

POVERTY OR SOCIAL REPRODUCTION OF LABOUR: LIFE IN *ÇÖPLÜK*  
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## ABSTRACT

### POVERTY OR SOCIAL REPRODUCTION OF LABOUR: LIFE IN ÇÖPLÜK DISTRICT

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This thesis highlights the significance of social reproduction of labour in analysing poverty through historical materialist perspective and explores two related sets of arguments. First, poverty is the 'absolute general law' of the process of pauperization of labour under global accumulation movements of capital. Second, the question of poverty is subjected to the class struggle between historical tendency of labour, which is to collectivize its own reproduction conditions, and that of capital, which is to make it commodity produced and consumed in the parameters of market production. The concept of class struggle thus carries an analytical priority to explore the dynamic nature and the structure of poverty. The findings, based on the critical ethnographic research carried out in the squatter settlement district named Çöplük in Ankara, indicate that the main tendency of the degradation process of labour is to constitute the conditions of common class experience in the labour market, even though it advocates the fractionation in the sphere of production. Moreover, in terms of the perpetual struggle for collectivising their social reproduction, squatter settlements, *gecekondus*, also seem to be a sphere of common class experience rather than a heterogeneous sociality. The overall findings, therefore, indicate that the current dynamics of poverty rise as a situation in which the whole working-class is in a defensive position to capital.

Keywords: Poverty, Working-Class, Social Reproduction of Labour, Dialectical Methodology, Social Policy.

## ÖZ

### YOKSULLUK YA DA EMEĞİN TOPLUMSAL YENİDEN ÜRETİMİ: ÇÖPLÜK MAHALLESİ'NDE YAŞAM

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Bu tez, tarihsel materyalist perspektife bağlı olarak yoksulluk çözümlemesinde emeğin toplumsal yeniden üretiminin önemine dikkat çekmekte ve birbiriyle ilişkili şu iki tartışma setini incelemektedir: Birincisi, yoksulluk, küresel sermaye birikim hareketlerine tabi emeğin düşkünleştirilmesi sürecinin 'mutlak genel yasası'dır. İkincisi, yoksulluk sorunu, emeğin kendi yeniden üretim koşullarını kolektivize etme yönündeki tarihsel eğilimi ile sermayenin bu koşulları piyasa üretiminin parametleri içinde üretilip satılan bir metaya dönüştürme yönündeki tarihsel eğilimi arasındaki sınıfsal mücadeleye tabidir. Dolayısıyla, sınıf mücadelesi kavramı, yoksulluğun yapı ve dinamiklerini çözümlemek için analitik bir öncelik taşır. Ankara'nın Mamak ilçesinin Çöplük adlı gecekondu mahallesinde yürütülen eleştirel etnografik çalışmaya dayalı araştırma bulguları, emeğin düşkünleştirilmesi sürecinin ana eğiliminin, her ne kadar üretim alanında bölünmeyi teşvik ediyor olsa da, işgücü piyasasında ortak sınıf deneyimi koşullarını oluşturmak yönünde olduğunu göstermektedir. Ayrıca, toplumsal yeniden üretim koşullarının kolektifleştirilmesi için verilen sürekli mücadele bakımından da, gecekondu heterojen toplumsallıktan ziyade, ortak sınıf deneyiminin üretim alanları olarak görünmektedir. Bir bütün olarak bulgular, işçi sınıfının sermayeye karşı savunma pozisyonunda olduğu bir durum olarak yoksulluğun yükseldiğini göstermektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Yoksulluk, İşçi Sınıfı, Emeğin Toplumsal Yeniden Üretimi, Diyalektik Metodoloji, Sosyal Politika.

Kazanabildiđi her kuruřla nce kitap alan,  
yazmayı ve kfretmeyi ok seven  
o ocuk  
ve  
talihini 'kaldırımları sryen ocuklarla' birleřtirip giden  
btn isimsizler iin...

