

AN ANALYSIS OF THE EFFECTS OF URBAN MIGRATION ON
INTERGENERATIONAL GENDER ROLES OF ALEVI WOMEN
IN THE CASE OF DIŐLIK VILLAGE

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ABSTRACT

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The aim of this study is to examine the changes caused by urban migration on the intergenerational gender roles of Alevi women with a focus on their marriage, care-giving, participation in the labour force and educational practices. Both Alevi socio-religious structure and intra-group relations of the Alevis has started to change with their migration from rural to urban. Urban space, in this sense, sets the stage for these changes to be observed. Alevi women are able to participate in the ‘public sphere’ when once it was limited to an isolated village community. The combination of both factors of being an Alevi, and a woman has affected the urbanization experiences of Alevi women throughout the generations. This research aims to shed light on the experiences of Alevi women in the urban migration process and to draw a chronological map by focusing on five different families and three generations of women from a single Alevi village community. Another important aim of this study is to give these women the opportunity to tell their stories while examining the changes and continuities in those women’s intergenerational gender roles. Knowledge production through the experiences of

these women is an essential aspect of this feminist study. Their own experience of being an ‘Alevi woman’ will be under the spotlight whilst attempting to understand the socio-economic changes in Turkey starting from the 1950s.

Keywords: Migration, Gender, Alevism, Alevi Women, Urban Space

ÖZ

DIŞLIK KÖYÜ ÖRNEĞİNDE KIRSAL GÖÇÜN ALEVİ KADINLARININ NESİLLER ARASI TOPLUMSAL CİNSİYET ROLLERİNE ETKİLERİNİN ANALİZİ

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Bu çalışmanın amacı kente göç sebebiyle Alevi kadınların kuşaklar arası toplumsal cinsiyet rollerinde oluşan değişimleri onların evlilik, bakım sağlama, emek gücüne katılım ve eğitim pratiklerine odaklanarak incelemektir. Köyden kente göçle birlikte; hem Alevi sosyo-dinsel yapısı hem de Alevilerin topluluk içi ilişkileri değişmiştir. Bu anlamda, kentsel alan bu değişimlerin gözlemleneceği sahneyi oluşturmaktadır. Alevi kadınları, bir zamanlar kapalı bir köy topluluğuyla sınırlı olan, ‘kamusal alan’a katılabilir duruma gelmeye başlamıştır. Hem Alevi olma hem de kadın olma faktörlerinin birleşimi, Alevi kadınlarının kuşaklar boyunca kentleşme deneyimlerini etkilemiştir. Bu araştırma Alevi kadınlarının kentsel göç sürecindeki deneyimlerine ışık tutmayı ve tek bir Alevi köy topluluğundan beş farklı aileye ve onların üç kuşak kadınına odaklanarak zamansal bir harita çizmeyi amaçlamaktadır. Bu araştırmanın bir başka önemli amacı ise bu kadınların kuşaklar arası toplumsal cinsiyet rollerindeki değişimleri ve devamlılıkları incelerken onların kendi hikayelerini anlatmalarına olanak sağlamaktır. Kadınların deneyimlerinden bilginin üretilmesi bu feminist çalışmanın temel bir özelliğidir.

Türkiye’de 1950’lerden itibaren başlayan sosyo-ekonomik deęişimler anlaşılmaya kalkışılırken bu kadınların kendi ‘Alevi kadını’ olma deneyimleri ortaya konulacaktır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Göç, Toplumsal Cinsiyet, Alevilik, Alevi Kadınları, Kentsel Alan

To My Family

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Subject and Scope

Migration is one of the most important reasons of cultural change. This spatial replacement can fundamentally affect both the people and their environment. Alevi belief system and Alevi women's gender roles have been affected by urban migration as well. It is necessary to note that; "In social theory, the term culture was developed to indicate the boundaries of the knowledge, beliefs, and customs peculiar to particular communities" (Ramazanoğlu, 1989, p. 139). In social sciences, it is an accepted fact that culture is not a static phenomenon, and, the extent of the cultural change in the Dışlık case will be discussed in order to understand its effects on Alevi women.

Causes of the urban migration in Turkey are discussed in order to understand the context in which this case of migration has occurred. After World War II, a fundamental structural transformation of the economy was underway, with the Turkish modernization project and Westernization policy at its heart. The ever-increasing mechanization of the agricultural industry and the modernization of the market economy started to produce a natural imbalance of labour. These factors combined with the increased opportunities and the possibility of higher income in the urban paved the way for large scale urban migration. According to Karpat (1976); "In Turkey it has been estimated that the urban population of towns with 10.000 or more increased by 409 percent from 1927 to 1965" (p. 10). The causes and effects of urban migration in Turkey –which is a part of a larger international conjuncture, will be discussed via the case. Women's position and experiences

within this migration process will be evaluated. Also, women's gender roles in the rural life and in the urban space are discussed comparatively.

Migration and this new urban space undoubtedly have affected women's social lives. Women who had broader social activities especially due to their participation to agricultural production have primarily experienced a spatial change and confinement in the urban. Migration through marriage has led these women to experience migration in a particularly different way than men. This will be further evaluated in Chapter 4. While focusing on women the aim is to draw the complete picture of the migration. Migration has greatly affected both the lives of women and men of the Alevi community, and the social contexts in which they live. In the urbanization process and with the formation of the new urban space, Alevi culture has begun to be reformulated in accordance with this new environment.

Alevism's specificity –from other Muslim communities, arises from its gender equality discourse. This discourse will be critiqued in the following chapters in order to argue that the premise of gender equality in the Alevi belief system is obscuring the existing gender asymmetry and making it difficult to reveal the nature of the inequalities that Alevi women experience. According to Okan (2016), in existing Alevi literature gender equality is taken for granted as an essential aspect of the Alevi belief system. However, Alevi women's daily life experiences do not reflect aspects of this gender equality. Alevi women are both oppressed in their families, due to the 'patriarchal' Alevi socio-religious structure and in the society, both because of their Alevi and woman identities. All these aspects will be discussed further in the study.

1.2. The Aim of the Research

The research question of this study is; "As Alevi socio-religious structure began to interact with the 'new challenging urban context', resulting from urban migration, how have Alevi women's intergenerational gender roles been affected?" New challenging urban context is meaning the interaction between different

communities as well as economic hardship. There are three main aims of this research: first and foremost, is to highlight the changes in Alevi women's intergenerational gender roles from rural to urban, and from past to present; second, is to examine the changes in Alevi socio-religious structure from rural to urban; and, third, is to evaluate possible dilutions in patriarchy in Alevism by focusing on intrafamilial relations of Alevi women.

The aim of this study is to understand the cultural change caused by urban migration and to produce an account of the effects of these changes on the individual, the household and the community levels. To find answers to the major questions of this study the focus will be on the family where intergenerational transmission of the culture is executed. The focus on the family as an institution of cultural transmission is not because it has had a monopoly but because it still is the main social institution in which cultural transmission is executed, despite the increasing role of the nation-state (Bertaux & Thompson, 1993). Generational transmission is an important aspect of social existence. Oral transmission between generations is a fundamental mechanism for all communities and for the Alevi communities in particular to preserve the culture and collective memory the family as an institution acts to fulfil this generational transmission role. The Alevi communities, including this case community, state that they have been oppressed and marginalized throughout the history due to their differing beliefs. These opinions will be thoroughly investigated in this study.

This case study community is highly family oriented as are many other communities in Turkey. Women's gender roles within the family institution need to be understood and it is vital to investigate the effect of the Alevi socio-religious structure on intrafamilial relations. An evaluation to understand the social relations in which Alevi women live from a feminist perspective is crucial. According to many feminist scholars, the family is the oldest historical institution where women's oppression has been maintained and the gender roles are reproduced. Özbay (2014) underlines; "The family is an institution where power relations are not equal; the inequalities of gender and age are first experienced and learned with the family before any other institution" (p. 235). According to Pateman (1988),

women, through (hetero)sexual contract, are confined to the private sphere both physically and ideologically that creates the modern patriarchal subjugation of women. As she indicates; “For centuries, the family and the authority of the father at its head, provided the model or the metaphor for power and relations of all kinds” (Pateman, 1988, p. 23). According to this view the public sphere is historically constructed through the private sphere. The social existence of women is limited to the ‘private sphere’, but to understand to what level this has occurred the precise changes need to be observed in their gender roles. It is also necessary to note that private and public spheres are both extensions of each other and are contextual, changeable terms that in many cases are interwoven and inseparable. Their use may vary within different communities and in different time periods.

1.3. The Method

Feminist theory and feminist methodology are fundamental to this study. “Feminist methodology is one set of approaches to the problems of producing justifiable knowledge of gender relations” (Ramazanoğlu & Holland, 2002, p. 10). In this research gender is the key variable. As Farganis (1994) asserts:

In theoretical terms, feminism wants to make gender as important as class, to explain the world and relationships in the world in terms of gender, to spell out a theory of social change in terms of gender, and, in its most recent formulations, to write of gender’s intersection with race, class, and sexual preference (p. 46).

Women are central subjects of this study rather than passive objects of it. Feminist methodology puts women at the centre of the analysis. According to Stacey and Thorne (1998):

Feminist scholars begin by placing women at the centre, as subjects of inquiry and as active agents in the gathering of knowledge. This strategy makes women’s experiences visible, reveals the sexist biases and tacitly male assumptions of traditional knowledge, and... opens the way to gendered understanding (p. 222).

According to Beasley (1999), although there are different types of feminism; “What does seem to be a feature of all these existing feminisms is the consideration of women as the subject: women are at the centre of the analysis” (p. 18-19). According to Ramazanoğlu and Holland (2002); “Making sense of

women's experiences, absences and silences through feminist theory enabled feminist critics to target the sexist practices and patriarchal ideas that have shaped the social and political contexts within which scientific goals have been prioritized and set" (p. 45). In addition to this view, Abbot, Wallace and Tyler (2005) indicates; "A feminist sociology is one that is not just or necessarily *about* women but one that challenges and confronts the male supremacy that institutionalises women's inequality" (p. 16).

Gender perspective will be employed while highlighting changes in the Alevi women's intergenerational gender roles and in the Alevi socio-religious structure throughout the process of urban migration starting from the 1950s. From the 1980s, migration studies from the gender perspective have been developing (Donato, Gabaccia, Holdaway, Manalansan & Pessar, 2006). When the limited sociological research on Alevi women from a feminist perspective meshes with developing gender perspective in migration studies, this thesis may contribute to the research area. According to Karakaya-Stump (2016), there has been an increase in the number of Alevi publications after 1980s correlating with the emergence of identity politics. According to Salman (2016) Alevis have witnessed significant social change in the process of urbanization but in the literature this issue has only very recently surfaced and started to be discussed. This scarcity is even more significant in the topic of Alevi women. Feminist analyses through this gender perspective are very much lacking on the Alevi communities.

This study is based upon fieldwork that took place between December 2017 and February 2018 in Ankara. The in-depth interview technique is chosen as the data collection method and has been realized through a set of open-ended questions. This technique involves the researcher having a face to face interaction with the participants which enriches the process of data collection. This technique also contains particular tensions within itself which may block the process of data collection as the age and gender status of the researcher may affect the answers of the participants on certain topics (Gökçe, 2018).

At this point I must state my status as the researcher; I was an ‘insider’ for two reasons. Firstly I am an Alevi and secondly I am a woman. “Insider research is that which is conducted within a social group, organization or culture of which the researcher is also a member.” (Greene, 2014, p. 1) The insider position contains both positive and negative aspects and Greene (2014) lists both. While the benefits of insider research are pre-existing knowledge, natural interaction, and easier access; its shortcomings are being too subjective due to narrowed perception and being biased because of the researcher’s personal beliefs, experiences, and values. My Alevi status might have obscured some facts that I already have internalized as ‘natural’. It is difficult to mode into an ‘outsider’ to question, critique and observe the situations and relations that I have grown with and separate myself as much as practicable. As underlined by Greene (2014) for the insider researchers; “There is therefore the need to keep oneself somewhat distanced, which can be hard to do” (p. 4). According to Rose (1985) for the insider researcher; “There is no neutrality. There is only greater or less awareness of one’s biases. And if you do not appreciate the force of what you’re leaving out, you are not fully in command of what you’re doing” (p. 77).

On the positive side, firstly, being an insider has motivated me to choose this topic and make a research on Alevi women. Secondly, it was possible to collect and record the most accurate of data through having a friendly relationship with the women that I have interviewed. Being a female and of the community it was possible to discuss intimate issues such as people’s marriages and family relationships but was still not particularly easy. It was crucially important to collect this data with the insider researcher position being the most effective method. This depth and accuracy may not have been possible for an outsider researcher. Furthermore, a male researcher may find it even harder to gather the information from women and women participants may find it difficult to share intimate issues with a man. These factors could block the process of data collection in these sensitive areas of knowledge. It is noteworthy to indicate that I have gained access to this group of women through my mother as she is a member of my case village. For an outsider researcher that would be difficult to gain access to this community.

1.4. The Case

A particular women community from Dışlık village, located in the central Anatolian city of Sivas, has been the focal point of this case study. The community's direct and final destination of migration was certain districts of the capital city, Ankara. They mainly settled in the same areas, Tuzluçayır and Natoyolu. In this village and case study there was no sudden change of events to lead to a mass migration, instead there is a process of chain migration. In this process, these women have participated to an ongoing migration process at different periods of their lives.

Three generations of women from 5 different families –24 women in total, are interviewed. Classification of the generations is based on age, way of migration, rural and urban experiences, and the oldest available women. Nicknames are given to the participants in order to protect privacy. Family diagrams and the basic information about the families are provided by the figures below.

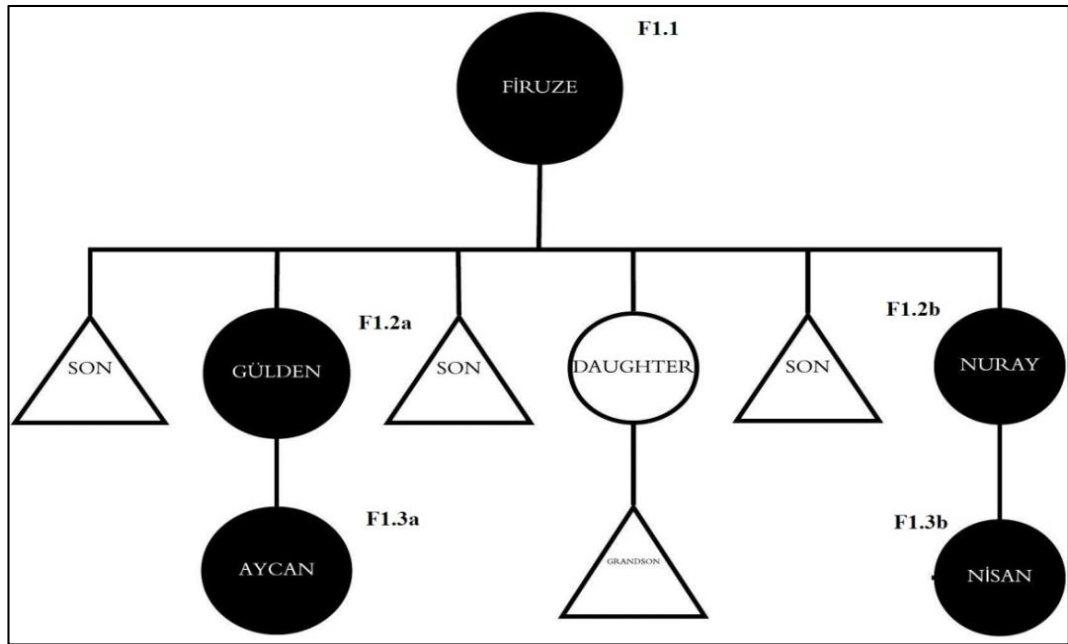


Figure 1. Firuze Family/F1

Firuze (F1.1) has six children; three daughters. Two of her daughters (F1.2a & F1.2b) and their daughters are included in this study (F1.3a & F1.3b). The third daughter has been excluded for not having a daughter.

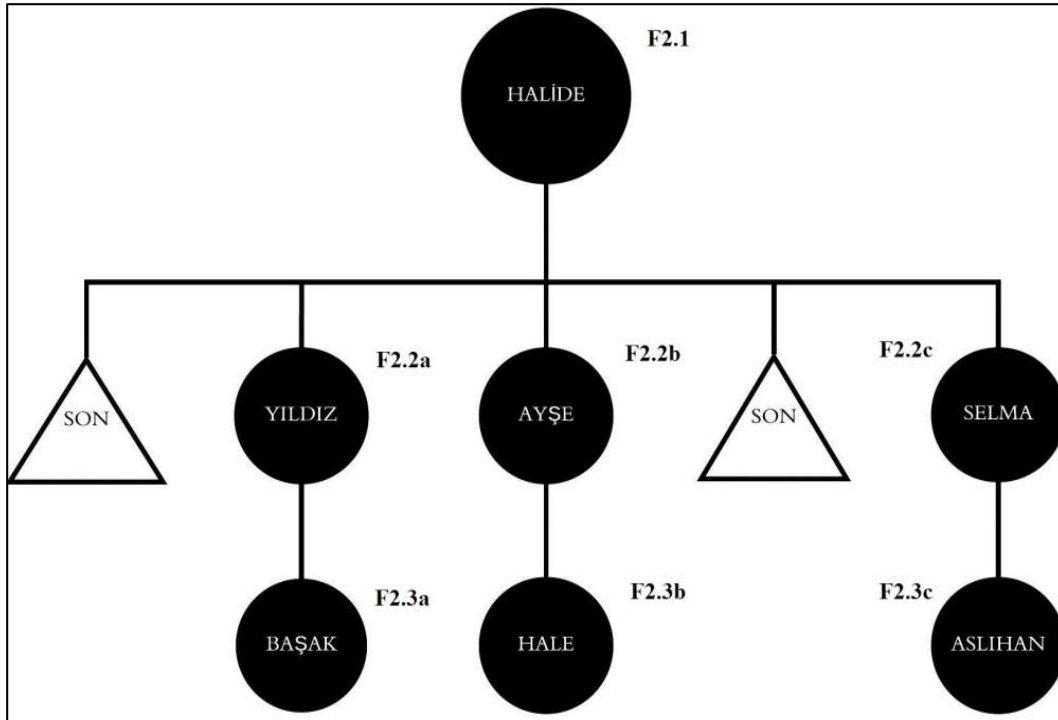


Figure 2. Halide Family/F2

Halide (F2.1) has five children and three daughters in total. All three daughters (F2.2a, F2.2b, F2.2c) also have daughters (F2.3a, F2.3b, F2.3c).

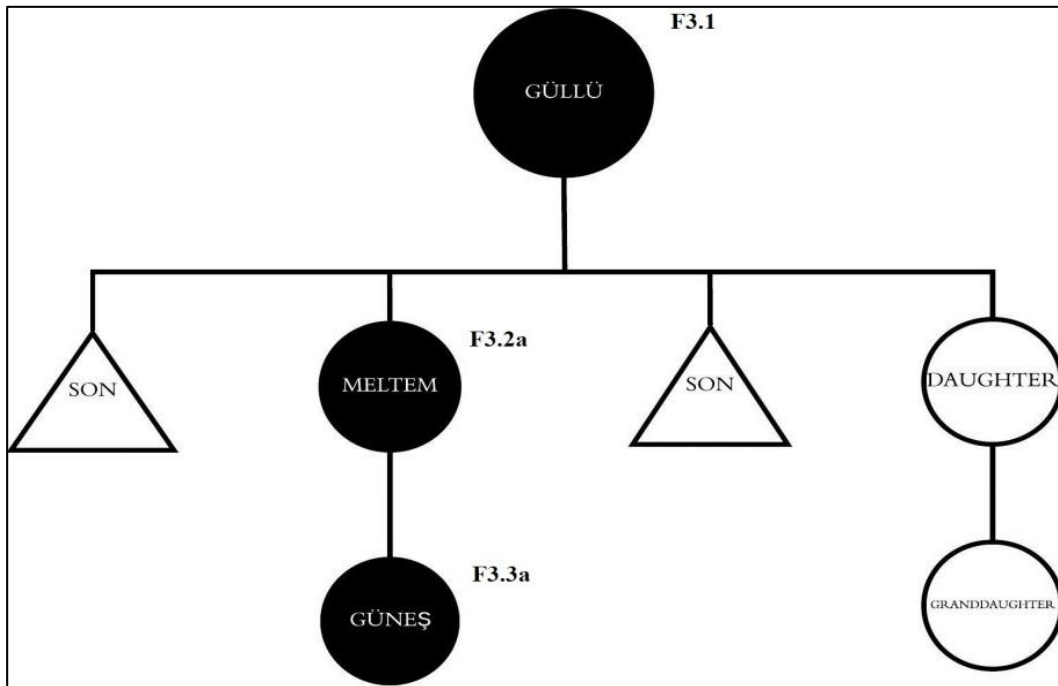


Figure 3. Güllü Family/F3

Güllü (F3.1) has four children, two of which are daughters. Meltem (F3.2a) and her daughter Güneş (F3.3a) are included in this study. The other daughter of Güllü was not included because her daughter was under eighteen.

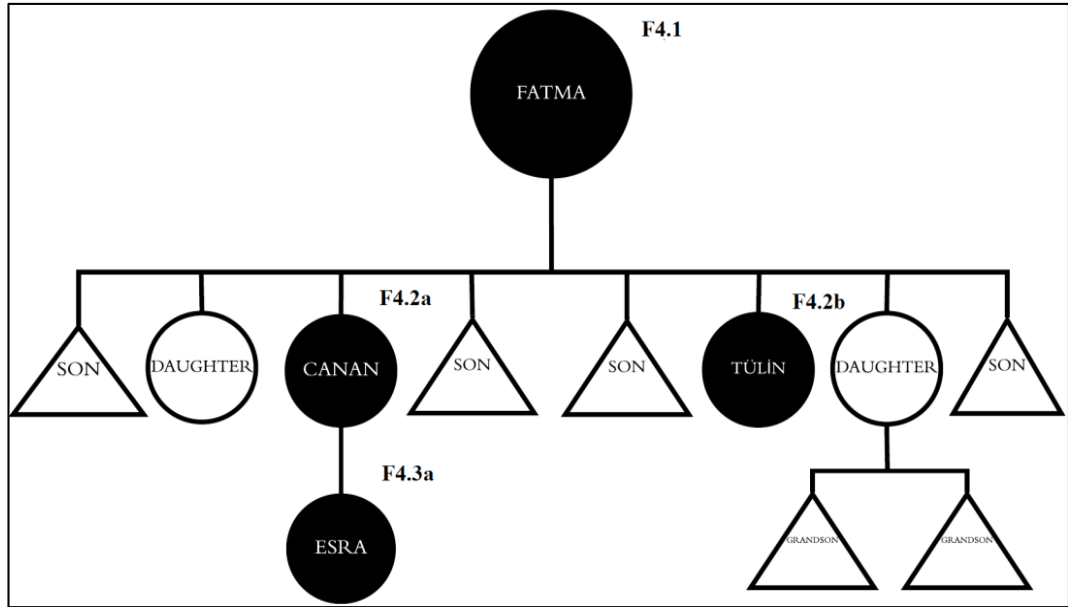


Figure 4. Fatma Family/F4

Fatma (F4.1) has eight children, four of which are daughters. Two of her daughters (F4.2a & F4.2b) are included in this study. One of the other two daughters was not living in Ankara anymore and was unfortunately unavailable at the time of the study. The other excluded due to having no daughters. Tülin (F4.2b) is included in this study as an exception because even though she did not have any daughters the migration for this family has happened through Tülin. Being the female pioneer migrant of a family is an exception for the village's migration history.

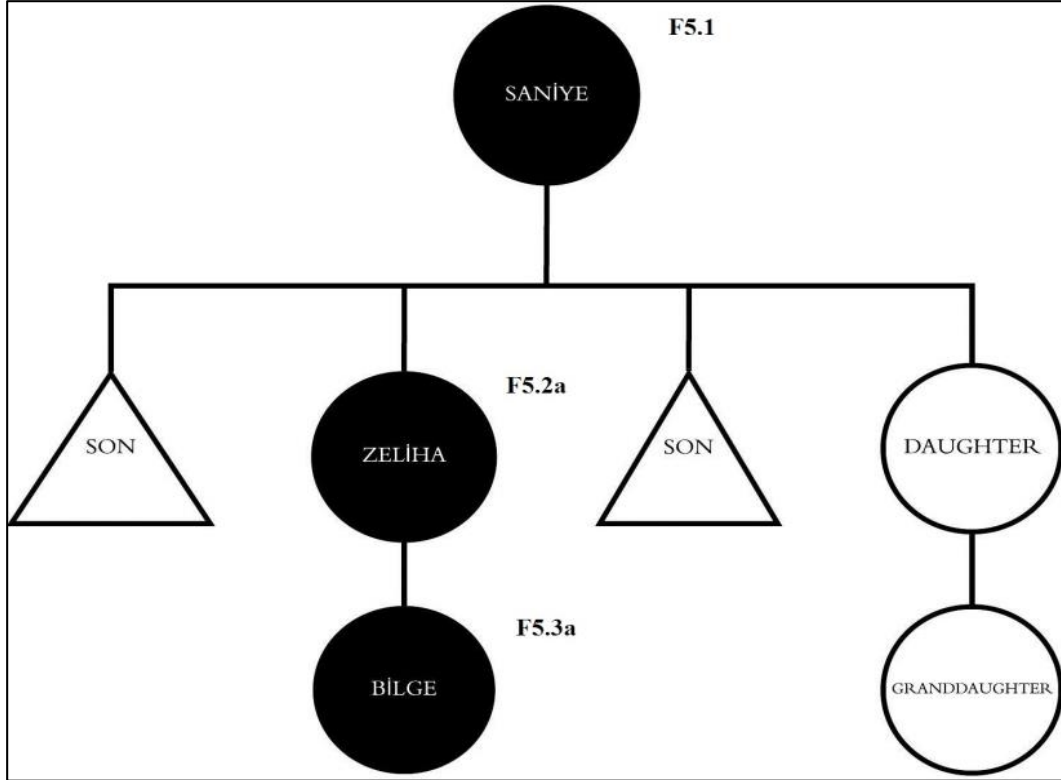


Figure 5. Saniye Family/F5

Saniye (F5.1) has two daughters and four children in total. Zeliha (F5.2a) and her daughter Bilge (F5.3a) are included in this study. Although Saniye's other daughter also had a daughter, which made them suitable for this study, they did not want to join. Unfortunately no reason was attributed for their lack of participation. Even though I did not have a chance to learn their reasons for not participating, I evaluate it as a valuable experience which illustrates a great example of the difficulties an insider researcher might also face.

