

**Pinar Uyan Semerci**

**Reconsidering the Capability Approach:  
Poverty, Tradition and Capabilities<sup>1</sup>**

Abstract:

The aim of this paper is to reconsider the conceptual framework of the capability approach with the findings of the field research that I have done. I try to examine the conceptual framework of the capability approach and to evaluate its limits by focusing on rural migrant women living in squatter settlements of Istanbul-Turkey. I have collected data in three different ways: first, I have done in-depth interviews with women in a squatter-settlement called *Ihlamurkuyu-Umraniye*, where I also have been a participant observer. Secondly, I have used two published diaries, which were written by a woman from the same squatter-settlement. Lastly, I have the opportunity to use the archives and findings of two NGOs: Lighthouse Aid and Solidarity Association with the target of alleviating poverty, and Women for Women's Human Rights –New Ways. Acknowledging the problems of how and if the subaltern can speak, I still claim that the students of the capability approach have to engage in a more dialogical process, sensitive to the claims of different peoples in order to enrich the perspective of the capability framework. This type of qualitative research has a lot to offer as the capability approach yields a form of universalism that is sensitive to pluralism. There are important methodological issues for undertaking such a research: what should be the role of the researcher as an *interlocutor*? What are the problems *being in the field*? How to *present* or *represent*? How to engage with the theoretical framework after the collection of the data? In the paper, I shall explain how I try to solve some of these methodological problems in my research as a suggestion for future studies of this kind. In my research, the distance between 'home' and 'field' is relatively short, but yet still; I shall discuss my position-advantages and disadvantages, as a researcher to the field and to the women I have interviewed. Nevertheless, in-depth interviews offer researchers access to the people's ideas, thoughts and memories in their own voices rather than the researcher. With their own words therefore, I shall scrutinize the conceptual framework of the capability approach by focusing on how well-being, particularly physical well-being is expressed by the women who experience different degrees of poverty. Then I shall elaborate on the distinction between well-being and agency by focusing on their "preferences" particularly on the paid work and motherhood.

The importance of the capability approach lies in its power to combine theory and practice by asking what people are really capable of doing and by developing public policies that would promote higher levels of capabilities. Unlike the previous approaches for the measurement of development, the capability approach focuses on what people are actually able to do or to be, and tries to underline the different needs in order to have the same capabilities. This starting point of the capability approach is also its strength as it tries to develop an understanding of diversity in human lives whether handicapped or able-bodied, pregnant or not, young or elder. The goal is to provide the necessary conditions for capabilities to develop but how it would be satisfied and functioned depends on each person. Given the diversity of both social and political conditions, people live in their own personal characteristics, priorities and skills. The capability

---

<sup>1</sup> This draft paper is based on the research that I have done for my PhD thesis, where I examine the conceptual framework of the capability approach with the findings of my field research in Turkey.

approach, as a development framework takes this diversity as its starting point, tries to embrace the diversities.<sup>2</sup>

The basic idea is simple but also powerful. Since the fact of pluralism of human values and diverse life styles are taken into consideration for a universality claim, the capability approach is able to combine universalism and pluralism (Sen 1990b). As Nussbaum claims, by arguing for developing capabilities space, the aim is to have “universals that are facilitative rather than tyrannical, that create spaces for choice rather than dragooning people into a desired total mode of functioning” (2001a: 59)<sup>3</sup>. The common human capabilities do not need to be realized in the same identical way. Some may be eliminated and some should be enjoyed. With these claims, the capability approach seems to be compatible with cultural relativism. However, Sen and Nussbaum also recognize that the search for a universally applicable account of the quality of human life has on its side the promise of a greater power to stand up for the lives of those whom tradition has oppressed and/or marginalized. The capability approach, therefore, faces the epistemological difficulty of grounding that promise of greater power in an adequate way, saying where the norms come from and how they can be known to be the best (Nussbaum & Sen (eds.) 1993:4).

This is a crucial dilemma which the students of the capability approach should work on. And I suggest that multiple dialogues between the universal claims of the capability approach and the voices of subalterns<sup>4</sup> are necessary in recasting the opposition universalism versus particularism.

---

<sup>2</sup> Sen lists the diversities and heterogeneities that determine well-being which shows his concern for including particularisms in his framework: “1-Personal heterogeneities 2-Environmental diversities 3-Variations in social climate 4-Differences in relational perspectives: 5-Distribution within the family” (Sen 1999:70-1)

<sup>3</sup> See Nussbaum in Nussbaum & Glover (eds.) 1995:61-104 for her discussion on universalism which had been more universalist and essentialist, and also see Glover on the same volume.

<sup>4</sup> The word ‘subaltern’ according to Concise Oxford Dictionary means “of inferior rank’. The name ‘subaltern’ has been derived from Gramsci’s usage in *Prison Notebooks*, where he argues that wherever there is history, there is class, and that the essence of the history is the struggle between the elite, dominant, hegemonic class and the subaltern. As Said states the subaltern studies can be seen as “analogue of all those recent attempts in the West and throughout the rest of the world to articulate the hidden or suppressed accounts of numerous groups- women, minorities, disadvantaged or disposed groups, refugees, exiles, etc.” (in Guha & Spivak (eds.) 1988:vi).

## **I-Subaltern speaks: A Methodological Solution to Universalism**

Democratic inclusiveness is necessary for theory making, particularly if theorizing has a universal claim. Field research is necessary for hearing and listening to the voices of the subaltern groups both for theory-making and policy formations. I propose to study the capability approach in dialogue with subaltern groups in order to overcome the problems one faces considering the capability approach as a universal framework.<sup>5</sup> The needs and capabilities of the oppressed and the subaltern cannot be determined by elites or intellectuals. As Alcoff claims “it is unreasonable to assume that the elite, even the well-meaning portion of the elite, can accurately determine the needs of the oppressed in a process that is not characterized by democratic inclusiveness and symmetrical relations of co-operation. Moreover, the very structure of a political deliberation in which the privileged determine and then represent the needs, situation, or capabilities of the non-privileged, reinforces systems of hierarchy between nations, and groups within nations, about who is more likely to have the truth. This is patronizing and disempowering.”<sup>6</sup> (in Nussbaum & Glover (eds.) 1995:233-4). Democratic inquiry is needed in order to enrich the deliberation part of the capability approach. This is the reason why I choose to do field research to hear the voices of the women who are living in the squatter settlements of Istanbul.

Most of the studies, which try to combine empirical research with the capability approach, are quantitative and are based on usually existing data on large-scale survey.<sup>7</sup> Thus I believe there are still a lot to discuss on the theoretical side and the conceptual framework of the capability

---

<sup>5</sup>The capability approach, particularly Nussbaum’s version, has been criticized for not reflecting the people’s voices. See Okin (2003) for her critic, and Nussbaum recently gave a reply to the critic (2004). See also Robeyns (2003a:70).

<sup>6</sup> He continues as the following: “...When elites are represented as having the best plan, they are automatically positioned as superior to oppressed in epistemic, political, even moral terms. The false consciousness of tradition is often seen to weigh down the oppressed, but not the well-intentioned elite. Once we acknowledge the accuracy of this description, it becomes easy to see how desire may play a strong, and sometimes a distorting, role in the pursuit of deliberative projects. The solution to this problem will indeed be, as Putnam argues, a democratic, practice-oriented, process of inquiry. Only this will establish the mechanisms for real improvement in the conditions of oppression. But those of us who are in the position of elites must become more aware of the ways in which our own practices and self-understandings may work against democracy. ... they can, however, acknowledge their own social positioning and democratize their practices of rational deliberation.” (in Nussbaum & Glover (eds.) 1995:233-4)

<sup>7</sup> See Robeyns (2003b) for an overview of these previous studies.

approach with a qualitative analysis. The capability approach, with its foundations primarily on the improvement of the quality of subaltern lives, still needs a further engagement with this type of inquiry. The main focus of my study is therefore to contribute this engagement and to reconsider the capability approach with the words of my subaltern group. With this intention, I choose “women” living in “squatter settlement” of “Istanbul-Turkey” who have “migrated from rural areas” who are experiencing “differing degrees of poverty”. Each word represents a different type of subalternity and my larger project aims at engaging this subaltern group with the capability approach in many different aspects so that we can assess its merits and its limits. There are criticisms against the subaltern studies<sup>8</sup> that should also be taken into consideration for my own analysis. The first point is the famous question Spivak raises: “Can the subaltern speak?”(1988b). Spivak, in her well-known article, raises many important questions, and challenges the confidence in the studies that easily claim that it is the voice of the subaltern. She challenges the academic effort to give the gendered subaltern a voice in history. She warns us of the problems and difficulties for claiming that it *is* the subaltern’s voice with ease, as she claims that there is no place in the structural relation where subaltern can speak. She argues that feminists must learn to stop feeling as having a privileged position of “being women”. And she also argues that “coming from the Third World” would not suffice to argue that it is the subaltern’s voice”. However, “the illiterate are not in fact inarticulate; they can and do express themselves in several ways” (Weber 1976: xvi) but the problem is their voice is not always audible. The main problem is the audibility of subaltern voices rather than subaltern's ability to speak. Since every person has a different way of speaking, the problem is more on the side of hearing those different ways. The subaltern *can* speak but the problem is their voices remain mostly unheard. Nevertheless, Spivak’s reservations are very important, one should be careful about the limitations of a dialogue and of course, the dangers of poor translation and mediation.

