THE DECLINE OF COMMUNITY-BASED SOLIDARITY AMONG THE
URBAN POOR: THE CASE OF BOSTANCIK NEIGHBOURHOOD IN
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_____

Prof. Dr. Sencer Ayata
Director

I certify that this thesis satisfies all the requirements as a thesis for the degree of Master of Science.

_____

Prof. Dr. Raşit Kaya
Head of Department

This is to certify that we have read this thesis and that in our opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Science.

_____

Assoc. Prof. Dr. H. Tarık Şengül
Supervisor

**Examining Committee Members**

Prof. Dr. Melih Ersoy              (METU, CRP)        ————————————

Assoc. Prof. Dr. H.  Tarık Şengül (METU, ADM)        ————————————

Assist. Prof. Dr. Galip Yalman     (METU, ADM)        ————————————

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First name, Last name: Duygu Tanış

Signature:

# ABSTRACT

## THE DECLINE OF COMMUNITY-BASED SOLIDARITY AMONG THE URBAN POOR: THE CASE OF BOSTANCIK NEIGHBOURHOOD IN ANKARA

TANIŞ, Duygu

M.S. Department of Political Science and Public Administration

Supervisor: Assoc. Prof. Dr. H. Tarık ŞENGÜL

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This thesis concentrates on the effects of poverty and socio-spatial exclusion on the local communities and the solidarity ties among the poor. The field research conducted in Bostancık Neighbourhood revolved around two basic questions; socio-spatial segregation of the poor communities from the wider society and the impact of this on the internal structure of these communities with special reference to the solidarity ties and networks. The findings of the research show that the urban poor have been excluded from the mainstream economy and such an exclusion is companied by their further exclusion from social and political processes and public spaces of the city which resulted with their confinement in such physical settings looking like ghetto. Likewise, the research findings point to the fact that in Bostancık Neighbourhood, the community relations revolving around supportive networks, so-called common norms and interests have been severely damaged by the increasing poverty and exclusion. What replaces such relations is a new life style characterised by fragmentation and atomisation of not only community but also other forms of solidarity. In turn, it is observed that there is a high level tension and hostility within the community. The overall findings show that as a result of the economic, social, political and spatial exclusion and social isolation, the communal characteristics of the neighbourhood have been largely dissolved in favour of an atomistic life style threatining the conditions of living together.

Keywords: Poverty, Exclusion, Urban Space, Outcast/Excluded Ghetto, Community in the Urban Life.

# ÖZ

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KENT YOKSULLARI ARASINDAKİ TOPLULUK TEMELLİ DAYANIŞMANIN
ÇÖZÜLÜŞÜ: ANKARA BOSTANCIK MAHALLESİ ÖRNEĞİ

TANIŞ, Duygu

Yüksek Lisans, Siyaset Bilimi ve Kamu Yönetimi Bölümü

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Bu tez, yoksulluk ve sosyo-mekansal dışlanmanın yerel topluluklar ve yoksullar arasındaki dayanışma bağları üzerindeki etkisine yoğunlaşmaktadır. Bostancık Mahallesi'nde gerçekleştirilen alan araştırması iki temel soru üzerine kuruludur; yoksul toplulukların toplumdan sosyo-mekansal ayrışması ve bu ayrışmanın bu toplulukların iç yapısı –özellikle dayanışma ağları ve ilişkiler– üzerindeki etkileri. Araştırmanın bulguları, ana ekonomiden, ve bunu da ötesinde sosyal ve siyasal süreçlerden ve kentin kamusal mekanlarından dışlanmaları sonucunda; kent yoksullarının getto benzeri fiziksel ortamlara kapatıldıklarını göstermiştir. Aynı şekilde bulgular, Bostancık Mahallesi'nin artan yoksulluk ve eşitsizlikle birlikte dayanışma ağları ve ortak değer ve çıkarlar üzerine kurulu topluluk ilişkilerinin zedelendiğini ortaya çıkarmıştır. Bu ilişkilerin yerini topluluğun parçalanması ve atomizasyonuyla birlikte farklı dayanışma şekilleri almıştır. Buna bağlı olarak, topluluk içinde yüksek seviyede gerilim ve düşmanlık olduğu gözlemlenmiştir. Bir bütün olarak bulgular, ekonomik, sosyal, politik ve mekansal dışlanma ve sosyal yalıtım sonucunda mahalleyi topluluk yapan özelliklerinin, birlikte yaşamanın koşullarını tehdit eden atomistik yaşam şekline dönüşmesiyle büyük ölçüde çözüldüğünü göstermektedir.

Anahtar Sözcükler: Yoksulluk, Dışlanma, Kent Mekanı, Dışlanmış Getto, Kent Hayatında Topluluk.

Hayalleri bile ellerinden alınan Bostancık'ın yalnız insanlarına,

Ve hem çocuk hem de kadın "Ünzile"ye...

# ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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# INTRODUCTION

*En çok kışın tanırım ben yoksulluğu, kasket altına giyilen
yazlık ceketlerden
ve zengin görünsün diye boyna dolanan atkılardan anlarım
derme çatma bacalardan ve is kokularının bulaştığı
semtlerden,
ateş yakılan pazarlarda donmuş mandalina kabuklarından
hala soba borusu satan kasabalardan,
çıra kokularından bilirim, kış yalnızca yoksullara gelir[1]...*

*Anonymous*

Throughout the history of humanity, dominating regimes fed by the unequal distribution of wealth and power, have created poverty and inequality. At some historical moments, studies about poverty, inequality and social justice have gained popularity and social scientists have problematized these issues. There are diverse reasons for this popularity; however, up until now, it has not been possible to "make poverty history." Today:

Almost half the world — over three billion people — live on less than $2.50 a day…

At least 80% of humanity lives on less than $10 a day…

More than 80 percent of the world's population lives in countries where income differentials are widening…

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[1]*Mostly, I recognized the poverty in winter,
by the summer coats under the caps
and by the scarfs coiled around the neck to look rich
by the jerrybuilt chimneys and by the districts full of smell of soot,
by the frozen tangerine peels in the marketplaces where a light has been fired
by the towns in which the stovepipes have still been sold,
I have recognized by the smell of tinder
the winter only affects the poor…*

> The poorest 40 percent of the world's population accounts for 5 percent of global income. The richest 20 percent accounts for three-quarters of world income…
>
> According to UNICEF, 25,000 children die each day due to poverty[2]…

These numbers represent the desperation which most of the world population has been living with. While the "lucky" section of the humanity has been living with great wealth and luxury, the rest of the world has been suffering. The gap between the poor and the rich continues to widen and the world's resources have been "served" to an exclusive minority. The concepts of equality and freedom remain a dream for the most of the world's population.

Yet, there are enlightening personal stories of the people who are excluded, socially, politically and culturally, which come from the disadvantaged areas of the city. In these areas, the urban space plays an essential role in deepening the poverty and inequality that these people face. In the 19th century, with the growth of Fordism, mass production and mass consumption changed not only the process of manufacturing, but dramatically impacted the whole economic and social order. One impact of Fordism affecting urban space has been the mass migration of unskilled labourers from rural areas. The urban bourgeoisie, generally discontent with these newcomers, have left the city centre with the help of governmental policies, to the suburbs. This has created the inner-city ghettos of the working class. L. Wacquant identifies these ghettos as an "ethnoracial prison," in which people are held against their will. Workers' resistance has arisen to their oppressive working conditions, including extensive working hours, and which perpetually immobilize them between production and consumption (Aglietta, 1998). In addition, Fordism has experienced a crisis, as a result of the gap between the demand and supply sides of the economy. This resistance and crisis has transformed the Fordist production model to include flexible production, which indicates the elasticization of the labour force and technology. This new era, in the mid 20th century, has been marked as Post-Fordism.

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[2] *Source: http://www.globalissues.org/article/26/*

Companies have moved production to underdeveloped countries with inexpensive labour and raw materials to overcome the crisis and to avoid worker resistance. Therefore, cities have started to compete with each other to attract capital, creating deep inequality between them. As Harvey put it, the international financial capital and local powers began to negotiate without the involvement of a central government (Harvey, 1991). The cities gained an exchange value.

The economic problems of the Welfare State, which originated from the crisis in the late 1960s, have created a change in the structure of policy at the urban level. Localities had to combat problems without the financial support of nation state. In the case of investment, the role of localities gained importance, and sparked the negotiation process between international financial capital and local powers (Harvey, 1991). Therefore, the cities' exchange value gained significance and they began to be transformed by the competition with other cities to attract capital. Furthermore, not only does the competition between cities shape them, but also inner-city competition created significant changes for cities. Therefore, the "profitable" parts of the city have been internalized by the power elites, and the rest are forced to be content with the remainder. A rigid hierarchy has thus resulted between the classes, in the sense of who can use the city. The fragmentation in the city has also changed the characteristics of the ghetto, now "outcast ghettos," which are characterized by economic exclusion from the mainstream economy, as well as spatial exclusion (Marcuse, 1997).

The conceptualization of the ghettos as "outcast" addresses the sacrifice of its residents as the reserve army of labour for the production process. Although some members could peripherally be part of the mainstream economy, with low-paid jobs or in the illegal economy, the outcast ghetto also has its own economy. Furthermore, the characterization of the residents of the outcast ghetto is another argument, as it is shaped with the debates around the concepts of social exclusion or the underclass.

G. Myrdal firstly used the term underclass in 1962 to define the disadvantaged, who lay at the bottom of the economic system, and who are excluded from the economy, the city, social and cultural life, and even from the working class (Wilson,

2006:104). From the end of the 1970s, they have been identified as the dangerous class, which has nothing to lose.

There are four main strands to the underclass debate, according to whether they take a positive or negative approach, including the moral turpitude thesis, the outcast poverty thesis, the agnostic view and the denial of the underclass. While the moral turpitude thesis blames the members of the underclass for their condition, because of deplorable behaviours, irresponsibility and deviance, born from their illegitimacy, the outcast poverty thesis blames the structures which create cycles of deprivation.

Social exclusion, on the other hand, has a definition that goes beyond simple calculations of income. It originated from a European context, and defines the disadvantaged, excluded sections of the population multidimensionally to include not only economic but institutional, cultural and spatial exclusion, as well as social isolation (Silver, 1994). However, all types of exclusion are closely related, and could be either cause or result of another.

The meanings of community and solidarity have significantly changed with mass urbanization, and the problems that emerge when residents settle, but do not live "in" it. Therefore, we must pay special attention to the arguments around community to fully grasp and understand the exclusion of the "disadvantaged" sections of population, as well as the lifestyles in their neighbourhoods. There are three basic theories of the community in the urban context, which are the "community lost", "community saved" and "community transformed/liberated" arguments. The "community lost" theory argues that communal values like solidarity and locality are not applicable at an urban level. Therefore, as a result of the rationality, specialization and division of labour, urban people have turned into self-seeking, self-interested individuals that cannot establish personal and intimate relations (Simmel, 1990). On the other hand, the "community saved" argument proposes that empirical studies show that in the industrial cities, kinship solidarity, social networks and the importance of locality are easily observed in ethnic and/or poor neighbourhoods. For instance, the research of H.J. Gans, of an Italian-American neighbourhood, shows that the residents have a self-sufficient structure in which the kinship, solidarity and friendship have been preserved by social networks (Gans,

1962). Lastly, the "community transformed/liberated" theory combines the two former strands, and claims that community exists in urban life, but in a transformed/liberated way. Residents of the city have the opportunity to choose the groups and organizations they want to be associate with, thus, the community is transformed and liberated; in part due to the heterogeneity of the urban life (Tsai & Sigelman, 1982). The different outlooks in community studies show an essential side of the urban life, but also must be understood in terms of the "disadvantaged" population sections.

This study analyzes a specific neighbourhood, Bostancık Neighbourhood, in Ankara, regarding the effects of economic, cultural, social, economic exclusion and poverty on the community relations. The main insight is that the exclusion and the poverty experienced in Bostancık significantly alter residents' relations with each other, as well as communal ties and solidarity in the neighbourhood. Furthermore, social stratification can be observed among the urban outcasts, as a result of their isolation from the city, and their living in an enclosed space. From an outsiders' viewpoint, they can be seen as having homogeneous unity, however, "in the town," power relations and hierarchy are inevitable. In this sense, romanticizing the isolation, and claiming that poverty, exclusion and isolation have created a new type of solidarity that bring people together could only be a "relief".

The settlers do not benefit from the city as the "upper" classes do, and because they cannot connect to it, their views of the neighbourhood, the city and outsiders fit accordingly. As Davis put it:

> …peri-urban poverty- a grim human world largely cut off from the subsistence solidarities of the countryside as well as disconnected from the cultural and political life of the traditional city – is the radical new face of poverty. (2007:201)

Here, this study focuses on respecting these people as the object of the study, rather than the subject, and aims to give a voice to as many people as possible. It values not the numbers or the facts, but people's experiences, opinions and ideas about exclusion, poverty and survival. In this sense, this work lays stress on the effects of

socio-spatial segregation on the internal relations and the everyday practices of the residents in Bostancık.

From this viewpoint, Chapter 1 attempts to sketch a theoretical analysis of the relations between poverty, inequality and the urban space. First it looks at the Liberal, Conservative and the Marxist traditions, in terms of their approaches to social inequality and/or poverty, and it follows with poverty studies. In these studies, the Poor Law is the starting point, followed by the poverty problem in the Welfare State and in the policies of the New Right. The last part of the chapter elaborates on the characteristics of urban space under Fordism, focusing on the ghetto in the Fordist-city. Therefore, the aim is to understand the effects of the Fordist organization on the urban space in general, and on the living space of those at the bottom of the society—the ghettos—in particular.

This is followed by Chapter 2, which attempts to analyze the effects of Post-Fordism on the urban space. This chapter explores the fragmented characteristics of the Post-Fordist city, and the location of the "poor" within it. To elaborate, first it gives information about Fordism, and second it sketches the characteristics of the Post-Fordist city. The backbone of the chapter focuses on the arguments of the "outcast ghetto." The transformation of the ghetto into outcast ghettos is a milestone for poverty studies, as it also includes the characteristics of the "new" poverty. Therefore, the next step is the identification of ghetto dwellers, which has two main themes, the underclass and the social exclusion debates. The underclass debate takes two different approaches that vary from positive to negative views of the disadvantaged, excluded and marginalized sections of population. These approaches are handled from two different perspectives. The first labels people as personal failures, who reproduce their marginality and deviance; and the second holds the economic, social, cultural and political structures responsible for the reproduction. Lastly, it comments on European-originated social exclusion debates to characterize the residents of the poor sections of the population.

Chapter 3 completes the theoretical framework of the thesis, with a focus on community studies. As mentioned above, the community is a helpful tool to grasp the structural and relational transformation of the outcast ghettos within changing

economic and social structures. To fully grasp the effects of the transformation, it is necessary to analyze the different strands in community studies. Three basic viewpoints—the community lost, the community saved and the community transformed/liberated—and a general evaluation of these theories are elaborated on in this chapter. The characteristics, the role and the existence/inexistence of community in the urban life are the basis of these arguments. Three basic figures and works express the general arguments of the "community lost" arguments: F. Tönnies' *Community and Society*, G. Simmel's *The Metropolis and the Mental Life*, and L. Wirth's *Urbanism as a Way of Life* and *The Urban Society and Civilization*. Each basically argue that community no longer exists in the city. The opposing "community saved" arguments counter "community lost" and focus on two basic field studies: *The Urban Villagers: Group and Class in the Life of Italian Americans* by H.J. Gans and *Street Corner Society: The Social Structure of an Italian Slum* by W.F. Whyte. These studies show that in the classical sense, communal characteristics can be observed in some neighbourhoods. The last theory combines the two, "community transformed/liberated", and claims that community still exists in the city, but in a manner that is transformed or liberated. This viewpoint is elaborated on the C.S. Fischer's work, *The Urban Experience*. The chapter ends with a general conclusion, and attempts to evaluate the three theories in relation to the poor neighbourhoods, which are used to evaluate the data derived from the field research.

Chapter 4 contains the field research, which is a case study carried out in Bostancık Neighbourhood in Ankara. The chapter has three main sections. The first explains the aim and methodology of the research. The relation between the spatial exclusion and urban poverty is a complex issue so the research attempts to give a general framework with the aim and methodology. The explanation of the aim and methodology is followed with general information about the research setting, and my reason for choosing my focus group from the residents of this neighbourhood.

The second section of 4th chapter takes the data obtained from the interviews, and focuses on the spatial exclusion the interviewees have faced and its effects on their communal characteristics. This section starts with a brief introduction of the

settlement stories of the residents, and their survival strategies, which highlights the profile of the sample. Later, it questions the communal characteristics in terms of the degree of solidarity and the conflict in the neighborhood. First, I present the data about the residents' relations with the other parts of the city, and then their opinions and feelings about living in Bostancık. Their opinions about their neighborhood are also analyzed with the basic determinants of their physical and political desolation, and the social stratification within the neighborhood. After that, I address their conception of the "better" world outside their neighborhood and its residents, with quotations from as many interviews as possible. This chapter ends with a general evaluation of the above topics, and gives my personal opinions about the experiences I had in the neighborhood.

Finally, in the conclusion, I summarize how the final data obtained from the field research is related to the theoretical framework in the thesis, and I present my personal opinions about the theory and practice.

# CHAPTER 2

# INEQUALITY, POVERTY AND THE URBAN SPACE

## 2.1. The History of Inequality and Poverty

> *açlık yok olmaz.*
> *krallıklar buna karşı "evet efendim, siz doğru*
> *söylüyorsunuz, haklısınız!" dediler.*
> *yeni rejimler "azaltılabilir" dediler.*
> *bugün açlık yok olmamış, krallıklar yok olmuştur.*
> *açlık azalmamış rejimler çok olmuştur[3].*
>
> *Özdemir Asaf- Yuvarlağın Köşeleri*

To provide a historical background to the debate, in this short section, I review the early approaches to poverty and social exclusion. With this aim, Liberal, Conservative and Marxist perspectives are discussed.

## 2.1.1. The Liberal Tradition

In the 17th century, the liberal arguments based on property rights have initiated the first systematic approaches to poverty. The liberal thinkers defend private property, while they favor including charity for poor people, and social welfare beyond the personal (Şenses, 2006:32). For these liberal thinkers, the state is generally not the "result" of, but the "reason" for the problem of poverty. In this sense, dealing with the poverty is an individual issue and choice. As Ashcraft cited from J. Locke:

---

[3] *"The hunger would not disappear.*
*As a response, the kingdoms say "yes sir, you are telling*
*the truth, you are right!"*
*the new regimes say "it could be reduced"*
*today, hunger does not disappear, but the kingdoms do.*
*Hunger does not decrease, the number of the regimes have increased."*

> poor relief is a socially constitutive and necessary feature of any legitimate society, since societies are only legitimate to the extent that they realize the purposes and objectives of natural law (Ashcraft,1992:497)

For Locke, human beings are driven by moral values as a result of their working together. These people form civil society. In civil society, it is "natural" that some people have their own possessions, while others do not. This belief is supported with the concept of "natural rights". Locke claims every person is born equally, and has the same basic right to live. In the end, the right to live makes all individuals equal who are in possession of their own bodies:

> Though the earth and all inferior creatures be common to all men, yet every man has a property in his own person; this nobody has any right to but himself. The labour of his body and the work of his hands, we may say, are properly his. (Locke, 1947:134)

Here, all individuals' basic possession from birth is the ability to sell their own properties, as well as their labour, which are their basic possessions from birth. Locke legitimizes people in poverty by viewing poverty as being as natural as having property. One way or another, all people have possessions and social inequality is inevitable in civil society. Here, the state is indispensable to protect the possessions of the possessors from the disposed.

Likewise, A. Smith in his famous book *Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* says that humans most sacred property is her/his own labour, which is the foundation of all other properties (Smith,1981:138). Therefore, the civil government is indispensable to the protection of the properties of the propertied citizens. According to Smith, human labour is the source of all wealth. The cost of production is determined by labour and technical faculties, which are created by the division of labour and enable humans to use their labour more efficiently:

> In a farm where all the necessary buildings, fences, drains, communications, &c. are in the most perfect good order, the same number of labourers and labouring cattle will raise a much greater produce, than in one of equal extent and equally good ground, but not furnished with equal conveniences. In manufactures the same number of hands, assisted with the best machinery, will work up a much

greater quantity of goods than with more imperfect instruments of trade (Smith, 1982: 287).

*Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* marks a new era in the liberal tradition in that it calls attention to the conflict between the growth of the wealth of a nation and the increase of poor people (Şenses, 2006:33). According to Smith, the greatest achievement for the economy of a nation is the division of labour. For the employee, the employer, and the market, the division of labour is advantageous. For the employee, it prevents unnecessary effort, it provides profit for the employer, and makes the market more efficient with machines that facilitate labour. Division of labour depends on the level of education and following, skill acquisition.

Through a long path to the means of property and capital ownership, the owners of the labour and the labourers gain income, which they then invest. However, they minimally benefit from the income.

## 2.1.2 The Conservative Tradition

Conservatism, which has many strands, was a distinct political attitude by the Age of Enlightenment. One of these strands, the works of R. Malthus, needs special attention because it paved the way for a "blaming the victim" theory in poverty studies by focusing on the catastrophic effect of the population growth and consequential societal deformity.

T.R. Malthus was a British economist that lived in the late 18th and early 19th Centuries. He was famous for his theory of population and the supply of sustenance. According to Malthus, the population growth would cause poverty, famine and even death. In his well-known article, "*An Essay on the Principle of Population*" (1848), he argues that if the population would go unchecked, it would grow in a geometrical ratio, while the communities' food supply would increase in an arithmetical ratio (Malthus, 1992). Here, according to Malthus, the means to subsistence cannot grow fast enough to meet the needs for community. This theory does not directly oppose the growth of population, but the insufficiency of subsistence supply, when compared to the former:

>...we may be perfectly certain, that the ratio of their [productions of the earth] must be of a totally different nature from the ratio of the increase of the population. A thousand millions are just easily doubled every twenty-five years by the power of population a thousand. But the food to support the increase from the greater number will by no means be obtained with the same facility. (Malthus, 1992:17)

The structure of the labour market has been negatively affected by the population growth, as the supply of jobs does meet the supply of demand provided by the labourers:

>The number of laborers also being above the proportion of work in the market, the price of labor must tend towards a decrease; while the price of provisions would at the same time tends to rise. The labourer therefore must do more work to earn the same as he did before. (1997:25)

The growth of population would increase the supply of labour, resulting in lower wages, which ultimately results in famine and the misery. Starvation then decreases the labour supply and consequently increases wages. However, this can be prevented with positive or preventive checks. Positive means are neutral, such as natural disasters or accidents. Negative checks are means such as lowering fertility, and preventing early marriages (Hayes, 2002:109). The Poor Law was in effect from the 16th Century to the end of the 18th century. Local church organizations gave financial aid to poor people from tax revenue. However, Malthus was strongly against such charity, as he claimed it could only result in the "relief" of poor people, which would create over-reproduction. Malthus does not favour welfare policies, because they would only cause the population to grow:

>...and Malthus himself drew this conclusion, that charities and poor-rates are, properly speaking, nonsense, since they serve only to maintain, and stimulate the increase of, the surplus population whose competition crushes down wages for the employed; that the employment of the poor by the Poor Law Guardians is equally unreasonable, since only a fixed quantity of the products of labour can be consumed, and for every unemployed labourer thus furnished employment, another hitherto employed must be driven into enforced idleness, whence private undertakings suffer at cost of Poor Law industry; that, in other words, the whole problem is not how to support the surplus population, but how to restrain it as far as possible (Engels, 1987:281-282).

For Malthus, large families, which cannot be maintained, are the reason for poverty . Poverty is "either a function of ignorance or of moral perversity" (Harvey & Reed, 1992:274). Societal deviance belongs to the lower ranks of the society, as higher classes think rationally about economical sufficiency when forming a family and the number of children they will have. The poor need to be morally educated to think rationally, to have healthy judgment and foresight. For Malthus, poverty is not only an economic existence; it results from a lack of morality among the poor, and catastrophe for the whole community.

Malthus pioneered the bourgeoisie policies that aimed to eliminate welfare state policies, to control fertility, so the growth in the population would not cause a catastrophe in the economy. Bourgeoisie policies attempt to control the growth rate of the population, the geographical dispersion and structure of the poverty, and the number of the poor people, as they are the "reserve army of labour".

### 2.1.3 The Marxist Tradition

Unlike the liberal and conservative traditions; in Marxism, poverty and inequality are inherent in capitalist societies, and a part of the normal operation of the economies:

> In contrast to the Malthusian paradigm which locates poverty's origins in the fixed propensities and ratios of nature, Marxian political economy gives a social and historical accounting of poverty in capitalist society. According to classical Marxist paradigm, modern poverty is the product of an historically specific mode of production. (Harvey and Reed, 1992:276)

As Marx states:

> capitalistic accumulation itself... constantly produces, and produces in the direct ratio of its own energy and extent, a relatively redundant population of workers, i.e., a population of greater extent than suffices for the average needs of the valorisation of capital, and therefore a surplus-population... It is the absolute interest of every capitalist to press a given quantity of labour out of a smaller, rather than a greater number of labourers, if the cost is about the same... The more extended the scale of production, the stronger this motive. Its force increases with the accumulation of capital." (1975:635)

Therefore, a range of labourers with various wages is necessary for the survival of the capitalist economy. The unemployed as well as the employed are reserved for the usage of the capitalist. As R. Peet puts: "Marx said that capitalist economies need an "**industrial reserve army of labour**", a pool of poor people who can be used and discarded at the capitalist's will (1975:567). The mechanization process causes capitalism to employ new strata like women or children, while on the other hand, results in the unemployment of the workers who are replaced by machines. Engels states that:

> [Malthus]… was also right, in his way, in asserting that there is always a surplus population; that there are always too many people in the world; he is wrong only when he asserts that there are more people on hand than can be maintained from the available means of subsistence. Surplus population is engendered rather by the competition of the workers among themselves, which forces each separate worker to labour as much each day his strength can possibly admit. (Engels, 1987:114)

Marx and Engels claim that the Malthusian theory of over-population is an attempt to prevent reaching the source of the misery–the unequal distribution of poverty and wealth. Therefore, the division of labour is the reason for inequality in society or in a family. This constitutes the core of all the inequalities in a society:

> With the division of labour, in which all these contradictions are implicit, and which in its turn is based on the natural division of labour in the family and the separation of society into individual families opposed to one another, is given simultaneously the distribution, and indeed the unequal distribution, both quantitative and qualitative, of labour and its products, hence property: the nucleus, the first form, of which lies in the family, where wife and children are the slaves of the husband. (Marx & Engels, 1970:52)

Inequality and discrimination within labour power is inherent in capitalism, as Harvey says the accumulation and reproduction processes depend on the surplus of labour, access to means of production, and the existence of the market, which produces commodities (Clark, 1980: 226-227). On one hand, capital overworks the labourers, and the population of the reserve army increases. On the other, the reserve army is in competition with the labourers, which enables capitalist control over them.

The **industrial reserve army of labour** should be understood as both a social and economic category. In line with the capital(ist)'s interests, the classes and social groups excluded from the active labour force become surplus. Here, "The industrial reserve army is an essential aspect of capitalism—although today in many advanced economies it takes the form of a reserve army of the underemployed, that is, an army of flexible workers whose tasks and working hours are adjusted to suit the demands of productive conditions." (Palermo, 2007:16). As an economic category, the reserve army of labour helps capital to control the conditions of the active labour force. The process of determining wages is closely related with the expansion and contraction of the reserve army. According to Gene E. Mumy, "Marx's motivation was to oppose the Malthusian notion that wages depend solely on the balance of accumulated capital and accumulation-induced population size." (1990: 102). On the other hand, it shows that, although reserve army is also a social category, ultimately it is an economic division, as "work has brought out how all the so-called non-economic divisions, such as racial, sexual or national divisions, are also hierarchical divisions and basically wage divisions." (Cleaver, 2000:114). For instance, women were discovered as the "alternative" labour force, because of their lower wages; whereas the mechanization process creates newly unemployed, who are replaced by the newcomers: a cheaper labour force. The active and reserve army of labour are affected by the each of their living and working conditions, in essence, all conditions directed by capital. The existence of the reserve army causes capital owners to easily lower wages and overwork labourers.. However, in the class struggle, the reserve army of labour and the active labour force should organize together, because in the end, their class interests are the same. All workers have the potential to be a member of the reserve army and carry the risk of temporary or permanent unemployment.

Staying out of the social and political classes, the lowest part of the society, the *lumpenproletariat,* consists of the dangerous groups in a society that deny life through legitimate means; they have not realized their class interests and have been fooled by the "tricks" of the capitalists. In the 18th Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte, Marx identifies these dangerous groups as follows:

> …Alongside decayed roués (arches) with dubious means of
> subsistence and of dubious origin, alongside ruined and adventurous

offshoots of the bourgeoisie, were vagabonds, discharged soldiers, discharged jailbirds, escaped galley slaves, swindlers, mountebanks, lazzaroni, pickpockets, tricksters, gamblers, **maquereaux** [pimps], brothel keepers, porters, literati, organ grinders, ragpickers, knife grinders, tinkers, beggars — in short, the whole indefinite, disintegrated mass, thrown hither and thither, which the French call *la bohème…* (1968:136-137)

Although the *lumpenproletariat* is outside the wage-labour system, just like the reserve army, they cannot be utilized as the members of the proletariat. These "scum of the decaying elements of all classes"[4] are a barrier to the revolutionary classes because they cooperate with the reactionist forces of the capitalism. In this sense, they can be identified as a "counter-revolutionary force;" they are the remnants of the old system, and deceived by the forces against revolution. This preserves the existing class structure against the revolutionary acts of the proletariat. As they do not live through the legitimate means, they are also excluded from the social and legal networks, which make them, in a sense, the "undeserving poor".

The desire for an equal and free society based on the equal social, economic, political rights, and solidarity is reflected in the concepts of Marxism, such as division of labour, private ownership of the means of production, the reserve army of labour and the *lumpenproletariat*. Marxism, in particular, and the other classical approaches mentioned above influence contemporary theories. Thus, at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century, there was the first systematic study that problematized poverty.

## 2.2. The Studies of Poverty

Today, poverty is seen as a dangerous concept. It is dangerous to the cohesion of society, and for the people who are living (in) poverty who are deprived of what "others" have. The poor are a potential threat for society, as they have "nothing to lose," which makes them more susceptible to crime than most other classes in a community. In general: "…they are discriminated against, and insufficiently protected by a powerful apparatus set up for the very purpose of achieving social integration and equal opportunities" (Mingione, 1996: 13).

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[4]*The Peasant War in Germany by Frederick Engels Engels' Preface to the Second Edition*

Poverty could be described as the deprivation of material sources that meet basic needs that are "necessary" to survive with an adequate lifestyle. However, there is not an exact or common definition to poverty, as the concept itself is based on subjectivity. The sufficiency of material sources can change from geography to geography, from time to time, from culture to culture and from society to society. Therefore, many researchers interpret poverty in light of their era, society and geography. The problem with this subjectivity is that it also prevents solutions from being produced to "make poverty history".

The first systematic approach to poverty was by Charles Booth and Seebohm Rowntree at the end of the 19th Century in England. In his survey carried out in 1866, Charles Booth focuses on family income to measure poverty:

> By lifting the curtain to show the real world that it hid, Mr. Booth expected to expose a sensationalism which was detrimental to social progress, and to show that the problem of poverty had been exaggerated, but he worked "with no bias nor distorting aim, and with no foregone conclusions." (Abbott, 1917:198)

Rowntree's survey, published in 1902, classifies the poor into two basic categories. He identified the poverty line at the level where one can afford the basic needs to survive. Minimum necessities were defined as expenditures on food, shelter and clothes, and their costs were determined as the poverty line. Here, **primary poverty** indicates the people that are below the poverty line, and who cannot afford basic necessities to live (Rowntree, 2000:86). On the other hand, **secondary poverty** denotes the people who live above the poverty line, but cannot afford anything else except the basic necessities to live (87). The concepts of primary poverty, secondary poverty and the poverty line constitutes a framework for contemporary studies on poverty, and correspond to the concepts of absolute and relative poverty.

### 2.2.1. From "The Poor Law", Welfare State to the New Right

The growing role of the state in regulation is evident in the concept of the Welfare State, which resulted from the Great Depression and the Second World War. However, The Poor Law in Great Britain in the end of the 16th century is where the origins of the Welfare State lie. The basic framework of the welfare state was

created by laws, enacted in 1597 and 1601, in which the poor have been divided into two groups (Kovancı, 2003:30):

- Disabled-bodied poor
- Able-bodied poor

This division in its essence can be understood as the deserving and the undeserving poor. The "deserving poor" are the sick, old, impotent people outside almshouses who are helped by the outdoor relief. The second group, the undeserving poor, or *paupers,* have the opportunity to work but choose not to. Paupers are treated as criminals and punished until they come to the realization that they are in the wrong.

The Elizabethan Poor Law (1601) divided paupers into four categories (Hopkins, 1991: 85-86):

- The able-bodied unemployed
- The sick & the aged
- The children
- The sturdy baggers

The able-bodied unemployed should be employed, and almshouses should be established to function as a shelter for the sick, aged and the impotents (Kovancı, 2003:27).