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## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

*Bunlar yoksul değil, dediler, hepsinin evinde buzdolabı  
var, çamaşır makinası var. Yıllardır çalışıyorum,  
bir ev, bir demlik için. Ben o makina kadar  
olamayacak mıyım? Benim bardağım  
çoğaldığıysa, çay kaşığım olduysa... Bir demliğe  
bir nesil harcamışlar, diyorum ben. Bunu  
görmüyorlar.\**

*Cevdet*

Even though it is thought that the concreteness belongs to the factual life, I doubt that there are few other concepts in the abstract social sciences that have a tangible existence as poverty. And I doubt that a very few notions carry such a public visibility as poverty does; one which even those who do not wish to face it have to bare. Despite all these, the poverty literature insists that poverty is a contested concept. It is a little bit difficult to understand this for those who know poverty. However, as far as the dominant assertion is concerned, poverty is a situation, which needs something to be done about it immediately –as if it was in fact an unwanted and unexpected result of the economic policies. Accordingly, in

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\* *They said, these people are not poor, they all have refrigerators, washing machines in their homes. I say I have been working for so many years to own a house, to buy a a tea pot. So... wouldn't I be as worthy as that washing machine? I say if I have had more glasses, more tea spoons it is because I have strived to have them during my life time. They don't see this fact. –* From the interview with Cevdet. 58 years old with three children. He was 10 years old when his family migrated to Giresun, a city known for them as a "near land", in the 1960s. He used to work as a porter in the vegetable market, which was called 'sepetçilik' in that neighbourhood; he also worked as a street salesman and porter in the sand pit and in the harbour. Then he started to work with his father as a construction worker. In the end of 60s, they went together to Istanbul, for them it is a city known as a "distant land" and continued to work there as a construction worker. He got married and he came to Ankara in 1971. His childhood wish was to be a painter. He used his talent in painting in the retouching of old photographs with pencil and tried to earn some money in this job for a certain time. He became a civil servant. He is working as a civil servant.

order to decide what should be enacted, we should first decide what the poverty is. 47-year-old, formally illiterate Dürdane, while trying to live on with the disability benefits of her husband, living in her gecekondü (squatter settlements) also together with her married and unemployed son, her daughter-in-law, her grandchild, her elderly mother and her young son who has been the only person who could manage to succeed until the 7th grade, thinks about the following, without expecting how in social sciences would conceptualize decide 'who' she is:

If I had left this man, I wouldn't have been fine. I didn't left him and I'm not fine either. Why have these happened? Moreover, I know everything, I understand everything, I am conscious of it all. This life of mine, is it living at all?<sup>1</sup>

What Dürdane shows us is what poverty is not living. The matter with which we deal, hence, is the right to live that is stolen from your ancestors, you and your offspring. Empirical reality is also an abstraction "those who know poverty" Owing to this, reading the 'contested' literature of poverty feels a little bit heartbreaking to them. This is, I suppose, problematic enough. I will rather prefer to recall the 'contested' nature of lived reality that, as Thompson said (1978: 201), does not "wait discreetly outside their (philosophers') offices, waiting for the moment at which the discourse of the proof will summon it into attendance", but rather "walks in without knocking at the door, and announce deaths, crises of subsistence, trench warfare, unemployment, inflation, genocide":

People starve: their survivors think in new ways about the market. People are imprisoned: in prison they meditate in new ways about the law. In the face of such general experiences old conceptual systems may crumble and new problematics insist upon their presence (Thompson, 1978: 201).

The notion of 'experience' in fact shows that there is also a historical relationship between facts and concepts, apart from the philosophical one. Even before a new

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<sup>1</sup> *Ben bırakıp gitseydim bu adamı, iyi olmazdım. Bırakıp gitmedim yine iyi olmadım. Bunlar niye oldu? Sonra, herşeyi biliyorum, herşeyi anlıyorum, bilincindeyim. Benim bu yaşamım, yaşam mı acaba?* (for her detailed biography see pp.13, n\*).



conceptual system takes shape many political arrangements and novel practices are experimented with. Poverty is such a concept laying the cornerstone of crumbling and re-forming a new paradigmatic view that stems from the conflict-ridden processes of capitalist restructuring.

Capitalism had the historical moments in which the poor were periodically recognised. Each moment encoding certain issues or people as the 'poor' implies a process of struggle consisting of the series of theoretical attempts and political treatments aiming to 'solve' the problem. It is so that their emergences as factual realities have a contradictory formation that forges together with the relations of the exploitation and oppression in which they occurred.

The second half of the 19th century in England was the pioneer of those moments in which poor people were defined as a social problem because it was the first time poverty had risen as a class problem distinguishing labouring classes from the property-owner classes. The second historical moment was the moral poverty discourses of the 1960s, as in the case of underclass and poverty culture. However, it had to be faced concerning not only nearby the socialist block but also the struggle of independency rising in the South, in Africa. Because of this, it did not get enough privilege during those years. In order to gain their popularity, which is a base for the strike of new right's ideological attack, they would have to wait until 1980s in which socialist experiments had collapsed and the labour movement had entered a political crisis.