---

<sup>8</sup> The Subaltern Studies has the aim of “making the subaltern the sovereign subject of history, to listen to their voices, to take their experiences and thought (and not just their material circumstances) seriously” (Chakrabarty 2000:102). The Subaltern Studies challenges the author of history and tries to develop a democratic understanding of history since the archives do not collect the subaltern pieces but rather the writings of the elites.

Yet, Spivak also admits that the fieldwork is the only model for an engagement of the everyday lives of subalterns (Sharpe & Spivak 2000:610).

Second objection to the Subaltern Studies is its emphasis on the “subject”- developed by O’Hanlon: “At the very moment of this assault upon Western historicism, the classic figure of Western humanism-the self-originating, self-determining individual, who is at once a subject in his possession of a sovereign consciousness whose defining quality is reason, an agent in his power of freedom-is readmitted through the back door in the figure of the subaltern himself, as he is restored to history in the construction of the Subaltern project.” (O’Hanlon in Chaturvedi (ed.) 2000:74). This is also a dilemma feminist studies face and there is not an easy way out. By giving up the idea of ‘reasonable’ agent, subject, do we criticize a very particular understanding of individual and its capacities? Or do we deny any possibility of the idea of a ‘reasonable’ person? And one can observe this tension within the capability framework: respecting the agency but warning about the ‘adapted preferences’. I shall elaborate on this further in the last section of the paper.

The third point is the danger of turning this democratic dialogue into an authoritarian exercise by construing it in the image of our own (O’Hanlon in Chaturvedi (ed.) 2000:106). O’Hanlon warns us of the danger in turning the silence of the subaltern into speech, by making their words address our own concerns, and by rendering their figures in our self-image. “It can become a drive, just as Baudrillard says, ‘to keep the masses within reason’” (O’Hanlon in Chaturvedi (ed.) 2000:96). “The researcher” as a mediator may re-shape the whole picture by unintentional or *intentional* misunderstandings which then endanger the whole endeavour.

### **To overcome the problems:**

I have tried to solve some of these problems with my own subjective position. In my research the distance between ‘home’ and ‘field’ is relatively *short* which gives me the opportunity to have a useful vantage point of being insider/outsider (Bolak 1997:416). My *lack of privilege* therefore *becomes an epistemic privilege* in my research. It is a kind of life long observation

since I always find myself *in between*s all through my life.<sup>9</sup> During my research, I have noticed how these *in between*s have enriched me and have facilitated my job. The women in my research did not think that I am an “outsider” which was crucial for my purpose. Of course, “being young woman whose mother tongue is Turkish” is the main factor in this evaluation. Although I was 28, older than some of the women I interviewed, I looked younger. They regarded me as a “student” because of the way I dressed, and the way I behave. After a certain time, as I went to the same neighbourhood everyday they got use to my existence. We greeted one another and talked about the daily issues. And above all, I had my friend *Kadriye*, with whose help I had the chance to have the women to speak with me the way they did. *Kadriye* is living in the same neighbourhood with her two children and her husband.

I, a student- do not matter if a PhD student or not, managed to escape being an “authority” figure. They were more in a position to tell their own lives to me as if I am their own daughter or sister. And as I went there with *Kadriye* they assumed that I am essentially from their own economic class. The ring I wear which signals that I am married usually led them to conclude that I got married at a very early age which again creates a shared experience for us. The major distinction therefore is my education. However, since I was still a student, rather than a professor; they did not consider me as if I am an “outsider”. For some, I am an ideal figure for

---

<sup>9</sup> In my high school years I was living in *Fatih* a place mostly famous for its conservative and Islamist inclination. *Fatih* has also received migration, at least the neighbourhood where I lived, from East Anatolia. I was travelling every day from that neighbourhood to *Istiklal Street*-center of arts and entertainment, where my high school is in. My high school was a state high school with a special status and educated us in English in most courses, used to have the name English High School for girls. Then we moved to *Cubuklu* which is a small village in the Asian side of Istanbul. Around *Cubuklu*, there are big migrant receiving areas such as *Kavacik*, *Ruzgarlibahce* particularly from the Black Sea Region. I crossed the Bosphorous everyday, from Asia to Europe, to go to my university, a state owned university which was used to be an American University. The education system is still American and the teaching language is English. Every morning within a small ferry we, me and migrant women, who work as “cleaning women” in the rich neighbourhoods have crossed the Bosphorous. During this journey, I have listened to their conversations which were mostly about their problems, their stories about their children and their husbands, embarrassed yet still wondering about their lives. Then I have started my graduate study in the same university and three years later, started to work in another university which is another form of “in between” as the university building is in the middle of a kind of squatter area called *Kustepe* which is mostly populated by the Romans.

their daughters who managed to get access to the university. These points in a way help me to avoid the asymmetric relationship during my research, if ever possible<sup>10</sup>.

### **Listening to the subaltern:**

The capability approach by its foundation tries to theorize for the subaltern. And I argue that continuous dialogues with subaltern groups are necessary for the improvement of the approach. To “hear the voices of these women” and then to make them “audible” are my biggest concerns for the research design. The difficult question is how to make their words and their reality to prevail in this study: Can subaltern women speak out on their own behalf? Are “subaltern” women always to be written about? To hear the voices of women, especially those of the subaltern is not easy and to make them heard is even harder. Yet, the vantage points of poor and oppressed women are crucial for providing us the tools to examine and challenge the development strategies.

In order to reconsider the conceptual framework of the capability approach, I have done qualitative research. I have collected data in three different ways: first, I have done in-depth interviews with women living in the *Ihlamurkuyu-Umraniye* squatter-settlement, where I also have been a participant observer. Secondly, I have used two published diaries, which were written by Nalan Turkeri, a woman who has also lived in Umraniye. Lastly, I have the opportunity to use the findings of two NGOs: Lighthouse Aid and Solidarity Association with the target of eradicating poverty, and Women for Women’s Human Rights-New Ways (WWHR). I also refer to the previous studies on women and on poverty in Turkey using their raw data and engage them to the capability approach.

Interviewing is a proper methodology for the goals for my study. By interviewing there is the chance “to access to people’s ideas, thoughts and memories in their own words rather than in

---

<sup>10</sup> According to Wolf, in most cases the researches entail ‘study down’ that is studying women who are poor, powerless, or marginalized (1996: ix). She asks the question in *Feminist Dilemmas in Fieldwork*: ‘Can we legitimately and ethically study and represent women who are different from us?’ Thus her aim is not to discourage by stating these difficulties but rather to encourage the researchers to continue confronting the feminist dilemmas of fieldwork without naïveté (1996:viii). Especially to acknowledge and accept that when one is working with poorer and marginalized peoples, there is power difference. The researcher would try to equalize relationship but it is short-lived and ‘illusory’ as the researcher has the privilege to leave (Wolf 1996:35).

the words of the researcher' and 'this asset is particularly important for the study of women because in this way learning from women is an antidote to centuries of ignoring women's ideas altogether or having men speak for women' (Reinharz 1992:19 quoted in Z.Arat 2003:60). In-depth interviews I made were semi-structured and open ended, lasted between forty-five minutes to two and a half hour and most were done in front of their houses in the summer and fall 2003. The women usually like to sit there and chat to their neighbours when the weather is good. According to my own experience, it seems the winter or rainy days are not suitable for this type of research, as some would hesitate to invite the researcher inside their homes because of embarrassment or shyness, and this would end the interview before it starts. I never offered to pay them for their time and I was never asked. If they permitted, I used a tape-recorder and in some cases, I turned it off upon their request during the interviews. I took notes and tried to be a creative listener by talking less and listening more. And in some cases, "pregnant" silences and untold stories tell more than the some expressed words. Their refusals of answering some of the questions or their request for not recording certain answers were important.

To talk to women about their lives and especially about their private experiences requires person-to-person trust. It is difficult to ask women about their whole lives, desires, wishes and needs in the minute you met them. So I end up limiting myself to *Ihlarurkuyu-Umraniye* where *Kadriye* is familiar with the women I spoke to, they had at least facial recognition even if they do not know one another by name. I also had the chance to get to know the neighbourhood better. And of the thirty women I have talked to, complete interview data were possible only for twenty-two.<sup>11</sup>

The level of poverty determines the problems and their solution in each different phase of life. The higher the level of poverty, the higher the impossibility of an interview and this is the reason for the incomplete interviews. This does not mean that 'they cannot and do not speak'. In fact they do but some of the questions and some of the discussions I elaborate in other interviews are not appropriate to be asked or handled in these situations. The conditions of life: the thirst,

---

<sup>11</sup> If otherwise is stated, I have translated all the written materials and the interviews which are in Turkish. Any kind of translation is a distortion of the original, but I will try to be as reflexive as I can in the translation of the quotes.

the hunger, the cold and untreated illnesses have effect on what people can tell and able to tell. In those cases, the illness speaks, the hunger speaks, the pain speaks and the inability to prevent those circumstances tells us more than the answers to my questions.

Apart from the deep-interviews, I also joined their daily activities; I went to school to pick up the children, and I was with them during their daily activities, such as cooking or doing piecework. Ramazanoglu & Holland suggest that ‘if you spend long periods of time with research subjects, people can become accustomed to your presence and drop their guards’ (2002:154-6), and I tried to keep their advice. Employing in-depth interviews combined with participant observation, there were still some issues that I could not discuss or by discussing I may endanger the rest of my interview, for particularly those women who are below the threshold level of poverty. So the primary sources such as the two incredible diaries written by Nalan Turkeri; the 757 family stories of poor people who are receiving aid from the NGO Lighthouse, and the works of WWHR are used as the complementary sources.

