ürgüp origin helped me to break the hierarchy between myself and the women. Only in few interview I felt as an outsider researcher. However, I experienced slightly different challenge for being from Ürgüp in one couple interview case (M15-D15). D15 divorce husband was from Ürgüp and her struggle and bitter experiences during the divorce cause her mother M15 to have a prejudice towards people who have Ürgüp origins. It was a real challenge to abolish their prejudice.

I was pregnant during my second stage of mother-daughter interview. It was due end of that summer and my tummy was even more visible. Being pregnant made easier my communication with all those women as it used to give the impression that I am an ordinary woman or someone just like them. In addition, being pregnant helped us to have common discussions on husband, kids, mother-in-law and so forth. We used to have a chat about pregnancy and baby before we started the interview. They used to tell me their birth experiences. They answered my questions. They even taught me which doctor I should go for my routine checks during my stay in Avanos. I and Teacher Esra, who was working in Teacher guest house was pregnant with same trimester so we used to have discussion almost every day about pregnancy period and pregnancy tests. I was sure that if I were in Ankara, I would never be able to share such intensive women's experiences. I was constantly with women and having unlimited information exchange.

My husband joined me especially at the second stage of my field research. I was at the last trimester of my pregnancy and he was concerned about me and wanted to be beside me. He used to sit by the river and concentrate on his academic studies during the day while I was conducting my interviews. I used to visit him between my interviews, and started to share our observations about Avanos,

actually, after a period of time we were no longer a visitors but dwellers of Avanos. Those sharings enriched my field research.

Being a couple assisted me to communicate with families, just as my pregnancy helped me to communicate with women as an individual. I was able to attend to many family gatherings, visits and home parties where I had the chance of making detailed observations. Another benefit of having my husband beside me was the opportunity of sharing the mixed space with men and women the field research.

3.5.2. Reciprocity issue

I developed close relations and several types of bounds with women during the field research. They sincerely disclose their life stories and open their houses for me. They were great company of mine. They endeavor themselves to find couple interviewees for me.

As many feminist researchers (Cotteril 1992, Stanley and Wise 1991) advocate relationships in the field based on reciprocity, I felt also strongly the need 'to give something back' (Dickson-Swift, 334) to those women. I extended my gratitude with giving small gifts to my friends and their kids each time I went to my field research. I reserved an area in my field research note book. For instance, I bought a bestseller book for the woman who loves reading; a METU printed mug to a small girl who wish to study in METU; final book of Harry Potter series to a small boy who loves Harry Potter. I bought a photo frame that was ordered from Ankara for Women's Cooperative to fit in their picture that I took earlier. I also happened to receive some gifts in some occasions. I got baby shoe, knitted baby cardigans and some delicious canned food from the food factory owner. I am still in contact with all those women even after I completed my field research.

Dickson-Swift et al. (2007, p. 334) state that the reciprocity could take the form of some community action, a report or some community service. My support of Avanos Women's Association could be considered as reciprocal support accordingly. I was in constant contact with Burcu and Sibel of Avanos Women's

Association from the initial day. Those women also helped me to reach to interviewees from their friend/family circle. In return, since they were well aware of my activism experience/ studies on women's they asked for my help on various subjects whilst taking their steps in establishing their association. I strived to support their Association.

Another reciprocal activity of mine was giving brief information to the sub governor on "women's dormitory issue". I came across to some women who felt uncomfortable regarding the women who stay in the dormitory during my interviews at the first part of my field. A district which has been prone to tourism for years, on the contrary having prejudice toward dormitory indeed deserved to be analyzed from my perspective. Sub governor was also paying attention and was very sensitive on this issue. I conducted a meeting with the Director of Women's Dormitory. In the meantime they asked me to present gender seminars with the scope of project conducted by woman charity for young woman who stays in the dormitory. I also had the chance to have a group meeting with those young women. Both meeting and seminar enabled me to understand struggles and problems of those young women and report them in convenient way to the relevant authorities. Those interviews emphasized the actual issues needs to be tackled. It has been revealed that those girls have been harassed by the car drivers while those young women were waiting a bus in the bus stop. In addition to harassment of gendarmerie soldiers who are on their duties in Gendarmerie Watch house. Poor street lightening was also a problem for those young women who came out from the last classes. They were also harassed for their outfit by the local people whenever they went to downtown, even if they were smoking by the river. So as a solution those young women reported that they quit going to the Avanos. I paid a visit to the Sub governor in the following day and brief her about the issue. Sub governor stated that she was going to lease this with the Chief of Police in Avanos and find a solution for young women's problem once and all.

3.5.3. Unexpected situations

This study proceeded in an interactive way which is also utterly suitable to nature of feminist methodology. I was never act as a researcher who obtained her objectives and left the field, in contrast I made sure that I was always interacting with the people. I also came across to some extraordinary cases due to my interaction. For instance my interaction and personal relation with interviewees helped a mother-daughter to come together after 4 years of separation. Another case as about M1, M1 had two daughters in law and one of them was a co-wife. The one who had civil registration was from Avanos, the other was from Batman. M1 was controlling privacy of her daughter in laws very closely. The interview day, the one is from Avanos had to take her child to village clinic. But the mother in law was feeling poorly and was not in an intention of letting her daughter in law to go by her own. I offered M1 to take her daughter in law with my own car. I knew M1 before our interview, in fact, previously, I took her daughters in law to the bazaar for shopping and back to their house. Therefore, we had a reciprocal trust with M1. M1 accepted my offer, so we went to the village clinic with her two daughters in law and their kids. We popped in to the pharmacy by the river on our way back, we made our way towards the stone bridge to trespass the river. The stone river was narrow and was not possible for two way traffic; a car should stop until the other passes. While I was waiting the incoming car to pass by us. Daughter in law from Avanos exclaimed 'Uncle', the man told her that your mother is also was with him and asked me to park on the side of the road. The daughter in law cried and asked me to stop the car. Her mother and she had not seen each other for 4 years, even though they were living in the same neighborhood. Everyone was tense. They were afraid of being seen of her husband or one of his relatives. I was well aware of those problems. I parked the car to an isolated area and let the mother and daughter to spent more time together. I reluctantly avoid the request of the mother about organizing another private meeting with her daughter. I called the daughter in law the next day and found out that there was no problem at all. That case might have resulted in a very different situation for the daughters in law. Being late and meeting with her

mother secretly might have caused them violence. It might also jeopardize me. I think that that case does not fail behind feminist methodology.

Another case had happened for D19 and M19. D19 was a student in Gender & Women's Studies in METU. D19's father was admitted to the hospital for his heart disease treatment. M19's asked us to stay in their house with D19 over that night. We preferred to stay and support that family as we were often meeting with the family. Our communication with them led M19 to think us the prior contact people/support in such crisis.

Another interesting experience was being questioned by a woman who got me in contact with her relative and insisting to learn what the interviewee told me about her life. I was able to manage this situation very well. In the meantime, taught me there are always given-taken in such communication methods. Besides the unexpected situations that I experienced in the second stage of the field, It will be also appropriate to explain challenges I had with the public institution in the first stage of the field.

For instance, Müftü took control of the interview and started to question my knowledge on Islam. He asked whether I received "mehir"³⁷ when I got married. When I told him that I had no idea about Mehir, he started to question my expertise as a sociologist. I was caught by him. It did not cross from my mind to explain him that that was not in my study interest and therefore, I do not have to have profound knowledge on it. After this unsuccessful interview, I prepared myself for my other interviews for any unexpected question. I was also able to drag the interviewee back to the conversation whenever our focus moved somewhere else.

³⁷In Islamic Law, money or property which is extended or promised to extend to a bride by the groom. Mehir becomes part of the bride's wealth and she is free in possessing it. (<http://tr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mehir>)

3.6. Summary

As stated Chapter 1 and Chapter 2, the theoretical paradigm of this research is feminist theory. Along with theory, this research was a grounded research and designed according feminist methodological approach, which is interactive, non-hierarchical and based on women's experiences. This study aimed to have a transformative effect on both researcher and women who are subjected to this research. The field study conducted in Avanos with the aim of exploring women's changing work experiences in rural transformation of Central Anatolia. Qualitative techniques were used throughout the research. Documentary collection, conducting participant and non-participant observation, semi-structured and in-depth interviews were main techniques for data collection.

For the researcher, the field experience has been a school for handling the problems and tackling the unexpected issues from feminist methodological approach. Besides, the whole research process from beginning –starting with determining research interest- reflects researcher's subjective position and has a transformative effect on her being as a woman whose roots are from Cappadocia.

CHAPTER FOUR

RURAL TRANSFORMATION OF AVANOS

4.1. Introduction

Since 1970, both the developed and developing world have been exposed to economic crisis due the stage of capital reaches. The solution has been found in reorganization of capital. In developing countries the new trend occurred as a shift from import substitution industrialization (ISI) to export led industrialization (ELI). As one of these developing countries, Turkey has also started to abandon ISI oriented economic policies, which she had followed since 1960. The ELI period in Turkey was introduced through the structural adjustment and stabilization policies in January 1980 under the guidance of IMF and the World Bank. This new industrialization and development strategy includes new arrangements concerning Turkey' foreign trade, subsidies, interest rates, and currency devaluation, as well as privatization of public enterprises, public sector reform, and incentives for foreign investment (Çağatay and Berik 1994, p.79).

The impact of these neoliberal policies in agriculture results in the state's abandonment of nationalist policies protecting industry and agriculture between the 1950 and 1980's. These protective policies included provision of inputs, credits and extension services, promotion of modern farming technologies, support of the establishment of agricultural associations and cooperatives, and the establishment of state owned farms, marketing and distribution agencies (Aydın 2010, p.150). After the 1980's, through the aim of internalization of agriculture, the state reduced price supports, stopped guaranteeing cooperative arrangements, and left the producer to rely on their own resources (Keyder and Yenil 2011, p. 60). After the 1980's, due to structural adjustment policies, small producers (i.e. petty commodity producers (PCPs)) could not handle the new arrangements. Devoid of the state's support in a wild capitalist market, they rapidly began to

expropriate. Many traditional extended households began to dissolve and migrate. As a result of this transformation process, Turkey has experienced major population shifts from rural to urban areas.

On the other hand, the state policies applied after the 1950's resulted in deepened gender division of labor. Man's position of controlling the production process was strengthened by their access to technology. Namely, the introduction of tractors in agriculture offered men a great advantage. Although the organization of production, and market relations fall under men's responsibility, technology lends them more leisure time. On the other hand, the access to technology does not always mean appropriate use of it. Misuse of technology and technological products increases women's labor burden. Namely, excessive irrigation and/or use of fertilizer have diminishing effects on land. To repair these mal effects requires women's more labor.

Apart from access to technology, the type of product –namely capital or labor intensive- has unequal results on women. Particularly, in the case of labor-intensive production, the burden of both women's non-wage labor and domestic labor is very heavy. That is, women have to hoe the land more than two times a day and perform other taxing duties. Sometimes it is possible to lessen women's workload through new technologies. However, most of the time these techniques are expensive, and small producers prefer using women's non-wage family labor. The recession of the state's support through subsidies from PCP's and their abandonment of small producers in the competitive capitalist market caused producers to search for a solution in increased non-wage labor. Usually, PCP households compete in the capitalist market through intensification of labor and extension of labor time. Mainly women suffer from this trend. In addition, although commercialization and mechanization of agriculture generated new arrangements and new relationships of production in rural areas, the gender division of labor at home resists change. Women's household, familial and reproductive responsibilities continue with their agricultural responsibilities.

After the 1980's, due to structural adjustment policies, small producers could not bear the new arrangements. Devoid of the state's support in a wild capitalist market, they rapidly began to expropriate. Many traditional extended households began to dissolve and migrate. Currently, the rural population has decreased from 76.8 % to 23.2% between 1927-2011 (TSI 2011). However, among the remaining 23.2 percent, petty commodity production remains the prevailing economic organization.

The traditional patriarchal culture that has reigned for ages cooperates with the new capitalist production mode, namely commercialization of agriculture. By adjusting itself to the new economic system, it resolves its contradictions with the new order and its ideology through strict control of women. Generally violence and pressure coexist to control both women's labor and body (sexuality). The *new form of patriarchy* differs from traditional/classical patriarchy. It is more intense and oppressive; as a result of the dissolution of the traditional extended household, women are deprived of solidarity among their female peers. At the same time they lose ground to develop patriarchal bargaining strategies. Now there is no guarantee that a mother, will one day live with her son and receive her daughter in law's service and subordination. Aging appears as a new risk for women in this modern system. In the current situation women remaining in rural areas are lonelier, lack most support mechanisms, and are under threat of more severe control on their body and mobility. The new labor process is the leading determining factor of new forms of oppression and empowerment strategies of women.

The next section will elaborate in further detail the general characteristics and patriarchal organization of a traditional PCP household. After reviewing what happens to women living with PCP based producers during the integration to the capitalist market, this chapter will end with a description of the field and the story of its socio-economic transformation.

4.2. Petty Commodity Production and Patrilocally Extended Household

In marxist economic theory, Petty Commodity Production (PCP), also called “simple commodity production,” means “production for the market on a small scale, by those who own their means of production and do not require extra labor” (Morris and Morris 2012, p. 193). The main economic organization of rural Turkey is PCP production. Although today it is possible encounter capitalist farmers in rural areas, the amount of this type of production remains insignificant. Major characteristics of PCP are household’s subsistence level of production; no possibility of accumulating capital; appropriation of surplus by usurer or merchants; use of non-wage family labor most of the time. For these households, women’s labor is of critical importance.

According to Gibbon and Neocosmos (1985, p.170), in this production system the petty commodity producers in PCP are “a phenomenal category of commodity producers who possess the means of production necessary to produce commodities, and who engage in production on the basis of unpaid household labor alone” For Bernstein (1988, p.262) the general characteristics of PCP are as follows;

- a. exchange of value production within conditions of generalized commodity production
- b. private vs collective production, and relative specialization;
- c. regulation by the same laws of competition and accumulation as all commodity-producing enterprises under capitalism.

For Bernstein what distinguishes the PCP system is its particular combination of capital and unpaid household labour. In this context, the main focus of this section will be the patriarchal structure of the extended household that this production system is based on. Analyzing the socio-economic status of women in the rural transformation of Turkey needs to be an intersectional approach. Namely, the intersections of prevailing patriarchal culture and PCP as the main system of organization should be the main tool of our investigation.

One of the key determinants of women’s status in rural Turkey has been patriarchal culture. Traditional patriarchy is organized around the hegemony of

oldest men in the patrilocally extended household. The common family type is the patrilineal and patrilocally extended household.

Marriages in PCP families are mainly arranged by the families of young couples. The main concern behind the marriage is economical. The groom's family expects the bride's additional labor force upon marriage, while the bride's family require proper care of their daughters. Therefore, it is important economic prosperity of the groom's family, rather than the bride's, is critical in the marriage decision (Delaney 1991; 131). The relationship between husband and wife is not based on comradeship; rather, it is limited to economic cooperation and privacy. In the village the concept of a "successful marriage" does not refer to the relationship between the man and wife. The basic criteria of success in a marriage is the birth of a healthy boy (Stirling 1965, p. 114; Delaney 1991, p. 134).

After marriage, women live with her husband's extended family, which is headed by their husband's father. The bride enters at very young age into the household. A strict hierarchy exists in the household. The new bride enters at the bottom of the hierarchical order. She is subordinate not only to all the men, but also to her mother-in-law (Kandiyoti, 1988, 278). According to Kandiyoti (1988, p. 279) "the young bride enters her husband's household as an effectively dispossessed individual who can establish her place in the patriline only by producing male offspring". She belongs to her husband's family, which is responsible for protecting her honor. Strict control of her labor and mobility by her husband and husband's family is the main instrument to secure the family's honor. For this reason, her mobility is restricted. She cannot stray far from the household by herself without her husband's and/or husband's family's permission.

A woman living in a PCP household is responsible for domestic chores such as cleaning, provision of food, and caring for children and the elderly. In addition to her reproductive labor, she is also obliged to work the fields and gardens of her husband's household. She can earn income by producing yoghurt or cheese, or weaving carpet in the household and selling it in the bazaar or to a dealer. Some

of earn money by selling their handwork to relatives in the city or occasional visitors of her village or town. The money earned is not enough to sustain women most of the time. Generally, they give the earned money to their husbands (Delaney p.260-261). According to Kandiyoti “The patrilineage totally appropriates both women's labor and progeny and renders their work and contribution to production invisible” (1988, p.279).

Since one of the primary roles of women in the extended household is reproduction of the labor force, contraception is uncommon. Birth control is not an issue until more than three children and at least one boy are produced (Delaney 2001, p. 73-74). Having a son in traditional patriarchal culture means having descendants who will continue the family tree along the male line. For this reason, bearing a boy increases women’s status in the household. Women strengthen their place in the household through their sons (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1982).

In classical patriarchal culture women consider their son as security in their old age. They expect in the future they will have control and authority over their subservient brides. According to Kandiyoti;

... women have access to the only type of labor power they can control, and to old-age security, through their married sons. Since sons are a woman's most critical resource, ensuring their life-long loyalty is an enduring preoccupation (1988, p. 279).

For this reason, marriage of a son means that mother’s claim on her son met. In this sense the relationship between a woman and her daughter-in-law is critical. Menopause is a traumatic stage for many women. They are afraid of losing the reason for their existence, namely reproduction. Having a daughter-in-law helps women getting over this crisis. By assigning to the bride tasks, such as caring for grandchildren., a woman legitimates her role and status and perpetuates the notion that she is still necessary for the family (Delaney 1991, p. 184).

Daughters of traditional patriarchal households, on the other hand, are assigned lower status than boys. Caldwell (1978) comments this difference as follows:

Daughters are less important than sons, as any patriarch will aver, because, at an early age, they marry out into another family; yet the most

hardworking labor input within the family (which largely determines living comfort) comes from daughters-in-law, brought in from other families who have conditioned them to be a submissive and hence valuable and economical labor force, precisely because of their under-valuation (p.556).

Sirman (1990b) contends that usually the first years of the marriage are based on the conflict of control and autonomy of the daughter-in-law. This conflict is more intense if the bride and mother-in-law are living together. The main problems of the bride in her husband's extended household are exploitation of her labor and control of her mobility by her mother-in-law. On the other hand, the main trouble of the mother-in-law is the shift in her son's attachment from his parents and siblings to his children and wife. Due to the loneliness of her old age, the mother-in-law prefers a submissive bride in order to establish her authority. Kandiyoti interprets this issue as follows;

Since sons are a woman's most critical resource, ensuring their life-long loyalty is an enduring preoccupation. Older women have a vested interest in the suppression of romantic love between youngsters to keep the conjugal bond secondary and to claim sons' primary allegiance. Young women have an interest in circumventing and possibly evading their mother-in-law's control (1988, p.279).

Regarding the division of labour in PCP based extended households, women's productive/reproductive work and men's productive work complement each other. However, women's labor in comparison to men's labor is undervalued. According to Delaney (1991), the basic division of labor in the village is based on gender;

Relations between men and women in both aspects of "increasing and multiplying" are distinct, complementary, and asymmetrically ordered; men and women are involved in "productive" activities related to the forms of livelihood in different ways and at different times (1991, p.239).

According to Delaney, in the process of development, namely the mechanization of agriculture, "the methods, varieties, and organization of women's work have changed very little. But many of the products produced by women are becoming obsolete, and others can now be purchased so cheaply that it is pointless to go on making them" (1991, p. 267). The next section will elaborate in a more detailed manner the effects of rural transformation on women.

4.2.1. The effects of rural transformation on women living in PCP's

In Turkey, the structural adjustment policies applied after 1960's resulted with new production relations in rural. Due to new market relations such as capital penetration in rural areas the economic base of PCP households was dissolved.

... capital penetration has brought about either dispossession, as in the case of transition to capitalist farming where former share-croppers become wage workers or the concentration of land and capital resources in fewer hands, with the concomitant creation of a pool of marginal or submarginal villagers for whom land is a supplement to other income (Kandiyoti 1984, p 22).

Since material bases of classical patriarchy highly rely on the subsidized economy, significant changes in traditional patriarchal culture have occurred. The most obvious result of rural transformation has been reorganization of relations between men. Since in the new order younger men have independent sources of income, such as from non-agricultural occupations, there occurs a tension in the hierarchical relationship between older and younger men. The economic base of the joint patrimony, where older men control land, animals, and capital, is lost. In this new order young men are emancipated from their fathers' control. According to Kandiyoti, "Among the propertyless and the dispossessed, the necessity of every household member's contribution to survival turns men's economic protection of women into a myth" (1988, p. 282). As a result, old PCP members and new landless agricultural workers have started to live in nuclear families from the very beginning of their marriage. Kandiyoti contends that (1984, p. 23) in the current situation living in extended households "becomes a brief phase of the domestic cycle and a married son will generally set up a separate nuclear unit as soon as he feels that he has contributed the cost of his wedding to the paternal household".

This earlier separation of men from their household offers the new brides the opportunity of earlier escape from their mother-in-law's control. According to Kandiyoti (1988) this emancipation of the young woman from traditional extended household results with the loss of the mother-in-law's power.

While this process implies that women escape the control of mothers-in-law and head their own households at a much younger age, it also means

that they themselves can no longer look forward to a future surrounded by subservient daughters-in-law. For the generation of women caught in between, this transformation may represent genuine personal tragedy, since they have paid the heavy price of an earlier patriarchal bargain, but are not able to cash in on its promised benefits (p.282).

Kandiyoti also comments on women's resistance to the process of change as follows;

Despite the obstacles that classic patriarchy puts in women's way, which may far outweigh any actual economic and emotional security, women often resist the process of transition because they see the old normative order slipping away from them without any empowering alternatives (p.282). ... Their passive resistance takes the form of claiming their half of this particular patriarchal bargain-protection in exchange for submissiveness and propriety (p.283).

Regarding women's labour, rural transformation has different effects on women's domestic and agricultural labour (Kandiyoti 1984). Capital penetration of rural areas and commercialization of agriculture created a broad internal market in Turkey. Women's domestic labour reduced significantly through newly emerging commercial products such as ready-made clothes, processed foods, heating fuel, soap and detergent. According to Kandiyoti the alleviation of women's household efforts lead to a loss of control over resource allocation and consumption (1984: 24).

On the other hand, integration of PCP's to the capitalist market and mechanization of agriculture combined intensification of labor and the retreat of women from production. In some cases where the PCPs could not absorb all unpaid family labour, men searched for long-term or part-time employment to supplement household income through nonagricultural sources. In this situation women become responsible for all agricultural tasks, a process termed "feminization of agriculture". However, women's burden has become heavier (Kandiyoti 1984, p. 26).

Within this context, the next section aims to define of the field of this research, Avanos, and the transformation experience of this rural district by looking at its historic, demographic and economic profile.

4.3. Description of the Field: Socio-Economic Transformation of Avanos

Nevşehir Province is located in Mid Anatolia, and Avanos is the biggest among seven district of Nevşehir Province with 1045 km area. Avanos's distance to Nevşehir city center is 18 km. Avanos is neighboring Gülşehir and Hacıbektaş on west, Ürgüp on its south, Kozaklı on the north, Yozgat on the northeast and İncesu district of Kayseri on its east.

Besides its main Municipality Avanos have nine town municipalities in total. These are Özkonak, Göynük, Sarılar, Topaklı, Akarca, Çalış, Kalaba ve Mahmat. Also eleven villages which are Aktepe, Altınpınar, Ayhan, Bozca, Çavuşin, İğdelikışla, Karacauşağı, Kuyulukışla, Küçükayhan, Paşalı, Üçkuyu (See Figure 3.1. Map of Avanos).

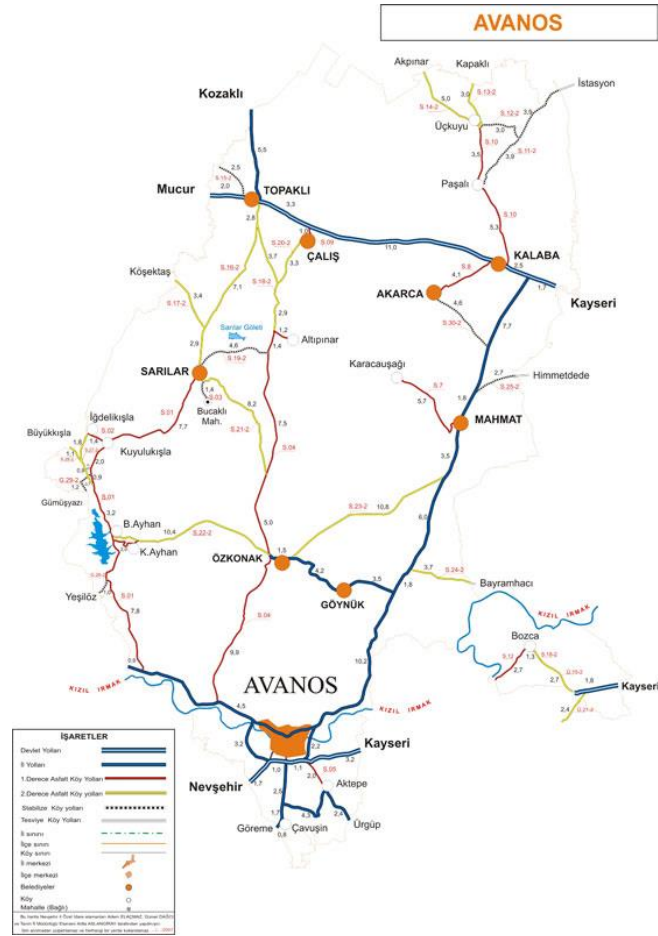


Figure 4.1. Map of Avanos

Source: Nevşehir Private Provincial Administration

The roads of Avanos are tarmacs; therefore, transportation to neighboring towns, provinces and villages runs smoothly. Avanos transit highway which links to Kayseri-Nevşehir-Aksaray main road as well as East and Southeast Anatolia as well as Aegean and Mediterranean highway. It is 32 km away from Nevşehir Tuz Köy Airport, and 85 km to Kayseri Airport.

Avanos is located at the further south of Kızılırmak River. Kızılırmak is the biggest river of Turkey and divides Avanos into two halves. First settlement was on the north of the River. And is now recognized old-side and recently under the

protection of Ministry of Culture. Rock cultivated or stone houses, sub governor office, Municipality, guesthouses, pottery shops, terra cotta shops, restaurants and other shops are based in Avanos center. This side of Avanos is not suitable for new settlement, as İdiş Mountains are just escalates behind that side and leave no space for new housing. Potential hazard of rock falling also led the settlements to spread over the south side of Avanos where the first class agricultural land are from 1950's³⁸. The mentioned area south side is recognized as the new housing area and the district is growing toward this side of Avanos. Petrol and markets of Avanos are on the south side of Avanos. Streets and Avenues are constructed in correct order and plan. Old and new side of Avanos are joint with two highways and an old wooden pedestrian bridge.

4.3.1. History

It is possible to trace Cappodica³⁹ region's history back to 4000bc which also covers Avanos. The region hosted Asyrian, Hititte, Frigs, Meds, Persians Kingdom of Cappodocia, Romans, Byzantine, Seljukians respectively in its history.⁴⁰ Avanos was named Nenessa during Hittites, Zu-Winasa or Venessa during Romans; Ounesa; during Byzantine St. Vanote, Evenüz or Evranos at Seljukians; Enes, Uvenez, Evenez during Ottoman Empire (İşçen 2011, p. 23).

According to a narration about Avanos settlement; Avanos used to be a village with 4 or 5 household in total. It has been said that a mosque was constructed in 1202 by Sultan Alaaddin Keykubat in Seljukian Era. Subsequent to the Mosque construction, thereafter, families from neighboringhoods started to arrive in Avanos (Çağşak, Atderesi, Kuşcin, Damönü, Meleklik, Sarıkaya, Güvercinlik,

³⁸ Many local residents moved to other side of Avanos to avoid any accident due to the rock failings in the region.

³⁹ Cappodocia is the area which covers Nevşehir, Kırşehir, Niğde, Aksaray and some part of Kayseri.

⁴⁰ The town was built over 'in' underground and it is possible to come across to many exit whenever one walks a few kms of underground could easily exit from any hill. During the independence war, it has been said that Republican government had to block all those exits to prevent gangs to hide inside (Korat 2005, p.247).

Kızılöz, Göğtepe, Ağdere, e.t.c) as a result of population growth in the Avanos's very first neighborhood was settled and called Alaadin Neighborhood (Sevindik 2005, Yıldırım 2006). Avanos was a village during the Ottomans, It used to a borough of Ürgüp in 1853 and borough of Kırşehir in 1870. For unknown reason it was converted back to village status in 1878 and announced as borough of Gülşehir in 1888. In fact, Avanos used to be borough of Kırşehir until 1954 when Nevşehir became a province Avanos was also joined Nevşehir as a district since Republic Period till these days.

4.3.2. Demographic profile

According to the TSI's 2011 statistics, (Turkish Statistical Institute- Address Based Population Registration System) total population of Avanos is 34.725. 12.497 of this population live in the center while 22.228 people live in towns and villages.⁴¹ Population growth was observed between the years of 1940-45, yet it declined between the years 1950-55. Population growth dropped to below zero between the years of 1975-1980. Increase of Population had been again observed just after 1985 (See Table 4.1., Table 4.2., Table 4.3.). The main reason of fluctuation in population might be due to the low yield in agriculture, deranged distribution of population and land, disproportional of land and growing interest or mechanization of agriculture.

Immigration to abroad after 1960s was also common until after 1974 in Avanos and was also similarly popular in all regions of Turkey (Öztürk 2002). Immigration in 1960's⁴² occurred due to the high demand in labour market of Europe, before touristic development in the region. Those workers mainly⁴³ returned to Avanos during 1980's financial recession in Europe. Increase of the population just after 1980's relatively could be associated with tourism, which

⁴¹ Most of the population living in town center belongs to Sunni sect of Islam

⁴² Directions of the migration wave which started after 1960's were usually towards European Countries especially with 85 migrant workers to Germany, 53 migrants to France, 45 migrants to Netherlands, 38migrants to Belgium, 30 migrants to Britain, 26migrants to Austria, and 6 migrant to Switzerland 283 people migrated in total (Yıldırım 2006, p. 48).

⁴³ Interviewees who returned from Europe to Avanos for good also reported that they opted to return as they preferred they kids to be educated in Turkey .

was an important revenue source of the region. In the meanwhile, there is an internal immigration from nearby provinces and districts to Avanos. Beside of civil servants who are appointed to the district, a seasonal internal immigration in tourism and agriculture are also common in Avanos. Families who reside abroad also return to Avanos during the summer time.

Table 4.1. Nevşehir Province population growth between 1940-2012

District Name (Center)	Area (km ²)	1940		1965		1990		2011	
		Population	Population Density	Population	Population Density	Population	Population Density	Population	Population Density
Nevşehir (Center)	536	31162	58	48028	90	86800	162	120605	226
Acıgöl	499	8776	18	16392	33	26048	53	20382	42
Avanos	996	16861	17	28018	28	39661	40	34725	35
Derinkuyu	447	7027	16	12880	29	20043	45	21957	49
Gülşehir	958	13862	15	26608	28	34526	36	24062	25
Hacıbektaş	698	11449	16	19060	27	20811	30	11638	17
Kozaklı	708	10800	15	20858	30	25932	37	15205	22
Ürgüp	565	21965	39	30676	55	35688	64	34673	62
Total	5,407	121902	23	202520	36	289509	54	283247	53

Source: Nevşehir Governorate and Map General Commandership

Table 4.2. Avanos town and village population 2011

	District Center			Town/Village			Total		
	Total	Man	Woman	Total	Man	Woman	Total	Man	Woman
Avanos	12.497	6.139	6.358	22.228	11.018	11.210	34.725	17.157	17.568

Source: Turkish Statistical Institute

Table 4.3. General population census by city Avanos/ village census (between 1965-2000)

	City			Village			Total		
	Total	Man	Woman	Total	Man	Woman	Toplam	Man	Woman
2000	11.921	6.086	5.835	31.210	15.580	15.630	43.131	21.666	21.465
1990	10.010	5.460	4.550	29.651	14.590	15.061	39.661	20.050	19.611
1985	9.320	5.496	3.824	27.665	13.358	14.307	36.985	18.854	18.131
1980	8.927	5.203	3.724	25.687	12.011	13.676	34.614	17.214	17.400
1975	8.635	4.648	3.987	26.437	12.793	13.644	35.072	17.441	17.631
1970	33.473	15.871	17.602	26.583	12.492	14.091	33.473	15.871	17.602
1965	5.675	2.648	3.027	22.343	10.378	11.965	28.018	13.026	14.992

Source: Turkish Statistical Institute

4.3.3. Economic profile

Avanos's economy depends on agriculture, tourism, clay industry for infrastructure, pot and terra cotta production.⁴⁴ According to data of Nevşehir Special Provincial Administration; there are currently 34 flour, 8 brick, 1 calyx, 1 cement and 1 knitting factories which are still operating in Avanos. While villages and town's economy depends on agriculture, main center of district's economy depends on tourism and clay industry.

⁴⁴ Considering Nevşehir City, the employee population by economic activities according to research of Employed Population by Economic Activity, 2 October 2011 of all employment as follows ; 42,6% agriculture,14,2% Industry, 43,2% in service sector. Source TÜİK (Nüfus ve Konut Araştırması 2011)

4.3.3.1. Agriculture

Agricultural yields in the area are grain, fruit, vegetable and sugar beets. According to farmers recording system there are 4400 registered farmer in Avanos including the villages⁴⁵ Petty Commodity Production is common production method. Husbandry and plant production are taking place in the same compound within the area of approximately 6 decare. Livestock is also a small-scale production in the region. Agricultural production is not sufficient for those farming compounds, therefore, that led the dwellers to seek an employment outside of villages and towns.⁴⁶

District Directorate General of Agriculture: They have their owned lands, but they could not get by with what they actually produce from their lands, therefore, they also have to work as workers outside of their villages or towns.

(Kendi toprakları var, fakat kendi toprağından ürettikleriyle geçinemiyor. Bununla birlikte dışarda bazı faaliyetlerde bulunuyor, işçilik gibi.)

A: He might be working in the brick factory.

(Belki tuğla fabrikalarında çalışıyor.)

District Directorate General of Agriculture: Of course, he works in brick factory maybe some of them in tourism. People who come from the villages work in temporary daily works. Namely, it could be either a waiter work or portage position. Not only from Avanos's village but also Ürgüp's villages women came to work here. There are carpet weaving centers. Type of silk weaving. Women who come abroad for working in such jobs with social security and little amount of money. There are such job opportunities

(Tabii tabii tuğla fabrikalarında çalışıyor, belki turizme yöneliyor bir kısım... G. Köylerden gelen günlük işlerde daha çok. Yani bu lokanta da garsonluktan tutun da hamallığa kadar var... Sadece Avanos'un köyleri değil, Ürgüp'ün köylerinden de bayanlar özellikle çalışıyorlar. Halı dokuma merkezleri var. İpek dokuma tarzı. Yurtdışından gelen, turizme yönelik, işte bunlar sigorta karşılığı çok cüzi bir maaşla çalışıyor bayanlar. Bu imkanlar var.)

⁴⁵ Interview with Agriculture Directorate of Avanos

⁴⁶ Ertürk (1998) named this kind of work apart from land as “the land based/free floating labour”. According to her, increasingly after 1998, petty commodity producers have had diversify their ‘resource bases’ and participate in ‘the land based/free floating labour force’ in order to deal with economic hardship.

According to a research which was done by Yıldırım (2006) 3,24% of active population of Avanos center district is occupied with Agriculture. While 90% of agricultural production based on small scale production (PCP) in Avanos, 10% of production based on modern (extensive) agricultural methods and meet the demands of the market. Capitalist farmers hold 40% of the lands. Hence, land processing is expensive, rate of the dormant land in the area is 40% same with a similar problem around the country. Nowadays, according to Article Ground Protection and Land Processing Numbered 5403 Dated 2005 selling lands which are below 20 decares are strictly prohibited. However, It is almost impossible to find lands above 20 decares since they were shared by inheritance among the family members.

District Directorate General for Agriculture: And yet, it was late. It has been aparted. There are only a few land which are larger than that scale. Accumulation of lands is made by the state. There could be no objection in that case, however, when the citizen wish to accumulate or buy those lands that also should be no objection either. Generally, since the state will be facing objection on the issue it refrains of doing that. There are pilot areas which are done by the state. Should it be implemented accumulation of lands would be improved. Nevşehir as a province of Mid Anatolia is a major problem for Turkey in this matter. Because processing of small scale lands increase the costs. Reaching to that land, product transporting, planting/ sowing in small scale land in such short time increase the total expenditure as a result cause to forgo planting in that land, and the land becomes dormant.

(Ama geç kalındı. Bölündü yani. Çok az bu büyüklüğün üzerinde arazi kaldı. Arazinin toplulaştırılması devlet eliyle yapılması gerekiyor. O zaman itiraz mevzu bahis olmuyor ama vatandaş kendi rızasıyla arazi toplulaştırması isterse bu zamanda yani hiçbir itiraz olmaması gerekiyor. Genelde arazinin yer değiştirmesi söz konusu olacağı için itirazlarla karşılaşacağı için devlet bu işi yapmıyor. Kendisinin yaptığı yerler var ama pilot olarak. Uygulanırsa şayet düzeltilecektir arazi toplulaştırılması. Burada Nevşehir, Orta Anadolu aslında Türkiye’de büyük bir sıkıntı. Çünkü küçük parçalı arazilerin işlenmesi maliyeti arttırıyor. O araziye ulaşım, o ürünün nakliyesi, o araziye ekim dikim faaliyetlerinin küçük alanda kısa sürede yapılmış olması maliyeti arttırdığı için o arazilerde üretimden vaz geçiliyor, atıl duruma düşüyor.)

A: Whereas if it was 20 decares?

(Oysa ki 20 dekar olsaydı?)

District Directorate General for Agriculture: If it would have been a large land, above 20 decares, cost of production might have been less, cost of production would be declined, namely, the quality of the products might

not improve, since all processing would have been done in one go, cost of production would be less and profit would be high.

(Büyük parça olsaydı, o arazilerde 20 dekarın üzerinde, hem üretim maliyeti tek seferde her şey yapılabileceği için, maliyet düşecek verim, yani kalite artmasa bile, elde edilen ürün maliyeti düşük olduğu için kazanç hanesine yazılacaktı.)

Generally agricultural processing is distributed to villages and towns in such ways; production of grains in the whole region⁴⁷, Winegrowing heavily in Göynük ve Özkonak; production of pumpkin seed almost in all region, production of vegetable in Ayhanlar Village. Kalaba town is located on the main road therefore, husbandry and grain production both take place in this town.⁴⁸ Indeed, this town has been supported with milking units in the scope of rural development projects. Kalaba town began to receive migrants from husbandry provinces due to its successful improvement in husbandry sector. There are 310 decars of walnut gardens in fact, Paşalı and Bozca are leading villages (Table 4.4., Table 4.5.).

Table 4.4. Separation of agricultural products by agricultural Area

Product Group	Planting area (da)	%'si
Land	651.950	83
Vegatable	350	0.5
Fruit	1500	2
Grape	10.750	14.4
Fallow	100	2.1
Total	74.650	100

Source : Records of Directorate General of Agriculture Department of Avanos District (2002)

⁴⁷ Turkey Flavor Industrialist report revealed that there are 190.375 decars of grain land and harvest 39.979 in Avanos.

⁴⁸ Although,diary farm activities have become widespread in recent years in Avanos, still not developed enough because of lack of meadows and grassland areas.The local people opt for to get involved with economic activities that are more profitable , as a result diary farms remain as livelihood activity.(Yıldırım 2006, pp.144-145)

Table 4.5. Product Categorization Planting in Agricultural Land of Avanos District

Product Group	Alan (da)	%'si	Grubundaki %'si
1. Grains	5970	96.45	100
Wheat	43.788		73.3
Barley	15.962		26.7
2. leguminosae	650	1.04	100
Bean	270		41.5
Chickpea	180		27.7
Lentil	155		23.8
Fiğ	45		7
3. Tuber Crops	350	0.56	100
Potato	255		72.9
Onion	90		25.7
Garlic	5		1.4
4. Forage Crops	200	0.32	100
Clover	120		60
Sainfoin	80		40
5. Industry Crops	1000	1.61	100
Sugar Beet	820		82
Sunflower	180		1818
Total	61.950	100	100

Source: Data of Directorate General of Agriculture of Avanos District 2002 (Via Yıldırım 2006)

Neveşehir's potato has a special place in Middle Anatolia. Sugar beet, which is an industrial plant is produced in Avanos and around the district, irrigation of sugar beet land is provided from aqueduct of Kızılırmak River. Industrial Plants for instance, Sunflower production is 18% while, sugar beet production is 82% in the region. Yellow potatoes and onion are also produced in Avanos. Fruit production is also common in the district. Main products are pear and apple. Besides, sour/sweet cherry, peach, white/black berry and oleaster are also fruits that are produced in the region. Apple among all those fruits could be preserved in fairy

chimney of Avanos and cold storage rooms.⁴⁹ Families consume apples and pears as dry and fresh. Also, those two types of fruits used to be sold to Asia fruit juice factory which was operating in Avanos between the dates of 1976 until 1993 (Yıldırım 2006, 133).

Although, winegrowing gradually decrease⁵⁰ it is still an ongoing agricultural activity in Avanos. Volcanic clays in the region enable the winegrowing agriculture in the region. Vineyards are 14% of total agricultural area. (Yıldırım 2006, p.144) 15% of harvest are sold to wine factories in the region while the rest is consumed by the farmers as raisin and molasses. Three cooperatives had been founded in the region in order to improve the winegrowing sector which was declined due to low cost sale of the harvest. Later those three cooperatives were gathered under the name of Taskobirlik after 1958 and was unable to bring a permanent solution for the problem. Soon after privatization period, Tekel Rakı Factory and Taskobirlik went to recession in production in 2004, 2008 respectively. Taskobirlik re-start to production in 2012 (İşçen 2011, pp. 49-50).

4.3.3.2. Tourism

Preserving historical richness of Capodocia, Avanos hosted Hittite, Meds, Frician, Assyrians, Persians, Celts, Kingdom of Capodocia, Byzantines, Seljukian and Ottoman Empires in its history. District is called as center due to its location to historical areas such as Göreme, Ürgüp, Uçhisar, Ortahisar, Mustafapaşa, Zelve and Çavuşin. In addition it is close to underground cities of Kaynaklı and Derinkuyu and Özkonak. Cultural and belief tourism is another important income of Avanos.

⁴⁹ Cold room storages, cultivated from rock are beds of not only potatoes but citrus and oranges which are brought from Mediterranean region for preservation.

⁵⁰ New settlement of the district is founded on the areas which used to be vineyards and fruit gardens

Tourism started to improve after 1960's in Avanos.⁵¹ In the first period tourism emerged as natural historical heritages of the region; it later showed growth with participation of the local people. In the mentioned period so called 'Pasant Tourists' used to come for belief tourism and interact with local people by that time.

During this period the tourists who visited Ürgüp and Cappadocia in general were well- educated and they had great respect for the local people and their values. In this natural and healthy process, a very friendly relationship developed between the local people and the foreign guests. Frequently, the local people invited the foreign guests to their homes and served their traditional meals and drinks without deriving any material benefits. Even though the local people did not speak English, French or German and the tourists had no spoken Turkish, they appeared to understand each other very well and, to some extent, they developed good friendships. (Tosun 1998, p.599)

....