As a result, each historical moment was in fact re-organising a fundamental split that is related to the conditions of existence of the humankind –a class division between the cults of private property regime and the common and universal values. For this reason, the poor have never always only been the poor but, at the same time, they have also remained as the reminder of our humane situation throughout capitalism. That is why thinking about redefinition of poverty, or as Bauman stated (1999: 9), viewing how we conceal our image of the society inside

the poor may also "say several things that are crucial about our situation", and it may help us to re-formulate our hopes, lives, and our dreams about the possibility of another world.

The worldwide rapid increase of poverty studies, and more importantly, the rise of a distinct literature on poverty in a society like ours that has considered poverty as a problematic of underdevelopment until now, could well testify that we are passing through a similar moment of definition. If it is true, to forge, at least, to be able to explain our rationale for studying poverty without having a perspective about the meaning and the content of this moment, is not quite possible. At first glance, we would be posed several reasons about the rising of this moment that revolves around the recognition of poverty.

Firstly, the influences of modernization school imposing a transitional model for underdeveloped countries might be mentioned (see Tekeli, 2000: 147). Accordingly, the expectation about the abolition of poverty in backward societies through successful capitalisation of the subsidiary agricultural structures has disguised that poverty is a structural and lasting problem. Secondly, owing to the circumstances, eliminating the channels of social integration in a considerable level –i.e. flexibility and insecurity of formal employment, worsening conditions of informal employment, dissolving of traditional solidarity networks– the appearance of a marginalised social stratum, namely "a new poverty", could be suggested as a reason (see, Buğra & Keyder, 2003: 23). Thirdly, or rather as the combination of the two reasons, it could be stated that since 'a new prosperity' process have considerably destroyed social and political mechanism legitimising class-based inequalities, poverty has become actual in both developed and underdeveloped countries (Richardson & Travers, 1987).

Though each of the reasons has certain validities that are related to the status quo, they are far from giving an insight into the way of redefining the process of how poverty actually operates. More accurately, depending on whether our abstracting

practice incorporate both change and interaction of the lived reality that throw up the subsumption and subordination of labour by capital or not, our concepts either uncover the conflict-ridden content of the moments, or manage ongoing class contradictions. In the former sense of abstraction, the concept of poverty could become a subject matter of political project in the struggle for "labour's revitalisation" (Bina, et. al, 1996); however, in the latter sense, it can only be a part of the ideology that both disguises and distorts the very existence of labour in capitalism where people are also "ruled by abstractions" (Marx, cited in Ollman, 1993: 26). Therefore, the main features of redefining the moment of poverty should be searched within the general context of social theory and politics.

During the past two decades, this context had mainly been determined by the paradigmatic 'crises' of which political indicators were the collapse of socialism and the dissolution of welfare state. As far as their roots could be extended to the impasse of Enlightenment and modernity, the crises represented a moment of 'break' from the past two hundred years of capitalism in the philosophical and sociological manner. In our agenda, therefore, there was a prevalence of postmodernism in a scope of interrogation extending from the ontological crises of the subject to the political impossibility of speaking on the behalf of the 'other'. As it was never known, the recognition of truth was a hopeless action. And, as the 'reality' was to be assumed as a fragmented, unknowable and unstable construction, the act of social theory could be to tell the partial stories and to eliminate the arrogance of those, which were submitted as the truth. Social theory in general was rewritten by those two concepts, namely the notion of decentralisation and the logic of difference representing a new paradigmatic vision. Whilst the former referred to the indeterminist explanation of what is deemed to be the reality, the latter showed the multiple meanings and the exclusionary practices of universalities. In particular, sociology reformulated its own object of study, the concept of society, as socialites that are nothing but fragmented and constructed identities.

All along these same years, capitalism maintained itself as whatever it was since the very beginning, albeit in a variety of its conceptualizations such as the post-industrial society, the post-fordist stage. It continued to be commoditized as the most basic means of our survival and to convey our right to access to those goods marketized; to enclose the agricultural lands of the Third World for the sake of sustainable debt programs; to take apart the labouring class as has never happened before in masses from their houses, their countries, and to usurp whatever has remained to us from our traditional and/or social right of reproduction of our labour power opportunities.