In addition to these five families two women who did not migrate from Dışlık village are interviewed. It was necessary to interview those women in order to understand their experiences of rural life and create a fuller picture of the whole migration process. These women are Hatun (6) and Esmâ (7). They also belong to the first generation of this study because of their ages.

CHAPTER 2

ALEVISM

2.1. History

Alevism as an esoteric belief; “was developed in Central Anatolia during the 13th century by itinerant Muslim mystics” (Procházka-Eisl, 2016, p. 1). According to Melikoff (1998); “The Turkmen tribes started coming to Anatolia at the end of the 11th century. Their migration became more intensive during the 12th and especially throughout the 13th century when they were obliged to escape the Mongol invasion” (p. 1).

“Coming from Arabic, the term Alevi has the meaning “being a member of Ali’s lineage” or “belonging to Ali”. Alevism can generally be defined as loving Ali and following the path of his lineage, the *Ahl al-Bayt*” (Yaman & Erdemir, 2006, p. 15). Ali is the cousin and son-in-law of Prophet Muhammad. Shia and Sunni branches have occurred after the death of Prophet Muhammad in 632. These two manners both argued that they were the rightful successors of Muhammad, and they found themselves in a power struggle. Many conflicts occurred including the slaughter of Imam Husayn –who is the grandson of Muhammad, in *Kerbala*. These conflicts were mainly emerged as a power struggle, and a political competition which paved the way for separations in the Muslim world. When Islam expanded into Anatolia it has brought its variances and Alevism has expanded through *sheiks* and *dervishes*.

2.2. Alevism in Literature

In literature; “The matter of how to approach Alevi identity is highly contested; it has been considered through ethnic, cultural, political and religious terms, as

within and outside Islam and as ethnically Turkish or Kurdish” (Lord, 2017, p. 48). In this thesis I approach Alevism as a religious sect, and Alevis as mainly a religious minority group. It is firstly because my case group is ethnically Alevi Turks; secondly, Alevi Turks in Turkey mainly constitute the major ‘religious’ minority group; and, thirdly, I mainly focus on the effects of the socio-religious structure on Alevi women’s gender roles.

For many of the Alevis and for the case community, Alevism is something that comes from birth. In this manner, Alevism is ethnical and it draws a boundary around the Alevi identity. The only way a person can be recognized as Alevi by the community is to come from a family of Alevi lineage. In this context, Alevism is exclusive rather than inclusive, leading Alevism to be considered as ethnicity. According to Tol (2016); “in the rural Alevi existence, being born an Alevi was sufficient to be considered a part of the community” (p. 20). However, according to Bozkurt (1998), this “inborn Alevism” principle is due to change in the new urban setting. This can be observed in new marriage and friendship practices of urban Alevis.

2.3. Religious Sources

In Muslim belief there are two major sources of religious knowledge. First one is the *Qur’an*, and the second one is *hadith* which is a collection of the second hand reports of Prophet Muhammad’s actions, words, and personal traditions, collected soon after his death. However, Alevis share the opinion that the Qur’an had been changed after the death of Muhammad and they have their own religious resources. As noted by Bilici (1998):

According to this sect, which is in no way distinguished from other Muslim sects in its attitude to belief in God, the Koran in its present form is not a miracle. There is no such thing as a complete and unadulterated version of the Koran (p. 54).

According to Karakaya-Stamp (2016), even though Alevism mainly depends on oral tradition and cultural transmission between generations, the existence of written sources –like *Buyruk*, should not be underestimated. As noted by Procházka-Eisl (2016):

Written primary sources on the Alevi religion consist of religious poetry and hymns (*nefes*), hagiographies about specific spiritual patrons (*vilayetnames* or *menakibnames*), quasi-sacred books called *buyruk*, and various other documents kept in the private archives of *ocak* families (p.14).

Oral tradition plays an important role in Alevism and the tradition of poetry maintained through *bağlama* –a string instrument, has a specific place in cultural transmission. “... the oral transmission of hymns recited by bards (*ozan*, *aşık*), of legends and of pious stories about saintly men, was how this mainly rural and illiterate society preserved its creed” (Procházka-Eisl, 2016, p. 14).

2.4. Socio-Religious Structure

The distinct nature of Alevism as an esoteric belief shows itself mainly in its socio-religious organization. The *ocak* system and the *dede* constitute the most important socio-religious elements of the belief which will be further explained in the sub-sections. In addition, *cem* ritual and its function in the socio-religious structure will be highlighted.

2.4.1. The *Ocak* system and the *Dede*

As noted by Yaman and Erdemir (2006); “Alevism is organized through dervish lodges (*tekke*), lodge complexes (*zaviye*), and dervish convents (*dergah*) in Anatolia and the Balkans, and with *ocaks* in more rural areas” (p. 84-85).

Ocak system is constructed with both *dedes* and *talips* –disciples. “*Ocaks* is a general term that is referred to the *dede* families descended from the Alevi notables” (Yaman & Erdemir, 2006, 85). *Dede* families are believed to come from the lineage of Prophet Mohammed or from a saintly man who has devoted his life to this road long ago. “Many *dede* lineages claim to be descended from holy men who attended Hacı Bektaş’s *tekke* in the town of that name, near Nevşehir” (Shankland, 1998, p. 19). This multi-centred socio-religious structure has helped Alevis to preserve their autonomy and culture for centuries (Karakaya-Stump, 2016). Therefore, *dede* families have a significant importance in the socio-religious structure of Alevism.

Traditional belief is that only *dede* men can become religious leaders in Alevism. The *dede* man, by carrying the real blood of Prophet Muhammad's lineage or coming from a saintly man, is biologically and socially superior to both *dede* women, and, *talip* men and women. "The *dede* are rightly regarded as one of the keys to Alevi society: they are once its focus, its teachers, temporal judges and links to their religious heritage" (Shankland, 1998, p. 19). *Dedes* are the religious leaders in the community who have the right to manage the social lives of Alevi people through religious rituals –*cem*, and regular visits to the *talip* households. This role or function of *dede* has started to dissolve, in part to urban migration.

It is important to highlight that there is a religious and social hierarchy, and a power asymmetry between *dede* and *talip* people. While *dede* constitutes the centre of this system, *talip* is in the periphery. According to Shankland (1998):

In the Sunni communities, amongst men there exists a loose equality: they differ by the virtue of their wealth, their age and their position in the lineage, but no man is held to be qualitatively superior or closer to God than any other. This is not the same the Alevi as they have the *ocak* system which provides the basis for a socio-religious hierarchy between both men and women (p. 18).

The *dede/talip* hierarchy strongly appears in marriage practices. While *dede* people marry with people from other *dede* families; *talip* people can only marry with other *talip* people. This religious/cultural endogamy ensures the continuity of *dede* lineage and by doing so aims to preserve the holy lineage which will ensure the maintenance of the beliefs and the culture. It is important to note that *dedelik* as an institution is beyond individuals which mainly value the lineage. Those women of the *dede* lineage –brood women, are the guarantee of the purity of the lineage. Traditionally, this fact leads a gendered hierarchy which lets *dede* men to marry with *talip* women –although it was not preferable and very common; but does not allow *dede* women to marry with *talip* men. If a *dede* woman marries with a *talip* man she becomes *düşkün* –excommunicated. In the opposite case, if a *dede* man marries with a *talip* woman, he does not become a *düşkün*. The status of the men is the main determinant of the status of women (Okan, 2016). According to Vorhoff (1999) even though, in Alevi community, the wife of the

dede –ana (mother) is as much respected as the *dede*, she does not have an active role in the socio-religious structure –e.g. in the *cem* ritual, and, her appellation stems from the *dede*.

Ocak system also lets *dede* families to marry women from other *dede* families of a different village as well. “Often, a particular *dede* lineage would claim descent from other similar *dede* lineages in the area, forming a network of related lineages laterally across the countryside” (Shankland, 1998, p. 18). This network helps *dede* men to marry with *dede* women from other villages. However, with the urban migration marriage practices of Alevi people are due to change. Intermarriage is no more a reason to become *düşkün*. Besides, according to Bozkurt (1998); *düşkünlük*/excommunication “has no meaning in urban society. Excommunication would merely mean that one more person has been lost to the Alevi community” (p. 89).

2.4.2. The Cem Ritual

Cem is the religious ritual of Alevism in which faith to God is performed through a combination of music –*bağlama*, and dance –*semah*. *Cems* are held on Thursday evenings in *cemevi* which means *cem*-house. The name given to the religious building in which the *cem* ritual is carried out.

In addition to the religious ritual *cem*, there exist *görgü* gatherings or *görgü cems* which “assume the function of a judicial institution” (Bozkurt, 1998, p. 88). *Dede* act as a judge in solving conflicts between people and between spouses in the *görgü cem*. In Bozkurt’s (1998) estimation:

These institutions have emerged with the aim of ensuring order in the community while at the same time keeping relations with the state to a minimum. This custom probably dates back to nomadic times before the state was in existence and bears all the characteristics of that primitive way of life (p. 88).

Görgü gathering was inherent in the rural life of Alevis, which has dissolved by urban migration. According to Bozkurt (1998):

There are two main reasons that make it impossible for the *görgü* institution to exist in an urban society. For one thing, they cannot perform the function of a force of law

and order in an environment with modern judicial institutions and obligatory relations with the state. In urban life, it is utterly out of the question that people should exercise personal control over each other (p. 88-89).

In the past the worship period of the village was arranged according to the harvest. During the agricultural production season of roughly the months June through to October no worship or rituals were performed. Following this period the *cem* rituals would commence and be held throughout the winter. There wasn't a place called *cemevi* at that time and the rituals were held in the biggest houses of the village. In these rituals animals were sacrificed, prayers were said and conflicts heard with the aim of finding resolution while everyone was being interrogated by the *dede*. It was a period of socializing in the village and an important part of the maintenance of social order. Another significant part of the maintenance was the regular visits of *dedes* to the houses of disciples. This socio-religious structure has substantially dissolved under the effects of urban migration.

2.4.3. Musahiplik/Brotherhood

Musahiplik, "is the brotherhood of two men, of two families" and, "In Anatolia, participation in this community is obligatory" (Bozkurt, 1998, p. 88). This institution aims to maintain solidarity among community members. However; only married people can become *musahips*, and; this organization is highly gendered because it is constructed through the brotherhood of two men and their conjugal families without the consent of their wives. This institution has started to dissolve by urban migration as well.

2.5. Islam, Alevism and Patriarchy

2.5.1. Monotheistic Religions, Patriarchy and Women

Walby (1990) defines patriarchy "as a system of social structures and practices in which men dominate, oppress and exploit women". She continues; "The use of the term social structure is important here, since it clearly implies rejection both of biological determinism, and the notion that every individual man is in a dominant position and every woman in a subordinate one" (p. 20).

According to Berktaş (2011), ‘the patriarchal system’ refers to the institutional, cultural regulations and implementations that result in woman’s oppression in the society, and, it generally predicates man’s hegemony. Historically patriarchy, together with religion, plays a key role in controlling women’s sexuality and has a profound effect on women’s social life. According to Berktaş (2000) the main reason behind the control of woman’s sexuality and body is to predicate the patriarchal religious ideology.

Furthermore, Berktaş (2000) also states that monotheist religions reinforce patriarchal assumptions such as women and men being different not only biologically but also in terms of their function, skill and needs, and, men being naturally powerful and rational while women being weak and emotionally unstable. Evidence of this idea are not just limited by Islam but can be found throughout the other two major monotheistic religions. According to Kandiyoti (1987); “Islam as an ideological system does provide some unifying concepts that influence women’s experiences of subordination”; but, “there is a great deal of diversity and specificity in women’s experiences in Islamic societies which vary with the nationalist histories and social policies of countries within which women are located” (p. 319-320). Even though, Alevism is a branch of Islam and the emphasis on the complementarity between the sexes is clearly present in the Alevi sect, Alevism has some differences in its attitude towards gender equality. What makes Alevism different from the other sects needs to be discussed.

2.5.2. Alevism and Women

In Alevism gender equality is openly expressed as an essential aspect of the belief by the community members themselves, and it is reproduced without significant challenges. This discourse, first of all, stems from the idea that in Alevism every human regardless of sex, is a reflection of God. Both woman and man is called *can* –life, which does not imply either sex but simply refers to being human. This is also prevalent in Hacı Bektaş-ı Veli’s saying:

“Bizim nazarımızda kadın erkek farkı yok,
Noksanlık da eksiklik de senin görüşlerinde”

(There is no difference between woman and man in our view,
Defectiveness and incompleteness are in your view).

In oral history, Alevism distinguishes itself from other Muslim beliefs by the value it gives to women as *cans*. Gender equality discourse is traditionally very strongly reiterated in Alevism to differentiate themselves.

As a reflection of the gender neutrality of the *cans*, women and men can both perform the *cem* ritual together. When considering the gender-based spatial segregation in Islam there is a clear difference here. For this reasons, *cem* ritual is one of the strongest justifications of gender equality discourse in Alevism. However, this justification has been challenged, and the gender dynamics of the *cem* ritual has been studied fairly recently. Eruçar (2010) argues that there is a gap between the gender equality discourse of Alevi belief system and the actual practice of *cem* ritual. Gender equality discourse of Alevism mainly relies on the physical existence of women and men in the place of worship during the ritual. However, a closer look at the physical and functional configuration during this practice reveals important gender inequalities. During the ritual, women sit behind the men in the outer circle. There exist twelve duties –*on iki hizmet*, in the *cem*. Most of these ‘twelve duties’ are executed by men. Women only perform the functions of *süpürgeci* –sweeper and *aşçı* –cooker, in accordance with traditional gender division of labour (Vorhoff, 1999). Moreover, the lack of spatial segregation does not have a direct and positive effect on Alevi women’s gender roles in their familial or communal relations.

One of the most important issues about Alevism and the gender equality discourse is clearly the lack of headscarf. Veiling is a strong representative of female purity in monotheistic religions (Berktaş, 2000). Veiling is clearly related to the control over women’s sexuality. According to Menemencioğlu (2011, p. 132), in the Alevi belief system, women are not seen as *şehvet objesi* (symbol of lust); therefore, Alevi women do not veil. On the symbolic level, a lack of the veil might lead to a conclusion that Alevi women are free from patriarchal control over their female sexuality. However, the ‘control over female sexuality’ is prevalent in the Alevi belief system as well. This is executed through marriage practices, and can be

observed in their intrafamilial and intra-community relations, and women's mobility outside home. Alevi women, in my research, often complain about the fact that the Sunni community produces prejudgments on their purity and sanctity from their lack of necessity to don the veil. On the other hand, For Alevi women and Alevis in general, the headscarf is an object to distinguish themselves from Sunnis and a way to draw the line between them and the 'others' (Mandel, 1989; Vorhoff, 1999; Okan, 2016) Especially in the urban context with the urban migration, this gender equality discourse has gained importance for Alevis to distinguish themselves from the 'others'. In addition to this, with the international migration, in the European context Alevi women are marked by their lack of headscarves compared to other Muslim communities (Mandel, 1989).

According to Okan (2018); "The reasons for this rhetoric that supports the claim to equality are more to do with setting the boundaries of Alevi identity than in actually supporting equality between women and men" (p. 84). In contrast, according to Raudvere (1998) Alevi and Islamic women have something in common; "From several aspects, the recently visible groups have moved from periphery to centre. The various groups of Alevi and Islamic women share the position of being "other" in relation to mainstream secular society and the traditional Sunni community" (p. 188).

In Alevi literature, the gender equality premise has served to obscure the patriarchy in Alevism. Noted by Salman (2016), apart from a few recent attempts, in existing literature, women in Alevism have rarely been discussed in the context of this gender equality premise. According to Okan (2016) publications that deal with this topic fall short of explaining the reality. She argues that some of these works tend to relate Alevism with the Turkic tribes in the past and pre-Islamic Shamanism and argue that women were equal to men before Islam. This approach mainly fosters the nationalist discourse. In some other publications the gender equality discourse is supported by focusing on female religious figures –e.g. Prophet Fatma, Kadıncık Ana, Anşa Bacı, Hüsniye, who are important religious figures in the oral tradition of Alevism. Even though these women figures are well respected, they have yet to provide a strong basis for gender equality in Alevi

women's daily life experiences. Vorhoff (1999) indicates that amongst the literature that on Alevi women's 'independence', opinions and everyday life experiences of Alevi women have been excluded and are far from reflecting the reality. It is possible to conclude that women and men are not entirely equal in practice or within the cultural foot point left in literature. In the light of the findings of Gümüş (2011), gender equality discourse has been internalized by Alevi women, and, even though there are exceptions women tend to maintain this discursive tradition. Gümüş's (2011) study reveals that when it comes to Alevism, the Alevi women tend to ignore the problems they face surrounding their gender. The experience of "otherness" has been at the forefront of their minds outweighing their gendered experiences.

Despite all the negativity that gender equality discourse in Alevism contains, according to Salman (2016), gender equality discourse helps Alevi women to create the space for mobility, especially in the urban. In a similar light, according to Okan (2016) even though there is a disparity in gender equality discourse and the daily life experiences of Alevi women; compared to Sunni Islam, in Alevism the gender equality is an objective to be achieved. This has the potential to provide a strong platform for women's empowerment and to increase in the level of access for women to higher education and the participation to all areas of the labour force. This will be an important indicator of change for Alevi women and will prove a substantive change from the lives led in rural community to the urban one.

2.6. Alevism and Turkish Modernization Project

The Turkish modernization project began in the late Ottoman period and started to gain real momentum with the establishment of the Republic. "History of modernization in the Ottoman Empire, in the sense of adopting Western-origin rational governmental institutions and attitudes under Western military, economic and ideological pressure, is usually considered to begin early in the nineteenth century" (Seker, 2007, p. 49). This project came to define the Republican era and the legacy can be seen in its various socio-political regulations. One of the most damaging implications of the Republican reforms for Alevis has been the closure

of the dervish lodges in 1925 (Tekke ve Zaviyelerin Kapatılması Kanunu). This Republican reform has affected Alevis in a detrimental way and set the wheels in motion for the community's marginalization and assimilation. Its effects have not only prevented Alevis from continuing to practice traditional rituals but have sidelined the importance of the *cemevi* from its once central role within the community. In the public sphere, this marginalization has paved the way for Alevis to be considered 'outsiders', according to Procházka-Eisl (2016); "For centuries Alevis practiced their rites in secret, which created suspicion and rumour among Sunnite Muslims. Today's Alevis still have to struggle with this distrust, and are often regarded as heretics by the Sunnites" (p. 1). This regulation has not only placed Alevism in a legally unrecognized position but has also shaped the way the wider society views this community.

In the literature of Alevism throughout the Republican era, there exist contrasting analyses to how these reforms have impacted the community. It is important to note that Turkish Alevis had initially welcomed the Republic and its modernization agenda. According to Aringberg-Laantza (1998), the main reason for this acceptance was that the position of the Turkish Alevis would improve with the establishment of the Republic and that because Atatürk's aim was to create secular institutions of government to level the playing field for the different communities:

For the first time, the Alevi Turks got an opportunity to improve their position in society, and to a large extent they supported Atatürk. The elimination of all Sunni Muslim establishments and the separation of the religious institutions from those of the state, put the Alevis formally on an equal level with the Sunnis (p. 156).

In a similar way, Shankland (1998) asserts:

One of the triumphs of the Republic is that the conflict between Alevi and Sunni which marked some of the most bloody episodes in the history of the Ottoman Empire has been so markedly reduced. The reasons for this are complex, but are certainly linked to the fact that both Alevi and Sunni Turks have felt able to identify with the aims and desires of the new Republican movement (p. 15-16).

On the other hand, according to Bozarslan (2003), there are some unchallenged 'surmises' which block off the emergence of high quality historical, sociological and anthropological works on Alevism. He asserts:

The most important of those postulates are the following:

- The Alevis were repressed by the despotic Sunni Ottoman state for centuries and were opposed to it;
- Later on, they contracted an alliance with the ‘secular’ Kemalist regime against Sunni domination and theocracy;
- In the post-Kemalist period, they become; once again; opponents of the ‘anti-secularist’ and ‘reactionary’ state. This changing attitude is to be explained by the democratic and secularist nature of Alevism, which ‘naturally’ contracted an alliance with the left-wing opposition in Turkey (Bozarslan, 2003, p. 3).

These different approaches contradicts one another, the Turkish Alevi communities who later on identified themselves with the Republican reforms often openly indicate that they have been oppressed by the Ottoman ruling. Therefore, it has also occurred as a way to separate themselves from the Ottoman religious tradition which is often defined as *gerici* (backward), by Alevis. The secular tradition of the Republican reforms is adopted by the Alevi communities who often define themselves and Alevi culture as *ilerici* (forward).

For women, on the other hand, the modernization projects have had various different meanings, as noted by Kandiyoti (1987):

The formal emancipation of Turkish women was achieved through a series of legal reforms following the war of national independence (1918-23) and the establishment by Mustafa Kemal Ataturk of a secular republic out of the remains of the Ottoman state (p. 320).

Shortly after the establishment of the Republic, women had been recognized as ‘citizens’, winning their right to vote and to stand for election. The adoption of the Civil Code in 1926 was a step towards the recognition of women’s position in the society. Even though these regulations dramatically improved the women’s standing in the society, they have mainly served as a political separation from the Ottoman Empire and the realization of the modernization project rather than simply improving their situation (Tekeli, 1988).

The concept of identity is problematic for women in general (Walby, 2013) but particularly for Alevis. According to Kandiyoti (2007), in nationalist projects a change in women's status can only be overlooked when women's needs are consistent with the national interests. According to Ilkkaracan and Ilkkaracan (2003), even though the standardized legal system of the new Republic has provided the legal base for gender equality, women of Turkey suffer from a disparity between their everyday life experiences and their legal status. The situation of Alevi women is not substantially dissimilar. According to Okan (2018):

The Republic argued that equality between women and men was an indispensable part of social and political life. But Alevis, in fact, claimed that equality between woman and man had long been among the main principles of Alevism for centuries. However, the attitude towards equality formed a common ground between the fundamentals of the Republic and Alevi belief and emerged as an important element in strengthening Alevi loyalty to the Republic... The claim of equality is found to be more to do with marking the boundaries of Alevi identity than putting equality into practice (p. 69).

Identification with the Republican reforms has served the Alevi communities as a means to distinguish themselves from the 'backward' Ottoman and Sunni traditions. This separation relevance especially in the urban environment to the strength and maintenance of community ties and has functioned as a way to integrate in this new socio-political environment.

2.7. Alevism in the Urban

Alevism in the urban has a different meaning than Alevism in the rural. "Until the wave of industrialization and modernization which has swept through Anatolia since the late sixties and early seventies, the Alevi have been a largely rural community" (Shankland, 1998, p. 16). In addition, "Alevis have generally settled far away from the central authority and in regions that are hard to reach and mountainous, in contrast to Sunni masses who have settled in generally flat lands"

(Yaman and Erdemir, 2006, p. 31). For this reason, migration is a more challenging process for Alevis because they become closer to the central authority and losing their relative autonomy. Furthermore, according to Shankland (1993); “the Alevi have very little foothold in the sub-province centre, from which they might be able to build an urban base” (p. 180). This has led to a direct migration from rural to urban rather than moving to a sub-province.

With the urban migration, the Alevi socio-religious structure has started to change. The greatest change has occurred in the *ocak* system which has begun to fracture. The new challenges brought to the fore by this relocation of building houses, finding jobs and the concerns related to finding land have all contributed to changes in people’s priorities and lifestyles. This has led to a decrease in *dede*’s authority in the community, according to Bozkurt (1998) articulation to left-wing politics is also a factor in this dissolution:

It is well known that the authority of the dedes began to decline in the 70s and 80s. With the adoption of left-wing views by Alevi youth, the dedes began to be regarded as part of the system of exploitation. Nor do the dedes possess sufficient knowledge to be able to adapt themselves to changing circumstances. They are unable to respond to the demands of a new generation that has embarked on a process of urbanisation. The old tales and legends hold no interest for modern Alevi youth, who regard them as mere superstitious fabrications (p. 86).