Pasant Tourist used to come independently than the tourist groups during 1970's. They were few in number but rich in quality, they used to have profound knowledge of the region and spent more money than current type of tourists to be honest (**Interview with an expert in Directorate General for Tourism in Avanos**)

(70li yıllarda daha çok pasant turizm denen, grupla gelmeyen turistlerimiz vardı. Varmış doğrusu buradan edindiğimiz bilgilere göre. Tabii bunlar sayı olarak az ama nitelik olarak daha zengin, daha bölgeye hakim ve daha yararlı turistlermiş. Daha çok para harcayan turistlermiş daha doğrusu.)

Accommodation, restaurants and gift shops were small scaled businesses run by the local people during that period, and did not receive state support by that time. Municipalities are intervening and supporting the local businesses in order to meet the high touristic demand. For instance, the first hotel/accommodation of Avanos in 1970's called Kızılırmak-Venessa Hotel owned by the municipality (Yıldırım 2006, p.96). Therefore, tourism began to be a crucial income of the region. It is

⁵¹ According to Tosun (2007), main reason of foreign visitor attraction is because of Yorgo Seferis, Winner of 1963 Nobel Prize, the book that he wrote it in 1953 and was published by French Research Institute called 'Three Nights in Rock Churches of Cappadocia' a French journalist who visited Cappadocia in 1954 had an influence in promoting the region (p.26).

known that belief tourism that was made to the region between the dates of 1950-1980 used to be local restaurants, gift shops, hostels run by the local people.⁵²

Tourism as a major income activity, started to decrease after 1980's in Avanos. The prior reason for that was the decision taken by 24 January 1980, numbered 2634 regulation date 1982 and by World Bank and IMF in order to trigger the economic prosperity in Tourism. Mentioned laws and regulation enabled development of tourism based on export led industrialization, cost effective development plan in the region regardless any in power government.

Above mentioned regulation led to many luxuries hotels to operate without consideration the output of presence of foreign investors. Along with this regulation small scale business, touristic family shops forced to be close, as national-international tourism industry which offers bars, pubs discos huge shops, hotels came first of hospitality tourism which was a culture in the region with implementation of 1980. Travel agencies and tour companies started to bring tourist groups to the region. Those tourist groups are not taken to the city center, instead they are taken to the big shops and shopping centers. Tourist groups are having their breakfast in their hotels and taken to the pottery and carpet shops where the travel agencies have an agreement with them (Tosun 1998, p 599; 2007 p.26).

How should I say... it was simple and natural...there was a tourism it was not professional like now...everybody seems to be professional now. There were 50 guesthouses in previous days...They are all closed. When it was night time Atatürk Avenue, small carpet shops, silver shops they were all

⁵²The European Tourism Institute (ETI) singles out the following economic, social, and cultural benefits, enabled by cultural tourism, as well as negativities that may arise (Emekli, 2006; Eser et al 2013; Fuchs et al., 1998.):

1. it ensures that the natural and cultural heritage, traditions particular to the region be used as a cultural tourism resource;
2. it enables a high added value for the region due to a high purchasing power of participants, engaged in cultural tourism;
3. it prevents an extreme usage of tourism resources by creating a demand variety, creates new job opportunities;
4. it enables additional contributions to traditional tourism
5. activities by developing the existing contributions.

places full of with tourists. None of them are there now. **(Interview with the owner of Avanos Kızılırmak Newspaper)**

(Yani nasıl söyleyeyim, sadeydi, doğaldı. Turizm vardı da, şimdiki gibi profesyonelce yapılmıyordu. Şimdi bütün herkes profesyonelleşti. Eskiden 50 civarında Avanos'ta pansiyon vardı. Ama bu pansiyonların hiçbirisi kalmadı.) Akşam vakti olduğu zaman şu caddenin züerinde, Atatürk Caddesi, küçük halı mağazaları, gümüşçüler, nasıl söyleyeyim bütün hep turistlerin gezi alanlarıydı. Bunların hiçbirisi kalmadı)

...

In the past years, namely in the last 10 years we have focused on group tourism. This cause some obstacles. The number of tourists have been increased but the income has decreased at the same time. This issue is a major problem in Turkey but also spread to this region. You are no longer able to see so many tourist. It is something that should not happen in a touristic area, right? But, there were more tourist on the street of Avanos in the past few years. Namely, people used to come independently to visit the area but nowadays only tourist groups are common. It had many contribution to local people. But we do not have the similar contribution and financial effects on local people. Because tourists come with a group. Let's say only 10% of them come as passant tourists %90 of the are group tourists. This has negative impact on the local shopkeepers. **(Interview with an expert in Directorate General for Tourism in Avanos)**

(Geçtiğimiz yıllarda, daha basit ifadeyle geçtiğimiz 10 yıl içerisinde grup turizmine, kitle turizmi denilen turizme yönelmeye başladık. Bu da tabii sonuçta bazı şeyleri kısıtlamaya başladı. Gelişmeleri sayıları arttırdı, ama gelirleri düşürdü. Bu zaten Türkiye genelinde olan bir şey ama burada da yansımaları var. Burada sokağa çıktığımız zaman çok fazla turist göremiyorsunuz. Bir turizm kenti için olmayacak bir şey değil mi? Ama bundan önceki yıllarda daha çok sokaklarda turist oluyormuş. Yani herkes kendi başına geldiği için, grupla gelmediği için herkes kendi başına gezebiliyormuş. Bunun buradaki insanlara daha çok katkısı olmuş. Ama günümüzde o katkı pek yok. Çünkü herkes grupla geliyor. %90 diyelim belki % 10luk bir dilim passant geliyor. Bu esnafı kötü etkiliyor.)

Today tourism is no longer run primarily by local people of the region. Currently, foreign national and international investments have leading role in tourism sector. In fact, local people often support tourism sector such as waitress, carpet salesperson, air balloon, hotelkeepers which do not require high education. Tosun explains this situation as a result of state's short-term policies;

In short, the central government has used tourism as a tool for the sake of their short-term policies, without fully considering socio-economic and environmental impacts of tourism development at the local level. In other words, badly needed hard foreign currency earnings and the self-interests

of decision-makers have made governments focus on the economic benefits of tourism development at national level, such as contribution of foreign tourist earning to the balance of payments. This seemed to be unavoidable just after the socio-economic and political crisis that had brought military intervention to preserve democracy in Turkey. As a result, the development of tourism has widened the gap between poor people and rich people, which contradicts the principle of sustainable tourism development. (1998, p. 601)

In this sense Tosun, mentioned unsustainable tourism development in the region;

Consequently, Turkey has experienced an unexpectedly rapid tourism growth in terms of volume, value and physical superstructure (hotels, restaurants, bars, disco, etc.) in the absence of proper planning and development principles. In other words, this rapid tourism growth has taken place largely in a haphazard way and created socio-economic and environmental problems, which maybe called unsustainable tourism development (ibid, p. 595).

Financial and political crises were another negative impact tools on tourism. 1990 Gulf War is only one those negative tools. International news channel, CNN broadcasted the war alive for a long period, this damaged image of tourism destinations especially.⁵³ OECD market share reported to be between 60-67 in 1989 and 1990 respectively, but drops to 35,6 in 1991. Tourism sector left behind the 1990 war crisis and returned to its trend just after 1995 (Ekzen 2004). In 2002, secret devaluation of foreign money rapidly increased parallel to interest rates. This global economic crisis also influenced Turkish economy in all sectors. Many tourism businesses which had depth and loan to the banks finance was affected (Günay and Yılmaz 2011)

4.3.3.3. Clay industry

Geological structure of Avanos enables clay industry to be a pioneer income in the region. There are several brick-roof tiles, pottery-terra cotta factories and, as

⁵³ When tourism is a matter, image of the destination also plays a crucial part. Mistakes of marketing and ground work and politics also main reasons of those mistakes. Image means the idea that created in the people's mind about the destination. Advertisement sector is a tool to create an image. Promotion of Image of a destination is made through advertisement that cause a perception on human's mind regarding that destination (Göçen et al. 2011, p.494)

well as, workshops where onyx marble are processed. Required raw material is provided from riverbed and quarry nearby Avanos district.

Brick industry started in 1950 and there are recently 8 brick and roof tiles factory. In those years, brick production was human made therefore, it was only one type brick in the beginning. Roof-tile production started after 1955. Factory process started during 1960, since then Avanos became one of the main roof tile production province in Turkey⁵⁴ Brick and roof tile sector requires a hard labour and great number of human force. Seasonal Working is common and entirely depends on nature and climate of the region. Production almost stops during the rainy and cold, adverse weather and starts full capacity in summer. Workforce demand is compensated by seasonal workforce. Seasonal workers often migrated to the region from Çorum⁵⁵, Yozgat, Konya and Kars for work.⁵⁶

Pottery production goes back to Hittites period in Anatolia. Pottery barrels have been detected as prove of first industrialization of region's ancient civilizations. (Hatti, Hurri ve Luvi) (İşçen 2010, p.47). Pottery making sector used to be one of the pioneer income of Avanos during Ottoman Empire and Early Republic. Potteries were taken to neighboring villages or provinces on donkey carriages for sale.⁵⁷ According to the rumors many potteries had broken during the long trade journey and the pottery cracks used to be left on the sides of the roads of Avanos.

⁵⁴Transport sector is also developed in relation to brick and roof tile industry in the region.

⁵⁵ The research revealed that young generation preferred to work in tourism sector which is easier and not demand labour as much as brick and roof tile sector.

⁵⁶Child labour in brick and roof tiling sectors appears as a problem in the area. Law on work health and safety numbered 6331 has been prepared and implemented by Ministry of work and social security and published in official gazette dated 30/06/2012 and numbered 28339. By implementation of such law, legislation on heavy and hazardous work branches have been suspended. List of works, under the article define that 'works prohibited kids and young workers to perform' have been modified to a law ' works that could be performed by 16 years old and young people below 18 years old.' So this law paves the way for children to work in brick and roof tiling factories (Bulletin of International Worker Support Charity 2013 p.15).

⁵⁷ Men of Avanos went to all the way to Adana to sell pot, terra cotta and carpet with long caravans. Those products mostly sold with barter trading (swapping the products) Person who gets the pottery must give full pot of their yields. Livelihood used to be maintain in such way (İşçen 2010, p 47).

Pottery workshops are called “işlik” in Avanos. The numbers have been gradually decreased while it was around 250-300 at the beginning. It has been reported that there used to be 100 işlik at Upper neighborhood in 1970. That number decreased to 50 these days and still decreasing (Gürtann and Munsuz 1969; İnce 2010). Pottery has declined in the region mainly due to the escalating popularity of industrial production and tourism. Also, alternative plastic and aluminum products started to be more popular than pottery after 1970s. Young generation started to move towards tourism which was popular and considered pottery making as not a hand skill work or job anymore. As a result, tradition of mentor-apprentice came to an end. New apprentices did not learn pottery making. (İşçen 2010, p.55)

Pottery gradually evolved to ready-made, profitable production sector from traditional one. According to İşçen (2010) that cause to degeneration low-quality in pottery.

People perform this occupation in rush only for livelihood. Therefore, they are not interested or worry about creating new types or modifying without degrading the traditional type of products. This is detrimental for image of Avanos. Products that are made of plasters rather than ceramic, especially those which are made of with cheap labour and raw materials, glued with fur and embroider are widespread in market for attention of local student groups (p.5.6)

1990 Gulf War also had an impact on Avanos’s small scale potter shops. Guides started to charge the local shops over 50% of commission as a result many small scale shop closed while Medium-Large Scale Pottery Shops sales decreased⁵⁸ (İşçen 2010, p.57).

4.3.4. Educational Profile

There are one nursery, eight primary schools, two vocational and technical schools, an Anatolian High school in Avanos. In the meantime, Vocational School of Nevşehir Hacı Bektaş University is also based in Avanos. Also, there are in

⁵⁸In pottery shops, label prices are written according to the group touring in Avanos. Sales people informs that the label prices drops to half of its prices for individuals who are independent from the group tours.

total three Adult Learning Centers (Halk Eğitim Merkezi) including night /continuation schools (Akşam Sanat Okulu) in Avanos.

According to TSI's 2011 statistics there are 337 illiterates in Avanos and 310 out of those are women (Table 4.6.). 233 of illiterate women are above the age of 65, only one is below 18 years old (Table 4.7., Table 4.8.). Avanos center has the highest literate ratio with reference to mentioned ratios (Table 4.9.).

Table 4.6. Census of Avanos by school graduation and sex (6 +age) 2011

Education Level	Total	Man	Woman
Illiterate	337	27	310
Literate but no school attendance	1.858	863	995
Elementary school graduate	2.412	894	1.518
Elementary+middle School Graduate	1.806	964	842
Secondary or equivalent School Graduate	748	450	298
High School or equivalent School Graduate	2.717	1.530	1.187
Collage or Faculty Graduate	1.358	771	587
Master Degree Graduate	57	35	22
Ph.D.Graduate	6	4	2
Unknown	84	42	42
Total	11.383	5.580	5.803

Source: TSI

Table 4.7. Census of Avanos by school graduation and sex (15 +age) 2011

Education Level	Total	Man	Woman
Illiterate	337	27	310
Literate but no school attendance	367	107	260
Elementary school graduate	2.412	894	1.518
Elementary+middle School Graduate	1.669	892	777
Secondary or equivalent School Graduate	748	450	298
High School or equivalent School Graduate	2.717	1.530	1.187
Collage or Faculty Graduate	1.358	771	587
Master Degree Graduate	57	35	22
Ph.D.Graduate	6	4	2
Unknown	83	41	42
Total	9.754	4.751	5.003

Source: TSI

**Table 4.8. Census of Avanos district center by school graduation –sex and age
2011**

Age cohort	sex	Illiterate	Literate	Unknown	total
'6-13'	Man		740	1	741
	Woman		722		722
'14-17'	Man		389		389
	Woman	1	351		352
'18-21'	Man		335	2	337
	Woman	2	319	2	323
'22-24'	Man	1	242	4	247
	Woman	1	335	6	342
'25-29'	Man		516	9	525
	Woman	3	541	2	546
'30-34'	Man	1	531	1	533
	Woman	3	558	2	563
'35-39'	Man		531	2	533
	Woman		476	1	477
'40-44'	Man		430		430
	Woman	2	407	4	413
'45-49'	Man		424	3	427
	Woman	6	430	2	438
'50-54'	Man	3	369	2	374
	Woman	12	369	2	383
'55-59'	Man		309	6	315
	Woman	23	301	5	329
'60-64'	Man	1	239	4	244
	Woman	24	231	8	263
'65 +'	Man	21	456	8	485
	Woman	233	411	8	652
	Total	337	10.962	84	11.383

Source: TSI

Table 4.9. Avanos central district population comparison in educational level by sex (15 + age) 2011

Educational Level	AVANOS		Turkey	
	Total %	Women' rate in total %	Total %	Women' rate in total %
Illeterate	3,454	91,988	4,321	84,002
dropped out school primary education but literate	3,762	70,844	4,92	67,83
Elementary school graduate	24,728	62,935	24,586	58,733
Middleschool graduate	17,11	46,554	19,529	43,854
Secondary or equals School graduate	7,668	39,839	5,642	40,899
Highschool or equals graduate	27,855	43,687	24,503	43,449
Collage or Faculty Graduate	13,922	43,225	11,937	42,416
Ms. Graduate	0,584	38,596	0,899	40,943
Ph.D. graduate	0,061	33,333	0,264	37,723
Unknown	0,85	50,602	3,394	47,124
Total				
Foreigns educational levels are excluded.				

Source: TSI

Interviews conducted with Directorate General of National Education for Avanos reveals that there is no problem in the number of elementary school students, yet the problem continues for middle school students in rural areas. Students must commute to the nearest town every day for high school, as a result students especially girls are discouraged to continue their high school education.

Directorate General of National Education for Avanos: I need to speak my part, please note down in the following way; We do not have any problem at elementary and secondary school level. But we have not

reached to the required level at high schools for girls and boys. There is such problem.

(O zaman ben size üzerime düşen vazifeyi söyleyeyim. Şöyle yazın. Bizim ilköğretimde bir sorunumuz yok. Ama orta öğretim bazında, hem kızlarda hem erkeklerde devamlı olarak istenilen seviye olmayabilir. Böyle bir sorun var.)

A: There is attendance problem. What could be the reason for it?

(Devam sorunu var. Bunun nedeni nedir sizce?)

Directorate General of National Education for Avanos: Not being keen on studying could be the first reason, for instance, secondly, let's say a school where girls could fully attend. Let's say High School in Sarılar. Migration started and that school had been closed, where does that student will study?

(Mesela yeterince istememe, bir, ikincisi de diyelim ki bir kız çocuklarının tam devam edeceği bir okul. Diyelim ki Sarılardaki lisemiz.. şöyle diyelim o zaman göç olmaya başladı, Sarılar lisemiz kapandı. Bu çocuk nereye gidecek)

A: There used to be a central high school and secondary school here, so you say they have been closed?

(Burada merkezi bir ortaokul ve lise vardı onlar kapandı diyorsunuz.)

Directorate General of National Education for Avanos: In sarılar. In our town. It has been closed. Let's say that child will attend to high school. Where will he be going? To Kabala, to Topaklı gidecek, girls are struggling. Of course it is not easy. Yet the state do not take action. The population declined... School at Sarılar had been closed... let's not mention the name as Sarılar.

(Sarılarda. Kasabamızda. Onlar kapandı. Diyelim ki çocuk ortaöğretimde nereye gidecek. Kalaba'ya gidecek, Topaklı'ya gidecek. Kız çocuğu zorlanıyor. Tabii kolay değil. Ama devlet de buna bir şey diyemiyor, ama nüfus çok azaldı. Sarılar'da kapanan da, Sarılar diye belirtmeyeyim de...)

According to Yıldırım's study (2006, p.6) the number of high school and equivalent schools graduates in Avanos are considerably high. According to this research, while the number of high school graduate is 1048, vocational high school graduate number is 588. Especially men have tendency for studying in vocational schools. There are 756 high school graduates in Avanos, high school or equivalent graduate number is 385. According to Yıldırım pottery and production industry sector plays a crucial role, in addition to widespread of tourism. Therefore, young men prefer to attend such vocational high school or equivalent schools in order to gain a vocation in shortest way.

4.4. Summary

As revised in this part of the chapter, the results of the rural transformation process in Avanos are as follows; although petty commodity production has been still common in the villages and towns, it is far from sufficient and leads dwellers to seek employment outside of villages and towns. Currently, agricultural production is almost extinct in Avanos center. In parallel to structural adjustment policies of 1980's tourism as a major economic activity of the local people started to decrease in Avanos. The region has experienced unsustainable tourism development that results a change in tourism sector from running by local and small scaled businesses to nationally or internationally owned business. Today the leading industry in Avanos center is clay industry with eight brick and roof tiles factories. However, pottery as one of the components of this industry has declined due to industrial production and unsustainable tourism development which led to decrease in number of small scale pottery workshops. In this context next two chapters will elaborate changing experiences of women within above mentioned structural transformation of Avanos.

CHAPTER FIVE

EDUCATION AND MARRIAGE EXPERIENCES OF WOMEN

5.1. Introduction

As mentioned in earlier chapters, this study focuses on possible changes of patriarchal experiences of women along with the rural transformation in Avanos a town of Mid Anatolia. According to Kandiyoti (1977, p. 57), analyzing the impact of development on women the concrete contexts should be understood within which sex roles are enacted as well as the process of transformation which affect them. Similarly according to Sirman (1990) defining the structural changes and production relations are not sufficient enough to grasp the change/transformation of socio-economic status of women. Above all those, it is very crucial to analyze the strategies which were developed by women. In this scope, I am going to analyze the contextual engendered strategies of women as active agents and their interaction with the structure.

As given in Chapter 2, the theoretical background of this study based on socialist feminist perspective which is a mixed theoretical approach of Radical and Marxist feminist theories. In this context, I am going to analyze how women's patriarchal experiences changed along with transformation of material conditions. In this chapter I am going to use Young's (1981) analytical tool of 'gender division of labour' as an operational concept in socialist feminist theory. Within this framework, this study aims to answer the basic question of the analysis of the gender division of labour, as it has been mentioned in Chapter 2, "how does gender division of labour underlie other aspects of economic organization, and how does it underlie relations of power and domination in society, including gender hierarchy?"

Aforementioned chapter has been organized according to the patriarchal experiences that women face at different times in their life, from childhood to older ages. In this context, this chapter will elaborate the changing patterns of education, marriage experiences through their life cycle.

5.2. Life Cycle

5.2.1. Where does the story begin?

It has been asked to mother-daughter couples to tell their story from very initial, at the beginning of the interviews. In order to explain their lives in harmony and comfort and not let them feel alien to their own stories, it has been told them that imagine that Sinan Çetin came to your house and told them that he would record your life stories, what would you tell him? It has been observed that such/imaginative introduction helped the interviewees to feel comfortable.

The starting points of each generation's history has demonstrated some changes in many interviews. While second generation started from their birth place, number of their siblings, place they spent their childhood; the first generation had the high tendency of telling their stories beginning from their marriage. 23 Mother interviewees started their life stories from their marriage, while 21 daughter never began to tell their stories from their marriage.

M3⁵⁹: Well... I got married at a very young age.
(*Şimdi ben erken evlendim...*)

...

M6: My life... I was a bride at my 17 from Özkonak.
(*Benim hayatım, 17 yaşında gelin geldim Özkonak'tan.*)

...

M7: Let me to start from my marriage then
(*Başından evlilikten anlatayım o zaman.*)

...

M12: I am 58 years old. I was born in Kırşehir. my first marriage was with an Urgupman when I was 14, was not on my consent, it was arranged.
(*Ben 58 yaşındayım. Ben Kırşehir doğumluyum. Ben ilk evliliğimi Ürgüplüyle yaptım. 14 yaşında gelin oldum, istemeyerek, görücü usulü evlilik yaptım.*)

⁵⁹ Mothers will be coded as M and daughters with the letter D throughout this text.

First generation women were referring to their life changing event as their marriage, and emphasize how happy and peaceful they were before they got married. Those who were relatively older subjected to an intense subordination in patrilocally extended families emerged from classical patriarchy as discussed in Chapter 2 Transformation of Patriarchy section. Women who entered to such families, which were organized according to sex and age hierarchy at a very young age their labor and their progeny were totally approved. The other group of women in the first generation is the ones who come from nuclear families and had to work in the labour force since their husband could not earn enough income. Some of those women had to migrate abroad for work with their husbands.

It could be interpreted that the extended family system has not dissolved yet. It had continued to exploit labour of the young woman who join in the new family as early years of marriage of first generation. I came across to some cases in the first generation where the young bride had to share the same household; she was serving the household in domestic labour as well as in their farms whilst her husband works abroad. Those cases were widespread for whole Turkey. For instance, in some narratives of first generation interviewees, the brides were selected according to their physical strength, youth and power that are assets for them to work both within the house and in the farm.

Parallel with this some of second generation interviewees started telling about the traumas of their mother's in their marriages. Some told the struggles they experienced when their mothers went abroad for work and had to take care of their siblings, some of them told about co-wifeS of their fathers, some of them mentioned about alcohol addiction of their fathers and divorce of their mothers and work life.

A: Tell me the story from the beginning
(*Anlat en başından beri.*)

D6: Now we, our mum..we were too young by then...hmmm I was just four years old or so, we were very poor, indeed very poor, we were not able to find flour for dough..we could even not find a single potatoes, onion or garlic...we were extremely poor namely,we could even not find a

spare cloth to change... my mum registered herself for all these reasons...(she went as a worker to Germany)

(Şimdi biz, annemiz.. biz çok küçüktük, ee ben dört yaşına falan yeni girmiştim, çok fakirdik aşırı fakirdik, bir hamuru unu bulamıyorduk... Burda, bu eski evde, çok aşırı fakirdik yani, hamur yapmaya unu bulamazdı annem, bir tane patatesi bile bulmazdık, bir soğanı bulamazdık, bir sarımsağı bulamazdık... aşırı fakirdik yani, değişecek kıyafet falan da bulamazdık, annem bunların yüzünden Almanya'ya yazılmış,(Almanya'ya işçi gitti))

...

D12: First of all let me say this: I was born in 1975, my mum is second wife to my father. Well, my father got married, actually they said he had a happy marriage but of course I do not know how happy he was..., he did not have kids with his first wife, then they said let's re-marry again to have kids, of course it is very difficult for co-wives to share the same house.

(Ben bir kere şöyle söyleyeyim, 75 doğumluyum ben, annem babamın ikinci eşi. İşte babam evlenmiş, aslında mutlu evliliği varmış ama tabi bilemiyorum ne kadar mutlu, çocukları olmamış ilk eşinden, demişler ki işte yeniden evleneyim çocuklarım olsun, evlenmiş, tabi ki çok zor iki kadının aynı anda aynı evi paylaşması.)

...

D2: : Namely, I am 24 years old, since my childhood, my mum used to work since my childhood anyway... my parents got divorced. Namely, how should I tell about my childhood? It was a misery; my mum used to work and she could not look after us, because she was working.. so we were playing on the streets

(Yani 24 yaşındayım, çocukluğum annem zaten çocukluğumdan beri hep, devamlı çalışıyor, alkolik bir babam vardı. ... annemle babam boşandılar, yani çocukluğum nasıl geçti diyeyim, böyle sefalet içinde, annem çalışıyordu bize bakamıyordu hani çalıştığı için, biz sokaklarda kendimiz oynuyorduk.)

In common life stories of D6 and D2 their mothers had to go abroad for work and they were fail to accomplish expected gender division of labour so this was considered as a childhood trauma in their society. D6 still could not get support of the grandmother who lives also in Avanos, while D2's divorcee mother could not get support of women in their lives created crisis among the family members. The interviewees did not questioned their fathers or male family members for not participating in the division of labour by gender or care responsibilities in the private sphere. Aforementioned women reproduce the patriarchal system with emphasizing the effects of their mother not proper playing her role in gender

division of labour but never questioned the nonparticipation of their fathers in the division of labour.

5.2.2. Education: School adventure

There has been significant differences between first and second generation women's level of education. According to Abadan Unat (1981), women's educational handicap is not derived from legal restrictions,⁶⁰ rather from structural inequalities.⁶¹ According to her, women's access to education heavily depends on urbanization and realization that schooling has functional value (p.26). Along with Abadan Unat, Gündüz-Hoşgör also mentions that the reasons for not using educational rights for women in rural Turkey are related with education system as well as traditional approach, poverty and deprivation (2010, p.310). Gündüz-Hoşgör and Smith (2007) in their work on regional differences in the status of women in Turkey, found important differences regarding to the living status in the countryside or living in towns. Accordingly in terms of educational opportunities and household income town women are more fortunate than living in the countryside, however they argue also they are more dependent on their husbands, since the rate of low participation in paid employment.

In this context, women of the first generation show similar characteristics to countryside women where access to education is limited because of insufficient educational infrastructure and sustainable economy based on unpaid child and woman's labor. Those women mainly worked as unpaid family laborers in their family vineyard and plots, or as shepherd or assist their mothers in carpet weavings. On the contrary, most of the second generation women were born in Avanos comparing to the first generation. In this context residing in town center

⁶⁰Women in Turkey have gained equal education opportunities with men through the Law on Union of Education adopted in 1924 and Turkish Civil Law adopted in 1926.

⁶¹Özbay (1981) also emphasises the structural barriers within education system. "Education is obviously a viable and decisive means of orienting the masses towards change in a short time. But it can do this only when the educational system itself is established on healthy grounds. In Turkey this is not the case. Instead of inducing social change and mobility, education as an institution protects the existing and, in many respects, the traditional structure. Thus one should not expect this system to foster any significant advancements in the field of women's development" (p. 179)

enables second generation from the initial period to receive same educational opportunities like urban women. Moghadam (2004) associates this situation with dissolution of material bases of patriarchy in parallel to modernization process of the state in terms of their infrastructures including mass education.

According to my interviews, my observations and retrieved data, I argue that first generation's labour was exploited since they were kids and as a result their access to basic education was interrupted in half. Also, the absence of mother as the main caregiver of the household or having more responsibilities caused the girls to take over the role of their mothers in the family. All those factors made the girls less fortunate than their male siblings. This situation reproduces gender inequality which has close affiliation with cultural values and social structures (Gündüz-Hoşgör 2010, p.15).

M7: Well because I was orphan I was at 4th grade, my mum passed away and my elder sister became a bride..my father took me out of the school
(İşte öksüz olduğum için dörde geçtim annem rahmetli ablam da gelin oldu. Babam da beni okuldan çıkardı...)

...

M21: pufff.. I am the eldest in the family...we are 3 sisters and 1 brother ..I had mother and father.. my father passed away when I was 17.My father was 50 and my mum was 40. My mum was acting as father and mother to us. We could only send our brother's to the school. We (sisters) only finished the primary school (5th grade) and left the school.
(Offf.. Ben ailenin en büyük çocuğuyum. Biz 3 kız 1 oğlanık. Annem babam vardı. Ben 17 yaşındayken babam öldü. Babam 50 yaşındaydı, annem 40 yaşındaydı. Annem bize hem anne oldu hem baba oldu. Oğlan kardeşimizi okutabildik. Bizler 5. sınıftan, ilkokuldan çıktık ayrıldık.)

Traditional patriarchal approaches on segregation of women from unrelated males could also (Shaham 2010) be considered among those factors as hindrance for women's education because of either father or another male family member who have impact on first generation.

In some cases, if the young girl is successful at school, either the school teacher or other 'respected' person would convince the family especially the father to send their daughters for further education.

M18: I was a bright child at primary school and was very keen on studying...my father was a bit bizarre we were very precious for him. He kept saying that he would not allow his daughters to study among male students. With insistings of my primary school teacher he sent me to middle school and then to girls' vocational school.

(Ben işte ilkokula gittim, başarılı bir öğrenciydim. E okumaya karşı, babamın biraz şeyi vardı böyle. Bizi kıymetli olduğumuzdan dolayı, "hani erkek içerisine göndermem, çalıştırmam, orta okula göndermem" gibi. İlkokul öğretmenimin ısrarıyla beni ortaokula gönderdi babam. Orta okuldan sonra kız meslek lisesinde okudum.)

A: The father allowed you to study until high school you say?

(Baba liseye kadar okuttu yani?)

M18: Yes but with all those naggings...with insisting of my primary school teacher... after the middle school I had my cousin in Nevşehir with his insistings...I became a graduate of girls' vocational school.

(Evet, ama yani böyle ısrarlarla. ... İlkokuldan sonra öğretmenimin ısrarıyla; orta okuldan sonra... hem halamın oğlu vardı, onlar Nevşehir'delerdi onların ısrarlarıyla. O şekilde kız meslek lisesi mezunu oldum.)

Some first generation respondents explained that they did not opt to continue to their education as their marks and grades were not that brilliant, or they were not keen on studying. All those women got married very shortly after they left schools.

A: Why did you drop the high school? Because you got married?

(Liseyi neden terk ettin, evlendiğin için mi?)

M2: No...It was hard to study perhaps. My marks were okay and I was not a lazy student. I dropped it because I had 3 courses I need to make up. Only for 3 courses. Then I got married.. it was not wanted marriage.

(Yoo, çalışmak zor geldi herhalde. Derslerim de iyiydi, öyle tembel bir öğrenci de değildim. 3 dersim var diye liseyi bıraktım. Tek 3 ders için. Sonra işte evlendim istemediğim bi evlilikti.)

Again for this generation the 'political atmosphere'⁶² was pointed to cause them to school dropouts or taken out of the schools.

M13: I took university entrance exam it was in 80's, it was a very chaotic period just after the end of that political struggles but nothing was settled in yet, my exam results were well but as I said earlier, but I made the wrong choices according to my results and could not get in anywhere. I did not have another chance I got engaged 3 months later after graduation. My mum told me 'I do hope that you will not get good marks, even if you get,

⁶² Turkey has experienced her third coup d'etat in 12 September 1980.

I am not going to send you to the university because it is really dangerous time’.

(Üniversite sınavına girdim ama tam tabi 80 yılıydı, tam bu curcunalı şeylerin bittiği ama daha her şeyin oturmadığı bir zamandıydı, o şeyle de yine de çok iyiydi puanım ama dediğim gibi tercihten kaybettim, bir daha girme şansım olmadı nişanlandım, okul bittikten sonra üç ay sonra nişanlandım. ...Sınava giderken annem şöyle demişti kazansan bile bu dönemde bu şeyde ben seni okutturmam inşallah kazanamazsın çünkü devir çok kötü bir şeyden çıktık yeni yani.)

....

M19: I went to primary, secondary and high school in Avanos. Faculty of Language, Geography and Turkish Literature but due to the political chaos in 77-78-79 namely, terrorists, this and that I could not complete my studies.

(İlkokulu, ortaokulu, liseyi Avanos'ta okudum. Dil Tarih Coğrafya Fakültesi, Türk Edebiyatı Bölümünü kazanmıştım ama bu olaylı dönemler, 77-78-79-80 dönemlerinde, yani terörist olaylar şu bu, devam edemedim, yarım kaldı bıraktım.)

Majority of the second generation women are either high school or university graduates. There are also some master graduates while the majority of first generation are primary school graduates. The educational differences between the two generations could be based on the dissolution of division of labour expectation in the PCP households based on women’s labour at very young ages. This expectation decreased due to gradually evolving of those households into smaller consumer units in the second generation period. Meanwhile, the implementation of compulsory education system has a considerable impact on continuation of education for the second generation. This is also a proof that classical patriarchy is resolving, school and study for the young girls have been accepted during the second generation education period comparing to the first one.

There is a strong affiliation between socio-economic status of their families and school dropouts in the second generation. The ‘financial struggles’ led some second generation women to drop their schools. Common to first generation stories, when there is a financial crisis in the families, families prefer to take their daughters out of school rather than their sons.

D1:My sister was a newly wed woman, my mum was sick and we were not that well, my parents did not want to send both of us (my brother or herself) to school it was going to be either of us, my marks were not that good, I sacrificed myself and started to work, when I started to work I also got married.

(Ablam gelin olunca işte annem de rahatsızlık o zaman da yokluk da başladı, e birimizden biri (ya erkek kardeşi ya kendi), babam istemedi annem istemedi ama benim de dört dörtlük değildi derslerim, fedakârlık yaptım yani çalışma hayatına başladım, başlayınca işte benim de bir başımdan evlilik geçti.)

...

D15: I dropped the high school,I did not go to high school..because we were civil servant's kids, I realized that my father was struggling financial wise..I felt that we were 3 siblings and we were all going to school..we were 2 sisters and a brother.. the lessons were also very boring, and I was not in favour of the school, I dropped the school.

(... bıraktım liseyi ben. Okumadım liseyi. İu... Memur çocuğu olduğumuz için şey oldu; babam, baktım, çok zorlanıyor. Halbuki zorlanmıyor ama ben onu hissediyordum. 3 kardeşimize, boy boyduk, üçümüz birlikte okuyorduk. İki oğlan bir kızız; ben ortancayım. Ya baktım pek de okul taraftarı değilim. Sıkmaya başladı beni okul falan derken, bıraktım ben okulu.)

We could count the traditional attitude, among the reasons for women school dropouts in this generation. However, the main difference is while the entire men in the family intervene the decision on girls education in the first generation, only fathers had the control and intervention for the second as given in Patriarchal Transformation section in Chapter 2. Another difference is that such intervention occurs during high school or later stages in second generations life cycle. Control of sexuality of young women get harder where the mixed education is common, as a result this contradicts with patriarchal culture. In some cases the families find the solution to this contradiction by sending girls to vocational girl high schools or nearby universities.

D4:My German was very good and my school directors and teachers were appealing to my father ‘ Mr Yusuf please, at least she could study at German Literature, she will enter to the department very easily..My father was very stubborn.. I will not send my only and unique daughter to those places...

(Benim şimdi Almancam çok iyi olduğu için benim müdürlerim, öğretmenlerim babamın ayağına geliyorlar artık, Yusuf bey lütfen yapma, en azından alman dili ve edebiyatını kız okur, havada kazanır, babam Nuh diyor peygamber demiyor, ben bir tane kızımı oralara göndermem.)

...

A: Why did you not study at the university?

(Üniversiteyi niye okumadınız?)

D14: My father never wanted us to study at the university. Just because there were also boys at the high school he sent us to Girl's vocational school.

(Üniversiteyi hiç istemedi zaten babam. Lisede erkek var diye bizi kız meslek lisesinde okuttu babam.)

Women in both generations subjected to the patriarchal control during their educational decisions. Two women from wealthy families D17 and D19 have similar life stories and could be considered as two important cases. In the first story D17 is a university graduate and wants to study architecture but was prevented by her husband. Second story of D19 has been criticized by her family for studying her master after bachelor while her family was expecting her to work in the family factory.

D17: I wish I could study architect if there would have been a faculty here...but I do not have such opportunity. I wanted to take University entrance exam and enrol to Nevşehir University but my husband was not happy about it he did not have consent he told me you have two kids how are you going to study. He said you are educated enough (laughs)

(Yani mümkün olsa yani şu an bir mimarlık fakültesi olsa burada gider okurum, o derece yani ama işte şu an için öyle bir şey yok, söyledim bir sınava gireyim de dedim Nevşehir Üniversitesi'nde okuyayım mı A. (kocası) dedim o da ne işin var dedi senin iki tane çocuğun var dedi.... Artı bana bu kadar eğitilisi yeter canım dedi (gülüyor), niye dedim daha eğitilmiş olayım istemez misin dedim)

Tendency of entering to the public sphere with mix education shows high ranking among the second generation. This research reveals that families are inventing new strategies on dealing with their daughters who come across to the stranger men in the public sphere. Some leading strategies are; sending their daughters to the same high school with their sons/ or as it was seen in D17 and D19 to ensure that their daughters are studying their universities at the same cities with their brothers.

D19: (Once my father said ...he was not sending to anywhere apart from Ankara anyway..I was only able to go to Ankara, because my brother was there..)

(Babam şöyle bir şey söyledi.... Zaten Ankara dışında hiçbir şekilde yollamıyor. Abim Ankara'da olduğu için sadece Ankara'ya gidebiliyorum ben.)

A: İstanbul, İzmir, Boğaziçi?

D19:he is not sending... he is not sending... perhaps...I do not remember Bogazici very clearly...of course when he was fixed his mind on Ankara...
(Yollamıyor, yollamıyor. Galiba... Boğaziçi'ni çok net hatırlamıyorum, tabi bi de Ankara diye şartlanınca...)

A:How about your mum ?

(Anne peki?)

D19:mum also thinks the same, support the father.. Father says' I am not after the money I give, I want to sleep peacefully when I rest my head on my pillow' ⁶³.

(Anne de aynı şeyi düşünüyor, babayı destekliyor. Baba şey diyor: "Ben" diyor, "verdiğim parada değilim, başımı yastığa koyunca içim rahat etsin benim")

A:because you were with your brother ?

(Ha abinle birlikte olduğun için...)

Another strategy is choosing universities in Nevsehir, Nigde, Kayseri and Konya which are close to Avanos. So that they could visit their families during the weekends or their fathers or brothers could easily visit them.

A: We were going during the weekend?

(Nasıl hafta sonları mı gidip geliyordun?)

D20: I came once in a month usually...

(Ayda bir geldim genelde.)

A: Ohh.. for your home which is only an hour away?!

(Aaa bir saatlik eve?)

D20: Yes it was close, but you know, homework, deadlines were problem..My mum used to come more often, and at the same time...I did not have the opportunity to come...My father used to come once a week my mom every 2 weeks...

(Yakın ama hani şey oluyordu ödevler, okul teslimi yani okula teslim falan biraz sıkıntılı olduğu için. Daha çok da annemler geliyordu hem de aynı zamanda... benim fazla gelmeye fırsat kalmadı. Babam haftada bir geliyordu da annem de iki haftaya bir falan sık sık geliyordu.)

Usage of mobile phones was common among those interviewees whose mobility increased in public sphere either due to their education or employment. Interviewees often reported to their mothers, elder brother, brother or father where they were/what they were doing during interviews. It has been seen that mobile

⁶³D19 mentioned that her elder brother went to same university and also high school with her. This had an impact on not having a boyfriend throughout her education life.

phone is a device for the patriarchy in modernization which facilitate control of young women who studies away from their hometowns even during their spare times. New communication technologies are kind of mediators and as Sharabi insists (1988, p.4) reorganizing patriarchal relations through 'modern' forms and appearances of control. For instance, D13 had to report to her parents in Avanos and her brother in Mersin her movements and locations very often on the daily basis whilst studying at university

D13: Yes of course namely for that reason... My brother was so attached to me, because we grew up at the same room with him for long...we separated when we were 15-16 years old. He was very devoted, he used to do everything for me, investment, he used to intervene and jealously me at the same time..like when you go somewhere, as long as you inform father he would keep it to himself, never spread it in the family, if you tell the mother she will not spread the news in the house either...' but they all have that fragile part, complaining why did you not call me? and stuff like that' *(Tabi tabi yani o şeyden... Hani abimin bana aşırı düşkünlüğü, işte böyle biz aynı odada büyüdük abimle çok uzun yıllar. İşte 15-16 yaşlarındayken ayrıldık biz abimle. Hep böyle şeydi hem çok fedakardır, işte her şeyini bana yapar, yatırımını; hem de çok karışır, çok da kıskanır. İşte bi yere gidersin gittiğin zaman babana haber veriyorsan o aileye yaymaz, ya da anneye haber veriyorsan o aileye yaymaz. Hepsine ayrı ayrı haber vermek zorundasın. Ha "onu aradın niye beni aramadın" tarzında hepsinin böyle kırılğan bir tarafları var.)*

Another fact based on interviews with the second generation reveals that job choices were manipulated by the young women's fathers. Especially daughters in wealthy families are directed or insisted on to choose a department which would benefit their families business. In first generation, the educational investment on the girls was limited. The daughters were not sent to schools as they were supposed to marry and transfer their labour into the new household. But the trend has changed to favour of daughters. Families seem to invest on their daughters as much as their sons. It was controversy in the past, daughters were excluded from the family and not considered as member of their biological families once they get married and become member of another household. The families did not pay enough attention and make investment on the daughters as they were considered that they were soon leave their household and start to live and contribute with the domestic labour of her husband's family. Daughters until marriage always

expected to take care of siblings, assist with the domestic labors, farm labour, carpet weaving. However as a result of the transformation of subsidized production these expectations also have changed and more investments have been done towards daughters. In families with higher socio-economic status, such trend led families to invest on their daughters educations to benefit the family business.

D17:I enrolled to East Mediterranean University in Cyprus I studied computer and accountant, it was my father's decision again
(Doğu Akdeniz Üniversitesi'ne geçtim Kıbrıs'ta, orada da bilgisayar ve muhasebe üzerine okudum, orada da babamın seçimi oldu yine.

A: To support here?

(Buraya yardım olsun diye.)

D17:Yes, he said hmmm, let's one person manage our money, actually with these words he directed our lives without intention, how could I explain it...for instance, he wanted my brother to be civil engineer,he could not study after the high school....this was his dream, he told my brother I could not study but you study and become a civil engineer.He raised my brother in that direction...