This qualitative research is not aimed at building a representative sample, but at tapping a wide range of different ways of living. The result of these deep-interviews cannot be generalized. It has the modest aim of presenting a picture that shows different subaltern views as part of the dialogue.

### **Istanbul-Turkey: Between two worlds & inhabiting two worlds**

Turkey has experienced many tensions that revolve around the clash of East and West: modern/traditional; democratic republic/ military coup d’etats; Islamic values /secular constitution; traditional patriarchal family life/ digitally -abled, multilingual young generations. A Middle Eastern country waiting a date for the negotiations for the membership of European Union, Turkey is always *in between*s the two worlds developed and underdeveloped; South and North, Muslim and Secular.

In the Turkish case, the state has always been an important agent of modernisation. Since the foundation of the republic (1923), the state system and its law-making process have made the revolutions from above. The Republic adopted a modern legal system and the application of this

system into family law was ratified with the Civil Code in 1926. The marriage practices have changed and secularized. However these legal changes did have limited effect on the lives of women.<sup>12</sup> The main problem in Turkey is in effect not the law or regulation but how to exercise those rights that are already in the constitution. The legal rights are not enough to enable women to enjoy full human rights in their everyday lives. De jure and de facto discrimination is enormous and that is one of the reasons why Turkey is an interesting case, considering Nussbaum's proposal to contribute her capabilities list in each state's constitution. In Turkish case, the crucial issue is how to exercise those rights that are already in the constitution. A striking example since 1934 the political rights for men and women are equal but in the current parliament the percentage of women members is only %4,4. Traditions die hard, and the attitudes of common people, despite the rights given by law, sometimes pose the biggest obstacle on the way of emancipation. In the big cities with higher income levels there are significant numbers of women who works as doctors, lawyers, academics; however, in the squatter settlements of the same big cities, where migrants from rural Turkey live, women are still living under conditions that are even harder than those of their relatives in the villages.

Turkey is not only *in between* the two worlds; developed and underdeveloped, but also inhabits the two worlds in its boundaries. Moreover, with the economic crises<sup>13</sup> and the endemic inflation, the gap between rich and poor is now greater than ever and this creates a fertile

<sup>12</sup> Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) was ratified in 1986 and Turkey withdrew all reservations in September 1999, domestic legislation in order to comply with CEDAW requirements are still under revision. The recent amendments in the 1981 constitution change the relevant articles. With the Civil Code change of 2001 (came into effect by January 1, 2002), the articles which were attacked by the feminists in Turkey have changed at last. The supremacy of men in marriage was abolished and the article states that the family is based on equality between the spouses. One of the crucial dimension of this change, the equal sharing of property acquired during marriage as a default property regime, assigning an economic value to women's carework. It also set the marriage age 18 for both men and women which was previously 17 for men and 15 for women. (*The New Legal Status of Women In Turkey* 2002:3). There are however great chasms between law and practice. Still virginity examinations, honour killings take place within traditional societies where families decide to persecute a female member judged to have damaged to honour of the family. Custom and tradition were considered as circumstantial evidence for a lighter sentence and taken into consideration by the courts. But especially women groups are working very hard to change these circumstantial evidences in the Turkish Crime Law which is under revision right now.

ground for the proliferation of further tensions, particularly in the big cities. According to the human development index, Turkey has a medium human development and she is 88<sup>th</sup> of 177 countries (UNDP 2004). Turkey with life expectancy at birth 70.4 years still has some of the very basic infrastructural problem such as sanitation, available clean water and the low level of education particularly for women in the less developed areas. In Turkey, there is vast disparity among different regions. Thus, income disparity among the population living in Istanbul<sup>14</sup> is even higher than the regional differences. Istanbul is one of the provinces in Turkey with high human development<sup>15</sup>. However there are people especially women who have low human development level in spite of the fact that they live in Istanbul. The aggregate data is helpful but it does not reflect the big gap within the provincial data. There is enormous disparity among the population of Istanbul, and the migrant receiving squatter settlements are good places to spot this. The population of Turkey has grown approximately five times in the last 73 years. In the same period, the population of Istanbul has grown 12.4 times of its initial population and the number is increased to 10 018 735 according to 2000 Census of Population. In 2000, only 37.8% of the population of Istanbul consists of persons who were born in Istanbul. Istanbul is a global city<sup>16</sup> which had managed to integrate successfully the Anatolian immigrants both social and political levels. However the ‘new urban poverty’<sup>17</sup> and “social exclusion” contradicts the stated successful integration (Bugra & Keyder 2003:6 -9). New immigrants could generally integrate to the city, finding houses and jobs with the networks of relatives and *hemsehris* (people from the same town or region). But these networks are no longer sufficient (Isik & Pinarcioglu 2003:117). New urban poors have almost no hope for upward mobility (Acikalin in Bilgili & Altan (eds.) 2003:385). Family was used to be a tampon but now families are also tired.

---

<sup>13</sup> Turkey has faced two economic crises in November 2000 and in February 2001 whose effects were tremendous. See Sonmez (2002) for the effects of these crises that lead to an enormous poverty. See also State Planning Organization ([www.dpt.gov.tr](http://www.dpt.gov.tr)) for the data.

<sup>14</sup> Isik & Pinarcioglu (2002) especially part three and four for an in depth analysis on the formation of cities in Turkey.

<sup>15</sup> In fact Istanbul is the third city after Kocaeli and Yalova both HDI and Gender Development Index (GDI) and 2<sup>nd</sup> in the Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM). (HDR Turkey 2001: 30; 32; 34).

<sup>16</sup> Global city is typically characterized by polarization in terms of income, consumption patterns, and life styles. (Bugra & Keyder 2003:7).

<sup>17</sup> See Bugra & Keyder 2003 and see also Aytac & Akdemir in Bilgili & Altan (eds.) 2003:50-77; Yucel in Bilgili & Altan (eds.) (2003:78-89).

Families may manage to handle the first crisis in the family but in the next crisis, family is either broken or members of the family face social and psychological problems (Bilgili & Altan in Bilgili & Altan (eds.) (2003) Vol 3:65).

### **Migrants in the Squatter Settlements:**

*Gecekondu* is the Turkish name that is given to these squatter huts which literally means settled overnight by the village migrants on an unoccupied land without a legal permit, similar to *favellas* of Brazil. The aim of choosing squatter settlement as the place for field research is due to its certain lack of its infrastructure and socio-economic backwardness, which represents subalternity especially in the modern city life. The squatter settlements in the third world are inhabited by migrants from villages and rural towns. And this migration from rural to urban areas provides an extra subalternity.

Now the buildings mostly turn into three or four floor apartment buildings, yet still we can observe similarities with the old *gecekondu* settlements as they usually lack certain features which one would expect in an apartment building, such as outside painting or central heating. These apartment buildings with plasters and sometimes only bricks do not necessarily provide better living conditions. Especially, for those who are below certain threshold level they can only afford to live in the basements of these buildings which are worse than the *gecekondu*s.

Moreover, there are still old *gecekondu* owners, who could not afford to construct the apartment type building. Houses in the squatter settlements usually lack central heating, a stove coal or wood or any burning material is used for some cases. The sewage system, water and electricity, which were not available in the first settlements in 1950s, are mostly available now. However, this time, women complain about the periodic water and electricity shortages. And there is the illegal usage of water and electricity which usually create an incredible debt on the families. Even inside the huts, the weather conditions such as rain and snow affect the lives of the household (Turkeli 2000a).

The rural migrant women in the metropolitan cities in Turkey represent an interesting case but by stating this, I do not want to narrow down rural migrant women to one group, in fact I respect

and benefit the diversity in the migrant population<sup>18</sup>. Material hardship (poverty), lack of land, search for a better future, and to end seasonal migration are reasons for rural to urban migration. During 90s there is also the enforced migration<sup>19</sup> due to the civil war in the South East Turkey. Nevertheless, women who migrate to Istanbul can mostly be interpreted as “associational migration” as they are following the male, head of household either the husband or the father. Women migrate because of her position in the family structure (wife, mother, daughter, bride, daughter in law) (Ilkcaracan & Ilkcaracan 1999:306).

In order to hear the voices of the subaltern group- women living in the squatter settlements of Istanbul, I choose Umraniye district, which is on the Asian side of Istanbul and is within the Istanbul Municipality.<sup>20</sup> Umraniye is one of the few places where I can see the variance in the population. Not only there are different types and different levels of poverty, but also Umraniye receives migrants from nearly all parts of Turkey<sup>21</sup>. And as the traditions, social problem, needs and policy preferences differ; this will give us a wider perspective.

However, Umraniye was chosen not only for inhabiting differences. For me, getting into the field is relatively easier in Umraniye because of Kadriye, with whose help I was no longer a foreigner to the women who were able to speak to me almost without reservation. I already have an

---

<sup>18</sup> Erman in her article tries to investigate the varied experiences of rural-to-urban migrant women in secular Muslim Turkey exploring the intersection of the relations of gender, Islam and migration. Erman identifies four groups in order to highlight those women who challenge the stereotypical portrayal of Turkish migrant women as submissive and powerless: initiating migrant women (empowerment through hard work, mostly Alewite); submissive migrant group (low power, low social status and high patriarchal control benefited least their move to the city); economically advantaged migrant women (higher social status and comfort, less power) and struggling young migrant women (trying to break out)(1998:151). According to Erman, their particular Islamic sect Alewite plays an important role as it places less constraints on women’s lives than the Sunni sect (the mainstream Islamic sect) (1998:147).