In the light of my interviews, it is proper to argue that men from the *dede* lineage have experienced a status loss in the city. In this new environment their religious priority and prestige has not been recognized and is seen to have sparked somewhat of a re-evaluation of their position.

“No longer living in tightly knit rural communities with their local, mainly oral means of passing on their doctrines, they turn to writing and learning through publications, both scholarly and otherwise” (Shankland, 1998, p. 17). This occurs both due to the necessity of cultural transmission between generations and in order to preserve the culture against outside effects. In Alevi communities, in contrast to Sunni communities, collective memory is vital. It has helped the construction of ‘Alevi identity’ from past to present. Family as an institution, especially after the

dissolution of the *ocak* system and the decrease of *dede*'s authority in the urban environment, has become the most important institution for cultural transmission.

In the late 1980s and early 1990s, as a result of urbanization, the social mobility of Alevi people in the society has led them to openly indicate who they are and what they want as a marginalized community. "For the first time in the history of the Turkish Republic the Alevi declared themselves openly not only as a political force, but also as a religious community claiming the right of self-determination and official recognition" (Vorhoff, 1998, p. 31). She continues; "As elsewhere in the world we witness in Turkey the end of purely political ideologies and the rise of identity politics among different segments of society. The Alevi revival has to be understood as one part of this trend" (p. 34).

According to Köse (2012); "The main challenge for Alevi identity politics is to create the conditions for the maintenance of Alevi identity in the modern urban context and to become recognised and accepted as equal actors by the Turkish state as well as by the other social and political actors and groups in Turkey" (p. 578). However; as Vorhoff (1998) indicates; "A dilemma arises from the fact that the Alevi in present day Turkey strive for modernization, but are actually not the ones who decide on its methods" (p. 29).

The most important issue of urban Alevism is clearly the *cemevi*. The Directorate of Religious Affairs does not provide any religious services or funds from the state budget to construct *cemevis*. This community has taken to constructing them through private funding or from donations to the civil society organizations by the Alevi community.

This struggle for ritual space also shows itself in funeral rites. According to Bozkurt (1998); "One of the most important problems confronting Alevism in the transition from rural to urban life is that of funeral rites". He continues:

In many cities, the burial of the dead which, in rural areas would be carried out by the *dedes*, poses a problem. In many cases, either they are not allowed in the mosques or the *imams* regard it as a sin to conduct the funeral rites of an Alevi (p. 90).

Another important problem that Alevis face in the urban is compulsory religious education. “The public “reintroduction” and strengthening of Islam in the 80s is obvious. Religious education of primary and secondary school children was made compulsory in the 1982 Constitution” (Aringberg-Laantza, 1998, p. 159). This has led many of the Alevis to object to their children taking the compulsory religious lessons as the emphasis of Sunni Islam over Alevism has been unbalanced.

2.8. Chapter Conclusions

In this chapter, general information about Alevism and its socio-religious structure has been provided. It was necessary to present information about the traditional socio-religious structure of Alevism in order to establish the evaluation of the changes and continuities in Alevi women’s intergenerational gender roles. This will be discussed in Chapter 5 with the analysis of the data from the field.

The socio-religious institutions of *ocak* and *dede* have begun to lose their meaning in the urban context. The necessities of daily life in the urban and the interaction with the larger society have affected Alevi people’s intra-community relations. Formal institutions in the urban have gained importance over those in the rural, such as *Görgü cemi*. The decrease in *dede*’s authority has started to reveal itself in various ways. Firstly, participation in *cem* ritual has decreased exponentially. This can be traced back to the lack of ritual space. Secondly, *dedes* regular visits to the *talip* households have also become difficult. Thirdly, the institution of *musahiplik*/brotherhood has started to lose its meaning. Finally and uttermost importantly, exogamy has become a phenomenon in the urban.

Even though there have been changes in the Alevi socio-religious structure, gender equality is still problematic in Alevism. On these grounds, gender equality in Alevism is more ideological than practical. Women’s daily life experiences reflect a substantial difference between the rhetoric and the reality. Patrilinearity, the fundamental mechanism behind traditional patriarchy is evident in Alevism, mainly through the socio-religious institution of *ocak*. This institution creates a

gendered hierarchy among men, women and between women and men. It is what defines the boundaries and traditions of the marriage practices. However the movement of people from rural to urban and the proceeding cultural changes that have unfolded it has undermined this traditional Alevi institution.

Besides all these changes discussed in the Alevi socio-religious structure, Alevi people's visibility has increased in the public sphere with the urban migration. While the Alevi resided on the outskirts of the society during the time of them living in rural areas of the country, a clearer definition of their identity has emerged in this new urban context. Being an Alevi was not such a divisive issue in the rural where the public and private are extensions of each other. It has started to become an issue in this urban space with the interaction between different communities. Migration, Alevism and the urban space will be discussed in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 3

FROM DIŞLIK TO ANKARA

In this chapter, recent theories and models in migration literature are discussed in order to present more current discussions in the literature. International and national socio-economic context which paved the way for urban migration in Turkey is discussed. Economic changes in the international and national levels have affected political and social life which inevitably has resulted in urban migration. Changing economic policies and their effects on the agricultural production is considered.

It is important to evaluate the place of origin and destination together in order to give an overall idea about the migration phenomenon. The village with its past and present is discussed in order to understand changing socio-economic life. Geographical, economic and social aspects of the village are explained; and, since it is an Alevi village its distinctive social aspects are presented. Place of destination is examined with its physical, economic, social, and political aspects in order to understand the urban space that has shaped and been shaped by the rural migrants. The importance of the shantytown for the migrants is evaluated.

3.1. Migration Concept in the Literature

Human migration is the process in which a forced or a voluntary physical abandonment of a certain place is performed by a person or a group of people with intent to settle down in a new place. War, natural disasters and political chaos may force people to leave their settlements. On the other hand, people might move to different areas voluntarily. Migration to the coastal areas after retirement is an

example of voluntary migration. Whatever the reason behind migration, the motivation is mainly to survive and to have better life conditions.

According to Guinness (2002), migration is the third component of population change after fertility and mortality, and as migration is a physical and social transaction, it is very difficult to conceptualize and measure it. In many of the recent studies on migration, it has been stressed that migration process includes the decision-making, the actual move and settlement, and the adaptation. Therefore, migration is a complex, multidimensional and multilayered social phenomenon (Massey et al., 1993). Migration inevitably changes both the lives of the migrants and the people left behind, in both the places of origin and destination. Moving from one place to another, migrants experience many different problems and they apply surviving strategies. They are transformed by the spaces they moved into. Besides they transform the urban space. The relationship between spaces and people is a very complex one. As Massey (1994) puts it; “space must be conceptualized integrally with time; indeed that the aim should be to think always in terms of space-time” (p. 2). Migration as a social phenomenon influences the interaction between space, time and people. According to Ekici and Tuncel (2015), migration damages people’s link with their natural and social environment. As a result of it, cultural change occurs both in the individual and societal levels.

According to Guinness (2002); “Migration typologies are classifications of migrations into types. The main elements of classification are distance, duration and cause” (p. 23). After the emergence of the ‘nation-state’ in the seventeenth century, national territories have become visible for the first time in history. Even though there are national territories and, internal and international migration are classified; they are linked. They both take part within the same context –world capitalist economic system. “Given the fact that theories conceptualize causal processes at such different levels of analysis –the individual, the household, the national, and the international –they cannot be assumed, a priori, to be inherently incompatible” (Massey et al., 1993, p. 433). Scientists generally classify internal migration as rural to rural, rural to urban, urban to urban and urban to rural. However, urban to rural migration has not been a major phenomenon within the

world capitalist economic system. Differentiation between migration types can also be made on the basis of time variable. In this light, migration can be classified as temporary and permanent or short-term and long-term.

Migration might have various reasons and economic factors are assumed to be one of the most important indicators of migration. Even though economic factors are of key importance, there are many other reasons that, together with economic ones initiate migration. Security seems as one of the most significant instigators of migration.

Reasons behind migration decisions are multidimensional and multilayered. As Massey et al. (1993) argue causal process might operate on various levels, which is conceptualized as ‘new economics of migration’. “A key insight of this new approach is that migration decisions are not made by isolated individual actors, but by larger units of related people –typically families or household...” (Massey et al., 1993, p. 436). Neoclassical theory of (international) migration interprets migration as an individual decision for income maximization and as a result of a cost-benefit calculation. This assumption of neoclassical theory has been criticized by a ‘new economics of migration’. (Massey et al., 1993)

Migration should be evaluated with its effects at the individual, household and societal levels. It has different effects on each level and these effects are not dissociated from one another. For instance, migration might occur due to economic factors and it may affect migrants’ attitudes towards money, may create a certain gender division of labour within the household and the national market, and may cause a shift on the culturally accepted norms at the societal level. Migration changes both the individual and the culture, and effects of a long-term chain migration and a short-term mass migration generate slightly divergent results (Ekici & Tuncel, 2015).

Guinness (2002) describes main migration theories starting from the mid nineteenth century. Zelinky’s ‘mobility transition’ and Ravenstein’s ‘laws of migration’ attribute migration to the industrial development, and interpret

migration on the axis of centre and periphery. As economy and societies develop, migration flow between the periphery and centre will eventually slow down. However, the criticism here is that every country might not follow the same path that developed countries did in the past. Zipf's 'inverse distance law' and 'the gravity model' explain migration and migration decision of individuals on the basis of distance. Both theories claim that migrants tend to make their decision according to the distance they have to travel. These two theories are criticized for being oversimplified. Stouffer, on the other hand, in his 'theory of intervening opportunities' regarded distance in socio-economic terms and focused on the nature of the space in the destination rather than the linear distance. Lee in his series of 'principles of migration' tried to make a more comprehensive analysis on the reasons of migration. He emphasized the pull and push factors and the intervening obstacles between origin and destination to frame migration process elaborately. The last theory explained by Guinness (2002) is Mabogunje's 'systems approach'; "The systems approach does not see migration in oversimplified terms of cause and effect, but as a circular, interdependent and self-modifying system" (p. 17). He evaluates migration as a system and focuses on different environments of rural and urban.

More recent approaches to migration are listed as 'the Todaro model', Stark's 'new economics of migration', 'Marxist/structuralist theory', 'structuration theory' of Giddens, and the 'gender analyses'. The Todaro model offers 'the cost-benefit approach' which argues that potential migrants gather necessary information from earlier migrants and they weigh the cost and benefits before they make the decision. The most significant difference of Stark's new economics of migration model is to replace the individual with the household as the unit of analysis. In this light, Stark and some other scholars argue that migrants do not act individually according to a rationality of self-interest; but costs and rewards are shared within families. Marxist/structuralist theory approaches migration as an inevitable phenomenon in the process of transition to capitalism. "Structuralist theory draws attention to the advantages of migrant labour for capitalist production and emphasises the control that capitalism has over migrant labour" (Guinness, 2002, p. 21). Structuration theory of Giddens focuses both on micro and macro level

processes and evaluates migration both on the basis of the individual motives and the structural factors in which the migrants operate. This intersection builds an awareness of cultural factors. Gender analyses, on the other hand, focuses on the different migration responses and processes between men and women. These scholars mainly argue that migration is a gendered phenomenon and it has to be evaluated in this light.

Although the issue of migration has been discussed very in-depth within social science, gender perspective has only been developed and accepted within the migration discussions after the 1980s (Donato, Gabaccia, Holdaway, Manalansan & Pessar, 2006). Studies made with a gender perspective criticize the older migration theories and models. They mainly argue that women and men experience the whole migration process in different ways and migration has different meanings for women and men. They have different gender roles, social relations, coping mechanisms and life expectations. According to Curran and Saguy (2001):

During the last twenty years there have been three important developments in the field of migration. The first development has been the recognition that there are significant differences between men and women in terms of motivations, risks, and norms governing and promoting their movement and assimilation, as well as differential consequences. The second development has been the incorporation of social network concepts to model a more dynamic migration process. And, the third development has been the recognition that migration decisions are not made by atomistic individuals but conditioned by membership within households and communities (p. 54-55).

Migration itself is a 'gendered phenomenon' as noted by Donato, Gabaccia, Holdaway, Manalansan, and Pessar (2006); "many migration scholars now insist that migration itself is a gendered phenomenon that requires more sophisticated theoretical and analytical tools than studies of sex roles and of sex as a dichotomous variable allowed in the past" (p. 4). Gender is contextual and the relationship between gender and migration should also be evaluated contextually. Moreover; "A gendered theory of migration must be intersectional in its approach such that gender differences are situated in relation to class, race, and even religion and immigration status" (Brettell, 2016, p. 173).

While focusing on the gender differences in the migration process, the importance of the household in the national and international politics and the gender roles within the household should be evaluated in detail. According to Curran and Saguy (2001), gender and migration literature; “demonstrates how the household mediates between macro-economic structure and individuals. ...it shows how cultural expectations associated with gender are both reproduced and transformed within the household” (p. 58).

3.2. Urban Migration in Turkey

In Turkey the first urban migration wave had occurred in the 1950s. Migration was not a direct result of the uneven development in the 1950s, but momentous events before and after the establishment of the Republic such as the First World War and its socio-economic results –poverty, epidemics, demographic changes, and, the Second World War and its economic and political effects are also important factors that need to be considered. According to Tekeli (1978), after World War II, Turkey has experienced a structural transformation in rural areas and correspondingly an increase in rural-urban migration and urbanization; and, two significant independent factors caused this phenomenon: 1) increase in the population growth rate, 2) rapid mechanization in agriculture. Turkey has undergone significant economic, political and social change during the 1950s. Transition to a market-oriented economy is followed by the application of liberal policies in the 1960s and urban migration became a major phenomenon.

Structural transformation in rural areas has inevitably caused urban migration. Every region in Turkey has experienced the transformation differently and in central Anatolia articulation to market economy has occurred during the 1950s (Kandiyoti, 1977). According to Tekeli (1978) it is more appropriate to focus on structural transformation in the rural instead of a mechanic disengagement from rural due to agricultural mechanization. In the structural transformation process, proportion of agricultural production in economical growth declines, and, agricultural labour surplus is transferred to other sectors which results in economic growth (Özertan, 2013). In Tekeli’s (1978) estimation, actualization of structural transformation in Turkey has majorly left to market conditions and there are two significant factors that have

expedited the structural transformation. Firstly, machines have started to be used in the agricultural production instead of human labour; and secondly, national market has been unified and production for the local market has replaced by the production for the national market.

Market-oriented production starting from the 1950s has created changes both in the rural and urban areas and, according to Kandiyoti (1977); “In Turkey, rural change intensified not the already existing asymmetry between the sexes but the social stratification among males” (p. 64). Changes in the agricultural production has not only broken women’s link with the land and agricultural production; but also left most men unemployed. Agricultural labour surplus has flowed from rural to urban areas through migration which constituted by poorly trained, inexperienced rural men couldn’t met the demands of most urban jobs. Nevertheless, in Guinness’ (2002) opinion; “Migrants are not necessarily the poorest people from rural areas, particularly not when the migratory jobs are attractive and have significantly higher returns than staying in the rural community” (p. 50).

It is important to highlight the fact that urban migration is a global phenomenon which has occurred as a result of economic changes at the universal level and the globalization of capital. Globalization of the capital has led countries to adopt new economic policies. Late capitalist countries, with the structural changes in their national economies, have experienced a massive migration flow from rural to urban. Although urban migration is a global phenomenon every country has experienced economic change and urban migration at different times in history. According to Karpat (1976):

Rural migration, which feeds the population growth and squatter settlements in the third world cities, was preceded and prepared historically by basic changes in the economy and social structure of the third world in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. These changes undermined the traditional land tenure, the system of production and exchange, and the social system that supported them (p. 16).

The process of urban migration in Turkey has extended over time. In the Dışlık case, as well, there is not a rapid and single migration movement; but instead there is a chain migration. Chain migration is a “movement in which prospective migrants learn of

opportunities, are provided with transportation, and have initial accommodation and employment arranged by means of primary social relationships with previous migrants” (MacDonald & MacDonald, 1964, p. 82). Pioneer migrants had shuttled between the city and the village from the beginning, and, the first migration movement has resulted in subsequent migration movements. As underlined by Stark and Jakubek (2013); “Migration in general, and migration in developing countries in particular, is rarely an isolated event, and is nearly always a sequence of moves – a process in which earlier migrants shape the migration infrastructure of today's would-be migrants” (p. 1). If the pioneer migrants from a certain community are successful in their migration to the city, it opens up the way for follow-up migrants to come. As noted by Guinness (2002):

The importance of established links between urban and rural areas frequently results in the phenomenon of ‘chain migration’. After one or a small number of pioneering migrants have led the way subsequent waves of migration from the same rural community follow (p. 49).

Massey et al. (1993) view the causal process of migration as ‘cumulative causation’: “Causation is cumulative in that each act of migration alters the social context within which subsequent migration decisions are made, typically in ways that make additional movement more likely” (p. 451).

3.3. Dışlık Case



Figure 6. Direction of the Migration
(Map Source: https://www.e-icisleri.gov.tr/GeneleAcikSayfalar/IBilgileri/il_bilgileri_haritasi.aspx)

3.3.1. The Village

Dışlık is a semi-mountainous village in Sivas Province in central Anatolia. The settlement area is located along the two sides of a stream. The housing area is separate from the agricultural land. Houses are closely located in this area. The agricultural land is not very large and constitutes an area of 10 square kilometres. This village is not close geographically to a town centre. The nearest town is 16 kilometres away; so it can be described as relatively isolated. Although the village is not very close to a town centre, there is a railway stop which is only one kilometre away. The railway links the village to the towns and was established in the mid 1930s. This railway has linked the village to the capital city Ankara which is the main destination point.

In the light of the information provided by the Village Association, the first settlement of the village was established in the thirteenth century. Some of the first residents came to that area from Khorasan, Iran. These people are known as descendants of Ali and thus of the Prophet Mohammad. This ‘coming from Khorasan’ narrative is very important in Alevism which reveals itself in Alevi oral tradition. With the establishment of the Turkish dynasty of the Rum-Seljuks, city dwellers from Iran and Khorasan came to Anatolia to seek refuge (Procházka-Eisl, 2016, p. 2). The Mongol Invasion of that era has led Alevi communities to flee from that area and move to Anatolia (Melikoff, 1998). As Procházka-Eisl (2016) transfers from Köprülü; “Within a short time there developed a polarity between the sedentary population and the nomadic or semi-nomadic groups who accepted only the authority of their tribal system” (p. 2). Migration, in that sense, historically has a special meaning for Alevis which shows itself extensively in their oral tradition. Shankland (1993) provides a different aspect on the topic of Alevi migration and argues that because Sunnis are better integrated to the modern life by developing stronger and better ties between the rural and urban they tend to stay in their villages more; and as Alevis are moving to the cities more than Sunnis, Alevi villages are emptying.

In Dışlık village the major source of economic wealth is agricultural production. The main agricultural product is wheat, and, that is followed by the relatively less produced barley, beet, lentil, chickpea, and bean. Until the 1950s, labour-intensive agricultural production continued on the village's land. According to Kandiyoti (1977):

Despite regional and climatic variations, the ecological, technological, and demographic constraints under which the peasant village functioned gave it great resilience and made it capable of perpetuating itself without any internal impetus to change, until it came into contact with market-oriented production (p. 61).

In the past, before mechanization, families who had a considerable amount of land were hiring labourers while poor families were working as labourers on others' land. Self-contained families were working only on their own land. It is important to note that there wasn't a huge economic gap between families. As stated by Kandiyoti (1977) the peasant village is "a setting that gives no evidence of clear-cut social stratification—although there is ranking according to age, kinship, and wealth—segregation among the sexes is strongly emphasized" (p. 61).

In the light of the information provided by the president of the Village Association, only ten to twelve households are permanently living in the village today. Nevertheless, in time, the village has transformed into a holiday destination and a recreation area especially for retired people. These people restore their old houses or they build new ones to spend their summer vacations in the village.

3.3.2. The Migration Decision and the Process of Migration

Migration decisions are taken as a result of complex interactions and negotiations between individual, household and societal levels. Massey et al. (1993); "are skeptical both of atomistic theories that deny the importance of structural constraints on individual decisions, and of structural theories that deny agency to individuals and families" (p. 455). Migration decisions should be evaluated from a perspective which merges both sides and takes the interaction between individual, household, and societal level elements and macro level elements into account.

Changes in the economic structure are discussed earlier in order to highlight the macro level reasons of the urban migration. In the household level the process is much more complicated. According to Guinness (2002) rural households' migration decision depend on level of income, size of land holding, size of household, stage in the life cycle, level of education and the cohesiveness of the family unit. In the Dışlık case, migrants are not landless or the poorest peasants; but are from large families whose land holdings are scarce compared to their population. Growing population also creates housing problem for the large families. Newly-wed couples, in Anatolia, traditionally build their attached rooms next to the paternal extended family house. With the growing population in Turkey after the World War II, rural households had started to struggle both economically and socially. Patrilocal extended households were no longer self-sustaining. In this context, city and the opportunities it provided were attractive for the rural communities. Even though men were not educated enough for the most urban jobs, they were able to find jobs. That was due to the fact that most city-dwellers were not willing to work in the low-paid service sector jobs such as construction. Family cohesiveness is another household level determinant in the decision-making. The agreement on the determination of who would migrate was important. The people left behind, especially women took on the responsibilities of the extended household along with the agricultural production in some cases. Without this sacrifice from the women and other family members it would not be an easy decision for a man to migrate.

Urban migration is not a one-step movement; it has different stages. In the first migration movement, the pioneer male migrant was a married man. This man migrates on his own with some savings from a land or animal sale, in order to survive in the city until he finds a job. If he is successful finding a decent job in the city, then he brings his extended family members. Migration of unmarried men was a subsequent phenomenon within the migration process. Those men, after they permanently settled down in the city, married with women from the village. Migration and gender is further discussed in the following chapter. Therefore, in this part brief information about the migration process is provided.

3.3.3. The urban Space and the Shantytown

Pioneer migrants, in the Dışlık case, firstly settled down in old districts of Ankara which are namely: Altındağ, Topraklık and Cebeci. Because there was not enough housing in the city at that time, they rented already existing houses instead of building their own. After their decision to stay permanently they built their little houses unofficially in Tuzluçayır. Squatting in general intensified after the 1950s and the massive migration from the village occurred after the 1970s. In this massive migration process, migrants from Dışlık mainly settled down in Tuzluçayır and Natoyolu area.

The pioneer migrants had started to visit the city in the 1940s which shows that the migration decision did not only depend on the structural changes that happened in the agricultural production but also an integration between the rural and urban –the central authority and rural communities. Increasing communication and transportation has accelerated this process a great deal. This was a process which was full of travelling back and forth between the rural and urban. Migration was temporary at the beginning and in some cases men were going back to the village at harvesting periods. In some families the harvest was totally completed by women when the men were in the city. This fact reveals that urban migration is a step by step phenomenon. Moreover, it indicates that women’s gender roles within the migration process had not started to change in the urban, but had already started to change in the rural. This clearly shows that gender roles had become flexible during the migration process. These will be further discussed in Chapter 4.

3.3.3.1. The Choice of the Location and the Settlement

As it was a migration led by men, choice of the location was made by migrant men as well; but the decision was not only on an individual level. When the land was available for squatting –unofficially though, pioneer migrants decided to move to Tuzluçayır area and build their own houses –actually a room that is constructed overnight –*gecekond*. Once these pioneer migrants survived in that area without any demolition by the municipality, they could enlarge and beautify their houses.

This led subsequent migrants to come to the same area. As the Alevi community grew, more Alevi migrants came and preferred to stay in that same area.

According to Erder (2002):

Because of the weakness of formal urban institutions, the creation of urban space has displayed certain distinct features in Turkey. Thus, nearly half of the urban space has been created by informal networks, which means that neither open market mechanisms nor state institutions have played a decisive role in this process (p. 120).

Also, governments overlooked unofficial squatting due to the vote potential that the squatters had (Karpas, 1976).

3.3.3.2. The Shantytown

The shantytown/*gecekondu* neighbourhood was a small replica of the village –in certain ways, which existed between the late 1950s and early 1990s. First settlements had been established in Tuzluçayır and when subsequent migrants arrived the shantytown neighbourhood had expanded into the areas in Natoyolu. This was due to the land scarcity. This area constituted a suburb in that period of time and now regarded as a central neighbourhood (see Figure 7).



Figure 7. Settlement Areas on Mamak District Map
(Map Source: <https://www.google.com/maps>)

According to the data provided by Karpat (1976), in Ankara, shantytown population in early the 1960s was 59.22 percent of all the city population, and, the percentage of shantytown dwellings in relation to total city houses in 1969 was 64.60 percent. This data shows clearly that in that period of time shantytown dwellers did not constitute the minority in the society.

In the shantytown there were communities who migrated from other Anatolian villages. There were both Alevis and Sunnis. Community ties were really strong especially among the people from the place of origin. According to Erder (2002):

Population movements to western regions have brought migrants who are not only marked by their rural but also by their specific cultural and class backgrounds. As a result, migration has meant that very heterogeneous social and cultural groups have become mixed in the rapidly growing urban areas (p. 117).