(Evet, şey dedi hani bizim parayı bir kişi yönetsin gibisinden diye direk aslında hayatımızı bir nevi istemeden yönlendirmiş oldu, hani nasıl diyeyim siz şöyle şöyle, abimin mesela inşaat mühendisi olmasını çok istemişti, kendisi okumamış inşaat mühendisliğini liseden sonrasını okumamış, o içinde hep var, ondan dolayı ben o zorlukları yaşadım sen inşaat mühendisi ol, onu çocukluktan beri hep öyle yetiştirdi, şantiye vs. ondan dolayı...)

...

D19: Yes I did not want to come to Avanos but I could have easily get a formation course and become a teacher or work in private sector..I could have done many other things...I could have gone to Germany just not to come here but I did not want any of those things I wanted to work at University but my family interpreted such things in different way my father thought I did not like this business. For mum she says' D19 did not want to come in such extend that she succeed to be study her master in METU'

(...Ben evet, Avanos'a gelmek istemiyorum ama sonuçta aynı zamanda son sınıftayken formasyon alıp, öğretmenlik yapmaya başlayabilirdim ya da orda özel sektörde iş bulmaya çalışabilirdim. Ne bileyim yani bir sürü başka bir şey yapabilirdim. Hani illa ki buraya gelmemek için Almanya'ya gidebilirdim aynı şekilde ya da yurtdışına gidebilirdim. Ama ben bunu istemedim yani ben Master yapmak istedim ki halen mesela. Ben üniversitede kalmak istiyorum ya, işin özeti bu. Ama bu hep benim ailem tarafından farklı yorumlandı. Babama göre ben işte Avanos'taki işi beğenmiyorum. Anneme göre işte buraya gelmemek için "O kadar azmetti ki Avanos'a gelmemek için ta ODTÜ'lerde Master yapmayı bile başardı" gibi bakıyor konuya)

...

D20:Nooo..nooo ..he was always hesitating...to be precise my father used to sell building materials, projects so on and so forth...so they think I will be in their use, this is why my father had pressure on me...
(*Yooo yoo onlar zaten hep çekimserdi. Hani babam da açıkçası biraz daha, babam dediğim gibi inşaat malzemeleri satıyor proje falan çizimleri.. hani kendilerine de yararım hani birlikte iş yaparız falan diye düşüncesiyle daha çok babam o yönde baskı yaptı.*)

...
D23: well... my university entrance marks were very low..I was only able to study administration or economy..in the end we did not have the situation to do that...
(*Şey puanlarım düşük gelmişti işte hani İşletme- İktisat oluyordu. Babam sadece şey demişti hani "sonuçta bizim onu yapabilecek durumumuz yok. Sen işletme ya da iktisat okusan illa ki özel bir şey olması daha mantıklı oluyor" ...)*

I asked each women ‘what would you change in your life if you were to have a magic stick ‘ at the end of each interview. So I strive to encourage them to think about their past and current lives. In both generations the majority of them wished to change their educations. Those women associate education to have the power to enter the labour market and have financial freedom.

M5: If I were lucky, my daughter, if I were to be born again I would have gone to school myself, instead of depend on the husband
(*... şansım olsaydı kızım yeni anamdan ben doğmuş olaydım ilk baştan ben okurdum, çalışırdım, herifin eline bakmazdım.*)

D12: It should touch my education when the issue is myself.this is extremely crucial..this is a deep wound of me, I tell my daughter if I were able to do maths as much as her, I would have been in better situation career wise
(*...kendimle ilgili mutlaka eğitimime dokunmalı, çok çok önemli, bu benim için çok büyük bir yara fakat kızıma diyorum ki ben senin kadar matematik çözsedydim çok güzel yerlerde olabilirdim, çok çok güzel yerlerde olabilirdim)*

...
D16: Namely, you envy them after a certain age, when you look back, people study more than you, you ask why, why I did not study?
(*Yani imreniyorsun bir yaştan sonra. dönüp baktığımda... İnsanların senden daha okudukları, neden diyorsun yani, niye ben okumadım? Daha hayatım farklılaşır, daha güzel olurdu yani..)*

...
M17:If I were to born again, I will be hmmm.. I will finish a university degree, I will learn to drive, I will learn a foreign language...because We went to abroad, we had many challenging experience there...

(Tabii bir daha dünyaya gelsem, şey olucam; üniversite bitiricem, araba kullanmasını öğrenicem, yabancı dil öğreneceğim. Biz çünkü yabancı yerlere gittik, orda çok zorluk yaşadık.)

Only two women associate and reported that they would prefer further education to gain a better status rather than having financial freedom if they were touched by a magic stick. For instance, while D17 wish to have finished a prestigious university, D17 would have studied at the university, while M19 wished to continue to her education after high school so that she could sign all those documents as attestation instead of recruiting someone else.

D17:I only wish that I could change my education statue, I would never want to change anything else in my life apart from my education..This is a big ‘pain’ inside my heart, for instance, I wish I could read in Bilkent..
(Sadece eğitim durumumu değiştirdim, başka hiçbir şeyimi değiştirmek istemezdim, sadece yani içindeki en büyük uktelerden biri mesela Bilkent’te okumak isterdim.)

A: Did you not finish a university in Cyprus? Why?
(Kıbrıs’ta bir üniversite bitirmediniz mi, niye...)

D17: I graduated from Cyprus, but I wish that I could study in Turkey, I wish that I could study in METU, Bosporohus perhaps I am obsessed with university I guess!
(Orayı da bitirdim ama orası şimdi yani şeyde okumak isterdim,Türkiye’de okumak isterdim, atıyorum mesela o türlü bir şeye sahip olmak isterdim, mesela çok isterdim ODTÜ okumak,yani benim biraz herhalde okul takıntım mı vardır bilmiyorum ama ODTÜ, Boğaziçi vs.,sadece eğitim durumumu değiştirmek isterdim...)

....

M19:Sure...for sure I would touch it! It is a missing inside! I have always felt that. When I married my husband’s financial situation was not that good. For instance, when my son was 2 months old, there was a ‘pardon’ to students who were my peers during Ecevit’s government! I could not return to school! This is my sorrow! Namely, I will never forget this pain in my life! I asked to return to school but he did not have the money for it. For instance, I prepare all documents, including customs claims,I do prepare everything but they ask for 4 years university graduate signature! What a pity isn’t it?

(Kesin, kesin dokunurdum. Benim o içinde hep eksiklik. Hep hissettim onu. Evlenip gittiğimde de eşimin durumu çok çok iyi değildi. Mesela oğlum 2 aylık bebektir, bir af getirildi, benim dönemimdekilere, o Ecevit hükümeti döneminde, hepsi üniversiteyi bitirdi, ben geledim. En büyük acım... Yani ömrümün sonuna kadar unutamayacağım bir acı. Ben mesela gideyim dedim ama beni gönderecek durumu yoktu. Gönderemezdi.

... Mesela her türlü evrakı kendim yapıyorum; gümrük beyannameleri de dâhil, her şeyi kendim yapıyorum ama 4 yıllık bir üniversite mezununun imzasını istiyor. Ne kadar kötü bir şey değil mi?)

It is obvious that education and school attendance are highest in the second generation. This situation has a close relation with urban development and access to education. First generation women were born in neighboring towns and viallages of Avanos where the access to education is limited, whilst second generation women were born in Avonos center never experienced difficulties in school access. Such education opportunities influenced employment and marriage patterns of second generation. Despite of all those improvements, second generation still limited in terms of “the ability to make strategic life choices”⁶⁴ in education which is still considered as empowerment conditions.

5.2.3. Marriage path

Marriage is a fundamental and common event in women’s lives. Class position of the spouse, marriage age, decision about marriage and husband’s extended family, type of marriage and number of the marriage are main determinants of their patriarchal experiences. I could basically say that in Avanos there has been a transformation to an independent nuclear family from patriarchal extended families in marriage patterns.⁶⁵ Especially, transient extended family⁶⁶ type are widely spread in the first generation compared to the second generation.

⁶⁴ Kabeer (1999) states that women make preferences and put their choices in an order such as first and second choices and highly gave priority to their first choices. (discussed in a detailed manner within CH2 under the 2.5. Women’s Agency section). According to her, first order choices include choice of livelihood, whether to marry and whom to marry, whether to have children or not and so on and so forth. If we consider education as the first choice in their order I have observed that women who could not decide on their own to continue to their education after the high school.

⁶⁵ Timur (1981) summarized the characteristics of patriarchal extended family and independent nuclear family as follows; “patriarchal extended family as one in which the nuclear family is controlled by the head of the patrilineal extended family. The father has great power over his sons, and the husband over his wife. Relationships are not egalitarian. Marital choice is determined by the parents, and age at marriage tends to be quite young. To facilitate parental control, the newly married couple usually live with the parents”; “In an independent nuclear family, neither parents nor th couple have many rights or reciprocal obligations in regard to each other. Parents do not choose the new couple’s residence location-it is neo local. Mate choice is done by the people involved. Age at marriage is determined by the fact that youngsters have to be old enough provide for themselves.” (pp. 60-61)

5.2.3.1. Age of marriage

Fifteen out of 23 women in the first generation got married below the age of 18, in the aforementioned generation 13 is the lowest marriage age while 29 is detected to be the highest age. As for the second generation's retrieved data,⁶⁷ 4 out of 17 were married below 18. In this generation 15 is the lowest age while 34 is the highest age for the marriage.

The Institute of Population Studies in Hacettepe (IPS) 2008 research results rectify the findings of this research, meaning there has been an increase in marriage age as observed in the second generation. According to the results, average marriage age is 19.5 for 45-49 age group while it has increased to 22.1 for 22-29 age group.

The tendency of early marriage in the first generation overlap with the patterns of classical patriarchy. Besides the early marriage in the first generation, cases of 'late' marriages above 18's are mainly originated from the necessity of the women in the household as the productive and reproductive laborers of the household families.⁶⁸ For instance M2 had not married until 23 as she was looking after her brother's children in İstanbul. However, her brother and parents started to worry that she will be an old maid and forced to marry with someone without her consent. M17 had to wave carpet for her family who did not have another income, when her 65 years old father started to receive a pension according to the new regulation she was than able to marry at her 23. M21 reported that she was taking care of the family when her father passed away and could marry when she was 29. Similarly, M21 told that she had to work in the market so she could marry when she was 21.

⁶⁶“Transient extended family, in which the male, who is the head of the household and chief bread winner rather than his father, his wife, and his unmarried children live together with either the ma'n's or his wife's widowed parents and/or with their unmarried siblings. Timur 1981, pp. 62-63)

⁶⁷ I did not have the chance to interview three of women from the second generation, their stories were summarized through their mothers narratives.

⁶⁸ The first generation retreated that getting married at 20 's was a late age marriage for their period

5.2.3.2. Type of marriage

Almost all the first generation had an arranged marriage. Only 1 out of 23 from first generation reported that she married with her freewill. Kandiyoti (1997) said that arranged marriage is a form of application which protects women to compete with each other in free market and in sexuality and it is still continues in conservative layers of the society.

Bora and Üstün (2005) state that people do not make their own decisions on marriage, yet their marriage decisions are given by initiative of their parents are also prove that those people are submissive and passive in other areas of their lives (p.59). For women to decide whether and whom to marry (Kabber 1999) is among the first order strategic life choices. In this regard, at first glance first generations not having the ability to make her own choice of marriage could be considered as a trace of disempowerment. However, this situation works for favour of woman depend on father's socio-economic status, namely, women gain empowerment indirectly when the father is the decision maker in his daughter's marriage.

It has been seen that arranged marriage considerably decreases in the second generation. Turkish Statistical Institute (TSI) 2006 research on family structure based on Address Based Population Registration System registration also system overlaps with my field results. According to TSI results only 9.4% of marriages are arranged. In my case, while only 7 of those women of second generation had an arranged marriage; the rest of women in this generation - including engaged, reported that they decided for marriage and later got approval of their families. This situation could be explained with change of production relations. According to Kandiyoti (1977, 1997) the transformation from subsistence economy into the market economy has rapidly changed authority relations⁶⁹ between father and

⁶⁹Kıray in parallel to Kandiyoti states that because of change of pre-market conditions, following relations have become less rigid; "The focal relationship in classic Turkish families is that of father-son since it serves to perpetuate the multifunctional structure of the family. Traditionally a family strongly desires sons. After childhood, the father takes care to see that his sons find jobs or learn the family trade; that suitable girls are found for them to marry, and that, at the end of his

sons. According to Kandiyoti (1976) young men who are depended on their fathers for the expense of wedding, become independent to their parents while choosing their spouses. This trend overlaps with rural transformation period in Avanos. It is possible to see the similar tracks for women as men during the rural transformation. Women were seen to be in charge and semi control of their lives. The increase of mutual consent of both women and men in marriage decision and its relation with women's education and employment will be tackled below.

5.2.3.3. Education and marriage

Being a student was considered not an excuse for the first generation for getting married. However, some women in first generation were able to postpone marriage until university age. This depends on economic situation of their families. In the case of second generation the bottom age of marriage sharply increases to above 18 years old in contrast to first generation. The results reveals that the reason for this change is education. IPS 2008 results also reveals the positive affiliation between the education level and marriage age. According to the findings of this research, women with high school graduate and others have considerable differences on marriage age. Aforementioned marriage age increased to 24.1. Likely, according to the interviews women who married above the age of 18's are high school graduates.

Another tendency which is observed in the second generation is considering marriage as an alternative when fail to gain a degree at universities as in case of M3's daughters.

M3: She stayed like that, it did not happen, she did not study! We did not send the other to the tutorial.

(Öylece kaldı o, olmadı, okumadı, öbür kızı da dershaneye göndermedik.)

A: Who is the other girl?

(Öbür kız dediğiniz?)

M3: There is one older than this one! Her marks are not that brilliant, this is why we could not send her to the 'Dersane' namely, we did not get any positive things from her regarding her marks , she also repeated her class,

active years, the welfare of his family can be entrusted to them. Thus commencing a new domestic cycle". (1981, p.262-263)

she finished her school one year later than the other one... so they got married with an arrange marriage.

(Bunun büyüğü var, onun da dersleri biraz zayıftı, o yüzden göndermedik dershaneye, dedim yani bundan pek olumlu bir şey almayınca ondan da pek alacak, bir de sınıfta kalmıştı o, bunlan aynı bitirdi okulu, yo bir yıl sonra bitirdi, bir birinci sınıfta kaldı geriye bir de lisede kaldı bundan bir yıl sonra bitirdi okulu, bundan da olumlu bir şey alamayınca zaten baştan belli olurdu olacağı, onu da dershaneye göndermedik, o da olmadı. İşte bunlarda görücü usulü evlendi.)

5.2.3.4. The new order: Education-Employment-Marriage (EEM)

I did not come across to women in the first generation who got married after finishing their schools or got into labour force. While at the second generation 12 of those women decide to marry after graduated and started to work respectively except one of them. Although some of them had to stop working for a while after giving birth, they returned to work later. On the other hand, I realized a close relation between type of marriage and the work which are done by those women. According to EEM, apart from one interviewee of the second generation reported that they made their own choice about getting married. Receiving education and participating in the labour force enable women to be in public sphere and have access to the human and social resources as I discussed in Chapter 2 in Resources (pre-conditions) section. Women generally meet with their spouses in public sphere during education or in workplace. Participation in the work force and having education creates precondition of ability to decide whom to marriage. As a result this situation could be interpreted that women gain chain power through pursuing EEM in further stage of their lifecycle and acquire 'ability to make strategic life choices'.

5.2.3.5. The Socio-economic status of father and marriage

The socio-economic status of father has an impact on marriage experience in both generations. Especially youngly married first generation women's fathers are members of PCP households. Fathers of women who relatively married at their later ages own factories, and own businesses or work abroad or traders. Those fathers who have higher socio-economic status give priority to a marriage where

their daughters domestic labour will not be exploited and feel happy.⁷⁰ Therefore, support of a powerful father have a positive impact on his daughter's marriage patterns such as the marriage age of his daughter or degree of exploitation of her domestic labor at her new household.

5.2.3.6. Labour transfer

First generation's marriages in early ages supposed to be based on as 'transfer of household labour'. Generally speaking, the prior criteria for a bride to be in an arrange marriage is the ability of reproduction and production in the new household⁷¹. Among first generation M15's case is an outstanding one. Soon after her marriage, her husband has started to work in Ankara for 14 years. During this period M15 has stayed in her husband's extended household and worked both at home and in the vineyard. She was able to have her own house and move out of her in laws house after demise of her father in law.

Moreover, in first generation the issue of "labour transformation" remains same even after divorce and re-marriage; in fact a woman possibly experience harder times in her next marriage. For instance, M1 a divorce with kids, she re-married and according to her statement her second husband considered to marry her to take care of his own children.

As it has been mentioned, second generation's marriage is based on compromise, and mutual decision and knowing each other earlier. In this generation, the logic of transfer of labour is unveiled/visible in marriages. Yet, nature of labour transfer does not change in second generation's marriages. The main difference is woman decides to which kind of household that she wish to transfer her labour. Such

⁷⁰ M11'S father is a shopkeeper and forced her at 23 years old to marry to a civil servant

⁷¹ This situation is also in harmony with Kandiyoti's claim (See CH2 section 2.3.) which is one of those principle of classical patriarchal "The patrilineage totally appropriates both women's labor and progeny and renders their work and contribution to production invisible" (1997, p. 279). Similarly, White (1999) states that a bride join her husband's family with owing nothing after her domestic labour has been exploited by her father in her parents house(p.84).Intense of labour transfer exploitation of first generation show varieties according to their class status. This topic will be tackled in following chapter 'labor of women/ works done by women' section.

decisions could be evaluated for second generation in the scope of empowerment in the context of “ability to make strategic life choices.

5.2.3.7. Divorce

Gamble, neglecting of main responsibilities, alcohol were main reasons for marriage termination in the first generations. Apart from those reasons, only M12 reported that her marriage ended due to objections of her mother in law to her marriage. This generation considers divorce as the last option, despite all those struggles and strives to maintain their marriages. Generally, reasons to maintain their marriages are being financially dependent to their husbands, and concern for being stigmatize in the society as ‘widow’. Only 2 out of 4 divorcee from that generation stated that they were reluctant to get divorce regardless financial independence, in fact M2 reported that she was reluctant to divorce.

A: How did you divorce with your husband?

(Sen kocanla nasıl boşandın?)

M2: We agreed on divorce with my husband...Otherwise I would not be divorced...when all those follow one another..in fact he wanted to be divorce.

(Biz kocamla anlaşmalı boşandık. ... Ben hala boşanmazdım. Daha hala ben boşanmazdım. Ne zamanki icralar arka arkaya gelip.. hani şey diyince... kendi istedi hatta boşanmayı.)

A: I see ...so not to have any dept...

(Haa borç sana görünmesin diye..)

M2: He had to leave Avanos.. and he also did not want to have more responsibility...when we were together we used to ask him money for the kids, used to tell him to send me money for the child. He had to go from here.. he went with his consent..

(Avanos'tan gitmek zorundaydı. Bi de sorumluluk istemiyordu artık biz tarafından. Hani biz ister istemez başımızda olduğu için para diyorduk, çocuğum diyorduk, çocuğuna para gönder. Buradan gitmek zorundaydı. Yani kendi isteğiyle gitti o.)

A: Than you never let him in to the house?

(Sonra da sen eve almadın?)

M2: It is not that I did not let him into the house... he actually taught he would finish his dept and come back home.. he wanted us to be married with religious marriage...I did not accept it...

(Eve ben almadım değil. O, ben hani..borçlarını bitirip geleceğini düşündü o. Yani imam nikahlı yaşamak istedi. Ben de onu kabul etmedim.)

Priorities of both generations are relatively differ from each others, while marriage ends as the last choice when the spouse fail or neglect to bring money to the household, second generation priorities show differences. For the second generation one of those principle reasons for divorce is not being satisfied or been able to receive the expectation from a marriage. For instance, sexual dissatisfaction, cheating, violence, substance abuse are some reasons for getting divorce. These reasons vary according to the social economic position. As in Nurse D7's divorce story. She complained that her husband was a slow, demotivated men and they had no in common to share and did not spend quality time together. She had to be in charge of the entire household.

D7:But a person wishes to be with her/his spouse...I would have loved to be with him whether he is good or bad...he used to have different habits..for instance dinner time or shopping or other finance matters were all under my responsibility. He used to take so long when I used to ask for a small repairments ...I was especially mad about his dinner habit...he never used to sit for dinner, when even he used to work...

(... ama bir insan eşiyile beraber olmak ister, iyi de olsa kötü de olsa beraber olmak isterdim, çok farklı bir alışkanlığı vardı yani, normalde yani şu yemek saati insan masada olur, nasıl anlatayım, böyle bir yere gidileceği zaman veya bir alışveriş yapılacağı zaman daha çok şeyi bana verdi, yani maddi yönden hiçbir sıkıntımız yoktu, onun da olsun benim de olsun yani beraberdi paramız da sorumluluğu hep benim üzerime attı, yani çoğu zaman.....Televizyona bakar şey yapar, evin içerisindeydi veya bir işe, olur ya ufak tefek yazın işler olduğu zaman, çok uzatırdı bir işi, ne olursa olsun uzatırdı, en çok benim sinir olduğum sofrada yoktu, yani çalışırken de öyleydi, bir sofraya geleyim de aynı anda oturayım yok...)

Having financial freedom is an important factor for the second generation about divorce decision.⁷² Those four women reported that they were still working when they got divorced, only one of them stoped working after re-married whilst the other 3 still continue to work.

There are few re-married women in both generations. Civil marriage is common for the first generation even it was done late. While, there are some religious

⁷²Kavas (2010:5) in her research on “post divorce experience of highly educated and professional women mentions about current challenges to traditional patterns of family in Turkey such as delaying marriage, rising divorce rates which are highly related to increasing possibility of women's access to education and employment.

marriage or cohabitations in the second generation without civil marriage. Among the second generation there is only one woman who was able to have civil marriage on her third marriage. Receiving the demised father's pension and not been able to divorce from the former spouses are the main reasons. Both generations are strongly in favour of civil marriage and have the civil marriage once they have the earliest possibility.

Mutual experiences of divorced and remarried women are to marry with divorced men or men who had several marriages in the past and much elder than them. Expectation from the first generation is generally taking care of the step children or being co-wife to the household, while re-marriage means sexuality and romanticism for the second generation. For example, D1, D6 are two cases in second generation, they were not required a care labour their partners are still married with other women but D1 and D6 accepting to be partners out of wedlock and have their own homes furnished by their male partners.

5.2.3.8. Marriage as a strategy

Second generation is on the heavy side of considering marriage as a strategy. Decision or free will on marriage was not an option for the first generation, in fact it was arranged by their families, this is considered as a significant difference of second generation from the first generation. General tendency of second generation is the transformation of marriage to a nuclear family structure with the young couple consent for marriage, from the transfer of domestic labour from parents' house to in-laws house in the first generation. This change puts forward women's agency in ability to make strategic life choices. Some women reported that they used marriage as a strategy to run away from their father's home conditions. Women who re-married in the first generation are those who were trying to avoid social pressure and the title of 'widow' in the society. Second generation indeed the group who consider marriage as a real strategy. While marriage is decided and organized by the family members and made to marry at a young age, for the second generation

Sexual interaction before marriage could also pave the way to marriages in order to escape from social pressure/influence. A woman from second generation decided to get married with the first person she came across and accept to have a headscarf after being raped whilst she was preparing to the university entrance exam. In another example, persistency for marriage and struggle to convince the parents for marriage, created a suspicion that she might had sex with her boyfriend out of wed lock.

D4:Because I could not control my anger, I had helped my parents for my entire life,when they started to treat me as an ordinary person, I told them that I will get married..My uncle is a policeman he asked me whether I had any trouble with someone and why I was rushing to get married..I told him not but I just want to get married..

(... çünkü sinir bastı artık, çünkü ben hayatım boyunca hep anneme babama yardımcı olmuş insanım, artık beni hep ikinci üçüncü plana ittikleri için ağrıma da gitti, evleneceğim dedim, amcam var polis kızım dedi başına bir iş mi geldi de sen bu kadar ısrar ediyorsun dedi yok amca dedim başıma bir iş gelmedi ama evlenmek istiyorum dedim)

Heavy domestic work load and domestic violence at fathers home left no choice but considered marriage as an escape option. For instance, D6 insisted on arranged marriage even though she was experiencing violence both in the parents' house and by her fiancée. She preferred arranged marriage instead of love marriage where she experienced violence throughout her dating period.

D6:Hmm...no one asked my hand for marriage, well I was proposed but they were not well off so on and so forth , one or two options were from Europe but my father did not accept it, my father was a strict one and people were afraid of him... they were hesitating to come to our house with reason that my father might

(Hi, bu dayaktan şundan bundan, doğru dürüst bir isteyen adam da olmadı, oldu da durumları düşük oldu falan oldu filan oldu, bir iki Avrupa'dan isteyen oldu ona da babam vermedi, millet babam kovar diye istemeye gelmeye çekiniyorlardı, babam çok sertti kovardı... kızlar gidince işleri kim görecektir, kovar, her iş biz, yani aşırı bir iş, bir de davardan başka bağ bahçe işlerimiz da var.)

Women in the second generation had experienced social pressure for not getting married and opt to stay single and had the pressure to get marry. Instead of resisting to such pressure women chose to get married. For instance, nurse D7, resisted to stay single until the age of 34, yet accept to have an arrange marriage

when her mother got sick in order to escape from the psychological pressure on her. Only D11 from the second generation successfully resist on and stayed single out of all those women. Socio-economic position has a significant importance for D11 in this life story. As a daughter of a teacher father, D11 does not consider marriage as a priority in life. Her situation could be also evaluated same exercising agency through not making a choice on marriage

D11: I never think marriage as running away from the family. In my opinion marriage should be done when it will be a good one, there were some candidates but I was not keen on marriage... also this is 'kısmet'..I opt for studying also, if I marry how I am going to go to university? You should stay at home and raise kids according to this region's customs...some people asks what will you do if you study? But if you divorce and with no job, no school will you stay at home and wait for another man for marriage? You should have a job first, change the aspect of your life..if you wish you would marry ...it is not that necessary ..

(Bir de ben evlenmeyi hiç öyle aileden kaçış olarak falan düşünmedim, evlilik aslında iyi yapılması gereken bir şey bence, e gelenler de var ama aslında ben çok istemiyorum evlenmeyi yani, bir de kısmet meselesi.... Bir de benim isteğim okuma yönünde şimdi evlenirsem nasıl okuyacağım, bir de bizim buranın adetleri, evlenince aman evinde oturmalısın, çocuğun olacak, çocuğuna bakacaksın, e okuyup da ne yapacaksın. ... Şimdi mesela çoğu kişi aman okuyup da ne yapacağız, ne yapacaksın, ne olacak okuyunca, e hadi boşandın, elinde hiçbir mesleğin yok, okumamışsın, evde oturup tekrar mı koca bekleyeceksin, hayır, hiç gereği yok bence. Önce bir mesleğin olsun, bir hayata bakış açın değişsin, ondan sonra evlenirsen evlenirsin, evlenmezsen evlenmezsin yani. O kadar da gerekli bir şey değil bence.)

Unhappy marriage or ending up with divorce are common points of those women who had made strategic marriage. This clearly demonstrate that marriage should not be taken as an empowerment strategy different from education or participation in the labour market.

5.2.3.9. In-law house and extended household labor

Each generation's marriage experience depends on the characteristics of the household that they join. If we consider the gender division of labour the following issues are determining the intensity of labor that woman will give in her extended household; who lives in the household other than couples and the children; if they live in nuclear households which of the parents lives close to the

pair; if any which of the parents support the couples in terms of financial support, care of grandchildren etc. According to the findings of the research, living in extended families -which is one of the important characteristics of classical patriarchy- has dissolved, and living in nuclear families becomes more common. Deniz Kandiyoti (1997) suggests that transformation of village patriarchy also embraces the families that reside in towns or districts. In such situation, the economic base of PCP households get literally damaged and father figure's role has been weakened, who as the ultimate holder of economic power.

We could mention there is an interim period where the center of controlling the bride shifted from father in law to mother in law during that generation.⁷³ In first generation, from the beginning of the marriage, the trend was living together with husband's family. Among the interviewed women 12 of first generation of women informed that they joined extended households.⁷⁴ Seven of those women directly shared the same house with mother in laws. Four of them shared the same building but stay in different flats with their mother in laws. Generally first generation women stated that they moved from these households when the mother in law passes away. Some of them stated that they moved to their own *family apartments* when their sons grown up and planning to have their own families. In some cases mother in law might choose to move close to her daughter.

In Avanos living in "family apartments" is a widespread pattern. Type and quality of those family apartments change according to economic conditions of the families. However these apartments consist of two or three flats. Generally the mother in law resides in the first floor while daughter in laws are sitting on the second or third floor. Residing in first floor is a patriarchal control strategy that

⁷³Timur defines the cyclical nature of development of patriarchal extended family as follows; "In Turkey especially in the villages, couples usually experience a cycle of family types. Patrilocality is the rule at marriage, and the young couple is expected to reside in the grooms parental home, thus becoming a part of the patriarchal extended family. Soon after marriage, however, the young man breaks away from his father's household to form his own nuclear family. After separation, when the man's own sons grow up and get married, they also reside at their fathers household, for a time, forming patriarchal extended family." (p.67)

⁷⁴ In these extended households in addition to mother in law and father in law, husband's unmarried or divorced siblings live.

gives mother in law the opportunity to monitor the mobility of daughter in law. In family apartments daughter in law is responsible for cleaning of two houses. Meals usually prepared and eaten in mother in laws flat, in some cases grand children also sleep in their grand mother's house. It is hard to distinguish family apartments from patriarchal extended households where women's reproductive labour is intensively exploited. In family apartments Division of labour in the household is done by the mother in law. There is no differences between the reproducing labour of the daily life and those who live on the same household. Women share common private domain in both situation.

M17: They stay on the first floor were on top of them we only sleep at our house.

(M17: Alt katta onlar otururlar, üst katta biz yatarız.)

A: You eat and drink at the same place?

(A: ...her şey aynı yenilir, içilirdi?)

M17: Of course, you only go to your house only at sleeping time. You go down to their place, you cook, eat there ...

(M17: Tabi canım, yatmadan yatmaya çıkıyorsun; ekmek çıkaraman yukarıya. Aşağıya inersin, orda yanar, pişer, yenir.)

A: Cleaning?

(A: Temizliğini?)

M17: Cleaning is my responsibility, also, washing and cooking.. I used to think that mothers do not cook, do not clean or do washing.. they only wave carpets (M17: Tabi temizlik senin üstüne, çamaşır senin üstüne, yemek senin üstüne. Ben zannedirdim ki anneler yemek pişirmez, anneler bulaşık yıkamaz, anneler çamaşır yıkamaz. Sadece anne halı yapar, yanına oturur, durur zannedirdim.)

...

M18: You would feel as if you were living in that house

(M18: O evde yaşıyor gibi olurdu.)

...

M23: This house was an exhibition house or show house, we used to go inside the house only when we were to host some guests and then return to my mother-in-law's house as if my own house was someone else's house (laughs).

(M23: Bura, bu ev süs gibiydi yani. Öyle bi misafirimiz gelecek olurdu, giderdik misafir ağırlardık geri kayınvalidemin evine gelirdik (güler) sanki başkasının evi gibi.)

According to Kandiyoti (1988, p.79) women do not revolt in patrilocally extended family, rather they internalize this form of patriarchy with the future expectation of having control and authority over her own subservient daughters-in-law in her

old ages. However, in the narratives of the first generation the cyclical nature of women's power in the household based on inheriting the authority has been dissolved.

For this reason women of first generation have started to develop new patriarchal bargains in their mid-ages, rather than expecting patriarchal autonomy in their old ages. Since their sons started to live with their nuclear families just after their marriages and moved urban centers, such situation led women to invent new strategies for securing themselves. Women re-founded new patriarchal strategy whilst the classical patriarch is dissolving, they opt to take such action before they get too old, especially at younger age when they would enjoy the earlier autonomy experiences. They shifted their scopes towards unmarried or post-teenage son and daughters to guarantee their supports. In some cases, through these new strategies women could also early become free from devoting reproductive labor to her mother in law. For example, one of the women M13 told that she stopped to give extended family labour to her mother-in-law later in her marriage with the support of her own children and husband. This woman is still residing with her mother in law every day, a family apartment but does not visit her mother in law in each day, does not clean her house, and does not have dinner together.

There are 11 women in the first generation who did not join immediately an extended family in wedlock. Three of those women's mothers in law either passed or re-married before the first generation women were married. Four of them migrate as workers with their spouses abroad in 1960's. Again women, who did not join the extended families, were moved to another city due to their husbands appointment as civil servant. I came across only two women from first generation who were residing at the same town with mothers in law but not living together. Both of those women's families come from better social class than their husband's families, this is common in those two life stories. Such advantage enabled women to bargain with their husband regarding choosing to live close to their mothers rather than to their mothers in law.

On the contrary to first generation, the common trend in second generation is residing as a couple soon after the marriage. Most of those women mentioned that they immediately set their nuclear families. I also came across in some cases that some of the second generation are staying at the same household or family apartments. However, this is a short term situation, young couple shift to their own order and routines. Only four women in second generation lived in family apartments but soon moved. As a result, it is possible to say that the pattern of living in family apartments with in law family has been dissolving for the second generation. According to interviews, those women separated from those extended households and family apartments maximum in 7 years.

In my sample, only one from the second generation still resides at the same building with her mother in law. Aforementioned women informed that in first times of her marriage she was not happy and disturbed by the fact that she was living with her mother in law at the same building. However, with starting to work outside and having no extra time to spend domestic labour for the extended family- she reported that she did not care any longer and not worried about this situation. In contrast, such situation has benefit on her children, and works for her well since the kids stay at their grandmother's house, being fed and taken care after their schools until she is back from work.

Another issue that needs to be tackled is the change of meaning of living in extended family between generations. One of the important reason for that is the increasing age of marriage for the second generation and parallel the increase the participation in the job market. In first generation, some of the interviewees namely 'child brides' married below 18 consider themselves as being lucky to join an extended family and provide domestic labour despite it was challenging. Kandiyoti (1977, p. 279) mentions women in patriarchally extended families experience as young brides deprivation and hardship, which will compensate by their future control and authority on their own subservient daughters-in-law as I discussed in Chapter 2. Additionally, the findings of case study show that those 'child brides' get under protection with joining extended households although

they experience control both of their productive and reproductive labor. She joins an existent economic situation and performs her share in terms of the duties attributed to her by gender division of labour. Otherwise these child brides become unprotected and the risk of poverty increase when they immediately enter nuclear households. M15, married at her 16 and her story is a moving example to above explanation.

M15: They died before I came as a bride, both of my in-laws. I wish I had in-laws, it would have been better, they would have assist me. I suffered of not having in-laws.(Silence)

(Hayır ben gelmeden ölmüşler zaten, kaynanam kaynatam. Keşke kayınla, kaynata olsaydı. Daha iyi olurdu, yardımcı olurlardı. Yokluğu çok çektim. (sessizlik olur))

A: A bride of 15 days.

(15 günlük gelin.)

M15: I used to come home was quite and dark, I used to get hungry (starts crying) I used to afraid, I could not go in to the house. My elder sister and father once came to check on me when they arrived they saw me sitting and crying' my father asked me if there is something wrong I answered no' I was just afraid of going into the house'

(Eve gelirdim; ıssız, karanlık. Karnım acıkır, öyle (Ağlamaya başlar) korkardım içeriye giremezdim. Ablamları da babam bana gelmişler, "gidelim kıza bir bakalım" diye. Geldiklerinde ben oturdum, ağlıyordum. "O ne kızım, bir şey mi oldu?" dedi babam. "Yok baba" dedim, "korktum giremedim de" dedim.)

A: You afraid of loneliness, don't you?

(Yalnızlıktan korkuyorsunuz di mi?)

M15:(She cleans her nose..) they sat and cry with me..we all sat.. my father went home and told them that why did we give this girl? I told that I will not allow my daughter to marry someone whose parents passed away.. *((sessizlik, burnunu siler) Bunlar da oturdu benlen beraber ağladılar. Hepimiz oturduk. Eve varmış babam demiş, "biz buna hata ettik, bu kıza niye verdik?" Dedim eğer kızım olursa, kayınsız kaynatasız yerlere vermem.)*

...

M15: Everyone.. aunts ' they used to talk behind me' if I would at least have parents in law...they would only talk and not allow others to talk/complain...

(Herkes, teyzeler, halalar... "Herkes arkamdan laf söylerdi" ... "Hiç olmazsa kaynanam kaynatam olursa, bir tek onlar konuşurdu, başkasını konuşurmaz". Evvelden öyle derler ya horazı çok olur.)

Women who never stayed in extended families did not get support on childcare and domestic work from their peers. Married at her 16, M6 describes loneliness and poverty as follows.

A: Did you stay with your mother-in-law?
(*Kayınvalidenle birlikte oturdun?*)

M6: We would stay together but died before I married. My father in law passed away 3 months later after my marriage. I had a sister in law but she got married after her father passed away... I had no one left when I needed to take care of the baby while I am cooking or baking... we were so poor, poor indeed... my father and my family used to help us they used to bring milk and yogurt, when the number of their sheep and lamb increased, they pity us...

(*Beraber oturcaktık ama ben gelmeden o ölmüş, kaynatam da ben geldikten üç ay sonra öldü, bir kızımız vardı üç ay sonra öldükten sonra bilemedin dört ay sonra o da gelin oldu gitti, biz edi bütü kaldık, e şu bebeği azıcık tuttu ben şu ekmeği pişirim diyecek kimsem yok, hep yalnız, bir de fakirik, çok fakirik, babamgil yardım ediyor Özkonak'tan geliyorlar gidiyorlar süt yoğurt getiriyorlar, gayri koyun kuzu çoğalınca onlar aldı koyunu kuzuyu da çoğaldılar, acıldılar bize.*)

As it has been mentioned earlier, socio-economic status of the father heavily influences the amount of labour that is given to the household by the women after marriages. In some situations, with the effect of their fathers first generation women made marriages with civil servants or teachers. So that they lived outside of Avanos during the first years of their marriages and less exploited by in laws. Such situation is more visible space wise in the second generation. For instance, stories of three women's whose fathers are owners of brick factories or food factories show common patterns. One married, one engaged and one single, those 3 women's fathers are aiming to keep their daughters around. D17 resides one of the four villas built by her father in a garden located in the center of Avanos. In other three villas her parents and two married brothers with their families live. In other case, D13's fiancé lives with his family in Mersin and her father support the idea of having her fiancé in Avanos (I later learned that they got married and indeed settled in Avanos). Family of D19 gave the second floor to their sons when he got married, and they moved to first floor. The son and his family resides in Germany and they stay in that flat whenever they visit Avanos. D19's father is also planning to buy next door house for her daughter once she gets married.

Mothers have a crucial role in terms of their daughters' empowerment within their marriages. There are significant differences between two generations regarding to the role of mother in her daughter's marriage. First generation stated that they never received any support in case of any problem in their marriages. They were advised not to divorce or leave their homes whatever hardship they experience in their marriages.

M2: No, eventually I went once or twice to my mother's house. He was drunk came and stapped the hand with a knife. Off I went...my mum exclaimed 'you don't like the husband, you look for a husband? Or something else

(Yok, en sonunda işte ben bir defa, bir iki defa annemin evine gittim. Benim, içmiş gelmiş koluma bıçak attı, şu koluma. Ben gittim. Ordaa annem işte "kocayı beğenmiyon da, başka şey mi arıyon da, koca mı arıyon da.)

On the other hand, as long as a son in law has sufficient income daughters are not forced to work in public sphere, mothers advice their daughters not to divorce.

M17: Look, which of your friends is dressed as beautiful as you? Your husband is profitable, he brings meat at home rather than bringing rope. *("Senin emsallerinde böyle giyinme, kuşanma, güne gitme var mı?" dedi. "Kocan karlı, ip getiren oğlan değil et getiren oğlanlardan" dedi. (halı dokumak zorunda değil anlamında))*

It has been observed the change of relation between mothers and daughters in the second generation. Mothers never stop supporting their daughters after marriage. They also try to expand the patriarchal bargain over their daughters besides their sons beyond their motto 'I suffered but will not allow my daughter to suffer.' In this context, mothers never pull back their support both during the marriage or in case of divorce.

M12: I always support my daughters I have always been supporting...I will support her until the day eternally close my eyes
(Ben kızımın her zaman arkasındayım, halen de arkasındayım, şu benim gözüm yumuluncaya kadar arkasındayım.)

In some cases (D1, D15) most of divorced women of second generation get assistance in child care in their parents' house, in return they give financial

support to the family.⁷⁵ In such form of living organization, a divorce woman returns again patriarchal control of her family and does not have the chance to set an independent life. In such cases, divorced women take the role of sons in return getting protection of their family and care of children.

Although discrimination between sons and daughters are not eradicated totally, I observed that it has been decreased. Sons are not considered as old age security as they used to be in the first generation. According to Kağıtçıbaşı; (1982)

with socioeconomic development, the types of value attributed to children change. Specifically, as level of development and individual socioeconomic status increase (as indicated by increased education, income, occupation level, development level of area of residence, urbanism, and rural-to-urban mobility) the economic /utilitarian value of children loses importance, and their psychological value gains importance” (p. 32)

Interviews in Avanos helped me to come to conclusion that paralel to Kağıtçıbaşı’s claim ;while women in higher socio-economic positions give psychological values to their children are on the heavy side, women from low socio-economic position give psychological value along with economic/utilitarian value to their children.

5.2.4. Mother in law

Women of both generations enter and sustain a network and affiliate with the relatives of their husbands soon after marriage. Within these relationships the most indirect one is experienced with mother in law. There is no cutting edge differences in expectation of the mothers in law in both generations. There is only a subtle difference such as the women in second generation takes the control in her relation with her mother in law, whilst first generation women have no control.

⁷⁵ In this context there is close relationship between women’s labor force participation and their mothers’ expanding patriarchal bargains including their daughters.

A typology of mother in law whose in control over the bride is common for the first generation. Control of the mother in law is on the mobility of the bride, her care ability on her own kids and outfit and so on and so forth. Control gets more intense when the bride is at a young age. And it gets worse when they share same private domain.

Such extended family life simplify control all family members especially mother in law has the control over the bride. In some cases control mechanism becomes tragic –comic situation. Living in family apartments, M13's parents in law set parallel landline system from first floor to her floor and set a megaphone mechanism in order to listen and controls the calls for their daughters in law secretly.

D13: We laught at those days now... It was so bitter when I experienced them... or sometimes my grandfather never thought about the time he did not sleep and not allow anyone either .. he used to scream in the middle of night... and think the volume of a megaphone... our entire family's voice is such strong... we had such interesting days...

(Şimdi eğleniyoruz falan da. O zaman yaşarken çok kötüydü. Gece ya sahurda. Ya da bir şey oluyor, dedemin aklına bir şey esiyor. Saat kaç bilmiyor. Kendi uyumuyor ya, başkası da uyumasın. Basıyor, bağıyor, çağırıyor. Bir de megafondan çıkan sesi düşünün. Ki bizim sülalenin sesi böyle gürdür. ... Dedem öyle basıyor, bağıyor, hemen aşağıya inin, şöyle yapın böyle yapın çok enteresan şeyler yaşadık.)