<sup>19</sup> I shall not elaborate on the sectarian and ethnic differences in my research. However, the forced migration is mostly observed for the Kurdish origin people and the poverty level is very high among this population; see Mustafa Sen in Erdogan (ed.) 2002. Also there is different socialization processes in Alewite families comparing to Sunnis. According Erman, the Alewite families are freer and women develop a closer relation with their husbands. See Erman (1998) in Hacimirzaoglu (ed.). See Turkeri (2000a:39) how the tension between Sunni and Alewite families reflect in daily life.

<sup>20</sup> Istanbul is a very large city and there are squatter settlements that are around Istanbul that are part of Istanbul but are not part of Istanbul municipal boundary such as *Sultanbeyli*. *Umraniye* is a district within the boundaries of Istanbul Municipality.

<sup>21</sup> Migrant families in Turkey establish neighbourhoods in squatter settlement areas that are highly homogenous in terms of family, kinship ties, and village or town of origin. Often an entire neighbourhood of squatters originates from the same town (Ozyegin 2001).

acquaintance to Kadriye and with her help; I became an acquaintance instead of a stranger. Another important reason for choosing Umraniye is the existing literature which helps me to develop a better understanding, especially previous study of Erder (2001) in defining the social relations and power dynamics in the area. And last but not least, Nalan Turkeri, whose diaries I refer to, has also lived in Umraniye- Kazim Karabekir Street.

## **II- Reconsidering the capability approach with the words of the subaltern:<sup>22</sup>**

The voices of the women in Umraniye who experience different degrees of poverty tell us what they are able to do and to be. The level of poverty is crucial in determining the well-being and the capabilities. Physical, psychological and social well-beings all affect one another. Their problems about health and nutrition determine what they are able to do and to be in their lives. Of course, well-being in general cannot be limited with physical well-being and related basic need literature. The physical well-being is vital but never sufficient. But for a start one has to have these basic minimums then may have the option to act according to her will.

The physical well-being and psychological well-being are also closely related to one another particularly if one looks inside the family. The ill being of children has double importance: for them and their parents. For a mother being able to take her children for medical care when they are sick is for the physical well-being of the children but is also related to mother's psychological well-being. Similar to that male frustration with the sense of inferiority for not being able to play the role of bread winner in the family leads to more domestic violence: psychological well being of the husband endangers the physical and psychological well-being of the wife.<sup>23</sup>

The women in my research speak about their "beings": well-being, ill-being and their current living situations. Their voices shall give us the picture of what they are living through and what is passing in their hearts and minds. In the places where poverty level is below the threshold, it

---

<sup>22</sup> In my thesis, I have a whole chapter where the subaltern women tell their own stories in their own words. Thus within the limits of this paper, I shall quote some of their words for elaborating on the conceptual framework of the capability approach.

<sup>23</sup> It should be noted that in my case men's psychological well-being is also under serious threat, even more so than the women, because of the mentioned frustration and to study their well-being from the capability perspective is also needed.

was harder to ask them questions, and to continue the deep interviews. Since what we see “speaks” as one woman prefers to point out the surrounding and asks, “what do you want me to tell more?”<sup>24</sup> Another was in tears:

“I am really in a very bad situation. Mine (referring to her husband) was gone, he left me. He has not been home for four days. We haven’t paid the rent and we have quarrelled because of that... he then did not come home. Today his elder brother came and said that my husband told him to tell me to take the children back to the village and that my husband later on would find us there... But how would I go? With what? I do not have a penny...”

And the tears were, there, replacing the words. To mediate women’s voices in these cases are even harder. And for those cases, being participant observer and going over 757 family stories which live in squatter settlements of Istanbul who had been given periodic help during the period January 1, 2003 to August 5, 2003 by the NGO Lighthouse and the edited work of Necmi Erdogan<sup>25</sup> are important in drawing the picture with fewer mistakes.

### **Doings and Beings in Severe Poverty:**

How the body looks and feels tell us a lot. It has a universal common voice. When a person’s physical wellbeing is under threat, other issues are no longer issue. This does not mean that the others are unimportant. But when “being”, “health” and “bodily integrity” are under threat; then to talk about “other doings” become irrelevant for most cases. The sickness of body, ill health is a cause and a consequence of poverty. The ill body with no proper treatment and with no sufficient nutrition would be weaker and would result in basic capability failure. Then the person would be able to work less, earn less and able to fulfil their needs less which ends in a vicious cycle. Accidents and sicknesses make families poorer. Ineffective treatment or mistreatment or no treatment lead the way to permanent disabilities.

However, the material sources, which are necessary for a physical well-being, are not a lot: treatment of illnesses, food, and proper housing (safe and adequate water, sufficient energy, sanitation, and adequate transportation). “Having enough” is not a lot for the people who lack these basic minimums. “Bodily well-being” means being strong and healthy enough “to continue

---

<sup>24</sup> Unless otherwise is stated, all quotations are from the deep interviews that I have done in Ihlamurkuyu.

<sup>25</sup> Necmi Erdogan edits a book *Yoksulluk Halleri(Conditions of Poverty)* where he and his team have done interviews with the poor in Turkey (2002), having similar intentions with the *Voices of the Poor* series (Narayan et al. (eds) 2000a; 2000b; 2002).

her living”; “to give birth to her children”; “to look after her children and herself”; and “to be able to work”. However “diseases” are in every household and it seems that it is “no longer an exception but is a fact of daily life”. Considering the living conditions and malnutrition, this is what one expects but the worst part of this, the difficulty and impossibility of breaking the vicious circle. Even before birth, the destiny of the child is drawn since the malnutrition in the pregnancy and the marriage with closed relatives effect the health of the unborn child which creates an ‘*intergenerational* vicious circle’ (Aoyama 1999). “Not having enough for the expenditures for food, house, and energy” is their most often stated problem. Lack of what is necessary for well-being: “lack access to basic infrastructure”, “lacking food”, “lacking medicine and health care” are stated lacks in their lives.

“If you don’t have the money, you cannot go to doctors and hospitals, you cannot buy the medicine”. However if any accident or misfortune such as an earthquake, fire, husband in prison, death of a parent takes place within the family, the living conditions of the whole family would even get worse and the family would end in absolute poverty with no possibility to recover with their own abilities.

**“At least I can walk”:** “Thanks to *Allah*” (Thank God) is the first reaction they would give for an inquiry about their health. Then repeating the question and asking about certain illness, I got the answers which are “ulcer, tuberculosis, asthma, shortness of breath, lumbago, diabetes, low blood pressure, urinary and kidney infection”.<sup>26</sup> Two women are also very thin and they say they are “tired all the time”, “having constant pain” but still “Thanks to *Allah*” as there is the danger that “it could have been worse”. Due to lack of proper care and treatment, even a very simple health problem such as toothache may lead to further health problems (Turkeri 2000a). And due to financial problems, usually a proper treatment is missing:

“I have been to hospital, and they said “operation”... then operation, I did not, we could not... then I received some treatment, I have benefited, at least I can walk...I have stayed in bed for 6 months”.

---

<sup>26</sup> See also Danis, Onat & Danis in Bilgili & Altan (eds) 2003, Vol 3:388-401. Anaemia is also a common illness in Turkey and in the Mediterranean region in general particularly for women.

Reproductive health is also a very important dimension of good health for women. Induced abortions have been used as a family planning<sup>27</sup> method for years, though it is illegal and carries high risk. In Turkey there is no obligatory birth control or sterilization. The spousal consent, if the person is married and person's own consent are required for sterilization. And abortion is legal till the end of the tenth week of pregnancy with the consent of the pregnant women since 1983. After tenth week, abortion is permitted only to save life or preserve the health of women or in the case of fetal impairment (*The New Legal Status of Women In Turkey* 2002:45) Thus still women have different stories of miscarriages, here are four examples:

"I have now three kids but I have done everything for a miscarriage"

"Three of the babies have died. One of them died after four months of pregnancy.

-Why did they die?

-I do not know. In the village I was not ... conditions, in the village we look after the fields and could not take care of the baby. Unlike here..."

"I was 7 months pregnant, the baby was poisoned and died ... I was cleaning the house and I lifted heavy things then I said "my stomach..." Then we went to the hospital, they said because of the bleach I use for cleaning... Then there is another 3,5 months miscarriage. But bleach is a very bad thing especially when you are hungry. Be careful..."

And a final quote from Nalan Turkeri from her diary about birth control:

"My husband does not want to use condom. Our discussions end in fight despite the fact that we cannot afford it, we cannot find the money to buy it... In the last couple of years I have find my own way of protection. I put two drops of bleach with pure soap in well-boiled water, and then I wash my inside. I do not know to what extent it protects from the viruses." (Turkeli 2000a: 100).

**"Can a hungry person learn?":** Hunger is "simply as an inadequacy in individual dietary intake relative to the kind and quantity of food required for growth, for activity, and for the maintenance of good health." (Millman and Kates in Newman (ed.) 1995:3) and only involuntary hunger is the focus in this study.