This merging of cultural and class backgrounds has produced certain conflicts within itself, and, it has led to a tendency towards an introversion and protection of culture among minority groups such as Alevis and Kurds. A space is more than just a location, and according to Tuncel and Ekici (2015) throughout the history, spaces have been an important factor in the construction of social and political attachment and identities. Erman (2010) in her study on an Alevi neighbourhood in Mamak (Ankara), indicates that for disadvantaged communities a neighbourhood can constitute the space for political struggle, and, this political struggle is sometimes more pragmatic than merely ideological. Solidarity among community members inherent in the shantytown life and women's role in the maintenance of the solidarity networks will be evaluated in Chapter 4.

3.4. Chapter Conclusions

In this chapter, migration theories in literature are explained. The socio-economic context in which the case migration has occurred is discussed. Migration process in the Dışlık case is evaluated while focusing on the place of origin and the place of destination.

To sum up; the migration decision is not taken by an individual, but by the household. Migrants do not take the decisions in order to maximize their individual benefits but instead benefits and costs are calculated by the families.

Urban migration is a result of a series of new economic policies in the late capitalist countries. Urban migration in Turkey was a result of structural transformation in the economy starting from the 1950s. In the structural transformation process the proportion of agricultural production in the national economy has declined together with the introduction of agricultural mechanization and market-oriented production. As a result of these changes in economic policies, agricultural labour surplus has flowed from rural to urban. Migration in the Dışlık case has occurred as a chain migration. Once the pioneer migrants became successful in their attempt, it has opened up the way for subsequent migrants to come.

Migration has a special meaning for Alevi communities; because they have historically been living mainly in rural areas and in Turkey they have mainly lived in rural areas until the urban migration happened. Moving to an urban area has made Alevis closer to the central authority, state institutions, and other communities. In this context, Alevi communities mainly settled down in the same areas and solidarity has gained importance in the urban environment. Their interaction between the central authority and between other communities has sharpened the Alevi identity in the urban.

It is quite important to point out women and men experience the whole migration process in different ways. As this study is in the interest of the feminist perspective, and, gender is the key variable; gender and migration will be discussed further in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 4

GENDER, MIGRATION AND ALEVISM

This chapter contains a closer look at the migration of the community through the gender perspective. It is important to understand several factors: how gender determines women's position and their experiences within the migration process and how the gender roles might become more flexible during this process.

The difference of the women's experience throughout the process of migration begins with the initial decision-making. This continues through different patterns of migration that are specific for women. Women's position within the decision-making process and different types of female migration will be discussed in the chapter. Also to be discussed is when a gendered experience of migration is combined with the Alevi identity how the Alevi women have experienced the urban space and public life.

4.1. Gender and Migration

Gender refers to socially or culturally attributed characteristics of women and men, and it differs from the biological sex. According to Ramazanoğlu (1989); "the distinction between sex as largely biologically given, and gender as largely the social construction of what is male and female, is fundamental to feminist thought" (p. 59). Gender as a concept is most widely used by feminist scholars. Feminists in general focus on gender in order to understand and theorize the subordinated position of women in societies. Gender is an important aspect of social life because gender roles prescribe socially accepted norms that assure social order to be continued in favour of the masculine bias. According to Farganis (1994), in feminist theory; "there is agreement that sex is organized into gendered

hierarchies, privileged in some instances and discriminated against in others.” (p. 17) Feminists fight against gender bias for producing and reproducing women’s oppression.

Although the issue of migration has been discussed thoroughly within social science, the gender perspective has only been developed and accepted within the migration discussions since the 1980s (Donato, Gabaccia, Holdaway, Manalansan & Pessar, 2006). Researches made through the perspective of gender criticize the older migration theories and models. They mainly argue that women and men experience the whole migration process in different ways, and migration has different meanings for women and men. They have different gender roles, social relations, coping mechanisms and life expectations. According to Curran and Saguy (2001):

During the last twenty years there have been three important developments in the field of migration. The first development has been the recognition that there are significant differences between men and women in terms of motivations, risks, and norms governing and promoting their movement and assimilation, as well as differential consequences. The second development has been the incorporation of social network concepts to model a more dynamic migration process. And, the third development has been the recognition that migration decisions are not made by atomistic individuals but conditioned by membership within households and communities” (p. 54-55).

Migration itself is a ‘gendered phenomenon’ as noted by Donato, Gabaccia, Holdaway, Manalansan, and Pessar (2006); “many migration scholars now insist that migration itself is a gendered phenomenon that requires more sophisticated theoretical and analytical tools than studies of sex roles and of sex as a dichotomous variable allowed in the past” (p. 4). Gender is contextual thereby the relationship between gender and migration should also be evaluated contextually.

4.2. A Gendered Migration: Dışlık Case

In the case of Dışlık village, the first migrants were male members of the household. It is very important to understand the reasons behind this household level decision on men to lead the migration movement. The question, “Why did men migrate?” emerges as an essential question to be answered.

First and foremost; traditional gender roles would not allow women to migrate on their own. Secondly; men were at that time more educated than women to be able to adapt to the urban environment. Thirdly, it was easier for men to find jobs in the city working in the public or service sectors. Moreover, for men, there was the possibility of earning more money in the cities than they could earn in the villages. Despite women generally not taking part in the primary migration waves, women's willingness to take men's responsibilities in rural life was an important factor in the household level migration decision. In this process, there was a dramatic shift of responsibilities and of gender roles. Parental choices, agricultural production, harvesting and selling the various agricultural products were now women's responsibility. Women had become the sole managers of their households in the absence of the male members. After these women permanently moved to the urban they were mainly confined to the shantytown. However; it does not hide the fact that women were not affected in the primary stages of migration, especially if the role of women in the settlement and adaptation process is evaluated within the migration phenomenon. According to Buz (2009), women play a key role in family's adaptation to urban life even though this heavy responsibility is fueled by patriarchal ideas. Therefore, women are not passive objects of the migration process but they are active agents of it.

After the primary waves of migration, a subsequent flow followed in this chain migration process. This flow was predominantly a migration through the links of marriage with men in the urban. The second generation of women in this research are women that have shaped the migration process and became more distinguishable but their decisions in general to marry men from the city rather than men from the village. This decision of these women supports the argument that they are not passive objects of the migration process. They have shaped this process and have 'bargained with patriarchy' by refusing to marry men from their village and by refusing to remain in the village. This fact clearly represents the increase in women's power within the decision-making process and makes clear that in migration due to elderliness type, senior women were fully responsible for their decision to move to the city.

This study focuses on three generations of Alevi women. Information about each generation and the dominant migration types for each generation has been provided by the tables below. This is in order to make it easier to follow the information provided in following sections. The first generation (see Table 1) consists of women who were born and married in the village. Migration through marriage is not the case in this group. They have lived and worked in the village for a number of years and then joined the urban migration in different periods of their lives. These women either migrated with their natal or conjugal families or via their children –mainly due to elderliness. This group represents the oldest available women community which constitutes ‘the grandmother generation’ of this study.

Table 1. Basic Information About the First Generation

Name	Age	Migration Type	Year of Arrival
Firuze	88	with natal family	1938
Fatma	78	due to elderliness	1990
Güllü	67	with conjugal family	1974
Saniye	72	with conjugal family	1961
Halide	70	due to elderliness	1994

The second generation (see Table 2) of women were either married in the urban setting or who are daughters of already migrated families. However, some were coming to the city through marriage to join already migrated men. One and only exception to those migration patterns is Tülin who came to the city to receive education. She is the only example in the whole village history.

Table 2. Basic Information About the Second Generation

Name	Age	Type of Migration	Year of Arrival
Gülden	67	no migration	-
Nuray	64	no migration	-
Yıldız	50	through marriage	1979
Ayşe	54	through marriage	1980
Selma	56	through marriage	1982
Meltem	45	no migration	-
Canan	52	through marriage	1984
Zeliha	50	no migration	-

Note. “No migration” means those participants were born in the city whose families had previously migrated.

The third generation (see Table 3) consists of women who haven't directly experienced the migration process and village life but have indirectly been affected by the choices made by their parents. These women were all born in the city.

Table 3. Basic Information About the Third Generation

Name	Age	Type of Migration	Year of Arrival
Nisan	27	born in the city	-
Aycan	37	born in the city	-
Başak	34	born in the city	-
Hale	33	born in the city	-
Aslıhan	31	born in the city	-
Güneş	22	born in the city	-
Esra	30	born in the city	-
Bilge	26	born in the city	-

While the first generation experienced their childhood socialization in the village, the third generation grew up in the city. The second generation is of mixed experience. Some women had migrated through marriage with their childhood socialization in the village but others of whom their natal family migrated having had both rural and urban upbringings.

4.2.1. The Social Life Before the Migration

Before the migration process began, the prevalence of traditional patriarchy dominated the dominated the social life in the village. This was reinforced by the nature of the Alevi belief system as well. In the Alevi communities patrilinearity is essential in the socio-religious structure.

Kandiyoti (1988) focuses on women's experience of the patrilocal extended household. The bride joins the extended family at a very early age without any economic resources. She is subordinated not only to her father-in-law, husband and brothers-in-law; but also her mother-in-law and older sisters-in-law. Her status mainly depends on male offspring which can guarantee some security of care in old age. This elderly is provided by the sisters-in-law. Therefore, sons are the guarantee of the elderly care. In Kandiyoti's (1988) estimation:

Woman's life cycle in the patriarchally 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 (p. 279).

Migration processes might create changes in women's life cycle within traditional patriarchy. Spatial change and new household and family formations might affect the social relations. "The traditional promise of security through sons' loyalty may break down under conditions of social change and create serious role strain" (Kandiyoti, 1977, p. 62). Changes in elderly care practices with urban migration will be discussed in the following chapter.

In the light of the information obtained from my field, the women of the village, until the 1950s, were responsible for most of the daily life production. This included food preparation, cleaning and care-giving to children and elders. Production of household goods was also predominantly of the woman's role, with carpets, duvets, and knitting and sewing of all the family members clothing. In addition to this, in some families agricultural responsibilities also fell upon the female with women working in the fields. Works such as cutting grain etc. with the scythe and the sickle, and the daily feeding and milking of the animals were highly psychical work.

Depending on economic and geographical conditions, some women are totally involved in household duties and home production, which in a premarket economy constitutes a considerable burden. However, female labor does not receive social recognition, regardless of the extent of economic contribution (Kandiyoti, 1977, p. 62-63).

Women suffer from lack of social recognition of their labour which is also prevalent in the Dışlık case. This will be further investigated in Chapter 5 through the narrative of the participants.

4.2.2. Four Different Migration Types

The participation of women in the migration process may occur in many different forms. According to Birchall (2016); "Rural to urban movement was formerly

dominated by male migrants” (p. 16). In the Dışlık case, similar to the migration flows in late capitalist countries, women did not initially migrate with men. There exist four different patterns of women’s migration in this case: first, migration with the natal family; second, migration with the conjugal family –those women originally came from other villages but have subsequently married and migrated to the village before the migration took place; third, migration through marriage; and, forth, migration due to elderliness.

In the first type –migration with the natal family, a senior male member initially relocates and then, only once a secure income is established leads the family thereafter. The migration decision is taken by the household with the evaluation of financial resources. However, as noted earlier in the traditional patriarchy and in the patrilocal extended family household women, in particular junior women, do not have an influential position in this decision-making process. In these circumstances women’s role is simply moving from one place to another with very little say on the proceedings. The migration of the senior male members was of a pattern at the very beginning of the chain migration process. Married or unmarried; migration of the junior men was a subsequent phenomenon. In the second type – migration with the conjugal family, a married junior male would be migrating to the city with the help of an established social network from the rural to the urban. If in this example he was successful he would later lead his nuclear and extended family members.

For both the first and second types, in the transition process, when men had initially moved to the city trying to establish the new life, the women stayed in the village in the extended family’s household as daughters or daughters-in-law if they were married before the migration. When married women stayed in their husband’s natal house in the village with their parents-in-law, they experienced a decrease in their power due to the lack of their husbands in the household. They often had arguments with their mothers-in-law and co-sisters-in-law. Whereas in some cases, like the Peru one discovered by Deere (1978), when men migrate to the city, this abandonment might lead to a power increase for women in decision-making processes with the increased responsibility within the household.

Psychological/emotional support provided by the women of the first generation, especially during the settlement and survival phase, was an important phenomenon. They had supported their husbands emotionally to keep them positive and motivated in this new environment. Constructing the shantytown house with males, production of daily needs such as cooking, washing, bringing water from the fountains, preparing the stove were all female responsibilities. They experienced the city with the hardship and austerity that was a common feature of the migration process.

In the third type –migration through marriage, women whom initially lived in the village married a man from the city. These were either men who were from the same village or were from another Alevi village. This type of migration indicates relative strength of the woman's influence in the decision making process. This was a sign that their opinion had been considered about their marriage. This must be understood with the reality being when women's social existence in the traditional patriarchal structure merely depending on marriage and family institution they did not have any options but to marry. The woman's decision does not only reflect the individual's choice but can be seen in the broader context of what was drawing people to city. The perceived independence for both men and women with the realization to own your home may have been a significant factor in the increase of autonomy of women. It is necessary to convey that men in village rural did not have many options but to migrate to city either, indicating men were not free from the structural changes happening throughout the country at that time.

It is also important to note that migration through marriage was not only inherent in urban migration. Three from the first generation of women migrated to the village through marriage. These women are all from the *dede* lineage and all married to men likewise. This is a clear sign that shows the strength of the *ocak* system and the *dede* lineage in the rural Alevi social life.

In the light of the interviews, it is appropriate to argue that women who have migrated with their natal or conjugal families conveyed an easier adaptation to the changes than those that had migrated through marriage. This is due in part to having more family

members throughout the process. The usual experiences of longing –*gurbet*, were not evident in this group. Women who have migrated with conjugal families actively participated in the life building process in the urban. This all culminated in a greater immersion for the women in the new surroundings. While some women were adapting to these changes well, others typically those whom migrated through marriage conveyed a somewhat traumatic set of events. The separation from their natal families and from their physical and social environment affected their norms. Their experience was far more abrupt with sudden and lasting effects on them. Their separation from the natal family and kin and their arrival in an alien environment was a shock. Accounts of loneliness are prevalent in this group’s experiences. Those women did not have their nuclear family household close after their marriage and for a certain period of time they lived with their mother-in-law and father-in-law and in some cases their co-sisters-in-law and brothers-in-law. In this group the patriarchal extended family did not lose its significance in the household formation. Following these events the coping mechanism of those women was to form social links with other, often older women or women of whom had similar experience.

In the final type of migration, women were moving to the city due to their increasing frailty and the care-giving provision of the family. This migration normally begins as a temporary move but turns into a permanent one as the age of those women increases. In this group women have an active position in the decision-making process. It is a known fact that women gain status with age in traditional patriarchy. They have decided together with their husbands and children whether they will migrate or stay in the village.

Table 4. Female Migration Categorization

Migration Type	Period (Years)	Dominant Generation	The Role of Women in the Migration Process
Migration with the natal family	1940s	First generation	Agricultural labourer
Migration with the conjugal family	1960s-1970s	Second generation	Agricultural labourer Household manager
Migration through marriage	1970s-1980s	Second generation	Household manager
Migration due to elderliness	1990s	First generation	Care-taker

Note. Only exceptional case to this female migration categorization in the Dışlık case is Tülin who have migrated to the city to get education. Her experiences are highlighted in Chapter 5.

4.2.3. A Gendered Urbanization

The shantytown with all its negative connotations has provided a vital halfway neighbourhood between the urban and the rural but has unfortunately contributed to a gendered urbanization experience. While men were working and interacting with the wider society, women spent most of their time in the neighbourhood. This space has created a unique form of urbanization for women as it has seen them confined to a relatively small environment. This change to the new urban environment saw the difficulties of life persist with the men still working in low-paid jobs and the women struggling to stretch these limited funds to provide for the family. While this was a difficult financial period for the majority of families, for men the new mobility in the city was not considered an issue. While indicated by Erder (2002); “The impacts of urban life are drastic, since women are lifted out of productive agricultural activities and placed in a milieu where they have to adopt the status of housewife” (p. 127). According to Kalaycıoğlu and Rittersberger-Tılıç (2000):

When rural to urban migration transfers woman to the city –especially through marriage; this woman is separated from the production process and confined to the house. Woman lacks the education and skills which are demanded in the urban and that creates a big obstacle for her to find jobs (p. 31).

While the men’s time was consumed by their work outside the shantytown, women were left responsible for solving daily problems that faced the family. These were due in part to the lack of public infrastructure and would involve dealing with children’s school and hospital issues and applying to public institutions for essential services. Also dealing with the most fundamental issues of sanitation and access to clean water were all the women’s responsibilities. These issues were where women interact with the state as ‘citizens’ and become visible in the so called ‘public sphere’. In addition, according to Mills’ (2007) ethnographic research in Istanbul between 2001 and 2003, has shown the practice of neighbouring is skewed towards women making them arbiters in the creation of the Turkish urban space. This has been essential in the maintenance of support

systems vital in the urban environment and continues to be enjoyed by both women and men.

4.3. Alevi Women in the Urban

According to Ramazanoğlu (1989); “Public and private domains are not fixed over time or across cultures” (p. 63). The shantytown space was a challenge to traditional notions of private and public spheres. “In Turkey, the traditional urban neighbourhood is a space which extends the interior space of the family to the residential street; it is a space of belonging and collectivity” (Mills, 2007, p. 336). However, this does not necessarily mean that women were free within the territories of the shantytown. A woman was not considered to be freely able to walk in the streets of the shantytown. There were certain social and gendered restrictions on their mobility outside home. There were certain hours and people that she could leave the home and interact with. For Alevi women their friendship with other Alevi women was of no issue but the boundaries of the community were drawn by the actions and relationships of women. Still living with their rural community, those women felt the social pressure on them. Strong community ties were essential to this Alevi community at that time, but for women these close-knit community relations constituted an obstacle that prevented them from further interaction with the wider society. According to Mills (2007); “The *mahalle* as a social collectivity is likened to the extended family” (p. 340). However, there were certain restrictions on the determination of who will be included in the family. For minority groups it was very important to draw the line between them and the ‘others’. The urban space which at that time constituted only the shantytown has made Alevis closer to Sunni communities and has shaped the urban Alevi identity.

Urban life generally means complex interactions between heterogeneous communities. There is an asymmetrical nature of the interactions between Alevi people and the rest of the society. The difficulties that Alevi people face in the urban as for being labelled the ‘other’ reveal themselves in various ways. In the second and third generations, due to their increasing interaction with other communities, through education and participation in the labour force, women have

experienced a multitude of problems about their identity. While in some cases women have thought it necessary to hide their identity a secret, this is proven difficult with questions about their place of origin; prayer times and practices around Ramadan tend to expose their identity.

Whilst over time traditional social control mechanisms have begun to lose their impact in the city, urban life is still full of difficulties for women. When these issues are combined with a marginalized community the effect is multiplied.

4.3.1. The Solidarity of the Community

The solidarity amongst the community had two dimensions. The first being the cohesion of the members of the community in the shantytown and second the link between the rural and urban, the village and city. In the shantytown women were active promoters whom were responsible of the organization and maintenance of social relations. The shantytown was an extension of the 'private sphere' and acted as the community's internal 'public space' where cohesion was promoted against the backdrop of the community's marginalized position.

Minorities inevitably form a level of solidarity, like the Alevi or Kurdish people, to create a stronger social network in their new social environment. It arises as a necessity in any migration pattern. It is important to acknowledge that this solidarity of community is a necessary function and use to protect the individual. However, material functional relations do not necessarily have to be formed without any emotional benefits.

Traditional social networks have made adaptation to this new environment easier rather than being an obstacle to urbanization of the community. Stated by Ekici and Tuncel (2015), there seems to be a linear relationship between the survival and development of traditional social networks. These traditional social networks also play an important role in women's oppression. According to Erder (2002); "Familial, communal, cultural, and religious networks, which are based on trust and acquaintance, play an important role in the process of settling and surviving in

these areas” (p. 120). For Alevis or other marginalized communities elsewhere in the world, settling in a homogenous neighbourhood is a coping strategy and a way to have their voice heard in this new environment.

One of the most important players in the cohesion of the local community was the Village Association, *Sivas Kangal Dışlık Köyü Kültür ve Sosyal Yardımlaşma Derneği* (Sivas Kangal Dışlık Village Culture and Social Assistance Association). This association was first established as a village fund in the 1970s when migration was at its peak. At the time it was operating as a community bank which lent money to newly arrived migrants. This was on the premise they would pay the debt back once they had established themselves in the city. The first incarnation was interrupted when the association was closed due to the military coup in 1980. Today’s association was established in 1992 and it’s now a provision of funds primarily to provide for funeral services and to organize meals on religious days important for Alevis. These include such days as a meal at the end of the *Muharram*¹ month. Currently there are 405 members of the association and has been indicated by the president, they are unable to attract any significant number of young people to become members. According to the president, people are just shuttling between work and home.

It is important to underline that the urban community was and is the extension of the rural and vice versa. The people residing in the shantytown were responsible for assisting people from the village came to city to get medical treatment or to find work. Women in those situations were responsible of these visitors. “One of the most thoroughly documented stylized facts pertaining to the process of migration is that new migrants are assisted by established migrants.” (Stark & Wang, 2002, p. 159) In the Dışlık case finding land to build houses or finding jobs through social networks were prevalent to assist newcomers. “Thus, the nature of migration changes dramatically over time. The initial associated high-risk declines for individuals as more of their family and friends migrate.” (Curran & Saguy,

¹ “Muharram fast is held for centuries, in memory of the martyrdom of Husayn in the battle with the army of Yazid, as well as in memory of the Twelve Imams.” (Yaman and Erdemir, 2006, p. 77)

2001, p. 60) The solidarity between the city and the village was maintained through the women's labour.

The social structure and the relationships that were inherent in the life of the shantytown gradually broke down with the formation of apartment living. From the early 1990s young Alevi residents gradually moved away due to education and work demands. These changes in part leading to the pattern of exogamy being on the increase. This phenomenon is further examined in the following chapter.

Table 5. Participants' Place of Residence Today

	TuzlucaYır-Natoyolu	Elsewhere
First Generation	4	1
Second Generation	5	4
Third Generation	3	5
Total	12	10

Throughout this period there has been a spatial change between generations and a trend towards leaving the shantytown area. When the community members started to leave the neighbourhood the solidarity of the community has started to fragment. However, it is a reality that the need for communal networks is not as integral as it was in the beginning of the migration process. For a great deal the solidarity and the sense of belongingness have collapsed under the weight of the individual's desire for economic and material achievement.

4.4. Chapter Conclusions

In this chapter, the main aim was to evaluate the case of migration from the gender perspective. This is in order to reveal the women's gendered experience within the migration process. For women of the Dışlık village, there exist four different types of migration: migration with the natal family, conjugal family migration, migration through marriage, and migration due to elderliness. The only exceptional being of Tülin, the first female pioneer migrant in the history of the whole village, unlike any other women she migrated to receive an education and work in the city.

In the first two forms of migration, a male member of the family relocates first and establishes themselves in the urban environment and subsequently receives the family members. During this transitional period women assume more responsibility in the original household. However, the power within the decision-making process does not necessarily change as a direct result. In this example women are only physically moving from one place to another. Their efforts in the urbanization process cannot be underestimated. In the second form of migration through marriage, woman who lived in the village marry men from the city whom originated from the rural villages. In this type there is a clear indication of the woman's influence within the decision-making process. Those women leaving their natal family and kin behind experienced a greater sense of longing felt by the women in the relocating within the family structure. In the final type, migration has occurred due to elderliness, with those women having the greatest control over the migration decision but being forced by their healthcare needs.

Although initially the shantytown formed an extension of rural where the public and private were in flux. The shantytown also constituted the space in which different communities and cultures had to live closer than ever before. This created certain limitations for Alevi women and their urban existence.

Women's efforts to maintain solidarity in the shantytown helped this marginalized community to survive at the expense of women's freedom. In time, as the members of the community move upward and changed class the shantytown has started to be transformed into an apartment neighbourhood itself. This has further undermined the solidarity amongst the community members whilst at the same time led Alevi women to be freed from traditional community relations alleviating the social pressure placed on them.

Women's experiences from rural to urban, from past to present, will be discussed in the following chapter with the analysis of the data obtained from the field.

CHAPTER 5

THE EFFECTS OF URBAN MIGRATION ON ALEVI WOMEN

This chapter contains the analysis of the data collected from the field. In this chapter the aim is to understand changes and continuities in Alevi women's intergenerational gender roles caused by urban migration. Women's perceptions of womanhood, their intrafamilial relations (marriage and care-giving practices), their access to education and participation in the labour force practices, and their mobility outside home, will be examined.

In this chapter, women's narratives are producing knowledge through experience. In addition to women's narratives, the latest discussions of scholars in this field are provided. While focusing on different themes, similarities and differences between generations and changes and continuities in each family are discussed. The discussion contains a comparative approach and it aims to draw a chronological map.

5.1. Experiences of Womanhood from Rural to Urban

In this section, the main aim is to shed light on the changes and continuities in these women's experiences of womanhood, from rural to urban. As avoidance of abstract conceptions is one of the most important aims of this study, womanhood is defined by the participants themselves.