In first generation the control of mother in law mostly show itself in isolation of daughter in law. 60 years old interviewees reported that specifically in the first 6 months of their marriages, or early years of their marriage they were limited or prevented to see or visit their families. Meeting with mother has a crucial role and precious support for both generation so mothers in laws limited this meeting for the few years of the marriage until their marriage relation with the husband's family are stabilized. This control reveals itself mainly as physical isolation.

A: Were you seeing your mother by that period?

(Annenizle peki sık görüşür müydünüz o dönemlerde?)

M13:..No first year we did not see each other that often.

(Yo, ilk 10 sene çok fazla görüşmedik.)

A: did mother in law not allow you?

(Kayınvaldeler mi görüştürmedi yoksa?)

M13: yes she had the impact on this situation.

(Bu konuda özellikle kayınvalidemin daha çok etkisi oldu.)

...

A: Your parents were living in Avanos right?

M4: We were neighbors with my mum .. my mum used to say why dont you come over this night... My mother in law used to have a small shop... I used to walk in to ask for permission but never had that courage...once I went in and out several times she asked me what was wrong with me...my mum invited me to dinner, my husband was not there...she gazed for a while and than said fine... my sister in law embraced my child they took me and brought me back

(Benim annemle komşuyduk, ben mesela annem gelirdi, derdi akşama bize gelsene, ama ben girip izin alamazdım ki. (kayınvalidesinin dükkkanı var). ... Ben tekrar girerdim böyle dükkkana, bir şey söyleyecek gibi olur cesaret eder söyleyemezdim tekrar çıkardım, birinde artık üç dört sefer girip girip çıkmışım anlamış o beni, dedi ki sen niye girip çıkıyorsun, annem dedim akşama bize gel dedi yemeğe, eşim de yok tabi burada, böyle durdu falan iyi git dedi. görüncem artık çocuğu kucığına aldı onlar götürüp getirecekler.)

A4: Hmm. You couldn't visit her by yourself?

(Ha, tek başına gidemiyorsunuz?)

M4: We were neighbors indeed. Living at opposite houses... than I went to dinner, my mother in law still a nice person... now I am 60 years old... but we all respect the mother in law and obey her words.

(Komşuyuz halbuki, buradan şu karşı ev gibiyiz ama tabi, ondan sonra gittim oraya öyle yemeğe, biz öyleydik, şimdi hala bak çok iyidir benim kayınvalidem, şimdi tabi ben altmış yaşına girdim artık, ama gene de biz ona çok saygılıyız, o ne derse peki deriz.)

...

M18: Of course, it was not existing during our period...we used to go to bazaar. But also the mother in law... our houses were seperate but we were depended...I used to report her whenever I go /visit any place.sometimes when I wanted to visit my mum in summer, I never visited without her approval.

(Tabi tabi bizim zamanımızda pek o kadar değildi, pazara falan giderdik biz de ama kayınvalide... Evimiz ayrı bile olsa bağımlıydık, yani haber vermeden ben şahsen buraya ayrı eve geldiğimizde bile bir yere giderken söylerdim kayınvalideme. O yaz tatillerinde anneme bile gideceğim zaman, ondan izin almadan, o "git" demeden... Yani izinsiz mümkün değil gidemezdim.)

Another issue was control of relation between the daughter in law and their grandchildren. There were some cases where the grandchildren used to stay at their grandparents houses instead of their parents house. (M13) In some cases, the bride is not allowed to bath her own child by herself. (M17).This situation could

be interpreted that mothers in law want to control their daughters in law as they consider them that they are inexperienced in childcare.

M17: she never let me to wrap the baby, she always did it herself.. she never trust me.. she used to do herself...bath together... put into bed together...she change the nappies, change its clothes, takes it to pee, she looks after it, it is only with me at night, during the day with her...

(Hiç bana kundaklattırmadı bebeği neyi, kendi yapacak; inanamaz, güvenemez bana. Kendi yapıyor, hep kendi. Beraber yıkarız, beraber yatırırız. O "amanın terlemiştir", altını değiştir, serer, işte ne bileyim; çişini yaptırır. Bakıyor o artık, ben ona veriyorum; sadece geceden geceye benlen çocuk, gündüz hep onunla, yatırmasına, kaldırmasına.)

In the life stories of first generation, mother in laws control over the bride is more intensive than the control of father in law. Aforementioned mother in laws powers generated either from their financial independence or from socio-economic status of their fathers. For instance, in story of M4 the empowerment of her mother in law is originated from her decision to join a cooperative in 1960 in Avanos. Her father in law's a stone-worker, who thought it would be difficult to make cooperative installments, had been persuaded by the mother in law. Mother in law, and her daughters, set a carpet weaving machine on the top floor of the new house in order to contribute to the installment of the new house. Later on she opens a small shop under her apartment 'when her husband tells her if you have the confidence for a business 'go for it'. Mother in law did not experience any problem, as she was not neglecting the household work; in addition she was being monitored by the husband as her work place was just under her apartment. Although the father in law jealous of the wife for having male customers in the shop he started to help his wife in the shop after going a bankrupt and losing his own business. As for M17 story, her husband's attitudes towards her were shaped before their marriage as a consequence of being daughter of the Major of the town and coming from a renowned family.

M17: My mother in law comes from a well off family they call them Korukcu , my father also pampered her .. it goes whatever she says... I saw a really love of man to his wife in my father he truly loves her...does his son have got it? Yes he has but not as much as his father...he used to love his wife..he used to do whatever she said...she was as if educated and have a deep culture...I became daughter in law of a cultured woman.

(Kayınvalidem de zengin bir ailenin, o Körükçü evinden gelen bir kız, biraz daha, ne deyim işte babam da mı onu bi şey yapmış artık, "hep senin dediğin, hep senin dediğin, hep senin dediğin"... Ben bir erkeğin, hakkat karısını seven erkeği babamda gördüm. Ha oğlunda yok mu? Hayır, onda da var ama onunki kadar değil. O çok severdi karısını, ne derse onun dediği olurdu. O sanki okumuş yazmış, kültürlü; sanki ben kültürlü bir kayınvalidenin yanına varmış oldum.)

In M17's case the status of the mother in law continued after marriage, ' which bride is going to dance in front of you? ' was common question asked to fussy mother in law regarding bride selection. In fact, the father in law had to warn the daughter in law early years of the marriage.

M17: we have two gates one is the street gate and the other is the house gate, one is our personal door the other is the public one... I was holding his coat to wear before he leaves the house.. RIP my father in law , he told me ' my daughter, I get in and out, out and in.. do not worry about me, try to please your mother in law... I never see as disrespect if you do not help me with such things... I would never dishearten... you consider what a difficult woman she was...

(Rahmeti bol olasıca kayınbabam dedi ki... paltosunu tutuyorum ben babamın. Bizim evin kapısı da, bir bahçe kapısı var, bir dış içerde içeri kapısı var, dışarda cümle kapısı var. İki kapı var yani girilmesi çıkılması, bahçe kapısı da var dışarda. Ben paltosunu böyle her sefer giderken tuttum, ceketini falan; ayakkabısını çeviriyorum, pardesüsünü, şeyini tutuyorum. Kızım dedi, "ben" dedi, "arkadan gelirim, önden giderim, biraz sonra gelirim, tekrar giderim. Yani benim için paltomu tuttuğun tutmadın önemli değil" dedi. "Ama" dedi "sen sadece anneni memnun et" dedi. Yani "kayınvalideni, anneni memnun et; ben senin bunlarını kusur yazamam, yani bana tutmuyor, saygısızlık"... He öyle dedi diye, tutmamak gerekmez ama hani "ben gücenmem" dedi. Gerçekten de hiçbir şeye gücenmezdi. Yani (anla) ne kadar zor bir kadın olduğunu...)

Women of the first generation who least experienced control of mother in laws on them were those who had powerful status in their own family and in better financial position from in-law family (M7, M11, M23). Aforementioned situation make easy to move to close neighborhood with own parents rather than living in same area with in laws, therefore, prevent the conflict between the mother in law and the daughter in law.

Women of first generation relieved from mother in law control when the mother in law got older or she become needy and dependent to the daughter in law or when their kids grow up and get married. Only few women of first generation ignore 'natural' way of getting rid of patriarchy and reject giving domestic service for the parents in law who resides below these apartments (M13, M17, M8, M10) Common point of all those stories are supports of their husbands. M8's story is an outstanding example of cooperation between the woman and her husband.

M8: Whatever mother-father in law says it used to goes for... they never mind about daughter in law or son's words... daughter in law had to obey whatever they said...

(O zamanlar kaynana kaynatanın sözü geçerdi, gelinin sözü oğlanın sözü, oğlan ananın babanın sözünden çıkmazdı, gelin de mecbur uyacaktı ondan sonra kaynana kaynata nerden buyurursa sen de onu tutardın.)

A: Did your husband protect you?

(Eşin seni korur muydu?)

M8: yes he did if he had to chose who was right or wrong...if he is not choosing one of them... he used to obey to his mothers words...but they always want to control and dictate me just because I came from a village. But I was also a bright person, I used to raise my own idea if I thought something is not right! They used to get mad about me! And kept complaining about me! They used to gossip to their son about me .. he enevr hit me, he used to ask and questioned me why I did so or such things and when they asked he used to say them he told me off.. once they told him to frightened me.. he told them does she not obey you? Does she ever know people apart from us? Does she misbehave with other men? But just so they would leave him alone he got a stick and came at night... he told me to shout when he hits the pillow...the other day she adviced him to hit me on the area that are not vitals, and will not kill me ...we had to manage with them in such ways during our marriage in that period...and divided our houses later on...

(Korusa da yani öyle korurdu, yani haklıyı haksızı seçiyorsa o şekilde korurdu, haklıyı haksızı seçmiyorsa anam ne diyorsa o olacak diye biri kafa tutuyorsa onun ki olacaktı öyle ama benim ki haklıyı haksızı seçerdi, şimdi bunlar ben köyden geldiğim için hep bizim dediğimiz olsun istediler benim de aklım her şeye ererdi yani şu olmayacak iş olmayanı niye yapalım dediğim zaman da suçlu oluyordum ben, oğullarına öğretiyorlardı sözümüzü tutmuyor lafımızı tutmuyor işte şöyle diyor böyle diyor iki de yalanı yanlışı kattılar buna şikayet ederlerdi, bu şikayette de gelir bana sorardı, ilk önce şey yapmazdı parlayıp da beni kızıp dövüp yapmazdı, ne oldu nasıl oldu böyle böyle oldu neden oldu yo öyle değil de böyle oldu diye doğrusunu anlatırdım böyle pas geçerdi, iki kızdım mızdım diyerek geçerdi, gidip gelip bir gün böyle öğretirlermiş ille de oğlum korkut bunu ondan sonra bu da birkaç sefer demiş ana baba ne diye döveyim sözümüzden dışarı gidiyor mu yok, e evimizi başkalarına taşıyor mu yok,

gözü kötü yolda mı yok, yani niye, e oğlum döv korkut bunu sen, neyle korkutayım niye diyor ondan sonra iyi tamam demiş, geldi akşam dedi ki böyle böyle olmuş nasıl oldu dedi bende şöyle oldu dedim iyi o zaman dedi eline değneği aldı yastığı aldı, ben yastığa vururum sen bağır dedi, o yastığa vurdu ben bağırdım, beni dövmüş oluyor güya, o yastığa vurdu ben bağırdım, onlar da buradan dinliyor, ondan sonra beni dövmüş olacak güya, ondan sonra sabahleyin demiş yavrum çok dövdün herhalde akşam, he dövdüm geberttim demiş, ondan sonra öyle deyince aman yavrum hah kan çıkmaz yerine vur can çıkmaz yerine vur, yani kaç çıkacak gün göreceksin can çıkacak ölecek o zaman başın belaya girecek, yavrum öyle yapma kaba etlerine vur şuraya vur buraya vur da yani ölmesin, der tamam he yarın da öyle ederim der koyar gider, bu şekilde de yani idareyi yoluna çalıştık, olmayınca da ayrıldık.)

The devoted labor of first generation to mothers in law used to be cleaning, cooking. In following years of their marriage, elderly care also added up to their labour.

According to the narratives of women, the relationship between daughter in law and mother in law became more formal in the second generation. There are some women who shared common private domain for a while with their mothers in law but that did not take long as first generation. On the other hand, hence the second generation has tendency of getting married at later age, they have the experience and confidence in household work, childcare and no need or support of the mother in law. Besides, their progressive communication with their mothers helped them to get support of their mothers by that time.

The findings of the research show that in the second generation the density of labour extended to the mother in law is decreased but never disappeared. The difference is in this generation women's having more ability to control faster the relationship with their mothers in law. The exploitation of women's domestic labour by their mother in law could naturally decrease when the living spaces become separate. Such situation in many stories changes the patriarchal experiences of second generation comparing to the first generation. Second generation does not clean, tidy up or cook for the mother in law therefore, there is no extended family labour exploitation (D14).

According to the narratives of women, support of mothers during the control and pressure of mother in law is crucial for the first generation. Regardless their socio-economic positions, support of their mothers prevent women to be oppressed by their mothers in law. While there was only one interviewee (M17) in the first generation who spoke about positive impact of her mother on her marriage, nine women spoke about positive impact of their mothers in their marriages. Taking support of her mother such as living closer, getting help in care of children rather than her mother could be a strategy for women in second generation. Women who choose their own mothers as caregivers to their own kids so could set both physical and communicational boundaries with their mother in law. In those cases especially mothers in law not have much power over their sons since she could not enter in the private domain circle through reproductive labor, and loses her bargaining power. As a result second generation women have the initiation on the frequency of coming together with the mothers in law comparing to the first generation. Only one mother in law looks after her grandchild among second generation interviews. (D22) .This is a unique case for the second generation in terms of residing in a family apartment. D22 tells that she struggled in the beginning as she was under the control of her mother in law and expected full commitment of domestic labour to the extended family.

D22: Hmm, my mother in law loves to be in charge and in control' she wants to be consulted for everything! My husband was relax in such things so I was feeling at ease but since we were sharing the same house with the in law there used to be an expectation. She used to love going to home visits keep telling me 'let's go here , let's go there' so she used to want me to company her wherever she goes especially to visit her friends.

(Yani kayınvalidem yönetmeyi çok seviyor. Yani "her şey benden sorulsun, benden danışılın" ister. Ama eşim o konularda çok. yani benim açımdan rahattır yani hiçbir sıkıntıya falan sokmaz ama aynı evin içinde olunca ister istemez beklenti oluyordu. Bir yere gitceğin zaman, gezmeyi falan çok sever mesela, ev gezmelerini. Sürekli işte "hadi şuraya gidelim, hadi buraya gidelim" yani onunla gezeyim, onunla oturayım, Onla kalkayım, onun dediği gibi yapayım. O şekilde yani.)

D22, states that her situation has turned to advantage soon after started to work.

⁷⁶This situation overlaps with Chen's (2004) findings on changing division of labour between generations of women after the economic transformation in China. In such new organization of gender division of labour across ages, mothers in law looks after the grandchildren while their daughters in law work in workforce.

A: Did it create a problem after starting to work?

(Peki şey çalışmaya başladıktan sonra sorun oldu mu bu tür şeyler?)

D22: It did not happen... He is not expecting anymore..

(Olmadı tabii. Beklemiyor artık.)

A: Kids for instance, when they return from the school, does your mother take care of them?

(Çocukları peki mesela akşam geldiklerinde, okuldan geldiklerinde anneniz mi bakıyor?)

D22: their father's mother looks after them. She gives them their lunch. We do not have such problem about it..

(Babanneleri bakıyor. Öğlen yemeklerini yediyor ondan sonra saat 3te okuldan geliyorlar. Sağolsun yani o konuda sıkıntımız yok.)

If the women's family's socio-economic position in the second generation are higher, in the second generation, the impact of the mother in law also automatically decrease. In story of D17, her father is one of well-known business man and farmer and he lives with his two daughters and two sons in the same garden and modern apartment tradition. D17 has a nanny who looks after her kids while she works at her father's company and her mother in law resides far away to her. Considering all those facts, generally D17 organizes when to visit her mother

⁷⁶ Chen (2004) in her research on division of labour between generations of women in contemporary rural China examines the dynamics within extended families by focusing on the work arrangements between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law. She points out with the economic reform in China after 1970s, daughter-in-laws started to do 'outside' work by entering the formal labor force, while mother-in-laws doing 'inside' work by taking over responsibilities within the house. This renegotiation of division of labor between generations of women is both a family strategy and reflects changes in the nature of the power relationships. However this change does not mean mother-in-law's losing total power to her daughter in law. "it is worth noting that the changed relationship between daughters-in-law and mothers-in-law does not mean that the roles are reversed. While in the old days daughters-in-law were servants of the whole household, it is by no means the situation of mothers-in-law nowadays. In my analysis this was partly reflected by sharing of housework between the generations. While the mother-in-law lost the power as the "deputy patriarch" in the household, the daughter-in-law did not assume this position in her place. Who ultimately benefits from the readjustment? Is it the daughter-in-law? Maybe to some extent, but men are still the biggest beneficiaries. With adjustments between the generations of women, men do not have to adjust their roles." (p.577)

in law. On the contrary, D17's own mother could easily see their grandchildren living in the same garden without asking this.

Besides, support of woman's family, the attitude and corporation of the husband determine the relation between the mother in law and the wife. The difference between the two generations is as follows; while the husband gives priority to his nuclear family in the second generation, husband of first generation moves parallel to his parents' directions. This could be consequence of dissolution of classical patriarchy.

The breakdown of classic patriarchy results in the earlier emancipation of younger men from their fathers and their earlier separation from the paternal household. While this process implies that women escape the control of mothers-in-law and head their own households at a much younger age... (Kandiyoti 1988, 282)

Men are emancipated from their fathers suppression both economically and physically at the very moment that they get married and set their own nuclear family. In fact, they gain new position with reinforcing their wives relation and autonomy against their own mother even though it is restricted. It has become more obvious in interviews that providing domestic labour to husband's families is about to extinct. The major change is the shift of labour control from the extended family to the husband himself. In such process reconfiguration of classical patriarchy accommodates new material relations unintendedly and it creates a space for women's autonomy.

For instance, in case of D12, in first years of the marriage, the position of her husband in deciding where to live determines the future existence of extended household labour and the control of mother in law.

D12: The house of my husband's mother was in poor condition, it was an old building, it was not even big enough for them. My other sister in law was even on renting house later moved to their house. They even offered me to move in to the previous house of my sister in law.. I refused to stay there...but I do not know if I could have resist without support of my husband..

(Eşimin annesinin oturduğu ev uygun değil, bir kere eski bir yapı ve onlara da yeterli gelmiyor, zaten diğer elim de ayrı oturmuş kiraya sonra

almışlar, hatta ben evlendiğimde bana şey dediler eltimin oturduğu bir ev var işte, dediler ki hani o afat evinde oturuyor sen de afat evinde oturacaksın, ben oturmam dedim yani, hani afat evi dar bir ev. ...Yok ben dedim oturmak istemiyorum benim tercih edeceğim bir ev değil, ama bilmiyorum eşim bana bu konuda destek olmasaydı yapabilir miydim?)

In parallel, D14 gets support of her husband, who prevents possible overloaded work that are expected from a daughter in law when she visit her mother in law and sister in law.

D14: Of course I used to come during the weekend holidays, since the village was far.I used to do all those works. I really suffered but my husband did not let me to suppressed. He used to tell them off for me.
(Tabi gelirdim ben de haftasonları tatile şey olunca.. köy de uzak olunca. Her işi ben görürdüm. “Hadi kalk gelin şöylesin böylesin” diye. Yani çok çektim ama ezdirmezdi eşim. Onlara kızardı yapmayın etmeyin diye.)

According to the narratives of second generation women the struggle between women and mothers in law on autonomy differs in wealthier families. The axis of this struggle shifts from exploitation/not exploitation of bride’s extended household labor into more abstract areas. For example the expectation of those women from their husband is shaped with the direction of ‘verifying their words’. Daughter in law is the one who control the actual relation with mother in law. The attitude of husband is vital regarding issues that are beyond the control of the daughter in law.

Another significant trend among the first generation is their double standard that they apply on their daughter in laws and daughters. Aforementioned women support their daughters in terms of being autonomous in their marriages and joining the extended families within emerge of the context of classical patriarchal configuration and experience and believe in the motto that ‘I have had bitter experiences and will not let her suffer from same bitter experiences’. As I previously mentioned, second generation mothers have visible impact on their daughters marriages. Mothers live in closer neighborhood to their daughters than their mothers in law. In other words, mothers are mentoring, being life coaches of their daughters in their marriages, in order to do so, mothers prefer to live close to

their daughters. Especially, in the event where the mother undertakes care responsibility of her daughters children, the communication gets stronger between two of them. As a result, mothers and daughters could be together everyday, exchange views and worries. So that mother becomes able to direct and control her daughter. This situation creates an empowerment for her.

On the contrary, though most of the first generation women did not clearly stated during the interviews, as mother in laws they endeavor themselves to a control of daughter in laws. While this attempt does not change for socio-economic differences, it occurs as mobility and labour control for the lower daughter in law from socio-economic position, while it is trying to live close to them or having control over the childraise or childcare for daughter in laws from higher socio-economic position.

The most significant and marginal example in M1's case, from lower socio-economic position, her relation with her two daughters and co-wives of her son. M1's two daughter are divorced. One of them divorced from her husband in 15 days due to his sexual dysfunction problems. In following years she started to cohabit with a sole trader in Nevşehir with religious marriage. Her daughter prefer to live close to her mother rather than her partner's mother. The mother also supports her daughter to own a house and a plot which has been bought by her partner and registered on her name. M1 also support divorce of her other daughter, her daughter also works as barmaid in a hotel and live with her kids in M1s house. M1 on the other hand, has two daughter in laws, which are co-wives. Those two co-wives stay in 15 days rotation in M1 house and look after M1 and her divorced daughter as well as her grandchildren in addition to the domestic works. They do not have an income or properties. M1 do not allow them to work as waged laborers outside the home. While M1 does not see necessary to send sons kids to the day care center, she personally takes her daughters children to these centers.

In my research, families from higher socio-economic position have the similar stories. M17 whose husband is a contractor and owner of a factory lives with her two sons and daughter at the garden and complain that she had ‘enough of her mother in law’. M17 set a close relation similar to extended families. M19 is at a similar position. Her son lives in Germany and when they visit them during the Bayrams or holidays she expect them to spend their times with them and only to go to their flat which is just below their house for sleeping. On the other hand, M19 is planning to buy the next door house for her daughter for the future when she gets married. While the mother in laws do not expect any productive or reproductive labour from their daughters in law, they are still trying to be in charge of those women’s mobility and challenge their mobility space.

Another situation that draw my attention was the tendency of positive speaking of the second generation about the mother in law. Above mentioned women coming from various socio-economic positions of society whose expectations about patriarchal relations are not fulfil just same in the case of their own mothes in law. Their common characteristic of women who are commenting on their mothers in law in a positive way is their having autonomy to a certain extend during their marriage. Living apart from their mother-in-laws and having support of their own mothers intensify such autonomy.

D1: They did not want me naturally at the first place..but now may god bless them they are happy with me and so am I. My mother-in law and sister in law are attached to me now! I do not have any complain.

(İlk zamanlar onlarda işte doğal olarak beni istememişler ama şimdi Allah razı olsun benden razılar ben onlardan razıyım, çocuğuma hepsi görümcem olsun kaynanam kaynatam olsun çok düşkünler, şu anda pek böyle bir şikayetim yok.)

....

D10: No.. the house was large but god bless them they never made any fuss about cleaning, I used to do if I could otherwise they never dictated to do here or there, my mother in law used to cook for us even! I never have any problem with my sister in law, we get on with all of them I love them and so do they..

(Yo ev büyüktü ama Allah razı olsun öyle temizliğime falan hiç şart yapmadılar, öyle yapabilirsen yapıyordum yapamazsam hiç şurayı da yap demezdi kayınvalidem, yemeğimizi bile yaptı yani bir sıkıntı olmadı

yani benim görümcemle falan da bir sıkıntım yok yani hepsiyle de iyi anlaşırım Allah razı olsun onlar beni sever ben onları severim.)

...

D 12:Yes, not at present but first years of my marriage. Actually when I look to my friend's mother-in laws and compare mine with them , mine is much more better than theirs. She never intervenes with my own stuff at least not now!she did not want to intervene in the past, perhaps I got it wrong I understand everything now, it does not affect me anymore.

(Evet, şu an olmasa da ilk başlarda hani o yeni evlilik dönemlerinde falan. Aslında arkadaşlarıma bakıyorum, onlarla sohbet ettiğimizde onların kayınvalidelerine bakıyorum bir de benimkine bakıyorum benim kayınvalidem çok çok iyi onlarınkine göre, bir kere benim kayınvalidem hiçbir şeye karşımaz, en azından şimdi karşımaz, belki o zaman da karşımak istemedi ama belki de ben yanlış anladım, bunları anlayabiliyorum, çok etkilemez.)

...

D14: Namely, we do get used to each other especially to our behaviors, we do not have anything to each other!

(Yani küs durmayız kayınvalidemle. Şimdi alıştık, huyumuzu da aldık, yani birbirimize karşı bir şeyimiz yok.)

Second generation, especially women who have higher education than their mother in laws explains their relation taking reference of their individual traits rather than structural.

D4: Let me explain this to you now..during her childhood, she was so naive, this is perhaps why we never had a problem with my mother in law.

(Şimdi onu da anlatayım, bu şimdi çocukluğunda, anne çok cahil bir kadın,saf kendi halinde hani allahlık insanlar olur ya öyle bir insan anne,o yüzden belki de kayınvalidemle hiçbir problemim olmadı benim)

In some life stories, women associate/link getting on with their mothers in law to have made a love marriage.

D18:My mum is more sensitive, more considerate maybe due to her manners...she is a good person... I love her... that does not mean that I do not love her...I love my husband so much and of course I love her too...I do not have to if I do not want ...but I love her...she always calls me my daughter...she is not a difficult person... she is not a freaky person...

(Anneme değil, yani benim annem mesela daha ince düşünceli bir insan belki görgüsü mü diyeyim, bazen hassasiyetleri göstermiyor ama şu var iyi bir insan, hani sevmiyor değilim onu, neden eşimi çok seviyorum onu da seviyorum aynı şekilde(gülüyor),sevmesem herhalde kayınvalidemi de

sevmem ama sađ olsun bana da çok hani kızım kızım der, zor bir insan değil, öyle kaprisli bir insan değil.)

5.2.5. Children

In both generations having a child considered as an important fact that completing the family in the natural process of marriage. The main differences between the two generations are the number of children they have and also the age that they first had their first child. This overlaps with Abadan Unat's statements. Accordingly,

The status of women, their educational level in particular, whether or not they are gainfully employed, the nature of their employment and their position within the family are all factors that have been found to influence family size. A subsistence economy is a major driving force for high fertility and, unless altered, resists all kinds of family planning schemes. Furthermore, women's right to decide freely and responsibly on the number and spacing of their children is closely interrelated with such demographic variables as age at marriage, age at birth of the first child... (1981, p. 37)

Most of women from the first generation had their first babies when they were 18 and below 18, while only two of women in second generation had their first babies below their 18's. Again, while most of first generation women have at least three kids, this number of having at least three kids drops to four in the second generation.

Marriage age therefore, childbirth ages for women increased due to the dissolution of extended household and the transformation of rural productive and reproductive labour. Again with the same reason, there has been a considerable decrease in number of childbirth. This situation shows similarity with TSI (2008, p.60) research that women who live in the city got married and have children at later ages in their lives.

5.2.6. Relations with the spouse

When we look at to spouse profile, we come across to both changing and stable factors. Marriage for second generation as it was mentioned previously happens after compromising instead of arranged marriage. Marriage age climbs up to later

ages comparing to first generation besides, nuclear family is more common. All these situation affects spouses relations positively. Interviews reveal that while the second generation women do shopping, cook together, go for holiday, spend their weekends with their kids and husbands, and their relation is based on the reciprocal communication. However, there are some women in the first generation who never initiate a private conversation with their husbands throughout their marriage. One of those women is M17, whose husband owns a factory is a good example for the first generation.

M17: If you were to say anything to your husband he would say 'shsss am I to listen to these at night? Because he comes very tired ..and what are you going to tell him in the morning? He will just leave for work! When do you speak with this husband? We were married with your uncle for years without having a conversation. Namely, this even gets my nerves whenever I think about it.

(... Akşam kocana bir şey diyecek olsan, "sus, akşam akşam bunu mu dinlicem". Çünkü o da yorgun geliyor. Sabah desen, sabah sabah nasıl diyeceksin, kalkıp dicesin. Ne zaman konuşulur bu kocaylan? Hiç biz amcanlan yıllarca hiç konuşmadan evlilik yaptık. Yani sinirlerim bile bozulur, bazen aklıma geldi mi.)

The most common patriarchal control of women's body is control of women's outfit and mobility.⁷⁷ Intergenerational differences in controlling women are as follows: in patrilocal extended family mother in law and husbands are on the top of hierarchy for the first generation, while it is under the control of the husband in the second generation. However, the most significant difference is while the first generation emphasize their concerns about it, second generation internalize so-called control of others as a 'self-control' method and not pushing the boundaries.

D12: When it comes to outfit, he says I am a well-known shopkeeper in Avonos, you are a beautiful woman, if you expose yourself with your outfit I could not feel comfortable, I do not want people to stare at you..I agree with him.. whenever we go somewhere on the sideside and we

⁷⁷ "Patriarchal control is stronger over town women than over village women, which may be related to the strength of the social norms within the issue of migration from countryside to the towns. Because women represent the honor of their families, their interaction with outsiders tends to be limited when they migrate to an unfamiliar environment. This argument also applies to young women. However, in contrast with the older women, living in a town may have a major advantage to the younger ones: the educational facilities and hence the opportunities to become economically independent generally are much better in the towns." (Hoşgör and Smith 2007, p.10)

trespass the sign of Avonos in the province border, he never intervenes with my outfit.

(Giyim konusuna gelince de şimdi bana diyor ki ben Avanos'ta tanınmış bir esnafım, onun açıklaması böyle, sen güzel bir hanımsın, öyle çok açık saçık giyersen insanlar sana bakarsa ben rahat edemem, ben istemem hayır bakmasınlar öyle yani söyler ama ben ona hak veriyorum ama denize gittiğimizde, tatile gittiğimizde, Avanos'un levhasını çıktığımızda eşim benim giyimime karışmaz.)

...

A: Does your husband intervene with your outfit?

(Senin eşin karışıyor mu kıyafetine falan?)

D3: He never. He gives me his credit card and money and tell me go ahead and buy whatever you want!

(O hiç karışmaz, kartı verir bana ya da parayı verir, al git ne istiyorsan...)

A: if you wear short sleeves or long sleeves?

(Yok yok, kısa kollu giydin uzun kollu giydin...)

D3: Hmm he does intervene with those...well I do not wear short sleeves or mini skirt!

(Ha, onlara karışır canım. Ama ben şimdi şöyle eşim karışmaz, ben kısa kollu giymem, mini etek giymem.)

Same with D12 case, women conceal the fact that they are being restricted freedom and mobility⁷⁸ wise by husband when they verify husbands advices upon their lifes or during making choices Second generation women prefer pschological defence in dealing with the situation instead of challenge it, or complain or pushing the borders, and stated that they obey such set off rules not because their husbands ask them to obey but that they are convinced with their husbands words. Thereby, while first generation women draw a picture of being 'passive', second generation women are found to be actors of internalizing patriarchal control that are instead of being 'docile' they are rather 'active' and ' cooperative ' with their roles. Similarly women's of second generation stated that they do shopping and decide for furniture or house utensils with their husbands and make corporate decisions on their children. As D1 states, her husband gives options to her to choose , and she consider such as a success within her relation with her husband as he knows her taste and she consider herself as she has been participant in the decisions.

⁷⁸Bora and Üstün suggest that women's obstruction in spatial dimension both limits their life areas and also hinders developing new empowerment repertoires (2005, p.26).

A. I see... when you will buy some device to house how do you decide for it for instance buying a car or e.t.c.?

(...anladım.Peki mesela eve böyle bir eşya falan alınacağı zaman nasıl karar veriyorsunuz yani araba maraba, ne bileyim?)

D1: My husband never does such things without my knowledge.. I also trust to his taste in such things anyway..namely, he goes and buys best brand of a dish washer, he makes surprises to me!namely, he consults me.

(Eşim benden habersiz öyle işleri yapmaz, zaten ben onun zevkine de o yönlerde güvenirim ama bana da kesinlikle sorar, yani bana sormadan gider bulaşık makinesinin en iyisini alır, sürpriz yapar hediye yapar, yani sorar bana.)

....

D10:We decided together! He is curious and a good researcher...he offers me several options, when I tell my mind he will make research on my option in more details.

(Birlikte karar veririz, eşim çok araştırmacıdır.. hani bana sorar işte aşkım şunu mu alalım bunu mu alalım bana çeşit sunar, ben şunu alalım derim onun üzerine iyi bir araştırma yapar)

One of the findings of the research according to the first generation's narratives, in that generation husbands were addicted to gamble and alcohol. In my sample, while eight women in first generation mentioned about this problem (M1, M2, M4, M7, M8, M12, M14, M22) only two women mentioned in the second generation (D4, D14). Drug addiction seems to be occurred a new problem for the second generation (D15 mentioned about drug addiction of her husband) The alcohol addiction of the first generations' husband overlap with peak of vineyard and tourism period of Avanos.⁷⁹ Those women mentioned that their row pot money has been spent for alcohol most of the times. M4 whose from the first generations tells that their income from carpet weaving goes to their husbands alcohol and gambles.

M4: Their husbands will take that carpet. The trader will come on Friday to sell it in Avanos , because those men were generally in Avanos, there was too much alcohol... they used to do potteries until nşght times...sometimes 3 times a week they used to lighten the stove for the potteries, men addicted to alcohol used to earn on daily basis...they used to rush and sell in row conditions all those potteries so they would have tiem for drinking... (laughs)

⁷⁹Berik (1985, 1986), in her research on women carpet weavers women in the same region found that labour power of these women and their earnings from the carpet controlled by male kin. In this research this finding is verified by women who tell until they marry their fathers, than their husbands control their earnings.

(Kocaları o halıyı götürecek, Cuma günü tüccar gelecek işte tüccarlara satacak onu, adamlarda daha çok Avanos'ta içki pek çoktu, çanak yaparlardı akşama kadar akşamdan da, eğer ay başına kadar bekleyen insanlar, ay başında iki ayda üç ayda bir fırın kayılırdı, fırında pişirirdi onu toptan verirlerdi, ama bu içkiye düşen insanlar maalesef günlük kazanırdı, o çiğ yaptığı daha pişirmeden testileri, işte bu gün ki gene alım satım ticaret edenler gibi çiğ satarlardı onlar da pişirmeden ki akşama içki içecekler, zıkkım içesiceler(gülüyor), öyle de diyelim.)

Another difference between the two generations is on what they 'worry' as a problem about their husbands. While the first generation complain about passive behavior of their husbands in their relationship of mothers in law, their aggression, gamble and alcohol, and penniless; second generation mainly complain about lack of communication with their husbands as follows.

D1: I and my spouse do not have communication.. how should I say...I can not sit and chat with my husband as I do with you right now! He comes home have his dinner, in 30 min he tells me you should go to your mum's place I need to rest. He lay down smokes..I can not share my sorrow and happiness with him. He is narrow minded. We never go to friends gatherings, to the weddings.. He gets bored of such occasions.

(Eşimle aramızda hiçbir iletişim yok nasıl diyim yani eşimle ben oturup sizinle ettiğim gibi bir sohbet edemem, benim eşim işte geldiği zaman yemeğini yer bir yarım saat falan geçer, şey der siz annengile gidin ben yatım uzanım sigaramı rahat rahat içim siz yokken, öyle der,ben eşimle oturup yani ne sevincimi ne üzüntümü hiçbir şeyimi paylaşamam,eşim çünkü o da biraz kafa yapısı dar,mesela hiçbir zaman arkadaş çevresine beraber girmeyiz,düğüne felan gitceğimiz zaman beraber gitmeyiz,o çok sıkılır öyle şeylerden istemez.)

...

D3:Sometimes he is too tired and he complains about it too much, otherwise we do not have so many things that we could not agree on actually...

(Bazen işte o çok yorgun oluyor bu çok mızırdanıyor evde mesela o yani, çok anlaşılamadığımız şeyler yok aslında.)

...

D7:Well... there were so bibs and bobs or some pschologic events! but not that important, there were some shouting in the house, but outside of the house we all used to look happy..most of people were shocked as we used to look happy...we were okay outside the house but there was lack of attention and care inside the house. He used to be calm but I was the one who used to be nagging once I told him enough is enough I would not put up with this I will leave you! off he left! Without a word.

(Ha ufak tefek,tabi psikolojik olarak oldu,evin içinde bağrıışmalar falan oluyordu ama dışarıda biz gayet mutlu bir şekilde gözükiyorduk,biz

ayrılınca çoğu kişi de şoka düştü ki iyi görünüyorduk,normalde dışarıda çok güzeldik ama içeride bir ilgisizlik vardı,sinirleniyordum ben daha çok söylüyordum o gayet sakindi,dedim bu böyle olmayacak yeter artık dedim ben uğraşamayacağım senle,dedim ayrılacağım sonra o gün kavga olunca çekti gitti)

...

D 12: My spouse's cultural level, he is middle school graduate.. actually it really does not matter that he is a middle school graduate , however, if he would have spend some of his time with different environements and invest on himself..he would have been a different Ö...my husband!

(...eşimin kültür seviyesi, benim eşim ortaokul mezunu, aslında çok önemli değil ortaokul mezunu olması ama sanki biraz daha fazla ortamlara girip çıksa, sanki biraz daha kendini geliştirmiş olsa sanki daha başka bir Ö... olacak eşim.)

5.3. Summary

The findings of the research that I discussed in this chapter suggest that in general within rural transformation process of Avanos particularly after 1980's, women's patriarchal experiences in their lifecycles have changed in terms of education, marriage patterns. This research support that intergenerational differences in those patterns have high relevance with changing relations of production. First of all, the evidence from this study indicates that there is educational breakthrough between mothers and daughters. While in the first generation of women primary school graduates constitute the majority, in the second generation the rate of completing high school and university is high.

One of the findings to emerge from this research is for both generations marriage appears to have the central position within life cycles of women. With whom, and at what age of the marriage was made, how the decision of marriage is given, what kind of household is entered through marriage, type of marriage and numbers of marriage, all comprise main determinants of women's patriarchal experiences within marriage.

According to the findings of the research there has been a transformation from patriarchal extended families to independent nuclear families. The tendency of early marriage in the first generation overlaps with the patterns of classical

patriarchy. Regarding to the age of first marriage, with the dissolution of extended households there has been an increase in marriage age in the second generation. In parallel, in this generation, it is obvious that arranged marriage considerably decreases. All these changes in marriage patterns also related with women's access to further education.

The findings of this research also reveal that the socio-economic status of father has significant impact on marriage experiences of both generations. Similarly the presence of a mothers support has a crucial role in terms of their daughters' empowerment within their marriages. However, there are significant differences between two generations regarding to the role of mother in their marriages. In second generation mothers support their daughters before and during marriage and even divorce. This support could be interpreted as the inclusion of the daughters into classical patriarchal bargains of women that they developed over their sons.

CHAPTER SIX

LABOUR EXPERIENCES OF WOMEN

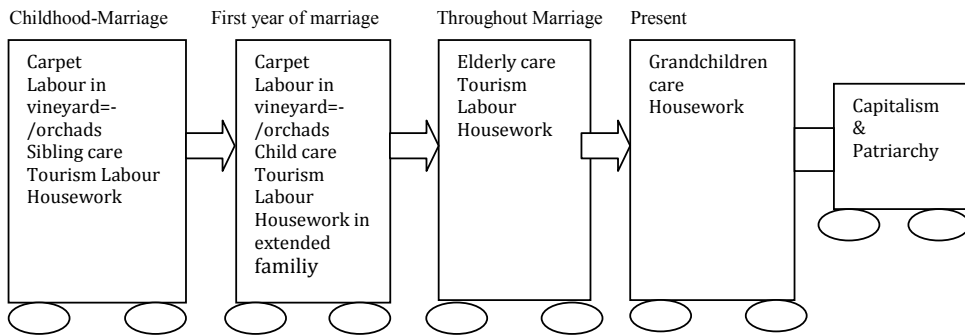
6.1. Introduction

In the previous chapter, it has been mentioned the intergenerational changes and continuities at patriarchal patterns in particular stages of life cycles of women living in Avanos; such as education, marriage, children, mother-daughter relations, mother in law-daughter in law relations, wife-husband relations. In this chapter, it is going to be argued that there are deeply rooted production relations behind the changing patriarchal experiences of women from Avanos as the reflection of the feminist theoretical background on the thesis. In this chapter the changing labour conditions of two generations of women will be also examined. This examination will be done by using metaphor of “the labour train” that women got on beginning from childhood and of which locomotive is pulled by capitalism and patriarchy. Women travel all their lives in wagons following each other in order of “between childhood-marriage”, “the first years of marriage”, “along marriage” and “present”. The categories of productive and reproductive labour that women have engaged in these wagons will be described as labour loads. In the next section following the the labour train part of this chapter, there will be a glimpse to the daily life activities of women. In this section, it is aimed to see the organization of the gender division of labour in daily life of women. This chapter will end up with assessment of the answers of the question “what would you change if you had a magic wand,” that has been asked to the women at the end of the interviews, hence their future expectations.

6.2. “Labour Train”: Women’s Productive and Reproductive Labour

According to the narratives of both generations, for women of first generation, labour power is a determinative in their life cycle interim of decisions made about education and marriage, while such situation demonstrate change in the second generation. The experiences of first generation in early phases of their life cycle

correspond to the integration of petty commodity producer households into capitalist markets. With dissolution of PCP's as the basic production unit, challenges the rural extended households based on women's unpaid family labor in terms of living together. Such fact overlapped with the first phase of industrial transformation and cause marginalization of women by isolation of production process as I discussed in Chapter 2 (Sen and Grown (1987), Tiano (1987), Bandarage 1984; Gündüz-Hoşgör and Smits 2008; Gündüz-Hoşgör 2001, Gündüz-Hoşgör 2011b; Moghadam 1992).



Second generation

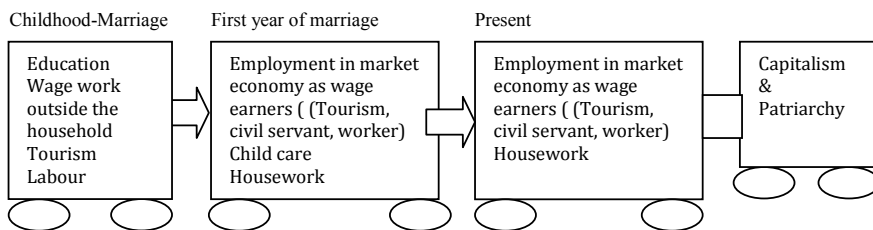


Figure 6.1. Labour train

The transformation of labour categories which could be observed at the mid lifecycle of the first generation also could be clearly seen at the second generation. All those changes do not create a cutting edge on the gendered division of labour, yet this prepared a ground for the first generation to endeavor more of their time

and labour to the extended household families whilst it is only for their nuclear families in the second generation.⁸⁰ They got in to the ‘labour train’ during their childhoods’. The aim of using labour train metaphor is to rectify concretely “the categories of productive and reproductive labour that women have engaged in the social order” in the lives of women in Avanos. According to such metaphor women are travelling as passengers in collaborative wagon of patriarchy and capitalism. During each wagon or journey, some of the labor burdens are added up or thrown by gender division of labor. ‘Domestic labour’ almost, the most common and the labour that enables the train to move with balance.

