# Urban Poverty in Batman

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CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

Poverty is a multidimensional concept that includes insufficient income or consumption levels as well as being deprived of economic, social and political participation opportunities. Currently, poverty is the main problem not only for the underdeveloped and developing countries but also for the developed ones, and in this respect, it is one of the most important problems of our age. Poverty, which used to generally associated with being out of working life and in consequence not having an income or working in informal jobs, has changed its dimension, spreading flexible, insecure, low-wage working conditions and the erosion of social rights due to neo-liberal policies, and has evolved into a new form of poverty where working people are also poor.

This new poverty indicates a group that cannot integrate with the system within the context of social and economic relations. At this point, the context of urban poverty has also changed. Urban poverty, which used to refer to those who could not work or work in informal jobs because of the masses migrated to the city in the past and could not find a place in the industry, currently refers to the impoverishment of wageworkers within the context of the new working order. On the one hand, informal jobs increasingly become widespread, and on the other hand, the old full-time working style with security has been changing form and becoming flexible and insecure. Low wages are a fact for both of these groups.

In addition to income poverty, issues such as homelessness, inability to access urban public services, and spatial separation are also among the indicators of urban poverty. This situation in Turkey also reflects this big picture. Due to imbalance between the regions, along with this new working order, it is also common for some cities not working at all and consequently not having any income at all. Batman is also one of these cities. Informal jobs are quite common in Batman, where the employment rate in the formal sector is around 30%, and there is also a group that does not work at all and has no income. On the other hand, the city, where the spatial clustering of poverty and spatial separation is observed through the course of slum settlement experienced as a result of the forced migration movement in the 90s; deprived access to urban services such as sufficient housing and infrastructure also emerges as an indicator of urban poverty.

This study aiming to analyze urban poverty in the neighborhoods of Batman, mostly established as a result of forced migration, is made up of the sections of the literature-based conceptual framework and field research sections. Within this context, the poverty indicators and subsistence strategies developed by households to cope with poverty are addressed, based on the data of the field survey covering 1608 households in these 18 neighborhoods.

The first part of the study includes the conceptual framework of the research. After this section in which poverty, types of poverty and urban poverty are addressed and discussed, the method and findings of field research are taken into consideration and discussed in the second section.

In this section, upon analyzing the demographic data of the households, an assessment is done on the poverty indicators, as the position of the labor market, consumption poverty, housing poverty and health poverty, and livelihood strategies of the households, -based on the study of Şengül & Ersoy (2003). In the conclusion section, the results of these assessments are taken into consideration.

PART **I**

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK OF THE STUDY

I. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK OF THE STUDY

Poverty

There is not any conventional definition of poverty in the literature and it is not quite possible to give a clear answer to the question 'what is poverty?'. Nevertheless, in the most general sense, poverty can be identified as incapacity to access sufficient resources to provide minimum living standard (Kaygalak, 2001) and means deprivation of people from the opportunities and resources needed to live a decent life under acceptable living conditions (Gül & Sallan Gül, 2008). Marx depits poverty as the situation where you cannot get the compensation of your efforts sufficiently and indicates that poverty is actually within the system. In other words, in the system which we live in, where capitalization is internalized, there are people who own the identity of poor. The people who try to make their living through their manual labor, unemployed people, villagers without any property, agricultural laborers, in other words, the ones who get less than they create are accepted as the holders of the poor identity (Köse & Bahçe, 2009).

In addition to macro levels such as urban, rural, national and global, poverty which can be addressed in household and gender scales, has become the main material of mediatic statements through poverty threshold reports published by several institutions in recent years. Each study addresses poverty through different definitions and scales. One of the most prevalent ones of this is to examine poverty by dividing into two categories as the absolute poverty and the relative poverty (Kalaycıoğlu & Rittersberger-Tılıç, 2002).

Definition poverty by taking physical elements into consideration is conceptualized as the absolute poverty. The absolute poverty indicates deprivation of the in-kind and cash incomes needed for a person or a household to provide their minimum basic needs for continuing their lives and the status of absolute incapacity (İnsel, 2001) and can also be defined as the inability for a person to get the calories needed for him/her to biologically regenerate himself/herself and continue his/her physical existence. If inability to continue one's physical existence as a person is addressed in narrow sense, absolute poverty is poverty at the hunger threshold, namely inability to access the foods needed for continuing one's

existence and a policy for struggle against poverty arises within the sense of fighting against hunger (İnsel, 2016).

The relative poverty is a status of deprivation based on income distribution of a society which is determined as a result of comparisons with living standards of other members of the same society (Kaygalak, 2001) and it can be defined as "insufficient financial resources, such as participation in normal activities that have become customary in society or at least encouraged and approved, and having comfort and living conditions become impossible or extremely limited" (Şenses, 2003). According to Alcock, the relative poverty is a status of poverty where the ones exposed to that have some means while these means are not sufficient in an unequal society (Alcock, 1993). In other words, it is the state of individuals' living standards below a certain rate of the average welfare level of the society. In this state of poverty, a comparative definition is made with the general population and the poverty threshold is evaluated in terms of social structures (Tekeli, 2007). This approach, particularly based on the fact that the individual is a social entity, covers determining the consumption and life level of the individual to reproduce himself/herself socially. In this case, the ones consuming at an unreasonable level or under the minimum consumption level are defined as "relatively poor". Considering from this point of view, it is observed that the relative poverty is a state of poverty which arises depending on the socio-economical development level in the axis of general living standards of the society.

The values accepted for the relative poverty threshold are usually determined as the 50 or 60 percent of the income or median income of consumption expenses (Haughton, 2005). According to this, based on the general welfare level of the society, individuals or households with an income or expense under a specific threshold are described as relatively poor. Within this sense, poverty is accepted as an aspect of inequality and directly associated with distribution of income. From this point of view, it is possible that there is always the poor in the society (Şenses, 2003).

While, the absolute poverty mostly refers to continuing physical life of individuals, the relative poverty focuses on comparing living standards of individuals with other parts of the society. Although, there are several different discussions on whether poverty is absolute or relative or it should be addressed through an

objective or a subjective approach, it is generally accepted that poverty is a multidimensional phenomenon with various levels.

New Poverty

Poverty displays different appearances according to historical conditions and basic characteristics of the period. Following the crisis of the 1970s, capitalism's change of character with global developments and neo-liberal policies has required redefinition of poverty. There is a society that is directed towards consumption by of bringing flexibility and insecurity to working conditions and reduction of wages, reduction of social state expenditures and state intervention in the economy and consumption through neo-liberal policies brought to the agenda in order to overcome this crisis of capitalism. Thus, poverty has gone beyond issues such as not working and being deprived of an income, and the working class is also included in the scope of poverty (Kesgin, 2011).

As a result of these neo-liberal policies, a state of poverty, called as "the new poverty" has emerged and this concept has brought the relative poverty into the forefront. Currently, discussions on poverty are mostly done by focusing on relative poverty (Şengül & Ersoy, 2000).

On the other hand, poverty is a problem which is experienced in all class societies. However, particularly as of the end of the 20th century, structuralization and spread of poverty became much more evident than previous periods through neo-liberal policies. In line with the assumptions of the Modernization School, which was the mainstream paradigm in the post-World War II period, poverty was being discussed in the context of underdeveloped countries as a temporary situation in the transition to industrial society, while it emerges as a phenomenon that includes developed capitalist countries in the 21st century. In other words, poverty is not only discussed within the context of underdeveloped countries, but also by covering developed capitalist countries. Globalization and internationalization of the world economy have increased income-based inequalities both between the underdeveloped and the developed countries and within the borders of them as well (Kaygalak, 2001). While the negative effects of neo-liberal policies, which have recently become mainstream all over the world, in the labor market and the rapid shrinkage of the welfare state, have reduced a large part of the social segment above the poverty line below it and this has further aggravated the conditions of those who were

already below the poverty line (Şengül and Ersoy, 2003). The new poverty "points to a class that is at risk of social exclusion, forgotten and getting harder to integrate with the system, especially in terms of economic relations" (Buğra et al., 2003). One of the forms of poverty as the new aspect of poverty is urban poverty.

Urban Poverty

Urban poverty, in its simplest terms, is the poverty experienced in the city (Dumanlı, 1996). According to Harvey, urban poverty is mostly rural poverty reshaped within the urban system, and at this point, he accepts Lefebvre's view that "urbanization of rural areas brings along ruralization of the city as a side effect" (Harvey, 2003). Also, it is emphasized that reasons such as consumption patterns and differentiation of prices of goods and services in urban areas, separate urban poverty from rural poverty (Es & Güloğlu, 2004).

Urban poverty has started to be discussed in different contexts with the transformation of poverty in the process. While urban poverty used to be seen as a self-reproducing phenomenon as a structural feature of capitalist urbanization in developed countries in the past, it is now seen as a result of low-intensity industrialization and rapid urbanization in underdeveloped countries. In this period, urban poverty, where the ones migrated from rural to urban and made a living with their labor, working in insecure and irregular jobs (in the informal sector) as they could not find jobs in industrial factories is the case. However, as a result of the neo-liberal policies implemented since the 1980s, the content of the concept of urban poverty has expanded and it has been conceptualized in the literature as "new urban poverty". New urban poverty is one of the "new forms of poverty", one of the consequences of an unequal consumer society imposed by neo-liberal policies since the 1980s. The new urban poverty refers to the widespread poverty, which used to cover a smaller population, as a result of neo-liberal policies (Kaygalak, 2001). In other words, the new urban poverty is the fact that the masses who were not poor before become poor as a result of the changes in the global economic field and this poverty becomes chronic. Many studies highlight business structure based on the informal sector, which is expanding rapidly in peripheral countries, is articulated with the modern sector and is not only specific to peripheral countries (Erder, 2006). There is now a system in which informalization and insecurity become dominant under the name of flexible production, and this system impoverishes not only the working class but

also a large part of wage earners. In other words, neo-liberal policies cause both the impoverishment of workers and wage earners in the context of new working relations and the spread of poverty due to the restriction of public expenditures.

The new order caused by this economic structure and globalization since the 1980s has also changed the structure of the spatial fabric of the city (Buğra et al., 2003). In this process, the importance of cities has increased with the weakening of the effectiveness of the nation-state as a result of globalization's search for a regulation aimed at overpowering the nation-state, and especially metropolitan cities have taken a certain amount of initiative and entered the race to attract global capital. While cities highlighted urban re-development in the competitive environment, the unequal development conditions and class divisions became sharpened, "the cities of the advanced capitalist world, have begun to deindustrialized and restructured, leaving no other opportunity than competing with each other as financial, consumption and entertainment centers (Harvey, 1999). Thus, cities are restructured in line with the competitive understanding of neo-liberalism as both administrative and economic activity fields (Işık & Pınarcıoğlu, 2005). The new urban poverty, which includes processes such as unemployment, homelessness, and inability to access urban services together with the implementation of policies such as withdrawal of the state from social spending, privatization of urban services, and the desire to compete for cities to attract capital, bring along processes of exclusion for a large part of the society. In particular, the fact that cities come under the control of global capital increases social and spatial segregation. According to Harvey; spatial separation is the reflection of class identity on the space. While, individuals in the upper-income group can use urban space more effectively; individuals in the lower income group have to act as the object of the space (Harvey, 2003). According to some studies, this segregation causes new urban poverty, and new urban poverty is a part of the physical and spatial organization of cities rather than individual income (cited by Kempen, 1994, Kaygalak, 2001; Satterthwaite, 2001). However, while spatial segregation increases urban inequalities and intensifies poverty spatially, it is clear that these indicators are directly related to income. According to Mingione (1996), the unequal distribution of scarce urban resources adds new dimensions to the traditional class division. In this context, inequality in access to adequate housing and urban public services as well as income inequality is as important as class divisions, and the issues such as lack of awareness in personal and political rights are indicators of urban poverty (Saunders et al., 1994; Satterthwaite, 2001).

Considering the urban poverty in Turkey, there seems to be a difference before and after 1980. Considering the urbanization process between 1950 and 1980, it is seen that it started with the process of dissolution in the countryside as a result of mechanization and the use of modern techniques in agriculture (Keleş, 2016). In this process, which Şengül (2009) calls "the urbanization of labor force", an intense population increase was experienced from the countryside to the city, and the industrialization accelerated in the 1960s provided employment opportunities for those who migrated to the city, although they were insufficient. However, there was a large segment that could not benefit from these employment opportunities and had to work in the informal sector, and the insufficient urban services such as housing, transportation and infrastructure to meet the rapid population growth in addition to insufficient income have led to the formation of slums. In this course, there was a belief that slums were seen as profitable and would create an environment to overcome poverty, and this has partly been experienced (Kaygalak, 2001).

Since the 1980s, after the January 24 Decisions, neo-liberal policies creating a market-oriented economic structure have been put into practice instead of state interventionism. This is the period of "urbanization of capital" and the determination and orientation of cities by the logic of capital are in question. Cities have become areas of income-seeking and speculative gains, where exchange value is more important than the use-value (Şengül, 2009). Neoliberal policies have initiated a process in which situations such as unemployment in cities, informalization, narrowing in urban public service delivery, increased social inequality, injustice in income distribution, spatial depletion will structuralize poverty and now include a wider segment. During this period, it is seen that communalization as a subsistence and survival strategy of the urban poor became widespread (Kaygalak, 2001). In the 1990s, the experience of forced migration has also been one of the main factors increasing urban poverty. Batman is one of the cities affected by the forced migration process.

1. UNDERSTANDING URBAN POVERTY IN BATMAN

The first place of formation of Batman is Iluh village. Iluh was first connected to the El Medina of Siirt and then to Bashiri when Bashiri became the neighborhood center. Huge developments such as the construction of the Haydarpaşa-Kurtalan railway, the initiation of oil exploration, and the exploration of oil in the 1940s, and then the establishment of a refinery has been experienced in Iluh, which was a just subneighborhood in 1937. In 1955, the municipal organization was established in Iluh, which turned into an oil-based settlement with the discovery of oil fields in the early 1950s. Iluh took the name Batman in 1957 and became a neighborhood (Batman Municipality, 2017). In 1990, Batman was made a province on security grounds, became the 72nd province of Turkey.

As a result of the oil-based economic development in the 1950s, the increase in employment opportunities increased migration to the city (Alkan, 2018) and the population reached 150 thousand. The oil, other industry and trade-based employment opportunities of the city enabled its residents and those who migrated to the city to be employed to a large extent (Aleddinoğlu, 2010). However, since the 1980s, these employment opportunities have narrowed, urban migration has intensified, and employment opportunities have not been sufficient for the population in the city. Especially in the 1990s, the forced migration process was started for security reasons and villages were evacuated. The population had to leave their villages, migrated to the city center. Poverty was brought about by the fact that this segment, which was detached from previous livelihoods such as agriculture and animal husbandry, could not have the qualifications required to participate in the labor market in the city and could not benefit from urban services (Yükseker, 2015).