In the first and second generations, womanhood is mainly defined through motherhood and the ability of household management. According to the women of first and second generations, being a woman is difficult. These women have experienced both the rural and urban life and have had multiple responsibilities, in

each setting. According to Güllü (F3.1); “*Kadınlar geçmişte çok zorluk yaşadılar*” (Women have experienced many difficulties in the past). These women have played an important role in the phase of settlement and adaptation in the urban migration process. They often openly indicated during our meetings that they have been oppressed a lot, both in the rural and in the urban settings. They also added that they had to stay silent in order to maintain the peace in the family. From their point of view, it was their responsibility to preserve the unity of the family during this difficult process of urban migration.

The meaning of village life is hardship for these women, especially for the first generation. As Hatun (6) indicates:

“Kendimi çok yıpranmış hissediyorum. Bir sürü iş yaptım. Tarlalarda çalışırdım, hayvanları sağardım. Sağmakla da bitmiyor... Peynir, yoğurt, süt yapacaksın. Kendi yaptığını da yiyemezsin. Eskiden, eti, kaymağı, yağı hep erkekler yerdi... Beş tane de çocuk vardı. O zamanlar yorulmazdım, güçlüydüm. Şimdi şimdi anlıyorum ne kadar yorulduğumu” (I feel like I have worn out. I have done many jobs. I was working in the fields. I was milking the animals. Milking is not enough though... You have to make cheese, yoghurt, and butter from it. You cannot eat what you made though. In old times, only men could eat the meat, butter or kaymak –cream... I also had five children. I was not feeling tired back then, I was strong; but now I can feel how much exhausted I am).

Firuze (F1.1) talks in a similar light while focusing on the responsibilities of the bride in village life:

“Gelinsen her işi yapacaksın. Gelin yemek yemez, gelin acıkmaz, gelin yorulmaz... Sofralarını kurardım önden, onlar yerlerdi. Onlar bitirdikten sonra da ben ancak yiyebilirdim; ama kendi başıma, evlikde yedim. Yirmi beş yıl ben kayınbabamla yaşadım; ne birlikte yemek yedim, ne de onunla konuştum” (If you are the bride you have to do all the work. Bride doesn't eat, bride doesn't feel hungry, bride never gets tired... I was setting the table for them (conjugal extended family members) to eat their meals; after they finish, finally I could eat; but in a cold room and on my own. For twenty five years I couldn't neither have a meal with my father-in-law nor talk to him).

Fatma (F4.1) the youngest bride in the extended family explains, the pressure put on her to do domestic work properly as follows:

“Ben evlendiğimde ekmek yapmayı falan bilmiyordum. Çok küçüktüm. Kocam öğretti ekmek yapmayı. Evin kapısını kitlerdik, gizlice ekmek yapardık. İşte ekmek yapmayı böyle öğrendim ben. Çamaşır yıkamayı da bilmezdim. Yine bizimki gösterdi bana nasıl yapılacağını” (I didn't know how to make bread when I was married. I was very little. My husband taught me how to do it. We were locking the door of the

house and cooking bread secretly. That was how I learned how to make bread. I didn't know how to wash clothes either. My husband again showed me secretly how to do).

Esma (7) also points out the hardship she experienced after her marriage:

“Evdeki tek gelin bendim. Bütün işi ben yaptım, bütün yükü bana yıktılar. Her türlü işi yaptım; tarlada çalışmak, hayvanlara bakmak, damı aktarmak, hayvanları kesmek... Bizim kızlar da çok çalıştı. Geceleri bir ben ayaktaydım; herkes yatar. Bana uyku yok! Ben evi toplardım, bulaşıkları yıkardım. Evde su da yok o zaman, çeşmeden getireceksin. Kocam çok güçsüz bir adamdı beni ailesine karşı hiç korumadı” (I was the only bride in the house. I was doing all the work; they have put the burden on my shoulders. I have done all sorts of things; working in the field, looking after animals, repairing the roof, slaughtering animals... My daughters worked a lot as well. At nights everyone was sleeping apart from me. There was no sleep for me. I was tidying the house, washing the dishes. There was not water in the house. You were carrying it from the fountain. My husband was a passive man he didn't protect me against his family).

In this narrative there is a questioning of gender roles and spousal relations in traditional patriarchy. In the past, before the migration, in the extended family household setting conflict exist between co-sisters-in-law. Especially for the younger bride, older co-sisters-in-law are in a relatively superior position. In Halide's (F2.1) words it is possible to observe the fear she had:

“Ben ekmekleri yapardım, elim onları alır yüksek bir yere koyardı. Karnımız doyusuya yemek yiyemezdik. Sabahları önümüze bir parça ekmek atardı köpeğin önüne atar gibi... Kocam Ankara'da iş buldu; beni yanına alacaktı. O oradayken ben köyde yalnız kaldım. Eltim beni dövüyordu. Dayanamadım. Mektup yazdım yazdım yolladım geri gelsin diye. Geri geldi ama biz de Ankara'ya gidemedik” (I was making the bread, she was taking and putting them somewhere high. We were not able to eat our fill. In the mornings she was throwing a piece of bread in front of us like we were dogs... My husband found a job in Ankara; he was planning to take me later. I was alone in the village when he was there. My co-sister-in-law was beating me. I couldn't resist anymore. I sent him many letters to make him come back. He came back and we lost our chance to migrate).

Güllü (F3.1) expresses the physical and psychological violence she experienced:

“Köydeyken Ankara'ya gitmenin hayalini kurardık. Köyde çok zordu. İşleri düzgün yapmazsam kaynanam beni döverdi... Kocamı da bana düşman etti. Bir şeyler söylerdi, o da gelir beni döverdi... Büyük oğlumu sırtıma bağlardım, ben ev işlerini yapardım. Küçük oğluma da hamileyim o zaman. Kanamam oldu mu, kimse beni dinlemedi mi... Oğlan ölecekti nerdeyse. İyice kötiledim de beni ebeye öyle götürdüler. Oğlum ölmedi diye nasıl mutlu oldum” (When we were in the village we were dreaming of going to Ankara. It was really difficult in the village. My mother-in-law was beating me if I couldn't do the works properly... She was also making my husband hostile to me. She was saying things and he was beating me... I was piggybacking my older son and doing the housework. I was pregnant to my younger son as well. I had a terrible bleeding one day; nobody cared... I was about to lose my

son. When I got really bad they had to take me to the midwife. I didn't lose my son, I was very happy).

According to Kandiyoti (2007) one of the most striking features of the village, is that the heaviest work is always done by the young women, who have the lowest status.

For the second generation of women who have migrated through marriage, marrying a man from Ankara was a great way to run away from the hardship they experienced in the village. This was also viewed as an opportunity to increase their status. The role of the housewife was preferable, as they would have the opportunity to manage their own household in the city. Ayşe (F2.2b); *“Ankara'dan biriyle evlenmeyi çok isterdik. Kızlarla aramızda konuşurduk: ‘Oğlan Ankara'dan mı? Değilse evlenme!’ (Gülme)”* (We were really keen to marry men from Ankara. We were talking when we were girls: “Is the guy from Ankara? If not, do not marry! (Laughter)) Halide (F2.1), mother of Ayşe (F2.2b), after all the hardship she experienced in the rural setting, she didn't want her daughters to marry men from the village; *“Kızlarımın mutlu olmasını istedim, kaynana kayınbaba derdi çekmesinler istedim. Kendi evleri olsun istedim. Hepsi de Ankara'ya gelin gitti”* (I wanted them to be happy, free from parents-in-law. I wanted them to have their own house. They are all married men from Ankara). As a matter of fact, around the late 1970s and the early 1980s, when the migration from the village reached its peak, there were not many single men who wanted to stay in the village. For the first and second generations, the house is not solely a building. For these women, transition from patrilocal to neolocal households has been realized through urban migration. They have become relatively independent of their husband's natal family households and the social relations inherent in it.

These women define womanhood, as being able to create a space of tranquility and happiness in the new challenging urban environment. Even if those women did not work in a paid job, they see themselves as active in creating a home and maintaining their life through a successful management of economic resources. Most of them saved up money for the actual home construction in their new urban environments. Economically and emotionally they see themselves responsible for

the life they have in the city. Their contribution to the household budget, through domestic work and economic activities, such as knitting or lacework, gave those women relative power in their intrafamilial relations. Their position in the decision making process, relatively, improves. However, the management of the household economy through austerity is a heavy responsibility for these women. Saniye (F5.1):

“Her şeyi evde yapardım. Turşu, tarhana; kışa hazırlık yapardım. Öyle her şeyi satın alamadın o zamanlar. Otuz beş yıl ben istediğim hiçbir şeyi alamadım. Ailen var, çocuklar var... Çok zordu çok!” (I was making everything at home. I was making pickles, tarhana –a soup made with sundried yoghurt, tomato and flour, I was getting ready for the winter. You could not buy everything at that time. I didn’t buy anything I like for thirty years. You had a family, children... It was very hard!).

Güllü (F3.1) who migrated to Ankara after her marriage in the village explains the financial troubles they faced in the city:

“Ankara’ya kaynanam, kayınbabam ve küçük kaynımla geldik. Bizim de iki çocuğumuz vardı o zaman. Kocam hep gergindi. Tek çalışan oydu. Bir sürü yerde çalıştı. Hep derdim ki; ‘Açlıktan ölecek değiliz ya, bir yolunu bulacağız.’ Destek olmaya çalışırdım. Birbirimize destek olmayacaksak niye köstek olalım? O parayı buldu, ben de idare ettim. Şimdi durumumuz iyi. Evimiz barkımız var” (We came here with my parents-in-law and my younger brother-in-law. We had two children at that time. My husband was very nervous all the time. He was the only person who was working. He worked in many different places. I often said him: ‘We will not die of hunger, we will find a way.’ I tried to support him. Why would we frustrate each other? He found the money, I managed it well. Now we are in a good position. We have our own house).

It is a big achievement for these people to manage to buy their own house in the city. It is also relevant to talk about a ‘relative deprivation’ among these women. They often see the consumption of the younger generation as extreme and unnecessary. In Saniye’s (F5.1) words it is possible to see a criticism towards her daughter and her granddaughter; *“Şimdikiler her şeyi istiyor. Gelinler de öyle, bizim kızlar da... Hiçbir şeye sabredemiyorlar. Her şeyi almak istiyorlar. Biz zamanında neler yaşadık; yıllarca istediğimizi yapamadık”* (Today, women want everything. It is like that for my daughters-in-law and for my daughters... They cannot be patient. They want to buy everything. We have experienced lots of things; we could not do what we wanted for a long time).

Motherhood is very precious for these women because; it is the main source of identity as it is indicated by them. As an important aspect of womanhood, motherhood is glorified. According to Fatma (F4.1); *“Kadın olmak güzel... Çocuk doğuruyorsun, çocukların etrafında oluyor. Çok güzel bir şey”* (Being a woman is good... You give birth; you have your children around. It is very good). In Halide’s (F2.1) words; *“Kadınlık çocuk doğurmaktır, çocuklarına iyi bakmaktır. Doğurma yeteneği bize verilmiş”* (Womanhood means childbearing and looking after your children well. We have the ability to give birth). In some narratives, there are challenges towards the traditional female and male roles. Saniye (F5.1) indicates; *“Kadınlar her şeyi yapabilir. Erkekler bazı şeyleri yapamaz ama kadınlar her şeyi yapabilir. Aslında kadınlar erkeklerden üstündür”* (Women can do everything. Men cannot do some things, but women can do everything. In reality, women are above men).

To sum up, for the first and second generations, problems they faced in the urban setting have shaped their womanhood conception along with the traditional definitions of womanhood. Womanhood is established around the ability to be provident. This is a source of pride for them and they glorify womanhood and themselves by being modest. This makes sense because by thinking in that way, they cast a role for themselves in creating a life; even though they did not actually work in a paid job. One of the other mechanisms that they developed, in order to cope with the material and nonmaterial difficulties, was nostalgia. They define old times as happy, sweet and today as unhappy, flavourless. As Güllü (F3.1) says; *“Şimdi para var ama mutluluk yok”* (There is wealth; but there is no happiness). They sometimes blame the younger generations for not being tough enough, as also indicated by Firuze (F1.1) by these words; *“Şimdikiler hemen bir zorluğa gelsinler, pes ediyorlar”* (Today’s youth give up too easily in every difficulty they face). They blame their sisters-in-law for not handling the family problems temperately and having arguments instead. As Güllü (F3.1) indicates:

“Şimdi gelinler her şeyi hazır istiyor. Bütün ev eşyalı olacak. Bizim hiçbir şeyimiz yoktu. Bir tane döşeğimiz vardı gündüzleri koltuk yapardık, geceleri de üstünde uyurduk. Şimdikiler bunu yapmaz... Ayrılıp giderler” (Now brides want everything ready. They want a house full of furniture. We didn’t have anything. We had a

mattress that we used as a sofa in the daytime and as a bed at nights. They would not do that... They would just break up).

To conclude, the construction of love, respect and peace within the family is the responsibility of the females. The peace in the family is often ensured by the sacrifices made by women. It is evident from the interviews; the third generation women are less willing to make the sacrifices in order to satisfy family members. Women of first and second generations criticize the younger generation, for being disobedient in their intrafamilial relations.

In the third generation, the way that society approach women has begun to be challenged. Third generation women know that there is gender inequality in society, and they challenge it. However, in some cases they implicitly believe that there is no way to make a significant change. They define womanhood through the difficulties and inequalities they face, in the family and in the society, rather than through production and reproduction. In the narrative of Başak (F2.3a) this is presence: *“Kadınsan sürekli bir şeylerle mücadele etmek zorundasın. Hareketlerin hep yanlış anlaşılıyor. Hareketlerini farklı şekilde görüyorlar”* (If you are a woman you always have to fight with something. Your actions are always misunderstood in society. They see your behaviours in a different way). For some of the third generation women, womanhood is defined by society and there is no space for you to act in a different way. Bilge (F5.3a), even though unmarried and having graduated from university, she implicitly accepts the fact, there is no other option but being a good house-wife:

“Bizim toplumumuzda kadın çocuklara bakar, kadın kocasına bakar ve bütün fedakarlıkları kadın yapar. Böyle bir ortama doğunca sen de bunları yapmaya çalışıyorsun. Bu şekilde yaşıyorlar... Başka bir şey yok. Sana da normal geliyor ve annenden ne görürsen onu yapıyorsun. Düşüncelerimi değiştirmek istesem bile değiştiremem artık, çok geç yani” (In our society a woman is responsible for childbearing, taking care of the husband and making all the sacrifice in the family. When you have been born into such environment, you also try to do those things. They live like that...There is nothing else. You naturalize and do what you see from your mum. Even if I want to change my point of view, I cannot change at this point, it is too late).

Even though traditional gender roles are criticized by the youngest generation, they still do not see themselves totally different from their mothers and grandmothers. Change is not happening rapidly, between generations, on the

notion of womanhood. These, criticisms, however, are positive signals on the questioning of traditional gender roles.

5.2. Intrafamilial Relations

For the communities such as the Alevis, the importance of the family as an institution to meet emotional needs is obvious. On the other hand, family is the oldest social institution, historically constructed on the subjugation of women (Patemann, 1988). In this sense, the family oppresses women, together with other institutions within patriarchal systems. In this part, the main aim is to understand the social relations that oppress women in their families. Therefore, it is vital to understand the changes and continuities in the marriage and care-giving practices of these women.

Urban migration has not undercut the traditional organization of the family and the social relations inherent in it. According to Kıray (1985):

Despite migration, shifts in status and changes in life styles, the family, in major Turkish cities, is still the social institution which provides care for the individual, which accomplishes adaptation through change and which serves, for everybody, as a milieu where the most frequent and intimate relations are maintained (p. 89).

To understand the changes in intrafamilial relations and their effects on women's gender roles, it is necessary to understand changing household formations, from rural settings to urban. The patrilocal extended household has started to lose its significance in the urban context. The household has begun to evolve from patrilocal to neolocal in its physical configuration or form. However, the neolocal household is contestable when the effect of patriarchal extended family relations is considered. Kandiyoti (1987) terms this phenomenon as 'nuclear in composition'. According to Baştuğ (2002), in urban settings; "residence norms vary between patrilocal, patrilocal-neolocal, and neolocal, with an increasing tendency towards the latter" (p. 100). According to Erder (2002):

Change is mainly not in the direction of the modern nuclear family as assumed by so-called modernization theories. Neither is it in the direction of one uniform type of family. Instead, what is striking is the great diversity of networks that are reconstructed (p. 126).

Patrilocal household formation did not suddenly disappear in the urban environment, but simply changed its organization. Extended family did not dissolve; but instead its shape has changed. An urban household may be constituted by a nuclear family, but patriarchal extended family is still prevalent. Particularly in terms of the social relations and physical arrangements, in order to meet care-giving demands. The houses might be physically apart from each other; but it does not necessarily mean that the spouses are totally emancipated from the patriarchal extended family relationships. According to White (1994); “the actual structural arrangement of family life may vary without affecting the forms of control and subordination associated with the patriarchal family system” (p. 44).

According to Özbay (1985); “When labor becomes a commodity located outside the family, it does not only prevent the family from being an independent economic unit, but also affects its structure and functions” (p. 46). Even though changing household formations and economic independence have led a certain level of liberation for young couples; economic independence does not undermine the emotional dependencies in the families as argued by Kağıtçıbaşı (2002).

In Özbay’s (1985) estimation; “In pre-capitalist societies the family was an independent and unique institution which met all the physiological, social and psychological needs of individuals and which facilitated the reproduction of the family and of society” (p. 44). In capitalist societies as well, through the minimal state and decreasing influence of public institutions, family is put at the centre of care-giving. According to Acar and Altunok (2013); “The welfare and social security services of the state that are weakened under neo-liberal policies are largely compensated for by mechanisms of the social and private domain, namely the family and charity organizations” (p. 20).

It is vital to understand care-giving practices, when looking at women’s gender roles from rural to urban contexts. According to White (1994), in Turkey, after marriage, negotiations and strategic discussions take place between a woman’s natal family and her conjugal family, including the husband’s natal family. It is

due to the competition between two families over woman's labour and proximity, which is nothing to do with the physical distance.

When female support systems are activated, it means men's roles in society remain untouched and unquestioned, while women's labour is exploited. According to Kandiyoti (1987):

Women's greater ability to foster and maintain their own networks of sociability in the Middle East appears as an extremely important element in their control over their lives. One of the consequences of this "social embeddedness" of women is their ability to benefit from wider support systems for their domestic duties, especially childcare. These support systems may be of a reciprocal nature (especially among kin) but are just as frequently exploitative of other women (as with domestic servants or poor relatives) (p. 330).

The other important topic, that will reveal the changes and continuities in Alevi women's gender roles, is marriage. For Alevis, marriage has a special meaning, to maintain the socio-religious structure. According to Okan (2016), in contrast to the gender equality discourse in Alevism, and, in spite of the changes occurred due to urbanization, patriarchal mentality is still prevalent in women's religious and social life. This entity manifests itself best in the marriage practices of Alevi people. Marriage practices of Alevi people give important insights about Alevi socio-religious structure and patriarchy in Alevism. In this section, the main aim is to understand changes in the marriage practices of Alevis and possible dilutions in Alevi socio-religious structure, which might lead to an improvement in women's position within decision-making processes.

5.2.1. Marriage

Marriage is an important source of identity in Turkey, especially for women. Traditionally, women's status within their social environment depends on their domestic skills and family and kin-based relationships. According to Beşpınar (2014), in Turkey; "marriage is seen not simply as a union between a man and a woman, but it is considered to be an institution where family and kinship relationships develop with the addition of children" (p. 113).

According to Becker (1973, 1974), in the “marriage market” spousal choice depends on a basic economic rule –maximization of self-interest, and everyone is aware of their value in that market. Self-interest turns into family-interest after marriage and individual competition in the competitive market turns into familial competition. Becker rather focuses on ‘individual’ interest in the marriage decision. However; in Turkey, and, particularly in the case community, collective interest in marriage decision is as important as an individual’s own decision. According to Beşpınar (2014); “In our society, the compatibility of families is found to be much more important than personal characteristics such as work, education, income and physical characteristics” (p. 168).

In this part, it is important to make the distinction between civil and religious marriage. Civil marriage, on a legal base, provides a relatively advantageous position for woman, compared to the religious one. In terms of their legal rights, such as alimony or equal division of common properties after divorce, legal marriage assures woman’s position within the family union and after divorce. In the Dışlık case, all the participants are officially married. Religious marriage is not the case in any of the generations. The table below shows the participants’ marital status.

Table 6. Marital Status of the Participants

	Married	Unmarried	Widowed	Divorced
First Generation	2	-	3	-
Second Generation	6	-	2	-
Third Generation	4	3	-	1

The most important notion of the Alevi marriage is endogamy. In many societies in Turkey, it is observed that village endogamy and kin marriage are still quite common. This is also true of the urban setting (Beşpınar, 2014). In the Dışlık case, the case is not of village endogamy or kin marriage only, but also a hierarchical religious endogamy that is the main determinant in marriage practices.

The religious endogamy remains after urban migration. However, there is a decrease in the importance given to the religious patrilinearity; because in the

urban setting, being ‘Alevi’ is valuable enough. This is due to the changing notions of the ‘other’ in the urban space. Firuze (F1.1) says; “*Şimdi dede, talip, Alevi, Sünni kalmadı. Eskiden dedeler dedelerle evlenirdi. Şimdi her şey karıştı. Bizim için iyi değil. Bu şekilde asimile oluyoruz işte*” (There is no *dede, talip, Alevi* or *Sunni* anymore. Before, people from *dede* lineage were marrying to only the people from *dede* lineage. Now everything is mixed. It is not good for us. We are assimilated in this way). It proves that for some of the participants, marriage and reproduction of Alevi offspring is essential to protect the community from assimilation. Firuze (F1.1) says so because one of her daughters Nuray (F1.2b) is married to a *talip* man. Nuray (F1.2b) says:

“Benim için eşimin talip olmasının önemi yoktu, Sunni olmasını istemezdim tabi ki. Ben daha çok işi var mı, gücü var mı, eğitimi mi ona baktım. Tabi Alevi olması da önemliydi. Yeri geliyor evinde siyaset konuşuyorsun, bir Sünni’yle nasıl Alevilik konuşacaksın rahatça. O yüzden önemliydi” (I did not care if my spouse was a *talip*, I did not want a *Sunni*, of course. I cared his job and education more. Of course it was important for me that he was an Alevi. Sometimes you talk about politics in your home, how could you comfortably talk with a *Sunni*? Therefore it was important).

Table 7. Marriage Types

	Alevi		Sunni
	Dede	Talip	
First Generation	3	2	-
Second Generation	4	4	-
Third Generation	2	1	2

In the first generation, women from the *dede* lineage are married to men from *dede* lineage and *talip* women married *talip* men. In the second generation, this is set to change. Marriage between *dedes* and *talips* was not the fact in the past, due to the hierarchical nature of the belief. This hierarchy had a gendered nature as it is explained earlier. While men from the *dede* lineage could marry women of the *talip*, the opposite was not possible. This has changed in the urban setting. Nuray – a *dede* woman married to a *talip* man, have relative authority in the family. That is caused by the difference in their religious status. The authority is originated from the woman’s *dede* lineage; her natal family generates the control over the *talip* son-in-law. The woman’s natal family protects her, in times of conflict and implicitly maintains the hierarchy. The women’s lineage gives her a relatively

powerful position in her nuclear family, even if it originates from a religious patriarchy. As Nuray (F1.2b) indicates; “*Evde baskın kişi benim. Her istediğini yapmasına izin vermem, beni ezemez. Bir şey olursa ailem orada; bunu bilir. Bir şey olsa ailem bana destek oluyor*” (I am the dominant person in the house. I don’t let him do whatever he likes, he cannot oppress me. In times of crisis he knows that my family is there. They support me).

Marriage with a Sunni has finally become possible in the third generation. As shown in the Table 6, there is no Alevi-Sunni marriage in the first and second generations. For the first generation women, who were all married in the village, inter-marriage was not an option that would be considered at all. In the second generation, for women who have migrated through marriage, women’s partners were from their village or from other Alevi villages. Saniye (F5.1) indicates; “*Allah’a dua ederdim; ‘Ne olur çocuklarımın karşısına Sünni birini çıkarma!’ Dualarım kabul oldu. İki kızım da Aleviyle evlendi*” (I was praying God to not make my children marry Sunni people. My prayers were accepted. Both of my daughters are married to Alevis). Second generation women did not even consider such marriage, as noted by Zeliha (F5.2a) daughter of Saniye (F5.1): “*Sünni biriyle görüşüğünü söylemek cesaret ister. Sünni bir erkek arkadaşım vardı, iyi de anlaşıyoruz; ama ben hiç söylemedim bile. Çünkü annemgille aramızda sorun çıkacağını biliyordum*” It was a matter of braveness to tell your parents about a Sunni boyfriend. I had a Sunni boyfriend and we got along well, but I didn’t even tell about him to my family; because I knew that there would be a conflict between me and my parents). Apparently, children of *dede* families have a stronger pressure on them to marry, at least with an Alevi, even if not with someone from *dede* lineage.

In the light of the interviews, the reasons for standing against the Alevi-Sunni marriage could be listed as: the fear of intrafamilial conflicts, the fear of their children being assimilated, the fear of their daughters being oppressed, the fear of their daughters being veiled. Veiling and the headscarf, is interpreted as a way of oppressing women.

There are only two Alevi-Sunni marriages in this case and both from the third generation and from Halide family (F2). Aslıhan (F2.3c) who is married to a Sunni explains her experience:

“Birbirimizi çok sevdik. Annem asla izin vermezdi, biliyordum; ama vazgeçemedim. Bize geldi, ailemle görüştü. Ben de onun ailesiyle görüşmek istedim ama babası çok yobazdı. Annem onların evine gitmeye karar verdi; artık vazgeçmeyeceğimi anladı. Babası annemi evlerine koymadı ama annem de pes etmedi. Adam sonunda mecbur kaldı da tanıştılar. Alevilere karşı çok önyargılıydı başta; ama şimdi aramız çok iyi. Onlar bize gelir, biz onlara gideriz. Bir sorun da yaşamadım” (We liked each other a lot. My mother would never let me I know, but I couldn't break up. He came to our house and talk to my family. I wanted to meet his family as well, but his father was a bigot man. Then my mother decided to go to their house and meet them. She was convinced that I would marry him anyway. His dad didn't let my mother in their home, but she didn't give up. Finally, he had to meet with my family. He was very sceptical about Alevis at the beginning; but now we have really good relations. We go to their home, they come to us. I didn't have any problems).

For Hale (F2.3b) it was easier to marry to a Sunni after her cousin Aslıhan's (F2.3c) marriage:

“Biz evlenmeye karar verdiğimizizde o kadar korkmadım çünkü kuzenim de Sünniyle evli. Ailem kuzenimin kocasını, ailesini de biliyor. Ben de erkek arkadaşımдан bahsedince büyük bir sorun olmadı yani” (I was not very scared when we decided to marry; because my cousin was married to a Sunni. My family knows her husband and his family. It was not a big problem for my family when I told them about my boyfriend).

The situation of Hale and Aslıhan supports the conclusion that when one Alevi-Sunni marriage takes place in a family, it becomes easier for the other members to step into the same type of marriage.

There are four unmarried women in the third generation. Three of those women are studying at the university. These women plan not to consider marriage before they finish university and find a satisfactory job. Bilge (F5.3a) on the other hand, has a positive attitude towards marriage before finding a job. She has been looking for a job since she has graduated from university. For two years she couldn't find a job; so, not working in a paid job after marriage is not a big issue or change for her, as she states. It is also necessary to note that none of these four women are against marrying a Sunni. However, as Bilge (F5.3a) says; *“Sünni olması önemli değil benim için ama Alevi olsa daha iyi olur. Ailelerimiz de daha iyi anlaşır”* (It is not very important for me if he is Sunni but I prefer an Alevi. Our families can

get on well). Bilge's (F5.3a) mother's Zeliha's (F5.2a) idea on Alevi-Sunni marriage has also affected her idea towards marrying a Sunni. Zeliha (F5.2a) had the same concerns when she was dating a Sunni man. She was not sure her family would confirm such marriage. It was Saniye (F5.1) who was praying to God for their daughters to marry Alevi men. Therefore, Zeliha (F5.2a) married with an Alevi whose family could get on well with her family.

In the Dışlık case, there is only one divorced woman, who has come back to her natal family household, instead of living in a house of her own. Her situation demonstrates the unacceptability of female-headed households, formed by young women, due to the prevalence of the control over female sexuality. When her marriage was asked Başak (F2.3a) replied as:

“Ayrılmak zorunda kaldık. Ailesi çok baskı uyguluyordu, o da benimle ailesi arasında dengeyi kuramadı... Ayrılınca tekrar ailemin yanına döndüm. Tek başıma da kalabilirdim ama biliyorsun işte... İnsanlar hemen yargılıyor... Dedikodular oluyor, adın çıkıyor... Eski eşim de Aleviydi. Artık bir önemi de kalmadı yani. Alevi veya Sünni... İyi insan olsun da; o yeter...” (We had to break up. His family was putting so much pressure on him and he couldn't balance between me and his family... When I divorced, I moved into my family's home. I would stay on my own, but you know... People judge you... They gossip, you get a bad reputation... My ex husband was an Alevi. It doesn't really matter anymore. Alevi or Sunni... You have to be a good person; it is enough...).

Başak (F2.3a) is the cousin of Hale (F2.3b) and Aslıhan (F2.3c). Once divorce, observing her cousins' mixed marriages, her ideas on Alevi-Sunni marriage changed.

In addition to the marriage types, one of the most important changes between generations can be observed in their marriage ages. According to Koç (2014); “The results of demographic research in Türkiye show that the first age of marriage for women was 16 before 1970 and before, however, this age rose to 24 in the year 2000 and later” (p. 24). This is also the case in the case community. The figure below (Figure 8) demonstrates the comparison of marriage ages for women and men among three generations.

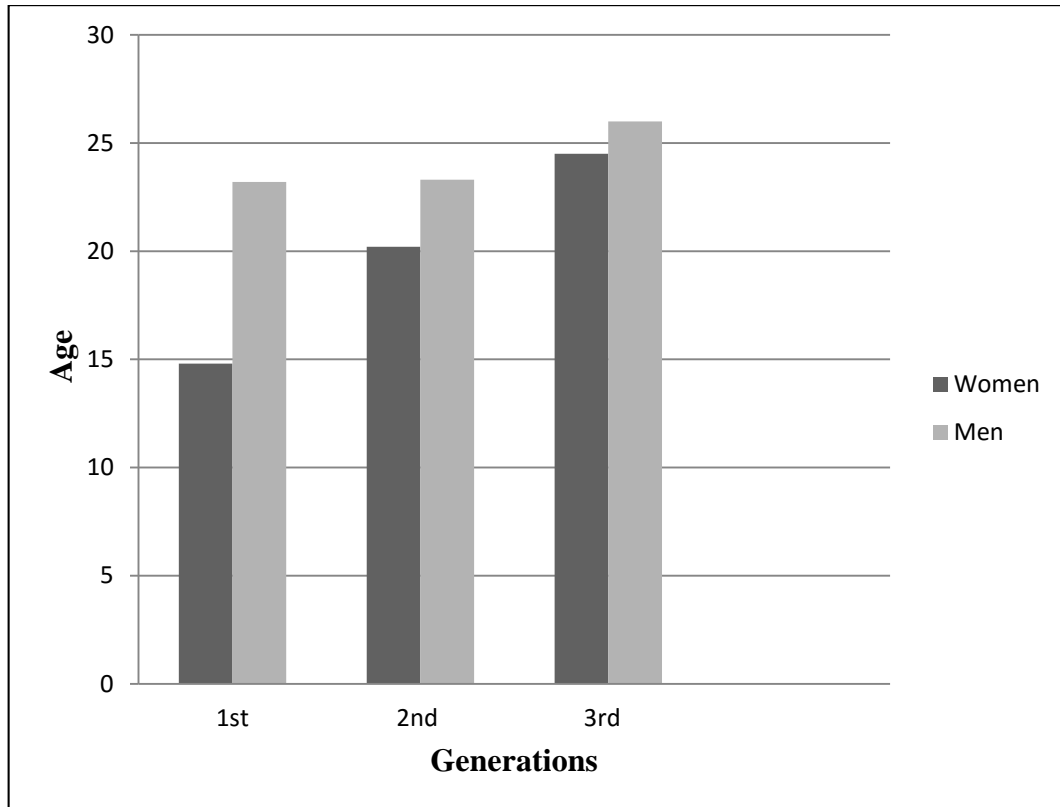


Figure 8. The Comparison of the Marriage Age for Women and Men Across Three Generations

5.2.2. Care-Giving

Childbirth and childcare and their effects on women's social lives are covered in this section. I also discuss the role of state policies, changing relations with children, attitudes towards children, along with female support systems. Gendered dimensions of elderly care, elderliness as a way of migration, allocation of labour in elderly care-giving, are also considered.

One of the most significant changes between generations, regarding childbirth, is the age at which the mother bears her first child and the number of children they each have. The age of the mothers, at the time of their first child's birth, has increased over time. The number of children they have has decreased. This is in parallel with the wider trend in Turkey, of bearing fewer children, than was previously the norm (Koç, 2014).

Table 8. Average Age of First Childbirth and Average Number of Child

	Average Age of First Childbirth	Average Number of Child (per woman)
First Generation	16	5,4
Second Generation	21,5	2,3
Third Generation	25,6	1,6

The decision to have fewer children depends on family's economic income, increasing educational levels, women's participation in the labour force and the increasing availability of methods of birth control.

Childbirth and childcare seem to be the most significant obstacles to women's participation in the labour force. For working mothers, childcare is an important issue that needs to be well organized. In the Dışlık case, childcare is, predominantly provided mainly by the maternal grandmothers. According to Özbay (2014); "Even though the percentage of families who get daycare from the maternal grandmother is higher in urban settings, the percentage of urban households who get daycare from the paternal grandmother is still higher" (p. 240). It represents a change in the social relations inherent in traditional patriarchy, and a change in care-giving practices, that originate from the patrilocal extended household.

The first generation women are cared for in their old age, mainly by their daughters, although traditionally this was care given by daughters-in-law. The geographical location of the houses is determined according to the caregiver and caretaker, elderly care or childcare. It shows that the patrilocal household is changing in shape, but in the urban setting, it has not totally disappeared. According to White (1994):

However, even though a married woman owed her complete attention and labor to her husband, children, and mother-in-law, the mother-daughter relationship remained important even after marriage. This resulted in competing demands for a woman's time and labor, which the woman (and her natal family) had to negotiate carefully in order to avoid friction with her husband and his mother (p. 49-50).

In elderly care; geographical distance, sibling order and women's willingness, play an important role in the determination of who the caregiver will be. Elderly care

causes conflicts, not only between daughters-in-law, but also between sisters. Nuray (F1.2b), having had a hard time looking after her sick mother, indicates; *“Ailede bir aptal bulunuyor; bütün yük ona yükleniyor”* (A fool is found in the family and the burden is loaded on her). Whilst elderly care was traditionally carried out by daughters-in-law, urban migration and the dissolution of patrilocal extended households has changed this. This role is now assumed, predominantly, by the daughters. Therefore, there is a change in the viewpoint on having daughters. Traditionally sons were seen as the guarantee of elderly care, as care was provided by daughters-in-law, this is now no longer the case.

As mentioned before, elderliness and the need for care have caused a urban migration, for some of the first generation women. Two of the participants have migrated to the city, in that way. While one of these women is widowed, the other’s husband is still alive. They wanted to be close to their children, as they got older. Fatma (F4.1) who migrated to the city due to elderliness says: *“O zamanlar derdim; ‘Ben bu kadar çucuğu ne yapacağım?’... Çok üzülürdüm; bütün dişlerim döküldü üzüntüden. Daha fazla çocuk olmasın derdim. Şimdi anlıyorum her biri birer altınmış. Hepsi benimle ilgileniyor”* (I was thinking then, what I am going to do with lots of children... I was so sad; I have lost all my teeth because of sadness. I was wishing to have no more children. Now, I understand each one of them is gold. They take care of me).

There is a reciprocal nature of care-giving practices between generations. While the first generation women, the grandmothers, look after their grandchildren, the second generation women, in return, look after them in their old age. Female support systems are prevalent in care-giving practices of these women. According to Erder (2002), structural rigidity and the lack of formal institutions, along with rising globalization and its effects, have made informal networks and familial solidarity more important among lower classes. It is not solely due to the lack of public institutions. There also exists a strong social pressure on women to take care of their elders. Even in the presence of the public institutions, women are put in a moral dilemma by the extended family members and by society in general.

5.3. Access to Education

In this section the educational backgrounds of the migrants are explained. Their changing education levels; its reasons and results are discussed. Although the participation of girls in education was not common in the rural; education has become an essential requirement for the social life of girls in the urban. The table below demonstrates the level of education for each generation.

Table 9. Educational Background

	No Schooling	Primary School	Secondary/ Elementary School	High School	University (Undergraduate & Graduate)
First Generation	5	-	-	-	-
Second Generation	-	2	3	1	2
Third Generation	-	-	-	2	6

Note. All women of the first generation do not have any official degrees.

Education and literacy is a cause for regret for the first generation of women which consists of those who have not had the chance to get education. All those women were quite unhappy when we started to talk about the issue. They have explained the reasons behind their illiteracy and these words shed light on the patriarchal pressure they felt. Güllü (F3.1) explains it in the following words:

Babam istemedi okula gitmemi. 'Kızlar okur muymuş?' dedi. 'Ev işlerini kim yapacak, yemekleri kim pişirecek?' dedi... Bana da ablama da izin vermedi. Küçük kardeşimi de gizlice okula saldı, yalan söyledik. Oyun oynuyor kızlarla derdik. İlkokulu böyle bitirdi kardeşim. Çok başarılıydı. Sonradan Öğretmen Okulu'na gönderelim dedik, babam koymadı. Şimdi öyle perişan ki kardeşim. Babamdan azıcık bir ölüm maaşı alıyor o kadar (My dad did not want me to go to school. He said that girls do not get education. He asked who will do the housework, who will cook meals... He did not let me and my bigger sister to go to school. We secretly managed our youngest sister to go to school, we were lying. We were saying that she is playing with other kids. She managed to finish the primary school like that. She was very successful. We wanted to send her to teacher's school later, but my dad did not want. Now she is miserable. She only gets a small amount of money through my dad's retirement pension).

In this narrative we see the importance of female labour and the control over it. Halide (F2.1) talks in a similar light; *"Okula devam etseydim ben çok başarılı olurum ama nasıl gidersin? Ev işleri bitiyor mu! Ev var, hayvanlar var... Senin eline kitap verirler mi?"* (If I could continue I could have done well in the school

but how could you do? Housework was never finishing! You have the house; you have animals to look after... Would they give a book in your hands?). In the words Fatma it is possible to discover a different but well-known fact; *“Babam beni okula yazdırdı ama babaannem gitmemi istemedi... Kilim dokumamı istedi... Babam çok açık görüşlü bir adamdı”* (My dad registered me for school, but my grandmother did not want me to go... She wanted me to weave carpets... My dad was an open-minded man). This narrative shows that patriarchy might also be internalized by the females as argued by Kandiyoti (1988). According to Firuze (F1.1); *“Ben okuyabilseydim eğer çok büyük bir insan olurum”* (I could be an important person if I could get an education).

Only Saniye from the first generation is literate while the other four women are illiterate. She participated in a literacy course soon after she arrived in the city after marrying in the village. She said she couldn't do more because she had a household and an extended family to manage and look after. Firuze (F1.1) and Fatma (F4.1) from the first generation have also participated in literacy courses later on, but failed to learn because of their household management and care-giving responsibilities. Those women have experienced difficulties in the urban due to their illiteracy. As indicated by Halide (F2.1); *“Ben kendimi kör olarak görüyorum. Görüyorum ama görmüyorum. Okumayı bilmezsen ne olacak? Otobüse binemiyorum, bir yere gidemiyorum. Numaraları bilsem o bile bana yeterdi...”* (I see myself as a blind person. I see, but I don't see. What happens if you don't know how to read? I cannot get on a bus, I cannot go anywhere. It would be enough for me if I could have known the numbers at least...).

The two women who have never migrated to the city explained the reasons for not getting education in a similar way to other first generation women. Hatun (6) explains her experience in these words; *“Kim senin okumana izin verecek? Salıyorlar mıydı ki? Dövüyorlardı! Her işi sana yaptırıyorlardı... Keşke okuyabilseydim”* (Who would let you get education? They didn't let you go, they were beating you... They were making you do all the jobs... I wish I could get an education).

Women of the second generation who were born in the village got their primary school education in the village. The school in the village was active until the end of the 1970s. Whilst women of the second generation who migrated to the city through marriage have a lower education, the girls who are the daughters of already migrated families have higher education levels. Yıldız (F2.2a) points out the effect of education policy on migration; “*Köyde okul olmazsa ne yapacaksın? Çocuklarım okusun diye şehre geliyorsun. Okulları kapatarak köyleri boşaltıyorlar*” (What will you do if there is no school in the village? You move to the cities to make your children get education. They are emptying the villages by closing the schools).

As it is indicated earlier, Tülin (F4.2b) from Fatma family migrated to Ankara to get an education. This is an exceptional migration, especially when it is considered that women of the same age have migrated to the city through marriage. She explains her migration process in these words:

Ankara’da doktor bir kadın vardı. Ailem beni onun yanına göndermek istedi; hem çalışayım hem de okuyayım diye. Annem önce istemedi ama sonra o da fikrini değiştirdi. Köyde bir hayat, bir gelecek yoktu. Herkes Ankara’ya gidiyordu. Annem hayatımı köyde harcamamı istemedi... Ben Ankara’ya geldiğimde on üç yaşındaydım. Kolay değildi tabii ki ama kadın çok iyi bir insandı. Eğitimimi de aldım, çalıştım da uzun süre o kadının evinde. Sonradan da kliniğinde çalışmaya başladım; şimdi emekliyim (My family wanted to send me to Ankara to live with a woman doctor to help with housework, and to get education at the same time. My mum didn’t want to send me at the beginning but she changed her mind later. There was no life or future in the village any more. Everyone was migrating to Ankara. She didn’t want me to waste my life in the village... I was thirteen when I came to Ankara. It was not very easy of course; but that woman was a really good person. I got my education and I worked for her for a long time. I started to work in her clinic later on and I am now retired).

She explains the attitudes of the villagers towards her migration when her family decided to send her; “*Köyümüzde ... amca vardı; Annemlere dedi ki: ‘Eksik etek o; Ankara’ya gidecek kötü şeyler yapacak. Ben olsam yollamazdım!’ Bu sözleri hala hatırlıyorum...*” (There was this man in our village, he had said to my family: ‘She is an *eksik etek* [a sexist expression in Turkish which is used instead of woman], she will go to the city and do bad stuff. I wouldn’t send my daughter!’ I cannot forget these words...). Her migration was a challenge towards the traditional

gender roles in the rural community. Therefore, that makes her an exception in whole of the village history.

Women of the third generation who were all born in the city are all well-educated (high school level and above). It is very important for the first and second generation women to encourage their children to get an education; because education creates upward social mobility for the urban migrants. Therefore, access to education is in high demand in the urban; because it is brighter future for the urban migrants enabling them to find employment and a better life for themselves and their families. According to Koç (2014):

With internal migrations gaining speed in the 1950s in Türkiye, the share of industrial and service sectors mostly organized in urban areas increased in overall production and the role of education to find a job in these sectors became more important (p. 25).

Education has further importance especially for those who are discriminated against in their work life due to their identities. Having a good education or a degree is interpreted as a way to create upward social mobility by the urban migrants of marginalized communities.

As an institution where people from different communities come together, the school may have different challenges for Alevi children. They may face bullying in this social environment where they experience being ‘different’. In the case of Nisan (F1.3b) the bullying she experienced became apparent during Ramadan; *“İlkokuldayken bizim sınıfta bir çocuk vardı. Ramazanda gelip bana ‘Sen neden oruç tutmuyorsun?’ diye sormuştu. ‘Biz Aleviyiz, oruç tutmuyoruz.’ dediğimde de ‘Siz kafırsınız!’ demişti. Sonra ben de bu olayı anneme anlattım.”* (When I was at the primary school, there was a boy in our class. In Ramadan, he came and asked me; ‘Why do you not feast?’ When I said; ‘We are Alevi, we do not feast.’ he said ‘You are a heretic!’ Later I told my mum what happened). Nisan’s (F1.3b) mother Nuray (F1.2b) completes the story; *“Veli toplantısı vardı. Söz hakkı istedim ve konuşmaya başladım. Olayı anlattım. Dedim ki siz evlerinizde bunları konuşmasanız çocuklarınız bunları nereden bilecek? Yapmayın, ayırım işte böyle çıkıyor dedim”* (There was a parents’ meeting at the school. I asked for permission

to speak and I began to speak. I told the story. I said how would your children know these issues if you did not talk about them in your homes? I said ‘Don’t do this. This is how the discrimination comes out’”. Bilge (F5.3a) expresses her experience of being an Alevi child; “*Küçükken hatırlıyorum annemler hep tembihlerdi. Alevi olduğumu kimseye söyleme sakın derlerdi. Kimseye söylemedim ben de okuldayken*” (I remember my parents warned me when I was a kid. They told me not to tell anyone that I was an Alevi. I have never told anyone in the school). Bilge’s parents were clearly worried that their child would experience bullying at school. For most of the Alevis, their identity is something they may keep in secret in order not to face discrimination in the state institutions.

5.4. Participation in the Labour Force

In this part; firstly, the distinction between paid and unpaid female labour is made; secondly, women’s unpaid work in the Dışlık case is highlighted; thirdly; the nature of women’s participation in the labour force is examined; and, fourthly, the double burden faced by women is explained. Participation in the labour force and its relation to family institution and national policies are discussed.

Table 10. Work Status of the Participants Today

	Working in a Paid Job	Retired	Not Working	Unemployed	Student
First Generation	-	-	5	-	-
Second Generation	2	2	4	-	-
Third Generation	2	-	2	2	2

Note. Working or not working in a paid job is not used as a category to ignore the presence of women’s domestic work.

It is necessary here to make the distinction between paid and unpaid work. Unpaid work and domestic labour are extensively analyzed and highly valued by feminist scholars –especially by Marxist and socialist feminists (Tong, 1989). Domestic work or daily life production –such as meals, clean clothes, care-giving; is an important reason for women’s oppression as well as an important component of development and a functioning of economy. It is also a reality that the family institution is seen as a ‘buffer mechanism’ in times of economic crisis.

The discussion of women's paid work in feminist literature is important because it is considered to have the potential to create an erosion of the material basis for classical patriarchy. However, the relationship between women's participation in the labour force and their power within the family is problematic. In the light of her study on women who are the major providers 'breadwinners', in their families, Bolak (1997) asserts that there is not a linear relation between women's power within the family and their participation in the labour force.

Urban migration and participation in the labour force has not made a significant change in women's gender roles. Traditionally defined female roles have remained in the urban with some adjustments to the city life. Their role as wives, mothers, daughters, and, daughters-in-law haven't lost their traditional meanings or their priority in women's social life. Housekeeping, childcare, and care of the elderly are still mainly women's responsibilities. Participation in the labour force let alone making a significant shift in those gender roles, it makes the situation worse with the emergence of 'double burden'. Even if women join the labour force, and are economically independent and visible in the public sphere; their gender relations in the public domain doesn't seem to change. They cannot neglect their roles and duties within the household and in the extended family relations in general. It is important to note the fact that double burden is not inherent in the city life. Also, there is a need to highlight the fact that women are overwhelmed by a double burden both in the rural and urban settings. Those women worked with men in the fields, but this did not affect their domestic duties. Household management, cleaning, cooking and care-giving are still carried out by females. Women's domestic labour is invisible both in the rural and urban settings, but their situation does improve in the city. If they participate in the labour force; then they are paid for the job they do. In the rural, women work as unpaid family members in the fields and their labour remains free. This keeps them without any economic resource of their own.

The first and some of the second generation of women were working in the fields side by side with the men. They were both doing the 'man's job' in the fields and the 'woman's job' in the house. They were also working after the harvest

preparing the wheat ready for sale. The important point is that the income from the agricultural production was in the control of the males and the women remained as unpaid workers. Those women did not have any control over resources. When those women migrated to the city, they experienced isolation because they were no longer working outside the house. Before articulation to the market economy and an increase in the number of consumer goods available in the village, women were making clothes –knitting and sewing, they were carpet weaving and making beds with wool. They were doing work for daily life and consumption. For instance, until the 1960s-1970s women were still making all the clothes of family members. To sum up, women both in the rural and urban are totally responsible for domestic work. In the urban participation in the labour force is not still very high and in the case of participation it is not making a significant change to lighten women's domestic burden. However; according to Salman (2016) while in rural, Alevi women's status or visibility solely depends on their marriage and motherhood; in the urban setting women have the opportunity to express and represent themselves in various institutions. In that sense, women's participation in the labour force might create a platform for those women to express themselves.

It is also important to understand the nature of women's participation in the labour force. According to İlkaracan (2003); "In Turkey, one of the most significant obstacles to women's work outside home is gendered division of labour like elsewhere in the world" (p. 285). This is further enhanced by the social networks that women live in and by the state policies. Toksöz (2012) by using Walby's classification of private and public patriarchy argues that; "In countries where private patriarchy has been strong, a man as husband or father, benefiting from the maintenance of the gender-based division of labour at home, has decided whether or not women may work outside the household" (p. 47).

None of the first generation women worked in a paid job in the city. They remained as domestic workers in their houses and as unpaid family workers until they migrated to the city. While some of the second generation women worked in a paid job, some others did not participate in the labour force. It is important to note that there is not a causal relation between women's participation in the labour

force and being born in the city –as Gülden (F1.2a) and Zeliha (F5.2a) were born in the city but never worked in a paid job, and, Canan (F4.2a) who migrated to the city through marriage but started to work later on.