6.2.1. First Wagon: Childhood-between marriage

During the interviews it has been observed that childhood and intermarriage period are the most critical phase that shape the course of women’s lives. Exploitation (mostly in first generation) or less exploitation (mostly in second generation) of both productive and reproductive labor of women in this carriage determines the speed and track of the freight train.

Carpet weaving, solely depend on women labour, used to be main income source of Avanos. Women of Avanos used to weave two types of carpets, one is a dwory, the other is for income. During the interviews, I observed the carpets made from wool and root paint/dye is generally weaved as dwory with thinner weaving style, which also take longer time than carpet weaving for sale. Carpet for sale used to be weaved with collaboration of women and finished in short time. Those carpets assure reputation of Avonos carpets. Avanos’s women used to start carpet weaving at their childhood. İşçen (2010) explain this situation as follows;

We would not exaggerate if we claim that almost all women over their 70s used to weave carpets in Avanos. Carpet weaving tradition pass from grandmother to granddaughter, young girls at their ages of 12-13 used to

⁸⁰ Mehmet Ecevit (1999, p. 197) in his research in Gökçeagaç village that subsidized economy covers extended household labour contains of childcare, and raise, cooking, dishwashing, cleaning, washing preparing winter food store, repairment of clothes ,dwory preparation elderly and handicapped care and similar care. According to Ecevit labour is continuous process and sharply distinguished in terms of gendered division of labour. Men only associate with their traditional male works and regulates the relations emerged from integration of PCP to market.

sit in front of the loom. The reason of learning at such young age is to be able to finish at least 6-7 carpets as dowry before their marriage.
Narration of the first generation rectify such evaluation.

M13: When does someone finish the school? 12-13? I finished my 13 and my mother set me in front of carpet weaver.
(*Okul 12-13 yaşında mı biter? 13 yaşında bitirdim hemen halıya annemgil oturtturdu beni.*)

...
M16: My mother used to weave carpet. We used to weave next to them. I also weave my dowry.
(*Annemgil halı dokurdu. Biz de dokurduk onun yanında, öğrendik. Çeyizimizi dokurduk kendimiz.*)

...
A: Did you weave carpet when you were a child?
(*Siz çocukken mi dokudunuz?*)

M17: Yes, of course, I was around 4th grade at the primary school. I was sitting (to learn) next to my mum during the school break.
(*Tabi, aşağı yukarı ilkokul dördüncü sınıfta başladım oturmaya, esas tam olarak yaz tatillerinde çok uzun süre olarak değil de annemin yanına oturuyordum.*)

According to the interviews, first generation women used to weave carpet early in the mornings, and take care of the housework and vineyard, and orchards afternoon. Usually, it took them a week to finish a carpet. The trader buys the carpet from their either husband or father. Their fathers and husbands receive most of the money and they only receive the money for thread of next carpet.

M4: The Traders used to come from Kayseri or İstanbul...on Friday men used to put the carpet on their shoulder with a pride as if they were the one who weaved the carpet.
(*Cuma günü tüccar gelirdi Kayseri'den, İstanbul'dan. Cuma günleri de adamlar sanki kendi kazançları gibi büyük bir gururla o omuzlarına alırlardı halıları götürüp satarlardı.*)

...
A: Who used to sell the carpet? Mum or dad?
(*Kim satardı halıyı, anne mi baba mı?*)

M17: The father used to sell it. Mothers did not go to bazaar that easily. Every Thursday the carpet should be finished and father used to put it to his shoulder and take it to the bazaar for sale. All traders used to know about it so they used to buy all those carpets collectively. You will have market shopping and you also would be able to pay your dept or buy new thread for new carpet.
(*Baba satardı, kadınlar öyle kolay kolay çıkmazdı pazara, Perşembe akşamından halı biter hazırlanır Cuma sabahı onlar omuzlarına atarlar götürürler satarlar, bilirlerdi tüccarlar gelir toplu olarak onları alırdı işte*)

Pazar alış verişini yaparsın ufak tefek, tekrar ip borcun oluyor ipini alacaksın)

In Avanos, especially with growing popularity of machine-woven carpets, carpets weaved by women and children labour had not been sold and lost their popularities. Hand-woven carpets became only popular among local women as dowries.⁸¹ In this direction, women who are older than 50's reported that they weaved carpets both for their dowries and for market sales, while women around their 40's only weaved carpets for their dowries.

Women of first generation who stated that they never weaved carpets were those immigrated from other towns and villages. As for the second generation, they have a set of mind that weaving does not provide a reasonable income, in fact, with an intention to study and finish the primary school and further education, women did not prefer to learn carpet weaving. Majority of those women did not even weave their own dowry carpet, so it had been observed that with joining the primary school, tendency to learn carpet weaving had been faded away.

Period of production in subsidized economy overlaps with the childhood of first generation in Avanos. According to Mehmet Ecevit (1999) child labour becomes integrated with petty commodity production in rural household.

Children participate in secondary works which are physically restricted but time consuming involving carrying water, taking lunch to the farm, take care of younger siblings and herding the sheep. In before even reaching the age of production, whilst children take responsibility of such works, adults take care of primary duties. Therefore, the number of children is important for a household. The number of children affects the labour capacity of the household, the ratio between the productive and nonproductive children, cost of marriage, cost of reproduction material and the volume of reproductive labour cost (p. 195)

⁸¹ Today, with the emergence of machine-made carpets, hand-woven carpets have declined significantly. The carpets produced in the region between the years of 1930-1945 bought by traders and marketed in large centers. During 1960s under the influence of developing tourism the carpets could be sold by local people without being connected to the merchant. (İşçen 2011, p. 91) However, since the 1960s, as a result of industrialization with the widespread of practical and cheap machine made carpets, sale of traditional carpets seriously declined. During these years the increasing cost of carpet and families' enrollment with the developing tourism industry in the region has also supported this decline. After the 1980s weaving of commercial carpet has come to the end point (Bayındır2007). Today, in Avanos rarely dowry carpets are woven.

The second generation women did not work in agriculture therefore they did not spend agricultural labour throughout their life. On the other hand, first generation reported that in addition to weaving carpets, they worked as unpaid labour in their families' vineyards and/or farms.⁸²

M1: Look ... we used to be occupied with vineyard and farm in Özkonak...we had two cows and a donkey..in April even when it is March 15 we used to give a start to farming season..we used to finish mid september. digging, ploughing we used to finish in september...

(Bak hele bir. Özkonak'ta hep tarlacılıkla, bağla bahçeyle, ekmeyle dikmeyle uğraşırdık, bir iki ineğimiz olurdu, bir iki söylemesi ayıp eşeğimiz olurdu... Nisan ayı mart on beş dedi miydi tarlaya çıkardık, son güzde girerdik içeriye. Eylülün sonunda içeri girerdik, ek dik sür savur getir işte onu yap çat, son güzde de içeri girerdik.)

Women whose families' run paid labor (ırgat) in their vineyards stated that they did not spend agriculture labour during their childhood.

A: What kind of work did you do in your childhood?

(Ne işler yapardınız çocukken?)

M10: We used to work mostly in house... house... we had vast of vineyards but laborers as well ... we did not go that much... we used to be occupied with domestic work mostly, baking our own bread, we used to have cows and we used to make cheese, yogurt ...we have two daughter in laws, my father put them in order every month one of them were in charge of milking the cows. As each person knows their own time they never had any problem.

(Evde, ev şeydi hani böyle çok fazla aşırı bağ bahçe işçimiz çırağımız şeyimiz vardı ,hani biz fazla gitmezdik, ev işleri hani normal ekmeğimizi kendimiz yoğurur pişirirdik, mesela bir ineğimiz var normalde her evde bulunur sütünü yoğurdunu peynirini kendin yaparsın, iki gelinimiz vardı mesela, babam bizi hani iddia etmesinler diye mesela bir ay gider ben sağardım ineği, bir ay öbür yengem, herkes vaktini bildiği için hani hiç sorun yaşanmazdı.)

⁸² The findings of the research of Gündüz-Hoşgör (2011) in the study in rural Karacadağ region, the findings on women's unpaid labor show similarities with early labor experiences of the first generation of women in Avanos. Gündüz-Hoşgör describes the duties of women within gender division of labour as follows; "There is a sharp division of labor between men and women. Unlike men, women are responsible for all the work related reproduction in the household. For example, the woman prepares food, washing dishes and clothes, cleans the house, makes bread, cares the patients and the elderly, takes the responsibility of the children. In addition to these, the woman works in the garden and fields, is responsible for carrying water and feeding and cleaning of the animals also milking. Also executes all the activities such as making cheese, butter, yogurt related to animal husbandry. (P. 167)

It is a common trend to have work experience outside their houses among the interviewees of first and second generation. Main differences could be stated that women of first generation were taken out of the school and made to work as a wage worker to contribute for the family budget, whilst second generation women made their own decision in joining the job market. Some narratives of that generation stated that their families had objection towards working in the public sphere but accept later. (D1, D10)

D1: My mum got ill by that time and poverty started in our household..both of them (mother and father) did not want me to work... my lessons were no good anyway...I sacrifice and started to my work life...
(... *annem de rahatsızlandı o zaman da yokluk da başladı, e birimizden biri, babam istemedi annem istemedi (çalışmamı) ama benim de dört dörtlük değildi derslerim, fedakarlık yaptım yani çalışma hayatına başladım*)

...

D10: I started to work at Brother I.. (owner of business) , my sister in law was working, I begged my mum to allow me to work, my father was also not keen on allowing me to work... but he allowed me eventually...
(... *İ. Abinin (iş yeri sahibi) yanında başladım ben, yengem çalışıyordu orada, ben anne ne olur çalışayım, babam çok böyle çalıştırma taraftarı değil ama hem de babama destek olmam açısından, babam da sonradan izin verdi.*)

A : How old did you start to work?
(*Kaç yaşında çalışmaya başladın?*)

D10: I dropped the high school, how old I was...hmmm around 14 I guess.
(*Liseden çıkmıştım, kaç yaşındaydım, 14 yaşında falandım işte.*)

6.2.2. Second Wagon: First years of marriage

In the second wagon, the most determinative factor is purpose for marriage, and what kind of family does a woman join after the marriage? If the purpose of marriage is the transformation of labour power, that adds up extended family labour to her first wagon. As it has been mentioned in the marriage chapter, first generation women were enrolled arranged marriages. Again the same women stated that they join the extended families of their husbands and had to live long years with their mother in laws.

First generation who initially entered PCP households in their early years of marriage continued to work in vineyard-orchards of their parents in law. Some of

those women described that in cases where the husband's family's financial situation lower than their families, they have also continued to work in their own parents vineyards or farms as paid laborers.

M1: My husband went to military service.. My mother in law was paraleysed anyway, myself, my mother in law and sister in law were living together, My father often called me to help them in their farm, you name it.. I had worked in all kind of farm work...I did collect grass, collect roots, dig the garden, he was poor when I left, as you see, I used to work very hard but receive very less ... I was desperate, I never went to others work, but only to my father's farm..they used to give me money according to my work and production...my wheat, or couscous...my okra, chickpea, lentil all winter goodies.. I used to work in the summer for all those crops and had my share in the winter for consumption.

(Benim herifim askere gitti,... zaten kaynanam da felçliydi görümcem beraber üçümüz otururduk,beni gene aynen babamgil çağırırdı, giderdim tırmık çekerdim, deste çekerdim ondan sonra çapa yapardık, ne bilim ben görmediğimiz iş yok, ot topla, kök topla, ayırık topla, bostan kaz, bunları giderdik beraber görürdük babamgille, o gittiğimde fukaraydı, babamgil bakarlardı, yani iki elim görürdü senin anlayacağın bir boğazım yerdı. ... muhtaçtım, belli ki başkasının işine gitmezdim de babamın işine giderdim. ... ben onların işini gördüğüme göre verirlerdi, belli ki bulgurum bulamacım neyse işte Allah ne verdiyse. ...baklam, nohudum, mercimeğim yani kışlık kayıtım, yazın onlarla görürdüm kışında verirlerdi yerdim.)

First generation stated that they did not receive any support from any other women members of their families and not exempted from housework or childcare, even though they work in the farm or vineyard. M3 told that she was working in heavy duties of her husband's farm/vineyard even when she was pregnant, she used to leave her kids with her mother in law but the mother in law was not taking care of them enough⁸³, therefore, the kids got malnutrition.

M3: For instance I was pregnant they never ask what I crave for, but people pay attention to pregnants these days..we never had such pamperings.. when you wake up you had to go to vineyard or farm kids never had enough attention because I was always at work..I always told my husband that your mum is having their sin..I know that, the child, when gets good nutrition during the pregnancy and after then they are much clever.

(mesela bak ben hamileyim bana demiyorlar ki canın ne istiyor, aman hamile bak, şimdi hamilelere özen gösteriyorlar, aman kızı al yesin, aman

⁸³ While grandchild care is not a patriarchal bargain in the first generation, it becomes a subject of patriarchal bargain in the second generation.

canının istediğini yesin, bizlerde o yoktu ki, sabah kalkacan bağa gidecen akşam eve gelecen, sen hamile misin, akşama kadar çalışacan, çocuklar doğdu onu bırak çocuklar doğduktan sonra da ilgi görmediler, benim bu iki kızım hiç ilgi görmedi. ... çocuk hamileyken bile doğunca bile ne kadar iyi beslenirse o kadar çocuk zeki oluyor, bunu ben yaşadım, ben her gün eşime diyom, bu iki çocuğun günahı senin annenin diyom, gerçekten de onun bu günah.)

....

A: who was taking care of the kids?

(Çocuklara kim bakıyordu peki?)

M3: well..she used to look after them... my mother in law.. but was not looking...

(İşte o bakıyordu, kayınvalidem bakıyordu ama bakmadı ki.)

A: You used to work in the vineyard and do the housework at the same time?

(Siz hem bağa gidiyordunuz hem oradaki evin işini yapıyordunuz.)

M3: Well.. I used to go in the morning and return at night. There were no market nappies, a sack of nappies used to wait for wash...

(Tabi, ben sabah gidiyordum akşama geliyordum, böyle hazır bez falan yoktu, geliyordum ki artık bir çuval bez birikmiş.)

A: Mother in law did not wash it of course?

(Kayınvalide onları yıkamıyordu tabi?)

M3: To wash? It is impossible, I used to wash nappies until 12 midnight. (Yıkar mı, imkânsız bir şey, gece on ikiye kadar bez yıkıyordum.)

A:next day again the vineyard?

(Sonra ertesi gün yine bağa?)

M3: The following day to the vineyard...daily routine was just like that...

(Ertesi gün sabah yine bağa, yani günlük böyleydi.)

A: Did you ever have an objection?

(Hiç karşı da çıkamıyordunuz?)

M3: You could not get out..you were 17-18 how would you go out?

(Çıkamıyon ya, on yedi on sekiz yaşındasın neyi çıkıyon.)

Same as M3 narration, women who join the extended households and were in charge of the entire domestic labour, have bitter memories of those days. The emphasis of the first generation is lack of technology in their lives in that period that ease the housework for them. M5 tells her heavy housework duties as follows;

M15: There was no washing machine. We used to set a wooden stove outside. Once get up from carpet weaving, indulge ourselves with washing baking childcare, knitting. We used to weave carpet with neighbor in July and August, when my curtain is on that was our password means time for weaving, her house was opposite, I was so tired once. I opened the window. There was snow everywhere. I told him ohh Ruhi Memnun

cannot come for weaving...I went to sleep again.. memnun came and asked why I was sleeping...she knocked the door... I asked her how did you come it was so snowy... it was not snowing in that season anyway.

(Evvelden çamaşır makinesi de yoktu. Karı kız ocak kurardık dışarıya. Bi de halıdan kalkınca bez, belen, beş baş olan da uşak; yun yıka, onlara yak pişir. Yattım mıydı... Komşuyla halı dokuyuk böyle Temmuz Ağustos'tu; benim perdem açıldı mıydı, işaretimiz oydu, karşı karşıyaydı evimiz, gelirdi dokurduk. Nasıl yorulduysam, şöyle perdeyi açtım; dışarlar hep bembeyaz kar görmüşüm. "Aman Ruhi" dedim, "valla Memnun Yengem gelemmez". Dışarıya nasıl kar yağmıştı. Vurdum kafayı yattım. Bir de Memnu Yengem, "bu gelin kapıyı pencereyi niye açmadı, bu gelin niye açmadı" diye, gelmiş kapıyı vuruyor. "O ne Memnu Yenge nasıl geldin?" demişim. "Niye kuzum" dedi. "Nasıl kar vardı dışarda" demişim. Halbuki o mevsimde kar yağar mı?)

Women did not come across to any negative experiences when they join extended households where also peer (hierarchically equal) women were living. So that they can cooperate and share the housework with those women in solidarity. Those women in their narratives do not question men's lack of support since they have the strong support mechanism with same-sex relatives.⁸⁴ For instance, M21 has joined an extended family of 17 after her marriage and reports her happiness about those days.

M21: Later we lived together with them one of my sister in law married at same time with me.. her husband went to army.. she was with us with her child. I also had one.. mother-father in law we lived all together..we lived...but happily.. in peace.. we did not have washing machine or hoover, no electrical heater only wooden stove, we cooked our dinner with wooden stove also baked our bread with it..than they had a big old grease can we used to boil water in it for doing the washing...finally we used to have bath..

(Ondan sonra onlarla birlikte yaşadık. Görümcemin biri de benlen evlendi. Onun kocası da askere gitmediydi, askere gitti. O da yanımızda, bir çocuğuyulan. Bir çocuk benim var. Kayınpeder, kayınvalide hep birlikte

⁸⁴ In case of women who are unable to fulfill domestic work such as housework or care of children, it is expected to ask for support of other women in her extended family. According to Kandiyoti (1997) reciprocal support in childcare and household work between women is a reflection or example which is common among Middle East societies (p78). It will be not wrong if we mention that such support is not a strategy of empowerment against the patriarchy. Rather it could be considered a coping strategy. Mutual compensating of domestic labor by women in family circle also cause to internalization of gendered division of labour and forfeit the its questioning ground. In order to unbreak such patriarchal chain, there is a necessity of conflict between woman and man on share the division of labour. Mutual search for alternative and equitable solution could bring a concrete change in patriarchal system. Otherwise strong support among women will strengthen men's traditional priveleges within the patriarchal system and make women subject of exploitation by their peers (p. 81).

yaşadık. Yaşıyok. Ama mutluyuk, huzurluyuk. Böyle çamaşır makinesi yok, elektrik süpürgesi yok.. ondan sonra şofben yok, enerji yok.. bir şey yok. böyle odun ocağımız var, yemeğimizi dahil odun ocağında pişiririk. ... Ekmeğimizi de fırında pişiririk. Ondan sonra çamaşır yıkamak için de bi büyük yağ tenekeleri var, onu ocağın üstüne koyarık su ısıtırık. Çamaşır yıkarık, banyo- afedersin- banyo yapılacaksa ondan sonra da banyo yaparık. İşte her işimizi böyle el gücümüzle görürdük. ...)

A: Carpet weaving at the meantime?

(Bi yandan da halı?)

M21: Yes we used to weave carpet as well...

(Hıh bir yandan da halı dokuruk.)

As it has mentioned in mother-in-law section, the majority of women from first generation was living in the same building/apartments with their mothers in law. Women who used to live in such family apartments reported that they were responsible of cleaning house/houses, cooking, dishwashing, washing of both houses. Some women stated that control of mother in law was more over the childcare or child education. For instance, M13 said that her two kids used to stay overnights at her mother- in laws flat which is below her flat. Another interviewee M17, told that her mother in law used to make fuss even when she used to bath her baby without consulting her.

Second generation women's first years of marriage wagons disguise both quantity and quality of burden- and seem to be lighter comparing to the first generations wagon. Vineyard-orchard, carpet weaving, extended family labour gradually decreased at the second generation's period. In an atmosphere where the agricultural labour is almost disappeared, and where the consumption had been a commodity, ready made food, Hoover, washing machine, dishwasher, disposable nappies are in the market, women's intense domestic work become much lighter.

Today, those vineyard-orchards are used as resting places by families of both generations. Although fruit and vegetables are still grown in those gardens, they do not meet their entire goodies needs. They often make their winter molasses. Only some women of first generation reported that they might sell if there will be more than they expected.

In the context of rural transformation of Turkey, women's labour is appropriated in extended families based on subsidized economies by their husbands, father in laws and mother in laws. During the early phases of transformation with resolution of PCP based households women's labour was first marginalized (Gündüz- Hoşgör and Smits 2008). Detachment from the rural and become less active in agricultural activities progressively dropped the participation of women employment after 1950's (Ecevit 2000, 2008). In 1955's the women employment rate of 72%, continuously declined until 2004. This decline is explained with the migration of rural to the urban. Recently, in rural, women work as unpaid laborer in extended household, or she gets out of economically active population and become housewife, or work in informal sector (Ecevit 2008, Önder 2013). In this phase of this transformation women have also started to experience public patriarchy⁸⁵ through being exploited by state and employers as cheap laborers in unsecured informal sector. Trend of women's employment in this phase has been discussed below for those who live in rural and urban Avanos.

The number of women from first generation who has worked as waged labor outside home is very low according to the interviews. Most of those women are informed that they are housewives.⁸⁶ This generation experienced being apart from agriculture in the first and second phases. Therefore, they were socially and economically marginalized as production isolate at early stages of rural transformation (Gündüz-Hoşgör 2011).

⁸⁵ Women's entrance to public sphere through employment also causes to change of their patriarchal experiences in appropriation of their labour. Walby (1990) distinguishes changing forms of patriarchy during transformation process as private patriarchy and public patriarchy as I discussed in Chapter 2 Section 3.3.. In private patriarchy the household is the main site of women's oppression and women's exclusion from social life. In this type of patriarchy women's both productive and reproductive labour appropriated by private patriarch. On the other hand in public patriarchy women's labour is appropriated by collectively in paid employment. In public sphere the control of sexuality of women is ensured through strategies for segregation.

⁸⁶ Those women are detached from agriculture, subsidized from employment market, and become marginalized. Among the researchers working on development and women; Ward (1984) ; Sen and Grown (1987), Tiano (1987), Moghadam (1992) argue that development deteriorated the economic status of women, resulting in marginalization and impoverishment. Gündüz-Hoşgör's (2011c) research on Gaziantep shows similarities with Avanos case. According to her research women first become marginalized and started to work with cheap wage in the labour market.

Among the first generation, only eight women stated that they worked once in their life as paid workers outside of their houses. Among them four of mentioned women as contracted employee or worker in public institutions. Other women of the first generation who stated that they worked as paid workers outside of their houses migrated to Europe during workers wave in 1960. Most of those women went along with their spouses whilst only one of them went and work in Europe by herself. Currently, only M19 return to Turkey and set up a factory and carry on working with her husband among those women. The narration of M19 verifies Abadan Unat's (1981) statement along with Kudat (1975) and Kıray (1976) on long period external migration on women as follows;

External migration, which covers to some extent the impact of industrialization, if extended for a long period of time, is quite an effective change inducing factor. ... not only do women migrant workers assume the role of the family head, but they also acquire a whole set of new prerogatives, completely absent in their home country. Among these new rights one can list the right to choose the type and place of work as well as the permanent domicile; the right to determine savings, investment and expenditure; the right to decide upon family size both in terms of children and adhering other members. (pp.27-27)

Among those women M6⁸⁷ went as a worker to Europe by her own, planning to call later for her husband. Whilst she was abroad her husband failed in caring of the children and reproduction of daily life. As a result, M6 had to return for their children in 7 months period. As Kandiyoti mentions (1997:78), absence of support of woman family member is the focal point of this story. Both M6 and her daughter D6 tell this short trip as tragedy of their lives. None of mothers-daughters questioned M8's husband's not taking the responsibility of reproduction of daily life who stayed in Avanos. This willful ignorance enables those women not

⁸⁷ Abadan-Unat in her work on Turkish women workers employed abroad in the industrial and informal sectors argues reversal of role patterns in case the wife has gone abroad first and the husband joins her later. Accordingly, in these cases things changed and never be the same as the wife becomes the principal breadwinner and the husband the primary child-carer (1977, p.40). However, in the case of M6 the husband fails to accomplish child-career role. On the other hand, Gündüz-Hoşgör points out that migration may have a strengthening effect on women stayed behind in rural Turkey, by gaining some autonomy who had to take care of themselves and their children. (2006, p.2). In our cases, women who migrated abroad and employed as worker with their husbands (rather than migrating lonely) have turned back to Avanos also strengthened. Paid employment and mobility experiences are important factors of this empowerment.

questioning any kind of care responsibility of men during absence of women and reproduces the patriarchy.

M6: Yeah.. they stayed here crying eyes out of bulb...I also got sick and had wound in my body due to the stress. I could not stand to such sorrow...I used to cry everyday everyday the eldest daughter sent me a letter without notifying her father, she said mum wish that you were a bird and fly to our home. (Cries) ,there was no phone..my daughter had wound all over the body ...father drinks everyday cries and vomit...we could not go to school because of dirt...my contract was not due I was not able to turn back...my husband's document was completed but was in Kayseri..then German newspaper wrote that query for visas from Turkey had been suspended...I sat and thought all girls will be like playing dolls with no mother and father around..kids are too young they can not manage by themselves..

(He, ağlaya ağlaya onlar burada kaldı ben oraya vardım, ben üzüntüyle tüm vücudum yara olduydu, yavrularıma dayanamadım her gün ağlıyom her gün ağlıyom bir de buradan babasından habersiz bu büyük kızım mektup yazmış bana postaneyle, saklamış, o zaman telefon ne yok, anne sen bir kuş olsan gelsen evimize bir konsan(ağlıyor) gel bir ne haldeyik Aygün'ümüzün her yeri yara oldu kirden, babam her gün içip içip ağlıyor, geliyor kusuyor biz okula gidemiyok kirden, tamam,kontratım dolmadı gelsem adamı getiremicem kağıtları yaptırdık kağıtlar Kayseri'de kalmış buraya gelememiş,bir ay evvel gideymişim bunları hep götürürmüşüm, bir de alman gazeteleri yazmış ki Türkiye'den istekler durdu,ne anne ne baba ne koca hiç kimse yok sade kadınlar kızlar ordaysa orda buradaysa burada, ooo oturdum bir düşündüm kızlar oyuncak olacak burada anne yok baba yok, baba kendini alkole vermiş üzüntüyle,çocuklar küçük kendini idare edemiyor.)

...

D6: Then My mother went to Germany, when she went to Germany we were all stayed miserable... my father used to drink alot...hardly come home...he never.. we used to stay at my aunt house(fatherside) my aunt was living close to that mosque ..she was reluctant to host us.. she used to tell that she did not want us around... but I do not have grudge... she used to come and bake our bread, feed us..she used to come once a month every fifteen days bath us and cry whilst she was bathing...Hanife off she went and these kids are miserable.. she could not find clothes for us...we wore whatever we found.. it was a miserable life really...

(Ondan sonra annem Almanya'ya gitti, Almanya'ya gidince biz döküldük kaldık,babamda çok içki içerdi,eve barka pek gelmezdi... Ondan sonra akli ermez falan, biz hep halamın yanına gider gelirdik, halamın evi aşağıda şu caminin orda yakın,o da bizi hiç istemez,dışlar,ona da vardık mıydı bunlar niye geliyor ben bunlara şey diyorum yine de Allah razı olsun diyok. yine de bizim ona minnettarlığımız var niye arada bir gelir ekmeğimizi pişirir,karnımızı doyurur,ayda bir olsa bile gelir on on beş günde bir gelir bizi ağlaya ağlaya yıkar,Hanife gitti de bu yavrular döküldü kaldı bizi

yıkar,ondan sonra deęiřecek kıyafet bulamaz,ne bulursa iyi kötü onları getirir,bulunmadık bir sefil hayat yaşadık yani.)

If we put women who went abroad out of evaluation, in first generation, women stated that ‘working outside’ was not considered as natural. They told agricultural work, childcare and carpet weaving were taking their entire time anyway. M7, first woman worker in Avanos stated that she started to work after divorcing when she was 41. Accordingly she has struggled much during her decision. She told her story that she was persuaded by her brother in law based on being appropriate candidate to the requirements of the Mayor ‘find a woman worker, who will not gossip, in her own world and an average healthy woman!’

M7: I was 41 years old...I was accepted as a worker.. this is why I was able to work... Do I make myself clear? .. my brother in law was alive.. they said let’s go to her brother in law... they are the one who will persuade her... it was third day of the new year by chance.. I went to visit my sister and brother in law... Abdullah Tas said to my brother in law ‘İrfan, we came to persuade your sister in law to work in the municipality..’ I was inside I heard him and I said to myself what is he talking about.. Abdullah said sister we want you as a worker for municipality.. I exclaimed have you gone crazy? I can not go and work I would rather weave carpet. no one used to woman’s work in public sphere by that time my daughter... I told him that I would be embarrassed... it was not common to work in deed..

(O zaman tam 41 yaşındaydım, işçi olduğum için giriyorum hani anlatabiliyor muyum memur olsa almaz, geldiler, eniştem rahmetli sağdı demişler eniştesine gidelim ablasına diyelim ... onlar kandırsınlar demişler, tesadüf işte yılbaşı birinci ayın üçüncü günü gelini falan var onun biz de oturmaya gittik yakın aramız,biz şu içerdeyik dışarıdan geldi o Abdullah Taş ya İrfan dedi,o da onu bilir zaten arkadaşı, baldızını kandırmaya geldik sen kandıracın dedi,ben de duyuyom içerden alla alla ne diyor bu diyorum,hemen baldız içerde dedi o da o arada girdi Abdullah abi Allah rahmet eylesin bacım biz sana talibiz dedi,biz seni belediyeye işçi alacak dedi, abarii dedim, aman sanki beni yaka paça götürüyorlar sandım, gitmem Abdullah abi sen delirdin mi dedim ben halı dokur yine geçinirim o nasıl haber ben gitmem utanırım dedim,kimse çalışmazdı kuzum kadın bayan çalışan yoktu...)

41 year old M7 explains the reason to ‘had to’ become a worker in municipality due to being divorced, not receiving money from carpet weaving, and not receiving the anticipated support from her son. She got divorced from the husband due to his gamble and alcohol addiction. She consulted her son initially whilst she

was thinking about accepting the job offer in the municipality. In interview it has been done with D7, I understand M7's phone disappointing conversation with his son convinced her to accept the job offer.

M7: I was suprised... I am a bit emotional... I taught of all bitterness that I had in my past... I sat and cried...than I called my son.. he was in Kars, Dogubeyazit... he worked there for 4 years and he was at vocation there... I told him that Mr Abdullah came over, your brother in law and auntie persuaded me but I stil can not convince.. I told him what is your opinion? He said what am I going to say mum? You have your pride... if I tell you just forget about it I will take care of you..you would not accept it either...really I have a bad habit of being emotional...but the time is Money time...he told me mum please you think about it and make your own decision...he told me if I gave you what I have you will never accept even if you are starving...it is up to you....my relatives persuaded me.. I started but god forbidden. I thought I am entering a bad world...

(Alla alla dedim ondan sonra işte biraz sulu gözüm çektiğim çilelere baktım iyice bir ağladım(ağlıyor),oturdum iyice bir de ağladım ondan sonra Kars'a telefon açtım, Doğu Beyazıt'a Kars'tan gittiymiş, dört yıl oldu görev yaptığı Doğu Beyazıt'a gezmeye gittiymiş yakınmış da, oğlum dedim böyle böyle Abdullah hocan geldi enişten olsun teyzen olsun kandırdılar ama ben bir türlü kabullenemiyorum ne diyon dedim çocuk ne desin.. anne ne diyim sen çok gururlusun dedi çok sulu gözün dedi, zaten ağlıyorum iki üç gündür dedim, herkes sevinir ben ağlıyom, ben dedi şimdi sana aman anne boş ver girme ben sana bakarım desem onu da kabul etmen sen dedi, essah etmem huyum pek kötü, ama dedi devir para devri oldu anacım dedi kendin düşün kendin karar ver dedi çünkü dedi verdiğimiz de alman dedi aç olacağını da bilsen, şimdi çocuk bana verirken çıldırıyor hep verse ama onlar bana verdi mi yok diyom ben istemem diyom, kendin bilin dedi artık sağdan soldan akrabalar da beni ikna ettiler ben başladım, başladım amma Allah korusun ne sandım kötü yola giriyorum sandım.)

As it has seen in M7 story, women's patriarchal bargain upon the sons have started being unreturned in the first generation. PCP based extended household has started to dissolve and loose its production trait with transformation of the rural. Under such circumstances, sons prefer to move to outside of the city, find a job and marry a woman they prefer, and the reluctance on having their mothers beside when she gets older. For instance, M7 son of M7 settled in İstanbul for his children's education after retirement instead of returning to Avanos and live with mother.

On the other hand, for second generation of women, working in the public sphere appeared as a new type of labour in their second wagon. Such labour only takes place if the family's economical income is low in the first wagon. The ratio turns upside down for working/not working women in the second generation. Only 6 of those 21 interviewees stated that they were housewives, 3 of them continue to their studies. 12 of those women worked in public sphere once in their lives. Women who have both quantitative and qualitative differences in their jobs worked in jobs as follows respectively: : D4 tourist guide⁸⁸ D6 security personal in the park , D47 nurse in local clinic, D10 hairdresser, D12 contracted employee in a public daycare, D13 civil servant in Sub governor's office, D14 cleaner, D15 sale person in pottery shop, D17 finance expert in the family business, D18 English teacher at Anatolian High School, D34 secretary at husband's choal selling office. In addition D14, D15 ve D16 Reported to had work in pottery workshop in 1990's and did pottery dying and rapido.

Employment in the public sphere strengthens women in terms of transformation of the use of labour into exchange labour. Working outside also increases the mobility of women besides, enable them to meet with different people out of their neighbors and family members. Bora (2001) inspired from the concept of "habitus" of Bourdiue, in her research on construction of subjectivity of women argues that working outside transforms woman being a type of passive, with low mobility and with restricted living area to be a woman with expanded life area, with higher social interaction and has the potential of transforming power relations within marriage. However, for Bora this situation does not create direct empowerment for women.

'habitus' for those women include of more material and symbolic capital,therefore, more labour power. Leaving the neighborhood for work, to communicate regularly with people apart from the closest family/environment, gaining an income, for a woman, eventhough is still

⁸⁸ According to the field research, second generation women who work in tourism sector using foreign language are those whose families used to work abroad as workers and return to Avanos.Those women either finished their primary school or middle school abroad and not continue to their education later and started to work as guide or saleperson in the touristic shops.

considered as a norm within the patriarchal bargain and not follow a direct empowerment, this process is still a very crucial concept in terms of construction of self subjectivity (pp.103-104)

6.2.3. Third and fourth wagons: Throughout marriage and present

Women of first generation who passed the first years of marriage, their children have grown up, when they travel in the second wagon end of 1980's, their intensive agriculture labour and carpet labour have been already disappeared.

The tour tourism was not that popular in 1980's, therefore, both local and international pedestrian tourists were staying in local hostels,⁸⁹ visit the pottery workshops and made shopping from souvenir shops of Avanos. As in the case of carpet weaving, women has knitted sweaters sold by the mediators. However, women reported that when they sold their knitted sweaters they used to receive the money straight away and spend it freely unlike to the carpet weaving. For instance, M8 from first generation told that she used to do such work by herself and for others with commision between the years of 1987 to 1990.

M15: His name was Cingi.. he used to get women to knit for those tourists in the town...I had a friend called Fadime.. both of us used to knit for him...We started the trend of knitting in Avanos... We went to by knitting thread and he asked us if we would knit ..we said yes...would you knit with lace ? we said we will.. we used to take it and go straight to the bazaar. We used to knit one in a week , one her one me... we'd take it and go to bazaar....We'd finish every Friday.. we used to buy cheese.. so on and so forth...I did not have a sofa in my house only two old ones... I had brother Mustafa in our street he used to have a furniture shop... ' Brother Mustafa' 'I do knitting I will buy two sofas and a carpet to the middle ... he replied ' okay my sister' but I will also have a wall to wall carpet' well it has been almost 20 years.. I told him that I will spend 5 in bazaar snd give the other 5 to you. he said no problem my sister.. I was over the moon... two sofas...

⁸⁹ For Tucker in the region the characteristics of employment in tourism related work in region reflect local norms concerning the sexual division of labor (Tucker, 1997). Elmas (2002) in her research in the region elaborated this division of labour in small-scale and family run businesses as follows;

“taking paying guests or production process into the home frequently fits into a preexisting sexual division of household labor and responsibilities which are seen as an extension of women's domestic duties. While women play important roles in running the kinds of establishments, they remain marginal and invisible. ... In the region, in addition to family-run small establishments, women work in a range of occupations: as weavers, cleaners, waitresses, receptionists, secretaries, accountants, sales persons, service workers, animators and department heads in larger tourism related establishments. (p.118)

my guest room was just that big... only fits two sofas... I put one sofa there..and another one here and the carpet in the middle and also wall to wall carpet...

(Adamın adı Cingiydi. Örgü ördürürdü, yelek. ... Turistlere neye.. Benim de bir arkadaşım, Fadime var, en samimi arkadaşım. Onlan ikimiz örgü örerdik. İlkin biz başlattık. Avanos'a ilk örgüyü biz başlattık. Böyle ip almaya gittik, "örgü örer misiniz" dedi böyle. "Örerik" dedik. "Nakışlı örer misiniz?" "Örerik". Haftada bir tüm örerdik; bir tüm o örerdi, bir tüm ben örerdim, bi de... Onu alırdık, pazara geçerdik. Cuma günleri bitirirdik. Eve peynir idi, pazarımızı bozardık. Ondan sonra evimde kanepem yoktu benim, 2 somyam vardı. Mustafa Abim var benim, çocukluk sokağımızda. O da mobilya dükkânı açtı. "Mustafa abi" dedim, "ben örgü örüyorum, bana iki tane kanepa alacam, bir de ortaya" dedim, "halı alacam". "Tamam bacım" dedi, "ama bir de halı fleks döşetecem" dedim. Gayrı bundan kaç yıl oluyor? 20 yıl oluyor işte. ... "Beşini pazara harcaycam, beşini" dedim "sana getiririm". "Tamam bacım" dedi. Ay bir sevindim. İki kanepa. Salonum da bu kadardı. Bir kanepa koydum oraya. Bir de burda koydum ortaya, halı, halıfleks.)

Another tourism labour which is common nowadays are rapido painting and pottery decoration for those two generations. Women get each item from the pottery workshops and decorate each pottery or leather with rapido technique in return of very low wage. According to the observation and field research, mostly single and young women prefer to work in workshops where the rapido dying is also performed. Generally second generation perform in such workshops whilst the first generation women used to perform such activity at their houses (M2, M14, M22). Among them M19 stated that working in a workshop was not approved by the society in their period.

M19: Yes , for instance, working was condemned .. working in the public sphere was a condemnation... if you wish to become a civil servant that is fine.. being a civil servant was a good thing...you become a teacher, a civil servant but there was not a factory.. but if you wish to work in pottery shop... well it was not proved in my time... young women were not able to work outside of their homes..

(Evet... Mesela çalışmak ayıptı. Dışarda çalışmak ayıptı bizim zamanımızda. Halen, işte memur olursan tamam, memur olabilirsin tamam. Memurluk güzel bir şeydi. Öğretmen olursun, memur olursun ama işte gidip de ne bileyim bi fabrika zaten yoktu. Bi gidip çanak atölyesinde çalışmak, ee benim zamanımda bile kızlar halen daha dışarı açılmış değildi, genç kızlar.)

As it is clearly seen in narrative of M19, under what kind of condition would women work is determined by negotiation between demand of type of labor by capitalist mode production and patriarchal culture.⁹⁰ The following generation displays another type of negotiation. In the second generations case mothers do not weave carpets and earnings of father become insufficient for living and a financial support become a requirement. Therefore, young women works in workshop ‘until get married’ and such patriarchal culture does not cause a problem. Women of second generation worked in workshop just after finished the high school, university or until they got married. (D5, D14, D15, D16, D18), informed that they did not continue to such work after marriage apart from D5.

With shift of production from agriculture to other production types, elderly care appears as a problem in rural area. Second generation does not look after of their own elder people, whilst first generation continues to the patriarchal bargain through looking after the grandchildren. I argue that grandchild care at later age, enables the continuation of reproductive labour of women and as a result prevent the loss of value of elderly women in the family. Participation of mother and mother in law in childcare is still very valuable for the second generation.

Elderly care labour is common for the first generation but started to dissolve gradually. Mother’s patriarchal bargain over their sons and subservient daughter in laws become ineffective with the change in mode of production. In this context, the issue of elderly care seems to be a serious problem appearing in the near future in Avanos. Tendency of living in separate houses with alive mother/father – mother in law-father in law is reasonably high for the first generation. Only two of those first generation interviewees reported that their mother in laws died in their houses (M18, M21). The rest of second generation’s (D3, D4, D7, D8, D9, D13, D17, D23) mother in laws live in separate houses. Those women also are not responsible for their mother in laws for the whole day. In the same way, women

⁹⁰ It should be noted as Moghadam (1992) suggests that “gender is not central to capitalism as class is, but gender bias is clearly present in all cases. It is present in management strategies that *include* women as cheap (‘flexible’) labour and a divisive element.” p.239).

of first generation (M13, M19) are not take responsibility of their own parents but only visit them when it is necessary.

First generation women develop new strategies such as looking after their own grandchildren in order not to be lonely at their older ages. Women attain continuation of reproductive labor by looking after their own grandchildren.⁹¹ The number of women of first generation who looks after their grandchildren before starting the school or after school in their 'present wagon' is considerable high. (M1, M4, M7, M8, M10, M13, M14, M21, M22, M18). Although second generation brings various solutions towards childcare (babysitter/daycare) in respect of their socio-economic differences, those solutions are most of the times remain inadequate. Women seek support of mother –mother in law in case of sickness of a child and being not able to go to nursery or when the babysitter does not come for that day.

Grandchildren labour covers also the children of their daughters for the first generation. Among the interviewees only M4 and M14 told that they look after children of their both daughters and sons, the rest of the women told that they only look after their daughters' children. It will be not sufficient to make a comment for the reasons of looking after the daughters' children, as having the logic that the sons had to move out of the town due to the rural transformation.⁹² In fact, women of second generation's mothers look after their kids even though their mother in laws live in Avanos. For example, D10 moved to Nevşehir after getting married and she committed to Avanos every day from Nevşehir. Instead of leaving her daughter with her mother in law who also lives in Nevşehir she prefers

⁹¹ Kandiyoti (1997) with birth of their grandchildren whilst European Peers are completed their education in that period, women receive more responsibility according to their age and experience. Women experience a progressive/continuity related to their bringing up even at their later ages (1997:80).

