TRUST IN CONTEXT:
PROBLEMATIZING TRUST(ING) IN TURKEY
AMONG RURAL-TO-URBAN MIGRANT WOMEN

A Ph.D. Dissertation

by
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January 2021

To Doris, Kwai, Quan Sim, Mandel,
John and Jeanetta

What an honor it is to be the fruit of your
labor, sacrifice, love, and collective multifaceted journeys

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by

JERMAINE SIU YEE MA

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ANKARA

January 2021

I certify that I have read this thesis and have found that it is fully adequate, in scope and in quality, as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Political Science.

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ABSTRACT

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This dissertation examines trust and problematizes the process(es) and context in the case of rural-to-urban migrant women in contemporary urbanizing Turkey. The influx of rural-to-urban migration since the 1950s has impacted both spatial and social change in the country's largest cities, including the transformation of *gecekondu* dwellings into apartment complexes. The changes and challenges that now accompany apartment living—the loss of communal and informal ways of life facilitated by the spatiality of *gecekondu*—impact women as they navigate social relations. Using the *gecekondu* habitus as a conceptual tool, this qualitative study takes a contextual, relational and process-oriented approach to trust by asking: How is trust understood and experienced by migrant women? How does this affect everyday life for migrant women and their families? And what does it look like to foster trusting neighborly relations in light of apartment life?

As a result of analyzing twenty in-depth semi-structured interviews by focusing on emerging themes this study found first that migrant women understood and experienced

trust(ing) as an on-going relational process of negotiating two competing desires—not being harmed and not being alone—entailing a gendered iterative practice through knowing, visiting, sharing, and helping over time. And second, women need their neighbors in order to do the work of social reproduction given their structural disadvantages and the challenges of apartment living. This necessitates the negotiation of neighborly (trust) relations in the formalized spatiality of the apartments with those from different sociocultural groups, including those who have not lived in a *gecekondu*.

Keywords: Interpersonal trust, *Gecekondu* habitus, Women's neighborliness, Socio-spatial transformation, Turkey

ÖZET

BAĞLAMSAL GÜVEN:
KÖY-KENT GÖÇMENİ KADINLAR ÜZERİNDEN
TÜRKİYE'DE GÜVEN İLİŞKİLERİNİ SORGULAMAK

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Tez Yöneticisi: Doç. Dr. Tahire Erman

Ocak 2021

Bu tez, güven konusunu incelemekte ve kentleşen Türkiye'de kırsaldan kente göçen kadınların güven süreçlerini bağlam odaklı olarak araştırmaktadır. 1950'lerden bu yana kırdan kente göç akını, gecekonduların apartmanlara dönüşümü de dahil olmak üzere, ülkenin büyük kentlerinde hem mekansal hem sosyal değişimi etkilemektedir. Bu değişim ve zorluklara apartman yaşantısının da eşlik etmeye başlaması— gecekondunun mekansallığının kolaylaştırdığı dayanışmacı enformel yaşam biçimlerinin kaybolması—kadınların sosyal ilişkilerine yön vermelerine de etki etmiştir. Bu nitel çalışma, gecekondu habitusunu kavramsal araç olarak kullanarak, şu soruları sorarak güven konusunu bağlamsal, ilişkisel ve süreç odaklı bir yaklaşımla ele almaktadır: Göçmen kadınlarca güven nasıl anlaşılmakta ve deneyimlenmektedir? Bu, göçmen kadınların ve ailelerinin gündelik yaşamlarını nasıl etkilemektedir? Ayrıca, güvene dayalı komşuluk ilişkileri apartmanda nasıl geliştirilmeye çalışılmaktadır?

Ortaya çıkan temalara odaklanarak yarı yapılandırılmış yirmi derinlemesine görüşmenin analizi sonucunda, bu çalışma ilk olarak, göçmen kadınların güveni, cinsiyet temelli, zaman içinde tekrarlanan bilme, ziyaret etme, paylaşma ve yardımlaşma pratikleri yoluyla iki rakip duygu olan yalnız kalmama isteği ve zarar görme korkusu arasında müzakeresi devam eden ilişkisel bir süreç olarak anladıklarını ve deneyimlediklerini bulmuştur. İkinci olarak ise, kadınlar, komşularına, yapısal dezavantajlarının sonucu, ailelerinde toplumsal yeniden üretimi gerçekleştirebilmek için ve apartman yaşamının zorlukları sebebiyle de ihtiyaç duymaktadırlar. Bu, komşuluk (güven) ilişkilerinin, apartmanların formelleştirilmiş mekansallığında, gecekonduda yaşamayanları da içererek, farklı sosyokültürel gruplardan gelenlerle müzakere edilmesini gerektirmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kişilerarası güven, Gecekondu habitusu, Kadınlar arası komşuluk, Sosyo-mekansal dönüşüm, Türkiye

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CHAPTER ONE[1]

INTRODUCTION

> [T]he notion of habitus has several virtues…agents have a history and are the product of an individual history and…associated with a milieu,…they are also the product of a collective history,…their categories of thinking [and] understanding…are the product of the incorporation of social structures.
> (Bourdieu & Chartier, 2015, p. 52)

I first visited Turkey in 2003 for a month in the summer during a cross-cultural exchange with a group of Asian American university students. We spent several weeks in the Black Sea area, experienced a homestay with a local Turkish family, and wandered the streets of a small town called Türkeli, near Sinop. It was here that I first encountered and experienced Turkish hospitality. We received numerous invitations to

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[1] Sections from this chapter have been previously published in the *Journal of Contemporary European Studies*, entitled "A Tale of Two Fears: Negotiating Trust and Neighborly Relations in Urbanizing Turkey" (Ma & Hoard, 2020).

come in and have tea, meals, and the like. These seemingly random invitations were overwhelming and quite strange to us. As Americans, we were products of "Sesame Street" and from a young age, we were warned continuously about "stranger danger." Thus, accepting a drink or food from, much less going into the home of someone we did not know, not only struck us as strange, but potentially dangerous and harmful. We soon learned from the young English-speaking Turks we befriended through the cultural program as they took us around the area, that these invitations for tea, meals, social engagements, were a normal part of Turkish hospitality—we had nothing to fear. While we did not accept every invitation, we did enjoy a few meals and many cups of tea with our Turkish friends' family and friends. It was a lovely and warm experience that I still look back on fondly.

This dissertation in a lot of ways reflects my experiences and perspectives on more than a decade of living, contemplating, observing, interpreting, and experiencing Turkey. I first encountered Turkey's low interpersonal trust statistic as a PhD student while studying for my comprehensive exams nearly a decade after my first visit to Turkey. As I read Kalaycıoğlu's chapter on "Political Culture" in *The Routledge Handbook of Modern Turkey*, I learned that on average since 1990 only 10 percent of the Turkish population found others to be trustworthy (Kalaycıoğlu, 2012). This was both intriguing to me, and made me wonder, how and why this is possible? Personally, I found the high level of distrust in Turkish society simultaneously incongruent and congruent with my experience in Turkey thus far, concurrently resonant and cacophonous, both with what I was experiencing and learning in context. On the one hand, it was incongruous with my first experiences in small town Turkey. On the other hand, having lived in two of Turkey's largest cities at up until that point for the past five years, Turkey's reported

low level of interpersonal trust was not fully surprising. Yet, it still felt somewhat incongruous with how I had first come to understand and experience Turks in small town Black Sea Turkey. The following questions continued to permeate my mind: How do I make sense of my experience with Turkish hospitality and these reported consistently low levels of interpersonal trust in Turkey? Why and how did these low levels of trust come to be? The longer I lived as an expatriate in urban, big city Turkey as a PhD student at Bilkent, the more I realized that life in Turkey is more nuanced and complex sociologically, culturally, politically, and historically than I initially realized as a young tourist in 2003. The kindness, hospitality, and helpfulness still existed, but perhaps it was shaped by context, and the process of getting to know people in that context. Conceivably, understanding context and process has more to do with it, and perhaps these were not necessarily incongruent experiences, but rather that each context/experience had a different blend of village and city life to varying degrees.

It is in view of this background, experience, and context that I began to examine the survey data about trust in Turkey where Kalaycıoğlu (2012) also obtained his data. After examining the World Values Survey (WVS) in general and its questions on trust, I began to wonder how relevant and contextual the concept of trust being utilized, seemingly in an unproblematized fashion within cross-national surveys, related to each cultural context, most significantly in the Turkish context. Is it possible that the seemingly straightforward large-N survey questions[2] and data belie the sociocultural,

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[2] While large-N cross-national and representative national surveys are useful to see broad trends, arguably, it is important to understand its challenges, limitations as well as its benefits. One limitation is the ability to view *trust in context*. Since survey research depends on a large sample of respondents to answer the same questions, this assumes that every person has the same concept in mind when answering the questions. "Researchers want each respondent to hear exactly the same questions, but will the questions be equally clear, relevant, and meaningful to all respondents? If respondents have diverse backgrounds and frames of reference, the same wording may not have the same meaning. Yet, tailoring question wording to each respondent makes comparisons almost impossible" (Neuman, 2006, p. 277).

sociopolitical, and historical context that might shape respondents' understanding and experience of interpersonal trust? Arguably, viewing trust in context is necessary since (dis)trust does not occur in a vacuum, nor is it impervious to social, cultural, and/or conceptual change. This then has led me to problematize interpersonal trust in context, specifically in the context of rural-to-urban migrant women and their *gecekondu*[3] habitus.

Contemporary Turkey, with its rapid growth and increasing urban population resulting from an influx of rural-to-urban migration in the last half century has changed the spatial and social/relational landscape of its largest cities (Danielson & Keleş, 1985; Erder, 1996; Erman, 2012; İçduygu, 2012). As cities expanded both in population and geographic area, large numbers of informal/squatter/shantytown (*gecekondu*) homes were transformed into apartment complexes impacting the daily lives of rural-to-urban migrant women and their social relations in particular (Erman, 1996b; Karpat, 1976; Purcell, 2017). The informal and communal way of life that these women were accustomed to, facilitated by the spatiality of the *gecekondu*, transformed upon the move to the apartments. Migrant women not only used to be among those similar to themselves in culture, values and lifestyle in *gecekondu* communities, but they also had easy access to their neighbors with whom they relied upon for their social, emotional and material needs (Erman, 1997; Keyder, 2000; Suzuki, 1964). Now in apartment complexes, the spatial arrangement of their flats (in relation to their neighbors), as well their neighbors, have changed in ways that impact how they relate to those live near

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[3] In Turkish *gecekondu* literally means "settled at night." These extra-legal houses were built by rural-to-urban migrants in unoccupied areas of Turkish cities. Henceforth, I use the term *gecekondu* to describe this type of informal dwelling spaces.

them. Consequently, those who were different and socially distant are now brought physically closer.

These dual socio-spatial effects impact social relations, including the negotiation of neighborly relations. In addition to negotiating the spatial change of apartment life, women are also navigating the transformation of their social relations and what it means to trust their neighbors. With the various social cleavages salient in current day urbanizing Turkey, including the contestation of what it means to be an urbanite, these socio-spatial changes have the potential to continue to reinforce and perpetuate distinctions between social groups and those considered as the "Other" (Çelik, Bilali, & Iqbal, 2017; Erder, 1996; Erman, 2011). This is significant, not only in light of politically fostered and deepened sociocultural cleavages in Turkish society (Çelik et al., 2017; Kalaycıoğlu, 2012), but also in light of prior trust studies which have shown that "[s]ocial polarization in the form of inequality and ethnic diversity reduces trust (Bjørnskov, 2007). Considering these socio-spatial and sociocultural factors I ask, how rural and urban migrant women understand and experience interpersonal trust in contemporary urbanizing Turkey? How does this understanding of trust affect the maintenance of daily life and neighborly relations for rural-to-urban migrant women and their families? How does fostering trust appear in neighborly relations in light of these socio-spatial changes?

In this dissertation, I examine interpersonal trust at the level of neighborly relations among rural-to-urban migrant[4] women from the theoretical lens of urbanizing Turkey.

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[4] The term "rural-to-urban migrant" is commonly used in the literature. In the Turkish context, the majority of people from the village including the second generation, continue to identify with the village albeit to varying degrees, and for various reasons (Erman, 1998). In light of this, I choose to use the term

I utilize Bourdieu's habitus as a conceptual tool (Bourdieu, 1988; Costa, Burke, & Murphy, 2019; Reay, 2004) in order to illuminate the contextual nuances of rural-to-urban migrant women in this study. I conceptualize what I refer to as a *gecekondu* habitus within the historical and sociocultural dimensions that characterize rural-to-urban migrant women and their daily practices. When speaking of habitus in this study, I connect it with a specific context (Costa et al., 2019). As such, utilizing the *gecekondu* habitus helps define both the constraints and the opportunities available to the women in their specific context as they navigate daily life and social relations among their neighbors, particularly in the ways they understand, experience, and negotiate trust.

From the early days of trust research, as well as in response to various studies that utilize the trust concept, a general agreement exists among a wide range of scholars that trust is an important factor in the fabric of daily life. However, Turkey with consistently low levels of generalized trust (World Values Survey, 2014) proves to be an anomaly among other countries, and might be considered one of the least "trusty" societies in the world (Diez Medrano, 2013), having "almost no trust" (Delhey & Newton, 2005). In general, according to the series of representative national values surveys conducted in Turkey since 1990, on average only one in ten persons answered affirmatively to being able to trust most people (Esmer, 2012; Kalaycıoğlu, 2012). As trust research has become increasingly more nuanced, including looking at processes (Khodyakov, 2007; Möllering, 2013), context (Grimpe, 2019), and relational approaches (Frederiksen, 2014; Six, Nooteboom, & Hoogendoorn, 2010), it also enriches the broad strokes gained from large-N survey datasets. However, trust research that focuses on Turkey

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"rural-to-urban migrants," or "migrants" interchangeably to describe those who have migrated to the cities as *gecekondu* dwellers, and/or their children (the second generation).

has been limited either to these broad strokes about trust (Kayaoğlu, 2017) or to the realm of business relations of supervisors and subordinates (Wasti, Tan, & Erdil, 2011). While these types of studies are insightful for better understanding trust in general, or alternatively, at an organizational level, in Turkey, questions including how trust is understood and experienced as a process in societies with populations of diverse rural/urban, ethnic, and sectarian groups have yet to be addressed. As such, this dissertation aims to fill the gap by bringing a nuanced understanding of interpersonal trust in Turkey at the level of relations between individuals in neighborly relations, especially considering the sociocultural and sociopolitical (macro) context and the ensuing negotiation processes of rural-to-urban migrant women within their *gecekondu* habitus. Thus, this dissertation aims to emphasize the importance of context and its various layers, specifically how the *gecekondu* habitus of migrant women conditions and shapes their experience and understanding of trust in their daily lives in urbanizing neighborhoods of contemporary Turkey. Using the *gecekondu* habitus as a conceptual tool, this study centers on the issue of trust and fleshes out the nuanced contextual circumstances of migrant women. I argue that rural-to-urban migrant women's limited access to resources (i.e. their class position) necessitates particular processes and practices of trust relations with neighbors, especially in caring for their children and families. Moreover, I ask how this need for finding trustable neighbors unfolds in the context of apartment living when those who are different in terms of sect, ethnicity, urban/rural background, and ideology are now physically closer in space.

1.1 Main Concepts, Main Arguments and Significance of the Study

Women as social agents in their communities navigate at the forefront the changing boundaries of space and spatial concerns in neighborly relations, including that of interpersonal trust (Erman, 1996a; Kağıtçıbaşı, 1982b; Mills, 2007; Purcell, 2017). In trust studies, despite the fact that women have been shown to have lower levels of trust in comparison to their male counterparts (Kayaoğlu, 2017), feminist social reproduction scholars have argued that women are key agents in reproducing not only the next generation physically, but also are highly involved in the maintenance of life socially and emotionally in ways that tangibly turn earned wages into sustenance day in and day out (Brenner & Laslett, 1986). As such, focusing on women not only allows for focusing on the social agents in the *gecekondu* habitus, but also provides a baseline examination of trust in a particular context in a way that sheds light on the reported lower levels of trust for women compared to men (Kayaoğlu, 2017). For these reasons I have chosen migrant women, highlighting the impact of their *gecekondu* communities, to examine trust given that it is expected for women from these communities to have higher levels of solidarity and cooperation (Erman, 1997; Soytemel, 2013; Suzuki, 1964), which in turn might also lead to higher levels of trust. Subsequently, at the neighborhood level, focusing on neighborly relations between women creates the ability to examine every day social interactions of gender in space (Mills, 2007) as well as observes mechanisms of trusting and the trusting process in light of their *gecekondu* habitus.

Given the multifaceted discussion surrounding trust and all of its variants studied in the literature (e.g. interpersonal trust, social trust, political trust, institutional trust, and system trust), in this investigation I focus my efforts on interpersonal trust—namely

trust between people. While examining interpersonal trust, I acknowledge that individuals are embedded within a social system including its history, and thus are able to trust in things, institutions, and systems, namely things that might represent "structure" (Granovetter, 1985; Rothstein, 2005). My theoretical approach in this dissertation acknowledges the interplay and embeddedness that exists between structure and agency in trust relations, in the same way that Nooteboom claims that "[t]rust in the system affects trust in people and our actions towards them. Conversely, behavior and experience in specific relations have effects on the trust that one has in a system. Personal and system trust mutually affect each other" (Nooteboom, 2002, p. 9).

When discussing trust in the literature and also in the context of Turkey, large-N cross national surveys like the World Values Survey (WVS) found that on average only one in ten Turkish citizens report to "trust others in general" (Çelik et al., 2017; Kalaycıoğlu, 2012; Kayaoğlu, 2017; World Values Survey, 2011). On the one hand, these numbers may not be surprising given the politically fostered contestations of Turkish society along ethnic, ideological, and sectarian lines. However, one might wonder how trust is understood and experienced. What does trust look like in the process of everyday life of migrant women? While recent studies have begun to problematize the conceptualization of trust at an aggregated/societal level compared across cultures (Miller & Mitamura, 2003; Nannestad, 2008), what is still needed is a study that demonstrates how conceptual and contextual nuances might impact how trust and trusting might be experienced and understood in the process of everyday life in a particular context. Additionally, a vast majority of studies on trust are based on conceptualizations of trust from one context (sometimes applied to another), measured in a particular point in time. Arguably this type of snapshot view and often

unproblematized[5] application of a particular conceptualization of trust may not account for context specific nuances and intricacies including process, and consequently, often expects other studies and their respective contexts to fit their data into a mold that might not necessarily fit, nor is salient to the intricacies and nuances of another context. Therefore, there is a need for trust studies to take into account context as well as process. As such, I am proposing a more dynamic interrelated conceptualization of trust that acknowledges, yet neither reifies, macro-level contextual issues nor takes them as "essential categories," but instead analyzes them in process within the challenges of daily life (the micro-level). In this way this study aims to demonstrate how contextual issues at the macro-level (i.e. sociocultural cleavages, political discourse, etc.) affect and are reworked in the everyday lives of people in society. Hence, this study aims to problematize the context and process of interpersonal trust for urban to migrant women in their *gecekondu* habitus.

When referring to context, I specifically propose that the incorporation and understanding of sociocultural factors that include, community, class, space, and gender influence each other in creating a dynamic environment that impacts social relations at the neighborhood level. I define sociocultural factors as an umbrella term in the Turkish context as the social group distinctions, historical ebbs and flows of contestations between and among social groups, and many of the identity allegiances that have been and continue to be a prevalent part of Turkish society and politics since the Ottoman Empire (Çelik et al., 2017; Kalaycıoğlu, 2012). In the literature this negotiation and contestation of identity has been called "sociocultural cleavages" (Kalaycıoğlu, 2012)

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[5] It should be noted that there are scholars who have taken on this challenge of problematizing trust in successful ways. For an example examined at the institutional level see Rothstein's (2005) book, *Social Traps and the Problem of Trust*.

and fault lines of "Othering" (Çelik et al., 2017) among others. Scholars have argued that these cleavages do not just remain at the cultural or social level but have also been highly politicized over the years that are perpetuated both at the level of political elites and the citizenry alike (Çelik et al., 2017; Kalaycıoğlu, 2012). Thus, referring to these contestations and negotiations of one's identity is not only significant of the sociocultural context, but also of the sociopolitical context. The sociocultural and sociopolitical contexts are not only intertwined, but also affect each other. Collectively, these sociocultural and sociopolitical contextual nuances, including the rural/urban cultural divide, matters greatly when examining social relations among migrant women in the *gecekondu* habitus, especially since historical and social factors also impact the formation of one's habitus—"a set of dispositions, reflexes and forms of behavior people acquire through acting in society" (Bourdieu, 2000b, p. 2).

Broadly defined, habitus encompasses "the evolving process through which individuals act, think, perceive, and approach the world and their role in it" and "reflects the different positions people have in society" (Bourdieu, 1977, 1984, 1990b; 2000b, p. 2; Costa et al., 2019, p. 20). Other scholars have categorized Bourdieu's habitus through four related aspects where it is understood as embodiment, agency, "a compilation of collective and individual trajectories," and "a complex interplay between past and present" (Bourdieu, 1990b; Bourdieu & Chartier, 2015; Reay, 2004,432-435). As is further unpacked in Chapter 2, for the purposes of this examination, I have conceptualized it as three interrelated aspects. Bourdieu's habitus captures at least three related aspects that are especially salient for this study, namely the significance of (1) context (i.e. history and experience), (2) choice/agency, and (3) on-going process, which I suggest are necessary when considering trust. All together these aspects

comprise an understanding of Bourdieu's habitus as a "complex internalized core from which everyday experiences emanate" where at the heart of habitus is choice (Reay, 2004, p. 435). The choice that habitus affords is what Bourdieu equated to "the art of inventing" (Bourdieu, 1990b, p. 55), yet he understood them to be limited choices, or as Bourdieu might call it, "dispositions." These internal and external[6] limits to one's choices or "dispositions, which make up the habitus, [are] the products of opportunities and constraints framing the individual's…life experiences" (Reay, 2004, p. 433). These include "the possibilities and impossibilities, freedoms and necessities, opportunities and prohibitions inscribed in the objective conditions" (Bourdieu, 1990b, p. 54). Considering this, I have conceptualized the *gecekondu* habitus of rural-to-urban migrant women as a set of dispositions that resonate with *gecekondu* residents. These dispositions include (1) strategies migrant women have developed in order to navigate their new urbanizing environment through the tendency of relying on others in their communities/social networks and (2) migrant women's creativity and resourcefulness in creating survival strategies in light of their limited resources shaped in part by their class positions.

By "urbanizing" Turkey, the choice of these words is intentional as it hints at the in-process, continuation of urbanization in current day Turkey, especially in the two cities and neighborhoods that this study is based on. As such, "urbanizing" best captures the type of transformation of space that is found in this study's research sites Mamak, Ankara and Ümraniye, Istanbul. In this dissertation, when referring to "urbanizing"

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[6] "Choices are bounded by the framework of opportunities and constraints the person finds…herself in, her external circumstances. However, within Bourdieu's theoretical framework…she is also circumscribed by an internalized framework that makes some possibilities inconceivable, other improbable and a limited range acceptable" (Reay, 2004, p. 435).

Turkey, I specifically mean the transformation of space from *gecekondu* dwellings into apartment complexes including the current reconstructing efforts that are still on-going. It is important to note that the type and scope of transformation and reconstruction has been neither a linear nor uniform process. In both sites there are still *gecekondu* dwellings, as all of them have not yet been transformed into apartment complexes for different reasons. In the case of urbanizing Turkey, the historical increase in rural-to-urban (chain) migration starting from the 1950s added an extra layer of identity negotiation vis-à-vis the rural and urban, specifically, what it means to be an urbanite (Erder, 1999; Erman, 2018). In addition, sociocultural and sociopolitical navigation of one's identity within the existing fault lines of ethnicity (Turks versus Kurds), sectarian (Alevi versus Sunni), and political ideology (Islamist versus Secularist[7]) has been a defining feature of urban life (Çelik et al., 2017; Kalaycıoğlu, 2012). These types of historical, sociocultural, and sociopolitical contextual issues are important to keep in mind in urbanizing Turkey—especially with the increase and continuation of socio-spatial change in the cities through the building of apartment blocks in former *gecekondu* neighborhoods. However, it is worth noting that since the 2000s the state-approved initiatives of TOKI (*Toplu Konut İdaresi*; the Turkish Mass Housing Administration) increased the nature, scope and speed of reconstructing *gecekondu* dwellings into apartment complexes, marking a critical juncture in the transformation of space in Turkey's big cities that is distinct from the kind of urbanization that occurred in prior years. I argue that this on-going urbanizing effect is significant because the

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[7] In the past scholars dichotomized this as an Islamic/secular ideological divide, but scholars like Çelik et al. (2017) have argued that in recent years, especially since the rise of the AK Party (*Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi,* [Justice and Development Party]; henceforth AKP) in 2002, that it is more salient to talk about AKP supporters vs. non-AKP supporters as the faultline of othering. I agree with this assessment and when talking about the Islamic/secular divide, I specifically mean the AKP supporters vs. non-AKP supporters as the apropos competing identity allegiance in this dissertation.

change in physical space also affects the social dynamics and negotiation process in which migrant neighbors relate to each other—especially in relation to the building up, maintaining, and breaking down of interpersonal trust. At the neighborhood level this means that those who were different (politically, ethnically, and religiously) in addition to being formerly physically distant are now brought physically closer—the "imagined Other" could literally be one's neighbor—impacting the negotiation of social relations, as well as shaping one's understanding and experience of interpersonal trust at the neighborhood level. Moreover, in the migrant context, community-embedded social relations are often relied upon among women given their limited access to urban social institutions and resources, in part as a result of their class positions and cultural backgrounds (Coban, 2013; Erman, 1997, 2011; Erman & Hatiboğlu, 2018; Şenyapılı, 1982; Suzuki, 1964). Focusing on the urbanizing effects of the transformation of space from *gecekondu* dwellings into apartment complexes this study illustrates how socio-spatial change affects trust relations among neighbors and in women's lived spaces. This potential shift in who could be one's neighbor is even more important as reliance upon neighbors and social networks also matters significantly in the everyday life of migrant women.

In this study, I analyze 20 in-depth, semi-structured interviews with rural-to-urban migrants who currently reside in the neighborhoods of Mamak, Ankara and Ümraniye, Istanbul—two areas in which both rural-to-urban migration as well as the building of and the subsequent (on-going) tearing down of *gecekondu* dwellings into apartment buildings and complexes have been well documented and studied (Erder, 1996, 1999; Erman, 1996a, 1997, 2011). Building upon the research of established scholars of cities and urbanization (e.g. Erder and Erman) and of gender and space (e.g. Kağıtçıbaşı,

Mills, and Purcell), my research delves into the intricacies of negotiating interpersonal trust among rural-to-urban migrant women in their urbanizing neighborhoods in view of their *gecekondu* habitus.

The main argument of my dissertation is two-fold. First, I suggest that rural-to-urban migrant women from a *gecekondu* habitus need their neighbors in order to not be alone since culturally they prefer community-embedded living, and their traditional patriarchal culture keeps them inside their proximate home environments for the purposes of upholding family honor (*namus*) (Hemmasi & Prorok, 2002; Moghadam, 2004; Sarıoğlu, 2013; Stirling, 1999). Yet at the same time, the move to the apartments has transformed their ability to know their neighbors in the same way as in the *gecekondu*. I argue that trust is understood and experienced by rural-to-urban migrant women as a relational negotiation process of willing to be vulnerable to each other, given what is known. Second, I maintain that women need their neighbors in order to do the work of social reproduction because their structural disadvantages prevent them from buying care services in the market. Those who lived in *gecekondu* dwellings tended to be from the "lower" and/or working class. As such, they are dependent upon their neighbors socially, emotionally, and financially. In the spatiality of the *gecekondu*, these needs were satisfied through the semi-public, semi-private spaces where women gathered while simultaneously observing, interacting, and assessing one another in order to find trustworthy neighbors, especially ones upon whom they could also rely on for childcare. However, the move to the apartments challenges their way of life (*gecekondu* habitus), necessitating the negotiation of neighborly relations including trust in the formalized space of the apartment which brings different groups together,

involving those who have not lived in a *gecekondu* and those of different socio-economic classes.

Consequently, the theoretical framework I present in this dissertation views trust(ing) as a context-dependent and nuanced negotiation process of risk, and a social capital exchange resource in social reproduction. Viewing trust in context and as a process allows for nuances of negotiation, agency, and aspects of social capital as a resource to come to the forefront, especially in the ways that one's context, such as sociocultural contestations, affect the process of trust (see Chapter 4), which also shapes the conditions under which social capital is used as an exchange resource in mechanisms of social reproduction (see Chapter 5). Thus, at the core of this dissertation, I propose that it is necessary to view trust in context—namely, embedded in a particular locality—and trust(ing) as a process, especially given that (dis)trust does not occur in a vacuum as a one-time occurrence, nor is it impervious to social, cultural, and/or conceptual change.

The rest of this chapter is organized as follows. First, I put this study within the context of my life and experiences to help give perspective to the personal significance and positionality of this study, including who I am as a researcher. Second, I briefly discuss my methodology and the sites where I collected my data. Lastly, I discuss my main arguments in conjunction with the organizational structure of this dissertation by chapters.

1.2 Methodology and Research Sites

In this qualitative research project, I conducted in-depth, semi-structured interviews using questions based on some of the extant literature on trust that was relevant to the Turkish context including the role of the state, networks, the role of civil society, and associational connections (Adaş, 2009; Fukuyama, 1995; Heper, 1985; Kalaycıoğlu, 2012; Paxton, 2007). I also considered what factors could attribute to low levels of trust in the Turkish context (e.g. gender and socioeconomic status). Questions about the respondents' demographic background were also included in the questionnaire. The Bilkent University ethics committee approved this questionnaire.

In 2014, I conducted pilot interviews with two women whom I did not know prior, but who were closely connected to acquaintances of mine. I did the bulk of my data collection in 2016-2017 after the failed (attempted)-coup of July 2016, which changed the political climate, and hence required another revision of my questionnaire. Since there were certain questions that were no longer safe to be asked, or rather, if asked directly would result in either non-answers, or answers that were politically "safe" given the government's declared state of emergency, and thousands of people losing their jobs.[8] As such, two more pilot interviews were conducted; one of these respondents was unwilling to answer any of the questions given both the nature of the questions and the tenuous post-coup political climate. Consequently, I asked this participant to help me rewrite the questions so that future interviewees would still feel

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[8] For more on the mass-sacking of thousands of people in Turkey post-coup see these BBC news articles dated between 2016 and 2018: https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-44756374, https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-43337655, https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-40612056, https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-37070731, https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-38093311 (accessed on 5 September 2018).

safe enough to give me answers that described their experiences, who they are and also, effectively elicit information about their political leanings without asking the questions directly or confrontationally. In total, I conducted 20 interviews face-to-face. Of the twenty people I interviewed, 11 of them resided in Ankara, and 9 of them in Istanbul (at the time of the interview). In terms of religious sect, 10 identified as Alevi, and 10 were Sunni. In terms of ethnic background, 19 were Turkish, one of them was Kurdish. (See Appendix A for more detailed demographic information about my respondents.)

All interviews were conducted in Turkish and digitally recorded, lasting between 30 minutes to two hours depending on the forthcomingness and openness of each of the respondents. I sense that I had a good rapport with all of my respondents. Most of the respondents were generally open, honest, and eager to answer my questions and talk at length. In each of the interviews, I asked all the questions in the questionnaire but followed the respondents' cues in terms of how far to take the questions. In each interview, I allowed my respondents to express themselves freely without imposing my own questions or view upon them. Occasionally, this meant asking follow-up questions, and at other times, it meant leaving their answers as the final answer. I chose the in-depth interviewing technique as it afforded me the freedom and flexibility to not only be attentive to my respondents, but also so that I could understand and observe the context of my respondents throughout the interview. There were a few participants who were more reserved and hesitant to answer my questions and gave concise verbal answers, yet non-verbally gestured opposite responses. After each interview, I also kept a research journal of my thoughts and experiences making note of things that might not have been caught on the audio recording. For example, conversations with my supervisor prior to and after the interviews that we went to together provided invaluable

insight and some historical background to those I interviewed. Additionally, a few of the interviewees were uncomfortable being audio recorded given the post-coup political environment and would answer one way, but yet signaled a different response to me inaudibly/non-verbally—these are examples of notes I made in my research journal.

All the interviews were transcribed, and I transcribed one of them myself. Given the fact that the transcription process is time-consuming, I chose to conserve time as a non-native Turkish speaker and delegated the transcription process to a few near-native, to native Turkish-speaking transcribers. I double-checked each of these transcripts and read each of the 20 transcripts multiple times. The transcript I transcribed myself was also sent to one of my transcribers to double-check. From the transcripts, I mapped out relevant themes which have led to the main propositions and arguments about trust found in this dissertation, as discussed in the sections and chapters that follow (McCracken, 1988). I reflexively interpreted the responses of my respondents through both my experience as a foreigner living, considering informal conversations I have had with various Turk over the years and as a researcher studying in Turkey for over a decade. In this regard, I turned my "objectifying gaze upon [myself] and [tried to] become aware of the hidden assumptions that structure[s my] research" (Karakayali, 2004, p. 352). While this reflexivity simultaneously affords me the ability to view this as an outsider (i.e. *yabancı*), it also limits my ability to have the level of "insider knowledge" that one would have if I were Turkish or grew up in Turkey. This kind of reflexivity has its restrictions as well as its benefits (Ergun & Erdemir, 2010; Karakayali, 2004), and I acknowledge limitations these openly. In order to transparently account for how I have translated and interpreted the interview transcripts into English, I have included the original Turkish quotes throughout this dissertation. When I have

quoted my respondents directly the italicized Turkish version immediately follows the quote in parentheses. When I have chosen to paraphrase my respondents, I have footnoted their quotes in parentheses. The choice to paraphrase in lieu of using direct quotes was purely a stylistic choice.

There were two main locations in which I conducted interviews, Mamak, Ankara and Ümraniye, Istanbul. The respondents in Mamak were introduced to me through one of my supervisor's main contacts, Sılam.[9] Since my supervisor knows and has worked with Sılam personally in a research capacity for at least 17 years (since 2000) at the time of our interview,[10] I was afforded trust by proxy through my supervisor. My supervisor and I interviewed Sılam and those in her apartment building who were willing to be interviewed in Sılam's home. I also interviewed a colleague's cleaning lady who also lived in Mamak, in the adjacent neighborhood to Sılam and her neighbors. The interviews in Ümraniye, Istanbul were arranged by a close friend of mine utilizing her network of school mothers who attended her daughters' school in their neighborhood. Each of these interviewees lived within a two-minute to seven-minute walking distance from the school, and the interviews were conducted either in the respondents' homes or my friend's home. All the respondents were people with which I was not acquainted with prior to the interviews but were contacts of my friends/supervisors with whom the respondents deemed trustworthy. Therefore, in each of the interviews, I was able to establish relations of trust by proxy.

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[9] All of the names and identities of my respondents have been changed for purposes of confidentiality.

[10] The date is calculated from personal communication with T. Erman and my personal research notes written after each interview.

1.2.1 Researcher's Positionality

In this study, it is experiences like I described in the opening pages that I needed to examine from a critical view as a researcher in order to understand my positionality as an American, foreigner, and woman researcher. As an American—a guest in this land that I have come to call home, but a place that does not necessarily include me as one of their own (Ergun & Erdemir, 2010)—this meant I interacted with other women, most of whom were economically disadvantaged and culturally different than myself. There were both advantages and disadvantages to my positionality. As I interacted with my respondents, it became clear that being an independent women—something I have taken for granted—is not necessarily a given, depending especially upon one's family context/culture (Arat, 2012). This meant I needed to approach the women in my study with humble curiosity and open-ended questions about their lives and how they lived. As a university educated foreigner, I had comparatively speaking to my respondents, more opportunities for education, travel, and different life experiences. Thus, coming in as a researcher associated with a university in some ways created some distance between myself and my respondents that also had benefits and drawbacks. In some instances, this meant my respondents did not hesitate to mention and remind me that they were not educated and for a few that they could not read nor write. For other respondents, they spoke with pride how while they never attended school, their children are university educated. At the same time, my positionality as a researcher also gave them the opportunity to have a voice in someone's research. I asked them for help with something they were experts on—their own lives and perspectives. While we conversed in Turkish throughout my interviews, it was sometimes difficult as a non-native Turkish speaker to pick up on the nuances of what some of my respondents were communicating—especially those who spoke with a village accent. Likewise, for my

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respondents who might not have interacted with many foreigners, interpreting my foreign accent also resulted in confused looks on occasion. In this way, how I spoke or how they phrased something—both gave me the disadvantage of asking questions that they might have just answered (that I missed) and/or the advantage of asking them to explain concepts in their own words that I either did not know or wanted them to expand on. Despite these differences, some commonalities between my respondents and myself such as, having mutual contacts (e.g. my gatekeepers) helped to create a warmer environment where we could converse about a familiar topic/person and perhaps help me seem less like an unknown foreigner. Positioning myself in a way that communicated that I wanted to learn from these women and valued their input were ways that I sought to create a space where their thoughts and experiences were valued.

1.3 Structure and Main Arguments of Chapters

With this overview in mind as the introduction (Chapter 1), the rest of the dissertation will be organized as follows. Chapter 2 theoretically situates my dissertation within the trust literature. By doing so, I argue for an approach to trust research that is both process in nature and conditioned by its context. In terms of a theoretical lens and framework, I demonstrate and argue that trusting is a context-dependent, relational, and nuanced negotiation process of risk. Given how I theorize trust, and considering Bourdieu's theorization of habitus, I utilize his notion of habitus as a conceptual tool in order to tease out the contextual and process-related nuances of trust for rural-to-urban migrant women. In view of some of the observations made during the data analysis, I also theoretically link trust to social reproduction and social capital.

Chapter 3 situates my study in the context of contemporary urbanizing Turkey. The aim of this chapter is not only to give background information on my rural-to-urban migrant women respondents, but also to unpack the historical, sociopolitical, and sociocultural environment that they currently live in. Included in this is a brief history of rural-to-urban migration in Turkey, as well as the *gecekondu* habitus. I also discuss the challenges that the move to the apartment brings to those from a *gecekondu* habitus in relation to trust and neighborly relations in the context of apartment life.

The following two empirical chapters build upon the contextual and theoretical foundations explained in Chapter 2 and Chapter 3. Each empirical chapter touches on aspects of my main arguments, namely that women from the *gecekondu* habitus need their neighbors for their socialization as well as their emotional and material needs. Chapter 4 focuses on the process/negotiation of trusting and considers how interpersonal trust is experienced and understood by rural-to-urban migrant women in light of contextual factors through two main arguments. First, I argue that trust is process of negotiation of being willing to be vulnerable to another given what is known (i.e. a form of risk)—I propose that trust for my respondents is a negotiation process/iterative practice, as respondents frequently described how trust was built only after multiple experiences of trustworthy behavior over time. As such, I suggest that trust is experienced by women in contemporary urbanizing Turkey as a process of negotiating two competing desires–of not being alone and not being harmed (e.g. physically or emotionally). Second, I argue that the new spatiality of the apartments requires migrant women to negotiate trust in neighborly relations not only in light of their new living environments, but also considering perceived "Others"—the "imagined Other" could literally be their neighbors. I found that for these women, given the

aforementioned contextual factors and circumstances, trust is not limited to the process of holding fears in tension, but also includes an iterative practice and process of knowing, visiting, and sharing over time.

Chapter 5 focuses on the effects of migrant women's structural disadvantages (i.e. their class position) and the impact the formalization of neighborly relations has with respect to trust in doing the work of social reproduction. I argue that given their limited resources, women from the *gecekondu* habitus need their neighbors for social reproduction in particular for caring for their families and children—since paying for care services in the market is not financially feasible, especially as those from the working class with less disposable income. I argue that this reliance upon neighbors for childcare and money saving mechanisms is a trust negotiation process that utilizes and mobilizes a Bourdieuan form of social capital.

The final Chapter 6, the Conclusion, brings all the different contextual, empirical, theoretical and relational layers together and discusses the larger implications of this study on interpersonal trust in the particular context of rural-to-urban migrants and their *gecekondu* habitus. I highlight the main contributions, including theoretical and practical implications, as well as give suggestions for future research on interpersonal trust.

CHAPTER TWO[11]

INTERPERSONAL TRUST:
A PROCESS ORIENTED, CONTEXTUAL AND RELATIONAL FRAMEWORK

The aim of this chapter is to situate trust theoretically within the literature while arguing

for an approach in trust research that is process in nature and conditioned by its context.

I focus on interpersonal trust and argue that trusting for my respondents is a context-

dependent, relational, and nuanced negotiation process of risk that is conditioned and

shaped by various factors in their everyday lives. Pierre Bourdieu in his vast body of

work has theorized the concept of habitus as a way to understand the complexity of

social action whereby it is neither reduced to mere rationality of the agent (i.e. rational

action theory) nor structural constraints of said actor (Bourdieu, 2000a). Given the ways

in which I theorize trust here and how Bourdieu has theorized habitus, I utilize

Bourdieu's notion of habitus as a conceptual tool in order to tease out the contextual

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[11] Sections from this chapter have been previously published in the Journal of Contemporary European Studies, entitled "A Tale of Two Fears: Negotiating Trust and Neighborly Relations in Urbanizing Turkey" (Ma & Hoard, 2020).

and process-related nuances of trust for rural to migrant women. Briefly, I define habitus as the internal framework that one develops through being and acting in a social environment. As such, in line with Costa, Burke, and Murphy's fleshing out of Bourdieu's concept, I view habitus as a representation of one's "way of being" in the world that is formed by one's "internal archive of personal experiences rooted in the distinct aspects of [their] social journey[…]" (Bourdieu, 2005; Costa et al., 2019, pp. 20-21). This "way of being" in turn produces a flexible internal framework whereby external circumstances are interpreted and filtered into social action. In other words, one develops a sense of place by being/acting in the world (i.e. a set of dispositions) which then helps one to make sense of who they are and their place in the world. These dispositions together form one's habitus—an "evolving process through which individuals act, think, perceive and approach the world and their role in it" (Costa et al., 2019, p. 20). Consequently, this understanding of habitus allows for both nuance and flexibility in understanding social action and social relations including trust, while taking into account the agency of actors as well as the structural conditions of a particular context.

In this study, I first theorize interpersonal trust as a process that is context-dependent by situating it in the literature and illustrating my theoretical contributions. Next, I discuss Bourdieu's habitus and suggest that the ways in which he has theorized habitus aids us in understanding and observing trust as a context-dependent, relationally nuanced process of risk, specifically through what I refer to as a *gecekondu* habitus.

2.1 Interpersonal Trust as a Process in Context

The discussion in the literature on trust is multifaceted and interdisciplinary, thus it is important to situate this study within the larger trust literature as well as the ways in which my usage of trust relates to its other forms. In this study, I define trust as a locally embedded relational negotiation process of being willing to be vulnerable to another given what is known (i.e. a form of risk). While there are various forms/usages of trust in the literature, including political trust, institutional trust, and system trust, this study focuses on interpersonal trust—namely trust between people (Frederiksen, 2014). While focusing on interpersonal trust, I do not ignore the fact that people can also trust institutions and systems (Granovetter, 1985; Rothstein, 2005). I acknowledge that individuals are both shaped by the structures they are a part of and can affect change to those structures (Nooteboom, 2002). In other words, my theoretical approach to trust acknowledges the interplay between structure, agency, and its embedded nature (Bottero, 2010; Bourdieu, 1990a; Frederiksen, 2014). Given the limited scope of this dissertation, I do not address the nuanced ways in which structure and agency are linked, but instead focus on trust relations between people while acknowledging their linkages.

In line with Frederiksen, by focusing on the relational characteristics of interpersonal trust, the theoretical framing of this study "moves the focus of the analysis away from the subjective intentions and institutional conditions of trust and conceptualizes trust as continually constituted in a relational process involving both agents and the situations of relationships in which they engage each other" (Frederiksen, 2014, p. 168). Accordingly, I intentionally focus on the intersubjective/relational interactions between agents in context (Bottero, 2010) while acknowledging the interplay between structure

and agency and simultaneously hold the institutional/structural effects constant. Like Frederiksen (2014), I limit my usage and study on interpersonal trust as opposed to broadening trust to incorporate ontological trust, system trust, and/or institutional trust. I also agree with Frederiksen that there are probably linkages to these different kinds of trust, but this is outside the scope of my study.

The concept of interpersonal trust has been observed in the larger trust literature in a variety of ways. These include conceptualizing trust as an on-going relational (Frederiksen, 2014) process (Khodyakov, 2007; Möllering, 2013; Six et al., 2010) of risk (Luhmann, 2000) and a form of vulnerability (McEvily, 2011), in light of knowledge (Ellwardt, Wittek, & Wielers, 2012; Hardin, 2006). As we examine how scholars have conceptualized trust,[12] the picture is complex, and there is much less agreement among scholars. In fact, agreeing on concepts is one area in which trust research is growing, especially in recent years (Miller & Mitamura, 2003; Nannestad, 2008). In some studies trust is viewed or rather operationalized as a variable (e.g. independent, mediating, or dependent) and as such is captured "at a single point in time" (Bjørnskov, 2007; H.-K. Chan, Lam, & Liu, 2011; K. S. Chan, 2007) as opposed to being viewed as process or mechanism with a time dimension or "agentic" view (Khodyakov, 2007; Lewicki, Tomlinson, & Gillespie, 2006, p. 991; Nooteboom, 2002). For those scholars who utilize trust as a variable, this snapshot view of trust is then seen as a static point as opposed to a dynamic or temporary state. This points to the subtle yet significant distinction between conceptualizing "trust" as a noun versus "trusting" as a verb (Möllering, 2013). While the noun form of the concept is useful in some

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[12] From this point on, I use interpersonal trust and trust interchangeably, but I specifically mean interpersonal trust.

respects, it has the unintended consequences of giving the impression that trust is a fixed constant. This is not to say that discussing trust as a noun is not useful, rather that it must be acknowledged that it is one of the forms that trust is utilized (i.e. as a variable).

2.1.1 Trust as a Process

One way to think of trust as a verb is by seeing it as a dynamic process, as opposed to a fixed point in time. In this section, consistent with a few other trust scholars, I place my contributions of theorizing trust as a process. Möllering aptly stated that "people's trust should be conceptualized and operationalized as a continuous process of forming and reforming the attitudes that static surveys have measured so far and, crucially, as part of larger social processes" (Möllering, 2013, p. 285). In other words, analyzing trust or trusting as a process opens the door to more nuanced analyses of the complex socio-spatial (i.e. contextual and relational) factors in play (Grimpe, 2019; Khodyakov, 2007; Möllering, 2013). One of the early studies that suggested trust as a process in order to capture the complexity of trust proposed a synthetic three-dimensional approach to trust (Khodyakov, 2007). His approach viewed trust as a process as opposed to a variable or a fixed point in time and included the process of trust building, trust maintenance, and trust breaking. By viewing trust as a process, he also made room for both the role of agency as well as the function of time (Khodyakov, 2007).

While scholars like Khodyakov (2007) have discussed trust as a process, the question regarding what do we mean by process remains. One such contribution in helping to bring some structure to this conversation is Möllering's (2013) framework on trust processes. In his chapter, Möllering presented "a framework for categorizing process views of trusting, without suggesting that one [of the five] is principally superior to the

others" but merely as a tool "for positioning process studies of trusting and for facilitating exchange and inspiration between different process views" (Möllering, 2013, p. 287). For the purposes of this chapter, I touch briefly on three of his categorized processes (i.e., dynamic, knowledge dependent, and belonging to a collective[13]) as they help demonstrate the importance of considering trust as a dynamic context-dependent, relational process. One category of processes acknowledges the temporal dimension to the mechanism of trusting which captures that trust is dynamic and not static at its core (e.g., Khodyakov, 2007).[14] While trust can be observed at one point in time, it needs to be remembered that trust between people has the ability to change, transform, build, and break. Another helpful category of viewing trust processes is through the lens of knowledge. Understanding trust as knowledge is not new (Ellwardt et al., 2012; Hardin, 2006), but Möllering highlights that when the process of trusting is knowledge dependent, there is a mechanism for gathering information, testing, and observing. It is with this knowledge that individuals decide whether they will engage in the risk of trusting another. As such, trusting as a knowledge dependent process asks, "will actors engage in interaction in order to gain experience with others, thus 'testing' if trust might be developed?" (Möllering, 2013, p. 292). The third category of trusting processes recognizes the context in which individuals are found and conditioned by, that they willingly belong to a collective (i.e. social group). This process view highlights that while the actors' identities are at the center of the "highly idiosyncratic" process and

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[13] Möllering's process views of the mechanisms of trusting are named differently in his chapter. I utilize the words dynamic, knowledge dependent, and belonging to a collective to correlate to the processes views he categorized as continuing, learning, and becoming, respectively (see Möllering, 2013, pp. 289, ff.).

[14] Möllering notes that while recognizing the temporal nature of trust could also mean that trust is analyzed at different points of time (cf. H.-K. Chan et al., 2011), it may not always represent a process view per se as these can still be "primarily descriptive and still focuses on the notion of 'trust' as an outcome" (Möllering, 2013, p. 290).

belong to a group, the on-going process of trusting is "dependent on the individual actor, not just the circumstances" (Möllering, 2013, p. 293). This does not mean that "'trust' is a kind of end-state shaped by the identity and social identification of the actors involved" but rather is "a process view that presents 'trusting' as part of the actors' continuous becoming," and likewise "goes against the idea of predisposition" (Möllering, 2013, p. 293). In other words, this highlights that the notion of trusting comprises the manner in which "an actor's identity and trust are not just connected but entangled in process" (Möllering, 2013, p. 295). This points not only to the concept of agency/negotiation, but also to the notion that one's local community, habitus, and social group matters, as it not only situates trust(ing) in a particular place and time in a dynamic way, but it also hints at its contextual embeddedness not only in time/history, but also within a particular community—"the radius of trust" after all is "context dependent" (Reeskens, 2013), to which I address in the following subsection.

2.1.2 Trust in Context

In this subsection, I illustrate the importance of theoretically viewing trust in context. Trust does not occur in a vacuum, but rather it is situated and negotiated in a particular context. One of the main theoretical arguments I suggest, which is sometimes assumed or overlooked in other trust studies, is the important role of context (cf. Delhey, Newton, & Welzel, 2011; Reeskens, 2013). When speaking of context, I specifically mean one's social environment, which includes factors such as class, space, gender, and one's social group identity along with its contestations that influence each other in dynamic ways. Since trust between people is a part of social relations, examining its context and the ways it impacts one's habitus is important to consider.

Salient aspects of one's social environment and its affect on social relations includes the effects of social cleavages and class. Scholars have shown, at least at an aggregated level, that higher social polarization is correlated to lower trust levels (Delhey & Newton, 2005; Knack & Keefer, 1997).

> Therefore, the more homogeneous a society, the higher its trust, and vice versa. To the extent that the main social cleavages in modern society are formed around class, religion, language, and ethnicity, we expect that societies divided along these lines will have lower generalized trust scores. (Delhey & Newton, 2005, p. 312)

Several scholars have operationalized class distinctions through income inequality in their studies and shown their effects on trust (Bjørnskov, 2008; Delhey & Newton, 2005). At the aggregated societal level, Bjørnskov in his study suggests that

> income inequality and ethnic diversity are easily observable in most societies and as such strong indicators of social fractionalization that could lead to lower trust by making people rationally cautious when deciding how much to trust each other […] when belonging to different groups or having difficulties in interpreting the motives and context of people outside one's own situation. (Bjørnskov, 2008, p. 273)

Scholars like Bjørnskov (2008) suggest that income differences and hence class, are part and parcel of social differentiation in society albeit in idiosyncratic ways. This line of thinking has also led scholars to examine the differences between in-group and out-group trust (Çelebi, Verkuyten, Köse, & Maliepaard, 2014; Delhey & Welzel, 2012), as well as the ways in which the boundaries or radii of these in- and/or out-group trust boundaries are formed (Bjørnskov, 2008; Delhey et al., 2011; Reeskens, 2013). In a similar manner, the discussion of in-/out-group trust is ultimately linked to the notion of sociocultural cleavages and Othering. The perpetuation of sociocultural cleavages has ramifications that include "increased levels of social distance and dislike among identity groups" otherwise known as "Othering" (Çelik et al., 2017, p. 217).

Another aspect of social differentiation that is also widely seen in the literature is that of sociocultural cleavages and Othering (Çelik et al., 2017; Delhey & Newton, 2005). While class distinctions cross-cut sociocultural cleavages, it has been shown that people tend to associate and socialize with those who are like them (Delhey & Newton, 2005; cf. Rokeach, Smith, & Evans, 1960). As increased levels of social distance implies, there is not only a physical, but also an emotional distancing that one expects to see with Othering. However, the question remains, at the level of relations between individuals, how do social distinctions, namely that of class and sociocultural cleavages/Othering affect people in their daily lives?

Another way to consider one's social environment is within the context of space and place, including one's lived, physical space and one's social, habitus space. Scholars have noted the significance of place/space in social relations, the nature of those relations, as well as the interaction(s) between those spatial factors and social relations, especially considering knowledge and harm. DeCerteau, Giard, and Mayol have shown that "the system of relationships imposed by space" creates an internal tension for people within the confines of their shared living space (i.e. neighborhood/community) in managing the unpredictable boundaries between their private (i.e. anonymous) and public (i.e. visible) lives "[when and where one encounters one's neighbors] is defined by chance comings and goings involving the necessities of everyday life" in various places within the urban neighborhood (deCerteau, Giard, & Mayol, 1988, p. 15). This negotiation is simultaneously the consequence of space and social relations, since both are governed to a certain extent by a kind of "propriety" that forms the boundaries of acceptable behavior within the community (deCerteau et al., 1988). This defines not only the space but also the nature of social relations in which "each dweller adjusts to

the general process of recognition by conceding a part of himself or herself to the jurisdiction of the other" (deCerteau et al., 1988, p. 15). Choosing to live within the boundaries of a community or neighborhood comes with a tacit acceptance that it imposes on each resident "a savoir faire of simultaneously undecidable and inevitable coexistence" (deCerteau et al., 1988, p. 15).

With respect to social space, Bourdieu's notion of habitus is a helpful tool as it helps to situate each individual within their social space, which is also simultaneously an embodiment (i.e. physically and cognitively) of their experiences including their history and socialization. On a cognitive level, it is a dynamic internal framework that has been shaped and conditioned by external factors. Habitus represents the way in which one may respond to the world/external circumstances. On a physical level, habitus is an embodiment of the social space in which individual agents originate. Bourdieu's notion of one's "sense of place" represents both this physical and as cognitive embodiment of one's social place in the world (Bourdieu, 2005; Wacquant, 2011). As such, this spatial understanding of context (i.e. the physical and relational boundaries of one's community) alongside a social understanding of space (i.e. habitus), coupled with a relational understanding of context (i.e. social differentiation), begs the question, how do sociocultural cleavages/Othering affect the process of trust(ing) in the daily life at the level of relations between individuals? In line with trust scholars like Frederiksen (2014), Grimpe (2019), and Möllering (2013), I recognize the relational, contextual, and dynamic process oriented nature of trust, and this study aims to build upon their contributions. Considering this approach to trust, I suggest that Bourdieu's theorization of habitus provides a useful conceptual tool in examining trust at the level of relations between individuals.

2.2 Approaching Trust with Bourdieu's Habitus

In this section, I will first discuss how Bourdieu has theorized habitus, then briefly review the literature on trust and habitus and position myself within the conversation. My aim is to show by theorizing trust as a context-dependent relational process, Bourdieu's theorization of habitus constitutes a useful conceptual tool in bringing out the nuances of context and the processes of trust and trust relations for my respondents in this study.

2.2.1 Bourdieu's Habitus

Pierre Bourdieu in his vast body of work has theorized the concept of habitus which has been a "useful tool" and "instrument for social analysis" (Bourdieu, 2005, p. 49). Ultimately, Bourdieu conceptualized habitus as a way to understand the complexity of social action whereby it is neither reduced to mere rationality of the agent (i.e. rational action theory), mechanical action (i.e. not necessarily just an unconscious habit), nor structural constraints of said actor (i.e. it is not deterministic in nature) (Bourdieu, 1977, 2000a, 2005). In other words, Bourdieu's habitus captures at least three related aspects[15] that are especially salient for this study, namely the significance of (1) context (i.e. history, experience,), (2) choice/agency, and (3) on-going process, which I suggest are also necessary when considering trust.

Stated concisely, habitus is the internal framework that one develops through being and acting in a social environment which impacts the understanding and experiencing of

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[15] Other scholars have categorized Bourdieu's habitus through four related aspects where it is understood as: embodiment, agency, "a compilation of collective and individual trajectories," and "a complex interplay between past and present" (Bourdieu, 1990b; Bourdieu & Chartier, 2015; Reay, 2004: 432-435).

everyday life (Bourdieu, 2005; Reay, 2004). As such, one's habitus not only physically expresses "a way of being" in the world but also cognitively represents an internal record of one's experiences unique to their social journey (Bourdieu, 2005; Costa et al., 2019). Thus, Bourdieu captures within his theorization of habitus not only that context matters, but specifically that it is a physical and cognitive embodiment of one's context/social world. Bourdieu sees this not only as a physical embodiment of one's history and experiences but additionally as a cognitive schema through which choices are made, aligned with, and enacted upon by the individual. Accordingly, Bourdieu's theorization of habitus accounts for the manner in which context impacts not only one's sense of place in the world, but also shapes the perception of choices an individual agent may have. This physical embodiment or "way of being" in turn produces a flexible internal framework whereby external circumstances are interpreted and filtered into social action/dispositions. Therefore, through social action in the world, one develops a sense of place. These dispositions not only assist one to make sense of who they are and their place in the world, but together they form one's habitus (Costa et al., 2019).

This brings us to the two other interrelated aspects of Bourdieu's habitus, namely that it involves an individual's choices/agency as well as it is part of an on-going process. Habitus is the source of embodied, conscious yet unintentional strategizing that an individual perceives as "one strategy among other possible strategies" (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 73). For Bourdieu these are not "mechanical actions" or automatic, but they are choices available which are shaped by current, past, and future options. As such social action for Bourdieu is neither automatic nor deterministic but are bound to some structural and/or internal(ized) constraints. "[W]ithin Bourdieu's theoretical framework…[the individual] is also circumscribed by an internalized framework that

makes some possibilities inconceivable, other improbable and a limited range acceptable" (Reay, 2004, p. 435). These choices, strategies or dispositions are not deterministic or as he would call a "finalist" (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 72), but rather "[c]hoices [that] are bounded by the framework of opportunities and constraints the person finds…[themselves] in, [namely their] external circumstances" (Reay, 2004, p. 435). The choice that habitus affords is what Bourdieu equated to "the art of inventing" (Bourdieu, 1990b, p. 55), yet he understood them to be limited choices. Bourdieu suggests that there is a range of choices available to an individual that is bound by their internal and external circumstances. These in turn also shape one's dispositions. For him these limited choices include "the possibilities and impossibilities, freedoms and necessities, opportunities and prohibitions inscribed in the objective conditions" (Bourdieu, 1990b, p. 54). Because habitus for Bourdieu is the result of socialization, combining a life-world concept with a notion of preference and choice, people not only interpret and make sense of the world though previous experiences but also seek out specific experiences when avoiding others (Frederiksen, 2014). As seen in the chapters that follow, this matters greatly in the lives of migrant women as they navigate and negotiate trust in social relations and in doing the work of social reproduction.

With respect to process, Bourdieu's habitus is not conceptualized as fixed or rigid one-time event, but an on-going flexible process where the external circumstances/context are evaluated internally giving each person a sense of place made visible in their practices/dispositions. Habitus for Bourdieu is "a set of dispositions, reflexes and forms of behavior people acquire through acting in society" (Bourdieu, 2000b, p. 2, emphasis mine). It encompasses "the evolving process through which individuals act, think, perceive and approach the world and their role in it" with respect to their position in

society (Bourdieu, 1977, 2000b; Costa et al., 2019, p. 20). The habitus provides avenues of engaging social relations within the myriad of social settings familiar to the individual and allows for flexibility and creativity in adapting to new experiences (Frederiksen, 2014). Thus, the habitus is not rigid but flexible, providing durable but "*long-lasting* (rather than permanent)" transposable dispositions (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 72; 2005, p. 43, emphasis in original). Altogether, this understanding of habitus with its interrelated aspects of context, agency and process allows for both nuance and flexibility in understanding social action and social relations including trust, while taking into account the agency of actors as well as the structural conditions of a particular context.

2.2.2 Trust and Habitus

In view of how Bourdieu has theorized habitus, I utilize habitus as a conceptual tool in teasing out the nuances of how migrant women in urbanizing Turkey understand and experience trust in their daily lives. By doing so, I approach trust with the concept of habitus, which is closer to the way Frederiksen has conceptualized trust as a disposition stemming from habitus (Frederiksen, 2014), instead of viewing trust as habitus (Misztal, 1996). Misztal in her book examines trust as habitus as one of the forms of trust as a social mechanism specifically "as a strategy for securing the stability of social order" and thus is more akin to the notion of habit in the sense that it allows for the removal of ambiguity in changing social conditions (Misztal, 1996, pp. 11, 119-120). Equating habitus with habit, she understands habits to be "patterns of disposition and activity in the social world" where the "the ability of a person to interact more or less successfully with other members of the community is a matter of habit" (Misztal, 1996, p. 105). In this way she views trust as the ability to respond to social situations and cues

where the habits one developed enables them to sustain these social interactions on a societal level. My point of departure from Misztal is not only that she equates trust to habitus/habit, but also that I limit my examination of trust to trust between people at the level of individual interactions and not at a societal level of maintaining social order. Moreover, since Misztal's notion of trust as habitus or habit limits the notion of trust to have a seemingly rote mechanism that lacks agency—a notion that seems to be quite present in Bourdieu's theorization of habitus.

Misztal's use of trust as habitus is in contradistinction to Frederiksen's theoretical approach to utilizing trust as disposition. Based on Bourdieu's relational social theory and on the "relationalist claim" that "everything is constituted by and co-constitutive of the things […] which it is in relation[…]to," Frederiksen utilizes Bourdieu's theoretical framework and "moves the focus of the analysis away from the subjective intentions and institutional conditions of trust and conceptualizes trust as continually constituted in a relational process involving both agents and the situations and relationships in which they engage each other" (Frederiksen, 2014, p. 168). As such Frederiksen understands trust as disposition to be closer to a propensity to trust "generated between habitus and familiarity on one side and the nature of the situation on the other" (Frederiksen, 2014, p. 175). My subtle point of departure with Frederiksen is in our definition of trust. As elaborated above, I define trust to be an on-going process of risk-taking/willingness to be vulnerable to another that is embedded in a particular context. There is in fact a great deal of overlap between our understandings of trust. Arguably, the willingness to risk is akin to a propensity to trust, and Frederiksen's notion of trust as disposition accounts for the negotiation process in context given that in the Bourdieuan sense disposition is "as diverse and differentiated as the familiar social

world" as "it is intertwined with the schemata of interpretation and categorization of habitus" (Frederiksen, 2014, p. 175). However, as the empirical chapters that follow will demonstrate, viewing trust as an on-going risk/negotiation process captures the experiences of my respondents more than just a propensity to trust.

Using habitus as a lens in the light of my respondents, I aim to empirically demonstrate the nuanced contextual circumstances of migrant women and their *gecekondu* habitus in contemporary urbanizing Turkey, especially in their limited access to resources and class position, often necessitating particular processes and practices of trust relations with their neighbors and others in their social networks. I will further unpack these contextual concerns as well as the specifics of at least two dispositions of the *gecekondu* habitus of my migrant women respondents in Chapter 3 which will continue to help tease out the contextual and process related nuances of trust for my respondents. However, before concluding this chapter, a brief discussion about social reproduction and social capital are in order given the ways that they were observed in the analysis of the interview data in relation to trust.

2.3 Trust in/as Social Reproduction and Social Capital

In the analysis of my interview data, I discovered that observing mechanisms of social reproduction in everyday life not only illuminated the importance of trust in context, but also of the significance of the negotiation process of trusting for the respondents in their *gecekondu* habitus as they related to those in their social networks and utilized trust as social capital. As such, in this section, I will briefly define and discuss how I will be utilizing these two concepts in relation to trust in this study.

In light of defining interpersonal trust as a locally embedded relational negotiation process of being willing to be vulnerable to another given what is known (i.e. a form of risk), I suggest a particular utilization of trust as an exchange resource that is akin to a form of social capital. This is not adding to my definition of trust in isolation, but it represents a further fleshing out of the manner in which trust as a process is utilized in social relations and specifically in mechanisms of social reproduction for my respondents. When referencing social reproduction, I define it as "the activities and attitudes, behaviors, and emotions, responsibility and relationships directly involved in the maintenance of life on a daily basis" for the current and subsequent generations in community (Brenner & Laslett, 1986, p. 117). In brief, social reproduction and its mechanisms are activities and practices that enable the sustaining and maintenance of life to be reproduced physically, mentally, and socially in practical ways. As I will demonstrate in Chapter 5, these social reproduction mechanisms are observed in everyday life in the caring for one's children and homes. I suggest this not only requires trust but also their habitus shapes and conditions their perception of choices leaving them with less-than-ideal options to choose from in caring for their children and homes. These difficult choices bring to light an important nuance in how they understand, experience, and utilize trust, namely as a personal exchange resource—social capital in the Bourdieuan sense (Bourdieu, 1986).

While linking trust and social capital is not new, I suggest empirically that what is observed in the lives of the respondents in this examination, especially given the context of migrant women and their *gecekondu* habitus, is different than what is typically found in the trust literature. In the trust literature when investigating social capital, it typically occurs as in two normative forms/levels, either a society-centered resource (Fukuyama,

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1995; Putnam, 2000) or an institutional-centered resource (Rothstein & Stolle, 2003) that promotes cooperation, efficiency, and civic duty in democratic societies at the level of society through social interactions in voluntary associations, and/or by being embedded in formal legal and political institutions, respectively. Scholars focusing on the societal level, define social capital as the "features of social organization, such as trust, norms, and networks, that can improve the efficiency of society by facilitating coordinated actions" (Putnam, Leonardi, & Nanetti, 1993, p. 167). Those examining social capital at the institutional level do not necessarily disagree with this definition, but rather challenge the extent to which "policy measures […] augment[ing] economic equality [might] also increase the amount of social capital beneficial to the wider society, [namely through] generalized trust" (Rothstein & Stolle, 2003, p. 21, emphasize mine). In other words, scholars aim to bring the role of institutions back into the conversation. Bourdieu, contrastly, views social capital as a personal resource, based ultimately on his definition of capital, namely as "accumulated labor (in its materialized form or its 'incorporated,' embodied form…appropriated by agents or groups of agents" which "enables them to appropriate social energy in the form of reified or living labor" (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 46). As such, social capital is a form of capital that is "made up of social obligations ('connections')" (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 47).

While initially the noticeable differences lie in the level of analysis, the nuances that accompany these differences are also important to note. Whereas for some social capital is a "societal resource which has direct consequences for a large set of people," for Bourdieu "social capital is a personal resource, which only indirectly has societal effects (for example by reproducing the existing social order)" (Bjørnskov & Sønderskov, 2013, p. 1229, emphasis mine). Thus, the societal- and institutional-

centered versions deal with "societal collective values and social integration," whereas Bourdieu's approach is from "the point of view of actors engaged in [their] struggle in pursuit of their interests" in social relations (Siisiäinen, 2000, p. 9). Notably, these society-centered and institutional-centered social capital studies are based in contexts located in North America and Scandinavia paint a specific kind of picture in tying social capital to trust, and it begs the following questions: To what extent does context play a role? How is trust and/as social capital observed in other contexts outside of North America and Scandinavia? From the empirical analysis of this study (see Chapter 5), I suggest that mechanisms of social reproduction for migrant women in the *gecekondu* habitus are powered by an exchange resource, social capital. Specifically, I suggest that trust in relation to social reproduction is not a norm, nor just a value/risk process, but is a form of social capital as an exchange resource that is mobilized in the trusting process, as well as in the mechanisms of social reproduction of everyday life. I suggest that Bourdieu's understanding of social capital as a resource that is connected to one's social networks is specifically the kind of resource with imbued value that is mobilized in the social reproduction activities performed by migrant women in their *gecekondu* habitus in urbanizing Turkey, yet far from being a "normative" practice with respect to trust.

Lastly, by way of further unpacking Bourdieu's social capital, there are two components to keep in mind. First it is "a resource that is connected with group membership and social networks" that can be accumulated or possessed (Siisiäinen, 2000, p. 10). The amount of social capital amassed by any one individual "depends on the size of the network of connections that…can [be] effectively mobilize[d]" and as such its quality is a result of all the relationships between agents, as opposed to a

common quality of the group (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 51; Siisiäinen, 2000). This notion of networks is important for Bourdieu, who understands that these are not necessarily a "natural" or "social" given (i.e. a norm) but rather an institutionally created group, including that of family and kinship relationships. These networks of relationships are "consciously or unconsciously aimed at establishing or reproducing social relationships that are directly usable in the short or long term," including those of neighborhood, or kinship that imply "durable obligations subjectively felt ([i.e.,] feelings of gratitude, respect, friendship, etc.)" (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 52). Secondly it has a symbolic character that is based on "mutual cognition and recognition" and can thus be transformed into symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1986; Siisiäinen, 2000, p. 11)

> Symbolic capital ... is nothing other than capital, in whatever form, when perceived by an agent endowed with categories of perception arising from the internalization (embodiment) of the structure of its distribution, i.e. when it is known and recognized as self-evident. (Bourdieu, 1985, p. 731)

As capital is has an exchange value that is both recognizable and distinct symbolically by those in the group. It should be noted that symbolic capital is not something that can be institutionalized or objectified (e.g. economic capital has a "mode of existence" as money or shares), and "[i]t exists and grows only in intersubjective reflection and can be recognized only there…symbolic capital exist[s] only in the 'eyes of the others'" (Siisiäinen, 2000, p. 12).

2.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have theoretically situated my study within the trust literature and demonstrated how the notion of Bourdieu's habitus can be a useful conceptual tool in the teasing out nuances of trust in context, as an on-going relational process of negotiation. Ultimately, I argue for an approach in trust research that is process in nature, as well as conditioned by its context. To this end, I have highlighted three salient categories of theorizing trust as a process. This underlines that the process of trusting as dynamic and knowledge dependent and includes the notion of belonging to a collective. These process views not only underscore the necessity of context but also of the importance of agency. Additionally, I have demonstrated that when theorizing trust in context, it ought to consider the potential effects of the interaction of individuals from different social distinctions along with its contestations including class as well as physical and social space. The consideration of trust in context and as a process also illustrated my suggestion of a relational approach to interpersonal trust emphasizing the impact and salient role of one's habitus in conditioning and shaping one's perception of choices. This is especially important for the segment of society my research focuses on and their specific *gecekondu* habitus and the ways it impacts their understanding and experience of trust. As such, I have also made theoretical linkages between trust, social reproduction, and social capital. I suggest this is salient in this study as I consider trust in context where rural-to-urban migrant women living in urbanizing Turkey have limited access to resources in the *gecekondu* habitus, especially in light of their class position.

In the following chapter, I situate my study in a particular context, namely that of urbanizing Turkey, specifically in light of the lives of rural-to-urban migrant women

and their *gecekondu* habitus and its formation, specifically focusing on the ways socio-spatial changes in their living environments might impact their understanding and experience of trust.

CHAPTER THREE[16]

THE *GECEKONDU* HABITUS AND THE TRANSFORMATION TO APARTMENTS IN URBANIZING TURKEY

The aim of this chapter is to provide background information regarding the specific context of this study. Using Bourdieu's habitus as a conceptual tool, this chapter will help illuminate the contextual nuances of rural to migrant women and their *gecekondu* habitus in contemporary urbanizing Turkey. I understand the *gecekondu* habitus to be conceptualized out of the specific historical, socioeconomic and sociocultural circumstances that have shaped these rural-to-urban migrant women's perceptions of the world around them, and their daily practices within their *gecekondu* communities (Bourdieu, 1990b). This chapter will serve as a contextual backdrop for the stories and voices of the respondents that comprise the major empirical portions of the following two chapters of this dissertation.

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[16] Sections from this chapter have been previously published in the *Journal of Contemporary European Studies*, entitled "A Tale of Two Fears: Negotiating Trust and Neighborly Relations in Urbanizing Turkey" (Ma & Hoard, 2020).

As mentioned in the Introduction, the use of the descriptive "urbanizing Turkey" as a theoretical lens is intentional as it communicates the in-process nature of urbanization that is currently taking place in the two neighborhoods that I conducted my fieldwork (Mamak, Ankara and Ümraniye, Istanbul). I argued that viewing the respondents within this framework, as well as looking at the factors that impact their immediate context is necessary in order to see the nuances that exist between neighbors and their neighborly relations. Given that the respondents in both Ankara and Istanbul live in areas that were former and newly transforming *gecekondu* areas, it is important to discuss the specific characteristics of urbanizing Turkey including not only the migration of villagers to the city and the subsequent reconstruction of the cities, but also the ways in which it affects their social relations with those in closest proximity to them, namely their neighbors in the *gecekondu* and now the apartment. In this study, when speaking of "urbanizing" Turkey as it pertains to the transformation of space, I specifically mean the transformation of *gecekondu* dwellings into apartment complexes. While urbanization began in the 1950s, it has not been linear process. The 2000s marks a breaking point in urbanization in Turkey's big cities as the state involved itself in the reconstruction effort in replacing *gecekondu* settlements with apartment complexes through various TOKI initiatives.

This chapter is organized through a historical lens of rural-to-urban migration in Turkey, which impacts the formation of the *gecekondu* habitus, and the ways migrant women live and negotiate social relations daily in their neighborhoods. This chapter is structured in two main sections. First, I provide some brief background information on rural-to-urban migration, illustrating the formation of *gecekondu* dwelling spaces where migrants from similar places of origin clustered, continuing and reproducing their

former village ways of living in a new context, the development of a *gecekondu* habitus, and the transformation of the *gecekondu* habitus. Second, I discuss two challenges of moving to apartments and how that affects their neighborly relationships in terms of the effects of transformed spatiality, and in light of existing sociocultural contestations salient to urbanizing Turkey.

3.1 A Brief History of Rural-to-urban Migration and the *Gecekondu* Habitus

Contemporary Turkey, with its rapid growth, and increasing urban population resulting from an influx of rural-to-urban migration in the last half century has not only experienced a great deal of spatial change but also social change. This rapid internal migration in Turkey from the villages to the cities started in the 1950s and continued over the next few decades as a result of several external factors including the following: the Marshall Plan in the 1950s, the adoption of neoliberal policies in agriculture in the 1980s, and the state violence in Kurdish Eastern Anatolia in the 1990s. Historically this began at a unique time in the Turkish Republic as a consequence of industrialization and the mechanization of the agricultural sector (Akşit, 1993; Danielson & Keleş, 1985; Erman, 2011, 2012; Şenyapılı, 1982). Many of the changes in the agricultural sector had to do with the fact that after World War II, with the implementation of the Marshall Plan under the leadership of the United States, Turkey focused on market production in agriculture as well as industrial development, and infrastructure. This was at the expense of "build[ing] social housing for poor migrants" for whom these new jobs

attracted in urbanizing Turkey (Erman, 2011, p. 74). The quantity of internal mass

Table 1. Population of Province/District Centers and Towns/Villages by Years[17]

Yıl Year	Toplam Total	İl ve ilçe merkezleri Province and district centers	Belde ve köyler Towns and villages	İl ve ilçe merkezleri (%) Province and district centers (%)	Belde ve köyler (%) Towns and villages (%)
Genel Nüfus Sayımları - Population Censuses					
1927	13 648 270	3 305 879	10 342 391	24.2	75.8
1950	20 947 188	5 244 337	15 702 851	25.0	75.0
1955	24 064 763	6 927 343	17 137 420	28.8	71.2
1960	27 754 820	8 859 731	18 895 089	31.9	68.1
1965	31 391 421	10 805 817	20 585 604	34.4	65.6
1970	35 605 176	13 691 101	21 914 075	38.5	61.5
1975	40 347 719	16 869 068	23 478 651	41.8	58.2
1980	44 736 957	19 645 007	25 091 950	43.9	56.1
1985	50 664 458	26 865 757	23 798 701	53.0	47.0
1990	56 473 035	33 326 351	23 146 684	59.0	41.0
2000	67 803 927	44 006 274	23 797 653	64.9	35.1
Adrese Dayalı Nüfus Kayıt Sistemi[1] - Address Based Population Registration System[2]					
2007	70 586 256	49 747 859	20 838 397	70.5	29.5
2008[2]	71 517 100	53 611 723	17 905 377	75.0	25.0
2010	73 722 988	56 222 356	17 500 632	76.3	23.7
2013[3]	76 667 864	70 034 413	6 633 451	91.3	8.7
2016	79 814 871	73 671 748	6 143 123	92.3	7.7
2019	83 154 997	77 151 280	6 003 717	92.8	7.2

Kaynak: Genel Nüfus Sayımı sonuçları, 1927-2000 ve Adrese Dayalı Nüfus Kayıt Sistemi sonuçları, 2007-2019

Source: Results of Population Censuses, 1927-2000 and results of Address Based Population Registration System, 2007-2019

(1) İl, ilçe, belediye ve köylere göre nüfuslar belirlenirken; Nüfus ve Vatandaşlık İşleri Genel Müdürlüğü (NVİGM) tarafından, ilgili mevzuat ve idari kayıtlar uyarınca Ulusal Adres Veri Tabanı (UAVT)'nda yerleşim yerlerine yönelik olarak yapılan idari bağlılık ve tüzel kişilik değişiklikleri dikkate alınmıştır.

(1) Population of provinces, districts, municipalities and villages are determined according to the administrative attachment, legal entity and name changes recorded in the National Address Database (NAD) by the General Directorate of Civil Registration and Nationality (GDCRN) in accordance with the related regulations and administrative registers.

(2) Bir önceki yıla göre "il ve ilçe merkezleri" ile "belde ve köyler" nüfuslarındaki büyük farklılıkların ana nedeni, 5747 sayılı Yasa uyarınca yapılan idari bölünüş değişikleridir.

(2) The main reason of the major differences in the population of "province and district centers" and "towns and villages" compared to the previous year is the administrative division changes regulated by Law No. 5747.

Law No. 5747 was passed which changed the legal status of some villages into districts (ilçe) tied to the city. Additionally it closed some city municipalties into a different legal distinction: villages or tourist areas.

(3) Bir önceki yıla göre "il ve ilçe merkezleri" ile "belde ve köyler" nüfuslarındaki büyük farklılıkların ana nedeni, 6360 sayılı Yasa uyarınca yapılan idari bölünüş değişikleridir.

(3) The main reason of the major differences in the population of "province and district centers" and "towns and villages" compared to the previous year is the administrative division changes regulated by Law No. 6360.

Law No. 6360 changed the legal status of some villages to now be included under the jurisdiction of city municipalities. Additionally 14 new city municipalities (büyük şehir belediyesi) were established.

migration since the 1950s (See Table 1[17]) has resulted in "thousands of people coming from rural-to-urban areas each year," however "its volume and nature evolved over time" (Coban, 2013; İçduygu, 2012, p. 335). Initially since these jobs attracted men, the influx of people moving across the country consisted mostly of men who were later followed by their families (Şenyapılı, 1982). This increased the population in not only urban spaces, but also attracted people to inhabit areas in the outskirts of large cities. This "migration to the cities occurred entirely outside existing formal institutions" and was regulated primarily by the "informal market"—realized not through public planning, but through the "hidden rules of the informal economy, where unofficial institutions and networks dominate" to create new living spaces for the Anatolian village migrants (Erder, 1999, p. 164). As a result, migrants were left to their own resourcefulness to construct "extra-legal" squatter homes on public lands that did not belong to them (i.e. no title deeds—*tapusuz*); these have come to be known as *gecekondu*—literally, settled at night (Balaban, 2011; Erder, 1996; Erman, 2011; Karpat, 2004). While the building of squatter homes and shantytowns are not unique to the case of Turkey (Keyder, 2000) (cf. shantytowns, slums, and squatter homes in Spain (Gago-Cortes & Novo-Corti, 2015) Egypt (Arese, 2018), India (Datta, 2012), Chile (Mancilla, 2017), Brazil (Cabannes, 1997; Contractor & Greenlee, 2018), Mexico (Roy, Bernal, & Lees, 2020), and Latin America (Galiani et al., 2017), among other areas), the historical, sociopolitical and sociocultural reasons and consequences are particular to Turkey (Coban, 2013).

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[17] Data from the Turkish Statistical Institute (*Türkiye İstatistik Kurumu* [TÜİK]). Accessed on June 12, 2020 from http://www.turkstat.gov.tr/UstMenu.do?metod=temelist.)

In big cities like Istanbul the population surge was not only felt in numbers but also

relationally. In 1927, the urban population in Turkey consisted of 24.2 percent of the

total population, in 1950 it grew to 25.0 percent, to 31.9 percent in 1960, 38.5 percent

in 1970, 43.9 percent in 1980, 59.0 percent in 1990, 64.9 percent in 2000, and 75.0

percent in 2008, 91.3 percent in 2013[18], and 92.8 percent in 2019 (See Table 1). When

accounting for the demographics of those who moved to the cities and built *gecekondu*

dwellings, scholars have noted that those initially tended to be village peasants from

the rural parts of Anatolia.[19] In other words, those that moved to the city and built

gecekondu dwellings were not necessarily people of means (i.e. vast economic

resources), but rather their move to the cities were a potential creative solution towards

allowing for more opportunity to gain economic resources as the working class in the

big city, especially as the agriculture sector became mechanized. As Turkey focused its

efforts on import-substitution in the 1960s, village migrants provided cheap labor which

also led to encourage chain migration from the villages as well as the continued building

of informal *gecekondu* dwellings in the unoccupied periphery of large cities (Balaban,

2011; Erder, 1999; Erman, 1997, 2011; Pinarcioğlu & Işik, 2008).

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[18] For more information on the various law changes, which accounts for a drastic increase in accounting for what constituted urban and rural areas, see https://www.memurlar.net/haber/105460/ for Law No. 5747 in March 2008, and see https://www.resmigazete.gov.tr/eskiler/2015/06/20150605-16.htm for Law No. 6360 in November 2012.

[19] It should be noted that while the vast majority of migration to the city was a result of rural-to-urban migration, not all migrants were poor. Additionally, there was a large diversity of ethnic and social backgrounds including Alevis (Şahin, 2005). Those that migrated to Istanbul do not by any means constitute a homogeneous group. The rich and poor, and the urbanite as well as the villager alike, for various reasons migrated to big cities from different regions. For instance, Erder notes that a wave of Balkans immigrated to Istanbul in the early 1950s that was an orderly "process overseen by government officials and supervised through international agreements," unlike the migration of Anatolians into the big city (Erder, 1999, p. 161). This wave of immigrants from the Balkans is part of a longer historical process of migration from the Balkans dating back to the Ottoman Empire that is outside the scope of this dissertation. For more historical information on this process see İçduygu and Sert (2015).

3.1.1. Chain migration and gecekondu communities

With chain migration,

> would-be migrants were able to acquire information about their
> destination and, upon arrival, material support from their kin who
> preceded them. This type of migration led to clustering in the city of
> those migrants who share a local affiliation and implied that relations
> with the place of origin will continue." (Erder, 1999, pp. 164-165)

Therefore, when individuals and families from the villages migrated to the larger cities,

they clustered into *gecekondu* communities and neighborhoods so as to be around those

who were similar to them in their village way of life, "a code emphasizing cooperation,

mutual-aid, and close kinship among fellow villagers" (Suzuki, 1964, p. 209). This not

only allowed for communities to form, but notably it allowed for communities of people

who were similar[20] to in (village) culture and class each other to reside in the same

areas,[21] and continue to help and support each other (Keyder, 2000; Suzuki, 1964).

These values also included adhering to their traditional patriarchal culture where men

with rural backgrounds preferred the women in their families to stay home and not work

outside the home, even if their own earnings were insufficient (Alpar & Yener, 1991;

Hemmasi & Prorok, 2002; Kandiyoti, 1988; Sarıoğlu, 2013; Stirling, 1999). This was

one way to uphold and maintain the family honor (*namus*) (i.e. family honor) (Bowen,

Early, & Schulthies, 2014; Moghadam, 2004).

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[20] It should be noted that not all villagers responded the same way to urban living. Suzuki (1964) points how villagers from two different areas of Turkey (Ortaköy—in eastern Anatolia, and Denizköy—on the Asian side of the Marmara near Istanbul) responded differently to their moves to Istanbul in the 1950s and 1960s.

[21] Scholars have noted that these kinds of informal networks of people from the same hometowns and villages (*hemşehrilik*) began to be institutionalized in the forms of associations (*hemşehri dernekleri*) and grew in number especially after 1980 through the 1990s (Bayraktar, 2003; Erder, 1999; Hersant & Toumarkine, 2005; Kalaycıoğlu, 2012).

Residents of these *gecekondu* dwellings bonded culturally in being able to continue to share their village way of living communally and mutually helping each other in their localities (Suzuki, 1964). This meant in the everyday lives of residents in these *gecekondu* settlements neighbors played a significant role, especially for migrant women. Erman notes that for these Anatolian women in particular, "intimate social relations with neighbors ... made *gecekondu* areas attractive" as they "spent a great deal of their time in the neighborhood and their relations with the rest of the city were limited" (Erman, 1997, p. 95). Because "village-born women with village-born husbands are more restricted, house-bound, segregated, and socially isolated when they move to [city] than they were in the village," Stirling observed that "mutual observation and gossip relationships between women neighbors develop[ed] rapidly (Stirling, 1999, p. 42). Moreover, the spatial clustering of *gecekondu* homes created convenient spaces where women "easily gathered inside or in front of houses" (Erman, 1997, p. 95). This resulted not only in a camaraderie (i.e. being known, respected, and loved), a common culture, and the ability to observe their neighbors' behavior and character in natural ways, but it also served as a means where recent migrants "did not feel lonely in the presence of their neighbors [with whom they] spent their time" (Erman, 1997, p. 95). This spatial arrangement enabled *gecekondu* women residents to facilitate the assessment and expression of trust among neighbors who shared a *gecekondu* habitus. For Anatolian migrants who value conservative and community-oriented ways of life that resembled their past village lives, *gecekondu* living provided a safe and honorable environment for women (of all ages), where women had the freedom to interact with their fellow (women) *gecekondu* neighbors (Erman, 1997; Erman & Hatiboğlu, 2018; Hemmasi & Prorok, 2002).

These historical and sociological factors are all a part of the development of what I call a *gecekondu* habitus for migrant women. I understand habitus to be the internal framework that one develops through being and acting in a social environment. As such, one's habitus not only expresses "a way of being" in the world, but also represents a record of an individual's lived history and experiences (Bourdieu, 2005; Costa et al., 2019). This way of being in turn produces a flexible internal framework that external circumstances are interpreted and filtered resulting in social action. One develops a sense of place by being/acting in the world, which then helps one to make sense of who they are and their place in the world. These dispositions together form their habitus— an "evolving process through which individuals act, think, perceive and approach the world and their role in it" (Costa et al., 2019, p. 20). Thus, when thinking of the evolving process that migrant women approach the world, their role in it, as well as the ways they think, act, and perceive, I suggest two main dispositions that make up the *gecekondu* habitus for the respondents: (1) their development of strategies to navigate their new urban living environments through the tendency of relying on others in their communities/social networks (Soytemel, 2013) and (2) their creativity and resourcefulness in light of their limited resources given their class position. These dispositions are not only a direct result of living in *gecekondu* communities and its historical significance, but also, they are the result of an intertwined individual and communal process of strategy making and creative resourcefulness in making urban living a reality.

When speaking of navigating new urban environments for rural-to-urban migrants, it was not merely about finding ways to bring their culture/village life to the cities, but it included developing strategies to manage conflict and tension between urbanites who

were already dwelling in the cities. Over time as *gecekondu* communities were established it was not without its conflict and tension between urbanites and recent migrants for power, place, and legitimacy. Some of this tension was further fueled by politicians, politics of populist power, and vote-catching tactics by giving *gecekondu* residents bargaining power during times of elections (Erder, 1999; Erman, 2011, p. 76). Politicians promised the provision of services, infrastructure, and title deeds of extra-legal informal *gecekondu* dwellings in exchange for votes and political loyalty prior to the 1980s, which Işık and Pınarcıoğlu call a time of "soft and integrative" type of populist urbanization (Erder, 1999; Erman, 2011; Işık & Pınarcıoğlu, 2001; Pinarcioğlu & Işik, 2008). This allowed *gecekondu* residents to obtain the deeds to the land, which in essence opened the way for *gecekondu* land dwellings to become a commodity in the market. These political tactics also created divisions within some *gecekondu* communities as for some migrants this also increased their socioeconomic status. Those who were able to trade their *gecekondu* land for several apartments gave some the benefits of upward mobility which gave rise to a "new class" of rural migrants that some regarded as the "undeserving rich Other" (Balaban, 2011; Erman, 2011; Şenyapılı, 1982).

Additionally, while *gecekondu* areas were physically and infrastructurally incorporated into the municipality in terms of basic services, the phenomenon of *gecekondu* settlements were simultaneously becoming more heterogeneous with varying consequences and experiences for *gecekondu* residents (Erman, 2011; Pinarcioğlu & Işik, 2008). Erman (2011) notes that in Ankara (the second largest city in Turkey), *gecekondu* areas were characteristically distinct from each other as a result of their geographic locations. The early stages of migration and *gecekondu* development tended

to attract people similar to each other in religious or sectarian identity and political leaning. However, while in later times *gecekondu* neighborhoods became somewhat diverse, residents tolerated these differences because they needed each other in order to survive in the city. Thus, over time the urbanizing context for *gecekondu* residents along with their *gecekondu* habitus continued to be nuanced with varying layers of relational negotiation/contestations of power, identities, and allegiances which continued to complicate the navigation of social relations with those in close proximity to them, especially with respect to trust.

3.1.2 Community-embeddedness in the gecekondu habitus

Considering the nature of the shared physical and social space that migrant women in their *gecekondu* habitus experience and survive, this impacts not only the ways in which neighbors and families function individually, but also communally day-in and day-out. Both Olson's (1982) suggestion of what I refer to as gendered social networks and functions, along with Duben's (1982) notion of a kinship idiom in the context of rural-to-urban migrants, provide salient contextual lenses through which to understand and interpret the interview data presented in the subsequent two chapters, especially in light of trust among migrant women in their *gecekondu* habitus.

The impact of rapid migration, and its ensuing social-spatial change has also affected the ways in which various migrant families have navigated the extent to which their family values and structures have changed with urban living (Erman, 2018; Kağıtçıbaşı, 1982a; Şenyapılı, 1982). Kağıtçıbaşı suggested that with geographic and spatial change comes potential changes in people or what she terms "psychological mobility" (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1982a, p. 4). In order to understand what changed and the extent to which it changed, we need a reference point. For the respondents in this study, as rural-to-

urban migrants, it serves us well to start from rural/traditional agrarian society, where the core of society at large prior to the rapid migration to cities were rooted physically, socially, and relationally—the main source of their cultural values. Yet, given this initial position, it should be noted that change does not affect every migrant in the same way. Scholars have noted how different types of values and ideologies result in different types of migrants that range from different levels of adjustment to urban living over time (Erman, 1997, 2018; Karpat, 1976; Levine, 1973; Şenyapılı, 1982). The same can be noted regarding the ways in which migrant women's *gecekondu* habitus shapes and conditions the understanding of their choices. Since each migrant woman's choices are framed by their external and internal circumstances, the ways in which they use their agency can result in a range of possible practices in their daily lives.

Scholars who have studied families in Turkey have shown over the years that social networks, comprising extended family and kin relationships as well as trusted neighbors are key to a migrant family's survival in a new context. Scholars generally agree that the majority of families in Turkey would classify as nuclear families, consisting of two parents and their dependent children, even in rural areas (Duben, 1982; Kağıtçıbaşı, 1982a; Şenyapılı, 1982; Sunar & Okman Fişek, 2005). However, economic, social, and emotional necessities of individual nuclear families often mean that in effect they could be called "functionally extended" families (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1982a; Sunar & Okman Fişek, 2005). Practically, this means that even though nuclear families may live in their own houses, those who are "close family [members] extending into kinship relations" often live close by, and are called upon to help provide material and emotional support in times of crisis and conflict (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1982a, p. 5; Sunar & Okman Fişek, 2005).

While this would appear to be a sufficient amount of material and emotional support, scholars have demonstrated that nuclear families in *gecekondu* communities also tap into the resources of their gendered social network including one's neighbors. Within the family structure of a "nuclear family," it might be easy to assume the relationship between a husband and a wife is a joint, companion-like relationship. However, Olson argues in her study of a Turkish[22] context that

> [m]arriage is not...likely to involve a unitary, highly 'joint' relationship in which the spouses look to each other as a primary source of advice, companionship, emotional support, and entertainment as they do in the ideal 'Western' relationship. Rather, to satisfy these needs, they continue to rely on the members of their own primarily uni-sexual [i.e. gendered] social networks[23] as they did before marriage. (Olson, 1982, p. 62)

As mentioned above, within the context of the *gecekondu* habitus, this remains the case where gendered social networks are relied upon in order to help navigate their urbanizing environment. What this means, is that "a Turkish wife is involved in a separate set of relationships more similar in some aspects to those found in the woman-centered kin networks," and likewise, "a Turkish husband is also involved in a parallel man-centered [sic] network that reaches beyond nuclear family, household, and even kinship boundaries" (Olson, 1982, p. 37). Olson's observation can be understood generally as what I refer to as the saliency of gendered social networks within community social relations in the *gecekondu* habitus. Olson's study helps us to clarify

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[22] It is worth noting that Olson recognizes that for the sake of simplicity and lack of research in the area at the time of her study, "the general descriptions of Turkish family and society...greatly exaggerate the homogeneity of Turkish society and culture and must be viewed as 'ideal types' or 'distillations' of some common features" (Olson, 1982, p. 37). This is still true today, especially when factoring in socio-economic status, levels of education, and urban versus rural living of families in Turkey. It is by no means homogeneous across all Turkish society.

[23] Olson has called this type of uni-sexual social networks as being "duofocal," but I will henceforth refer to this notion as "gendered social network(s)."

that while nuclear families tend to be the norm among migrant women, it is nuanced in the sense that social networks, and kin relationships are still very highly embedded in their surrounding (gendered) social networks and communities in the ways that families function, especially when speaking in terms of the survival and continuation of the family.

Similarly, it might also be easy to assume that with increased urbanization, the need for kinship and extended family relationships may also decrease. However, Duben argues that in both rural and urban areas, and among all social classes in Turkey, these types of "[e]xtended family and wider kinship relations are extremely important" and "the significance of kin relations seems not to be fading with increased urbanization" even with the large percentage of nuclear families (Duben, 1982, pp. 93-94; cf. Suzuki, 1964). Duben's (1982) suggestion that a kinship idiom in the context of migrant women helps structure not only kin relationships, but also non-kin relationships, is an effective lens through which to understand social relations in the *gecekondu* habitus of urbanizing Turkey. It also helps to unpack the manner in which social relations including those of trust relations are embedded in the community and neighborhood context. When speaking of kinship, Duben defines these types of relationships as ones that include "specific rights and duties and expectations rooted in a system that has at least the appearance of altruism" (Duben, 1982, p. 92). For Duben, a kinship idiom is not limited to actual kinship relationships, but also extends to non-kin relationships. "Outside of the realm of actual kinship, in the public arena, such terminology is used for the purpose of evoking such a kinship morality or simulating it as much as is possible [especially when there] are often no other social rules upon which to establish such relationships" (Duben, 1982, p. 92). A kinship idiom refers to "a code governing

social reciprocities" based on the kinship system but is deemed an idiom because like in spoken language,[24] "an idiom may live on, though the actual kinship relations may not" (Duben, 1982, pp. 94, 90). In anthropological terms, scholars have a variety of meanings and a range of codes that govern kin-like behavior, which include the notions of having the same essence or substance (i.e. consubstantiality) and affinity at the core, but in action is equated with sharing, reciprocity,[25] hospitality, help, and generosity (Duben, 1982). Duben explains that there are many types of kinship relations with many kinds of commitments. "At the outer limits of kinship and into the realm of artificial kinship, though the motives may still appear altruistic to the parties involved, the expectation of a [reciprocal gesture] is created, [however] the obligation to return [may be] less [so]" (Duben, 1982, p. 90).

What this means practically in the *gecekondu* habitus is the use of kinship terms (e.g. *kardeş* [brother/sister]*, abla* [older sister]*, abi* [older brother], *teyze* [aunt], *amca/dayı* [uncle], etc.) and titles outside of actual kinship in everyday life to communicate/denote age-status and social class differentiation. While this example is from speech, the manner in which kinship idioms are used in social relations within the neighborhood and community context demonstrates the embeddedness of social relations in daily life (Suzuki, 1964). In particular, it is important to highlight the notions of reciprocity, helpfulness, generosity, and sharing as part of what is considered to be behaviors of a

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[24] Idioms in language often outlive their initial contexts. It is not uncommon for us to use idioms in everyday speech to mean something close to its original meaning, but we may not necessarily know how nor why the idiom originated.

[25] There is some discussion among scholars about what balanced reciprocity might look like, but Duben explains that the distinguishing factor between "the balanced reciprocity of strangers and that of kinsmen or intimates is the pretension of altruism that lingers with the latter" (Duben, 1982, p. 90). However, in any case, the codes governing behavior for a kinship idiom ranges from "genuine altruism to the pretension of altruism laid over a careful calculation of interests" (Duben, 1982, p. 90).

kinship idiom—behavior that orders social interactions (not only in speech, but also in action). "Thus, as family extends into kin, so kinship extends into neighborhood and community in terms of a network of bounds involving duties, responsibilities, common concerns, support and help" (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1982a, p. 8). These types of actions and behaviors will be especially salient for the ensuing, empirical discussion on trust in neighborly relations among migrant women within their *gecekondu* habitus, especially in light of how they negotiate trust and accomplish the work of maintaining existing life and reproducing the next generation given their limited (access to) resources/class position in the new spatiality of the apartment complex.

3.1.3 Transformation of the gecekondu

Over time, as larger cities such as Istanbul and Ankara continued to grow and expand into the outskirts, *gecekondu* neighborhoods and communities not only became incorporated into the municipality, but also were viewed as prime real estate property and commodifiable land, initiating the building of apartment complexes (Kuyucu & Ünsal, 2010; Ayşe Öncü, 1988). Efforts were made to tear down squatter areas and gentrify them. Starting from the 1980s much of the commodification of *gecekondu* land was developed by private developers (*müteahhit*). This was the result of Özal's policy of transforming *gecekondu* areas—both old *gecekondu* areas in the city center that were slummified and new(er) *gecekondu* areas that were built in the city's peripheries into apartment buildings. In the early 2000s, the state directly involved itself in demolishing *gecekondu* areas and then creating state housing developments in the form of large high rise buildings (TOKI housing).[26] This transformation of space meant that communities

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[26] While there is much written and studied in the literature on both types of development (i.e. private and public), all of the respondents were residents in apartment complexes built by private developers, so addressing the issues that come with TOKI housing are outside the scope of this research. However, it is

lost their shared clustered *gecekondu* spaces, resulting in the diversification of their communities socially, culturally, politically, and economically (Erman, 2011; Pinarcioğlu & Işik, 2008). The socio-spatial effects of apartment complexes meant the possibility of more people in one space, and those who may or may not have the same sociocultural background living in even closer proximity. These changes in their built environment brought in yet again another external circumstance that migrants needed to navigate and develop strategies in creative ways given whatever resources they had.

When considering the specific context of my respondents, it is also important to discuss the similarities and differences that took place between these two cities, as well as the diversity of *gecekondu* residents and their motives. *Gecekondu* residents had a variety of motives and varying consequences for remaining in these gentrified areas. For others it was for upward mobility and the pursuit of material gains, especially in light of the populist/clientelistic culture of Turkish politics at the time (Pinarcioğlu & Işik, 2008). Others remained to stay in their communities. However, there were also some who wanted to stay but gentrification made it fiscally impossible and were forced to move leaving their beloved former *gecekondu* neighborhoods (Şentürk, 2013). It is important to note that *gecekondu* residents' experiences were not homogenous. It is also important to note that although rural-to-urban migration affected both Istanbul and Ankara significantly, they did not occur in an identical way. Given the two sites in which this study takes places in Istanbul and Ankara, it is important to note that the changes that

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important to acknowledge that not all of the development and gentrification in Istanbul and Ankara was universal or public/state driven. The conversation around urbanization and the transformation of space in Turkey and its many forms (i.e. the commodification and urban transformation of *gecekondu* housing by the state [TOKI], by private developers (*müteahhit*), by municipality (*protokol*) partnerships) and its consequences are plentiful in the urbanization literature (Bartu Candan & Kolluoğlu, 2015; Erman, 2011, 2016; Erman & Hatiboglu, 2017; Karaman, 2013; Ayşe Öncü, 1988; Ozdemirli, 2014). For the purposes of this study, I have limited my scope to the specific kind of urbanization as the transformation of space from *gecekondu* dwellings into apartment complexes by private developers (*müteahhit*).

took place were not homogeneous in either city or across cities (Erman, 2011). Notably, while the construction of *gecekondu* dwellings in both Ümraniye, Istanbul and Mamak, Ankara started being built at the same time, the rate at which their *gecekondu* neighborhoods were transformed into apartment complexes were different. "Especially since the 1970s, the population in Ümraniye began to increase and became one of Istanbul's fastest growing district (*ilçe*)" (Çelik et al., 2017; Kalaycıoğlu, 2012). Ümraniye, located on the Asian side of Istanbul up the hill, less than 15 kilometers from the Bosphorus Strait and an hour-long public bus ride from the main ferry ports of Üsküdar or Kadıköy, became prime real estate as Istanbul expanded, thus rapidly transformed from *gecekondu* dwellings into apartment complexes through private developers starting in the 1980s. Much of this continues to this day with new growth, including sections of expensive, luxurious chic housing and gated communities.

In contrast, Mamak, located in the outskirts of Ankara, remained untouched by private developers until the 2010s (U. Poyraz, 2011). Even though Ankara also expanded and grew and is the second largest city in Turkey, second to Istanbul, its direction of growth was not towards Mamak. Significantly, Mamak is located in the eastern part of Ankara which serves as a gateway for Anatolian migrants. In fact, Mamak has long been known to house "Ankara's *gecekondu* neighborhoods" but only in the last decade has it been the center of various urbanization projects (*kentsel dönüşüm projeleri*) (Erdoğan, 2015, p. 213, translation mine). Thus, given Mamak and Ümraniye's geographical location in relation not only to their respective city centers, but also their position with respect to its city's growth and expansion, and hence its market, resulted in varying speeds of transformation.

The varying speeds of development also shaped and affected the respondents' everyday lives, including their experiences and familiarity levels of *gecekondu* living and the potential for upward socio-economic mobility (Şenyapılı, 1982). Those in Ümraniye are less likely to have first-hand experience living in *gecekondu* homes, whereas most of the Mamak residents would have recently moved from *gecekondu* dwellings into apartment complexes. In other words, for the majority of current day Mamak residents the changing process of their living spaces (*gecekondu* to apartment buildings) were a part of their own life experiences as a kind of first generation apartment dweller, while for a majority of current Ümraniye residents, already constructed apartment buildings were the living spaces available to them. These types of spatial generational differences are also important to consider as it also helps to give context to who my various respondents are and their familiarity with diverse degrees of village and urban life, including the possibility of higher education for themselves and the generations to follow (Coban, 2013; Şenyapılı, 1982).

3.2 Transformation of the *Gecekondu*: Navigating Apartment Life

The move to apartment complexes impacts women from a *gecekondu* habitus in how they relate to and interact with their neighbors. For former *gecekondu* residents in particular, apartment living offers a different spatiality that comes with its challenges and advantages including navigating neighborly relations in a more formalized manner and negotiating sociocultural relations in closer proximity with those who might be considered the urban, ethnic, religious, and/or political Other. In this section, I highlight the benefits and obstacles of these two specific effects of apartment living, especially

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as it impacts trust in neighborly relations. While the relational consequences of moving into the apartment presented similar spatial changes for former *gecekondu* residents, it should be noted that there are varying degrees of desirability and preferences among women in responses to these changes (Erman, 1997).

3.2.1 The spatiality of neighborly relations in the apartment complex

The transition from the *gecekondu* to the apartment presented conditions that required women to find new ways of meeting their social and emotional needs in a different spatiality. One significant change that the built environment of apartment complexes influences is the formalization of neighborly relations.[27] The *gecekondu*'s semi-private/semi-public spaces used to provide convenient opportunities for informal interactions with one's neighbors (Erman & Hatiboğlu, 2018). Women would gather slightly outside their clustered *gecekondu* homes to have *çay* (tea), converse, and be in each other's lives without needing to make formal plans in advance, but rather could spontaneously invite their neighbors to join them (Şentürk, 2013). These common in-between areas—neither private nor public—within *gecekondu* neighborhoods facilitated neighborly relations to happen more spontaneously and provided residents the opportunities to know their neighbors. On an emotional level for some women, "the *gecekondu* symboliz[ed] warm community ties, intimate relations and solidarity between *gecekondu* dwellers, especially for those who were born in rural areas" (Şentürk, 2014, p. 10). For others, especially those who might want more privacy and autonomy, the *gecekondu* represented more social control by the other women in the

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[27] These are not circumstances that are unique to the Turkey, other cities like Cairo have experienced a shift in neighborly relations as a result of rehousing projects and changes in the built environment into apartments (Ghannam, 2002).

community (Erman, 1997). However, the move to the apartment with its strict demarcation of public and private spaces, effectively formalized neighborly relations. Now in apartments, the windows and doors that used to be openings that welcomed regular neighborly interaction became the symbolic boundaries that communicated cold, distant, and formal social relations. The door to the flat now signified the new social norm, no longer could a neighbor just come inside another person's home, but they needed to ring the doorbell and wait for them to answer and be formally let inside—something to which former *gecekondu* residents were not accustomed (Erman, 2018; Şentürk, 2013). Apartment windows and doors no longer faced one's neighbors' as they did in the *gecekondu*, essentially removing the possibility of spontaneity and increasing potential isolation. Once women enter their flats, they close the door, and none of their neighbors might see them. This meant that in contrast to *gecekondu* life, Şentürk found in her study in the Ege district of Ankara that former *gecekondu* residents expressed that the formal relations in the apartment were "frightening for them in terms of social relations and privacy" (Şentürk, 2014, p. 10).

However, it should be noted that while these changes to women's lived spaces created different social circumstances, the challenges were not insurmountable. While, moving into apartment buildings initially challenged the *gecekondu* habitus of migrant women, they developed new strategies to navigate yet another new urban living environment. Erman notes that for some former *gecekondu* residents "who longed for the *gecekondu* sociability and activities" found ways to adopt their former way of life and continued to do so even nine years after moving to the apartment. They invited a select few in their building—usually one's that lived on their floor, a floor above or below them—to join them in "practic[ing] their old habit of visiting each other without a[dvance] notice

[…], asking [favors] from each other […] and engaging in everyday exchanges of food, which signified intimate neighborliness" (Erman, 2018, p. 9).

A second significant difference provided by apartment living was the opportunity for social mobility. While the social perception of the *gecekondu* has shifted over the years (Akbulut & Başlık, 2011), for those who desired upward mobility, the move to the apartments provided the status of being closer to middle class in new modern apartment buildings (Balaban, 2011; Şentürk, 2013). While for some former *gecekondu* residents this was a welcomed change in their status signifying being a part of modern urban society with better urban services and infrastructure, for others it brought difficulties in navigating what it means to be "middle class" especially in light of their perceived differences of "consumption practices, cultural and educational background and social class" of those around them whom they deemed middle class (Şentürk, 2014, p. 10). For the latter, they felt inferior and looked down upon by their (non-*gecekondu*) neighbors as well as concerned about being able to afford apartment living with its higher costs, including heating instead of burning coal and the up-keep of one's living environment so as not to be discriminated against for not living up to the "middle class criterion in terms of cultural, economic capital and class position" (Şentürk, 2014, p. 11). For those in the former category, there is a sense of pride and honor in beginning to see themselves as a part of the middle class as they now live among the middle class in the same neighborhood and apartment building. Despite these two opposing attitudes towards apartment living by ex-*gecekondu* residents, navigating the new spatiality of apartment living thrusts those from a *gecekondu* habitus into a new social with all its benefits and challenges. In either case, it opens the door to negotiating who they are

with new neighbors who may not be like them. This brings us to the second effect of apartment living, namely the negotiating of sociocultural cleavages.

3.2.2 Sociocultural cleavages in Turkish society

Transitioning from mainly single-story *gecekondu* houses into multi-storied apartment complexes meant that one's neighbors were no longer only from the *gecekondu* and potentially from different sociocultural groups. This occurred in stark contrast to the common ties and support they had as migrants from the same village or towns who also shared similar ethnic or sectarian identities (Seufert, 1997). As such, it is important to note four other potential sociocultural contestations that also affect the building up and/or breaking down of trust in light of apartment living. One is unique to migration to the cities (i.e. what it means to be an "urbanite") and the remaining three are salient to the macro-context in Turkey (i.e. religious sectarian, ethnic, and political ideological fault lines). One perspective is that these sociocultural cleavages in Turkish society are ultimately rooted in various and competing images or ideals of the perceived good society, and these are driven by "specific lifestyles, belief systems, and values" that both the political elites and masses alike adhere to, "leaving little room for opposing images of the good society" (Kalaycıoğlu, 2012, p. 173). Consequently, this creates and perpetuates a culture of "Othering" whereby "the Other" (i.e. proponents of the opposing image of "the good society") is not "granted the same social status, prestige, legitimacy, and respect" but tolerated when and "if one accepts the dominance of the other and exists as its subordinate" (Kalaycıoğlu, 2012, pp. 173, 174).

Considering apartment life, this brings another level of complexity in navigating social relations at the neighborhood level as these four sociocultural contestations constitute part of the unseen undercurrent in negotiating daily life in contemporary urbanizing

Turkey. Again, it is important to note that altogether these distinctions also complicate and add another contested relational dimension to the socio-spatial transformation experienced by my respondents in this study, especially at the intersubjective level of the *gecekondu* habitus (Bottero, 2010). Understanding where individual agents' and neighbors' historically shaped identity contestation stems from also helps us to understand the *relations between* neighbors at the intersubjective level. This allows for the examination of the interactions between individuals as well as their interactions with their space, making room for "the differentiated nature of intersubjectivity, as a context-specific, shared, but negotiated, social life world" (Bottero, 2010, p. 5). This is especially notable in this dissertation as it helps to bring a nuance to not only the negotiation of sociocultural cleavages in Turkey, but also creates the ability to examine trust relations between migrant women and their *gecekondu* habitus in light of their *inter*subjective negotiation since it involves the sharing of both physical and social space in a nuanced way, namely that of social relations which are embedded in community. Considering these contestations is not only important because of the context of community-oriented nature of social relations of those in the *gecekondu* habitus, but it also is part of navigating everyday life at the neighborhood level. These underlying tensions impact that ways in which neighbors relate to each other, and in turn, how willing they are to risk, be vulnerable, and ultimately engage in the process of trusting each other in material and emotional ways for both themselves and their families. Although I will be analytically presenting these as fairly clear-cut fault lines,

in reality, identity, subjectivity, and intersubjectivity are much more complicated and intertwined than these binary distinctions.[28]

(i) The rural-urban fault line

In the rural-urban contestation, one of the main concerns has to do with what it means to be an "urbanite" and whether that designation is deserved (Balaban, 2011; Erman, 2011; Şenyapılı, 1982). Questions arise such as does purely moving to the city or into an apartment make one an "urbanite"? What are the characteristics of one who lives in the city as an "urbanite"? Are these values congruent or mutually exclusive from the village way of life?

Although the move to apartments was not the first instance of the rural-urban contestation in terms of what it meant to be an urbanite (Erder, 1999), now within the spatiality of the apartments this contestation becomes more visible and closer in proximity through competition and comparison, especially between neighbors. Thus, socioeconomic status, education levels, being civilized and modern are weighed and judged by how one communicates (e.g. the vocabulary one uses), one's consumption patterns (e.g. the type of furniture one has or does not), and how one dresses (i.e. in modern styles or village styles) (Şentürk, 2014). With respect to neighborly relations this divide has the potential to create distance and conflict between neighbors who are

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[28] For instance, those who identify as Kurdish Alevis—a small minority of ethnic Kurds in Turkey (Mango, 2012)—would fall into this mixed category of simultaneously being a part of two different binary distinctions, blurring the seemingly clear-cut analytical distinctions. It also is worth mentioning that Sarigil and Karakoc have found that within the ethnic fault line, being Alevi did not necessarily increase social tolerance among Kurds or Turks. "[N]ationalist Turks and Kurds are both less likely to be tolerant towards ethnic out-group members" (Sarigil & Karakoc, 2017, p. 210). As such, considering Sarigil and Karakoc's study, addressing the three main sociocultural cleavages would be sufficient.

different, who value different things, and who compete for the designation of "urbanites," albeit with different connotations.

(ii) The Alevi-Sunni fault line

The religious sectarian fault line addresses the divide between Alevis[29] and Sunnis (Çelik et al., 2017; B. Poyraz, 2005; Shankland, 2003, 2012; Toprak, Bozan, Morgül, & Şener, 2008). Turkey's population is predominantly Muslim, split unevenly into two main sectarian groups, Sunni and Alevi. The majority of the population are Sunni, and the minority are Alevi which make up[30] between 10 to 25 percent of Turkey's current population (Shankland, 2012). In order to illustrate specific points of contention[31] as undercurrents to navigating the Alevi identity in neighborly relations in conjunction

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[29] When speaking of Alevis in this study, I recognize the various debates on the Alevi identity and struggle (politically, religiously, culturally, and socially) but addressing all these intricacies are outside the scope of my study. The nuances found within Alevism are many, and as such, viewing the Alevi/Sunni divide as a simple sectarian divide belies the complexity of reality—it is not merely about religious differences (Erman & Göker, 2000; Şahin, 2005; Seufert, 1997; P. J. White & Jongerden, 2003). This lack of simplicity in this divide is also reflected in accounting for the numbers of Alevis in Turkey. For more on the various nuances of Alevism see P. J. White and Jongerden (2003). For more on their various political stances see Erman and Göker (2000), and see Şahin (2005) for a focused account the factors that lead to the publicization of their identity in Turkey and abroad.

[30] Several scholars have noted that it is difficult to confirm the actual numbers of Alevis in Turkey (Bardakçi, 2015; Erman & Göker, 2000; Öktem, 2008; B. Poyraz, 2005; Şahin, 2005; Shankland, 2012; P. J. White & Jongerden, 2003).

[31] As a result of various historical, social, and political factors, Alevis come from diverse backgrounds and do not comprise a homogenous group. Their identities tend to focus on one or more dimensions including theology, political ideology, socioeconomic level, ethnicity, and culture (Erman & Göker, 2000; Jongerden & White, 2003; Olsson, Özdalga, & Raudvere, 1996; Şahin, 2005; Seufert, 1997). The complexity of the power dynamics that comprise a myriad of social, religious, cultural, and political factors have led to varying degrees of openness in the Alevi identity in different time periods, but all together Alevis as a minority have a "long memory of…discrimination and suffering" at the societal/social level (Öktem, 2008, p. 7). Historically, some of this occurred in the form of violence against the Alevi community at large. Starting from the late 1970s and as recent as 2013, there have been various incidents of violence committed against the Alevi population (("including the Maraş massacre (1978), the Sivas massacre (1993),…more recently the all-Alevi deaths in the Gezi protests in 2013" as well as events in Çorum (1980), and Gaziosmanpaşa-Istanbul (1995)) (Çelik et al., 2017, pp. 220-221; Erman & Göker, 2000; Olsson et al., 1996; Şahin, 2005). It should be noted that these experiences of discrimination and suffering have not just been at the level of society, but also felt in politics and at the policy level. For Alevis, discrimination is felt by others in society and through various legislative decisions by the state. Although Alevis have been recognized recently in their social, religious, and political identities, it has felt more like apathy than full acceptance (Bardakçi, 2015; Öktem, 2008). Since this aspect is outside the scope of my study, I have chosen not to address it directly.

with moving to the apartment, I choose to focus on three identity dimensions (i.e. class, cultural and religious identification, and political ideology). First, with respect to class many *gecekondu* dwelling Alevis became active participants of left-leaning social movements in the 1970s (Erman, 2020) which gave working class Alevis a place of camaraderie and causes to unite around (Şahin, 2005). However, in the 1980s as right wing politics came to the forefront, jobs of Alevis who supported and were employed by left-leaning municipalities were threatened, leading to downward mobility and economic hardships (Ayata, 1997; Şahin, 2005). Trying economic times required greater reliance on trusted neighbors, but also it potentially meant increased levels of apprehension and/or tension with perceived others. Second, with respect to culture and religion, it is important to note that while in the 1970s Alevis were a known minority in Turkish society, they were a fairly invisible minority, and being an Alevi was more of a private identity than a public one (Seufert, 1997) at least until the 1990s.[32] As Günes-Ayata notes in her study, these contestations resulted out of various understandings of honor[33] that potentially causes conflict. "Alevi women are much less

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[32] With the rise of political Islam in the 1980s in Turkey also came an increase in identity politics in the 1990s where Alevis became more public and political about their religious and cultural identity, including an increasing advocacy for Alevi minority rights (Erman & Göker, 2000; Şahin, 2005). In conjunction with the privatization of the media and the transnational nature of Alevism, Alevis established local radio stations in Istanbul and Ankara making way for the Alevi perspectives to be broadcasted (Şahin, 2005). This increasing awareness also came with a rise in advocacy for Alevi minority rights including "the right to write down their own version of history" and be a "distinctive community" (Olsson, 1996, pp. 241, 240). In 1989, the publishing of the Alevi Manifesto (*Alevilik Bildirgesi*) signed first in Hamburg and then brought to Turkey was also signed and recognized by a number of academics, journalists, and authors, Alevis and Social Democrat Sunnis alike, and called for "the acceptance of the *difference* of the Alevi faith and culture, equal representation and opportunities in education, in the media and in receiving their own religious services" (Erman & Göker, 2000, p. 102, emphasis in original). It should also be noted that despite there being a seemingly unified portray of Alevism through this manifesto, many argue that in reality the rise of advocacy of Alevi rights brought to the fore "the complex interplay of multiple actors, dissenting and consenting voices" within and between the Alevi community (Şahin, 2005, p. 478).

[33] "[Sunni women's] honor is seen as a derivation of their seclusion, therefore there is [not only] a tendency to see the Alevi women as dishonorable" but also "their [Alevi] menfolk are accused of not preserving female honor, and of not even intending to do so" (Günes‑Ayata, 1992, p. 112).

secluded than their Kurdish or Turkish Sunni counterparts," and "[w]ith the exception of the elderly, Alevi women do not cover their heads, and they speak freely to male relatives and neighbors" (Günes-Ayata, 1992, p. 112). In neighborly relations, this tends to be one of the sources[34] of resentment and discrimination experienced by the Alevi community in relation to their Sunni counterparts, especially since "[t]he Alevi consider themselves as honest, correct, straightforward and loyal and as such reliable" (Günes-Ayata, 1992, p. 113). Third, with respect to political ideology Alevis who commit to secularism "assume a progressivist, secular, egalitarian, tolerant, and social democratic stance" in line with the CHP (*Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi* [The Republican People's Party] (Erman & Göker, 2000, p. 113). This political ideological stance at the level of the neighborhood means that being an Alevi may also come with a political ideological conflict with a potential other, especially if they have Sunni neighbors who are supportive of the AK Party (*Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi,* [Justice and Development Party]; henceforth AKP), increasing the layers of complexity especially as it pertains to trust.

(iii) The Secularist-Islamist fault line

The fault line between the secularists and Islamists addresses the political ideological fault line as another potential layer of sociocultural contestation that also impacts the neighborhood level. In the analysis of Turkish politics, scholars have dichotomized the contestation of political ideology mainly between Islamists and secularist (Onar, 2007; Ahmet Öncü, 2014; Toprak, 2012). However, since the rise of the AK Party in 2002, scholars including Çelik et al. (2017) have argued that in recent years, it is more salient

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[34] It should be noted that while this quotation may not reflect every Alevi woman's experience, this aptly describes some of the underlying tension stemming from one's cultural and religious differences compared to their Sunni counterparts.

to talk about AKP supporters versus non-AKP supporters as the fault line of Othering. They suggest that the point of contention is more about rights, freedoms, and governance styles than the former Islamist-secular divide in Turkey (Ahmet Öncü, 2014; Taspinar, 2014). Consistent with these scholars, I concur with this assessment and approach AKP supporters versus non-AKP supporters as the main lens through which to view the fault line in this dissertation. Non-AKP supporters perceived the AKP government's political stance becoming more authoritarian and polarizing society, especially since the 2013 Gezi protests, the "[i]ncreas[ed] restrictions on freedom[s] of expression, regulations on alcohol sales, infringement on women's reproductive rights," the national (2015) and municipal (2019) elections, as well as the fallout from the attempted-coup of 2016 (Çelik et al., 2017, p. 221; Kemahlıoğlu, 2015; Ahmet Öncü, 2014; Taspinar, 2014). Consequently, AKP supporters were viewed by non-AKP supporters as "powerful and untrustworthy, and were perceived as the most threatening Other" perhaps forming a direct correlation to "an assumed association between AKP supporters and AKP representatives" (Çelik et al., 2017, p. 232). Yet despite this perception, Bilgili's (2015) study reminds us that the context in which these inter-group relations occurs matters. She found that Turkish respondents in her study were open to living close to and working among those considered as Other so long as they did not have "an authoritarian status over them" (Bilgili, 2015, p. 485). With respect to neighborly relations in the apartment, the salient ideological identity contestation between individuals, even and especially at the neighborhood level (J. White, 2002), is best understood as being pro- or anti-government, namely as being pro-AKP or anti-AKP.

(iv) The Kurdish-Turkish fault line

Lastly, the ethnic fault line between the Turks and Kurds is a complicated issue[35] spanning many decades. For the purposes of this dissertation, I focus on the consequences of migration and the anti-Kurdish discourse, specifically Saracoglu's notion of "exclusive recognition" as it impacts everyday life for migrants in contemporary urbanizing Turkey (Saracoglu, 2009). In Turkey, Kurds represent the largest ethnic minority, and the second largest overall ethnicity comprising of 15 to 17 percent of the population behind ethnic Turks (Ergin, 2014; Sarigil & Karakoc, 2017). Notably, the anti-Kurdish discourse observed in everyday life in Turkish cities and specifically what Saracoglu calls "exclusive recognition" highlights a "social-relational" dimension of the Kurdish issue, especially as it pertains to Kurdish migrants in the cities (Saracoglu, 2009, p. 656). Saracoglu aptly points out that recent discourse about Kurds not only negatively recognizes them as a separate group in a way that simultaneously excludes them as the experienced Other and not as an imagined Other, but also speaks exclusively against Kurdish migrants in a pejorative manner, while not having the same antagonism towards other ethnic groups (Saracoglu, 2009, pp. 642, 643). In many ways, because of the anti-Kurdish discourse, exclusive recognition in Bourdieuan language serves analytically as a kind of negative social capital (cf. Sarigil & Karakoc, 2017; Yılmaz, 2014). This notion is also supported by Yılmaz where he examined, among other things, "how Kurds in Turkey defined their identity" and why Kurds felt excluded (Yılmaz, 2014, p. 2). According to his study, 20 to 30 percent of

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[35] In the literature, there are several arguments and perspectives explaining and understanding the ebbs and flows of the Kurdish issue—the main driving force of this fault line and tension. They range from it being a problem of economic development or lack thereof (Mango, 2012; Yılmaz, 2014), an enmeshed history of nationalism and modernization (Ergin, 2014), armed conflict/military security (Yılmaz, 2014), migration, and anti-Kurdish discourse (Saracoglu, 2009), among others.

Kurds interviewed in a national study[36] felt "discriminated against and subjected to ill-treatment in various [aspects] of life" (Yılmaz, 2014, p. 3). Similarly, Çelik et al. found[37] that "Kurds and Turks felt mutual mistrust" and that "Kurds complained that Turks had ungrounded negative beliefs and feelings towards them" (Çelik et al., 2017, p. 220).

3.3 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have situated my study in a manner that highlights the historical, socio-spatial, sociocultural, socioeconomic, and community-embedded relational contextual aspects of urbanizing Turkey and the *gecekondu* habitus. Specifically, I highlighted the historical phenomenon of rural-to-urban migration since the 1950s and the subsequent yet non-linear transformation of *gecekondu* housing into apartment complexes which have brought about not only spatial change, but also social change. Additionally, I framed the socio-spatial transformation migrant women experienced within four sociocultural cleavages salient to contemporary urbanizing Turkey, as the transformation of space has increased the possibility of living in closer physical proximity to someone potentially considered the Other.

In light of the theoretical and contextual foundations of this chapter and the previous chapter, the following chapter will focus on the negotiation process of interpersonal

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[36] Yilmaz's study was conducted in in 2014 in both rural and urban areas of selected provinces with a sample size of 2300 people interviewed in Turkey including 400 Kurdish speakers.

[37] Their data collection occurred in 2014 during the ongoing Kurdish Opening, and they determined that despite the mutual distrust felt by Turks and Kurds, there was also "a high level of hope for the peaceful resolution of the conflict" (Çelik et al., 2017, p. 220).

trust for my rural-to-urban migrant respondents in light of the transformation of their living space. I will empirically demonstrate the ways in which the transformation of physical space (i.e. socio-spatial transformation specifically in the tearing down *gecekondu* dwellings in order to build apartment complexes) affects the understanding and experience of interpersonal trust between neighbors. I aim to show how and to whom neighbors relate in relational space and how physical space is utilized in the negotiation process of trust in neighborly relations. I propose an iterative practice of interpersonal trust, a process of risk.

CHAPTER FOUR[38]

NEGOTIATING TRUST: THE COMPETING DESIRES OF
NOT BEING ALONE AND NOT BEING HARMED

The previous chapters set the stage for examining interpersonal trust as a process in the

context of urbanizing Turkey, and the aim of this chapter is to specifically focus on the

effects that the transformation of space has on the understanding and experience of

interpersonal trust for the migrant women respondents in their *gecekondu* habitus. Here,

I empirically demonstrate the ways in which tearing down *gecekondu* dwellings in order

to build apartment complexes impacts the social, subsequently affecting the

understanding and experience of interpersonal trust between neighbors in context. I aim

to show how and to whom neighbors relate in relational space and how physical space

affects the negotiation process of trust in neighborly relations—what have I called an

iterative practice of trust.

This chapter delves into understanding the intricacies of negotiating trust among rural-

to-urban migrant women in their *gecekondu* habitus considering the aforementioned

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socio-spatial transformation of their neighborhoods and its consequences. Here, I examine interpersonal trust, specifically how it is understood and experienced in everyday life at the level of neighborly relations among migrant women and also in light of their context (i.e. their habitus, salient sociocultural cleavages, and class relations) found in current day Turkey (see Chapter 3 for a more in-depth and comprehensive look). The main inquiry of this chapter asks how does socio-spatial transformation of rural-to-urban migrant women's living environments impact their understanding and experience of trust in their daily lives and negotiation of neighborly relations in light of the *gecekondu* habitus?

In this chapter I argue that given the socio-spatial transformation of *gecekondu* neighborhoods, trust is understood and experienced by rural-to-urban migrant women as an on-going relational process of negotiating two competing desires (a form of risk): 1) to not be alone; and 2) to not be harmed by the very people they desire to be close to (both physically and emotionally). This is significant for these migrant women in the *gecekondu* habitus whose conservative values and way of life relies heavily on other women in close physical proximity to them (i.e. their neighbors) for emotional and material support in their daily lives (Erman & Hatiboğlu, 2018). This is further complicated by the added layer of also needing to negotiate competing group identities/intersubjective negotiation (Bottero, 2010), which is part and parcel to neighborly relations in urbanizing Turkey. Thus, I propose that the relational process of trusting entails an on-going assessment/negotiation through knowing, visiting, sharing and helping over time (in material, emotional, and tangibles expression of word(s) and deed(s)).

4.1 Negotiating Trust in Neighborly Relations

Focusing on the neighborly relations of my respondents, I argue that the socio-spatial changes, and consequences they experienced in light of their *gecekondu* habitus shape how they understand and experience trust as a gendered relational negotiation process. In this section, I first highlight two major factors that build and/or break down the process of trusting. Initially, I discuss the assessment of trustability of one's neighbors through observing and interacting with them, and secondly, I identity the ways that the gossip threatens the trust process. The last subsection frames the process of trusting, namely the negotiation of two competing desires for women to not be alone, yet not be harmed—a risk process.

4.1.1 Assessing Trustability: Observing and Interacting with Neighbors

One major part of being willing to enter the risk process of trusting among neighbors involves assessing trustability. In this section, I discuss two constant actions between neighbors that are essential to evaluating the trustworthiness of a neighbor, namely observing and interacting with neighbors. While at a particular point the lines between observing and interacting blur, for the sake of analytical clarity I present them here as separate aspects. However, they are intertwined actions that depend upon each other. In the end assessing trustability not only provides migrant women with data towards how trustworthy a particular neighbor is, but it also serves as a gauge of potential harm.

Observing is an important part of assessing trustworthiness. Before discussing what is observed, it would do us well to remember that for women from a *gecekondu* habitus who rely heavily on other women in close proximity to them including Sılam who

expressed that "you need your neighbors—you even need their ashes[39]" ("*komşu komşunun külüne muhtaç*"). Menekşe echoed this sentiment saying that "living without neighbors is impossible because you're under the same roof" ("*bence komşusuz olmaz. Çünkü aynı çatı altında yaşıyorsun*"). However, just because someone is a neighbor does not necessarily mean they are trustable. The respondents were quick to qualify the kind of neighbors that are desirable and trustworthy. Simply stated, the character of one's neighbor matters in order to mitigate potential harm.

In particular, there are two main categories of characteristics in observing a neighbor's character that the respondents mentioned as being important: being good and consistent. With respect to being good, Menekşe quickly recognized not only the necessity of neighbors but also the importance of her neighbor being good ("*Komşu iyi olursa önemli bence komşusuz olmaz*"). The question remains, what does it mean to be good? For Canan, a good trustworthy neighbor came with specific characteristics. "It's important for me that they [who are trustworthy] are honest (*dürüst*), sincere (*samimi*), and genuine from the heart (*içten*). In the end empathy is important and for you to see the person as yourself" ("*İşte […] dürüst olması, samimi, içten olması çok önemli benim için. Sonuçta o […] [k]arşındakini de kendin gibi görmek, empati yapmak çok önemli*"). These characteristics are especially important for migrant women since traditional patriarchal values keep them inside their localities (home and neighborhoods) which leaves them highly dependent upon their neighbors for emotional support and socialization needs. As such, having the ability to observe the character of one's neighbor is an important part of assessing trustability because having neighbors with

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[39] The Turkish proverb ("*komşu komşunun külüne muhtaçtır*") expresses the necessity of neighbors and how neighbors are always there to help each other with anything. (Literally: "A neighbor needs their neighbors' ash.")

characteristics that are contrary to honesty, sincerity, and genuineness has the potential of exposing oneself to undue harm.

Another component of observing involves noticing consistency in their character which involves an aspect of knowing (*tanımak*) and being familiar with their neighbors as a prerequisite. Before the respondents reported arriving at a place of trusting their neighbors, they needed to know them. In fact, a common response in the interviews to the question "In general, do you trust others?" was similar to Fidan's answer, "To be honest, I don't trust people I don't know." ("*Tanımadığım insanlara çok güvenmem ben açıkçası.*") Knowing and being relationally familiar with one's neighbor is one way of predicting how a neighbor would respond in particular situations and helps in assessing whether or not they possess a consistent character. The reality is that this kind of observing cannot happen without interacting with one's neighbors. Songül explained it this way:

> "For example, …[o]nce you have *several* interactions [with them] then you can observe and see that that person stands near you [in their lifestyle and values]. If you don't feel an impropriety (*yanlışlık*) [i.e., a type of harm, including gossiping], you get closer. If you do, you put some distance [between you and them]."

> (*"Mesela onu da bir kaç kere alışveriş yapınca […] görünce baktın ki o da sana yakın duruyorsa. Onda bir yanlışlık hissetmiyorsan yaklaşırsın. Ediyorsa mesafe koyarsın ben öyle derim."*)

For another respondent, observing (in)consistencies is causally related to one's trustability:

"I can't trust those who are contradictory in the way they talk. […] I think they aren't trustworthy because they aren't true to themselves; they can be quickly directed [to think otherwise] and are not unwavering. It then is impossible to be sure about them [and what they say], or to confidently believe them. At that moment are they telling me the truth? Or will it be something that changes later?"

("Konuşmalarında çelişki olan insanlara güvenmem.[…]Çünkü kendi doğruları olmadıklarını düşünürüm ve çok çabuk yönlendirilebildikleri için sağlam olmadıklarını güvenilir olmadıklarını düşünürüm. Her an değişebilirler. Onunla ilgili kesin bir yargım, kesin bir inanmam, mümkün olmaz. Ki bilemem o an bana söylediği gerçekten doğrusu mu yoksa biraz sonra değiştireceği şey mi?")

For Sedef, this type of indecisiveness increases the unpredictability which she equated to questioning their honesty and their character and ultimately is an aspect of untrustworthiness—all things that increases the risk of harm.

With respect to assessing trustability through interacting, there are three interrelated aspects that are worth acknowledging: the actions of visiting, sharing, and asking for help from one's neighbors—elements of "neighborly relations" (*komşuluk*)—including mutuality and time. Here, the lines between observing and interacting become blurred. At some level, observing is an active practice of interacting with one's neighbors and interacting with one's neighbors includes observing how a neighbor acts, responds, speaks, and lives. Again, as the respondents promptly note, these are all a part of assessing one's neighbors' character so as to protect oneself from harm—something contrary to trust in neighborly relations. Gülizar and her daughter Raziye in their joint interview shared, "You learn by engaging in neighborly relations, and coming and going to your neighbors'. If any harm comes [my way], I won't meet with them [again]. But if harm doesn't come to me, I can [keep] seeing and visiting with them" ("*[K]omşuluk yaptığın için anlıyorsun. Gidip geldikçe anlıyorsun. Bana ziyan gelen bir komşuyla görüşmem. Ama bakıyorum ki onu anlıyorum, ziyan gelmiyor bana, onla*

görüşebilirim"). Raziye continued, "[You learn what kind of people they are] from their actions, conversations, and their reactions" (*Hareketlerinden, konuşmalarından, tavırları*).

Another part of interacting with neighbors—both of which are part of what the respondents describe as neighborly relations but also an aspect of assessing trustworthiness—is the coming and going/visiting and sharing with one's neighbors. Canan noted that trusting her neighbor across the hall came with time "by sharing things [with each other]." ("*yani artık bir şeyler paylaşınca oluyor. Paylaştıkça…*") When visiting one's neighbors, it usually includes chatting about and sharing in the daily/mundane stuff of life—a gendered practice in neighborly relations among women in Anatolian Turkey (Mills, 2007). Sılam, an Alevi resident in Mamak mentioned that when her neighbors gather they:

> "[S]it and talk about their children, womanhood, and saving [money]. For example I explain how 'I value the money that comes to me'…And as Anatolian people, we talk about dowries for our daughters when they get married, and how we want to help them set up their [new] homes. You know, [Ayşe, my trusted neighbor,] and I, [get] together and talk about what we bought [for their houses]…You know every day, daily stuff, we don't gossip; I don't criticize my neighbors and they don't criticize me."

> (*"Oturuyoruz, çoluğumuzu, çocuğumuzu konuşuyoruz. Kadınlık, birikme yapmayı konuşuyoruz. Örneğin […] diyorum ki, 'elime geçen parayı ben değerlendireyim.' […] Biz Anadolu insanlarında, yani kızlarımız evlendiği zaman ona bir çeyiz filan. Yani ev kurduğu için bir şeyler vermek istiyoruz. İşte Ayşe'yle bir araya gelince, ben tava aldım, sen tencere aldın, işte ben altın aldım, sen gümüş aldın. Öyle bir şey konuşuruz günlük, öyle dedikodumuz yoktur, hani ben komşumu çekiştirmem, komşum da beni çekiştirmez."*)

It should be noted that Sılam makes a subtle but significant distinction in what is welcomed as a part of communal living indicative of the *gecekondu* habitus (e.g. talking

about their children, womanhood, etc.) and what is not (e.g. gossiping, criticism)—a topic that will be tackled in the next subsection.

Interacting with neighbors includes a mutual checking in and reliance upon one another for big and small things. The kind of neighborliness Menekşe values and yearns for is where you can go to someone in the same building for help. Menekşe noted that going to her neighbors for help is a joyful necessity. Menekşe explained, "even if [I'm] bored, in two minutes [I] can go and knock on [my neighbor's] door and say 'hello! What are you up to?' I enjoy getting fresh air in this way." ("*Yani hemen, bir şeye canım sıkıldığında, iki dakika hemen kapısını tıklayıp, […] 'merhaba, ne yapıyorsun,' böyle bir hava almaya da gitmek isterim yani.*") She shared an instance where one rainy morning she ran out of bread [for breakfast (a staple for that meal)].

> "If I didn't have a neighbor…I [would've] needed to go out again, change my clothes, and go buy bread. And that would've been all for…bread, a simple problem. That is an example of neighborliness, you see it's something simple, but I really love [this kind of] neighborliness."
>
> ("*Ya ben komşuluğu çok seviyorum çünkü komşu, yani aynı binada…[…] mesela sabah […] ekmeksiz kaldım, şimdi yağmur yağıyor… Şimdi komşum olmasa ne yapacağım? Bir daha gideceğim, üstümü giyineceğim, gideceğim ekmek alacağım, geleceğim… İşte bir […] ekmek […]çok basit bir mesela. Bir komşuluk işte… Yani çok basit bir şey… Yani komşuluk, ben çok […] [s]eviyorum ben komşuluğu.*")

When speaking of neighborly relations, there is a significant distinction between one's neighborly duty and who you trust. Those to whom you open your door to help in a kind neighborly way is independent from those to whom you allow inside your home and to whose home you choose to enter. The latter being a significantly smaller number of people than the former. Menekşe put it this way:

"I only trust one of [my neighbors]. With that [trusted] neighbor I freely come and go, and comfortably visit her home, I don't go knocking on every one of [my neighbors'] doors, visiting them. But if someone comes to my door I open my heart to them, and do all that I can to perform my [neighborly] duty. I am not going every minute to [all my neighbors], I only go to one [neighbor I trust]. You can't be close (samimi) to all of them..."

("[B]irine güvenirim mesela samimi gider gelirim rahatlıkla girip çıkabilirim hepsinin kapısına vurup girip çıkamam ama kapıma gelene de canım feda kalbimi açarım elimden geleni hürmetimi yaparım ama girip de her dakika girip çıkamam. Bir tanesine giderim. Şimdi hepsiyle samimi olamazsın.")

The reality of the sparse number of neighbors women visit may not only be a function of selectivity but also the reality of the busyness of life. Visiting all one's neighbors may not be possible. Ayşe, a resident of Mamak, mentioned that sometimes the opportunities to go and visit neighbors do not present themselves for various reasons (e.g., "One neighbor had a son that got married recently, another had guests, another was at the cemetery after a relative got really sick, that woman in that flat works, etc." (*"[O] da hani biri genç gelin olduğu için, [...] Çalışıyor diye bayanın için. Yoksa öbürlerine gelen misafirleri de. [...] Görüşüyorum ama gitmedik pek. Cenazelerde, hastalığında gide...O da müsait değillerdi, gitmedik öyle kaldı."*). However, it is also the case that between some neighbors there is not an established coming and going culture (*"Ya ona da güveniyorum da samimi değiliz, gidip gelme tarzımız yok."*). In these cases either invitations are not reciprocated, or it just does not occur.

These examples to point to the other aspects of interacting in the assessing of trustability, namely that of reciprocity/mutuality and time. These kinds of interactions result over time and require time. Notably, a coming and going culture, sharing one's life, and talking about one's children do not happen immediately but with several repeated instances of visiting each other. It also is important to consider that moving to

apartments takes more time to get to know, observe, and interact with one's neighbors than it did when there were access to semi-private/semi-public common spaces of the *gecekondu* that encouraged informal observation and interactions with one's neighbors. In their *gecekondu* days, this process of assessing trustability was faster and natural given the common spaces afforded by their living arrangements, and several Mamak respondents commented with nostalgia how they missed those days and spaces. Moreover, there is a shared aspect of doing life together, whether that is of Menekşe's instance of sharing missing ingredients for breakfast or Sılam's example of getting together with her trusted neighbors to prepare a dowery for one of their daughters. Life, experiences, food, and problems are shared. This aspect of living together as Menekşe stated, takes a measure of mutuality, especially if it has the chance to move towards trust. "Everything is a bit reciprocal: you are willing to trust another so that the other person in turn trusts you..." (*Her şey birazcık da karşılıklıdır. Sen de o insanlara o şeyi vereceksin ki karşındaki insanlar da sana güvenecekler…"*). Menekşe went as far as to state, "[y]ou have to trust in something […] or else the other option is you are forced to live [in society] all alone. […] [Y]ou need to be willing to trust others *("Bir şeylere güvenmek zorundasın. [...] yoksa öteki türlü sen...sadece tek başına yaşamak zorundasın. [...][S]en de o güveni vermek zorundasın ki insanlara).* Menekşe's statements not only echoes what Mills (2007) found in her study of neighboring in another Istanbul neighborhood, namely that there is a cultural value of preferring to be with others than to be alone, but also that Menekşe connects the concept of trust and the necessity of mutually trusting others in order not to be alone. Before expounding more on the process of trusting as the negotiation of two competing desires, it would be important to highlight one particular threat to trust that the respondents spoke of repeatedly about, gossip.

4.1.2 Gossip as a Threat to Neighborly Trust

The respondents mentioning gossiping is not only significant, but it is an example of a gendered type of harm. The notion of gossip within the neighborhood context carries the functions of a form of policing of others' behavior while visiting with neighbors and "sharing of information [and observations] between women in continual visiting" (Mills, 2007, p. 343). For the respondents, gossip included answering questions about those they are assessing. Do they talk behind my back? Do they share the things I shared with them in confidence to others around them? Do they pay me compliments and niceties to my face and then make negative comments about me, my character, or my lifestyle to others?

One way of looking at gossip is not only as a threat to trust but as a threat to intimacy/sincerity (*samimiyet*[40])—a characteristic that many of the respondents have included as a major part of trusting. The notion of being *samimi* was used by the respondents in terms of a valued characteristic of a trustable neighbor. Songül stated in relation to one of her neighbors that they are "like family…She is so sincere (*samimi*) that I would have given her my keys [to my flat]" (*"biz bir aile gibiydik. O kadar samimi ki, anahtarımı da verirdim"*). Canan like Songül included it in her list of words that she described a trustworthy person. It was also expressed by Menekşe that you would choose to come and go to neighbors with whom you are *samimi*—a selective small number of neighbors, and "you can't be close (*samimi*) with them all." While discerning whether it is gossip that threatens trust because it threatens *samimiyet* or

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[40] The word *samimi* in Turkish, the root word of *samimiyet,* has a variety of meanings depending on the context. It not only implies a level of emotional intimacy but also communicates the genuineness and sincerity of a person's character. It is the word that is used for someone with whom you are close to relationally.

whether it is because being *samimi* with a neighbor is somehow equated to trust is outside the scope of this research. However, it is an interesting inquiry in terms of understanding the relationship between trust and being *samimi* in the Turkish context. What can be said is, where there is gossip as a form of harm, there can neither be the notion of being *samimi* nor can there be trust.

In neighborly relations, especially in the urbanizing context, the possibility of both harm and support is a harsh reality. Herein lies the distinction between gossip and being close (*samimi*). The latter is a welcomed benefit of communal living as an expression of familiarity, and the other is experienced as a hurtful, personally manipulative type of harm—an unwelcomed consequence that also comes with the territory of neighborhood life. In this way, gossip can be understood as a type of "practical behavior of 'miniscule repression'" (deCerteau et al., 1988) that residents in a neighborhood recognize and perhaps at best reluctantly concede to as a potential consequence of the closeness of *mahalle* life in Turkey (Mills, 2007). This dual potential of harm and support is at the core of the relational risk process in neighborly relations among migrant women in the *gecekondu* habitus as they do life together in visiting, sharing, and knowing. While this possibility of harm also existed in their *gecekondu* days, the transformation of their living arrangement also changed the natural and quick nature of assessing their neighbors' character.

4.1.3 The Process of Trust(ing)

In light of the socio-spatial transformation of rural-to-urban migrant women's living spaces, I contend that the respondents understand and experience trust as a relational process of negotiating two competing desires, their desire for relationships and their desire to not be harmed. My analysis showed two things worth highlighting. First, trust

for the respondents is a locally embedded relational negotiation process of holding these two desires/fears in tension. Second, trust is performed as a gendered negotiation process of being willing to be vulnerable to another given what is known through sharing, visiting, and knowing.

The interpretation of the respondents' answers suggests that trust for them is a relational process of negotiating two fears/desires in tension. The fear of loneliness, or more positively put, the desire for relationship with others so as not to be left alone exists. This desire provides the motivation to engage in the trust building and to be willing to be vulnerable in developing relationships. Menekşe captured this sentiment not only in expressing her astonishment to the thought of choosing to do life alone but also in her joy of being in relationship with and relying on her neighbors. This is significant in apartment living for women from the *gecekondu* habitus who are near their homes all day. Their neighbors have a significant role in the rhythm of their daily lives. They are not just neighbors but people with whom they share their lives, families, and food. In fact, relying on neighbors are one of the resources migrant women employ as one of their survival strategies. It is in the knowing, visiting, and sharing of life that one's loneliness is also simultaneously quelled.

Given what I have discussed above, simply stated, the relational process of trusting for our rural-to-urban migrant respondents is a form of risk. Specifically, it entails an on-going risk process of willing to be vulnerable to one's neighbor based on what is known about and experienced with them. I suggest that the women in this study experienced and understood trust as a relational negotiation process that entails an iterative practice of not only gathering information through knowing, visiting, and sharing with their neighbors but also utilizing that information in either risking greater vulnerability (i.e.

trusting) or not. I use the term "iterative practice" because it was clear that the negotiation process of the respondents was not just a one-time event but rather an on-going iterative practice of gathering and mutually exchanging information through lived relational experiences (Möllering, 2013). When respondents talked about trusting their neighbors, they know it connotes a risk-taking experiential level of familiarity and not just intellectual knowledge[41] about a person. And as highlighted above, the risk is both about being known, and hence not being alone, but also being known in the sense that there is then a greater risk of potential harmed by the one who knows you (deCerteau et al., 1988; Mills, 2007). Furthermore, these risks and practices can be simple as saying hello in the hallways to gauge a neighbors' openness, sharing of food, and asking one's neighbor for necessary ingredients as observed with Menekşe. For example, Menekşe said that she prefers going to her neighbors for ingredients rather than running to a nearby market. Only when there was not a trusted neighbor in their building would she rather go and pay for what was needed rather than ask their neighbor. However, these risks can also be quite big and dire as shown in the following section in the case of Sevda's reliance upon and indirect contact to move houses, and subsequently, be known, find community, and belong. Here, we see a conditional willingness to be vulnerable to another in asking for help and/or acknowledging a problem given what is known of one's neighbor character based on the extent to which they are familiar with them, the quality of their contact with these neighbors and others in society (e.g. Gül and Nilüfer), and/or the strength of the tie to an indirect contact (Granovetter, 1973) in desperate times (e.g. Sevda).

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[41] In Turkish, there are at least two different verbs associated with knowing (*tanımak*—to know/be familiar with/to recognize and *bilmek*—to know intellectually about something). Significantly, the verb consistently used by our respondents was *tanımak*.

However, it is also clear that while the respondents value neighborly relations, there is an important difference between appreciating neighborly relations and trusting their neighbors. This again underlines the dualistic nature of the negotiation process in holding two fears or desires in tension because the desire for relationships must be tempered by the fear of harm and vice versa. When Menekşe was asked if she trusted her neighbors, even after she spoke eloquently about the importance of neighborly relations and how much she loves neighborliness, she responded that she only trusts a few of her neighbors. Similarly, Canan and Songül expressed analogous sentiments. Appreciably, this highlights the distinction in many respondents' conceptualization of trusting from neighborliness and neighborly duty—which might in fact be an offshoot of a high value for hospitality in Turkish culture.

This relational process of trusting also points to my suggestion that trusting is not only locally embedded within a neighborly and habitus context but that these particular gendered ways of doing neighborly relations are also salient in the building up and breaking down of trust relations. As shown above, one important way it is developed is through the on-going, relational iterative process of knowing, visiting, and sharing over time—which are itself a gendered practice also previously seen in another study (Mills, 2007). This type of knowing, visiting, and sharing over time is a specific mechanism used by women from a *gecekondu* habitus within their neighborly relations. These mechanisms also demonstrates empirically what Frederiksen showed theoretically about the on-going relational process of trusting within a habitus: "Trusting is an ephemeral characteristic of a process which merges past and present, conceiving and being, action and becoming, and alignment and aligning" (Frederiksen, 2014, p. 182). Again, I suggest the salience of trusting as an iterative process of risk (i.e. mutual

knowing, sharing, visiting, and helping) over time (Grimpe, 2019; Möllering, 2013; Six et al., 2010).

As this section demonstrates, the contextual factors such as the socio-spatial transformation of *gecekondu* dwellings into apartment buildings and the subtle yet significant changes that inevitably come with apartment living, challenges the perceived safety of rural-to-urban migrant women. Living in a community comprised of people like themselves akin to their former *gecekondu* days is now a distant memory, making these rural-to-urban migrant women and the generations that follow them more vulnerable to being harmed by the real or imagined Other. Thus, trusting becomes far more complex and nuanced, as our respondents noted, and trusting others who are similar to them is far simpler and straightforward. As a result, those who were potentially different and distant relationally, spatially, and socio-culturally are now brought physically closer. However, as the respondents also noted both explicitly and implicitly, this fear of the Other runs in tension to the felt need of being in relationship or alternatively expressed as the fear of being alone. This fear is further highlighted by the documented value for Turkish especially Anatolian women to do activities together rather than be alone (Mills, 2007), especially those women who like our respondents are housewives or stay-at-home mothers whose relationship to the city is restricted because of the conservative gender roles common to families from Anatolia (Erman, 1997). Therefore, I suggest that trust becomes a gendered relational negotiation process of holding in tension the desire not to be alone with the desire not to be harmed when the Other is now closer than ever before and potentially your neighbor in your apartment building, an issue to which we now turn.

4.2 The Challenges of the Apartment Context

This section draws attention to two specific spatial and social challenges that the apartment context brings to migrant women. First, I address the negotiation of new spatiality and how women from a *gecekondu* habitus have adapted new forms of socializing in the apartment complex. Second, I discuss examples of ways that my respondents have negotiated Otherness in terms of sociocultural cleavages including what it means to have the status of an urbanite.

4.2.1 Negotiating New Spatiality

There are two main aspects of the apartment building's spatiality that I include in this subsection, the location of one's flat within the apartment building and the home itself as a new boundary between private and public. It is within this space that migrant women need to find new ways of meeting their socializing needs as well as negotiate new hurdles that come with the loss of semi-public/semi-private spaces *gecekondu* enclaves formerly provided as the site of socialization, observation, and interaction.

In apartment complexes, while more residents can live on the same square meter plot of land, the ways that apartments are designed with a few flats on each floor does not necessarily encourage informal interaction between neighbors. In fact, neighborly interactions generally occur between a limited space because apartment residents are more likely to interact with those that live on the same floor, the floor below, the floor above one's flat (Erman, 2018), or if they happen to pass them in the hallways and/or in the stairwells. Additionally, the strict demarcation of what is public and what is private space effectively formalizes neighborly relations to passing greetings, as opposed to informal conversations that the spatiality of the semi-private/semi-public

common areas that existed in *gecekondu* neighborhoods. As such, where one's flat is located in the building also hinders with whom a neighbor may interact as well as what it might communicate about one's preferences, cultural values, and perhaps indirectly about an individual's socioeconomic status. The physical location of one's flat in relation to the rest of the apartment complex (i.e. the downstairs basement floor apartment vs. a top floor duplex apartment) also communicates aspects of societal positionality and a family's socioeconomic status.

For example, a description of Sılam's space helps to unpack how she perceives herself and explains how her physical position in her apartment complex—all things that relate to her habitus—matter in neighborly/social relations. Sılam is a resident in Mamak, and prior to moving to her current flat, she lived with her family in a *gecekondu* in the same area. There are 18 flats in her building, and her apartment is one of the downstairs basement floor flats that overlooks the backside of the apartment complex's parking lot. In the entryway of her flat hangs a poster of Ali among other caliphs—a clear nod to Alevi's Shiite roots (see Figure 1). Sılam is not one to hide who she is and does not hide the fact that she is Alevi both in the ways she speaks about herself and how she decorates her home.
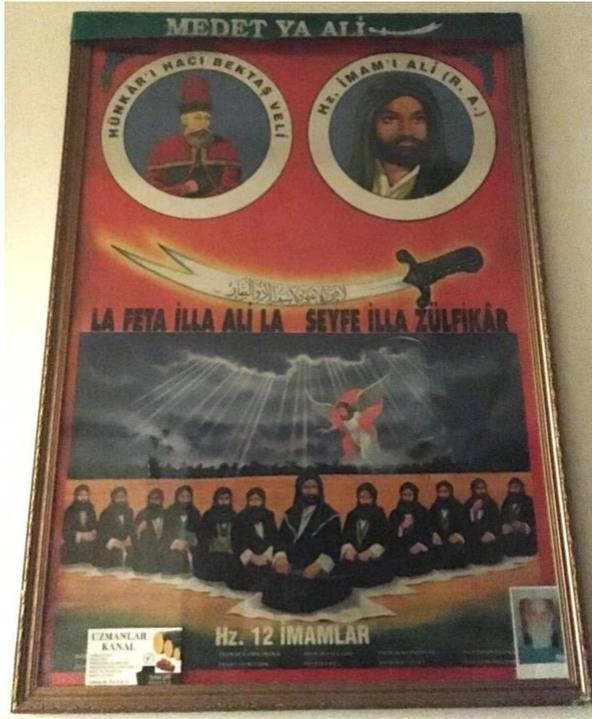
Figure 1 Alevi poster hanging in Sılam's entryway

Sılam also does not shy away from making it known that she prefers the village way of life and still longs for the days of *gecekondu* living. In fact, her flat has a narrow, enclosed balcony which provides a quick exit out to the open-air garage from the adjacent modest kitchen. During her interview she spoke with pride about and gave a tour of the small corner garden in the parking lot that allowed her to grow herbs and garden, a small piece of nature amidst a concrete jungle that helps her remember having the abundant green spaces of her not-so-distant *gecekondu* days reminiscent of her past village life (see Figure 2). All together the space of Sılam's apartment, how she has decorated, and the physical location of her flat in relation to the other flats in the building, communicate not just who she is an Alevi, but also her preferences (e.g. village life is not far from her heart or home) and status (e.g. the lower levels of the apartment complexes tend to be less expensive). These perceptions of who she is to her

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neighbors based on what she possesses have the possibility of welcoming those who are like her or shunning those who might not want to be associated with the things she values—another challenge that the spatiality of the apartment brings, namely in negotiating Otherness. (I will address this topic in the next subsection.)

Figure 2 Sılam and her small garden in her apartment complex's parking lot

As mentioned, with the formalization of neighborly relations in the apartment because of its spatiality, the demarcation of private and public becomes clearer. Consequently, the entry door and specifically the doorway to a person's flat become the boundaries that delineate who is welcome and who is not. The home, and perhaps more precisely passing through/being invited past the threshold of the flat's doorway, can be seen as the beginning of when and where one is willing to risk and enter physically and relationally into the negotiation process of trusting. In apartment living, the home itself becomes the main space where observing, interacting, and ultimately assessing another's trustability occurs. Welcoming neighbors with whom one is still in the

process of getting to know increases the risk and possibility of harm, especially if one does not know the neighbors well yet. This brings us to the adaptation of the altın günü (gold day, or sometimes known just as a *gün* [day])[42] into the lives of migrant women once they move to the apartment. It not only serves as an example of a social mechanism through which socialization between women can occur, but it also comes with some level of risk.

4.2.1.1 The altın günü: A new form of neighborly relations

The *altın günü* is a regular gathering of neighbors within one's building or of friends in one's established gendered social network. Traditionally, this is a(n) (upper-)middle class practice that involves a small group of women who get together monthly, over the course of the calendar year, to chat with each other, enjoy *çay* (tea), sweet and savory snacks, and exchange a set/pre-determined amount of money. The woman who hosts the gathering for the month prepares the snacks, tea, and readies her home to host the rest of the women who have agreed to participate in the *gün*. It is called an *altın günü* as a reference to the past when a particular amount of gold was the currency that was exchanged as the Turkish Lira's value and stability changed frequently. In many ways this gathering provides an opportunity for women within their gendered social networks to have social time shared among women as they discuss a wide range of topics including the care of their children, family, and homes. Each month on the decided day for the *gün*, everyone except the host brings with them their agreed upon monthly amount of money. The host receives this set amount of money from all the other women, and month after month, each woman on the month they host knows that they will receive their share of the pot in cash. It is one way that women save money, meet

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[42] From this point on, I will only use the Turkish altın günü (or gün) to describe this social mechanism.

with/continue to get to know their neighbors, and ensure that they have their own pocket money to spend that is something they have earned (i.e. money not requested from their husbands).

At the present time, women agree upon a set amount of cash, and there are some varieties of the specifics of the gathering (e.g. some groups choose to meet at a restaurant as opposed to each other's homes to alleviate the pressure of hosting as well as the shaming/criticism that can sometimes come with hosting). However, it should be noted that the ability to meet in a restaurant versus hosting a *gün* in one's home also reflects an aspect of class distinction. Generally, the (upper-) middle class and above have the means to afford to meet regularly meet for a meal out without one's family. For some neighbors, especially those with less disposable income, the *gün* takes place in the homes of women. Having a *gün* in one's home when it is time to host is a risk as it opens the door to both being known in/by/only for one's intimate and private space as well as the *gün* could provide observational fuel for criticism and/or praise by one's neighbors. Sılam when describing the gün in her apartment building commented on how small things like the cleanliness of the host's home, the types of curtains that hung, what the host's family did or did not own, and how they decorated were potential sources of conversation during the *gün* that could lead to ridicule/criticism (i.e. harm) and/or praise. The very presence of this tension for both harm and/or commendation because of one's living space is part of the negotiation not only of the trusting process in neighborly relations but a particular kind of negotiation that is a direct result of the spatiality of the apartment complex, especially for women from the *gecekondu* habitus.

Sılam explained that in their apartment building, ten women gathered each month. Over the years, they tried different versions of a *gün* with her neighbors, but it never worked,

because some neighbors in their *gün* started looking down on and belittling each other to the point that it created a distrustful environment that they could not stand anymore. ("*Bazı insanlar birbirlerini küçük görmeye başladı. […], [B]iz artık dayanamayacağız, dayanamadık.*") Sılam explained that over time the disparaging not only included passive-aggressive competing between the women regarding what kind of sweet and savory pastries they made and how many were made, but also there was one "narcissistic" (*"kendini beğenen"*) woman in particular who went as far as observing and hurtfully commenting on the level of cleanliness of another woman's house (i.e. were the windowsills dusty?) as well as how new or old her furniture was (i.e. curtains). For Sılam, these spiteful comments were blatant ways that the narcissist judged the other woman's and her own character based on the clean or dirty state of her home. ("*Ben çörek, börek yapmışım. Öbürü tatlı yaptı, şunu bunu yaptı. Öbürüne gittin o üç, o dört yaptı. Öbürüne gittin o beş yaptı, o altı yaptı deyince, [...]. Bir de, kendini beğenen insanlar geldi, oturdu. Bir kadının birine çok gıcık kaptım. [...] 'benim tüllerime bakıyorsan, benim tüllerim yeni değil, eski, eşyalarım yeni' dedim. 'Yoook' diyor. Halbuki camların önüne bakıyor, 'toz var mı?' Yani bu kadın temiz mi pis mi diye.*"). Sılam said after this event she personally "tried to get out of the *gün*" because "it got out of hand." ("*Ondan sonra ben günden çıkmaya çalıştım [...]. Gün bozuldu.*"). Nevertheless, she gave the *gün* one more opportunity to revitalize, especially since counting on the money was important for her and the other women in their apartment complex—they all collectively needed the money. However, this time she put more strict rules around the *gün* so as to keep the belittling to a minimal, she asked those whose turn it was to host to "just make two things along with *çay* (tea): *börek* (a savory pastry) and *kısır* (a cold bulgur dish)"(*"'[İ]ki şey yapalım' dedim. 'Bir[...] börek yapalım[...] bir de kısır yapalım çayla.'"*) Everyone agreed to the new terms.

Afterwards, when they went to one woman's house, she made one more dish than what was agreed upon, thus restarting the competition. Others did not want to provide less than that at future gatherings. "If she made three [things], I'll make four..." Yet again, it got out of hand, so now they just collect money as to eliminate the belittling competition. ("*Bu kez sen. [...] Bak yine kadınları ben topladım. Dedim ki, 'bak gün yapalım, toplu para lazım olur' ama dedim [...] Tamam, dedik. Birine gittik, börek kısır, bir şey daha yapmış. Öbürü ondan aşağı kalmadı, "o 3 yaptıysa ben 4 yapacağım" [...] derkene. Düzen bozulunca…*").

This particular pattern of the *gün* in Sılam's building is a prime example of the negotiation process of trusting for women from a *gecekondu* habitus in the new spatiality of the apartment. The internal battle that Sılam experienced of wanting to be with other women to socialize but not wanting to subject herself to harm (i.e. belittling) indicates one of the main tensions that she pointed out. In our conversation about their apartment's *gün* and the ways it changed over time, although Sılam was not always explicitly sharing things that were said directly to or about her and her home, it is clear that some of it was perceived as if it was directed at her. Although attempting to find ways to minimize the competition and belittling between her neighbors ultimately did not work, it demonstrates that new spaces and new forms of socialization are needed in the apartment complex. Furthermore, it highlights the specific site of the home where intersubjective and relational interactions take place between neighbors as they negotiate their competing desires for closeness and yet not to be harmed.

4.2.2 Negotiating Otherness

The second socio-spatial effect that the apartment context brings is in negotiating Otherness. For the respondents in both Ümraniye and Mamak, the fear of being harmed

in general is a present reality but being harmed by those who are different than them (i.e. the Other) presents a greater possibility of a perceived threat. Again, as explained in Chapter 3, because of ways in which tension between social groups in Turkey have been reinforced and perpetuated in its history, the concept and presence of the Other is not just an imagined reality but the perceived threat of the Other has also been known and experienced historically (Çelik et al., 2017; Saracoglu, 2009). This perceived and felt reality coupled with the socio-spatial transformation of *gecekondu* dwellings into apartment complexes presents a new normal where living near the Other and thus the fear of being harmed by them increases. The navigation of Otherness is another aspect of apartment living in urbanizing Turkey.

The respondents had varying experiences with their neighbors who are from a different sociocultural cleavage. For Songül, these differences did not seem relevant to her. What concerned her is how the women treated each other being *samimi* and how they are there for each other as neighbors:

> "Since I've moved to this flat, my neighbor in flat number 12 is Kurdish and we've been like a family. She is so sincere (*samimi*) that I would have given her my keys [to my flat]…She would do the same to me if something came up for her. Whether it's an errand or illness, we would be there for each other…[W]hether it concerns my husband, or children, we ought to all be us together. We [Alevis] don't discriminate, we just look at people as people, and if others treat me as a person…"

> ("*Ben o taşındığım evdeki kat komşum 12 numaraydı, komşum Kürttü biz bir aile gibiydik. O kadar samimi ki, anahtarımı da verirdim gece onun bana […] bir işim düşerdi onun bir hastası olsun ben götürürdüm benim bir hastam olsun o benim başımdaydı. Burada da aynı, hiç o konuda eşim olsun çocuklarım olsun biz olalım, biz [Alevi olarak] o konuda hiç ayrım yapmayız sadece insan […] gibi bana davranıyorsa.*")

Some of the other respondents such as Songül had positive experiences of not being harmed (e.g. Gülizar and Sevda) and others had negative experiences of being harmed

(e.g. Sılam) by those who might be considered as the Other. Gülizar, a Sunni woman in her 80s living in Istanbul who is one of the oldest respondents, demonstrated this powerful aspect of trust as a negotiation of these fears when reflecting on the past several decades stated,

> "I lived among Alevis for 30 years. [But,] I didn't experience harm in the 30 years in the same building, we still see (and visit) each other. I didn't experience any harm. And they really love me and my late husband."

> *("Ben oturdum otuz sene Alevilerle. Onlardan ben bir kötülük görmedim. Otuz sene aynı binada. Hala görüşüyorum. Hiçbir kötülük görmedim. Onlar da beni çok severler. Benim rahmetli eşim [de].")*

In fact, she explained that she "still goes and visits [with them]" even though she moved from that area, continuing their neighborly relationship even from afar (*"Hala görüşüyorum"*). For the past ten years, after her husband died and her daughter Raziye separated from her husband, the two of them starting living together so as neither to be alone herself, nor leave her daughter alone. What is significant in her experience is that at that time when Gülizar and her family chose to move into this apartment building, her friends warned her "all the people in the apartments are Alevi." (*"Biz oraya taşındık. Dediler ki bize, 'bu evdekilerin hepsi Alevi.'"*) But she laughed as she recalled,

> "I had no idea what Alevism was [at that time]. But […] in time, I got to know them. Among the Alevis, they don't look at you with evil intent at all, they don't dare leer at you, their men are honorable."

> *("Alevilik ne demek bilmiyordum. Otuz sene oturdum. On sene de buraya oldu kırk senedir tanıyorum. […] Ondan sonra, sonra-sonra onları anladım. Onlar böyle yan gözle katiyen bakmazlar. Hiç kötü gözle bakmazlar sana. Namuslu insanlar çok, erkekleri.")*

Alevis were a somewhat known but small minority in society, around the time of the 1970s when Gülizar and her family moved into the Alevi apartment building. It was not until the 1990s that identity politics became more salient in Turkish society, and in turn the Alevi identity became more visible (B. Poyraz, 2005). It is significant that Gülizar is a part of the majority, namely of the Sunni population. Although Gülizar, as a Sunni and her family were the "minorities" in a majority Alevi area, she and her family with respect to the greater population of the city and country were actually members of the majority. Therefore, although Gülizar and her family were the Other to the Alevis, they may not have felt Othered by their Alevi neighbors.

Sevda, a Sunni Turk, also had a positive experience with Kurds with whom she lived for eight years. However, this was not just a random occurrence. She experienced this because someone she trusted introduced her to Kurds in a time of desperation when she did not know anyone (i.e. trust by proxy). She went on to explain that in the 1980s Sevda and her family moved from Konya to Ankara. She was new in Ankara (in her words a "stranger"; "*Ben Ankara'nın yabancısıyım*") and as such did not know anyone (in her words a "stranger"; "*Ben Ankara'nın yabancısıyım*") and as such "did not know anyone" ("*[t]anımıyorum hiç kimseyi*"). At this point she "experienced tremendous support from Kurds" ("*Ben Kürtlerden de çok büyük destek gördüm*") in helping her move from a *gecekondu* house that would not even be considered a house.[43] Her daughter was a 6-7-month-old baby.[44] Her husband needed to work through an indirect connection, namely "her husband's acquaintance's sister's neighbor's relative" ("*[e]şimin dolaylı yolla tanıdığı, ablasının komşusunun akrabası*"), and her husband

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[43] ("*Böyle acayip bir ev; ev denemez yani. Yok, böyle bir şey yok yani, ev diye bir şey yok.*").

[44] ("*O zaman kızım daha çok küçük. Altı-yedi aylık falan. Çok küçük.*")

told her that a woman would be coming to help her with things in the morning. She

continued:

> "[The woman] came. We sat and talked for a bit, […] of course I was crying. This was an unlivable house. [But] this is where we lived. Then [the woman] said [to me], 'Just hold on for 10 days. I have arranged a place for you. I know this [house] is terrible. Don't be sad and cry, because your crying will make your [daughter] also cry and be sad.' She came 10 days later and gathered the youth from the street and brought them to us. She strapped my daughter to her back and took her. [She directed the [youths] saying: 'You, get the blankets from the bed.' [To another], 'You, take the chairs.' '[You,] Get the coal and the wood from the furnace.' 'Carry [these things] to [the] place, I'll be there.' These [youths] weren't just random strangers off the streets, but the neighborhood's children, [her] neighbor's children. That's how we moved there [to our new house]."

> *"[Kadın] geldi. İşte oturduk, konuştuk ve saire, […] Ben tabii ağlıyorum. Böyle bir evde oturulmaz. Tamam, öyle bir eve gelmişiz ama böyle bir evde oturulmaz. […] Biz orada oturduk. […] Ondan sonra, dedi ki, 'sen burada on gün sabret' dedi. 'Ben size' dedi 'bir yer ayarladım. Biliyorum buranın kötü olduğunu. Sen ağlayıp üzülme. Sen ağlayınca bak çocuğunda ağlayıp üzülüyor.' […] [O]n gün geldi. Ondan sonra kadın bize […] sokaktaki gençleri toplamış, evde ne kadar eşya var… Kendi kızımı sırtına bağladı böyle, kucağına aldı. Benim kızı aldı gitti, onlara da dedi ki, "işte sen" dedi, "yatağı yorganı topla, sen" dedi, "sen koltukları al" dedi, "sen" dedi, "kömürlükteki odunu kömürü al" dedi, "felan yere taşıyacaksınız, ben oradayım" dedi. Mahallesinin, komşusunun çocukları bunlar. Yabancı değil, mahallenin çocukları. [Böyle] [b]iz taşındık oraya."*

That was not the end of it. Even after they moved, work remained to be done on the

new house, and this woman still came to her aid with yet again an "army of laborers"

(Benston, 2019 [1969]; Ferguson, 2008) to help make her house livable, this time not

with young people from the neighborhood, but women. Notably, this also continues to

demonstrate tangible practices of living out the dispositions of the *gecekondu* habitus

in everyday life, especially with respect to relying on one's social networks and coming

up with creative/resourceful solutions.

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"We moved to the new house but it was really dirty and needed to be painted still [with a whitewash]. [The woman] said to me, 'don't be sad, okay? I've arranged for this house to be painted tomorrow.' Again, she got the neighbors, the women [together] and said [to them]: 'Clean and paint this house really good.' It [had] two [bed]rooms and a living room. These amaaaazing women painted [the house]! I also joined them and helped wipe one side of it down. We cleaned, moved in and lived there. All this was done by a Kurd! How can I say to the Kurds, 'you're bad?' There are people who say 'these [Kurds] are our enemies. The Kurds are bad.' I don't say those things anyway, and I can't. It would be impossible [to say such things]. I lived among these [Kurds] for 8 years in the same neighborhood."

"Taşındık ama yani ev badana olacak, ev çok kirli. [...] [Kadın] [d]edi ki [bana], 'bak, sen gene üzülme tamam mı' dedi, 'ben gene ayarladım,' dedi, 'yarın bu evi badana yaptıracağım' dedi. Gene komşuları almış, kadınlarını, [...] 'Siz' dedi 'bu evi güzel bir temizleyin, badana yapın' dedi. İki oda bir salon. Güzeeeel kadınlar badana yaptı. İşte ben de bir taraftan sildim. Temizledik, yerleştirdik ve oturduk oraya. Bunu da bir Kürt yaptı. Yani Kürtlere nasıl kötüsün diyebilirim ben? Yani bunları bize düşman eden insanlar var. Kürtler kötü... Yani ben öyle bir şey zaten söylemem, söyleyemem de. Hiç böyle bir şey mümkün değil ve ben bunlarla sekiz yıl aynı mahallede oturdum."

The interesting element in all of this, is that this was potentially a huge risk that could have gone in any direction towards help or harm since those that were coming to her aid were of a different sociocultural identity group. When one goes from knowing no one in a new city (i.e. a total stranger) to someone who is known by someone one trusts, even if very indirectly, this difficult choice is the lesser of two evils. In this instance even though risk was mitigated even by a little and by her husband knowing someone who had someone that was willing to help, it still required a risk when the alternatives were less than ideal. In the end, Sevda taking this risk to be willing to be vulnerable to another led to a positive experience, where she not only found help, comfort, and a new home, but it also served to mitigate and bridge sociocultural differences, namely potentially ethnic tensions despite the current rhetoric, especially in the time when

Kurdish nationalism was on the rise and the Turkish state's response to Kurds were becoming more stringent, making them out to be the enemy (Ergin, 2014; Somer, 2002).

For Sevda, this was the beginning of the trusting process. She was able to entrust and be entrusted to not just the woman who helped her but the other Kurdish women in her neighborhood as well. She explained how years later when her son was about to be born that again she still trusted the women in the neighborhood to the extent that she felt comfortable leaving her daughter to be watched by them.

> "When I went to give birth to my son, again this woman gathered the woman in the neighborhood and took my daughter. I was in the hospital for 3 days and she took care of my house and my child. I didn't experience harm from any of them. [In the neighborhood] they were all Kurdish. There were [some] Turks, too. But they [the Kurdish women], through an indirect connection, you know [it was] the woman's aunt, the aunt [also] trusted us. Until I left [the neighborhood] she was the one I trusted [lit: my trustee]. That's [also] how she saw me. She [the woman's aunt] would say [about me], '[She] entrusted [many things] to me.' So how could I then do anything harmful to a person who has done a huge favor for me? There was no harm or negative intentions towards my family. How can I call this [Kurdish] person bad?"

> *"Oğlumu doğum yapmaya gittiğimde de gene bu kadıncağız, gene onun komşuları kızımı aldılar. Üç gün ben hastanedeyim. Evimle, çocuğumla bunlar ilgilendi. Ve ben bunlardan hiçbir kötülük görmedim. Hep Kürtler vardı [mahallede]. Türkler de vardı. Ama onlar dolaylı yolla, işte hani onun teyzesi…Teyzesi bizi ona emanet etti ya… […]Ben oradan gidinceye kadar o benim emanetçim. Öyle görüyor beni. "Bu bana emanet edildi" diyor. Ee, ben, bu bana böyle iyilik yaparken ben bu insana nasıl kötülük yapabilirim? Yani benim aileme bir kötülüğü yok, bir art niyeti yok. Ben bu insana nasıl kötü diyebilirim?"*

Because of the positive experiences she had over time, living among Kurdish neighbors and the substantial support she received from Kurds initially through this one woman, including the neighborhood young people and her women neighbors, she will not and cannot relay anything negative about them, despite the negative political discourse

about Kurds in Turkey. This again highlights the process of risk that Sevda took in willing to be vulnerable to those who are considered the Other.

To the extent that Gülizar and Sevda did not experience harm, they were both open in their respective ways to continue moving towards trust, closeness, and entrusting things dear to them to those from another social identity group despite being named the Other in public discourse. For Gülizar, visiting and knowing her neighbors of a different identity group was a positive experience that did not cause her harm. For Sevda, continuing to entrust her life, wellbeing, and lives of her family to her neighbors of a different identity group demonstrates her openness, and allowed her to benefit from experiencing her Kurdish neighbors' care.

Unfortunately, among the respondents there were also negative experiences that continued to perpetuate the normative sociocultural cleavages among and between identity groups. Sılam as an Alevi woman experienced instances of harm from those public discourses have deemed her as the Other. For Sılam, she experienced how the relational process and the quantity of contact does not continuously lead to trust when harm is sensed in her apartment building by someone from another social identity group.

In the case of Sılam, she experienced how the relational process and the quantity of contact does not permanently lead to trust when harm is sensed. Sılam's Sunni neighbor refused her invitations to come to her house and, in turn, never reciprocated the invitation. This rebuff meant there was no way to get to know her, and thus the mechanism that could lead to trust was hindered. By not accepting Sılam's invitation—an act of vulnerability and openness on the part of Sılam—removed one of the main

ways to get to know your neighbors. Notably, by not providing a valid reason for not being able to come over, she effectively distanced herself from Sılam, perpetuating the normative tension felt between religious sectarian groups in Turkey. This type of harm perpetuates a deep-seated hurt between Alevis and Sunnis, where Alevis often feel harm in the subtle forms of discrimination and rejection as the minority religious sectarian group in Turkey (Çelik et al., 2017; Öktem, 2008). Sılam noted that certainly she is kind and says hello when they pass in the hallways, but she has noticed that these particular Sunni neighbors avoid eye contact with her and do not respond when she greets them in the hallway. Notably for Sılam, the added dimension of negotiating the rural and urban differences within her building, namely the contested meaning of what it means to be an urbanite further complicates her perceived status as an Alevi. As mentioned above, Sılam is unafraid of expressing herself as an Alevi and as one who values and prefers village life. This is also a visible expression in how she dresses. Sılam's daughter, a recent university graduate who was also in the room during the interview, went as far as saying that some of those in their apartment building "look down on us" ("*[k]üçük görüyorlar bizi*"). The lack of reciprocity and effort by her Sunni neighbor to get to know Sılam and her family as Alevis—the basement floor living apartment dwellers—communicated in more ways than one that to her neighbors they were different, less than, not urban enough and Othered.

The continued and cumulative effects of positive and negative interactions such as these are a part of gathering information that leads to either the building up or wearing down of one's willingness to keep risking in relationship with others. Once more, the focus here is not on one particular point in time (i.e. viewing trust as a noun) but the process of trusting (i.e. viewing trust as a verb) (Grimpe, 2019; Möllering, 2013). Gülizar's 30-

year experience of living among her Alevi neighbors and Sevda's 8-year experience of living among Kurds with whom they came to love, trust, and greatly appreciate after multiple experiences of trustworthy behavior are important to note. For both Gülizar and Sevda, their long-lasting neighborly relationships ultimately led to instances where the normative group tension/fault line between Alevis and Sunnis for Gülizar and Turks and Kurds for Sevda were bridged over time.

As these examples have highlighted, the changes in the city's demographic makeup, socio-spatial transformation of living spaces, and the perpetuation of sociocultural cleavages allowed the opportunity to live in close proximity with those who are different—both a potential position of vulnerability as well as in a place of increased fear where living next to the Other could potentially increase being harmed. This glimpse into my respondents' lives also hints at the locally embedded process of neighborly relations among women which could potentially lead to trust. The intersubjective/relational interactions between members of different social groups in each other's homes as well as through tangibly meeting needs both serve as mechanisms in neighborly relations to help navigate the potential perceived threat allowing relationships to develop on their terms, especially since the functionality of *gecekondu* common spaces are no longer a reality, yet the on-going nature of one's habitus as a physical and cognitive embodiment of one's context/social world and how one relates to the world remains.

4.3 Conclusion

In order to comprehend how interpersonal trust is understood and experienced as a negotiation process, it is essential to first recognize and examine the context and space in which it takes place. In this particular Turkish case among rural-to-urban migrant women in Ankara and Istanbul, the phenomenon of rural-to-urban chain migration, the formation of the *gecekondu* habitus, socio-spatial transformation along with deep-seated sociocultural/group tensions and polarization shaped the context of the women in this study. As such, for these women I show that the process of trusting not only takes time but is a nuanced gendered relational negotiation/iterative practice of holding two fears or desires in tension, the fear of being alone and the fear of being harmed. I establish that the respondents over time while living and sharing in the daily, mundane aspects of life, salient sociocultural cleavages have the *possibility* of being bridged but only to the extent that neighbors of different groups and identities engage willingly in the iterative risk process of knowing, visiting, sharing, helping and in each other's homes which is a type of on-going risk in material, emotional, and tangible expressions of words and deeds. I also show that for migrant women the new spatiality of the apartments added another layer of negotiation where the home becomes a significant site of trusting. These contextual factors viewed together allow for a more nuanced understanding of the process of trust in Turkey which incorporates the negotiation of physical, relational/social, *and* sociocultural space for this segment of Turkish society that resonate with the *gecekondu* habitus. This deeper understanding can help move scholarship closer to exploring important questions such as why trust in Turkey is consistently surveyed as being low and what steps could be taken in order to enhance the relational process of *trusting*, especially in urbanizing places like in Turkey.

This chapter has addressed the fact that the process of trusting is not only salient for meeting relational needs in tangible ways out of the ways in which one's habitus conditions and shapes one's choices. The following chapter will discuss the ways in which trusting is also a necessary component of meeting tangible needs in relational ways in context and as a result processes within one's habitus. Additionally, while this chapter mainly focused on addressing the verb form of trusting—namely as an iterative risk process—the question still remains, what does the noun form of trusting look like? The subsequent chapter addresses this question by examining the role of neighbors in social reproduction, especially in light of the structural disadvantages of migrant women and the importance of how trusting as a noun is utilized as an exchange resource of Bourdieuan social capital (Bourdieu, 1986). Again, context is of utmost importance, especially since I consider the embedded nature of social relations, community, and family functions of the *gecekondu* habitus—all of which in turn necessitate the practice of trust in order to continue to reproduce society in physically and socially. I suggest that trust is not only a necessary component for daily life but also for continuing to reproduce life in family, community, and society (Erkip, 2010; Kağıtçıbaşı, 1982b; Mills, 2007). In other words, migrant women, under certain circumstances, are left with no choice but to trust their neighbors in order to adequately care for their families in order to survive.

CHAPTER FIVE

TRUST IN/AS SOCIAL REPRODUCTION AND SOCIAL CAPITAL

This chapter articulates the relationship between trust, social capital, and social reproduction in the case of rural-to-urban migrant women and by extension their families, by illustrating how neighbors are a necessary component for social reproduction given their structural disadvantages in society. In line with Brenner and Laslett (1986), I understand and define social reproduction in this study as "the activities and attitudes, behaviors and emotions, responsibility and relationships directly involved in the maintenance of life on a daily basis" for the current and the subsequent generations in community (Brenner & Laslett, 1986, p. 117). In light of the urbanizing context of my respondents, their *gecekondu* habitus, and the theoretical lens of this study, this chapter empirically demonstrates the relationship between trust, social reproduction, and social capital. As such, this chapter asks the following: How does the *gecekondu* habitus condition and shape migrant women's choice in the work of social reproduction? In what ways are social reproduction and trust related? How can we understand nuances of trust through the mechanisms of social reproduction in the

everyday lives of migrant women in the *gecekondu* habitus? How do this change when moving into apartment buildings?

There are two main arguments I present in this chapter. First, I specifically focus on the ways in which my respondents' economic conditions (i.e. class) and their habitus shapes their understanding and experience of trust. Given the limited access to economic and institutional resources and the class position of the respondents, their *gecekondu* habitus internally and externally shape and condition their understanding of their choices/possibilities (Reay, 2004). As a result, relying on their neighbors and social networks is a *necessary practice* in order to survive through the work of social reproduction, namely reproducing the next generation physically and socially. As such, I suggest that while negotiating trust, reliance upon neighbors is essential in continuing to reproduce life in family (Erkip, 2010; Kağıtçıbaşı, 1982b; Mills, 2007).

In some cases, migrant women under certain circumstances, are left with no choice but to trust their neighbors in mechanisms of social reproduction in order to care and find ways to provide for their families and their ensure survival. As we will see, these lack of options are not necessarily a negative. On the one hand, in less-than-ideal circumstances it forces migrant women in the *gecekondu* habitus to make difficult decisions in doing the work of social reproduction. However, on the other hand, these choices often catalyze resourcefulness and opens avenues of relationships within their immediate community/social networks that they might not have considered under different conditions. Furthermore, not only is trust necessary for survival in the *gecekondu* habitus, but the ensuing positive or negative outcomes of these trust practices in social reproduction inform the on-going negotiation of trusting in social

relations that are necessary for the building-up of and maintenance of trust(ing) relations beyond survival.

Observing these trust practices leads to my second main argument. I suggest that looking at the mechanisms of social reproduction in the *gecekondu* habitus allows scholars to observe the survival mechanisms and contextual nuances that affect how trust is mobilized in context, namely as Bourdieuan (1986) social capital, an exchange resource. The negative or positive outcome(s) of their trust practices take away or add to one's social capital respectively—it is this presence or lack of social capital that informs migrant women in their (on-going) trusting processes. I empirically demonstrate how under different conditions trust in this context is mobilized as social capital—an exchange resource—in social reproduction. I illustrate these social reproduction mechanisms for my respondents through the empirical examples of shared caregiving and the economic/money saving benefits of participating in the adapted social practice *altın günü* in the apartment complex.

5.1 The Formalization of Neighborly Relations and Its Challenges to Social Reproduction

In this section, I frame the empirical discussion around two specific social reproduction mechanisms of care in the regular social money saving mechanisms of women via the *altın günü* in light of the formalization of neighbor relations initiated by the move to the apartment. As discussed in Chapter 3, the move to the apartments from *gecekondu* enclaves has effectively formalized neighborly relations whereby the opportunities to observe and interact one's neighbors which are key components of the negotiation

process of trusting for migrant women are fewer, and as such it takes longer to know and/or assess the trustability of neighbors. In both the mechanisms of care and saving money via the *gün*, I suggest that at least two specific nuances of trust come to the fore in light of the *gecekondu* habitus. Namely, (1) the practice of negotiating trust(ing) is necessary in one's community/social network for survival, and (2) in the absence of trust/trustworthy people in one's social network, creative solutions are needed in order to survive within their less-than-ideal choices.

5.1.1 Social Reproduction in/as Care: The Necessity of Trustworthy Neighbors

In looking at the nuanced ways that trust is experienced and understood by migrant women, I first examine the social reproduction mechanism of care, specifically the collective care of children and homes by women (Arruzza, 2015; Bakker & Gill, 2003; Braedley, 2006; Fraser, 2017). Fraser reminds us that

> [waged work] could [not] exist in the absence of [women's role in] housework, child-raising…affective care, and a host of other activities that serve to produce new generations of workers and replenish existing ones, as well as to maintain social bonds and shared understandings (Ferguson, 2008; Fraser, 2017, p. 23).

Given the context of the respondents who are structurally disadvantaged which also includes their class position, options such as institutionalized or private daycare (*kreş*) and/or paid private babysitters (*bakıcı*) are not a feasible financial option for those in the *gecekondu* habitus. Consequently, these mechanisms of care shed light on migrant women's understanding and experience of trust, especially within the context of their immediate community, including specifically their neighbors.

Nearly every respondent interviewed conveyed information about their neighbors in conjunction with the care of their children. The role of neighbors in helping to care for

one's children was a common example of social reproduction for my respondents. Damla, a stay-at-home mother with young school-aged children in Ümraniye, mentioned that "in instances when relatives, family or friends cannot make it in time, neighbors are really important" ("*bazen akrabanın ailenin arkadaşın yetişemediği yerde komşu çok önemli*"). Specifically, Damla mentioned the comfort and convenience of having her neighbors close.

> "[There's] my neighbor right across next door! They can make it to you (in time) for whatever is needed, whether it's an illness, or something else. She's even around to be there for my children when they come home from school when I can't be there. Or if I have a [last minute] errand to run, in two minutes I can drop my children off to her and entrust them to her care."

> ("[H]emen kapı komşun [var] ya! Sana onlar yetişiyorlar. Hastalık oluyor, bi' şey oluyor işte ne bileyim, çocuk okuldan geliyor, o alıyor benim olmadığım zaman. İki dakika onu bırakıp gidiyorum işim oluyor mesela emanet ediyorum.")

This reliance on one's neighbors is not only true for stay-at-home mothers but also for working mothers, including those from a *gecekondu* habitus. Sedef, a working mother/high school teacher in Ümraniye who lived through the various transformations of Ümraniye's housing iterations,[45] finds deep comfort in being able to entrust her most valuable possessions (i.e. her children) to her neighbor who lives across the hall, a woman she knows and trusts, while she is at work. Being able to leave her children at home while she works, knowing that her neighbor's door is right next to theirs and available to her children if they need anything is a tremendous relief. Moreover, it is not just that Sedef's neighbor is accessible and close by but also that her next-door

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[45] Notably, Sedef is one of the few Ümraniye respondents who remembered and lived through migration with her family at the age of four and the various stages of development in Ümraniye from *gecekondu* dwellings into apartment complexes.

neighbor and children know each other.[46] The value and care by and for trusted neighbors is also something that the respondents recognized and commented on. Canan, a young mother of two school-aged children in Ümraniye who was interviewed in her *gecekondu*-like apartment complex, used to work at a hospital as a cleaner in order to keep her family afloat but is now out of work since the hours she was given kept her away from her children too long. "It's trust when my neighbor can leave her children with me, or when I can leave my children with her when something comes up, even if it is something small [that happens]" ("*[Komşularına güvenmek] çok önemli…çünkü sonuçta aynı binada yaşıyoruz, Birbirimize emanetiz. En ufak bir şey olduğu zaman, [...]bir şey olduğunda mesela ben çocuğumu ona bırakabiliyorum. O da çocuğunu bana bırakabiliyorsa güvendir yani.*")

These examples demonstrate instances of what Fraser called "affective care" (Fraser, 2017). They are unwaged examples of care by non-kin that ultimately help in caring for children and a necessary component of reproducing the next generation, mentally and emotionally (Laslett & Brenner, 1989). In emergency situations as well as in mundane situations, having neighbors with whom one's children can play together and can be looked after is not only a comfort but a necessity. This is especially true since the respondents could not afford to pay for care services in the market.

When we consider this in regard to trust, desiring trustworthy neighbors to safeguard their children is preferred. Having trusted neighbors ultimately ensures the protection and safety of a mother's most valuables from harm while she is at work and/or tending

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[46] ("*Çünkü çalışıyorum ve çocuklarımı evde bırakıyorum. Kapım komşumun kapısıyla aynı yerde ve 'tık-tık' yapsa benim çocuğum kapıyı açabilir çünkü benim çocuğum onu tanıyor. Onun benim komşum olduğunu biliyor.*)

to another emergency situation. For Sedef and her children, knowing and trusting her neighbor is extremely important because of the potential of someone they do not know and trust coming to their door "to harm those she holds most dear" especially if it is "a bad person she doesn't trust" is a real fear for these mothers (*"...eğer kötü bir, güvenmediğim bir kişiyse en değer verdiklerime zarar verebilir"*). Thus, when guaranteeing trusting conditions with reliable people is possible, it is not merely about having people nearby that matters, but more importantly, having trustworthy people/neighbors close. Specifically, are they trusted people that mothers can rely on for the care of their most prized possessions at almost any time?

This kind of trusting as previously discussed in Chapter 4 involves knowing (*tanımak*). Specifically knowing for the sake of trusting includes more than simply knowing about them, but it means knowing each other's family, being aware of the kinds of people they are (i.e. character), and the nature of their relationships with each other. Therefore, unsurprisingly, when I asked Sedef why she could entrust her neighbors to care for her children, she responded in a manner that incorporated her knowing and observing her neighbor and her neighbor's family life (e.g. husband, living area, children, the relationship between the members of the family, and the presence of respect and love).[47]

These details about their neighbors' character are important data points in order to continue being willing to risk in the process of trusting. This type of experiential knowledge is an inherent part of community-embedded life with nearby social

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[47] (*"Yaşadıkları alana girebildim. Eşleriyle tanıştım. Çocuklarıyla tanıştım. Eşleriyle aralarındaki ilişkiyi gözlemleyebildim. Çocuklarıyla aralarındaki ilişkiyi gözlemleyebildim. Ev yaşantılarının nasıl bir düzen içinde olduğunu gözlemleyebildim. Ve düşüncelerinde, konuşmalarında bir çelişki görmedim. Dışarıda çocuklarına çok iyi davranan ama evde çok kızan olmadıklarını. İşte dışarıda da eşleriyle kibar ve düzeyli bir aile olduklarını, evlerinde de bu şekilde olduklarını, saygısı ve sevgisi olan bir aile olduklarını görünce güvendim. Evet, ailelerini tanıdım çünkü."*)

networks. In fact, this kind of affective care among trusted neighbors could also be considered a type of mutuality and reciprocity akin to Duben's (1982) kinship idiom.

Having neighbors to rely on in the care aspect of social reproduction requires trusted social networks including neighbors. Yet, the move to apartments has complicated this process with the formalization of neighborly relations, thus requiring more time, intentionality, and selectivity in assessing one's neighbor's trustability. It is not surprising that Sedef makes the distinction that while she knows some of her neighbors she does not know or entrust all her neighbors in their large apartment complex with the care of her children. Moreover, she only named three of her neighbors that she knows and trusts including "the older aunty and uncle lives across from [them]," "[their] upstairs neighbor who brings her children and has coffee while [their] children play," and "one [other] neighbor who comes [and visits us]" ("*Çünkü sitede kalabalık bir şeyde oturuyoruz. İşte karşı komşumla, mesela yaşlı bir teyze ve amca oturuyor. İşte karşı komşumla, mesela yaşlı bir teyze ve amca oturuyor. Onlarla gidip geliyoruz. Üst kat komşum işte çocuklarını alıp bana gelir. Bir kahve içer, çocuklarımız oynar. İşte bir daha var komşum. O da gelir. ...[O]nlara güveniyorum.*") It is these few selected few trusted neighbors that she trusts and as such is at ease about sending her children to them and leaving her children with these trusted neighbors, and they do likewise with her and their children.[48] In fact, it is in the continued reliance upon one's trusted neighbors that trust is maintained and deepened like in a positive feedback loop.

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[48] ("*Eğer gerçekten hani kendime seçtiklerimse güveniyorum. Çünkü çocuklarımı oraya gönderebiliyorum. Orada bırakabiliyorum. Onlar bana çocuklarını gönderebiliyor. Bu anlamda güveniyorum.*")

In light of this, it is also important to ask and examine the instances when there are not trusted and/or available neighbors with whom to leave one's children. These lack of viable options and/or preferred choices are the reality for some in the *gecekondu* habitus, including those of lower socioeconomic levels. For those who need to work in order to keep their families afloat with more earned income, this question is especially complex and difficult as it forces working mothers to be faced with hard choices that require creative (and sometimes less than ideal) solutions. "I didn't have anyone here. There was no one who could watch my child…I mean I didn't have the money to pay for someone to watch him." ("*Kimsem yoktu burada. Yani çocuğuma bakabilecek kimse yoktu…Yani çocuğuma bakıcısına verecek param da yoktu.*") Sevda, a house cleaner in Ankara, expresses here that there were unavailable choices for her given her situation. I suggest this is shaped and conditioned by her *gecekondu* habitus. Working class women in the *gecekondu* habitus are more likely to be constantly working for their family's survival. Laslett and Brenner (1989) point out that for women in the working class, their "range of activities" was necessary if the family were to survive economically. "In the working class, a good wife was not only an efficient manager and a skilled domestic worker, she also contributed to [the] family['s] income" (Laslett & Brenner, 1989, p. 389). This observation has also been echoed in the context of for rural-to-urban migrants in urbanizing Turkey and their *gecekondu* habitus. Researchers have shown that whether or not a wife was allowed by her husband, especially in light of the current conservative Turkish government's discourse of family and gender roles, to work outside the home in a waged position, "housewifely duties such as cleaning, cooking, and caregiving" were still expected of her (Erman & Hatiboglu, 2017, p. 1292). Additionally, it has been widely shown that "[s]ex differences in the division of labor and concomitant spatial segregation are quite marked in the domestic realm. For

example, food preparation for the family, cleaning, childcare, etc., are almost exclusively women's work" (Olson, 1982, p. 43). Consequently, in these circumstances mothers like Sevda may not have the choice to leave one's children with trusted others.

One of Sevda's lived experiences clearly demonstrates the difficult choices she needed to make on behalf of her family for their survival. In the 1990s when she moved to Sincan in an economically tenuous time for her family and the country. This meant she needed to go back to work while also still tending to the duties of maintaining their home after work and sort out childcare for her children. With her first child, Sevda's mother was still alive to help care for her daughter and provided a form of kin-based type of affective care person for her family and children while Sevda worked as a seamstress. Unfortunately, soon after her second child her son was born, Sevda's mother passed away leaving her with a care-crisis. She had no one in her social network or family to leave her children to when she needed to work.[49] Initially, when her son was born, she was able to stop working. They were able to manage financially at first since her husband's work situation was stable. However, when her son was a few years old, around the time of the Gulf War and when the Turkish economy was fairly unstable, they bought a new house and moved to Sincan. With a new house and two children to care for, their family's tight economic situation meant she now needed to work, and since her mother passed away, they had "no one [in Sincan] she could leave to watch her son. She also did not have the money to pay someone to watch him [when she went to work]." ("*Sincan'dan evi yeni almıştım. Yani çocuğuma bakıcısına verecek param da yoktu.*") During that difficult period for their family, she made the hard choice

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[49] ("*Kimsem yoktu burada. Yani çocuğuma bakabilecek kimse yoktu.*")

to leave her children at home alone, so that she and her husband could work to keep their family afloat. It was such a tight time economically that often her husband and her would leave the house without eating breakfast, so they could leave bread for their children and not leave them hungry. They only took sufficient money so they could take public transportation to work.[50]

Sevda's story up until this point is an example of a working-class mother from a *gecekondu* habitus making the difficult choice in to order to maintain existing life, hoping that by doing so in the future they would have the means to continue to reproduce the next generation (Laslett & Brenner, 1989). In the end Sevda had to make one of two choices that forced her to trust either (1) leave her 3-year-old son at home to fend for himself while her and her husband went to work and their daughter went to school or (2) leave her son to be watched by someone she did not know or trust. For Sevda, on the one hand she would be forced to trust someone she did not know yet with her most prized possession. She did not have the luxury of time to get to know (*tanımak*) and assess which of her new neighbors were trustworthy and reliable since they just moved to the area and she also needed to work. Alternatively, she could leave her son and hope for the best—that he would not harm himself while he was home alone. She recognized that choosing to leave her son at home at an incredibly young age was not ideal, but for her it was a necessary action—choosing the lesser of two evils—if her family had a chance of surviving economically (Laslett & Brenner, 1989). Again, this points not only to the on-going negotiation process of trust in neighborly relations—especially in the light of knowing (*tanımak*) and holding the desire to not be alone with

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[50] ("*Yani öyle hesapla harcıyorduk ki…Ekmekle yani sabah eşimle birlikte kahvaltı yapmıyorduk çoğu zaman çocuklara bir ekmek bırakabilmek için. Biz yapsak çocuklar aç kalacaktı. Biz kahvaltı yapmadan çıkıyorduk. Biz sadece yol paramızla yola çıkıyorduk.*")

the desire of not being harmed in tension with each other as explicated in the previous chapter—but it also reveals another facet of the relationship between trust and social reproduction, especially when survival is at stake for those in the *gecekondu* habitus. While others may choose differently between these two options, for Sevda trusting an unknown/untrusted neighbor was unthinkable.

While being obligated to make difficult choices is a harsh reality, in some cases it forces one to look for other possibilities and/or creative solutions. For Sevda, a solution presented itself through the woman whom she worked for as a house cleaner who entrusted the care of her home to Sevda. For Sevda as well as a couple of other respondents in the *gecekondu* habitus, being trusted opened the opportunity to also be willing to also trust. At this time, Sevda worked in Balgat while living in Sincan—a long commute that required two forms of public transportation from Balgat.[51] Sevda and her daughter would leave the house together in the morning while she went to work in Balgat and her daughter to school. Her husband also worked even farther in Gölbaşı, so he would often be the first to leave in the morning.[52] She went on to explain the following:

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[51] (“*Balgat'a gidiyordum...Sincan'dan oraya iki arabayla gidiyordum.*”)

[52] (“*[O]ğlum o zaman küçüktü. [...] Tabii ben oğlumu eve kapatıp gidiyordum. Üç yaşında. Kızım okula gidiyor. Sabah birlikte çıkıyoruz. Eşim zaten bizden önce çıkıyor. Eşim de Gölbaşı'nın çıkışında bir iş yerinde çalışıyor. Onun yeri daha uzak. [...] Çocuk okula ben işe oğlum evde yalnız kalıyordu.*”)

"When I first went to my job, this woman [whom I worked for] told me, 'When you come this way, you [should] definitely bring your [son]. I'll watch him until evening.' So every time I went [to work up in Balgat] I brought him [with me]. If for some reason I didn't bring him along, and she saw me, she would get keys from me, go [to my house], (she had a car) pick him up and come back. My son, and her son would be together with her until evening. […] She would feed him, let them play and took them around. I couldn't believe it! It was at my weakest point that this happened."

"Bu işine ilk gittiğim kadıncağız bana derdi ki 'bu tarafa gelirken mutlaka çocuğunu getireceksin. Ben ona akşama kadar bakarım.'…Ben oraya her gittiğimde çocuğu götürürdüm. Eğer getirmemişsem, o kadın beni görmüşse… Arabası vardı. Anahtarı benden alırdı. Giderdi. Oğlumu alır geri gelirdi. Akşama kadar, o oğlumu, kendi oğluyla birlikte, [...]akşama kadar, gezdirirdi, yedirirdi, oynatırdı…Bu kadar! Böyle bir şeydi. En benim, zayıf noktam mesela."

The fascinating aspect about this turn in Sevda's experience is she went from seemingly "no one" (in her community/social network) that she trusted/would entrust to the care of her son, to someone in her extended community to watch her son at no cost—much less someone she was informally employed by as a house cleaner—an unexpected solution.

How is it possible that Sevda was willing to trust her employer over her neighbors around her? Perhaps said another way, why is it that Sevda was willing to risk trusting her employer but not her neighbors? Is it conceivable that because Sevda was first entrusted by her employer a woman to care for her employer's home, that Sevda in turn was also willing to risk trusting this woman with her son's care? Given the few options Sevda had, she needed to trust someone, even though the conditions of assessing trustability were less than ideal. Moreover, she was willing to be vulnerable to employer, relying on her social network was necessary for her and her family's survival. As such, negotiating trust was also necessary for survival. Sevda needed to both work and find a way to care for her son, but given her situation only one of those choices

could be made, unfortunately, at the expense of the other. Sevda's example demonstrates the complex relationship of trust and social reproduction especially for women from the *gecekondu* habitus in an urbanizing context.

What can be seen in this social reproduction mechanism of care is at least two specific nuances of trust in light of the *gecekondu* habitus. Namely, (1) the practice of negotiating trust and relying on those in one's social network is necessary for survival and (2) the absence of trustworthy people in one's social network forces women to make difficult decisions in order to survive/do the work of reproducing the current and next generation socially and physically.

5.1.2 Social Reproduction and the Gün: A New Economic Resource

In addition to the *gün* being a potential gathering where migrant women can have their socialization needs met since moving to the apartments (see Chapter 4), their adoption of this social practice also serves as a social reproduction mechanism, namely it serves as an economic resource that women have access to independent of their husbands' financial assistance. Again, given the context of my respondents, it is more likely because of their limited economic resources that their *gün* gatherings would be held in each other's homes, as opposed to going out to a restaurant. Within a set period of time, often over the course of a calendar year, women gather to socialize, share in food, tea and a pre-determined amount of money. The host for the month is the designated recipient of all the cash the other women bring. Even when someone is not able to be present at the gather for any given reason, they will usually be sure to make sure the money is sent with someone else. In this way, the *gün* has the potential to meet the needs of migrant women both socially and materially. When the social environment of the gathering is pleasant or at least tolerable, it provides the opportunity for neighbors

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to get to know (*tanımak*), observe, interact, and assess trustability among each other during a designated time and space, over the course of the year. Additionally, it provides women economic resources that they can count on.

However, in instances where the social environment of the *gün* is not suitable (e.g. safe) for getting to know one's neighbors without subjecting oneself to harm, it forces those involved to make difficult choices of continuing participating in the *gün*, collect their share of the pot when it's their turn to host, and subject oneself to harm or take oneself out of harm's way/quit the *gün* but also lose the economic resource. Sılam during the interview told me about their *gün*, and some of the modifications they made to their monthly gathering. As mentioned in the previous chapter, Sılam and her neighbors tried different versions of a *gün*, but it never worked in light of criticism, competition, and belittling that ensued, ultimately creating an uncomfortable and distrustful environment that they could not stand anymore.[53] After several tries of limiting the circumstances and terms of the *gün* because of the negativity, Sılam modified their apartment's *gün* to what she calls a "*para günü*" (money day). Instead of meeting together like they used to in each other's homes with *çay* (tea) and *börek* (pastries) with nine of her neighbors (ten including her), now they do not host each other inside their homes. On a monthly basis (*ayda bir*), Sılam as the keeper and administrator of the list and money collection, gets everyone together just to collect money, and then gives it to the month's host.[54]

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[53] ("*Bazı insanlar birbirlerini küçük görmeye başladı.* [...], [B]*iz artık dayanamayacağız, dayanamadık.*")

[54] ("*Ama şimdi evlere kabul etmiyoruz. Şimdi parasını veriyoruz...Önceden toplanıyorduk.*[...] *Ondan sonra [...] ben para günüde girdim. Bu kez gelin milleti, komşuları topladık. Şimdi herkes, kim çıktı, [...] Herkes biriktiriyor. Götürüyoruz, [...] Öbür ay kim? Listeye bakıyoruz.*")

As Sılam explained the changing circumstances of the *gün* to a *para gün*, it was evident that doing away with the *gün* altogether did not seem like a preferred option. Over time, being a part of a *gün* results in money that women know they can count on so long as the *gün* is still happening. Thus, for Sılam forgoing this set amount of money when it was her turn to host was not an option she was willing to make. Instead, she found a way to still have the economic resource, but without subjecting herself to harm and the belittling of the narcissistic neighbor. In other informal conversations I have had with women from a *gecekondu* habitus, many of them already have ideas for what this money will go towards such as their son's upcoming wedding or finally updating a much-needed appliance in the home. For women like Sılam, being able to provide for their children and families in this way it is not only necessary to rely on one's social network, but it also means finding resourceful ways to keep access to the resource going so that social reproduction can continue but not at the expense of oneself, namely subjecting oneself to harm.

In addition to being a mechanism of saving money for provisions for their family, participating in the *gün* also provides women some semblance of freedom and independence from their husbands in a way that works within their patriarchal cultural values. Having cash on hand when their turn to host the *gün* means that they will not need to ask their husbands for money towards a new appliance or be told what they can or cannot do for their children's wedding preparations. The money women earn from the *gün* is at their discretion to spend without needing permission from their husbands. Since their patriarchal culture already limits migrant women in terms of their access to the city and other institutional resources (Hemmasi & Prorok, 2002; Kandiyoti, 1988; Stirling, 1999), having this pocket money through their gendered networks provides

them with extra economic resources that they can mobilize towards caring and support for their families.

The adaptation of the *gün* for migrant women in the apartment context demonstrates yet another link between trust and social reproduction. While it is not always the case that the *gün* becomes a para *para günü* as in the case of Sılam and the neighbors in her building, it illustrates two things. First, that some level of negotiating trust with the neighbors in one's *gün* is necessary in order to employ the social reproduction mechanism of saving money. Second, in the instance where the conditions for trust among neighbors is not possible or less likely, it challenges women to choose between saving money potentially at the expense of themselves and/or coming up with another solution. For Sılam, the very act of modifying the *gün* was a way to provide the means for social reproduction to occur, while negotiating trust in less-than-ideal circumstances.

5.2 Mobilizing Social Capital as Trust

This last section addresses the second main argument of this chapter, namely the way trust is utilized by migrant women in the *gecekondu* habitus is akin to a Bourdieuan (1986) social capital. By doing so, I suggest trust is not just a *value* but is also a form of social capital as an exchange resource that is mobilized in the mechanisms of social reproduction of everyday life. As the previous section demonstrated, the negative or positive outcome(s) of the respondents' trust practices in social reproduction informed their on-going negotiation of trust. The mechanisms of social reproduction my respondents utilized (i.e. care, provisioning, and the *gün*) are in essence powered by an

exchange resource, that of social capital. Negative or positive experiences of trust practices in doing the work of social reproduction took away or added social capital. In Bourdieuan terms of capital, the "accumulated labor" of these trust practices afforded both parties an amount of social capital (i.e. "connection"/trust) that could then be exchanged/spent, for example, in the willingness to risk or entrust one's child to said trusted neighbor time and time again (Bourdieu, 1986). Hence, when one trusts another resulting in a positive outcome, it arguably increases the potential for trust for the next iteration by increasing one's social capital. As such, I suggest it is this type of social capital that is exchanged[55] by migrant women in their on-going trusting negotiation processes whereby more social capital resources result in a greater willingness to trust while less social capital resources decrease the willingness to risk trusting. I argue that Bourdieu's understanding of social capital as a resource connected to one's social networks is specifically the kind of resource with imbued value that the respondents mobilized in social reproduction, which in turn allows us to see more clearly how trust works in context and as a process, suggesting that trust is not merely a value/risk process but is also a form of social capital as an exchange resource that is mobilized in the intertwined trusting process found in the mechanisms of social reproduction of everyday life.

When understanding trust through social reproduction, migrant women's *gecekondu* habitus conditioned and shaped their perception of available choices where negotiating trust was a necessary practice in order to survive. On the one hand, in less-than-ideal circumstances it forces migrant women in the *gecekondu* habitus to make difficult

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[55] This can be seen even within Duben's (1982) concept of a kinship idiom where the mechanism of reciprocity can also be understood as the exchanging of resources.

choices in doing the work of social reproduction. However, on the other hand, these choices often catalyzed resourcefulness and opened avenues of relationships within their immediate community/social networks that they might not have considered under different conditions. As I will elaborate below, the results of their choices opened migrant women to positive and/or negative outcomes which I connect to the accrual and/or loss of social capital, respectively. Ultimately, this allows scholars to see how trust(ing) is mobilized as social capital in the social reproduction mechanism of migrant women in their *gecekondu* habitus.

5.2.1 Care, Social Capital and the Process of Trusting

Specifically, in conditions where my respondents felt comfortable to continue engaging in the risk process of trusting, this also increased their amount of social capital—the symbolic resource that is connected with one's group membership and social networks (Bourdieu, 1986; Siisiäinen, 2000)—that could be exchanged with those they trust to be willing to ask for help in (i.e. entrusting) their daily practices of social reproduction (e.g. care of children and homes). For example, in the instances where the respondents (e.g. Damla, Sedef, Sevda, and Canan) had trusted neighbors/people in their social networks to rely on, they were willing to entrust their children and homes to those they trusted. These examples of social capital increase also paved the way for the mechanism of affective care to be utilized, and these respondents who had relationships with trusted neighbors meant that their ability to trust (e.g. being willing to risk not only their own safety and comfortability) but also were willing to entrust the lives of their children to their neighbors.

Sevda's experience of eventually entrusting her son to her employer while she worked ultimately opened the avenue for a different kind of relationship within her social

network that she did not previously consider. Sevda went from not having connections/a social network and thus lacked the means of being able to accumulate social capital in her new neighborhood in Sincan to having the opportunity to grow her social network and increase her connection/social capital with her employer to the point of being willing to entrust her son to be watched/cared for by her employer. In Sevda's case, because she needed to work in order to keep her family afloat financially and thus did not have the time to get to know her neighbors through visiting, knowing, and sharing, she needed a creative way of being able to care for her son within her means. While Sevda was not able to build trust with her employer in the same way (i.e. knowing, visiting, and sharing) as seen in the lives of the other women respondents, there was still a positive experience of trust/an accumulation of social capital in the process of Sevda's employer entrusting Sevda to the care of her home. The fact that Sevda felt known and trusted by her employer (i.e. she was given keys to her employer's home), allowed at least an initial level of reciprocal trust. It reduced risk in the willingness to be vulnerable because a level of trust was expressed and felt. In Bourdieuan terms of capital, the accumulated labor of building a relationship towards trust through knowing and reciprocally by being entrusted with the woman with whom Sevda worked afforded both women an amount of social capital (i.e. "connection"/trust) that could then be exchanged/spent in the willingness of Sevda to risk or entrust her son to her boss to watch her son for free while she worked as a house worker in her employer's home. In this manner, Sevda and her boss continued an intertwined mix of both waged work and care—both mechanisms in social reproduction. This enabled Sevda to both work so that she could earn money to help keep her family financially functioning as well as entrust her son to be cared for by the woman she worked for as a house helper. Sevda's relationship with her boss, someone in her gendered social network, grew (i.e. as one

continues in the iterative practice of the relational negotiation process of trusting), and it arguably increased the potential for trust as well as allowed for the accrual of social capital as a resource. As this on-going negotiation process of trusting continued, she continued to observe and experience over time that Sevda nor her son was harmed by her employer. As such, she was able to continue trusting her employer to help her in doing the work of social reproduction in both caring for her son and paying her wages. Relying on care provisions that one does not pay for still comes with risk but has the potential for dividends in increased social capital/a positive outcome. Relying on one's neighbors/social network for the provision of caregiving may not cost money, but it costs being willing to be vulnerable (i.e. to ask for help) and risk the welfare and care of one's children to another. Thus, this form of trusting/utilizing social capital results not only in the means to "produce and maintain social bonds" (i.e. social reproduction) but also produces a kind of immaterial gain (i.e. trust through the investment of social capital in social reproduction) (Fraser, 2017, p. 27).

5.2.2 The Gün, Social Capital and the Process of Trusting

Engaging in the trust practice when doing the work of social reproduction does not always yield positive results. While negative outcomes still point to the mobilization of social capital as a trust resource, these types of experiences help to outline the boundaries of the necessary conditions for trust as social capital to accrue. This can be seen most clearly in Sılam's example of their apartment's *para günü*. When looking at trust(ing) as a negotiation process of holding two fears in tension with each other, Sılam's experience demonstrated the presence of a subtle but felt harm (i.e. criticism/belittling) held in tension with the desire to be together/fear of being alone (i.e. hosting the group of women in her home provides an opportunity of togetherness).

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However, the harm felt illuminates a boundary of trust(ing) in the *gecekondu* habitus through this particular social reproduction mechanism. Sılam's creative solution of transforming the typical *gün* into a *para gün* suggests at least two things. First, transforming the *gün*, instead of eliminating it all together, meant that the economic benefits of the *gün* was a still felt need. Second, it meant that in the previous iterations of the gün, enough harm was felt so as to necessitate its transformation, essentially reducing it to still meet needs but without the potential for being harmed.

From Sılam's perspective, the initial *gün* experiences were characterized as negative. In the end, it was the social features of the *gün* that created the possibility of harm when she hosted the *gün*, leaving her open to criticism and belittling. Yet, Sılam herself mentioned that all the participants needed the money to be collected over time. In light of social reproduction and the need for a means of saving money (i.e. reproduction through provisioning), Sılam's creative solution was to keep the *para* (money) part of the *gün* but take out the typical *gün*'s social aspects (i.e. the food, gathering and tea). Considering this example with respect to its relation to trust, I suggest that when the outcomes of the process of trust(ing) are negative (i.e. felt harm), it does not threaten to cease the social reproduction mechanism per se, however it changes the type of risk-taking/resource (i.e. the kind of capital) exchange one is willing to enter. The exchange of money (i.e. economic capital) in Sılam's *gün* still takes place, but the social capital/"social obligations and connections" (Bourdieu, 1986)) were removed which in essence removed the social from the capital.

Consequently, I suggest that without trust (i.e. social capital as an exchange resource) the kind of social reproduction that can happen is reduced to exchanging types(s) of capital that involve less relational risk. The gendered social network of Sılam's

neighbors still existed, but it was not a relationally tight social network. Given the social/relational context of Sılam's apartment complex, the monthly *gün* could not be a social reproduction mechanism that could be utilized for the dual purposes of both trust building/accruing social capital and economic capital. The lack of trust does not mean that social reproduction cannot take place, but without a trusting environment, the typical *gün* with all its embedded social traditions and customs/social obligations in Sılam's apartment complex broke down and was reduced to one without the social in capital, but the exchange of capital remained (i.e. economic capital).

Moreover, given Sılam's class position in society (i.e. working class) along with her *gecekondu* habitus, the means for accumulating economic capital was still needed, but a creative and less risky way was needed. Thus, it is not a surprise that since harm was felt (i.e. criticism/belittling) and trust (as social capital) was not given the requisite environment to accrue. The mechanism of social reproduction was transformed in a manner that still meet the needs of the women, but not without some loss. Essentially, through the experiences with this specific social reproduction mechanism, a negative feedback trust loop was created. It consequently removed the potential avenue of relationship(s) with women in Sılam's apartment complex whom they might not have considered, especially with those who might be of a different sociocultural identity and background. Under different circumstances, perhaps this gendered social network could have the added benefit of getting to know, share and visit with one's neighbors through their *gün* over time.

5.3 Conclusion

The aim of this chapter was to empirically demonstrate the ways the *gecekondu* habitus informs migrant women's choices in social reproduction in addition to their understanding and experience of trust. Through the words and stories of the respondents in the context of daily life through two specific mechanisms: care and the *gün* as an economic resource saving mechanism, I have demonstrated three specific nuances of trust in light of the *gecekondu* habitus. First, that the practice of negotiating trust and relying on one's community/social network is necessary for survival. Second, without trustworthy people in one's social network to rely on, it necessitates one to make potentially difficult decisions in choosing on aspect of social reproduction at the expense of another (i.e. provisioning over care). Third, the way trust is utilized by migrant women in the *gecekondu* habitus is akin to a Bourdieuan (1986) social capital whereby the positive or negative outcomes of trust practices mobilized in social reproduction aids in informing migrant women about their on-going trusting processes in their contexts.

These empirical observations again to the community embedded nature of the *gecekondu* habitus and the manner in which social relations are integral to relations among migrant women with or without trusting conditions. As such, the seemingly obvious nature of migrant women relying on each other for the care of their children, families, and homes in their neighborhood context (e.g. as mechanisms of social reproduction) uncovers a direct relationship to engaging in the risk process of trust(ing), especially in one's willingness to be vulnerable with the things they hold most dear (e.g. their children and their mechanisms of saving money in order to provide for their

family). However, solely because trust and social reproduction are related to each other does not mean that they are one in the same.

In this chapter, the contextual nuances of community embedded social relations salient to the *gecekondu* habitus including gendered social networks and kinship relations also adds more nuances to the on-going negotiation process of trust/risk assessment, specifically demonstrated through two social reproduction mechanisms: care and the *gün*. Through these lived examples of my respondents, I illustrated how the negative or positive outcome(s) of their trust practices in social reproduction took away or added to their social capital bank respectfully. It is this presence or lack of social capital that informed migrant women in their on-going trusting processes in their contexts. Based on the evidence gathered, scholars can determine that neither trust(ing) nor social reproduction simply occurs. There is negotiation process that follows with and among women that is conditioned and shaped by their context.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION

Trust is arguably one of the most important factors in the fabric of daily life because it is a key component of social relations for reproducing life in family, community, and society. Yet in the case of Turkey, according to large-N (cross-)national surveys, since 1990 on average only ten percent of the population claims to trust others (Esmer, 2012; Kalaycıoğlu, 2012). This has led some scholars to classify Turkey as one of the least "trusty" societies in the world (Diez Medrano, 2013) having "almost no trust" (Delhey & Newton, 2005). However, what do we mean by trust? More specifically, how is trust understood and experienced by individuals in their contexts?

In line with more recent trust scholarship that has looked at the nuances of trust with respect to relational processes and context (Frederiksen, 2014; Grimpe, 2019; Möllering, 2013), this study focused its efforts on examining interpersonal trust using Bourdieu's theorization of habitus, specifically what I have called the *gecekondu* habitus, as a conceptual tool through which to interpret the voices and experiences of rural-to-urban migrant women in contemporary urbanizing Turkey. I have chosen the context of migrant women and their *gecekondu* community for my study of trust as it

is expected that within this context women experience solidarity and cooperation, which may lead to high levels of trust. I selected a case that had the potential to challenge the low-trust claims of large N-surveys to see how trust in neighborly relations work. The *gecekondu* context is also the site of residents' being aware of each other's sectarian and ethnic identities. As migrants in the *gecekondu* community recognize who are Alevis or Sunnis based on their place of origin. I chose to study the transformation of women's lived spaces as the result of the shift from the *gecekondu* to the apartment because it illustrates how socio-spatial change affects trust relations among neighbors. I understand the *gecekondu* habitus to be conceptualized out of the specific historical and sociocultural circumstances that have shaped rural-to-urban migrant women's perceptions, thinking, and approach to the world and their role in it as well as their daily practices within their *gecekondu* communities and beyond (Bourdieu, 1990b). Since trust does not occur in a vacuum, understanding the nuances of context and the relational negotiation process(es) of trust(ing) are of utmost importance. In this study, I presented three main questions: How is trust understood and experienced by rural-to-urban migrant women in urbanizing Turkey? What does trusting in neighborly relations look like for women in the spatiality of the apartment in light of the socio-spatial transformation from the *gecekondu*? How does this understanding of trust affect the maintenance of daily life and neighborly relations for women from a *gecekondu* habitus, especially in caring for their children and families?

I argued three main points in this dissertation that ultimately revolved around the necessity of neighbors for rural-to-urban migrant women from the *gecekondu* habitus. First, since the move to apartments, women need their neighbors so as not to be alone in the city given their cultural background. As such, I suggest trust is understood and

experienced by migrant women as a locally embedded relational on-going negotiation process of willing to be vulnerable to another given what is known. I contend this understanding of trust is impacted directly by their context, namely the historical reality of rural-to-urban chain migration along with the dual effects of socio-spatial transformation and sociocultural contestations. The building and then tearing down of *gecekondu* homes which were then replaced by apartment complexes along with the various sociocultural contestations and Othering including the rural/urban, ethnic, sectarian and political ideological fault lines contributes to shaping the physical and social environment that migrant women find themselves in as they negotiate neighborly relations day in and day out. Altogether these external circumstances both constrain and give certain opportunities to migrant women and their perception of their choices— what I suggest are part and parcel of their *gecekondu* habitus.

Second, given the structural disadvantages (i.e. class position) of migrant women, neighbors and those in one's gendered social network are needed in helping do the work of social reproduction, especially with respect to the care of one's family and children. I argue that this reliance upon one's neighbors for social reproduction—"maintaining existing life and reproducing the next generation" (Laslett & Brenner, 1989, p. 383) is a trust negotiation process. With the move to apartments, neighborly relations become much more formalized compared to what migrant women were accustomed to in the *gecekondu* context. This in turn challenges women to adapt new money saving mechanisms (i.e. the adoption of the *gün*) and rely on their neighbors for childcare since they cannot afford to buy these services in the market. However, when faced with needing to rely on one's neighbors for social reproduction yet lacking trustworthy options, migrant women are forced to make difficult choices in order to help their

families survive. In these instances, trusting was a necessary and painstaking practice for survival. Additionally, through the trust negotiation process in social reproduction I observed that it utilized and mobilized a Bourdieuan form of social capital, a personal exchange resource. This particular understanding and experience of trust as Bourdieuan social capital is a vastly different way of conceptualizing social capital in the trust literature, namely as a normative society- or institutional-centered resource that promotes cooperation, efficiency and civic duty in democratic societies (Fukuyama, 1995; Putnam, 2000; Rothstein & Stolle, 2003). This in essence turns the questions about Turkey's low level of trust on its head in that it highlights particular nuances of trust that point to a different problematization of what trust is and how it is understood and experienced in context. In fact, I empirically illustrated that women from the *gecekondu* habitus in light of conditions of their context developed trust. This finding reveals that it is important to consider both the dynamics and conditions of trust as it plays out in the everyday lives of individuals.

In the sections that follow, this concluding chapter aims to highlight the major contributions of this dissertation, discuss the implications of this study, and suggest future avenues of research on interpersonal trust in light of this investigation.

6.1 Main Contributions of this Study

With respect to theorizing trust, I argued in this dissertation that understanding trust in context and trust as a process are both salient especially when seeking to grasp how trust(ing) is understood and experienced in urbanizing Turkey among rural-to-urban migrant women in their everyday neighborly relations. I showed that a nuanced and deeper theoretical understanding of trust(ing) emerges when trust is looked at as a

dynamic process as opposed to fixed point in time in context. When referring to context, I specifically discussed the incorporation and understanding of factors which arguably influence each other in creating a dynamic environment that impacts interpersonal trust at the level of neighborly relations: sociocultural factors—namely social group identity and its contestations; and spatial factors—in both the physical lived sense of space as well as social habitus space. I demonstrated that the contestation of sociocultural factors in context of contemporary Turkey in its rural/urban, ethnic, sectarian and political ideological fault lines in conjunction with the transformation of women's lived space impacts the socio-spatial environment in which migrant women negotiate interpersonal trust over time, and shapes how they engage in activities of social reproduction for the maintenance and survival of their families. Additionally, I showed how approaching trust with Bourdieu's habitus is a helpful way to tease out nuanced understandings of trust in context and as a process since the way Bourdieu has theorized habitus, a physical and cognitive embodiment of their lived experiences including their history and socialization, allows us to situate each individual within their social space, and accounts for the interplay of structure and agency (Bourdieu, 2005; Wacquant, 2011). When speaking of process, I demonstrated the way in which considering trusting as a process specifically ought to incorporate three process categories (Möllering, 2013): being dynamic in the sense of time, knowledge dependent in how information is gathered, tested, and observed, and lastly, as a part of continuously becoming/belonging to a collective in that the actors' social identity and trust as they are continuously being negotiated and thus entangled in the process.

Contextually with respect to urbanizing Turkey and the formation of my respondents' *gecekondu* habitus, I established that the transformation of space, from *gecekondu*

dwelling spaces into apartment complexes impacts the negotiation of social relations between rural-to-urban migrant women in their community-embedded neighborhoods. The significance of the community-oriented nature of migrants' lives as a replication of their village way of life in their *gecekondu* communities, where gendered social networks and kinship idioms structure women's daily lives, not only were impacted by spatial changes but also by the social changes and contestations it brought, especially as urbanization continued well into the 2000s. Altogether I argued that these historical, socioeconomic and sociocultural factors were a part of the development of what I call the *gecekondu* habitus for the migrant women respondents. I understand habitus to be the internal framework that one develops through being and acting in a social environment. This way of being in turn produces a flexible internal framework that external circumstances are interpreted and filtered resulting in social action/dispositions, a physical and cognitive embodiment of one's place in the world (Bourdieu, 2005). For the migrant women in this study, I suggested that there are two main dispositions that make up the evolving process of their *gecekondu* habitus: (1) their development of strategies to navigate their new urban living environments through the tendency of relying on others in their social networks and (2) their creativity and resourcefulness in light of their limited resources—a result of their class position. It is with this physically and cognitively embodied habitus that migrant women navigated urban living even and especially when the ensuing transformation of space necessitated *gecekondu* residents who were formerly clustered in enclaves of those like them to then live in close physical and social proximity to those who might be considered the Other. This is significant in light of the socio-cultural landscape of contemporary Turkey, where social relations between individuals even at the level of the neighborhood context continue to be shaped by the contestation of what it means to be an urbanite, as well as

in its ethnic (i.e. Turkish/Kurdish), sectarian (i.e. Sunni/Alevi), and political ideological (i.e. Islamist/Secularist) divisions, adding yet another layer of complexity in the negotiation of social and trust relations for migrant women in their everyday lives.

Considering these contextual factors, I empirically showed in Chapter 4 that with respect to trust, rural-to-urban migrant women in this study understood and experienced trust as a negotiation process of risk. Specifically, their words and actions manifested in trust(ing) as an on-going relational process of negotiating two competing desires/fears: to not be alone and to not be harmed by the very people they risk/desire to be close to both physically and emotionally. This relational process of trusting entailed a nuanced gendered iterative practice of assessment/negotiation through knowing, visiting, sharing, and helping over time in material, emotional, and tangible expressions of words and deeds. Simply stated, trust was understood and experienced by my respondents as a willingness to be vulnerable to another as a result of what was known. It is important to highlight here that the presence or absence of emotional and/or physical harm was one key factor in the negotiation of trust. Where harm (i.e. gossip, belittling, criticism, prejudice, etc.) was felt, it lessened the willingness of my respondents to be vulnerable to others. Furthermore, I demonstrated that for my respondents over time, in living and sharing in the daily mundane aspects of life, salient sociocultural cleavages have the possibility of being bridged but only to the extent that their neighbors from competing social groups and identities were willing to engage in the iterative risk process of knowing, visiting, sharing, and helping in each other's homes without felt harm. This also points to the home as one of the significant sites of trusting for migrant women. Wholly, without a firm understanding of the context in

which trusting is being negotiated, it would be impossible to see these nuances of trusting in its process and relational forms.

Another empirical contribution of this dissertation lies in observing trust as social capital in a different manner than is usually discussed in the trust literature, namely as a personal exchange resource. This is seen especially in Chapter 5 where I demonstrated through the social reproduction mechanisms of communal child care and money saving mechanisms of the *gün* that: (1) relying on one's neighbors while negotiating trust is a necessary practice within their gendered social networks and (2) in the absence of trust/trustworthy people in their networks, creative solutions are employed in order to survive/reproduce the next generation physically and socially, often leaving migrant women with less-than-ideal choices. Since migrant women's *gecekondu* habitus internally and externally shaped and conditioned the understanding of their choices given their class position/limited access to economic and institutional resources, relying on their neighbors and social networks was necessary in order to survive and reproduce physically and socially the next generation. In ideal situations trusted neighbors are sought out and preferred, but in less-than-ideal situations migrant women are forced to trust (e.g. be willing to be vulnerable to others or unpredictable circumstances) in order to survive. Additionally, I proved that the negative or positive outcome(s) of my respondents' trust practices in social reproduction informed their on-going negotiation of trust and specifically illustrated trust as a Bourdieuan social capital (i.e. personal resource). Negative or positive experiences of trust practices through social reproduction mechanisms took away or added to one's social capital bank, respectively. The accumulation of these positive or negative experiences is symbolically exchanged by migrant women in their on-going process of negotiating trust. More social capital

resources result in a greater willingness to trust/risk, while less social capital resources decrease the willingness to trust/risk. As such, I suggest that Bourdieu's social capital as a personal exchange resource is a more suitable conceptualization of trust as social capital, especially for migrant women in the *gecekondu* habitus.

6.2 Implications of this Study

This qualitative study, in light of rural-to-urban migrant women and their *gecekondu* habitus in urbanizing Turkey, has contributed important depth and nuance to the understanding trust as an on-going relational risk process of willing to be vulnerable to another given what is known. It has also empirically shown a different way of understanding trust as social capital, namely as a personal exchange resource and not necessarily a normative value that enriches civic duty or social cohesion. This is especially significant as understanding the context in which trust is practiced within mechanisms of social reproduction for migrant women in the *gecekondu* habitus, allows the nuances like necessity, survival, and difficult choices to come to the fore. Altogether, understanding the multifaceted context of urbanizing Turkey along with its sociocultural contestations, class effects, socio-spatial transformation, and the *gecekondu* habitus presents a more nuanced picture of the realities facing migrant women in navigating not only social relations including trust but also in the reproduction of their families in social and physical ways day in and day out. This study advances enriching the trust literature empirically, conceptually, and theoretically, especially in light of studies on interpersonal trust and trust as social capital and continues to implore the questions, what do scholars mean by trust, which context(s)

are scholars considering when examining trust, and what are salient factors of the context to consider?

Viewing trust in context, as a process, and also as Bourdieuan social capital also provides a more complex picture when attempting to understanding why Turkey is viewed as one of the least "trusty" societies having "almost no trust" and why levels of interpersonal trust in Turkey have been consistently low in light of large-N surveys (Delhey & Newton, 2005; Diez Medrano, 2013; Esmer, 2012; Kalaycıoğlu, 2012). Arguably, it might not be that trust levels are low per se but rather that problematizing the sociocultural context refines our understanding of what trust is, how it functions in daily life, and how one's habitus shapes individuals' understanding and experience of trusting in light of their sense of place in the world, and the perceived available choices of active agents in negotiating trust. Considering both the dynamics and conditions of trust for a specific segment of society's daily lives is something that large-N surveys like the WVS fails to capture. While large-N surveys have their own value, I have demonstrated the importance of examining context-specific trusting relations experienced in everyday life. In other words, studies based on large-N surveys need to be complimented by field research that delves into the intricacies of people's lives so that conditions, dynamics and costs of the trust negotiation processes come to the fore. Therefore, one major implication of this study serves as a charge for future trust scholars to consider at least three questions when considering the processes of trust(ing) in a particular segment of society: (1) what are the necessary conditions? (2) what are the costs? and (3) what are the contextual dynamics? Furthermore, bolstering large-N studies with qualitative studies such as this one will help to uncover the ways that the macro-level context affects and interacts with the daily processes of individuals at the

micro-level. I have shown here that the different layers of macro factors (i.e. sociocultural cleavages at the societal level, political discourses, etc.) affect the context at the level of the individual in that these contextual/macro-level factors are reworked in the daily lives of women as they care for their children and families. As such, broader structural categories cannot be taken for granted but rather we must account for the ways in which it both impacts interaction between people, as well as how personal interactions also influence established expectations regarding whom to trust and why.

6.3 Suggestions for Future Research

In the future, more studies that examine trust in context and trust as a process are needed to continue to see how trust is understood and experienced in contexts like Turkey. While this study played a part in providing some nuance to understanding trust for rural to migrant women in contemporary urbanizing Turkey, there is still more to discover, especially in problematizing important questions such as why trust in Turkey is consistently surveyed as low. In many ways, this continues the call for better trust conceptualizations (Bulloch, 2013; Whipple, Griffis, & Daugherty, 2013) but also ones that are contextual, relational, and process oriented (Frederiksen, 2014; Grimpe, 2019; Möllering, 2013). Specifically a dynamic interactive conceptualization of trust that takes into account the ways trust impacts different levels of analysis (i.e. the macro-, meso-, and micro-levels) is important because of the layered and interactive ways in which trust processes play out at the local level.

Furthermore, given these nuances of understanding trust(ing), it also leads to the question of how or if this understanding of trust is similar or different among other women in Turkey, especially women who are from different class positions. Given that

this study focused on rural-to-urban migrant women and their *gecekondu* habitus, it would do scholarship well to continue to approach trust with habitus to further understand and reveal the nuances that come with trusting in context. What are the contextual factors that contribute to the formation of different habitus for women of different class positions? What is the role of the work-place and/or common places of socializing/engaging in similar hobbies (i.e. the gym, rock climbing, art classes, etc.)? What are the experiences and understanding of women in urbanizing Turkey who belong to a different habitus? Are there differences and/or similarities? These types of observations would also help us to uncover whether or not levels of trust have upward-mobility in society. Do particular levels of trust move upwardly into different classes (or habitus) of society? Or is this kind of trust observed in this study particular to the *gecekondu* habitus?

Likewise, are there differences and/or similarities in men's understanding and experience of trust in Turkey? Given that migrant men are more mobile and less place-dependent than women from the *gecekondu* habitus (Hemmasi & Prorok, 2002; Moghadam, 2004; Sarıoğlu, 2013; Stirling, 1999), to what extent does this impact trust(ing) for men? Are men's gendered social networks (Olson, 1982) also an important component of their trusting negotiation processes? What are the similarities or differences in the understanding and experience of trusting for the husbands of those interviewed? A follow up with the same sample, but also adding in the respondents' husbands could assist in further examining the gender issue with respect to trust. Do husbands have the same type of friendships that their wives have (with their neighbors)? Are there different processes of negotiation that men participate in when navigating trust in their habitus? These types of nuanced questions can help to further illuminate

answers to the question are men more likely to trust than women? (Kayaoğlu, 2017) Addressing these types of questions would also help us to see the scope conditions as well as the conditions and dynamics of the trust process. Do these scope conditions only apply at the gender level? Is it just pure necessity (survival instincts) and nothing else that causes women in the *gecekondu* habitus to trust their neighbors/those in their gendered social networks? And/or do they also apply at the class level?

Additionally, when speaking of trust in context/in Turkey, how are concepts like trust related to notions such as hospitality and being *samimi/samimiyet* (close, genuine, sincere)? What are the connections and points of departures of these concepts with respect to trust? Under what conditions are these concepts connected or not connected? Arguably these all together would help bring a deeper and more nuanced understanding of trust(ing) in Turkey.

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APPENDIX

LIST OF RESPONDENTS

Psuedonym	Age (or Estimate) at time of interview	Respondent's Current City	Respondent's Place of Origin	Relevant Descriptive Info
Şelale	57	Yenimahalle, Ankara	Ankara	Sunni
Gamze	49	Batıkent, Ankara	Sivas	Alevi
Çiğdem	53	Karakusunlar, Ankara	Ankara	Sunni
Damla	32	Ümraniye, Istanbul	Isparta	Sunni
Menekşe	40	Ümraniye, Istanbul	Trabzon	Sunni
Nilüfer	38	Ümraniye, Istanbul	Isparta	Sunni (AKP supporter)
Gül	39	Ümraniye, Istanbul	Artvin	Sunni (AKP supporter)
Zehra	early/mid 30s	Ümraniye, Istanbul	Trabzon	Sunni (not AKP supporter)
Canan	early 30s	Ümraniye, Istanbul	Sivas	Alevi
Sedef	late 30s/early 40s	Ümraniye, Istanbul	Tokat	Sunni
Gülüzar	early 80s	Ümraniye, Istanbul	Istanbul	Sunni
Raziye	early/mid 60s	Ümraniye, Istanbul	Istanbul	Sunni
Songül	50	Mamak, Ankara	Sivas	Alevi
Yaşar	55	Mamak, Ankara	Sivas	Alevi
Sevda	50	Sincan, Ankara	Konya	Sunni
Fidan	56	Dikmen, Ankara	Yozgat	Alevi
Silam	early 50s	Mamak, Ankara	Çorum	Alevi
Ayşe	55	Mamak, Ankara	Malatya	Alevi
Lale	late 50s	Mamak, Ankara	Yozgat	Alevi
Kardelen	43	Mamak, Ankara	Muş-Varto	Kurdish Alevi