In 1662, the Act of Settlement was promulgated as an attempt to prevent poor people from departing from one parish to another. Each parish was responsible for its own poor, and as a result they had to remove strangers. At that time, there were many objections based on the claim that the state spent more money on poor relief than on wages. Consequently, in 1833 a Poor Law Commission was set up to examine the operation of the Poor Law system in Britain. In their report published in 1834, the Commission made several recommendations to Parliament. The recommendations in the report were generally accepted by the Parliament, so the Poor Law Amendment Act was passed in 1834. Its main thrust was that "the person relieved must not be made more comfortable than the worst paid labourer." This

brought a new perception of the poor (Hopkins, 1979:89). The criticisms of Malthus and Bentham, directed at the old poor law, encouraged poor people "not to work" with the existence of efficient relief, and it effected the New Poor Law. It abolished relief given outside the almshouses, and reflected, again, the Smithian perception of human being as "labour" (Buğra, 2008: 45). The Old Poor Law policies; however, had not been related to the general discourse of *laissez-faire* in 19th century. As a result, the New Poor Law reflected the individualistic, competitive and self-responsible citizen, as understood by Adam Smith. From the viewpoint of the UK Government, in the act:

> Outdoor relief - the financial support formerly given to the able-bodied - was no longer to be available to them so as to compel them to work. Outside assistance was widely available to the sick and elderly. But in many areas assistance was only given within the confines of the workhouse where the regime was deliberately harsh and often cruel...The new Act was pioneering in introducing a role for central government in the care of the poor, and remained in force throughout the Victorian age. But, as social commentators remarked, the treatment of genuine hardship caused by economic circumstances beyond the control of the individual had been ignored[5].

The core of social policy rests on the implementation of the poor law. On one hand it tried to control labour with sanctions. On the other hand, the work ethic was adopted by the "reserve army of labour," when it needed to be adopted by the entire active labour force (Buğra, 2008:46). The New Labour Law was liberal enough to help the free market economy to develop; on the other hand it had sparked the regulations around poverty, which enabled state intervention. In this sense, it could be seen as the intellectual foundation of the welfare state (Barry, 1999; Kovancı, 2003; Buğra, 2008):

> Whatever we may think about the exact interpretation of the phrase 'The Welfare State', we can appreciate the force in David Roberts' judgment that during the mid-Victorian epoch the ordinary Englishman had become 'the beneficiary of a state that assumed a responsibility for the well-being of its citizens. However limited the responsibility, however meager compared to the responsibilities

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[5]*http://www.parliament.uk/about/livingheritage/transformingsociety/19thcentury/overview/poorlaw.cfm*

assumed by Whitehall today, it did mark the beginning of the Welfare State. (Marshall, 1965:20)

In the 20th Century, one of the most important events in history was the Great Depression, the first systematic crisis of the capitalist system. With the Great Depression, most of the industrialized cities were faced with an economic collapse, which created great armies of the unemployed and homeless. The existence and operation of the socialism also threatened the capitalist world. In an attempt to rescue capitalism from the crisis, and as a third way, beyond the socialist and the liberal states; several policies were implemented focusing on the problem of unemployment. J.M. Keynes provided the major breaking point in the liberal tradition. He was the main influence on these policies. His basic premise was, that if the people cannot consume, the state should, in their place, through increasing public expenditures. If the government increases public expenditure, it could create new areas of employment and full employment might finally be attained. By this, he suggested that the economy could balance between supply and demand. Although Keynesian policies resulted in the implementation of policies that aimed to reduce poverty, they did not resolve the problems of unequal distribution of income or poverty. Here, Keynesian policies shifted the interest in poverty from the production side to consumption side, as the system needs more people to consume than to produce (Akyüz, 2006:210).

Subsequently, with the Great Depression, the states took on the task of providing welfare services. As a result, states played an essential role in ending the crisis and began to produce policies to regulate social life. However, the birth of the "Welfare State" based on the "social security system" was provided by the Beveridge Report-Social Insurance and Allied Services. The report was prepared by Sir William Beveridge in 1942 in Great Britain (Rosanvallon, 2004:123). The Beveridge report includes family allowances, a nationwide social insurance system, and economic policies to create full employment. In addition, it includes some basic principles that can be identified as

…that there should be a universal flat-rate benefit, that the benefit should itself be paid at an adequate subsistence level, that the range of

benefits should cover all types of want and that benefits should be paid as long as wanted (Field, 1981:72).

According to Asa Briggs, who is the most commonly referred to theoretician regarding the welfare state arguments; the Welfare State is a system in which public power has been used consciously to reduce the role of the market powers in the economy. Here, he identified three basic elements for a Welfare State:

1. a guarantee of minimum standards, including a minimum income;
2. social protection in the event of insecurity; and
3. the provision of services at the best level possible (Briggs, 2007:16)

With the Second World War, "the total ultimate responsibility of the State for the welfare of its people was recognized more explicitly than ever before…" in Europe (Marshall, 1965:77). The states had implemented social policies, especially in the health sector and to aid families, to recreate social unity and solidarity. With these attempts to create social unity, social solidarity was glorified by the state. The focus of the social policies was the concept of "citizenship," and included the whole society. In other words its focus had shifted from poor people to every citizen in the society (Buğra, 2008:66). It also had the feature of being an intermediary system for the welfare state, as it exacerbated the tension between equality and the necessities for the capitalist system's survival. The relative concern for poor people was about their integration to the system as the citizens:

> Welfare programmes were developed to try and deal with working class poverty and integrate growing masses of proletarianized workers and their families into modern systems of citizenship… In such a context it is no wonder that little was said about poverty. (Mingione, 1996:10)

At that time, the concept of "poverty" was equated with underdeveloped countries. They had been forced to implement "development programs" produced by the developed countries. As a result, underdevelopment, not poverty, was the focus until the 1970s. Thanks to the oil shock (which could be called a relatively small-scaled Great Depression) and economic, social, political and cultural globalization, the nation-states began to withdraw their "welfare" services (Akyüz, 2006:210). This shift in state programs worsened the living conditions of the poor, which had been relatively improved by welfare policies. The opposition movements, at the end of

the 1960s, were both caused, and an effect of, the increased attention to poverty in the advanced capitalist societies in Europe. As a result, by the 1970's, poverty reappeared as a major problem in world politics and the concepts of the social justice and equality began to frequently appear in government policies. According to Mingione, in the early 1970s, there were two basic sides of poverty:

> The rural population subjected to the growing pressure of market competition... and the life conditions of the mass of the more or less recently urbanized working class without craft skills... (Mingione, 1996:7)

The capitalist states in Europe tried to develop more egalitarian and social democratic structures; however, they could not produce permanent solutions that would eliminate the problem of poverty (Gül&Gül, 1996:4).

In the 1980s, the world was confronted with the New Right movements, which were based on Smithian non-interventionist policies and driven by the process of globalization. The aim of the New Right was to produce less inflation, more economic growth, and less bureaucracy. Its basic argument was that interference of the state in the economy caused inflation at the time of the Welfare State. The defenders of the New Right ideology also said that citizens' expectations increased as a result of the Welfare State practices.

Two roots of the New Right, economic individualism and libertarianism, created the perception of citizen who is an "individual" with rights in the economy, but limited social rights; it emphasized traditional values and social bonds (Gamble, 1986:30). The basic problem of the Welfare State was "unemployment," however, in the New Right, it was the "inflation" caused by state intervention in the economy. In this framework, poverty was perceived in the New Right tradition as a personal failure and an ethical problem (Özuğurlu, 2006:54).

With the New Right policies, poor people were left to their own fate, and were faced with permanent unemployment. They tried to survive without benefits from the state. Besides this economic exclusion, they had also been excluded from the political process. As a result of their departure from any social groups and family, they are also excluded from social and cultural life (Işık & Pınarcıoğlu, 2005:70).

These arguments have resulted in a new approach to poverty studies, which in a sense, also advances the definition of poverty.

However, studying the urban space provides an essential base for the study of inequality and poverty, with a special focus on the geographical distribution of wealth and poverty. Here, spatial forms include the social processes, and the social processes, in essence, are spatial. The space, rather than being an ontological category, should be understood as a social dimension, which shapes the human being, but at the same time is also shaped by it. In this sense, the relation between the space and the human being should be understood in the settlement of the sub-altern classes, in the suburbs, or in the closed, bounded areas within the city.

## 2.3. Fordism and the Urban Space

## 2.3.1. What is Fordism?

The capitalist system, since its very beginning, has faced severe disruptions, which ironically, ensure its continuity. Fordism introduced mass production and consumption, and was a turning point for economic and social theory, which was followed by Taylorism. Antonio Gramsci first used the term Fordist, who defined it as "an ultra-modern form of production and of working methods - such as was offered by the most advanced American variety, the industry of Henry Ford." (Gramsci, 2005:281). It has several implications; that the labourer is unqualified, and is seen as having "two" hands, or being some "thing" between machine and human being. Under Fordism, every labourer is specialized for a single job, which results in cheap production and a higher rate of profit for the capital owner. The labourers are paid "sufficient" wages, so they supply mass consumption. The mass production and the mass consumption create the existing economic and social system. As A. Lipietz states:

> The concept of Fordism denotes two relatively distinct, though historically and theoretically interlinked, phenomena. First, it refers to *a mode of capital accumulation*: one based upon radical and constant change in the labour process, such that the workers' 'know-how' is incorporated in the form of machinery…Secondly, Fordism refers to *the continual adjustment of mass consumption* to the historically

unprecedented rise in productivity generated by intensive accumulation. (1994:199-200)

Similarly, for C. H. A. Dassbach:

[Fordism] was a new strategy for labour control and, as such, has three distinctive features: the automatic movement of work between workers, the equalization of wage rates, and finally, and most important, the extension of control to outside the factory. (1991:88)

In Fordism, the whole life of the labourer is organized, from his/her role in production, to consumption behaviour and leisure time activities. In other words, production was not only organized, but the individual was organized as well. Fordism is not simply an economic system. Thus, it preserved its existence with Keynesian policies, which aim to maintain the continuity of capitalism, and to find a solution "within" the capitalist system to economic crises like the Great Depression. Keynesian policies attached great importance to public expenditures, as they constituted an essential part of creating demand. Here, the Fordist-Taylorist view of capital accumulation and organization of work, and the Keynesian social welfare state together indicate a new socio-economic model for this time. This model was a response to the crisis capitalism was in:

The Fordist phase of capitalism was marked by the imposition of Taylorist labour processes in important sectors, associated with a considerable extension of wage labour (by repressing subsistence-economic forms of production in the agricultural and domestic sector), whilst at the same time making labour conditions relatively similar ('employee society'). The industrial mass production of consumer goods became the basis for an expansive capitalization of the sphere of reproduction… (Esser & Hirsch, 1994:75)

## 2.3.2. The Fordist City

Throughout the 19th Century, the urban space in early industrial countries was produced during the capital accumulation process and was the cornerstone of modernity. Fordism's mass production and mass consumption had several consequences for the urban space. First of all, the rural space lost significance, as it could not compete economically with the large factories in the cities. The unemployment rate rose in the rural regions and a large portion of population

migrated to the cities, which caused a population explosion in the urban space. The city's outskirts were surrounded with industrial complexes, where raw materials and cheap labour were available. This also resulted in cities' dependency on the factories, as they served the employees. The new model of production and consumption, related to Fordist capital accumulation, had structured city life:

> The image of the Fordist town was characterized by strong agglomeration processes, the standardization and industrialization of construction, the nuclearization of the family and far-reaching processes of social disintegration, resulting in the erosion of traditional sociocultural milieu (e.g. workers' settlements). Supported by the large-scale imposition of the car, extreme spatial-functional differentiations developed, characterized by suburbanism, the formation of satellite towns, the depopulation of the inner cities, the dying out of smaller production and business operations, whilst at the same time stores and discount supermarkets blossomed in parts of the inner city. (1994:79)

From the 1950s, cities were faced with population growth as a result of significant migration from rural to urban areas, creating radical spatial transformation: "As it [Fordism] progressed it became clear that in spatial terms it had begun to fashion new forms of differentiation, marked in urban areas by increasing disparity between city and suburb" (Walks, 2001:409). The "new" proletariat who had to migrate to the cities, for political and economic reasons, were faced with harsher circumstances than before. They became unemployed or worked in manual labour, in irregular jobs, the informal sector or in temporary positions with very low wages. The unskilled, unemployed, low-wage, and temporary workers created the urban poor under Fordism.

Suburban life is one significant indictor of spatial reproduction under Fordism. After Great Depression, the state made investments and built environments for production and consumption, and thus created suburbs. The state issued new urbanization policies by planning the areas outside the cities. In that process, many people were employed in the construction of roads and buildings led to financing capital (Hall, 2002:483-484). The local government's role was on the consumption side, providing the reproduction of labour power through social funds, investments in health,

education, and more. Therefore, the state carried the burden of mediation between those in line with the interest of capital.

The suburbs in the Fordist era were filled with wage labourers who as a group had significantly increased in size as result of the Welfare State policies and mass production. The bourgeoisie were funneled into the suburbs, which were at a certain distance, and had a brand new lifestyle. The city centres, left by the bourgeoisie, became ghettos of the proletariat—especially for ethnic minorities, blacks and new immigrants.

While the modern middle classes went to the suburbs at the outskirts of the cities, the city centre was left to the proletariat, and to the newcomers to the city. This resulted in the spatial concentration of the disadvantaged classes in the urban space, in the ghettos. Life in the ghetto is not a choice for the people that live there, as they must live there because of outside forces, not by choice.

# CHAPTER 3

## THE FRAGMENTED CITIES…

### 3.1. Post-Fordism

In the 1960s, as a result of mass production, sudden variances occurred on the demand side in domestic and foreign markets that the Fordist capital accumulation could not survive. Therefore, the system was lost in its own dynamics. In other words, production was so rigid that large-scale capital investments were unable to meet the changing demands of consumers. This rigidity was dominant on the production side, in the labour market and with worker contracts. Therefore, worker unrest increased and especially in 1968, there was strong worker resistance. In the early 1970s, profit in proportion to capital began to decrease, and thus taxes were increased that the state used for expenditures. Throughout the late 1970s, Keynesian policies came to an end and with the mediation of the state, and the transition began from the consumption side to the production side. The reason for Fordism's crisis from the 1970s can be summarized as the following internal control problems:

- The decline in the increase of productivity,

- When productivity decreased, it preceded the wage increase,

- The limits on the expansion of the market,

- Globalization of production,

- Over-capacity and stock accumulation,

- With high technology, the labour-intense characteristics of production declined and as a result, the significance of countries with cheap labour in the economic system was diminished,

- The inadequacy of quality control and the inferiority of the labour structure,

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- The inertia of bureaucracy and the resulting deceleration of the decision-making process,
- The high costs of public services and implementation of social policies (Amin, 1994).

The **French Regulation School**, founded in the 1970s, marked this crisis period as transitional, tried to analyze the structure, principles and functions of Fordism and anticipated the incoming period:

> The aim of the early French regulationists was to develop a theoretical framework which could encapsulate and explain the paradox within capitalism between its inherent tendency towards instability, crisis and change, and its ability to coalesce and stabilize around a set of institutions, rules and norms which serve to secure a relatively long period of economic stability. (1994:7)

The French Regulation School was the first to diagnose the transition from Fordism to Post-Fordism, and its basic premise was to find an answer to capitalism's survival, despite the crisis. For the Regulation School, the crisis originated with the accumulation of capital, as it was underlying structure of the economy. According to this theory, Fordism tried to impose mass production and mass consumption, and the equilibrium between production and consumption was broken. The crisis of Fordism signalled a transformation, as the mode of accumulation had survived because of regular income increments, and a regular domestic market that had no interventions from foreign markets. Therefore, corporate participation was necessary to overcome the crisis, as the market itself could not provide economic stability.

To overcome this crisis and its limitations, Fordism was transferred to underdeveloped countries where it could benefit from the cheap labour and raw materials. Capitalist countries spread the crisis to these countries by transferring (especially the labour intense) Fordist industries; which resulted in the globalization of the Fordist crisis. However, the underdeveloped countries are faced with a vicious circle of foreign debt, and that only deepens the crisis further.

Post-Fordism signifies an essential transformation, particularly of the economic and social structures, as well as the labour structure. As a result of increasing

competition between capitalists, the new labour-capital relationship, production techniques, and new organizational forms created over-monitoring of labour and flexible production. Flexible production is one of the most essential features of Post-Fordism. It means businesses can elasticize their labour force and technology according to variation in the production process. Flexible production requires high technology and a qualified workforce, which results in a decrease in the quantity of the products.

In the Post-Fordist regime, flexibility and high technology bring about high inequality in wages and part-time, temporary and home work; in addition to the temporary and permanently unemployed. These classifications now constitute a new majority within the working class. Further, this transformation changed of the social structure of the cities.

## 3.2. The Urban Space Under Post-Fordism

The surplus population is deprived of the minimum requirements to meet economic, social, cultural necessities, and whose share taking from social production constitute the urban poor in the post-Fordist City.

The economic problems that existed in the Welfare State, and originated from the crisis in the late 1960s, caused a change in the structure of policies at the urban level. Local governments have had to combat these problems without the financial support of the state. In the case of investment, the role of the local level became more important, and the negotiation process between international financial capital and local powers began (Harvey, 1989: 5). Therefore, the cities' exchange value gained significance, and they began their transformation on the basis of attracting capital.

The combination of neo-liberal policies, the Post-Fordist capital accumulation and the globalization of the crisis of the Welfare State made localities gain importance and decreased the strength of the nation state:

> While under Fordism local modes of regulation played a minor and
> subordinate role in assuring the coherence of overall regime (the

central state and other large-scale modes of regulation played the crucial roles), efforts to respond to the crises of Fordism have involved in this 'division of labour'. (Mayer, 1994:317)

In reference to the rise of urban entrepreneurship, Harvey states that local authorities were forced to face the economic crisis, so they began to interact with international capital directly, and in this sense the cities became capital's investment area. The cities also began to compete with each other to attract capital. Investment appeared with an urban image "to save the day" rather than to create long-term projects (Harvey, 1989:5). These Post-Fordist policies together with the globalization created more inequality between and within the sections of the cities. Urban space under Post-Fordism is increasingly divided, separated or quartered, and promotes social dislocation of the population in the city. This reorganization primarily affects the urban poor. W.J. Wilson explains this situation as follows:

> In the mid-1960s, urban analysts began to speak of a new dimension to the urban crisis in the form of a large subpopulation of low-income families and individuals whose behaviour contrasted sharply with the behaviour of the general population. (1987:3)

The unjust distribution of wealth and poverty in a city bring about deeper poverty for the poor sections—which are usually composed of disadvantaged groups of ethnic minorities or immigrants—and brings greater wealth to the wealthy sections of the city:

> Poor areas seem to be getting poorer, rather than being in transition to improvement, and they seem, in many places, to be disproportionately occupied by members of minority groups, usually distinguishable by their colour. (Marcuse, 2003:270)

The power elites have chosen sections of the city where they want to live and the remaining population is pushed to the sections with low-profit and low-quality infrastructure. The urban poor generally settles in the sections which are not desirable for the rest of the society: "Sometimes a specific place seems to have been selected simply because it is available when a distinctive group needs a place, and no one else wants it." (Abrahamson, 2006:5). The arguments in urban studies emphasize this division, and cities become composed of several cities.

### 3.2.1. Cities in Quarters

An inherent characteristic of capitalism is the accumulation of wealth in some sections of the city and poverty in the others. On one hand, the growing wealth of one part of society diminishes wealth for a minority; and on the other, poverty increases at the hand of a greater majority. Because of the ever-increasing polarization of the wealth and poverty, social inequality has deepened, and it has become quite a determinant in the structure and allocation of wealth and poverty within the city.

Peter Marcuse identifies three basic characteristics of the polarized Post-Fordist period since the 1970s in the United States, which are:

1. Transformation of classic ghettos into the excluded (outcast) ghettos
2. Transformation of the exclusionary enclave into the edge cities
3. Transformation of the upper-class residences into the fortified citadels (1997:315)

The areas of the city are separated and disconnected from each other, not just spatially, but also economically, socially and culturally. These areas are also fractured; they allow one area of the city to ignore the "other." While the rich are enclosed by their own will, and the poor are generally secluded by means beyond their will:

> The wealthy areas seem pretty well insulated from the city around them, sometimes in high-rise towers, sometimes at suburban-type remove. The poor areas, on the other hand, seem marginalized, unconnected to the economic and social life of the city around them. The concentration is voluntary for the rich, involuntary for the poor, it would seem. (Marcuse, 2002:271)

The city is not only quartered, but also layered, as there is a hierarchy between the classes in the city that differ according to their use of the city. According to Marcuse, there are five basic quarters of a post-Fordist city, which are determined by income (as the classes with higher income can pay more than the classes with lower income for residence) and power (as the relation between the state and the market influence land allocation within the city) (pp.272-274):

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- **The Luxury City:** The luxury residential areas of the city are at the top of the hierarchy in a residential city. The residents of the luxury city isolate themselves with physical or non-physical walls and do not have contact with the other classes in the city. Security barriers protect these residents and separate them from the "dangerous classes."

- **The Gentrified City:** The gentrified city is the city in which higher classes displace lower classes; they are mainly occupied by professionals and yuppies, and composed of secured, well-cared for luxury apartments. As the "time is money" for these residents, they work until very late and have periodic and unpredictable working hours, thus, these areas are generally close to their place of work.

- **The Suburban City:** The suburban city is a settlement of the middle class, blue-white collar workers, and especially the petit-bourgeoisie, which is an essential illustration of intra-class stratification. Suburban cities' houses are generally single-family homes with nuclear families. Just like the luxury city, the suburban city has its own security mechanisms in regards to the lower classes. The suburbs provide a break from the chaos of the inner city, where the workplaces are located.

- **The Tenement City:** The residents of the tenement city are members of the working class, with lower incomes than the middle class. Generally, they have irregular or low-paid jobs and poor social security. Unlike the upper-ranked cities, tenement cities do not have high security precautions to protect their cities from external threats. Also, tenement cities are not permanent in same sense of the other cities, which are made up with residents of higher classes.

- **The Abandoned City:** The abandoned city houses the excluded, marginalized classes, homeless, and the permanently unemployed. This city is least preferred by capital owners, the upper classes, and the state, who see no profit potential and abandon it to the poor. These areas allow the poor to concentrate and "suspends" them from habitable areas. The residents are

discarded from economic, social and political life. This city has very insufficient infrastructure and generally the housing is beyond the control of the state. Drugs, crime, prostitution and other illegal activities have been assimilated into the abandoned city.

Similarly, according to Bridge and Watson:

> Differences are not simply registered at the social, cultural, or economic level, they are also constituted symbolically with groups inscribing spaces and zones with particular meanings and discursive practices which may or may not be visible to outsiders. (2002:252-253)

The concentration of inequality and poverty shows itself at the spatial level; however, the space itself reproduces poverty and inequality. The abandoned city has become the ghetto of the excluded classes in the city, positioned at the bottom of the hierarchy in the urban space. The abandoned city—the ghetto—is a form of spatial concentration of urban poverty that can also be identified as neighbourhood poverty. It refers to miserable housing conditions, social segregation and isolation.

### 3.2.2. The Ghetto in the Post-Fordist City: The Outcast/Excluded Ghetto

### 3.2.2.1. The Ghetto in the Historical Context

The literature on the ghetto can be traced back to the 16th Century, when it was used to define the settlements of the Jewish immigrants in Venice. The devoted Christians of Venice were anxious about the Jews (and with other strangers), especially because of their desire to establish a community of Christians (Sennett, 2002:317). This anxiety, however, was contradictory, as the strangers were indispensable to the regular operation of the economy. As a result, the Jewish ghetto was constructed at the outskirts of the city, including them economically but excluding them socially, culturally and spatially; which countered the fear the Venetians had for the Jews. The Jews in the Venetian ghettos were separated from the rest of the city, but linked economically, thus, they were exploited.

At the beginning of the 1900s, the ghetto did not have the characteristics of an officially regulated settlement. Ghettos were organized informally, and were a

cultural area occupied by the marginalized, poor classes in the society (Wirth, 1927:57). Later on, Jewish settlements in Europe and Russia were called "Ghettos". However, during the Second World War, because of the atrocities that Jewish people faced, the term Ghetto camed to be associated with deprivation, oppression and multi-faced exclusion.

Today, in the Western world, the concept of ghetto/ghettoization has been used in urban studies predominantly to denote the economic, social and spatial positions of the urban poor. From the 1970s, most of the debates focused on the segregation and social isolation that minorities faced in inner cities. Disadvantaged classes are isolated from the rest of the city; poverty is intensified, and is thus reproduced. Although the city also has sections that isolate themselves (like enclaves[6]), the distinctive feature of the ghetto is that its residents are unwillingly confined and isolated.

As the Chicago School briefly put it, the strongest groups—business groups—set the rules of the game. Rich people leave this area when the city centre grows in strength. The middle class has been fleeing from the city centre, which is now left for the poor classes. The centre appears as unvalued and the marginalized, excluded, prostitutes and drug addicts only remained.

According to Marcuse:

> A ghetto is an area in which space and race are combined to define, to isolate, and to contain a particular population group held to be inferior by the dominant powers in the society. (Marcuse, 1996:179)

In this classical formulation, the ghetto is identified by the race, colour and/or religion. The population of the ghetto, in this sense, is isolated from the rest of the city, but still linked, as the residents have not been excluded from the mainstream economy. They were involved in the primary economy until the 1970s, with low-paid, occasional or seasonal jobs, however most were not regularly part of the labour

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[6]*According to P. Marcuse: "An enclave is a spatially concentrated area in which members of a particular population group, self-defined by ethnicity or religion or otherwise, congregate as a means of enhancing their economic, social, political and/or cultural development" (1997:242). It can be said that this kind of spatial concentration has been provided voluntarily by the residents to enhance their economic, social, political or cultural position in the society.*

market, and their income was not part of the formal economy, rather the informal economy. However, their deprivation of social, cultural and political life in the city is both a result of and as a cause of spatial exclusion. In this sense, the major characteristic of the ghetto, exclusion, is much wider than poverty, unemployment or inequality.

### 3.2.2.2. The Outcast/Excluded Ghetto:

In the Post-Fordist era (since the 1970s), from globalization and Post-Fordist methods of production, society has become highly polarized and accordingly, ghettos have been transformed into excluded ghettos (Marcuse, 1997:323). The ecology of excluded ghettos is now characterized by exclusion from the workforce. In classical ghettos, while residents were included in the formal economy, they were mainly used as the "reserve army of labour;" excluded from the production process, and in this sense from class relations in the outcast ghettos. Furthermore, the outcast ghetto is also a place of work, besides a home to the poor. With the enhancement of globalization, the changing relations of production (as a result of only low-income jobs or unemployment), residents are economically excluded, which reproduces the social, cultural, institutional and spatial exclusion. While marking the dimensions of class, space, race, ethnicity and culture, the outcast ghetto creates a broader framework for the definition of poverty that focuses on economic deprivation. In other words, the outcast ghetto indicates more than income poverty.

P. Marcuse defines the outcast ghetto as follows:

> An outcast ghetto is a ghetto in which ethnicity is combined with class in a spatially concentrated area with residents who are excluded from the mainstream of the economic life of the surrounding society; which does not profit significantly from its existence. (1997:238)

Here, the outcast ghetto has a new quality, when compared to the classical definitions of ghetto, which is an economic as well as spatial exclusion. The new poor in the outcast ghetto have been discarded by the mainstream economy. P. Marcuse differentiates the outcast ghetto from the classical definitions as follows:

> Subjects, serfs, and the ghettoized are not citizens, but they are essential components of the societies whose economies they serve. In the outcast ghetto, the pattern is reversed; those confined perhaps formally citizens, but they are not part of the mainstream economy. (1997:233)

In Europe, for the residents of the outcast ghetto, because of their low levels of skill and education, they face the social reality of an increasing unemployment rate. The exclusion of the newly poor is not a characteristic that is unique to the individual, and in addition it is multi-dimensional. The dimensions are closely related with each other and they, as a whole, define the outcast ghetto. These people cannot meet the societal standards for well-being, and are therefore excluded from the city life. The new cycle of deprivation is not solely economic, but includes also non-economic aspects of living. Loic Wacquant characterized the outcast ghetto as an "impossible community," as the deprivation resulted in its lack of social coherence and unity (2008: 184).

After the 1980s, economic and social reform of capitalism restructured poverty. Many countries' job markets tended toward the informal sector, as a result of neo-liberal policies, a national and an international labour force, and exchange and competition relations (Harvey, 1994:373). Such temporary, insecure and low-wage jobs are produced by, and produce, poverty. Further, these policies have disintegrated the welfare services of the state, as well as social security. This also brings in social, cultural and political exclusion, apart from the production process.

Today, poverty is not simply identified in economic terms. Although many approaches rely on income studies to determine poverty, tocial, cultural and political determinants must be taken into consideration. In the 21$^{st}$ Century, poor people are characterized not just their low income or unemployment, but also their exclusion and marginalization from society. They cannot live according to societal "norms" and rotate in the cycle of deprivation. Absence of a permanent income, and living in the disadvantaged areas of the city, characterize the terms underclass and social exclusion.

Underclass is commonly used in the United States to classify the inner-city poor, specifically the poor, urban black community. Currently, social exclusion is used in

the European context, to identify the poor community that is excluded from mainstream citizenship.

### 3.2.3. Who are the Residents of the Outcast Ghetto: The Underclass Debate

Gunnar Myrdal first used the term "underclass" in 1962, to describe increasing polarization and its effects on the "negros" living in American slums (Myrdal, 1964:51). It came into wide circulation in the early 1980s, when it was used by Ken Auletta. G. Myrdal describes the underclass as follows:

> …because of inadequate schooling and a paucity of marketable skills, as well as a lack of government support, a growing segment of the disadvantaged were consigned to the very bottom of the economic class structure. (Wilson, 2006: 104)

For Myrdal, the underclass is a group of people who have been suppressed by the capitalist overclass. In this first usage, the underclass was similar to the Marxist *lumpenproletariat*, and was defined as the stratum at the bottom of the society. It is structurally and culturally different from the working class, which was identified by Wilson as follows:

> Individuals who lack training and skills and either experience long-term unemployment or are not a part of the labor force, individuals who engage in street criminal activity and other aberrant behavior, and families who experience long-term spells of poverty and/or welfare dependency. (Wilson, 1985: 546)

The concept of "underclass" was generally used in research on poor urban black communities in the United States. Since the end of the 1970s, they were the "dangerous class," which was predominantely excluded from social, economic and political networks. This enabled scholars to identify them as "community of people who have nothing to lose." The underclass, in this sense, was isolated in the city. Their isolation was accompanied by racial discrimination and the prejudice of "decent" citizens.

The cultural dimensions of the underclass were brought to the forefront with the New Right's ethical emphasis on traditional values. In the 1980s, the dominant ideology tended toward conservativism, which created the debates on "The Culture

of Poverty." The concept of the "underclass" complements Oscar Lewis' "culture of poverty" thesis, which deals with extreme poverty in developing countries. Lewis tried to produce survival strategies for those who lived within the culture of poverty to help maintain or improve their existence in daily life. For Lewis, the "culture of poverty" is historically specific, as it emerges out of the problems of societal transition, and the destruction of the social order, neither of which can be equated with "impoverishment." According to Lewis: "The people in the culture of poverty have a strong feeling of marginality, of helplessness, of dependency, of not belonging" (1998:7). The underclass debate mainly influences, intersects and interacts with the concept of the "culture of poverty".

K. Westergaard identified four positions within the underclass debates, which are the moral turpitude thesis, the outcast poverty thesis, the agonistic view and the denial of the underclass. The Moral Turpitude and Outcast Poverty theses have been important, the former denotes and problematizes the cultural dimension. The latter is the structural account (MacDonald, 1997:5).

### 3.2.3.1. Charles Murray: Underclass as Deviance- Blaming the Victim

According to Moral Turpitude Thesis, the people who constitute the underclass propose a threat to the existing social and ethical order. The most influential figure of this approach is Charles Murray, who claims that moral irresponsibility and deviant culture characterize the underclass. In his book, *Losing Ground* (1984), he claimed that the welfare policies of the United States, in the post-war period, resulted in a creation of underclass that is unproductive and dependent on welfare payments. Later on, in his book *The Bell Curve: Intelligence and Class Structure in American Life* (1994), he focuses on black Americans and the rising underclass in United Kingdom with the *unholy trinity*: unemployment, crime and the illegitimacy. After this book, he problematized illegitimacy and single motherhood, which he thought threatened the social order and welfare of the society. According to Murray, 'the communities need fathers' because they add legitimacy. He states that:

> Fifteen years ago, there was hardly a poor neighbour in urban Britain where children did not still see plentiful examples of good fathers around them. Today, the balance has already shifted in many poor

neighbourhoods. In a few years, the situation will be much worse, for this is a problem that nurtures itself (Murray, 1990:5).