⁹² Bora (2001) (p.97). stated that mother's mother are in charge of the grandchildren in urban for the second generation. But different from Avanos case, the family support and corporation for the second generation in the urban area does not cause to any stronger family relations. 'Daughters tries to expand their living areas with asking aid from their mothers ' therefore, it will be more appropriate to mention about effort of women to exist outside of the domestic realm, in contrast subsistence strategies of low income groups .' P. 104

to leave her daughter to her mother in Avanos. This situation, also shows that patriarchal bargain on sons has been gradually shifted towards, daughters with similar expectations. Additionally, according to their socio-economic position (in higher socio-economic position) second generation of women may prefer employing babysitter or sending the child to daycare. increases among second generation according to their socio-economic position. For instance, M17 living close to her son and daughter but both of her kids have a babysitter in their own houses.

There are three types of women in 'present wagon' of second generation. These are student, waged worker outside the house, and housewife. Among unemployed women D1, D3, D21 told that they are not able to work as their kids are still too young. Additionally the husbands of D3, D1 and D16 do not allow them to work outside of the house. This findings show that husbands take over the role of their wives' fathers before marriage in decision making on women's employment. However, father is observed still to be an intervener on daughters employment even though they got married. For instance, D4's father has an objection for his daughter to work in tourism sector and he tries to find some way with his son in law to prevent her working in such sector.

D4: It was 2002...I started to work there, my father got mad.. because he did not want me to work, I told him that you were going to find me a job you did not.. So I 've found a job that fits me... because I had to start from somewhere...then I worked 2 years at that place.

(Sene 2002'de bu da,orada başladım,tabi babam kıyameti kopardı çünkü istemedi benim çalışmamı,ben de ona dedim ki sen yıllardır bana iş bulacaktın bulamadın,ben de kendime göre bir yerden başladım,çünkü bir yerden başlamam gerekiyordu,ondan sonra orada iki sene çalıştım.)

A: Your story about starting to work...

(İlk işe girme hikayeniz...)

D4: Hmmm.. well we got in to work, my father became upset, he also spoke with my husband to persuade me to leave the work... like 'are you not a man? Why you allow her to work? Luckily he said let her to work...

(Ha, işte işe girdik, babam küstü konuşmadı ondan sonra Ahmet'i böyle biraz dolduruşa getirdi, ya dedi işte çalıştırma sen erkek değil misin falan, Allahtan o çalışsın dedi yani.)

A 'must criterium' for the husband or father of the second generation, to allow them to work in public sphere is to find a work place where there are no men. These situation demonstrates that patriarchal control reproduce itself in public sphere based on women segregation. For instance, D3's husband works in the balloon and D3 claims that her husband is not conservative, he only does not prefer her to work in working environment including men. As it is clearly seen in the below story, there is still a prejudice on working in tourism sector for women in Avanos.

A: Do you consider working in tourism sector when your baby grow?
(*Siz peki bebeğiniz büyüyünce turizmde falan çalışmayı düşünüyor musunuz?*)

D3: Actually I want to work but not sure in which sector it will be..
(*Aslında çalışmayı düşünüyorum ama hangi sektörde olur biliyorum.*)

A: I see do you get any support of your husband? Does he invite you to work with him?

(*Ha, anladım. Eşinin bir desteği var mı gel bizimle çalış falan diye?*)

D3: I can not do their job anyway.. it is not a woman job.

(*Zaten onların yapacağı işi ben yapamam, o kadın işi değil yani.*)

A: Not balon but perhaps a hotel work?

(*Balon değil de yani ne bileyim işte otel falan olabilir mi?*)

D3: No my husband would not allow me for those anyway.

(*Yok, onlara zaten eşim izin vermez.*)

A: Other women also told met hat their husbands not allow them to such works.. I wonder because I would like to know what kind of works do husband allow or not allow their wives?

(*Başkaları da çünkü otelde çalışmama eşim izin vermiyor diyor da çünkü onu merak ediyorum yani, hani ne tür işlere izin veriyor buradaki eşler? Şey için merak ediyorum, Avanos'ta erkekleri nelere izin vermiyor nelere izin veriyor?*)

D3: Well he would not allow met o work in a cleaning job.. all hotel works mean cleaning.

(*Yani öyle temizlik şu bu işlerine izin vermez, otelde de ancak temizlik işi olur.*)

A: You might work in reception

(*Ama siz resepsiyonda da olabilirsiniz.*)

D3: Reception is good idea but he would not allow met o work in a hotel.

(*Resepsiyon olabilir de otelde olmaz, bilmiyorum otele izin vermez zannetmiyorum.*)

A:... what else job could you do if we consider Avanos?

(*Başka ne tür işler yapabilirsiniz hani burada mesela Avanos'u değerlendirince?*)

D3: Not much work opportunities in Avanos, only one shopping center called Dilek, it could be Cappadocia, it could be in supermarkets, it could be Office works that men are not around.

(Avanos'ta aslında çok da iş imkanı yok, yani bir tane alışveriş merkezi var nerdeyse, bir Dilek Alışveriş Merkezi var, Kapadokya var işte, marketler olabilir yani masa başı işi yani öyle çok erkeklerin içinde bulunmayacak yani bir iş.)

The effort of segregating women does not show big difference according to the socio-economic position of women. In example D19, an ongoing student in gender and women's studies program, reported that she is not able to work in selecting of raw products for their food factory, although there should be no distinction between woman or man whilst food processing in their food factory.

D19: You buy some goods but some of them are not the same sample you saw earlier. You are only able to see few sacks but never know what contains the entire sacks. They made fuss and create a chaos. They are all uneducated men, buying goods are controlled by them even my father get mad about the situation even though he has been a trader for years.

(Mal alıyorsun, sana numune diye başka bir şey gösteriyor. Atıyorum, öndeki bir kaç çuvalda gene ondan var ama arkadaki çuvalların içinde nasıl bir mal olduğunu bilmiyorsun. Karıştırıyor, kavga çıkartıyor, bilmem yapıyor. Ya böyle çok böyle şey, eğitimsiz böyle cahil, pislik bir erkek kesimi vardır ya onların üstünden dönüyor çünkü o mal alma kısmı. Hani babamın bile zaman zaman çıldıracağı oluyor ki bunca yıllık ticaret tecrübesi var.)

A: I see ..men do such duty easier...

(Anladım yani, bir erkeğin daha rahat yapabileceği..)

D19: *They even swear to each other. The goodies might come even at midnight with his track. You wake up the workers bring them to work and drop back them. Namely, not men-women work- we should not say that but actually it is not a work everyone would do. I even do not have that potential for such job.*

(Eee birbirlerine küfür bile ediyorlar, yeri geldiğinde. Ne bileyim gecenin bir yarısı adam kamyonla mal getiriyor falan filan. İşçileri uyandırıp, işçileri getiriyorsun götürüyorsun. Yani kadın-erkek diye değil ama çok böyle, aslında evet kadın-erkek dememek lazım ama çok böyle herkesin yapacağı bir iş değil o. Ya ben kendimde o potansiyeli görmüyorum.)

6.2.4. Labor of all wagons: housework

The labor of 'housework' is a common burden carried in almost all wagons of labour train based on interviews. It is possible to count any kind of reproduction in the domestic sphere as housework. Men do not take any responsibility in doing

housework. It is mainly women's duty in the both generations to clean, to do washing, cooking etc. All those works are done for free by the women. M17 reported that 'they perform all those works in return of a full pool of well-done.

M17: working of course.. I worked very hard.. I worked more than anyone... I wish that I could work... but no..

(Çalışmak, tabii. Çalışmadık değil ki daha çok çalıştım ben. Ben daha çok çalıştım. Keşke çalışsaydım. Ama, hayır...)

A: you were not paid in return?

(Siz karşılığında ücret almamışsınız)

M17: yes yes my only wage is raising my kids.. and as a return to be appreciated as 'good daughter in law' we drank full pool of water for a welldone (laughs)

(Evet evet... Ücretim sadece çocuklarımı büyütmek, Avanos'an karşı da "Aman pek iyi gelin oldum" demek. Bir aferine bir haf su içtik mesela. (gülerler) (Bir havuz dolusu aferin))

Second generation women are exempted from the housework for two reasons. Either being a divorce or single residing with her family but work in the public sphere, or being a student. For instance, D13⁹³ stated that she did not cook until she left her parents house.

D13: My mum never give me a full responsibility of housework. Only small houseworks. She used to encourage me 'guest are coming' 'I am hoovering why not you clean the dust' or 'come on rinse the dishes' such small duties.. she used to advice me to do my lessons, homeworks... she raised me in that way... she always want met o have my responsibility tidy up my bed.. do my own ironning, hang your clothes only small personal responsibilities lets say....

⁹³ According to Shelton (1996), although many children do some household labor, their participation is typically occasional and their time investment small; their labor varies by family type, mothers' employment status, age and gender of the child (p.311). The study conducted in Avanos in a mid Anatolia town, based on the field, daughters of nuclear families did not get directly involved with domestic work but only occasionally.

.We conclude from D13 narratives that , eventhough her mother did not give her the full responsibility of the housework at least she taught her.This situation provides reproduction of gender divison of labour throughout the generations. Türkiye'de daha çok kız çocukları üzerinden ve kız çocuklarının ileride yapacağı evliliğe yönelik sağlanan "ev işi" bilgisinin aktarımını Spitz ve Ward (1995) şu şekilde açıklarlar.

First, housework is an experience that may prepare young adults for sharing households with peers (including spouses). Although much learning of household skills occurs before age 18, young adults who stay in the parental household may face more explicit demands for participation in the work they help generate. Those who come to view this as an expected part of adult life should find the transition from the parental household to other shared living smoother than those who become accustomed to parents "waiting on" them (p.355).

(Annem okurken hep şey, çok ağır işler hiçbir zaman vermedi hani ufak tefek işte "misafir gelecek kızım ben ev süpürüyom, hadi sen bi toz al" ya da "hadi bulaşığı bi durula" tarzında böyle ufak tefek ama onun dışında çok üstüme yük bindirmedi hiçbir zaman annem. "Sen oku, dersine çalış" falan gibi.. .. yani bizde şey annem hep beni de öyle yetiştirdi. Hani "sorumluluğunu bil" işte, "kalkınca yatağını topla, tamam yetişemediğin zaman ben toplarım ama sen toplamayı öğren", "kıyafetlerini kendin asmayı öğren". İşte ne bileyim "ufak tefek ütü yapmayı öğren" tarzında hep böyle küçük küçük...)

A: You know how to cook right?

(Yemek yapmayı biliyorsun ama değil mi?)

D13: I learned a bit of cooking during my student years. Because my mum never put me in charge of cooking 'you cook the diner today' or such..she only used to call me to observe how she cooks and told me you will go to university you need to learn cooking. Only when I was at high school once I requested to cook 'Mum may I cook the dinner, you give me the receipt' it was only for fun ..other than that never...

(Tabi ya onu birazcık daha ben öğrencilik hayatımdan öğrendim diyebilirim yemek yapmayı. Çünkü annem hiç evde öyle şeyler vermedi bana "bugün yemeği sen yap" gibi. Sadece "gel bak öğren, hani neyle ne koyuluyor ilerde üniversiteye gitçeksin, bilmen lazım" gibi. Lisedeiken öyle şeyler oldu onun dışında ben hiç yemek yaptım ya da yazları böyle zevkine "anne bugün ben yapayım, hadi yemeği işte sen tarif et" gibi hani heves uğruna olan şeyler oldu. Onun dışında hiç öyle.)

I came a conclusion that even though D13 did not get the largest share of the housework by her mother, her mother taught how to cook, how to iron etc. to her. According to Shelton (1996), although many children do some household labor, their participation is typically occasional and their time investment small; their labor varies by family type, mothers' employment status, age and gender of the child (p.311). Considering a Mid Anatolia town Avanos, the area of my field research, housework is generally done in the nuclear families and daughters are occasionally participation in housework. Housework is mostly done by the daughters in terms of preparation for their future marriage. The transfer of housework experience is clearly stated by Spitze and Ward (1995) as follows .

First, housework is an experience that may prepare young adults for sharing households with peers (including spouses). Although much learning of household skills occurs before age 18, young adults who stay in the parental household may face more explicit demands for participation in the work they help generate. Those who come to view this as an expected part of adult life should find the transition from the parental

household to other shared living smoother than those who become accustomed to parents "waiting on" them. (p.355)

Domestic labor is the most resistant within gender division of labour. During the transformation process, the only changing factor is having capitalist productions, these are electronic/technological devices that assist women in housework or preserving the food in the fridge etc. On the other hand, dissolution of subsidized economy enable people to buy ready made products. According to some of first generation narratives, women of first generation had the chance to enjoy such changes at their second or third wagons. Among the women specifically women of age of 60's are in a tendency in devaluating their reproductive labour by insisting that most of the works are done by machine.

M21: Our health got worse. Hoover is hoovering the house now. Dishwasher rinse the dishes. Houses are very clean bright and stainless ..ohh our old homes...

Sağlığımız bozuldu. Şimdi evi süpürge süpürüyor, bulaşığı makine yıkıyor, çamaşırını makine yıkıyor. Evler böyle tertemiz pırıl pırıl. Bizim o eski evlerimiz..

...

M18: Life is much easy/comfortable..namely, my mum struggled in domestic work in her life. Especially whilst raising kids, very tough,there were not dishwasher/washingmachine ease the life.

Ya hayat daha rahat şu anda. Yani annemin hayatında baya bi zorluklar olmuş. Özellikle çocuk büyütürken, çok zor; çamaşır makinesi, bulaşık makinesi gibi hayatı kolaylaştırıcı şeyler yokmuş. Yaşadığı ev, çok rahatsız kötü...

...

M5: We used to light up clay oven, there was no easy tea drinking...you will set the oven to fire, make a soup,cook a dish! We used to wash the washing with hand by the river, with clay we even do not had soap for washing.We used to do ourselves, not as these days get cucumber and eat from Avanos bazaar.Whatever we had in our hands we even did not have a fridge.We used to dry them for winter, our pickle, our couscous,almost all our winter food store.

Sabahın köründe, tandır yakardık, şimdiki gibi cıngır cıngır çay içmek yok kızım, tandır yakacan, çorba pişirecen, yemek yapacan... :Çamaşırını elimizde, çeşmede yıkardık, şey derik ne ona kil, kille.... Sabun falan nerde kızım....

Kendimiz yapardık, şimdiki gibi Avanos'un pazarına varıp ta salatalık mı alıp yiyorduk, yazdan kendimizin nesi varsa, evveli buz dolapları da yoktu, kendimiz kuruturduk, kış hazırlığımızı yapardık, turşumuzu mesela bulgurumuzu, yarmamızı, her şeyimizi kendimiz yapardık.

Another important point is having a housekeeper as an assistant in domestic work. While there are no differences among the generations about getting paid help of cleaning women, only wealthier women have a domestic helper. However, this situation does not create a cutting edge difference in terms of gendered division of labour in domestic realm. Yet, the organization of the domestic work done by the helper is organized and control by those women.

6.3. Flow of Days: Labour Written on Water

In Avanos a day of women forms by the works they get from social gender division of labour. At the center of daily routines care and housework lie. The inclination of the first generation women is to begin the day very early, mostly the same time with the prayer (namaz). Then a process goes on with preparing breakfast to the other members at home.

M8: When I get up in the morning, if I have a job, my lacework or so, when I get up, after my prayer, I take it to my hands, I turn on TV, I do my lacework, there is Kuran, I read Kuran, then I look I've done enough Kuran I take my job, I do it, when it's eight I put tea, I prepare tea here, then I call old man, he comes and we drink our tea.

(Benim sabahtan kalktım mıydı elimde işim varsa, dantelim neyim, kalktım mı namazı kıldım mıydı onu alırım elime televizyonu açarım, o elimdeki işimi yaparım, Kuran var Kuran okurum, ondan sonra baktım Kurandan yeterli yaptım kendimi işimi alırım onu korum saat sekiz dedi miydi çayı koyarım, ondan sonra çayı hazırlarım şuraya, çay hazır diye çağırırım adama kalkar gelir çayımızı içerik.)

....

A: how do you spend a day?

(Sizin bir gününüz nasıl geçiyor?)

M9: Thanks goodness I have learned my Kuran, my prayer after being retired, thanks goodness my faith is endless but sometimes it offends people... I perform my prayer, I prepare breakfast with my goodman, we eat, drink.

(Valla ben çok şükür işte namazımı Kuranımı öğrendim emekli olduktan sonra, çok şükür inancım sonsuz rabbime ama insan bazen de zoruna gidiyor... Namazımı kılarım, kahvaltımı beyimle hazırlarım yeriz içeriz)...

M16: Hmm, for example tomorrow when I will get up, I perform my ablution, perform my prayer thank goodness. After that when it's eight I put tea, breakfast tea. My husband wakes up, performs his prayer. He lies down but I don't. Because he takes pills, he wonders if he will be fall asleep or not, so he does his job with me. I prepare breakfast. We make breakfast together. He takes his pills at nine.

(Haa şimdi ben mesela yarın sabahleyin kalktım mıydı kuzum, abdestimi alırım, namazımı kılarım çok şükür. Ondan sonra saat 8 oldu mıydu çayımı koyarım, kahvaltı çayımı. Eşim de kalkar, namazını kılar. O yatar, ben yatmam. Çünkü o hap alıyor, ben ona uyur kalır mıyım diye benle işini görür. Kahvaltımı hazırlarım. Beraber kahvaltı yaparık. 9'da hapını alır)

In the second generation day starts with preparing spouse and/or children to work/school. Preparing breakfast, sending kids to school are all responsibilities of women.

D2: I tell you one of my good days. For example I wake up at half past seven in the morning, I prepare breakfast to my husband, he goes at nine, at nine if I lie down, I lie down, if I don't I get up, feed my child, do the housework, if I want to go to my sister-in-law I go, if I don't I stay at home and watch TV..

(İyi bir günü mü ben size anlatayım mesela, sabah yedi buçukta kalkıyorum eşime kahvaltı hazırlıyorum, dokuzda gidiyor o, dokuz gibi ben yatarsam yatıyorum yatmazsam işte kalkıyorum çocuğumun karnını doyuruyorum, ev işi yapıyorum, eğer yani ya görünceme falan gitmek istersem oraya gidiyorum gitmek istemezsem evde oturup televizyon izliyorum.)

...

D5: When I wake up in the morning, yes, I send children to school or work and my husband to work, after I send them...

(Sabah kalkınca evet, çocukları işte işe giden işe okula giden okula gönderirim, beyimi işe gönderirim, onları gönderdikten sonra...)

Even if the woman works outside home, there is no change of morning routine.

D12: I wake up at 6:45 or 7 in the morning, I prepare breakfast immediately, meantime I awake up the twins, I put their clothes on them about 10-15 minutes, they already don't make breakfast much, meanwhile I awake up my elder daughter, we put on our clothes as the breakfast is ready, I take twins with me and leave the house at 7.30.

(Sabah 7 ya da 6.45 gibi kalkıyorum, hemen kahvaltı hazırlıyorum o arada ikizleri kaldırıyorum, 10-15 dakika onları giydiriyorum, onlar zaten çok kahvaltı yapmıyorlar, o arada büyük kızımı kaldırıyorum, giyiniyoruz kahvaltı hazır bir şekilde, ikizleri alıyorum 7.30 da yola çıkıyorum.)

Both in two generations if the women don't work outside home, women go on the day with tidying house, cleaning, laundry and washing dishes after breakfast. These routine houseworks, which are usual nowadays, were expressed by the first generation women as more intensively experienced because there were not convenience foods, ready clothes, washing machine or dish washer. For this

reason first generation women in early phases of their life cycle have prepared the day with a routine only starting from night and they finish their work until carpet weaving.

M4: In Alaaddin Street, in Upper Street, there were stoves (ovens) in these houses, mostly tandır (floor furnace), women would get up from night, knead dough, wake up in the morning, bake bread, after that if there are child diaper or not, they would heat the water, do the laundry so that they would bake bread and put their foods in jugs in ovens, stoves before carpet weaving work in the morning.

(Alaaddin Mahallesinde, Yukarı Mahallede, o evlerde hep fırın vardı, daha çok tandır vardı, o tandırlardı hanımlar geceden kalkacak, hamurunu yoğuracak, sabah kalkacak o tandırda ekmeğini pişirecek, ekmeğini pişirdikten sonra da üstünde artık çocuğunun bezi mi var, o suları ısıtacak çamaşır yıkayacak ki sabah halı dokuma zamanına kadar, ekmeğini pişirecek, çömleklerine de yemeğini koyacak fırına, tandıra.)

With being from higher socio-economic position⁹⁴ women exempt themselves from cleaning, washing and ironing and hire/share such duties with a cleaner for such domestic works. However, preparing the dinner/lunch is under the responsibility of the host women regardless her socio-economic position. This indifference situation is common for both generations, with perception that cooking is more valuable and categorically different from cleaning which is among reproduction labour.⁹⁵ Therefore, cooking and feeding the other family members are women's most important patriarchal bargain.

Some of women of first generation mentioned that they passed such daily routines (cleaning and cooking) to their daughters or daughters in law who resides with them.

M12: Thanks god! Thanks to God! I have a place to sleep, a bread to eat, my daughter in law serves me as well. I also look after my grandchild I

⁹⁴ (Kandiyoti 1997, p.81) Interrelation of women have the tendency of exploitation. Regardless whether they work in public sphere or not, middle-upper class women have the power to keep cleaner, nanny or domestic laborers.

⁹⁵ Bora (2008) mentioned that it is not a coincidence that women are cooking for their families. She describes as house and homework division whilst they leave cleaning- physical out of date work to cleaner, cooking, organizing and decoration which is reflection of family history is under responsibility of the women. Technical details (ovencleaning-detergent choosing) is responsibility of women. Since, that separation is very clear, cleaner and the women might challenge each other hierarchically.

have that power, in return she cooks, takes care of the house, my spouse also come in go out!

(E şimdi yine Allaha çok şükür kızım, hamdolsun yavrum, yatacak yerim var, yiyecek ekmeğim var, evimde gelin az çok hizmetimi görüyor, ben kendim elim ayağımdan kalmadım kızım, gücümün yeteceğini görürüm, çocuğa da bakarım, o da yemeğimizi yapıyor evimizi görüyor, eşim de geliyor gidiyor işte.)

Again as main difference from the second generation, first generation take responsibility of looking after the grandchildren. An important point, as it has been mentioned previously, women started to look after their daughters children as much as they look after their sons children.

M18:Now, right now I look after my grandchild. A daughter of mine, in Avanos, I look after that 5 year old boy for 2 years.

(Bu an, şimdi toruna bakıyorum işte. Bu kızımın birisi, Avanos'ta. Ona bakıyorum, o beş yaşındaki oğlana iki sene baktım.)

Days are divided into two parts according to the women for both generation. Mornings are allocated for preparation of the family members, and cleaning and afternoons are allocated for 'going out'. Another reason not having morning visits are having the men around in the house and to be the time when women are tidying up their houses. Unworking retired men prefer to go and sit in coffeehouses or in hunting clubs and other association public spheres where they could easily gather with their peers. The only exceptions is M11 who also welcomes guest for coffee in the morning, as her husband passed away.

Women does 'going out' action in two ways; first one is spontaneous house visits⁹⁶, the other is organized and planned 'gün' activities . This 'gün' is mostly gatherings done with relatives or neighbors. Such gatherings are also tools for women to have some savings. Each woman who attend 'gün' on regular basis, either pay cash or change the money to gold. The refreshments which will be

⁹⁶Kıray likens such unstructured visits with women lower class position and resembles it to coffee house culture of men "For women, the most striking leisure activities are endless visits to other women. In the lower income groups, women visit without ceremony. To "drop in", "to come for morning coffee", "to come and sit in the evenings" all cover the same thing. In fact, the home visits of the women correspond to the coffeehouse attendance of the men and both play a role in perpetuating sex segregation. Such visits basically take place in immediate neighborhoods". (1981, p.268)

served during ‘gün’ is also discussed and decided by women beforehand (such as two types of salty cookies, starter with olive oil and desert). Generally women discuss on daily routines, exchange cakes and meal recipes, and exchange information on their neighborhood. Such activity, allow women to socialize as well as being a social control tool.⁹⁷

Another ‘going out’ activity is attending to ‘sohbet’ which is a religious meeting. Interviewees mentioned that they have been attending to ‘okuma’ (reading days) for almost 10 years and onwards. Such activity is also seen among the second generation, however, it is an activity which is organized and attended when the neighbors are gathering. In reading days, women gather every 15 days, they read Yasin and Quran.⁹⁸ A group of women stated that they attend to special days, sohbet organized by special groups. In field research and interviews, women informed that they did not attend such gatherings until 2004-2005. There is a close affiliation between this situation and AKP (Justice and Development Party-governing party) that describe itself as conservative both in local and national elections. Besides, AKP has an impact on most of religious sects/tarikats. M13 left such ‘sohbet’ as she thinks they were politized.

M13:I used to go to sohbet, but no longer anymore. Because it has been moved to something else, when I used to go there were proper taiks meetings, but swop to political issues, this is why I do not prefer to go anymore.

(Sohbetlere eskiden gidiyordum şimdi gitmiyorum, gitmek de istemiyorum çünkü çok farklı şeylere çekilmeye başlandı son zamanlarda, benim

⁹⁷Benedict (1974) in his work about Gün’s called this event as reception. According to him, this structured visiting’s origins can be traced back into the Ottoman period “at which time it was seemingly reserved to women of high social standing in urban centers who used the reception as a means of organizing their access to one another in an environment of limited opportunities for exposure in public places. Today it occurs not only in large urban centers but in provincial towns all across Turkey... Despite varying local expressions of the reception, continuity of its basic form is assured by a cadre of non-locals who frequently change place of residence. Through the transfer of their husbands from one community to another as professional civil servants, these women function as bearers of this form of social gathering”. (p.28) Abadan Unat (1981) states along with Benedict, Kıray (1964) and Mansur (1972) this “female leisure, which is almost non-existent in rural areas, has resulted in larger social networks-which have been facilitated by the institution of “kabal Gün”, reception day.” P.23

⁹⁸ I had the chance to observe a Quran reading day, women were reading Quran in returns, they were warned whenever they read it wrong. Tea, and cookies cakes are served after Quran readings. Just before leaving the gathering, women exchanged some pocket books consist of some prayers from Quran. They are planning to read those pocket books until next gatherings.

gittiğim zamanlarda doğru dürüst bir şekilde sohbetler yapılıyordu ama arkası siyasete çevriliyor, farklı şeylere getiriliyor, o yüzden onları şey yapmıyorum.)

Second generation mostly prefer ‘gün with gold’ with participation of relatives and neighbors. They mentioned that they organized such event also with colleagues and high school friends as different from first generation. Such situation shows that women of second generation especially those who are graduate of middle/ highschool or work in public realm, organize such routines in order to gather with friends from public sphere in the private sphere as well. Both generations who come together with women they met in public sphere generally discuss their children’s education, Turkey’s political situation or Avanos, instead of make gossip just they usually do in their ‘gün’s with their relatives and neighbors. Such situation allows women to gather with their peers who are not their family members or neighbors. They have a space to discuss political or other issues besides their private domain matters with people from high/middle school.

M19: Namely, general... We talk about our children, about the education of the kids, from our childhood our young days. namely it is a general chat..

(Çocuklarımızdan konuşuruz, çocukların eğitiminden konuşuruz; Avanos'un yaşantısından, çocukluğumuzdan gençliğimizden... Yani genel.)

...

D17: they are all my high school friends.. actually you did not come to our ‘gün’ those women are all my friends and I feel very comfortable among them, no one judge you there... no gossip...

(Hepsi lise arkadaşlarım, Gerçi gelmediniz siz bizim günümüze ama oradakiler hep mesela çok rahat hissettiğim ortamlardan bir tanesidir o arkadaşlarımla, neden kimse kimseyi yargılamaz, Asla kimsenin dedikodusu yapılmaz ortamda)

...

D21: I was at school-parents association and worked there for 3 years. Now we meet with those friends as ‘gün’ ...but never make gossip.. children education, turkey’s issues, you name it problem of Avanos... I really enjoy such chats...even if we could not do that much we still love Turkey..we are all upset to Turkey’s recent situation. That environment really make me feel happy.

(okul aile birliğine girdim bir 3 yıl çalıştım. Ve ordaki arkadaşlarla birlikte gün gibi toplanıyoruz ama hiçbir zaman dedikodumuz yoktu. Böyle çocukların eğitimi, işte Türkiye sorunu, ne bileyim Avanos'la ilgili sorunlar... O beni.. o benim çok hoşuma gidiyor. Öyle şeyler. Çok bir şey yapmasak da en azından Türkiye'yi seviyoruz, Türkiye'nin şimdiki

durumuna üzülüyoruz bilmem napıyoruz. Yani böyle bir şeyler. O ortam beni çok mutlu ediyor.)

Three out of all those women reported that they do not read books on the daily basis, including first generation. M18 from first generation prefers religious books, M3 told that she could not find spare time because of the kids and housework but used to read romantic novels. Fresh graduate and single M20 said that she loves reading adventure books. This situation shows that reading a book as a self-activity does not have valuable place in Avanos women's lives. Relating not reading books to lack of spare time due to heavy domestic labour will be an incomplete evaluation since they could attend organized 'Quran reading' activity which requires commitment on period basis.

Women from both generations did not mention about their weekends while they tell about their daily routines in week. During the weekend, especially second generations husbands are free and stay at home therefore, second generation do not organize 'gün' on the weekends. Based on field observation, families that have gardens in Avanos host guests if the weather is suitable. Mostly, second generation walk by the river, or sit on the coffeshops/ restaurants around the river. Only D12 mentioned about her history which is slightly different than other stories.

D12: My husband is very considerate, every weekend he would definitely takes us somewhere even to a close place in Avanos. If the weather is well he comes and collects us on Sundays, we take a tour inside Avanos, and eat a sandwich or icecream. We stop the car by the bridge he has a beer and we drink juice, tea or have a lunch. We might have not done it only 4 times in my 14 years marriage. We are not doing it these days due to the weather, we only go for walking I went to hold his hand I tell him no one sees us please hold my hand, we prefer isolated areas for holding hand. I convince him we wear hoodies so no one can recognize us, just like that.

(Hafta sonları sağ olsun eşim hiçbir şey yapmasak yani hiçbir yere gitmesek bile mutlaka ve mutlaka belki 14 yıllık evliliğimde 4 kere olmuştur bu, mutlaka Pazar günü saat 4-5 gibi hava da güzelse gelir bizi alır, çocukları alır hiçbir şey yapmazsak bir Avanos'un içinde tur atarız, bir ekmek arası yaptırırız veya birer dondurma yeriz veya hiçbir şey yemezsek arabayı şu köprüünün oraya çekeriz işte eşim orada ya bira içer ya biz meyve suyu içeriz, çay içeriz yemek yeriz, bir saat de olsa mutlaka bunu yaparız, yani belki 3-4 kere yapmamışızdır 14 yıllık evliliğimde,

mutlaka bunu yaparız. Akşamları da eşimle, şimdi yapmıyoruz ama yani bir aydır falan yapmıyoruz havalar düzelsin diye bekledik, yürüyüş yapıyoruz, hatta ben diyorum ki karanlık kimse görmüyor elimi tutabilirsin, böyle ıssız yerleri tercih ediyoruz el ele gezmek için, böyle buradan geçiyoruz bakın şöyle geçiyoruz şu ara yoldan iniyoruz böyle orada kimse yok, bizi de tanımıyorlar kapüşonlarla falan, işte böyle.)

Only one participant told that she is interested in politics on regular daily basis. M13 is Chair of Women Branch of a political party and told that she spends her day on local election campaign in Avanos. As a researcher, I was also often invited by M13 to dinners and family gatherings and observed that M13 does not neglect to perform housework duties. Political activities of M13 did not lead her to be free of/exempted from gendered division of domestic work.

In general, when we have a glance to daily routines of both generations according to nature of gender division of labour, there have not been any significant differences apart from technological renovation. Daughters chase their mothers' tracks. As for mothers, they still volunteer in childcare and undertake responsibility of grandchildren including daughters children even when they are exempted from childcare. Although, it is rare, it has been seen that some women of first generation reside with their daughters in law. Their daughters in law are responsible of the first generation women as well. In case of existing of unmarried/single daughters, those daughters ease the burden of work of mothers. Existing of household utensils did not change the nature of gendered division of labour (both for men and women) in domestic realm, it only eases the domestic labour burden of women in both generations.

6.4. Aspirations of women

At the end of the interviews, women were asked what would they love to change whatever they touch in their lives since past till now with a magic stick? The reason of such question is to understand their perception of 'empowerment' through evaluating their entire lives and in order to have the 'ability to make a change' in their lives.. The magic stick in general touch, the father, husband, economy and education and employment.

Only two women from the first generation M15 and M2 preferred a total change of their lives among all those interviewees. Those women reported that they had been living for others and they wanted to change their lives completely.

M2: Everything, I do not have anything in this life because. I also fail to live such a life.

(Her şeyi.. Bu hayatımda hiçbir şey yok çünkü şey yapacağım. Biraz da ben beceremedim hayat yaşamayı...)

A: No.. you also got married at almost child age.

(Yok canım, sen de çocuk yaşta evlenmişsin.)

M2: No, no really..it was not a child age.. I failed.. I stil can not manage..not only myself but something else..a child..you know my family and children.. I never had a life of mine.. not for myself...I am stil like that...

(Hayır hayır gerçekten de... Çocuk yaş değildi ben beceremedim yani hala beceremiyorum. Hep kendim değil, başka.. evlat.. işte ailemi ve çocuklarımı. Benim için yaşam yoktu. Benim için yoktu. Hala da öyleyim.)

Women, who told that they are completely happy with their current lives and not in desire of changing anything at all are those who are in the second generation.

D5: Well we usually sit and chat with friends and I really love my present life. I am happy.

(Valla biz hep böyle arkadaşlarla da konuşuruz oturup ederkene, ben bu hayatımı seviyorum, mutlu oluyorum...)

D7: .Ohh it did not come to my mind...(she thinks) well actually I am happy with my life... namely it did not come to my mind.

(Ay... şimdi hiç aklıma gelmiyor (düşünüyor biraz), aslında ben memnunum hayatımdan çünkü yani şu an aklıma gelmedi de.)

...

D18: But it is a question needs to think about... I actually never changed such things.. I do not know... I am happy with my life.. I love my job.

(Ama çok düşünmek gereken bir soru aslında, yani hiç de böyle bir şey düşünmemiştim ama eğer... Bilmiyorum ki yani. Şu andaki hayatımdan memnunum, mesleğimi de seviyorum ama...)

D20: Hmm let me think... I am happy with my life with all aspects thanks god I have no problem.

(Hmm düşünüyüm de... Hani her halükarda memnunum hayatımdan hani çok şükür bir sıkıntım yok.)

Nine women of first generation touched their husbands with the magic stick. Seven of them asked for a completely different husband from their own ones (M1, M2, M3, M6, M8, M12, M22) the rest of two (M7, M14) asked their current

husband's character to change. The intensity of to have request on change of husband in the first generation could be interpreted with their enrollment arranged marriages which obstructs their ability to make a strategic life choice on marriage in their earlier ages.

M1: Definitely, if I was more mature, what would I like to do do you know? My step mother wanted to get rid of me at the age of 13 – I wish that I were married to a religious husband- mother-father in law with honour and dignity this is what I really would wish for.

(Kesinlikle, ama aklım erseydi öyle bir şey olsaydı ne isterdim ben biliyor musun, analığım beni mademki başımdan gitsin diye on üç yaşında uşaktım, abdestinden namazında, arlı namuslu bana hem ana olacak hem baba olacak hem kaynata hem koca olacak hem dört dörtlük olacak bir herif isterdim, bunu isterdim başta, mutluluk isterdim.)

...

M5: If I were to born again I would wish to marry a man that I was in love married a man that I do not love.

(aha şu durumda yeni dünyaya gelmiş olsaydım bir de sevdiğim kocaya varırdım... ben sevmediğim kocaya vardım.)

...

M6: I wish that I would have chosen my husband without intervention of my parents.. even if they refer to someone and commend him I would have loved to go out with him for a while and learn about his habits and personality just like the youngsters now... young women date the men and if she likes his habits she gets married with him..I became a bride without even dinning with my parents..my father was a hardman.he used to have two guns...we had sheep and goats and brides .. our herds never got lost or stolen because people used to afraid of my father Abdullah! I spent my life in the mountain after the herds ...mum and dad are like deaf they just present you to a man and your entire life will be with him... he is okay but I dont like some of his attitudes but you could never tell those ...

(Hayatımda eşini kendin beğenip kendin almasını değiştirdim, kendin beğenip kendin alacağdın, anayın babayın verdiğini alma, yani anan baban derse ki kızım şu adam çok iyi essah ama bir bak eline ayağına huyuna yani şimdiki şeyi çok beğeniyom, altı ay bir sene neyse geziyorlar o adamın nasıl bir insan olduğunu anlıyor öyle evleniyor, biz babamızın yanında yemek yemeden gelin geldik, bir de babam çok arsızdı iki tane tabanca taşırdı, bir koltuğunda bir belinde, bir de evimizde mavzerimiz vardı, hep ömrü dağda geçerdi, yaylada koyunlarımız kuzularımız kızlarımız gelinlerimiz o baba da tabi silahlı olur, herkesin koyununu kuzusunu çalarlardı bizimkini çalmazlardı Abdullah vurur bizi diye korkarlardı, hep ömrümüz dağda geçerdi yani hayatın kendin beğenip kendin almasını değiştirdim, bunu ana baba seni sağar buna veriyor iyiyse de kötüyse de ölene kadar kaderinin şuraya koyuyor, o adamı çekiyon, ben adamdan memnunum ama çok huyundan memnun değilim, kimi denir kimi denmez.)

M8: I would have changed all of those anyway...I would like to marry a rich man.. I would have wished for it but I do not want anything for myself now.

(Zaten o zaman hepsinin deęiřtirirdim, zengin herif isterdim, güzel herif isterdim, o zaman da onları isterdik, řimdi ben kendim için hiçbir řey istemiyorum.)

During the interviews, women also touched the magic stick for having education/ and a job. (M6, M10, M13, M14, M17, M19, M18, M23, D7, D12, D16, D17, D23). Women of first generation stated that they wished to be teachers and civil servants in general. The basic emphasis is to be sufficient and not indeed of anyone.

The magic stick also touched to the fathers. M20, M23 of first generation, grew without their fathers and they wished to have their fathers beside them while they were growing. D10 from second generation wished to touch the magic stick to her father's economic situation so that firstly her mother could have been happy among with her entire family.

D10: wish that I could ease the problems of my father.. I still want it... I am happy that I did not study because I have a job..I never regret I have a job...I have income I have kids and I am happy with the husband.. Thanks god... but mostly I am not happy that my father has problems therefore my mother... they have financial problems I would have tons of money to my father if I would have a magic stick... we would be all very happy...

(Ben babamın sıkıntılarını alıp babama huzur vermek isterdim, řu anda bile tek istedięim o, yani kendim için okumadıđıma memnunum çünkü bir mesleęim var, piřman olmadım bir meslek edindim, gelirim var, eřimle mutluyum çocuęum var, Allaha bin řükür bir sıkıntım yok ... ama en çok babamın sıkıntıları yani babamın sıkıntısından dolayı tabi doęal olarak annem sıkıntılanıyor iřte maddiyat çok kötü, babama böyle tonlarca para verirdim herhalde sihirli bir deęneęim olsaydı ...sihirli deęneęim olsaydı babamın üzerine dokundursaydım yani hepimiz mutlu olurduk.)

Another interesting case belong to mother –daughter couple M19-D19 , they both wished to touch their fathers economic situation. While M19 wished that her father's economic situation is well enough to continue to her university education. On the other hand, her daughter D19, who is graduated from Bilkent and continue to her master in METU wished that her father was a civil servant rather than a businessman.

M19: If I had a magic stick in my young womanhood I wish that I could touch the stick to money. I see all the obstacle in money. Financial problem was the reason to drop my school. If my father was well off I would definitely finish my university education.

(Valla genç kızlığımda olsaydı maddiyata dokunurdum. Ben bütün engeli maddiyattan gördüm. Üniversiteyi okuyamamamın ana sebeplerinden bir tanesi gelir düzeyimizin iyi olmayışındandı. Kesinlikle hiç başka bir engel yoktu önümde. Babamın durumu iyi olsaydı, iyi bir gelirimiz olsaydı ben kesinlikle üniversite okurdum.)

D19: I wish that my father was a civil servant..But I really wish that my family is not well off in such small place..

(.... keşke babam sıradan bir memur olsaydı. Ama küçük bir yerde maddi durumu iyi bir ailenin kızı olmayı gerçekten istemezdim.)

Being healthy is another wish of interviewees (M7, M21). The other wishes of women are as follows; having pension/social security insurance and to make their son-inlaw to pray (M16); get a curly hair (M11); seeing America (D11); driving car and learning a foreign language (M17), living outside of Avanos(M13, D11, M19, D19) .

Responses of women show that most of women are aware of structural inequalities by wishing to get further education, or participating wage labor. More than half of those women wished to become a teacher, and civil servant.

On the other hand there are women those who think that their current situation would have been much better if they have different fathers/husbands. Most of those women had their dreams with the assumption of being married. Interviewees never mentioned a life of not being married at all or a life by her own. For all those women marriage is a natural stop within their life cycles. Within this context, having a loyal husband, a proper employment, a house belonging to her, own, living in another city means empowerment within the marriage according to their dreams. D19, as being a master student in gender and women's studies department also mentioned about similar dream.

D19: Namely, I wish that I could be a lecturer at a university.. have an average marriage, I do not have a dream of being a rich person... I only want to have a car and a house... only a stable life ...this is what I dream about...

(...yani benim iyi bir üniversitede, yani böyle bir öğretim görevlisi olsam, düzenli bir evliliğim olsa. Benim öyle çok zengin olmak gibi bir hayalim zaten yok hani, kendime ait bir evim, arabam. Ne bileyim işte, öyle düzenli bir hayalim olması yeterli. Hakikaten büyük hayallerim yok benim.)

6.4.1. Dreams about daughters

There are no significant differences for both generation regarding the magic stick question. During the interview I asked first generation ‘what kind of life would like your daughter to have? And for the second generation I asked ‘what kind of life would you wish to your daughter if you had one? First generation in general wished for their daughters to have ‘a good husband’ and a “good marriage” (M7, M8, M13, M14, M16, M20, M22). M7’s wish for her divorced daughter to remarriage is a such powerful example for this emphasis.

M7: But I want my daughter to get married, but I can not tell her.. because I was a matchmaker for someone but I do not want to be again...
(Ama ben kızımın evlenmesini düşünüyorum ama diyemiyorum çünkü birine sebep oldum bir daha olmayayım diye.)

Wishing a ‘good husband’ means not allow them to need anyone M8 ; give value to the wife (M13); wish them not to suffer as they had suffer. Only M19 wish slightly different wishes to her daughter comparing same generation mothers. M19 firstly wish that her daughter first to have financially independent and comfortable life, later on wish for her happy marriage.