The service sector, which started to develop through the 1980s market economy, surpassed the industry in Batman, and in the 2000s, a sectoral structure was formed, where general services were at the forefront. However, informal working forms have become widespread in the service sector and this situation, together with unemployment, has increased poverty (Alaeddinoğlu, 2010). Especially, the households that migrated to the city, working in unqualified jobs or being unemployed made urban poverty visible.

During this period, there were also changes in the spatial structure of the city. Batman, which received excessive immigration during this term, developed very quickly and unplanned. Batman's surroundings were surrounded by slums due to those who came to the city through forced migration. The southern part of the İluh stream has completely become a slum area, except for the newly established neighbourhoods in the north and southeast, Batman's surroundings are surrounded by slums (Sunkar & Tonbul, 2011). Neighbourhoods such as Erköklü, Çay, Hilal, Huzur, Petrolkent, Seyitler, Güneykent, Çamlıca and Yesiltepe are slum areas (Alkan, 2018). With the increase of slums, important social and economic problems have become prominent and two distinct social layers have emerged. On the one hand, there are the high-income rich population and on the other hand, there are poor households with no or insufficient income, and this is clearly observed in the spatial distribution of the city (Sunkar & Tonbul, 2011). The Turkish Petroleum Corporation's planned Site Neighborhood at one side and shantytowns on the other side reveal the spatial segregation.

In the 2000s, those who came to the city with forced migration started to return to their villages and a decrease in population growth was experienced (Sunkar & Tonbul, 2011). However, the prevalence of unemployment and informal jobs has continued in Batman. TRC3 region which currently covers Batman (Mardin, Batman, Şırnak, Siirt), is the region where the unemployment rate in Turkey is the highest according to the 2018 TurkStat data. The general unemployment rate in Turkey is 11%. The TRC3 Region has the lowest labor force participation rate with 40.7% and the lowest employment rate with 30.5%. The general labor force participation rate in Turkey is 53.2% and the employment participation rate is 47,4%. The second region with the lowest average annual equivalent household disposable income is also the TRC3 Region (Mardin, Batman, Şırnak, Siirt) Region with 11 thousand 204 TRY.

2. FIELD RESEARCH[1]

The field study researching urban poverty in Batman which covers 1.608 households was carried out between April 2016 and June 2018. The field study of *Urban Poverty in Batman* is a basic research. Basic research aims to collect information on the main axis for other scientific researches to be carried out after it, or to produce basic information for studies that aim to present an accurate interpretative approach from a historical, geographical, socio-political perspective. Basic research does not try to understand the problems in social and economic life by focusing on a single issue, rather it tries to understand them from a multidimensional perspective. As such, it aims to compile and evaluate the problems at the points where daily life is shared rather than being a source that tries to reveal evaluations around a single issue.

Within the scope of the study, face-to-face interviews were conducted with 1.608 households in 18 neighborhoods and villages through the survey technique (Table-1). The data of 9.648 people were obtained in the study. While determining the sample of the study; the data obtained from the Municipality of Batman, neighborhood headmen and related institutions were separated to determine the families below the poverty line (according to TurkStat data) Furthermore, support was received from neighborhood headmen and elders' committees for confirmation. As a result of this separation, it was determined that there are 1.608 households in Batman, that are below the poverty threshold. Based on the field study, firstly the demographic structure of the households and work, consumption, service and housing poverty were examined, and then the household subsistence strategies were taken into consideration.

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1   The data used in this study is based on the poverty mapping study of authors conducted for the Municipality of Batman in 2016. Contact with some households within the context of this study was continued between 2016 and 2018, interviews were held and the data and analyses have become more comprehensive by detailing them.

Tablo 1. Distribution of Neighborhoods

Neighborhoods	Frequency	Percent
19 Mayıs	90	5.6
Carşı	22	1.4
Cudi	191	11.9
Çamlıca	91	5.7
Çay	59	3.7
Erköklü	32	2.0
Güneykent.	53	3.3
Hilal	56	3.5
Huzur	95	5.9
Hürriyet	93	5.8
İluh	100	6.2
Karşıyaka	128	8.0
Kısmet	14	0.9
Petrol	145	9.0
Petrolkent	161	10.0
Sağlık	80	5.7
Seyitler	113	7.0
Yeşiltepe	84	5.2
Total	**1608**	**100.0**

The study is based on the presumption that there are some common processes that create and deepen the poverty problem in cities, as well as unique processes stemming from the spatial division of labor and historical specificity of each city. In addition, it is possible that different segments of the cities have also been affected differently by the poverty processes.

As stated in the conceptual framework section, in global capitalism where consumption has become an economic order, spatial differences in the form of rich and poor neighborhoods emerge in cities where inequality and exclusion are most common. While these spatial differentiations increase urban inequality, they also intensify poverty spatially. One of the factors that reveal the spatial differentiation is the class structure of the society. The spatial response of class segregation in cities stems from the relationship between household income and housing. Batman is one of the provinces where spatial differentiation is seen the most, also through the effect of social class structure. Considering the median income, it was

observed that poverty was more intense in the neighborhoods settled during the forced migration period in the region. The fact that the number of poor households in Cudi, Petrolkent, Petrol, 19 Mayıs and Çamlıca neighborhoods is higher than in other neighborhoods, indicates the spatial differentiation in Batman province. Sağlık, Iluh and Karşıyaka neighborhoods, the first settlements of Batman, also places where poverty is concentrated, have common features with the neighborhoods established by migration in terms of class structure.

A. DEMOGRAPHIC STRUCTURE OF HOUSEHOLDS

Within the scope of demographic information, it is aimed to introduce the families interviewed. For this reason, the members of families who were interviewed, their marital status, age and education status were examined.

A.1. Interviewee

In the research, it was aimed to interview with the household member (reference person) responsible for the economic livelihood of the household; while, it was not always possible to realize this goal. In such cases, household members who have household knowledge and volunteered for the interview were interviewed. Table 2 shows the family members with whom the household interviews were conducted. 76.2% of those interviewed in the study are the mothers or the wives of the person responsible for the household. The rate of meeting with the reference person is 14.4%.

Tablo 2. Distribution of Interviewee

Interviewee	Frequency	Percent
Mother	1226	76.2
Father	231	14.4
Child	94	5.8
Grandmother	18	1.1
Grandfather	1	0.1
Bride	30	1.7
Relative	8	0.5
Total	**1608**	**100,0**

Within the scope of the study, it is seen that the reference persons are generally male and the rate of meeting with the reference persons is lower. The fact that the males are mostly outside the home during the daytime when the fieldwork is conducted is the main reason of that. The fact that the surveys are generally conducted with women is an indicator of how little women take part in business or social life. In the event that the head of the household and/or his wife was not at home, the eldest child was interviewed (5.8%) on the condition that he knew the household. Interviews with grandmother, grandfather, bride or a relative living at home constitute 3.4% in total (The rates are respectively as, 1.1%, 0.1%, 1.7% and 0.5%).

A.2. Household Reference Person

Table 3 shows who is the household reference person, or in other words, the head of the household. The majority of the interviewees in the study indicated that the person responsible for their household - that is, the person responsible for the livelihood of a household - is the "father". At this point, fathers are shown as the household head with a rate of 71.8%. The rate of woman/mother household heads is 21.8%. This also shows the gender distribution of the household head. When this rate is compared with the ratio in the Socio-Economic Research of Batman conducted by Batman City Council in 2009 (Male 91.7%, Female 8.3%), it is seen that there is an increase in the ratio of women in charge of the household. It is thought that this change in Batman, where traditional family patterns are followed, is attributed to two reasons. First, the increase in poverty has created a driving force for women to participate in business life. The other reason is the past conflicts in the region. The fact that the men who are in charge of the household could not provide for the family and could not be found at home due to some reasons caused by the conflict, women had to take responsibility for the house.

Tablo 3. Reference Person Distribution

Interviewee	Frequency	Percent
Relative	2	0.1
Mother	350	21.8
Father	1155	71.8
Grandmother	6	0.4
Grandfather	5	0.3
Son in law	3	0.2
Son	83	5.2
Daughter	4	0.2
Total	**1608**	**100,0**

Within the scope of the study, male children of the household were also shown as the people who were responsible for livelihood of the house (5.2%). Especially in families living with their married boys, in case the father is unable to work for different reasons, this duty is undertaken by the boy. Indicating grandmothers and grandfathers as the ones in charge of households (respectively, 0.4% and 0.3%) is mostly related to traditional ties and refers to a responsibility due to the size of the family rather than providing the house economically. In addition, 0.2% of the groom and 0.2% of the girls were identified as responsible for the livelihood of the family. Looking at the gender-based distinction of the reference person, 25.4% of the women interviewed in the study are also the person responsible for the livelihood of the family. Almost 68% of the women interviewed, stated that it is the father of the family that supports it. In the same way, 89.4% of the men interviewed stated that they were responsible for the livelihood of their family.

A.3. Marital Status

Another variable considered within the scope of demographic information in the study is marital status. Table 4 lists the data related to this subject. While the marriage rate for men is 82%, it is around 74% for women. Likewise, the proportion of single men is seen as twice the rate of women. However, the situation is the opposite for those whose spouse is dead and/or divorced. In these categories, the proportion of women is higher than that of men. The proportion of

widowed women is 3 times more than men. The rate of abandoned and divorced women is 2 times higher than men.

Table 4. Comparison of Marital Status and Gender(%)

Marital Status	Sex	
	Male	Female
Married	82.4	73.9
Single	11.0	6.1
Widow	5.1	15.4
Divorced	1.1	2.3
Abandoned	0.4	2.3

According to TurkStat's Batman marital status statistics for 2015, the divorce rate is 0.44% for women and 0.27% for men; while the rate of women whose spouses have died is 2.98%, and the rate of men is 0.38% (TurkStat, 2015). These rates for Batman in general for both sexes and categories are quite low compared to the research area. Considering the distinction between the categories of "divorce" and "dead wife" on the basis of the neighborhood, it was found that the rates increased in areas where poverty is concentrated spatially. For example, while 7.9% and 7.5% of those whose spouses are dead, live in Petrolkent and Cudi neighborhoods, it is determined as 0.3% in Gültepe neighborhood, where poverty is almost never seen.

A.4. Age

The age distribution of the participants by gender is listed in Table 5. The average age of the participants was 42, and the median age was 40. The highest age range for men is 85-89 years with 40.90%. The age range of 15-19 years follows this group with 38.50%. The reason why there is such a difference between age groups in men is that, as mentioned before, interviews were mostly conducted with women. When we look at the distribution of the population by age groups, it is seen that the young population is high. This also indicates that the population which can work and be emoloyed is high.

Table 5. Distribution of Age Groups by Sex(%)

Age range	Male	Female
10-14	100.0	
15-19	38.50	61.50
20-24	13.70	86.30
25-29	13.60	86.40
30-34	10.80	89.20
35-39	13.00	87.00
40-44	13.80	86.20
45-49	19.70	80.30
50-54	20.20	79.80
55-59	17.40	72.60
60-64	22.40	77.60
65-69	25.00	75.00
70-74	20.00	80.00
75-79	18.40	81.60
80-84	38.20	61.80
85-89	40.90	59.10
90-105	30.80	69.20

The age pyramid prepared according to the data of surveyed neighborhoods (Chart 1) and the age pyramid of Turkey in general for 2018 (Chart 2) were compared. Considering Turkey in general, it is seen that age range of women are concentrated in 35-39 years. A similar result has come out in the field of study. It was determined that 85% and above of the women participating in the study are between the ages of 20-44.

Chart 1. Research Area Population Pyramid
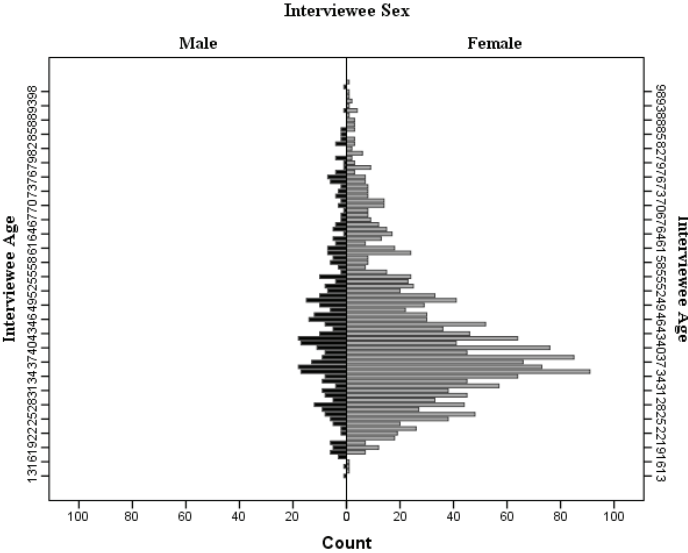
The highest age range of the interviewed women is 30-34 years with the rate of 89.20%. This group is followed by the 35-39 age range with the rate of 87.0% and the 25-29 age range with the rate of 86.40%. This situation has similarities with Turkey in general.

Chart 2. Turkey Population Pyramid (2018)
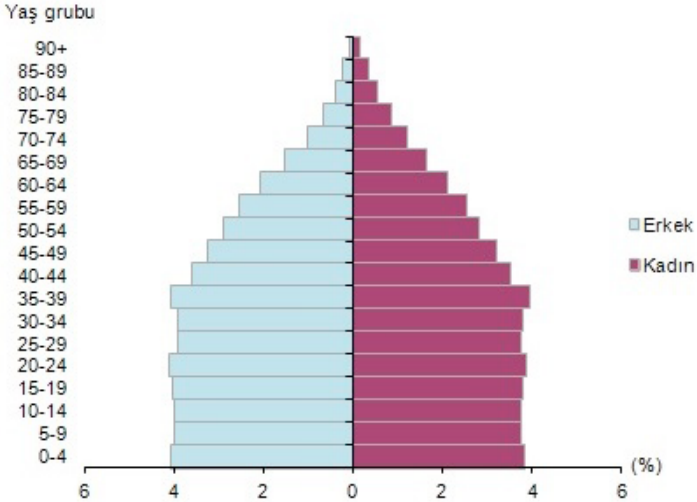
Reference: *TurkStat, 2018.*

A.5. Educational Status

Undoubtedly, neo-liberal policies, which are planned to be implemented by international organizations such as the World Bank and IMF, have an important role in the recent deepening of the poverty problem. During this period, the working classes, which are left unemployed by the rapid loss of the social state character of national states and the economies that contracted as a part of the said policies, are also deprived of state supports such as education, health, transportation, unemployment assistance. This situation is reflected in the educational situation of the region and the general level of education much lower than Turkey in general is seen.

In our age, schooling rate is considered as one of the most important educational indicators and is basically defined as the division of all students enrolled in the relevant education level- which may be preschool, primary education, secondary education and higher education- to the population at the education level to which they belong. Schooling rates are indicators that provide information about

participation, access or prevalence of education in countries with different education levels and, based on this, show the extent to which countries can meet the educational needs of the population at school age (Günay & Günay, 2016).

The level of education of the household reference person emerges as an element closely related to poverty in poverty studies. Generally, it is observed that the higher the education level of the household, the lower the poverty rate (Şenşes, 2003). The education status of the household is shown in Table 6. According to this, the highest rate of the household reference person with respect to level of education is being illiterate with 43.7%. This rate increases to 50.9% for the spouse of the household reference person, and reveals a situation where women are sent to school less than men. According to TurkStat's 2015 education statistics, the rate of illiteracy in Batman is 7.2% in general, 2.58% for men and 11.95% for women (TurkStat, 2015). The results obtained from the field research differ with the education statistics of Batman in general. The main reason for this is that the research sample consists of the poorest people living in the neighborhoods. The sampling taken from the poor community ensured that the difference between Batman in general and these neighborhoods are seen very clearly. When the illiteracy rate of the household responsible is distributed on the basis of neighborhoods, it is seen that the illiteracy rate is higher in the neighborhoods such as Cudi, İluh and Petrolkent, which are caused by migrations and where the poverty is most intense, compared to the neighborhoods with little poverty.

When looking at the situation except for the illiterate ones, it is seen that most of the household reference persons are primary school graduates (20.6 7%). This is followed by the literates with the rate of 11.5%.

Table 6. Household Education Status

Educational Background	Reference Person		Wife of the Reference Person	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
İlliterate	702	43.7	815	50.9
Literate	185	11.5	95	5.9
Primary School Drop out	165	10.3	113	7.1
Primary Education Graduated	331	20.6	161	10.1
Secondary Education Drop-out	36	2.2	15	0.9
Secondary Education Graduate	73	4.5	44	2.7
Secondary Education Attendance	3	0.2		
High School Dropout	27	1.7	12	0.7
High School Graduate	48	3.0	14	0.9
High School Attendance	1	0.1	1	0.1
Undergraduate-Associate Drop out			1	0.1
Undergraduate-Associate Graduated	8	0.5	2	0.1
Undergraduate-Associate Continuation	2	0.1	2	0.1
Postgraduate	1	0.1		
Total	**1605**	**99.8**	**1601**	**99,6**
Missing Data	3	0.2	7	0,4

A striking result of the study is that the education level of women is lower than men at all levels. The highest education level rate of women is primary education graduation with the rate of 10.1%. This is followed by dropout from primary education with the rate of 7.1% and being literate with the rate of 5.9%. Gender inequality also manifests itself in the field of education. Among women, the low rate of being literate or the rate of completing an educational institution affects the continuation of their disadvantaged situation. These rates are accepted as one of the indicators of limited access to education services. In other words, it can be said that it has become inevitable for the poverty and poverty culture to reproduce itself in the long term. The low or no educational level of women causes difficulties for them to go somewhere, establish relationships with institutions and benefit from the opportunities in the city. Women who cannot develop such relationships in the city have difficulty in leaving their houses or do not go out at all. The alarming dimension of such a strategy is an indisputable indication

that the secondary position of women in the family and living conditions limited by domestic life will reproduce themselves in the long term. For poor women, the problem of getting involved in life outside the home is not just about their lack of education. Sometimes women feel inadequate even if they have sufficient education to establish relationships with outside institutions. As a matter of fact, they found themselves insufficient to provide information about the household when the reference person was not at home in the field study. However, an important point that draws attention in this research and other poverty studies is that these women who do not go out of their homes, their streets and neighborhoods, have difficulty in contacting institutions and cannot benefit from the opportunities of the cities, are the ones who contact social assistance institutions and find assistance mechanisms and produce solutions (January 2007). In this case, it is also effective for men to socialize so that they do not show themselves weak or inadequate.

On the other hand, in most of the interviews in Erdogan's book "Poverty Situations", the reason why families attach importance to their children's reading is expressed by a desire summarized as "reading and saving yourself". Underlying this desire is the desire to have a profession and to have a job with regular income and security rather than experiencing a class leap forward (Erdoğan, 2007). The fact that children at school age are not sent to school is undoubtedly and closely related to the economic conditions of families. A significant portion of the household managers interviewed in the field cited their economic insufficiency as their main reason. However, it is known that cultural and traditional values also play an important role in the decision-making process related with that. As a matter of fact, families who follow a strategy such as not sending their children to school firstly prefer not to send their girls to school.

Table 7. Educational Status of Children

Education Status	Female Child		Male Child	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
İlliterate	132	8.2	77	4,90
Literate	24	1.6	22	1.5
Primary School Drop Out	59	3,6	78	5,0
Primary Education Graduated	51	3.3	79	5.0
Primary Education Attendance	642	40.1	639	40.0
Secondary Education Drop-Out	86	5.4	156	9.8
Secondary Education Graduate	139	8.6	193	12.1
Secondary Education Attendance	423	26.4	474	29.8
High School Dropout	61	3.8	150	9.5
High School Graduate	78	12.9	84	5.3
High School Attendance	317	19.8	258	13.3
Undergraduate-Associate Drop out	11	1.8	8	0.6
Undergraduate-Associate Graduated	25	1.6	72	3.1
Undergraduate-Associate Continuation	96	5.9	115	7.3
Postgraduate	1	0.1	5	0.4

The education status of children living in households is shown in Table 7. Considering the education status of children, the weight of child population is concentrated in primary education. This ratio, which is 40% for boys and girls. In terms of education levels above the education level that requires attendance, a decrease is observed in the school attendance rate. While the rate of attendance to secondary education is 29.80% for boys, it decreases to 26% for girls. When we look at the gender distribution, whether it is due to economic reasons or cultural values, girls are negatively affected by this process in a much larger scale.

A.6. Household Types and Sizes

Household sizes were asked as an open-ended question in the study and then categorized. Household size data shown in Table 8 is accepted as an important data in terms of livelihood strategies of the poor. The average household size of the study was calculated as 6 people. In addition to affecting the general welfare level of household members, household size can lead to poor health conditions due to crowding. According to the 2018 family survey of TurkStat, the household

size of Turkey was 3.4 people. Again, according to the same research, Batman is among the provinces with the highest household size with 5.5 people (TurkStat, 2019). Batman took the fourth place with 6.1 across Turkey in the TurkStat family study conducted in 2014 (TurkStat, 2015). Therefore, a decrease is observed in household size in Batman in general.

Table 8. Distribution of Household Size

Household Size	Frequency	Percent
1-3	289	18.0
4-6	664	41.4
7-9	487	30.3
10-12	135	8.4
13-15	23	1.4
16-18	6	0.4
19 upper	1	0.1
Total	**1605**	**100.0**
Missing data	3	

Almost 42% of the families are families of 4-6 people. People with 7-9 family members correspond to 30.3% of the research. Rate of the families with 1-3 members are 18%. The large size of the households, on the one hand, indicates the traditional structure in the region, on the other hand, it shows itself as a part of livelihood strategies. Şengül and Ersoy stated that in their urban poverty studies covering four provinces, the large household structure originated from two reasons. While the high number of children was counted as the first reason, it was pointed out that the second reason was economics (Şengül & Ersoy, 2003). Especially in the region, it is common for families to maintain their extended family characteristics and to have a large number of children. The average number of children in households in the area of study is calculated as 4 children, 2 girls and 2 boys.

Family types are shown in Table 9. In the research, the rate of those living as elementary families was found to be 79.5%. While 6.3% of the families live with their married boys, 12.8% said they live with their grandparents. One of the strategies to deal with poverty is the use of social solidarity patterns. Family as one of these patterns, is one of the important solidarity points of the person. What is meant here by family is a large family system based on kinship and ancestry.

This situation is one of the most common cases in the region. While some of the families live in the same house as an extended family, some of them live very close to this solidarity pattern. Nearly 20% of families live in Batman with their relatives or children.

Table 9. Distribution of Household Type

Household Type	Frequency	Percent
Living with Married Son	102	6.3
Living with Married Daughter	11	0.7
Extended Family	216	12.8
Nuclear Family	1279	79.5

In the urban poverty research, one of the questions asked to get to know the households is about the problems experienced within the household. Table 10 was created by compiling the answers given to this question, which was organized as an open question. This question, many families were reluctant to answer, 1231 families answered that they had no problems. It is seen that the most intense problems of the respondents are civil marriage and more than one family living together.

According to the results obtained from the field, the rate of the civil marriage problem is 4.4%. It is known that significant part of the couples in Turkey get married through "the imam marriage" as well as the civil marriage. Especially in the case of marrying with more than one spouse, the spouse/spouses other than the spouse married by official marriage are married through the imam marriage. It is another fact that there is a lack of coverage in official statistics on this subject. According to the Turkey Demographic and Health Survey conducted in 2003 by the Institute of Population Studies of Hacettepe University[2], the rate of marriage through the imam marriage is 5.8% and compared with the rate of 7.1% in 1998, there has been a decrease in prevalence of the imam marriage around 61% (Civelek and Koç, 2007). According to the Family with Statistics research conducted by TurkStat in 2012, the highest rate of those who have no official marriage but only religious marriage is in the Southeastern Anatolia Region with 8.3% (TurkStat, 2012). This high rate of Batman reflects the trend of the region in this direction. 61.4% of the household reference persons who say they have

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2   As no data in this direction was found in the Turkey Demographic and Health Survey carried out in 2013, the data of 2003 was used.

an official marriage problem are illiterate. On the other hand, 28.6% of women who admit that they have a civil marriage problem stated that they are illiterate. As the education level of women increases, the declaration of official marriage problems decreases. It is considered that there are two reasons for this. First, women do not want to make such a statement due to the increase in education level. The second reason is that there is no official marriage problem. When we compare this data with household income, the monthly income of 14.3% of those who do not have a civil marriage is in the 300-500 TRY band. For those with an income of 1300 TRY and above, this ratio decreases to half with 8.6%. In addition, the situation of living in the same house with the second spouse, which is not reflected in the answers to this question, which the families did not want to indicate, was one of the common problems observed while doing the survey.

Table 10. Distribution of Problems in the Household

	Frequency	Percent
Partner Leaving Home	51	3.2
Problem with Population Transactions	10	0.6
Official Marriage Problem	70	4.4
Enlisted Child	30	1.9
Run away Child	16	1.0
Convicted	54	3.4
Convicted (Political Crime)	48	3.0
Exposure to Attack / Accident	22	1.4
Domestic violence	17	1.1
Polygamy	42	2.6
Multiple Families Living Together	75	4.7
Divorced Daughter at Home	11	0.7
Divorced Son at Home	9	0.6
None	1231	76.6
Other	20	1.2

Considering the structure of the region, one of the most common problems is the situation of more than one family living together with 4.7%. This is thought to have two causes. First, the coexistence of more than one family is considered as one of the strategies to cope with poverty, and the compulsory expenses of these

families have decreased due to living together. Another reason is the conflict in the region. During this period, Batman is a city where conflicts are not experienced intensely compared to many other cities around it and the life flow in the city is not interrupted due to reasons such as curfew. In other words, life flows relatively more easily than other cities in the region. This situation caused the immigration to Batman from conflict areas, and many families started to live with their relatives from other places. Comparing the income of the households and the living conditions of the households, the ratio of families with an income of 1300 TRY or more and those with an income in the 700-900 TRY band, living with another family is 6.6% and 6.8%. The ratio of families with an income of 300-500 TRY to live with another family is 4.7%. Comparisons show that more than one family living together is an important point both in providing solidarity in coping with poverty and in providing solidarity for families displaced in conflict.

Considering the other situations stated as household problems; There are problems such as having a spouse leaving home (3.2%), being convicted (3.4%), having a child running away from home (1%), and having domestic violence (1.1%).

B. INDICATORS OF POVERTY

Poverty is a multidimensional and complex phenomenon and therefore poverty is difficult to measure. The method of measuring poverty varies according to the definition of poverty. However, most of these methods tends to draw a poverty line first. At this point, a poverty line is defined to determine the poor and the non-poor by using indicators reflecting poverty (May et al., 2001). There are different methods of absolute and relative poverty approaches in determining the poverty line.

Absolute poverty, which means not having enough income to access the most basic goods and services required for minimum living standard in order to survive (Alagh, 1992), shows the ratio of the number of people who cannot reach the minimum welfare level to the total population. In absolute poverty, a poverty line is drawn by considering the minimum food need and non-food needs separately. The calculation, which considers only food expenditures, determines the absolute hunger limit. This calculation, known as the "hunger limit approach" in measuring poverty, is made by considering the minimum daily calorie amount per person. At this point, consumption expenditures are calculated on

the basis of the requirements of the minimum calorie norm, and the monetary value of the lowest-cost food expenditures in order to survive constitutes an absolute poverty line (Şenses, 2003). This limit was developed based on the requirement of minimum 2400 calories in order for a person to survive, and people whose daily income was not enough to get 2400 calories of food were defined as absolute poor. Absolute poverty line is also calculated by considering basic nonfood requirements such as accommodation, health, education, and this calculation is known as the "basic needs approach". The poverty line drawn by absolute poverty is criticized in terms of assuming that the whole population needs the same calories, accepting that food and non-food expenditures are the same, and evaluating poverty only on income / expenditure.

The concept of relative poverty, on the other hand, includes those who can meet their basic needs absolutely but remain below the general welfare level of the society due to insufficient personal resources and are prevented from socially participating in the society, and indicates the situation where the average welfare level of the society is below a certain rate. According to Townsend, poverty is the state of being behind the average life level determined by the existing resources, structure and living standards of the society in which they live (Townsend, 1962). At this point, according to the concept of relative poverty, poverty is not only seen as a problem of not being able to access resources and continuing life. Poverty is an issue related to whether a person or a household has minimum living standard that is accepted by the society in which they live. From this point of view, according to the definition of absolute poverty, no one in the society can be poor; according to the definition of relative poverty, there are always poor individuals in the society. While calculating the relative poverty line, firstly the average welfare level is determined based on the income and consumption expenditures of the society. A certain proportion of this level gives the poverty line. The poverty line in relative poverty is defined as the median income or a certain percentage (50% or 60%) of the median expenditure in the country, and those with income or expenditure below this limit are considered to be relatively poor.

Combining income and consumption expenditures in measuring poverty is considered as an important data in terms of showing the degree of poverty; while, there are also criticisms related with the treatment of income and consumption as indicators of poverty. The main objection point of the criticisms is that these

indicators show only the level of poverty and do not allow for a forward-looking assessment of the causes of poverty.

In measuring poverty, it is important to determine the poverty line correctly, and for this, equivalence scales that consider economies of scale and household size are often used in household consumption.[3] Households with a consumption value below this scale are considered poor.

In this poverty study covering 18 neighborhoods of Batman, the poverty line has been taken from the poverty map study prepared according to the relative poverty concept of Batman Municipality (Batman Municipality, 2017). According to the data obtained from the poverty mapping study, the equivalent household average income has been calculated as 2,712.24 TRY and the median income was 2,434.05 TRY. Accordingly, the relative poverty rate determined on the basis of 50% of the annual median income level per capita has been calculated as 10% and the relative poverty rate determined on the basis of 60% of the median income level has been calculated as 14%. In Table 11, the distribution of poverty rates according to the median income level is given according to the 18 neighborhoods studied. According to this table, the neighborhood with the highest number of households below the median income is Güneykent neighborhood with 47%. Çarşı neighborhood comes second with 31%. Approximately 13% of the households with an income below 60% of median income are located in Güneykent neighborhood and 12% in Huzur neighborhood. There are no households with an income below 60% in the Çarşı and Kısmet neighborhoods. The neighborhood where households with an income below 50% of the median income are seen most frequently is the Iluh neighborhood with 8%. Petrol and Petrolkent neighborhoods are densely populated with households with an income of about 7% or less than fifty percent.

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3   Very different equivalence scales are used in poverty researches and the equivalence scale used by the Turkey Statistics Institute has been used in the study. According to this, the coefficient "1" for adult household members, "0.5" for all individuals aged 14 and over, and "0.3" for all individuals under 14 years of age have been used.

Table 11. Distribution of Neighborhoods by Household Equivalent Income

| | Below Median Income | | |
| | Number of Households | | |
Neighborhood Name	%50	%60	Median
19 Mayıs	6,67	4,44	26,67
Çarşı	4,55	-	31,82
Cudi	4,71	6,81	22,51
Çamlıca	5,49	2,20	26,37
Çay	3,39	3,39	23,73
Erköklü	-	3,13	18,75
Güneykent	5,66	13,21	47,17
Hilal	3,57	3,57	28,57
Huzur	6,32	11,58	23,16
Hürriyet	2,15	4,30	20,43
İluh	8,00	7,00	16,00
Karşıyaka	4,69	8,59	10,16
Kısmet	-	-	21,43
Petrol	6,90	5,52	23,45
Petrolkent	6,83	9,94	20,50
Sağlık	5,00	2,50	15,00
Seyitler	2,65	6,19	14,16
Yeşiltepe	2,47	6,17	18,52

As it can be understood from the median income calculated according to the equivalence scale, most of the people living in the research area are composed of individuals and households that we can include in the low-income group.

Table 12 shows the monthly average income levels of the households. In addition to the income of the head of the household, household incomes consist of the income and support received from other members of the household. However, it is very difficult to determine the household incomes clearly. Income is one of the issues where you cannot get clear answers in the studies conducted in Turkey. Households who have the knowledge that social assistance is provided based on income determination and random home visits may think that each visit is made for determining poverty and need for aid (Gürsoy & Dodurka, 2016). For

this reason, in poverty research, households try to prove their poverty, convince researchers to transfer their demands to the concerned parties, and they can also make statements below their real income by considering the possibility of receiving assistance as a result of the research. This situation actually gives an idea about the dimensions of poverty and neediness.

Tablo 12. Household Income Distribution (Monthly Average)

Income	Frequency	Percent
None Income	52	3.2
0-300	275	17.1
301-500	319	19.8
501-700	358	22.3
701-900	227	14.1
901-1100	180	11.2
1101-1300	109	6.8
1301 and upper	88	5.5
Total	**1608**	**100.0**

According to the research conducted in 1608 households, 22.2% of the households earn an income between 500-700 TRY. Those with an income between 700 and 900 TRY constitute 14.1% of those who participated in the research. Except for these households, which have very low-income shares, 52 families (3.2%) have none. It has been determined that 5.5% of the households have an income of 1300 TRY or more. However, in the interviews conducted in the continuation of the field research -in 2018-, households stated that their income increased compared to 2016. However, this increase did not occur at a level that would affect the degree of poverty in the neighborhoods.

In Table 13, the distribution of the average monthly income of households by reference person is given. In the neighborhoods where the field study was conducted, the head of the household is not only defined as the person who brings income to the household, but also being the eldest member of the household or being a male affects this definition. In this context, when the table is examined in general, it is seen that mothers, fathers and boys who are considered as household managers, earn income at all levels.

Table 13. Income Distribution by Household Reference Person

Household Reference Person	Household Income (%)							
	None Income	0-300	301-500	501-700	701-900	901-1100	1101-1300	1301-upper
Relative	50.0				50.0			
Mother	4.0	31.4	26.3	19.4	6.9	6.0	3.4	2.60
Father	3.0	13.6	18.4	23.2	16.2	12.3	7.3	6.0
Grandmother		16.7		33.3		33.3	16.7	
Grandfather		20.0			20.0	20.0	20.0	20.0
Son in law					33.3		66.7	
Male Child	2.4	7.2	16.9	20.5	14.5	16.9	10.8	10.8
Female Child			25.0	50.0	25.0			

When Table 13 is analyzed, 4% of women (mothers) who are in charge of the household do not have any income. While 31.4% of women contribute to households with an income of up to 300 TRY, approximately 45% of them have an income ranging from 300 to 700 TRY. Only 2.6% of women have an income of over 1300 TRY. Men (fathers), who are responsible for the household, generally have higher income than women. The most common earnings range for men is between 500 and 700 TRY. The proportion of men with an income of more than 1300 TRY has been calculated as 6%. It is observed that family elders also contribute to the livelihood of the households. While 33.3% of the grandmothers earn between 500-700 TRY and 900-1100 TRY, 20% of the grandfathers have an income above 1300 TRY. The highest income of the income segment where the male children are considered as household managers is between 500 and 700 TRY. The rate of boys earning more than 900 TRY is higher than their mothers and fathers. In cases where girls are stated as the head of the household, again the highest rate is calculated in the income segment of 500 to 700 TRY. In general, the low employment rates in the neighborhoods where the fieldwork is conducted does not affect their income levels, even if the head of the household differs.

The distribution of people who are shown as household managers is shown in Table 14. According to table, the vast majority of the people who are in charge of the household have been the father of the house - or in other words, male spouse - with a rate of 71.8%. The rate of showing the mother - or in other words, the female spouse - as the head of the household is 21.8%. The rate of showing the

male child as the head of the household is 5.2%. The ratio of showing grandmother, grandfather, son-in-law, daughter and a relative living at home as the head of the household is 1.2% in total.

Tablo 14. Distribution of Household Reference Person

Household Reference Person	Frequency	Percent
Relative	2	0.1
Mother (Wife)	350	21.8
Father (Husband)	1155	71.8
Grandmother	6	0.4
Gransfather	5	0.3
Son in law	3	0.2
Male Child	83	5.2
Female Child	4	0.2
Total	**1608**	**100.0**

As stated before, it has been observed that the household head is not only defined as the person who brings income to the household; variables such as age and gender are also effective in this definition. In this context, it is determined that the male partner in the house is mostly shown as the household manager, even if he does not earn any income. The situation of showing the wife or other members of the household as the head of the household is mostly encountered when the husband in the house dies or leaves the house. In this case, due to the traditional gender roles in Turkey, in general, this is a reflection that the people responsible for their households, called as "the head of household", are generally accepted as men.

Deficiencies in the areas of basic needs such as education, health, housing, security and social facilities increase urban poverty. In this context, the education level and income level of the household reference person is compared in Table 15. Generally, a directly proportional relationship is expected between education level and income. In other words, as the education level increases, the income level is expected to increase. However, the relationship between education and income level does not reflect the general tendency in these neighborhoods where unemployment and unqualified unemployment as the dominant form of employment are prevalent. In other words, education has not been very effective in

increasing income. The proportion of illiteracy has been higher at each income level than other education levels.

Table 15. Comparison of Household Reference Person's Education and Income Level

Educational Status	None Income	0- 300	301- 500	501- 700	701- 900	901- 1100	1101- 1300	1301-Üzeri
İlliterate	44.2	54.0	52.7	42.5	38.8	37.2	24.8	34.1
Literate	9.6	13.1	7.6	11.7	13.7	12.8	14.7	9.1
Primary School Drop out	7.7	5.5	10.7	11.5	14.1	9.4	11.1	11.4
Primary Education Graduated	21.2	17.9	17.0	19.6	20.7	24.4	30.3	26.1
Secondary Education Drop-out		1.5	2.2	2.5	2.2	2.8	3.7	2.3
Secondary Education Graduate	9.6	3.3	4.1	5.6	5.7	1.7	4.6	5.7
Secondary Education Attendance		0.3				0.6	0.9	
High School Dropout	1.9	1.1	1.6	1.7	0.9	2.8	0.9	4.5
High School Graduate	3.8	1.5	1.9	3.1	2.6	6.1	6.4	1.1
High School Attendance						0.6		
Undergraduate-Associate Graduated	1.9	0.4		0.6			0.9	3.4
Undergraduate-Associate Continuation			0.3	0.3				
Postgraduate						0.6		

When Table 15 is examined, almost half of those, who have no income are illiterate, while this ratio has decreased to 34% for those with an income of 1300 TRY or more. While the rate of illiteracy is the highest among those who earn up to 300 TRY, the rate of primary education graduates is at the lowest level with the rate of 17%. More than half of those who have an income between 300-500 TRY are illiterate. Among those with income between 700 and 900 TRY, the rate of illiteracy is 38% and the rate of primary education graduates is around 21%. One (0.6%) of those with an average monthly income of 900 to 1100 TRY is pursuing a master's degree. 24.8% of those with an income between 1100 TRY and 1300 TRY are illiterate and 30% are primary school graduates While 26%

of those with an income above 1300 TRY are primary school graduates, 34.1% of them are illiterate Therefore, there is no relationship between the income and education levels of people in this income group. It is estimated that the relationship between the education level and income of the household reference person does not provide clear results. Although the table does not reveal sufficient data on the relationship between education and income, it shows that the poverty experienced in the region is not only related to education or qualification.

B.1. The Position of Urban Poor in the Labor Market

Poverty is associated with the characteristics of labor markets in both developed and developing countries. In particular, the insufficiency of employment opportunities is acknowledged and considered as one of the main causes of urban poverty. It is thought that the importance of factors such as low education level, household size and spatial exclusion, which are alleged to be related to poverty, stem from the position of individuals in the labor market, especially wages, and the indirect effect of this position (Şenses, 2003). Therefore, one of the main determinants of the poverty problem is the place of the households' working age population in the labor market. While exclusion from the labor market is one of the important factors that indicate poverty, the complex structure of this market also constitutes other factors. Determining the positions of the household members in this mixed structure consisting of details such as formal / informal, secure / insecure, public / private distinction, wage levels, flexible labor becomes important in understanding and explaining poverty (Şengül and Ersoy, 2003). This complex structure of the workforce also differentiates the workforce situation in households. Table 16 shows the employment status of female and male members in the households.

Table 16. Employment Status Distribution

Employment Status	Women		Men	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Unemployed	1522	94.7	625	38.9
Employed	60	3.8	731	45.5
Retired	3	0.2	5	0.4

When Table 16 is examined, it is seen that approximately 4% of the women participating in the research, work in an income-generating job, while close to 95% of them do not work in a job where they get a wage. The retirement rate among women is very low with 0.2%. There are some seemingly structural factors in women's not finding a place for themselves in the labor market and limiting their lives to household reproductive activities. Restrictions such as education, language and tradition have an impact on participation of women in the labor market. Situations such as the inability of women to have the necessary skills, experience, knowledge, education and etc. required by the formal sector (for example, half of the women living in the interviewed households are illiterate) or it is considered inappropriate for them to work outside, restrict participation of women in the labor market.

For males, the rate of employed ones is higher than unemployed ones. The unemployment rate among men is calculated to be approximately 39%, and the rate of employed ones is 45.5%. It has been observed that the retirement rate is also low for men.

Table 17 shows the distribution of household members' involvement in working life by gender. While 3.5% of working women are in the labor market as unskilled workers, the rate of those with the status of skilled workers and those engaged in trade is only 0.1%.

Table 17. Distribution of Employees Location

Employment Location	Wife of the Reference Person		Reference Person	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Farmer			4	0.2
Unskilled labour	56	3.5	622	38.7
Skilled labour	1	0.1	59	3.7
Tradesman	1	0.1	29	1.8
Other	2	0.1	17	1.1

The complex structure of the labor market shows itself in the diversity of employment situations for men. Again, according to Table 17, 38.72% of men work as unskilled workers in insecure and daily jobs. Most of these workers work on a daily wage basis, and when they find a job, they usually become construction workers, seasonal workers, porters or peddlers. It was observed that only 3.7%

of the men were skilled workers. However, as it can be seen in the analysis made then, it is seen that they do not comply with the requirements of the skilled worker definition. The farming rate is very low for both women and men. The group called "other" in working situations consists of those who are afraid to give information about their working status or do not know how to name their work. It is estimated that the majority of those in this group work in the informal sector. The proportion of self-employed people in the neighborhoods was very low with the rate of 1.8%. According to Lewis, one of the conditions that shape the relationship between poverty culture and capitalism is "continuous and high rate of unemployment for unskilled labor" (Özbudun, 2002). These unemployment rates, which are well above the regional rates, are one of the indicators of how much poverty has settled in these neighborhoods. When the unemployed and those working in informal jobs are evaluated together, the rate of non-participation of those living in the research area in the labor market rises to approximately 80%.

On the other hand, the continuous fray of globalization on wages, employment contracts against the employees and part-time and temporary working conditions without any security have created the working poor class. Poverty now does not only cover the ones deprived of an income due to unemployment, but also the working segments (Kesgin, 2011). The situation of the employees within the scope of the research reveals this situation clearly.

Social protection mechanisms generally have four goals, such as maintaining permanent income or living standards, reducing poverty, ensuring economic equality, and reducing social exclusion. Social security mechanisms covered by the social state are observed in all countries under various forms. One of the social protection mechanisms is the social insurance practices that change according to the individual's employment status and the contribution he makes during employment. In Table 18, social security of the people living in the neighborhoods is listed.

Table 18. Social Security Distribution

Social Security	Frequency	Percent
None	34	2.1
Health Card for Uninsured People in Turkey	1368	85.1
Social Security	206	12.8
Total	**1608**	**100.0**

2.1% of the participants in the research do not have a connection with any social security institution. The social security mechanism, known as the "Green Card"(Health Card for Uninsured People in Turkey) among the people, is the most common form of security in the neighborhoods with the rate of 85.1%. Only 12.8% of the interviewees had connections with a social security institution. However, due to the limited employment opportunities, this guarantee remains a temporary guarantee for this region where unemployment is intense. Table 19 shows the comparison of the household reference person's social security distribution and job status.

Table 19. Social Security Distribution of the Household Reference Person

Household Reference Person	None	Health Card	Social Security (SGK-Oneself)	Social Security (Through a Child or Relative)	Occupational Pension Fund	Pension Fund
Unemployment	1.80	92.00	3.00	1.30	1.00	1.00
Farmer		100.00				
Unskilled labour	2.40	80.70	14.10	2.40	0.30	
Skilled labour	1.70	86.40	8.50	3.40		
Tradesman	3.40	69.00	20.70	3.40	3.40	
Retired		40.00	40.00		20.00	
Other		64.70	35.30			

According to Table 19, the group with the highest rate of people without social security is the those who do business with the rate of 3.40% and unskilled workers with the rate of 2.40%. Considering the green card holders, it is seen as the most common form of security in all forms of work. It is understood that 92% of the unemployed, 86% of the skilled workers and 80% of the unskilled workers have green cards. This also shows that the workers who are qualified as skilled are also in the informal sector. The rate of those who get social security from the social security institution on their behalf is approximately 14% for unskilled workers and 20% for those engaged in trade. Some of the retirees have retired from Bağ-Kur and some have retired from SGK. 40% of the retired persons have a green card. Therefore, it is thought that the interviewees refer to household members

who are unable to work due to age as retired. The rates of those who have social security through their children, relatives or spouses are quite low.

Reasons for Not Participating in the Labor Market

In this part of the research, the reasons for not participating in the labor market are taken into consideration. The reasons why household reference persons cannot work in the area of the reseach are shown in Table 19. Considering the reasons for not working, it is seen that health problems come to the fore at a high rate of 25%, which is another indicator of poverty. Insufficient income leads to unhealthy nutrition and squalidity. Consequently, health problems of household managers prevent them from participating in the labor market. Apart from health problems, old age emerges as another reason. The rate of those who stated that they could not work due to old age was calculated as 17%. 23% of those who cannot work due to old age are between the ages of 45-60, and 64% are between the ages of 60-75.

Table 20. Reasons for Not Participating in the Labor Market
(Household Reference Person)

Reasons	Frequency	Percent
Illness	398	24.8
Senile	274	17.0
Inability to find a job	303	18.8
Disabled	54	3.4
Housewife	183	11.4
Seasonal worker	295	18.3
Doesn't Want to Work	9	0.6

The rate of those who cannot work because they cannot find a job although they are looking for a job - namely the unemployed - is 18.8%. 18.3% of the participants explain their inability to work as seasonal workers. Seasonal labor is seen as a form of labor that takes place in many economic activities based on seasons, primarily agricultural production from another region, in order to prevent the labor deficit (Çınar and Lordoğlu, 2011). Seasonal work has two sides; immigration and temporariness. The common feature of both sides is that it remains outside of a formal economy. Being excluded from a formal economy means not being included in the labor market data, but within the data of those who are not

included in the labor market. The forced migration process experienced in the region has caused an increase in seasonal labor supply. Forced immigrants who migrated to the city centers in Southeastern Anatolia have caused the formation of a serious excess of workforce there. For forced migrants who cannot find a job in their place of residence, there is not much alternative other than seasonal agricultural work. Batman is one of these provinces. The rate of seasonal workers is higher, especially in neighborhoods that have emerged with forced migration. The neighborhood with the highest number of seasonal workers is Cudi Neighborhood with the rate of 12.8%. This is followed by Hürriyet neighborhood with the rate of 10.6%. In Petrol and Petrolkent, which are the other neighborhoods established by migration, these rates are seen as 6% and 6.5%. 3.4% of the participants stated that they are disabled and 0.6% stated that they do not participate in the labor market because they do not want to work. It has been observed that 11.4% of female household managers are housewives and cannot work due to domestic responsibilities.

In general, the first response for those who face poverty is to seek a range of solutions or strategies within the family. Such a strategy has a number of elements. These strategies include finding additional jobs, women and children entering the labor market, cutting consumption, selling property or goods. In the region, such strategies have moved towards sending children for working rather than women. Table 21 lists the reasons why women do not participate in the labor market. The household structure in Turkey has a patriarchal structure as general characteristics. Traditional structural characteristics are more pronounced in Batman, and women's relationship with life outside the home has a narrow frame, especially in poor neighborhoods.

Table 21. Women's Reasons for Not Participating in the Labor Market

	Frequency	Percent
Illness	116	7.2
Senile	81	5.0
Inability to find a job	22	1.4
Disabled	15	0.9
Housewife	1156	71.9
Seasonal worker	19	1.2
Doesn't Know Where To Apply	1	0
Doesn't Want to Work	3	0.2
Sees Working Conditions Difficult	2	0.1
Convict in Prison	33	2.1
Widow	229	14.2

As it can be predicted, among the reasons for not working in poor neighborhoods of Batman, where women have less contact with the outside is that women have the highest share with 71.9% being held responsible for home work. This is followed by death of spouse with the rate of 14.2%, illness with the rate of 7.2% and old age with the rate of 5.0%. The rate of those who say that they do not want to work at all is 0.2%.

B.2. Consumption Poverty

Today's society defines and shapes individuals primarily with their consumer role (Bauman, 2014: 92). Consumption society, which emerged as a result of the guidance of neo-liberal ideology, has led to many radical changes. First of all, the poverty criteria of production-oriented social life and the poverty criteria of consumption-oriented life differ from each other. While "being poor" in the production-oriented society expresses the situation of being unemployed, it describes the situation of not being able to consume enough in consumption-oriented social life (Karakaş, 2006). According to Bauman (1998), the poor of the consumer society have turned into "flawed consumers". "This leads them to be deprived of a socially useful function - actually or potentially. In addition, it has consequences that negatively affect their social positions and their prospects for improvement," (Bauman, as cited in 1998, Karakaş, 2006). Poverty as a multidimensional concept requires a broad perspective. Poverty explanations which are made only by

considering income, make it difficult to explain the phenomenon. Apart from income, many factors such as education, health, region, consumption, gender and family conditions affect poverty. However, it is a known fact that it is very difficult to measure poverty with this complex structure. In general, income-expenditure balance is used to measure poverty, but this cannot be applicable for all societies; it is also necessary to take into account other qualitative indicators of life.

In this part of the research, the consumption behavior of households has tried to be examined. In this context, firstly, the consumption patterns of public services such as electricity and water have been examined, then the health and food consumption of the households and the relationship of these consumptions with the household size have been examined. Information on the expenditure amounts of households for consumption has been collected with an open-ended question and then categorized.

One of the main problems of poor households is not being able to access services produced by public utilities such as electricity, water, and natural gas, or being unable to afford these services for a fee (Bağdadioğlu et al., 2009). These services are indispensable for the living standard of the household, and they have a significant share in the monthly expenditure amounts. These services, which migrants who migrated from rural areas to cities and have not been able to enter the labor market, which they used to have for lower costs but less quality while living in rural areas, make the life diffucult for them. With the privatization, which is an outcome of neo-liberal policies, the relationship of these services with poverty has changed dimension. Due to the natural monopoly character of these production areas, the lack of regulation against the problems that arise against consumers in terms of service quality, quantity and prices, prevents these needs from being consumed properly (Bağdadioğlu et al., 2009). From this point of view, the increase in the prices of services such as electricity, water and natural gas, as indispensable elements of daily life, causes changes in the consumption behavior of the urban poor.

Since there is no natural gas connection in the neighborhoods covered by the study, only the electricity and water consumption of the households have been examined. In this context, the monthly average distribution of electricity and water expenditures of households are given in Table 22.

Table 22. Distribution of Electricity and Water Consumption (Monthly Average)

Electricity Consumption	Frequency	Percent
0-50	1325	82.4
51-100	256	15.9
100-150	13	0.8
150-500	13	0.8
Total	**1607**	**99.9**
Missing data	1	0.1
Water Consumption	**Frequency**	**Percent**
0-30	1465	91.2
30-60	131	8.1
60-150	11	0.7
Total	**1607**	**99.9**
Missing data	1	0.1

The monthly electricity consumption amount of the majority of the participants in the study is below 50 TRY. This situation is an indicator of the limited use of electricity in these households. Those who spend between 50 and 100 TRY for electricity constitute approximately 16% of the group. 0.8% of the households spend between 100 and 500 TRY for electricity. The average electricity expenditure of the households is calculated as 41 TRY. The privatization of electricity services, as an indispensable element of daily life, makes it difficult for households to meet their electricity costs, thus causing a reduction in their use of electricity.

While electricity is privatized in Batman, water services are provided by the municipality. First of all, the average of water expenditures has been calculated as 20 TRY. Monthly water expenses of households are lower than their electricity costs. 91% of the households spend less than 30 TRY for water. The rate of those who spend between 30 and 60 TRY for water is calculated as 8.1%.

In Table 23, household size and monthly electricity and water consumption amounts are compared. Considering the table, it is observed that household size in both electricity and water consumption has an effect on the amount of expenditure. As the household size increases, the amount of electricity and water consumption also increases. While 92% of families with 1-3 people pay between

0-50 TRY for electricity, this rate decreases to approximately 57% in households with a family size of 16-19 people.

Table 23. Distribution of Electricity and Water Consumption by Household Size Household Size

Electricity Consumption	1-3	4-6	7-9	10-12	13-15	16-19
0-50	92.00	83.60	77.20	77.80	73.90	57.10
51-100	7.30	14.20	21.60	20.00	26.10	42.90
101-150	0.30	1.20	0.80	0.00	0.00	0.00
151- 500	0.30	1.10	0.40	2.20	0.00	0.00
Total	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**
Water Consumption						
0-30	94.5	91.9	90.3	88.1	82.6	42.9
31-60	4.8	7.7	9.1	11.1	17.4	28.6
61-150	0.7	0.5	0.6	0.7	0.00	28.6
Total	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**

On the other hand, it is seen that more than half of the households with 16-19 members spend between 0-50 TRY for electricity. The maximum electricity expenditure paid by these households varies between 50 and 100 TRY. It is possible to reduce electricity, water and similar expenditures in crowded households or households where more than one family lives in the same household, and save money there (Şengül & Ersoy, 2003). The rate of households with an electricity expenditure of 151-500 TRY is extremely low, and this rate does not exceed 2.20% even in households of 10-12 people which spend the most.

The situation is similar for the amount of water consumption. Approximately 95% of families with 1-3 people pay less than 30 TRY. This rate decreases as the number of people living in the household increases. While 43% of households with 16-19 members allocate from their budgets for water use less than 30 TRY, approximately 29% of them spend for water in amounts varying from 30 TRY to 150 TRY.

One of the most important items in household expenditures is health expenditures. Health problems are recognized as one of the indicators of poverty. As explained above, health problems rank first among the reasons for not participating in

the labor market. Therefore, it is expected that the health expenditures are high. Table 24 shows the distribution of monthly average health expenditures of households. When the table is examined in general, it is seen that the monthly health expenditure of the majority of the households is below 100 TRY. Approximately 12% of the households have health expenditures between 100 and 300 TRY. It is seen that the rate of those who spend more than 300 TRY on average per month is quite low. This situation shows that individuals with health problems do not have sufficient resources to allocate for health services.

Table 24. Health Care Spending Distribution (Monthly Average)

Health Expenditure	Frequency	Percent
0-100	1368	85.1
101-200	148	9.2
201-300	48	3.0
301-400	11	0.7
401-500	12	0.7
501-1500	12	0.7
Total	**1599**	**99.4**
Missing data	9	0.6
Total	1608	100.0

Another consumption item is the amount allocated to the daily kitchen expenses of households for shopping at grocery stores or markets. In accordance with the statements of the research participants, this type of expenditure, which constitutes the highest amount among the expenditure items, is generally tried to be compensated with debt. According to the distribution shown in Table 25, the highest expenditure is between 200 and 300 TRY with an approximate rate of 25%.

Table 25. *The Distribution of Food Expenditure (Monthly Average)*

Food Expenditure	Frequency	Percent
0-100	184	11.4
101-200	241	15.0
201-300	397	24.7
301-400	304	18.9
401-500	251	15.6
501-600	103	6.4
601-900	68	4.2
901-1500	59	3.7
Total	**1607**	**99.9**
Missing Data	1	0.1
Total	1608	100.0

Monthly food purchases of 11% of households are calculated below 100 TRY, while it is observed that approximately 4% of them spend more than 900 TRY. Considering that the products in this expense item are related to nutrition, the low amount of expenditure causes bad nutritional conditions. In fact, this situation is also the cost for these neighborhoods to come to the city, which formed by migration. While living in the villages, they used to get the products necessary for their nutrition free of charge and more comfortably thanks to their interfamilial relations, while they need to allocate a budget for the same products in the city. Lack of income to provide adequate nutrition worsens poverty.

In Table 26, it is observed that the expenditure allocated for the grocery / market is compared with the size of the household. When the table is examined in general, it seems that as the household size increases, the expenditure amount of the households also increases.

Table 26. Distribution of Food Expenditure by Household Size

Household Size	0-100	101-200	201-300	301-400	401-500	501-600	601-900	901-1500	Total
1-3	32.2	28.7	26.6	7.3	3.5	0.7	0.7	0.3	100.0
4-6	8.6	14.8	30	21.5	16.3	5.1	2.9	0.9	100.0
7-9	5.3	9.3	20.2	22.6	21.6	9.1	6.6	5.3	100.0
10-12	4.4	7.4	14.1	17.8	17	15.6	8.1	15.6	100.0
13-15	4.3	13	13	21.7	17.4	8.7	13.0	8.7	100.0
16-19		16.7			16.7		16.70	50	100.0

The monthly food expenditures of 87.5% of the families whose household size is between 1 and 3 persons goes up to 300 TRY. In households with more than 10 people, this ratio decreases from 30% to 26% and 74% of these households spend more than 400 TRY on food. However, the fact that 30% of these families whose household size is above average can spend for nutrition is below 300 TRY or even - 4% below 100 TRY- is considered as one of the aspects of poverty. Approximately 17% of the families, where the number of people living in the household varies between 10 and 15, allocate an amount between 300 and 500 TRY for kitchen expenses. With a rough estimate, an average of 30 TRY per person a month is reduced for nutrition in these families. Approximately 20% of the families whose household size is between 7 and 9 people spend between 200 and 500 TRY for nutrition. The low consumption of food, especially in large families, is also used as a livelihood strategy. Consume less and to try to find cheaper or substitution of higher-priced products are regarded as a survival strategy which is rather widely used in Turkey. These strategies include preparing winter and summer foods by canning at home, drying vegetables, making dough and even using the sacrifices of Eid Al-Adha for annual meat needs.

Table 27 shows the ranking of the households participating in the research for the expenditures they have difficulty to compensate within their monthly basic consumption expenses. According to the information obtained, only 12 households (0.07%) out of 1608 households participating in the research stated that they did not have difficulty in meeting any of the consumption expenditure items. On the other hand, - although in different rankings - it is observed that approximately 94% of the households have the most difficulty in compensating their food expenditures in consumption expenses. Food costs are in the first place for 68% of households, second for 19% and third for 7%. For 45% of households, clothing

costs are among the expenses that have difficulty in acquiring. Approximately 3% of households ranked their clothing costs in the first place, while 20% ranked the third. It is seen that 42% of the participants in the research have difficulty in getting the missing furniture in their houses. For these households, lack of furniture is often seen as a third-ranked challenge.

Table 27. Consumption Expenditures that Households have Difficulty Affording

	Food		Clothing		Rent		Health	
	n	**%**	**n**	**%**	**n**	**%**	**n**	**%**
Rank 1	1087	67.6	47	2.9	169	10.5	91	5.7
Rank 2	312	19.4	370	23	220	13.7	186	11.6
Rank 3	117	7.3	313	19.5	132	8.2	201	12.5
	Education		**Eat Hot**		**Furniture**		**Fuel**	
	n	**%**	**n**	**%**	**n**	**%**	**n**	**%**
Rank 1	106	6.6	19	1.2	94	5.8	7	0.4
Rank 2	227	14.1	49	3	191	11.9	17	1.1
Rank 3	277	17.2	76	4.7	395	24.6	55	3.4

The proportion of those who have difficulties in getting their education expenses has been found approximately 38% in total. However, the proportion of households who stated that the most difficult item of expenditure was education has been 6.6%, while the rate of those who reported it as the third item with difficulty has been calculated as 17%. It is estimated that educational aids received from the state have an effect on the education data. 9% of the households stated that they have difficulty getting their daily hot meals. While 19 families ranked the hot meal difficulty in the first place, for 76 households (4.7%), the lack of hot food was the third in line.

B.3. Housing Poverty

Space, which is an indispensable part of urban life, is evaluated both in the formation of identities of individuals and in the context of poverty. Housing is not just a physical structure consisting of a roof and a wall. Housing is a need, and when this need cannot be met, social, economic and cultural problems arise making housing a social issue (Şirine Önver, 2016). The fact that the house has characteristics such as being affected by social conditions and creating social conditions,

makes it one of the determinants of social life. Housing is also one of the most fundamental human rights. Everyone's right to live in a residential property is included in many international regulations, notably the United Nations Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, General Comment No. 4. Housing is also addressed in Habitat Istanbul Declaration with the theme "Adequate Housing Right for Everyone" within the framework of the following features: "Adequate privacy; adequate space; physical accessibility; adequate security; security of tenure; structural stability and durability; adequate lighting, heating and ventilation; adequate basic infrastructure, such as water-supply, sanitation and waste-management facilities; suitable environmental quality and health-related factors; and adequate and accessible location with regard to work and basic facilities: all of which should be available at an affordable cost" (UN, 1997). However, it is known that as a right, the poor cannot benefit from the housing with sufficient conditions, on the contrary, the increasing and deepening poverty and the resulting crowded housing further structuralize the housing problem of the poor (Turkish Chamber of Civil Engineers, 2011).

In this part of the study, the situation and problems of the houses where the households live are focused on. First of all, residence types in the neighborhoods have been taken into consideration. Table 28 shows the distribution of residence types where households live. Nearly 50% of the residences in the research area consist of independent detached houses. These structures, which are generally single-storey and have stone courtyards if there is available area, are considered as the old building types of Batman. These structures, especially seen around the Iluh Stream, do not have healthy and habitable housing qualities. Another type of residence seen in the neighborhoods is the so called row detached buildings, where 7% of the households live. Again, these buildings, which are among the old residence types of Batman, are residences that can be accessed through each other's gardens. Apart from detached houses, there are also multi-storey structures in the neighborhoods. While some of these buildings, which are described as apartments, are built by the owners of the single-storey houses, some of them are the buildings built by the contractors received for landownership. Approximately 40% of the households live in apartments. 22% of the households living in apartments live in the ground floors, 1.2% in the basement and 16.1% in the mezzanine floors. These results are related to the more affordable entrance and basement floors.

Table 28. Distribution of Housing Type

Housing Type	Frequency	Percent
Independent Detached House	761	47.5
Row Detached House	112	7.0
Apartment (Basement Floor)	20	1.2
Apartment (Ground Floor)	365	22.8
Apartment (Mezzanine Floor)	259	16.1
Shed	44	2.7
Adobe	40	2.5
Total	**1601**	**100**
Missing data	7	
Total	1608	

Adobe houses and sheds are also found in the neighborhoods. These dwellings used by relatively fewer households are called slums. According to the table, 2.5% of the households live in adobe houses and 2.7% in sheds.

Housing ownership and housing standards are considered as one of the important criteria for urban poverty. The home ownership status of the households participating in the research is shown in Table 29. An overall look at the table shows that there is no big difference between homeowners and tenants. While it is observed that approximately 40% of the households are tenants, the rate of those who say they own the house they live is 38%. Housing ownership seems to be high; however, the housing units owned are generally independent dwellings built by the homeowners themselves, such as slums. These residences are highly problematic structures in terms of quality and infrastructure and emerge as an indicator of poverty. A similar result can be seen in the Diyarbakır part of the urban poverty study conducted by Şengül and Ersoy on 4 cities in 2003.

Table 29. Distribution of Ownership Status of Dwellings

	Frequency	Percent
Rent	639	39.7
Sitting Without Paying Rent	355	22.1
Own house	611	38.0
Free (abandoned / empty)	2	0.1
Total	**1607**	**100**
Missing Data	1	
Total	1608	

Another result obtained in the research is the status of being neither a landlord nor a tenant. Approximately 22% of the households say they live without rent and they do not own the house. It is thought that the houses where these families live generally belong to their relatives. Especially the houses that are acquired with floors added to detached houses later are used by the married children of the families. In the research, 2 households stated that they lived in an abandoned house without paying any rent.

One of the most fundamental problems of Batman's old neighborhoods is that the ownership status of the residences has not been resolved. There are two movements that bring along the establishment of the neighborhoods in the research area. The first of them is the immigrants from the villages in relation with the establishment of Tüpraş and Türkiye Petrolleri settling in this neighborhood as workers and building their housing. The second movement is the migration from the surrounding villages and provinces to the center of Batman as a result of the evacuation of the villages and the closure of the hamlets on the grounds of preventing terrorist acts at the end of the 90's. As a result of both actions, the housing in these neighborhoods was illegally built and therefore there is no title deed for the houses. The distribution of ownership status of the houses is shown in Table 30.

Table 30. Distribution of Property Ownership

	Frequency	Percent
Deed	581	36.1
Without Deed	378	23.5
Municipal Act	499	31.0
Total	**1476**	**100**
Missing Data	132	
Total	1608	

23.5% of the households included in the study do not have title deeds for their houses or the lands where they built their housing units. The proportion of households with title allotment certificates instead of title deeds is 31%. The fact that the title allotment certificates are old and still not converted to title deeds reveal another problem related to housing in the region. The rate of those who have deeds was recorded as 36%. However, the information obtained from the interviews in the field shows that it is not clear whether these title deeds belong to the house or the land.

The neighborhoods where the field study was conducted are the places where Batman has the lowest rent. One reason for the low rents is that the houses are not suitable for living and the other reason is low income. 640 of the households included in the research are rented and the monthly average rent is calculated as 420 TRY. Compared to the later built neighborhoods of Batman, the relatively low rent amounts are listed among the expenditures that households have difficulty paying even in this state.

Table 31. Rental Distribution (Monthly Average)

Rent	Frequency	Percent
0-400	267	41.71
401-600	368	57.34
601-800	5	0.95
Total	**640**	

Table 31 shows the rent distribution of the houses. The rent of more than half of the households is in the 400 to 600 TRY range. The ratio of those who pay

a maximum rent of 200 TRY is observed to be approximately 40%. Those who pay rent between 600 and 800 TRY constitute less than 1% of the households.

When the periods of residence of the households are examined, the resulting situation is listed in table 32. In the table where 5 households are missing the tenancy period, the longest residence time ranges between 4 and 7 years. Approximately 22% of the households say they have lived in a rental for 12 to 15 years. The average length of tenancy of households is calculated as 9 years.

Table 32. Distribution of the Lease Period

Lease Duration	Frequency	Percent
0-3	136	21.5
4-7	184	29.0
8-11	139	21.9
12-15	86	13.6
16-19	24	3.8
20-23	45	7.1
24-27	13	2.1
28-38	7	1.1
Total	**634**	**100.0**
Missing Data	5	
Total	639	

Those who live for 3 years at most constitute 21.5% of the households, while the proportion of those who have lived for more than 28 years is found to be approximately 1%.

Room distributions of residences are shown in Table 33. Considering the household size of the neighborhoods, it is expected that there will be a sufficient number of rooms in the houses. The distribution where the average number of rooms is calculated as 2.67, decreases to 2.28 people per room compared to the size of the household. In more general terms, there is one room for about 3 people.

Table 33. Distribution of the Number of Rooms

Number of Rooms	Frequency	Percent
1	104	6.5
2	514	32.0
3	761	47.3
4	188	11.7
5	20	1.2
6	2	0.1
8	1	0.1
Total	**1608**	**100**

Almost half of the households have 3-room residences. It is seen that the rate of households with more than 5 rooms is below 2%. The proportion of households with 2 rooms is observed as an intensive situation with 32%. While dwellings consisting of 1 room constitute approximately 7% of the households, the rate of 4-room residences has been determined to be approximately 12%. The fact that the houses are generally small according to the size of the household causes the households to live together. In a sense, this is considered as spatial poverty. In addition to the insufficiency of housing in the neighborhoods, the inadequacy of infrastructure is another dimension of the poverty problem.

The distribution of the problems experienced in the houses is listed in Table 34. Considering the table in general, it is seen that there is not any problem in only 20% of the houses, and all the remaining houses have problems that will affect the living standards of the families.

Tablo 34. Distribution of Problems Found in Housing

	Frequency	Percent
No problem	323	20.1
Mains / Tap Water Problem	33	2.1
Electrical Installation Problem	23	1.4
Lack of Indoor Toilet	232	14.2
No In-House Bathroom	96	6.0
Lack of an In-House Kitchen	48	3.0
No Independent Toilet	239	14.6
Lack of Independent Bathroom	293	18.2
Lack of Independent Kitchen	108	6.7
Combining Bathroom. Toilet and Kitchen	122	7.6
The House is Dump	1104	68.7
Roof Flow / Roof Problem	699	43.5
Other		
The House Is In Very Bad Condition	10	0.5
Painting the House Required	6	0.3

One of the main problems of residences is dampness and humidity. The old and non-insulated structures cause dampness on the walls. This problem also causes a serious deterioration in the health of the household and the emergence of health problems such as rheumatism and respiratory tract diseases. The second common problem with dwellings is the leakage of roofs (43%). The overcrowding of the households also brings about the problem of independent bathrooms, kitchens and toilets. While 19% of households complain about not having an independent bathroom, 15% complain that the toilet is not independent and 7% complain that there is no separate kitchen. In the interviews and observations made during the field study, it has been observed that the bathroom and the kitchen are together in some of the houses, and the bathroom, toilet and kitchen are in the same place and in extremely unhealthy conditions. The ratio of the houses where the toilet is outside the house is 14%, the ratio of the houses without a bathroom is 6%, and the ratio of the households where the kitchen is not in the house is 3%. Another problem encountered in residences is the problems arising from water and electricity installations and services. While 1.4% of

the households experience problems in electrical installations due to old houses, 2% of them experience problems arising from water networks.

The heating patterns of households living in dwellings with extremely unhealthy conditions are shown in Table 35. One of the striking factors regarding the heating methods of households is that they use more than one method. This situation is related with the income of the households as well as the climate characteristics of Batman. In the region, which has extremely hot summer months and short winter months, some residences use air-conditioning for heating. Almost all the households use coal or wood stoves for heating. The fact that some households buy coal and / or wood within the scope of fuel aid and the natural gas pipes have not yet reached the entire region increases the use of this heating method. In these neighborhoods, there is an intense smell of coal when wandering outside in winter.

Table 35. Distribution of Warming Methods (More than one)

Warming	Frequency	Percent
Stove / Wood Coal	1588	98.8
Electric heater	452	28.1
Natural gas	6	0.4
Heating-center	14	0.9
Air conditioning	64	0.4

28% of the households use electrical heaters for heating. The relatively high rate of using electricity for heating is thought to be related to the use of illegal electricity, one of the subsistence strategies of the poor. The rate of households heated by the central system is less than 1%. Only 6 households use natural gas.

The movable / immovable properties owned by the households are followed in Table 36. Less than half of the households own a house. As mentioned above, these houses are old structures that can be described as slums.

Table 36. Distribution of Movable or Immovable Property

Property	Frequency	Percent
Home	502	31.2
Home Land	18	1.1
Truck-Van	5	0.3
Car	30	1.9
Store	8	0.5
Motorcycle	16	1
Hand or Horse Cart	17	1.1
Bovine and Ovine	10	0.6
Field / Land	26	1.6

The rate of those who own a car was found to be approximately 2%. Less than 1% of the households are seen as shop owners. The ones who own residential land make up 1.1% of households. The rate of those with a farmland has been found to be less than 2%. The table shows once again the poverty of those living in this region.

B.4. Health Poverty

Numerous studies indicate a close relationship between health and poverty (Ersoy, 2006). Political, economic, social and cultural determinants, which are accepted as determinants of health, are also considered as structural elements. These structural elements ensure the continuation of poverty. There is a relationship between poverty and health problems and shorter life expectancy. Poverty negatively affects health in many aspects, especially nutritional deficiencies, unsuitable housing conditions and limited access to health services. Poverty causes physical and mental health problems such as "nutritional disorders, weakening of the immune system, increase in the course of chronic diseases such as blood pressure, increasing number of infant and child deaths, stress, depression" (Kaya, 2006). In this respect, poverty is an important risk factor in terms of all components such as physical, mental and social well-being, illness, disability and premature death (Pala, 2019). In this part of the study, household health conditions considered to be related to urban poverty are discussed.

In this context, Table 37 shows the distribution of household members in need of continuous treatment in the research area. Accordingly, more than half of the households have sick individuals in need of continuous treatment. This quite high rate is accepted as one of the direct indicators of urban poverty. The proportion of households with individuals who do not have a disease requiring continuous treatment has been found as 31%.