However, stating with 1990s as at one side market fetishism of neo-liberalism seemed to recess, at the other side postmodernism started to loose its intellectual majesty. Poverty was probably one of the most important indicators representing this recession. At least, it was testifying that structural adjustment programs run since 1980s have been deprived of a "human" dimension (see UNDP, 1990). Though poverty reducing strategies with an emphasis on state interventions that were envisaged particularly in the World Bank Development Report of 2000/01 was not a full break from the classical neo-liberal politics but it was certainly marking to the beginning of an important differentiation. Neo-liberalism had been called the 'Washington consensus' representing the alliance among the World Bank, IMF and the USA Administration since 1980s, and traditionally relying upon a sharp division between the economy and the rest of society. However, the World Bank Report of 2000/01 was accepting the state intervention to the economy legal (provided that the free movement of foreign trade and capital are preserved) and recalling non-economical variables to the analysis of economy by setting out the market imperfections in contrary to the very basic neoclassical principles assuming that market is strictly an economical sphere and works regularly and rationally under free market conditions.<sup>2</sup> It was so that after the past two decades of "the triumph of the markets", this transformation was a messenger

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<sup>2</sup> For the critical argument on this economical policy change also known as 'Post-Washington consensus', see Fine (2001b); furthermore see Gore (2000).

of a period of "paradigmatic transition" by calling not only state interventions but also public good and the social to the economy (see Drache, 2001). On the other hand, the rise of poverty studies was indicating that social theory returns to work with facts. During the last ten years, though social sciences have run a philosophical argument on whether the world itself is factual or not; however, the rise of the old empiricist exercise, as probably it is a scientific practice that we are accustomed to, never seemed too astonishing. To conclude, social theory had left aside the worlds of discursive/symbolic meanings with their epistemological assumptions and had started to study concrete social realities like poverty.

Considering the lifespan of paradigms, this transformation that has taken place in ten years from the Washington consensus to the Post-Washington consensus, from postmodern scepticism to the decisive acceptance of factual reality and generalities is doubtlessly quite fast. But besides its fastness, what is more striking about this transformation is that it is constructed by the mediation of poverty. If there is any right point in this observation, a starting point of the critical questioning should be the relationship between the process of conceptual construction mentioned above and poverty; for the reverse would mean limiting ourselves with the world that is formed by a specific paradigm.

For this reason, 'why poverty' is the beginning question of this study and in fact relates to the conditions in which the concepts are produced. Therefore, the initial focus of the thesis is not the question of what poverty is. Its focus rather begins by asking why this world, in which the class inequalities are sharply deepening in a global scale –as it is said "a world cannot be thought without accounting of Marx's hypotheses" (Midnight Notes Collective, 2001)– covered the concept of poverty instead of the class one. It is not because perhaps the fact is so. As usually done, searching "the sources of the growing interest to the poverty" (Şenses, 2001a) within the fact of poverty would mean an attempt explaining the fact by the fact itself but not by the theory, and that is indeed also methodologically impossible. This situation, it can be argued, is not due to the

growing of poverty but rather due to the 'colonization' of social theory by the jargon of neoclassical economy of which parameters are determined by the World Bank<sup>3</sup> more than ever before (Fine, 2002). In other words, the reasons for the growing interest to poverty should also be sought within the decreasing interest to the political economy basing on the labour-capital axis and class politics, as Özbek also said (2002: 8). Whilst the class inequalities and exploitation sharply increase, if the content of 'social' is shaped around the discourses of poverty rather than around class, this is due to the fact that "poverty can be a discourse of those who make the world poorer" (Özdek, 2002).

One of the reasons of my insistence to study poverty is to decode this content that makes class politics analytically and politically unimportant. That is why this thesis considers the question of poverty by searching the processes in which it has acquired a conceptual esteem. In other words, its theoretical concern begins with asking why poverty underpins the periods of conceptual rebuilding and how the social order is re-established each time by this mediation. Another reason of my insistence to study poverty is about the willingness to pass beyond the decoding of the social; in other words it is about an analysis of poverty that can make the content of the social class-based.