M19: Yes definitely, as it was at our childhood.. I do not want S... to have any financial problems..for me, as a priority money is very important... really... secondly I want her to be happy.. namely she could live however she would be happy...but beside all those things I want her to be besides us... I do not want her to be far away from us...
(Kesinlikle, evet. Genç kızlığında, çocukluğumuzda özellikle, ki herkes gibi. Onun için S.'nin sıkıntı çek... maddi sıkıntı çekmesini istemiyorum. Başta, birinci derecede. Benim için çok önemli maddiyat, gerçekten de. İkinci derecede, mutlu olmasını istiyorum. yani nasıl mutlu olacaksa öyle yaşamasını istiyorum. Ama bunun yanında biraz da yanımızda olmasını istiyorum. Çok uzak olmasını istemiyorum, evet.)

On the contrary D19 responds the her mother M19 dreams as follows

D19: If I have a daughter I will not raise her like this... namely I want her to live a life that she wants to live... first of all I am not going to raise her like a girl.. I will not raise her like myself... I do not want her to feel ‘ We

looked after you, you have to look after us' let her to be free! I do not want her to think that ' Oh I have parents I left them alone'
(... kızım olursa ben kızımı böyle yetiştirmicem. Yani yaşamak istediği her şeyi yaşasın. Bir kere hani kız çocuğu gibi yetiştirmicem. O yüzden de... Hani kendim gibi yetiştirmicem, bir kere şey hissetmesin: "Biz sana baktık, büyüttük. Şimdi de sen bizimle ilgilenmek zorundasın" gibi hissetmesin kendini. Özgür olsun. Hiç böyle bizi şey hissetmesin: "Eyyvah, annem babam var, onları yalnız bıraktım" gibi hissetmeden, özgürce yapmak istediği her şeyi yapabiliyor olsun benim kız.)

Another difference between the two generations is the attitude towards the marriage of their daughters. When I asked their plans about their daughters, the first generation focus was generally that their daughters to marry at later age and have an ideal marriages, while the answers varies and show changes for the second generation. Majority of those women wish that their daughters have a good education and stand on their own feet in the life.

A:What is your dream for the girls? What would like them to do?

(*Ne hayal ediyorsunuz kızların geleceği için, ne yaparlar?*)

D12:First of all, I want them to study I really want it desperately. I star to nag on C... and tell him 'you see' if I have had gone to school...I f I have had been working do you ever think your father would have behaved me in same like now?if I have had been working we would stay longer than 2 days in the holidays perhaps we were gonna stay at least 1 week. I keep telling and influence him...I think it works...

(*Bir kere mutlaka okusunlar istiyorum, çok istiyorum hem de. En ufak bir şeyde hemen C..'nin üstüne atlıyorum ... bak görüyor musun ben okul okumuş olsaydım... ben çalışıyor olsaydım babam böyle davranabilir miydi, görüyor musun böyle iki gün kalır mıydık tatilde, ben çalışıyor olsaydım belki bir hafta kalırdık, yani bunları mutlaka onu etkilemeye çalışıyorum hatta ezici bir baskı bile uyguluyorum, işe yaradığını düşünüyorum...*)

...

D14:Sincerely, I would like her to study and be very good at her studies

(*Valla bunun çok iyi olmasını, okumasını istiyorum ben...*)

...

D15:Seriously I wish her to be either nurse or a teacher..I want her to be in a position in the government as a civil servant

(*Ciddi diyorum ya hemşire ya öğretmen. Öyle bir şey olsun istiyorum kızımı, devletle...*)

....

D17:I want them to be more comfortable, and live as they wish to live..for instance, I wish the eldest daughter to be a dentist

(*Biraz daha rahat olsunlar istiyorum, istedikleri gibi yaşasınlar istiyorum.... mesela büyük kızım illa ki diş hekimi olsun istiyorum.*)

There are some mothers of second generation who would put their daughters' happiness above social expectations. For instance, D4 and D15 mention that they will not have any objection if their daughters cohabit without a civil registration.

A: What kind of life do you imagine for your daughter? Kızım için nasıl bir hayat hayal ediyorsun?

D4: Hmm..what kind of life do I wish for my daughter? First of all, I do not want her to get married, I want her to cohabit with someone, but it is too late, marriage is something that I do not prove for my daughter!first she will study and stand on her own feet, she should cohabit at the beginning and later sign for a marrigae, actually I even do not want her to sign!whatever the society says, my daughter comes first for me! Her hapiness is first.

Kızım için nasıl bir hayat hayal ediyorum, bir kere evlilik olmasını istemiyorum, beraber yaşasın, ama çok geç yani, ama evlilik kesinlikle onaylamadığım bir şeydir kızım için, ilk önce okuyacak kendi ayaklarının üzerinde duracak. Beraber yaşasın, ama imzayı en son atsın, hemen imza atsın istemiyorum, çok da önemli değil imza benim için, hani toplum ne derse desin benim hiç umurumda değil, tabi ilk önce onun mutluluğu önemli.

...

A:What about marriage?

(Evlilik peki?)

D15:I will not intervene with her marriage! Because how the new period going to be? ‘mum let him to greet you he is you son-in-law!’ I will never intervene to her..in fact I have no right for that..she will marry with whoever she wishes...

You never know! She might never get married, she might live together, you never know how things will be after 20 years...think Turkey...even Avanos how was it 15 years ago and how is it now? I could not even think about 15 years later of this period!

Evliliğine karışmayacam. Çünkü o zamanki devir nasıl olacak: "Anne öpsün (bu elini, senin damadın" deyip getirecek yani. Ona karışamıcam. E karışmaya da hakkım yok. Kimi istiyorsa onu alacak tabii ki.

Ya belki de o zaman hiç evlenmeyecek, dost hayatı olacak, hiç bilemezsin ki. Bizimki gibi artık, 20 yıl sonra ne olacağını bilemezsin. Düşünsene Türkiye on... Bizim Avanos on beş sene önce nasıldı, şimdi nasıl? Şimdi ben yirmi yıl sonrasını hiç aklıma getiremiyorum yani nasıl bir devir...)

A: How would you react if she would have such life for instance if she lives a life like that?

(O zaman peki nasıl davranırsın, mesela işte öyle bir hayatı olsa?)

D15:Well, if she would have her own job, on work I could not say anything, that is her life!

(Ya kendi... eğer kendi işi gücü olursa ben ona karışamam. İstiyorsa, kendi hayatı.)

The tendency of the second generation towards their daughters future is ‘to have an education’, therefore, to have a job, and have a ‘comfortable’ life (D12, D14, D15, D16, D18, D22). Different from first generation second generation does not consider marriage as a priority for their daughters. For women of second generation, it is not a ‘must’ for their daughters. Women of second generation put in order some wishes that (D14), late marriage (D16, D22), or cohabitation (D4, D15) are not exist in the first generation.

6.5. Summary

In this chapter, the aim was analyzing the changes and contunities in productive and reproductive labor patterns of women living in Avanos. Women are engaged with various productive and reproductive labour types from the very beginning of their childhood. It came out that the first generation had worked at physically harder tasks such as carpet weaving, working as unpaid family labor in vineyards or orchards. This type of labor has almost disappeared in the second generation. Again compared to the first generation, extended family labour and elderly care tend to diminish among the second generation.

Additionally, different from the first generation, women of the second generation are working mostly outside their home as wage earners. This can be explained by transformation of the PCP based extended households, which are the smallest producer units, to nuclear households as the smallest consumer units. The field study impressively showed that with the change in mode of production there occurred specific differences in labor categories in which women engaged and especially a rise in wage employment among second generation of women observed. Although all these changes lead empowerment of women by acquiring the ability to make strategic life choices, both in two generations there is not a drastic change in terms of the nature of gender division of labour.

Housework and child care are the most core and constant reproductive labour for both generation’s women which they engaged for all their lives. When the second generation’s women can not undertake these reproductive labors because of

working outside home as waged labour, this problem is solved by –again- women or cooperation between generations. This situation cause the first generation's women set up new patriarchal bargains upon grandchild care labour to secure them in their old ages. Men do not seem to be willing about undertaking or sharing the reproductive tasks at home. Without equalizing gender division of labour at home and making it visible, it is not possible to mention about the liberation of women.

Regarding to the aspirations, second generation women's wishes and dreams for their daughters is transferred from 'having an appropriate husband' and a 'happy marriage' towards being empowered by education and employment. Although, it has been emerged from the results that both generation do not question the marriage institution or gendered division of labour, their dream for their daughters appear to be towards acquiring the ability of making strategic life choices within the marriage by getting enough education or participating in labour force in public sphere.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSION

This research has become much more than a Ph.D. thesis; it has been an imaginative journey of self-discovery of my Central Anatolian roots. I was inspired by my grandmother's touching story, which I took as my starting point. My grandmother was a rural central Anatolian woman who died prematurely while trying to secretly terminate the pregnancy of her sixth child. During her short life, her productive and reproductive labor was exploited. She worked as an unpaid family worker in the vineyard of her husband's family and weaved carpets. She gave birth to and raised five children. She was subject to the control of the male members and her mother-in-law in the extended household where she lived. On the other hand, I her granddaughter, was born in an urban area and never worked in vineyards. My only relationship with agriculture was playing in the hobby garden in front of our house during my childhood. I got an education above average of most of my female peers. I am working at a university as an academician. Nobody from my family forced me to marry and bear children. Moreover, when I decided to marry, I selected my future husband myself and married quite "late" compared to my rural peers. However, all these signs of "empowerment" in my life do not make me exempt from experiencing patriarchal limitations in both public and private spheres of my life. In this context, two key questions came to mind: What has changed for me as an "urban" woman with family roots in a rural area?; And what has resisted change despite all the developments in education, marriage and employment? With these questions in my mind, I decided to trace my grandmother's footsteps back to central Anatolia to discover the very basis of patriarchal patterns which still dominate my relationships.

In this context, the main aim of this study is to explore changes and continuities in patriarchal experiences of women who are still living in this region within the rural transformation of Turkey after 1980. The main research question of this thesis is: How have women's experiences with classical patriarchy changed between generations in rural Anatolian towns and districts throughout the rural transformation after 1980's? I formulated some of the related sub-questions as follows: How has household structure transformed during this period?; How have the patterns of education, marriage, and employment changed over generations?; How have women's labour practices changed? ;How has gender division of labor within the domestic sphere changed?; How has women's perception and interpretation of the structure changed? How have women's coping strategies with patriarchy differed between generations in the process of transformation? And lastly, did rural transformation empower women?

I scrutinized the changes in women's experiences from the 1980's to the present day. Beginning in the 1970s, the world experienced a financial crisis. The survival strategy consisted of reorganization of capital between the developed and developing world. As a result developing countries started to shift their economic policies from import substitution industrialization to export led industrialization. These new economic stabilization policies in Turkey, as one of the developing countries, took the form of structural adjustment policies introduced in January 1980, designed by IMF and the World Bank. The structural adjustment policies in Turkey comprised of currency devaluation, import liberalization, and moves towards privatization (Çağatay and Berik 1994, p.79). The effect of this neoliberal wind in rural Turkey manifested itself in the state's abandonment of protective policies (for self-preservation) and commodification of production (Öztürk 2013). The penetration of capitalist relationships in agriculture resulted in a change in rural structure. Namely, the withdrawal of the state's support from petty commodity producers (the smallest producer units of subsidized economy based on unpaid family labour) in the competitive capitalist market resulted in the dissolution of PCP households and the these family members' search for non-agricultural jobs. As a result of this process in Turkey a major population shift

from rural to urban areas was observed. This situation led to the rural dissolution of many PCP based extended households. In the early phases of this transformation, rural women were marginalized through isolation of production process.

Within this historical background, my main argument is that during the rural transformation process the patriarchal experiences of women still living in rural districts have undergone important changes due to profound alterations in production relations. Throughout the research, I conceptualized patriarchy as a historically oppressive system based on hierarchical organization of age, gender, and class. I framed my main argument from the socialist feminist paradigm, a synthesis of Marxist and radical feminist approaches. Accordingly, capitalism and patriarchy are the main sources of women's oppression today, and a change in one affects the other closely. One of the main theoretical discussions among socialist feminists (Eisenstein 1979; Mitchell 1974; Hartmann 1979; Mitchell 1974) is on "how to deal with these two systems of power, as distinct or together" when analyzing them. Regarding this issue, I took a position close to unified system theoreticians rather than dual system analysis advocates (Walby 1989; Young 1981). In this context, I preferred to use Young's (1981) operational concept of "gender division of labour," which is fundamental in all aspects of relations of production. This concept enables me to analyze relations of domination in changing economic structure. On the other hand, throughout the research I operationalized women's empowerment by questioning their agency within socio-economic structure. In this regard I followed Kabeer's (1999) conceptualization of women's agency as "acquiring the ability to make strategic life choices."

I designed this study from feminist methodological perspective. Methodologically, feminist research differs from traditional research in three ways. It actively seeks to remove the power imbalance between research and subject; it is politically motivated and has a major role in changing social inequality; and it begins with the standpoints and experiences of women. What makes this research as feminist is, in Sandra Harding (1987) words, studying

women from their perspective, recognizing the researcher (me) as part of the research subject, and acknowledging that the beliefs of the researcher shape the research.

With the aim of apprehending the intergenerational changes and continuities in women's patriarchal experiences, I conducted a case study in Avanos between 2010 and 2011. I preferred to conduct this research in the center of Avanos, since the effect of the transformation process on the current situation of town women is a challenging research subject that needs to be elaborated in literature on rural regions. I planned a two-phased field research. In first phase I aimed to discover Avanos' socio-economic structure and history of transformation, while in the second phase I focused on investigating possible changes of patriarchal patterns in women's experiences. I used multiple qualitative data collection techniques throughout this study; semi structured interviews with key informants, in-depth interviews with women, document collection, archival records, direct observation, and participant observation have been my main sources of data.

Avanos is a central Anatolian rural district located in the touristic Cappadocia region. The total population of Avanos is 34.015. 13.250 inhabitants live in the center, while 20.765 live in towns and villages (TSI 2013). Since 1970 Avanos has been experiencing migration to urban areas and abroad. During the 1980's there occurred a population growth related with empowerment opportunities created by tourism development in the region. Today, the economy of Avanos' center is based mostly on tourism and clay industry. In the town center the economic contribution of agriculture is very limited. Although petty commodity production is still common in the villages and towns of Avanos, as a result of the rural transformation process, it is far from sufficient and leads people to seek waged and non-agricultural employment outside of their neighborhood.

Tourism in the region has been an important economic activity since 1960's. Until 1980s it was run through small scaled business owned by locals without any government support. In these production relations, women's unpaid family labour

in these family owned businesses was critical, as in the case of agriculture. In addition, women weaved carpets sold by mediators to consumers, including tourists. Knitting was also source of touristic income for women. Today, due to the industrialization process, machine woven carpets and readymade clothes have become easily accessible and relatively cheap. This resulted in the disappearance of women's textile labour. After the 1980s, with the introduction of structural adjustment policies, tourism has been one of the major focuses of the state as a cost-effective industrialization strategy. State incentives brought foreign national and international investors to the region without taking into account the socio-economic and environmental impacts of tourism development at the local level (Tosun 1998). As a result of this unplanned development, locals who were former runners of small-scale touristic enterprises, evolved unqualified laborers working in hotels, restaurants, carpet or gift shops or in the air balloon sector. The result of this unsustainable tourism development for women has been exploitation of their labour in flexible and underpaid tasks such as rapido painting and pottery decoration. Today, in the center of Avanos, although women are able to work in pottery workshops or in the production section of touristic carpet shops, there is still a prejudice against women's working in the service sector in tourism in positions such as sales person, room keeper or waitress, where they risk the danger of encountering strange men. This situation could be interpreted as the verification of Walby's (1990) argument that the strategy of subordination of women in relation to paid employment has changed throughout time from exclusion to segregation. This segregation also denotes confining women to jobs which are graded lower than those of men

Today the leading industry in Avanos center is clay industry with eight brick and roof tiles factories. Factory type of brick production in Avanos started after 1960s. Since brick and roof tile production required hard labour force, specifically after 1980 due to increasing work opportunities in tourism sector in the region, local people has started not to prefer to work in brick sector. For this reason today the supply of most of this labour is met by seasonal workforce. Pottery as one of the components of this industry has declined due to industrial production such

introduction of alternative plastic and aluminum products in the market. On the other hand young generation preferred to work in tourism sector as unqualified labor rather than making pottery sector which requires long time to gain a skill. This situation led a trend of extinction of mentor-apprentice relationship and drastic decrease in number of small scale pottery workshops in Avanos.

Regarding to the changing experiences of women throughout rural transformation process of Avanos the findings of the research suggest that in particular and after 1980s women's patriarchal experiences in their lifecycles have changed in terms of education, marriage and employment patterns. First of all, the evidence from this study indicates that there is educational breakthrough between mothers and daughters. While in the first generation of women primary school graduates constitute the majority, in the second generation the rate of completing high school and university is high. This change can be explained by the dissolution of material bases of classical patriarchy which heavily depends on sustainable economy and realization that schooling has a functional value in current capitalist production relations. First generation, in the early time of their lives has lived in patrilocally extended families who were mostly petty commodity producers. In first generation's childhood, the need for women's unpaid labour both for production and reproduction was still essential. Until marriage they worked in the vineyards, gardens and fields of their families, and/or weaved carpets in their homes. Care of siblings, doing house work were also mostly under their responsibilities. For this reason, these women often could not get further education opportunities, and marry in their early ages since their labour is the primary factor in determining their education level and age/type of marriage. First generation, even in cases the demand for their labor is less, mostly finished high school, and married within short time after finishing school. In parallel to change of relations of production, legal arrangements, easy access to education such as schools around the neighborhood (today, in Avanos city center the educational infrastructures have been already remedied similar to urban cities), society's positively changing attitude towards girls' schooling are also other important explanatory factors of rise in attendance rate.

One of the most obvious findings to emerge from this research is for both generations marriage appears to have the central position within life cycles of women. With whom, and at what age of the marriage was made, how the decision of marriage is given, what kind of household is entered through marriage, type of marriage and numbers of marriage, all comprise main determinants of women's patriarchal experiences within marriage. In this context the research has shown that there is a trend of change in marriage patterns between two generations. According to the findings, for the second generation easy access to further education opportunities has been closely affect marriage and employment patterns in women's lifecycles. Attendance to education relatively delayed marriage age. Moreover women from this generation have started to pursue respectively following trend education-employment-marriage in their life cycle.

Strikingly, rather than enrolling arranged marriages as in the first generation, women from second generation primarily take their own marriage decision (also getting the approval of their families) rather than enrolling arranged marriages. This change is also related with the dissolution of PCP based patriarchal household where marriages are arranged by head of family with the aim of transferring new productive and reproductive labor into the household. In current material conditions the source of this change is young man's liberation from his father. However young men's autonomy struggle creates unintentionally spheres of empowerment for young women such as acquiring the ability of making strategic life choice on marriage. However, it should be noted that the nature of transformation of women's labor does not disappeared in second generation's marriages. Rather it is justified under romantic love. In reality, the only change is in women's taking own decision by whom and in where her productive and reproductive labour to be exploited.

The relevance of variety of patriarchal experiences to the type of household where women live after marriage is clearly supported in this case study. Intensity and severity of women's control and exploitation of or labor mostly depends on

following factors; who live in the household apart from nuclear family; whose family is near to the household; whose family supports mostly this household. In this context, the findings show clearly that the one of the central characteristics of classic patriarchy, such as living patrilocal extended family tends to loose in the second generation. There is a trend of change in the type of household entered through marriage from patriarchal extended family to independent nuclear family due to changing production relations. Most of the women from the second generation have started to live in nuclear families just after or shortly after marriage.

However, the findings show that, despite the control of mobility and intensity of both productive and reproductive labour supplied, for the first generation living in extended families secured women severe threats from living in a nuclear family. Since this generation married generally in the age of almost child, they have no sufficient ability to cope all the aspects of living in a nuclear family as adults. In our case, the narratives of first generation of women who have started to live in nuclear families in the beginning of their marriage are often on experiences of poverty. In this context for this generation newly married young women started to live in extended families are getting economic and social security in return to their productive and reproductive labour.

The above mentioned findings of the research support that intergenerational differences in patriarchal patterns of marriage have high relevance with changing relations of production. On the other hand the differences among cohort groups can be explained by socio-economic position of women's original family. Particularly, in both generation fathers' class position affect marital experience of women such as the age of first marriage of women, the socio-economic profile of husband, the intensity of exploitation of women's labor within newly joined extended household or nuclear family. In first generation fathers economic position is primary determinant of age of marriage and further patriarchal relations in marriage. The study shows that in first generation obviously marriage means transfer of women's both productive and reproductive labour between households.

In that sense degree of exploitation of women's labour in her new household depends closely on father's status. In the second generation, in addition to fathers' status, education comes forward as a primary factor in rising age of marriage and changing the trend of taking marriage decision from arranged to negotiated one. However in the second generation, fathers' socio-economic status, especially wealthier families, retain influence women in the marriage as a supportive factor.

Similar to change in marriage patterns, divorce patterns of two generations show same trends. In first generation despite the problems divorce is seen as the last option. Lack of economic independency, being referred as a widow in the society, and desire for growing children in a "family environment" emerged as the main reasons for continuing the marriages. This generation of women ends their marriages in case of husband's not fulfilling economic obligations, gambling, drinking alcohol or infidelity. In addition to first generations reasons of divorce, there is a noticeable change in the second generation as adding individual and abstract concerns (such as not satisfying social, cultural or sexual expectations of women) in taking divorce decisions. The rise of individuality within second generation confirms that being employed and/or as well educated have close relationship with women's empowerment.

The results of this research suggest that the change in divorce patterns does not create a sphere of empowerment for women. In our cases, divorced women in both generations replicate their previous marriage patterns of their generation in their following partnerships. In first generation the following marriages or partnerships (such as living together) of women rely mostly on transfer of labour. In our case, women in first generation generally get married to widowed men with children. In return to being married in the society women take again same reproductive responsibilities in the household. It was also found that, the divorced women from second generation in our sample do not marry but live together with married men. Behind of these partnerships following bargain lies: women offer romanticism and sexuality to their partners, in return to having an economical support and not being lonely.

In this case study, one of the most noticeable changes is in the relationship between mothers and daughters. As a result of economic transformation of agriculture and tourism in Avanos, not having variety of employment choices and opportunities, the young men tend to migrate out of Avanos. They go to the university, get a job and marry away from Avanos. In most cases they do not come back even in their retirement. This new trend leaves alone the mothers who have patriarchal bargains, namely having expectation from their sons and daughter-in-laws such as care and support during their senility. As an alternative and new solution these mothers expand their repertoires by including their daughters into their bargain. In the narratives of second generation, the trend is living within same or close neighborhoods with their mother, being supported by their mothers during their marriage or after divorce (such as caring grandkids). In return those supports mother guaranteed not being lonely, unsupported during their old ages. Daughters on the opposite side of this bargain could sustain their mothers support after marriage and in some cases after divorce. In both cases women's reproductive labor, such as care, lies in the central of this bargain. This new bargain could be considered also second generations' empowerment strategies. However this strategy is far from suggesting any change in raising women's autonomy. For example in divorce cases, the control of women transfers from husband or husband's family again to her initial family.

The findings of research shows there is not significant change in patriarchal expectations of grand-mothers from their daughter-in-laws within two generations. The only change is the rising trend of taking control of the intensity of this expectation pressure in second generation. Since living in extended families brings with it use of woman's labour and control her mobility; living in nuclear families make this kind of control not easily applies. In case of women who live closer to their mothers and/or get support of their mothers (and/or fathers -in economical means) are relatively free from their mother-in-laws' patriarchal control. The husbands' attitude in the second generation also tends to shift to in favor of their nuclear family's peace rather than his initial family. All these new

positions of people could be interpreted as the first hand socio-cultural effects of transformation of economy based on petty commodity production and one of its characteristics, patrilocally extended family.

Regarding the productive and reproductive labor patterns in lifecycles of women living in Avanos the evidences from case study suggest that there are both changes and continuities in women's labor patterns. Women starting from their childhood have engaged various type of labors. First generation compared to the second generation has been mostly worked in vineyards, gardens or carpet weaving requiring intensive physical efforts which have been done in the borders of private sphere. This generation has also experienced close effects of dissolution of rural extended households which based on unpaid family labor. Within this early phase of transformation period they were isolated from production process since the low labor market demand and their labour became marginalized similar to experiences of women in developing world (Sen and Grown (1987), Tiano (1987), Bandarage 1984; Gündüz-Hoşgör and Smits 2008; Gündüz-Hoşgör 2001; Moghadam 1992). Consequently, their isolation from production and their economic dependence on men, limit their autonomy and access to resources (Gündüz-Hoşgör 2001). Parallel to this transformation process, women's working as wage earners outside home comes into prominence in the second generation. However in this phase of transformation women labor has being exploited in low paid flexible jobs mostly without social security. Second generation of women's labor market experiences also coincides with the experiences of women in developing world integrating the labor market as cheap labor in later phase of economic transformation (Elson and Pearson 1981, Gündüz- Hoşgör and Smits 2008). However, women's place in labor market depends also their socio-economic position (Moghadam 1992) as well as type of development strategy. In Avanos, women who come from wealthier families work in more secure jobs such as teacher, nurse, tourist guide or in her family business.

No matter the socio-economic position, working outside the home paves direct and indirect way of empowerment for all women. Earning wage increases the

ability to make strategic life choices of women such as growing autonomy in decision making (Ecevit 1991). On the other hand through working outside women's mobility rises. Interacting different people in public sphere and sharing experiences outside the family network creates the opportunity of construction of self-subjectivity (Bora 2001) for women. Additionally, for women who pursue respectively the sequence of education-employment-marriage (E-E-M) in their life cycle without exception take their own marriage decisions .which is one of the indicator of rising agency of women in terms of acquiring the ability to make strategic life choices (Kabeer 1999). Most of those women who quit work or take a break because of giving birth they returned to work again after. In this context following the sequence of E-E-M creates a chain of empowerment especially for the second generation.

However, it not possible to mention a kind of total empowerment according to all above mentioned differences between two generation in terms of education, employment and marriage patterns and increase in ability to make strategic choices on their life. Rather one could argue in second generations there is a kind of falling behind of first generation regarding their strategies. In example, first generation, in their narratives draws a picture they are generally passive subjects in terms of education, employment and marriage decisions in their early lives. However, being aware of their disempowered position they have developed bargains according to it. On the contrary, in some cases, in the second generation's narratives there is an effort to tell their experiences as active subjects. For example, rather than complaining restricting of their mobility by their husbands or other people, they state they are also convinced with those boundaries; or in a decision-making situation rather stating their own preferences agreeing with their husbands choices. This attitude of "being persuaded or being in agreement with restrictions" hinders them to develop empowering strategies to change their patriarchal experiences. The fact that "being convinced" could be interpreted as an empowerment strategy to cope with patriarchy, by creating an illusion of being active actors of their lives.

One of the more significant findings to emerge in this study is that despite the changes in labor categories of women the nature of gender division of labour within household has not been changed significantly as discussed in Chapter 2 (Ecevit 1991, Kabeer 2011, Young 1981, Hoşgör 2011b, Bora 2001, Kıray 1981, Ecevit 1999, Karkner 2010). Although due to new technological improvements, such as washing machine, oven with gas cylinder, vacuum cleaner etc. - the burden of housework somehow lightened; today no generation of women is exempt from household chores. Housework and caring is still the duties under women's responsibilities. However, the change in division of labour is observed between generations. In example, mothers and/or mother-in-laws are taking responsibilities to take care of their grandkids during their daughters during their daughter's absence for working outside. This new trend could also be interpreted shifting classical patriarchal bargaining from sons to daughters, where the expectations from sons failed/declined in the new condition.

The most obvious change in labour patterns of women in Avanos is the significant decrease in elderly care. The findings of this research show dissolution of patriarchal extended households through the transformation to non-agricultural production has revealed "rural aging" as a problem which will required urgent intervention of state in the near future. Second generation does not look after of their own elderly parents/parents in law. On the other hand, first generation develops a new patriarchal bargain against this challenge through looking after the grandchildren. Moreover, grandchild care at later age, enables the continuation of reproductive labour of women, and as a result prevent the loss of value of elderly women in the family. In parallel, participation of mother and mother in law in childcare is still very valuable for the second generation. As a result of this new patriarchal arrangement, namely "imaginary extended families created a new household system Most of women from second generation in Avanos are living in nuclear families in the private sphere, on the other hand, and sharing reproductive labor -such as childcare- with their mother- or mother in law who live outside of their nuclear families. Such household system differs from classical extended household by its vertical organization and spatial separation. (See Figure 7.1.)

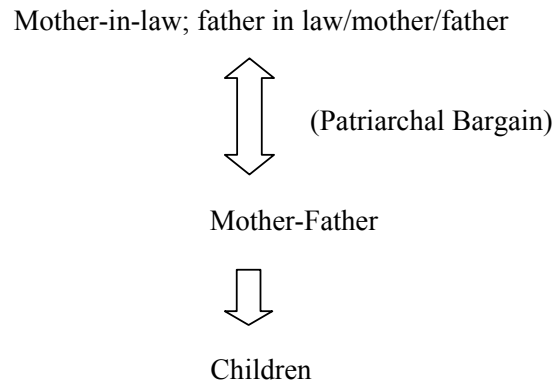


Figure 7.1. Vertical imaginary extended family

In these families, while women reorganized the hierarchical relations upon their age and grand childcare which is gender division of labour, there is not much change for men. Men do not take any initiative either for housework or childcare. The rearrangement reproductive labor with mother mother-in-law only responses the changes in the gender division of labor and do not alter the foundations of patriarchy (Chen 2004). In this context, along with transforming production relations- men's resistance against change in gender division of labor creates results with creation of new types of extended household systems where ideological mode of patriarchy (Mitchell 1974) reproduced in such organizations.

In conclusion, when I was started this research I did not predicted how care issue is in the center of gender division of labor. Throughout research the care labor has been arose as a central category of women's reproductive labor which becomes more visible, and the most powerful subject of patriarchal bargains among women from different generations, with dissolution of extended families in capitalist transformation process. Taken into consideration the whole findings of the research I could easily affirm that the organization, control and intensity of both productive and reproductive labour of woman determine the patriarchal experiences in her life-cycle. Although the rural transformation process enables

women to expand their mobility, increase their agency and gain autonomy albeit limited in terms of education, marriage and employment patterns one cannot mention women's liberation from patriarchy without a revolutionary change in the nature of gender division of labour specifically without a revolutionary organization of care.

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APPENDIX A

TURKISH SUMMARY

KIRSAL DÖNÜŞÜMÜN KADINLARIN ATAERKİL DENEYİMLERİ ÜZERİNE ETKİLERİ: AVANOS

Bu akademik çalışma her şeyden önce Orta Anadolu kökenlerime yaptığım bir yolculuk özelliğini taşımakta. Bu anlamda bir Ürgüp gelini olan babaannem bu araştırmayı yapmamda bana ilham kaynağı oldu. Hiç tanışmadığım, hikâyesini babamdan ve annemden dinlediğim babaannem tipik bir orta Anadolu kadınıydı. Görücü usulü ile evlenerek girdiği kocasının -geçimlik üretime dayanan- geniş hanesinde diğer tüm kadınlar gibi ücretsiz aile işçisi olarak emeği sömürüldü. Yaşamı bağ bahçe işlerinde çalışarak, halı dokuyarak, evin tüm temizlik ve yemek işlerini yaparak ve bunların yanında çocuklarının ve evdeki yaşlıların bakımını üstlenerek geçti. Evliliği boyunca başta büyük dedem olmak üzere ailedeki erkekler ve kayınvalidesi tarafından her türlü kontrole maruz kaldı. Yaşamı boyunca beş çocuğa can veren babaannem, son gebeliğini tıbbi olanaksızlıklar yüzünden kendi sonlandırmak isterken vefat etti. Ben, onun hiç göremediği torunu ise kentte doğdum ve büyüdüm. Tarımla tek ilgim çocukken oturduğumuz lojmanın bahçesinde evimizin önünde her dairenin bir şeyler ekip biçtiği hobi bahçesinde geçirdiğim neşeli zamanlar oldu. Kırsaldaki yaşlılarım göre ortalamanın üzerinde bir eğitime, ücretli bir işe sahibim. Ailemden evlenmem ve çocuk doğurmam için hiçbir baskı görmedim. Kendi kararım ile ve kırsaldaki yaşlılarım göre “geç” sayılabilecek bir yaşta evlendim.

Sahip olduğum tüm bu özellikler bir “güçlenme” halini işaret etse de, hayatımın hiçbir alanında ataerkil deneyimlerden muaf olmadım. Bu bağlamda araştırmama şu iki soruyla başladım. “Kentli” ama kökleri kırsal alandan gelen bir kadın olarak benim için ne değişti? Ve yakalamış olduğum eğitim, evlilik, istihdamla ilgili

fırsatlara rağmen babaannemle benim deneyimlerim arasında deęişmekte direnen şey neydi? Zihnimde bu sorularla, hala ilişkilerimde egemen olan ataerkil örüntülerin kaynağını bulmak niyetiyle, Orta Anadolu'ya babaannemin ayak izlerini sürmeye karar verdim.

Bu bağlamda bu çalışma, Türkiye'de gerçekleşen 1980lerden sonraki kırsal dönüşüm sonucunda, hala kırsal bölgelerde yaşayan kadınların ataerkil deneyimlerindeki deęişimleri ve süreklilikleri keşfetmeyi amaçlamaktadır. Bu çalışmanın temel sorusu, "1980ler'deki kırsal dönüşüm sonrasında, Orta Anadolu'nun kırsal ilçelerinde yaşayan kadınların ataerkil deneyimleri kuşaklar arası nasıl deęişmiştir?" İzleyen alt sorular ise şu şekilde sıralanmaktadır; "bu süreçte hane tipleri nasıl deęişmiştir"; "kuşaklar arası eğitim, evlilik, istihdam eğilimleri nasıl dönüşmüştür?"; kadınların emek deneyimleri nasıl deęişmiştir?"; "hane içerisinde toplumsal cinsiyete dayalı iş bölümü nasıl dönüşmüştür?" "bu dönüşüm sürecinde kuşaklar arası ataerkillikle baş etme stratejileri nasıl deęişmiştir?; ve son olarak "bu stratejiler onlar için bir güçlenme olanağı yaratmış mıdır?".

Bütün dünya 1970'lerden başlamak üzere ciddi bir finansal kriz yaşamıştır. Bir çıkış stratejisi olarak sermayenin yeniden örgütlenmesi yoluna gidilmiştir. Sonuç olarak gelişmekte olan ülkeler ithal ikameci sanayileşme üzerine kurulu ekonomik politikalarını ihracata yönelik sanayileşmeye doğru deęiştirmeye başlamışlardır. Bu yeni istikrar politikaları gelişmekte olan ülkeler arasındaki Türkiye'de yapısal uyum politikaları yoluyla gerçekleştirilmek istenmiştir. IMF ve Dünya Bankası tarafından şekillendirilen yapısal uyum politikaları Ocak 1980'de uygulanmaya başlamıştır. Türkiye'deki yapısal uyum politikaları devalüasyon, ithalatta serbestleşme ve özelleştirmeyi içermektedir (Çağatay ve Berik 1994, s.79). Kırsalda bu neo-liberal rüzgarın etkisi devletin korumacı politikalarını terk etmesiyle sonuçlanmıştır. Sonuç olarak rekabetçi kapitalist pazarda küçük meta üreticiliğine dayalı (ücretsiz aile işçiliğine dayalı geçimlik üretim yapan en küçük üretici birimleri) haneler çözülmeye başlamış ve bu durum aile üyelerinin tarım dışı işler aramasına yol açmıştır. Sonuç olarak kırdan kente büyük bir göç

yaşanmıştır. Bu dönüşümün ilk aşamalarında kadınlar üretim sürecinden izole edilmiş ve emekleri marjinalleşmiştir.

Geçimlik üretimden pazar için üretime geçmek sadece üretim ilişkilerini değil, günlük yaşamdaki iktidar ilişkilerini de etkilemiştir. Ekonomideki gelişmeler kurumsallaşmış klasik ataerkil değerlerle çelişmektedir. Söz konusu ataerkillik, tümünden çözümlenip kaybolmak yerine kendini farklı biçimlerde yeni üretim ilişkilerine uyarlayarak varlığını sürdürmektedir. Türkiye, klasik ataerkil sistemin sürdüğü ülkelerden birisidir (Kandiyoti, 1988). Klasik ataerkilliğin belirgin özellikleri ata yerli hanelerden oluşmasıdır. Haneler erkin en yaşlı erkekte toplandığı geniş ailelerdir. Genç kızlar evlilik yoluyla eşlerinin hanelerine mülksüz şekilde girmekte ve burada emeklerine başta kayınvalideleri tarafından olmak üzere el konulmaktadır. Hanedeki erkeklere ve kayınvalideye itaat ve hizmet etmek durumunda olan kadın ailedeki yerini erkek çocuk sahibi olunca sağlamlaştırabilmekte ve ancak yaşlanınca söz sahibi olmaktadır. Tüm bu özellikler kadınların yaşadığı bölge, ülke ve o ülkenin gelişmişlik düzeyi gibi bağlamlara göre önemli farklılıklar gösterebilir (age, 278-279). Bu nedenle her yerde aynı özellikler gösteren tek tip bir klasik ataerkillikten bahsetmek mümkün olmamaktadır. Diğer yandan da ataerkilliğin birçok kültürde içkin olan, yukarıda bahsedilen olguları açıklayan evrensel bir kavram olmadığını düşünmek de mümkün değildir.

Günümüzde kadın ve kırsal kalkınma politikalarının yerinde ve etkili uygulanabilmesi için hedef toplumun bilgisi yaşamsal önem taşımaktadır. Sirman'ın da (1990: 250) dediği gibi bir toplumda kadının durumunu tanımlayabilmek; ataerkil sistemin nasıl işlediğini ve güç ilişkilerinin nasıl kurulduğunu anlayabilmek, toplumsal ilişkilerin ve ideolojilerin kadınlar tarafından nasıl içselleştirilip kullanıldığının analiziyle mümkündür. Sosyal bilimler literatüründe kırsal kadın ve kente göç etmiş kadın çok sayıda

araştırmaya konu olmuştur.⁹⁹ Kırsal dönüşümün kadınlar üzerine olan etkisi Kandiyoti (1977) tarafından detaylı bir şekilde incelenmiştir. Kandiyoti, göçebe toplumları, geleneksel köy yerleşimleri, değişen kırsal çevre, küçük kasabalar ve büyük kent merkezlerinde yaşayan kadınları cinsiyet rolü davranışlarını karşılaştırmalı bir bakış açısıyla analiz etmiştir.

Her ne kadar bugüne kadar, ataerkilliğin Türkiye’de nasıl işlediği konusunda literatürde kadın bakış açısıyla yapılmış birçok araştırma olsa da, bu çalışmalardan çok azı Orta Anadolu’yu ele almıştır. Tüm bunların ötesinde bu bölgede sürmekte olan kırsal dönüşümün etkilerinin kadınların deneyimleri üzerindeki etkilerinin incelenmesine yönelik güncel bir araştırma gereklilik göstermektedir. Bu nedenle kırsal dönüşümden sonra hala kırsalda yaşamaya devam eden kadınların deneyimlerinin araştırılması günümüzde zorunlu bir ihtiyaçtır.

Bu tarihsel arka plan çerçevesinde, benim ana argümanım kırsal dönüşüm sürecinde hala kırsal bölgelerde yaşayan kadınların ataerkil deneyimleri üretim ilişkilerin değişmesine bağlı olarak önemli değişiklikler gösterdiğidir. Bu araştırmada ataerkilliği temel olarak yaş, cinsiyet ve sınıfa dayalı tarihsel bir baskıcı sistem olarak kavramsallaştırdım. Bu bağlamda teorik çerçevemi marksist ve radikal feminist yaklaşımların bir sentezi olan sosyalist feminizm oluşturmaktadır. Bu yaklaşıma göre günümüzde kapitalizm ve ataerkillik kadın ezilmesinin ana kaynaklarıdır ve birindeki herhangi bir değişiklik diğerini yakından etkiler. Sosyalist feministler arasındaki temel teorik tartışmalardan biri (Eisenstein, 1979; Mitchell 1974; Hartmann 1979; Mitchell 1974) bu iki sistemin analizde ayrı ayrı mı yoksa bir arada mı çözümleneceğidir. Bu araştırmada ben daha bu iki sistemi bir arada ele alma yanlısı (Young 1981, Walby 1989) teorisyenlerin yanında yerimi aldım. Bu bağlamda Young’ın (1981) tüm üretim

⁹⁹ Abadan-Unat 1977, 1986; Azmaz 1984; Akşit 1985; Berik 1987; Çınar 1994; Delaney 1991; Kağıtçıbaşı 1982; Ecevit 1993; Erman 1996, 1997, 1998a, 1998b; Ertürk 1987; Gökçe 1993; Gündüz-Hoşgör ve Smits 2007; Ilcan 1994; Kandiyoti, 1977, 1984, 1988; Kadioğlu 1994; Kalaycıoğlu ve Rittersberger-Tılıç (2001); Karpat 1976; Kuyaş, 1982; Moghadam 1993; Morvaridi 1992; Özbay 1990; Şenyapılı 1981; Sirman 1990; Stirling 1965; White 1994

ilişkilerinin temelinde yattığını iddia ettiği operasyonel aracı “toplumsal cinsiyete dayalı iş bölümü “nü araştırmamın temel kavramlarından biri olarak ele aldım. Bu kavram benim sosyo ekonomik yapı içerisindeki tahakküm ilişkilerini analiz etmemi sağladı. Diğer yandan kadının güçlenmesini, kadınların sosyo ekonomik yapı içerisindeki aktörlük konumlarını sorgulayarak ölçebildim. Bu anlamda, Kabeer’in (1999) aktör olma durumunu “kendi hayatı hakkında stratejik seçimler yapabilme yetisini kazanma” kavramsallaştırmasını kullanarak takip ettim.

Araştırmamın metodolojik yaklaşımı feminist metodolojidir. Araştırmada feminist metodolojiyi kullanmamın temel nedeni kadınların kendi deneyimlerini araştırmanın merkezine koymak ve bu deneyimleri yine kadın bakış açısından analiz etmektir. Diğer yandan, feminist araştırmalarda, diğer sosyal bilim metodolojilerinden farklı olarak feminist yaklaşımın kullanılarak; araştırmacı ve araştırılan arasında hiyerarşik olmayan, interaktif, aynı zamanda araştırmacının kendisine de dönük ve güçlenme odaklı bir araştırma deneyimine adım atılmış olmaktadır.¹⁰⁰ Tüm bu özelliklerinin yanında feminist metodolojinin doğasında kadınların ikincil konumlarını hem analiz etmek, hem de bu konumlarını “güçlenme” yoluyla değiştirmek amacı vardır.

Kadınların ataerkil deneyimlerinin kuşaklararası değişimini anlamak için Orta Anadolu’da yer alan Nevşehir’in bir ilçesi olan Avanos’ta bir alan araştırması yürüttüm. Avanos’un diğer bir özelliği de tarihi ve turistik özellikler gösteren Kapadokya Bölgesinde bulunmasıdır. Bu bağlamda bir yandan kırsal dönüşümün, bir yandan da turizmin etkilerini hisseden Avanos, hem Orta Anadolu Bölgesine ait ortak özellikleri hem de Kapadokya Bölgesinin ayırt edici özelliklerini göstermektedir. Dolayısıyla Avanos’ta yaşayan kadınlar hem kırsal hem de turizm dönüşümünden etkilenmektedirler.