---

<sup>27</sup> For a collection of essays on family planning in Turkey, see Beylu Dikecligil, A. Cigdem & B. Tokuroglu (eds.) (1991) *Aile Yazilari: Nufus ve Aile Planlamasi Cilt 6* Ankara: T.C. Basbakanlik Aile Arastirma kurumu Bilim Serisi 5/6. See also Beutelspacher et al. (2003) where they discuss the issue of contraception in terms of the structure, agency and well-being in rural Mexico.

In Istanbul, there is no food shortage but there is food poverty and food deprivation. The words you shall read are familiar and have a lot in common what have been noted all around the world. When there is hunger, it has the power to control and shape the lives. “Hunger teaches people the priorities” and “food is the first thing that comes to mind if you’re hungry”. And nutrition in this context means not to die from hunger. They eat what they can find. Malnutrition or “not able to buy things such as fruits and meat” are the repeated problems of poverty (Bora in Erdogan (ed.) 2002:73-4):

“This morning, I served some of the bread that was left from the other day with hot water and sugar. First they objected but then they had to eat. Apart from tomato paste and margarine, there is nothing left in the house. And bread is what we consume most...” (Turkeli 2000a:25).

“No, my son still goes to school with all difficulties. He goes hungry, comes hungry....Can a hungry person learn? He would go this year, get his diploma, and then I have to take him away. We can’t send him to school. Because we cannot, we do not have the power...”

“To be woman is difficult, husbands go to work, you are left alone face to face with poverty, get cheap bread, cheap vegetables, find places where there is discount, I mean search for the cheap things...”

“I am embarrassed for waiting here, thus I should not be, those who push us towards poverty should be ashamed” (A woman who waits in the queue to get cheaper bread quoted in Bilgili & Altan (eds.) 2003: 366).

The language of the poor perfectly suits with the language of the capability. They focus on what they are capable of doing and being, their daily concerns could find its expression within the capabilities language:

“I have no power”

“we are not capable of doing”

“we cannot send our children to school”

“I could not have the operation”

“If municipality provides, then we are able to drink safe water”.

The field research I have done and the primary sources I use support the idea that the capability approach is a powerful framework for the development studies. The language of the subaltern, women living in *gecekondu*s of Istanbul told me their lives with what they were actually able to

do and to be. Their own language is the language of capabilities. The women did not focus “goods, money” or “happiness, satisfaction”, they tell their stories about what they are capable of doing. My own research therefore also demonstrates the power of capability approach for exploring and understanding the poverty, which is crucial for its alleviation.

**Respecting the agency and the adapted preferences:**

The respect for reasoning and choice is crucial for the capability approach, but when bodily health is under threat, it is very difficult to question the empowerment of the subjects both for men and women. Thus the respect for agency is crucial for developing policies that would create tools and practices, which would be remedy to the real problems in the area. Questioning the concept of ‘adapted preference’ is important therefore for respecting the ‘actual choice’ and effective policy-making. So in the last part of the paper, I shall elaborate on the question of agency with the words of the women what they ‘prefer’ and what they have to do focusing on paid work and motherhood.

Sen’s distinction between agency and well-being freedom<sup>28</sup> is important particularly in evaluating women’s well-being in both objective and subjective forms. There are often discrepancies between subjective perceptions of well-being and well-being measured by ‘objective’ indicators and Sen tries to develop objective measures of poverty to overcome these biases and prejudices which are inherent in all societies<sup>29</sup>.

According to Sen, freedom is concerned “with the real opportunity that we have to accomplish what we value” (1992: 31). However he distinguishes freedom in terms of well-being and agency. Agency freedom is “one’s freedom to bring about achievements one values and which one attempts to produce”; well-being freedom, on the other hand, is “one’s freedom to achieve those things that are constitutive of one’s well-being” (Sen 1992:57; Sen 1985a; 203-4). Sen argues that “understanding the agency role is thus central to recognizing people as responsible persons: not only are we well or ill, but also we act or refuse to act, and can choose to act one

---

<sup>28</sup> Nussbaum does not have this distinction. She agrees with Sen that they are important distinctions but she claims that all the important distinctions can be captured as aspects of the capability/functioning distinction (2001a:14).

<sup>29</sup> See Cecile Jackson’s article ‘Rescuing Gender from the Poverty Trap’ where she elaborates on Beck’s critique on Sen’s argument (in Pearson & Jackson (eds.) 1998:56-7).

way rather than another.” (Sen 1999:190). Sen is against the view of seeing people as ‘passive recipients’ (1999:11) of public programs but rather as agents, thus individuals can ‘with adequate social opportunities ... effectively shape their own destiny and help each other’ (1999:11). And he sees that removing the iniquities that depress the *well-being* of women can be overcome by focusing on women’s *agency* (1999:191).

Thus there can be contradiction between well-being and agency freedom. One may choose to endanger well-being achievements and freedom by exercising agency achievement. The tension between a basis in practical reason and the capability approach is the recognition of false or socially conditioned consciousness (Li in Nussbaum & Glover (eds.) 1995:425) particularly with the concept of “adapted preferences”.<sup>30</sup>

For Sen, the personal mental state- happiness or satisfaction is crucial for determining the well-being but he criticizes the utilitarian approach for its exclusive dependence on personal satisfaction as information base and its exclusion of other sources such as physical and social conditions in evaluating well-being. He argues that mentally a person can adapt herself to her situation and would be content with what she is living. ‘A person who is ill-fed, undernourished, unsheltered, and ill can still be high up in the scale of happiness or desire-fulfilment if he or she has learned to have ‘realistic’ desires and to take pleasure in small mercies.’ (Sen 1985b:21) People adapted their happiness or desires to the prevailing situation in which they live, even though they suffer from certain deficiencies: “The battered slave, the broken unemployed, the hopeless destitute, the tamed housewife, may have the courage to desire little, but the fulfilment of those disciplined desires is not a sign of a great success and cannot be treated in the same way as the fulfilment of the confident and demanding desires of the better placed” (Sen 1987: 11). Thus Sen tries to find a middle way: not an exclusive focus on well-being but also taking into account that people are agents, having the ability to set and pursue one’s own goals and interests (1985).

Nevertheless, the reservation on preference is a challenge to the agency perspective of the capability approach. The critics against preference-based utilitarian approach also works at the

---

<sup>30</sup> See Nussbaum 2001a: 119-166 for her overview of the problems with the concept of “preference”. See also Williams 2000:270 for her examples of what is accepted as preferred outlook.

expense of declared commitment to take seriously what individuals say they desire and choose (Phillips 2002:401). Phillips's critic is on Nussbaum's *Women and Human Development* (2001a). Phillips argues that in the structure of Nussbaum's argument, the capacity for engaging in critical reflection about the planning of one's own life matters immensely. But she also notes that it is "critical reflection", which provides Nussbaum the tools to challenge the many actual choices individuals have made. I share the view that critical reflection is crucial; however it is crucial for all of us. When it is used repeatedly and exclusively for the subaltern groups, rather than a critical reflection of an academician or for a CEO, then we end up with the same old story: the distrust to subalterns' choices.

The crucial point, I believe, for the capability approach is to look at the availability of real options to choose otherwise.<sup>31</sup> The importance of real choice and real option: A person who has opportunities for play can always *choose* a workaholic life. Nussbaum, for example, states that she is "not pushing individuals into the function: once the stage that is fully set, the choice is up to them" (2001a:88) but the problem is how to set the stage fully: To what extent access to opportunities are available. Apart from the financial constraints, the socialization plays important role in all our preferences. And the effects of the socialization processes are not limited to the subaltern groups. One is autonomous if one has "the personal capacities, opportunities to choose from and access to those opportunities, so as to frame, revise, and pursue a conception of the good life, and to see that conception of the good life as something which contributes to forming one's identity over some period of time."(Fabre 2000:12). In a way all of our preferences are adapted but the general problem to what extent we see the other options, different ways of living and believing. Does the person have the option to choose otherwise? Does she have the ability and capability to choose the other option and yet prefers this?<sup>32</sup> Furthermore, though the capability approach underlines the importance of taking an ethical individual perspective; the women in my case state their worries about their abilities almost always in relational terms. These women have "crowded selves" and they do not talk about

---

<sup>31</sup> See also Peter (2003).

<sup>32</sup> Within the limits of the paper, I did not elaborate on the crucial dilemma of the stated question: the need to exercise certain types of functioning in childhood in order to produce a mature adult capability.

themselves as “I”. They do not separate their needs and desires from their families. They are *father’s daughter, brother’s sister, husband’s wife, family’s bride and mother of children*<sup>33</sup>. Among these relations, being mother, having children is the most important one. The motherhood seems to be a different kind of relation, where they are more active and become the agent. Motherhood shapes their lives, wishes, needs and plans for the future. And also through their children, it was easier to get into their worlds, their ideals. What they expect from the future can only be grasped through their children. Families are the only legitimate institutions within which sexual and reproductive relationships can take place in Turkey. The civil marriage ceremony has been compulsory since 1926 and the open consent and expression of that consent is required. The idea was that civil marriage would help to prevent the traditional arranged marriages. However according to a report of the National Planning Organization, about half of the marriages in Turkey arranged by the families (Imamoglu 2000:102). In my research, apart from one woman, they were all arranged marriages by the families at very young ages as early as 15. Also marriages among relatives are very common practice, such as marrying son of a paternal uncle, and this further restricts the lives of the new migrant brides. The life stories of the women I interviewed demonstrate the shared feeling of “being old” in very young ages like 23 or 25. Life stories are told in three periods: childhood, marriage and motherhood. The period of youth seems not to exist, particularly with marriages at very young ages, around 15:

“I could not live my childhood, I got married at 15.”