Both aims define the theoretical scope of this study. Its introductory focus involves the methodological problems within the conceptualizations of poverty in order to display the historical role of poverty in the process of conceptual construction. It is because that in every re-definition of the poor, there is an ontological imagination about what kind of a world we are faced with and an attempt of epistemological persuasion trying to convince us concerning the

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<sup>3</sup> The World Bank today is at the same time an intellectual power that produces, maintains and changes the paradigms. Surely, intellectual efficiency cannot be completely contained to the World Bank's era of penetration. But even these figures are enough to tell that the World Bank is not simply an institution for the developing economies: The number of professional development economists that are employed in the Bank is around 800. Also, there are professionals from other social disciplines such as political science, demography, statistics, anthropology, sociology, whose total number exceeds 3000. And, the budget that is allocated for the research is around 25 million US dollars per year (see Stern & Ferreira, 1997: 524).

realities of our humane situation by the mediation of this imagination. For this reason, poverty always constitutes a political question not only for itself but also for the meaning, and without doubt, the solving of our common social life. This is a problem of methodological awareness and has a particular importance while studying an issue like poverty that has become a reason of our 'unnatural world'.

Chapter 2 is the product of this methodological concern. It tries to elucidate the epistemological grounds connecting the concepts of poverty to the factuality of poverty itself and interrogates the political implications that stemmed from the constitution of poverty as a researched object. This debate also searches the possibility of having a critical perspective within the mainstream methodological tendencies of poverty studies and tries to see the limits of this critical view in the concrete exercise of the research in Çöplük district (junkyard) in Mamak-Ankara.

Chapter 3 tries to trace the historical trajectory of poverty literature both in developed and underdeveloped countries from the critique of the conceptual treatment of poverty. By this way, it aims to show how the theoretical and political practices governing the poor as a discrete category mediate the contradiction of labour-capital relations, and therefore, how the conflict takes place concerning the idea of 'society' behind the conceptualizations of poverty. Given that defining poverty has to take into account the different levels of development, there seems to be at least the methodological difficulty in the trace of a common conceptual history<sup>4</sup> for both developed and underdeveloped countries. Evidently, the current analyses of poverty belong to the social-political processes of developed countries; as well as, 'the poverty line' defined by the World Bank's 1990 Development Report has categorized underdeveloped countries under the generalization of absolute poverty criteria (see World Bank, 1990). But after all, this problem is up to selecting the poverty indicators and its theoretical limit dependent on the definitions that are represented by the

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<sup>4</sup> For the discussion about how the definitions of the poverty are considered by the criteria of different development levels see İnel (2001).

indicators. Yet, what is aimed in this chapter is to understand how these definitions interfere constructing our common social life. Although they have original contents stemming from spatial differences, they are nevertheless interferences belonging to the universal processes of capitalism.

Chapter 4 is devoted to develop the class analysis of poverty through which the content of 'the social' would be shaped around the axis of labour-capital. By clarifying the theoretical premises of historical materialism, it tries to develop a conceptual framework that seeks to problematize poverty within the overall process of social reproduction of labour. It begins by locating the 'pathological consumer' of poverty literature, i.e. the poor, within the theoretical course of sociology in order to clarify their role in being undermining the production relations, therefore, to display their underlying assumptions with regard to social reproduction of labour. Then, it searches an integrative analysis for the relationship of the process of capital accumulation to the process of social reproduction that constantly evolves in the labour market/workplace, the consumption market/public sphere, and the household. The rest of this chapter illustrates empirically class contradictions and struggles in this landscape. It is composed of three sections in accordance with the social relations and social practices in the phases of the social reproduction of labour.

The first section including the labour map of Çöplük district and work histories of participants examines the basis of labour as a seller. It addresses questions of the making and the exploitation of a differentiated labour power by emphasising the role of state in the labour process in order to see the relationship between social policy and employment patterns.

The second section traces 'the lived experience' of labour throughout the collective forms of social reproduction such as infrastructural facilities, education, health, social security and so on. Some of these socialized forms of consumption may partly be a part of residual structures that have not yet been



entirely destroyed by the capitalist penetration; but they are mainly a part of historical movement of social needs arising from the market imperatives of competition and profit-maximization. This section tries to interrogate the material and moral degradation of labour by the way of the privatization of public good and selective social policies imposing the market imperatives on the condition of survival and social reproduction. Also, it examines the particular consumption practices of labour such as 'illegal' using of public land or services in terms of an ongoing class conflict in the commoditisation process of needs.

The last section is about households, more importantly women of these households who are left alone in the struggle to ensure material and social accomplishments of reproduction. By being left alone, I mean the withdrawal of state and capital from the responsibility of social reproduction; therefore, this debate takes into consideration the degradation of households' consumption patterns thereby questioning how social reproduction of labour is domesticated by means of the pauperization of women's labour.