¹⁰⁰ “Feminist araştırmacılar objektif ya da yansız değildir; inceledikleri insanlarla etkileşime girer ve işbirliği yaparlar. Kendi kişisel ve profesyonel yaşamlarını birbiriyle kaynaştırırlar. Örneğin feminist araştırmacılar görüşme yapılan bir kişinin deneyimlerini anlamaya çalışırken kendi duygularını ve deneyimlerini paylaşırlar. Bu süreç araştırmacı ile görüşülen kişi arasında kişisel bir ilişkinin doğmasına ve zaman içinde olgunlaşmasına yol açabilir” (Neuman, 2012: 154).

TÜİK Adrese Dayalı Nüfus Kayıt Sistemi'nin 2013 yılı verilerine göre Avanos'un toplam nüfusu 34.015 kişidir. Nüfusun 13.250'si ilçe merkezinde yaşarken, 20.675 kişi kasaba ve köylerde oturmaktadır. Avanos 1970'lerden itibaren kent merkezleri ve yurtdışına göç vermektedir. Göçlerin altında yatan temel neden kırsal dönüşümle birlikte birçok küçük üretici hane çözülerek üyelerinin tarım dışı ve ücretli işlerde çalışmak durumunda kalması gösterilebilir. Günümüzde ilçenin kasaba ve köylerinde küçük meta üretimi hala geçerliliğini korusa da, tarım ilçe merkezinde önemli bir yer tutmamaktadır. 1980'li yıllarda ilçede turizm gelişmelerine paralel olarak artan iş fırsatları nüfus artışına neden olmuştur. Bugün Avanos ilçe merkezinin ekonomisi esas olarak turizm ve toprak endüstrisine dayanmaktadır. Avanos tarihi ve doğal özellikleriyle turistik önemi olan Kapadokya Bölgesinde bulunmaktadır.

Bölgede turizm 1960'lardan itibaren önemli bir gelir kaynağı olmuştur ve 1980'lere kadar yerel ve küçük aile işletmeleri tarafından hiçbir devlet desteği olmadan yürütülmüştür. Bu küçük işletmeler içinde tarımda olduğu gibi kadının ücretsiz emeği merkezi bir yer tutmaktaydı. Aynı dönemde kadınlar evde halı dokumakta ve bunu tüccarlar aracılığı ile çevre illere satmaktaydılar. Yerel turizmin gelişmesi ile birlikte tüccarı aradan çıkartıp kendileri (genellikle eşleri aracılığı ile) satmaya başladılar. Bir başka turizm emeği olarak kadınlar turistlere kazak veya çorap örüp satmaktaydılar. Günümüzde ucuz ve çabuk ulaşılabilir makine halılarının ortaya çıkması ile el dokuması halıcılık ilçede yok olmaya yüz tutmuştur. Aynı şekilde günümüzde hazır giyimin yaygınlaşmasıyla kadınların en önemli turizm gelirlerinden diğeri olan el örgüsü kazak ve çoraplara rağbet azalmış ve turistik bir gelir kaynağı olmaktan çıkmıştır.

1980'lerden sonra yapısal uyum politikalarıyla birlikte turizm, bacasız ekonomi adı altında devletin öncelikli alanlarından biri haline gelmiştir. Fakat devlet teşvikleri sürdürülebilir turizm kalkınma özelliklerini (sosyo ekonomik ve çevresel etkileri) gözetmeden yabancı ulusal ve uluslararası sermayeyi bölgeye çekmiştir (Tosun 1998). Sürdürülebilirliği olmayan bu turizm gelişmesinin bölgedeki etkisi daha önce kendi küçük aile işletmelerinde çalışan yerel halkın

otel, restoran, halı veya hediyelik eşya mağazaları ve balon sektöründe vasıfsız işçi olarak çalışmaya başlaması olarak özetlenebilir. Bu dönüşümün kadınlar için sonucu ise parça başı çömlek, tabak vs. çizim, boyama, çömlek üzerine deri işleme gibi evde veya atölyelerde yaptıkları esnek, yarı zamanlı ve düşük ücretli işlerde çalışmaları olmuştur. Bugün Avanos'ta kadınlar turizm sektöründe çömlek atölyelerinde veya halı mağazalarını üretim kısmında çalışsalar da, yabancı erkeklerle bir araya gelme imkânı veren garsonluk, satış elemanlığı veya oda temizleyicisi gibi işlerde çalışmalarında hala bir önyargı bulunmaktadır.

Günümüzde Avanos'ta en önde gelen ekonomik gelir kaynağı toprak endüstrisidir. Fabrika tipi kiremit üretimi Avanos'ta 1960'lardan sonra başlamıştır. Kiremit sektörü emek yoğun ve kuvvet gerektiren bir iş alanı olduğu için yerel halk 1980'lerden itibaren turizmde çalışmayı daha çok tercih etmişlerdir. Bundan dolayı, bu sektör emek arzını daha çok şehir dışından, mevsimlik işçilerle karşılamaktadır. Bu sektörün uzantısı olan çömlekçilik ise pazarda alternatif ve ucuz olarak bulunabilen plastik ve alüminyum ürünlerin endüstriyel üretimle yaygınlaşması ile gerileme dönemine girmiştir. Günümüzde, genç kuşak usta-çırak ilişkisi içerisinde emek ve sabır isteyen bu sektöre girmekte isteksiz davranmaktadır. Söz konusu gençler turizm sektöründe vasıfsız çalışmayı çanak atölyelerinde çalışmaya tercih etmektedirler.

Yukarıda alanın sosyo-ekonomik yapısını tarif ettiğim bu araştırmada nitel araştırma tekniklerini kullandım. Genel olarak katılımcı gözlem, yarı yapılandırılmış derinlemesine görüşmeler yaptım. Alan çalışmasını iki aşamalı olarak tasarladım. İlk etapta yapıya ait, ikinci etapta ise aktöre ait veriyi elde etmeyi planladım. Avanos'taki sosyo-ekonomik yapı ve değişimin tarihçesi üzerine bilgi toplamayı amaçladığım ilk etapta, 2010 yazında belirli aralıklara sahada bulundum. Bu sürede Avanos'un sosyo-ekonomik dönüşüne dair veri topladım. Bu verileri yazılı dokümanlar yoluyla; kamu kurumlarından ilgili kişilerle, ilçenin yaşlılarıyla ve esnafı yapıştığım yarı yapılandırılmış görüşmeler yoluyla elde ettim. Her iki aşamada da katılımcı gözlem metodunu veri toplamının bir parçası olarak kullandım.

Tamamen aktörler üzerine kurguladığım araştırmanın ikinci aşamasında ise 2011 yılı yazında gerçekleştirdim. Bu süre içerisinde ilçede yaşayan 23 anne kız çiftiyle yarı yapılandırılmış derinlemesine görüşmeler yaptım ve bu görüşmelerde kadınlardan hayat hikâyelerini anlatmaları istedim. Kartopu metoduyla ulaştığım anne kız çiftleri için temel ölçütüm hem annenin hem kızın en az 20 yıl Avanos'ta yaşamış olması, dolayısıyla 1980'lerden sonraki dönüşümü iki kuşağın da deneyimlemiş olması gerekliliğiydi. Birbirinden bağımsız kişiler yerine anne kız bağı olan kişilerle görüşme yapmamın nedeni ise ataerkil deneyimlerdeki süreklilik ve farklılıkların aynı sosyo-ekonomik yapıda nasıl şekillendiğini anlama amacımdan kaynaklandı. Gerek gördüğüm zamanlarda okuma, mevlit gibi ortamlarda bulundum ve sonrasında orada bulunan kadınlarla değişen deneyimleri üzerine yarı yapılandırılmış görüşmeler de yaptım. Tüm bu alan çalışması sürecim, çalışmayı yürüttüğüm zaman aralığında görev yapmakta olan ve kadın sorunlarına oldukça duyarlı olan kadın kaymakam tarafından desteklendi¹⁰¹ Onun aracılığı ile özellikle kamu kurumları ile yapılan görüşmelerin randevusunu çok hızlı bir şekilde alabildim ve birçok durumda bu görüşmelerde beklediğimden daha zengin veriler elde ettim.

Alan çalışmamın bulgularına göre özellikle 1980'lerden sonra kadınların yaşam döngülerindeki ataerkil deneyimleri, eğitim, evlilik ve istihdam kapsamında değişiklikler göstermiştir. Her şeyden önce iki kuşak arasında eğitim konusunda keskin bir kırılmadan bahsetmek mümkün olmaktadır. İlk kuşakta ilkokul mezunları görüşülen kadınların çoğunluğunu oluştururken ikinci kuşakta lise ve üniversite mezunları (ve hatta yüksek lisans mezunları) çoğunluktadır. Yapılan görüşmelerde ilk kuşağın özellikle kullanım emeğinin çocuk yaştan itibaren sömürülmesinden dolayı eğitiminin yarıda kesildiği ortaya çıkmıştır. Bu kuşaktan kadınların, ailede bakım işini esas olarak yüklenen annenin çeşitli sebeplerle yükünün ağırlaşması veya vefat etmesi gibi durumlarda bu emeği sunacak ilk

¹⁰¹ Türkiye'nin ilk üç kadın kaymakamından biri olan Aylin Kırıcı Duman, 2009-2012 yılları arasında Avanos Kaymakamı olarak görev yapmıştır. Görev yaptığı dönemde kaymakamlıkta Kadın-Erkek Eşitlik Birimi kurulmuş ve "Kadın Destek Projesi" adı altında kadınların istihdam, sağlık, beslenme, eğitim gibi temel sorunlarına yönelik çalışmalar yürütmüştür. Sayın Duman, söz konusu doktora çalışmasını Avanos'taki kadınların sosyo-ekonomik konuları üzerine yapılan güncel bir çalışma olduğu için desteklemiştir.

aday olmaları, çocukluklarında eğitim olanaklarından yararlanmada erkek kardeşlerinden daha şanssız konuma düşmüşlerine neden olmuştur. Bu durum kültürel değerler ve toplumsal yapılarla yakından ilişkili olan toplumsal cinsiyet eşitsizliğini de yeniden üretmiştir (Hoşgör 2010, p.15). Dolayısıyla bu dönüşüm geçimlik üretime dayalı ekonomik sistemin değişmesi ve yeni ortaya çıkan kapitalist üretim ilişkileri içerisinde eğitimin işlevsel öneminin ortaya çıkmış olmasıyla açıklanabilir. Bu eğilim devlet politikaları ile eğitime ilişkin ilişkin altyapıların modernize edilmesi ile de desteklenmektedir. Bu bağlamda kadınların kuşaklar arası eğitim düzeylerindeki büyük farklılık hem temel eğitime ulaşmada ilçe merkezinde altyapı eksikliklerinin giderilerek kenttekine benzer eğitim fırsatlarının artırılması, hem de üretim ilişkilerinin değişmesiyle yakından bağlantılı olarak kız çocuklarının okumasına yönelik geleneksel yaklaşımın terkedilmesiyle açıklanabilir.

Alan bulgularına göre Avanos'ta yaşayan anne kızların anlatılarında evlilik örüntülerinde de belirgin farklılıklar ortaya çıkmıştır. İkinci kuşağın ilk evlilik yaşı ortalaması ilk kuşağa oranla belirgin şekilde yüksek çıkmıştır. İlk kuşakta karşılaşılan düşük yaşta evlenme eğilimi klasik ataerkilliğin en temel özelliği olan genç yaşta evlilikle örtüşmektedir. İlk kuşakta çocuk yaşta evlendirilme eğiliminin aksine 18 yaştan yukarı yaşlarda evlenen kadınlara bakıldığında, bu kadınların “geç” evlilik yapmalarının nedeni temel olarak yaşadıkları hanelerde veya bu hanelerin uzantılarında hem üretken hem de yeniden üretim emeklerine olan ihtiyacın sürmesinden kaynaklanmaktadır. Aynı zamanda TÜİK 2008 bulgularıyla da örtüşen bu durum ikinci kuşakta temel eğitimin tamamlanması ve sonrasının (lise, üniversite bazı durumlarda yüksek lisans) devam ettirilmesiyle yakından ilişkilidir. Görüşme yapılan ilk kuşakta ise eğitime devam ediyor olmak kadınların evlenmesinin önünde hiçbir hikayede bir engel teşkil etmemiştir.

Evlilik türlerine bakıldığında ise ilk kuşakta yaygın eğilim görücü usullü evlilik iken, ikinci kuşakta bu tür evlilikler azalmaya başlamış, evlilik kararını kendileri alıp ailelerine onaylatanların sayısı artmıştır. Bora ve Üstün (2005) evliliğin evlenecek kişilerin kişisel seçimleri ve kararları ile değil de ailelerin inisiyatifiyle

gerçekleşmesini, dolayısıyla insanların kendi yaşamlarına ilişkin bu çok önemli kararda belirleyici olmamalarını, başka konulardaki güçsüzlüklerinin ve edilgenliklerinin de somutlaşmış bir örneği olarak yorumlamaktadırlar (p.59). Bu bağlamda ortaya çıkan bu eğilim genç kadınların yaşam döngülerinde önemli bir dönüm noktası olan evlilikte eş seçimi gibi yaşamları ile ilgili stratejik karar verebilmelerinin yolunu açmaktadır. Bu durum geçimlik üretime dayalı klasik ataerkil geniş hane sisteminin çözülmesini sonucunda, evlilik meselesinin geniş haneye yapılacak yeni “emek transferi”nden çıkarak; değişen üretim ilişkilerinin sonucu olarak anne ve babasında görece bağımsızlaşmış erkeğin kendisinin evlilik kararını vermeye başlamasıyla ilgilidir. Diğer yandan ikinci kuşakta “emek transferi” kaybolmamış fakat örtülü bir biçim almıştır. İkinci kuşak kadınlar için de ev işi başta olmak üzere, toplumsal cinsiyete dayalı işbölümünün doğasına yönelik bir değişiklik olmamaktadır. Değişen sadece kadın kendi emeğini hangi haneye transfer edeceğini seçebilmesidir.

Kadınların ataerkil deneyimleri evlendikten sonra girdikleri hanenin özelliklerine göre farklılıklar göstermektedir. Toplumsal cinsiyete dayalı iş bölümü açısından bakacak olunursa; oturlan evin çiftlerin ailelerinden hangisine yakın olduğu, varsa hangi ailenin desteğiyle oturulduğu, içerisinde eşler ve çocuklar dışında kimlerin yaşayıp yaşamadığı kadının evlilik içerisinde harcayacağı hane emeğinin yoğunluğunu yakından etkilemektedir. Yapılan görüşmelerde klasik ataerkilliğin belirgin özelliği olan geniş hanelerde yaşama olgusunun ilk kuşaktan itibaren dönüşerek çözülmeye başladığı ve çekirdek ailelerin yaygınlaştığı görülmüştür.

Burada belirtilmesi gereken başka bir konuda ilk kuşak ve ikinci kuşak arasında kayınvalide ya da geniş aile ile birlikte yaşamanın anlamının değişmiş olmasıdır. Bu değişikliğin en önemli nedenlerinden biri ikinci kuşakta evlilik yaşının yükselmesi, eğitim seviyesinin ve istihdama katılımının artmasıdır. Görüşülen ilk kuşakta yarısından fazlası 18 yaş altında evlenen “çocuk kadınlar” için geniş haneye girebilmek ve burada ağır da olsa hane emeği verebilmek bazı durumlarda şans olarak nitelendirilebilmektedir. Bu “çocuk kadınlar” geniş ailedeki kontrol, baskı ve ağır iş yüklerinin karşısında bir çeşit koruma altına girmektedirler. Sonuç

olarak söz konusu kadınlar var olan kurulu bir ekonomik düzene girmekte ve bu düzenin içerisinde toplumsal cinsiyete dayalı iş bölümüne göre kendisinden bekleneni yapmaktadır. Aksi takdirde küçük yaşta doğrudan çekirdek aile düzeninde yaşamaya başladıkları zaman kendi yaşamlarını kurmakta zorlanmakta, yoksulluk riskleri artmakta ve korunmasız kalmaktadırlar.

İki kuşağın evlilik deneyimlerinde ortaya çıkan bir başka durum ise ilk kuşakta yapılan görüşmelerin hiçbirinde okulu bitirip, işe girdikten sonra evlenen bir kadına rastlanmazken, ikinci kuşaktaki kadınların çoğunluğunun eğitim-istihdama katılım ve evlenme (EİE) sırasına göre hareket etmesidir. Bu sırayı izleyen kadınların diğer ortak noktası ise evlilik kararlarını öncelikle kendilerinin vermiş olmalarıdır. Bu bağlamda, eğitim almak ve istihdama katılmak kadınların kamusal alana çıkmasına ve bu alanda çeşitli insan ve sosyal kaynaklara birinci elden ulaşmalarına neden olmaktadır. Söz konusu kadınlar genellikle eşleriyle de eğitim veya istihdam yoluyla girdikleri kamusal alanlarda tanışmaktadır. Eğitim almak ve istihdama girmek aynı zamanda evlilik kararını kadınların kendilerinin vermesinin ön koşullarını da yaratabilmektedir. Sonuç olarak, eğitim almak ve istihdama katılmak ve evlilik gibi stratejik kararlarda söz sahibi olmak kadınların yaşam döngülerinde zincirleme güçlenme olanakları yakalaması olarak yorumlanabilir.

Bu araştırmada, kuşakları arasındaki evlilik deneyimlerinde ortaya çıkan temel farklılıklar temel olarak değişen üretim ilişkileriyle açıklanmaktadır. Diğer yandan aynı kuşak içerisindeki farklılıklar ise sosyo ekonomik özellikler ile açıklanmaktadır. Araştırma bulguları ortaya çıkartmıştır ki, sosyo ekonomik statüleri yükseldikçe aileler aynı zamanda kızlarının rahat edeceği, emeğinin daha az sömürüleceği evlilikler yapmasını ön planda tutmaktadır. Özellikle babanın sosyo ekonomik konumu her iki kuşakta da kadınların evlilik deneyimlerini etkilemektedir. Babanın sınıfsal konumu yükseldikçe, evlilik yaşı, kiminle evlenileceği, evlilik içerisinde eşi ve eşinin ailesiyle girdiği emek ilişkisi de olumlu etkilenebilmektedir. Örneğin ilk kuşakta görüşme yapılan kadınlardan erken evlenenlerin çoğunluğunun babası çiftçidir ve geçimlik üretim yapmaktadır.

Görece geç evlenen kadınların babalarının arasında ise yurt dışından emekli olmuş işçiler, esnaf veya fabrika sahipleri bulunmaktadır. Güçlü bir babanın desteği kadının evlenme yaşının yükseltmenin yanında, yaptığı evliliği, evlilik içerisinde eşi ve eşinin ailesiyle girdiği ilişkiyi de olumlu yönde etkileyebilmektedir

Boşanma açısından bakıldığında ise ilk kuşakta evlilikler erkeğin evi geçindirememesi gibi ekonomik nedenler başta olmak üzere, alkol alması, aldatması gibi nedenlerle bitmekte iken, ikinci kuşakta bu nedenlere kadınların eşleriyle evlilik içerisinde cinsel vs. gibi uyum sağlayamamaları gibi bireysel ve soyut beklentiler de eklenmektedir. İlk kuşakta ortaya çıkan eğilim kadınların her şeye rağmen evliliklerini sürdürmek için çaba harcaması ve boşanmayı en son seçenek olarak görmeleri yönündedir. Genel olarak tüm kuşaklarda ekonomik özgürlüklerinin olmaması, toplumda dul kadın olarak anılma endişeleri, çocuklarının bir “aile ortamında” büyümesini istemeleri kadınların kötü giden evlilikleri sürdürmesinin başlıca nedenleri olarak ortaya çıkmıştır. İkinci kuşakta ise ilk kuşaktan farklı olarak kadının ekonomik bağımsızlığının olması boşanma kararının daha çok verilmesinde en önemli faktör olarak öne çıkmaktadır.

Alan çalışmasında ortaya çıkan kuşaklararası diğer bir farklılık ise annelerin kızlarının evliliklerinde verdikleri desteğin niteliğidir. İlk kuşakla yapılan görüşmelerde evliliğinde ciddi sorunlar yaşasalar bile annelerinden destek görmediklerini ifade eden kadınlar çoğunlukta iken, ikinci kuşaktaki kadınlar annelerinin hem evlilik hem de boşanma süreçlerinde yoğun desteğini gördüklerini ifade etmişlerdir. Bu durum klasik ataerkil sistemde kadınların erkek çocuklarına stratejik olarak yaptıkları yatırımı ilk kuşaktan itibaren kız çocuklarını da içerecek şekilde genişletmesi olarak yorumlanabilir. Daha çok torun bakımı üzerinden ataerkil pazarlıklarını kuran kadınlar yeniden üretim emeklerinin devamlılığını sağlayarak kendilerini “değerli kılmamanın” yolunu açmaktadır. Aynı zamanda bu emeklerinin karşılığında ileride yalnız kalmamakta ve kızlarından “yaşlı bakım” emeği alabilmektedirler.

Yapılan görüşmelerde, her iki kuşağın kayınvalidelerinin kendilerinden beklentilerinde keskin bir fark bulunmazken, gelinlerin bu beklentilerle başa çıkma yeteneklerinde büyük değişiklikler izlenmiştir. Bu durum hem geniş ailede bir arada yaşamanın çözülmesine ve mekansal olarak kayınvalideden ayrı yaşamaya; hem de anneler ve kızları arasındaki ilişkinin yakınlaşmasının sonucu olarak kadınların annelerinden kayınvalideleri ve eşleriyle ilgili sorunlarında bir çeşit “koçluk” almalarına bağlanabilir. Kadının kendi ailesinin sosyo ekonomik konumunun eşinin ailesininkinden daha yüksek olduğu durumlarda da gelin-kayınvalide ilişkisi gelinin daha rahat kontrol edebileceği bir düzleme çekilmektedir.

Anne-kız ilişkilerinde ve kayınvalide-gelin ilişkilerindeki bu dönüşüm ilk kuşak kadınların anlatılarında kadınların kızlarına ve gelinlerine davranışlarındaki çifte standartta da ortaya çıkmaktadır. Söz konusu kadınlar kızlarının kayınvalideleri karşısında otonomilerini desteklerken, kendi gelinleriyle geleneksel ataerkil ilişkileri sürdürme çabası içindedirler. Bu çaba alt sosyo ekonomik tabakada gelinin bedeni ve emeğinin kontrolünü merkeze alırken, daha üst sosyo ekonomik statüye sahip ailelerde gelinin mobilitesi, çocuk bakımı ve ev ile ilgili alınan kararlara müdahil olma isteği kapsamında izlenmektedir.

Kadınların eşleriyle ilişkilerinde ise ikinci kuşaktan itibaren eşler arasında ortak yapılan ve karşılıklı iletişime dayalı etkinlikler olduğu ortaya çıkmıştır. Bu bulguyu doğrular şekilde eşlerden beklentilerde kuşaklar arası farklılıklar ortaya çıkmaktadır. İki kuşak arasındaki bir diğer fark ise ilk çocuk sahibi olma yaşı ile çocuk sayısında görülmüştür. Bu durum TNSA 2008 araştırmasının bulgularından biri olan kentte yaşayan kadınların evliliklerini geciktirme, ve doğumlarını erteleme eğilimiyle de benzerlik göstermektedir. Çocuk sayısının düşmesi ise geçimlik üretime dayalı hane sisteminin çözülerek ücretsiz kadın ve çocuk emeği üzerinden varlığını sürdüren hanenin en küçük üretici birime dönüşmesiyle açıklanabilir.

Alan çalışması sırasında incelediğim diğer bir deneyim de kadınların çocukluklarından günümüze kadar geçen zaman diliminde verdikleri emeklerdeki kategorik değişiklikler oldu. Araştırma sonunda ortaya çıktı ki, ilk kuşak ikinci kuşağa oranla halı, bağ bahçe gibi işleri fiziksel olarak daha ağır işlerde çalışmışken ve bu kuşakta geniş aile emeği ve yaşlı bakım emeği verenler çoğunlukta iken ikinci kuşakta ise bu iki emek tipi çözülmeye başlamıştır. Diğer bir fark ise ikinci kuşakta ev dışında ücretli çalışan kadınların çoğunlukta olmasıdır. Bu durum kırsal dönüşümle birlikte kadınların küçük meta üretimine dayalı en küçük üretici birim ailelerden, en küçük tüketici birim olan çekirdek ailelerde yaşamaya başlamasıyla ve çoğu zaman erkek ve kadının birlikte –ücretli- çalışarak aileyi ekonomik olarak sürdürebilir olmasıyla açıklanabilir.

Her iki kuşakta da kadınlar arasında evlenene kadar evin geçimine katkı sağlamak için evin dışında çeşitli işlerde çalışmış olanlara rastlanmaktadır. Aradaki fark ise ilk kuşakta söz konusu kadınlar daha erken yaşta genellikle aileleri tarafından okuldan alınarak, eve destek olması için çalışma yaşamının içerisine girmekte iken; ikinci kuşak anlatılarında kadınların kendi inisiyatifleriyle çalışmaya başladıklarıdır. İkinci kuşağın bazı anlatılarında kadınların eğitimlerini yarıda keserek çalışma kararına anne ve/veya babanın ilk başta karşı çıkıp sonra kabullenmesi söz konusudur..

Türkiye’de kırdan kopma ve tarımsal faaliyetten uzaklaşma özellikle 1950’lerden sonra kadınların işgücüne katılımlarını sürekli olarak düşürmeye başlamıştır. (Ecevit 2000, 2008 Tusiari Raporu) 1955’lerde Türkiye genelinde %72 olan kadınların iş gücüne katılım oranı 2004 yılına kadar sürekli düşmüştür. Bu düşüş kırdan kente yaşanan göçle açıklanmaktadır. Kırsal alanda ücretsiz aile işçisi olarak çalışan kadın, kentlerde ekonomik olarak faal nüfusun dışına çıkmakta ya ev kadını olmakta ya da enformel sektörde çalışmaktadır. (Ecevit 2008, Önder 2013). Kadınların istihdama katılım trendleri, kır ve kent arasında yer alan bir ilçe Avanos’ta yaşayan kadınlar için şu şekildedir. Yapılan görüşmelerde ilk kuşaktan ev dışında ücretli işlerde çalışanların sayısı azdır. Bu kuşak tarımdan kopuşu yaşam döngülerinin ilk (çocukluk) ve ikinci evrelerinde (evlilik)

deneyimlemişlerdir. Dolayısıyla kırsal dönüşümün erken evrelerinde üretimden izole edilerek olarak sosyal ve ekonomik olarak marjinalleşmişlerdir (Hoşgör 2011). Ev dışında ücretli çalışma daha çok ikinci kuşağın deneyimlerinde çoğunluktadır. Ev dışında çalışma ilk kuşaktan kadınlarda ailenin ekonomik durumu kötüyse söz konusu olmaktadır, ikinci kuşakta ise bu öncelikli koşul olmaktan çıkmıştır.

Ev dışında çalışmak kadınlar için aynı zamanda kullanım emeğinin değişim emeğine dönüştürerek bir güçlenme imkânı yaratmaktadır. Çalışmak kadınların mobilitesini arttırmakta, onlara aile ve komşuları dışında yabancı insanlarla görüşme olanağını sunmaktadır. Kadın özneliğinin inşası üzerine yaptığı araştırmada Bourdieu'nun "habitus" kavramından da yararlanan Aksu Bora (2008), edilgen, hareketliliği düşük ve yaşam alanı sınırlı kadın ideal tipinden farklı; yaşam alanı genişleyen ve toplumsal etkileşimi artan ve bunu evlilik içerisinde bir güce dönüştüren bu yeni kadının bize toplumsal değişime ilişkin ipuçları sunduğunu ileri sürmektedir.

Kadınların ev dışında ücretli çalışmalarında ortaya çıkan diğer çarpıcı bir olgu ise, ikinci kuşaktan genç kadınların meslek tercihlerinde ağırlıklı olarak babaları tarafından yönlendirilmeleridir. Daha çok sosyo ekonomik konumu yüksek olan bu ailelerde, özellikle ortada bir aile işletmesi varsa, kız çocuklarına bu işletmeye yönelik bir mesleği tercih etmeleri konusunda ısrar edilmektedir. Bu durum önceki kuşaklarda kız çocuklarını evlendikten sonra gittiği aileye ait gören ve küçük yaşlarda evden ayrılana kadar geçen kısa sürede eğitim alması gibi yatırımlar yapılmayan; ücretsiz emeğinden (küçük kardeşlerin bakımı, halı emeği, bahçe emeği vb. gibi) yararlanan klasik ataerkil bakış açısının, değişen üretim ilişkileriyle birlikte erkek çocuğuna olduğu kadar kız çocuğuna da yatırım yapılması yönünde değişmeye başladığını göstermektedir. Kız çocuklarına artık ailelerin kendi kapitalist işletmelerinde emeğinin karşılığında ücret alan ve kârı paylaşabilecek aile üyeleri olarak bakılmakta ve eğitimlerine bu doğrultuda yatırım yapılmaktadır.

Araştırmanın bir diğer bulgusu da tarım dışı üretime geçişle kırsal yaşlılığın önemli bir sorun alanı olarak ortaya çıkmasıdır. Yaşlı bakım emeği ilk kuşakta rastlanan fakat çözülmeye başladığı da gözlenen bakım emeğidir. Alan bulgularına göre, kadınların yaşlılıklarında yalnız kalmamak üzere oğulları üzerinden yaptıkları ataerkil pazarlıklar, değişen üretim ilişkileriyle birlikte sonuçsuz kalmaya başlamıştır. Yaşlıların bakımı meselesi Avanos'ta ciddiyeti giderek artan ve çözülmeyi bekleyen bir sorun olarak ortaya çıkmaktadır. Örneğin, hala yaşayan anne-baba/ kayınvalide-kayınpedere sahip olması beklenen ilk kuşakta söz konusu yaşlılarla ayrı evde yaşama eğilimi yüksektir. Bu kuşaktan kadınlar aynı zamanda yalnız yaşayan kayınvalidelerinin tüm gün bakımlarını üstlenmemektedirler. Benzer şekilde yine birinci kuşaktaki kadınlar kendi annelerinin de tüm gün bakımlarını üstlenmemekte ve gerektiğinde ziyaret etmektedirler.

Yapılan görüşmeler göstermiştir ki birinci kuşak ise oluşan bu yeni durum karşısında, yaşlı kayınvalideleri ve kendi annelerinin bakım sorumluluğunu tamamı ile üstlenmeyen ilk kuşak kendi yaşlılıklarında benzer yalnızlığı yaşamamak için torun emeği üzerinden stratejiler geliştirmektedirler. Görüşmelerde torunu okula başlayana kadar ya da okuldan döndüğünde evde onu karşılayacak kimsenin olmadığı durumlarda torunlarına bakan birinci kuşaktan kadınlar çoğunluktadır. İkinci kuşakta ev dışında çalışan kadınlar çocuk bakımı meselesine sosyo ekonomik durumlarına göre farklı çözümler getirebilseler de (örneğin sosyo ekonomik konumu yüksek olan anneler çocuklarını kreşe göndermeyi veya bakıcıya vermeyi tercih etmektedirler), bu çözümler her zaman yeterli olamamaktadır. Bakıcının gelmediği durumlar, kreşe giden çocuğun hasta olup okula gidemediği durumlar, ilköğretime devam eden çocuğun okul sonrası evde yalnız kaldığı vs. gibi durumlar da çocuğun bakımı için yine anne veya kayınvalideden destek alınması söz konusudur.

Birinci kuşaktan kadınlar torun bakımı ile yeniden üretim emeklerinin sürekliliğini sağlamakta ve böylece değerlerinin kaybını engellemektedirler.¹⁰² İkinci kuşaktan kadınların çocuk bakım sürecinde annesinin ve kayınvalidesinin katılımı hala önemlidir. Yukarıda bahsedildiği gibi çekirdek ailelerde yaşayan ama özel alanda çocuk bakımı ekseninde yeniden üretim sorumluluğunu hane dışında yaşayan anne/kayınvalide ile paylaşan kadınların soyut anlamda “hayali geniş aileler” diye adlandırılabilirler. Bu yeni aile tipi klasik geniş aile tipinden farklı olarak mekânsal ayrı ve dikey düzlemde örgütlenmektedir. Bu yeni aile tipinde kadınlar arası yaşa bağlı hiyerarşik ilişkiler yaşlı/torun bakım emeği gibi toplumsal cinsiyete dayalı iş bölümleri üzerinden yeniden şekillense de, erkekler için değişen bir şey olmamaktadır. Erkekler ne ev içi işler, ne de çocuk bakımında hiçbir şekilde inisiyatif almamaktadırlar. Üretim ilişkilerinin değişmesiyle beraber toplumsal cinsiyete dayalı iş bölümünde olası değişikliklere direnen erkeklik bu yeni tip hane örgütlenmelerini ortaya çıkartmaktadır. Bu yeni hanelerde ataerkillik kuşaklararası emek pazarlıkları üzerinden yeniden üretilmektedir.

İlk kuşak kadınlarda karşılaşılan söz konusu torun emeği, kız çocuklarından olma torunların bakımının da daha çok yoğunlaşmaktadır. Alanda görüşülen kadınların küçük bir azınlığı hem kız hem erkek çocuklarından olma torunlarına baktıklarını ifade ederken, diğer tüm görüşmeciler kız çocuklarından olan torunlarına baktıklarını söylemişlerdir. İlk kuşakta torunlarına bakan kadınların çoğunluğunun kız çocuklarından olma torunlarına bakma eğilimini sadece kırsal dönüşüm sonucu olarak erkek çocuklarının ilçe ve bölge dışına çıkarak oralarda iş bulmasıyla açıklamak yeterli olmayacaktır. İkinci kuşakla yapılan görüşmelerde kayınvalidesi de aynı ilçede yaşayan kadınların çocuklarını annelerine baktırdıkları ortaya çıkmıştır. Bu durum daha önce de bahsedildiği gibi erkek

¹⁰² Kandiyoti (1997) bu sürekliliği şu şekilde tanımlar; “Torunların dünyaya gelişiyle, Batılı yaşıtının pekâlâ öğrenimini tamamlamayı düşünebildiği bir dönemde, kadın daha yaşlı ve tecrübeli olmak sıfatıyla, yeni işler ve sorumluluklar yüklenir. Genellikle kadınlar yetiştirilişlerinin vaatleri ile nihai hayat tarzları arasında süresizlikten ziyade bir süreklilik yaşarlar” (1997:80).

çocuk üzerinden yapılan ataerkil pazarlığın dönüşmeye başladığını, beklentilerin aynı zamanda kız çocuklara da yönelmeye başladığını göstermektedir.

Her iki kuşağın tüm emek kategorilerine bakıldığında bütün kadınlarda ortak olan emek yükü “ev işidir.” Genel olarak evin içerisinde gündelik hayatın yeniden üretimle ilişkili tüm işleri ev işi kategorisinden saymak mümkündür. Erkekler hiçbir şekilde bu işlerde sorumluluk almamaktadır. Evin temizliği, yemeğin hazırlanması, bulaşıkların yıkanması, çamaşırların yıkanması gibi gündelik yaşamın yeniden üretilmesiyle ilgili tüm bu işler iki kuşakta da asıl olarak kadınların görevidir. Bu işler kadınlar tarafından ücretsiz, görüşmecilerden birinin ifadesiyle “bir havuz dolusu aferin” karşılığında yapılmaktadır. Bu bağlamda ortaya çıkmıştır ki, toplumsal cinsiyete dayalı iş bölümünde en direnç gösteren ev işi tamamen kadına ait bir emek yüküdür. Değişen tek durum kapitalist üretimin getirisi olarak gelişen teknoloji ile bu işleri yapmaya yardımcı ev aletlerinin ve yiyeceklerin bozulmadan muhafaza edilebileceği buzdolabı gibi makinaların ortaya çıkması, geçimlik üretimin çözülmesiyle birlikte daha önce evde yapılan birçok ürünün artık hazır olarak satın alınabilmesi gibi kolaylıkların ortaya çıkmasıdır.

Görüşmelerinin çoğunun sonunda, kadınlara dokunduğu her şeyi değiştirebilecek güçte bir sihirli değnek verilse bu değneğin geçmişte nelere dokunmasını istedikleri sorulmuştur. Bu sorunun amacı görüşme boyunca tüm hayatını gözden geçirmiş kadınlara, hayali bir “değiştirme gücü” kazandırarak, değiştirmek istedikleri şey üzerinden, kendi “güçlenme” algılarını görmektir. Genel olarak tüm cevaplara bakıldığında sihirli değnek en fazla eşe olmak üzere, babaya, ekonomiye, eğitime ve çalışmaya dokunmuştur. Kadınların kendi hayatlarında değiştirmek istediklerine dair cevaplardan bazıları göstermektedir ki, her iki kuşakta da içerisinde buldukları ve memnun olmadıkları “eşitsiz” konuma yapısal (eğitim alma, istihdama katılma) çözümler getirenler ve şu andaki durumlarının farklı bir koca veya babanın varlığı olsa değişeceğini düşünenlerin olmasıdır. Kadınların neredeyse tamamı evli oldukları varsayımıyla hayaller kurmuştur. Hiç evlenmemiş olmak, kendi başına bir yaşam kurmak gibi bir hayal

hiçbir görüşmecide ortaya çıkmamıştır. Tüm görüşmeciler için evlilik yaşam dönümlerinde olağan duraklardan biridir. Bu bağlamda, daha iyi veya sorumluluk sahibi bir eşe sahip olmak, ekonomik zorlukların olmaması, kendine ait bir evinin olması, başka şehirde yaşamak, eğitilmiş ve/veya meslek sahibi olmak gibi hayallerin hepsi değişmesini istedikleri bu şeylerin kadınları evlilik içerisinde güçlü kılacakları varsayımı ile kurulmuştur.

İkinci kuşağa ek olarak “kızlarınızın ileride nasıl bir hayatı olmasını isterdiniz?” diye bir soru sorulmuştur. İkinci kuşağın cevapları göstermektedir ki kızlar için kurulan hayaller “iyi bir evlilik” ve “iyi bir eş” odaklı olmaktan kızların güçlendirilmesine yönelik okuma ve çalışmaya dönmüştür. Tüm cevaplarda her iki kuşağın da evlilik kurumunu ve toplumsal cinsiyete dayalı işbölümünü sorgulanmadığı ortaya çıksa da; ikinci kuşak kadınlar var olan yapı içerisinde kızlarının evlilik içerisindeki pazarlık gücünü arttırmaya yönelik donanımları edinmeleri üzerine hayaller kurmaktadır. Hayallerdeki dönüşüm, yakın gelecekte kadınların kendi hayatları hakkında stratejik kararlar verebilme yeteneğini giderek daha çok elde edecekleri haberini vermektedir.

Sonuç olarak bu alan çalışması göstermiştir ki 1980’lerden günümüze kadar gerçekleşen kırsal dönüşüme bağlı olarak değişen üretim ilişkileri kadınların eğitim, evlilik, ve istihdam deneyimlerinde belirgin değişikliklere yol açmıştır. Bu değişikliklerle birlikte kuşakların emek kategorilerinde belirgin farklılıklar olmuş, özellikle ev dışında ücretli çalışmak kadınlara kendi yaşamları hakkında stratejik kararlar verebilme yeteneklerini arttırarak bir güçlenme olanağı yaratmıştır. Tüm bu değişikliklere rağmen her iki kuşağın deneyimlerinde de toplumsal cinsiyete dayalı iş bölümünün doğasında bir değişiklik ortaya çıkmamıştır. Ev işi, çocuk bakımı her iki kuşaktan kadının hayatları boyunca verdiği en temel ve değişmez yeniden üretim emeği olmaya devam etmektedir. İkinci kuşakta kadının ev dışında ücretli olarak çalıştığı ve ev işlerini bütünüyle üstlenemediği durumlarda ise yine kadınlar ve kuşaklar arası işbirliği yoluyla bu sorun çözülmektedir. Bu durum özellikle ilk kuşak kadınların torun bakım emeği üzerinden kendilerini yaşlılıklarında güvenceye alacak yeni stratejiler geliştirmelerinin yolunu

açmaktadır. Erkekler ise ev içinde yeniden üretim işlerinin üstlenilmesi ve paylaşılması konusunda hiç bir zaman istekli olmamaktadır. Toplumsal cinsiyete dayalı iş bölümünde özellikle “bakım” emeği merkezi rol oynamaktadır. Çekirdek ailelerde ev dışında ücretli çalışan kadınların bakım emeğini sürekli veremediği durumlarda, erkeklerin bakım işinin üstlenilmesi veya paylaşılması konusunda inisiyatif almaması, kuşaklar arası kadın dayanışmasının ortaya çıkmasına neden olmuştur. Giderek yaşlanmakta olan ilk kuşak için bu dayanışmanın kendisi - bakım emeği üzerinden ataerkilliğin yeniden üretildiği- daha çok kendi kızlarıyla yaptıkları bir stratejik işbirliği halini almıştır. Bu bağlamda ev içinde toplumsal cinsiyete dayalı işlerin doğasının, özellikle bakım emeğinin sorgulanmadığı, eşitlenmediği ve görünür hale gelmediği bir ortamda kadınların özgürleşmesinden bahsetmek mümkün olmamaktadır.

APPENDIX B

CURRICULUM VITAE

PERSONAL INFORMATION

Surname, Name: Gönüllü Atakan Ayşe
Nationality: Turkish (TC)
Date and Place of Birth: 12 May 1977
Marital Status: Married
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EDUCATION

Degree	Institution	Year of Graduation
MS	METU Gender and Women's Studies	2005
BS	DEU International Relations	2001
High School	Sivas Selçuk Anatolian Gymnasium	1995

WORK EXPERIENCE

Year	Place	Enrollment
2003- 2014	METU Department of Gender and Women's Studies	Research Assistant

FOREIGN LANGUAGES

English

APPENDIX C

TEZ FOTOKOPİSİ İZİN FORMU

ENSTİTÜ

Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü	<input type="checkbox"/>
Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Uygulamalı Matematik Enstitüsü	<input type="checkbox"/>
Enformatik Enstitüsü	<input type="checkbox"/>
Deniz Bilimleri Enstitüsü	<input type="checkbox"/>

YAZARIN

Soyadı : GÖNÜLLÜ ATAKAN
Adı : AYŞE
Bölümü : SOSYOLOJİ

TEZİN ADI WOMEN'S CHANGING EXPERIENCES WITH PATRIARCHY DURING RURAL TRANSFORMATION OF TURKEY: A CASE STUDY IN A CENTRAL ANATOLIAN TOWN AVANOS

TEZİN TÜRÜ : Yüksek Lisans Doktora

1. Tezimin tamamından kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir.
2. Tezimin içindekiler sayfası, özet, indeks sayfalarından ve/veya bir bölümünden kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir.
3. Tezimden bir bir (1) yıl süreyle fotokopi alınmaz.

TEZİN KÜTÜPHANEYE TESLİM TARİHİ: