

EXPERIENCES OF SOCIAL EXCLUSION OF THE YOUTH LIVING
IN ALTINDAĞ, ANKARA

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ABSTRACT

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In this thesis, the aim is to understand social exclusion of urban youth living in *Altındađ*, one of the most disadvantaged districts of Ankara. In this study, social exclusion is accepted as a process of long term non-participation in the economic, civic, and social spheres which integrate the society in which an individual lives. Therefore, the definition of social exclusion centered on the notion of 'lack of integration' is accepted as a background of the study. In this respect, social exclusion is accepted as an endpoint in a irreversible process of being placed in the margins of society. Furthermore, this thesis attempted to identify the dimensions and levels which can cause entry or exit from these processes and to understand how the multiple and cumulative disadvantage shapes experiences and feelings of young people in most disadvantaged conditions in order to be able to argue how closely do the experiences of the youth described in this study connect with popular and influential discussions of social exclusion. Also the consequences of social exclusion for young people living in *Altındađ* are analysed. Hence, the social exclusion of youth living in *Altındađ* is analyzed on the basis of three dimensions which are education, labour market, and social capital. Furthermore, in each dimension structural, local and individuals levels are also examined.

Some major conclusions of the research are that there is not one single and uniform experience of social exclusion among young people; that a context of social exclusion does not generate just one way of getting by for young people; that exclusionary process can be experienced as a “vicious circle” or as a “spiral of disadvantage”; that social exclusion has a multi-dimensional character; and that family and community support is important for not being excluded economically and socially, but it also can create to dimension of exclusion when such support systems are the only support mechanisms of the disadvantaged youth.

Keywords: social exclusion, youth, gecekondü, social capital

ÖZ

ANKARA, ALTINDAĞ'DA YAŞAYAN GEÇLERİN SOSYAL DIŞLANMA DENEYİMLERİ

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Bu tezde amaç Ankara'nın en dezavantajlı gecekondu semtlerinden biri olan Altındağ da yaşayan gençlerin sosyal dışlanmalarını anlamaktır. Bu çalışmada, sosyal dışlanma bireysel yaşamları topluma entegre eden ekonomik, sivil, ve sosyal alanlarda yer alınamayan bir süreç olarak kabul edilmiştir. Bu yüzden, çalışmanın alt yapısı tanımı entegrasyona dayanan sosyal dışlanma kavramı olarak kabul edilmiştir. Ayrıca, bu tez bu süreçlere giriş ve çıkışlara sebep olan boyutları ve düzeyleri tanımlamaya çalışmakta ve çok dezavantajlı durumda ki genç insanların çok boyutlu ve üstüste biriken dezavantajlarını ve onların deneyimlerini, etkili ve popüler sosyal dışlanma kavramı tartışmalarına bağlamak için anlamaya çalışmaktadır. Ayrıca, Altındağ'da yaşayan gençlerin sosyal dışlanmalarının onlar için sonuçları da incelenmektedir. Bunun için Altındağ'da yaşayan gençlerin sosyal dışlanmaları eğitim, emek piyasası ve sosyal sermayeden oluşna üç boyutta incelenmektedir. Bunun yanında, her bir boyut kendi içinde yapısal, lokal ve bireysel olmak üzere üç düzeyde incelenmektedir.

Araştırmanın bazı temel sonuçlarından biri gençlerin sosyal dışlanmalarının tek ve benzer olmadığı, bağlamın sadece tek bir biçimde sosyal dışlanma yaratmadığı anlaşılmıştır. Dışlanma süreci, döngüsel ve spiral haldeki dezavantajlar biçiminde yaşanmaktadır. Sosyal dışlanma çok boyutlu bir karakterdedir ve aile ve topluluk desteği ekonomik ve sosyal olarak dışlanmamak için çok önemlidir ancak bunlar gençler için tek destek mekanizması olduklarında buda ayrı bir sosyal dışlanma biçimi yaratabilir.

Anahtar kelimeler: sosyal dışlanma, gençlik, gecekondü, sosyal sermaye.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The aim of the study is to find clues regarding urban youth living in Altındağ, one of the most disadvantaged neighborhoods of Ankara, by using the concept of social exclusion. In this respect, the concept of social exclusion accepted as disintegration from the key activities of society, access to education, participation of labour market and social capital are examined. Additionally, the study aims at analyzing the factors or mechanisms which are important in understanding the causation of social exclusion of the youth living in Altındağ.

For a number of reasons, the study of youth in Turkey is particularly important and has gained increasing urgency in recent years. With a high rate of population growth, Turkey continues to remain a young country. A recent statistic puts 29 per cent of Turkey's population in the age group 0-14 and 15 per cent in the 15-25 groups (HIPS, 2003). While Turkey is a young country, there is not enough number of researches focusing on youth.

In a relatively short period of 83 years since the founding of Turkish Republic, Turkey has experienced significant social, political, economic and cultural transformation. The rapid process of social change including wide-scale industrialization and urbanization since the 1950s has resulted in a gradual transition from an agrarian society to an increasingly urban one. Since the 1950s, following economic transformations in agriculture, Turkey has experienced a period of rural to urban migration causing complex consequences. The fastest growing urban population is concentrated in the economically disadvantaged neighborhoods on the peripheries of the large metropolis like Istanbul, Ankara and Izmir that have tended to attract the largest waves of migration. Already lacking adequate access to educational and occupational structures, the situation of young people living in these neighborhoods has become more difficult as a result of a series of economic crises

that reached peak in 2001 (Boratav, 2005). While there are various attempts to understand the causes and outcomes of migration process from rural to urban, there is still a huge lack in the Turkish social sciences about the urban youth, living in gecekondu areas and experiencing different forms of social problems. For these reasons, this study is devoted to understand the complex issues of young people living in Altındağ. In this context, the concept of social exclusion which is relatively a new concept in social sciences will be used. Such a different and new perspective might prove to be a useful conceptual tool in understanding urban youth living in gecekondu areas.

Mac Donald (2005) suggests that sociology of youth has developed with two distinct perspectives; the *youth cultural studies tradition*, and the *youth transitions tradition*. In recent years, empirical changes in the conditions of youth also motivated a shift from cultural studies towards more social problems oriented approaches. At that point, I strongly believe the necessity of this kind of a social problem oriented research trying to understand the deep rooted problems of youth in modern society rather than identifying them with stereotypes such as crime and drug. Therefore, this study is an attempt to develop an understanding of the experiences and the processes of social exclusion of young people living in Altındağ rather than only focusing on the outcomes of the process and categorizing and stigmatizing the youth.

For some, social exclusion is simply a currently fashionable way of talking about poverty (Levitas, 1996, 1998, 2000). For others, it is a broader conception not focusing primarily on poverty but including polarization and inequality (Room, 1995). Some reject any identification of social exclusion with class or inequality arguing vertical axis (up and down) is not suitable anymore but being in and out of a circle is more suitable to use as a definition (Touraine, 1991). As it is obvious, social exclusion is a complex and problematic concept with no agreed conceptual definition. It is not surprising, therefore, that there also is wide support for perceiving social exclusion as hard to define. While the term social exclusion is closely related to its literal interpretation, the concept is not entirely straightforward. It is argued that by definition social exclusion is a concept which has a lack any contextual framework. The concept of social exclusion also is found in the discourse

of policy oriented organizations which have short term institutional interests and considerations and this produces a narrow meaning. This causes problems for constructing a study on the basis of social exclusion which lack any contextual framework. It is therefore very useful to distinguish the short term organizational interests because they produce a major obstacle to the clarity of the concept. For this reason, this study starts with a discussion trying to reflect different definitions of the concept of social exclusion

Since the mid-1980s, the concept of disadvantage and related concepts like vulnerability, social exclusion and marginalization have become central to different social science disciplines. Although most theoretical approaches seem to agree on the existence of structural and personal factors contributing to the condition of disadvantage of a person or a group, they differ in stressing one dimension or another. Those approaches examining the origin of disadvantage from a socio-structural perspective, and their theoretical discourses are based on the existence of a segmented social system where there are not enough opportunities for all its members. This structural lack of social integration opportunities depend on unequal social positions for members of societies. At that point, the system needs to elaborate a way of differentiating individuals and regulate the access to the possibilities within society. This reflects the idea of an individualization of structural deficiencies considering the individual responsible for his or her situation, and success or failures do not depend on structural factors but on individual performance. In this perspective, the general tendency is to place the origin of disadvantage and also social exclusion in individual deficiencies rather than in the chronic limitations of the social structure and institutions.

It is also evident that the social and theoretical construction of social exclusion can not be interpreted without considering the different historical, economic, social, cultural and political contexts in which processes of social inequality take place within different societies. It is probably argued that disadvantaged and/or socially excluded individuals and groups are outcomes of specific temporal and spatial combinations of structural and individual factors and social challenges coming from society. However, there is a lack of comprehensive interpretation of social exclusion

from a sociological perspective. In the context of social exclusion defined as disintegration as a consequence of multi-dimensional and cumulative disadvantages, structural theoretical analysis focusing on social inequality and social effects of a segmented social system is an urgent necessity. Therefore, with reference to those experiencing social inequality in the form of multiple and cumulative disadvantages (low level education attainment, drop-out, unemployment, lack of social capital) this theoretical perspective suggests that the phenomenon of social exclusion is the result of existing social inequalities in society. At that point, in this study I tend to place the origin of disadvantage and social exclusion not only in individual deficiencies but also in the chronic limitations of the social structure and institutions and local factors.

There are two opposing schools of thought in social exclusion discourse in terms of social inequality: one holds that social exclusion must be seen as the worst form of inequality (Castel, 1995); the other maintains that inequality and exclusion relate to two separate social rationales (Touraine, 1991). A middle of the road approach is suggested by Chatel and Soulet (2001: 175) "Our present society unlike what it was before is characterized by the concomitance of two phenomena, namely inequality and exclusion. We must find an approach which will integrate inequality and exclusion in a perspective of social cohesion and dynamics. We must not play off exclusion against inequalities". Social exclusion reflects a holistic conception of society in which social cohesion is undermined by the polarization of inequality. Maybe the closure emphasis is not on up/down anymore but the concept of social exclusion should challenge to inequality as a general different form of closure relationship based on in/out axis. So, in this study I attempted to approach the concept of social exclusion from a social inequality perspective.

John Viet-Wilson (1998) has made a very important distinction between weak and strong version of the idea of social exclusion. In weak version of this discourse, the solutions lie in altering these excluded peoples handicapping characteristics and enhancing their integration into dominant society. On the other hand, stronger forms of this discourse emphasize the role of those who are doing the excluding and therefore aim for solutions which reduce the powers of exclusion. In this study the

notion of social exclusion focuses on inadequate social participation and lack of social integration is accepted as basis of the study. After the literature review of social exclusion discourse, it is also accepted that social exclusion is a dynamic concept, descriptive of a condition that develops over time after cumulative, multi-dimensional disadvantages. I try to construct my study on the basis of a strong version of social exclusion by approaching the subject from different dimensions.

From a sociological perspective, any format of any society at a given moment is not the universal definition of social exclusion. Societies, communities, neighborhoods are not static as they are formed by social processes. To define social exclusion and use it in a study should compose of two dimensions. The first one is a macro-sociological dimension, using a structural explanation of exclusionary process composed of multi-dimensional, cumulative disadvantages. The second dimension derives from micro-sociology, considering the importance of people's own experiences and individual trajectories. For this reason, in this study I basically focus on three components of social exclusion (education, labour market and social capital) on the basis of not only macro and micro factors but also local/contextual factors affecting the social exclusionary process of young people living in Altındağ.

In this respect, I will attempt to construct a framework for understanding social exclusion experience of youth living in Altındağ, one of the most disadvantaged areas of Ankara, to :

- combine the most relevant causes in a simple and clear way
- illustrate the interaction between different types of causes or influence
- facilitate dynamic and non-linear analysis
- show different aspects of social exclusion
- facilitate multi-dimensional analysis of social exclusion at different levels individual, local and structural

In this framework, in the second chapter, social exclusion is examined from a historical perspective. The second chapter is devoted to identifying the historical roots and development of the concept of social exclusion. In this chapter, various

definitions of social exclusion and integration which are made on a contextual basis and the definitions coming from different theoretical and ideological traditions are discussed. Especially the *solidarity*, *specialization*, and *monopoly* paradigms on the basis of different notion of social integration will be mentioned.

To clarify the various meanings of social exclusion which are embedded in current political debate, three different approaches; namely *redistributive discourse*, *social integration discourse*, and *moral underclass discourse* are presented. Different definitions are illustrated in the second chapter. The conceptual shift from financial to multi-dimensional disadvantage; from a static to a dynamic analysis; from a focus on the resources of the individual or household to a concern also with those of the local community; from distributional to relational dimensions of stratification and disadvantage; from a continuum of inequality to catastrophic rupture are presented. In the first part different aspects of social exclusion and different listings of main components of social exclusion are discussed. Finally, I finish the second chapter by offering my own listing of main components of social exclusion consisting of opportunities of education, degree and nature of labour market participation and patterns of social capital which are used in analyzing the field research data.

In the third chapter of the study, the research method is explained. Because the thesis aimed to examine processes and issues that are complex, that are to a certain extent exploratory and which stress the importance of context, setting and an individual's understanding of life phenomena, the methodology adopted was qualitative. The qualitative research was based on the understanding that quantitative research methods do not adequately capture these meanings since the major aim of the thesis is to try to understand the dimensions of social exclusion among youth in a gecekondu district in Ankara. In the fourth chapter the major components of social exclusion, namely, education, labour market participation, and social capital (social network, trust) are examined on the basis of structural, local and individual factors by giving references from data generated in the field research. In the fifth chapter, I present and argue the individual experiences of the youth in the sample about consumption practices, the places of the city they use, their relations with alcohol and drugs, their attitudes towards crime and deviance, and also their perceptions of

future prospects. Overall this chapter aims at identifying the perceived causes of stigmatization of the youth in Altındağ and argues that their personal experiences and lack of opportunities are important causes in their experiences of social exclusion. Finally, in the conclusion chapter, I briefly summarize the major findings of the data and present my own interpretation about the concept and the issue.

CHAPTER 2

WHAT IS SOCIAL EXCLUSION?

This chapter identifies the variety of ways in which ‘social exclusion’ has been conceived. Definitions, different conceptualizations that arise in the social exclusion literature are systematically dealt with. Finally, overall problems of the ‘social exclusion’ paradigm are discussed and identified. It is concluded that social exclusion is a useful way of perceiving multiple-disadvantage; however, it must be defined and dealt with in way that recognizes specificity of each context in which it is defined. The way society deals with social exclusion, ultimately, is dependent on how it is defined. Each conception of social exclusion can create unique problems and necessitate different policy solutions. This paper seeks to describe these differences and to highlight both the advantages and disadvantages implicit in how one defines ‘social exclusion’ after that it also attempt to reach an definition and its components which will construct conceptual and theoretical background of field research which examine the social exclusion of young people living in Altındağ.

The term social exclusion has come to be very widely used by politicians, policy makers and academicians since the 1990s. Although various conceptions of social exclusion were being developed in the 1970s, the very end of the millennium has witnessed an increasing interest in the publications of a wide range of books and articles on the theme. Most have concentrated on various aspects of economic exclusion or more precisely the exclusionary effects of economic restructuring (Paugam, 1996). Others have restricted their use of exclusion to analysis of poverty (Room, 1995, 1999). Yet others have explored social exclusion on the basis of other dimensions such as the political (Powell, 1995). Jordan (1996) perhaps most famously, although his central focus is also poverty has sought to develop holistic theoretical approaches based on the concept.

Closely related with the expansion in the use of term by social scientists, social exclusion has come to hold an important place in the social sciences. It figures importantly in various research projects and attracts researchers to show priorities, develop and conduct major research. It is very obvious that social exclusion provides a central framework for social research in the new millennium.

The growth in popularity of the term indicates attempts to understand and interpret new patterns of social cleavage emerging during the last decades of the twentieth century, particularly in relation to changing patterns of in employment and unemployment, radical changes in the idea of welfare-state, changing patterns in demographic mobility, both nationally and internationally, and changing definitions of eligibility for a variety of civil rights and duties (Littlewood and Herkommer, 1999).

Littlewood and Herkommer (1999) argue that the last four decades of the twentieth century have been characterized principally by a series of intertwined trends:

- changing patterns in the nature of work, both paid and unpaid;
- radical changes in the demand for and supply of different forms of labor;
- developments in and modifications to the provision of welfare support, particularly for those in low paid work or without paid work;
- changing patterns in interpersonal relations in the home, at work and in locality;
- new patterns in interrelations between ethnically, nationally and culturally diverse groups;
- changes to the definitions of the rights and duties of those living within and both national and supra-national boundaries;
- the presence of high rates of unemployment and underemployment particularly among the young and the growth of insecure or precarious employment;
- the relative and absolute reduction in the availability of manual work and the corresponding growth in the availability of white-collar work;
- the introduction of more sophisticated technological innovations both within and outside the workplace;

- a growth in the demand and supply of a greater number and diversity of educational and vocational qualifications; and
- growth in the flow of population movement across national boundaries;

These massive and radical changes to the world we live in have led to major changes in the explanatory models developed by social scientists. It is argued that traditional forms of explanation particularly those giving central place to social class are no longer adequate in explaining social cleavages as is evident in the post-modernist critiques. Thus some approaches argue that as society has become more classless, the major social divide is one which demarcates the poor, the dispossessed, the marginalized, and the socially excluded (Littlewood and Herkommer, 1999). In that respect, social exclusion appears to be one of the fresh concepts to highlight these massive changes and their implications in research. For this reason, social exclusion is an important concept although it needs to be well defined and conceptualized.

In other words, the many varieties of social exclusion, the fears of social explosion to which it gives rise, the danger of social disruption; the complexity of the mechanisms that cause it, the extreme difficulty of finding solutions have made social exclusion one of the major social issues of our time (De Castillo, 1994).

Social exclusion can be traced to Weber who identified exclusion as one form of social closure. He saw exclusionary closure as the attempt of one group to secure for itself a privileged position through a process of subordination (Burchardt, Le Grand, Piachaud, 2002). In social exclusion literature, it is common to attribute the invention of modern usage of the term social exclusion to Rene Lenoir who published *Les Exclus: Un Français sur dix*, in 1974. Lenoir's definition of the excluded consists of a wide variety of people, not only the poor, but also handicapped, suicidal people, aged, abused children, and substance addicts (Evans, 1998).

In the 1980s, the increasing intensity of social problems on peripheral neighborhoods in large cities of France led to broadening of the definition to include the rise in long term unemployment, ghettoisation, disaffected youth and isolated individuals, as well as the growing instability of social relations. It was recognized that employment was

not just about income, but also about social networks that the unemployed were 'excluded' from participation in the normal activities of society (Evans, 1998).

In the beginning of the 1990s, the approach gradually became popular in other continental European countries and was adapted by the European Union (E.U) together with an increasing recognition of the impact of the globalization on national and regional economic structure; this led to establishment of the European Observatory on social exclusion. Social exclusion is defined in European documents such as the 1992 Second Annual Report of the European Commission's Observatory on National Policies to Combat Social Exclusion, "in relation to the social rights of citizen to a certain basic standard of living and to participation in the major social and occupational opportunities of the society" (Gore, Figueiredo and Rodgers, 1995, p2). At the same time, EU has developed new policies to fight against social exclusion during 1990s. The Maastricht Treaties and the Structural Funds included a commitment to combat social exclusion. Besides, significant changes were experienced in the social policy terminology. While 'poverty' was the central concern in the first programme, in the third programme this had become 'social exclusion' (Silver 1995).

2.1 Defining Social Exclusion

Social exclusion is a complex and problematic concept with no agreed conceptual definition. This is primarily attributable to the newness of the debate (Atkinson 2000). It is not surprising, therefore, that there also is wide support for perceiving social exclusion as hard to define. Silver claims that "by all accounts, defining exclusion is not an easy task and it is difficult to come up with a simple definition" (Silver 1994, p.535). In fact, there is a consensus on only one point: the impossibility of having a single, simple criterion with which to define social exclusion.

But what exactly does it mean? To anyone reading the literature on social exclusion, it soon becomes clear that different authors mean different things when they use the term. At that point, Mitchell distinguishes between broad and narrow definitions of social exclusion. The broad definition in literature refers to the ways in which

particular sections within society at large can be more or less excluded from a variety of economic, social, political and cultural resources and activities and the narrow definition depends more on economically rooted inequalities in the sphere of work and income (Mitchell, 2000). However, it can be argued that behind this difference in the application of the term lies a profound contrast in the ways social exclusion is conceived.

Silver (1994, p.535) mentions about the clearest account of the conceptual confusion surrounding the term: “by all accounts, defining exclusion is not easy task”. Yet Silver (1994) sees the difficulty of defining exclusion and the fact that it is interpreted as differently according to context and time as an opportunity. Silver (1994) goes on to say that the different meanings of social exclusion and the uses are embedded in conflicting social sciences paradigms and political ideologies. For Silver (1994), social exclusion is ‘polysemic’ (it has multiple meanings) therefore it requires extensive semantic definition.

For Silver (1994), social exclusion not only varies in meaning according to national and ideological context. Another reason of why it is difficult to define it is that the empirical reference of the idea of social exclusion is not always discussed in that terminology. Silver (1994) also goes on to argue that the concept which is often confused with the new urban poverty, the underclass is also expressed in such terms as marginality, foreignness, disaffiliation, dispossession, multiple deprivations.

An alternative approach is to stop seeking the right or the best meaning. Serge Paugam, the French author of *L'Exclusion* (1996) says:

On questions as socially and politically sensitive as poverty and exclusion, sociologists must first of all recognise the impossibility of finding exhaustive definitions. These concepts are relative and vary according to time and circumstance. It is unreasonable to expect to find a fair and objective definition which is distinct from social debate without falling into the trap of putting unclearly defined populations into defined categories (Paugam, 1996, p.4).

According to Paugam (1996), sociologists focusing on questions as socially and politically sensitive as social exclusion must recognize the impossibility of finding exhaustive definitions. For Paugam (1996), it is unreasonable to expect to find a fair

and objective definition which is distinct from social debate without falling into trap of putting unclearly defined populations into defined categories. At that point, Paugam (1996) emphasizes that;

defining the 'excluded' according to precise long-term criteria leads almost to a reification of new social groups or ones that are similar to the current categories and gives the impression that the study of poverty and exclusion is an exact science which can divorce them from their social and cultural context (Paugam,1998, p.45).

However, social exclusion has been defined in a number of different ways which include all or some of the following elements: disadvantage in relation to social, economic or political activity affecting individuals, households, spatial areas or population groups; the social, economic and institutional processes through which disadvantage comes about; and the outcomes and consequences for individuals, groups and communities (Percy, Smith, 2000). Burchardt, Le Grand, and Piachau (1999: 230) offer the following more restricted definition of social exclusion:

An individual is socially excluded if (a) he or she is geographically resident in a society and (b) he or she does not participate in the normal activities of citizens in that society (Burchardt, Le Grand, and Piachau, 1999: 230).

Other possible definitions are the “inability to participate effectively in economic, social, political and cultural life, alienation and distance from the mainstream society” (Duffy 1995:21) or “the dynamic process of being shut out from any of the social, economic, political and cultural systems which determine the social integration of a person in society” (Walker and Walker 1997:8).

Social exclusion is also seen in a wider context. In particular it is seen in the context of globalization and the structural changes brought about by globalization. Parkinson (1998: 1) describes these processes in the following terms:

Rapid changes in the economic environment caused by internationalization and industrial and corporate restructuring have transformed the character of local economies. They have brought a more fragmented labour market, a decline in manufacturing and a rise in the service sector, high levels of structural unemployment, an increase in insecure and low paid employment, a shift in the balance of male and female employment and a growing gap between the highest and lowest household incomes (Parkinson,1998: 1).

2.2 The Newness of Social Exclusion

Until recent years, it was common in poverty research to focus on the disposable income or expenditure of an individual or household at a given moment in time. This was the basis for most of the estimates of the overall poverty rate that have appeared during the 1980s and 1990s. However, in recent years, we have seen growing acknowledgement that this focus is too narrow. In part because of this awareness and in part under the influence of the proponents of social exclusion, the research debate has changed significantly during the 1990s. According to Room (1995; 1999) there are five main elements in this reconfiguration:

- from financial to multi-dimensional disadvantage;
- from a static to a dynamic analysis;
- from a focus on the resources of the individual or household to a concern also with those of the local community;
- from distributional to relational dimensions of stratification and disadvantage;
- from a continuum of inequality to catastrophic rupture;

From financial to multi-dimensional disadvantage: According to Room (1995; 1999) and Strobel (1996) in urban-industrial societies financial resources have enormous importance for the whole range of life chances which a person can enjoy. Nevertheless, financial indicators such as low income are insufficient to see the whole picture: multi-dimensional indicators are needed, directly illustrating different aspects of disadvantage. Moreover, it is important both for policy and social sciences to separate different elements of hardship and to identify their interrelationships: for example between financial poverty and poor housing; between educational failure and a lack of skills on the labour market. In short, the move to an approval of the multi-dimensionality of disadvantage is significant and important but it is hardly enough to justify the excitement which the new language of social exclusion has been generating.

From a static to a dynamic analysis: For Room (1995; 1999) and Strobel (1996) the second feature of recent analyses of disadvantage has been their concern with the dynamics and processes involved. It is not enough to count the numbers and describe the characteristic of those who are disadvantaged; it is also necessary to identify the factors which can cause entry or exit from this situation and to understand how the duration of disadvantage shapes how it is experienced and what its consequences are. Recent studies show that many of those who escape from poverty and social exclusion remain on its margins and fall into it once more. Many of those studies which use the language of social exclusion place this dynamic analysis at the center of their own work and believe that this is the major step forward which the notion of social exclusion involves. Many of the classic studies of poverty are already aware of this dynamic dimension therefore while the move to a dynamic aspect of disadvantage is important; it is not unique to the new language of social exclusion.

From individual or household resources to those of the local community: Room (1995; 1999) argues that many of the classic poverty studies focus on the financial resources which are held at a particular moment and held by an individual or household. This focus on the individual or household has been criticized from two directions: first, feminist direction directs attention to the processes of unequal access to resources inside the household unit and secondly, it is claimed that the resources which are available or lacking within the local community affect individual or household life chances. Deprivation is caused not only by lack of personal resources but also by insufficient or unsatisfactory community facilities, such as insufficient schools, poor public transport networks and so on; such an environment tends to reinforce poverty and social exclusion. This suggests that recent studies need to include questions on the availability or non-availability of local community resources, if we aim to understand the differential vulnerability of different individuals and households to social exclusion and disadvantage.

From a distributional to a relational focus: Room (1995; 1999) and Strobel (1996) also suggest that there is a fourth element in the conceptual shift from poverty to social exclusion which is more fundamental. The notion of poverty is primarily focused on distributional issues: the lack of resources at the disposal of an individual

or a household. In contrast, the notion of social exclusion focuses on relational issues: inadequate social participation, lack of social integration and lack of power. The relationships in which a person is involved have implications for his or her capacity to manage relationships in phases of life. Therefore, the processes of movement into and out of multi-dimensional disadvantage must be analyzed by reference to these relationships or factors which determine entry or exit.

From continuity to catastrophe: According to Room (1995; 1999) there is one final element in the conceptual shift from poverty to social exclusion. The concept of social exclusion appears to carry with it the connotation of separation and permanence: a catastrophic discontinuity in relationships with the rest of society. In societies, there may be groups who are suffering disadvantage but this does not mean that they experience this catastrophic discontinuity. In short, Room (1999: 171) says that:

to use the notion of social exclusion carries the implication that we are speaking about people who are suffering such a degree of multi-dimensional disadvantage, of such a duration, and reinforced by such cultural and material degradation of the neighborhoods in which they live, that their relational links with the wider society are ruptured to a degree which is to some considerable degree irreversible (Room, 1999: 171).

In summary, the notion of social exclusion integrates five key elements in the definition and study of disadvantage. None of these elements is sufficient by itself to give the whole picture although they together can.

2.3 Characteristics of Social Exclusion

For some, social exclusion is simply a currently fashionable way of talking about poverty. For other, it is a broader conception not focusing primarily on poverty but including polarization and inequality. Some reject any identification of social exclusion with class or inequality arguing vertical axis (up and down) is not suitable anymore but in and out of a circle is suitable one. Some writers see social exclusion not as a state or outcome but as a dynamic process. Giddens (1998) writes that social exclusion is not about graduations of inequality but about mechanisms that act to detach groups of people from the social mainstream. While the processes or

mechanisms are clearly important in understanding the causation of social exclusion, the outcomes of those processes are also important.

While there is a need to unify these theories of exclusion, as Ruth Levitas (1998) and Hilary Silver (1994) have tried to do, there is still value to be gained by conceiving exclusion in such broad terms. “[T]he expression is so evocative, ambiguous, multidimensional and elastic that it can be defined in many different ways therefore it can serve a variety of political purposes” (Silver, 1994: 536-41). Social exclusion can be defined in terms of the processes of exclusion, the people it affects and the world which these processes and people inhabit.

Table 1. Classifying Definitions of Social Exclusion

Definition Class	Definition Title	Explanation
Processes	Conditions and Processes	Social exclusion is the state of being excluded and the process of becoming excluded.
	Multi-Dimensional	There are different sources and different processes working dynamically to cause social exclusion
	Connectivity	The processes and results of exclusion are joined-up and compound each other in a vicious circle.
People	Social Relationships	The breakdown of social ties between individual and family or community.
	The Socially Excluded	Social exclusion can be conceived in terms of individuals, groups or society as a whole, however, it affects everyone.
Environment	Economics and the Labour Market	Exclusion is primarily from the labour market and based on economic restructuring.
	Social Systems	Social exclusion occurs with the breakdown of social systems: social, economic, institutional, and symbolic
	Resources and Prospects	Social exclusion is seen as either a lack of resources or a lack of prospects.

Source: Atkinson, R. and Davoudi, S. 2000. “The concept of social exclusion in the EU”, *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 38 (3), 427-48.

2.3.1 Conditions and Processes

Byrne (1999, p.77) warns that “we must go beyond nominalism, was critical of the use of social exclusion to describe the state of being excluded rather than the process of social exclusion itself”. Percy-Smith (2000) highlights that it is very much focused on outcomes and makes no reference to the processes that create the problems identified in the definition. It is not wrong to say that the majority opinion sees social exclusion, primarily or wholly, as a process (Arjan de Haan, 1997, 1998, 1999;

Goodland 1999; Leney 1999). Those who define exclusion in these terms appear to be distancing themselves from previous, condition oriented definitions of poverty. As well, there is an alternative to conceive social exclusion as a condition. This condition/process paradigm is a recurring theme in debates about social exclusion. Social exclusion has been defined in terms of relativity (condition) and agency (process). It is necessarily a relational concept as people are excluded from a particular society (Percy-Smith 2000; Randolph & Judd 1999; Spicker 1997). Social exclusion has been defined in terms of relativity (condition) and agency (process). It is “necessarily a relational concept” as people are excluded from a particular society (Atkinson 1998, p.13). However, the process of exclusion requires an act by an agent or agents. Hence, it is “something that is done by some people to other people” (Atkinson, 1998, p.14). However, the process of exclusion requires an act by “an agent or agents” (Atkinson 1998). Hence, it is “something that is done by some people to other people” (Byrne 1999, p.1; also Barry 1998, p.4; Murray 1998, p.24). By identifying these processes it is possible to address underlying causes of exclusion. Through the identification of agents of exclusion and excluded groups, a framework for policy assessment and interventions can be developed (Farrington, 2001). Differing views as to the fundamental causes of social exclusion correspond to differing views about agency. Who is doing the excluding? A concern with agency is identified by Atkinson (1998) as a key feature of the social exclusion debate. By identifying the condition of exclusion, only the outcomes can be improved. For Littlewood and Herkommer (1999), one of the advantages of treating exclusion as a process is that it allows us to avoid strict either/or definitions, the temporal aspect of social exclusion allows them to take into account the experience of changing situations, of precarious conditions, of being periodically excluded and included, leading to a conception of indefinite boundaries separating the included from the excluded.

2.3.2 Multi-Dimensional

It is not wrong to argue that there is consensus of opinion regarding the multi-dimensional nature of social exclusion (Atkinson 2000; Byrne 1999; Levitas 1996; Silver 1994; Marsh & Mullins 1998; Saith, 2001). Multi-dimensional refers to the different sources of deprivation and the different processes (social, economic,

cultural and political) that enable it (Farrington, 2002; Percy-Smith 2000; Randolph & Judd 1999). Social exclusion has also been defined as a multi-temporal concept. This is referring to the dynamic nature of the exclusionary processes and of the dynamic change in the circumstances of those excluded (Levitas 1996; Byrne 1999; Leney 1999).

It might be also suggested that three significant issues are raised under this multi-dimensional definition of social exclusion. There are those who merely recognize the interconnectedness of social exclusion (Murray 1998; Randolph & Judd 1999). Others recognize the cumulative and compounding effects of these joined-up problems of social exclusion (Kilmurray 1995; Percy-Smith 2000). Finally, some describe the exclusionary process as a “vicious circle” or as a “spiral of disadvantage” (Kabeer 2000; Levitas 1996). The multiplicity of dimension of exclusion is closely related to its cumulative nature. Paugam (1996) argues that exclusion is a multi-dimensional, cumulative and combined process of social exclusion from a plurality of functional system. Paugam (1996) goes on to claim an accumulation of handicaps. What is particularly important here is the way in which a multiplicity of disadvantages combines to reinforce the state of social exclusion.

Atkinson (1998) argues that it is perhaps the agency and dynamic aspects of social exclusion that distinguish it from an understanding of multi-dimensional disadvantage. Social exclusion can be defined “in terms of the failure of one or more systems of belonging regarded as fundamental for the functioning of society” (Atkinson 2000, p.1041). Similarly social systems are seen as something from which people are excluded, or unable to participate in. These systems have been identified by many (Atkinson 2000).

Table 2. Social Systems from which People are excluded

System	Sub-Systems
Social	Family, labour market, neighbourhood, society, community
Economic	Resources (wages, social security, savings, assets) market of goods and services
Institutional	Legal system, education, health, political rights, justice, bureaucracy
Territorial	Demographic (migration), accessibility (transport and communications), society (deprived areas)
Symbolic references	Identity, social visibility, self-esteem, basic abilities, interests and motivations, future prospects

Source: Atkinson, R. and Davoudi, S. 2000. “The concept of social exclusion in the EU”, *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 38 (3), 427-48.

Within the multi-dimensional model that has been described above it is likely that the break down of a number of these systems is necessary to constitute social exclusion. Atkinson (2000, p.1041) concurs that “we can only talk of social exclusion when, for individuals or groups, several of these systems break down as part of a chain reaction”.

2.3.3 Social Relationships

Social exclusion is commonly conceived of in terms of social relationships. In these instances, the ‘process’ of social exclusion is seen as the breakdown of social ties and social and symbolic bonds (Silver 1994). While exclusion has been defined in merely negative terms of social isolation (Hague 1999; Somerville 1998; Spicker 1997), a more useful method of conceiving social exclusion is in positive and active terms of participation. In other words, social exclusion is either a process that prevents people participating in society or the inability to participate in society itself (Beland & Hanson 2000; Judge 1999; Bahalla& Lapeyre, 1997).

In social exclusion discourse, the value of discussing social exclusion in terms of social relationships is gained when it is defined on the basis of community. Social exclusion occurs where “the community doesn’t work” or it “just doesn’t exist”, or where “the fabric of community is falling apart” (Percy-Smith 2000, p.6). According to Randolph & Judd (1999) this value is derived from community being perceived as a catalyst for the building of social capital. Participation in social networks forms the

basis, the currency, with which to obtain trust, support and reciprocal help and, therefore, the growth of social capital. Therefore, it is social capital, through greater participation in community that is seen as an “antidote to social exclusion” (Percy-Smith 2000, p.6). So, it is probably argued that social exclusion has been defined as a lack of social capital in social exclusion discourse (Percy-Smith 2000; Shell 2000).

2.3.4 Lack of Resources

Lack of resources is one of the important debates in social exclusion discourse. For many scholars, social exclusion results from an inability to access the resources necessary for inclusion in society (Atkinson 1998; Spicker 1997). According to Lister (1998) these resources can be material, economic, political or cultural. The “denial of opportunities open for all” is the result of this lack of resources, and has been equated with a denial of social justice (Barry 1998, pp.14-5 cited in Lister 1998). At that point Farrington (2002, pp.6) argues that:

within a definition of social exclusion, where it is seen as a dynamic process, the idea of an absence of prospects appears contradictory. However, if the state of exclusion is transitory, the excluded person must have gained access to resources in order to escape. This can be reconciled by understanding the excluded state as the end stage of a dynamic process. Like the exclusion from what debate, the listing of resources unobtainable to excluded people can underestimate the issue and mask the compounding nature of exclusion. The true extent of exclusion becomes hidden under a mass of apparently insignificant problems (Farrington, 2002: 6).

Therefore, it is obvious that lack of resource is an important point that has to be highlighted in discussions about the nature of social exclusion however it is also very crucial not to allow it mask the multi-dimensional nature of social exclusion.

2.4 International Perspectives to Social Exclusion

According to Begg and Berhman (2002) within the European Union (EU) the term social exclusion has taken an important place in the discussion of social inequalities and social policies. In commission documents there is reference to the decline in social cohesion and social solidarity and the need to reintegrate the socially excluded into mainstream society (Commission, 1992, 1993, 1995, 1998). The European Union social model, although aware of the importance of income distribution, places considerable emphasis on maintaining social solidarity and ensuring that all

individuals are integrated into, and participate in a national, social, and moral order (Berghman, 1997).

At first the term “new poverty” gained attention. The important point was the recognition that this new poverty was the result of profound structural changes which would affect every sphere of society. Thus the Commission (1992) argued that:

The concept of social exclusion is a dynamic one referring both to processes and consequent situations. More clearly than the concept of poverty, understood far too often as referring exclusively to income, it also states out the multidimensional nature of the mechanisms whereby individuals and groups are excluded from taking part in social exchanges from the component practices and rights of social integration, it even goes beyond participation in working life: it is felt and shown in the fields of housing, education, health and access to services (Commission, 1992: 8).

Thus, the concept of social exclusion shifted the debate from focusing on the issues of income inequality and material exclusion to social and cultural dimensions of the exclusionary process in EU context. The effect was to emphasize the need to create social solidarity and to ensure that individuals are integrated into the social and moral order (Atkinson and Davoudi, 2000).

During the first half of the 1990s, a new version of social exclusion emerged which combined elements of the French interpretation with the Anglo-Saxon tradition’s focus on income inequality in EU social policy context. This approach sought to combine the two traditions through the use of the concept of citizenship rights. From this perspective the new forms of poverty were seen as critical problems in respect of citizenship systems within EU. At the end, EU defined social exclusion as “multidimensional disadvantage, which is of substantial duration and which involves dissociation from the major social and occupational milieux of society in 1990” (Berghman, 1995: 25).

According to Geddes (2000) this definition is important for a number of reasons. First, it emphasizes the multiple factors associated with social exclusion; second it refers to the dynamic nature of exclusionary processes; third, it supports the view that citizens within the EU have right to a certain basic standard of living and to participate in the major social and occupational institutions of the society.

There are at least 41 words or phrases in the European Union policy contexts that could be seen as factors that contributed the conditions of exclusion in which people live. The factors have been subdivided into those which are based on a lack of access to some critical resource, lack of fair recognition, and those which might be regarded as spatial, personal or economic intensifiers (Peace, 2001).

Peace (2001) goes on to discuss that in EU context, lack of access includes access to factors such as social mobility, means of communication, housing, social security, education services. Lack of fair recognition includes: negative image of individuals, groups and neighborhoods, prejudices in the wider society. Personal intensifiers include factors like negative family circumstances, low living standards, poor health, drug trafficking, unsatisfactory quality of life, lack of knowledge and information, and low levels of education and qualification. Spatial intensifiers include factors like social isolation, geographical isolation.

There are a number of distinctive metaphors associated with social exclusion discourse in EU. Social exclusion is used by association with words such as “trap”, “cycles”, “web”, “cumulative” all of which tend to intensify notions of complexity and inevitable negativity. The list of common metaphors includes: being on the margins, least-privileged groups, detachment from work relations, poverty trap, cycles of exclusion, web of disadvantages, cumulative disadvantages or handicaps, situation of risk (Peace, 2001).

An ILO report (2000: 23) suggests a multi-dimensional approach to understanding social exclusion by identifying distinctions between social exclusion as attribute to individuals or groups:

Excluded persons are seen to be in a situation of disadvantage beyond a narrow definition of poverty as lack of income or material possessions, they are socially isolated in some sense they have or experience weak social relatedness may lack ties to family, local community, voluntary associations, trade unions or even the nation (ILO, 2000:23).

The way in which Social Exclusion Unit (1997:1), one of the international organizations, defines social exclusion is much closer to the concept of disadvantage.

Social exclusion is shorthand label for what can happen when individuals or areas suffer from a combination of linked problems such as unemployment, poor skills, low incomes, poor housing, high crime environments, bad health and family breakdown (Social Exclusion Unit, 1997: 1).

2.5 Different Theoretical Approaches to Social Exclusion

The famous article of Silver (1994) has stressed the variety of definitions given to social exclusion and integration which depend on context, and the definitions come from different theoretical and ideological traditions. Silver (1994) identifies three different theoretical and political perspectives within which the concept of social exclusion is developed. She basically attempts to show the differences in what they regard as the causes of social exclusion and the political philosophy in which they are grounded. Silver (1994) calls these types as *the solidarity*, *specialization*, and *monopoly* paradigms on the basis of different notion of social integration. Each paradigm attributes social exclusion to a different cause and is grounded in a different political philosophy: republicanism, liberalism, and social democracy. Each provides an explanation of multiple forms of social disadvantage- economic, social, political and cultural and thus includes theories of citizenship, inequality as well as poverty and long-term unemployment.

Silver (1994) also identifies a number of key differences between the paradigms. At a very general level there are contrasting conceptions of integration in a sense the other side of the coin from social exclusion. For the solidarity paradigm this means an emphasis on social cohesion through group solidarity and cultural boundaries, whereas that of specialization centers on the interdependence of separate, specialized sphere, and that of monopoly focuses on a conception of social closure.

Solidarity Paradigm: Silver (1994) argues that for solidarity paradigm, social exclusion is the breakdown of a social bond between the individual and society that is cultural and moral rather than economically interested. In French Republican thought, social exclusion occurs when social bond between the individual and society known as social solidarity breaks down. Like deviance or anomie, social exclusion

threatens social cohesion. Thus the opposite of social exclusion is integration and the process of achieving it is insertion. Its applications go beyond analyses of citizenship, ethnic conflicts, and deviance to include discussion of cultures of poverty and long-term unemployment.

Specialization Paradigm: The Anglo-Saxon tradition is characterized by Silver (1994) as a specialization paradigm, based on liberal thinkers. This perspective perceives social actors as individuals who are able to move across boundaries of social differentiation and economic divisions of labour. In this paradigm, social exclusion reflects discrimination and group distinctions that denies individuals full participation in exchange and interaction. Although causation is situated not simply at individual level but also in the structures created by cooperating and competing individuals, markets and associations, it is individualist in method. Specialized social structures are comprised of separate, competing, but not necessarily unequal spheres which lead to exchange and interdependence between them. Thus, social exclusion results from an inadequate separation of social spheres or from barriers to free movement and exchange between groups. Because of the existence of separate social spheres, exclusion may have multiple causes and dimensions. Silver (1994) argues that in the liberal tradition, the roots of social exclusion are embedded in the discussion of the culture of poverty. In 1960s, it offered an account of experiences of those who living at the margins and connecting material deprivation with self perception, identity and way of living. It also offered a theoretical rationale to blame the poor for their situation and conceptual shift from exclusion process to self exclusion. More recently the discussion has evolved into a concept of underclass in UK and US. The specialization paradigm uses terms such as ghettoization, marginalization and the underclass, rather than social exclusion.

Monopoly Paradigm: The third paradigm described by Silver (1994) is the monopoly paradigm. According to Silver (1994) monopoly paradigm is based on the work of Weber and is particularly influential in Northern European countries. Unlike the liberal tradition, the monopoly paradigm emphasizes the existence of hierarchical power relations in the constitutions of a social order. Monopoly paradigm emphasizes power relations, group monopolies and the domination and exclusion of

outsiders. Powerful class and status groups use social closure to restrict the access of outsiders to valued resources such as good jobs, good benefits, education, and urban locations. The monopoly paradigm points to the material and cultural/symbolic privileges of the insiders as the cause of the exclusion of outsiders. In this view, inequality and economic exploitation lead to exclusion. Group monopolies are seen as responsible for social exclusion. Powerful groups restrict the access of outsiders through social closure. Thus, monopoly paradigm is mostly influential on the European left. For monopoly paradigm, social exclusion is combated through citizenship and the extension of equal membership and full participation in the community to outsiders.

What this discussion shows is that social exclusion is a politically flexible concept. Indeed, there is ground for claiming that social exclusion has been developed as a discourse rather than as a concept. Hence it constitutes a relatively loose set of ideas to represent the world in particular settings rather than a concept with theoretical substance and coherence which transcends national and political context (Sareceno, 2000).

To clarify the various meanings of social exclusion which are embedded in current political debate, Levitas (1998) also develops a model which identifies three different approaches. Although there are tensions and contradictions between the approaches, they often coexist. The model can be used to explore these contradictions.

Redistributive Discourse: Levitas (1998) points out that the first of these approaches is a redistributive discourse which derives from critical social policy, and which sees social exclusion as a consequence of poverty. Redistributive discourse is based on the idea of Peter Townsend (1979) which argued that poverty should not be understood in terms of subsistence, but in terms of people's ability to participate in the customary life of society: since social exclusion results from poverty, raising benefit levels to reduce poverty is crucial to reducing exclusion.

Social Integration Discourse: Levitas (1998) also argues that much of current policy is rooted in a different model of social exclusion, in which the key element is labour-

force attachment. This is underpinned by a discourse about social integration in which paid work is represented as the primary legitimate means of integrating individuals of working age into society. The excluded are those who are “workless” or in the case of young people, at risk of becoming unemployed. While the lead indicator of social exclusion for redistributive discourse is low income, for social integration discourse it is unemployment or economic inactivity - a concept which intrinsically denies the value of unpaid, non-market work.

Moral Underclass Discourse: According to Levitas (1998), the third approach is a moral underclass discourse, which emphasizes moral and cultural causes of poverty and which is centrally concerned with the moral hazard of dependency, and thus with workless households rather than individual labour market attachment. Myrdal (1965) introduced the Swedish concept of “underklassen” into the American language. Moral underclass discourse tends to deal with themes about “dangerous classes” and to focus on consequences of social exclusion for social order, and on particular groups, such as unemployed and potentially criminal young people. According to Kronauer, there are significant differences between social exclusion and underclass. Social exclusion has double meaning of the state of being excluded as well as the process of exclusion. Therefore, it directs attention not only to characteristics of people but also to actors or institutions which are responsible for bringing exclusion about. In contrast, underclass addresses a fixed social position and way of life. It is therefore more open to be misunderstood in a moralizing way (Kronauer, 1998).

Table 3: A summary table of social exclusion

Theme	Definition	Issues Raised
Condition	Social exclusion is a condition and an outcome. It is the state of being excluded.	It is useful to recognize the state of exclusion as, itself, a factor in the exclusionary process.
Process	The majority sees social exclusion as the process of exclusion.	The processes of exclusion are complex and difficult to identify.
Relational	Exclusion can be defined in terms of relativity. People are excluded from something.	Identification of the multitude of opportunities and facilities from which people are excluded may have further exclusionary results. This 'condition oriented' definition also ignores cause.
Agency	The process of exclusion requires the act of an agent or agents. It is something that is done to people by other people.	The identification of the culprits of exclusion can provide a convenient scapegoat for government. The responsibility for exclusion and its solution can be passed on to the responsible agencies. It is also a process-oriented definition, therefore, solutions go to cause rather than effect.
Multi-Dimensional	There are different sources of deprivation and different processes that enable it.	While multi-dimensional can be equated with vague, the flexibility that this form of definition permits is widely recognised. Effective solutions will reflect this multi-dimensional nature of social exclusion.
Dynamic	Social Exclusion is a multi-temporal and dynamic process.	The differing time scales of exclusion must be identified as indicative of different causes and, therefore, different solutions.
Connected	The various causes of social exclusion are connected.	This is a weaker definition that refers to mere relationships. Policy must be assessed on the basis of its effects on other policy instruments and on all groups in society.
Cumulative	The various causes of social exclusion compound each other.	As the causes and effects of social exclusion are joined-up.
Vicious Circle	Not only do the various causes of exclusion compound one another, exclusion itself is factored in as causative.	This definition represents the true value of the concept of social exclusion. The identification of exclusion itself allows for exclusion specific policy to be implemented, in addition to policy which addresses the other causes and effects.
Social Relationships	Social exclusion is the breakdown of social ties and bonds; the absence of social capital.	Exclusion must be seen in positive terms of participation rather than isolation, with policy oriented towards achieving greater participation. Policy can promote community and social capital rather than being spatially oriented through neighbourhood strategies.
The Excluded	Social exclusion has been defined on the basis of the people, groups or society that is excluded.	Exclusion affects the excluded and those who are not. Groups can be subject to blame and their mere identification can lead to further marginalisation. Policy must identify exclusion and its effects on everyone.
Economic Restructuring	Exclusion is the result of economic restructuring.	Changing modes of production and the resulting economic changes must be identified as both the causes of social exclusion and of the inequalities between all groups in society. The plight of excluded people can not be left to the vagaries of the free market and inherent inequalities must also be redressed.
Labour Force	Social exclusion has been equated with exclusion from the labour force.	Paid work must be adopted as the route back to full inclusion.
Social Systems	Social exclusion results from the failure of social, economic, institutional, territorial and symbolic systems.	This system approach draws attention away from purely material aspects of deprivation. The identification of complex systems creates difficulties in the identification of exclusion and suggests complex and multi-dimensional policy solutions.
Resources	Social exclusion is defined as the lack of resources.	Solutions must be more than the mere identification of the multitude of resources that are lacking, as this can have exclusionary effects
Prospects	Social exclusion is defined as a lack of prospects.	This definition has undertones of helplessness and suggests inevitability, and an impossibility to redress the problem. Social exclusion must be perceived as a dynamic process. Policy must create prospects through the provision of resources.

2.6 Criticisms of Social Exclusion in the Social Science Literature

Three criticisms are immediately obvious regarding the concept of social exclusion. It is a complex and problematic concept with no agreed conceptual definition. This is primarily attributable to the newness of the debate (Atkinson 2000, p.1042). It is this newness that accounts for social exclusion being an “essentially contested concept” (Silver 1994, p.540). Social exclusion is a term that can mean “all things to all people” (Atkinson 1998, p.13). There are “as many theories of social exclusion as there are writers on the subject” (Atkinson 2000, p.1039). There is a consensus of opinion that social exclusion has been defined in terms that are vague and diffuse (Marsh & Mullins 1998). It is not surprising, therefore, that there also is wide support for perceiving social exclusion as hard to define (Silver 1994). These broad and vague definitions can render social exclusion useless. It becomes a “catch-all notion a politically correct and ultimately meaningless mask” (Stroebe 1996, p.129).

The biggest fear is that social exclusion theories “run the risk of being reductionist” (Silver, 1994: 536). Over-simplification into an excluded/included dichotomy might further marginalize those who are excluded. Social exclusion is also criticized for being just another link in a chain of shifting terminology (Kilmurray 1995). There is concern that the adoption of social exclusion represents nothing more than the relabeling of previous concepts such as poverty. Kilmurray (1995) also suggests that there is no point in using the term simply as a new piece of jargon for the familiar grim reality we once called poverty. There are concerns that the concept of social exclusion may perpetuate theories and actualities of underclass. It has been criticized for being “a largely negative, ideological and value laden concept reflecting middle class prejudice and implying a ‘them and us’ dichotomy” (Randolph and Judd 1999, p.5). Silver (1994, p. 545) has shown that institutionalization may “create a social boundary or a permanent division between the ‘ins’ and ‘outs’”. Similarly (Silver 1994, p.540) points out that:

exclusion discourse may also ghettoize risk categories under a new label and publicize the more spectacular forms of cumulative disadvantage, distracting attention from the general rise in inequality, unemployment, and family dissolution (Silver 1994, p.540).

Levitas (1998) believes that the theory of social exclusion reflects a new Durkheimian hegemony. This encourages us to think inequality as peripheral phenomena occurring at the margins of society and to ignore forms of domination that structure the lives of the excluded and included. From this perspective, social exclusion is as Durkheim argued symptoms of a pathological deviation. Therefore, social exclusion implies minimalist reform.

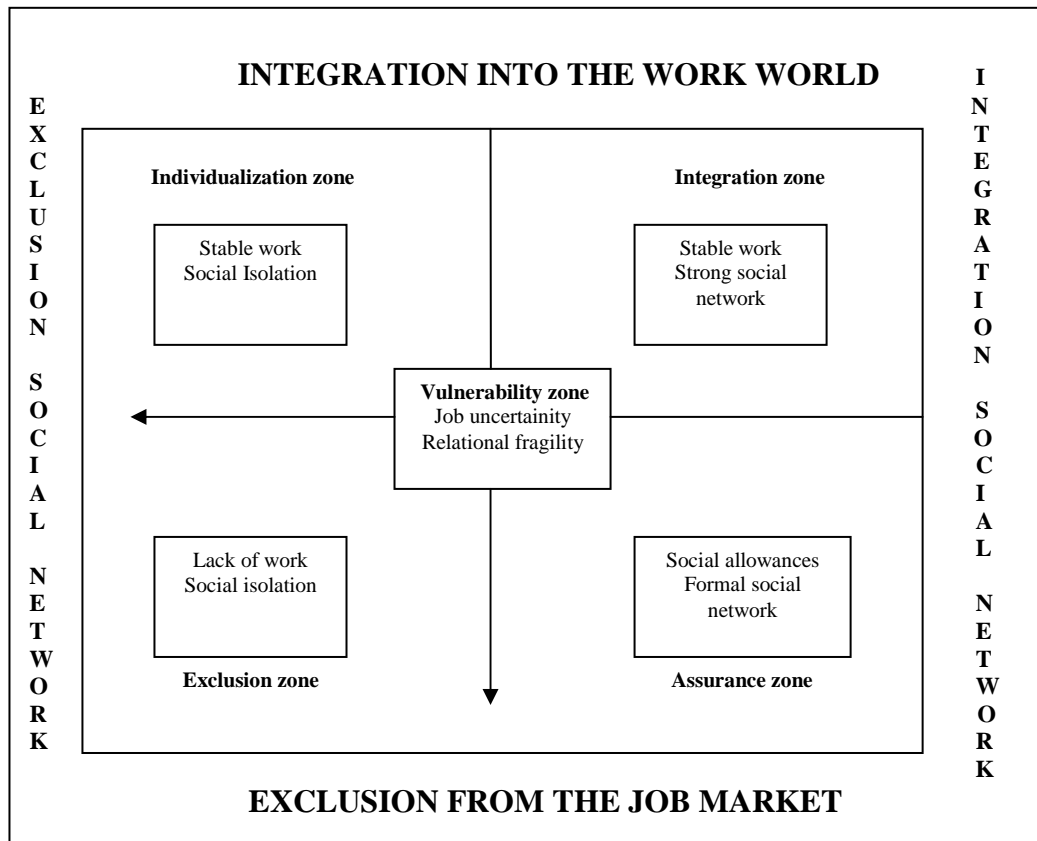
Social exclusion can be defined as exclusion from access to the ladders of social integration. However, the real problem is relating to the length of the ladder or the distance between the rungs (Levitas, 1998: 157). Levitas (1998:158) also notes that “couching the argument in terms of inclusion of the excluded constitutes an argument for pushing them just over the line.

According to Levitas (1998), the main problem with the interpretation of social exclusion is that it plays the same ideological role of normalizing ordinary poverty and inequality as do the idea of an underclass. It distracts attention from the essentially class divided character of society.

Robert Castel's notion of disaffiliation: Castel (1993) challenges the notion of social exclusion because of its static dimension, its fixedness and its inability to show the variability of the situation to which it refers. He prefers the term disaffiliation which is a more and one better able to transcend the description of a situation of social exclusion to recount experiences, trace trajectories and explain processes. He uses various constitutive phases of the social exclusion process, brings to the different social zones: social integration zone, individualization zone, vulnerability zone, social exclusion zone, assurance zone. This diagram below provides a typology of the trajectory of disaffiliation and social exclusion, constructed on the basis of participation or non-participation in the labour market and the fact of having or not having a contact network (social capital). Thus, disaffiliation is to be seen as the

endpoint of a process for individuals placed in situations of social uselessness and for who the social bond is under increased stress (Ibid). The breaking of social bond is thus one of most significant dimensions of Castel's analysis of the process of disaffiliation.

Figure 1. Disaffiliation and Social Exclusion



Source: Castel, R. 1995. *Les métamorphoses de la question sociale* Paris, Fayard.

Serge Paugam's notion of social disqualification: Serge Paugam (1996) rejects the notion of social exclusion. He describes the relationship that society has with its margins; in other words, it is the way in which society classifies and treats individuals labeled and recognized as being at variance with normal modes of integration. Building his concept of social disqualification on a typology of the affected individuals (the vulnerable, the aid-dependent and the marginal), then focuses on the mechanism which lead to their descent into disadvantage position,

dependence on assistance, social inferiority and marginality. Social disqualification thus seems to be weakness of social integration process.

Chatel and Soulet (2001) criticize social exclusion for its semantic inaccuracy, its conceptual instability, its too political, excessively polemic vague scope, its lack of theoretical construction and sociological grounding and its inability to account for mechanisms of domination or social and economic inequalities.

The interest of the notion of social exclusion lies in the fact that it points to an endpoint in non-irreversible process of being placed in the margins of society. In the light of critical literature review, it is essential to highlight its process dimension. Hence, it should be considered as the final phase of a process of cumulative disadvantage which has a variety of degrees and dimensions.

2.7 Dimensions of Social Exclusion

Different social scientists emphasize different aspects of the social exclusion and offer different listings of main components. For instance, Kronauer (1998) argues that, social exclusion is always linked with unemployment, but it can only be realized if both marginal economic position and social isolation are experienced at the same time. He stressed that this concept can only be understood by considering its multidimensionality. This means that, although unemployment seems to be a central indicator for increasing social exclusion, the following six dimensions of social exclusion must be taken into account equally:

- *Exclusion from the labour market:* describes the situation of facing external barriers to (re)enter the labour market.
- *Economic exclusion:* is referred to as poverty and includes financial dependency upon the welfare state or a socially unacceptable income and loss of ability financially support oneself or one's family.
- *Institutional exclusion:* occur from the side of the educational system, institutions dealing with poverty and unemployment.

- *Exclusion through social isolation*: describes a loss of the social network which lead to a reduction of contacts to only one specific group of people.
- *Cultural exclusion*: refers to the inability to live according to socially accepted norms and values (deviance and abnormal behaviors).
- *Spatial exclusion*: spatial concentration of persons with limited financial possibilities often coming from a similar social background and feeling of isolation due to a missing infrastructure within residential area.

Burchardt (1999) another figure in the literature identifies five dimensions of social exclusion in terms of the ‘normal activities’ in which it is important that citizens participate. These dimensions are as follows:

- Consumption activity: relates to traditional measures of poverty.
- Savings activity: includes savings, homeownership.
- Production activity: defined in terms of engaging in an economically or socially valued activity, such as paid work, education or training.
- Political activity: defined as engaging in some collective effort to improve or protect social or physical environment.,
- Social activity: defined as engaging in significant social interaction with family or friends, and identifying with a cultural group or community.

Burchardt (1999) goes on to note that an individual’s ability to participate in these activities will be affected by a range of interconnected factors including: their own personal characteristics, life histories, the characteristic of the area in which they live and the social, civic and political institutions with which they have to interact.

Percy and Smith (2000) who are other important figures in social exclusion discourse, identify five dimensions. These dimensions are:

- The economic dimension: Economic factors are taken as encompassing not only poverty defined in terms of lack of an adequate income but also exclusion from the labour market. It also includes unemployment, casualization, decreasing job security and fragile attachment to the labour market.

- The social dimension: This dimension includes: the breakdown of traditional household, homelessness, crime and disaffected youth.
- The political dimension: The main issue is individual's ability to participate in or influence decision making which affects their lives. Disengagement from socially accepting forms of political participation and distrust of formal channel of politics are major forms of political exclusion.
- The neighborhood dimension: the neighborhood dimension of social exclusion is related with social and spatial aspects. Lack of local and public services, the collapse of local support of networks, high crime rates are major aspects of neighborhood dimension.
- The spatial dimension: This lead to the area itself and characteristic of the individuals who live there defined as disadvantaged.

After summarizing major approaches and discussions of social exclusion, I would suggest a new categorization of all these theories under three major dimensions. The multidimensionality of social exclusion can be analyzed focusing on access to education and the labour market by the individuals and their capacities for social networks, hence social capital. Such a categorization will help me to analyse my findings from the youth in Altındağ more comprehensively. Below I will try to explain these three dimensions in more detail.

2.7.1 Education and Social Exclusion

Social exclusion is a process of long term non-participation in the economic, civic, and social spheres that integrate the society in which an individual lives (Burchardt, 1998). Indeed, tracing this process from source to outcome emerges as a key issue (Room, 1995), and as a result social exclusion perspectives recognize the dynamism of individuals' trajectories over time. At that point, it is not wrong to argue that education is one of the most significant and crucial stage in individual's trajectories. For this reason, education is one of the main components of my study which aims to understand social exclusion of young people living in Altındağ.

According to Rothschild (1998) education is one of the most important factors affecting the development of individuals. It has great intrinsic significance as access to education is an important right and *being* educated is an important and very valuable capability. In addition, *getting* educated is an important participatory process for individual and equal access for all to this process allows participation in, and respect by society.

Conversely, education can be a source of exclusion for children and thus carry with it the intrinsic problems this involves. This is particularly the case if, for some children, it fails to meet the standard 'development of the child's personality, talents, and mental and physical abilities to their fullest potential.' It can also be exclusionary if the *process* of education fails to promote equal participation and access. In addition, educational policies can (instrumentally) promote (or fail to stem) social exclusion as adults. This can happen through educational policies that promote social exclusion among children which then translates to social exclusion as adults, or policies that are not necessarily exclusionary but fail to prepare some disadvantaged children adequately to be well-integrated in the economic and social life of adult society (Rothschild, 1998).

This discussion should provide us with a road map to determine the extent to which education promotes or hinders social exclusion. It may be useful to split the discussion into two aspects, the first being education and social exclusion among children, and the second, education and social exclusion among adults. Social exclusion among children is, in a first instance, linked to social exclusion and economic opportunities among the family or household the children grow up in. There is a large literature now on the intergenerational transmission of poverty, and much of the literature on a social exclusion links poverty and exclusion among children to the economic and social situation of parents. The question now becomes to what extent the education system supports or hinders this type of exclusion among children. Educational policies can be exclusionary in a variety of ways. For poor children living in a poor district, the exclusion associated with their poverty can be exacerbated by the educational system that underperforms in contrast to the rest of the country. Finally, the education system can be a source of exclusion if it fails to

adequately educate a portion of its students. Students who drop out without completing a degree or diploma are therefore excluded from the intrinsic and instrumental benefits offered by successful graduation from the secondary school system (Klasen, 2001, 2003).

Furthermore, the point is if children are formally excluded from school, this can have implications that extend beyond schooling, to the capacity for these young people to participate fully in society later in life (Wright *et al.* 2000: 96). School exclusion can very easily contribute towards long-term social exclusion. Exclusion from primary school is especially worrying, as it is at this time most children learn the basics of reading, writing and social interaction. Education and socialization disrupted at this stage can be difficult to compensate for in later schooling (Hayden 1996, 1997).

After discussing social exclusion among children which have long-run effects, it is better to mention about the implications of educational exclusion among adults. Social exclusion among adults is, in a first instance, linked to low level of education and its disadvantages in the labour market. In fact, the role of education in the process of social exclusion has yet to be fully clarified. However, the dominant mode of analysis has focused on the concept of human capital. In contemporary modern societies, the human capital defined as individual skills based on abilities, education and training, an individual possesses affects the probability of participation in the economic, civic and political spheres of life (Piachaud, 2002). From this perspective education or schooling increases productivity as it equips individuals' with skills and knowledge. As productivity is reflected in earnings and rates of labour market participation, education offers an important means of social mobility, particularly for the poor (Stephen, 1998).

In similar line, Sparkes (1999) suggests that low levels of educational attainment are crucial in generating and sustaining social exclusion. However the literature is predominantly focused on the role of education in relation to production defined in terms of labour market participation. Less is known of the role education plays in relation to the other spheres. The knowledge, skills and qualifications an individual acquires during education are important facets of an individual's human capital.

Sparkes (1999) suggests that individuals who leave school with low levels of educational attainment are at a higher risk of experiencing social exclusion as adults, with those who lack basic skills at particular risk. Sparkes (1999) goes on to discuss that educational attainment is strongly related to unemployment and earnings across the developed world.

Individuals increasingly require some form of qualifications to access the modern labour market. Dolton and O'Neil (1996) and Gilborn (1996) points out that the importance of qualifications as an explanatory factor in unemployment is known to be increasing over time. Hence according to them there is a link between qualifications, labour market participation and earnings. Thus it is also probably argued that there is strong evidence that a lack of qualifications is associated with an increased risk of unemployment (Parsons, 1996).

The close links between educational attainment and participation and success in the labour market are highlighted by Percy and Smith (2000) too. For them there is a clear correlation between low levels of education and unemployment. Those with poor levels of education are also becoming increasingly vulnerable and disadvantaged as the labour market and the world of work change due to the pressure of globalization and technological developments. The skill requirements within occupations are increasing while demand for the unqualified and unskilled decreases (Percy and Smith, 2000).

The main forces behind this focus on average educational achievement and the achievements at the top end of the spectrum are the growing competitive pressures in the marketplace which place an ever-greater premium on skills, where human capital is the one critical factor enabling continuous growth of per-capita incomes. Low levels of educational attainment also impact on the earnings potential those in employment. Those with no qualifications or low-level qualifications tend to be concentrated in low-skill, low-wage occupations. In other words, levels of educational attainment have a significant impact on labour market success and earnings potential and these are both closely connected to the social exclusion agenda. Inequalities in participation and achievement in education and training have

a significant impact on future life chances. There is a clear link between low levels of educational attainment and unemployment with a consequent connection to the social exclusion Hobcraft (1998).

As discussed above, apart from the effect on childhood social exclusion, educational policies can also help promote social exclusion among adults. Much of it relates to the already discussed issues of drop-out, failure to graduate, and poor achievements of the educational system, as these outcomes have negative repercussions for social exclusion as adults. Perhaps the most telling statistic is the relation between educational outcomes and unemployment, one of the most significant forms of social exclusion as adults. In addition, lower educational attainment not only leads to lower, but also less secure employment and more frequent and longer spells of unemployment and thus generates the dynamics of detachment from the labour market that can lead to long-term social exclusion (Wilson, 1987; Moss and Tiley, 1995; Gottschalk, 1994; Walker, 1997).

In fact, the combination of lack of incomes and poor links to the labour market can have two types of compounding effects. First, poor education reduces employment probabilities and earnings if employed, so that the two effects multiply to lower earnings for people with poor education and, to the extent that low incomes can cause exclusion, compounds the risks of exclusion. Second, the two can compound through a geographic dimension. As emphasized by the debates about the social exclusion, many researchers have shown how being forced to live, for economic reasons, in the disadvantaged neighborhood can have profound exclusionary effects in terms of access to employment opportunities, access to goods and resources, access to public services, access to social networks, and access to role models (Mincy, 1994; Atkinson, 1998b).

None of these findings, seen individually, is particularly new. What the focus on social exclusion adds to the well-known individual linkages between education, earnings, neighborhood effects is a comprehensive view of how exclusion from a quality education can have *compounding* effects so that the combination of low attachment to the labour market, frequent and persistent poverty, and exclusionary

neighborhood effects deny basic citizenship rights of participation in society to those suffering from it.

It is very clear that education is one of the most crucial component of social exclusion studies because it is important both for social policy and social sciences to separate different elements of social exclusion and to identify their interrelationships: for example between educational failure and a lack of skills on the labour market. At this respect, social exclusion is an endpoint in reversible process of being placed in the margins of society. Therefore, it is also necessary to identify the factors which can cause entry or exit from this processes and to understand how the multiple and cumulative disadvantage shapes and how it is experienced and what are its consequences it is important to note that all policies to reduce childhood social exclusion will have to go beyond the education system and tackle the issues that create the disadvantages for some children in the first place. Policies that may be able to address these issues have to deal with poverty, inequality, discrimination, unemployment, access to public and social services, and the geographical concentrations of economic and social disadvantage.

2.7.2 Labour Market Participation and Social Exclusion

It can be said that the prime determinant of social exclusion is generally held to be a person's labour market integration or disintegration. At that point, the main focus regarding a specifically high risk for social exclusion could be related to labour market disintegration and its economic and social effects. This supports the thesis that work is one of the main mechanisms for an overall social integration. It might even be justified to say that in the long run having work versus not having worked provides the agenda for the integration into or exclusion from society (Alcock, 1999).

Social exclusion and the contrasting concept 'integration' are all metaphors underlying the notion of a social space with a center and a periphery. They indicate the dynamic processes of individuals or groups between these symbolic and abstract poles. In relation to the labour market, however, these metaphors are often attached

in temporal definitions. Thus, one is defined as being socially excluded from the labour market when one is of working age but out of the labour force for a certain longer period (Hammer, 1997).

In discussing the social functioning of the labour market, social exclusion concern has increasingly gone beyond the strictly temporal understanding of social exclusion. There is a growing awareness that even within the integrated position of employment, process of social exclusion might be operating. Thus, the European Commission admits that there is “a close linkage between job quality and social exclusion” (European Commission, 2001: 66). “Those employed in jobs of poor quality are also at much higher risk of becoming unemployed or of dropping out of the labour force” (European Commission, 2001: 66).

The increase in this type of insecure employment has been accompanied by increased job security. By analyzing longitudinal Labour Force Survey data for the UK, Hammer (1997) suggests that despite its temporary integrative capacity, temporary work does not provide a route into more stable employment. In another study, Gallie (1992) found that the short term temporarily employed were far more likely than were the permanently employed to report being exposed to the risk of dismissal on short notice if they failed to do a proper job. Summing up, whether one regards temporary positions as integrative or marginalizing depends on what one regards as being counterfactual to temporary employment: standard employment, unemployment, informal employment without a contract. Therefore, it is probably argued that short term temporary work has a certain degree of suspense, balancing risk of social exclusion but if it turns into a long-term form of employment it will have a risk of marginalization.

Long term unemployment is both a key characteristic and a primary economic cause of social exclusion and reducing labour market exclusion is crucial to creating a more inclusive society. There is a consensus on the idea that unemployment is one of the major factors increasing risk of social exclusion. Van Van Kooten (1999) argues that (long-term) unemployment can be regarded as a social problem because long-term unemployment could create greater inequality in society. This could result in

cumulative disadvantage for those affected. One could also argue that especially *youth* unemployment is a serious social problem being related to problematic transition from school to work and an adult life, and which could have damaging effect on the integration process of youth.

Exclusion from the labour market is clearly identified by the duration of person's non-participation in paid work. This represents their distance from employment opportunities both because of the individual factors such as low level of education and because of the rapid changes in the nature of work and the labour market. Of course, people are only excluded in this way if they seek to be included but are not able to be. Thus, clear identification of those who are excluded from the labour market is in part dependent on who is considered to be seeking work (Atkinson, 1998).

According to Steiner (1989) the causes of long-term unemployment are various causes: First, jobs may not be available in sufficient numbers to employ all those seeking work. There may be an insufficient overall demand for labour. This demand will be a function of international and national economic conditions, the competitive position of the national economy, productivity level, the rate of economic growth in the national economy. These structural changes give rise to a second cause of unemployment as changes in demand occur more rapidly than labour supply is able to respond thus generating structural unemployment. For example mismatches between the skills, job experience. The process of globalization, the rate of technologies is all leading to the development of rapidly growing skill requirements. While there is a extensive increases in the demand for higher skill level, there is also the labour demand for low level skills is weakening. Therefore, those unemployed people with low skill levels, with experiences in sectors where job losses are extensive and who live in areas of weak job growth are at serious risk of very long unemployment. Another source of unemployment is lack of information. Inadequate information on job availability leads to unemployment which increase as labour market turbulence rises with its associated weak labour market intelligence. Another reason for unemployment is that employers discriminate against certain groups in the labour market on the basis of certain personal characteristic (age, ethnic group, and

neighborhood), this leads to long-term unemployment. In addition discrimination mechanism operates through screening mechanisms which categorize the unemployed as inferior those with more recent employment experience.

Previous unemployment greatly increases the risk of later unemployment. This kind of history dependence in youth unemployment has been documented in special studies of youth unemployment (Hammer, 1997). Indeed, the relationship between low education and risk of unemployment has become stronger (OECD, 1990). Young people with a low education are more dependent on internal job training to be able to increase their skills and employability. Less investment in human capital is probably a consequence of long term unemployment. Young people career in labour market have shown a higher proportion in low-skilled, temporary and, casual works. Therefore, history dependence in unemployment is caused by structural features of labour market such as temporal or causal work contracts and high mobility between these kinds of job mostly in informal sector leading to a lower level of accumulation skills.

Summing up, unemployment and marginal labour market position threaten the overall integration of people into society. The most important vulnerability factors that contribute to an increase of the risk of social exclusion for unemployed people in the long-term are in low qualification, passivity in the labor market, a precarious financial situation, low or missing social support, and insufficient or nonexistent institutional support. Therefore, the labour market integration and disintegration play a crucial role in the study of social exclusion researches.

2.7.3 Social Capital and Social Exclusion

Social capital as a term has been used since the early twentieth century but it is widely used following the works of Bourdieu and Coleman in the late 1980s and early 1990s. Within the past several years, there has been a rapid emergence of research on social capital within the social science literature. The concept of social capital has become one of the most popular exports from sociological theory into other disciplines. In other words, the concept of social capital is broadly applied by

several disciplines. Thus the potential explanatory power of social capital in a variety of context is one of the reasons that it has generated so much interdisciplinary interest. At that point, it is very important to understand how the various forms of social capital are related to each other. It is not surprising that there are a great number of debates on how exactly to conceptualize and operationalize this concept. It is clear from social capital literature and from the general description of social capital that the conceptualization of the concept exists at different levels of analysis. As Glanville argues, this wide range of phenomena considered social capital has contributed to the conceptual confusion and makes it difficult to identify which components of social capital are essential (Glanville, 2005).

The recent interest in the concept of social capital can be traced to the early work of Pierre Bourdieu. In other words, the first systematic contemporary analysis of social capital was produced by Pierre Bourdieu, who defined the concept as “the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance or recognition” (Bourdieu, 1986, p.248). The basic definition of the concept is presented by Bourdieu in an essay on “The Forms of Capital” in 1986. Bourdieu mentions about a unitary capital which can present itself in three fundamental guises: economic, cultural, and social (Bourdieu, 1986). While accepting the primacy of economic capital in his previous work, Bourdieu tends to stress cultural capital with social capital a very distant third.

Allard (2005) and Ihlen (2005) argue that Pierre Bourdieu developed the concept of social capital in thinking about how social class and other forms of inequality are socially reproduced (Bourdieu, 1986). To Bourdieu, social capital can be viewed as a characteristic of groups, the total quantity and quality of resources attached to a network. Like other forms of capital that he identified as critical for the search of profits and maintenance of social class position, such as economic capital (money) or cultural capital (education), social capital can be used to obtain resources in with or in the absence of other forms of capital (Bourdieu, 1986). Thus the key theoretical question becomes not how different and relatively independent forms of capital interrelate but how these different appearances of capital transform themselves into

each other. For Bourdieu economic capital is at the root of all other types of capital (Bourdieu, 1986) and he is concerned with how economic capital strengthens these other forms and how forms of capital interact with wider structure to reproduce social inequalities.

Social networks are not natural given and must be constructed through investment strategies oriented to the institutionalization of group relation usable as reliable source of other benefits. For Portes (1998; 2000), Bourdieu's definition makes clear that social capital is separated into two elements: first, the social relationship itself that allows individuals to claim access to resources by their associates and second the quantity and quality of those resources.

Overall, "it is probably argued that the amount of social capital that one hold depends on (1) the size of network connections that the individual can effectively mobilize and (2) the amount and types of capital possessed by person whom he or she is related" (Bourdieu, 1986, p.249).

James Coleman's work on social capital has been particularly influential in the English-speaking world. Coleman's studies of social capital derived from his interest in two separate disciplines, sociology and economics. For Coleman (1998) social capital is significant as a way of understanding the relationship between educational achievement and social inequality. Coleman devoted his earlier writings to explore relations between social capital and human capital and the role of social capital in the creation of human capital (Coleman, 1988). Like Bourdieu, Coleman (1988: 96) offers a very broad conception of social capital:

Social capital is defined by its function. It is not a single entity but a variety of different entities with two elements in common: they all consist of some aspect of social structures and they facilitate certain actions of actors whether persons or corporate actors within that structure. Like other forms of capital is productive making possible the achievement of certain ends that in its absence would not be possible Coleman (1988: 96).

Coleman distinguishes between social capital within the family and outside the family. Social capital within the family is "the relationship between children and parents" (Coleman, 1988: 110). Social capital outside the family is found in the

community “consisting of the social relationships that exist among parents, in the closure exhibited by this structure of relations and in the parent’s relations with the institutions of the community” (Coleman, 1988: 113). By placing more in educational context where he had developed his notion of social capital, Coleman offers that “social capital is the set of resources that inhere in family relations and in community social organization and that are useful for the cognitive or social development of a child or young person” (Coleman, 1994: 300).

Coleman (1994: 103-104) also argues that “social relations constituted useful capital resources for actors through processes such as establishing obligations, expectations and trustworthiness, creating channels for information and setting norms backed by efficient sanctions”. Furthermore, Coleman (1994:306) accepted that the resources endowed by social capital might be shaped by such matters as: “the general level of trustworthiness that leads obligations to be repaid, the actual needs that person have for help, the existence of other sources of aid, the degree of affluence, cultural differences in the tendency to lend aid and ask for aid, the degree of closure of social networks, the logistics of social contacts and other factors”.

Notably, Bourdieu and Coleman agree on some fundamental aspects of social capital. First, both identify social capital as something that inhere in social relationships rather than as something that is possessed by individuals. That is the social aspect of the term. Second, both of their definitions treat it as capital in the sense that it is something that is invested whether consciously or unconsciously and as something that can be used to gain something else. In both definitions it is clear that investment in interpersonal relationships is what creates social capital (Fine, 2000).

However, while both Coleman and Bourdieu see social capital as something that can exist in collectivities, there is a crucial difference in their formulations at this point. In his discussion of social capital at the group level, Bourdieu refers to homogenous groups that have a unified set of interests. So while both consider group-level social capital, Bourdieu regards it more narrowly in terms of concerning homogenous group, Coleman does not place such restriction on which groups might possess social capital (Spencer, 2003).

Within the discussions of social capital another suggestion comes from Lin (2001) who offers four explanations as to why embedded resources in social networks enhance the outcomes of actions. For one, the flow of information is facilitated. In the usual situations, social ties located in certain strategic locations and/or hierarchical positions can provide an individual with useful information about opportunities otherwise not available. Second, these social ties may have influence on the agents who play a critical role in decisions. Third, social ties and their acknowledged relationships to the individual may be conceived by its agents as certifications of the individual's social credentials some of which reflect the individual's accessibility to resources through social networks and relations –his or her social capital. Finally, social relations are expected to reinforce identity and recognition. According to Lin, these four elements – information, influence, social credentials, and reinforcement may explain in what points social capital differs from economic and human capital (Lin, 2001: 21).

Lin (2001) argues that two perspectives can be identified to the level at which return or profit is conceived whether the profit is achieved for the group or for the individual. In one perspective, the focus is on the use of social capital by individuals –how individuals access and use resources embedded in social networks to gain returns in instrumental actions (e.g. finding better jobs). Thus at this relational level, social capital can be seen as similar to human capital in that it assumed that such investments can be made by the individual with an expected return to the individual. Nonetheless, the basic points for analysis in this perspective are (1) how individuals invest in social relations and (2) how individuals capture the embedded resources in the relations to generate a return.

Lin (2001) argues that there are two types of resources an individual can gain access to and use: personal resources and social resources. Personal resources are resources possessed by an individual and may include ownership of material as well as symbolic goods (e.g. diplomas and degrees). Social resources are resources accessed through an individual's social connections. Depending on the extensity and diversity of their social connections, individuals have differential social resources.

According to Lin (2001) the theory linking social capital to action can be understood with six propositions: The first proposition is the pivotal proposition expressing the expected return of social capital. It hypothesizes that better social capital accessed and used will tend to lead to a more successful outcome. Who then is more likely to gain better access to social capital? The five other propositions hypothesize factors leading to better access and use of social capital. The strength of position proposition argues that the social position of origin has a positive effect on accessing and using better social capital. The strength of tie proposition argues that the use of weaker social ties will have a positive effect on accessing and using social capital. The strength of position proposition reflects structural effects on instrumental action whereas the strength of tie proposition may reflect action effects. It is also hypothesized that there will be interaction effects between position, tie and location. In general, it is expected that the structural effect is stronger than the action effect.

(1) The Social Capital Proposition: The success of action is positively associated with social capital. The primary proposition of the theory states that access to and use of better social capital leads to more successful action. Thus, the first and most important proposition for the theory is: the success of action is positively associated with social capital.

(2) The Strength of Position Proposition: The better the position of origin, the more likely the actor will access and use better social capital. This proposition suggests that a structural effect on social capital: those in better social positions will have the advantage in accessing and mobilizing social ties with better resources. Position of origin refers to both ascribed and attained positions of actor. Ascribed position is a position inherited by actor usually from parents. Attained positions refer to social positions and social roles acquired by actor. Thus, the strength of position propositions argues that those in better ascribed positions will have a better chance of accessing and using social ties with better resources.

(3) The Strength of Strong Tie Proposition: The stronger the tie, the more likely that the social capital accessed will positively affects the success of expressive action.

The strength of a relationship among those with social ties reflects their degree of intensity, frequency of trustworthiness, reciprocity. The stronger the relationship, the more likely the sharing and exchange of resources. It also suggests that stronger ties based on sentiment, trust and sharing of resources support the maintenance and reinforcement of existing resources consistency with expressive action.

(4) The Strength of Weak Tie Proposition: The weaker the tie, the more likely actor will have access to better social capital for instrumental action. Granovetter (1973, 1983) was among the first to theoretically examine issues involving the strength of weaker ties. Following the homophily principle, Granovetter argues that an individual embedded in a social circle tends to have characteristics homophilous with those of the circle's other members; these similarities also extend to information. In addition, knowledge about larger social structure is homophilous among members of a social circle. If individuals need different information then they are more likely find it in different social circles than their own. To reach another social circle, actor would need to find ties that link the two circles. The ties between different social circles are bridges without the linkage; the two social circles would be independent of each other. Granovetter (1973) further argues that the tie between two individuals forming a bridge is weaker because each individual participates in a different social circle. He also states that these bridging individuals tend to be on the margin of their social circles perhaps reducing the strength of their interactions with others in their own circles. Since stronger ties can be characterized by intensity, frequency, individual's chance of gaining better information are enhanced by the weaker ties rather than stronger ones in order to find bridges to other social circles. Granovetter (1973) calls this strategy as the strength of weak ties. The hypothesis on the strength of weaker ties suggests that actor would reach either the upper end or lower end of the hierarchical structure. Therefore, weak ties allow access to wider resource heterogeneity. Thus the strength of weak ties proposition is modified as follows: the weaker the tie, the more likely actor will have access to better social capital at least in terms of resource heterogeneity and upper reachability.

(5) The Strength of Location Proposition: The closer individuals are to a bridge in a network, the better social capital they will access for instrumental action. A social

bridge can be defined as a linkage between two individual actors in a social network. It serves the important function of making possible access to resources embedded in both groups. The notion of a social bridge is explored by Lin (2001) in her theory of the structural hole defined as the separation between non redundant contacts. The concept of structural holes focuses on the lack of access between clusters while social bridge emphasizes access between clusters over the structural hole. Thus, structural holes and bridges are two ways of describing similar network features and the strategic importance of certain locations. Burt argues that the benefit of bridges over structural hole is that they control the flow of information. Thus, the closer individuals are to a bridge in a network, the better the social capital to which they will have access.

(6) The Location by Position Proposition: The strength of a location for instrumental action is contingent on the resource differential across the bridge. The benefit of a strategic location such as the bridge in a social network depends on the resources accessed. Location near a bridge may not be very useful if the bridge leads to nodes that have similar or less valued resources. Thus, the strength of a location is contingent on the resource differential across the bridge. Furthermore, access to better social capital tends to occur for an individual actor who occupies a location closer to a bridge that links the actor to those relatively higher hierarchical positions. Thus locational advantage is contingent on the resources of the accessible network.

Another perspective focuses on social capital at the group level with discussion on how certain groups develop and more or less maintain social capital as a collective asset and how such a collective asset enhances group member's life chances. Bourdieu (1986) and Coleman (1988, 1990) have discussed this perspective extensively. While recognizing the essentiality of individuals interacting and networking in developing social capital, the central interest of this perspective is to explore the elements and processes in the production and maintenance of the collective asset (Morrow, 1999).

Lin (2001:24) argues that "while two perspectives describe social capital differentially in terms of the level at which the utility or outcome can be assessed, all

scholars remain committed to the view that it is the interacting members who make the maintenance and reproduction of this social asset possible”. This consensual view puts social capital in the neo-capital theory camp. Thus, Bourdieu, Coleman and other all share the understanding that social capital consists of resources embedded in social relations and social structure which can be mobilized when an actor wishes to increase the possibility of success in a purposive action (Lin, 2001: 24).

Lin (2001) also discusses that while the concept has been applied to a wide range of actions and to both macro and micro levels of research, there is a consensus that social capital should be conceived in the social network context: as resources accessible through social ties that occupy strategic network locations. In this conceptualization, social capital can be defined as the resources embedded in social networks accessed and used by actors for actions. Thus concept has two important components: (1) it represents resources embedded in social relations rather than individuals and (2) access and use of such resources allows a parallel analysis between social capital and other forms of capital.

Two major and different theoretical positions distinguish scholars in the collective asset camp. For Bourdieu, social capital represents a process by which individuals in the dominant class by mutual recognition reinforce and reproduce a privileged group that holds various forms of capital (economic, cultural and symbolic). Thus, social capital is another way of maintaining and reproducing the dominant class. It is not wrong to argue that this theoretical position views social capital as class goods. The other position on social capital as a collective asset is represented by the works of social capital as a public good. These collective assets and features are available to all members of the group regardless of members actually promote or contribute to such resources. Because social capital is a public good, it depends on the good will of the individual members. Thus norms, trust, sanctions and other structural features become important in sustaining social capital (Fine, 2000).

A different perspective to those of Bourdieu, Coleman and Lin is by Portes (1998) who argues that the theory of social capital is framed in a set of assumptions about the macro, meso and micro structures of society. For the macrostructure, the social

capital theory begins with an image of structure which consists of a set of positions that are ranked according to certain valued resources such as class, authority, and status. It also assumes that the structure has a pyramidal shape in terms of accessibility to and control of such resources. The higher the position, the fewer the occupants and the higher the position, the better the view it has of the structure. In terms of both number of occupants and accessibility to positions, the pyramidal structure suggests advantages for positions closer to top.

A position closer to the top of the structure has greater access to and control of the valued resources not only because more valued resources are attached to that position but also because of the position's greater accessibility to positions at other rankings. Thus, an individual occupying a higher position because of its accessibility to more positions also has greater control of social capital. With such an image of the social structure and an understanding of embedded resources, it is apparent that there is a direct relationship between the level of a position in the hierarchical structure and the amount of influence it exercises on other positions for instrumental purposes as well as the amount of information it possesses about the locations of resources in the structure. The influence factor derives from the ability of higher positions to cumulate resources at a higher rate than lower positions. The information factor is associated with network relations across levels of positions. A higher position tends to have more information or a better view of the structure than a lower position. Thus it is more capable of locating the specific resources embedded in the structure (Portes, 1998).

For the meso and micro structures, on the basis of the principle of homophilous interactions, the theory assumes that social interactions are more likely to take place among individuals at similar hierarchical levels. Thus, the closer or more similar the social positions, the more likely it is that the occupants will interact with one another. The theory assumes that two primary driving forces account for most individual's actions: maintaining valued resources and gaining valued resources. The social capital theory characterizes them as expressive and instrumental actions (Portes, 1998).

Expressive actions are expected to result in interactions consistent with the principle of homophilous interaction. It is consistent with the observation that interactions tend not only to take place more often but also to be more satisfying among participants with similar socioeconomic characteristics, lifestyle and attitudes. In contrast, instrumental action may not result in interaction patterns consistent with the homophilous principle. On the basis of the heterophilous principle, the theory assumes that, to gain valued and new resources, requires access to other social positions especially those with more or better resources. Thus social capital theory distinguishes the two classes of action: instrumental actions and expressive actions. Instrumental actions are those taken for the purpose of achieving certain goals. The distinctive feature of this class of action is that means and ends are separate and distinct. Expressive actions are taken for their own sake; the actions are both means and end and are integrated and inseparable (Portes, 1998).

To sum up, in this chapter the role of education in the process of social exclusion has yet to be fully clarified. However, the dominant mode of analysis has focused on the concept of human capital. Social exclusion among adults is, in a first instance, linked to low level of education and its disadvantages in the labour market. Also it can be argued that individuals who leave school with low levels of educational attainment are at a higher risk of experiencing social exclusion as adults, with those who lack basic skills at particular risk. It can be said that the prime determinant of social exclusion is generally held to be a person's labour market integration or disintegration. Long term unemployment is both a key characteristic and a primary economic cause of social exclusion. There is a consensus on the idea that unemployment is one of the major factors increasing risk of social exclusion. Furthermore, there is a growing awareness that even within the integrated position of employment, process of social exclusion might be operating. It can be argued that there is a close linkage between job quality and social exclusion. It hypothesizes that better social capital accessed and used will tend to lead to a more successful outcome. The strength of position proposition argues that the social position of origin has a positive effect on accessing and using better social capital. The strength of tie proposition argues that the use of weaker social ties will have a positive effect on accessing and using social capital. The strength of position proposition reflects

structural effects on instrumental action whereas the strength of tie proposition may reflect action effects. It is also hypothesized that there will be interaction effects between position, tie and location.

CHAPTER 3

MIGRATION AND YOUTH IN TURKEY

3.1 Rural to Urban Migration in Turkey

One of the most visible and dramatic aspects of social change in developing countries is the rapid urbanization of cities by receiving migration. In many countries, large numbers of people have migrated from rural areas to the cities in order to find employment and other opportunities. At the same time, a whole range of community networks have developed among the migrants which have tended to link the rural areas more closely with the cities. The complexity of the social life of newly urbanized areas was great and as this urbanization process was accelerating, many of the future social, economic, political and cultural problems and conflicts took place in the cities. It was therefore very important to mention about this process in order to understand the impact of rural to urban migration on social structure in Turkey.

In relatively short period of 83 years since the founding of Turkish republic, Turkey has experienced significant social, political, economic and cultural transformation. The rapid process of social change including wide-scale industrialization and urbanization since the 1950s has resulted in a gradual transition from an agrarian society to an increasingly urban one. Since the 1950s, following economic transformations in agriculture, Turkey has experienced a period of rural to urban migration causing complex consequences. The fastest growing urban population is concentrated in the economically disadvantaged neighborhoods on the peripheries of the large metropolis like Istanbul, Ankara and Izmir that have tended to attract the largest waves of migration (Boratav, 2005).

Erman (2001) also suggests that “Turkey has witnessed the rapid urbanization of society during 1950s. Structural interventions in agriculture to integrate it into the

market resulted in a large numbers of migrations from rural to urban. Furthermore, the growing industrialization attracted many people to the cities. In the late 1940s and early 1950s, the newcomers, who were mostly young men, first built shanties in and around the city at geographically undesirable sites. Their shanties were called *gecekondu*, literally meaning built in one night. Eventually, they were joined by their families and in growing numbers by their kin and by fellow villagers who were encouraged to migrate to the city because they already had contacts there”.

Levine (1973) assumes that migration to the cities in Turkey is both a social and individual process. While the total movement of migrants is determined by economic and social factors, each migrant’s decision to move is a function of his/her motives and resources. In Turkey and in other developing countries, there are several characteristics of the emerging pattern of urbanization different than those occurred in Europe and American in the last half of nineteenth century. First, the movement to the cities by the migrants has now become more a response to rural “push” than to “pull” since the rate of industrialization has not kept rate with the numbers moving to the cities (Kıray, 1970). For many migrants, the loss of land in the villages has forced them to migrate to work in the cities, while others who never had any land, the hope of obtaining a job in the cities. Consequently, these strong push factors on a social level are manifested on an individual level. Many migrants come to the cities with the hope of returning to the villages and while some do return, the majority does but settles in the cities. Some of the migrants still have land in their villages and most maintain some contacts with their home villages (Kıray, 1970). On the edges of Ankara and other Turkish cities are clusters of squatter housing estates, *gecekondu* in which villagers from the same village are found living together, so that there is a substantial continuity for many migrants between their contacts in the villages and their associations in the cities. About 70 per cent of the population of the metropolitan areas of İstanbul, Ankara and İzmir, 34 per cent of the whole urban population of Turkey lives in gecekondu areas (Alper and Yener, 1991).

As Kalaycıoğlu and Rittersberger-Tılıç (2000) argued that first person, usually an unmarried male moved as a pioneer and then other members of the family, wider kin and village community followed. Thus it was that individual strategies and

family/kin networks of economic and social solidarity became the main source of support. Therefore, following the decision to migrate, choosing a site for house, construction, and dealing with municipal authorities for the provision of infrastructural facilities are all achieved through a complex network of mutual aid within the extended family network. In the following period, this continues when migrants seek a job, school for their children even later jobs for their young adult children (Kalaycıoğlu and Rittersberger-Tılıç, 2000). Socially, rural migrants living in the *gecekondu* areas suffered and still suffer from exclusion, segregation and discrimination. However, by developing survival strategies such as clientelism and family pooling, they have become a distinct part of the culture of the larger cities (Kalaycıoğlu and Rittersberger-Tılıç, 2000).

Migration is among the significant reasons contributing to the increase of urban population. Like many developing countries, the population of Turkey has grown enormously in the last eighty years and this has had a dramatic effect on the growth of the cities. Between 1935 and 1965, the population of the country has almost doubled (16.2 million to 31.4 million) while the size of the urban population has grown even faster. In 1935 there were 2.7 million persons in towns while by 1965 there were 9.3 million, and in the beginning of the new millennium it has reached half of the population approximately 35 million. Ankara, the capital has grown from a small city of 122.000 in 1935 to 1.6 million and to 3.7 million in 2000. Most of the migrants settle in the squatter housing estates, *gecekondu* which spring out from old center and which are starting to spread around the southern part of the city. Much of the migrant working population of Ankara is in nonproductive industries and is dependent on underemployment in government industries. Therefore, many of the migrants are between the limited economic prospects and the low standard of living in Ankara. Nonetheless, most maintain strong ties with their village, sending money to home, helping to accommodate new arrivals from their villages. These rural ties gave the migrants a distinctive position in the social structure of the cities.

3.2 Dynamics of Living in the Urban for Migrants

During 1970s and 1980s, the literature on migration and on urban growth focused on problems of integration of the new population (Karpat, 1976; Kartal, 1983). Employment was the focus of economic integration. Problems of absorption of the immigrants into the modern sector were recognized through the construct of the informal sector. More important than social integration through employment was incorporation into the urban through settlement and housing. This is a neglected dimension of the process of modernization which was never an economic phenomenon. Incorporation of the new migrants into the urban could not have occurred without their physical integration operating through the acquisition of housing; the dynamics of incorporation depended on the period in which immigrants could access land and housing. This moral economy of housing served as a background facilitating both the economic and the social dimensions of incorporating rural immigrants into the urban. The acquisition of a house meant the definition of residence and locality. It provided the potential for the mobilization of networks which were locality-based and permitted the utilization of patronage mechanisms (Granovetter, 1973).

Land appropriation and informal housing construction were “collective affairs- an informal partnership organized by entrepreneurs who received the returns (monetary reward, political allegiance) that were due to them” (Erder, 1996). Thus, the entire illegal process of land occupation and construction of house contributed to the strengthening of networks. When the migrants first arrived, it was empty spaces within in the inhabited city which were first filled with illegal squatter ‘*gecekondu*’ housing. In Ankara, most migrants settle in the illegal squatter which spring out from the old center and which are starting to spread around the southern part of the city.

Most migration was chain migration and initial networks depended on a shared reference to a common universe which is usually their place of origin (Erder, 1999). New migrants found dwellings in the neighborhoods of earlier arrivals then gradually became integrated into the community as they started building in already inhabited area. The need for collective action continued after settlement. Municipal services

were brought soon after a neighborhood evolved. In addition to political access and the struggle for collective goods, the neighborhood also served to provide an environment for the maintenance of residence-based informal economy. Work could be exchanged among neighbors and most importantly, there was an information exchange intended as entry into links with the formal economy. This accumulation of social capital within the residential space was the principal tool for survival in the hands of the new migrants.

Gecekondu settlement and the process of becoming a homeowner also offered economic returns. Most migrants managed to acquire a degree of ownership of house after illegally appropriating land and informally building a dwelling. As the geographical limits of the cities grew, urban centrality came to be redefined. Thus, illegal appropriation allowed migrants to participate the urban rent. In the process of urbanization, the plots of *gecekondu* have risen in value because of the increasing scarcity of urban land. In this situation, first-generation migrants are exchange their plots with constructors in return for two or three flats in the apartment house to be built on the plot (Kalaycıoğlu and Rittersberger-Tılıç, 2000). Earlier migrants gained higher positions in the hierarchy due to better locations both in the material terms of housing and within the established networks. The crucial element in this process which attached the migrant into a place of political and social practice which made possible material accumulation and permitted the building of networks necessary for access to the material world was the fact that housing was easily acquired (Keyder, 2005).

A formal and institutionalized welfare mechanism were lacking in the case of Turkey. In addition to economic, political and social dimension of incorporation, residential dynamics served to substitute and compensate for the lack of more formal mechanisms of social security. The new migrants who were most likely to suffer poverty and were vulnerable to risk and who did not have formal employment were not covered under any formal social assistance. In the absence formal mechanism, the welfare regime relied on kinship and neighborhood reciprocity, working through social networks. As migrants settled in newly forming neighborhoods, families were

attached into social and political networks based on a sentiment of belonging for purposes of insurance against risks (Keyder, 2005).

According to Levine (1973), the push from rural and the pull of urban areas are often distinguished in the discussion of migration. Reference to push or pull serves to emphasize the importance of a particular motive in the decision to migrate. The decision to migrate involves an assessment of alternative locations; people move to a more promising environment. The decision to migrate is a rational response to economic conditions. In the case of Turkey, it was general underemployment in agriculture that constituted the push factor. On the pull side, the growth manufacturing industries in the urban areas created improved prospects of employment. A potential migrant takes into account not only the rural-urban real income differentials but also the probability of securing urban employment to which wages, working conditions are regulated by legislation and which are covered by social security mechanism. Some migrants come with exceptional qualifications or the right connections and can secure a satisfactory income in the urban settings. However, those migrants who come without the right connections or exceptional qualifications have to settle for the less attractive opportunities and they become part of marginalized labor force. They find employment at wages below the minimum wage; they are not covered by labor legislation, they do not qualify for social security benefits, they pick up casual work as becomes available time to time. Young adults always predominated where migration in search of employment is concerned. They are usually unmarried and they frequently lack control over resources, land in particular. They are in a transitional stage and not yet committed to an adult role in the local setting. For that reason, they enjoy an advantage in the urban economy; they are more adaptable to the different demands of the urban environment and ready to accept marginal earnings in the hope of eventually securing a protected job or satisfactory self-employment.

Internal migration causing high density of population in particular regions and cities has not always brought access to economic welfare and opportunity of urban settings but also brought about inequality, polarization, economic and social problems in cities. Relatively better life expectations or reluctantancy are the major

characteristics of the developing countries migration. In other words, push factors, landless, small separation, high population rates are dominant than pull factors access to opportunities of better education, infrastructural services and employment. The main characteristic of the migrants in terms of demographic are: young, dominantly male, have quite poor socio-economic background, uneducated, low skilled and they migrated from rural to urban due to economic difficulties in the rural areas. First migration experience was mostly realized by young male separated from their families and then it turned into permanent migration. The migration of individuals whether single or separated from their family has distinct economic advantages; it optimizes labor allocation and it minimizes the cost of subsistence. Family separation has commonly taken the form of circular migration. After a period of employment, the migrant returns regularly to his wife and children for extended periods of time and he remains actively involved in the extended family and in village affairs. This strategy fails with the appearance of urban unemployment. Instead of extended stays with family there are short visits in order to take a position in competition of securing job.

Migrants in the city have to develop social ties and solidarities. Hence, as suggested in the social capital literature, there can be differences in the kinds of information available from family members versus those coming from other community members. It is also discussed that information vary but also the quality of social capital will be different. Trust distinguish social capital quality between family and community networks but community networks yield greater amounts and wider range of information (Granovetter, 1973). Migrant social capital as described in the literature is a combination of both information and trust decreasing the risks and costs of migration. Thus, family based social capital and community based social capital are distinct from each other in two ways. The family based social capital is more likely embedded in greater trust and expectations about reciprocity. The family based one is therefore more important for diminishing risk and the perception of risk. The community based one, on the other hand, is a reflection of information and more information is available within the community-based social capital.

Since the main pattern of migration is chain migration, in which the migrants make the decision to migrate after their acquaintances had migrated to cities, the migrant network mechanism provides shelter, money, psychological support until the new comers find a house and get a job. Social networks or social capital in relation to migration are commonly understood as the links between residents in a community of origin and individual living in another place or with individuals who previously migrated regardless of their current residence (Granovetter, 1973). Typically, most studies perceive migrant social network as simple counts of other people who have already migrated from a common social unit either a village or family. The social network ties are based on a common social unit. Therefore, it is not wrong to use the term migrant social network and migrant social capital interchangeably reflecting the literature about the meaning of cumulative migration experience in Turkey. Social networks shape migration in several ways. They suggest information about relative livelihood opportunities, they also increase expected benefits of migration through job search assistance and reduce initial living expenses and other costs through financial assistance and shared living space. Migrant social network frequently offer trusted and reliable information for new or potential migrants.

3.3 Youth Studies in Turkey

In Turkey it might be argued that youth studies have began in 1960s. Especially after 1968 during which youth movements reached peak in all over the world, tendency towards youth studies have gained popularity and after this date the numbers of researches, conference, and publications about youth has increased in Turkey. According to Tezcan (1997) in Turkey, sociology of youth studies do not come into being in terms of theoretical discussions but in empirical, applied field researches. In other words, in Turkey theoretical studies do not exist in terms of applications of different approaches in sociology.

In Turkish social science literature, it is common to attribute the first systematic and empirical youth study to Birsen Gökçe with *Gecekondu Gençliği*, in 1976. This study was planned for the purpose of examining youth's problems which appeared after rapid urbanization process in Turkey. In this study, Gökçe (1976) considers and

evaluates problems of the youth which appeared after urbanization process on the basis of youth's relationships with family; members of the family; social environment; friends from school and work.

Gökçe (1976) describes the main aim of the study as bringing up socio-economic situations and problems of young people who are between 14-20 years old and live in gecekondu areas in Ankara. According to Gökçe (1976), very limited number of gecekondu studies can be accepted as description of conditions of gecekondu areas. They did not focus on the social affects of urbanization movements. For this reason, Gökçe (1976) aims to add a ring to the chain of gecekondu studies and to construct a background for long term gecekondu plans and programs. According to Gökçe (1976), since Turkey is a young country, it is very important to reach information about young people, determine needs and problems and provide plans and programs which will answer youth issues in Turkey.

In this study, Gökçe (1976) is basically interested in socio-economic situations of the population living in gecekondu areas. She also deal with the population between 14 and 20 living in gecekondu areas and variables related with their socio-economic situations; education; family; personality structure; and their expectation. Furthermore, Gökçe (1976) examines current socio-cultural activities and social services in order to determine tools which enable young people to adapt into urban way of life.

In this respect, in the first part of the study, young people's educational attainments, labour market participations, their reason for working, working conditions and their incomes are examined in terms of gender differences. In the second part of the study young people's family and friendship environment and their relationship with family and friends are analysed. In the third part, nourishment, smoking, drinking alcohol and spending money habits are examined in order to clarify personal problems of young people. Fourth section is devoted to identify future expectations of young people, their attitudes towards urban way of life, free time activities and their problems.

Gökçe (1976) concludes that young people living in gecekondu areas are members of a cohort which experience a transition period in terms of both social and economical dimensions. Economic insufficiency brings about nourishment problems for young people taking part in the sample. Their education level is higher as compared with their parents. Father authority and family control disappear with the early labour market participation of children. For young people, the difference between socialization processes experienced on the basis of primary relationships and socialization processes based on secondary relationships, cause contradictions in their personality developments. Low per cent of young people have habits which increase the risk of crime and deviance. Young people want to move to developed parts of the city. Young people more tend to absorb and put into practice urban way of life as compared with their parents and this creates a tension between young people and their parents. Young people do not have a sense of free time because of that they do not spend it efficiently.

Another recent empirical study on youth is conducted by a Research Team named as Yaşama Dair, in the scope of the project called as “*Turkish Youth Speaks Up: Youth’s Opinion on Turkey’s EU Accession and Membership Process*” supported by The Turkish Social Sciences Association and European Union. The study has been realized between 2004 and 2005. In the study a questionnaire containing questions related with socio-economic, demographic and socio-cultural and political attitudes are implemented in 12 cities (İstanbul, Balıkesir, İzmir, Bursa, Ankara, Adana, Kayseri, Samsun, Trabzon, Erzurum, Maltaya and Gaziantep), in 5 different types of total 60 high schools and with a total of 4545 students.

In recent years, the relationship between Turkey and EU is one of the major issues in the country. The issue is perceived differently by the different parts of society and for this reason different attitudes and reactions come on the scene. At this respect, on the one hand which parts of the society absorb to which approaches and on the other hand the shape of perception of the process are very important. Today, the recent researches show that Turkish society supports the integration of Turkey into EU. However, besides the direction of this sign, detailed information does not exist. Today, it is also discussed that in Turkey most of the population has opposite

feelings about this complicated issue. Not delineating these opposite feelings might serve the crystallization of these discussions. In addition, this picture has to be renewed and deepened very often. Hence, this study is designed to assist this goal by showing its results. Furthermore, the study is oriented towards young people in high school level, usually being neglected. In this study, the traces and images caused by the socio-economic conditions and problems of Turkey, in young people's life and meaning worlds and their link with young people's ideas on the relationship between EU and Turkey are investigated.

In this study, the results show that 66.9 per cent of young people support the Turkey's EU Accession and Membership Process. However, most of the young people taking part in the sample say that there are many social, economic, political, and cultural barriers for Turkey in this process. 76 per cent of them say that economic problems are the most serious barrier for Turkey in this process. 45 per cent of young people also suggest that EU wants Turkey's membership because of its strategic geographic location.

Another important youth study is *Suskun Kitle 98*, which is published in 1998. Approximately, 59 per cent of Turkish population is under 35 years old. However, there is very limited information about this silent mass. For this reason, the aim of the study is reaching information about how Turkish youths see themselves, their standard of value judgments, attitudes, problems, and ideas about future by using a representative study. Especially since young people are the future and hope of the country, it is very important to know their hopes, wishes, and anxieties. Furthermore, Konrad Adenauer Foundation attempted to assist to the international comparative youth studies with "Turkish Youth 98" study. By representing the results of the study, it is also aimed to inspire to the discussions mainly focusing on the conditions of youth and aiming to provide policies for youth problems.

The study basically focuses on socio-economic and demographic characteristics of youth, their individual and social life, influential institutions in their socialization process, their world view, attitudes, values, identities, personalities, ideas about the problems of Turkey, youth and its problems, today, future and politics.

The study has been conducted between July 1998 and September 1998. The questionnaires have been implemented in 11 cities (İstanbul, Ankara, İzmir, Denizli, Trabzon, Sivas, Diyarbakır, Antalya, Edirne, Gaziantep, and Tokat) and with 2200 young people. In the study, there are two basic assumptions. First, conceptually youth is a societal category which has urban characteristic. Second, the economic, social and cultural differences between urban centers in Turkey affect young people's values and attitudes. According to research team, 11 cities are selected on the basis of 6 criteria (income, economic development speed, population growth, human development index, school number, ratio of university graduated).

In the study it is realized that young people mostly spend their free time in their homes, especially with their friends. Reading books and magazines are most common free time activities among the young people. 70 per cent of young people proposed that they are not a member of a social club and an association. Membership in sport clubs is the most common form of participation in these kinds of activities. The results of the study show that generally young people see their mother as most sensitive and teachers as the most insensitive to them. It is also observed that young people prefer to choose primary relationships based on family rather than secondary relationships in terms of trust and emotional support. In the study young people propose that older people around them do not understand their problems. Therefore, in the study it is argued that there is a communication problem between two generations. Young people mostly describe their family as supportive rather than limiting. Honesty, traditions and customs are proposed by young people taking from their family. Understanding, respect and emotional support are the main things expected from family by young people. According to young people being a good citizen and gaining skills and qualifications are the main aims in their educational careers. On the other hand, the low quality of education and structural factors such as lack of computers, labs are proposed as problems of education in Turkey. Gays and lesbians, atheist and masons are categorically excluded by young people by saying there is no a good one. In the study it is claimed that young people are secularized but their attitudes and values are shaped by morality taking references from religion and traditions and customs. However, religion is the main reference point rather than

ethnicity and political attitudes in terms of identity. It is also argued that construction of identity is between modernity and traditionalism. For this reason young people develop contradictory identities giving references to both modernism and traditions and İslam. Unemployment, terror, and education are accounted as the biggest problem by most of the young people in Turkey.

Another recent youth study is called *Gençlik Kimliği*, which is published in 2002. According to Bayhan (2002), university youth is at the top of the pyramid in terms of the education level in the society. So, it is very important to provide a research primarily focusing on university youth issue. Determining their problems will enable us to analytically understand young people who will be in an elite and manager positions in the future of the country. For this reason, determining problems, explanations and understanding processes and producing solutions are the main aim of this sociological study.

The study called “Youth Identity- Sociological Profile of University Youth” is conducted on the basis of a sample selected from University of İnönü and it is implemented by using questionnaire technique. The questionnaire consists of 110 questions. In the questionnaire, there are questions basically examining socio-demographic, economic, cultural, and psychological conditions of youth. According to Bayhan (2002) the sample consists of 3223 student which is the 23 per cent of total population of university. 57 percent of the sample consists of male and 43 per cent of it consists of female students. The study has been conducted between 2000 and 2001.

The study consists of two main parts. In the first part of the study Bayhan (2002) mainly constructs the theoretical framework. In this part, youth’s problems and category of youth are defined on the basis of sociological and social psychology. In the second part of the study, Bayhan (2002) represents the findings and his interpretations. The major findings and interpretations are analyzed on the framework of: demographic, socio-economic characteristics, family, marriage and sexuality, consumption trends, cultural interests and life style, values, attitudes, youth problems, education problems, and Turkey’s problems.

Bayhan (2002) mainly concludes that the decision processes in young people's families are in a democratic formation. Furthermore, families are democratic and sensitive towards young people. In the sample only 34 per cent of the young people have a girl or boy friend. It is also interesting that only 23 per cent of the young people approve sexual relationship before marriage. Young people mostly spend their money for basic needs such as nourishment and house renting. While 43 per cent of young people smoke, only 22 per cent of them drink alcohol. When young people's cultural and social activities are examined, it is observed that only 14 per cent of them are a member of a social club or associations. While 47 per cent of young people agree with a radical modernization, 20 per cent of them support the idea of conservatism. 75 per cent of the sample describes themselves as religious but only 4 per cent of them are fundamental religious. Unemployment and psychological problems appeared as the biggest problems of young people in the study. At this respect, 40 per cent of young people expect to find a good job and 18 per cent of them expect health in the future. For young people, unemployment, inflation and terror are the main problems of Turkey. Consequently, 48 per cent of young people are pessimistic about the future of Turkey. It is also very interesting to realize that president of republic and military are seen as the most reliable institution among young people.

Another youth study which is published in recent years is *Kuştepe Gençlik Araştırması*. A big part of Turkey's population consists of young people who are under 30 years old. In last years, young people have been mentioned with depression, suicide, crime, and drug. In this context, İstanbul Bilgi University Research Center (TESAR) attempts to understand youth as an ignored category in Turkey by focusing especially on Kuştepe Neighborhood in İstanbul. The study is based on three different methods field research (questionnaire), focus group, personal interview.

Turkish society has a young characteristic in terms of its socio-demographic characteristics. More than 60 per cent of the total population is under 35 years old. However, there are limited numbers of information about this silent category. For

this reason, Kuştepe Gençlik Araştırması 2002 which was carried out by Kazgan, is also supported by Konrad Adenauer Foundation.

According to the research team, young people are the main source for the predictions of Turkey's future in terms of society, economy, and politics. Because of that, research team aims to investigate young people living in Kuştepe/İstanbul as micro units to display the characteristics of gecekondu areas surrounding big cities. According to research team, urban/rural distinction is not enough any more to represent the distribution of Turkey's population. Center and periphery in the big city context represent the main distinction and therefore young people who grow up in these regions show different characteristics.

The main source of the study is based on a questionnaire; the questions are prepared by research team. Field research has been conducted by NFO World Group-Infratest Company, in August 2001 with 20 researchers. The sample of the study consists of 500 young people selected on the basis of random sampling. The age range of young people taking part in the sample is between 14 and 28 years old. At this respect, this study tries to represent the main characteristic of young people and then the environment which is believed to affect them and their problems which originate from this environment are examined on the basis of field research.

In the sample 37 per cent of young people proposed that they are unemployed. For young female while this ratio is 52 per cent, for male it is 23.9 per cent. The result of the study shows that 12.4 per cent of young people did not receive a formal education. Furthermore, 37.8 per cent of them can not reach informal education because of their unemployment. Most of the young people (%85.4) are a member of family and because of that they also share the same house with other members of the family. Also, more than half of them even do not have a private room. The results of the study also show that 66.2 per cent of young people are economically dependent on their family. When it is asked whether they look for a job, 54.3 per cent of young females says that they do not. It is also very interesting to realize that 78.6 per cent of young people who have low level of education still look for a job. 14.6 per cent of young people accounts that because of their dependence on their family, they can not

take part in the decision making process in the family. Only 14 per cent of people can take decisions by themselves about their life. 70 per cent of young people propose that they feel themselves as a part of Kuştepe. However for educated young people this ratio remains only 8.3 per cent. 63.3 per cent of them also want to move from Kuştepe after marriage. For young males streets and neighborhood are proposed as socialization spaces. However for young females, houses are the main socialization spaces. Health, a good job and a good family are the main expectations of young people in Kuştepe. 74 per cent of young people proposed that they could not live their youth ness.

To sum up, it can be argued that the migration literature basically focus on integration problems of first wave of migrants. There are not enough attempts to examine the experiences and problems of second or third generation migrants living in gecekondu areas. Furthermore, although Turkey remains as a young country, the youth studies in Turkey are limited and only aim to describe some of the socio-demographic characteristics of young people. At this respect, in this study I attempt to construct a more detailed and comprehensive understanding of young people living in Altındağ by using the concept of social exclusion.

CHAPTER 4

RESEARCH

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I will describe the methodology, the site of the research and the research process. I will refer to how I developed active skills of interviewing which include identifying key issues and understand the intellectual, practical, ethical implications of different ways of operationalizing them. Furthermore, I will point out the research design and key elements in the research process. In other words, I will attempt to make a detailed analysis of dimensions of social exclusion among youth in Altındağ by using a qualitative methodology.

4.2 Methodology

In this study, I decided to do my study through a qualitative approach to get the meanings that social actors themselves give to their activities. This was based on the understanding that quantitative research methods do not adequately capture these meanings since the major aim of thesis is to try to understand the dimensions of social exclusion of youth living in *Altındağ*. Therefore, in my thesis I don't have an overall aim to produce results, which are generalizable to wider contexts.

Because the thesis aimed to examine processes and issues that are complex, that are to a certain exploratory and that stress the importance of context, setting and an individual's understanding of life phenomena, the methodology adopted was qualitative (Glasne& Peshkin, 1992). In order to provide maximum opportunity for young people to have a voice and at the same time provide a structure for useful comparative purpose, I adopted semi-structured interview techniques to generate the research data.

In practice, the crucial choice whether or not to use interview is concerned with, on the one hand, gathering more superfluous information from a large number of people and, on the other hand, collecting more detailed information from a smaller number of people. I have reached the decision that, for the purposes of the thesis, the research would be better served by obtaining in-depth information about the topics from fewer informants. Also, I wish to investigate emotions, experience and feelings rather than more straightforward factual matters. The nature of emotions, experiences and feelings is such that they need to be explored rather than simply reported in a word or two.

There are five basic reasons for using semi-structured interviews to achieve the whole picture of the social exclusion of young people living in *Altındağ*. The first reason for using the semi-structured interview is that it is intended to combine structure with flexibility. In other words, the structure is sufficiently flexible to topics to be covered in the order most suited to the interviewee, to allow responses to be fully explored and allow the researcher to be responsive to relevant issues raised spontaneously by the interviewee. A second key reason is related with the idea that the interview is interactive in nature. The material is generated by the interaction between the researcher and interviewee. Thirdly, the researcher uses a range of probes and other techniques to achieve depth in answers. Semi-structured format also allows the researcher to explore fully all the factors: reasons, feelings, opinions and beliefs. Fourthly, the interview is generative in the sense that new knowledge is likely to be created. Finally, these key features together mean that qualitative interviews are almost conducted face to face (Ritchie, 2003).

I also preferred to use one to one interviews that are the most common form of semi-structured interviews. The first reason for using this type of interview is that one to one interviews are relatively easy to arrange. Another reason is related with that the opinions and views expressed throughout the interview derive from one source: the interviewee. It made it fairly easy for me to locate specific ideas with specific people. A third reason is closely linked with that one to one interview is relatively easy to control. I only had one person's ideas to grasp the interview agenda.

There are some difficulties of using semi-structured interviews in the research process. It is probably argued that the interviewer has a clear list of issues to be addressed and questions to be answered. However, with the semi-structured interview, the interviewer should be prepared to be flexible in terms of the order in which the topics are considered and perhaps more significantly to let interviewee develop ideas and speak more widely on the issues raised by the researcher. As Denscombe (2000) argues, the answers are open-ended and there is more emphasis on the interviewee elaborating points of interest in this research. During the study, sometimes it was observed that some young people had difficulties to express themselves sufficiently. To begin with, qualitative interview requires a great deal of planning. During research process, I realized that qualitative interviewing is hard and creative work. It is a much more complex and exhausting task to plan and carry out a qualitative interview than a structured questionnaire.

4.3 Sampling and Study Site

A sample of 32 young people aged 18-24 years from across Altındağ, one of the most disadvantaged districts of Ankara, was selected haphazardly. They could be characterized as 'disadvantaged', many with experience of poor school attendance, no qualifications having value in the labour market, unemployment, and all struggling to cope with the realities of barely existent Ankara youth labour market.

Within the sample, there was a 17:15 ratio of young men and to young women. In terms of the backgrounds and living arrangements of young people in the sample, it can be probably argued that all live in households with their parents and brothers and sisters. In this decision making process, I also need to take account of the feasibility of research. I ensured that it is possible to gain direct access to the interviewees and there is a good ground for believing that the essential people can be accessed. Due to limited financial resources and time, I need to ensure that the people are not distributed too widely across a large geographical area.

In regard with the focus of this study, I decided to put into practice the field research in Ankara. Due to limited financial resources and time, I need to ensure that the sample is not distributed too widely across a large geographical area. Furthermore, I have been living in Ankara for a long time so I am very familiar with Ankara and most of its peripheral areas. The interviews are made in some neighborhoods of *Altındağ* such as Doğantepe, Aktaş, Gülveren, Gülseren, Hüseyingazi, and Akdere. All of the young people interviewed were residents in the squatter areas of *Altındağ* facing significant socioeconomic problems.

Since this study is dealing with experience of social exclusion of young people, the crucial question was “In Ankara, which district is the most suitable place for this research or which district has the relevant characteristics related with social exclusion?” In order to answer this question, I analyzed the most recent statistics regarding the socio-economic pattern of all the districts of Ankara. Ankara has eight central districts in total, namely *Altındağ*, Çankaya, Etimesgut, Gölbaşı, Keçiören, Mamak, Sincan, and Yenimahalle. A comparison of the socio-economic indicators of those eight central districts provided a background to determine the most suitable district for the field research. By doing so, *Altındağ* appeared to be the most suitable place for field research hence it was selected as the main district of the research. Moreover, in regard with the nature of social exclusion, I intended to implement this research in a place where the multi-dimensional and cumulative disadvantages are experienced. By analyzing recent statistics, *Altındağ* come up the most disadvantaged district in terms of experiencing different forms of social exclusion.

According to the statistics provided by SIS, the district of *Altındağ* is the fourth among the central districts. *Altındağ* has 400.023 populations according to 2000 census of population conducted by State Institute of Statistic. Regarding statistical documents provided by State Institute of Statistic on the basis of 2000 census of population, it appeared that *Altındağ* is one of the most disadvantaged districts in Ankara. Distribution of population by age, age groups, literacy, educational level and sex for ages greater than or equal to 6 that has the second highest illiterate population size for ages greater or equal to six: In *Altındağ* there are 31.769 illiterate persons among which 7.065 of them are men and 24.704 are women.

With respect to the size of disintegration in labour market including unemployed for the last three months at least for the population of 12 or over, Altındağ has the second highest proportion of the no participation in labour market size ration. If the no participation in labour market size of male and female population in Altındağ is put side by side it is realized that the size of female not participating in labour market is more than twice of that of the male population (128,782/ 50,939).

Altındağ is also the first with respect to the population size category of 5 or more than 5 people within the same household. Another important factor in the selection process is related with young population aged between 18 and 24. With respect of the size of young population, the population of Altındağ concentrated on the age group between 15 and 24, totaling to 83.352. By regarding the sample of the research including young people between 18 and 24, Altındağ has the second highest young population after Çankaya. 14. 8 per cent of Altındağ population is aged between 18 and 24 years old.

4.4 The Research

Once I was confident of the precise focus of study and the target population, I began to develop an interview schedule. I listed the entire questions that I thought need answering in order for me to help understanding the phenomenon being studied. I stated by writing down questions, which I thought, might have a direct or indirect manner on the research. Then, I sorted through them all and eliminated any that were irrelevant. Next, I grouped together the remaining questions that were concerned with the same topic area. I checked that the range of questions which were sufficient to cover the topic area and I had my basic interview schedule.

The next step was to formulate individual questions. The types of questions used in an interview schedule tend to fall into one of two categories: closed questions and open-ended questions. I used closed questions for grasping information related with age, sex, and place of birth, family information. Essentially, open questions are

designed to encourage informant to talk freely about the particular area under discussion.

After preparing basic interview schedule, I know that there are important considerations related to wording and phrasing that need to be taken into account when designing questions. I also know that unclear questions might be inadequate in terms of quality. I tried to design questions that are clearly understandable and appropriate for the young people living in Altındağ, I also tried to avoid using complicated, technical words or phrases that can lead to confusion and affect the success of the interview. I attempted to avoid using questions drawing on concepts. I tried not to use a language that can be perceived as containing assumptions that may reinforce particular beliefs and prejudices. I was also careful not to use questions which suggest or lead interviewees towards a particular answer and questions that contain assumptions. Once I felt relatively confident about wording and phrasing of the questions, then I divided them in order to follow some level of logical sequence and cluster together those questions on the same subject matter.

The next stage was to make a pilot study to test the questions. The responses and comments I got from pilot study helped me to assess whether the questions are clear, understandable, unambiguous. This was also when I found out how long interview takes, a key factor for people deciding whether or not to take part in a study. Following this pilot study, I needed to modify some questions to correct problems that are faced in the field and I eliminated some questions which are out of work.

In interview research, paying attention to the details of access and contact before the interviewing begins is the best investment interviewers can make as they select their interviewees and prepare to begin the interviews (Irwing, 1998). When I tried to contact potential interviewees, I faced gatekeepers who control access to those people. Although there were no formal gatekeepers, there were informal ones who were widely respected and looked to for guidance when decisions about whether or not to support an effort are made. I identified informal gatekeepers to use them for seeking access to youth who respect to those persons.

Before the actual interview, I made a lot of contact visits which helped me in selecting interviewees and build a foundation for the interview relationship. A contact visit also guaranteed me that a good interviewing relationship with a particular potential interviewees. The contact visits also allowed me to become familiar with the setting in which potential interviewees live before the interview process start. Furthermore, I used contact visit to determine the best times, places, and dates to interview potential interview. I made an effort to arrange places of the interview that are convenient to the interviewees, familiar to them.

After passing through these preparation stages, it is also important to mention about the important points in interviewing process. Research on interviewing has demonstrated fairly that people respond differently depending on how they perceive the person asking the questions (Denscombe, 2000). In other words, the data is affected by the personal identity of the researcher. The impact of the researcher's personal identity will depend on who is being interviewed. Interviewees and interviewers come to that have their own preferences and prejudices and these are likely to have some impact on the chances of developing trust during an interview. The effect of the research's identity will also depend on the nature of the topic being discussed. In this point, there is not an age gap between myself and the interviewees so it is true to say that my age was an advantage for obtaining data during the research process. The social status and educational qualifications of the young people I propose to interview did not affect the interview in negative manner. During the research process, I made efforts to be polite and punctual, receptive and neutral in order to encourage the right climate for an interviewee to feel comfortable and provide answers. Besides that, I thought that in the light of the topic I propose to research, interviewing someone of the opposite sex would have an impact on female interviewee's willingness to respond. For this reason, interviews with young female interviewees were conducted by a female interviewer.

It is obvious that the quality of data is dependent on the quality of the relationship built up between the interviewer and the interviewee, and then it is crucial to know how to best to go about creating and maintaining these ties (Arksey& Knight, 1999). At that respect, I probed and prompted informant's responses in order to seek further

elaboration, clarification, specific examples and so on. I aimed to obtain complete and in-depth answers because I knew that insufficient, unclear data would not constitute adequate evidence from which to draw conclusions in the analysis stage of the research. I also routinely asked follow-up questions in order to pursue new ideas and the implications of what has just been said. The questions on the interview guide were coherent and follow an orderly. I prefer to begin the interview by posing easy-to-answer questions. These were related to the more general background details. I left especially difficult questions those that cover the more complex, abstract interest areas until the later stage of the interview. By this time, it is most likely trust has been built between me and the interviewees for them not to feel threatened about expressing themselves. There were occasions during interview when I wanted to examine a topic deeply rather than let the interview flow on the next point. In these circumstances, I sometimes repeated the question, repeated the last few words spoken by informant, asked for examples, asked for clarifications, asked for more detail information. That enabled me to check that I understood informants correctly by presenting a summary of what I thought the informant had said which the informant could then confirmed or corrected. I used such checks at strategic points during the interview as a way of concluding discussion on one aspect of the topic.

Furthermore, I have tried to minimize my impact on the outcome of the research by adopting a passive and neutral stance. I presented myself in a low profile, which is designed not to upset the interviewee. During the interview, I tried to listen and learn not to speak and to get the interviewee to open up not to put the interviewee on the defensive. One light of reasoning argues that a cold and calculating style of interviewing reinforces a gulf between the researcher and the informant and does little to help or empower the informant (Denscombe, 2000). Hence, I specifically attempted to adapt a style of interviewing which empowers or help to the young people to express themselves. During the interview, I also made an effort to adopt a non-judgmental position in relation to the topics covered. I also respected the rights of the interviewee, which means if a person simply does not wish to tell me something and knowing to back off if the discussion is beginning to cause the embarrassment or stress. This is a point of personal sensitivity and research ethics.

The data was gathered through interviews carried out from July to November 2005, using a semi-structural interview based on open ended-questions divided into a number of broad areas of enquiry including: experience of migration, experience of schooling; training and further education; opportunities and experiences of employment and unemployment; the relationship with family; the nature of social capital; social activities; hopes, fears and future aspirations. I talked to the young men in parks, Internet cafes, and coffee houses because they were the most frequently attended places by them; they would drink beer in the parks, chat in the internet cafes, and plays card games in coffee houses. All interviews were taped and transcribed, and analysis was based on thematic analysis. The female interviewer talked to young women mostly in their houses because they frequently spend their times in their homes. I reached young people with help of a friend of mine who made a field research in these areas. He also helped with me to meet with some people such as owner of coffee house and internet coffees. Those people whom I met with the help of my friend enabled me to make contact with potential interviewees.

The interviews took approximately about one hour which was the proposed and agreed length of time with my respondents. I strongly believe that for young interviewees, a shorter period is much more appropriate. During interview process, sometimes interviewees continue to talk after the interview is concluded and the tape is turned off. In these situations, I continued because the interviewees seem suddenly willing to discuss matters being avoided. The problem is that conversations are not recorded and are not normally covered in the written form. Although the material was interesting, it was ultimately impossible to use. Moreover, I attempted to get a location for the interview in which they would not be disturbed which offered privacy which had good acoustics and which was quiet. Within the interview place, I indented to set up the setting arrangements in a way that allowed comfortable interaction between interviewees and interviewer. Most of the interviews with young men were conducted in café houses and parks; on the other hand the interviews with young women were conducted mostly in their houses. Most of the time I had to do the interviews in public places such as a coffee shop or an internet café. However, such places where the noise, lack of privacy and the likelihood of the interview becoming an event for others to comment on proved that such places have difficulties

for interviewing. Also sometimes, there were frustrating moments such as interviewee's lack of enthusiasm for the process.

Audi tape-recording offers a permanent record and one that is complete in terms of the speech that occurs. However, audi tape-recording captures only speech and misses non-verbal communication and visual signals which occur during interviews. That is why I took field notes to fill in the missing points as much as possible. Under this circumstance, I needed to rely on field notes written soon after the interview or actually during the interview. An important advantage of taking field notes is that they can fill in some of the relevant information that the audio tape-recording alone misses. Field notes helped me to cover information relating to the context of the location, the climate and atmosphere under which the interview was conducted, comments on aspects of non-verbal communication as they were relevant to the interview.

The point of qualitative interviews is that people talk about their experiences in their own terms. This means that I should avoid imposing vocabulary or categories and controlling the interview through language. There were times when interviewees had some sort of local, everyday vocabulary of their own, involving slang. In this situation, I asked them to explain since it is that there could be a number of translations. Similarly, interviewees used phrases or concepts that were open to a variety of interpretations. To understand the precise meaning, I encouraged further clarifications and elaborations by asking for term to be explained more fully.

During the interview, I essentially focused on the key words and signals that would help me get interviewee's perspective and experience relating to the focus of social exclusion. By listening carefully, I could introduce new questions as unexpected topics that were opened by the interviewee. During the interview, I attempted to use non-verbal signal such as eye contact, a smile, and a nod of the head showing that I was participating, as much as possible.

From the point of view of the project research, the process of transcribing needs to be recognized as a substantial part of the method of interviewing. First of all,

transcribing the interview is very time-consuming. The process of transcription is a very valuable part of the research because it brings me close to data. Added to this, the process of transcription provided me with a form of data that is easier to analyze than an audio type.

4.5 Characteristic of Sample

Demographic and social characteristic are very crucial to define urban disadvantaged youth and to analyze the reasons and dimensions of social exclusion. According to finding, all interviewed youths are between 18-24 years old. As the birth places of youths in sample are examined, it is achieved that most of the youth were born in Ankara in disadvantaged neighborhoods called as gecekondu areas. The rest of the youths were born in villages of different cities mostly Çorum, Yozgat, Çankırı and Erzurum. Furthermore, it is also important to emphasize that the families of youths who were not born in Ankara moved to city in their first years of childhood. Therefore, it can be assumed that most of the youths take part in sample was socialized in gecekondu areas in Ankara.

Another important indicator for the study is the educational level of both youths and their parents. While giving the educational level of youths, the educational level of the family is also very important to understand their social stratification opportunities. In the light of the field work, the parents of youths in the sample are rural origin. The most of the head of households who are employed, take part in informal sector or casual works. A limited numbers of them work in low-skilled job in government institutions or retired. There is also a limited numbers of head of households who are unemployed. While 10 per cent of the house of the households is illiterate and 65 per cent is primary school graduate, 25 per cent is elementary school graduate. Besides, 30 per cent of spouses are illiterate and 60 per cent is primary school graduate and only 10 per cent is elementary school graduate. Although, educational level is quite low for both genders considering the parents of youths, it is clear that women have disadvantageous educational status.

While 32 per cent of male youths are leaving high school, 32 per cent is high school graduate, 15 per cent is elementary school graduate, 6 per cent is leaving elementary

school, and 15 per cent is primary school graduate. On the other hand, 30 per cent of female youths are high school graduate, 40 per cent is primary school graduate, 10 per cent is elementary school graduate, and 20 per cent are illiterate. In the light of the data, although the educational level of youth is higher as compared with their parents; educational level is still quite low for both genders. Furthermore, it is not wrong to argue that there is an obvious drop-out problem for male youth. Another important point is that female youth have disadvantageous educational status.

Table 4. Profile Table Of The Sample

Gender	Name	Date of Birth	Place of Birth	Education	Occupation	Neighborhood	Sosyal Güvence
Male	Murat	1982	Çorum	Secondary	Cashier	Aktaş	Yes
Male	Selim	1985	Çorum	Secondary	Waiter	Hüseyingazi	Yes
Male	Ahmet	1984	Ankara	Secondary	Unemployed	Doğantepe	No
Male	Ercan	1983	Ankara	Primary	Unemployed	Doğantepe	No
Male	Cem	1986	Yozgat	High School	Student	Hüseyingazi	No
Male	Semih	1982	Ankara	High School	Porter	Gülveren	No
Male	Vedat	1982	Ankara	Primary	Carpenter	Gülveren	No
Male	Metin	1983	Yozgat	Secondary	Unemployed	Gülseren	No
Male	Cüneyt	1988	Ankara	Secondary	Unemployed	Hüseyingazi	No
Male	Hasan	1985	Ankara	High School	Unemployed	Aktaş	No
Male	Suat	1988	Ankara	Secondary	Repair	Doğantepe	No
Male	Gürhan	1988	Yozgat	High School	Unemployed	Doğantepe	No
Male	Erhan	1987	Erzurum	Primary	Unemployed	Doğantepe	No
Female	Sevgi	1983	Çorum	High School	Student	Hüseyingazi	No
Female	Cemile	1986	Kars	Primary	Housegirl	Aktaş	No
Female	Şükriye	1988	Sinop	Primary	Housegirl	Gülseren	No
Female	Melek	1985	Ankara	Secondary	Housegirl	Akdere	No
Female	İpek	1987	Hakkari	Primary	Housegirl	Aktaş	No
Female	Gülşah	1988	Van	Primary	Housegirl	Hüseyingazi	No
Female	Melike	1987	Hakkari	Primary	Housegirl	Akdere	No
Female	Hatice	1985	Erzurum	Primary	Housegirl	Aktaş	No
Female	Didem	1985	Ankara	High School	Accountant	Gülseren	Yes
Female	Meltem	1985	Ankara	High School	Unemployed	Doğantepe	No
Female	Betül	1983	Çorum	Secondary	Unemployed	Hüseyingazi	No
Female	Sinem	1984	Çorum	Secondary	Housegirl	Hüseyingazi	No
Female	Banu	1987	Yozgat	Primary	Housegirl	Aktaş	No

CHAPTER 5

DIMENSIONS OF SOCIAL EXCLUSION AMONG YOUTH

Social exclusion is a process of long term non-participation in the economic, civic, and social spheres that integrate the society in which an individual lives (Burchardt *et al.*, 1998). It is probably argued that definition centered on a notion of ‘integration’ is accepted as a background of the study. At this respect, social exclusion is accepted as an endpoint in a reversible process of being placed in the margins of society. Therefore, it is essential to identify the factors which can cause entry or exit from these processes and to understand how the multiple and cumulative disadvantage shapes and how it is experienced and what its consequences are for young people living in *Altındağ*. For these purposes, this part of the study is devoted to clarify the points mentioned above by giving examples from data generated in the field research.

In the social exclusion literature, social exclusion appears as a term that includes various economic, social, political and cultural dimensions. The majority sees social exclusion, primarily or wholly, as a multi-dimensional process, which is closely related to its cumulative nature, and multi-temporal. By referring to these discussions different social scientists emphasize different aspects of social exclusion and offer different listings of main components. In this study, I basically determined three dimensions or components (education, labour market and social capital) of social exclusion of young people which are believed to be essential for capturing the whole picture of phenomenon in the *Altındağ* context. Furthermore, these three dimensions are examined on the basis of structural, local, and individual levels.

It has great intrinsic significance as access to education is an important right and *being* educated is an important capability. In addition, *getting* educated is an important participatory process for individuals and equal access for all to this process

allows participation in, and respect by society. It can be suggested that educational attainments are crucial in generating and sustaining social exclusion. At that respect, in the educational dimension, young people's educational attainments, the advantages and disadvantages of their educational level are examined on the basis of structural, local, and individual factors.

The experience in the beginning of their adult life that they are disadvantaged members of society in general and the lack of labour market participation in particular can influence them negatively in the long run. It is obvious that the prime determinant is generally held to be a person's labour market integration or disintegration in the social exclusion literature (Percy-Smith, 2000). Because of that, in the labour market dimension, young people's experiences in the labour market and its implications are examined again on the basis of structural, local and individual factors.

As it is discussed before, social exclusion has to be defined on the basis of specific context. Therefore, sociological interpretations of social capital may provide a useful starting point for understanding and analyzing the socially exclusion process of young people in Altındağ context. This dimension basically explores young people's subjective experiences of their neighborhoods and the nature of their social networks, the composition of their social network on the basis of structural, local and individual dimensions.

5.1 Educational Dimension

At that point, it is not wrong to argue that education is one of the most significant and crucial stage in individual's trajectories which has effects on the long-run. Furthermore, education has long been recognized as a key social institution that reinforces social inequalities as well as providing opportunities for some for social mobility (Mac Donald, 2005).

As it is discussed before financial indicators such as low income no more insufficient to see the whole picture of social exclusion defined as cumulative disadvantages:

multi-dimensional indicators are needed, directly illustrating different aspects of social exclusion. Moreover, it is important both for social policy and social sciences to separate different elements of social exclusion and to identify their interrelationships: for example between educational failure and a lack of skills in the labour market. At this respect, social exclusion is an endpoint in reversible process of being placed in the margins of society. Therefore, it is also necessary to identify the factors which can cause entry or exit from this processes and to understand how the multiple and cumulative disadvantage shapes and how it is experienced and what its consequences are. At this point, education appears to be one of the main determinants starting the exclusionary process.

For this reason, this is the first part that utilizes my research to explore the educational dimension that one set of young people growing up in *Altındağ*, a poor, disadvantaged district of Ankara. By doing so, I attempt to examine the important role of schooling in the shaping of inclusionary and exclusionary processes of them. Central to the discussion will be young people's experiences of schooling in *Altındağ* and the way that such experiences relate to the individual, local and wider realm. These accounts are central to my understanding of how early processes of exclusion and inclusion are produced and how they affect young people's future life chances.

In this part of the study, in order to understand the educational dimension of exclusionary processes of young people living in *Altındağ*, I posed questions: their level of education, their subjective account of the quality of education, experienced advantages or disadvantages because of education, and attitudes of their families towards education. By asking these questions, I aimed to understand the whole picture of their educational positions getting started the cumulative advantages /disadvantages and exclusionary processes of young people living in *Altındağ* will be discussed. This part is also devoted to explore not only to the individuals but also to the local and structural factors relevant for understanding the educational dimension.

Structural Level

In this study, it is observed that structural level is very crucial for understanding the exclusionary process of young people living in *Altındağ* from education. At that

point, it is obvious that there are among the accounts of young people there is emphasis on structural factors for explaining their educational failures. Although some interviewees described some of their teachers as unlikely to provide academic encouragement, the most hostile comments were directed towards the quality of teaching in schools situated in gecekondu areas. As Bell (2003) argues, poor neighborhoods are associated with lower quality teaching that determines unequal educational outcomes.

For example, Sevgi (23 years old, female, student) mentions about the structural disadvantages in quality of teaching that she has faced during her education by giving reference to gap between east and west part of Turkey and university exam which is organized to select students for universities in each year:

Our situation is clear. We are still trying to minimize the disadvantages that we brought from these years. We can not enter into university exam in the equal conditions. How can I compete with student who graduated from a collage? In here I mean gecekondu neighborhoods there are schools symbolically. They are completely as same as those are in east. It is like here is the schools to you, now shout up. Their insides are empty. Both teachers and pupils symbolically go to schools. In fact, if they were intimate to people, we would look for another way when we are younger.

Durumumuz belli, hala o zamandan getirdiğimiz dezavantajları kapatmaya çalışıyoruz. Eşit şekilde sınava giremiyoruz ki. Nasıl yarışayım ben bilmem ne kolejinden mezun öğrenciyle. Buralarda yani gecekondu mahallerinde sembolik olarak okul var. Tıpkı doğuda ki okullar gibi. İşte buradada okul var kesin sesinizi gibi. İçleri boş ama. Öğretmenin de öylesine geliyor öğrencide. Aslına bakarsa insanlara samimi olsalar belki bizde başka yollar arardık yaşımız küçükken.

Those who want to continue their education career by going to university give reference to structural barriers that they experienced in public schools located in Altındağ. For example Ali (19 years old, male, student) refers to structural factors in his failure in university entry exam.

I wish to go to a different high school in a different district. These places are remembered with crime, our teachers are the worst of Ankara. If a good one comes here by chance, and he or she leaves here at least one semester. My trouble is related with the quality of education. I wished to go to better schools but this is depend on this district, gecekondu districts are treated as if they are not in Ankara. In here, both going to school or not going to are problem. Sometimes I think that they intent ally put barriers for us to leave school, I sometimes give up hope.

Başka bir yerde ve başka bir lisede okumak isterdim, buraların adı çıkmış buralar suçla anılır olmuş buraya gelen öğretmen Ankara'nın en kötöleri, sürgünlüleri, iyi biri kazayla buraya düşse en fazla bir dönem dayanıp kaçıyor. En büyük sıkıntım aldığım eğitimin kalitesi diyebilirim, daha iyi okullarda okumak istedim, o da gidiyor dolaşıyor bu mahalleye

dayanıyor buralar sanki Ankara'da değilmiş gibi davranıldığı için buralarda okumak istesende dert okumak istemesende dert. Bazen okumayalım, bırakalım diye bilerek önümüze engeller koyduklarını düşünüyorum, umutsuzluğa kapılıyorum.

Another structural factor is the relationship between education and the entry into or exit from the labour market. As Sparker (1999) suggests low levels of educational attainment are crucial in generating and sustaining social exclusion. A comprehensive literature review of social exclusion and education has showed that the dominant mode of analysis of education and social exclusion has focused on the concept of human capital. In other words, the literature predominantly focused on the role of education in relation to production defined in terms of labour market participation. At this respect, it has been observed in field research that the interviewees' accounts about education focused on its relationship with human capital and the role of it in relation to labour market participation. For instance, Ercan (23 years old, male, unemployed) mentions about the close link between his low level education and his marginal position in the labour market:

If I had continued to school, my hands and feet would have been clean. I mean that I would have a regular job, my salary would have been certain, I would have social insurance, my boss would have treated me as a human, I would have defended my rights, I would not have been a slave of boss. No education, so they know that we are dependent on them. If you do not have education it means that you do not have a regular job, you change so many jobs, you can not predict one week later. In other words, if I had continued to school, my life would have been regular and more clear.

Okusaydık şimdi elimiz ayağımız tertemiz olurdu, yani düzenli bir işimiz olurdu, maaşımız belli, sigortamız olurdu, insan gibi davranırdık, hakkımızı arayabilirdik, şimdiki gibi köle olmazdık patronlara. Eğitim yok, onlara mecbur olduğumuzu biliyorlar. Eğitim olmayınca düzenli işinde olmuyor, o iş senin bu iş benim geziyorsun, bir hafta sonramı göremiyorsun. Yani okumuş olsak hayatımız daha düzenli daha belli olurdu.

Similarly, Metin (23 years old, unemployed) who left school in his first year in high school, explains the reason of his problem encountered in the labour market:

I realized how education is important after starting to work. Even you are a repairman, you need a diploma, otherwise you become a slave of people like us. There are so many people looking for a job but there is not enough numbers of work for them, employees prefer to take people who have diploma, the worst jobs remain for us who do not have education. I realized something but it is too late.

Abi ben okumanın ne kadar önemli olduğunu çalışmaya başlayınca anladım. Oto tamircisi bile olsan elinde diploman olacak, yoksa insanlara köle oluyorsun bizim gibi. İş arayan çok ama iş az, onlarda diploması olan alıyor, bizim gibi okumamışlara da en kötü, en az paralı işler kalıyor. Anlıyorsun ama geç oluyor bazı şeyleri.

Local Level

In this study another important theme, one of the most common among both male and female young interviewees is linked with the school environment. It is observed that besides structural factors affecting young people social environmental factors also play crucial roles in understanding exclusionary processes of young people living in *Altındağ*. In young people's views, being in a low-achieving school, especially being in a school environment with other students giving no meaning to school and education, resulted in their receiving education of a low quality. Besides the quality of education, Selim, (21 years old, male, waiter) mentions about the negative effects of being a student in low-achieving school in gecekondu areas and especially being in a school environment with other pupils giving no meaning to school and education.

There are so many other factors before talking about the quality of education. You registered in a school. Of course we can not be registered in private schools we can only be registered in public (state) schools. I mean you go to school around here (*Altındağ*). Before education, the environment of school, I mean friend environment... When you spend time with them, automatically you began to lose your interest, your connection because people around you don't have a goal of educational achievement. Of course it depends on person, there are those who do not enter in this environment but if you say that you want to have some friends. You have a network then you have to.

Eğitimin kalitesinden önce başka faktörler var mesela okula gidiyorsun biz tabi özel okullara falan gidemiyoruz, devlet okullarına gidebiliyoruz. Yani buraların civarında bir okula gidiyorsun. Eğitimden önce okulun çevresi yani arkadaş ortamı, o çevreye takıldığın zaman otomatik olarak okuldan soğuyorsun, bozuluyorsun çünkü çevrendekilerin okumak gibi bir derdi olmuyor. Tabi insanın biraz kendinden olacak, bulaşmayan oluyor ama biraz arkadaşım oldun, çevrem olsun diyorsan bulaşmak zorundasın.

In parallel with previous example, Hasan (21 years old, male, unemployed) talked about the meaningless of school and education among the students in public schools in gecekondu areas:

...students are from gecekondu districts. None of them think about their future. Most of them both go to school and work. They don't have aim to go to school, I was also too young and affected. I began to become like them after a point. I always thought that if I had gone to school in a different district with different friends, I would have been in university now.

... öğrenciler hep gecekondu oturanlardı, değişik değişik ortamlara giriyorlardı mesela hiçbiri geleceğini düşünmüyordu, çoğu okuyup çalışıyordu, okumayla derdi yoktu sende küçüksün etkileniyorsun, sende onlar gibi oluyorsun bir yerden sonra. Çok düşünmüşümdür farklı bir yerde, farklı arkadaşlarım olsa şimdi üniversitede olurum diye.

As I mentioned before, besides the critique of the quality of schooling encountered in *Altındağ*, interviews contain extensive discussion of the way that informal social relation between students serves to structure their experience and assessment of education. Furthermore, there is another emphasis about of the way that being a student in a neighborhood in which education has no meaning and no role model. Although being in a school environment with other pupils giving no meaning to school and education has negative affects on their educational carriers, young people also refer to negative effects of the neighborhood in terms of lack of encouragement. Gürhan (18 years old, male, unemployed) mention about the negative effects of his neighborhood on his educational career:

In gecekondü areas, nobody has aim to have an educational achievement when they go to school. Nobody expect you to achieve a high education level. There is not a role model then you begin to not to care about education because nobody warn you about the consequences of low educational level. You can only realize when it is too late. For example if I had gone to school in a different neighborhood, in a different high school, I am sure that I would have been in a different situation. You became a victim of gecekondü areas, You let yourself to the flow of water. You become a part of gecekondü area while you do not like it.

Buralarda okula gidince kimsenin okumak gibi bir derdi olmuyor, kimsede senden okumanın beklemediği için, önündede bir örnek alacağın kimse olmadığı için boş veriyorsun çünkü seni bunun sonuçları hakkında uyaracak biri yok, iş işten geçince farkına varıyorsun.. mesela başka bir semtte, başka bir lisede okusam farklı olacağına inanıyorum, buraların kurbanı oluyorsun, suyun akışına bırakıp gidiyorsun. Buraları beğenmezken buranın parçası olup çıkı veriyorsun.

As I mentioned before it may be useful to split the discussion of social exclusion into two aspects, the first being education and social exclusion among children, and the second, education and social exclusion among adults. Social exclusion among children is, in a first instance, linked to social exclusion and economic opportunities among the family or household the children grow up in. The effects coming from the neighborhood and the family and friends are considered to as social environmental factors of education. There is a large literature now on the intergenerational transmission of poverty, and much of the literature on social exclusion links poverty and exclusion among children to the economic and social situation of parents (Hobcraft, 2002). At that point, it is probably argued that early school leaving is one of the most common features among interviewees living in *Altındağ*. This point is also another dimension of local factors affecting the educational career of young people living in *Altındağ*. However, it is very crucial to emphasize the different

reasons being proposed by them. One of the basic reasons being proposed by especially male interviewees is related with poverty. Erhan (19 years old, unemployed) could not even finish his compulsory education and dropped out from primary school in his fourth year. He refers to economic hardship in his family when he explains the reason of his early school leavings:

This is a good question but its answer will be hard. It is because of poverty but this is not an excuse I mean it is really because of poverty. My father was gaining only 3-5 million, it was only enough to feed us. It was not enough for books, notebooks, and eraser. Then I said OK and I left the school and I started to collect scrap iron and metal in order to bring some money to home. Sometimes people ask that how old are you? Which class do you attend? You live in good neighborhood, you have money in your pocket, you are relaxed, you have a good life then you ask why you left the school... Do we have a life as you have?

Güzel soru ama cevabı acı olacak yokluktan ama bahane değil gerçekten yokluktan yani. Babam getiriyodu üç beş milyon oda karnımızımı doyursun, okulun defterine mi, kitabına mı, silgisine mi neyine yetsin, bizde ne yapalım dedik, çıktık okuldan, hurdayla murdayla uğraştık, üç beş kuruş para getirdik eve. Soruyolar işte kaç yaşındasın, kaçınıcı sınıfta okuyorsun diye, kardeşim sen oturmuşun bilmeme nerde, cebinde paran var, kafan rahat, çok güzel bir hayatın var, sonra neden okumadın... bizim sizin gibi hayatımız mı var değil mi kardeşim ya?

Besides the structural and local factors affecting educational attainment of young people living in *Altındağ*, individual factors are also very common especially among young males. Although young males' families supported their post-compulsory education, Suat (18 years old, male, repairman) prefers to leave school early and enter into the labour market for being more independent from family.

My father forced me to work with an electric technician in summer holidays. I gained money when I was working in there. However when I go to school, my parents only give 1 or 2 million for pocket money. When I worked, I was gaining money then I preferred to work and spend money rather than go to school. But now if you ask, I very regret to leave school. It is too late for now. But if someone stopped and told me the consequences, I am sure that I would chose to continue to go to school. In fact, my parents were happy about the situation, I was working and I did not ask for money. But I don't angry at them because we were suffering from poverty and they could not predict the consequences of my choice.

Yaz tatillerinde babam işe veriyordu elektirikçiye, orda para kazanıyorduk, okuldayken 1-2 milyon harçlık veriyorlardı evden, ordan para geliyordu çalışınca para daha tatlı geldi okula gitmektense. Ama şimdi sorsan çok pişmanım okulu bıraktığıma, artık çok geç, ama biri beni durdurmuş olsaydı, sonuçlarını anlatsaydı eminimki ayrılmazdım okuldan. Aslında ailem durumdan memnundu. Çalışıyordum, harçlık istemiyordum. Aslında onlara kızgın değilimçünkü onlarda yoksuldu, sonuçlarını göremediler.

Individual Level

In my sample, it is also true to argue that their choice to leave school and enter into labour market is related with their families and their economic problems. Besides that there is also another important point in this individual dimension which is much more closely linked with survival decision taken by young people when they do not see a future for themselves in education. However, it is very important to underline that this is only common among young males; it is not relevant for understanding different factors. In a similar line with the previous example, Ahmet (22 years old, male, unemployed) is another example which illustrates the individual factors relevant for understanding early drop-outs of young people living in *Altındağ*.

It was my choice; I had a desire to gain money and try to imitate my friends. In those years, I had friends who were working. In those years, I asked to my father for pocket money. He sometimes gave sometimes did not. It was also harder to ask for money when I get older. Because of that I thought that I gain money myself and I spend it by myself. In other words, the reason of my drop-out is profession. The profession is a golden ring. The reason for me to drop-out is getting my profession this is the best way in here. Now thank god, I have a profession.

Kendi isteğimle, para kazanalım diye heveslendik, arkadaşlara özendik, o sıralarda çalışan arkadaşlarım vardı. O zamanlar babamdan harçlık istiyordum bir gün veriyordu bir gün veremiyordu, yaşımız ilerlediği içinde zorda da geliyordu. Bende kendim kazanırım, kendim yerim diye düşündüm. Yani benim okumama sebebim meslektir. Meslek altın bileziktir, bozdur bozdur harca derler. Bizimde okumama sebebimiz bir mesleğimiz oldu. Buralarda en iyi yol budur. Şimdi Allah'a şükür elimizde bir mesleğimiz var.

Another interesting point appearing in this study is related with young people who continue their education especially in non-technical high schools until the university entry exam. For example when I asked whether there was anything that you lost because of your education, Gürhan (18 years old, male, unemployed) who failed in university exam four times and gave up trying answers:

I mean I sometimes think that entering into labour market would have been better for me rather than continue to school. I have many friends who began to work in Sitelers or other small scale workshops after primary school. Now they have their professions and qualifications, they are all master after military service. However, we remained like that only with a useless high school diploma.

Yani bazen düşünüyorum keşke okumasaydım bir işin ucundan tutsaydım diye arkadaşlarımdan var mesela ilkokuldan sonra çalışmaya başladılar Sitelerde yada sanayide. Zamanında süründüler ama şimdi ellerinde bir meslekleri var askerden sonra hepsi usta. Biz böyle elde lise diplomasıyla kaldık abi.

As parallel with previous example young people with high school graduate proposed that their level of education is not enough for participation for labour market and because of this they perceived their education as a waste of time. It is also proposed that early school leaving is a survival strategy and early school leaving would be better for them enter into labour market. For instance Selim (21 years old, male, waiter) talks about his educational career:

Now I do not have a profession. I went to school and it is too late for me to be an apprentice. If I had not gone to school, I would have been an apprentice and I would have my profession. It would be better for me to enter into labour market early.

Şimdi bir mesleğim yok mesela. Okula gittik, yaş büyüdü. Yaş büyüdüğü zaman çırak olamıyorsun. Okumasaydım çırak olarak bir yere girerdim şimdi bir mesleğim olurdu. İş hayatına çabuk atılsaydım daha iyi olurdu.

It can also be exclusionary if the *process* of education fails to promote equal participation and access. At that point, exclusion from education is much more severe for young females. Low educational attainment is very common among the young females and educational dimension of social exclusion is much more emphasized by young females as compared with young males. In this study, it was observed that gender stereotypes and parental attitudes towards and expectancies of education are major obstacle for young females for their educational attainment. While young females who continue their educational career after compulsory education, much refer to structural factors such as low quality of education, affecting their life chances, for young females who have low level or lack of education mostly propose the negative parental attitudes towards education or family poverty which prevent their educational careers. Cemile (20 years old, female) talks about this issue:

we have never talked about why they did not let me to continue to school but they were uneducated when they came here and they thought that if a girl goes to school it will be waste of time, this might be the reason. They were in trouble when they arrived first here. They were only able to support my brother's education, in fact he did not continue to school and started to work.

hiç konuşmadık neden okutmadıklarını, ben sormadım, onlarda söylemedi neden okutmadıklarını ama buraya ilk geldiklerinde daha cahilmişler işte kız okusa ne olacak gibisinden belki o yüzden okutmamışta olabilirler. Hem buraya ilk geldiklerinde çok sıkıntı çekmişiz. Ancak abimi okutcak kadar durumumuz varmış zaten oda okumadı bıraktı sonra çalışmaya başladı küçük yaşta.

Hatice (21 years old, female) also emphasized the negative parental attitudes towards education:

Because of economic problems, also education of a girl is perceived as useless effort in our regions. They send only my brothers but they left school. Now they want their grandsons to go to school but they seem unwilling about education.

durumları olmadığı için, birde bizim oralarda okusa ne olacak dedikleri için pek okutmamışlar. Abimleri yollamışlar ancak onlarda okumamış. Şimdi işte torunlar okusun falan diyordular onların da pek niyeti yok gözüküyor.

As I emphasized before the educational disadvantages are much more emphasized by young females. On the one hand, young males much more refer to their marginalized position or inability to enter into the labour market because of their low level of education or their education which does not have a value in labour market. On the other hand, for young females their disadvantages which they bring from their low level or lack of education symbolize their inability to enter into job and their dependence to their family. For instance Melike, (19 years old, female) emphasized this point as:

I mean our situation is clear, we can not do anything by our selves, if I say I will do, my brother do not let me to do, they say that I can not do by my self. Maybe I would have worked if I had gone to school. It would have been different if I had a high school diploma,. Nowadays, they ask a high school degree in a worst quality job. Cleaning is the only job that I can do but my parents did not want me to do it. If I had gone to school, I would not have stayed at home, I would have been better.

Yani durumumuz ortada, kendi başımıza bir iş yapamıyoruz, yapcaz desen abimler izin vermiyor, sen yapamazsın edemezsin diyor, belki çalışırdım okusaydım, bir lise mezunu olsam farklı olurdu, şimdi en kötü işte bile lise mezunu istiyorlar. Benim yapcağım tek iş temizlikçilik olur, onuda babamlar istemiyor. Okusaydım böyle eve kapılıp kalmazdık, daha iyi olurdu yani.

Parallel to the previous example, Şükriye, (18 years old, female) talks about the implications of her low educational attainment on her life:

As I said, I would have worked now, I would have a job, I would not have waited for husband by sitting at home, and maybe I would have got married more lately. My friends who are at the same age with me began to get married, this is the only way for them to escape from here but if I had been educated, I would have fight by myself but now I think that I can only escape from here by getting married with a good person.

İşte dediğim gibi çalışırdık, bir işimiz olurdu, şimdiki gibi evde oturup koca beklemezdik, belki daha geç yaşta evlenirdik. Benim yaşitlarımın hepsi yavaş yavaş evlenmeye başlıyorlar.

Napsın onlarda burdan çıkışı ancak evlilikte buluyorlar ama okumuş olsak buralardan kurtulmak için kendi başıma savaşırdım ama şimdi iyi biriyle evlensemde buralardan kurtulsam diyorum.

Consequently, *getting* educated is an important participatory process for the individual and equal access for all to this process allows participation in, and respect by society. Education is one of the most significant and crucial stage in individual's trajectories which has affects on the long-run times. Therefore, it is obvious that social exclusion perspective which I took position in aim to recognize the dynamism of individuals' trajectories over time. For this reason educational dimension is very important in my study to reach to the picture of young people's exclusionary processes. So, as I attempted to show by giving reference to young people's account it is also necessary to identify the factors which can cause entry or exit from this processes and to understand how the multiple and cumulative disadvantage shapes and how it is experienced and what are its consequences in the context of *Altındağ*. At this respect it appeared that the structural factors are especially referred by young people who continue their educational career after compulsory education such as low quality of schools.

The semi-skilled trajectories which means that post-compulsory school qualifications that have no career value either for not being related with labour market demands are also another important emphasize in the study which especially refer by young people who want to continue their education career with university education but can not. Their school qualifications that have no career value in labour market make them vulnerable to social exclusion. Besides the quality of education the negative effects of being a student in a school in gecekondu areas and especially being in a school environment with other students giving no meaning to school and education is another important dimension in understanding the exclusionary processes. Individual factors are also very common especially among young males living in *Altındağ*. Although young males' families supported their post-compulsory education, they prefer to leave school early and enter into labour market for being more independent from their families. However, it is also observed that those early school leavers experienced marginalized labour market positions. For young females, educational dimension is much more critical than young males because they relate their

contemporary situations to their low level educational attainments. While young males are supported by their family for their education, young females are not allowed to continue their post-compulsory education. At this point it is probably argued that for young males low educational level is a detrimental factor which shapes their marginal position in the labour market. On the other hand, for young females it is much more severe factors were negatively affecting their all future life chances and lead to family dependency. Because the education is accounted by young females as the main ways of taking part in the labour market and being independent from family.

5.2 Labour Market Dimension and Its Implications

Social exclusion is especially dramatic when it concerns young people. The experience in the beginning of their adult life that they are disadvantaged members of society in general and the lack of labour market participation in particular can influence them negatively in the long run (Weil, Wildemeersch, Jansen, 2005). It is obvious that the prime determinant is generally held to be a person's labour market integration or disintegration. According to Kieselbach (2000) risk groups of socially excluded young people can be observed as: long-term unemployed young people, unemployed school leavers, drop outs, and young people with low qualifications, marginally employed young people in economically and structurally weak regions, young unemployed criminals. At that point, it becomes obvious that the main focus regarding a specifically high risk for social exclusion among young people has been on unemployment and its economic and social effects. This supports the thesis that work is one of the main mechanisms for an overall social integration. It might even be justified to say that in the long run having work versus not having worked provides the agenda for the integration into or exclusion from society.

Vedat (19 years old, male, unemployed) talks about the importance of the labour market participation in his neighborhood:

In hear, when I walk in the street, so many people say that this guy has every trouble, he is unemployed and a thief, he smokes marihuana, uses ecstasy. If I had a regular work, if our place is clear, if I go to work at mornings and come back from our job at evenings, if I had

some money in my pocket, all of them who talking about me would have support me. In hear this is the problem of young people, if you don't work, it means that you are dangeous drug addictive. When you do not work, it means you become like that and smoke this one. The only thing for young is to work, when you work in hear, it means you are the king of hear.

Burada sokakta yürürken bak kaç kişi bana posta koyuyor, bak diyor bunda her türlü bela var diyor, işsiz bu, esrar içiyor, hap içiyor, hırsızlık yapıyor diyor. Bizimde belli bir işimiz olsa, yerimiz belli olsa, sabah işe gitsek, akşam işimizden gelsek, cebimizde üç beş kuruş paramız olsa hepsi yanımızda olur, burda gençlerin sorunu o, çalışmıyosan serserisin, esrarkeşsin. İşin olmadığı zaman sen böyle oldun şunu çektin diye. Gencin tek işi çalışmak, çalıştığın zaman buranın en kralı sensing.

Social exclusion theory argues that the principal determinants of labour market disintegration are not only related to individual deficiency but also to the structural barriers that people encounter in the labour market and the way these are reinforced by the experience of lack of labour market integration. Social exclusion and the contrasting concept integration are all metaphors underlying the notion of a social space with a center and a periphery. They indicate the dynamic processes of individuals or groups between these symbolic and abstract poles. In relation to the labour market, however, these metaphors are often attached in temporal definitions. Thus, one is defined as being socially excluded from the labour market when one is of working age but out of the labour force for a longer period (Harslof, 2003). Therefore at that point it is better to argue that labour market dimension is much more relevant for young males. Young females are at working age but out of labour market not because of structural or/and individual deficiencies but mostly because of parental factors. On the other hand, labour market dimension is much more emphasized by young males in the study. While young females' problems linked with labour market are based their inability to participate in labour market, for young males it is closely related with their marginal position in labour market and its implications in their life. For instance, Cemile (20 years old, female) says that the biggest problem in her life is related with her inability to work:

My problem is unemployment, I want to ave a job and I don't want to be dependent on my family. When you are unemployed, you don't have right to express your idea. A woman must work. The only problem is unable to work for me.

Benim en büyük sıkıntım çalışamamak, genç olarak bir işim olsun, aileme bağımlı olmamayı isterim. Çalışmayınca hiç bir söz hakkın olmuyor. Bir kadın mutlaka çalışmalı. Onun dışında bir sorunum yok tek sıkıntım çalışamamak.

On the other hand, for young males emphasize on their marginal position in labour market and unemployment and their implications in their life. For example, Murat (22 years old, male, unemployed) says that:

First one is unemployment, it is not because of I am unemployed at that moment. In here, unemployment is the biggest problem of young people. Second one is related with quality of job, we work hard but we can not take our rights, we work without social insurance, we can not see our three days later. The only problem is unable to work in a regular job.

Birincisi işsizlik, şu an işsiz olduğum için değil, burada gençlerin en büyük sıkıntısı işsizlik. İkincisi de çalışınca insan yerine konmamak, eşek gibi çalışıp hakkını alamamak, sigortasız, güvencesiz çalışmak, üç gün sonrası görememek. Onun dışında bir sıkıntımız yok, tek sıkıntımız adam gibi bir işte çalışmak.

Structural Level

Structural level referred by young people when explaining their experiences in the labour market are asked to them. One of the main structural reasons for exclusion from the labour market is derived from missing job qualifications, generally low job qualifications. The lack of access or marginal participation to the labour market implies a financial limitation which means that young people have to experience dependency on the family and because of the transition of youth to adulthood transition which is blocked and/or delayed. Furthermore, young people are in most cases completely excluded from any type of state support because of their lack of labour market participation. For young people, this means that families have to take on the responsibility to support their children economically. Although I strongly believe family support is an important buffer, this protection might also prevent the development of the young people to become an independent adult.

Why should this be the case in this study? It is related with the cumulative nature of disadvantage ending up with social exclusion. It is clear that system of adult skill formation tend to reinforce rather than to compensate for early disadvantage. Young people brought up in disadvantaged families have much higher risk of obtaining poor educational qualifications therefore restricting their opportunities in the labour market to the less skilled and less secure jobs. Once young people in the study entered low-skilled jobs they find fewer opportunities for upgrading their skills. As a result, they are suffering an accumulated disadvantaged in the labour market and

entrapped in the poor job sectors. Erhan (19 years old, male, unemployed) mentions about his experiences:

I do every job, I apply to every job that I can do. Sometimes, I check Sitelere (Sitelere is a region in Ankara in where small furniture workshops locate), sometimes I check Kızılay when someone is going to be employed. I do not have a skill because of this I search every jobs but the job that I apply is very obvious, no education, gecekondur boy, tip sakat, no skill... I do not have chance to choose. I lost it when I was born in Altındağ, when I drop out from school, when I do not try to gain a skill.

Ben her türlü işi yaparım, elimden gelecek her işe başvuruyorum. Bazen Sitelere bakıyorum, bazen Kızılay'da eleman alacak oluyorlar onlara bakıyorum. Bir mesleğimiz yok o yüzden her türlü işe bakıyoruz ama bizim bakacağımız işte malum, okumamışız, gecekondur bebesiyiz, tip sakat, meslek yok... Bizim seçme şansımız yok. Biz o şansımızı Altındağ'da doğup, okumayarak, bir meslek öğrenmeyerek kaybetmişiz.

Another important point in the structural level is closely related with low quality of jobs. A scan of the work histories of the sample shows how unemployment and employment especially in low quality of jobs were common experiences demonstrating the fluctuating and multiple economic statuses that made up these labour market positions. An important number of young females had never held a full-time job. The majority of young males who are able and willing to look for employment had found it at some point. However, this is not to underestimate the extent of unemployment. (Selim, 21 years old, male, waiter) described unemployment as an undeniable reality for gecekondur areas.

Of course I have experienced unemployment, if someone living in Ankara and especially in Altındağ which is such a gecekondur neighborhood, says that he has never experienced unemployment is impossible.

İşsiz kaldığım oldu tabii Ankara'da helede Altındağ gibi gecekondur mahallesinde oturupta işsiz kalmaması imkansızdır.

In discussing the social functioning of the labour market, social exclusion concern has increasingly gone beyond the strictly temporal understanding of social exclusion. There is a growing awareness that even within the integrated position of employment, process of social exclusion might be operating. Thus, the European Commission admits that there is "a close linkage between job quality and social exclusion" (European Commission, 2001: 66). "Those employed in jobs of poor quality are also at much higher risk of becoming unemployed or of dropping out of the labour force" (European Commission, 2001: 66). Therefore, another objective of

this part is to evaluate the process of social exclusion for young people living in *Altındağ* and being employed in temporary jobs.

The increase in this type of insecure employment has been accompanied by increased job security. By analyzing longitudinal Labour Force Survey data for the UK, Harslof suggests that “despite its temporary integrative capacity, temporary work does not provide a route into more stable employment” (Harslof, 2003). In another study, Gallie (1992) found that “the short term temporarily employed were far more likely than were the permanently employed to report being exposed to the risk of dismissal on short notice if they failed to do a proper job”.

Irregular employment can reflect social exclusion because it emphasizes both distributional and relational aspects. The concept of irregular employment involves a combination of different factors: instability, lack of protection, insecurity and social and economic vulnerability. At this respect, it is very obvious that irregularity is much more common reality in this study for young males living in *Altındağ*. Ercan (23 years old, male, unemployed) answers the question that what would have changed if you had worked in a regular work:

I would be better, besides I would have a future, now I don't have a future, I try not to sunk deeper, there is no opportunity fro me to look at the future. No insurance, it is not clear that whether tomorrow I am going to work or not, if employee says that I am not going to pay your salary, there is nothing to do for me, if I had a job accident, what am I going to do? The money that you gain is not enough; I work at least 10 hour per day. Neither my job is regular nor my life.

Daha iyi olurduk abi, onu bırak bir geleceğimiz olurdu, şimdi hiçbir geleceğimiz yok, gidiyoruz geliyoruz, daha dibe batmayalım diye çırpınıyoruz, geleceğe bakacak fırsatımız olmuyor. Sigorta da yok, yarın çalışacak mıyım belli değil, parayı vermiyorum dese yapacak birşeyin yok, bir iş kazası geçirsen napacaksın, aldığın para yeterli değil, günde en az 10 saat çalışıyorsun. İşimiz düzenli değilki hayatımız düzenli olsun.

A contextual perspective on the risks related to temporary employment is of particular importance when regarding young people. According to Coles, youth should be regarded as a time in which one experiences a series of at least three interrelated transitions. In addition to the school to work transition, he points to the family formation transition (from family of origin to family of destination) and to the transition involved in leaving home and establishing oneself independently (Coles,

1997: 70). In other words, the phase of transition process is a decisive period for the constitution of long-term life chances.

The interrelatedness pointed out by Coles (1997) is important when examining the impact of the work contract. An instability caused by the nature of one's employment position might create instability. For example, the risk of unemployment due to a irregular employment status constitutes an obstacle for transition from youth to adulthood in other words delays of adulthood. Metin (23 years old, male, unemployed) mentions about his delayed transition from adulthood:

Before military service, everything was easier, I did not feel this much pressure, I had not been aware of how the situation was so bad. Now I am looking, there is only useless secondary school diploma, there is no a job that you can trust and construct your future on it. I am 23, I want to form my family, I want to be independent. There is no difference between me and a high school boy. I am delaying everything, to a unknown date.

Askerden önce herşey daha kolaydı, bu kadar baskı hissetmiyordum, farkında değilmşim durumun ne kadar kötü olduğunun. Şimdi bakıyorum elde bir işe yaramayan bir orta okul diploması, geleceğini kuracağını, güveneceğini bir işin yok. Yaş oldu 23, kendi düzenimi, ailemi kurmak, bağımsız olmak istiyorum. Lise bebesinden ne farkımız var ki? Herşeyi bilmediğim bir zamana erteliyorum.

It is probably argued that level of education affect the impact of recurring unemployment on patterns of labour market mobility. This educational dimension is another point in the structural factors when understanding young peoples problems in labour market. However, specificities of national labour markets, educational systems and the economic context may have an impact on the role of unemployment during the transition from school to work. As I discussed before there is a consensus on two points in the literature. First, young people who have strong history of unemployment find themselves at the back of the lines in their job search. Second, young people with lower levels of education are more vulnerable to recurring unemployment. At this point, Metin (23 years old, male, unemployed) mentions about this cycle of unemployment which he relates with his low education level:

Unemployment is the biggest problem for me. It is because of low level education. Nowadays when you think that university graduates might be unemployed, it is a miracle for us who have only secondary school diploma. We can not find a regular job because of low level education. When we can not find a regular job, we bear to low quality of job which offer low paid employment, no social insurance, no security of work environment and then we give up and resign from job, after a unemployment period, we turn back to jobs which we do not like, that is all.

Benim en büyük sorunum işsizlik. O da eğitimsizliğe dayanıyor. Bu devirde üniversite mezunlarının bile işsiz kaldığını düşündüğünde bizim gibi orta okul mezunu bir adamın düzgün bir iş bulması mucizelere kalıyor. Eğitimsiz olduğumuz için düzgün bir iş bulamıyoruz, düzgün iş bulmayınca belli bir süre katlanıyorsun az paraya, sigortasız, can güvenliği olmadan çalışmaya, sonra bırakıyorsun işi, sonra bir süre işsiz gezdikten sonra mecburen yine beğenmediğimiz işlere geri dönüyoruz böyle gidip duruyor hiçbir şeyin değiştiği değişeceği yok.

Low-paid employment is another important figure in the structural factors which are relevant to explain young people problems in labour market and its consequences. Although low-employment is a structural factor, its implications are local and individual. As Gallie (2002) discusses low skill jobs or marginal labour market participations are closely linked with low-paid employment. In this study, young people's marginal positions in the labour market have affect on recurring unemployment on patterns of labour market mobility. Low-paid employment is also another reason proposed by young males for explaining their high mobility in the labour market. For instance Ercan (23 years old, male, unemployed) mentions about his the low-paid employment experiences:

All of the jobs I did offered low paid employment ofr instance Pizza Hut, its salary was not enough, I gave 5 million for going to job in every day of God, I also smoke, there was nothing to leave. I spend 150 million for transporting in a month, I worked only for social insurance and then I said I gave up and I resigned. I don not have any problem with working but I want to take my share when I work.

Abi çalıştığım bütün işlerin paraları azdı mesela Pizza Hut, parası azdı, ben oraya gitmek için 5 milyon yol parası veriyordum Allah'ın hergünü, sigaran var, hiçbirşey kalmıyordu yani. Ayda yol parası 150 milyon, sırf sigorta için çalışıyordum, bıktım dedim çalışmıyorum. Çalışmaktan yana sıkıntımız yok ama insan çalıştığının da hakkını almak istiyor.

Vedat (24 years old, male, carpenter) also complaints about his low-paid employment because of his insecure job conditions:

I gain 100 million for a week, it is not enough as compared with the job I do but there is nothing to do, the system functions like that. I show patience until to open my own workshop. I mean it is not enough as thought the risk and hardness of the job. Already when I reduce the cost of transport, lunch, and cigarette, there is nothing to leave.

Ben haftalık 100 milyon alıyorum, yaptığım işe göre az ama yapacak bir şey yok, düzen böyle işliyor Siteler'de, dişlilerin arasına sokacak sadece elimiz var onuda koparıp atar bu dişliler, bizde kendi yerimizi açana kadar sabrediyoruz, yani işin riskine göre, ağırlığına göre para az, zaten yol parası, yemek ve sigara parasını çıkarınca hiçbirşey kalmıyor.

High horizontal mobility in labour market is another important point which is observed in the study. It is not wrong to argue that it is much more linked with structural factors concerning young people marginalized position in labour market. At that point, I strongly emphasize that although unemployment is a reality for young people especially for males, the length of the period of unemployment is mostly short. It is probably related with their marginal positions in labour market as a consequences of low education level and low or non skills. The mobility from one low quality of job to another one is very common feature of their labour market careers. Previous unemployment greatly increase the risk of later unemployment (Hammer, 1993). Young people living in Altındağ have shown an higher proportion in low-skilled, temporary and, casual works in labour market. Therefore, history dependence in unemployment is caused by structural features of labour market such as temporal or causal work contracts and high mobility between these kind of job mostly in informal sector leading to a lower level of accumulation skills. At this point, Ahmet (22 years old, male, unemployed) has turned back from military service and he has been unemploed about one year, talks about his high mobility in labour market:

There is no job that I did not work. I started to work in auto- repair service in 1998 then I quite form there and I worked in Hacібaba baklava saloon in Necatibey (one of the main street in Ankara) as a aprentience and then I worked in permacy, I also worked in auto kaportacı and I worked in restaurant, in supermarket, cargo company.

Benim çalışmadığım iş kalmadı. Oto tamircisinde başladım. 1998 de ordan çıktım daha sonra Hacібaba baklavacısı var Necatibey'de orda çiraklık yaptım. Daha sonra eczanede çalıştım, araba kaportacısına girdim, lokantaya girdim, süpermarkette çalıştım, kargo şirketinde çalıştım.

Local Level

After mentioning about the structural level there is also local level which are relevant for understanding the whole picture of young people labour market problems. Interviewees' job search repertories consist of informal strategies. When asked about how they had accessed a particular job, the typical response described the role of personal networks for information, advice and recommendation. Parents, extended family, neighbors and friends were obviously mentioned as the key players that had helped them a particular job. In other words, being tied into locally embedded, informal social networks appeared crucial to job search for these young people in the

sample. As Meltem (21 years old, female, unemployed) says that “it’s not what you know, it is the people you know these days”.

I am searching newspaper announcements and also friend’s network; my friends whom I know from my past job experiences inform me that there is a job in there... I mean I search like this. In fact it is not what you know but it is the people you know these days anymore.

Gazete ilanlarına bakıyorum bir de arkadaş çevresi, daha önce çalıştığım yerlerde ki arkadaşlar haber veriyor şurada böyle bir iş var diye. Öyle bakıyorum yani. Aslında artık ne bildiğin değil kimi tanıdığın daha önemli bu günlerde.

Metin (23 years old, male, unemployed) aslo says that

I searched a job from nespapers but it does not make sense to search a job from nespaper. All jobs are either for university graduateds or non-skills persons, I mean that there is no suitable work for us. Therefore, I mostly use my networks, I tell my friends and relatives. At the end, someone calls and says that there is a work in there then we go and fill application forms. Mostly I use my networks for searching jobs.

Gazeteden çok iş aradık, gazeteden iş aramak artık mantıklı gelmiyor, bütün işer ya üniversite mezunları için yada vasıfsız kişiler için. Bize hitap eden işler yok yani. Daha çok çevremizi kullanıyoruz, arkadaşlara falan söylüyoruz, akrabalarımıza söylüyoruz. Sonuçta biri arıyor falanca yerde adam alınacak gidiyoruz form dolduruyoruz. Daha çok çevremizi kullanıyoruz iş bakımından.

Individual Level

During the study, it is also observed that young people’s marginalized labour market position have implications on individual levels. According to Hammer and Julkunen (2003) how people experience job satisfaction depends on the availability of financial resources which make it possible to stabilize and maintain an established lifestyle, extend social relations and which are a prerequisite for taking part in social activities. Therefore financial resources mostly achieved by labour market participation among the young people in the sample promote a feeling of control over their life and increase independence. As I discussed in education dimension most of young males left school and enter into labour market because of gaining money and increase their independency. As Bauman (1998) argues consumption in contemporary society has become an integrating force. It has a central role in the construction of identity. In the past, labour market was the only source offering the young a form of identity. At that point Bauman suggests that leisure and consumption have become the only arenas in which the young can realize their identities. For younger generation growing up in a new kind of consumer culture, having access to consumption means that you are able to participate in youth cultures

(Furlong and Cartmel, 1997). Ercan (23 years old, male, unemployed) provides a good example by saying that:

No, it does not satisfy me, I have 10 millions for expenditure in each day, that means I have 70 millions for expenditure in each week. Only 60 millions remain, I give 50 million of it to my parents, in other words it is only enough for surviving, it is not enough for social activities.

Yok abi tatmin etmiyor, benim günlük 10 milyondan haftada 70 milyon masrafım var geriye ne kalıyor 60 milyon para kalıyor bunun 50'sini eve veriyorum anlayacağın ancak hayatta kalmaya yattıyor para öyle gezmeye dolaşmaya falan paramız kalmıyor yani.

Long-working hours are also another important point which has to be emphasized. It has implications on individual levels especially related with lack of socialization. The negative effect of irregular employment of young people living in Altındağ is related with long working hours in their jobs. According to young people especially young males, they do not have time to spend in social activities because of long working hours. For instance Selim (21 years old, male, waiter) says that:

reduce 12 hours from a day consisting of 24 hours because of working hours, I do not have opportunity to live in the city center because of that I spend 2 hours for transportation, so only 10 hours remain, in these hours what you gone do, will you sleep, do a social activity, meet with friends. No times remain for anything, in this way I get tired mentally.

zaten gün 24 saat bunun 12 saatini işten dolayı çıkarıyorsun oturduğun yerde çalışma imkanının olmadığı için merkezi bir yerde çalışıyorsun gidip gelmen 2 saat. Çıkırıyorsun geriye kalıyor 10 saat ondada uyuyacakmısın, her hangi bir sosyal faaliyete mi katılacaksın, arkadaşınla mı görüşeceksin? Hiçbir şeye zaman kalmıyor böyle olunca zihnende yoruluyorsun.

Another reason for unemployment or high mobility in labour market is that employers discriminate againsts certain groups in the labour market on the basis of certain personal characteristics (age, ethnic group, neighborhood). Negative symbolic capital related to the simple fact of being young in gecekondu area could also be seen in young people's account of their high mobility in the labour market. Erhan (19 years old, male, unemployed) talks about his experience related with this negative symbolic capital:

The man firstful asks where do you come from, when I say Doğanstepe, you do not have chances in his mind. Also he looks at my outlooks, it is off-side, the next day another boy comes, he has an appropriate outlook, they think that people come when they see him, why my outlooks is not appropriate... gecekondu boy, he works us for two days then he fires us.

Why because I have an bad fame, why because your only mistake is living in gecekondu districts.

Adam ilk önce soruyor nerelisin diye Dođantepe deyince zaten kafada bitiriyor seni. Ne bileyim tipine bakıyorlar kayık. Başka bir çocuk geliyor ertesi gün eli yüzü düzgün, onu gören gelir hesabı, bizim eşgal bozuk ya... gecekondu bebesi, serseri hesabı iki gün çalıştırıyor sallıyor sonra. Neden adın çıkmış serseriye, hırsıza neden çünkü tek hatan gecekonduda oturmak.

Since youth are heterogeneous not all of them have similar experiences especially gender factors lays an important role in this. However, as I discussed before, the demand for the labour market participation is very low for young females living in Altındağ. Young females' labour market disintegration is closely related with parental attitudes towards jobs. Young females are not allowed to work and this lead to dependence to their families. Melike (19 years old, female) mentions about this situation:

Our situation is clear, we can not do anything by our selves, if you say I will, my brothers do not let me to do, they say to me that I can not do by myself. Maybe if I had well educated, I would have worked now, if I had a high school diploma, everything would has been different. Nowadays, employees ask high school diploma even for the worst jobs. Cleaning is the only job that I can do but my parents do not want me to do it. If I had well educated, I would not have stayed at home, everything would has been different.

Ya durumumuz ortada, kendi başımıza bir iş yapamıyoruz, yapıcım desen abimler izin vermiyor, sen yapamazsın, edemezsin diyor, belki çalışırdım okusaydım, bir lise mezunu olsam farklı olurdu, şimdi en kötü işte bile lise mezunu istiyorlar. Benim yapabileceğim tek iş temizlikçilik olur, onuda babamlar istemiyor. Okusaydım böyle eve kapılıp kalmazdık, daha iyi olurdu yani.

Other individual factor related with young people living in Altındağ is related with their working identity and the meaning of work for them. At that point, Weil, Wildemeersch, Jansen (2005) summarizes two working identities: tenacious working identity and instant satisfaction working identity. According to Weil, Wildemeersch, Jansen (2005) in tenacious working identity, work is a human need. Work itself is important not because of the character of a specific job but because of the social value individual attaches to work. To have a job signifies that one is needed, valued and has a role in contributing to the benefits of society. The understanding and interpretation of work are closely linked to the mentality and attitude of the modern wage earner in traditional industrial society. In this context, the value of work can be understood as part of a broader configuration of basic values and arrangements centering on a gender-based division of labour. The majority of those who can be put

into this working-identity were young males. They associated traditional life aspirations like getting married and having children with their ability to earn a regular income by gaining access to the labour market. They perceived their participation in the labour market as a necessary first step to their desired status of becoming an employed family man. When they answer to the question ‘What does work mean to you’ they often use expression like “going to work” and “getting wages”. Selim (23 years old, male, waiter) is a good example to suggest this point:

When you turn back from military service, work environment is not as same as I left, also you are older and every words telling you are harder for you, I can not go to every job. Anymore when I start to work in a new job, I should have some responsibilities. Let me say my current responsibilities. I am going to get married, I started to think my future more oftenly, I started to think about the next generation after me because of these I look at everything related with job and I investigate each details of it. For example when they say that they do not provide social insurance, I won't work, when they offer low-paid employment I say it is not enough for me or if I work for this salary, I won't work for it at the future.

Ordan dönünce her şey değişiyor tabi, iş ortamı bıraktığın gibi durmuyor, bir de yaşın ilerlemiş oluyor söylenen herşey daha bir zoruna gidiyor, her işe gidemiyorsun. Artık bir işe girerken bazı sorumlulukların olmak zorunda. Şimdiki sorumluluklarımı söyleyeyim. Evlenicem ileride, geleceğini daha fazla düşünmeye başlıyorsun, senden sonrakilerin geleceğini düşünmeye çalışıyorsun onun için herşeyiyle bakıyorsun işe, en ufak ayrıntısına kadar inceliyorsun. Mesela sigorta yapmıyorum deyince yok çalışmıyorum veya şu maaşı veriyorum deyince yok o maaş beni idare etmez, bugün çalışırsam o maaşa sonra çalışmam gibi düşünüyorsun.

For Weil, Wildemeersch, Jansen (2005) in instant satisfaction working identity, individuals show a more fragmented and less commitment to the values of education and work. This type of working identity in relation to labour market was driven more by the survival rather than choice. It is very common among especially low skilled young male who have a low level educational attainment. Some of the young people in this research also noticed how in this way feeling isolation and marginalization and they expressed the fear that it would contribute to a further disintegration. From the perspective of this working-identity, work is not the road to earn the money that is needed for the family formation and social status. Instead, work is an instrument to earn money that enables them short-term consumption. Gürhan (18 years old, male, unemployed) provides a good example for this discussion:

For being more comfortable, when a person works, he is relax from both financially and mentally, he becomes free from what people say, he becomes independent. A young man

works and he spends it. Working means something like that for me. I eat for working, I work for eating. I mean there is not another logic for this.

Daha rahat olabilmek için, çalıştığı zaman insan hem parasal yönden hemde kafa olarak rahat eder, millet ne der derdinden kurtulur, kimseye muhtaç olmaz , genç adam çalışır, çalıştığını da yer. Benim için çalışmak böyle bir şeydir. Çalışmak için yerim, yemek için çalışırım. Yani bunun başka bir mantığı yoktur.

As it is appeared above, in this study there are basically two major age groups who have different work identities. For young males who finished their military service tend to accept tenacious working identity. For them work itself is important not because of the character of a specific job but because of the social value individual attaches to work. To have a job signifies that one is needed, valued and has a role in contributing to the benefits of society. However, for those who do not finish their military service mostly tend to accept instant satisfaction working identity. They show a more fragmented and less commitment to the values of education and work. Their working identity in relation to labour market was driven more by the survival rather than choice. It is very common among especially low skilled young male who have a low level educational attainment.

The dream of being self-employed is common among the young males. It symbolizes high income, independence, and prestige and only way to escape from their contemporary situations. It is presented by young male as the only way escaping from poverty, uncertainty and even from gecekondu area because of their low education level and low-skills. However the gap between their inner logic and the outer logics of the world of education and labour market appears impossible to bridge. Consequently, young people were most strongly at risk of being excluded and marginalized. Semih (24 years old, male, worker) mentions about his plan to be self-employed:

Now I have an ideal, maybe it is not ideal but the only thing that I can do or only way for escaping from here, it is being self employment. I can say that it is our single hope. It is the single way of escaping from poverty, pessimism, futureslessness. As I said I felt myself as being put in a prison. The only exit from this prison is self employment.

Şimdi benim bir idealim var. İdeal de değil de yapabileceğimiz tek bir şey yada çıkış yolu var kendi işyerimi çıkmak yoksa el işyle bir yere gelinmiyor. Tek umudumuz diyebilirim. Buralardan, bu fakirlikten, geleceksizlikten, karamsarlıktan kurtulmanın tek yolu. Dediğim gibi kendimi buralara hapsedilmiş hissediyorum. Bu hapisneden çıkışın tek yolu kendi iş yerimizi açmak.

Consequently, the vulnerable, marginalized positions in labour market determine the risk of social exclusion. In this study, low qualification jobs are to be found in the service sector where there is less call for qualifications. The family functions as waiting hall for young people until they can enter the labour market for young males living in Altındağ.

A substantial number of young people whom I interviewed in this research were perceived as a hardcore of long-term unemployment, low qualified young people. Many of them especially males not only shared the experience of being unemployed but also a common background of serious social and personal problems such as uncertain living conditions, low education level, discrimination, criminal records, multiple addictions. In certain ways as I tried to explore in this study, different factors such as early school leaving, poverty, school drop-out, low level skills, and patriarchal family formation can block their access to participating in the labour market in complex ways. Yet these young people can not be seen as a homogenous group. Jobs, employment, unemployment, quality of job have different meanings for them depending on their social, cultural, and family context. Most of them were desperate to find a job which will fulfill their personal interests and goals.

In this study, I find in addition to general trends towards misleading trajectories among young people living in *Altındağ*. A final point for analysis is the distinction three types of school to work trajectories that differ in status, qualification level and degree of precariousness:

- *unskilled trajectories* (labour market entry directly after compulsory school or after dropping out)
- *semi-skilled trajectories* (post-compulsory school qualifications that have no career value either for not being related with labour market demands)
- *skilled trajectories* (qualification from post-compulsory education (especially in technical high school) or vocational training routes corresponding to relevant skilled occupational sectors in labour market)

In terms of overall trend, it is probably unskilled and semi-skilled trajectories are more common than skilled trajectories in the sample. Misleading trajectories are most likely in unskilled trajectories although semi-skilled trajectories have potential of great risk of unemployment and social exclusion as well. However, it is also important to emphasize those early school leavers who follow an informal vocational training route as an apprentice does not provide well-paid, high status and protected occupational positions in the sample.

The central social science orientation for enhancing social inclusion is currently that of increasing the employment rate. The view that increasing the labour market participation is the key to social inclusion is not only based on the fact that a job provides regular income but also it is a source of skill development and motivation. It provides opportunities for personal self-development through enabling people to use their initiative (Gallie, 2002). Yet this can be at best a very partial solution. As it is observed in this study, the degree to which employment offers opportunities for social participation and integration depends on the quality of jobs. Irregularities in the nature of employment of young people in the sample are highlighting risk of labour market marginalization as a result of skill polarization and intensification of work. A considerable number of jobs such as low-skilled or non-skilled job do not have the integrative characteristics of employment for young people living in Altındağ. A considerable number of jobs which young people work in the sample do not provide such opportunities. Indeed, they often do not provide regular income or security of job that would support full involvement in the life of society. The young people occupy such jobs, proposed that they have a very restricted form of participation and limited opportunities for escaping from this position. In this context, it might be probably argued that discussed low-skilled employment does not only provide limited life opportunities but it enhances the risk of labour market marginalization for young people taking part in the sample.

In this study, another crucial structural factor that restricts opportunities for social participation is job insecurity. Again, it was particularly those in less skilled occupational positions who suffer most from job insecurity. It is obvious in this study that poor quality of work is harmful not only for people's capacity for self-

development through work but also for the quality of non-work activities. Thus it is clear that low quality of work does not provide social integration but rather a restricted form of social participation for young people living in Altındağ.

The lack of employment and marginalized positions (long working hours, low-paid employment) in labour market leads to severe cuts in living standards. At the same time it makes it more difficult for people to participate in social activities. Lack of resources, combined with the stigmatic effect of unemployment might lead to a fracturing of people's social ties especially with other part of the city and growing social isolation. Lack of money is likely to make it difficult for young people to maintain previous patterns of sociability with friends in the community, given the importance of exchange in the maintenance of social relationship in this study.

It is observed in this study that disintegration in the labour market is much more emphasized by young females whereas for young males, marginalized position in the labour market is more crucial. It is obvious that both for young males and females living in Altındağ, labour market participations is a one of the major problem which have various implication on their contemporary situation such as lack of social activity and family dependence or on their future chance such as family formation. However, as Krounuer (1998) discussed, social exclusion is always linked with lack of labour market integration but there is a need to be defined with other dimensions as well. At this point, it is probably argued that labour market dimension is very important to understand the cumulative advantage/ disadvantage of young people living in Altındağ.

5.3 Social Capital and Implications for Social Exclusion

The term 'social capital' has gained popularity because it has been applied in a diverse range of situations and interpreted from a range of ideological positions. However, the diversity of usage does not imply a consensus about what social capital is. Despite the under-theorized nature of social capital, I strongly believe that the concept may provide a useful dimension for understanding the whole picture of the exclusionary process of young people living in Altındağ. Because, social capital is

useful as a tool for exploring social processes and practices around young people's experiences of their environments and in doing so, it has highlighted young people's social resources or lack of them.

Furstenberg (1998) makes the point that social capital is a sociological construct, and not an economic or psychological one in that social capital is not reducible to the individual, as it only operates at a shared, collective level. Furthermore, social exclusion and social capital are by no means mutually exclusive. Indeed many social capital indicators are also used in multidimensional measures of social exclusion. However, the greater utility of the notion of social capital lies in its flexibility and the consequent means that it gives to explain the negative consequences of certain social relationships. Not all social networks are equally useful in promoting the interests of individuals or indeed, the group. Therefore, sociological interpretations of social capital may provide a useful starting point for understanding and analyzing the socially exclusion process of young people living in Altındağ.

Portes (1998:2) provides a general definition of social capital, states that the general consensus is growing in the literature that social capital stands for the ability of actors to secure benefits by virtue of membership in social networks or other social structures. Whereas economic capital is in peoples' bank accounts and human capital is inside their heads, social capital inheres in the structure of their relationships. To possess social capital, a person must be related to others, and it is those others, not himself/herself, who are the actual source of his or her advantage (Portes 1998).

After all, in terms of a neighborhood or local area, individuals may be socially cohesive in the sense that they know and trust one another and share similar values. However, the purposive social networks and practices that are embodied by the concept of social capital and a social process that is distinct from social cohesion. Using Bourdieu's theory of social capital to emphasize the resource based nature of social capital may improve my understanding of how gecekondü neighborhood matter for social exclusion of young people living in *Altındağ*. Furthermore, the amount of social capital that one possesses depends on (1) the size of social network connections that the individual can effectively mobilize and (2) the amount and types

of capital possessed by each of those he or she is related (Bourdieu, 1986). It is this two-way conceptualization that makes his theory quite useful for studying social capital processes of young people living in *Altındağ* that matter for social exclusion. So, I reserve the term social capital to specifically refer to resources inherited within a social network. Bourdieu's work is also useful because it recognizes the potential negative aspects of social capital such as limitation of individual's freedom as a consequence of dense social networks.

There is consensus in the literature that trust is related to social capital. With regard to trust, some consider trust or reciprocity as elements of social capital while others consider them as outcomes of social capital. Often the two concepts are treated as virtually synonymous (Arrow 2000; Putnam 2000; Wilson 1997). Much research has centered on the nature of social capital, with trust identified as one of its main constituent elements (e.g., Fukuyama 1995). Brehm and Rahn (1997:1017) argue that "social capital and trust are mutually reinforcing, although social capital exerts a stronger effect on trust than trust exerts on social capital". From this relational perspective, it seems considerably more logical to view social capital as arising from trust. Therefore, social capital found in neighborhoods and small groups are themselves dependent on collective resources such as dense social networks and trust. There is widespread agreement on that social networks are another essential component of social capital. In addition, most social scientists do not reduce social capital completely into social networks. In other words, social networks are not sufficient; they must have some additional quality to be social capital. Overall, in this study, social capital is examined on the basis of these two components namely, social networks and social trust.

Structural Level

At this point, it is better to start with structural level of social capital of young people living in *Altındağ*. Therefore, I strongly believe that the accounts of young people related with state and its institutions play a crucial role in understanding structural dimension of social capital and its implications for young people living in *Altındağ*. The low level of trust towards the state and its institutions are one of the major features of young people's accounts in this study. For instance, Hasan (21 years old,

male, unemployed) mentions about his lack of trust towards to state and its institutions for a beneficial goal in his life:

No, when did the state help to people like us, so it does not help for finding job. I do not trust on the state, as I said before I can only do something by myself in here. When did state become the state of poor, unemployed, therefore it does not help us. The state is only the state of rich people it is not the state of second class citizens like us.

Yok abi devletin bizim gibilere ne zaman yardımı dokunmuş ki iş bulmada dokunsun, ben güvenmiyorum devlete, daha öncede dediğim gibi buralarda ne yaparsan kendin yaparsın. Devlet ne zaman fakirin, işsiz devleti olmuş ki bize yararı dokunsun. Devlet ancak zenginlerin devleti bizim gibi ikinci sınıf vatandaşların değil.

Gürhan (18 years old, male, unemployed) provides another good example which represent the lack of trust towards the state among the young people living in Altındağ. Cemil says that although he does his citizenship duties, the state does not provide its duties linked with young people living in Altındağ therefore he proposed his lack of trust towards the state:

I relate it to the state, it could provide much more opportunities, I mean nothing will change in here. They could give us opportunities as they did to others. They ignore Altındağ as if it is not a part of Ankara. They are not interested in what is going on and what people do in here then they say Altındağ is the place of thief, drug users. It is asked that what you did for here and then how you ask for something. We do our duties, we do our military service, we pay our taxes then when it comes to action, we take only a zero. For this reason, in here you will trust only on your family and then friends. What it did for us then we will trust on it?

Devlete bağlıyorum, bize, bu çevreye daha iyi imkanlar verebilirdi yani. Buralar böyle gelmiş böyle gider. Bize de diğerleri gibi imkanlar verilebilirdi. Sanki Altındağ Ankara'da değilmiş gibi görmezden geliyorlar. Burada noluyor, ne yapıyor bu insanlar diye bakmıyorlar sonra ne Altındağ kötü, hırsızın, katilin, esrarkeşin mekanı. Sen ne yaptın ki bir şey istiyorsun diye sorarlar adama. Biz üzerimize düşeni yapıyoruz askerliğimizi yapıyoruz, asgari ücretten vergimizde kesiyorlar sonra icraata geldiğinde elde var sıfır. O yüzden buralarda önce ailene sonrada arakadışına güveneceksin. Devletin bize ne yararı dokunmuş ki bizimde ona güvenimiz olsun?

I also strongly believe that political engagement is another important point of structural level of social capital of young people living in Altındağ. It also seems possible to suggest that disengaged young people are likely to become politically disengaged also. Political engagement for the young people in this study barely existed and they were well aware of their limited efficacy even where structures intended to enable participation such as general or local elections. At this point, it is probably argued that the lack of trust towards politics and politicians is a major figure in understanding lack of political engagement. Murat (24 years old, male,

accounter) who had participated in a political party, mention about his lack of trust towards politics and politicians:

I have never seen the benefits of politics for anyone, I don't think also it will bring a benefit. I do not trust on any one from politicians and I do not vote in the elections. There are sub divisions of political parties, divisions of young people for instance, I went so many times but now I gave up. When I think now I can not define why I went.

Yararını görmedim. Zaten ben siyasetin kimseye bir yarar getireceğine inanmıyorum. Hiçbir siyasetçiye güvenmiyorum ve seçimlerde oy kullanmıyorum. Parti gibi, partinin yan kolları vardır, gençlik kolları gibi, çok gittim ama şimdi bıraktım. Şu an düşündüğümde niye gittiğimi tanımlayamıyorum.

Ahmet (22 years old, male, unemployed) also provides another good example illustrating the lack of political engagement among young people living in Altındağ. He refers to same reasons for explaining his lack of political engagement:

Whom I trusted on were useless, I do not have time to be engaged in with useless things, he is good for himself and I am good for my self, I have never seen that politics were beneficial for poor people. If I think that it will be beneficial for me, I support it but I do not support and feel myself close to it because I know that it won't be beneficial for me. I think my future, it does not give me opportunity win my bread or leftists or rightists people will not give my bread, because of these I do not feel myself close to it, I won't vote when the election time comes.

Kime güvensesen boş oluyor. Boştan yana uğraşacak vaktim yok yani. O iyiyse kendine iyi ben iyiysem kendime iyiyim. Siyasetin fakire yararın dokunduğu yerde görülmüş. Bana bir karı olacağını düşünsem destekliyim ama bana bir yararı olmayacağı için ilgilenmiyorum yani kendime yakın hissetmiyorum ve kendi geleceğimi düşünüyorum. Ekmek kazandırmadığı için yada benim ekmeğimi sağcısı yada solcusu vermeyeceği için kendime yakın hissetmiyorum, oy zamanı geldiğinde de oy vermem.

Selim (23 years old, male, unemployed) is another important example reflecting a different reason proposed by young people living in Altındağ. He mentions about young people's ideas have no meaning for politicians and they are also exploited by them. For this reason he mentions about his lack of trust towards politics like that:

I don't know, these are very complicated, they are not my style. I see in the election times, young people are forced to go to there or go and open banner for MHP or CHP. In other words, if you are young, you are used in the politics, nobody is interested in your ideas, and they need only people who work for them without asking money. Because of this, I do not trust on the politics. Already I am a slave in my job so I do not have an intention to be a slave of politicians.

Bilmiyorum karışık şeyler benim tarzımda olan şeyler değil. Görüyorum ben mesela seçim zamanı genç çocuklar işte MHPdir CHPdir oraya git şunu as, buraya git pankart aç. Yani senin anlayacağın gençsen siyasette kullanılıyorsun, siyasetin amaleliğini yapıyorsun, senin görüşünü takan yok ki, onlara amale lazım. O yüzden siyasete güvenmiyorum, biz zaten işte yeteri kadar kölelik yapıyoruz birde siyasetçilerin kölesi olmaya niyetimiz yok.

Local Level

Social cohesion is very useful tool for examining local or social environmental dimension of social exclusion. As I mentioned at the beginning of this part of the study, social cohesion is very important in the sense that it is the foundation from which social capital forms arise. As it is also discussed before, social capital is conceptualized as the degree of trust, familiarity and network ties shared among people that are influenced by area socioeconomic condition and serve as the basis from which social capital can be formed.. In the study I asked young people whether they have experienced any problem related with their different values or dissimilarity with other people living in their neighborhood. In this study it is observed that young people's positive source of identity derived from a sense of belonging in terms of relationships with their family and friends rather than from a strong sense of place. It is strong evidence for lack of social cohesion of young people especially for young males. Erhan (19 years old, male, unemployed) mentions about this issue:

Everybody has this kinds of a plan, the man think that if I have 5 million in my pocket, I do not stay in here even one more second, in here everybody tries to escape from here, what did these places give us therefore why should I stay in here, no job, no money, we are remembered with crime and drug... young people want to move to another place and set up a new life... however all of them stay in our mind, we do not have money because of this we have to live in here, besides us even our children might live in here unless we escape from here.

Herkesin var öyle bir planı, şöyle düşünüyor yani adam yarın benim cebimde 5 milyon olsun bir dakika burda durmam, burda herkes nasıl başka bir yere kapağa atarım diye bakıyor, buralar bize ne vermişki buralarda kalalım abi, işimiz yok, paramız yok, adımız çıkmış it kopuğa, esrarkeşe... başka bir yere taşınısam, başka bir hayat kursam der adam kafasından... ama hepsi kafada kalıyor, paran yoksa buralarda yaşamaya mecbursun, bizi bırak bizim çocuğumuz bile burda yaşar bzi kurtaramazsak kendimizi.

Young females did not feel safe in their neighborhood and there for they have a strong sense of mistrust towards their neighborhood as a consequences of high crime rate, drug traffic, insecure environment. For this reason most of the young females want to move from Altındağ to another part of Ankara. Didem (21 years old, female, accountant) talks about this issue:

In fact I was born in here, when I go to my home town, I like to be in there but I feel my self as a part of Ankara. After my father died, I and my brother works in here and because of this we do not think to move to another city however if you ask that whether I want to live in this district, I say that nobody wants to live in here. These places have changed a lot... they are

not same as it is used to be. In the past I could go out to streets by myself without any fear but now there are drug users and robbers, we can not know whom I will meet with. I am afraid of anymore when I turn back from job. In the past this place was like a village, everybody knows each other, there were neighborliness. Now so many foreigners have come to here, many people who become economically better moved to other parts of Ankara like Etimesgut, Keçiören. There are fights and troubles in every night. Furthermore, the idea that all of the robbers and drugs come from Altındağ has risen.

Aslında ben burada doğduğum, memlekete gittiğimizde hoşuma gidiyor ama kendimi Ankaralı gibi hissediyorum artık. Babamda öldükten sonra abim ile ikimiz burda çalıştığımız için başka bir şehire taşınmayı düşünmüyoruz... ama bu mahallede yaşamak istermisin derseni kimse burda yaşamak istemez. Buralar çok değişti artık... eskisi gibi değil. Önceleri burda gece sokağa çıksan rahat rahat dolaşabilirdin ama şimdi ayyaşı, esrarcısı, balicisi, hırlısı hırsız kimin olduğu belli değil. Akşamları işten dönerken korkuyorum artık. Önceleri burası köy gibiydi, herkes herkesi tanır, komşuluk vardı. Şimdi çok yabancı geldi buraya. Durumunu düzelterken başka yerlere gitti Etimesgut'a, Keçiören'e taşındılar. Doğru dürüst çalışsan yok. Kavga gürültünün olmadığı gece geçmiyor. Birde adı çıktı artık buraların Ankara'nın hırsız, uyuşturucusu Altındağ'dan geliyor diye.

Also, especially for young male there was a strong sense of mistrust from other part of Ankara. Young were well aware that they were perceived negatively in the town center. This is one of the major obstacles behind the lack of social cohesion with other part of city. It is also possible to argue that lack of social trust towards the other part of city is an important factor young males' lack of social cohesion. For instance in the study one of the interviewees Ahmet (22 years old, male, unemployed) says that:

When I go to another part of the city, I miss this place; really I do not like to go to another part of the city. In the neighborhood I talk and chat with other people. In other places people look on us with scorn. I hesitate to say hi to people in other places. I mean our neighborhood is good, I feel my self comfortable. I know everybody in here for years. I prefer to live around Altındağ. We grow up in here since our childhood, same people, and same friends. In fact I am afraid of in other part of the city. I do not know the personalities and intimacies of people in other places but I know those who live in here, I know them since their childhood; we spend all our childhood together.

Misafirliğe gittiğimizde burayı özleyorum gerçekten misafirliğe gitmeyi sevmiyorum, mahallede oturuyorsun gelen gidenle sohbet başka yerlerde insanlar bizi hor görüyor gibi geliyor. Bir yere gidince sıkılıyorum. Selam vermeye korkuyorum başka yerlerde. Yani buralar iyi, güzel, kendimi rahat hissediyorum. Burda herkesi yıllardır tanıyorum. Altındağ çevresinde yaşamayı tercih ederim. Biz çocukluğumuzdan beri burda büyüdük, aynı arkadaşlar, aynı insanlar. Diğer gittiğim yerlerde korkuyorum açıkçası, ordakilerin kişiliklerini, samimiyetlerini bilmiyorum ama burdakilerin çocukluklarını biliyorum, hep beraber geçti çocukluğumuz.

Ercan (23 years old, male, unemployed) also provides a good example about this issue:

These places are our space, we know whom I can trust on or not, we know whom might be dangerous for us but in other places we can not know what will happen, for example I registered for a driving license course, I was not 18 years old, it was a fake course, I could not take my money back and I was put in a prison called Uucanlar for a week, because of this I am afraid of being in other places.

Abi buralar bizim mekanlar, buralarda kime güvenilir kime güvenilmez biliriz, buralarda kimden zarar geleceğini bilirsin ama diğer yerlerde ne olacağı belli değil, mesela al sana bir örnek ehliyet için kursa yazıldık daha 18 değildim, sahteymiş kurs, parayı kaptırdık üstüne birde bir hafta Ulucanlar'da yattım, o yüzden söylemesi ayıp korkuyorum diğer yerlerden.

Negative symbolic capital related to the simple fact of being young in gecekondu area could also be seen in young people's account of the relationships they had in their neighborhood and town center. These relationships were characterized by a perceived lack of trust and they all aware of how they are perceived negatively particularly in the town center. Young were well aware that they were perceived negatively in the town center. Gürhan (18 years old, male, unemployed) talks about this issue:

I would like to change my social environment in which I live... because we live in gecekondu districts, we go to somewhere, looking for job, even in chat environment, they ask where I do come from. When I say Doğantepe, it finishes. Sometimes I have to tell lie for example by saying Bahçelievler. When he or she does not know where I come from, he or she chats with you for hours but when he or she learns that I am a gecekondu boy, he or she stops to talk with you. What is wrong with us. They separate us from others, as I said we are excluded because of the districts in which we live.

Çevremi değiştirmek isterim, oturduğum çevreyi... gecekonduya oturduğumuz için bir yere gidiyoruz, iş aramaya, gezmeye hatta chat ortamında oluyor nerelisin. Doğantepe dediğimiz zaman olay bitiyor. Bazen bizde yalan atmak zorunda kalıyoruz Bahçelievler falan diye. Ne yani bilmesenle saatlerce konuşuyor ama gecekondu çocuğu olduğunu söyleyince anında kesiyorlar sohbeti. Ne yani bizim oralardaki çocuklardan neyiz eksik. Bizi oralardakilerle ayrı tutuyorlar, diyorum ya abi biz oturduğumuz yerden dolayı dışlanıyoruz hem yani.

The first positive effect of social capital is that it is a source of family support. Sharing is recognized as a direct means of family support by cushioning the impact of financial constraints through the distribution of collective resources. As Erhan (19 years old, male, unemployed) says "the family is the last thing that you can trust here, if it does not exist, it means you don't exist either". He goes on to mention about the role of family as a source of social support in his life:

I have only my family, I am afraid that something will happen to them, if they do not exist, who will protect us, if they had not existed, I would have gone to Ulucanlar maybe, when you greet someone, he greets you but not because of me, he knows my father, family means something like that for me, it the the biggest guarantee of my life, I do not have anotherthing.

If my father die, nobody even greets me, he say who this guy is. In here when you walk around for two days when you do not have family, I am sure that they get rid of me from this neighborhood. In fact I have only my family and friends, there is nothing else.

Abi zaten bir tek ailem var abi, onlara birşey gelmesin diye bakıyoruz, onlar da olmasa bizi kim kollar abi, onlar olmasa gitçeğimiz yer ancak Ulucanlar olur abi, adama selam veriyorsun selamını alıyor benim içinmi alıyor, babamı tanıdığı için alıyor, aile bunu ifade eder abi, hayatta en büyük güvencendir abi, başka birşeyin yoktur. Şurda tanımadığın bir adam selam veriyor, babam ölse selam versen der kim bu herif. Ailen olmasa burda iki gün gez işsiz, üçüncü gün kovarlar buralardan abi adım kadar eminim. Zaten bir arkadaşlarım bir ailem, başkada birşeyim yok.

For young males in the study family is the main source of social support and security in the time of unemployment and hard times. However, for young females especially for those who are uneducated and dependent on their family economically, family is a necessity. Hatice (21 years old, female) emphasized this point by saying:

... now I will be in a big trouble if something happens to my family because of they did not let me to continue my education. Because of this they are my everythin, they are my security. Until I get merried and form my own family, even after getting married, they are the only thing that I can trust on. If I work now and have social insurance, I do not need anyone but I do not have job, I do not have an professions, I am dependent on them. For this reason, I do not want my children to be in the same position like me, I want them whether they are male or female to go to school and be independent.

... şimdi bizi okutmadıkları için onların başına birşey gelse yandık. Bu yüzden onlar benim herşeyim, güvencem yani. Evlenip kendi ailemi kurana kadar, evlendikten sonra da başım sıkıştığında güveneceğim tek şey. Şimdi çalışıyor olsam güvencem olur kimseye muhtaç olmam ama işimiz yok, elimizden gelen bir iş yok onlara bağımlıyım yani. O yüzden ben kendi çocuklarımı bu duruma düşürmek istemem, kızı erkek okusunlar, kimseye muhtaç kalmasınlar istierim.

The second effect of social capital is its impact on informal social control. Sources of this type of social capital are often found in bounded solidarity. Informal social control refers to the ability to collectively maintain social order and keep the neighborhood or individual from criminal and delinquent activity. At that point, it is very important to emphasize that family again play a crucial role in this informal social control of young people especially for young males in the study. Young males in the study also mention about the buffer role of family for decresing the high risk of criminality. Ercan (23 years old, male, unempoyed) emphasizes this social control role of family in his life:

If my family had not existed, I would nothave been in this age. Also if my family had not existed, I would have probably lived under a bridge or I would have runed into many troubles. I can say that it is our social insurance. Today we fight but tomarrow we make pace,

we are dependent each others, the life is very diffucult anymore as I said before I do not have social insurance in job but my family is my social insurance.

Aile olmasa bu yaşa gelemeyiz zaten, birde aile olmasa hangi köprüünün altında yatardık belli olmaz, yada abilerimiz olmazsa her türlü pisliğe bulaşırdım herhalde. Oda bizim sigortamız diyeyim ben sana. Biz bugün kavga ederiz yarın barışırız mecburuz birbirimize hayat artık çok zor biraz öncede dediğim gibi işte sigortamız yok ama onlar benim sigortam.

Semih (24 years old, male, worker) also emphasized the same point refered by pervious interviewee:

How can I tell, it means so many things for me, we have heard that one of our friends run away from house but they run into troubles because of that family is very important, they run away from their houses but when they stay away from their family,they realized that how the family is important. The family also means education, it controls you not to make mistake when you are child for instance drug, robbery like these. A person who did not go to school is in a better positon as compared with those who live in the streets because he takes education in his family. I do not think that people living in the streets have bad intentions, they are in these positions because of difficulties, becoase of they do not have a family which will support them or their family did not stop them in the past. The family is the single thing which you can trust on in this place. If you do not have family it means that you are nothing.

Nasıl anlatayım çok şey ifade ediyor, bazen arkadaşlardan duyardık evden çekip gider ama sonra bunun sonuçlarını görüyor yani hani ev gibisi var mı diyorlar, çekip gidiyorsun diyorlar ama aileden uzak kaldığında yaşadıkların sana ailenin ne kadar önemli birşey olduğunu söylüyorlardı. Aile aynı zamanda eğitimidir, seni kontrol eder küçük yaşta hatalar yapmaman için mesela uyuşturucudur, hırsızlıktır bunun gibi. Hiç okula gitmesede bir insan sokakta yaşayanlara göre aile eğitimi aldığı için daha iyidir ben hiç zannetmiyorum sokaktakilerin kötü ve art niyetli olduklarını, zorluklar yüzünden bu hallere düşüyorlar, arkalarında aileleri olmadığı için yada zamanında aileleri onları engellemediği için bu hale geliyorlar. Aile buralarda güvenebileceğin son yer. Aile yoksa sende yoksun.

The final positive effect is social leverage which means social capital that helps individual's access to information and advance economically. It does not appear to provide increased access to education, employment, or financial resources that can be used in a productive manner. In other words, the network does not extend significantly into mainstream society (Portes, 1998). Selim (21 years old, male, waiter) emphasized this positive effect:

Friends and social network, if you live in a this kinds of place, the social network is very crucial, if you do not have a social network it means that you are nothing.

Arkadaşlar ve çevre, bu gibi bir yerde yaşıyorsan çevre çok önemli, çevren yoksa sen bir hiçsin.

Individual Level

Portes (1998) points out the notion of the 'dark side' of social capital by identifying four major negative consequences of social capital. They are the exclusion of outsiders, excessive claims on group members, restrictions on the freedom of individuals, and the downward leveling of norms. The 'dark side' of social capital is crucial and needs to be understood. When interpreting social capital variables in the context of Altındağ disadvantage and social exclusion, it is important to be aware how some indicators of social capital may act to reinforce the restrictions on individual opportunities and lower the aspirations of many young people Altındağ. In the case of Altındağ, I think that only restriction of the freedom of young people is relevant to mention in here. As Portes (1998) suggests that family solidarity based on dense social networks may impose *restrictions on the freedom of individuals*. Vedat (24 years old, male, marangoz) talks about this negative effect of social capital:

I take decisions which are related with me by consulting with my father and brother, if they say no I say no too, my life experiences are not enough because of this I consuřt with them. Moreover I still depend on them economically, if my father say, it is not a good to say yes. I can only take my own decision after being economically independent and forming my own family.

Kendim ile ilgili kararları genellikle babam yada abime danıřarak veririm, onların hayır dediđi iřede girmem, bizim hayat tecrübemiz yetersiz olduđu için onlara danıřırım. Birde hala onların ekmeđini yiyoruz babamın hayır dediđi iři yapmak olmaz onu ancak kendi ailemi kurup ekmeđimizi elimize aldıđımızda diyebilirim.

Sevgi (23 years old, female, student) also mentions about the same thing refered by previous interviewee:

I can say together but my mother influence is more. I began to think that I have to take part in this decision process. However sometimes I think that I do not have this kinds of right because I line as a parasite.

Beraber diyebilirm ama tabi annemin ađırlıđı daha fazla. Ben yavař yavař kendimi bu tip kararlarda yer almam gerektiđini dūřünmeye bařladım. Ama bazen asalak gibi yařadıđım için kendi kendime sana ne oluyor dediđim oluyor.

There is widespread agreement on that social networks are an essential component of social capital. In addition, most social scientists do not reduce social capital completely into social networks. In other words, social networks are not sufficient; they must have some additional quality to be social capital. Dense networks are characterized by a set of strong and supportive ties while dispersed networks have

ties that bridge social worlds. Social support also emphasizes the role of ties embedded in dense networks. Similarly, others have emphasized the importance of weak or bridging ties for employment-related outcomes and community collective action (Granovetter, 1973).

Part of this disagreement has emerged because researchers use social capital to explain different types of outcomes. Research on outcomes has tended to emphasize dense networks whereas research on more strategic outcomes has tended to focus on dispersed networks. At that point, Briggs (1998) distinguishes between two forms of social capital at the individual level. One form of social capital provides social support and the other provides access to strategic resources which Briggs (1998) calls “leveraging” resources. Lin (2001) makes a similar distinction in characterization of the utility of these different types of networks. Density and social closure are more beneficial for “preserving or maintaining resources” whereas dispersed networks are more beneficial for “searching for and obtaining resources not presently possessed”. Metin (23 years old, male unemployed) mentions about the need of dispersed networks of young people in gecekondu areas:

In fact, it is the place where I was born and grow up but I want to move from here, when I aged, I think that maybe the problem is related with here. My parents are illiterate but they had tried to feed us, social environment is obvious, robbery, drug, and trouble. If I lived in a different place, if there was someone who guides me, I am sure that everything would be different. If there was someone who tells us the importance of education, I would continue to my education maybe. Maybe they would help me to find a job. When I look at here, people are unemployed, hunger and miserable, they try to survive. So they can only think themselves. In here the biggest problem of young people is that there is not anybody who will guide them and gives a chance to them. In here children only see unemployment and poverty. They are unaware from the existence of another world.

Aslında doğduğumuz, büyüdüğümüz yer ancak gitmek istiyorum buralardan, yaş ilerleyince düşünüyorum aslında belki sorun burada. Aile cahil ancak karnımızı doyurmaya uğraşıp didinmişler, çevre desen malum, hırsızlık, uyuşturucu, bela eksik olmuyor. Başka bir yerde otursam elimizden tutan, bize başka türlü hayatlarında olduğunu anlatan biri olsa farklı olurdu durumum. Okumanın neden önemli olduğunu anlatan biri olsa okurduk. Elimizden tutup işe sokarlardı. Buraya bakıyorum insanların kendine hali yok, işsiz, güçsüz, aç, sefil hayatta kalmaya çalışıyorlar. Kendilerinden başkasını düşünemiyorlar haliyle. Burda gençlerin en büyük eksikliği ellerinden tutup onlara şans verecek birilerinin olmayışı. Burda çocukların tek gördüğü işsizlik, fakirlik, garibanlık. Başka bir dünyadan habersizler.

Granovetter (1973) also argues that very dense networks can result in higher social support at the micro level and dispersed networks are particularly are very useful for accessing new information for example information about jobs. For individuals, a

social network rich in bridging ties that also has dense portions may provide the best of both worlds in that individuals access different types of ties depending on their needs at the particular moment. At that point, Gürhan (18 years old, male, unemployed) is a good example, he says that:

I would have see different things, in here you can only see the people who are unemployed or who can only survive, problematic people, there are also trouble and fights, I would have seen different things and maybe our lifes would have been different, it was obvious that what this place was and what we would be. As I said if I had gone to university mybe we would have started to match not 1-0 but 0-0. We would have had a different future.

Yani farklı şeyler görürdük buralarda göreceğin hep işsiz güçsüz yada ancak hayatını zar zor sürdüren insanlar, sorunlu insanlar, buraların kavgası, belası eksik olmaz, başka şeyler görürdük, haytımızı farklı şekilde sürdürebildik belki, atalrımızın da dediği gibi üzüm üzüme baka baka kararır, buralar neki biz ne olcaz, bizim böyle olacağımız belliydi zaten. Dediğim gibi belki üniversiteye gitseydik 1-0 değilde maça 0-0 başladık. Belli bir geleceğimiz olurdu.

As I mentioned before social capital for Bourdieu consists of two key elements: firstly, social network and connections: “contacts which through the accumulation of exchanges, obligations and shared identities provide actual or potential support and access to valued resources” (Bourdieu, 1993: 143). And secondly sociability in other words how networks are sustained. It is very obvious in this study that there is a lack of sociability for young people in Altındağ. As Bourdieu discussed that sociability is one of the crucial element for constituting social capitals especially dispersed networks. Two factors appeared to cause this lack of sociability. One of them is economic, young people whether they are unemployed or employed, they complaints about lack of money for socialization in the other part of the city. The second one is related with low level of trust towards to other parts of city.

Two paradigms from the basis for this part of the study, exploring young people’s subjective experiences of their neighborhoods and the nature of their social networks, this part explored the following questions with young people: what is the composition of their social network. How are these network defined and what do these networks provide and how does this differ according to age and gender?

By focusing on social networks, in this study it is observed that small-scale, interpersonal networks based on friendship and families were crucial to a sense of

belonging, social support for decreasing risk of social exclusion. Membership of a formal community networks and association appeared not to exist. Friends were crucial to leisure activities and provided a source of security and trust and family was very important for being there when needed. Young people described spending a great deal of time with their friends but they still perceived their family members as a crucial source of support. Young-people especially for male described a web of interlinked individual, neighborhood and community specific networks. These networks were embedded in environmental circumstances such as street, park, internet café, café house. All these networks seemed to be experienced differently as they were mediated by gender and age. While young male described a neighborhood and community specific networks, young females mostly described family specific social networks based on trust and reciprocity. In their responses to the question about social networks, interpersonal networks based on friendship appeared to be the main source of information and guidance about job search. However, in their responses to the question about the meaning and role of family in their life, familial networks based on trust appeared to be the main source of social support and guidance for future plans and decisions.

By focusing on sense of belonging, in terms of local identity, young people's positive source of identity derived from a sense of belonging in terms of relationships with their family and friends rather than from a strong sense of place. Young people's experiences of their neighborhoods slightly differed according to gender and age. Young females did not feel safe in their neighborhood and there for they have a strong sense of mistrust towards their neighborhood as a consequences of high crime rate, drug traffic, insecure environment. Also, especially for young male there was a strong sense of mistrust from adults around them and they were well aware that they were perceived negatively because their neighborhoods and in the town center. This issue is mostly related with young males who do not finish their military services. Indeed, it could be probably argued that they develop their own communities or habitus in the face of a strong sense of isolation from their neighborhood and other part of city.

As noted, young people's social networks were mainly based on information rather than formal associations and their activities outside work reflected this. Young people's experiences of public spaces were particularly unsatisfactory. They were able to spend very limited time in town center but this was also problematic. Practical issues such as cost of transport and the cost of facilities caused difficulties for young people and in many ways they were effectively excluded from participation in the wider social life of the city. Stereotypes and discrimination based on "poor, drug user, and criminal gecekondü boy" is also another factor which makes feel them excluded from the rest of the society.

The issue of young people's participation was problematic in social capital terms. All young people described having limited efficacy and participation in decision making in their family and community. They felt well-supported by networks of friends and family but the balance seemed to go the other way when their sense of self efficacy and participation in their family and community was explored. It also seems possible to suggest that disengaged young people are likely to become politically disengaged. Civic engagement for the young people in this study barely existed and they were well aware of their limited efficacy even where structures intended to enable participation (such as general or local elections). The centrality of friendship to the everyday lives of the research participants was very clear. Friends were central to many activities outside work and were also source of emotional support.

Negative symbolic capital related to the simple fact of being young in gecekondü area could also be seen in young people's account of the relationships they had in their neighborhood and town center. These relationships were characterized by a perceived lack of trust and they all aware of how they are perceived negatively particularly in the town center.

In this study, it might be suggested that bonding social capital derived from friendships does not necessarily contribute to social cohesion. On the country, the way that young people construct their relationships based on lack of trust appear to have a negative effect upon social cohesion. At the individual level, young people need both forms of social capital: bonding social capital for their social support and

emotional well-being in the here and now; and bridging for the future to enable them to escape from disadvantage. Linking social capital enabling access to power structures and influential others was also clearly lacking for the young people in the study.

So, in this study, while the socially excluded may be relatively deprived in terms of social interaction, it is the isolation of people from those social networks that have access to economic resources and jobs which prevents them from actively participating in the mainstream economy. That is, the main problem stemming from low levels of social capital is not necessarily the lack of any network (vertical networks), but rather the lack of horizontal networks.

CHAPTER 6

CONSEQUENCES OF SOCIAL EXCLUSION IN THE EXPERIENCES OF YOUTH

In this part of the study, I tried to examine consequences of social exclusion in the experiences of youth living in Altındağ. For this purpose, I asked questions examining young people's consumption patterns, relationship with other parts of city, alcohol and drug and future expectancies.

In this study, I asked to young people with whom they do not want to be in the same position Most of the young people proposed that they do not want to be in the same position with criminals and drug addictives. For example, Selim (21 years old, male, waiter) states that he does not want to be in the same position with a criminal by saying:

I do not want to be in a same position with criminals, with a murderer, a political criminal. When you go to prison, you are excluded from society, it is told that this guy had killed someone, in other words I do not want to be in the same position with a person who is excluded from society.

Suçluların yerinde olmak istemem, bir katilin, siyasi suçlunun yerinde olmak istemezdim. Hapse girdim mi toplundan dışlanırsın, işte bu adam insan öldürmüş denir daha doğrusu toplumdan dışlanan bir insan olmak istemezdim.

Ercan (23 years old, male, unemployed) also is another example who proposes that he does not want to be in the same position with drug addicts:

You should not be interested in drugs. If you are a young guy when you are interested with these things, you can not rescue yourself, nobody will trust you afterwards. It is best not to be interested with them. In our neighborhood there are many types of people, who are drug addicts, gambellers but I do not want to be in the same position with them because they are harmful for us the young ones, therefore we try to stay away from them.

Abi esrarıdır, hapıdır, gaspıdır bunlara girmeyecek genç adam girdin mi çıkamazsın kimsede sana bir daha güvenmez, sonra bir yerde harcarlar adamı en iyisi hiç bulaşmayacaksın. Vallaha bizim mahallede bin bir çeşit insan var burda uhucusu var, balıcısı var, tinercisi var, kumarcısı var bunların yerinde olmak istemem çünkü onlardan zarar gelir bizlere, bizde uzak durmaya çalışıyoruz.

Another issue for social exclusion is stigmatization experienced by young people living in gecekondu in Altındağ district. Especially the young males in the sample complain about being identified with crime and drugs. This stigmatization is frequently proposed by as one of the biggest problem by them. Therefore, it is not wrong to argue that stigmatization is one of the severe form of social exclusion experienced by young people living in *Altındağ*. For example, Cüneyt (18 years old, male, unemployed) mentions about this stigmatization:

The fame of this district is not good. When you say gecekondu, everybody takes one step back. Nobody wants his daughter to get married with a guy from here. Already there are many troubles in here, I mean there is no future, no job then I will meet with a girl then she will ask where I live... then how you will get married with her or how you will ask her to get married with you. You won't have a future. Why because you are gecekondu boy, robber, alcohol addictive or you are not but probably you will be. I am trying to say that once you are called with drug and crime, it is impossible to prove that you are not. However, when gecekondu district has a negative fame, it is not matter for them that you are not interested in drugs or crime.

Buranın zaten namı iyi değil. Gecekondu dedin mi herkes bir adım geri atıyor. Buraya kimse kız vermez abi. Zaten içinde durduğun pislik yetmezmiş gibi yani gelecek yok, iş yok güç yok, sonra bir kızla tanışacan nerde oturuyon... Sonra neyine güvenerek o kızla evlenecen bırak evlenmeyi evlenme teklif edecen. Geleceğin olmayacak. Neden çünkü gecekondu bebesisin, hırsızsın, ayyaşsın değilse ilerde yapacaksın. Abi diyolar ya adın çıkçağına canın çıksın diye o hesap yani. Buranın bir adı çıktımı sonra sen istediğin kadar temiz ol adam baştan kafasında siliyor seni.

Erhan (18 years old, male, unemployed) also complains about this stigmatization by giving references to the same points:

Doğantepe 8. street, they say that it is bad, dangerous, what part of it is bad, to whom are we harmful but people think that young people in here do not work, they use drug, they are robber. The thing that we want is that these kinds of things had never happened. I wish nobody say nothing to nobody, I wish nobody say to nobody that you are bad but I am good or you are poor but I am rich. This is the only idea.

Doğantepe 8. cadde neymiş kötümüştü, nesi kötü, kime ne zararımız var, ya işte işsiz gezip duruyor, esrar içiyö, hap atıyo, hırsızlık yapıyo diye bakıyor. Bizim de isteğimiz bunlar keşke hiç olmasa. Keşke kimse kimseye laf söylemese, keşke kimse kimseye sen kötüsün ben iyiyim, sen fakirsın ben zenginim demese. Tek düşüncemiz o.

Erhan (18 years old, male, unemployed) goes on to mentions about this stigmatization by giving reference to his experiences with police:

I was coming back from job, I worked until to 11, I began to walk, and police stopped us, he said that you stole something; we said no but then he started to attack us then we started to attacked him too after in police station he said that they got in my car and they took my gun. In fact when I hit him, his gun fall down and he started to run away but how we will bring

back the gun, if we do they will kill us by hitting us, after three days they catch us then why you stole police officer's gun, why you hit to him,, we were trying to say that we had been turning back from job but they did not listen... in their mind, this is gecekondü boy, probably he got into trouble for many times. He is police, I am gecekondü boy, to whom will they believe in? It is waste of time to deny.

İşten geliyoruz,11'e kadar çalıştık, eve dönücez, yürümeye başladık, polis çevirdi, siz hırsızlık yapıyordunuz yok yapmıyorduk derken saldırmaya başladı abi, nereye kadar sabredicen bizde ona saldırmaya başlayınca kaçtı, sonra karakolda birden arabama bindiler, silahımı aldılar dedi, ben ona vurunca silahı düştü kaçtı, silahıda götüremiyoruz götürsek öldürecekler dövmeekten, üç gün sonra yakaladılar bizi, e sonra abi silahı neden çaldınız, polise neden sallamayla vurdunuz... işten geliyorduk falan diyorsun dinlemiyorlar... adamın kafada bu gecekondü çocuğu, bunda her yol vardır diye düşünüyor... O polisya sende gecekondü çocuğusun ya kime inanacaklar ona tabi. İnkâr etsen nereye kadar edecen.

When the young people experience and feel the stress of being excluded and stigmatized they can turn into drugs and alcohol. Alcohol and drug are very common especially among young males living in Altındağ. There are various reasons proposed by them in order to explain their addictions. For instance, Ahmet (22 years old, male, unemployed) mentions about his alcohol addiction:

First, stress, for example even I use alcohol since I was 15-16 years old. When I did not know "a" of alcohol sometimes I steal something from my house, I took my father money and spend it for buying alcohol, why? Because there are people are on the holiday, they swim, why do not I have same opportunities, why do not I have these things, for these kinds of idea.

Başta stress, mesela ben bile 15-16 yaşından beri alkol kullanıyorum. Alkolün aşını bilmezken bazen yeri geldi hırsızlık yaptım evimizden, babamızdan götürdük alkol aldık niye orda adamlar Antalya'da ne güzel denize giriyor bizim niye böyle imkanlarımız yok, niye bizim şuyumuz yok, niye bizim buyumuz yok gibi düşüncelerden.

Metin (23 years old, male, unemployed) tells his history of drug addiction:

if you grow up in a repressive environment, if you were repressed in your job then you want to prove yourself. I did this myself sometime. You start with alcohol and then pass through to hashish, I was trying to prove myself in this way. You try to forget your being humiliated, things that you could not live and have even for one day through using drugs. After a while it turns into an addiction.

ezik yetiştiiysen, ailende, çalıştığın yerde ezildiysen kendini kanıtlamak istiyorsun bir şekilde. Ben kendimde yaptım zamanında, alkolle başlıyorsun sonra esrara geçiyorsun, kendini öyle kanıtlamaya çalışıyorsun, ezikliğini, yaşayamadıklarını, günü birlik unutmaya çalışıyorsun belli dönem sonrada bağımlılığa dönüşüyor bu tabi.

Hasan (21 years old, male, unemployed) explains the reasons why he and his friends smoke hashish. He basically highlights desperation, pessimism among young people in Altındağ:

there is an isolation from life, in here everybody become a hashish smoker, not alcoholic, everybody try how they can isolate myself from real life, look in here there is not a stranger, all of my friends some use hashish. What else they will do, I can not get angry at them, we do not have opportunities.. sometimes when we talk together, we feel ourselves as desperate. I mean sometimes, I feel as if I am trapped and there is not an exit from here. I feel like going mad, at these times we go and dilapidate it is not a solution but it is because of desperation. Young people have changed a lot. They find bad and dangerous jobs because there is nothing to do in here. Hopelessness, pessimism, economic problems... if we were economically better, we will go to a good school or a private course, private teachers, but there are no such possibilities.

hayattan bir kopuş var, buralarda herkez esrarkeş oldu, alkol değil, herkez nasıl 1-2 saat hayattan koparım diye uğraşiyor, bak burda yabancı yok burdaki arkadaşların hepsi çeker, ne yapacaklar onlarada kızamam ki, ellerinde fırsat yok, bazen kendimizi çaresiz hissediyoruz konuşunca beraber. Yani abi bazen kısırlılmış gibi hissediyoruz burda çıkış yok gibi kafayı yiyecek gibi oluyoruz bazen o kafayla gidiyoruz kırıyoruz döküyoruz, çözüm değil ama çaresizlik işte. Gençler çok değişti abi. Buralarda yapacak şey olmadığı için farklı farklı işlere giriyorlar. Umutsuzluk, karamsarlık, madiyatsızlık, maddiyatımız olsa güzel bir okulda okur, güzel bir dersahaneye gider, özel hocalar tutar burda yok öyle birşey.

Erhan (19 years old, male, unemployed) also mentions about why he smokes hashish, He emphasizes that he smokes in order to forget his problems and disadvantaged position:

My brother, they tell me this makes you fell better, smoke this one then you will forget everything, I smoke everything, I smoke in order to forget my problems, if you smoke something, it does not matter for you whether you have a job or not or you have problems or not. So it is profitable for me not to think my problems even for one night. At nights I come and look at who smokes, I want to smoke for not thinking anything for one or two hours.

Abi bana bu iyi kafa yapar desinler, iç bunu herşeyi unutursun desinler herşeyi içerim, dertlerini unutmak için yani, kafan iyi ya yani derdin olsa n olur olmasa n olur, yarın işin var olsa n olur olmasa n olur, kafan güzel olduktan sonra bir gece düşünmesen o bize kar kalıyor yani. Akşam geliyorum kim içiyo diyo bakıyorum, içiyimde bir iki saat hiçbirşeyi düşünmeyeyi diye.

Pessimism about future is also another common experience and feeling among young people in this study. Most of the young people propose that they were pessimistic about their future. For example Ahmet (22 years old, male, unemployed) proposes that he and his friends are pessimistic about their future:

There is so much pessimism, we say that we will remain like that; they accuse their fathers why they did not use their minds and they say that money is in the stomach of a lion, they say that how I will take it from there, they say that we are not going to be rich, something like that.

Umutsuzluk var çok fazla biz böyle geldik böyle gidecez diyoruz, babalarımı suçluyorlar neden zamanında kafayı çalıştırmamış bana birşey bırakmamış diyorlar, para aslanın midesinde diyor biz onu nasıl çıkaracağız diyor, zengin olamıycaz diyorlar bunu gibi şeyler.

As I said, pessimism is very common among young people. They are especially pessimistic when they think that nothing is going to change in the future and they will continue same experiences of disadvantaged positions. For instance, Ercan (23 years old, male, unemployed) is another good example to emphasize the pessimism among young people living in Altındağ:

I am pessimistic about future, if they give me a chance I can do everything but my future is unclear, what will happen is unclear; if there will be an opportunity is unclear. If it goes like that our future is not good, we do not die but we crawl. These places are like diseases which neither kills you or neither lets you recover. Life is passing. If I can not live in my youth, what will change in my adulthood?

Gelecekte umutsuzum, fırsat verseler yaparım ama geleceğimiz belirsiz, ne olacağımız belirsiz, fırsat gelir mi o belirsiz o yüzden umutsuzum. Böyle giderse geleceğimiz iyi değil, ölmeyiz ama sürünürüz. Buralar kötü hastalıklar vardır ya abi onun gibi ne çıkarır ne batırır, noluyor demeden hayat geçip gidiyor. Ben gençken yaşamadıktan sonra gelecekte olacak ki zaten?

Lack of resources is one of the important debates in social exclusion discourse. It can be argued that lack of resource is an important point that has to be highlighted in discussions about the nature of social exclusion. For many scholars, social exclusion results from an inability to access the resources necessary for inclusion in society (Atkinson 1998; Spicker 1997). According to Lister (1998) these resources can be material, economic, political or social capital. give cross reference to previous chapter Within a definition of social exclusion, where it is seen as a dynamic process, if the state of exclusion is transitory, the excluded person must have gained access to resources in order to escape. At that point, in this study young people emphasize lack of resources and prospect for explaining their social exclusion. For example, Metin (23 years old, male, unemployed) emphasizes this lack of prospect in his neighborhood:

you might have seen in here there are many young people in coffee houses. If we had lived in a better neighborhood, we would have looked at other people, we would be committed and motivated towards life. However you look at the one who is next to you, all of them are the same like you and there is pessimism among them. There is a need for someone who will help them and show them other ways.

görmüşündür buralarda birçok genç kahvelerde, belki iyi bir çevrede oturmuş olsaydık çevremizdeki insanlara bakarak daha azimli, iddialı olurduk hayata karşı ama burda bir bakıyorsun yanındaki de senin gibi, hepsinde bir karamsarlık, bunlara yardım edecek başka yollar gösterecek birine ihtiyaç var.

Metin (23 years old, male unemployed) mentions about lack of prospect for explaining his condition and social exclusion:

If I lived in a different place, if there was someone who guides me, I am sure that everything would be different. If there was someone who tells us the importance of education, I would continue to my education maybe. Maybe they would help me to find a job. When I look at here, people are unemployed, hunger and miserable, they try to survive. So they can only think themselves. In here the biggest problem of young people is that there is not anybody who will guide them and gives a chance to them. In here children only see unemployment and poverty. They are unaware form the existence of another world.

Başka bir yerde otursam elimizden tutan, bize başka türlü hayatlarında olduğunu anlatan biri olsa farklı olurdu durumum. Okumanın neden önemli olduğunu anlatan biri olsa okurduk. Elimizden tutup işe sokarlardı. Buraya bakıyorum insanların kendine hali yok, işsiz, güçsüz, aç, sefil hayatta kalmaya çalışıyorlar. Kendilerinden başkasını düşünemiyorlar haliyle. Burda gençlerin en büyük eksikliği ellerinden tutup onlara şans verecek birilerinin olmayışı. Burda çocukların tek gördüğü işsizlik, fakirlik, garibanlık. Başka bir dünyadan habersizler.

Gürhan (18 years old, male, unemployed) also emphasizes the lack of resources for explaining his social exclusion and his pessimism about the future:

we do not have education and a job. Our situation is clear, my family can only give us poverty, a gecekondu house, and desperation, in fact we are gecekondu boys, We do not know what to do, where to go and how to do.. There is nobody around us who will help us and rescue us from our current situation. I mean we are disadvantaged from every direction, so how can I be optimistic about future or how can I fix my current situation. I do not have resources.

eğitim yok, iş yok, ailemizin durumu belli, bize verdikleri fakirlik, bir gecekondu, umutsuzluk, zaten gecekondu çocuğuyuz, ne, nerde, nasıl yapılır bilmiyoruz. Bize yardım edecek, şu durumumuzdan kurtaracak biri yok, yani her yönden dezavantajlıyız abi nasıl gelecekten umutlu olayım ki, şu anki durumumu düzelteyim. Kaynak yok.

Therefore, as it is seen from the examples above lack of resources and prospects are important points that have to be highlighted in discussions about the nature of social exclusion however it is also very crucial not to allow it mask the multi-dimensional nature of social exclusion. It is necessarily a relational concept as people are excluded from a particular society (Percy-Smith 2000). It is “necessarily a relational concept” as people are excluded from a particular society (Atkinson 1998, p.13). It is also very interesting to realize that consumption is proposed by young people as a form of social exclusion. Ahmet (22 years old, male, unemployed) emphasizes how their leisure life experiences and opportunities of consumption creates a new experience of social exclusion. It is very clear in his words that he is unhappy about not being able to consume. He also links it with being poor:

There are thoughts like having a car or going to holiday in young people's mind. We watch at TV people are happy in their holidays or we see that a guy bought his car, young people then say that why my father is not rich, why he did not use his mind at the past, then it turns out to be a problem.

Gençlerin buralarda kafasında altımızda arabamız olsun kendimize ait, tatilimizi yapabilelim gibi düşünceleri var, televizyonlarda izliyoruz adamlar tatillerde gününü gün ediyor yada zengin birini görüyor altına babası bir araba çekmiş çocukta diyorki benim babam neden zengin değil niye kafayı çalıştırmamış zamanında diyor o derecede sıkıntı oluyor.

Erhan (19 years old, male, unemployed) also highlights the consumption dimension of their experiences of social exclusion:

My brother, I do not know because I did not see, I saw below (Kızılay), they have money in their pocket, they have their girl friends, the guys only think about where to go for entertainment but what about us, forget about future, we do not know our tomorrow. They do not have this kind of problem, there are guys who do not wear clothes a second time, but we think that how long I will use this shoe. They buy it for 100 millions but I buy it for 10 millions. We try to use it during years. You are young if you have money.

Abi ben yaşamadığım için görmediğim için bilmiyorum, aşağılarda gördüm, cebinde parası var, yanında kız arkadaşı var, adamın tek derdi bugün nereye gitsek ama bizim öylemi abi... bırak geleceği, yarınımızı bilmiyoruz. Onların öyle derdi yok, adam bir giydiğini bir daha giymiyor, biz acaba bu ayakkabıyı daha ne kadar giyecez. Onlar alıyor 100 milyona biz alıyoruz 10 milyona. Biz senelerce giymeye çalışıyoruz abi. Cebinde paran varsa gençsin abi.

Social exclusion is commonly conceived of in terms of social relationships. In these instances, the 'process' of social exclusion is seen as the breakdown of social ties and social and symbolic bonds (Silver 1994). Therefore social exclusion has been defined in merely negative terms of 'social isolation' (Hague 1999). In this study, it is observed that there is a breakdown of social ties and social and symbolic bonds with other parts of the city which means rest of the society. Selim (21 years old, male, waiter) explains why he does not like to spend time in other parts of the city. He emphasizes that there is a difference between young people living in gecekondu districts and other parts of the city (Kızılay, Bahçelievler, Çankaya).

Oralarda ilgimi çeken birşey yok onlarda bize pek meraklı değil tabi ama diğer yerlerde farklı kaçırırsun ortama onlar sana ters geliyor sen onlara uymuyorsun. Ne bileyim ilgimi çekmiyor yani.

There are nothing interesting for me in other part of the city, in fact they are not interested with us of course but in other places I feel myself different, you are different in their environment and they are also different than me, we do not fit each other. I do not know I am not interested with them.

Ahmet (22 years old, male, unemployed) proposes another reason for explaining why he does not want to go to other parts of the city. For him, it is closely related with lack of money. This is also important to understand how young people living in *Altındağ* define themselves as compared with those people living in other parts of the city. As it is seen in these two examples, young people see themselves different and poor.

Sevmiyorum değil her insan sever bu tipleri şeyleri ama paran olursa, bir kaç arkadaş edinirsin, çevren oluşur ama paran olunca. Birkez arkadaş edinince hep gitmen gerekir, hep paran olmadığın için gidemezsin. Param arkadaşın verse bir sonraki sefer senin vermen gerekir onun için hiç bulaşmamak, hiç gitmemek. Burası bize göre, fakir semti, kafamıza göre, cebinde paran olmazsa en kötü gezersin.

It does not mean that I do not like everybody like these types of thing but only when you have money, you meet with someone, and you adapt them. However once you meet with someone you have to always go there, but you can not go because you do not always have money. If your friends gives you money, in another time you have to give money to him because of this it is better not to go there and not to meet with them. This neighborhood is just for us, it is like us, it is poor neighborhood, at least you can walk if you do not have money.

Vedat (24 years old, male, carpenter) also emphasizes the same points, it is very interesting that he describes other parts of the city as a different country:

Yok gitmeyiz, durum elvermiyor, maddi durum elvermiyor birde rahat hissedemiyorum kendimi, hemen buraya geri dönmek istiyorum, sanki başka ülkeye gitmiş gibi oluyorsun, sıkılıyorum, geri gelmek istiyorum.

No we do not go, it is related with economic insufficiency and also I do not feel comfortable myself, I want to turn back here, I feel that I had gone to a different country, I get bored and I want to come back here.

Metin (23 years old, male, unemployed) emphasizes another important point by giving references his experiences when he is younger. He mentions about problems of young people experienced in other parts of the city:

I feel my self being crushed; now I see same things at these young people. These young people try to imitate dressing style of young people living in Kızılay. If you ask them probably they do not say but when they leave here, they feel themselves naked. They get dull, they can not communicate with other people because they always talk about same things, and people whom they see around them look like same, when they go to a different place, they come across with different people, they do not look like them so they feel themselves crushed. I know because I experienced the same things, they have impossible dreams but they do nothing for this. So they do not feel good then they close themselves in this neighborhood and they do not go out.

Eskiden kendimi ezik hissediyordum şimdi aynı şeyleri buradaki gençlerde de görüyorum. Buradaki gençler Kızılay bebeleri gibi giyinmeye çalışıyorlar, kendilerine sorsan söylemezler belki ama buradan çıktıklarında kendilerini çıplak hissederler. Buralarda köreliyorlar, buralarda hep aynı şeyi konuşmaktan dolayı dışarıya gittiklerinde oran insanı ile anlaşıyorlar, çevrede gördükleri insanların hepsi kendilerine benziyor ama başka bir yere gittiklerinde değişik insanlarla karşılaşıyorlar, hiç biri kendilerine benzemiyor ve sürekli bunların eksikliğini hissediyorlar diyorum çünkü bizde geçtik bu dönemlerden yaşayamayacakların hayatların hayallerini kuruyorlar ama hiçbir şey yapmıyorlar bunun için. Onun için rahat hissedemiyorlar kendilerini sonrada buraya kapatıp kendilerini dışarı çıkıyorlar burdan.

In social exclusion discourse, the value of discussing social exclusion in terms of social relationships is gained when it is defined on the basis of community. Social exclusion occurs where “the community doesn’t work” or it “just doesn’t exist”, or where “the fabric of community is falling apart” (Percy-Smith 2000).

I would like to change the people living in this neighborhood; in here you can not do anything. If you do something, you are detected. By saying that we smoke hashish or wine, they call police. I would like to change this neighborhood but we can not.

bu mahallenin insanlarını değiştirmek isterdim burda birşey yapamıyorsun birşey yapsan göze batıyorsun, tutturmuşlar esrar içiyorlar şarap içiyorlar deyip polis çağırıyorlar, bu mahalleyi değiştirmek isterdim ama yok değiştiremiyoruz.

Social exclusion has also been defined as a multi-temporal concept. This is referring to the dynamic nature of the exclusionary processes and of the dynamic change in the circumstances of those excluded (Levitas 1996; Byrne 1999; Leney 1999). This point is especially very relevant when highlighting multi-temporality of social exclusion of young male living in Altındağ. For young males, it can be argued that military service is an important time dimension when understanding their different forms of social exclusion. In the research the discourses of young people about their social exclusion experiences pointed to the significance of fulfillment of military duty as an important stage in their lives. In fact, in the discourses we can see a difference about social exclusion between those who have completed their military service and those who did not. Metin (23 years old, male, unemployed) emphasizes the military service as an important dimension for explaining his social exclusion experiences:

Before military service, everything was easier, I did not feel this much pressure, I had not been aware of how the situation was so bad. Now I am looking, there is only useless secondary school diploma, there is no job that you can trust and construct your future on it. I am 23, I want to form my family, I want to be independent. There is no difference between me and a high school boy. I am delaying everything, to an unknown date.

Askerden önce herşey daha kolaydı, bu kadar baskı hissetmiyordum, farkında değilmışim durumun ne kadar kötü olduğunun. Şimdi bakıyorum elde bir işe yaramayan bir orta okul diploması, geleceğini kuracağını, güvенеceğini bir işin yok. Yaş oldu 23, kendi düzenimi, ailemi kurmak, bağımsız olmak istiyorum. Lise bebesinden ne farkımız var ki? Herşeyi bilmediğim bir zamana erteliyorum.

The process of exclusion requires an act by “an agent or agents” (Atkinson 1998). Hence, it is “something that is done by some people to other people” (Byrne 1999, Barry 1998). In Altındağ neighbourhoods the youth also feel the pressure coming from other people living in their neighborhood. When they are blamed for not working or with drug use or for alcoholism by the people in the neighborhood this becomes an additional aspect of their social exclusion by their people. Hence the local dimension of social exclusion, as also explained in chapter 4, becomes important.

I wish that we have jobs, our place is determined, we go to jobs in the mornings and trun back in the nights, we have some money in our pockets. Young people’s problems in here is that people saying you do not work, you are hashish smoker. I ask them whether there is job or not. When you do not have a job, you become dangerous, you did this you smoke this drug. The only thing for young people is working, when you work in here, you are the king of this place. Find me job then I work. The guy has a workshop in Siteler but he tells me go and work then I say let me work with you but he says no, he says that he has workers. Then why do you talk about us.

Bizimde belli bir işimiz olsa, yerimiz belli olsa, sabah işe gitsek, akşam işimizden gelsek, cebimizde üç beş kuruş paramız olsa hepsi yanımızda olur, burda gençlerin sorunu o, çalışmıyosan serserisin, esrarkeşsin, lan iş varda biz mi çalışmıyoruz. İşin olmadığı zaman sen böyle oldun şunu çektin diye. Gencin tek işi çalışmak, çalıştığın zaman buranın en kralı sensin. İş bul, yol gösterdede çalışayım. Adamın Sitelerde dükkanı var, bana diyorki niye çalışmıyosun... yanında çalışayım diyorsun yok benim işçim var diyor.. o zaman niye bizim arkamızdan konuşuyorlar ki.

It is not wrong to argue that there is consensus of opinion regarding the multi-dimensional nature of social exclusion (Atkinson 2000; Byrne 1999; Levitas 1996; Silver 1994; Marsh & Mullins 1998; Saith, 2001). Multi-dimensional refers to the different sources of deprivation and the different processes (social, economic, cultural and political) that enable it. Erhan (19 years old, male, unemployed) experiences different dimensions of social exclusion such as educational, economic, and symbolic:

I do not have a skill because of this I search every job but the jobs that I apply are those which need liitle education. We are gecekondu boys, our outlooks are not appropriate, no skills, families are poor, there is nobody who will help me. I do not have chance to choose. I

lost it when I was born in Altındağ, when I drop out from school, when I do not try to gain a skill. They do not accept my job application because I am a gecekonduluyum boy.

Vallaha abi ben her türlü işi yaparım, elimden gelecek her işe başvuruyorum, bazen Sitelere bakıyorum, bazen Kızılay'da eleman alacak oluyorlar onlara bakıyorum. Bir mesleğimiz yok o yüzden her türlü işe bakıyoruz ama bizim bakacağımız işte malum, okumamışız, gecekonduluyuz bebesiyiz, tip sakat, meslek yok, aile fakir, yardım edecek biri yok. Bizim seçme şansımız yok. Biz o şansımızı Altındağ'da doğup, okumayarak, bir meslek öğrenmeyerek kaybetmişiz. sırf gecekonduluyuz diye almıyor adam işe.

In social exclusion literature the cumulative and compounding effects of these joined-up problems of social exclusion are discussed (Kilmurray 1995; Percy-Smith 2000). The multiplicity of dimension of exclusion is closely related to its cumulative nature or accumulation of handicaps. What is particularly important here is the way in which a multiplicity of disadvantages combines to reinforce the state of social exclusion. So, it can be argued that the exclusionary process as a “vicious circle” or as a “spiral of disadvantage” (Kabeer 2000; Levitas 1996). As Atkinson (2000, p.1041) says that we can only talk of social exclusion when, for individuals or groups, several of these systems break down as part of a chain reaction. At this point, Metin (23 years old, male, unemployed) emphasizes this cumulative nature of his social exclusion experiences. The example below gives a clear picture of the vicious circle or spiral of disadvantage of young people living in Altındağ :

Unemployment is the biggest problem for me. It is because of low level education. Nowadays when you think that university graduates might be unemployed, it is a miracle for us who have only secondary school diploma. We can not find a regular job because of low level education. When we can not find a regular job, we bear to low quality of job which offer low paid employment, no social insurance, no security of work environment and then we give up and resign from job, after a unemployment period, we turn back to jobs which we do not like, that is all.

Benim en büyük sorunum işsizlik. O da eğitimsizliğe dayanıyor. Bu devirde üniversite mezunlarının bile işsiz kaldığını düşündüğünde bizim gibi orta okul mezunu bir adamın düzgün bir iş bulması mucizelere kalıyor. Eğitimsiz olduğumuz için düzgün bir iş bulamıyoruz, düzgün iş bulmayınca belli bir süre katlanıyorsun az paraya , sigortasız, can güvenliği olmadan çalışmaya, sonra bırakıyorsun işi, sonra bir süre işsiz gezdikten sonra mecburen yine beğenmediğimiz işlere geri dönüyoruz böyle gidip duruyor hiçbir şeyin değiştiği değişeceği yok.

To sum up, it is realized from the experiences of young people living in Altındağ, their experiences of social exclusion is multidimensional. They experiences multidimensional disadvantages in education, the labour market, social capital. It is also very important to emphasize that this multidimensional nature of young people's

experiences of social exclusion is closely linked with cumulative nature of their disadvantages. It can be probably argued that young people's experiences of social exclusion can be understood only as a process. Their cumulative and multidimensional disadvantaged positions start in their childhood and tend to continue in their adulthood. It is also very crucial to highlights that there is a time dimension for understanding young people's experiences of social exclusion. As it is discussed in the social exclusion literature, their social exclusion is multi-temporal. Different emphasizes in different time periods are various according to gender and age. Lastly, vicious circler nature of young people's experiences of social exclusion is very important because it shows the high risk of social exclusion waiting them in their adulthood. As consequences of this, pessimism about future is one of the most common characteristic among young people.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

The aim of the study is to understand the experiences of urban youth living in Altındağ, one of the most disadvantaged neighborhoods of Ankara by using the concept of social exclusion. Additionally, the study aims at understanding the mechanisms which cause social exclusion and the implications of those mechanisms. Because the thesis aimed at examining mechanisms and issues that are complex, that are to a certain extent exploratory and that stress the importance of the context, setting and an individual's understanding of life phenomena, the methodology adopted was qualitative. In order to provide opportunity for young people to be given a voice and at the same time provide a structure for useful comparative purpose, I adopted semi-structured interview techniques to generate the research data. A sample of 32 young people aged 18-24 years were selected haphazardly from different neighbourhoods across Altındağ, one of the most disadvantaged districts of Ankara. I basically try to understand the experiences and feelings of young people in most disadvantaged conditions in order to be able to argue how closely do the experiences of the youth described in this study connect with popular and influential discussions of social exclusion.

Thus, this study tries to answer some crucial questions with regard to the social exclusion of young people living in Altındağ, associated with three components- education, labour market, and social capital (locality/neighborhood disadvantage). It asks for key mechanisms linking the experience of multiple disadvantages to various dimensions of social disintegration which is conceived of within the theoretical framework of social exclusion. In this context, not only the vulnerability factors such as low education level, early school drop-out, unemployment and marginal labour market positions are accepted as structural factors intensifying the social exclusion of the youth but also the protective social factors such as family support and social networks, which are assumed to prevent or reduce the risk of being disadvantaged, also have been taken into consideration as effecting social exclusion.

In this respect, an analysis of educational profiles of young people taking part in the sample and the structural, local and individual factors affecting their educational career have been added into analysis. Then, the labour market integration and disintegration and its implications on young people's lives have been examined. Lastly, the social capitals of young people are taken into consideration as a third dimension, exploring young people's subjective experiences in the neighborhoods and the nature of their social networks. Especially in this part about the nature of social networks of the young people questions like "the composition of the social network" and "How these networks are defined and what do these networks provide for the youth" became significant.

In this study it is observed that education is a crucial dimension for identifying which characteristics can cause entry or exit from the processes of inclusion into the benefits provided by the society at large. Also it helps us to understand how the multiple and cumulative disadvantages shape the conditions of existence and the experiences of the youth and what are its consequences for them in the context of Altındağ. In the research the significance of educational factors are mostly emphasized by young females. For young females low education level is the main factor contributing to their social exclusion. On the other hand, for young males, low education level is associated with low or lack of qualifications which are relevant for regular employment in the labour market. Negative attitudes of the parents towards education of the females are much more referred by young females for explaining their low educational attainments. Young males mostly give reference to individual factors for explaining their educational failure. For those who continue their education career after compulsory education, mostly accounted structural factors such as low quality of school and teaching in schools located in Altındağ.

In the social exclusion literature, there is an emphasis on the integrative capacity of the labour market participation. In this study, it is observed that the degree to which employment offers opportunities for social participation and integration depends on the quality of jobs. Irregularities in the nature of employment of young people in the sample are highlighting the risk of labour market marginalization as a result of skill

polarization and intensification of work. A considerable number of jobs such as low-skilled or non-skilled do not have the integrative characteristics of employment for young people living in Altındağ. A considerable number of jobs which young people work in the sample do not provide such opportunities. Indeed, they often do not provide the regular income or security of job that would support full involvement in the society. Young people, who engage in such jobs, proposed that they have a very restricted form of participation and limited opportunities for escaping from disadvantaged positions. In this context, it might be argued that low-skilled employment does not only provide limited life opportunities but it enhances the risk of labour market marginalization for young people in the sample.

Social capital is another dimension of the study. By focusing on social networks, in this study it is observed that small-scale, interpersonal networks based on friendship and families were crucial to develop a sense of belonging and benefit from social support for decreasing the risk of social exclusion. Membership of a formal community network and associations did not exist among the youth. On the other hand, friends were crucial to participate into leisure activities and provided a source of security and trust. Also family support and relations were very important for the young since it meant to be “being there when needed”. Furthermore, by focusing on the sense of belonging, in terms of identity, young people’s positive sources of identity derived mainly from a sense of belonging in terms of relationships within their families and friends rather than from a strong sense of place. In this study, the socially excluded youth are relatively deprived in terms of their social interactions to the larger society networks despite the fact that they have strong networks within their own neighbourhoods. However, those strong local networks are also composed of people (families and friends) who are also isolated from formal social networks in the society. Hence, these people also do not have access to economic resources and jobs which prevents them from actively participating in the mainstream economy. Therefore, the main problem stemming from low levels of social capital of the youth is not necessarily the lack of any networks, but rather the lack of a ‘useful’ and “formal” network. In other words, it is much more related with low capacity of their social networks in terms of being integrated to the society at large.

While the notion of social exclusion has been defined in different ways, most usages are concerned with the implications of a situation of multiple disadvantages in terms of lack of labour market integration or marginal positions in the labour market, low level of education, lack of social capital and, social isolation. These different dimensions of social exclusion are seen as mutually reinforcing, generating a vicious circle that leads to a progressive deterioration in people's social situation. In this respect, Kronuer (1998) argues that on the one side social exclusion is always linked with lack of labour market integration especially with unemployment but that it can only be defined when both labour market disintegration and other dimensions are experienced at the same time.

So from such findings we can say that the primary forms of social exclusion experienced by young people being interviewed are about distributional issues like the lack of resources at structural, local and individual level. Furthermore, the relational issues like inadequate social participation, lack of social integration are other forms of social exclusion experienced by them.

One of the major conclusions this study is that there is not one single and uniform experience of social exclusion among young people taking part in the sample. This differentiation in the lived experiences of young people in the sample should be explained by a wider view of social exclusion. Although their lived present experiences are critically important in understanding the structural, local and individual factors contributing to social exclusion and their longer-term implications, taking young people's biographies before the moment of the interview is needed to understand the whole picture of social exclusion which is defined as a process. As I discussed in theoretical chapter, Castel (1993) challenges the notion of social exclusion because of its static dimension, its fixedness and its inability to show the variability of the situation to which it refers. If I decide on whether young people are socially excluded or not on the basis of data generated by taking their experiences in the moment of the research, this study will be static and unable to show the variability of the situation. Furthermore, by following the social exclusion literature, I defined social exclusion as the endpoint of a process for individuals placed in situations of multiple and cumulative disadvantages which prevent the full

participation and integration in a society. At this point, Castel (1993) prefers another conceptualization of social exclusion which is better able to transcend the description of a situation of social exclusion to recount experiences, trace trajectories and explain processes. He uses various constitutive phases of the social exclusion process and brings together different social zones: social integration zone, individualization zone, vulnerability zone, social exclusion zone, assurance zone. However, I would like to propose another typology for describing the situation of young people in the context of social exclusion. I divided young people into three categories: *high risk of social exclusion, increased risk of social exclusion and low risk of social exclusion.*

The high risk of social exclusion arises from multiple disadvantaged positions in three components which are education, labour market, and social capital. Young people in this category experience long-term unemployment, economic hardships and social isolation. Due to financial and other problems in their families, these young people are at a disadvantage from childhood. They are not sufficiently supported by their families, by their social environments or by governmental institutions, and they tend towards problematic behaviors such as drug dependency and deviance. In fact, developing such behaviours is the indication of high risk of exclusion and in parallel high need of trying to forget their problems and discrimination, as told by the youth themselves. The main factor which increases the risk of social exclusion is the low educational attainments and low level of qualifications and especially non existence of family support. These young people also exhibit high passivity towards the labour market involvement.

The moderate risk of social exclusion is much more linked with marginal positions in the labour market (insecurity, low paid-employment, long-working hours, no social security insurance). With regard to qualifications, lack of educational resources is found among young people in this category. The risk of social exclusion for this group is mainly counteracted by the high degree of family support. Their social capital is based on dense networks resulting in higher social support at the micro level however they lack dispersed networks which are very useful for accessing a better position in the society. A strong link to their immediate social surroundings (friends and family) in fact encourages the risk of social exclusion. Furthermore,

general low level of social activity is high which must be regarded as a vulnerability factor. The strong link to the family described in the study, however, is often not only regarded as positive although the existence of dense social networks reduces social exclusion and the resulting economic dependence of the young people on the family can add to their exclusion. The youth in this group are not as much affected by problems as youth at high risk of social exclusion but nevertheless the situation is still vulnerable from the perspective of social exclusion.

The third category is *low risk of social exclusion*; young people in this group are at maximum affected by only one dimension of social exclusion. Compared with the other groups, youth at low risk of social exclusion have higher qualifications such as graduation from technical high school and are in a relatively secure financial situation and are well supported by their family and social environment.

The second, most important conclusion in this study is that a context of social exclusion does not generate just one way of getting by for young people living in Altındağ. For instance while young females emphasize the educational dimension for explaining their disadvantaged situation, for young males labour market disintegration or marginal positions are mostly emphasized. There is also another differentiation between young males. While for those who completed their military services emphasized the educational and labour market factors generating social exclusion, for younger males, consumption, poverty and cultural discriminations are much more accounted. Therefore, age and gender play an important role in understanding whole picture of the social exclusion discussion in the context of Altındağ.

As the third major conclusion, the research results confirm the multi-dimensional character of social exclusion. It can be argued that lack of resources has enormous importance for the whole range of life chances for young people living in Altındağ. Nevertheless, financial indicators such as low income are insufficient to see the whole picture: multi-dimensional indicators are needed, directly illustrating different aspects of disadvantage. Moreover, it is important to separate different elements of hardship and to identify their interrelationships. Multi-dimensional refers to the

different sources of deprivation and the different processes (social, economic, cultural and political) which enable it. Therefore, it can be argued that the social exclusion of young people in this study is multi-dimensional and they are interrelated. Young people's experiences of social exclusion are cumulative and compounding effects of these joined-up problems of social exclusion. In other words, the multiplicity of dimension of exclusion experienced by them is closely related to its cumulative nature. So, we can talk of social exclusion for young people living in Altındağ because several of forms of multiple and cumulative disadvantage in different dimensions as part of a chain reaction.

Young people's experiences of social exclusion can also be defined as a multi-temporal. This is referring to the dynamic nature of the exclusionary processes and of the dynamic change in the circumstances of their life. Although the ages of participants in the study are very close to each other, it is realized that there are different forms and levels of social exclusion among young people.

Another important conclusion of the study is that the social exclusion experiences of the youth in Altındağ could be described as an exclusionary process, as a "vicious circle" or as a "spiral of disadvantage". In other words, not only do the various causes of exclusion compound one another but social exclusion itself is a causing factor in the sense that being excluded brings in more types of exclusion. Moreover, disadvantages and social exclusion of young people living in Altındağ are dynamic and many processes are involved. Young people who have low or moderate risk of social exclusion or escape from it remain on still its margins and fall into it once more. Hence, their vulnerability in terms of being excluded continues all the time even if they seem to overcome it. Therefore, young people's experiences of social exclusion can be defined as cumulative, multidimensional, and cyclic and embedded into a web of disadvantages.

Social exclusion is commonly conceived of in terms of social relationships. In this study, the 'process' of social exclusion can be seen as the breakdown of social ties and social and symbolic bonds of young people. Their experiences of social exclusion can be defined in terms of social isolation. In this study it is realized that

young people faced with a social isolation from other parts of the city also have to encounter a stigmatization of young people as being potential criminals and drug users which has important exclusionary effects in this social isolation process. According to the social exclusion discourse, the value of discussing social exclusion in terms of social relationships is obtained when it is defined on the basis of the common norms and values of the community. So social exclusion is argued to occur where the community doesn't work or it just doesn't exist, or where the fabric of community is falling apart. On these lines in this study, it is also observed that there is another form of social isolation experienced in the context of the community for young people living in Altındağ. This is stigmatization in terms of being accepted as a potential criminal and/ or a drug user is experienced by young people being interviewed. Although a few number of them said that they can turn into drugs or alcohol when they are really desperate psychologically and can not find any way out still the whole group of youth living in Altındağ is labeled as deviants, drug users or dangerous people by the larger community. On the other hand, most of these young people also declare that they are very careful not to get involved into any criminal activity or try to stay far from the people who use or sell drugs. So they have a strong sense of criminality but they still can not escape from being accepted as potential criminals.

Finally, it is the social capital, through greater participation into the community that is seen as an antidote to social exclusion. So, it is probably argued that young people's experiences of social exclusion can be defined as a lack of social capital. On the other hand we see that young people in the research have strong links with their families and friends. However, this form of social capitals only consists of horizontal relations within the community who are more or less in the same disadvantaged position of the youth. Therefore, the lack of vertical social capital which can be proposed as a possible antidote to the social exclusion of the youth is another factor explaining their experiences of social exclusion. For this reason, family is proposed as a form of survival strategy by young people. As it is discussed in the theory chapter, social exclusion must be defined and dealt with in a way which recognizes specificity of the context. At this point, it is not wrong to argue that this dependency causes another form of social exclusion. This form of social exclusion constitutes the

specificity of Altındağ and gecekondü contexts. Being subject to the family support mechanisms makes the youth more vulnerable because in case the conditions of the family change or if the youth goes into a disagreement with his family, his only support can be lost. So being depended on the family support may prove to be helpful for not being subjected to absolute poverty but it also leads to a risk of vulnerability. So I can argue that, as discussed in the social exclusion literature, family and community support is important for not being excluded economically and socially, but it also can create to dimension of exclusion when such support systems are the only support mechanisms of the individual, and hence of the disadvantaged youth.

This study can be helpful in two respects: one it is an analysis of the social exclusion literature in the case of disadvantaged youth. The other is it tries to display that the exclusionary practices should be understood from a multidimensional perspective. The study found that exclusion has social, economic, cultural and spatial causes as well as a temporal dimension that it can be transferred from the elderly to the youth and experienced within the trajectories of the individuals and their families.

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