Finally, all the evidence quoted in the study are given in Turkish in the text at least to avoid the losses of meaning that may result in the translation. The real names of the participants contributing this study with their experience and knowledge have been replaced with fictitious ones. Likewise, some details that may reveal the real identities of the participants have not been used or replaced when needed.

The only exception is İzzet Öztürk, an author who wants to write down his life. İzzet Abi has opened up his house and his life with great hospitality and has sincerely shared his personal experiences with me. He has worked with an extraordinary care and seriousness to share his story with us by means of this thesis. If I remained with his real name and surname, it is because I owe to his friendship and I respect his dream of 'writing', but he has passed away before completing the writing down of his life story. I wish I could do more than

keeping this dream alive. Unfortunately, I am not a novelist; but as a reader I know that this country owes new Orhan Kemals to İzzet Abi. And as a doctorate student I believe that I will be able to express my gratefulness if and only if this study can reveal that class struggle, in a sense, is a historical struggle over who will be responsible for the reproduction of labour in what conditions –it is a question, the embodied spirit of our 'unnatural world'.

## CHAPTER 2

### CONCEPTUAL TREATMENT OF POVERTY: A METHODOLOGICAL CRITIQUE

*Dürdane: Türkiye'yi ikimiz kurtaracağız, ana. Bu okumuş  
olarak, ben de okumuş olmayarak.  
Annesi: Keşkem olsa da bir hayır kazansanız!\**

#### 2.1. Introduction: "You are welcome, but..."

The first question I have come across in the very first day of my fieldwork has been that "what do you want to find out?" This 58 years old woman, with 4 children, who was widowed in her early age just like many of other miner wives was one of the most important informants in the district of Çöplük, in Mamak and what she first said after listening to me carefully was, perhaps, so discouraging that it could invalidate the meaning of a research before it began. Yet, she was

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\* *Dürdane: The two of us will save Turkey, mom; she will as being educated, and I will as being not educated.*

*Her mother: I hope you would, so you'd be a benefactor.* –Dürdane joyfully explains her old mother why we do interviews. She is 47 years old, with 5 children and married. She was 12 years old when she married her husband who was 10 years older than her. They immigrated to Ankara in 1970. While her husband continued to work in constructions he formerly had done as a seasonal job, she earned money by making handworks. After residing in a rented house for 4 years, she wanted to build a house on a land that was "reserved" by her neighbour woman who felt sorry for their living conditions. Although she got beaten by her husband because of this idea, they first built a single room; and then they "converted it to a house". When the pressure of the Sunni families in the neighbourhood increased after the military takeover in 1980, they had to turn back to their village by leaving their older son who had began to work as an apprentice in a dessert manufacture to their relatives. Her husband "put the quilt into the bag" again and went to a seasonal job; and she subsisted by selling the pullovers she made by the knitting machine for money or crop. She send her second son to "foreign land as a sheepherder" after he graduated from primary school. They came back to Ankara in 1990 and bought the land of the gecekondü they live in now, and built their house. This time she began to work as a domestic worker but she quitted because her health impaired. Now they have a cow and she subsists by its milk.

right because she was inviting the researcher to think about the following burning question in the heart of poverty studies: Why do we put so much effort into knowing the poor? This is a problem of legitimacy and related to not simply our research topics, but our intellectual aims as well (Gans, 1970: 146). Given that every speech act about facts –especially if they are the materials of social policies like poverty– includes strong political implications, our knowing desire to grasp the poor has to know itself initially. Since the question of "what do you want to find out?" aims to objectify this scientific gaze, it is the best question with which the researcher could be faced in the fieldwork.

This chapter is devoted to the scrutiny of the old woman's question. It begins by locating its knowing desire in the critique of mainstream methodological trends of poverty studies to bring out their theoretical and their political implications. Then I draw on the historical materialist premises attempting to clarify the appropriate direction for a critical comprehension of poverty. This debate comprising two main parts seeks to problematize *looking at* the poor in the confrontation of their challenges:

First, it addresses the epistemological analysis of research, with a presentation of the underpinning rationalities for its theoretical propositions and its research hypotheses and an attempt to specify the conceptual treatments of poverty. Second, it takes into consideration the contextual background of research by paying attention to the relationship between ethics and epistemology. It is the context of my own participant observation work with the dwellers of Çöplük therefore is obliged to include the confrontation of the researcher with every relation comprising the fieldwork. For this reason, what was narrated here is a 'path story' involving not only the data gathering strategies or the nameless heroes of the sampling group, but also the descents and the ascents of the 'real' process which has been lived with the 'real' people. This section takes its research process as an empirical object; that is why the contextual story of the researched object is as well 'my story'.