Table 37. Household Treatment Status Distribution

Treatment status	Frequency	Percent
Persons Receiving Continuous Treatment	1110	69,5
Persons Not Receiving Continuous Treatment	498	31,0
Total	**1608**	**100,0**

Within the scope of the study, the health reports received by individuals in the household have also been examined. Health reports addressed in this context are the ones used for the provision of non-prescription and free medicine for individuals with chronic diseases. The distribution of health reports is given in Table 38 According to the table, more than half of the households have individuals with a health report. In other words, there are individuals with a chronic disease that requires constant medication use. In 47% of the households, there is no individual with a medical report.

Table 38. Health Report Distribution

	Frequency	Percent
Individual with a Health Report	838	52,1
Individual without a Health Report	770	47,4
Total	**1608**	**100,0**

Use of medication, like health reports, gives an idea about the health status of households. Increasing number of individuals using drugs can be considered as an indicator of poor health conditions in households. Table 39 shows the distribution of drug use of households.

Table 39. Distribution of Medication in the Household

	Frequency	Percent
Medication	1061	66,0
One person	731	45,5
Two person	285	17,7
Three person	40	2,5
Four person	6	0,4
Five person	3	0,2
No medicaiton	547	33,8

A continuous drug use was detected in 66% of the households participating in the research. One individual uses drugs continuously in approximately 45% of households with drug use, while two individuals use drugs in 17% of them. Continuous drug use in households increases to five individuals. The rate of households where three people use drugs is 2.5%. The rate of households without individuals using drugs is 33%, which is half of the households using drugs. The high number of drug use supports the high rate of chronic disease data.

Studies reveal that there is a relationship between disability and socio-economic conditions. Factors that may cause a physical or mental disability include "malnutrition and lack of regular health control during pregnancy, malnutrition in infancy and childhood, and occupational accidents due to bad and dangerous working conditions". These factors arise due to insufficient income and unsuitability of other socio-economic conditions, and therefore, they are more common in the poor (Ersoy, 2006). Poverty for people with disabilities is regarded as a major and difficult problem due to their own special situation, government policies implemented and social constraints faced by disabled people. Some of these difficulties are tried to be overcome with the aid (monthly monetary supports) that disabled individuals and their relatives receive from the state. In the region where poverty is intense, the monthly monetary support provided due to disability are used for the livelihood of the family as well as the needs of the individual. Table 40 shows the distribution of disabled individuals in households. Accordingly, approximately 20% of households have disabled individuals.

Table 40. Disability Distribution in the Household

	Frequency	Percent
Disabled	325	20,2
One person	277	17,2
Two person	42	2,6
Three person	6	0,4
Four person	1	0,1
Five person	1	0,1
Non-disabled	1283	79,80
Total	**1608**	**100**

While 17% of the families with individuals with disability have a single diabled individual, approximately 3% have more than one disabled individual. The rate of households without a disabled person is observed around 80%.

The living environment and lifestyle are generally intertwined phenomena. Income of households affects lifestyles that produce consequences such as malnutrition, inactivity, overweight and substance abuse, living conditions such as poor housing conditions, insufficient water and polluted air, and access to health services. This situation naturally increases the number of unhealthy individuals and causes a public health problem. In the areas examined in the context of urban poverty, both low income and lack of opportunities to live in healthy conditions increase the number of sick individuals in households.

Table 41 shows the chronic diseases of the households in the research area. When the listed diseases are examined, it is seen that there is no discomfort caused by the geographical location and regional characteristics of Batman.

Table 41. Distribution of Chronic Diseases in the Household (More than one)

	Frequency	Percent
Lung and Chest Diseases	202	12,6
Blood Diseases	65	4,0
Orthopedic Disorders	385	23,9
Ear, Nose and Throat Disorders	179	11,1
Intestinal Disorders	15	0,9
Skin Diseases	36	2,2
Gynecology	61	3,8
Rheumatic Diseases	95	5,9
Diabetes (Diabetes)	227	14,1
Eye Diseases	216	13,4
Paralysis	95	5,9
Heart diseases	246	15,3
Mental and Nervous Diseases	160	8,6
Stomach Disorders	139	8,6
Developmental Disorders	90	5,1
Kidney Diseases	82	5,1
Blood pressure	123	7,6
Asthma	34	2,1
Lumbar Hernia	20	2,1
Migraine	13	0,8
Epilepsy	21	1,3
Others	122	7,6

In the region where almost every disease can be recorded, it is observed that more than 20% of the households have orthopedic disorders. Heart, Diabetes and Eye and Ear-Nose-Throat disorders are common diseases in the neighborhoods. The least common diseases in households are Migraine and Intestinal problems. Approximately 5% of households have developmental disorders and kidney diseases. Nervous disorders are experienced in 9% of the households participating in the research. One of the common diseases recorded is Rheumatism. In the interviews made during the field study, it was stated that one of the causes of this disease was the dampness problem in the houses. Gynecological diseases seen in the neighborhoods were found to be at 3.8% which was a lower rate than other diseases.

It is thought that the tendency of women not to tell about their diseases or to go to health institutions is effective here. In general, it is observed that the poor health status of households is related to the living conditions resulting from poverty.

C- HOUSEHOLD LIVELIHOOD STRATEGIES

Minqione's classification of the survival strategies of poor families is divided into two as internal resources produced by households and external resources. While external resources include the state, relatives, friends, neighbors and solidarity networks, internal resources include women's domestic production and participation of children who do not go to school in the labor market (Mingione, 1991). Families contribute to their livelihood by receiving monetary and non-monetary aid from these resources.

It was observed that the households living in the research area use all the strategies included in the classification. Table 42 shows which subsistence strategies families use when no one is working in the household.

Table 42. Distribution of Household Livelihood Strategies (More than one)

Household Livelihood Strategies	Frequency	Percent
Using the savings	97	6
Borrowing money from the family	105	6.5
Borrowing money from relatives	77	4.8
Getting benefit from the state	1128	70.1
Taking zakat	75	4.7
Children work	25	1.7
Borrowing money from neighbors	2	0.1

According to the table, most of the households firstly prefer to use the state aid mechanisms. Households trying to make a living by borrowing money from their families and relatives, apart from the aid provided by the state, constitute 10% of the households participating in the research. 5% of families try to get along with zakat given by their relatives and neighbors. The proportion of families who say that their children contribute to the livelihood of the household by working is determined approximately at the rate of 2%. However, as it can be seen in the following sections, the employment status of children is higher. The rate of those

who make a living on the savings they have accumulated during the period of their employment is observed as 6%.

As stated above, borrowing is one of the subsistence strategies preferred by households who cannot cover their expenses with their income. Households in the research area usually try to compensate their cash needs from their close circles through solidarity networks. It is known that solidarity patterns based on kinship type blood ties are especially important in the life strategies of the urban poor (Şengül & Ersoy, 2003). The households that cannot benefit from these networks apply to banks. Those who cannot provide sufficient conditions for borrowing from banks prefer to borrow money from people called moneylenders.

Table 43 shows the distribution of the places where households borrow money. Looking at the table, relatives are among the people where the poor households borrow with the rate of 60%. This high rate is related to the perception of solidarity patterns based on blood ties in the life strategies of the urban poor as one of the networks that facilitate life in the city. This is followed by intrafamilial debts with 38%. Approximately 22% of the households say they borrow money from their neighbors and 11% from their friends. Families traditionally provide their daily household needs from neighborhood grocery stores. Therefore, 20% of households have debt to neighborhood grocery stores. In other words, this debt is the debts recorded in the credit books. A very small portion of the households participating in the survey say that they borrowed money from landlords and moneylenders, and close to 1% of them borrowed loans from banks.

Table 43. Borrowers Distribution (More than one)

Borrowers	Frequency	Percent
Family	614	38.2
Relative	967	60.1
Neighbour	350	21.8
Friend	176	10.9
Landlord	7	0.2
Usurer	4	0.2
Bank	19	1.2
Neighborhood shopkeepers	321	20.0

Considering the distribution of the debt amount of the households participating in the survey, apart from the borrowing mechanisms in the table above, their debts to public service providers such as electricity and water are also monitored. The distribution of these debts is shown in Table 44.

Table 44. Distribution of Electrical and Water Debt

Electricity	Frequency	Percent
20-100	36	24.7
101-200	22	15.1
201-600	27	18.5
601-1000	24	16.4
1001-2000	21	14.4
2001-8000	12	8.2
8001-15000	4	2.7
Water	**Frequency**	**Percent**
15-100	28	13.4
101-200	26	12.4
201-600	59	28.2
601-1000	40	19.1
1001-2000	29	13.9
2001-8000	24	11.5
8000-30000	3	1.4

Electricity debt of households has been asked as an open question, then categorized starting with the least debt. As of the research date, 146 households out of 1608 have electricity debt. The average of debts has been calculated as 1184 TRY. Accordingly, about a quarter of the households have a debt of 20 TRY to 100 TRY to the electricity distribution company. The most striking point in the table is that the electricity debt goes up to 15000 TRY. Approximately 3% of the households (4 households) have debts between 8000 TRY and 15000 TRY. This debt was expressed as penalties arising from illegal electricity use rather than electricity use. The debts of approximately 63% of the households vary between 100 TRY and 2000 TRY. Although the number of indebted households is low, their debt amount is quite high. Due to the privatization of electricity services,

households often experience power outages and limited electricity use, despite these high debt amounts.

There are more households with water debt than those with electricity debt. 209 households have an average of 1347 TRY water debt. Provision of water services by the municipality is effective in increasing the amount of debt. During the interviews with the households, the assumptions that "water is supplied by our municipality, it is not necessary to be pay it immediately" cause the water debt to rise higher. In the distribution where the minimum water debt is 15 TRY and the highest water debt is 30000 TRY, the range with the highest debt of households is between 200 TRY and 600 TRY with a rate of 28%. Half of the households have water debts ranging from 1000 TRY to 8000 TRY. These high debts show that payments have not been made for a long time.

In this section, where debts of households are taken into consideration, debts of households to the neighborhood grocer and butcher are analyzed, in addition to public debt. It was observed that 744 households in total had food debt and the average debt was calculated as 1106 TRY. The distribution of food debts is given in Table 45.

Table 45. Food Debt Distribution of Households

Food	Frequency	Percent
20-100	25	3.4
101-200	68	9.1
201-400	162	21.8
401-600	141	19
601-800	56	7.5
801-1000	99	13.3
1001-2000	105	14.1
2001-3000	44	5.9
3001-5000	33	4.4
5001-25000	11	1.5

In the distribution where the lowest debt is 20 TRY and the highest debt is 25,000 TRY, approximately 22% of the households have debts between 200 and 400 TRY. Those with debts of more than 1000 TRY constitute a quarter of the

households. Food debts above 200 TRY are higher than the same amount of electricity and water borrowings.

One of the subsistence strategies of households is the debt they receive from their family, relatives, friends and neighbors. Table 46 shows the distribution of debts taken from friends and neighbors. 259 households in total are trying to make ends meet on loans they receive from their friends and neighbors. In this distribution, the lowest debt is 50 TRY and the highest debt is more than 25000 TRY. Household debt average was calculated as 7341 TRY.

Table 46. Distribution of Debt Borrowed by Households from their Friends and Neighbors

	Frequency	Percent
50-300	18	6.9
301-500	16	6.2
501-1000	36	13.9
1001-2000	28	10.8
2001-3000	26	10
3001-5000	30	11.6
5001-8000	25	9.7
8001-12000	26	10
12001-15000	8	3.1
15001-25000	21	8.1
25001 and upper	25	9.7

Approximately 25% of the households have debts between 500 TRY and 2000 TRY. While those with debts between 3000 TRY and 5000 TRY constitute 11.6% of the households, 25 households participating in the research have more than 25000 TRY debt. The proportion of families with debt below 500 TRY has been calculated as approximately 13%.

In Table 47, the distribution of debts taken by households from their families and relatives is seen. While the lowest amount of debts from relatives is 100 TRY, the highest amount goes above 100.000 TRY. A total of 357 households have debt to their relatives. The average debt amount is calculated as approximately 11000 TRY. A total of 93 households say they borrowed money from their families.

The average of debts is approximately 9000 TRY. 20% of the households have debts ranging from 1000 TRY to 2000 TRY. Households with debt between 2000 and 5000 TRY constitute approximately 24% of the households participating in the research.

Table 47. Distribution of Debt Borrowed by Households from their Families and Relatives

Relatives	Frequency	Percent
100-1000	43	12
1001-2000	52	14.6
2001-3000	32	9
3001-5000	63	17.6
5001-7000	34	9.5
7001-10000	51	14.3
10001-20000	40	11.2
20001-50000	28	7.8
50001-100000	8	2.2
100001 ve upper	6	1.7
Family	**Frequency**	**Percent**
80-500	6	6.5
501-1000	15	16.1
1001-2000	19	20.4
2001-3000	11	11.8
3001-5000	11	11.8
5001-8000	8	8.6
8001-15000	14	15.1
15001 and upper	9	9.7

The debt of 15% of the households varies between 8000 and 15000 TRY. Households with debt more than 15000 TRY constitute approximately 10% of the total. During the questionnaire interviews, the answers given to the questions regarding the reasons for the high amount of debt received from the family and relatives showed that the debts were not taken only for subsistence. For example, one household said that they made such high debts "because their son eloped with a girl", another family, "to have a wedding", "to buy household items" or "to

make a second marriage (co-wife)". Some of the households are trying to main-
tain some of the traditional acknowledgments with borrowing, even if their in-
come is low. Again, from the interviews, it has been observed that they had no
idea how to pay such debts and they behave more fatalistic. On the other hand,
as it was stated before, households expected to receive help as a result of the re-
search are likely to show high debt.

Table 48 shows the distribution of debts borrowed by households from banks and
moneylenders. The debts received from banks range between 50 and over 40000
TRY. 87 households have loan debt and their average is calculated as 13513 TRY.
The highest concentration of debt segments is between 10000 and 20000 TRY
with a rate of 23%. The proportion of households with debt over 40000 TRY
is 11.5%. Those with bank debt less than 2000 TRY constitute approximately
23% of households with bank debt. Bank debt of 14.9% of households varies
between 6000 and 10000 TRY.

Table 48. Distribution of Debts Borrowed by Households from Banks and Loan Sharks

Bank	Frequency	Percent
50-500	7	8
501-1000	5	5.7
1001-2000	8	9.2
2001-4000	8	9.2
4001-6000	8	9.2
6001-10000	13	14.9
10001-20000	20	23
20001-40000	8	9.2
40001 and upper	10	11.5
Usurer	**Frequency**	**Percent**
350-5000	7	38.9
5001-10000	3	16.7
10001-30000	4	22.2
30001 and upper	4	22.2

Those who cannot borrow money from banks or borrow money from relatives,
family and friends borrow money from moneylenders to earn a living. It is obser-
ved that 18 out of 1608 households prefer to borrow money from moneylenders.

The debts received from moneylenders vary between TRY 350 and TRY 30000. The debts of approximately 39% of the households that borrow money from moneylenders vary between 350 and 5000 TRY.

One of the subsistence strategies of households is child labor. However, it has not been possible to obtain clear information from households due to legal restrictions on child labor. In particular, they avoided to provide information about the ages of working children. While there are no boys in 287 households in the research area, there are a total of 3269 boys of different ages in other households. Again, while there were no girls in 357 of the households, it was calculated that there were 3024 girls in total.

Table 49 shows the distribution of working children in households answering this question. In 4.4% of the households interviewed, girls generally work in the informal sector as unskilled workers. The places where girls work are mostly textile workshops. Generally, girls between the ages of 15-18 work in these workshops under insecure and unhealthy conditions. The rate of girls working in the private sector is 1.3%. The proportion of unemployed girls is calculated as 10.6%.

Table 49. Employment Status of Children in the Household

	Male Child		Female Child	
	Frequency	**Percent**	**Frequency**	**Percent**
Unemployed	257	16	170	10.6
Farmer	9	0.6	1	0.1
Unskilled labour	239	14.9	94	6.3
Skilled labour	42	2.6	11	0.7
Tradesman	3	0.2	2	0.2
Other	4	0.2	2	0.2

Again, according to Table 49, the employment rate of boys is higher than girls. According to the information received from households, 16% of boys do not work in any job. 13.9% of working male children work as unskilled workers in temporary jobs. The number of children working in textile workshops is also quite high among boys. 1.8% of boys work in skilled jobs. Considering that the education expenses of the children are covered by the families, it is certain that the children of low-income families face an inequality of opportunity first. Adding to this inequality of opportunity, children help households to earn a living. One

of the main reasons why children often drop out of school is to help their families by working in a job where they get paid.

Social benefits are also one of the important subsistence strategies of households. When the welfare practices in Turkey are taken into consideration, it is observed that the aids are not provided as a civil right, rather structured on charity-basis. Therefore, instead of systematic and regular transfers, the aids -especially in-kind aids- provided by many public institutions, NGOs and individuals stand out (Buğra et al., 2007).

The distribution of the institutions from which the households participating in the research receive assistance as of the date of the research is shown in Table 50.

Tablo 50. Distribution of Benefits

	Frequency	Percent
None	292	18.2
Family/Relative	78	4.9
Neighborhood	15	0.9
Non-governmental organisation	29	1.8
Municipalities	42	2.6
SYDV (Social Assistance and Solidarity Foundation)	1248	77.6
Food Banking	180	11.2

It has been observed that approximately 18% of the households try to make a living without any help from any institution. In the interviews, it was understood that the households who cannot receive any aid have complained about the criteria for receiving aids. Insured work is one of the leading situations that prevent receiving some types of aid. Considering whether there is a relative within the scope of SSK can lead to negative situations in granting some aid (Buğra Kavala & Keyder, 2008). One of these negative situations is the tendency of individuals to refuse to work with insurance because of the fear of not being able to get aid or the aid will be cut (Gökbayrak, 2017). However, it is striking that the income of insured workers in households cannot exceed the minimum income and there is a serious poverty among the ones working even if they are insured. Therefore, regardless of the status of replacement of these aids, a regular payment is needed to keep them above the poverty line (Adaman & Keyder, 2006). During the research, it was frequently witnessed that the existing poverty was exhibited

in anticipation of getting an aid. As stated by Buğra et al. (2007), the evaluation of social assistance in the context of philanthropy rather than rights-based, causes the recipients to see themselves not as eligible citizens, but as people who have to get aid by causing the authorities to have pity on them.

Social Assistance and Solidarity Foundation was determined as the institution where households benefiting from social assistance receive the most aid. The ones receiving aid from the food bank established by Batman Municipality constitute 11.2% of the households. Non-Governmental Organizations are also seen as one of the institutions where assistance is received with 1.8%. The ones receiving help from their families, relatives and neighbors correspond to approximately 5% of the households. The ratio of the households receiving the aid provided by the Municipality other than the food bank is 2.6%.

The distribution of aid forms received by households is monitored in Table 51. Accordingly, 17% of the households say they do not receive any assistance.

Table 51. Distribution Forms of Benefit's (More than one)

Type of Assistance	Frequency	Percent
Food	140	8.7
Clothing	4	0.2
Health	10	0.6
Money	236	14.7
Firewood (Coal)	1170	72.80
Education Assistance	852	53.0
Eat Hot	41	2.5
None	274	17.0

It is seen that the households in the research area mostly receive fuel (coal) and education aid for their children. Cash support comes third among the types of assistance received, with an approximate ratio of 15%. Dry food and hot food aids are also among the aids that households benefit from. Approximately 9% of the households receive dry food aid, while 3% receive daily hot meal aid.

One of the ways that poor households use for their livelihood strategies is social support allowances they receive from the state. Table 52 shows the distribution of social support allowances received by the households in the neighborhoods

included in the field study. According to the table, almost 80% of the households receive social support allowances.

Table 52. Distribution of Social Benefits (More than one)

Social Benefits	Frequency	Percent
None	376	23.4
Old-Age Pension	177	11.0
Widower's benefit	125	7.8
Disabled Pension	200	12.4
Disabled relative assistance	30	1.9
Orphans pension	8	0.5
Home Care Support	17	1.1
Veteran and disabled assistance	3	0.2
SHÇEK pension	875	54.4
Conditional Health Assistance (Health and Pregnancy)	20	1.2

More than half of the households receive support from the Social Services and Child Protection Agency, while 30% receive disability pension, elderly pension over 65 years of age and widow's pension. The rate of those who do not receive any social support allowance is 23%.

Table 53 shows the duration of social assistance received by households. The average period of benefiting from social assistance for the households in the neighborhoods included in the field study is calculated as 6.25 years.

Table 53. Distribution of the Duration of Social Benefits

Benefit Period	Frequency	Percent
0-3	355	27.3
4-7	500	38.4
8-11	328	25.2
12-15	96	7.4
16-19	10	0.8
20-23	13	1.0
Total	**1302**	
Missing Data	306	

Most of the households benefit from social assistance for periods varying between 4 and 7 years. While the rate of those receiving aid between 0-3 years is 27.3%, the rate of households benefiting from social assistance between 8 and 11 years is 25.2%. Those who receive aid for 12 years or more constitute 9.2% of the households.

In Table 54, the types of assistance received by households and their durations are compared. According to the table, most of the dry food aid recipients benefit from this aid for a period of 4 to 7 years. All of those who receive clothing aid have benefited from this aid for a period of 4-7 years.

Table 54 . To Compare the Types of Assistance Received by Households and Their Durations

Benefit Type	Benefit Period						
	0-3	4-7	8-11	12-15	16-19	20-23	Toplam
Food	29.6	33.6	25.6	10.4	0.0	0.8	100
Clothing	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100
Health	22.2	44.4	33.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	100
Money	25.7	35.3	19.7	14.2	1.8	3.1	100
Firewood (Coal)	23.9	39.6	27.2	7.7	0.8	0.8	100
Education Assistance	22.6	42.3	26.8	7.2	0.6	0.5	100
Eat Hot	27.5	25.0	35.0	10.0	0.0	2.5	100

Table 54 shows that those who receive health aid, financial aid and fuel aid mostly benefit from these aids for 4-7 years. Most of those who receive hot meal aid benefit from this assistance for 8-11 years.

Table 55 compares the social support allowances received by the households from the state and their durations. In the table, it is seen that all cash benefits, except pregnancy aid, are mostly received between 4-7 years. It is understood that the rate of benefits received between 8-15 years is quite high.

Table 55. To Compare the Social Support Allowances Received from the State and Their Durations

Social Benefit's	Benefit Period						Total
	0-3	4-7	8-11	12-15	16-19	20-23	
Old-Age Pension	27.2	31.8	25.4	11.6	1.70	1.30	100
Widower's benefit	32.8	37.1	19.8	7.8	2.6		100
Disabled Pension	18.4	36.2	26.0	15.3	1.0	3.1	100
Disabled relative assistance	7.4	55.6	25.9	7.4	0	3.7	100
Orphans pension	0	62.5	25.0	12.5	0	0	100
Home Care Support	13.3	33.3	33.3	20.0	0	0	100
Veteran and disabled assistance	50.0	50.0	0	0	0	0	100
SHÇEK pension	22.7	41.6	27.8	6.8	0.6	0.6	100
Conditional Health Assistance (Health and Pregnancy)	61.1	38.4	25.2	7.4	0.8	1.0	100

The ratio of households that continue to receive pensions over 15 years is around 15% and these households mostly continue to receive disabled, relative of disabled, old age and widow pensions. Long-term benefits contribute to the subsistence strategies of the poor; however, this situation also points out that poverty has become structured. Households that cannot increase their income have to continue to live on aid.

CONCLUSION

This study, covering 18 neighborhoods of Batman around Iluh Stream, mostly established by forced migration, was carried out by one-on-one interviews with 1608 households. It was tried to reveal the demographic information, income levels, consumption, housing, health poverty and livelihood strategies of households and consequently urban poverty aspects. First of all, most of the interviews were with women as they were held during the daytime and women are usually at home during these hours.

Considering the demographic information on the households, an idea is formed on the experienced poverty. A significant part of the ones responsible for the livelihood of households, called by the Turkish Statistics Institute as "the reference persons" consists of men parallel to Turkey and Batman in general. In poverty studies, it is seen that there is a relationship between education and poverty, and an increased education level decreases poverty rates. Considering the education level of households in the neighborhoods covered by the study, high rates of illiteracy among both men and women accepted as one of the indicators of poverty experienced in this region. While the education level of children is higher than their parents, it was determined that girls get education less than boys due to tradition. Another factor influencing poverty is household size. The size of households mostly consisting of elementary families is found as 6 persons on average. The high population of households makes already low income even more insufficient.

The median income of the poverty map study of Batman Municipality, covering 18 neighborhoods within the scope of the study, is 2.435 TRY. The districts with households with an income below 50% and 60% of the median income are mostly observed are Güneykent, Iluh, Çarşı, Petrol, Kısmet and Petrolkent neighborhoods.

The results indicated by study findings related to income, consumption, housing, health condition and livelihood strategies can be summarized as follows:

- Income of households center around 500 and 700 TRY, and 52 of them do not have any income. These incomes are acquired either from informal jobs mostly worked irregularly or supports provided by the state or their circle. Most of the workers are in the informal sector and this causes low income due to the nature of the jobs and indicates the poverty of working people. Furthermore, the rate of unemployed is also quite high.

- Unemployment is intensive in the region, with unemployment rates approaching 40% for men and 95% for women. While diseases/health problems are one of the leading reasons for men who do not work, domestic care responsibilities/being a housewife are indicated as the most intensive reasons for women who do not work. Traditional gender roles restricting women to work jobs where they get paid both create gender inequality and cause a lack of income for poor households. Increasing employment of women can increase the low income of poor households. However, women are more likely to work in informal and low-wage jobs, both across the country and in the studied neighborhoods of Batman. In this context, it is important to increase women employment within the context of safe, regular and decent work conditions, to erode sexist perceptions and practices, as well as an anti-poverty policy.

- In neighborhoods where working in the informal sector is seen frequently, unskilled labor has become a natural situation. At this point, creating regular and decent job opportunities with security, directing employees to them through the necessary training, as well as performing strict controls due to the strong tendency of employing workers without any social security should be the main goals of anti-poverty policies. Due to the prevalence of unregistered employment and informal jobs, the poor are also left outside the formal social security system.

- Within the scope of the study, it is seen that having a Green Card is very high (85.1%). 12.8% of the population within the context of the study is covered by the Social Security Agency. There are 34 households without any health insurance, including a green card. It is seen that health insurance covers the poor and formal workers. At this point, it is necessary to produce policies for the households outside the social security system, as they cannot meet certain criteria although they need them. The tendency of some to work without insurance in order not to lose the Green Card, also an important criterion in social assistance, can be prevented in this way.

- The low income of households also fuels consumption poverty. Households trying to keep their electricity, water, food and health expenditures minimum as a strategy to manage poverty. There are lots of households having difficulty in providing their food costs, although they mostly try minimizing them.

- Health is considered as one of the determinants of urban poverty. Nearly 70% of the households within the study receiving continuous treatment, the presence of

at least one individual from them regularly using medication and the presence of almost 50% of individuals with chronic diseases are indicators of intensive poverty.

- Housing and infrastructure problems also emerge as factors aggravating poverty. The deficiencies in physical infrastructure and standards of houses violate one of the basic human rights, the right to adequate housing.

- Livelihood strategies developed by households without sufficient income are having their children work, borrowing from their family, relatives and friends through solidarity and benefiting from social aids provided by the state. In this context, households have debts to their families, relatives, neighbors, banks and moneylenders well above their income. Most of the households benefiting from social aid, get it from the Social Assistance and Solidarity Foundation. However, it is seen that financial and in-kind social aids are insufficient, and some households cannot benefit from them at all, because they cannot meet the criteria despite their needs.

Consequently, urban poverty brings along serious problems in accessing even the most basic levels of education, health and housing services. The hardships, the urban poor constantly have to struggle with, such as being deprived of regular income, poor or no access to social security, health and education services, inadequate housing and infrastructure services also cover the neighborhoods of Batman established by migration. Poverty has become a structural problem in the neighborhoods where all these indicators of urban poverty are observed. Residents of the neighborhoods established by forced migration in the 1990s have been stuck in the informal sector with the changes caused by the neo-liberal regimes and have become constantly producing poverty.

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Urban Poverty in Batman

Poverty is a complex and multidimensional phenomenon. When Marx describes poverty as a state of inadequacy of labour, he points out that poverty is in fact a systemic problem. Under capitalism those who try to get along with their labour, the unemployed, the dispossessed peasants, the agricultural labourers, that is, those who take less than they create, are the only ones that can have a claim to be the 'poor'. The recent negative effects of neo-liberal policies on the labour market and the rapid contraction of the welfare state have reduced the majority of the social segments that have been above the poverty line to the poverty line, while aggravating the conditions of those already under the poverty line. With these changes, new forms of poverty such as "urban poor", "working poor", "poor" and "information poverty" have come under discussion. Urban poverty, which is one of these relatively new forms of poverty, is the focus of this book. These new concepts of urban poverty and subclass poverty in social studies emphasize that urban poverty is a different type of poverty than the general understanding of poverty. These concepts, which describe the tendency of poverty in urban spaces to concentrate in certain regions, in fact signify more than the simple dichotomy, urban poverty against rural poverty, implies. Today, while most poverty discussions emphasize cyclical crises, structural poverty at times goes ignored. In this context, this study on urban poverty of Batman province analyzes the structural causes and appearances of poverty and the places where poverty is concentrated.

Urban Poverty in Batman