For Murray, the state of affairs is closely related to the ethical and cultural evolution of society. The underclass is deviant, they are different from other poor communities because of their deplorable behaviour, irresponsibility and illegitimacy—and deviance is reproduced in their communities. To summarize, the basic characteristics of the underclass are the illegitimacy, single motherhood, unemployment and crime. For Murray, the solution is to "exclude" these people from the decent, arranged regions of the city, in other words, spatially concentrating the underclass. This solution is also proposed by the "Ethical Socialists" namely, H. Halsey, N. Dennis and G. Erdos (MacDonald, 1997:11). However, the Ethical Socialists differ from Murray on the origins of the underclass; they claimed that "single motherhood" spoiled the community by creating potential criminals, and held the mothers of these children responsible for social disorder and crimes. According to the Ethical Socialists, this should be morally regulated and distinguish between the deserving and undeserving poor:

> The distinction between the deserving and undeserving poor persisted more strongly in that part of the population, the respectable working class, most adversely affected by (to use their 'punitive' and 'judgemental' language) idleness, fecklessness, slovenliness, brutality, squalor, disorder, insobriety, unreliability, debt, incompetence, dirt, destruction and violence. They were affected directly through, for example, the spread of mice and cockroaches, and the bad example set for their children. (Dennis & Erdos, 2000:12)

There is a cyclic problem within the underclass, as its marginalized male members are not candidates for marriage for the single women. As a result, "the illegitimacy, single motherhood, unemployment and crime bind together in the cultural reproduction of the underclass" (MacDonald, 1997:13). To break this vicious circle, the women must insist upon marriage, and the benefits provided to the single mothers should be removed to discourage women from single motherhood.

The second theory in the underclass debate defines the members as "victims," and focuses on the structural social inequalities within it, called "The Outcast Poverty

Thesis." W. J. Wilson made the major contribution to this theory and is the most referred to sociologist in the underclass debate.

### 3.2.3.2. The Truly Disadvantaged: Victims of the Structures

L.W. Wacquant and W.J. Wilson deserve a special attention in the underclass debate because of their emphasis on the formation of class structure and the spatial concentration of the underclass in American ghettos. For Wilson:

> The term underclass suggests that changes have taken in ghetto neighborhoods, and the groups that have been left behind are collectively different from those that lived in these neighborhoods in earlier years. It is true that long-term welfare families and street criminals are distinct groups, but they live and interact in the same depressed community and they are part of the population that has, with the exodus of the more stable working- and middle-class segments become increasingly isolated socially from mainstream patterns and norms of behaviour. (Wilson, 1987:8)

Taking an ethnic approach to the concept of underclass, for Wilson, was simply wrong in the United States; equating the underclass with urban blacks would be misleading. Instead, the economic restructuring that occurred in the 21st Century, deindustrialization and massive job loss constituted the roots of the urban underclass in the United States. He also focused on the cultures of ghetto poor; however, differing from C. Murray, as he did not approach the unique culture as the "cause," but as a result of this structural determinant. For Wilson, the creation of the underclass could not be simply explained by racial discrimination or cultural heritage; instead he mentioned several other variables that constituted the "cycles of deprivation" in his explanation (1987: 21-62):

1. Race and discrimination
2. Migration
3. Concentration of the poor population and social isolation
4. Economic changes and joblessness

Black Americans faced historical discrimination, which generated a black underclass in the inner city that is equated with crime and violence by the white community. Furthermore, the migration of working and middle class blacks from the inner-city

to the suburbs has also left a concentration of poor blacks in the inner-city. In it, poor blacks are faced with social isolation, which Wilson defines as: "… the lack of contact or of sustained interaction with individuals and institutions that represent mainstream society" (ibid.60). Finally, the structural changes in the inner-city include a shift from a manufacturing to a service economy. This has resulted in job loss and more low-skilled workers, creating a decline in economic status, especially among young men. Therefore, the underclass is positioned at the centre of the city, but excluded from its social, economic, cultural and political networks. Loic Wacquant and Wilson define this in research from Chicago in 1989:

> Living in the ghetto means being more socially isolated: nearly half of the residents of extreme-poverty tracts have no current partner— defined here as a person they are married to, live with, or dating steadily—and one in five admit to having no one who would qualify as a best friend compared to 32 percent and 12 percent, respectively, in low-poverty areas. (1989:23)

Social isolation denotes the lack of social capital following economic capital. Therefore, economic isolation results from unemployment, underemployment, and absence of economic capital, which is closely linked to social capital. As the city centre is void of social and economic capital, the middle and upper class blacks have moved out of the city-centres to live in the suburbs.

Also, alternative structural approaches have been taken by theoreticians like R. Dahrendorf, P. Townsend, and F. Field, who have problematized the economic determinants of the underclass in this debate and adopted the model to the United Kingdom. In his major study, *Poverty in the United Kingdom: A Survey of Household Resources and Standards of Living* (1979), P. Townsend argues that a major part of the population, which has been excluded from the employment process, has formed a new underclass in the United Kingdom. According to Townsend, the government has implemented policies regulating employment, taxation, and public expenditures, and therefore people have become unemployed or underemployed, creating an underclass at the bottom of the class structure.

Similarly, F. Field in his famous book, *Losing Out: the Emergence of British Underclass* (1989), held the government responsible for the creation of an

underclass that is structurally different from other low-income people. The underclass is a segment in society that cannot make use of the material interests of capitalism, which means that they are excluded from its benefits (MacDonald, 1997:15). He specified that three groups formed the underclass, the long-term unemployed, single parents, and elderly pensioners, differing from Murray, who did not include the last group. Field rejected the culture of poverty approach and also claimed that there was not a racial basis to the underclass. Rather, he focused on the role of government policies, specifically those of the Thatcher government, in the creation of the underclass (Field, 1989:4). He did not define the "underclass" as a threat to social order; rather he was concerned with creating policies to include people in society and and share in the social, economic and political affluence.

R. Dahrendorf identifies the underclass as: "a cancer which eats away at the texture of societies' and its future development as 'critical for the moral hygiene of British society" (1987: 12). He promoted the idea that the socially excluded underclass generated a danger to the moral order, but also to social and political stability. However, he was also concerned with the welfare of the underclass, and their adaptation to society rather than their elimination (1988:177). The origin of the underclass was located in the economic sphere, and together the new working poor and unemployed formed the new underclass. His solution, which generated social policies, could create a stakeholder society (161), and the excluded would be re-integrated into society.

**3.2.4. Who Are the Residents of the Outcast Ghetto?: The Concept of Social Exclusion**

The term social exclusion was first used in 1970's by French governments, political activists, academicians and theoreticians to define the group of people who lived in the margins of society, a major problem in the post-war period in Europe (Barnes, 2002:5). They have been defined as *"les exclus"* (the excluded) and were described as having the disadvantages of "the mentally and the physically handicapped, suicidal people, aged invalids, abused children, drug addicts, delinquents, single parents, multi-problem households, marginal, asocial persons, and other 'social misfits' (Silver, 1994: 532). After that time, the concept of social exclusion entered

the literature of Europe so as to identify the disadvantaged people who were excluded from the social, political, economic and cultural networks.

One of the most attractive features of social exclusion for developed countries is that it goes beyond the definition of poverty, which is the lack of resources relative to needs. Here, social exclusion broadened reductionist approaches to poverty, which simply focused on income and extended from the simple economic calculations. Social exclusion could not simply be explained by a lack of resources and economic exclusion:

> Although there is no doubt a close association between economic stratification and the phenomenon of exclusion within a society, it seems clear that in principle social exclusion can occur between groups that are not significantly distinguished from one another economically. (Barry, 1998:1)

Social exclusion is a multi-dimensional concept: the standard of living is not just determined by income but by social, political, cultural and spatial aspects. Barnes, with reference to G. Room, identified five different elements that social exclusion embodied to differentiate it from poverty (Barnes, 2002:5). These are:

1. social exclusion is multi-dimensional
2. social exclusion is dynamic
3. social exclusion has a neighbourhood dimension
4. social exclusion is relational
5. social exclusion implies a major discontinuity in relationships with the rest of the society.

Social exclusion should have a more detailed analysis than a simple income-based calculation. Other factors than economic ones should be taken into consideration. Second, social exclusion is a dynamic concept that should be understood as a process; and it should be analyzed with reasons and outcomes. Third, socially exclusion is not an individualistic concept, meaning social, cultural, economic and political factors beyond the individual's control determine the process. Furthermore, the concept exists in relation to the rest of the society, which means the object—the excluded—cannot be understood outside the other processes in the community.

Finally, in relation to the third and the fourth factors, social exclusion impacts the social relations of the excluded individual, as s/he has been marginalized from the rest of the society.

However, there is not a single definition of the concept, as it varies by political standpoint, national characteristics and sociological paradigms. Some approaches have focused on opportunities and defined the social exclusion as the "lack of the opportunities" (SEU, 2001); others have emphasized marginalization and the inability to integrate the socially excluded into the community (Samers, 1998); and some have emphasized both. The most common characteristic of all of these definitions is that they focus on the processes of losing social bonds and solidarity. Socially, the term exclusion refers to the process of rupturing integration to the community. Individually, it indicates a process in which the individual cannot form the expected social relations.

It is clear that social exclusion implies a broader conception of a "disadvantaged group" than the terms poverty and underclass. Therefore, deprivation of economic resources does not directly introduce social exclusion. Ç. Keyder and F. Adaman, following the Edmonto Social Plan (2005), propose a matrix which explains this situation clearly (Adaman & Keyder, 2006: 7):

**Table 2. The Relation between Poverty and Exclusion**

|          | Excluded | Not Excluded |
|----------|----------|--------------|
| Poor     | 1        | 2            |
| Not Poor | 3        | 4            |

1. The first category denotes a group who is both poor and excluded. For instance, an appropriate illustration for this category is a family that has migrated, which cannot adapt to the city, lives in the slums and is economically deprived.
2. The second one refers to a group which is poor, but not socially excluded. The people in this category have suffered temporarily from poverty, and are

expected to be upwardly mobile, like the children of poor people who attend university.

3. This category contains the people who have not lived in economic deprivation, but are excluded from the society and community relations. This could be due to the ethnic root or sexual preferences. Besides,

> If the wealthiest fraction of society feel that they can afford to insulate themselves from the common fate and buy their way out of the common institutions, that is also a form of social isolation. (Barry, 1998:7)

4. Lastly, the fourth category consists of the advantaged people, who have participated in the normal activities of citizens in the society.

Although the processes of exclusion and poverty do not directly coexist, they are related. In many situations, poor people have been excluded and vice versa. However, there is a close connection between material deprivation and social exclusion, as people whose living standards do not meet the requirements for material well-being, also cannot contribute to social well-being. Mainly, access to social and cultural activities has depended on the economic welfare of an individual.

Kronauer (1998) speaks to the relational character of the term, showing that social exclusion basically consists of the interaction and sum of labour market, economic, spatial, cultural, and institutional exclusion, and social isolation. With **labour market exclusion**, the individual cannot be an active part of the labour force. In this sense, they are not part of the production process and are marginalized. Following this marginalization, **economic exclusion** is created by exclusion from the economy. The individual cannot afford the basic necessities and is faced with economic deprivation. As a result, these individuals lose their access to institutions, for instance, a bank, which a standard citizen can access. **Institutional exclusion** creates the feeling of isolation and alienation. With these exclusions, the individual is marginalized from society and severs bonds within the social network. This **social isolation** is best described as insulating the individual from the rest of the society and social contact. This failure, according to the social norms, results in **cultural exclusion**, in which the individual is stigmatized and excluded from cultural and

traditional surroundings. Both as a result and a reason of the above circumstances, the "excluded" people geographically concentrate in certain areas of the city, which is called **spatial exclusion**. These financially disadvantaged people live in the unprofitable parts of the city, in which the infrastructure is poor.

In the following chapter, I will turn to the debates on community, which are important because poverty and exclusion are discussed either with reference to the policy process of the governments (national or local) or with reference to the individuals and families. There are important dimensions of poverty and exclusion, which take us back to the community scale. As we will see, the question of community has consistently emerged as of late, with reference to the issues of solidarity, reciprocal relations, trust…etc. These are issues that are central to the question of poverty and exclusion. I will turn to these issues in the case study and therefore, it is essential to first look at the main views of community.

# CHAPTER 4

## TRANSFORMATION OF COMMUNITY IN THE URBAN LIFE

The transition from agricultural society to city life marked a new era for communities. In terms of the way community is defined, they were going through an essential transformation. Since the time of 19<sup>th</sup> Century thinkers, the definition of community has been a controversial issue, and there are three basic elements that all the definitions include: area, common ties and social interaction (Hillery, 1955:118). Similarly, B. Wellman identified the basic elements that define community, as follows:

1. Common locality, either in-person or online
2. Interpersonal relationships of sociability, support and information, either in-person or online
3. Common values, norms and interests, without necessarily interacting or being co-located (2001:7)

However, community studies are varied, "It is the question of how large-scale social systemic divisions of labour affect the organization and content of primary ties" (Wellman, 1979: 1201). In this sense, there are "community lost", "community saved" and "community transformed" arguments, which address the existence and transformation of communities in particular from pre-industrial to industrial cities, and modernity in general.

### 4. 1. Community Lost Arguments: Nostalgia for Locality and Solidarity

The community lost arguments, in summary, all glorify the community for its traditional values as compared to the industrial society. The closed communication and social bonds in the community are said to be closer to human nature than city life. Nostalgia, in the minds of these thinkers, is more important to community life than the individualistic, chaotic, competitive nature of city life. As Bell and Newby emphasized:

...in the nineteenth century 'community' occupied a position in the minds of intellectuals similar to the idea of 'contract' in the Age of Reason. The concept of community, however, was not a cold, analytic construct. On the contrary, the ties of community, real or imagined, came from these thinkers' images of good the good life. Community was thus used as a means of invidious comparison with contemporarily exemplified society, yet community, consisting as it did of what the particular writer believed it *ought* to consist of... (1971: 22)

### 4.1.1. F. Tönnies: "Community and Society"

Along with the thinkers of the 19th Century, F. Tönnies, in his famous book *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft* (1887) was first to differentiate between the concepts of community (*Gemeinschaft*) and the society (*Gesellschaft*). He also identifies the ideal type of community. For Tönnies, the community implies a natural existence of groups, while the society is an artificial entity gathered around a common interest or goal:

> Wherever human beings are related in an organic manner and affirm each other, we find one or another of the three types of Gemeinschaft. Either the earlier one involves the later one, or the later type has developed to relative independence from some earlier one. It is, therefore possible to deal with (1) kinship, (2) neighbourhood, (3) friendship as definite and meaningful derivations of these original categories. (1957:42)

The division of the community and society points to a process in which the structure of the social relations are shifting, and are transformed in history. As such, the Industrial Revolution shifted from *"Gemeinschaft"* to *"Gesellschaft,"* which implies a transformation from rural to urban. The community is approached as a living, spontaneous entity with intimate, personal relations, in contrast to the organic configuration of society, which has self-interested, manipulative tendencies:

> The community grows out of the organic relationship of man to his environment and those natural, involuntary bonds that inevitably grow up between human beings and between groups; the society on the other hand, is an artefact which arises out of those voluntary and teleological bonds that are the product of the product of conscious choice and purpose. The concept community corresponds to Sir Henry Maine's *status*, while society roughly parallels his *contract*. (Wirth, 1926: 416)

This shift from community to society also indicates a massive migration from rural areas to urban life. The lifestyle in the community was dissolved and transformed into urban life, which resulted in the loss of a sense of locality. Urban life created an abstract space of homeland; it replaced the locality, and alienated people on a local scale (Yelken, 2000:18). The essence of the pre-modern community, related to the locality, is personal and had face-to-face intimacy in the relations between community people. Moreover, people's voluntary solidarity relations and social bonds have glorified community. Bell and Newby summarized these constructive sides of community for Tönnies as follows:

> Tönnies continued the nineteenth-century theme that community makes for solidarity relations among men, a theme which over the years has stress one factor for its basis – the territorial factor, the place, the locality. When sociologists now talk about community, they almost always mean a place in which people have some, if not complete, solidary relations. Yet community as originally used, though it included the *local* community, also went beyond it. It encompassed religion, work, family and culture: it referred to social bonds- to use Robert Nisbet's own key term – characterized by emotional cohesion, depth, continuity and fullness. (1971:24)

**4.1. 2. G. Simmel: "The Metropolis and Mental Life"**

Similarly, for G. Simmel, the urban is the centre of the division of labour, and that specialization plays a central role in the decline of subjective culture:

> Broadly speaking, this is the orbit in which the major process of objectification of modern culture is carried out through the division of labour and specialization in both its personal and objective sense. The total picture is composed of all these phenomena, in which the cultural content becomes increasingly conscious objective mind in relation not only to recipients but also to producers. To the extent to which objectification increases, the strange phenomenon from which we started our investigation becomes more comprehensible, namely that the cultural growth of the individual can lag considerably behind the cultural growth of tangible as well as functional and intellectual objects. (Simmel, 1990:463)

He criticized the urban life, and theorized that it transformed community members into self-seeking individuals—as a result of the rationality, the increasing self-interestedness, the division of labor and the market in general. Following Tönnies,

he accepted the dichotomy of the community and society in modern societies. In his famous text *"Die Grosstadte und das Geistesleben"* (1903) (*The Metropolis and Mental Life*), he problematized urban life and considered this new style of life destructive to the mentality and culture of the people. This can also be read as a critique of the modern life:

> The deepest problem of modern life flow from the attempt of the individual to maintain the independence and individuality of his existence against the sovereign powers of society, against the weight of the historical heritage and the external culture and technique of life. (Simmel, 1971:324)

According to Simmel, the metropolis created too many stimuli. As a result, a mental structure formed to fit the stimuli in particular and urban life in general. The metropolis required a state of consciousness and increasing mental energy, which rural life lacked, as the latter is a spontaneous and organic formation. In this sense:

> …To the extent that the metropolis creates these psychological conditions – with every crossing of the street, with the tempo and multiplicity of economic, occupational and social life – it creates in the sensory foundations of mental life, and in the degree of awareness necessitated by our organization as creatures dependent on differences, a deep contrast with the slower, more habitual, more smoothly flowing rhythm of the sensory-mental phase of small town and rural existence. (1971:325)

According to Simmel, urban life determines the mental and physical conditions of residents, thus the urban has a central role in the people's lives. The basic problem of the urban, when it is considered in relation to community, is the effort that modern individuals must make to preserve their autonomy among the external culture, social forces and technology. However, the individual should reconcile urban life for her/his own interests. In the metropolis individuals are exhausted of one another, which is a form of self-defence. A feeling of "insecurity" makes the individuals more deliberate in this choice.

For Simmel, the urban individual is condemned to be "stranger,"[7] as s/he has a divided personality and cannot willfully perform her/his own acts. S/he does not

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[7] *In this article "The Stranger" (1908), Simmel identified the stranger as: "He [the stranger] is fixed within a certain spatial circle – or within a group whose boundaries are analogous to spatial*

own "land," which would create a sense of commitment, thus the land/homeland in modern life is solely a physical condition. Our national, cultural, social or economic relations as modern individuals connect us to each other; however, as these bonds multiply across a wide area and they are made impersonal, they are transformed into abstract bonds. Therefore, human relations are far from intimate, which makes individuals "strangers" to each other. Doubt, in modern world, is an indispensable asset in relationships:

> "A stranger" becomes someone with whom one has to deal all the time – but here again one deals just with an aspect of "a stranger" and not with the whole person. Social differentiation has led to the formation of social groups, associations, and institutions in which people remain anonymous and are bound together by impersonal relations. People interact with each other and make transactions on the basis of minimal information. And so we may conclude that historically, differentiation in society and the division of labour has led to multiple, yet complimentary features of trust and solidarity. (Markova & Gillespie, 2008:17)

The economy of money is dominant in urban life; it objectifies people and creates a balance of the distance between them. The economic relationship is in a sense an impersonal relationship, as people are reduced to "numbers" and their interests are evaluated rationally:

> Money is concerned only what is common to all, i.e., with the exchange value which reduces all quality and individuality to a purely quantitative level. All emotional relationships between persons rest on their individuality, whereas intellectual relationships deal with persons as with numbers, that is, as with elements which, in themselves, are indifferent, but which are of interest only insofar as they offer something objectively perceivable. (326)

In general, this self-interest gained importance with, in particular, the expansion of the market, as well as the overgrowth of the cities. With this predominence of individualism, Simmel argues, it is unavoidable to alienate people in the place they live and therefore, they have deviant behaviours.

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*circle- but his position within it is fundamentally affected by the fact that he does not belong in it initially and that he brings qualities into that are not, and cannot be, indigenous to it (ed. D. N. Levine, 1971:143)*

## 4.1.3. L. Wirth: Urbanism as a Way of Life & The Urban Society and Civilization

Just like Simmel, L. Wirth identified the urban problem as the great, compact and permanent living place of heterogeneous persons. Here, the urban is a shared place in which a variety of people share the same locale:

> The city is not merely the point at which great numbers are concentrated into limited space, but it is also a complex of human beings exhibiting the most extraordinary heterogeneity in almost every characteristic in which human beings can differ from one another. In this respect the city represents perhaps the most striking contrast to the social entities that we call primitive, folk, and peasant societies. (Wirth, 1940:750)

The concentration of population brings about individual differences. The bonds of kinship, neighbourhood, and a sense of unity cannot be attained in urban life, unlike in the community. The multiplicity of personal preferences and lifestyles creates a relative tolerance of differences. The other difference in urban life from community is that urban relations cannot be personal, as they are superficial, temporary, fragmented and impersonal. Furthermore, individuals' appearance as distant, cold and blasé comes from a need for protection. They wear "uniforms," which give us a clue about their occupation, however, the relationship remains purely on a physical, not emotional level. Individuals cannot see others' unique qualities beyond the "uniforms": "We see the uniform which denotes the role of the functionaries and are oblivious to the personal eccentricities that are hidden behind the uniform" (Wirth, 1938:14).

Therefore, individuals do not know each other; persons meet with images and lack trust. Here, the cohabitation of the strangers in a space who are insecure with each other and who do not have emotional bonds creates a feeling of "hostility" and distrust. This also created sole competition, disputes and an increase in social distance. Distrust, along with the complexity of the urban life, organized people into groups with similar interests:

> Being reduced to a stage of virtual impotence as an individual, the urbanite is bound to exert himself by joining with others of similar

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interest into organized groups to obtain his ends. This results in the enormous multiplication of voluntary organizations directed toward as great a variety of objectives as there are human needs and interests. While on the one hand the traditional ties of human association are weakened, urban existence involves a much greater degree of interdependence between man and man and a more complicated, fragile, and volatile form of mutual interrelations over many phases of which the individual as such can exert scarcely any control. (1938:22)

The "community lost" theory argues communities cannot exist at the urban level, and if they do, they are far weaker than is desirable. These communities experience the destructive effects of the urbanization process; and lack the social ties and emotional bonds of the traditional lifestyle in which people value solidarity, neighbourhood, kinship, friendship, intimate relations, and the organic existence of groups, mentality and trust. The "community saved" arguments, on the other hand, justify the existence of the socially cohesive communities in the cities.

## 4.2. Community Saved Arguments: Solidarity in the Neighbourhoods

Unlike the community lost, the community saved arguments claim that in the industrial cities the kinship solidarity, social networks and neighbourhood still exist, based on empirical research. The supporters of this strand, like H. J. Gans, W. Whyte, and B. Wellman deny the determinate role of the urban on social organization's dimensions, density and heterogeneity:

Ethnographic research in the 1950s and 1960s discovered thriving urban communities and ethnic enclaves where kinship and friendship flourished. Especially in poor urban neighborhoods, the evidence of dense social networks and local identification remained strong. (Sampson, 1999:245)

### 4.2.1. H.J. Gans: "The Urban Villagers: Group and Class in the Life of Italian-Americans"

H. J. Gans in his famous study "The Urban Villagers: Group and Class in the Life of Italian-Americans" (1962) carry out ethnographic research in the West End of Boston, where second-generation Italian-Americans live. At first sight, outsiders see the neighbourhood as a "slum": "To the average Bostonian, the West End was one of the three slum areas that surrounded the city's central business district" (Gans,

1962:3). However, in his research Gans found that the residents had constructed a self-sufficient social structure. According to the observations he made in the neighbourhood, Gans concluded that these ethnic enclaves embodied kinship, friendship and solidarity, and that effective social networks remained (1962:311-317).

The West Enders were predominantely members of working class, more so than they were Italian, although many Italian cultural characteristics were still present—in eating habits, religious rituals or linguistic accents. Gans determined that they had communal ties and solidarity networks, in contrast to the community lost arguments. According to Gans, the residents' identity existed through their residency in the West End, and even if they were upwardly mobile, the locality preserved their Italian style of community life and ties with relatives:

> The rejection of external mobility is largely a rejection of middle-class elements in the outside world. The West-Ender has little sympathy for what he believes to be the goals and behaviorial requirements of this way of life... Moreover, he rejects the conscious pursuit of status and the acquisition of artifacts that would require him to detach from his peers, and to seek ways of living in which they cannot share. Similarly, the West Enders' low opinion of suburban life; college of attendance based on other than purely occupational goals; of the careerism of white-collar people, of caretakers and other professionals; and of the tastes, leisure preferences, and (cultural interests of the people they call "high society"- this is nothing more than a rejection of middle –class society and culture. (1962:219)

W.G. Flanagan summarizes the social networks and solidarity in the neighbourhood as follows:

> Their social relationships consisted mainly of intense involvements with kin, mostly adult brothers and sisters and their families, and friends, all of whom lived close to one another. Sociability took the form of routine gatherings several times a week by the members of what Gans called a "peer group society"… The West Enders were truly themselves and fully alive only as members of this group. (2001:105-106)

Another essential characteristic of the West End, which makes it a "community," is that the residents reacted with suspicion to the "outside world," which also shows their trust and commitment to each other (1962:120-121). Here, Gans considered the

disadvantageous situation of the urban poor who had been displaced from the neighbourhood. Their tenements were destroyed for the formation of a luxury city in their neighbourhood. The West Enders tried to "protect" their neighbourhood and fought against the urban renewal program, although they couldn't organize politically and were not ultimately successful. After the destruction of their neighbourhood, they were displaced and dispersed to different neighbourhoods, especially to the suburbs around the city. Thus, they lost solidarity ties and social networks, which shows the importance of locality on communal ties.

## 4.2.2. W.F. Whyte: Street Corner Society: The Social Structure of an Italian Slum

In his famous study "*Street Corner Society: The Social Structure of an Italian Slum*" (1943), W.F. Whyte conducted research on Cornerville, where sub-altern Italian people resided. His object of study were the youth who had been polarized as either the "corner" boys or college boys, although they lived in the same neighbourhood. He examined the differences in the lifestyles, values, habits and leisure activities of these youth (1955:94-108). Through his contact and experiences living with some boys[8], he analyzed the community characteristics of the neighbourhood. He examined a variety of associations that existed for community development, urban renewal, legal or illegal earnings, and political action like the gangs, leaders, followers, and racketeering groups.

He denied that slums had lost their community relations; saying they had solidarity ties as evidenced by their propensity to organize. He discovered that the political or social organizations in the neighbourhood interacted and had established sufficient inner organization. Even though the neighbourhood was organized "sufficiently," it was not organized "efficiently," as they were not able to deal with the social structure of the "outside world:"

> "Cornerville's problem is not lack of organization but failure of its own social organization to mesh with the structure of the society

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[8] *While his research, he has lived for three years in Cornerville, learned their languages and get involved in the group of the "corner" boys with whom he participated the activities in the neighbourhood.*

around it. This accounts for the development of the local political and racket organizations and also for the loyalty people bear toward their race [sic] and toward Italy... Some ask, 'Why can't those people- stop being Italians and become Americans like the rest of us?' The answer is that they are blocked in two ways: by their own organized society and by the outside world.... Cornerville people want to be good American citizens.... If a man wants to forget that he is an Italian, the society around him does not let him forget." (1955: 273)

He also detected some characteristics of the groups that called attention to the effect trust and solidarity had, as it increased the success of the group members. To illustrate, the number of close friends of a successful leader tended to decrease when the leader left the group. The leader stood behind his friends while he was the leader of the group, and his absence made his close friends experience distress.

He also determined several differences between the "corner" and the college boys. While the former tended to share their income with group members and to act with solidarity, the latter tended to save money for their future education:

One of the most important divergences [between the college boys and corner-boys] arises in matters involving the expenditure of money. The college boys fit in with an economy of savings and investment. The corner boys fit in with a spending economy. The college boy must save his money in order to finance his education and launch his business or professional career. He therefore cultivates the middle class virtue of thrift. In order to participate in group activities, the corner boy must share his money with others. (106)

One can say that the corner boys felt like they belonged to the group and took moral values more seriously than material ones. The group members' shared experiences and solidarity created a mutuality, which could also be called community spirit. Financial problems did not create disorganization or break communal ties, rather financial problems were a shared experience and created a solidarity network within the group.

## 4.3. Community Liberated (Transformed) Arguments

The community liberated arguments can be placed between the community lost and the community saved arguments:

> Community is said to be liberated in the sense that city dwellers are no longer restricted to their immediate kinship groups or neighbourhoods in developing intimate ties… Thus, certain types of intimate ties (those based on kinship and propinquity) may be attenuated, as 'lost' theorists insist, but intimate ties as such still remain, as 'saved' proponents argue; however, the remaining ties take a rather different form than the 'saved' proponents contemplate, extending outside the 'urban village' into other parts of the metropolitan area, the state, and the nation. (Tsai & Sigelman, 1982: 580)

First, the heterogeneity of the urban life enables people to choose the groups, associations and the organizations they want to be a part of. There are so many options that people can choose whom to remain in contact with, according to their common interests, unlike in the local community, where the bonds are pre-established. Moreover, distance in urban life is abstract, with developed modes of transportation and communication technology, people can act without restraint regardless of distance. In this sense, social ties are not determined by the locality anymore, which is also called "free from geography." B. Wellman summarizes the basic dynamics of the "community liberated" arguments:

> *(a)* the separation of residence, workplace, and kinship groups involves urbanites in multiple social networks with weak solidarity attachments; *(b)* high rates of residential mobility weaken existing ties and retard the creation of strong new ones; *(c)* cheap, effective transportation and communication reduce the social costs of spatial distances, enabling the easy maintenance of dispersed primary ties; *(d)* the scale, density, and diversity of the city and the nation-state, in combination with widespread facilities for interaction, increase possibilities for access to loosely bounded, multiple social networks; and *(e)* the spatial dispersion of primary ties and the heterogeneity of the city make it less likely that those with whom an urbanite is linked will themselves be densely knit into solidary communities. (1979:1206)

The most well-known argument that harmonizes the "community saved" and community lost" arguments is the C. S. Fischer's study, *"The Urban Experience"* (1976) in which he brings together the arguments of L. Wirth (community lost) and the H.J. Gans (community saved). Fischer creates a new theory called "sub-cultural" which was named by B. Wellman as "community liberated."

### 4.3.1. C.S. Fischer: The Urban Experience

Fischer accepts that urban life has affected people's communal relations and solidarity ties, however, he thinks in a positive manner. The proliferation of social groups and organizations in urban life enables people to choose groups with their common social, cultural, ethnic or political interests. In rural areas, people did not have the opportunity to choose groups that agreed with their interests, as the groups did not necessarily exist. The size of the population plays an important part in this difference, as a "critical mass"[9] in urban areas created the diversity of subcultures within it (Flanagan, 2001: 110). Fischer had four basic propositions regarding the subcultures:

> Proposition 1. - Larger places develop more and more specialized subcultures than do less populous ones, and are therefore more culturally heterogeneous…
> Proposition 2-. More populous places develop not only more distinct subcultures but also more intense subcultures than less populous places do…
> Proposition 3-. At the same time, between-group contact leads to mutual influence…
> Proposition 4-. The more urban the place, the higher the rates of unconventionality relative to the wider society… (1995: 545-546)

Rather than "lost" or "saved," the community is conceived as transformed or liberated (from the traditional bonds and locality). By living in a wider geography (both in physical and cyber space) and with a greater number of the sub-groups, people do not feel any necessity for locality, as social ties are now established through common interests.

Fischer claimed that the central characteristic of the urban personality is not public but private behaviour, when he made the division between the public and private spheres of social life (Flanagan (2001), Sampson (1999). In public, people have superficial relations and are strangers to each other. However, in the private sphere they have intimate relations. According to Fischer, the focus when examining social

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[9] *Critical Mass: a population size large enough to permit what would otherwise be only a small group of individuals to become a vital, active subculture (p.37).*

bonds should be on private sphere rather than on the public, where people can act according to their own will.

## 4.4. Evaluation

Masses are exposed to individuality with the urbanization of the population, and with that comes the problem of abstract coexistence in city life. In this sense, the division of town and city is a landmark for the history of inequality. The ownership of the means of production is unique to urban life. With it comes the systematic exploitation of the property-less by the propertied, and thus, the gap deepens between them. An unbalanced relationship between the rulers and the ruled is created through the ownership of private property—the means of production—and the division of labour. Therefore, as Marx indicates:

> The existence of the town implies, at the same time, the necessity of administration, police, taxes, etc.; in short, of the municipality, and thus of politics in general. Here first became manifest the division of the population into two great classes, which is directly based on the division of labour and on the instruments of production. The town already is in actual fact the concentration of the population, of the instruments of production, of capital, of pleasures, of needs, while the country demonstrates just the opposite fact, isolation and separation. The antagonism between town and country can only exist within the framework of private property. (Marx&Engels, 1876:72)

In confined spaces, this situation effects solidarity relations, social networks and social stratification. Therefore, with the massive migration from rural to urban areas, and the division of labour and specialization, which were inevitably adopted for the survival of the capitalism, an unequal distribution of wealth was created and with that came unjust settlements within the city[10]. The meanings assigned to concepts like community, locality, solidarity and neighbourhood in rural areas have significantly changed in the urban context. As mentioned above, some classical sociologists have argued that community and communal values cannot be applicable in the city, while the other side argues that they still exist. Still, others combine the two, and postulate that the community exists in the city, but not in the classical sense, and rather in a transformed manner.

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[10] *For a detailed discussion about the inequality and capitalism from class-based perspective: Chapter 1, The Marxist Tradition, pp.7-12*

When we look at the common ground between the various "community" definitions, we see that the locality, sociability and/or common values are indispensable provisions for a group to be a "community." In the lost arguments, the organic composition of the community gained importance. The neighbourhoods in the city, especially in the suburbs, enclaves or ghettos are organic entities. The motive in these constructions is usually "self-interest," as their formation by their own residents, or by external forces, is rational yet fictional. Furthermore, the division of labour inevitably harms primary relations in society. Unlike communities in rural areas, in the city neighbourhood groups or organizations cannot be self-sufficient because of the division of labour. An individual should eventually come in contact with people in various occupations, which will transform solidarity relations organically.

The weakness of communal solidarity becomes more visible in the poor areas of the city, as the economy is its final determinant. Poverty and social exclusion seriously damage communal ties and solidarity relations between people when they are surrounded by financial problems. In this sense, solidarity appears emotional rather than financial. With complex urban life, people's economic, social or cultural problems prevent them from feeling unity with relatives, close friends or neighbours; in other words, the feeling of "us" is diminished. Especially in the ghettos, people who are upwardly mobile avoid the feeling of "us," as the ghetto is identified with poverty and exclusion. As a member of a neighbourhood that is seen as a place to be avoided, the ghetto can also create repulsion, hatred or disdain among its dwellers. On the other hand, the ghetto can also be a shelter and identity for the people who have no hope of upward mobilization, as they are more secure and relieved with the "tribe" than in their interactions with higher classes.

However, the field studies supporting the "community saved" argument followers show that primary ties are protected, and this point is essential because relationships between relatives or neighbours are not lost, they just begin to vary. For instance, W.F. Whyte's study emphasized that ethnicity could be a strong bond and provide these ties. Here, "community liberated/transformed" arguments need special attention. The question should be: Could the new solidarity ties be liberated? In

these arguments, it is said that the transformation of solidarity and locality has enabled people to freely choose to join groups that share their common interests. However, it should be questioned whether this general situation applies to all society. The answer is "no" for the poor areas, as working-class neighbourhoods, or the disadvantaged sections of sthe city, do not have the opportunity to choose who to connect with.

The middle class or bourgeoisie are better off, as they have the opportunity to benefit from communication technology and improved transportation, which trivialize distance and time; however the lower classes are not that lucky. The places where a member of the higher classes work, socialize and live are different, which is not the case for the lower classes. Their neighbourhood becomes their habitat, and they do not even have the chance to choose this place. The more "advantaged" people select the places in the city where they may benefit, while the rest must be content with their "leftover" spaces. Therefore, the poor have no choice regarding their involvement with groups, neighbourhoods or organizations.

# CHAPTER 5

## THE FIELD RESEARCH: BOSTANCIK NEIGHBOURHOOD

*New lands you will not find, you will not find other seas.*
*The city will follow you. You will roam the same*
*streets. And you will age in the same neighborhoods;*
*in these same houses you will grow gray.*
*Always you will arrive in this city. To another land -- do not*
*hope --*
*there is no ship for you, there is no road.*
*As you have ruined your life here*
*in this little corner, you have destroyed it in the whole world[11].*

## 5.1. General Information about the Research

In this chapter, I explain the aim and methods of the research, followed with the location, characteristics and the selection criteria for the research setting, and ended with a description and commentary of the focus group. The reproduction of the "new" urban poverty, as a result of the spatial concentration, and its effects on the transformation of community are questioned with reference to Bostancık Neighbourhood in Ankara. The aim of the research is to go beyond description, so I apply the abductive research strategy, as it is based on interpretation and understanding. This research also aimed at looking the exclusionary processes with reference to "the everyday lives of people who actually 'live them out'" (Cook & Crang: 4). Therefore, the dimensions of the exclusion that these people have faced, their new coping strategies for dealing with poverty, their relations with the city and the spatial barriers they face are addressed throughout the research. For a detailed analysis, the interviews with the inhabitants were conducted and followed the qualitative methodology. Finally, a conclusion about the reproduction of poverty is discussed.

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[11] *Constantine P. Cavafy (1910), The City: http://users.hol.gr/~barbanis/cavafy/city.html*

### 5.1.1. Aim and Methodology

In this research, in general the qualitative approach, and in particular the abductive research strategy was used, as the poor were accessed as the objects of the study rather than simple subjects. "Abduction is the process used to produce social scientific accounts of social life by drawing on the concepts and meanings used by social actors, and the activities in which they engage (Blaikie, 1993: 176)". The statistical data that can be obtained simply by questionnaire does not matter, but rather the aim is to grasp the feelings, ideas, and opinions of the social actors about the physical and sociological experiences that they have been living through. In this sense, the perception of the poverty and exclusion from the viewpoint of the "receiver" can only be understood through the in-depth interviews and their interpretation. I never thought about using high-sounding quantative data to determine the "level" of their deprivation, but rather tried to present the unique individual experiences of these social actors.

The focus group was composed of 22 female and male interviewees from ages 18-80 (Table 2) and the conversations were conducted with them both either as one-to-one or in groups. It should be bear in mind that "a group is not just a way of collecting multiple individual statements, but is a means to set up a negotiation of meanings through intra- and inter-personal debate" (Cook & Crang: 56). I preferred the one-to-one interview, to make the interviewee comfortable, and I saw its benefits when the people expressed their ideas more freely while we were alone. There were "intimate" questions, such as about their consumption behaviours, their opinions about each other and illegal activities in the neighbourhood, which could only be expressed to an "outsider".

However, there were also group interviews to compare the answers from the one-to-one interviews, with the ones they gave among their "neighbours." Also, in the group interviews, there were discussions that I used as relevant data in the following sections.

**Table 2. The Profile of the Focus Group**

| Gender | Name | Date of Birth | Place of Birth | Education | Occupation |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Female | Hayriye | 1959 | Güdül | Primary | Housewife |
| Female | Türkan | 1964 | Mamak | Primary | Peddler |
| Female | Ünzile | 1987 | Yozgat | Secondary | Housewife |
| Female | Zehra | 1980 | Beypazarı | Secondary | Housewife |
| Female | Ruhiye | 1969 | Yozgat | Primary | Housewife |
| Female | Zeynep | 1980 | Sincan | Bachelor | Teacher |
| Female | Nuray | 1986 | Yozgat | Primary | Housewife |
| Female | Sezen | 1991 | Mamak | High School | Unemployed |
| Female | Hülya | 1988 | Mamak | High School | Unemployed |
| Female | Sevda | 1971 | Mamak | Primary | Cleaning Lady |
| Female | Cevriye | 1939 | Kızılcahamam | Illiterate | Housewife |
| Female | Hatice | 1956 | Kızılcahamam | Primary | Housewife |
| Male | Ahmet | 1976 | Kırıkkale | Secondary | Tile-Layer |
| Male | Mesut | 1977 | Kırıkkale | High School | Cleaning Man |
| Male | Hasan | 1929 | Yozgat | Primary | Retired |
| Male | İsmail | 1959 | Kırıkkale | Primary | Peddler |
| Male | Serdar | 1990 | Mamak | High School | Student |
| Male | Haydar | 1950 | Kırıkkale | Primary | Cabinetmaker |
| Male | Hakan | 1961 | Mamak | Primary | Scrap dealer |
| Male | İbrahim | 1947 | Kırıkkale | Primary | Waste collector |
| Male | Osman | 1959 | Güdül | High School | Worker |
| Male | Eren | 1984 | Mamak | High School | Welder |

For interpretivism, the social world is the world and experiences perceived by its members from the *inside*. The people living in Bostancık-Mamak/Ankara have the most competent information about their exclusion. Hence, the task of the social scientist is to discover and describe this insider view, not to impose an outsider view on it, so this research aims to carry over these perceptions. In this sense, during the interviews, I tried to be as impartial as possible but also tried to encourage them to express themselves freely. The groups, mainly composed of three people and lasted about two hours each, and the one-to-one interviews lasted approximately an hour each.

There were basic questions including the age, sex, marital status and educational background, but the rest were open-ended. Audio-tape recording was used during the interviews and the interviews transcribed later on. As a part of my personal and ethical obligation, off the record conversations were not used in this thesis and

remain a secret. All in all, I have seen this thesis as a chance to make these people visible to "others" and express their problems in an uncensored manner. The semi-structured interview technique was adopted and generally let them lead the interview.

However, a basic problem in poverty studies is the inability to satisfy the expectations for the sample. At first, I went to Bostancık with a friend who lived there. He introduced me to a few of his neighbours, and we tried to explain the aim of the study as much as possible. After that, the snowball contacts have been used to diversify the focus group. In the later visits, we were faced with the problem of convincing people of our aim. At the very beginning of our visits, they were suspicious, as some thought that we could be related to governmental agencies or relief organizations, which presented a great danger and could have changed the course of the interview in a partial way. Therefore, through the experiences of these visits, we decided to use a profile of poor student, which was not that far from reality, and did not have the "power" to lend assistance to them. Also, we had to convince them that we had no connections with governmental agencies, so the interviewees could be free to express their opinions about them.

## 5.1.2. The Research Setting

Bostancık Neighbourhood is a settlement at the outskirts of Ankara, which is attached to Mamak Municipality. Mamak Municipality is one of the metropolitan districts of Ankara, which is east of the city, has a population of 430,606, and covers an area of 478 km$^{2.}$ Its distance from the city centre is about 7 km. and it has 62 incorporated neighbourhood units, which were mainly squatter housing (Gecekondu) areas[12].

Bostancık -shown in Figure 1- is one of the prominent neighbourhoods of Mamak, with a 409.195 m² area in the east of Ankara, and has a population of 5,500[13]. The borders of the neighbourhood are determined by the Bostancık Avenue in the north,

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[12] *Source: The Official Website of Mamak Municipality: www.mamak.bel.tr*

[13] *The data about the area and population of the neighbourhood have been obtained from Mamak Municipality.*

Gevaş Avenue in the east, and the intersection of Bostancık and Çatak Avenues in the southwest.

**Figure 1. The Borders of Bostancık Neighbourhood**



Source: Google Earth, 2009

**Figure 2. The Neighbours of Bostancık**
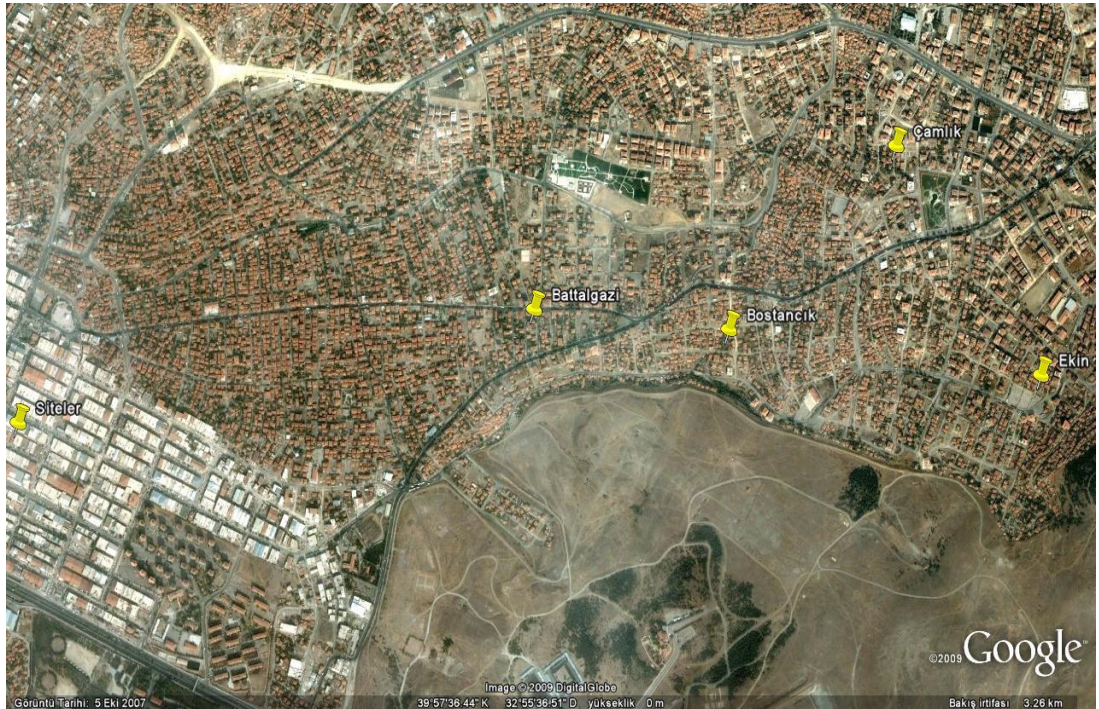


Source: Google Earth, 2009

Its adjacent neighbourhoods are Battalgazi in the north, Ekin in the east, and Çamlık in the northeast. It is also close to the Hüseyingazi Hill, which is a centre for rock-climbing and caving, and to Siteler (Figure 2). Siteler was used to be the centre of the furniture shops, however with the severe economic crises, most of the shops have gone bankrupt and their labourers are now unemployed or work in different line of business. Bostancık is in a disadvantageous location, as it is far from the city centre (Figure 3) and has very limited transportation opportunities.

**Figure 3. The Location of Bostancık in Ankara**
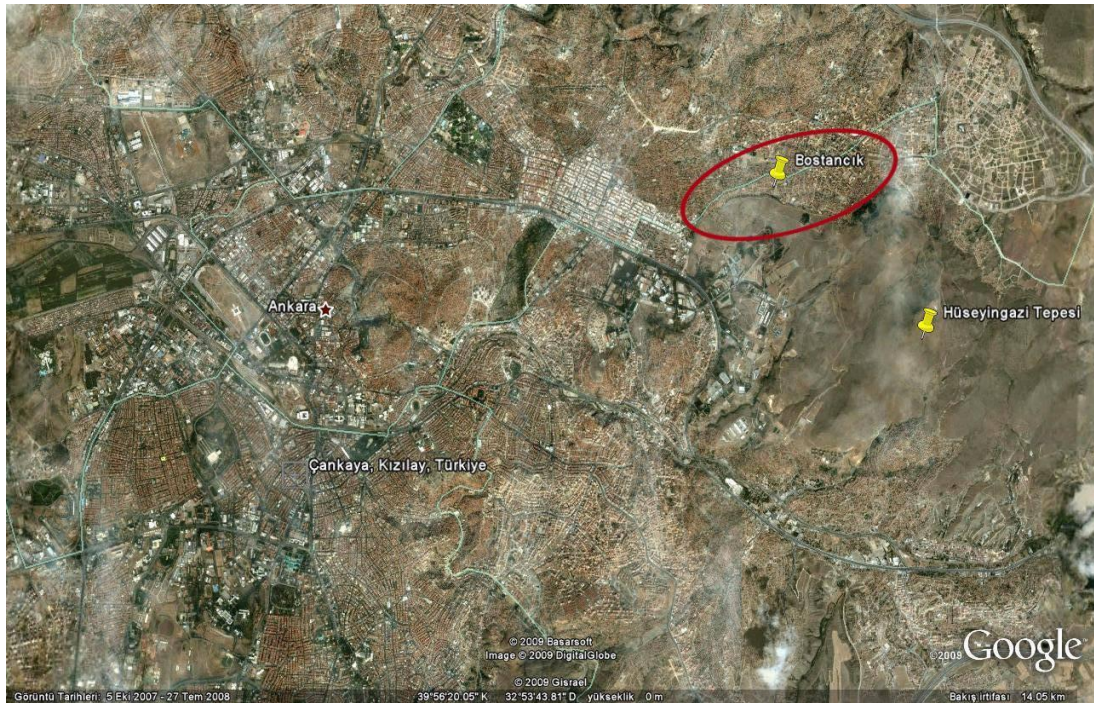


Source: Google Earth, 2009

The settlement of Bostancık has been traced back to 1950s. Its development peaked in the 1970s with the establishment of "Siteler." With the Gecekondu Law in 1984, and Amnesty Law in 1986 for the Gecekondus, there was massive housing growth in Bostancık. With the amnesty, there was a turning point in urbanization and in squatter housing for Turkey in general, and for Bostancık in particular. All of the illegal housing was included in the scope of the amnesty and the owners of the Gecekondus gained the right to add four stories to their houses. At this time, most of the settlers in Bostancık applied to the Municipality to benefit from the amnesty. In response to the construction plans, in 1991 the first improvement plans for the

neighbourhood was made. However, it is not until 2009, that there have been constructions according to these improvement plans[14].

The first settlers were mainly the new immigrants that came from the cities of Central Anatolia, particularly Kırıkkale and Yozgat, and the counties of Ankara like Kızılcahamam, Güdül, and Beypazarı. They came from their hometowns because of the job opportunities in Siteler. The current settlers I chose for focus group are mostly from the next generation of the early residents.

### 5.1.3. The Motive for Choosing Bostancık as the Research Setting

The reason I choose Bostancık for my field research is that I anticipated that the neighbourhood could be identified as an outcast ghetto. The neighbourhood is composed of Gecekondus, which were built illegally on the treasury land, and the residents are poor and excluded. Therefore, from the very beginning, I believe that the settlers did not voluntarily choose this area as they mainly came to join the workforce of "Siteler," which makes the neighbourhood both a place of work and of daily life. My motive was not to simply to witness the economic deprivation that the settlers have faced, but also their spatial exclusion and their social, cultural and political exclusion. In this sense, it was most important to learn their settlement stories. To explore their deprivation and multi-dimensional exclusion, it was also essential to explore their survival strategies.

Besides living in a closed neighbourhood, I also wondered about their feelings, and the value they attributed, to being a member of Bostancık. I thought that perhaps as a result of their isolation, they spent most of their time in the neighbourhood, so Bostancık would carry a lot of meaning for them. Also, I tried to explore their opinions about the degree to which government support was essential. As mentioned before, I think that, in some ways, poverty has severely damaged communal ties, and the meaning of locality, and the existence (or non-existence) of communal characteristics should be characterized in light of interpersonal relations. Also, in Bostancık, stratification, solidarity and conflict was inevitable, as in any other

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[14] *These information has been taken from Mehmet Ali Çetin, a cadastre and survey engineer, works in Mamak Municipality.*

neighbourhood, as all have interpersonal communication. The people they have communication with, and the degree of that relation is revealed in the exploration of their daily activities and lifestyles.

Finally, I think their opinions about "better" places and lives, and their hopes and desires about these "other" places also lends to the meaning of Bostancık for them. Their identification as "outsiders," in relation to the members of higher classes gives insight into how they position themselves in the city in particular and in society in general. As a result, the basic questions to understand the meaning of poverty, exclusion, solidarity and locality have been determined as follows:

- What are the factors that bring the settlers to Bostancık?
- How do they survive? What are their income sources?
- Are they happy to live in Bostancık?
- How do they position their neighbourhood within/out the city?
- How do they benefit from the other parts of the city?
- What do they think about the government in general and the services of Municipality in regards to their neighbourhood?
- What do they think about the settlers?
- Is there any social stratification in the neighbourhood?
- Who do they keep in touch with in the neighbourhood?
- What do they think about the other city dwellers?
- If they had a chance, in which part of the city they would like to live?

I attempt to analyze the answers from the focus group to these questions. As I focused on single cases, as many quotations as possible are given.

## 5.2. The Effects of Spatial Exclusion: Is Community Possible?

### 5.2.1. The Stories about Settlement: Being Obliged to Settle Down…

Bostancık is in an area that surrounds the city; it has limited transportation opportunities and the residents have a subaltern profile. Most of the interviewees had not willingly settled down in this neighbourhood. Because the houses were built on treasury land, they were built illegally. Most of the older interviewees, from the

ages of 50-85, stated that they came here for its close range to "Siteler," as shown in Figure 4, which at that time had plenty of job opportunities; or because their relatives or the antecedents had settled down the neighbourhood more or less for the same reason.

**Figure 4. The Distance between Bostancık and Siteler**
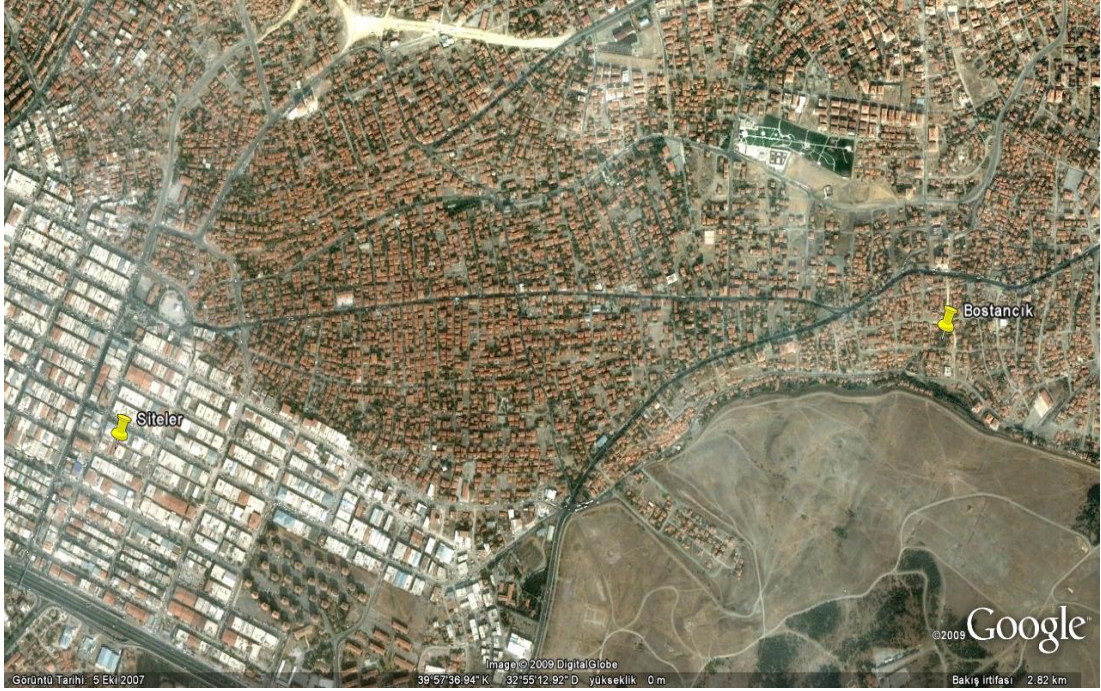


Source: Google Earth, 2009

A retired worker, İbrahim (62), who collects nylons from the garbage and sells them to augment his retirement salary, explains the reason why he choose to settle down:

> I came from İzmir to Gülveren; because there I had my Uncle Kalender, who is both our neighbour and fellow compatriot. One day, while he was talking, he said "Our Talib has land, let's sell it to you," and I said "Okay, let's buy it." I brought from İzmir, about 7000 liras; and I bought the land for 4500 liras. Then we built the bottom part of the house, which consisted of a kitchen and two rooms… Without wishing to boast, I'd like to say that while we were building the houses, we had help from our compatriots from the Village of Sarıkızı. Working collectively, I built the ground floor in 1974 and upstairs in 1975, step by step…[15]

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[15] *"Ben İzmir'den geldim Gülveren'e geldim, orda bizim Kalender amca vardı hem köylümüz hem komşumuz. Konuşurken "Bizim Talib'in bir arsası var satalım sana" dedi, ben de "Tamam alayım" dedim İzmir'den getirdiğim para vardı, 7000 lira; buranın yerini 4.500 liraya aldım sonra buranın altını mutfak iki göz yaptık…. Söylemesi ayıp bu evleri yaparken bizim köylülerimiz vardı Sarıkızı köyünden. İmece usulü 74'de altını yaptım 75'de üstünü yaptım parça parça…"*

Similarly, Haydar (59), a retired cabinetmaker and folk poet, who also earned money from festivals, concerts or weddings, stressed the economic reason for their choice:

> When I started to run the business in Siteler in 1977, we settled down here to avoid the cost of transportation. Therefore, Siteler is in close range. When we commuted there was a transportation problem… Otherwise, if we had lived far away, the transportation costs would have created extra expenses, and because of that we thought we should live close. So we decided to commute on foot and bought a squatter house here. Then later in 1989, because the house had been so small, 69 m², we demolished it and built a ferroconcrete squatter house. It is structureless/unscheduled but we are managing…[16]

Another interviewee, İsmail (50), a peddler settled here because of his relatives lived here and again, he had a job in "Siteler." Although he mentioned that his relatives were not "wealthy" enough to financially support him, they at least helped him find a house for rent, and helped him make his son learn a profession and find a job:

> After my wife had died, I said I shall go to Ankara, for these kids. The boy would attend school, because what would he do without a profession? I said I would make him acquire a profession; so I came to Hüseyingazi… Approximately 10 years ago, in 1998, 1999… My relatives were living in this neighbourhood, so I migrated here. My brother was living here too, and his kids were working in "Siteler." He was also miserable, but like me, how could he help it? He helped me find a house to rent, he was living in a rented house too, and of course we did not lose contact, but he did not have a chance to help me financially. His children were working in "Siteler," so I sent my son to one of their workplaces…[17]

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[16] *"Ben Siteler'de 1977'de iş yeri kurduğumda biz ulaşım masrafından kaçınmak için buraya yerleştik. Yakın olduğu için Siteler mevkii yani yürüyerek gidip geldiğimiz için burada, ulaşım sorunundan… Yoksa uzak bir yer olursa ulaşım masrafı insanlara ayrıca bir masraf açıyor ondan dolayı yakın şuradan yürüyerek gider geliriz diye düşündük burayı bir gecekondu olarak aldık daha sonra 89'da gecekondu çok küçüktü, 60 m², yıktık ve betonarme bir gecekondu yaptık plansız, programsız ama işte idare edip gidiyoruz."*

[17] *"Eşim öldükten sonra, dedim ben Ankara'ya gideyim, bu çocukları için işte, oğlan okur, mesleksiz neysiz ne yapar? Bir mesleğe vereyim dedim, geldim bu Hüseyingazi'ye bir yol… Yaklaşık 10 sene önce, 98, 99… Burada akrabalarım olması nedeniyle bu mahalleye göçtüm, kardeşim oturuyordu, onun çocukları sitede çalışıyordu. O da öyle zavallıydı benim gibi, bana nasıl yardımı dokunsun? Kira yeri bulmaya yardımcı oldu, o da kirada oturuyordu, tabii irtibatımızı koparmıyorduk ama bana maddi yönden bana bişe olarak yardımcı olacak bir düzeni yoktu. Onun çocukları sitede çalışıyordu, ben de çocuğumu oğlumu onların yanına gönderdim…"*

The younger interviewees note that their parents or grandparents settled down in this neighbourhood for the same economic and cultural reasons mentioned above; for instance, take the case of Zeynep (29). She is a rare example for the neighbourhood. She has a bachelor degree, but is unemployed. Her family moved here when she was 9 years old to get rid of their rent load:

> The history of my mother and my father dates back to the village. They lived in the village until they were 22-23 years old. They left for Sincan first; and we lived in Sincan until I was 9 years old: my mother, my father and myself. Then we have moved here, where my grandfather bought a house. We came to my grandfather's house because we thought we would be more comfortable here. I have two younger brothers. We came here in 1989; and I was 9 years old back then. This house belongs to my grandfather…[18]

Eren (25) is recently married, and is working in a factory as a welder. He was born in this neighbourhood and his parents settled down here for more or less for the same reasons as Zeynep's parents:

> I was born here. As a result of financial difficulties, when they were married, my mother and my father had to come here. In the village, my grandfather has land, but as we did not have a share of the land, they came here where our compatriots lived. They said to my father "Come, we will build you a house," and you will find a job of course, in a furniture shop. They have settled here that way, but of course they did not have many alternatives…[19]

Some of the female interviewees came from the village when they were married, as their husbands had been living here since they were born. Gülsüm (22) who came from her village when she has married at 15, settled here in the house where she has been living with her husband, two children and mother-in-law:

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[18] *"Annemle babamın geçmişi köye dayanıyor. 22-23 yaşına kadar köydelermiş… Sonrasında şehre gelmişler, babamın iş durumundan dolayı, köyde işleri olmamış. Sincan'a gelmişler ilk olarak, ben 9 yaşına kadar Sincan'da yaşadık, annem babam ben. Sonrasında buraya taşındık işte dedem buradan ev aldı. Dedemin evine geldik daha rahat ederiz diye. İki tane de erkek kardeşim var, benden küçükler. Buraya 89 yılında geldik, 9 yaşındaydım ben. Burası dedemin evi…"*

[19] *"Burda doğdum ben, annemle babam köy kısmında geçim zorluğu olduğu için evlenince buraya gelmişler. Köyde dedemin toprağı vardı ama bize pay düşmediği için buraya gelmişler, burda bizim hemşeriler de varmış, babama "Gel" demişler "Sana bi ev yaparız", bir de iş tabii, mobilyacılarda. Öyle yerleşmişler işte, çok da seçme şansları yokmuş tabii…"*

I was born and raised in Yozgat, Tahiroğlu village. I had an arranged marriage and with my husband I came to Ankara, to this neighbourhood. The family of my husband were living in Ankara, and I was living in the village. My father was alive during those days, so my marriage was arranged. They [her husband, his brothers and sisters] were born in Altındağ, and when they were children, they came to this neighbourhood. Through his childhood and adolescence, he lived in this neighbourhood. They were born in a different house but came here when they were little. We are still living here, but this house belongs to them…[20]

Similarly, Nuray (23) came from her village In Yozgat when she married at 15. At first they settled in Saraycık Village, Sincan, however her husband was spending a significant part of his salary on transportation in his way to work. She also stated that they were uncomfortable with the "mixed" character of the village:

Sincan-Saraycık village was a very cosmopolitan place. It was a place where the citizens who we identify as "gypsies" were living, and we were uncomfortable with this aspect. Also, my husband was walking for half an hour to reach his workplace. From there, he went to a bus stop, and then took two buses to get to his workplace. If he did not walk for half an hour, he would have used three busses, however, if he did, we would fall short [of money]…[21]

They have been living in one of the few apartments in this neighbourhood for three years, with the assistance of a relative:

Our brother-in-law, my husband's sister's husband, came and saw our life in village, and he said: "I would not stay here even if they paid me to." He said: "In our neighbourhood, there are houses with reasonable rents," so we came directly, because rent for 120TL was more acceptable to us. In Saraycık, we were paying 90 million for rent, and

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[20] *"Ben doğma büyüme Yozgat'lıyım, Tahiroğlu köyünde yaşadım , görücü usulüyle evlenip Ankara'ya, bu mahalleye bu sayede geldim yani. Onlar Ankara'da oturuyorlardı ben de köyde oturuyordum babam sağ idi o zamanlar görücü usulüyle oldu. Onlar Altındağ'da doğmuşlar çok küçük yaşta da buraya gelmişler çocukluğu gençliği bu mahallede geçmiş. Başka evde doğmuşlar ama çok küçük yaşta buraya gelmişler ve halen burada yaşamaktayız bu ev kendilerine ait…"*

[21] *"Sincan Saraycık köyü çok kozmopolit bir yer şimdi. Bizim çingene diye tabir ettiğimiz vatandaşların yaşadığı bir yer rahatsız oluyorduk bir de işyerine eşim yarım saat yürüyordu. Oradan otobüs durağına gidiyordu oradan iki araba yapıyordu işyerine gitmek için. Eğer yarım saat yürümezse o zaman 3 araba yapıyordu, o zaman hiç yetmiyordu."*

here, 120 TL. This neighbourhood is also close to his work, and we began to save from the drop in transportation costs, more or less…[22]

Similarly, Zehra (29), who grew up in Keçiören, came here when she got married to her husband, however she sees the change as a decline:

> I am a native of Beypazarı; my mother and my father came to Ankara 20 years earlier, when I was 8 years old. They are still living in Keçiören now, and I came here after I got married. I came because of my husband; because he had already been living here. It has been a big step down for me, as I came from a house with a combi-boiler to a house with a stove. I am used to it now, but I was having trouble getting used to it at first…[23]

She was also uncomfortable with having to live in disadvantaged conditions and with the downward mobilization that she has experienced by settling down in this neighbourhood. However, as mentioned above, most of the interviewees "did not choose" to live in Bostancık, but ended up there as a result of economic or social necessities.

In the next section, I focus on the economic conditions of the interviewees such as their living habits, their working and survival strategies, and I clarify their obligations and lifestyles in the neighbourhood.

### 5.2.2. Survival Strategies

It is clear that the interviewees and the other residents of the neighbourhood are poor and disadvantaged economically, spatially, culturally and socially. However, the interviewees do have an "income," although some are paid daily, are not paid regularly, or work in the informal economy and have unstable earnings. Most of the male interviewees have steady jobs with low wages, while the female interviewees are frequently housewives, or less frequently, are employed with irregular jobs.

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[22] *"Görümcemin kaynı dedi, geldi köydeki yaşantımızı gördü, "Ben burada para da verseler durmam" dedi, "bizim orda kirası uygun olan evler var" dedi direk kirası uygun diye 120'ye geldik. Orada 90 milyon veriyorduk kirayı, buraya 120'ye geldik, işyerine yakın oldu kârımız oldu ne kadar olursa olsun…"*

[23] *"Aslen Beypazarlıyım annem babam köyden 20 sene önce Ankara'ya gelmişler 8 yaşındaydım ben. Şu an Keçiören'de oturuyorlar ben de buraya evlendikten sonra geldim. Eşimden dolayı geldim zaten o burada oturuyordu. Benim için büyük bir düşüş oldu yani, kombili evden sobalı eve geldim, şimdi alıştım gerçi de, ilk ğ„üğbaşlarda çok zorlandım yani…"*

"Breadwinning" is mainly the responsibility of men, and domestic work is women's responsibility. Most of the women have poor levels of education and married at an early age so they do not have the proper tools to enter the labour market.

Hakan (38), is a scrap-dealer that works in the scrapyard with his wife and two brothers-in-law, He states that he is in debt, although they have relatively high earnings:

> I am a scrap dealer, however I pay rent for the scrapyard to work there. I pay 10 billion [10.000 TL] each month to pick over construction scraps. This is my job, but I cannot afford the rent. If I did not have to pay this 10 billion, my family would live well. 10 billion is too much, but try to tell that to him [the mayor][24]. You want me to tell my income? I live from hand to mouth… With this last crisis, every week I get further into debt by 200 millions [200 TL] I mean, I do not really earn money[25]…

However, according to Hakan's neighbour Zeynep, Hakan's older son was burglarizing he neighbourhood, and the homeowners of the houses he broke into caught him once or twice. After a few more interviews with Zeynep, she also said that Hakan grew marijuana in the backyard of his house. From this information, it can be assumed that they may have additional income from these illegal activities. He did not mention these "extra jobs" during the interview. However, he occasionally legitimized the burglary, theft and using drugs while speaking, stating that the unemployed people drink alcohol, use drugs or steal as a result of the government's policies:

> What does the excluded person do? S/he will try to assault you, stab you if s/he recognized. If you have 5 million in your pocket; he is obliged to take it from you to pay for bread. Either he would kill you, or injure you; or you will have to give this money to him/her voluntarily. Otherwise, when you are asleep at night, s/he will come and steal your stuff. If your business is a bakery, he will burglarise it,

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[24] *He is working in a scrapyard of which ownership belongs to the Metropolitan Municipality. In this sense, he thought he is paying the rent to the Mayor of the Metropolitan Municipality- İ. Melih Gökçek.*

[25] *"Ben hurdacıyım yalnız benim kira verdiğim bir yer var ben 10 milyar lira aylık kira veriyorum aylık inşaat atıklarının hurdalarını ayıklıyorum benim işim bu ama yetiştiremiyorum. Benden 10 milyarı almamış olsalar çoluğum çocuğum güzel yaşar. 10 milyar çok ama gel bir de ona anlat. Benim kazancımı söyleyeyim mi ,karnım doyuyor ya o yeter. Son bu kriz başladı başlıyalı her hafta 200 milyon borca giriyorum para kazanmıyorum yani."*

if it is a grocery, s/he will burglarize the grocery. S/he has the motive[26]…

Ahmet (38) is a tile-layer , who came to Ankara from Kırıkkale in 1993, and has lived in this neighbourhood since then. He started to work as a tile-layer after he came from his village because his older brothers were doing this job:

> I have two children, and my wife does not work. I do not work at anyone's direction, I freelance and do construction work. In truth, my income is sufficient to maintain my family, and I do not need to have any side jobs. In here, I am the president of association.[27] We do not have any earnings from that but spend for it. Up until now, none of the presidents have been paid by the association, and it continues the same way. I had been working with my brothers, but recently they quit the business. I am about to quit too. As a matter of fact, I can find many jobs. There are plenty of jobs if you accept 6 millions [6 TL], which has a value of 10 million [10 TL]. However, if you do it for 6 TL, you cannot take money, you cannot earn money, the problem is not running a business; the problem is getting your money[28]...

Similar to Hakan's illegal activities, some of the interviewees said that Ahmet was practicing usury, or predatory lending, and they added he still lives in the neighbourhood to take advantage of the poverty and misery of the residents, although he has sufficient income to move somewhere more "decent." As a matter of fact, he avoided saying his income during the interview, and hesitated to state a reason for his living in this neighbourhood. He said he had a house, a new luxury car and savings in the bank. It is obvious that those cannot be bought with the money he earns simply from "tiling".

Another interviewee, İbrahim, is retired, but he collects solid waste from the garbage to augment his retirement salary, as it is not enough alone to look after his household

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[26] *"Dışlanmış insan ne yapacak? Bir yerlere saldırmaya çalışacak senin önünü kesecek ya seni bıçaklayacak elinde 5 milyar görse o 5 milyonu ekmek almak için mecbur senden alacak onu. Ama ya öldürecek ya yaralayacak ya da seve seve vereceksin. Ya da ne yapacak sen gece yatarken gelip senin malzemeni götürecek. Fırınsa fırını soyacak bakkalsa bakkalı soyacak. Durup dururken değil yani…"*

[27] *Sarıkızlı Village Solidarity Association*

[28] *"Benim iki çocuğum var eşim çalışmıyor ben kendim bir yere bağımlı olarak çalışmıyorum serbestim inşaat işi yapıyorum. Vallaha gelirim geçinmemize yetiyor, ek iş yapmıyorum. Burada da dernek başkanıyım buradan bir gelirimiz yok giderimiz var da bu zamana kadar hiçbir dernek başkanı para almamış aynı şekilde yürüyor. Abilerimle birlikte çalışıyordum ama şimdi onlar bıraktı ben de bırakmak üzereyim. Aslında ben çok iş bulurum da 10 milyonluk işi 6 milyona yaparsan iş çok, o da ne olur para alamazsın, para kazanamazsın, iş yapma sorun değil paranı almak sorun."*

– his wife, a daughter and a granddaughter -- with his salary of 700 TL. Therefore, he collects nylons from the garbage and has sold them to wholesalers for 6 years. His brother-in-law had started this activity shortly before he did, and recommended it to İbrahim; and supplied the necessary connections to sell the nylons İbrahim collects. After he began, he suggested this job to his wife's cousins, who were having similar financial difficulties and they began to work:

> We are doing this work to supplement our incomes, together with my brother-in-law, and my wife's cousins… We collect nylons and other solid wastes. We take them to wholesaler directly and sell them in the Site of Forgers [*Demirciler Sitesi*]. Anyway, if you go to the mediator, you cannot take a shilling, it becomes dried nuts money. And I mean cigarette money by dried nuts[29].

Mesut (33), Nuray's husband, works in a hotel as a cleaning man, and has a regular salary of 700 TL per month. However, he sometimes does overtime on the weekends. When he does not work on weekends, or depending on whether he has a day or night shift at the hotel, he also is a male barber in one of his relative's barbershop, which raises their income by 1000-1300 TL per month. They also took food aid three times and coal aid one time, in a year, from the Metropolitan Municipality. Mesut and his family pay 250 TL per month for rent and they said they felt they were doing very well. They stressed that they knew they had to "feel grateful," as when they were living in Saraycık Village, Nuray was collecting wood from the garbage to burn in the stove to heat the house:

> A single salary does not suffice. For now my salary is 650 million [650 TL], with taxes I earn 724 TL. My side job is male barbering, and from that I earn 10-15 TL, but not every day. It is not permanent like the hotel, where we work in shifts. When I work the morning shift I can work at the barbershop at the evenings, however, when I work the evening shift at the hotel, I cannot work at the barbershop at morning. From barbering, we receive about 250-500 TL in total, that's

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[29] *"Benim bacanağım, benim hanımın teyze çocuklarıdır şimdi işte ek iş olarak şey yapıyoruz, naylon topluyoruz şunu topluyoruz bunu topluyoruz. Toptancıya götürüp satıyoruz Demirciler Sitesinde, doğrudan ama. Zaten aracıya giderseniz 5 kuruş etmez aldığın bir günlük kuru yemiş parası olur. Kuruyemiş derken sigara parası olur."*

why our monthly earnings reach something between 1000-1250 TL[30]…

Haydar also is one of quite a few interviewees who had a side job. He is a retired cabinetmaker, but with his retirement salary of 700 TL, and his son's salary of 500 TL, they cannot support their household, which is composed of his wife, younger son and daughter-in-law. It is also because of that reason that his son saves money from his salary so he may move into a separate house with his wife and children in the future. Haydar explains their survival strategies as follows:

> With this salary, expenses are impossible to handle. I am now playing the saz to earn extra money, and without this, it is impossible to live with 700 TL. I play at weddings, concerts, and festivals, and for the events I go to, they pay me more money than my salary. Otherwise it would be impossible [to survive]. There is a little from my son's salary, but we are managing[31].

Even with a low wage, having a steady job is quite important for the interviewees. İsmail works as a packman. He has never had a permanent job and has no insurance. He was used to work as an instrumentalist in weddings, however now he sells pencils, notebooks and similar things in the neighbouring cities and towns of Ankara, but not inside the city. He did not explain why he does not sell them inside the city during the interview. He said, if he did this work in the city, people would recognize him by sight. My personal impression was that he was begging while he sold materials. He repeatedly emphasized working in places that he would not be recognized:

> I have a bag; and I go buy pencils, tissues, or whatever I find, and then I go to sell them. I am doing this from 8 a.m. in the morning until the evening … When I awake with the azan at 5 a.m., I cannot return to

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[30] *"Tek maaş yetmiyor şu an maaşım 650 milyon vergi iadesiyle 724 lira elime geçen ek işim erkek kuaförlüğü zaman zaman işte günde 10-15 oradan geliyor ama her gün değil sürekli değil çünkü otelde vardiyalı sistemde çalıştığımız için sabah vardiyasında çalıştığımda akşam berberde çalışabiliyorum akşam vardiyasında çalıştığımda sabah berberde çalışamıyorum. Yani ayda 250-500 arasında bir gelir oluyor oradan o yüzden 1000-1250 TL arasında filan oluyor…"*

[31] *"Bu maaşla mümkün değil geçinmek. Ben şimdi saz çalıyorum biraz burdan alıyorum, bu olmasın, benim bu 700 milyon ile geçinmem mümkün değil. Düğünlere gidiyorum konserlere gidiyorum festivallere gidiyorum gittiğim yerlerde maaşımdan fazlasını veriyorlar yoksa mümkün değil. İşte bir de oğlanın maaşından biraz var, idare ediyoruz."*

sleep. I smoke on an empty stomach because I am absent-minded when I have the bag on my back… I ask each person, one to one, taking care from each person to the next. When police officers see, some of them treat me positively, because they feel pity for me, some of them just pass, and some of them take the bag. They even take the materials inside the bag[32]…

Similarly, five out of the twelve female interviewees worked or were currently working an irregular job to contribute to the income. One of them, Türkan (35), married at the age of 16. Her husband works as a furniture dyer and receives a salary of 500 TL. She works irregularly as a peddler; and goes to work once or twice in a week:

> Sometimes, my neighbours know, I sell pencils. Look, I sell from these [a key holder], and I do not hide. I go to Kızılay, then Ayrancı and sell from there. I buy these for 750 kuruş apiece; I sell them for 1 TL, and make 250 kuruş of profit. It is generally not worth it, but it is still a contribution to the kids and home. Sometimes, I earn 30 [TL], and sometimes I earn 25. If I drop the cost, I make profit of 15 TL, which is not much. Anyway, the [buyers] say "Is this worth of 1 TL? My sister, it is too much". Some of them feel pity for me, so instead of 1 TL, they give me 2 TL. Sometimes, they give 2 TL, sometimes 1 TL, amd sometimes 1.5[33]…

Sevda (38) also contributes to her household income by cleaning other houses a couple times a week. Her husband is a school service driver with the net income of 1000 TL, but he had lost his job two months before the interview. They have three children, at ages 18, 16 and 14, and all are still going to school. Under these circumstances, Sevda has been cleaning houses for about 3 years:

> I graduated from primary school. I can only go to clean twice a week.

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[32] *"Bir çantam var 10 liralık 5 liralık kalem mendil bir şeyler ne bulursam alıyorum gidiyorum. Akşama kadar sabah 8'den… Sabah ezanla 5'te uykum açıldı mı uyku gelmiyor ki kalktım mı aç karnına sigara içmek zorundayım çünkü kafam dalgın, sırtımda çanta geziyorum… Birebir insanlara soruyorum, birebir ilgileniyorum. Zabıta görünce bazısı olumlu davranıyor, temelinde bir eziklik, bazısı pas geçiyor, bazısı alıyor çantayı içinde ne varsa onu bile alıyor…"*

[33] *"Bazen arada sırada komşum bilir kalem satıyorum, bak bunlardan satıyorum ben saklamam. Kızılay'da ondan sonra Ayrancı'da oralara gidiyorum satıyorum. Bunları satın alıyorum bunların bir tanesini 750 kuruştan alıyorum 1 liradan satıyorum 250 kuruş kâr ediyorum yani. Gittiğime değmiyor da işte ne kadar da olsa çoluğa çocuğa eve katkı oluyor. Bazen oluyor 30 aldığım gün oluyor, bazen oluyor 25 getirdiğim gün oluyor . Zaten 15'ini çık ben sadece 15 lira kâr yapmış oluyorum yoksa öyle fazla değil. Zaten buna bile diyorlar ki "Ya bu 1 lira eder mi bacım bu çok para yahu" diyorlar. Bazıları da acıyor 1 lira vereceğine 2 lira veriyor. Bazen oluyor 2 lira veren var bazen oluyor 1 lira veren var bazen oluyor 1.5 veren oluyor."*

What is the name of the neighbourhoods I go to? To Ümitköy, rich places, the areas with the villas. But I am content with my bosses, they are educated people, and I do not have any trouble with them. I have been going there for three years, while they are working, and we do not have any trouble. They treat me like a family member[34].

However, although the female interviewees do not work "outside" their home, they are in charge of the home economics. For instance, they meet the household's needs (for food, clothes…etc.) before serious price comparisons. They search and decide the cheapest way to buy. For food, they prefer the weekly bazaar or the vegetable sellers from the handcarts that pass through the neighbourhood. They do not consume meat in their houses; rather they prefer vegetables and breakfast foods. For needs like clothes for their family members, they choose the closest stores, so they may save on the transportation costs.

Most of them state that they "work a miracle" maintaining their households with low incomes. Meliha (40) has four children and three of them attend school. Her elder son and her husband work and the sum of their salaries is 1200 TL per month. They do not receive any food or coal aid from the municipality. However, her son saves some money from his salary, as he is at age where he shall marry. He saves about 100-200 TL for his family. As a result, Meliha states that their net income is about 900 TL, and she spends extra time finding the cheapest options to meet various needs:

I do all the shopping for the home. How could he [her husband] know which one is the cheapest, or which is most expensive? All in all, it requires time… For instance, we have a certain seller in the neighbourhood that we buy clothes from, and pay with partial payments. I buy the food from the cheapest market. I buy other dry legumes with partial payments, too. I bought my skirt, blouse…etc from Sister Hava, our neighbour. I shop from her, and buy the kids' clothes down the street, from somewhere cheap. I only buy clothes for myself and my mother-in-law from Sister Hava[35].

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[34] *"İlkokul mezunuyum ya şimdi çalışıyorum haftada 2 gün anca temizliğe gidiyorum. Neydi kız benim gittiğim yerler ? Ümitköy'e, zengin yerlere, villalı yerlere. Ben memnunum patronlarımdan ama, okumuş adamlar ben bir sorun yaşamıyorum. Ben 3 sene oldu oraya gideli, çalışıyorlar 60 yaşlarındalar, hiç sorun yaşamadık. Aileden biri gibi davranıyorlar bana."*

[35] *"Evin tüm alışverişini ben yapıyorum. Adam ne bilecek hangisi ucuz, hangisi pahalı, o da sonuçta zaman ister… Mesela mahallede belli satıcımız var bizim, kıyafetleri ondan taksitle alıyoruz,*

Similarly, Nuray is proud of her support of her family, as she tries hard to receive food and coal aid. In addition, while her husband was working as a construction worker, she collected wood and paper from the garbage to light their stove:

> When I first came to Ankara, we first moved to Saraycık-Sincan. There I collected wood and paper from the garbage. I did not have kids then, and I tried to burn the wood that I collected. My husband was working in construction; but they were not paying him his money, so the money we earned was insufficient... But somehow I compensated. I mean, I had to... First, I applied to the Municipality to receive food and coal aid. At the time, we did not have civil marriage, so was I seen to be living alone, and the municipality accepted. I was young then, and a year later we got married. I applied myself to receive aid, but we get the aid on my husband's name now. We are still receiving it, although we have social insurance. I have to do what can I do?[36]...

Another female interviewee, Hatice (53), used to make craftwork, before she had surgery on her eyes, and sell it to her neighbours and acquaintances. This provided significant financial relief for her household:

> In the past, people saw lace that I had made, and came and asked me to make some for them. I was making lace for money, or they asked me to knit bootees in exchange for money, but I do no such thing anymore. I had a surgery you see, and I cannot work now. If I can again I will, for my kids, I will do it again. I used to do as much as possible, but I cannot do anymore. I cannot do it even for myself, but at one time I did, and it made a contribution to our income. For instance, if I made 5 or 10 TL per day from these laces, wouldn't it help? It makes 300 TL per month; and at least that makes enough pocket money. Today, I do a lot of calculations for 300 TL[37].

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yiyecekleri hangi market ucuzsa ondan alıyorum. Kahvaltılıkları toptan alıyorum, toptancıdan daha ucuza geliyor. Öbür kuru bakliyatları da taksitle alıyorum. Etek, bluz falan ihtiyaçlarımı mahallede komşumuz var, Hava abla, ondan alışveriş yapıyorum çocuklarınkini aşağıdan alıyorum, aşağı sokakta bir yer var ucuz ordan, bir tek ben ve kaynanamın kıyafetini Hava abladan alırım."

[36] "Ben ilk Ankara'ya geldiğim zaman, ilk taşındığımızda Sincan'da oturuyorduk Saraycık'da orda ben çöpten odun topluyordum kağıt topluyordum çocuğum falan yoktu o zaman onları yakmaya uğraşıyordum. Eşim inşaatlarda çalışıyordu o zaman vermiyorlardı parasını yetmiyordu... Ama ben ne yapıp edip yetiştiriyordum, mecburdum yani... İlk ben başvurdum bu gıda, kömür falan yardımı almak için o zaman resmi nikahım yoktu, yalnızım diye olur dediler. Yaşım küçüktü bir sene sonra da nikah yaptık ben başvurdum ama eşimin adına alıyoruz, hala da alıyoruz sigorta falan olmasına rağmen. Ne yapayım, mecburen..."

[37] "Eskiden sen görüyordun bu oyanı bana gelip şundan bana ör diyordun ben de örüyordum şu patikten ör diyordun şimdi öyle yok. Ben amaliyat oldum ya iş göremiyorum öyle bir şey olmazsa iş görürüm yine de yaparım çoluğa çocuğa olsun satmaya olsun yaparım. Eskiden gücümüzün yettiği

We can say that the male interviewees undertake the responsibility for maintaining their families, and on the other hand, the women tend to see their earnings as a "contribution" to their households. The role of the informal economy plays an essential role in this framework, as the employed women work uninsured, and some of the men are involved in illegal activities like practicing usury, drug selling and and unrecorded jobs like collecting solid waste. Also, the aid from the Municipality plays an essential role in their survival. The younger family members with a regular income tend to save money for their future, so their salaries generally do not count as a part of the interviewees' incomes.

As they live in poverty, it is obvious that the interviewees have very moderate spending habits and shopping strategies. The surrounding area includes their socializing and shopping areas, and therefore, in the next section we examine the importance of locality in their socialization habits, communal ties, the quantity and quality of the time spent in the neighbourhood, and the trust between the residents to see whether Bostancık is a neighbourhood with strong solidarity ties, or if it has conflict as a result of its confinement.

### 5.2.3. Bostancık Neighbourhood: Is it a place of Solidarity or Conflict?

As they fight poverty and exclusion, the inhabitants of Bostancık Neighbourhoods are confined in their neighbourhood. Here, as P. Marcuse remarked for the outcast ghettos (1997), Bostancık is not only a place of accommodation for the interviewees, but also a place of work and socialization; so they rarely get out of the neighbourhood. In other words, their work and living place has been integrated, and they live, work, shop and socialize there. The interviewees I met called attention to the economic problems this caused.

The interviewees drew attention to the neighbourhoods' proximity to the workplace of the breadwinners as the main reason for living in this neighbourhood; so it is obvious that they work nearby. However, for socialization or shopping they stated

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*kadar yaptık da şimdi yapamıyoruz. Kendime bile yapamıyorum ama bir zamanlar yaptım faydası da oldu. Mesela bugün bir eve 5 10 lira girse faydası olmaz mı? Ayda 300 lira yapar hiç olmazsa el harçlığına denk gelir mesela. Ben 300 lira için bir sürü hesap yapıyorum..."*

that they generally do not have money to go somewhere else. The other basic reason the interviewees specified is cultural ignorance—they do not have "such" a custom like going somewhere just to spend time.

Here, the first sub-section explores the dimensions of solidarity and conflict by examining the quality and quantity of time spent by the interviewees in the neighbourhood. The second sub-section will focus on the feelings and thoughts of the interviewees regarding two basic determinants: Their opinions about the physical and political exclusion and about the inner power relations based on their abstract bordering as lower and upper neighbourhoods in Bostancık. In the last section, the focus is their opinions about the places they would like to live and about the residents of these neighbourhoods.

The next section focuses on the living practices of the people in the neighbourhood, like how they spend their free time. The basic motive is to investigate the new face of poverty, around the concept of social exclusion in relation to spatial deprivation. Therefore, this gives the reader insight about the dimension of the exclusion from the outside world.

### 5.2.3.1. Confinement in Bostancık...

The quality and quantity of the time spent in the neighbourhood varied significantly between the male and female interviewees. However, there are significant differences, too, between the employed and unemployed female interviewees. Most of the employed male interviewees leave the neighbourhood just for work; otherwise they spend their time in the area. However, most of the employed male interviewees work in Siteler or in the Mamak district. Self-employed men can go outside for work, as in the case of Hakan, who is a scrap dealer, and Ahmet, who is a tile-layer. Hakan says that he drives to almost every district in his car to collect scrap. This mobility has allowed him to see most of the districts in Ankara:

> Seriously saying, I have wandered all around Ankara to Kırıkkale, from Temelli to Polatlı, Güdül, Kızılcahamam. There are no places that I have not seen. By seeing I mean working, otherwise why would

I go there, just to see?... But the consequence; all in all, is that I have seen everywhere[38]...

Except for working, he admits that his family does not leave the neighbourhood just to spend time. For instance, although he was born and raised in Ankara, he has seen Kızılay and/or Çankaya only two or three times:

> I am 38 years old, and I was born in Ankara, but I have gone to Kızılay or Çankaya only two or three times. For instance, I did not even take one step into Altınpark. I do not know what kind of place is Altınpark. Lastly, I went to Kızılay to register this kid [his elder son] in a security course, and when we got off the bus we passed Kurtuluş Park. I made circles trying to find the address, at least 15 times. However, the address we were looking for was right next to us. A man looked at the address and he said: "Here, my friend, it is in front of you." If I had a regular income, and one or two days off in a week, like Saturday and Sunday, I would take my family and go to the nice public gardens with our car, and sit in the restaurants or in a teagarden. We would frequent those places... Also, we would learn civilization[39]...

Similarly, Ahmet has seen many of the districts in Ankara, thanks to his job as a tile-layer. He works independently and takes jobs from different places:

> As I am a tile-layer, so I go to the places where the work is. All in all, it is construction work in Çankaya; I go there, if it is in Eryaman, I go there... I have seen plenty of places, and this is an advantage of our job. Of course, the issue is solely money when you are struggling; and without it this advantage doesn't matter. What is the point of seeing these places, unless you get your money[40]...?

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[38] *"Şimdi ciddi söylüyorum ben Ankara'nın her tarafını gezmiş bir adamım Kırıkkale'ye kadar da bilirim Temelli'den Polatlı ne bileyim Güdül'ümüş Kızılcahamamıymış benim gezmediğim yer kalmadı. Gezme dediğim de iş ha, yoksa gezmeye nereye gidiyorsun... Ama sonuca bak sen, sonuçta her bir yerini gördüm sayılır..."*

[39] *"38 yaşındayım ve Ankara doğumluyum ama Kızılay'a Çankaya'ya 2-3 sefer gitmişimdir herhalde.Mesela Altınpark'ın içine hiç adımımı atmadım yani Altınpark nasıl bir yer onu da bilmem. Geçen ben çocuğu güvenlik kursuna yazdırayım diye gittim Kurtuluş Parkı'nı geçince indik. Aynı yerde dönüp duruyorum aynı yerde şurdan gir diyor şurdan şurdan derken aynı yerde en az 15 sefer döndüm halbuki yanımızda. Adam adrese baktı ahaya kardeşim karşında dedi. Belirli bir gelirim olsa haftada iki gün Cumartesi Pazar tatil olsa çoluğumu çocuğumu alırım arabamla giderim orda güzel güzel parklarda ne bileyim lokantalarda bir aile çay bahçesinde otururum. Çocuğum da öğrenir ben de öğrenirim... Hem de medeniyeti de öğrenir."*

[40] *"Ben şimdi seramikçiyim ya, iş nerdeyse ben oradayım. İnşaat işi sonuçta, Çankaya'da olursa oraya giderim, Eryaman olursa oraya... Bayağı da bir yer gördüm hani, öyle bir avantajı var bizim işin. Tabii parayı almaya gelince debeleniyorsun, pek bi avantajı kalmıyor. Paranı alamadıktan sonra, oraları görmenin ne önemi var..."*

Other than for work, the male interviewees do not spend time outside the neighbourhood. For the ones who work in Siteler, they do not even leave the neighbourhood for work. İbrahim calls attention to the economic dimension of confinement, as he cannot find free time from working to get out of the neighbourhood:

> In truth, I cannot go anywhere; because I am going to "Siteler" so frequently. We cannot go beyond "Siteler". I have prostate issues; however I cannot go and have it checked, why? Because of financial difficulties... As Napoleon says: Money, money, money... Today is Sunday, and I am still working. I am on my legs all day. If I lose control, I cannot recover. I am working now and saving little, with the needs of the home. There is the tax, electricity, telephone and water bills ...[41]

Another interviewee, Mesut, said with his long working hours and the exhausting nature of his job, he cannot find the energy to go anywhere in his free time:

> Honestly, I have been commuting between home and Tunalı all week. On the holidays I want to stay at home alone and rest my head. This is appealing for me, as I cannot find the energy to wander around... God knows I do not even want my wife and children around me. I am exhausted all week because of the overtime and cleaning. I have only one free day and in that time, I want to extend my legs and rest. I have no strength left after the work...[42]

This situation is not very different for the younger men in the neighbourhood. They state that they rarely go outside the neighbourhood to meet friends, shop or just wander. Serdar (19) has just passed the university entrance exam, and while he was in High School, he said he met frequently with his friends in the immediate surroundings:

> During the weekdays, there was school, and on the weekends there were training, so I only had Sundays as free time. On those days, I

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[41] *"Vallaha hiçbir tarafa gidemiyorum Siteler'e gidiyorum bol bol. Siteler'den öbür öbür tarafa gidemiyoruz bak ben de şimdi prostat var gidip de ölçtüremiyorum niye el darlığı var... Napolyon ne demiş para para para. Aha işte bugün Pazar günü ben yine çalışıyorum durak yok durdumu biz ipin ucu bir kaçarsa toparlayamam. Şimdi çalışıp bir yere koyuyorum az biraz, vergin var elektriğin var telefonun var suyun var evin ihtiyacı var..."*

[42] *"Açıkçası ben tüm hafta Tunalı'ya gidip geliyorum zaten, tatil günlerinde şöyle evde yalnız k alıp kafa dinlemek istiyorum, benim için o cazip geliyor, mecalim kalmıyor ki gezmeye... Hatta Allah bilir, çocuklarım ve karım da olmasın istiyorum. Çok yoruluyorum tüm hafta temizlikti, mesaiydi şuydu buydu, bir günüm boş kalıyor onda da ayağımız uzatıp dinlenmek istiyorum, hal kalmıyor ki insanda..."*

was in the neighbourhood. Generally, I sat on somewhere with my friends, after I slept until 10-11 a.m. Then we would sit and chat close to here, for instance in the public garden above… I only go to Kızılay or Ulus to shop for clothes …[43]

From primary school to high school, he attended the neighbouring schools and consequently his social circle was from his neighbourhood and the surrounding area. As a result, Serdar, his childhood friends and schoolmates all live in the same neighbourhood, and as a result, when they want to spend time together, they do not "need to" leave the neighbourhood.

Another young interviewee, Eren, spoke about not having free time to socialize, as his family was composed of his mother and wife. To maintain his family, with his mother's widow pension, and his salary, he said that he had to work overtime even on weekends if there was work to do:

> Honestly, I do not have time to go out and look around. Most of the time, I work even on Sundays. My wife came from the village a year ago, and she does not know the city, so she does not have this wish to leave. Also, we should save money. We cannot know what will happen in the future anyway.[44]

When the economic conditions of several interviewees are taken into consideration, it is too much to expect them to leave the neighbourhood. İsmail, with his income of nearly 300 TL per month, states that he cannot even afford to go to a coffee house in their neighbourhood, because he can't put money aside even for cup of tea:

> What else can I do, I cannot leave my house. If I go to my friends, the retirees, and sit at the coffeehouse, I need money for tea. You sit there, but I do not think of these things. We think only of living, of earning a living, and that is the way it was fated to be …[45]

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[43] *"Hafta içi okul, haftasonu staj bir tek pazar günlerim boş onda da mahallede oluyorum, arkadaşlarımla genelde bir yerde oturuyorum, zaten 10 11 e kadar yatıyorum sonra yakınlarda bir yerde oturup sohbet ediyoruz, mesela yukarıdaki parkta falan… Kızılay'a, Ulus'a kıyafet alışverişi için gidiyorum sadece…"*

[44] *"Benim açıkçası zamanım olmuyor öyle dışarı gidip gezmeye, pazarları bile çalışıyorum çoğu zaman, eşim de zaten köyden geleli bir yıl olduğu için şehri bilmiyor o yüzden öyle bir isteği olmuyor. Tabii bir de para biriktirmek lazım, ileride ne olacağını bilemeyiz sonuçta…"*

[45] *"Başka ne yapayım evimden dışarı çıkamıyorum. Gitsem yukarı şimdi arkadaşların, emeklilerin yanına oturayım kahvede desem bana çay parası lazım. Orda oturacaksın işte bunları hiç*

However, for the women, the situation is much worse as the employed men can go outside for work, but the women very rarely leave the district. Out of the twelve female interviewees, only Türkan and Sevda leave the neighbourhood for work two times in a week. Sevda states that she spends time in the neighbourhood when she does not work:

> I get out when I go to work, otherwise I do not leave. I mean, I only get out for work. An individual with money can go to the centre. It is about the money. I have been startled... it costs at least 10 million to go, even if you do not spend anything, and only eat corn and come back. Ten million...[46]

As mentioned before, Türkan does not go to work regularly–she is a peddler—but she is not content with that. Therefore, her aim is not to go and "sightsee," but to work, and she states that she cannot enjoy the places she goes because she is exhausted from walking all day. When I ask whether she wants to just go out for "pleasure", for instance for dinner with her husband, she responded:

> Let's say a dinner of two people costs 40 liras. If we eat dinner with that 40 liras, it brings a lump to our throats. There are three kids at home then, who cannot eat… If I give 150 liras for dinner with our kids, how would I change the LPG cylinder. A LPG cylinder is 42 million, and we have not bought the school uniforms for the kids yet. I have to think these things before eating dinner somewhere, as we have not paid the electricity, water bills yet. I can show you them… It is impossible for us to go out for dinner[47]…

The ten other women also cannot find the chance to leave. Gülsüm states that she barely knows Ankara:

> No, I do not know [Ankara], I only know Ankara Hospital. Of course I know the neighbourhoods, Önder, Nokta [bordering beighbourhood]

_düşünmüyorum, biz işte sırf yaşamayı düşünüyoruz geçinmeyi düşünüyoruz, bizim şansımız da böyle çizildi…"_

[46] _"İşe gideceğim zaman çıkıyorum yoksa çıkmıyorum işe gidiyoruz işte. Her gün parayla gidersin merkeze, para deme bana buz gibi soğurum sana… Hiç gitmedi desen 10 milyon, hiçbir şey harcamasan bir mısır yedim geldim desen, 10 milyon…"_

[47] _"İkimizin bir yemeğine 40 lira diyelim bak o 40 lirayla adamla ikimiz yiyeceksek şurda [boğazımda] düğümlenir üç tane daha var evde… E bir yemeğe de 150 lira verirsem tüpü neyle değiştiricem, bak bir tüp 42 milyon degil mi 42 milyon bak daha çocukların okul forması alınacak öyle düşünecem bak su parası yatmadı elektrik de yatmadı duruyor evde kağıdı getireyim… Olmaz yani, mümkün değil…"_

but I do not know the places, which I can go to by "dolmuş." Even if I went, I would get lost. I only go to Ankara Hospital...[48]

She had no reason to leave the neighbourhood, and only left there to visit relatives and go to the hospital for the routine check-ups in her pregnancy and birth. She says that her husband works every day, and would be her partner to a coffee house. As a result, there is no opportunity to go out with him:

> [My husband] works everyday; he does not have any day off. On the religious holiday, he has only one day off and on that day we went to his sister's home. One of his sisters lives in Etlik, and the other in Abidinpaşa. My husband drives his own car, and I cannot go on a "dolmuş" by myself. I cannot. We go with a car, I mean, my husband drives us.[49]

Similarly, the young women do not seize the opportunity to leave the neighbourhood, although they are more ambitious about going to city centre. Hülya (21) is unemployed, and used to work in different shopping malls as a sales lady. However, in all those workplaces, she has been fired because of the "economic crisis". She now sits at home, and given up faith in finding a "decent" job. She complains about her lack of opportunity to go out:

> After all, we wake up at 10, 11 a.m. We have breakfast...etc, and then clean up the house and finish the housework. We go to the Önder [neighbourhood], or someone visits us, and we drink tea together. Later, I surf the Internet, spend some time on MSN, and I stay on the computer until the evening... We cannot find a reason to leave. I would go somewhere, if only I had something to do...[50]

Even the women who are working do not leave the neighbourhood, because of economic reasons. Going somewhere just means spending time and money. However, there are also cultural reasons for this, specified by the interviewees.

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[48] *"Yok bilmiyorum [Ankara'yı], bir tek Ankara Hastanesini biliyorum ha tabi çevreyi bilirim öndermiş noktaymış buraları bilirim de dolmuşla gidilecek yerleri bilmem gidersem de kaybolurum yani. Bir tek Ankara Hastanesine gider gelirim."*

[49] *"Her gün çalışır hiç boş günü yoktur. Bayramda bir gün tatili oldu o gün de ablasıgile gittik. Ablalarının biri Etlik'te biri de Abidinpaşa'da oturuyor. Eşim kendi taksisiyle götürür kendim öyle dolmuşla falan gidemem yani bilmem. Kendimiz arabayla gideriz yani eşim götürür getirir."*

[50] *"Zaten 10'da 11'de kalkıyoruz kahvaltı bilmem neydi sonra evi sil süpür topla sonra işler bitiyor arada Önder'e gideriz, birileri bize oturmaya gelir çay sonra internette takılırım biraz MSN'de bilgisayarın başına öğlen bir otururum akşama kadar...Zaman olmuyor ki, işim olursa gidiyorum bir yerlere..."*

Mainly, their reason is "habit," which indicates their lack of custom for "loafing around," without any reason. Zehra said that they do not have any habit of walking around, or window-shopping, and she only leaves the neighbourhood to visit her mother:

> No, we do not leave the neighbourhood. We are here, and we do not have any such customs like going to the market or bazaar, or going shopping. I go see my mother once a month. My husband takes me, when he takes our child to school. Because his day off is on Thursdays, I stay for the weekend. For the holidays I go to my mother's in the morning and come back in the evening. When he goes to work in the morning, he drops me off, and he picks me up when he returns home.[51]

For instance, Nuray, who married at the age of 15, and came from village just like her sister Gülsüm, states that there were many more economic difficulties while they lived in Sincan. Although she thinks they are more economically comfortable now, she does not have any reason to leave the neighbourhood:

> I do not go anywhere very often. I go to Ulus to buy spices three or four times in a year, as it is cheaper there. Sometimes, I convinced my husband, and he will walk around with me. Occasionally I go to my uncle's in Sincan. When we visit him, we pass over the Sıhhiye Bridge, even though I cannot look around. We do that three or four times in a year. Once a year, we go to Gençlik Park. Except for those things, what would I do to leave? In my free time, I already meet with my neighbours. What else I can do by going out?[52]

Of course, there are exceptions in the neighbourhood. The interviewees who have relatively sufficient incomes break the vicious cycle in the neighbourhood. Haydar

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[51] *"Yok çıkmayız mahalleden mahalledeyiz bir alışkanlığımız yok çarşıya gidelim pazara gidelim alışverişe gidelim gezelim gibi hiçbir alışkanlığımız yok. Eşim götürür çocuğumun okulu olduğu için izni Perşembe günü olduğundan gittiğimizde hafta sonu kalırım orada tatillerde sabah gider akşam gelirim. Sabah işe giderken bırakır dönüşte de alır gelir."*

[52] *"Ben sık gitmem bir yerlere, senede üç kere dört kere baharat almaya giderim sadece Ulus'a, orada hesaplı oluyor. Bazen de eşimi kandırırım parası varsa o gezdirir bazen de ben Sincan'a giderim amcamgile giderken Shhiye köprüsünden geçmiş oluruz gezemesem de, senede 3 -4 kere gideriz. Senede 1 falan da Gençlik Park'ına gideriz. Onun dışında dışarı çıkıp da ne yapacağım ki? Boş vakitlerimde zaten komşularımla görüşüyorum, daha ne yapabilirim dışarı çıkıp?"*

socializes in the sense that he is a member of the Association of Poet Singers[53], and he often stops by the local headquarters of this association:

> We have the Association of Poet Singers on Adakale Street [in Kızılay]. I stop by there a few days every week, and we exchange ideas, play saz, and sing songs. Other than that, I do not go other places. When there is a festival, concert, or a dinner of a Village Association, they call us to play and sing, and we go there. Usually it is about music, other than that we do not go anywhere… [54]

Similarly, Ahmet has relatively sufficient income and spends time with his family in the centre of the city, especially at the public parks with his children. He has relatively flexible working hours, as he works independently, and they have money to allocate for leisure. However, as he is the President of Sarıkızlı Village Solidarity Association, and he spends considerable amount of time at the centre of the association, which is very close to his home:

> In my free time, I come to the centre by myself. Then I'll take my kids around, I usually take them to the malls, or to Altınpark. We go to AnkaMall, Metro, or to the cinema. We leave our kid in the cinema, and when the show ends we pick him up. [55]

Most of the interviewees can/do not leave the neighbourhood, for economic and cultural reasons. The basic economic issue, expressed by the interviewees, is that they cannot allocate money for leisure time activities, and even the money spent on transportation for leisure activities has to be taken into consideration. Culturally, the general attitude is that wandering around is a luxury, and that they "do not need to" do it. In other words, there is no "reason" for going out for no reason. Many of them use the word "habit" for this. They do not make a habit of going out of the neighbourhood without a purpose.

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[53] *Ozanlar Derneği*

[54] *"Bizim Ozanlar Derneği var Adakale Sokakta haftanın birkaç günü oraya uğrarım orada arkadaşlarla fikir alışverişinde bulunuruz saz çalar türkü söyleriz onun dışında pek öyle gittiğimiz yerler yok. Bir festival olur bir konser olur bir Köy Derneği yemeği olur çağırırlar oralara gideriz genelde müzikle ilgili başka türlü yok…"*

[55] *"Çalışmadığım zamanlar derneğe geliyorum ben kendim ondan sonra çocukları gezdiriyorum genelde alışveriş merkezlerine götürüyorum Altınparka götürüyorum. Alışveriş merkezleri derken AnkaMall'a gidiyoruz Metroya gidiyoruz sinemaya gidiyoruz çocuğu sinemaya bırakıyoruz saati gelince gidip alıyoruz."*

**5.2.3.2. In the Middle of Nowhere - Is It Possible to be Pleased with Bostancık?**

While they spend all of their time in the neighbourhood, the interviewees are not satisfied with their lives there. Out of the 22 interviewees, only six stated that they were comfortable with living there. The younger interviewees have confidence that they will leave the neighbourhood permanently and think they do not belong to there. Therefore, they have the chance for "upper" mobility and see their neighbourhood as a stepping-stone. The expressions they used were:

> "When I get married, I will not even stay here for a moment…" – Hülya (21)

> "When I find a job and get married, living here is not an option…" – Zeynep (29)

> "For God's sake, what is there to like about this neighbourhood?" – Sezen (18)

> "As soon as I finish the school, I will leave here…" – Serdar (19)

> "If I have an opportunity, I will move from here, but for now we have to live here…" Eren (25)

On the other hand, the older interviewees have less of a tendency to want to move out, and try to be satisfied with the place they live. As they tried to convince me about the advantages and positive qualities of their neighbourhood, they seem to convince themselves. Also, in my opinion, they believe they have no better option—in their words—they are ignorant, unenlightened, and uncivilized, and cannot live in a better place. So, they get accustomed to the idea that they will not have the chance to move out of the neighbourhood, and attempt to accept their position.

The interviewees are dissatisfied with the neighbourhood for two main reasons: The physical and political desolation, and some residents of the neighbourhood.

**5.2.3.2.1. The Physical and Political Isolation: Passing into Nothingness**

Bostancık Neighbourhood has crucial infrastructural problems, from roads to heating, lighting and transportation. However, the neighbourhood uphill in

Bostancık, Battalgazi, has apartments that were recently constructed. They have access to natural gas, but Bostancık does not. The municipality also paved the roads of Battalgazi with asphalt, which also remains something the residents of Bostancık wish for. The pipes that necessary for natural gas are laid down in front of Bostancık, but again they are used for Battalgazi, so the resident do not benefit from this service.

**Figure 5. The Neighbours of Bostancık**



Source: Google Earth, 2009

There are complaints about this inequality between these two close neighbourhoods. İbrahim shows this:

> Recently, the sewer system was clogged. We paid in 70 liras for its repair. They take an environment tax from us, do they not? And they did not drain or clean it. They take the tax from the water bill, but they say the cost of blockage still is ours. The state and the municipalities are responsible for this cost because they take these taxes, but we end up paying a fee for our clogged sewer, to make them unclog it. The municipality should do this itself. If they have been called in a

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different place, they would go with open arms. But in ours we do not have money[56]…

Hatice has drawn attention to unequal treatment in the sense that although they have been fulfilling the obligations of their citizenship, the state does not provide any services in return:

> When it is about collecting taxes, the state knows that we are here… But when is the state must give a little bit to us, she suddenly forgets that there are people living here[57]…

She thinks they are ignored by the "state" and gave the example of Önder, the upper neighbourhood across Bostancık Avenue, which had recently been developing new apartments, roads and infrastructure, as mentioned above. During the interview, she focused on that although they share the same locality, the municipality better serves Önder, for instance, its garbage is collected regularly, while in their neighbourhood it is negligently handled. Rather than focusing on their lack of opportunities, she focuses on the "inequality" between their opportunities.

> Look, they keep the upside of the avenue clean, they collect their garbage, they make their roads, they have a playing garden for their kids, but for us, they do not do anything. We see this gap, so how can we not rebel? The state has abandoned us in here[58]…

Zeynep also thinks that the municipality inefficiently serves them:

> Like I said, I wish this neighbourhood would be more developed, and that the regular services would be better… One cannot say that the services are regular here, that the municipality works very well, or serves its people adequately. The people here, like I said, have problems with infrastructure. For instance, today there was a small, but disturbing, problem: the waterman made out an invoice to our house, and he passed over two or three houses. They did not receive

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[56] *"Geçen kanal tıkandı 70 lira para yatırdık. Bizden çevre vergisi alıyor değil mi? 70 lira almadan adamlar gelip bir hortum atıp temizlemedi. Vergiyi su parasından kesiyor zaten ama efendim blokaj sana aitmiş. Devlet, belediyeler o paraları alıyorlar ayrıca senin kanalizasyonun tıkanınca da harç yatıracaksın ki bu kanalisayonu açsınlar. Halbuki belediyenin kendisi açması gerekir. Başka yerde arasalar olsa koşa koşa giderler açmaya, bizimkisi para değil sanki…"*

[57] *"Devlet vergi almaya gelince biliyor burada olduğumuzu, haberi var yani… Ama azıcık vermeye gelince, birden unutuveriyor burda insan yaşadığını…"*

[58] *"Aha şu caddenin yukarısını pırıl pırıl tutarlar, çöpleri toplanır, yolları yapılır, parkları var çocukların oynayacağı, bize gelince yok… E görüyoruz biz, gel de isyan etme şimdi, bizi terkettiler burda…"*

an invoice, I mean, the system does not even operate right when it is about paying a bill[59]…

According to her, they have been excluded from the rest of the city, and Bostancık is "independent" from the city. During the interview she frequently uses the expression "going down the city" and this feeling is especially evident when they are not treated equally with the "advantaged" districts in the city:

> For instance, there are so many nice localities in Ankara, with houses and opportunities… When I go down to the city, I see those places, if I pass by Çankaya or somewhere. Our neighbourhood does not look like the neighbourhoods of the city. It is close to the city by distance, but in terms of the quality, we are quite different from them[60]…

Having spent most of their time in the neighbourhood, it is understandable that they only have standard demands for the municipality: to collect their garbage regularly, to create a public garden so they may go for a walk, or so their kids can play…etc. However, they do not even receive these, they think generally because they have been sacrificed or ignored by the "state". Zehra explain this negligence as follows:

> Take the garbage for example, we put it out in the morning, and they [the kids in the neighbourhood] mess the garbage up, and we put it out in the evening again. There is not a close market, arcade or bazaar. When we are bored, we say let's go to the park, but there is not a park to go to. I mean there are not any services, and we are afraid to leave our homes, as there are not any lights in the streets, even the pillar on the Mukhtar was brought only because of our insistence. However, the light is on for a month, and then off for three months. When a guest comes, you cannot buy anything from the market, because it is too far. No one cares about us; we have been forgotten in this wild and remote place[61].

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[59] *"Dediğim gibi daha gelişmiş düzenli hizmetleri daha iyi verilen bir yer olsaydık keşke… Buraya hizmetin çok düzenli verildiği, buradaki belediyenin de çok iyi çalıştığı halkına yeterli hizmet verdiği söylenemez, bu insanlar dediğim gibi altyapı sorunu da yaşayabiliyor. Mesela bugün en küçüğünden sorun adam sucu işte mesela bu evin suyunun faturasını yazıp vermişse iki üç evinkini atlayıp geçip veriyor yani o sistemin de çok sağlıklı işlediği söylenemez. Bir borcumuzu ödemek için bile sağlıklı hizmet alamıyoruz…"*

[60] *"Mesela Ankara'nın çok güzel yerleri var, evleri olsun, imkanları olsun… Ben mesela şehre indiğimde görüyorum, hani olur da yolum düşerse öyle Çankaya'ya falan. İşte bizim burası pek de şehrin mahallelerine benzemiyor. Mesafe olarak belki yakın bile sayılırız ama, kalite olarak çok çok uzaktayız oralardan…"*

[61] *"Çöpten pay biç, sabah koyuyoruz dağıtıyorlar, gece koyuyoruz dağıtıyorlar, yakın market yok çarşısı pazarı uzak bir canımız sıkılığında parka gidelim diyoruz yok, yani hizmet yok gece çıkmaya*

They have also seen a more decent way of life in the media, and in publicity campaigns of the Mayor of Metropolitan Municipality- Melih Gökçek. The interviewees stated that in his "commercials," Melih Gökçek seems to be working for Ankara, but if it is the case, then they do not live "in" Ankara. Therefore, the arrangements, services, and opportunities he provides for the "rest" of Ankara, are not attainable for them. It is unavoidable for them to question this exclusion and negligence. Türkan states that:

> Melih Gökçek puts up notices on the billboards, he appears on the television, praised himself to the skies for building public gardens and subways. No one says, "Why you are building these for some places and not for ours?" "Are not we humans, do we not vote?" I gave my vote to Melih Gökçek; and he should serve for me too[62]…

Similarly, Hakan talks about the lack of municipal services in their neighbourhood, which negatively affects the growth of his children. He blames this on the lack of playgrounds for the children, or lack of activity options, and says these children are misdirected. This is unavoidable, as they are the neglected "children" of the state, so they have deviated:

> This place, my friend, is the Desert of Karbala. People have no benefits here, they must own it; otherwise, they are ignored… There is no park, and for years this place had no "dolmuş." This neighbourhood is also seems like it is on the bus line, as it is shown in the timetable, but the bus passes once in a hour at best… You have no chance even on the upside of the avenue. Sometimes we wait one hour for bus, or two hours for "dolmuş". At least, they should build a playground for kids to play ball. At least the kids should be occupied with football or should have places to hang around that are appropriate for them. If they get bored, one can expect they will begin stealing; or they will smoke cigarettes or weed[63]…

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*korkuyorsun ışık bile yok direğini bile döğüşe döğüşe getirttirdik" muhtara. O da bir ay yanıyor 3 ay yanmıyor. bir misafir gelse marketten bir şey alamıyorsun uzak. Kimsenin bizi umursadığı yok, unutulduk bu dağ başında…*

[62] *"O Melih Gökçek boy boy ilanlar veriyor panolara, televizyonlara çıkıyor öve öve bitiremiyor kendini, oraya park, buraya altgeçit. E adama da biri çıkıp demiyor ki, oralara var da buralara niye yok? Biz insan değil miyiz, bizimki oy değil mi? Ben de Melih Gökçek'e verdim oyumu, bana da hizmet etsin o zaman…"*

[63] *"Burası hamşerim Kerbela Çölü yeri geldi mi sahibi var, yeri geldi mi sahibi yok… Paraya geldi mi onu yiyen şerefsizler var hizmete geldi mi yok… Park yok, yıllardır buranın dolmuşu var, otobüsü var görünüyor bak bakayım bir saatte geçerse geçer yani… Yukarıdan bile binmeye şansınız yok. 1*

He remarked that he and his wife work twelve hours a day and cannot even see their children. Therefore, it is quite difficult for them to keep an eye on them. He expressed that the state should plan for their future. However, instead of the state taking care of them, he thought the state neglected the children and even denied their existence. In this sense, these children cannot be blamed for being misdirected:

> Look, I go to work at 7 a.m. and come home at 8 p.m. This kid is outside from morning until evening… The state should teach motherhood, fatherhood, and humanity to him/her. How can he be educated when we cannot see him? How can we know where he goes, what he does? If there were be places available where he could spend his time, we would not worry about him, but there are not any[64]…

As a result of the abandoned and somewhat frightening appearance of their neighbourhood, they imagine that outsiders are afraid to enter the neighbourhood, which also reproduces their isolation. I first went to the neighbourhood with a friend of mine that lives there. The interviewees were his neighbours that he introduced to me. However, in my later visits I went there with an "outsider" male friend, and randomly chose who to speak with, which surprised the residents very much. İbrahim told that:

> You have surprised me; I am surprised that someone visited our house. No one comes here; no one drops by, no strangers I mean… Aren't you afraid?[65]…

Both because of the physical remoteness and its bad reputation, in the minds of "outsiders," it was unusual for a stranger to enter the neighbourhood without fear. We were recognized right away and the residents understood that we were "strangers," while we were walking around the street.

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*saat otobüs 2 saat dolmuş beklediğimiz bile oluyor.Bari çocuklar için bir top oynayacak alan yapsalar en azından çocuklar orada futbolla bir şeyle uğraşır kendilerini avutur ama hiçbir şey yok. Durup dururken canları da sıkılıyor artık hırsızlık da beklenir, sigara da içerler esrar da içerler…"*

[64] *"Bakın ben sabah 7'de işime gidiyorum akşam 8'de evime geliyorum bu çocuk sabahtan akşama kadar ortalıkta… Analığı da babalığı da insanlığı da herşeyi devlet öğretecek. Biz nasıl öğretelim görmediğimiz çocuğa terbiyeyi? Nereye gitti, ne yaptı nerden bilelim? Ha, buralarda zaman geçireceği düzgün yerler olsa, aklımız arkada kalmaz ama, o da yok…"*

[65] *"Şaşırttınız beni, evime misafir gelmesine şey ettim, şaşırdım yani. Buraya kimsecikler gelmez, yolu düşmez kimsenin, yabancı olarak yani… Korkmadınız mı?"*

Zeynep drew attention to another reason a stranger does not have any reason to come the neighbourhood, as there is nothing "interesting" for them:

> There is no reason for a person to come here, this neighbourhood is out of the way, there isn't anything attractive about it, and it is not interesting, so why come here[66]?

However, some of the interviewees stated that people come from the surrounding neighbourhoods to drink beer, smoke weed and fight in their neighbourhood. This is another reason why they are concerned about their children and life security. As they are neglected by the state, they believe that they cannot protect themselves against these vagrants. Hayriye (50) illustrates this:

> Recently, some boys came there, and my son took a tool to kill one of them. If he kills, my son, the bread-winner of our house, will go to prison. So I held him with my arms, and he dragged me. I hit my toe and broke it. The boys were sitting in front of our house and smoking weed; and we were sitting in the garden of Mr. Özcan's house. I came from there and said: "Sonny, you are coming every day. This woman could have a patient in her house, and I am ill, too. We do not have to tolerate you, and you ought to be ashamed of yourself." Then he cursed me. When he cursed, trouble broke out. Hakan [her son] came, and his fingers were dislocated. We called the police; however they found us guilty, but we were right. We went to the police station and had to apologize to those boys. We are living in country like that[67]…

İbrahim also complains about the "strangers" that come from the outside to the neighbourhood and thinks they cannot do anything to protect themselves. As a solution, he chooses to keep quiet and mind his own business:

> We cannot rid ourselves of the strangers; they are coming and going. On the upside of our house is an avenue, and there people come and

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[66] *"Şimdi bir insanın buraya gelmesi için bir neden yok, yolüstü desen değil, gelinebilecek bir özelliği yok ilgi çekici bir yer de değil, niye gelecek?"*

[67] *"Geçen geldi çocuklar buraya benim oğlan keseri aldı yürüdü öldüreceğim seni diye, ben de öldürsün de evimin deyneği bir tek oğlumu ceza evine mi koyayım, bunu kucakladım bu beni sürükledi, koyvermedim ayağım nereye vurduysa parmağım kırılmış. Bizim öne oturmuşlar oraya esrar içiyorlar biz de Özcan Bey'lerin orda oturuyorduk ordan geldim dedim ki "Oğlum her gün her gün olur mu bak? Bu kadının hastası olur, ben de hastayım sizi çekmek durumunda değiliz, ayıp" dedim bana küfür etti. Bana küfür edince ortalık karıştı. Hakan ordan geldi bu arada bunun da parmakları çıktı böyle bir olaylar oldu Polis'i çağırdık polis bizi suçlu buldu halbuki biz haklıydık gittik de karakolda özür diledik. Böyle de bir Türkiye'de yaşıyoruz…"*

create disturbances. I do not intervene. If someone comes and is drinking and shouting (let's not say the rest), we do not meddle in their business. Each of us lays low. Eventually, if you intervene, there is nobody that could defend you. These people come from the outside, they yell with a beer bottle in their hand, and they drive their cars at full speed. They do not even think that they could hit a kid with car. And the police do not do anything to them[68]…

The residents do not have confidence in the police force, as they are confronted with so many crimes committed in their neighbourhood, from vandalism to theft, robbery, physical injury and even murder. They think that these "criminals" are joking with the justice system and the justice system does not function properly to protect the "disadvantaged" citizens. Zeynep talks about the weakness of the justice system:

I think that the justice system does not function properly. There is not any system in this country that can stop these people. A person smokes weed in front of your house, drinks alcohol, comes and sits right in front of your house, and you cannot react to him. If you react and defend your rights, he could attack you, or something like that. These people - they smoke weed, and they are high – and we have to walk through them. There are not any sanctions for them, to help protect us. Am I clear? They found a legal loophole in the system, I mean; we cannot defend our rights against the people who hurt us[69]…

Although, all of the interviewees could not be as clear as Zeynep or Hakan in terms of expressing their political isolation, they had given some hints about their distaste for it. For instance, İbrahim tried very hard to avoid talking negatively about the municipality during the interview, as he receives food and coal aid from it. But in the end, he criticized the "hidden" aim of the aid, sarcastically saying:

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[68] *"Yabancısız olmaz ki geliyor gidiyor yukarısı cadde öyle bir huzursuzluk çıkaran da oluyor karışmam yahu şurada içer içer gelir adam bağırır çağırır öte yanını söylemeyim kimsenin bir şeyine karışmayız bu adamda bizde kendi halimizdeyiz. Sonuçta karışsan eline bir şey geçmez, seni savunacak kimse yok yani. Dışarıdan gelen oluyor geçerken bağırıyor çağırıyor elinde bira şişesi arabada içerek gidiyor adam tam gaz süratle gidiyor adam sokakta çocuğa mı vururum diye düşünmüyor. Buna da bir şey yapmıyor işte polis…"*

[69] *"Ben adalet mekanizmasının sağlıklı işlemediğini düşünüyorum. Bu insanların gözünü korkutacak bir sistem yok ülkede. Adam sizin kapınızın önünde esrar içiyor, alkol kullanıyor geliyor kapınızın önünde oturuyor, siz ona tepki veremiyorsunuz buna tepki verip hakkınızı savunabilmeniz için size saldırması gerekiyor böyle bir şey yani. O insanların içinden- esrar kullanmış kafası iyi değil- o insanların arasından geçip gitmek zorundasın. Bizi koruyacak herhangi bir yaptırım yok, anlatabiliyor muyum? Sistemin açığını bulmuş bunlar yani size zarar veren insana karşı hakkınızı savunamıyorsunuz…"*

> Every year, Melih Gökçek gives us 20-40 bags of coal, and we manage with them. Also they bring food aid once or twice in a year. God bless them, that they give these things. They are buying them somehow, or otherwise they would they give it to us price. He must profit from it somehow, so he gives these aids. Let's not get into this subject, we are ignorant, and not very clever... Can an educated man hurt someone? They shall live until they die... We set them on a pedestal[70]...

Here, he prevented himself from going into the details when he had started to mention their political disadvantages. He instantly said: "Thank God anyway, we are not rebellious." However, it is wrong for him to politicize and although he has accepted this, he still carries hope for breaking this vicious cycle. His obsession with children's education is an important sign of this. He believed that they must graduate at least from high school, have a profession and find a regular-paid job to free themselves from this misery.

### 5.2.3.2.2. The Social Stratification: The Gypsies in the Lower Neighbourhood...

As mentioned in the previous section, the interviewees emphasized their neighbourhood's disadvantaged, excluded position in the society, but they also highlight the stratification and exclusion in the neighbourhood. They label each other, and the conflict and disorder in their relationships could be easily be observed. In this sense, the neighbourhood is far from being a homogenous entity. The fragmented characteristics of the neighbourhood have been emphasized by all of the interviewees. The residents' hometowns are Kırıkkale, Yozgat, Tokat, Kızılcahamam, and Güdül, and the major districts and the neighbouring cities of Ankara. These are essential references in their contact with each other. Therefore, as discussed below, the basic relationship in the neighbourhood is based on kinship or hometown. Besides this, there are highly divisive characteristics based on the "exclusion" of the gypsy population in the neighbourhood.

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[70] *"Melih Gökçek, 20 torba 40 torba kömür veriyor seneliği idare ediyorum. Bir de yiyecek, senede 1 2 sefer yiyecek getiriyor. Bunu veriyorlar, Allah işlerini rast getirsin, onları bir şekilde alıyorlar nasıl alıyorlarsa, almasalar verirler mi zararına? Bir şekilde kâr edecek ki yardım da bulunacak. O konuya girmeyelim, bizler cahiliz ona kafamız yetmiyor... Okumuş adamdan adama zarar gelir mi, ölene kadar yaşasınlar... Onlar hepimizin başlarının tacı..."*

There is evidence of this fragmentation in the classification of the neighbourhood as "upper" and "lower." Social stratification exists within the neighbourhood, and it is indispensable in the sense that the neighbourhood is heterogeneous and asymmetric. Its residents migrated from various cities of Turkey. Within this heterogeneity, the social classes in the neighbourhood position themselves differently. As shown in the Figure 5, there is an old stream-bed under the office of Mukhtar. The other side of this stream-bed is defined as the "lower" neighbourhood, by the upper part, which is geographically and symbolically meaningful. The residents of the "upper" neighbourhood, where the majority of my focus group came from, exclude the residents of the "lower" neighbourhood from their "community" by defining them as thieves, drug addicts, lumpen, or bad characters.

**Figure 6. Lower and Upper Neighbourhoods in Bostancık**
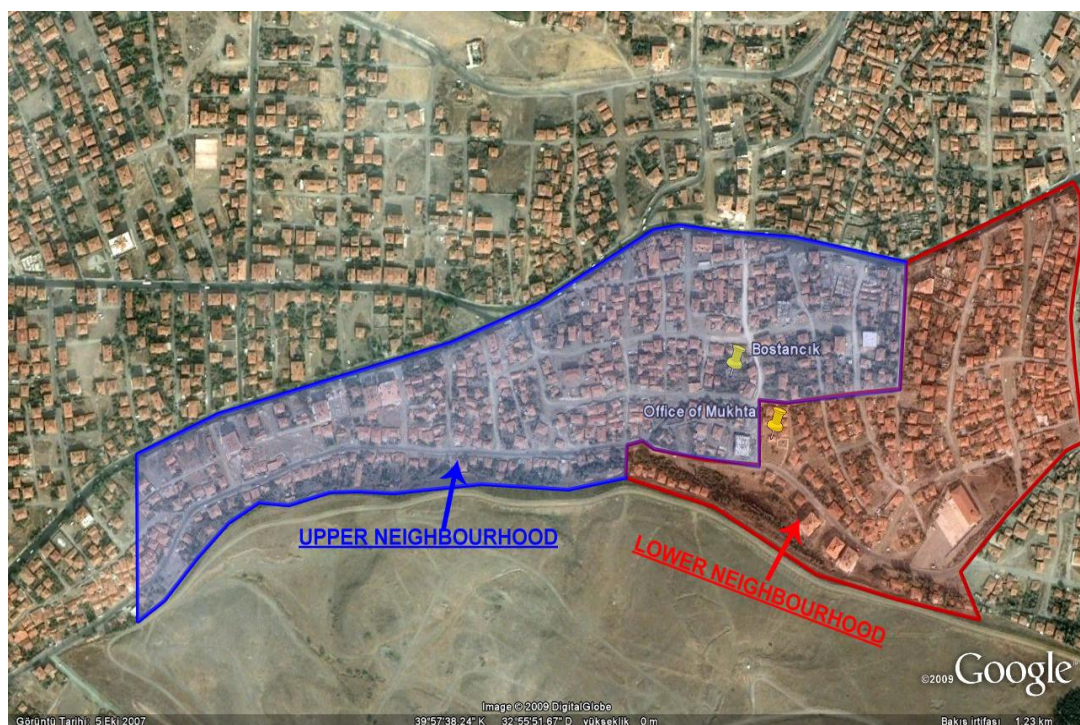


Source: Google Earth, 2009

Zeynep complains about the low culture of her "lower" neighbours. She states that the residents do not even know "the meaning of culture," which has resulted in security problems. As a result, she states that she barely goes outside her house:

> The cultural standard is very low in our neighbourhood. It is a neighbourhood that is concentrated with people who do not even

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know what the concept of "culture" means. Therefore, it is a neighbourhood with disorder and security problems. For instance, I will start working soon; and I will have to come home in the evening. While I am coming home, I do not feel secure. Also, I fear for the security of my chastity. There are annoyances in both the lower neighborhood and from other neighbourhoods close by. Our neighbourhood is such a place[71]…

During the interview she frequently emphasized "the repulsion" that she feels for the residents of the "lower" neighbourhood. According to her, they commit burglary, create disorder, and use drugs and alcohol; and "justice" does not apply any sanctions on them. She puts down their ignorance and their subordination. She gives the example of Çayyolu and Ümitköy as a place where she thought there was a safer life, with more educated people:

For instance, in Ümitköy, even if a person is a junkie s/he at least has respect for other people, but the people here see this activity [using drugs] as a privilege. Smoking weed creates a feeling of paranoia towards the people around him/her, and s/he wants "to be the king" of this place. This psychology comes from ignorance; subordinated people try to satisfy their egos, and try to be respectable through making trouble. Generally, they believe "if I do that, people will be afraid of me and I will prove myself"[72]…

It is interesting that, for Zeynep, the problem is not drug or alcohol usage; but it is using them without "disturbing" other people. Her reaction is actually very pragmatic, not moral. She believes that after she gets married, and finds a good job, she will not be living in this neighbourhood. She thinks she does not fit in this neighbourhood with her "bachelor degree".

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[71] *"Özellikle kültür seviyesi düşük ve hatta kültürün ne demek olduğunu bilmeyen insanların yoğunlukta olduğu bir çevre. Dolayısıyla huzursuzluğun, asayiş sorunlarının yaşandığı bir mahalle... Ne bileyim mesela yarın öbür gün işe başlayacağım akşamın bir vaktinde eve gelmek zorundayım. Akşam eve gelirken benim can güvenliğim yok. Namus güvenliğim de yok, korku içerisindeyim. Aşağı mahallede olanlar da var, bizim mahallemizde değil de çevre mahallelerden olan insanların rahatsızlıkları da var. Öyle bir çevre de bizimki…"*

[72] *"Ümitköy dediğin yerde mesela insan içici olsa bilse en azından tarafındaki insanlara saygısı var, içiyorsa da kendine içiyor zevkine içiyor, ama buradaki insan o yaptığı işi bir meziyet olarak görüyor, işte ben esrar içiyorum etrafımdaki insanlar benden korksun, buranın kralı ben olayım istiyor. Cehaletten kaynaklanan psikoloji, ezik insanlar o şekilde egolarını tatmin etmeye çalışan insanların gözünde yaptıkları pislikle saygın olmaya çalışan insanlar. Ben bunu yaparsam etrafımdaki insanlar benden korkar ben de kendimi etrafa ispatlamış olurum düşüncesi var genel itibariyle…"*

Similarly, another female interviewee, Sezen (18), focused on similar reasons she could not find anything common with her neighbours and the security problems that the "lower" neighbours caused:

> There are not any good things to like about this neighbourhood. There is no social medium, I have no friends I can call and chat with, and this is a deficiency. Also I cannot go out whenever I want. For instance, in the evenings, there is no place like a public garden to go, which is, in my opinion, another deficiency. It is not safe to go out, there are the children of the gypsies down there, and they unavoidably create anxiety. Besides, we constantly hear about the troubles they cause[73]…

Here, most of the interviewees mentioned similar events, which occurred in the neighbourhood including robbery, murder, and vandalism, which all result in security problems. In all of these, the residents of the upper neighbourhood hold the "Gypsies" responsible. The "lower" neighbourhood does not consist solely of the gypsies, but also includes Kurdish families that recently migrated there (in the 1990s). However, the "upper" neighbourhood calls them "Gypsies" as a whole. They use the term to define the residents of the lower neighbourhood as a lower status. Hakan emphasized that I should be afraid of them, and should not even go to their houses for interviews, as they are quite dangerous:

> If a man be dressed like a dog's dinner, steals, how can I say, if he picks and steals, if he does not have a job, I would define that man as a gypsy. Beware, do not go to their houses, I swear they will kill you[74]…

It is interesting that, however, he also identifies Ahmet as a "gypsy" too, although the latter is the member of the "upper" neighbourhood. Ahmet is from Kırıkkale and ethnically, or according to his lifestyle, he cannot be identified as a gypsy, but Hakan calls him that because he makes money through usury, which is "inhuman." In this sense, he uses the term "gypsy" as social strata, rather than as an ethnic

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[73] *"Neyini seveyim bu mahallenin? Bir ortam yok, bir arkadaşım yok, nasıl söyleyeyim, işte çıkıp kapısını çalacağım konuşacağım bir arkadaş yok, bu eksiklik yani sonra aklıma estiği zaman çıkamıyorum. Mesela durupta akşamları ben çıkıp ta parka gideceğim diyeceğin bir ortam yok bence bu bir eksiklik. Güvenli değil, işte aşağıdaki çingenelerin çocukları var ya, tedirginlik oluyor ister istemez. Olanları duyuyorsun bir de…"*

[74] *"Eğer adam paspal giyiniyorsa, hırsızlık yapıyorsa, nasıl diyeyim, çalıp çırpıyorsa, işi gücü yoksa ben o adama çingene derim. Sakın ola gitmeyin onların evine görüşmeye falan, öldürürler vallahi…"*

identity. He identified Ahmet as a gypsy, because according to his social coding, Ahmet benefits at the loss of the neighbours, which makes him immoral, so Hakan lowers his status by naming him "gypsy". This also could be understood as a reaction that Hakan has, as member of "lower" neighbourhood, because the residents of the "upper" identify him as a gypsy:

> When I turn my back, some people call me "gypsy". For instance, Ahmet is a person who you can precisely call as gypsy. If you ask why, it is because as we just have said, he is a loan shark, usurer, and just kind of immoral. He loans 100, 200 liras to people, and makes it 200 thousand liras, according to the economic conditions of the people. If they own something that he could take, he will raise their debt. Look, I am uneducated, but as part of my job I am among people who have become my friends. I generally deal with family businesses, because I am different. Because I have knowledge from everywhere, throughout my life, I have tried to improve myself[75].

Zeynep, on the other hand, complains about Hakan's elder son's troubles. She says he has vicious practices, including drug and alcohol usage, vandalism and robbery. What is ironic is that, while we talked together with Hakan, Türkan and Zeynep, they frequently stressed how intimate their relationship was, as they lived in houses opposite to each other, and how it was essential for the neighbourhood to act with solidarity. However, while we were alone with Zeynep, she stated that:

> Take Hakan's son as an example… Recently, he tried to break into the house of an old couple in this neighbourhood; they caught him on the roof. Then, he beat them, and they could not do anything. If they registered a complaint, there was no proof or anything… Probably, he had taken drugs and then broke into the house, he has no job, no family discipline; he is really a vagrant[76]…

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[75] *"Sırtımı da döndüğümde benim de arkamdan çingene diyenler var. Ama bence, Ahmet mesela çingene dediğin insanın ta kendisi odur. Niye dersen bak onu da söylüyorum hani biraz önce dedik ya faizci tefeci diye öylesi bir şerefsiz o. Millete 100 lira 200 lira verip de 200 bin lira yapar, insanın maddi durumuna göre elinde alacağı bir şey varsa ona göre fiyat yükseltir bu adam. Bakın işte ben okumadım ama insanların içinde çok dolaştığım için, çeşit çeşit insanlarla arkadaşlık yaptığım için, genelde aile işleriyle uğraştığım için, daha farklıyım. Çünkü her tarafta ben bilgi ediniyorum, hayat içerisinde kendimi daha da ileriye götürmeye çalışıyorum."*

[76] *"Bu Hakan'ın oğlu mesela… Geçen gün burda yaşlı bir çiftin evine girmeye çalışmış, evin damında yakalamışlar bunu. Sonra bu çifti dövmüş bu çocuk, onlar da bir şey yapamamış. Şikayet etse, kanıt yok, birşey yok… Muhtemelen uyuşturucu alıp girdi eve, iş yok, aileden aldığı bir terbiye yok, pislik resmen…"*

She also mentioned that Hakan's two sisters were prostitutes because all of the family members adore money. She thought Hakan's family and the other "gypsies" scramble for easy money. However, when I asked that whether being unemployed and poor could be result in these "deviations," she responded as:

> How can I say, they like easy money, money that can easily be earned. For instance, being unemployed does not make theft okay for me. I can also go and commit burglary, but why am I not stealing? It is either because they have a tendency towards it, or because their families promote it[77].

According to her, the personal characteristics and the lack of discipline given by the family play an essential role in their "deviations." When I asked her to sketch a general profile of the "gypsies," she shared her feelings about them:

> They are unemployed, uneducated, unprofessional, living with families that do not have any family discipline, they have not seen friendliness from their parents; they do not hold esteem for anyone, they do not have a social culture or their parents do not inform them about the culture, and they do not even have personalities. Also, they do not have self-respect. Their personalities have not been developed and their families do not make effort to help develop their personalities Probably, their parents were raised like them, and as a result it continuously progresses; they have been raised in a disorderly way[78]…

One can observe that she does not feel like a member of the same class as the Gypsies. Provided that, the income of her household and Hakan's family are more or less the same, but as a result of the cultural and social differences she sees, she excludes the "gypsies" from the class she belongs to.

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[77] *Nasıl söyleyeyim onlar kolay parayı seviyorlar kolay kazanılabilecek parayı seviyorlar. Şöyle bir şey de var benim iş bulamıyor olmam benim hırsızlık yapmamı normal kılmaz. Ben de gidip hırsızlık yapayım ben niye yapmıyorum? Onların içinde olan bir şey ya da teşvik ediyor ailesi.*

[78] *İşsiz, okumamış, bir mesleği olmayan, ailesinin yanında kalan, aile terbiyesi görmemiş, ana baba sevgisi yok, saygısı ne sosyal kültür var ne aileden aldığı kültür var, ne kişiliği var bu insanların. Sağlam kişilikleri de yok bu insanların kendilerine bile saygıları yok. Kişilikleri gelişmemiş aileleri de kişiliklerinin oluşması için gayret göstermemiş. Aileleri de kendileri gibi yetişmiş büyük ihtimalle dolayısıyla zincirleme gelişmiş başı boş gelişmişler...*

On the other hand, her father Osman (50) does not categorize Hakan and his family as "gypsies." He recently had a heart attack and Hakan's father took him to the hospital. As he said, he would not have a chance to move from this neighbourhood, he believes that they should then act with solidarity:

> When I had a heart attack, if they had been a little bit late taking me to hospital, I would have died. I was bouncing as if they had electrocuted my fingers. If I am living now, I owe it first to God and then to the father of Ercan. He put me to a taxi and brought me to the hospital, but the hospital had run out of the pills I used, so he went to Dışkapı Hospital. In there, he saw a woman with the pills I used, and he told her that a patient needed them and took them from her hands. He said, he went there in a taxi, but I learned later on that he, at the age of 75-80, he jogged to the other hospital[79].

It is obvious that Zeynep has upward mobility, and she sees her situation as temporary in this neighbourhood, so she does not have an obligation to "like" her neighbours. Although, she complains about the "lower" neighbours, she also does not keep in touch with anyone from the "upper" part. She frequently states that she does not have anything in common with the residents and cannot raise a child in this neighbourhood.

The interviewees with infants are concerned about raising their children with the children of Gypsies. All the children in the neighbourhood go to the same school and share the same playground. They feel insecure because of this, which mainly results in parents not letting their children leave the house, or parents only let children play with their relatives' children in the neighbourhood. Zehra describes the problems she faces with her children:

> The lower side of the Mukhtar's building is the area where the gypsies have been living. They are too dangerous. If we argue with their children, the women all come together to fight us. They make robbery with knives and canes, they steal cars… My kid attends to the same school their kids, he gets scared and I constantly go to the school, I mean, they are not trustable. They seize the kid's meals, threaten

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[79] *"Ben kalp krizi geçirdiğimde biraz daha geç kalsam gidiyordum, parmaklarıma ceryan vermişler gibi zıplıyordum, ben şu anda yaşıyorsan önce allaha sonra Ercan'ın babasına borçluyum. Hemen beni burdan taksiye attı, hastanede de ilaç yokmuş Dışkapı Hastanesi'ne gitmiş bir kadın almış o ilacı, onun elinden almış benim hastam var diye. Taksiyle gittim diyordu halbuki koşarak gitmiş gelmiş 75-80 yaşındaki adam."*

them; but I cannot go there every minute as I have a baby at home. I took him in the morning and told him to come alone at noon; I mean they cause a lot of trouble[80].

Similarly, Sevda's son attends the same school in the neighbourhood and she worries about the troubles that the children of the "Gypsies" can cause. She added that even the adults cannot overcome them:

My kid attends the same school with them. The Gypsies do not even have a grip on their own children, if one of their kids steals my shoe from there and runs, I cannot say anything, I would be afraid of because they are troublesome people. What can my kid do, how could he cope with them? I swear to God, we anticipate that something would happen to him but we cannot do anything[81]…

However, excluding "gypsies" from their living space does not mean that the rest of the residents in the upper neighbourhood have been living in peace, acting with solidarity and sticking together. The interviewees mostly spend time with their relatives or compatriots in the neighbourhood who they know, and can trust. Out of 22 interviewees, 11 of them state that the people they keep in touch with are either their relatives and/or their compatriots. Trust is one of the most important, humane feelings that makes a community whole and prompts people to cooperate and act with solidarity. In Bostancık, with the increasing complexity of the world; with disorder and uncertainty, the need for trust has been increased but the feeling of trust is difficult to access as well. Zehra explains this as follows:

I do not like this neighbourhood my friend… A few of my neighbours are really good but the others are self-interested, by the way, the neighbours I mean are my sisters-in-law… If you do a favour for

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[80] *"Bu muhtarlığın öteki tarafı, aşağı taraf çingenler in yaşadığı yer. Çok tehlikeliler, çocuklarıyla tartışsak falan hemen kadınlarıyla birlikte çok sorun çıkarıyorlar. Bıçaklı, sopalı soygunları, hırsızlıkları, araba hırsızlıkları çok oluyor… İşte benim çocuğum onların çocuklarının okuduğu okulda okuyor, korkuyor sürekli gidip geliyorum yanına iyi değiller yani. Mahalle o yüzden pis bir mahalle, onların yüzünden, çingenler her zararı, her kötülüğü yapıyorlar. Okulda beslenmelerini didikliyorlar çocukların, çocuğun önüne geçiyorlar korkutuyorlar, her dakika da gidemiyorum küçük çocuğum oluyor evde. Sabah götürüyorum öğlen kendin gel diyorum yani çok zorluk çıkarıyorlar."*

[81] *"Benim çocuğum onlarla birlikte okuyor. Çocuklarına hiçbir laf yetiştiremiyorlar, çocuk şuradan benim ayakkabımı alsa gitse ben bir şey demem korkarım yani bela insanlar çünkü çok bela insanlar. Çocuk ne yapsın, nasıl baş etsin… Vallahi her gün korkuyoruz başına bir şey gelir diye ama elimizden de işte bir şey gelmiyor."*

someone, s/he expects something in return, that's why I cannot get used to this neighbourhood since I married[82]…

Similarly, Osman states that he spends most of his time at home or with his few friends, as he does not share commonground with most of the men in the neighbourhood. In this sense, he does not spend time in the coffeehouse of their neighbourhood. He said that their lifestyle promoted him to smoke and drink alcohol which he thought was a waste of time:

> I sleep until 9.30-10 a.m., when I wake up, I make breakfast, I have a few friends, I see them, then I buy a newspaper, generally sports paper, and I read it. I used to go to coffeehouse, but I have not gone for 5-6 months. I quit smoking; I have also left the coffeehouse ambience, it is not a good place. When I go there, they plan to go to the tomb[83] and to drink two beers, one of them suggests going to the lower areas of the tomb; I mean you are unwillingly falling into the clutches of these activities[84]…

As mentioned before, Eren is also not content with the neighbourhood and he only keeps in touch with his relatives and compatriots, besides he also does not go to coffeehouse more or less because of the same reasons of Osman:

> There, our compatriots, I usually meet them when I have free time, but I do not go to the coffeehouse, I do not like it there at all. The adults, and the young people are sitting, telling rumours, smoking cigarettes, drinking alcohol… I do not like such things, they are individuals without jobs… I visit my uncle Mustafa, and there are also our compatriots, sometimes I look them up, or something like that[85]…

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[82] *"Ben bu mahalleyi sevmiyorum arkadaşım… Birkaç komşum çok iyi ama diğerleri çok çıkarcılar, güvenemiyorsun, bu arada komşum dediğim de görümcelerim hani… Birine bir şey yaparsan o da karşılığını umuyor o yüzden pek sevmiyorum mahalleyi evlendiğimden beri hiç sevmedim ben burayı…"*

[83] *The said tomb is the tomb of Hüseyingazi at the top of the hill with the identical name and the neighbourood built up to it skirts*

[84] *"Ben 9.30-10'a kadar yatıyorum kalktığımda kahvaltı falan, işte bir kaç arkadaş var onlarla takılıyorum, gazete alıyorum onu okuyorum genelde spor gazetesi, eskiden kahveye gidiyordum 5-6 aydır gitmiyorum şimdi. Sigarayı bıraktım kahve ortamını da bıraktım, iyi bir yer değil. Oraya gittiğim zaman hadi bir türbeye gidelim, 2 bira içelim, öbürü diyor ki aşağılara gidelim, yani kendi isteğimle değil çevrenin etkisiyle bu işlere düşüyorsun…"*

[85] *"Valla bizim köylüler var işte, genelde onlarla görüşüyorum boş vaktim olduğunda, öyle kahveye falan gitmem, hiç sevmediğim bi ortam. Koca koca adamlar, gencecik insanlar oturuyorlar, dedikodu, sigara, içki… Hiç hoşlanmadığım şeyler, işleri güçleri olmayan insanlar… Mustafa dayımlara gelirim, bizim köylüler var onlara uğrarım arada, öyle işte…"*

The trust problem became more obvious when I was talking to the female interviewees. Therefore, as they spend most of their time at home, they choose more carefully who to contact with. Hülya is uncomfortable about this rumouring as it constrains her life in the neighbourhood:

> How can I say, there are not so many decent people that you can spend time with, there are a few families, 3 or 5 to spend time with, and they are our relatives. We know how the rest are, how can we trust and contact with them?… They make gossip; they can speak sharply, I mean, you cannot know[86]…

Hayriye also said that the residents of their neighbourhood talk behind each other's backs. Here, according to her, the people are disingenuous as they seem close, but speak negatively about each other. When we were talking as a group, before the individual interviews with the women, they told us how they liked Hayriye and if she is a candidate for being Mukhtar of their neighbourhood, they would have all voted for her. But later, in our one-on-one interview with Hayriye (40), she said that:

> It is a lie my child, no one would vote for me, do not believe what they say, they talk like this, but they also backbite me, as I speak the truth they do not really like me[87]…

Similarly, when I ask if they cooperate when there is a problem in the neighbourhood, for example, for the problems created by the "gypsies" or to solve the infrastructure problems, Sevda responded as follows:

> Look, take Mukhtar as an example. My father had been going to his office to get the street-lamp repaired, he yelled at my father saying, "you are talking too much". Everyone looked from their doors but no one came and backed up my father. But he took his own right by force. There is such a thing in this neighbourhood; they all pursue their self-interests. While even I cannot defend my own rights, I choose to keep quiet, how can I expect them to defend my rights? But we cannot expect them to support us, there is no one to back us up, a

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[86] *"Nasıl söyleyeyim hani, vakit geçirebileceğin doğru dürüst insan yok belli zaten burada üç beş eviz zaten vakit geçirmek için, onlarda bizim akrabalar. Diğerlerinin ne olduğunu da biliyoruz, nası güvenip de görüşeceksin? … Dedikodu ederler, ters birşey derler, bilemezsin yani…"*

[87] *"Yalan yavrum kimse atmaz öyle dediklerine bakma ne bileyim, bunlar yüzüne böyle konuşur arkandan neler neler söylerler, ben de doğrucuyum ya sevmezler aslında beni…"*

person tries to defend her/his rights, and the rest look from their windows[88]…

Hakan mentioned that not only do they not cooperate, people even make things more difficult for each other. Although he could not classify the specific reasons for that, he thought that it is because they are "scum":

> The municipality used to extend coal aid to us, a man went there and complained about us, then the municipality severed the coal aid. It does not matter, I will burn wood in the stove instead of coal. But look at what they did. You are talking about supporting each other, but they are digging a pit for us. If I do not take that aid, they will take my share, it's because they are all scum. They are going to Municipality, to Mukhtar every day, to receive food aid, coal aid, they would almost sleep there at nights. They are completely humiliating themselves[89]…

Unwillingly, Hakan drew attention to an essential point that, according to his argument, the people are ready to sacrifice each other for food or coal aid. It is more important that he thinks in that way, because it is the reason he cannot trust anyone except for his family and close neighbours.

Here, not only the trust issue is determinant in their choices to keep in touch with only relatives or compatriots, but also the economic problems effect relations within the neighbourhood. As another example, Sevda mentioned that she spends time only with her cousin and the bride of her cousin in the neighbourhood. However, she associates her limitation to relatives in relationships with the neighbors with economic reasons:

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[88] *Bak en basiti muhtar bak. Babam üç aydır gidiyor şu lambayı yapın diye muhtar babama bağırıyor sen ne çok konuşuyorsun diye. Kimseler de kapılardan baktılar ama o adam haklı demediler. Ama babam hakkını söke söke aldı. Bu mahallede şöyle bir şey var bana dokunmayan yılan bin yaşasın diyor ama ben bile hakkını savunurken bunlarla uğraşacağıma susarım demişim, ben kendi hakkımı savunmazken komşum niye benim hakkımı savunsun. Diyemiyoruz onu kızım diyemiyoruz arka çıkan yok bir kişi hakkını savvumaya çalışıyor, geri yanı camlardan bakıveriyor işte…*

[89] *"Burda bize kömür veriyorlardı gitmiş adamın biri şikayet etmiş kömürüde vermediler vermesinler ben de odun yakarım ne yapayım. Ama şu yaptklarına bak, sen bir de yardımlaşma diyorsun, adamlar bizim kuyumuzu kazıyorlar. Ben almayayım ki onlar alsın, pislik olduklarından işte. Bunların hepsi hergün belediye de her gün muhtarın yanında, yiyecek alayım yardım alayım diye, adeta adamlar belediyenin içinde yatacaklar. İyice küçük düşürüyorlar kendilerini…"*

> I frequently go to the neighbours… I get bored, go out and stop by some people. By "out" I mean this street, I do not know any other. And my neighbours are my uncle's daughter and the bride of my cousin. I am also acquainted with the other people on our street, but I do not go to their houses and drink tea, they feel uncomfortable, the reason is obvious actually… They feel anxious because of the issue that if I drink tea, what would they offer along with it? It is too bad, obviously[90]…

Similarly, Hatice signifies that when the economic conditions of the residents have worsened, related to the bankruptcy of the most of the businesses in Siteler, the neighbourhood's relations have also weakened. According to her statement, they used to meet regularly in each other's houses, prepare snacks, drink tea and chat. However, with decreasing purchasing power, they began to think about the cost of these treats and called off these meetings. Now, they only see their relatives, as they support each other, and their similar economic backgrounds with them:

> Now, there is no one to meet, where could we go, who could we meet? I only visit my husband's sister, my mother's brother and his children, and with them we do not make a distinction like, you, us… we are integrated with each other, I mean there has always been the comfort of this feeling… In the past, we used to come together, 10-12 neighbours, for once or twice a week, make cakes, pies… Now, we cannot visit each other, as it is used to be… It is because the people now do not have the economic prosperity even for making a cookie, we have begun to think about even a few pennies, with which money you will make the cake, pie without thinking how to afford everything until the end of the month[91]…

Although most of the interviewees spend time with their relatives, when the issue is about supporting each other, it is simply emotional, not financial, solidarity. The nuclear families in the neighbourhood have been dealing with their own problems

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[90] *"Ben sık sık komşulara giderim… Canım sıkılır sokağa çıkarım, öyle uğrarım şuna buna. Sokak dediğim şurası burası başka sokak bilmem. Komşular dediğim de biri dayımın kızı, biri teyzemin gelini, diğerlerini de bilirim de görüşmem, yani evlerine gidip bi çay içmem, insanlar tedirgin oluyorlar, aslında nedeni belli de… Hani bi çay içse yanına ne ikram ederim tedirginliği, kötü tabii…"*

[91] *"Şimdi görüşecek kimse yok ki hani nereye gidelim kimle görüşelim? Ben bi görümcemleri bir de dayımgili, çocuklarını falan görüyorum, onlarla da siz, biz yoktur zaten, hepimiz biriz anlayacağın, onun rahatlığı var yani… Eskiden toplanırdık haftada 1 2 mutlaka, 10 12 ev, pastalar, börekler… Şimdi gidip gelemiyoruz, eskisi gibi gidip gelemiyoruz işte… Ya insanlarda bir kurabiye yapacak bile durum yok onun için aslında, 3 5 kuruşun hesabını yapar olduk düşün, hangi parayla yapacaksın pastayı, böreği, ayın sonunu düşünmekten…"*

and do not have economic power to support each other financially. Although most of the interviewees have settled down and started jobs with the guidance of their relatives or compatriots, they cannot help each other today. For instance, as mentioned above, İsmail had found a job in Siteler and a house for rent in this neighbourhood thanks to his brother. However, he works as a peddler now. He wants to have a job with a regular salary and insurance but he cannot. When I ask if his brother could help him to find a regular job, he responded as:

> How can he find a job for me, my friend, he, himself, is unemployed already. As I told you before, he helped me but now he is not able to do anything. If he can, he would support but how? Emotional support, what else he can do, he asks how am I doing, am I okay, that's all, but thank god anyway[92]…

Ruhiye similarly mentioned the changing characteristics of the relations of solidarity in the neighbourhood. They settled down this neighbourhood because of her father in-law, as the house they are living in belongs to him, and also her husband found a job as a driver due to his uncle. She states that, in the past, together with her neighbours they used to made red pepper paste in their gardens. Also, their relatives in their hometowns were sending their daily supplies like cracked wheat, tomato paste, flour, and more, which put their income at ease. However, she stresses that for 10 years, their relatives cannot send anything as they only can satisfy their needs and it is very expensive to send them from the village. And also, she does not make red pepper paste together with her neighbours anymore:

> They used to send cracked wheat, flour… everything to us, besides we used to make red pepper paste in our gardens every year, it had decreased our expenses more or less … Now, we are not able to, how can we lump those red peppers? And also, any ingredients do not come from the village anymore. Because of the financial difficulties, our relatives in the village are able to supply only themselves, and sending is another problem financially. We have to go and take from there, but I swear, we cannot even go on the holidays, how can we? Think about the travelling money for our family[93]…

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[92] *"Nası bulsun anam babam, adamın kendisi işsiz zaten, anlattığım gibi zamanında elimden tuttu sağolsun ama şimdi elinden bir şey gelmiyor. Ha destek oluyor ama nasıl, manevi destek, başka ne yapacak, nasılsın iyi misin, hatırımı sorar. O işte, ona da şükür ama…"*

[93] *"Eskiden gelirdi bulguru olsun, unu olsun, yapar gönderirlerdi sağolsunlar, ha bir de biz her sene birinin bahçesinde biber salçası yapardık, sonuçta bayaa bir masraftan kurtarıyordu hiç olmazsa…*

Here, with the declining power of their income creating financial problems, Ruhiye stressed the difficulty of healthy cohabitation and solidarity. Relations with each other that were based on trust and solidarity were damaged as security problems effected their experiences; the relations in the neighbourhood are highly polarized. However, although the neighbourhood is heterogeneous and asymmetric in the context of relationships within the neighbourhood, its residents have a common attitude towards the outside world "above" their neighbourhood.

### 5.2.4. The Outside World: They Are Not Like Us…

When the residents of Bostancık go beyond their neighbourhood when talking about lives that are better than theirs, the residents use common expressions. Both youth, who have the opportunity to be "temporary" in this neighbourhood, and the elderly, who have no hope of leaving, have suspicion about their common grounds with the outsiders. Here, they homogenize themselves against the outside world, thinking that outsiders are different from themselves. As a result, the problem of "adaptation" to the outside world is inevitable. This feeling becomes more obvious when asking about their favourite neighbourhoods in the city. I have questioned this by asking their feelings about the localities where they want to live, if they had a chance.

As mentioned before, 6 out of the 22 interviewees expressed that they are content with living in this neighbourhood based on various reasons. Ünzile, for instance, stated that she does not want to move out of Bostancık, as she feels secure in a neighbourhood that she knows, and that she is known in. Besides, she identifies herself as ignorant and uncultivated and stressed that she cannot fall in step with a better neighbourhood. However, she likes Etlik and Abidinpaşa, which are the only districts she sees in Ankara literally:

> As I told before, I have only seen Etlik and Abidinpaşa as my sister-in-laws live there. The houses there are really beautiful, they are not Gecekondus like the ones in here, I sometimes think why can we not

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*Şimdi yapmıyoruz ama, nası alıcaksın biberi öyle topluca, bir de artık köyden malzeme de gelmez oldu. Ordaki insanlarda yokluktan anca kendilerine yapar hale geldiler, gönderme desen, göndermesi de zor. Bizim oraya gidip almamız lazım, o da yeminlen bayramda bile gidemiyoruz nasıl gidelim, 5 kişi otobüs parası desen düşün…"*

live in beautiful houses, but we are not able to do anything. But I think, I cannot fall in step with them, there is a difference between a sophisticated person and an ignorant housewife. I am an uneducated, ignorant housewife, but they are sophisticated, educated people, I think like that. They have a lot of differences with the people living here in terms of speaking, clothing, and everything, I think those places are at a higher level[94].

Therefore, she feels comfortable with living in a neighbourhood that is consisted of people like herself. However, I think shame about her family life could influence this situation. Her husband is an alcoholic coffeehouse partner,where there are gambling, and illegal alcohol sales taking place. According to her, her mother-in-law is also a prostitute and everybody in the neighbourhood knows about that. She has a chaotic family life in which she has been faced with domestic violence, both from her husband and mother-in-law. Her neighbours have gotten used to their life-style and they are not judging them, and see Ünzile as a victim. Here, she probably thinks that in anywhere except for that neighbourhood, this family life would be remarkable and attract attention. In this sense, this neighbourhood is like a shelter for her. We can see this emotional paradox while she was talking about her family life:

> My husband is managing a coffeehouse but he also allows gambling, and illegally sells alcohol in there. He has been constantly taken into custody and with that rage he comes to house and beats me. The money he brings is dirty, I am so unhappy to feed my kid with that dirty money… My mother-in-law is hustling, I have a daughter and my newborn child is also a girl, I am so scared for their future, in this family anything can happen to them… Everyone living in this neighbourhood knows what they are, they also get used to them, what else can they do? No one could simply accept living with such a family[95]…

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[94] *"Daha önce de dedim ya bir Etlik'i, bir de Abidinpaşa'yı gördüm, eltilerim orda yaşıyor diye o da, oralardaki evler çok güzel bizim buralardaki gibi gecekondu değil biz neden güzel evlerde oturmuyoruz gibi bir şeyler oluyor ama elden bir şey gelmiyor. Ben onlara ayak uyduramam diyorum ama, hani bir okumuş görmüş geçirmiş insan bir ayrı okumamış, cahil, ev hanımı, bir ayrı. Ben okumamış cahil bir ev hanımıyım, ama onlar okumuş görmüş geçirmiş ben öyle düşünüyorum yani. Buradaki insanlarla giyinişten yana konuşmadan yanan her şeyden yana çok fark var ya orası çok yüksek bir semt diye düşünüyorum."*

[95] *"Eşim kahve işletiyor ama kahvede kumar oynatıyor, içki satıyor yasadışı tabii, sürekli gözaltına alınıyor o hırsla geliyor beni dövüyor. Getirdiği para bereketsiz o kadar mutsuzum ki çocuğuma o parayla ekmek aldığım için… Kaynanam orospuluk yapıyor, benim kızım vardı bir tane, şimdi yeni*

Similarly, İsmail expressed that his neighbourhood gratifies him as his friends and relatives are living here and they support each other emotionally. Therefore, he spends a lot of time in the neighbourhood as he cannot work everyday; he needs people to spend time with. However, he is dreaming about a better life in this neighbourhood, which he identifies as "having a gecekondu with a garden in here"[96]. His dream sounds realistic to us, but not for him as he "knows", he will never have a chance like that:

> I have dreams just like the other people; there are places I would prefer to live in... The best place that I want to live in is my neighbourhood... I dream that, if I have a chance, to buy a gecekondu with a garden, although it is impossible but since you said it is just a dream... A person can live with his/her friends, for instance , if I had an option to choose a clean apartment flat or a house from here, rather than the best, tidy places like Kızılay, Çankaya, the places with efficient infrastructure, superstructure, I would prefer here[97]...

Similarly, Nuray thinks that she is living in the "appropriate" neighbourhood for her although she has not seen many parts of Ankara. She said that she is very happy in there with her neighbours and do not want to move into another district. However, when asked if she had vast opportunity that she could choose anywhere, she states that has recently seen Keçiören and thought that it is a very nice place to live:

> Recently, I have seen Keçiören for the first time, I liked it there but the rents are very high in there, we cannot afford them. As a dream, if I do not have to think about money, I would like to live in there. You know, their bazaar[98] was so beautiful as they set it up oblong. What else can I say, its playing garden is so close to their houses, for instance our playing garden is far from us, if you walk it lasts almost

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*ikinci de kız oldu, o kadar korkuyorum ki gelecekleri için, bu ailede herşey gelebilir başlarına... Burda yaşayan herkes bilir bunların ne mal olduklarını, onlar da alışmışlar artık, ne desinler? Kolay kolay kimse de kabul etmez böyle bir aileyle bir arada yaşamayı..."*

[96] *"Burada imkânım olsa da bir gecekondum olsa bahçesi olsa..."*

[97] *"Benim de hayallerim, yaşanır dediğim yerler var... En güzel yer, yaşanılır dediğim kendi çevremde yaşanır... Burada imkânım olsa da benim hayalim bir gecekondum olsa bahçesi olsa, hani olmaz ya nasıl olsun, ama madem hayal dedin... Tanıdığınla yaşanır, şimdi en güzel tertemiz Kızılay mesela Çankaya olsun, en bakımlı alt yapısı üst yapısı neresi olursa olsun orada bana bir seçenek sunsalar yani al oradan bir daire tertemiz, ama ben burayı tercih ederim..."*

[98] *"Bazaar" is used here to denote the places set up weekly in which the sellers who lump their goods from wholesale market hall sell vegetable, fruit, legumes...etc.*

half an hour long and its way is uphill, it's killing, that's why we are not going[99].

Even when she is imagining without any limitations, she has minimal desires like being close to the playing garden or having the opportunity to shop in a big bazaar. It is interesting that, although giving the imagination of limitless income, she is still thinking about going to bazaar, not shopping malls or luxury stores. Therefore, in her imagination, she is at most a middle-class member; she does not even think about being a member of bourgeoisie.

Hatice has a similar moderate desire of moving to Keçiören or Yenimahalle because of the systematic structuring of the services given by the municipality to those neighbourhoods. However, she states that she knows the lives of the rich people but there is nothing to be envied in them. According to her statement, she know "those" lives from the television serials like "Aşk-ı Memnu" and is anxious about their degenerative lifestyles. Besides, she thought that this kind of "wealth" cannot be reached by any of the residents in her neighbourhood:

> I would like to move to Keçiören, Yenimahalle, those places are better than here, they are not like here. There is also even more luxury, I also know that, but I think they are not that good. However, the lives of the people living in those places interests me, for instance in Aşk-I Memnu, there are "Bihter" and "Behlül", I see from that how the rich people live, how the poor people live, and they interest me. But it is sad that it tempts the youth, they tempt like "I wish I had such a car, such a house", but it is impossible for them. Even if you are too rich, it cannot happen, it is not possible. It does not go with "our" kids, it is abhorrent to our traditions[100]…

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[99] *"Ben geçen ilk kez Keçiören'i gördüm orasını beğendim yalnız orada da kiralar çok pahalıymış veremeyiz. Dediğin gibi parayı düşünmeyeden söyleyim, hayal ya hani, Keçiören'de oturmak isterdim. Pazarı çok güzeldi biliyor musun? Uzunca kurmuşlar bir de ne bileyim parkı markı hemencik yakın evlere çok yakın mesela bizim park bize uzak yürüsen yarım saat zaten yolu yokuş o öldürüyor onun için gitmiyoruz parka."*

[100] *"Ben Keçiören'e taşınmayı isterim ondan sonra sana söyleyeyim Yenimahalle'ye isterim o taraflara taşınmak isterim o taraflar ne bileyim buralara göre daha iyi, buralar gibi değil. Ha, daha lüksü de var onu da biliyorum oralar iyi değildir bence. Oralarda yaşayanların hayatları ilgilendiriyor beni ama, mesela Aşk-I Memnu var ya, Behlül'le Bihter var ya o zengin nasıl yaşıyor fakir nasıl yaşıyor onlar ilgilendirir beni. Gençleri özendirmesi kötü ama, zengin olsam keşke şöyle arabam olsa evim olsa keşke şeyim olsa özenir de olmayacak bir şey. Onlar çok da zengin olsan o durum olmayacak bir şey pek inandırıcı değil. Bizim memleketimizin çocuklarına yakışmaz, bizim çevremizin anlayışına ters düşer…."*

Here, Hatice is seeing the rich people as belonging to another world with their own moral values and traditions that do not correspond to the values of the poor people. Therefore, they belong to another "class" and that class has not been achieved simply through economic means.

Haydar also thinks that rich people have a different world than theirs and that people like him cannot adapt to their lives even if they had a chance to move out to a "better" place. However, he wants to change his quarter because he deserves to live in a fashionable neighbourhoods as much as the rich people do:

> The district of Batıkent is very comfortable and organized, I mean the buildings in there have been built planned, also in Elvankent, good-looking settlement have been constructed lately. İncek is quite valuable, precious, expensive, everyone cannot buy houses there, there are of course good-looking neighbourhoods but we cannot settle down there. We cannot even buy their land. But if I had a chance, I would like to move in, everyone wants to live in a peaceful place, I have the right to live there as well as the others. But it is hard to fall in step with the people in there as their income is different than mine, and I have a salary of 700 TL, and living at their standards with them would be difficult. But I think that as "those" people choose there as a neighbourhood, there won't be chaos there[101].

Haydar focuses on the economic side of the problem and is repulsed by the inequality between neighbourhoods. It is also essential to state that as he used to work as a cabinet-maker, he sees the wealth of the bourgeoisie in Ümitköy, Çayyolu, Elvankent, İncek, and other places. Therefore, he is "aware" of much better lives than theirs and cannot accept the deep rift between them. While he is saying, he cannot fall in step with "those" people, he adds that as a member of another class they would exclude him.

Türkan also stressed the inequality between rich and poor. She added that the neighbourhoods of rich people had been served by the municipality and government,

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[101] *"Bu Batıkent bölgesi çok sakin ve düzenli yani bir plan ve programa göre yapılmış Elvankent bölgesine yeni yeni açıldılar yani güzel bir yerleşim alanı yapıldı son zamanlarda. İncek denen yer çok kıymetli çok değerli pahalı herkesin alamayacağı yerler oldu güzel semtler var tabi güzel yerler var ama bizim oralara yerleşme şansımız yok. Arsasını alamayız. Ama imkanım olsa taşınmak isterim, herkes huzurlu bir yerde oturmak ister, benim de onlar kadar hakkım orda oturmak. Ama ordaki insanlara ayak uydurmak zor çünkü onların gelir düzeyi farklı, benim ki de 700 lira maaş onlarla anlaşma biraz zor yani. Ama mahalle ve semt olarak öyle insanların yer olarak orayı seçtikleri için gürültü patırtı olmaz diye düşünüyorum."*

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unlike theirs. She said if they had better conditions, she would not think to move out of her neighbourhood, as the rich people are not "as human as" they are. As a result, the neighbourhood in her dreams is Gazi Neighbourhood, in where the people from her class have been living in better conditions:

> We are all living in the same country, there is no discrimination, we also voted for him [the mayor of the Ankara Metropolitan Municipality], but he has not done anything for us. Everywhere there are apartments, our neighbourhood remains out of date, like a village, have you seen any good-looking buildings, a good-looking underpass, a playing garden that children could play in? Honestly, if I had a chance, I would like to live in Gazi Neighbourhood, it is the best place, I like their houses, with the stairs, they are like villas. The people are like us, I mean they are not rich. I cannot live with the rich people like my sister, they are not as human as we are, for instance while I am selling these keyholders, they despised me, they told me to find a job, what am I doing anyway, I am already working, they do not accept that as a job, they do not admire[102]…

According to the interviewees, there are also people who are living here because they take advantage of the poor people. The most commonly given example is Ahmet, who is practising usury, as mentioned before. He stated the reason that they choose to live in this neighbourhood as follows:

> I will not move out this neighbourhood, I have a house in there, also I have a chance to buy a house from another neighbourhood but I will not go away from there, my wife also does not want to go, we get used to this neighbourhood that's why we do not think of moving away[103]…

However, the other interviewees stated that he is living in this neighbourhood because he loans money to the poor people and then takes it back with high interest. Therefore, most of the residents barely make a living and have to find money to

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[102] *"Hepimiz bir ülkede yaşıyoruz ayrımcılık kayrımcılık yok ama oyumuzu verdik ona ama bize hiçbirşey yapmadı. Her taraf daire oldu bina oldu bizim burası çağ dışı kaldı, köy gibi kaldı var mi hiç gördün mü güzel bir bina, güzel bir altgeçit, bir park, çocukların oynıyacağı bir yer? Valla benim imkanım olsa Gazi Mahallesi'nde yaşamak isterdim, en güzel yer orası, evlerini çok seviyorum ben merdivenli gene çikiyorsun villa tipi gibi. İnsanlar da bizim gibi, zengin değiller yani. Ben zenginlerle yaşayamam bacım, bizim kadar insan değiller ki, ben bu anahtarlıkları satarken mesela, beni hor görüyorlar, git çalış diyorlar, napıyorum sanki ben orda, onu işten saymıyorlar, beğenmiyorlar…"*

[103] *"Ben bu mahalleden gitmem şimdi benim evim var burada yani başka yerde ev alacak imkanım da var ama ben bu mahalleden gitmem benim hanımım da gitmiyor biz bu mahalleye alıştık o yüzden bu mahalleden gitmeyi de düşünmüyoruz."*

survive, so they are burdened with debts. He obviously benefits from the poverty and misery these people are in. Hakan described his opportunities in the neighbourhood as follows:

> This neighbourhood is poor, if he moves into a luxury apartment, nobody goes and ask him for money, but in here, as the people are poor, they always need money. Always, someone fall into his clutches, that's why he does not move out[104]…

Türkan also claimed that Ahmet has made money off of the poor and that is the reason that he is still living in this neighbourhood:

> Let's say you have a house, he loans money because of that, you have a car, because of that, you have a shop, because of that … So he can put these on bond, and if you cannot pay, he would take those from your hands. This man certainly will not move out from this neighbourhood… I witnessed a phone call he made beside me, a man from his village, has been fired from his job in the municipality, borrowed at interest from Ahmet, and Ahmet said him on the phone, I am so sorry to use these words: "Bring the money, if you cannot, bring your wife." I mean he is making money thanks to the poor[105]…

On the other hand, the younger interviewees had been dreaming about the luxury neighbourhoods more often as they have also have more of a chance than their parents to move to those places. Hülya dreams about finding a rich and handsome husband and leaving this neighbourhood forever. She is well-groomed and thought that she is suitable for fancy, secured buildings and neighbourhoods. She also wants to have freedom to go out at nights, to go to shopping malls, to roam around without fear, and she thought that she can achieve these opportunities in better neighbourhoods. And she thought that she could only have this chance by getting married:

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[104] *"Burası yoksul kesim, lüks bir daireye gidecek olsa oraya gidip de kimse ondan para istemez ama buradakiler dar gelirli insanlar olduğu için her zaman paraya ihtiyaçlar oluyor. Her zaman yani bir tanesi kapısına düşüyor o yüzden buradan ayrılmıyor…"*

[105] *"Kuru bir evin var evin olduğu için veriyor araban var araban olduğu için veriyor dükkanın var dünnakın olduğu için veriyor ki hemen senedine koyuyor ödeyemeyince evini de alıyor arabanı da alıyor öyle bir şey yani. Gider mi bu adam burdan, gitmez tabii… Yanımda konuşmuş olduğu bir kelimeye tanık oldum ben resmen açtı o da kendi çevresinden o da Kırıkkale'li belediyeden atılma adam borç almış bundan faizle adama telefonda dediği afedersiniz sizden özür diliyorum "ya parayı getir parayı getiremiyorsan karını getir lan" konuştuğu kelime. Adam fakir fukaradan para kazanıyor işte…"*

As there is nothing to do else, I thought that I should get married and start a family at least. If I get married with a handsome and rich man, I have been also rescued from this lousy neighbourhood, for instance, with a man who has a house in Eryaman, Ümitköy... In those parts, there are so many places to spend time in, like the shopping malls which are attainable from there, you can step out the house, not like here, here everyone turns into their houses, and there is absolute quiet. This is not the case for there. Our neighbourhood is the result of the urban sprawl, the reason I am choosing those places is their coordination. You can go out in the evenings, no one says: "Why are you wandering around?" You can even stay outside till 12 p.m, Here there are not any such opportunities. Besides I am suitable for "those"places. As long as I have money, I would buy fancy clothes, make my hair, put on make-up[106]...

Hülya believes that she will go up into a higher class wholeheartedly. However, she also thought that it cannot be achieved through "working" in a job with a regular salary, she wants to marry a rich man to make her one of the members of the class which she really belongs to.

Similarly, Zeynep also thought that she does not belong to that neighbourhood as mentioned before. According to her, the residents have a low cultural level. She feels that she should live in a more "decent" neighbourhood with more elegant neighbours. Although most of the interviewees are satisfied with the neighbourhoods like Keçiören, where the middle class lives, she thought there is a better lifestyle in more luxury neighbourhoods. Besides, their position of being far from the city, and having high security, made those neighbourhoods attractive for Zeynep, as she has been complaining about the chaos in their neighbourhood:

If I could afford, I would think about Ümitköy, Çankaya where the people are more elite, with a notable cultural level. I mean, they have jobs; just like Keçiören has been called as "the district of the public servants", those neighbourhoods are one level up in where the doctors and lawyers are living. It is different to live with the cultivated people.

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[106] *"Yapacak bir şey olmadığı için diyorum ne gerek var evleneyim yoluma bakayım en azından diyorum. Şöyle zengin, yakışıklı bir adamla evlensem, bu bitli mahalleden de kurtulurum. Mesela Eryaman'da, Ümitköy'de evi olan bir adam olsa... Oralarda güzel vakit geçirebilecek yer çok ne bileyim işte başka nasıl anlatayım alışveriş merkezleri yakın olması, çıkıyorsun işte bizim mahalle gibi değil her yer çekilmiş ses yok seda yok öyle bir şey yok. Buralar çarpık kentleşme yani oraları tercih etmemin nedeni düzenli olması, akşamları çıkıyorsun geziyorsun rahat kimse sana niye geziyorsun demiyor akşam 12'ye kadar gez oradaki imkanlar burada yok. Bir de ben oralara yakışırım, para olduktan sonra, şık kıyafetler alırım, saçımı, makyajımı yaparım..."*

These neighbourhoods are also attractive in spatial sense; they are far from the city, more liveable, remote from the crowd where you can live more comfortable, they are safer[107]…

Zehra is also one of the interviewees that wants to get out of the neighbourhood permanently, as mentioned before, she grew up and lived in Keçiören until she got married. Therefore, she still misses the neighbourhood in which she grew up and imitates the people living in there. According to her, the residents of her current neighbourhood are ignorant and there is a huge gap between the people of these two neighbourhoods, namely Keçiören and Bostancık:

There is a huge difference between the people of Keçiören and Bostancık, from speaking to their behaviours, it is so different. I mean, the people in Keçiören are more intelligent, they are labouring and also experienced, there are a few people who had lived through poverty, their economic conditions are better, they are different from these people[108]…

It can be seen that, she is not pleased to live in this neighbourhood but as a result of their economic necessity they cannot move anywhere. In this sense, she is hopeless and pessimistic about living with "these" people and brings up her children in this neighbourhood.

**5.3. Evaluation to See the Whole Picture…**

Although the Amnesty Law initiated by the Motherland Party gave legal recognition to all squatter settlements, neo-liberal policies led to an increase in the gap between the rich and the poor. This whole process paved the way for the transformation of the urban space. Poli-centrism, fragmentation and sub-urbanization are among the

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[107] *"Eğer gücüm yetiyor olsaydı Ümitköy'ü düşünürdüm Çankaya'yı düşünürdüm oradaki insanlar biraz daha seçkin insanlar belli bir kültür seviyesinde olan insanlar işte ne bileyim belli meslek sahibi olan insanlar işte nasıl Keçiören'e memur semti deniyorsa orası bir basamak daha yukarısı olan doktorların avukatların hakimlerin oturdukları yerler dolayısıyla kültürlü insanların içerisinde oturmak daha başka. Mekan olarak da ilgi çekici orası şey bir de şehre uzak bir yer olduğu için daha yaşayabileceğiniz gürültüden uzak daha sakin yaşayabileceğiniz yerler diye düşünüyorum, daha güvenli…"*

[108] *"Çok fark var insanları arasında, konuşması olsun davranışları olsun çok değişik yani daha bir kültürlü daha bir genellikle çalışan insanlar oradakiler görmüş geçirmiş bir insanlar yani yoksulluktan gelen az hep maddi durumu iyi olanlar yani buradakilerle farklı…"*

results of these changes. As the bourgoisie became richer while the working class have become poorer, a differentiation of the usage of the urban spaces among different classes has emerged. Here, interviews conducted with 22 people chosen from Bostancık Neighbourhood randomly shows that the neighbourhood is one of the neighbourhoods of Ankara that is forgotten, excluded and invisible by members of the middle and upper classes.

In this sense, the residents of Bostancık living "under zero" have been excluded from the labour market, since they do not have regular, sufficient income to survive humanely, or even have no income at all, which means a failure to be involved in market relations. They are faced with economic exclusion as they lose "the ability to financially support oneself or one's family at the norm for society"; institutional exclusion as they do not have the access to private institutions; social isolation as they cannot be involved in the social networks; and spatial exclusion as they live in a neighbourhood with inadequate infrastructure and a disability to reach the public spaces such as shops, cinemas, and more. In my opinion, the neighbourhood could be identified as an "abandoned city", an outcast ghetto as in the debates about the layered, quartered, and fragmented cities, it has been identified as:

> …the place for the very poor, the excluded, the never employed and permanently unemployed, the homeless and the shelter residents. A crumbling infrastructure, deterioriating housing, the domination of outside impersonal forces, direct street-level exploitation, racial and ethnic discrimination and segregation, the stereotyping of women, are everyday reality. The spatial concentration of the poor is reinforced by public policy…(Marcuse, 2002: 274)

It should be bear in mind that, spatial forms include the social processes and the social processes in essence are spatial. The space, rather than being an ontological category, should be understood as a social dimension, which forms the human being but at the same time is formed by it. In this sense, the relational character between the space and the human being should not be underestimated to understand the settlement of Bostancık. Its residents do not want to be seen by the upper classes as threatening "others", which makes them stay where they are the "masters of their own lives".

Here, urbanization and the spatial circulation of surplus value shows that the city, under capitalism, is both the place for and the stabilizer of capital. Its conflicts relate to this research through the exclusion of the residents of Bostancık from the relations of production in terms of their exclusion from the "profitable" spaces of the city. Their settlement stories show that the main reason to choose life there is its proximity to Siteler, which is at the time their employment area. The male interviewees were – and some of them are still – working in furniture shops as painters, polishers or carpenters. They did not have any other choice then to live in Bostancık, as they did not have a "luxury" to earmark for transportation. Besides, Bostancık was treasury land, and the residents built squatter houses on this land, which also enabled them to save the opportunity cost for the the high rents that they would pay in any other neighbourhood. In this sense, they act together with their relatives and/or compatriots and help each other find land to build a house on, or a leased house to rent. As a result of the scarcity of the means of to access to the city centre, the neighbourhood is not profitable, so the upper classes did not want to possess it, and left it to the current residents. Here, it becomes a living space for settlers as a result of the social, eonomic and cultural exigencies.

When we look at the survival strategies of the interviewees, we can easily see that they have been economically sacrificed by the mainstream economy. Most of them live from hand to mouth and as a result they do not have any "long-term" plans. They are also in a competition to receive aids from municipality which is seen as a "relief" by some and as "humilitation" by others. Therefore, the illegal activities are also frequently seen as their "legal" earnings alone have never been sufficient for maintaining a family. These obligations, economic problems and the absence of right to choose, make Bostancık a closed community, if it could be identified as community. Therefore, although the settlers share a common locality, it is hard to say that they have interpersonal relations of sociability, support, common interests or values. Most of the interviewees mentioned that they feel isolated both physically and politically, and it obviously makes living together difficult. As a result, the neighbourhood in itself has been polarized as lower and upper neighbourhoods. The settlers of the former are mainly the Kurdish and Roman citizens. The members of the upper neighbourhood attribute their isolation and security problems to the

"Gypsies". Also, when I went to take general information about the neighbourhood from Mamak Municipality, the officers I talked to also stated that they knew its residents as Roma. This public perception of the neighbourhood is also a reason for them to "exclude" "Gypsies".

However, the upper neighbourhood is also not homogeneous, as the interviewees indicated that the settlers are in touch mainly with their relatives or compatriots. The reasons are not obvious for that, but again, in this choice, trust plays an essential role. They have stated that gossip, envy, and intolerance are so common in the neighbourhood that as a result, they only communicate with the people whom they can trust, like their relatives. However, the economic side of the situation is also influential, as the female interviewees said that in the past they used to drop by each other's houses. They added that they could not do this anymore, because of worsening economic conditions. The residents need to think about the money they spend for buying tea.

The men also choose relatives or compatriots to spend time with as some of the settlers have bad habits, like alcohol, gambling, drugs and also the severe economic conditions that lead to these choices. One can say that, the economy determines the communal habits, and transforms and weakens the solidarity ties. Following this, it has been also observed that the interviewees cannot support each other financially, but only can support emotionally, by listening to each other's problems or just asking how s/he is doing. The people have been dealing with their own problems and their economic "power" only enables them to support their nuclear families.On the other hand, against the upper classes and the outside world, the interviewees tend to homogenise their neighbourhood. When speaking about moving to another neighbourhood, they remain skeptical about the harmony they could achieve in those "higher" places. However, the younger interviewees are more hopeful and curious about better lives and places, and having at least the chance of vertical mobility. The elder residents do not even dream about these. Except for a few "excessive" dreams, their desires are moderate, as they do not even want to dream about it.

All in all, it has been seen that not only their bread, but also the dreams of these people have been stolen.

# CHAPTER 6

## CONCLUSION

> *We do not succeed in changing things according to our desire, but gradually our desire changes[109]…*

Throughout history, the world has been faced with massive mortalities: from severe famines, water and sanitation deficits, and preventable diseases; all of which are caused by poverty and the unequal distribution of wealth. However, the industrial revolution was a landmark for the history of poverty and inequality as it prompted massive migration from rural to urban areas, and began to create an ever-widening gap in the distribution of wealth across the classes, cities and states. This unfair distribution of wealth has continuously transformed the living conditions of the classes and their profits from the city. The condemnation of the subaltern classes to misery, poverty and exclusion, while the bourgeoisie enjoyed wealth and good welfare, resulted in massive revolts: the organized insurgencies in Europe.

Thus, the capitalist system, which is at the heart of of this injustice, tried to reemerge itself from this crisis and proceeded to create great wealth and prosperity for the "advantaged" classes, and gradually increasing poverty and deprivation for the "disadvantaged" classes. However, "hunger" was seen as a danger for the survival of the capitalist system in $20^{th}$ Century and the system attempted to assimilate and neutralize the "starving class." .The "ghettos" of this era were an attempt to confine the "dangerous" classes the unprofitable parts of the city. Marcus identifies the subject of the confinement:

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[109]*Marcel Proust, The Sweet Cheat Gone (1925) in "In Search of Lost Time"* **.**

> …a spatially concentrated area used to separate and limit a particular involuntarily and usually racially defined population group held to be, and treated as, inferior by the dominant society. (Marcuse, 1997:314)

The confinement of the marginalized, excluded sections of population served the interests of the dominant classes in society. However, with the prevalence of the post-Fordist capitalist accumulation and globalization, the ghettos were transformed into the "outcast (excluded)" ghettos (Van Kempen & Marcuse, 1997). The major differentiation of the outcast ghetto from the traditional one is that race combines with the class in in the outcast ghetto, which highlights not only the racial exclusion of its residents, but also their exclusion from the mainstream economy. In the outcast ghetto, the residents are excluded from the formal workforce and from the consumption circle of society.

Moreover, the transformation of the ghettos into "outcast ghettos" signifies a massive change of the urban space. Localities try to attract global capital and competition emerges in the "parts" of the city in terms of profitability. Here, the cities are fragmented, layered and quartered; and many city centres emerge. Marcuse (2002) classified this hierarchy in the post-Fordist city from top to bottom: the luxury city, the gentrified city, the suburban city, the tenement city and the abandoned city. At the bottom lies the abandoned city, which is seen as non-profitable. Its residents are from the excluded, marginalized, and poor classes; as such, the cities are "abandoned" to the poor. The residents of this city are excluded from the economic, social and political life, and from the habitable neighbourhoods.

Confinement also severely damaged the communal relations and ties in the outcast ghetto. Therefore, as they are closed and leave no possibility of vertical mobility for their residents, the significance of locality is fundamental for the residents. Spending all their time there, the neighbourhood is the heart of their economic, social, cultural and even the political lives. Moreover, social stratification and conflict in the neighborhoods is unavoidable. The "community lost" arguments draw attention to the fact that solidarity relations have been severely damaged, as social relations become self-interested and manipulative. Chaotic city life leads people to struggle with the economic problems of their households and focus on their own problems. This also results in isolation.

This study sought to ascertain the personal experiences of the residents of a specific neighbourhood, Bostancık in Ankara, regarding their exclusion, poverty and their effects on the communal, generally, and on solidarity relations in particular. I chose this neighbourhood according to its characteristics: spatial exclusion, insufficient infrastructure and isolation from the rest of the city. Also, the residents are poor, excluded and they cannot take advantage of the habitable neighbourhoods of the city. Therefore, the basic question is in what ways did poverty and spatial exclusion dissolve communal ties?

In this regard, the first chapter attempted to set a general framework about inequality, poverty and their impact on the urban space. First of all, the Liberal, Conservative and the Marxist traditions were elaborated on, which was followed by a brief summary of the studies of poverty from "The Poor Law" to the New Right policies. The chapter concluded with Fordism and its impacts on the urban space. The Fordist City was characterized; however, the main focus was on the ghetto arguments of that time. Therefore, we clarified that poverty is reproduced through spatial exclusion; with the economic, social and spatial positions of the urban poor, and the segregation and social isolation that the ghetto residents face in inner cities.

Following the Fordist era, the second chapter has focused on Post-Fordism and its impact on the characteristics of the urban space. The chapter began with a brief introduction of Post-Fordism, and then the Fordist city was discussed in detail. The first part of this section emphasized the quartered city arguments. Its main argument is that Post-Fordist city has been fragmented and layered into various cities, which carry a mentality to basically ignore the "other:" the rich live in their "fortified enclaves" and the poor are generally confined to their "outcast ghettos." The second part focused on the general characteristics of the "outcast ghetto" and its difference from the classical definitions. The aim was to create a coherent framework for field research, which would allow us to bring the existence of certain characteristics of the outcast ghetto into question. The residents of the outcast ghetto were then analyzed under two main approaches: The Underclass and Social Exclusion. This was also an attempt to see if there was common ground between the focus group in the field research, and the residents of the outcast ghettos in literature.

The last chapter of the theoretical framework made a brief analysis of the theories of "community". The aim of this chapter was to give the necessary background to look at the communal characteristics of Bostancık, in terms of solidarity relations and communal ties. The three different tendencies- the community lost, community saved and community transformed/liberated arguments, were elaborated on, with reference to the case studies. All the case studies are applicable for our research, regardless of their point of view. The community lost arguments say that in the transition to industrial city, there is now closed communication, and social bonds in traditional communities have been lost. Community saved arguments stress that even in the industrial cities, solidarity is still effective based on kinship, social networks and neighbourhood. The sum of these two approaches, the solidarity liberated/transformed arguments claim that urban life has positively affected communal relations and solidarity ties because of the proliferation of interest groups. The community is thought to be liberated in that individuals have freedom to choose to be involved with any group, according to their common interests and/or values. However, as mentioned in the evaluation section, the subaltern classes in the city do not have the opportunity to choose their living spaces, and they cannot benefit from the profitable sections of city, as a result of their economic, cultural and social exclusion. In this sense, it is quite unrealistic to expect them to join interest groups that align with their desires.

In the field research, the aim was to analyze the interviewees' perceptions on the poverty and exclusion they face, and their effects on the communal characteristics in the neighbourhood. Therefore, the multi-dimensional exclusion, economic, institutional, social and spatial, isolated them from the urban space and generated a loss of communal characteristics, like the weakening solidary ties and increasing social stratification. First, general information is given about the field research, including the aim and methodology of the chapter, the characteristics of the neighbourhood, and the motive for choosing Bostancık as the research setting.

The second section first highlighted the settlement stories of the current residents, which show that all of the interviewees settled in the neighbourhood as a result of various obligations. The basic reason was the proximity of Bostancık to Siteler,

which used to be a huge business centre with vast job opportunities. Kinship with the first comers and the low cost of the housing in the neighbourhood were also reasons. Secondly, the survival strategies of the interviewees were presented and we observed that they were basically living from hand to mouth. While some of the interviewees admitted that the aids supplied by the municipality are essential contribution to their incomes, others conclude that it is degrading to receive aids. In addition, the usury, prostitution and illegal alcohol and drug selling are also common in the neighbourhood.

Thirdly, the examination of solidarity and the conflict in the neighbourhood was centred on two main questions:

1. How frequently do the residents come out of the neighbourhood?

2. What do they feel about living in the neighbourhood?

Physical and political isolation were analyzed through focusing on the feelings and opinions of the residents about the state services, the infrastructural efficiency of the neighbourhood and the time they spent in other localities of the city. They feel that they have been neglected by the state and perceive their neighbourhood as far from being "liveable," with inefficient infrastructure and displays of deviance. Secondly, we examined responses to questions about the relations in the neighbourhood and the feelings residents had about the existence of the "gypsies" as their neighbours. The relations in the neighbourhood were also quite weak as there was significant stratification of the upper and the lower neighbourhoods, with the "gypsy" residents of the latter facing exclusion by the residents of the former.

Lastly, the opinions of the interviewees about the "upper" classes and their neighbourhoods in the city were asked and the responses were presented. We observed that, while the inner relations were questioned, the dominant vision was of the "decomposed" characteristics of the neighbourhood. However, against the outside world, they homogenized and embraced their neighbourhood. The younger interviewees were hopeful about living better lives, while the elder ones try to be content with their lifestyles.

To sum up, the findings of the research could be summarized as follows:

1. The interviewees did not "choose" Bostancık to settle down, but they were obliged to. Therefore, the elder interviewees used to (and some of them is still do) work in Siteler, which is very close to the neighbourhood. Similarly, the younger interviewees were born in the neighbourhood and their parents share the same background.

2. The incomes of the interviewees are quite inadequate; regardless of whether or not they have regular or irregular jobs. Breadwinning is under the responsibility of the men and women generally work in the informal sector like cleaning houses or peddling. Most of the women could not even find a chance to enter the labour market, as they have low educational backgrounds and got married at the early ages. However, the employed women tend to see their earnings as "contribution" to the income, not as a part of it. However, the families who receive aid from the municipality owe this "relief" to their mothers, as the women struggle to receive the coal and food aid two or three times in a year.

3. Bostancık is a confined neighbourhood and the interviewees do not spend time outside of and outsiders rarely enter. As their work and shopping places are in the same district, they only go out for visiting their relatives. Both the economic and cultural reasons have been listed by the interviewees for this confinement. The basic economic reason is the perception of the leisure time activities "in" the city and the transportation costs as luxury. Other than the economic side, many of them stated they just lack the habit of going somewhere just to spend time. They stated that other than necessary conditions, they could not find a reason to go to the city centre.

4. As they are involuntarily excluded from the city, most of the interviewees are not content with living in Bostancık. During the interviews, they constantly stated that they "have to" live there, otherwise they would move out. The younger interviewees are more hopeful about

the upper mobility, while the elder ones try to be content with there. Here, while the upper classes and luxury neighbourhoods are in focus, the interviewees homogenize their neighbourhood and position it as different from those people and places. They want to live in better houses, in more developed neighbourhoods, but also doubt they can adapt to better neighbourhoods.

5. The interviewees have positioned the neighbourhood "in the middle of nowhere." They stated that no one comes to there, both because the outsiders are afraid of it, and also there is nothing interesting for them in the neighbourhood as mentioned above. They feel that they have been sacrificed by the government and are only remembered in terms of tax collection. There is a huge gap between their bordering upper neighbourhood, Battalgazi Neighbourhood, which is under the administration of Altındağ Municipality. While Battalgazi has been served efficiently, Bostancık cannot benefit by any of services brought to the former. In this sense, they have mentioned the city as independent from their neighbourhood.

6. This isolation has resulted in the social stratification, as the lower part of the neighbourhood, where the Gypsies and the Kurdish people live, is excluded by the residents of the upper neighbourhood. Therefore, the majority of the focus group consists of the latter and they do not have contact with the Gypsies and the Kurdish residents, who are called the "Gypsies" as a whole. The security problems in the neighbourhood, drug and alcohol usage, vandalism, and theft, are blamed on these people and the interviewees used the word "Gypsy" to degrade them.

7. However, the exclusion of the "lower" part does not homogenize the rest of the neighbourhood. The relations of the residents of the "upper" neighbourhood are also limited in the sense that they only keep in touch with their relatives or compatriots. Therefore, the main attributes are the aggravating economic circumstances, and the lack of trust given the increasing chaos in the neighbourhood.

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It is observed that, Bostancık carries the features of an "abandoned city" as the residents have been excluded from the economic, social and political life of the city. The neighbourhood has inefficient infrastructure and is a shelter for the drug users or for prostitutions and the illegal activities. Also, the residents have been excluded from the workforce and as a result their neighbourhood have become their working place. Most of the residents are self-employed and have very low incomes. In this sense, Bostancık Neighbourhood bares the characteristics of the outcast ghetto as the residents cannot meet the societal standards of well-being. However, I think the social exclusion largely cover the disadvantaged life styles of the residents better than rather than the underclass debate. This disadvantage derives from their multi-dimensional exclusion and community related problems beyond the poverty they live in. They are marginalized, cannot join the expected social relations and unable to integrate into wider society. Here, Bostancık Neighbourhood has lost their community characteristics to a large extent. There is a life style that includes a high level tension and hostility within the neighbourhood that the individuals are exhausted to each other and feel insecure.

In conclusion, the research findings show that Bostancık is a neighbourhood, which is isolated from the rest of the city and the residents cannot benefit from the profitable parts of it. However, this confinement does not strengthen the communal characteristics, as the social stratification and the asymmetric relations have created polarization in the neighbourhood. The residents have been faced with multi-dimensional exclusion and in addition to the socially, politically, culturally and spatially exclusion from the urban space; they have been excluded by the mainstream economy. Most studies of poverty claim that poverty and exclusion result in strengthening solidarity ties and interdependence, however, throughout this study; it has been observed that these ties and neighbourhood spirit have been severely damaged. This study can be helpful in two respects: it is an attempt to question the characteristics of the outcast/excluded ghetto through a case study, as well as the effects of the exclusionary practices on the communal characteristics without glorifying the community.

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