## 2.2. Researching Poverty: Methodological Trends and An 'Experience'

Findings of the thesis were obtained from the fieldwork that was implemented at the district of Çöplük<sup>1</sup> of which formal name is Ege, in Mamak from February 2001 to September 2001 including the pre-interviews with the volunteers of Halkevleri<sup>2</sup> (People's Houses) and the members of the Society of Social Workers<sup>3</sup> applying alternative social work practices in gecekondus. Naming the researching poverty as the 'experience' also refers to the particular methodological attitude.

Before conducting fieldwork, it was obvious at least what that methodological perspective would not involve. First, it would not be *about* the poor. This would be a positivist attempt. Secondly, it would not also be *for* the poor. In the former, there was a positivist expert believing that whilst s/he has the ability of objectively penetrate to the social reality, the researched subject can only perceive it partially and subjectively (Bourdieu, 1988-89: 781). On the other hand, there was a risk of producing the dilemma of "the theorizing elite" (such as being a feminist researcher) and "the experiencing subject" (such as being researched women) in the latter (Stanley & Wise, 1993: 7).

However, our knowing act was requiring more than a mere paternalistic something for our poorer sisters, as Mies said (1983: 125). In that state, my

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<sup>1</sup> Although the official name of the district has been Ege since 1990, it is called and still known as Çöplük. There is an ironic relationship between the official name and the living name in the memory of inhabitants. When they used the name, Çöplük, as an address in their petitions informing the government and the municipality about the problems of their quarter, they were warned by the related governors by saying that "*you should not use this name because it is not elegant*". "*But we are living there and this place is garbage*", they said. Now, 'elegant' is used as a mocking word. This study prefers to use 'Çöplük', as that name having been used by its residents.

<sup>2</sup> People's House was established by the Republican Party of People, which was the party in power, in 1932 in order to develop the educational level of people and the cultural enlightenment. In 1951, it was closed by the Democrat Party, however, after 1961 it started its social activities as a voluntary society and became the main political and social centre for gecekondus' people during 1970s. After having been closed again by the military takeover of 1980, it began to organize itself, becoming legally free in 1987 (Tomanbay, 1999). Today, People's House implements the social and cultural activities, especially in poor regions of cities, such as adult education, free courses for poor children and collective activities which would develop the relations of solidarity among poor people, e.g. the days of common kitchen, exhibition of handicrafts made by poor people.

<sup>3</sup> Similarly, Society of Social Workers was closed after every military takeover from the its establishment in 1968. Today, the Society works in an alternative perspective of social policy by criticising the implementation of official social policies (Tomanbay, 1999).

research would be a study trying to grasp the experiences of life that is shaped by the concrete violence of poverty *together with* the poor – a study, in Freire's words (1973: 61), renames the world with them. The perspective of emancipation, therefore, would constitute a paradigm by its own both in the theoretical foundation of my research and in the practical formation of my fieldwork. In other words, knowledge would be an advocate of emancipation, as well as, would arise from it. For this reason, my research would not pick the experiences of oppression up then would not drop them simply as 'brute' data; conversely, it would convey them to the matter of our common thinking and questioning process. What this meant to me was that "we make the path by walking it", as an old Mexican proverb said. Nevertheless, I had not had ideas as clear as the principles about how the research process would be built in accordance with them. Only had I background assumptions<sup>4</sup> that were acquired by being a feminist and being a Marxist, and of course I had as well the ethical responsibilities of being a researcher.

Yet, there had been times with which my sensitivity could not be sufficient to cope; I might have thus fallen into mistakes. This study has to be aware of its limits. In other words, I have done a sociological research that was extremely empirical by its nature. As Weinberg (2002: 1) states, whether we have believed the truth that is 'right in front of us', 'down deep', 'out there' or 'elsewhere', there were in any case something that requires an act of discovery and I have done them. If so, what can I say now? What can be said first is that despite all, the methodology of this thesis is still an effort of making the path by walking with it together. There are a couple of reasons for this. The first one is related to the political implications of researching poverty at the methodological level. The following debate is based on this questioning.