In the second generation women's participation in the labour force is still not a preference but an economic necessity. Nuray (F1.2b) in her speech states the necessity of working in a paid job:

Eskiden terzi olarak çalışıyordum. Sonra devlet dairesinde iş buldum... Kocamla evlenmeye karar verdiğimiz zaman kayınvalidem açıkça söyledi düşüncelerini, oğullarımın çalışmayan kadınlarla evlenmesini istemiyorum dedi. Akıllı kadındı. 'Neden sadece benim oğullarım çalışsın?' dedi. Şehirde hayat zor, iki kişi çalışacaksın ki ancak bir ev alsın. (I was working as a tailor before. Then I found a job in the public office... When we decided to get married, my mother-in-law openly shared her ideas with me about working. She said that she did not want her sons to marry non-working women. She was a clever woman. 'Why would only my sons work?' she said. City life is not cheap and to have a house you have to both work).

The new challenging urban context may create a shift on traditional gender roles. It is also because of the fact that Nuray's mother-in-law had also started to work in the urban after their migration from rural. Selma (F2.2c) explains her work experience as so:

Şehre kocamla evlenmek için geldim, ailesiyle birlikte yaşamaya başladık. Evdeki herkese ben bakıyordum. O zamanlar öyle kendi evin olamazdı, hele de en küçük oğlansan evdeki. Onlarla on yıl yaşadım. İşte çalışamazdım; çünkü ev işleriyle ben uğraşıyordum. Kocam da zaten çalışmamı istemedi. Ben yani bunları da gördüm, doğruları konuşacaksak... Ayrı evimiz oldu da ben çalışmaya başladım. Çocuklar da büyümüştü. Bir avukatın yanında iş buldum. Kocamla da çok kavgalarımız oldu yani... Çok kıskanırdı beni; ama ben çalışmaya başladım. Beni durduramadı çünkü ayrı evimiz vardı; onun aldığı para yetmiyordu. Yemek yapıyordum, çay yapıyordum ofiste; temizlik de yapıyordum. Şimdiki işim daha iyi. Temizlik falan yapmıyorum; bir şirkette sekreter olarak çalışıyorum (I came to the city to marry my husband; we started to live with his family. I was looking after everyone. In that time you could not have your separate house, especially for the youngest son it was impossible. I lived with them for ten years. I couldn't work in a job as I was busy with housework. My husband didn't want me to work anyway. I have experienced this as well, if we are to speak the truth... I started to work when we had our own separate house. The children had grown up and I found a job in a lawyer's office. There were big arguments with my husband... He was a jealous man but I managed to start the job. He couldn't stop me; because we had a separate house to maintain and his money was not enough. I was cooking, making tea in the office, and cleaning too. My job is better now. I am not doing cleaning and stuff, I work as a secretary in a company).

This narrative presents the difficulty that migrant women face when they decide to find a job as they can only work in low-paid service sector jobs most of the time.

Bolak (1997) argues that even though the market wants women and they also become bread-winners, the gender division of labour within the household is resistant to change. In the case, like the one of Nuray (F1.2b) one, working women may hand over their monthly wages to their husbands; “*Şimdi o kadar pişmanım ki yirmi yıl boyunca kazandığım parayı kocamın eline teslim ettiğim için. Hiç birikim bile yapamadım*” (I feel great regret that I had been handing over my wages into my husband’s hands for 20 years. I didn’t even save some of it).

In some cases, the husband’s authority is more significant than that of the father’s in the prevention of women’s participation in the labour force. It shows the prevalence of the ‘stranger-bride’ position of women within the traditional patriarchy has not totally disappeared. As Zeliha (F5.2a) indicates:

Babam bana Belediye’de iş bulmuştu. O zaman evliydim. Babam ve eşimle Belediye’ye gittik evrakları teslim etmeye. Eve geldiğimizde bana dedi ki ben babamın yanında bir şey diyemedim ama çalışmanı istemiyorum. O yüzden başlamadım ben de (My father had found me job in the municipality. I was married then. We went to the municipality with my husband and father and handed my papers in to start working. When we came back home my husband said that he couldn’t say anything when we were with my father but he didn’t want me to work. So, I didn’t start working)

Some women find themselves in a more powerful position in later years as their power within the family and society increases with age. Canan (F4.2a) after starting working in her late forties says; “*Kocam uzun süre çalışmama izin vermedi. Gençken çok istiyordum çalışmayı. Çocuklar büyüyünce şansımı tekrar denedim. Yine istemedi ama ben şansımı zorladım. İş bulduktan sonra da bir şey diyemedi. Şimdi mutluyum. Kendi gelirim var; istediğim gibi harcıyorum*” (My husband didn’t let me work for a long time. I really wanted to work when I was younger. After my children grew up I tried my chance again. He still didn’t really want me but I persisted. After I found a job he couldn’t say anything. I am very happy now as I have my own income; I spend it as I wish).

In the third generation there are two women working in a paid job. Whilst one of them is a single woman, the other one is a divorcee. It shows that marriage and having children are the two most important life events in their ability to get a job and join the labour force. There are two non-working women in the third

generation and both of them were working before they were married but left their jobs when they married or had children. As Aycan (F1.3a) indicates; “*Evlenene kadar yedi yıl kadar çalıştım. Evlendikten sonra da çalışmak istemedim. Evle ilgilenmeye başladım; sonra da çocuğumuz oldu zaten. Çocuklar büyüyünce tekrar çalışmayı düşünüyorum ama tekrar iş bulabilir miyim bilmiyorum. Uzun zaman oldu...*” (I had worked for seven years until I married. I didn’t want to work when I got married. I started to deal with the house and then we had children. I will consider work again when my children grow up but I am not sure if I can find a job again. It has been a long time...). It shows that the status of a housewife is still attractive to some women even though they have the chance to work in a paid job. In the case Esra (F2.2c) the story is almost the same:

Üniversiteden mezun olduktan sonra iki yıl çalıştım. Sonra evlenmeye karar verdik; çocuk oldu. İşten ayrılıp çocuğa bakmaya başladım... Bazen para yetmiyor; yeniden işip girip çalışmayı istiyorum kızım büyüdüğünde. Annem de bakamıyor çünkü çalışıyor. O yüzden şimdilik ben evde kalmak zorundayım (I worked for two years after I graduated from the university. Then we decided to marry and we had children. I left my job and started to look after my daughter... There is not enough money sometimes and I want to work when my daughter gets bigger. My mother cannot look after her because she is working. So I have to stay at home for now).

This narrative shows the importance of female support systems in the ability of women’s participation in the labour force. There are two university students in this group, both of them are planning to work in a paid job. According to Güneş (F3.3a); “*Kadınların kendi parası olmalı bana göre. Eşinden para isteyemezsin... Ben de evlenmek istiyorum ama önce iyi bir iş istiyorum. Annem de hep der önce işin olsun, evlilik her zaman olur diye.*” (Women have to have their own money. You cannot ask your partner for money... I want to marry but first I want to have a decent job. My mother always says that you should have a job first, you can marry whenever you want). In Hale’s (F2.3b) opinion:

Bir sürü emek verip okuyorsun. Hepsi iş bulmak için. Ben evde oturmak istemiyorum. Annem hep der onun iyi eğitim olmaya, işe girmeye fırsatı olmadığını. Hep der ki evlensen bile eşinden ayrılabilirsin, güvence değil koca. İyi bir mesleğin olması lazım hayatını garanti altına almak için” (You put so much effort into studying. All this effort is to find a job. I do not want to stay at home. My mother always tells me that she didn’t have the chance of a higher education and work in a job. She says even if you marry, you could break up with your husband, you cannot rely on him. You need to have a profession to guarantee your future).

These words show the importance of a mother's influence on a woman's future life and on the choices she may make. The final two of the third generation are unemployed women. One of these women has graduated from university and the other one is from the high school. According to Bilge (F5.3a); "*Aleviysen öyle kolay kolay iş bulamazsın. Kimliğine bakıyorlar, nereli olduğunu görüyorlar; kim olduğunu anlıyorlar. Nasıl iş bulacaksın? KPSS'ye de girdim, iyi de puan aldım; ama hala işsizim*" (You cannot find a job easily if you are an Alevi. They look at your identity card and see your place of origin; they understand who you are. How can you find a job? I have attended in KPSS [public personnel selection examination], I had a good grade; but I am still unemployed). There is a strong belief among Alevis that they cannot find jobs in the public sector due to their identity, and they interpret this as discrimination. Hale (F2.3b) says something similar to Bilge (F5.3a); "*Ben iş bulmak için üniversite bitimeye gerek olduğunu düşünmüyorum açıkçası. Bizim Sünni bir komşumuz var, onun oğlu Gençlik ve Spor Bakanlığı'nda iş buldu. Diploması bile yok. O tarz yerlerde bir tanıdığın olarak işe girebilmek için*" (I don't believe that you have to have a university degree to find a job. We had this Sunni neighbour whose son has found a job in the Ministry of Youth and Sports. He didn't have a degree. You have to have friends in those places to get in). She certainly believes that nepotism networks are quite strong among Sunnis.

Unemployment is a serious problem in Turkey. According to the data provided by TÜİK (Turkish Statistical Institute), the total unemployment rate is 10.1 % for December 2017. Although the employment rate among the total population over the age of 15 is 65.8% for males, this ratio remains at 29.3% for females. It is also due to the fact that most of women work informally in the system. This data shows that gendered unemployment prevails in today's Turkey. The interface of neoliberalism and neoconservatism in Turkey complicates women's participation in the labour force which in the words of Acar and Altunok (2013):

While the 'neo-liberal political rationality' requires the state to withdraw from the provisions of welfare services such as health care, education and social services, the 'neo-conservative rationality' re-affirms the state's existence in the political order by assigning it a moral mission, circumscribed by discourses of patriotism, nationalism, religiosity, culture and tradition (p. 15).

By the application and promotion of neoliberal policies around the world, the state's role of social care provider has started to diminish. Neoliberal state policies reinforce women's service provider role within society and could confine them to the private sphere through the glorification of family and motherhood in line with neoconservatism.

5.5. Mobility Outside Home

This section aims to understand the social visibility of women in daily life. While taking private and public domains as extensions of each other, women's mobility outside the home will be evaluated. This evaluation aims to understand these women's position within the patriarchal social systems.

In the Dışlık case, when the first and second generation of women came to the city, they started to experience a spatial restriction; because they were no longer free to move outside the house, however in the rural areas they were working in the fields –alongside the men. There is not a clear cut distinction between the public and private spheres in the rural. Therefore, women have relative freedom in the village in contrast with the city life. Moreover, it seems that 'gendered socialization' was not prevalent in the rural but has become a phenomenon in the urban. According to Olson (1982), "contrary to the usual expectations, male and female spheres in the villages are in some ways less mutually exclusive than those in the more urban communities" (p. 64). Participants who had the village life experience note that they were sitting together with men in the gatherings even though they kept silent. Men and women did not socialize in different rooms or houses. However, in the urban, men who are mainly working outside home, are spending more time with same-sex friends in different spaces, while women who remain in the home, are socializing in the neighbourhood with women.

Women's mobility in the urban space which was mainly limited to the shantytown was discussed in Chapter 4. From village house to shantytown house –*gecekondu*, and to the apartment, women's mobility outside home has decreased. This is the case for the first generation and nonworking women of the second generation. It is

also important to note that working women are not totally free from patriarchal constraints. However, for the second generation women who were born in the city, spatial restriction is relatively less intense. However, Selma (F2.2c) states; *“Kocama sadece nereye gittiğimi haber veriyorum; izin almıyorum. Gençken ben her yere giderdim; barlara bile... Babam bana hiçbir şeyi yasaklamadı. Ama kocam dediğim gibi çalışmamı istemedi”* (I only report to my husband where I go, I do not ask for permission. When I was young, I was going to all sorts of places like pubs... My father never forbade anything. My husband though, as I said earlier, didn't want me to work outside). For the working women of the second generation, the situation is slightly different. However, their life is mainly limited to their work and their home. Canan (F4.2a) indicates; *“Hayatım evle iş arasında geçiyor. Başka bir şey yapacak vakit yok. İşten geliyorum hemen yemek yapmaya başlıyorum”* (I live between work and the house. There is no time to do other things. I come from work and start cooking straight away).

For the third generation of women who were all born in the city and have grown in the urban space, mobility outside the home is not totally under their control. Women of the third generation still live in a patriarchal atmosphere. Married women often negotiate with their husbands; while unmarried women negotiate with their natal families –fathers mainly. As noted by Esra (F4.3a); *“Kadınlar için gece dışarı çıkmak diye bir şey yok. Herkes kadınlar gece dışarı çıkamaz diyor. Erkekler her şeyi yapabilirler... Kadınlara her şey yasak”* (Going out in the evening is not possible for women. Everyone says women shouldn't go out at nights. Men can do everything... Everything is forbidden for women). For unmarried women, control over female sexuality is still a fact in ‘the modern urban life’. Meltem (F3.2a), even though she wanted her daughter Güneş (F3.3a) to get good education, she did not want her daughter to move away:

Kızımı başka şehre yollamak istemedim; özel okula göndermeye karar verdim. En azından burada gözümün önünde. Kız çocuğu sonuçta, kızların başka şehirde okuması kolay değil (I preferred to send my daughter to a private university instead of her moving to another city. At least here she is in my sight. She is a girl and it is not easy for girls to study in another city).

It shows the prevalence of the control over female sexuality and the traditional desire to protect female purity.

Spatial constraint also affects Alevi women’s participation in the *cem* rituals. In the urban, women who want to join *cem*, need to finish their duties in the household first. She needs to prepare the meals and organize other tasks. Furthermore, she needs to return home before it gets too late. If it is considered the fact that *cem* rituals are traditionally held on Thursday evenings, it is possible to imagine how complicated it is for those women to join the rituals on their own. The table below demonstrates women’s participation in *cem* rituals. The marginal status of the *cemevi* and women’s gender roles reflect their ability to participate in these rituals on a regular basis.

Table 11. Participation in Cem Ritual

	Every Week	Once in a Month	More than Once in a Year	Once in a Year	Not on a Regular Basis	Never Participated
First Generation	-	-	3	2	-	-
Second Generation	-	-	2	3	3	-
Third Generation	-	-	-	2	3	3

5.6. Chapter Conclusions

Dede and *talip* have lost their meanings a great deal in the urban because the definition of ‘other’ has started to change. Although, Sunni has been the ‘other’ both in the rural and urban; in the urban *dede* and *talip* has become the same thing –just Alevi, which mainly shows itself in their marriage practices.

The most salient change in patriarchy in Alevism has occurred in the marriage practices. Women of the *dede* lineage marry with *talip* men as well as Sunni men. This was not so in the rural. Changes in the marriage practices of Alevi women have reduced the effects of this patriarchal socio-religious structure which has helped Alevi women to gain more power in decision-making processes.

Women's participation in the labour force is still rare in the second generation and it is chosen only in economically compulsory situations; while it has become a necessity in the third generation. However, Alevi identity becomes an obstacle for these women trying to get the sort of jobs they want. In case of joining the labor force 'double burden' becomes a fact. Participation in the labor force does not affect traditional gender roles within the household.

Care-giving is still mainly a female responsibility which causes tensions in the nuclear and extended family relations. Even though there have been some changes due to nucleation in the urban, women have not been totally liberated from the patriarchal extended family relations and responsibilities. Even in the case of total separation spousal exploitation is still prevalent.

Although Alevi women's mobility outside the home is not as restricted as it was in the shantytown, those women still have to act under a patriarchal control. Education has created a massive advantage for women enabling them to increase their social mobility.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

This thesis was an attempt to discover continuities and changes in Alevi women's gender roles from rural to urban, from past to present. Even though there is not a causal relationship between migration/urbanization and women's liberation; migration causes cultural change which may result in certain dilutions in patriarchal systems. However, the problems that urban life brought into Alevi women's lives shows that urban life is far from liberating to the women of marginalized communities. There are dilutions in Alevi socio-religious structure due to urban migration, and there is a cultural change caused by the migration which had led to an improvement in women's position in their community; but, because of the increasing visibility of Alevi women in the public sphere, their identity has begun to create problems for them.

Urban migration in Turkey is a result of political and economic changes at international and national levels. Structural transformation and agricultural mechanization have paved the way for urban migration which has occurred as a chain migration, and it was a gendered-phenomenon. In the Dışılık case, there are four major ways for women to migrate: migrating with natal family, migration with conjugal family, migration through marriage, and, migration due to elderliness. Each type of migration has advanced differently and in each type women's experiences have differed. Even though it was mainly the first generation and some of the second generation of women who have experienced the most significant change with migration; according to those women, it is their children who experience the real change. The actual change has started with their children when they began to enjoy the economic and social opportunities that the urban

offers. The second generation, in many ways, is a bridge between the first and third generations and between the urban and rural.

For women migration and the urban space have different meanings than for men. Although women in the process of a 'masculine migration' could not take an active role, their effort in their family's transition and adaptation to city life is very precious. In the shantytown women have had a different, and a gendered urbanization experience. Their physical existence, in the urban space, was limited to the shantytown. The problems that the family and the community faced in the shantytown were solved by the women. Solidarity was maintained through the social relations that are carried out by women. Women's effort in the shantytown to maintain solidarity helped this marginalized community to survive. As the members of the community moved upward and changed their class, the shantytown has started to be emptied which has undermined the solidarity among community members, which has also relieved the social pressure on women massively.

Even though women's confinement to the 'private sphere' has increased in the urban migration process, the shantytown was a challenge to the public/private distinction. The shantytown was likened to the village especially after subsequent migration movements from the village. However, there were other communities from different places and this has shaped the borders of social interaction. After the isolated village life, being 'other' and living with 'other', the community had to draw the borders of interaction with others especially through the actions of women in the shantytown.

Family structure has started to be nuclear in its physical configuration in the urban setting; but the use of women's labor still takes place in a patriarchal extended family context. Women's labor in the urban is also demanded by a woman's natal family. This can be explained by a change in traditional stranger-bride role of women. A son is no more a guarantee of elderly care for senior women as their sons are absent from their natal houses in the urban context. Exploitation of women's labour both by the nuclear and extended families puts women in the

middle of a complicated situation especially when the location of each household is different. Women have to organize their time according to their care-giving responsibilities. In this context patriarchal extended family relations are still prevalent. This so called ‘neolocal household’ is by no means totally free from extended family relations. Although the family is the main social institution for finding peace and security among marginalized communities, the peace is often maintained through the sacrifices that are made by women. Family as an institution historically oppresses women and exploits their labour.

Gender equality discourse in Alevism obscures the existing inequalities and this discourse has no reflection on women’s daily life experiences within their families and within their communities. Although there is a level dilution in Alevi socio-religious structure in the urban context –it has not suddenly disappeared, a relatively greater patriarchal oppression confronts Alevi women in the urban. It is felt when they participate in the public life as citizens mainly through education and participation in the labour force.

In summary, due to the dilutions in Alevi socio-religious structure with urban migration, Alevi women have started to increase their social mobility. However, they have also started to pay the price of their Alevi identity in the public sphere. Even though, dilutions of Alevi socio-religious structure do not lead to a sudden change in patriarchy in Alevism, women have begun to ‘bargain with patriarchy’.

In this thesis, I focused on a single village women community to understand the changes and continuities in Alevi women’s gender roles due to urban migration. Therefore, the findings of this research are particular only to this case. Making general statements is neither possible nor right in the light of these findings. Further and diverse research is needed in order to understand different social contexts in which Alevi women live. In addition, conducting a study including Alevi men’s experiences may allow us a better understanding of social structures and relationships, and may help us understand Alevi communities better.

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APPENDICES

A. APPROVAL OF THE METU HUMAN SUBJECTS ETHICS COMMITTEE

UYGULAMALI ETİK ARAŞTIRMA MERKEZİ
APPLIED ETHICS RESEARCH CENTER



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15 ARALIK 2017

Konu: Değerlendirme Sonucu

Gönderen: ODTÜ İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu (İAEK)

İlgi: İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu Başvurusu

Sayın Yrd.Doç.Dr. Besim Can ZIRH ;

Danışmanlığımı yaptığınız yüksek lisans öğrencisi Deniz ŞİMŞEK'in "Dışlık Köyü Örneğinde Kırsal Göçün Alevi Kadınlara Etkilerinin Analizi" başlıklı araştırması İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu tarafından uygun görülerek gerekli onay 2017-SOS-180 protokol numarası ile 15.12.2017-30.06.2018 tarihleri arasında geçerli olmak üzere verilmiştir.

Bilgilerinize saygılarımla sunarım.

Prof. Dr. Ş. Halil TURAN

Başkan V

Prof. Dr. Ayhan SOL

Üye

Prof. Dr. Ayhan Gürbüz DEMİR

Üye

Doç. Dr. Yaşar KÖNDAKÇI

Üye

Doç. Dr. Zana ÇITAK

Üye

Yrd. Doç. Dr. Pınar KAYGAN

Üye

Yrd. Doç. Dr. Emre SELÇUK

Üye

B. TURKISH SUMMARY/ TÜRKÇE ÖZET

Göç, kültürel değişimin en önemli nedenlerinden biridir. Mekansal değişim hem insanları hem de onların çevreleriyle olan ilişkilerini etkiler (Tuncel & Ekici, 2015). Alevi inancı ve Alevi kadınlarının toplumsal cinsiyet rolleri de köyden kente göç sebebiyle bu değişimden büyük ölçüde etkilenmiştir. Bu çalışmanın araştırma sorusu şudur: “Kentsel göç sebebiyle Alevi sosyo-dini yapısı yeni kentsel şartlarla etkileşmeye başladığında, Alevi kadınlarının nesiller arası toplumsal cinsiyet rolleri nasıl etkilenmiştir?”.

Bu araştırmanın üç temel amacı vardır: ilki ve en önemlisi, Alevi kadınlarının nesiller arası toplumsal cinsiyet rollerindeki değişimleri ve süreklilikleri ortaya koymak; ikincisi, köyden kente Alevi sosyo-dini yapısındaki değişimleri anlamak; ve son olarak, Alevilikteki ataerkil yapılardaki olası çözümleri kadınların aile-içi ilişkilerine odaklanarak değerlendirmektir. Bu tez, belli bir köyden zincirleme göç sürecinin parçası olmuş beş farklı aileden üç nesil Alevi kadınlara odaklanırken köyden kente göçün zamansal haritasını ortaya koymaktadır.

Bu çalışma toplumsal cinsiyeti temel değişken olarak kabul eden feminist bir araştırmadır. Bu bağlamda araştırmaya katılan kadınlar araştırmanın nesnesi değil öznesi konumundadır. Kadının deneyimine dayalı bilgi üretimi feminist metodolojinin en önemli noktalarından biridir (Ramazanoğlu & Holland, 2002).

Sosyal bilimlerde göç konusu derinlemesine tartışılmış olsa da toplumsal cinsiyet bakış açısı 1980’lerden sonra gelişmeye ve kabul görmeye başlamıştır (Donato, Gabaccia, Holdaway, Manalansan & Pessar, 2006). Toplumsal cinsiyet bakış açısına göre kadın ve erkek göç sürecini tamamen farklı şekillerde deneyimlemekte ve göçün anlamı kadın ve erkek için farklılaşmaktadır (Guinness, 2002). Toplumsal cinsiyet bakış açısı ile göçü değerlendirirken hane halkının ulusal ve uluslararası politikadaki önemi yok sayılmamalı ve hane halkı içerisindeki toplumsal cinsiyet rolleri detaylı

olarak incelenmelidir (Curran&Saguy, 2001). Bir başka önemli nokta ise göçün sadece bireysel düzeyde alınan kararların bir sonucu olarak değerlendirilmemesi; bu kararın bireysel, hane halkı, ulusal ve uluslararası düzeyler arasındaki birçok karmaşık ilişki ve etkileşimin sonucu olarak ortaya çıktığının unutulmamasıdır (Massey ve ark., 1993).

Kentsel göç, geç kapitalistleşen ülkelerde görülen küresel bir olgudur. Türkiye’de iç göç, ulusal ve uluslararası ölçekte gerçekleşen bir takım olayların sonucunda 1950’lerden başlayarak ortaya çıkmış ve tek bir göç hareketi olarak değil zincirleme göç olarak kendini göstermiştir. Birinci Dünya Savaşı ve sonrasında yaşanan kıtlık, salgın hastalıklar ve demografik değişiklikler ve İkinci Dünya Savaşı ve onun getirdiği politik ve ekonomik değişimler iç göçün oluşmasında etkili olmuştur. Tekeli’ye (1978) göre, ekonomide gerçekleşen yapısal dönüşüm kentsel göçün en önemli sebebidir ve bu olguya sebep olan iki önemli faktör vardır: nüfus artışının hızlanması ve tarımda hızla gerçekleşen makineleşme. Özertan’a (2013) göre yapısal dönüşüm sırasında tarımsal üretimin ekonomideki oranı azalır ve tarımsal üretimden arta kalan emek gücü ekonomik büyüme yaratacak diğer sektörler aktarılır. Tekeli’nin (1978) kanısına göre Türkiye’de yapısal dönüşüm büyük oranda piyasa koşullarına bırakılmıştır. Kandiyoti’ye (1977) göre, kırsal değişim cinsler arasında hali hazırda var olan asimetriyi değil; erkekler arasındaki sosyal tabakalaşmayı yoğunlaştırmıştır.