“I engaged at 15 and married at 17.”

The new married couple at their young ages facing many problems become “we” immediately. Particularly with an immediate pregnancy they “form a family” and the economic problems create the ‘other’ which they have to fight against:

“If money is not the problem, then we could do everything...”

“You cannot be free immediately; you got married with many problems”.

---

<sup>33</sup> In this paper, I will just focus on their lives after marriage.

The migrant women who used to “work in the fields” in their hometowns or villages, become house-wives when they come to the cities (Ozyegin 2001:8). In Turkey, till 1990 according to Civil Code article 159 it is the husband who would give the permission to his wife for work. Although the law is changed more than a decade, patriarchal opposition to women’s paid work, rooted in deep-seated anxieties about perceived threats to female sexuality and to men’s honour, limits the sorts of work women can perform. However, women do paid work when there is unbearable poverty, as the husband has no option to protest.

The dominant perspective in women’s studies is that women by working outside their homes and by earning money<sup>34</sup> achieve further freedom. Sen states that women’s ability to earn an independent income, to find employment outside the home is among the things that effect women’s well-being (1999:191). Susan Moller Okin summarises the view as the following: employment makes women less dependent on men, gives them a chance to improve their status within the family, and enables them to establish a better bargaining position in their relations with men. Furthermore she argues that the fact of having a job outside home breaks the social isolation of women who have traditionally been secluded in the domestic sphere (in Nussbaum & Glover (eds.) 1995).

However, in my case these assumptions are not true. Contributing to the household by earning money does not necessary bring equal capability. Moreover it is mostly domestic spheres where the migrant women work, it is *others’ home* they clean, *others’ children* they look after or even if they work in a firm it is *others’ tea* they prepare.<sup>35</sup> They may also do lacework or piecework at their *homes* or work in factories, mostly in the small-scale production of textile ateliers. The informal employment becomes more important with irregular employment conditions and falling pay, women and children replace men in the job market with less demand. (Bugra & Keyder

---

<sup>34</sup> See also Koggel (2003) for the effects of globalization on women’s paid work in terms of expanding their freedom. She concludes that women’s freedom and agency are not always improved when they enter the workforce with a particular focus on globalization.

<sup>35</sup> See Kalaycioglu & Rittersberger-Tilic (2000) for a detailed study of daily cleaning ladies which is usually called as *kadin* which means woman and it is interesting to note that with the help of these women, the “other women” manage to lead a better life with higher quality and have fewer family problems since these women act and substitute the role of wife in the sense of house-wife. See also Hattatoglu (2003) in Yaraman (ed.) for a discussion of home-based work in Turkey.

2003:28). The defined jobs usually lack any social security and retirement fund, not even mentioning the satisfaction or self-actualization or creation side of labour.

The worst cases are where they have no job so they have to collect papers or plastics from the garbage and sell them, as it is the case for Nalan Turkeri:

“We are so tired tonight; we collect plastics along side the paper. As they buy the clean plastic, we begin to collect everything. We first wash what we collect then we lay down them for drying” (Turkeli 2000a:158).

Ruth Anna Putnam states if we try to replace ‘substitutionalist feminism by an interactive one that we listen to the voices of women of colour and women of a different class, and that we appropriate what we hear. . . . We will have learned that for women who have always had to earn a living (in the fields, in the factories, in stores and offices, doing piece-work at home, or working as domestics in other women’s homes), the demand that women be allowed to leave the domestic sphere is not a demand for liberation” (in Nussbaum & Glover (eds.) 1995:315). The expected relation that those who can work would have more option, more capability is in fact not true for the women in my case. Those who work “do not choose to work”. “Choosing not to work” in their case means there is an option, more freedom for these women<sup>36</sup>. The limited job option is fundamental for their desire “not to work”. The related double day problem also plays an important for their ‘preference’ not to work outside their home. In my case, the women still stay the whole responsible person of the household. Women’s role at home does not change and the housework and taking care of the children are still under her responsibility. So women “prefer” to be housewife or “woman of their houses”. The third reason is the social norm that states that women’s place is home. Relatives and the people who migrated from the same village may disapprove of ‘their women’ working outside the home” (Erman 2001:124). Women, if they have to work, are ‘ashamed’ rather than “proud”. Working and gaining money

---

<sup>36</sup> Williams in her *Unbending Gender* (2000) argues that “in sharp contrast to white feminist imagery of the family as the gender factory that represents a key source of women’s disempowerment, the family is often seen by blacks as well as by working class whites as haven in a harsh and unyielding world.” Quoting from Patricia Hill Collins, she argues that black women want to withdraw from the labour force to strengthen the political and economic position of their family. Black women see their unpaid domestic work more as a form of resistance to oppression than as a form of exploitation by men and “the option not to work outside of the home is a luxury that historically has been denied to black women”(2000:167).

do not necessary create self-esteem. Being “good wife” and “good mother” is what they want to be at the first place and the breadwinner position of women does not automatically improve women’s position in the family (Bolak 1997). In fact women feel “guilty”, even though they earn money, they still feel that they should be there at home for their children. As the following quotes show:

“No, neighbours do not know that I go to cleaning the houses. No, we do not say it much. There is no need. There are not many working-women around our neighbourhood... Sometimes when they ask where I am going I say I am not well, I am going to the hospital (she laughs)  
-Why, is it something bad?  
-I mean there is no specific reason. No, it is not that it is something bad.”  
(in Erdogan (ed.) 2002:590).

Furthermore, children are the key in women’s decision not to work<sup>37</sup>. Children are vital in their lives. Their existence, their self-expression and their future plans are always expressed for and through their children. Their self-actualization and life-satisfaction are mostly through their children<sup>38</sup>. The way they express their lives and feelings demonstrates that to have and to raise children seems to be life long project for them. They do not become mothers consciously as a way of creation or self-expression, but what I observe and what they claim show that “children are the reason of their lives”. Being at home and looking after the children is preferable in a situation where you have to work as a “cleaning woman” or a “textile worker” and also the whole responsible person for the household.

They want their children “to get education and then have jobs”. They think higher education especially university education is crucial for finding jobs and they mostly state that “it is too late” for them, and do not think that they can change their lives even at the early 20s. Though they are worried about the future of their children, still children are their ‘joy of life’.

“All I expect from life is a good future for my kids. It is over for me. My life is over. I am thirty but ask me I am 70” (Bora in Erdogan (ed.) 2002:78).

“Today, I spend all my money, which I thought that it would not finish by buying shoes and pullover to my children. Although this does not change my humped back but at least I feel relaxed. To see my children happy makes me happy.” (Turkeli 2000a:20)

---

<sup>37</sup> See also Ozyegin 2001:64.

<sup>38</sup> There is a pathological side of this, life-long childhood and life-long parenthood affect the lives, being and becoming individuals are painful. See also White 1999:117.

The role of care in the formation of human capabilities and in human development is fundamental. Without genuine care and nurturing, children cannot develop capabilities, and it seems for the next generation, these mothers, and also the fathers, devote their capabilities for enhancing the children's capabilities. However, there may be conflicting capabilities of children and parents, particularly in the cases of severe poverty, providing capabilities for the children<sup>39</sup> would result failing of capabilities for the mothers. Thus if we respect their agency, their choice is clear:

“All I want is for my children”.

“If we have nothing, we still have our children.”

The last point I want to elaborate is on the idea that the subaltern groups “adapt their preferences” and “are not aware of their situation and therefore are happy”, I believe this premise should need to be further scrutinized. Referring to the research that was done by the State Institute of Statistics this year in Turkey and to my own research; I claim that the “stated happiness” should not lead us to the conclusion that they are not *aware* of the situation which they are in. According to the State Institute of Statistics (SIS), %27 of the population in Turkey lives under the threshold level of poverty. However the research on the life satisfaction of the population<sup>40</sup> by the SIS gives us interesting results: only %5 of women said that they were “unhappy” and %1.8 said that they were “very unhappy”, where the other options were neutral (%22.2), happy (%48.4), and very happy (%11.6).

Looking at the results of this survey and considering the living conditions of the country- the social and economic problems in Turkey, the expected conclusion is to make the “adapted preferences” argument. However, analyzing this survey with my own experience on the field, I want to raise the following points: First, how the research design is made and how it actually takes place are crucial before we conclude that they have adapted their preferences and ‘living happily ever after’. Who asks the question and how the question is asked affect the answer.

---

<sup>39</sup> See Sennett & Cobb (1993) for their interpretation of sacrifice within the family.

<sup>40</sup> The Search of Life Satisfaction (Yasam Memnuniyeti Arastirmasi) was done November 4-16, 2003 in 2140 household with 5304 adults (<http://www.die.gov.tr>).

And also where the question is asked is important. As it would be very hard for a woman to say that “I am not happy” when her husband or even when her children or her mother in law is around<sup>41</sup>. In my search, they are all aware of their situation and complain about many things but of course, similar to all of us, in order to continue their lives, they adapt their preferences to what they are able to do and to be. As one woman said “there are good days and bad days, but we continue to live”.

The second point I want to raise is the combination of traditional and religious values which lead to the acceptance of the conditions and prevent any kind of complains, since this would “offend *Allah*”. To be “thankful to *Allah*” and the tradition not to complain to the strangers make a powerful amalgam, particularly for women. “Thank God for what we have...” and “It can be worse” are repeated claims. Islamic belief, in my case, plays an important role for acceptance of the current socio-economic situation. The idea of faith and accepting the destiny, not to rebel and not to desire are all part of the religious teaching. The traditional act is not to complain and tell about the private lives, particularly not towards the strangers. Even if she is not happy or well, the question on how well she is, is usually answered as “let’s say fine so that we would be”.

I also want to underline the importance of television as a source of information for the women in my case. In the homes where even the very basic needs such as beds or stove were missing, television was there. Unlike newspaper or magazines, for the television there is no need to be literate. Television transmits the information, news and debates. But the more crucial role television plays is that it shows the different life styles and conditions. The women in my case know how “others” and “other” women live and they usually are very critical in the way the “rich people” live “shamelessly, without honour”. Television in a way demonstrates the options, and it provides the information that may challenge the traditional life styles.

The concept of adapted preference is used in order to criticize the utilitarian approach for focusing only the satisfaction or happiness of individuals. This is an important critic against the

---

<sup>41</sup> Though in the introduction of the Life Satisfaction Search of SIS, it is stated that each member of the household should answer the question at the same time in separate rooms, to maintain this is not easy. In

utilitarian approach. However, I have serious doubts for using the concept of adapted preference within the capability framework, as it undermines its power of respecting agency. Focusing on whether there are real opportunities or not, have more explanatory power for the goals of the capability approach. To question the availability of access to other options may provide more insightful perspective not only for the subaltern groups in developing countries but also for the “others” in the developed country as there are different ways of limiting the availability of options. The concept of “adapted preferences” should be carefully used particularly within the capability framework, since the respect for agency is one of its crucial dimensions.

### **III- As a conclusion:**

In this paper, I suggest that in order to develop the capability framework, we, the students of the capability approach; have to take the experiences and the thoughts of the subaltern groups seriously. Within the limits, I first focus the methodological problems of conducting such a research and then elaborate on two things: first the poverty and its expression by those who experience it and secondly; the tension between the respect for agency and the idea of “adapted preference”.

Democratic and participatory approach to the development studies is a necessity, not only for ethical concern but also for practical consequences. I argue that only with a participatory approach where the voices of the subaltern groups can be heard, there would be immediate and efficient solutions to the stated and observed problems. Furthermore, I argue that the explanatory power of the theories should be challenged by the voices of the subaltern groups. This requires an ongoing research and interaction among the researchers for developing better tools of inquiry. The number of the qualitative researches, which focus more on the conceptual discussions, is very limited. Though subaltern groups are usually the subjects of inquiry, the conceptual discussions are done mostly by the intellectuals and academicians, excluding their views. Nevertheless, in order to develop theories and policies which would solve the urgent

---

most cases, there may not be an extra room where the survey could take place. And who would take care of the children when the adult members of the household do the survey?

problems of the subaltern groups to engage multiple dialogues with the subaltern is necessary.

As one of the woman puts it:

“Yes, we know. Those who live through what I have been through only would know. Who else can tell what we have been through?”

### **Bibliography:**

- Afsaruddin, Asma.(ed.) (1999) *Hermeneutics and Honor* Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Akder, Halis & Murat Guvenc. (eds.) (2000) *Devlet Reformu Yoksulluk* Istanbul: TESEV.
- Alkire, Sabina (2002) *Valuing Freedoms: Sen's Capability Approach and Poverty Reduction* New York: Oxford University Press.
- Aoyama, Atsuko. (1999) *Towards a Virtuous Circle A Nutrition Review of MENA* Washington: The World Bank Human Development Network.
- Arat, Zehra F. K. (2003) “Where to Look for the Truth: Memory and Interpretation In Assessing The Impact of Turkish Women's Education” *Women's Studies International Forum* 26(1): 57-68.
- Arin, Canan.(1997) “The Legal Status of Women in Turkey”, *Women for Women's Human Rights Reports*.
- Benhabib, Seyla. (1994) “In Defense of Universalism: Yet Again! A Response to Critics of Situating the Self” *New German Critique* Spring/Summer94(62): 173-190.
- Benhabib, Seyla, J. Butler, N.Fraser & D. Cornell. (1995) *Feminist Contentions: a Philosophical Exchange*.New York: Routledge.
- Berik, Günseli. (1987) *Women Carpet Weavers in Rural Turkey*. Cenevre:ILO.
- Beutelspacher, Austreberta Nazar et al. (2003)“Does Contraception Benefit Women? Structure, Agency, and Well-being in Rural Mexico” *Feminist Economics* 9 (2&3):213-238.
- Bilgili, Ahmet Emre & Ibrahim Altan (eds.) (2003) *Yoksulluk I,II, III* Istanbul: Deniz Feneri Yayinlari.
- Birkalan, Hande. (1999) *Home-making and Story Telling in a Gecekondu in Istanbul* Unpublished PhD Dissertation submitted to the faculty of the Indiana University Graduate School in the Folklore Institute.
- Bolak, Hale Cihan. (1997) “When Wives are Major Providers: Culture, Gender, and Family Work” *Gender and Society* 11(4): 409-433.
- Briggs, Charles L. (1986) *Learning How to Ask* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bugra, Ayse & Gurol Irzik (1999) ‘Human Needs, Consumption and Social Policy’ *Economics and Philosophy* 15
- Bugra, Ayse & Caglar Keyder (2003) *New Poverty and The Changing Welfare Regime of Turkey* Ankara: UNDP.
- Cakir, Serpil & Necla Akgokce. (eds) (1995) *Kadin Calismalarinda Yontem* Istanbul: Sel Yayıncılık.
- Chakrabarty, Dipesh. (2000) *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference* Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Chaturvedi, Vinayak. (ed.) (2000) *Mapping Subaltern Studies and the Postcolonial* London: Verso.
- Clark, David A. (2002) *Visions of Development: A Study of Human Values* Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.
- Crocker, David A. (1992) Functioning and Capability *Political Theory* 20(4): 584- 613.
- Crocker, David A. & Toby Linden (eds.)(1998) *Ethics of Consumption: The Good Life, Justice & Global Stewardship* Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.
- Denzin, Norman K. & Yvonna S. Lincoln (eds.) (2000) *Handbook of Qualitative Research* London: Sage Publications.
- Deveaux, Monique. (2002) ‘Political Morality and Culture: What Difference Do Differences Make?’ *Social Theory and Practice* 28(3): 503-518.
- Durakbasa, Ayse & Aynur Ilyasoglu. (2001) ‘Formation of Gender Identities in Republican Turkey and Women's Narratives as Transmitters of ‘Herstory’ of Modernization. *Journal of History* 35(1): 195-201.
- Dumanli, Recep. (1996) *Yoksulluk ve Turkiye'deki Boyutlari* Ankara: DPT Uzmanlik Tezi Yayinlari No: 2449.
- Elster, Jon. (1985a) *Sour Grapes* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Erder, Sema. (2001) *Istanbul'a bir kent konu: Umraniye* Istanbul: Iletisim.
- Erdogan, Necmi.(ed.) (2002) *Yoksulluk Halleri* Istanbul: Demokrasi Kitapligi Yayinlari.
- Erman, Tahire. (2001) 'Rural Migrants and Patriarchy in Turkish Cities' *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 25(1): 118-133.
- Erman, Tahire. (1998) 'The Impact of Migration on Turkish Rural Women: Four Emergent Patterns' *Gender and Society* 12(2): 146-167.
- Fraser, Nancy. (1996) "Gender Equity and the Welfare State: A Postindustrial Thought Experiment" in *Democracy and Difference* Seyla Benhabib (ed.) Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Fraser, Nancy. (1990) "Talking about Needs: Interpretive Contests as Political Conflicts in Welfare- State Societies" in *Feminism and Political Theory* Cass Sunstein (ed.) Chicago: Chicago University Press.
- Gasper, Des. (1997) 'Sen's Capability Approach and Nussbaum's Capabilities Ethics' *Journal of International Development* 9(2): 281-302.
- Guha, Ranajit & Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak (eds.).(1988) *Selected Subaltern Studies* New York & Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Halis, Mujgan.(2001) *Batman'da kadinlar ölüyor* Istanbul: Metis.
- Harding, Sandra. (1991) *Whose science? Whose Knowledge? Thinking From Women's Lives* New York: Basic Books.
- Human Rights Watch Women's Right Project A Matter of Power: State Control of Women's Virginity in Turkey June 1994.
- Ilkcaracan, Ipek & Ilkcaracan, Pinar. (1998) 'Kuldan Yurttasa: Kadinlar Neresinde?' *75 Yilda Tebaa'dan Yurttas'a Dogru* Istanbul: Tarih Vakfi Yayinlari.
- Ilkcaracan, Ipek & Ilkcaracan, Pinar. (1999) "1990'lar Turkiye'sinde Kadin ve Goc" *75 Yilda Koylerden Sehirlerle* Istanbul: Tarih Vakfi Yayinlari.
- Ilkcaracan, Pinar et al. (1996) *Sicak Yuva Masali* Istanbul: Metis Kadin Arastirmalari.
- Ilkcaracan, Pinar. (ed) (2000) *Women and Sexuality In Muslim Societies* Istanbul: A Publication of Women For Women's Human Rights -New Ways.
- Imamoglu, E.Olcay (2000) "Changing Gender Roles and Marital Satisfaction In Turkey" in *Gender and Identity Construction* Feride Acar & Ayse Gunes-Ayata Boston (eds), Koln: Brill Leiden.
- Isik, Oguz & M.Melih Pinarcioglu. (2002, 2nd ed.) *Nobetlese Yoksulluk* Istanbul: Iletisim Yayinlari.
- Isik, Oguz & M.Melih Pinarcioglu. (2003) 'Sultanbeyli: Enformelin Kurucu/Yikici Gucu' *Cogito* 35.
- Iversen, Vegard. (2003) "Intra-Household Inequality: A Challenge for the Capability Approach?". *Feminist Economics* 9 (2&3):93-115.
- Kalaycioglu, Sibel & Helga Rittersberg-Tilic. (2000) *Evlerimizdeki Gundelikci Kadinlar: Comert 'Abla'larin Sadik 'Hanim'leri* Ankara: Su Yayinlari.
- Kandiyoti, Deniz.(1987) "Emancipated but Unliberated? Reflections on the Turkish Case" *Feminist Studies* 13(2): 317-38.
- Kandiyoti, Deniz.(1988) "Bargaining with Patriarchy" *Gender & Society* 2: 274-90.
- Keyder, Caglar. (ed.) (2000) *Istanbul: Kuresel ile Yerel Arasinda* Istanbul: Metis.
- Koggel, Christine M. (2003) "Globalization and Women's Paid Work: Expanding Freedom?" *Feminist Economics* 9 (2&3):163-184.
- Kumar, Nita (ed.) (1994) *Women as Subjects: South Asian Histories* New Delhi: The Book Review Literature Trust.
- Kumbetoglu, B. (2002) "Afetler sonrasi kadinlar ve yoksulluk" in Y.Ozdek (ed.) *Yoksulluk, Siddet ve Insan Haklari* Ankara: TODAI Insan Haklari Arastirma Ve Derleme Merkezi.
- Mehta, Pratap Bhanu (2000) "Review Essays: Common Sense, Judgement, And The Limits of Political Theory" *Political Theory*, 28(4):565-88.
- Menon, Nivedita. (2002) 'Universalism without foundations?' *Economy and Society* 31(1) : 152-169.
- Mohanty, C.T. et.al. (eds.) (1991) *Third World Women and The Politics of Feminism* Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Narayan, Deepa et al. (2000a) *Voices of the Poor: Can Anyone Hear Us?* The World Bank New York: Oxford University Press.
- Narayan, Deepa et al. (2000b) *Voices of the Poor: Crying Out for Change* The World Bank New York: Oxford University Press.

- Narayan, Deepa & Patti Petesch (eds.) (2002) *Voices of the Poor: From Many Lands* The World Bank New York: Oxford University Press.
- Newman, Lucile F. (ed.) (1995) *Hunger in History: Food Shortage, Poverty, and Deprivation* Oxford: Blackwell.
- Nussbaum, Martha C. & Amartya Sen (eds.) (1993) *The Quality of Life* Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Nussbaum, Martha & Glover, Jonathan (1995) *Women, Culture and Development* Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Nussbaum, Martha C. (1995) "Aristotle on Human Nature and the Foundations of Ethics", in *World Mind and Ethics: Essays on the Ethical Philosophy of Bernard Williams* J.E.J. Altham and Ross Harrison (eds) Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Nussbaum, Martha. (2000) *Sex and Social Justice* Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Nussbaum, Martha C. (2001) *Women and Human Development* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Nussbaum, Martha C. (2003) 'Capabilities as Fundamental Entitlements: Sen and Social Justice' *Feminist Economist* 9 (2 & 3): 33-59.
- Nussbaum, Martha C. (2004) 'On Hearing Women's Voices: A Reply to Susan Okin' *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 32(2): 193-205.
- Okin, Susan Moller. (2003) 'Poverty, Well-Being, and Gender: What Counts, Who's Heard?' *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 31(3): 280-316.
- Ozbay, Ferhunde. (ed.) (1986) *The Study of Women in Turkey: An Anthology*. Istanbul: UNESCO in collaboration with Turkish Social Science Association.
- Ozyegin, Gul. (2001) *Untidy Gender: Domestic Service in Turkey* Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Peter, Fabienne. (2003) "Gender and the Foundations of Social Choice: The Role of Situated Agency". *Feminist Economics* 9 (2&3):13-32.
- Phillips, Anne. (2002) 'Review of Martha Nussbaum's *Women and Human Development*' *Ethics* 113(1): 398-403.
- Ramazanoglu, Caroline & Janet Holland. (2002) *Feminist Methodology Challenges and Choices* London: Sage.
- Robeyns, Ingrid. (2003a) "Sen's capability approach and gender inequality: selecting relevant capabilities" *Feminist Economics* 9 (2&3):61-92.
- Robeyns, Ingrid. (2003b) "Basic Ideas On the Capability Approach" Training Session 1 of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Conference on the Capability Approach.
- Saktanber, Aysel. (2002) *Living Islam: Women, Religion and the Politicization of Culture in Turkey* London: I.B.Tauris
- Scanlon, T.M. (1982) 'Contractualism and Utilitarianism' in Amartya Sen & Bernard Williams (eds) *Utilitarianism and Beyond* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Scott, James. (1995) *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Sen, Amartya K. (1999) *Development as Freedom*. New York: Knopf Press.
- Sen, Amartya K. (1998) *Resources, Values and Development* Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.
- Sen, Amartya K. (1997) Individual Preference as the Basis of Social Choice in K.J. Arrow, A.K. Sen & K. Suzumura (eds.) *Social Choice Re-examined* Vol. 1 London: MacMillan Press Ltd.
- Sen, Amartya K. (1993) *Capability and Well-being* in Nussbaum & Sen 1993
- Sen, Amartya K. (1992) *Inequality Reexamined*. Mass: Harvard University Press.
- Sen, Amartya K. (1990a) 'Gender and Cooperative Conflicts' in I.Tinker (ed.) *Persistent Inequalities* Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Sen, Amartya K. (1990b) 'Justice: means versus freedom' *Philosophy and Public Affairs* 19:111-121.
- Sen, Amartya K. (1987) "The Tanner Lectures: The Standard of Living" in G.Howthorn (ed.) *The Standard of Living* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Sen, Amartya K. (1985a) 'Well-being, Agency and Freedom' *The Journal of Philosophy* 82:169-221.
- Sen, Amartya K. (1985b) *Commodities and Capabilities* Amsterdam: Elsevier Science Publishers B.V.
- Sen, Amartya K. (1980) 'Equality of What?' in Tanner Lectures on human values Vol.1 Sterling M. McMurrin (ed.) Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press

Sennett, Richard & Jonathan Cobb (1993) *The Hidden Injuries of Class* New York: W.W.Norton & Company.

Senses, Fikret. (2002) *Kuresellesmenin Oteki Yuzu Yoksulluk* Istanbul: Iletisim Yayinlari

Sharpe, Jenny & Gayatri C. Spivak (200 ) 'A Conversation with Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak: Politics and the Imagination' *Signs* 609-624.

Sonmez, Mustafa. (2002) *100 Gostergede Kriz ve Yoksullasma* Istanbul: Iletisim.

Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty. (1988a) *In Other Worlds: Essays In Cultural Politics* New York & London: Routledge.

Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty. (1988b) "Can the Subaltern Speak?" in Cary Nelson & Lawrence Grossberg (eds.) *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture* Urbana & Chicago: University of Illinois Press.

*The New Legal Status of Women In Turkey* (2002) Istanbul: Women for Women's Human Rights –New Ways

The Personal Narratives Group (eds.) (1989) *Interpreting Women's Lives: Feminist Theory and Personal Narratives* Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Turkeli, Nalan (2000a) *Varosta kadin olmak* Istanbul: Gendas Kultur.

Turkeli, Nalan. (2000b) *iki Hayat* Istanbul: Gendas Kultur.

UNDP *Human Development Report (1996) Turkey* Ankara.

UNDP *Human Development Report (1997) Turkey* Ankara.

UNDP *Insani Gelisme Raporu (2001) Turkey* Ankara.

Unicef 2000. *Unicef: Ending Poverty Begins With Children* <http://www.unicef.org/newsline/00pr54.htm>

United Nations Development Programme. (1999) *Human Development Report 1999* New York: Oxford University Press.

UNDP (2004) *Human Development Report: Cultural Liberty in today's diverse world* (<http://undp.org.tr>) July 2004.

UNDP (2003) *Human Development Report Millenium Development Goals: A Compact Among Nations to End Human Poverty* UNDP New York & Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Weber, Eugen. (1976) *Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France*. Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press.

White, Jenny B. (1999) *Para ile Akraba* Istanbul: Iletisim Yayinlari.

Williams, Joan. (2000) *Unbending Gender* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Wolf, Diane L. (ed.) (1996) *Feminist Dilemmas in Fieldwork* Colorado: Westview Press.

*34-Istanbul 2000 Census of Population* State Institute of Statistics Prime Ministry of Republic of Turkey. <http://www.die.gov.tr>  
<http://www.wwhr.org>