Göç ve sonrasında oluşan yeni kentsel alan kadınların hayatlarını şüphesiz etkilemiştir. Toplumsal cinsiyet kadınların göç sürecindeki konumlarını ve deneyimlerini etkilemektedir. Ayrıca, göç süreçlerinde toplumsal cinsiyet rolleri esnek hale de gelebilmektedir. Kadınların erkeklerden farklılaşan göç deneyimleri ilk göç kararının alınması ile başlayarak kadınlara özgü farklı göç şekilleriyle kendini göstermektedir. Dışlık köyü örneğine bakıldığında kadınlar için dört farklı göç şekli görülmektedir: doğum ailesi ile göç, evlilik ailesi ile göç, evlilik yoluyla göç ve yaşlılık sebebiyle göç. Öncelikle, kırdan tarımsal üretim sebebiyle daha geniş sosyal aktiviteleri olan kadınlar şehirde mekansal kısıtlanmışlığı deneyimlemiştir. Evlilik yoluyla göç eden kadınların ise deneyimleri oldukça farklıdır. Kadınların toplumsal cinsiyet temelli farklı göç deneyimleri bir de Alevi kimliği ile birleştiğinde, Alevi kadınlarının kentsel alan ve kamusal hayat deneyimleri de farklılaşmaktadır.

Dışlık köyü örneğinde göç 1940'lı yıllardan itibaren başlamış ve göçün öncüleri, yani şehre ilk gelenler, erkekler olmuştur. Erkeklerin göç etmesi kararının hane halkı seviyesinde nasıl alındığı oldukça önemlidir. Kadınların değil de erkeklerin öncü göçmen olarak kente gelmesinin sebeplerinden ilki ve en önemlisi, geleneksel toplumsal cinsiyet rolleri kadınların öncü olarak göç etmesine imkan tanımıyor olmasıydı. İkincisi, o dönemde erkekler kadınlardan daha eğitimliydi ki bu onların kente uyumunu kolaylaştırıyordu. Üçüncüsü, erkeklerin kentte iş bulmaları kadınlardan daha kolaydı. Buna ek olarak, erkekler kentte köyde kazandıklarından çok daha fazlasını kazanabiliyorlardı. İlk göç dalgasında aktif olarak yer almamış olmalarına rağmen, kadınların kırsal hayatta erkeklerin sorumluluklarını üstlenecek olmaları hane halkı seviyesinde göç kararının alınmasında önemli bir faktördür. Bu süreçte toplumsal cinsiyet rollerinde esneklikler gerçekleşmiştir. Tarımsal üretim, ürünlerin satılması, paranın ve evin yönetimi kadınların görevi haline gelmiştir. Erkekler kentte yeterli bir iş bulduklarında eşlerini ve anne-babalarını yanlarına getirmektedirler. Bu kadınlar göç sürecine katıldıklarında ilk olarak mekansal kısıtlanışlığı deneyimlemiştir. Bu araştırmanın birinci nesil ve bazı ikinci nesil kadınları bu şekilde göç etmişlerdir. Kadınların bu ilk göç sürecinde aktif olarak rol almadıkları düşüncesi yerleşme ve uyum süreci göze alındığında yanlış bir kanıdır (Buz, 2009). Bu zincirleme göç sürecinde, daha sonra evlilik yoluyla göç gözlemlenmiştir. Araştırmanın ikinci neslini oluşturan kadınların bir kısmı kente bu yolla göç etmiştir. Bu süreçte kadınlar karar alma mekanizmalarında daha etkin hale gelmiştir; çünkü bu kadınlar köy yerine kentten erkeklerle evlenmeyi tercih ederek göçün yönünü belirlemişlerdir. Bu onların 'ataerkil pazarlığı'dır. Yaşlılık sebebiyle göç eden kadınlar ise karar mekanizmalarında kadınların oldukça etkili olduğunu göstermiştir. Bu kadınlar göç kararlarından tamamen kendileri sorumludur.

Göç Aleviler için farklı anlamlar içermektedir. Aleviler, 60'ların sonlarından başlayarak sanayileşme ve modernleşme Anadolu'yu etkilemeye başlayana kadar, yüzyıllar boyunca kırsalda yaşamışlardır (Shankland, 1998). Aleviler göçle birlikte merkezi otoriteye, devlet kurumlarına ve farklı topluluklara daha yakın hale gelmiştir. Merkezi otoriteyle ve farklı topluluklarla olan bu yakınlaşma Alevi kimliğini şekillendirmiş ve keskinleşmiştir. Kırdaki kapalı bir köy topluluğu ile sınırlı olan

kamusal alan şehirde farklıdır ve Aleviler onlar için yeni olan bu kamusal alanda var olmaya başlamışlardır.

Alevi literatüründe de tıpkı göç literatüründe olduğu gibi toplumsal cinsiyet temelli feminist çalışmalar oldukça kısıtlıdır (Okan, 2016, Salman, 2016). Aleviliğin diğer mezheplerden kendini ayırttığı en önemli noktalardan birisi toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliği söylemidir. Bu söylem Okan'a (2016) göre Alevi yazınlarında inancın temel bir özelliği olarak kabul edilmiş ve sorgulanmaksızın yeniden üretilmiştir. Bu söylem öncelikle Alevi-Bektaşî sözlü geleneğinde kendini göstermekte ve Hacı Bektaş-ı Veli'nin ünlü sözleriyle desteklenmektedir:

“Bizim nazarımızda kadın erkek farkı yok,
Noksanlık da eksiklik de senin görüşlerinde”.

Bu söylem Alevilikte cinsiyet farkı gözetilmeksizin kadın erkek tüm insanların *can* olarak görülmesinden kaynaklanmaktadır. Toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliği söylemini desteklemek için kullanılan bir başka ve belki de en güçlü argüman ise kadın ve erkeğin cemevinde birlikte ibadet etmeleridir. Sünni İslam'daki toplumsal cinsiyet temelli mekansal ayırım göz önünde bulundurulduğunda Alevilikte bu konuda temel bir farklılık olduğu yadsınmaz. Cem ibadetine yakından bir bakış ve derinlemesine bir analizle birlikte ise toplumsal cinsiyet asimetrisini ortaya koymaktadır. Eruçar'ın (2010) araştırmasına göre, cemde kadınlar fiziksel olarak erkeklerin arkasında dış halkada oturmakta ve cemdeki on iki hizmetin çoğu erkekler tarafından görülmektedir. Kadınlar geleneksel toplumsal cinsiyet rolleriyle uyumlu bir biçimde sadece süpürgeci ve aşçı olarak hizmet görmektedirler (Vorhoff, 1999). Toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliği söylemini desteklemekte öne sürülen bir başka konu ise Alevi kadınlarının örtünmüyor olmalarıdır. Bu durum kimi bilim insanı tarafından kadın bedeni ve cinselliği üzerindeki denetimin yokluğu olarak değerlendirilse de (bkz. Menemencioğlu, 2011), Alevilikte de bu denetim varlığını göstermektedir. Alevi kadınlarının günlük hayat deneyimleri bu toplumsal cinsiyet söylemini yansıtmamaktadır. Alevi kadınları hem Alevilikteki ataerkil yapı sebebiyle ailelerinde hem de farklı olma deneyimleri sebebiyle toplumda ezilmektedirler. Bu bağlamda, göç sonrası kentte grup-içi dayanışma Aleviler için önem kazanmıştır. Dayanışma

hem kentte gecekondu mahallesinde, hem de kent ile kır arasında kadınların üstlendiği sosyal ilişki ağları üzerinden kurulmuştur. Aynı zamanda topluluğun 'diğer' ile arasına çizdiği sınır kadınların gecekondu kamusal alanındaki aktiviteleri ve sosyal ilişkileri üzerinden belirlenmiştir (Okan, 2016).

Alevilikteki ataerkil yapı kendini öncelikli olarak ocak kurumu ve bu kurumdan kaynaklanan evlilik pratikleri ile gösterir. Ocak sistemi dedelerden ve taliplerden oluşmaktadır ve dedeler bu sistemin merkezini oluştururken talipler çevreyi oluşturmaktadır. Dedeler, Hz. Muhammed soyundan ya da hayatını uzunca bir süre önce bu yola adanmış din insanlarının soyundan gelen erkeklerdir ve din insanı olmak yalnızca bu erkekler için mümkündür. Dedelik kurumu bu bağlamda babasoylu bir kurumdur. Ocak sistemi içerisinde hem erkekler arasında hem de erkeklerle kadınlar arasında bir hiyerarşi mevcuttur. Dede soylu erkek biyolojik olarak hem dede soylu kadından hem de talip erkek ve kadından üstündür. Geleneksel olarak dede soylu ailelerden gelenler dede soylularla evlenirken; talip soylu aileler talip soylularla evlenebilmektedir. Bu noktada toplumsal cinsiyet temelli bir ayrım kendini göstermektedir. Çok tercih edilen bir durum olmamakla birlikte, dede soylu bir erkek talip soylu bir kadınla evlenebilirken tersi mümkün değildir ve bu durum kadın için düşkünlük sebebidir. Babasoyluluk burada kendini gösterir: dede erkek talip kadını dede soylu yapabilir ama dede kadını talip erkeğini dede soylu yapamaz. Bu evlilik pratiği kentsel göç sonrasında değişime uğramaya başladıysa da hala etkili olmaya devam etmektedir. Bu bağlamda, evlilik ve aile Aleviler için topluluğun varlığının sürdürülmesi açısından büyük önem arz etmektedir.

Aile ayrımcılığa uğrayan topluluklarda kolektif hafızanın korunmasında ve nesiller arası kültürel aktarımın gerçekleşmesinde önemli rol oynar. Ulus-devletin artan rolüne rağmen, nesiller arası aktarımın gerçekleştiği başlıca kurum hala ailedir (Bertaux & Thompson, 1993). Bu anlamda aile, kültürel aktarımın gerçekleştiği ana alanı ifade eder. Nesiller arası aktarım her topluluk için önemlidir. Hele söz konusu toplum Alevi toplumu gibi dış etkilere karşı kolektif hafızayı korumaya önem veren bir toplumsa, bir kurum olarak ailenin kültürel aktarımdaki yeri oldukça önemlidir. Alevi toplumlari, bu çalışmanın vaka topluluğu da dahil olmak üzere, inançlarının farklılığı sebebiyle devlet tarafından tarih boyunca ezildiklerini ifade etmektedirler. Türkiye

toplumları, genel olarak, aile odaklı olsalar da; Alevilerin bu marjinal konumları, onların aile kurumuna daha fazla önem vermelerine, ağırlıklı olarak iç-evlilik yapmalarına ve aile-içi ilişkilerinde daha sıkı olmalarına sebep olmuştur. Topluluğun varlığını sürdürebilmesi aile kurumu üzerinden topluluğun sınırlarının korunmasına bağlıdır. Her ne kadar aile huzurun ve güvenin tesis edildiği bir kurum olarak görülse de; birçok feminist bilim insanına göre, tarih boyunca kadınların ezilmesine sebep olan toplumsal cinsiyet rollerinin sürdürüldüğü ve yeniden üretildiği en eski kurum ailedir. Özbay'a (2014) göre aile, toplumsal cinsiyet ve yaş eşitsizliklerinin ilk kez deneyimlendiği ve öğrenildiği, güç ilişkilerinin eşit olmadığı bir kurumdur. Patemann'a (1988) göre ise; kadınlar (hetero)seksüel sözleşme sayesinde hem fiziksel hem de ideolojik olarak özel alana hapsedilmiştir ve bu durum kadınların modern ataerkil boyun eğdirmesini yaratmıştır.

Dışlık köyü örneğinde, nesiller arası değişim ve süreklilikleri anlamak adına beş farklı tema üzerinden veri analizi yapılmıştır. İlk olarak bu kadınların kendi ifade ettikleri biçimiyle kadınlık deneyimlerindeki değişimler ve süreklilikler ele alınmıştır. Hem köy hayatını hem de şehir hayatını deneyimlemiş birinci ve ikinci nesil kadınlar için köyde kadın olmak zorluk, yokluk ve emeğin karşılığını bulamaması olarak görülürken; kentte kadınlık idareli olmak, ev sahibi olabilmek, ekonomik kaynakları doğru kullanabilmek olarak görülmektedir. Köyden kente evlilik yoluyla göç eden kadınlar için kadınlık evin ve kaynakların doğru yönetilmesi olarak tanımlanmıştır. Bu kadınlar şehirde kendi evlerinin yöneticisi durumuna gelecekleri düşüncesi ile kente göçe ve kentten erkeklerle evlenmeye olumlu bakmışlardır. Şehirde dünyaya gelmiş ve büyümüş ikinci nesil ve bütün üçüncü nesil kadınlar geleneksel toplumsal cinsiyet rollerini eleştirmeye başlamışlardır. Özellikle iş hayatına katılım ve eğitime ulaşım kadınların kendilerini farklı alanlarda ifade etmelerine ve geleneksel kurum ve ilişkileri sorgulamaya başlamalarına neden olmuştur. Buna rağmen, bulgular ışığında ortaya çıkan çarpıcı bir nokta bütün nesillerde ve her beş ailede kadınlık konusunda en önemli noktalardan birinin annelik olarak tanımlanmış olmasıdır. Annelik kadını yücelten bir olgu ve kadının güçlü tarafı olarak nitelenmiştir. Bu durum toplumda kabul gören geleneksel toplumsal cinsiyet rolleri ile paralellik göstermektedir.

Veri analizinde kullanılan ikinci tema aile-içi ilişkilerdir. Alevi topluluklarında evliliğin ve ailenin önemi göz önünde bulundurulduğunda bu tema oldukça değerlidir. Kadınların nesiller arası evlilik ve bakım sağlama pratikleri bu tema altında incelenmiştir. Alevi sosyo-dini yapısının merkezinde bulunan ocak kurumunun devamlılığının sağlanması evlilik yoluyla gerçekleşmektedir. Bu geleneksel yapı kentte çözümlere uğramaya başladıysa da Alevilerin evlilik tercihlerinde hala oldukça belirleyici bir faktördür. İlk nesil kadınların hiçbiri dede-talip evliliği ya da Alevi-Sünni evliliği yapmamıştır. Bu kadınların hepsi köyde evlenmiştir. İkinci nesilde evlilik yoluyla göç eden kadınlarda da dede-talip ya da Alevi-Sünni evliliği görülmemiştir. Bu kadınlar kendi köylerinden daha önceleri göç etmiş bekar erkekler ile evlilik yapmışlardır. Değişim şehirde dünyaya gelen ikinci nesil kadınlar ile üçüncü nesil kadınların evlilik pratiklerinde görülmeye başlanmıştır. Kentte 'diğer'in anlamının değişmesi, artık sadece Alevi olmanın bile başlı başına değerli bir özellik haline gelmesine sebep olmuştur. Bu noktada, dede-talip evliliği görülmeye başlanmış ve artık bu evlilik tipi dede soylu kadınlar için de mümkün hale gelmiştir. Alevi-Sünni evliliği ise ancak üçüncü nesilde mümkün hale gelebilmiştir. Dede soylu ailelerde Sünni evliliği hala tercih edilmeyen bir durumdur ve bu konuda kadınlar üzerinde ailelerin baskısı daha belirgindir. Talip soylu aileler için Alevi-Sünni evliliği dede soylu ailelere göre daha kabul edilebilir bir durumdur. Buna ek olarak, bir ailede Alevi-Sünni evliliği gerçekleştiğinde daha sonradan gerçekleşecek başka Alevi-Sünni evliliklerinin önünün açıldığı görülmüştür. Evlilik konusunda değişimi vurgulayan bir başka önemli nokta ise evlilik yaşıdır. Kırsalda birinci nesilde ortalama evlilik yaşı 14,9 iken ikinci nesilde bu sayı 20'ye, üçüncü nesilde ise 27'ye yükselmiştir. Bu değişimde kadınların eğitim ve iş hayatına katılmaları ve kentsel göçle birlikte geleneksel sosyal yapıların değişmeye başlamasıyla kız çocuklarına olan bakış açısının farklılaşması etkili olmuştur.

Aile-içi ilişkilerin ve kadının toplumsal cinsiyet rollerinin anlaşılmasında bir başka önemli nokta bakım sağlama pratikleridir. Köyden kente bakım sağlama noktasında büyük değişimler gözlemlenmemiştir; bakım sağlama hala temel olarak kadının görevidir. Çocuk bakımı büyük oranda kadınların kurduğu destek sistemleri ile gerçekleşmektedir. Çalışan kadın çocuk bakımını anneanne ve babaanneden temin etmektedir. Bu noktada kamu kurumlarının yetersizliği kendini göstermektedir.

Erder'e (2002) göre kamu kurumlarının yetersizliđi alt sınıflar arasında enformel ađları ve ailevi dayanışmayı daha önemli hale getirmiştir. Kamu kurumlarının varlığı durumunda bile kadınlar üzerlerinde sosyal bir baskı oluşmakta ve bu durum onları ahlaki bir ikileme sürüklemektedir. Yaşlı bakımında da durum çok farklılık arz etmemektedir. Kadınlar tarafından sağlanan bu bakımda gerçekleşen en büyük deđişim geleneksel olarak gelinler tarafından karşılanan bu bakımın kız çocuklarına kaymaya başlamasıdır. Burada kırdan kente deđişen ev şekilleri etkili olmuştur. Kırdan geleneksel olarak babasoylu aile evine sonradan katılan gelinler yaşlı bakımını üstlenmekteydi (Kandiyoti, 1988). Köyden kente deđişen ev tipleri ile birlikte geleneksel olarak gelinin sorumluluđu olan yaşlı bakımı kız çocukları tarafından da üstlenilmeye başlanmıştır. Bakım sağlama konusu, çekirdek aile evinin geleneksel babasoylu aile evinden sadece fiziksel yapı olarak farklılaştığını, geleneksel aile-içi sosyal ilişkilerinin ise çok büyük deđişimlere uğramadığını argümanını desteklemektedir. White'a (1994) göre, aile yaşamının yapısal düzenlemesi ataerkil kontrol ve boyun eğdirme biçimlerini etkilemeksizin farklı biçimlerde kendini gösterebilir.

Nesiller arası deđişim ve süreklilikleri anlamak adına odaklanılan üçüncü tema eğitime katılımdır. Birinci nesil kadınların hiçbirini okuma yazma bilmezken (sadece bir katılımcı sonradan okuma-yazma kursuna giderek öğrenmiştir), ikinci nesilde eğitim seviyesi üniversiteye kadar yükselmiştir. Köyden kente evlilik yoluyla göç eden ikinci nesil kadınlar için ise durum farklıdır. Bu kadınlar en fazla ortaokul seviyesine kadar eğitim alabilmişlerdir. Şehirde doğup büyüyen üçüncü nesil kadınlar arasında ise ortaokul mezunu bulunmamakta; sadece iki lise mezunu varken diđer altı kadının hepsi lisans eğitimini tamamlamıştır. Kentsel göç sonrası eğitim, şehirde iş bulabilmenin ve sosyal hareketliliğinin anahtarı olarak değerlendirilmektedir. Kız çocuklarının eğitimi aileleri tarafından, özellikle de kendisi istediđi eğitimi alamamış anneler tarafından, desteklenmektedir. Eğitilmiş olmak ise emek gücüne katılımda doğrudan etkili olmamaktadır. Alevi kadınları bu noktada ayrımcılık yaşadıklarını dile getirmektedirler. Bunun yanı sıra, bir devlet kurumu olan ve kamusal alanda yer alan okul, Alevilerin 'diđer' olmayı deneyimledikleri bir mekan olarak farklı anlamlar içerebilmektedir. Dışlık köyü örneğinde, Alevi çocuklarının okullarda akran zorbalığını deneyimledikleri görülmüştür.

Dördüncü olarak ele alınan tema emek gücüne katılımdır. Bu noktada önemli olan ücretli ve ücretsiz iş ayrımını yapabilmek ve ev içi ücretsiz işin yok sayılmamasına özen göstermektir. Birinci nesil kadınlar kırdaki ücretsiz aile işçisi olarak, kentte ise evde ücretsiz işçi olarak çalışmıştır. İkinci nesilde evlilik yoluyla göç eden kadınlar yine evde ücretsiz işçi olarak çalışmışlardır. Bu kadınlardan bazıları ücretli bir işte çalışmak için emek gücüne katılmıştır. Bu katılım ise kadınların eşleriyle yaptığı bir dizi müzakere sonucu ve ancak evliliklerinin ilerleyen yıllarında mümkün olabilmektedir. Kentte doğmuş ikinci nesil kadınların da bir kısmı ücretli işte çalışmıştır fakat kentte doğmuş olmanın kendisi bu konuda başlı başına bir belirleyici konumunda değildir. Kentte doğan bazı kadınlar emek gücüne katılmayı düşünmemişlerdir. İkinci nesil kadınların emek gücüne katılımı hala toplumca çok tercih edilen bir durum olmamakla birlikte bazı ailelerde ekonomik bir gereklilik olarak ortaya çıkmıştır. Kentte hayatın pahalı olması, ev taksitleri, çocukların eğitimi gibi ekonomik gereklilikler sebebiyle kadınların emek gücüne katılımlarına olan bakış açısı değişmeye başlamıştır. Aynı zamanda, bazı örneklerde kadının yaş ile artan statüsü onların isteklerinin peşinden gitmelerinde etkili olmuştur. Hepsi iyi eğitilmiş olan üçüncü nesil kadınların sadece ikisi hali hazırda bir işte çalışırken ikisi hala eğitimlerine devam etmektedir. Diğer dört kadın ise çalışmamaktadır ve Alevi oldukları için ayrımcılığa uğradıklarını, istedikleri işlere giremediklerini belirtmişlerdir.

Değişimleri ve süreklilikleri anlamak için odaklanılan beşinci ve son tema ise ev dışı hareketliliğidir. Kırdan kente kadınları ev dışı hareketliliğini arttırdığı düşünülse de köyde kamusal ve özel alan ayrımlarının keskin olmayışı ve kadınların tarımsal üretimde aktif rol alıyor olması, kırdaki kadınların ev dışı hareketliliğinin daha fazla olduğunu göstermektedir. Hem kır hem de kent hayatını deneyimlemiş birinci ve evlilik yoluyla göç eden ikinci nesil kadınlar şehirde, gecekondu mahallesinde ve sonrasında apartman dairelerinde, mekansal kısıtlanmışlığı deneyimlemiştir. Emek gücüne katılabildiği ikinci nesil kadınlar için mekansal kısıtlanmışlık daha az olsa da bu kadınların hayatı kendi deyimleri ile ev ile iş arasında geçmektedir. Şehirde doğup büyümüş üçüncü nesil kadınlar içinse ev dışı hareketlilik hala baba ile ya da eş ile üzerinde uzlaşmayı gerektiren bir konudur. Geleneksel kontrol mekanizmaları şehirde de varlığını göstermeye devam etmektedir. Yine de, Salman'a (2016) göre kırın tersine kentte Alevi kadınlarının kendilerini ifade ve temsil edebilecekleri farklı

kurumlar mevcuttur. Bu noktada, Alevilikteki toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliği söylemi kadınların sosyal hareketliliğinin önünün açılması için bir temel oluşturabilir (Salman, 2016). Okan'a (2016) göre her ne kadar söylem ile pratik arasında bir açıklık bulunsa da, Sunni İslam'ın tersine Alevilikte toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliği ulaşılmak istenilen bir hedeftir.

Sonuç olarak, bu tez; kırdan kente, geçmişten bugüne Alevi kadınlarının nesiller arası toplumsal cinsiyet rollerindeki değişim ve süreklilikleri anlamaya çalışmıştır. Göç/kentleşme ve kadının özgürleşmesi arasında nedensel bir ilişki olmasa da göç, ataerkil sistemlerde belirli çözümlere neden olabilir ve böylece kültürel değişimin önü açılabilir. Bununla birlikte, kentsel yaşamın Alevi kadınlarının hayatlarına getirdiği zorluklar, kentsel yaşamın marjinal toplulukların üyesi olan kadınları özgürleştirmekten uzak olduğunu göstermektedir. Kentsel göç sebebiyle Alevi sosyodini yapısında çözümler yaşanmakta ve kadınların toplumdaki konumunda iyileşmeye yol açan kültürel bir değişim söz konusu olsa da; Alevi kadınları kamusal alanda var olmanın bedelini ödemeye başlamışlardır. Bu durum kendini en çok eğitime ve emek gücüne katılımda göstermektedir.

Bu tezde tek bir köy topluluğuna odaklanılmış olup; bu araştırmanın bulguları sadece bu vaka için geçerlidir. Bu araştırmanın verileri ışığında genel geçer ifadelerde bulunmak ne doğru ne de mümkün değildir. Alevi kadınların deneyimlerinin ve içinde yaşadıkları sosyal çevrelerin daha iyi anlaşılabilmesi için çeşitli ve derinlemesine araştırmalara ihtiyaç vardır. Toplumsal cinsiyet temelli, kadınların deneyimlerinden yola çıkarak bilgi üretmeyi amaçlayan feminist çalışmalar hem göç hem de Alevilik çalışmalarına büyük katkıda bulunacaktır. Bunun yanı sıra Alevi erkeklerinin deneyimlerini de içine alan toplumsal cinsiyet temelli çalışmaların yapılması Alevi topluluklarını daha iyi anlamada bize yardımcı olabilir.

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