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<sup>4</sup> The emphasis of 'background assumptions' refers to the value-fact differentiation in terms of the relationship between epistemology and fieldwork ethic. This debate is taken into hand in detail in the section 2.4.2.

### 2.2.1. The Poor: Tired and Aged Subject of Social Research

Poverty studies, probably the oldest effort in modern history, have a very long past beginning with the scientific philanthropy,<sup>5</sup> extending to the journalism experiences, then providing the rise of sociology and the other modern disciplines thereby transforming it into an object of analysis.<sup>6</sup> Henry Mayhew's newspaper articles named *London and the London Poor*<sup>7</sup> in 1851, which composed of interviews he made with the labouring classes is an example of this kind. However, the turning point of poverty studies is the large scaled researches Charles Booth conducted in London and Seebohm Rowntree conducted in York in 1880's. It is a pioneering work in the field of scientific research; but what makes it to be pioneer is also the following question that have been suggested as a research agenda: "who actually does suffer from poverty?" By this way, poverty that meant the situation of the working class until that time, broke off its traditional identification with the labouring class for the first time in the history of capitalism.

The literature of poverty has inherited all of its conceptual insights and methodological frameworks from this ground perceiving the poor as a discrete category and accounting the material life as an empiricist attitude (Novak, 1995). That is why the starting question of poverty studies is still the same since Booth and Rowntree; namely, who is the poor and what is the quantity of them? In a sense, they have transformed the traditional philanthropic concern to the scientific pursuit by protecting its pragmatic concern.

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<sup>5</sup> Scientific philanthropy was an empirical study that sought the general framework for the poor policies in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in England by examining the field of poor relief and by organizing the professional trainings (Therborn, 1980). In a sense, empirical research began with the objectification of the poor as an administrable entity and it has remained for a long time as the calculated practices of social reforms.

<sup>6</sup> For the relationship between arising the discipline of sociology and the governance of the poor see Procacci (1989); furthermore, for the construction of the economical discourses and the ethical-theological arguments around the question of what poverty is in 18th and 19th centuries see Dean (1991).

<sup>7</sup> I owe the opportunity of reviewing this classical study of poverty literature to Dave Gordon, the chairman of Bristol University, Centre for the Study of Poverty and Social Justice.

Since poverty has been regarded as definition and measurement problem by the end of 19th century, poverty studies have more evidently reflected the dichotomic pairs of social science such as objectivity vs. subjectivity, explanation vs. interpretation, outsider vs. insider views, quantitative vs. qualitative methods. Considering "every research tool or procedure is inextricably embedded in commitments to particular versions of the world and to knowing that world" (Hughes, 1990: 11), the methodological dichotomy between objectivism and subjectivism has seemed to be an unavoidable result. Accordingly, the methods of investigation are the products of the different epistemological premises, but not the self-validating techniques. As the first terms of pairs suppose the ontological distance between ideas and facts facilitating the transformation of concepts into empirical indicators that are observable, recordable, measurable and generable; therefore, it provides the epistemological justification for outsider views and quantitative knowledge. Whereas, the second terms of pairs assume that *a priori* objective and material existence of social phenomena are impossible because social reality is also constructed by subjective perception; therefore it constitutes an epistemological ground for insider views and qualitative knowledge to recognise the contextual and unstable nature of social facts.

In spite of their oppositional posture, it might be said, both research traditions arise from the common perspective in which poverty is conceived as a discrete characteristic. In other words, their methodological concern is mainly "about the poor" who are settled in an ontological loneliness. Although poverty is formed and treated by wealth, it is isolated from the rest of society, and by this way, the causes and processes involved in the creation and continuance of poverty are obscured (Gordon & Spicker, 1999).

For this reason, whilst quantitative methods have largely supplied a speciality for the determination of that 'either one is poor or is not', qualitative methods have provided analytical facilities for the presentation of life styles or characteristics of poor people, which are generally perceived as the cultural distinctiveness, as in



the discourse of underclass.<sup>8</sup> In the former, lies the perception of material life, which is regardless of the class nature of poverty as an experience cutting across the whole society. In the latter, there is a perception of culture and values, which is regardless of the material life making the experience of poor people possible.

However, the rising tendency of poverty studies in the recent years is towards the multi-method strategies combining both approaches. This strategy, generally known as a 'triangulation', is also approved as convenient research practice to develop effective social policies for reducing poverty.<sup>9</sup> Multi-method strategies start with the critique of the methodological polarization between quantitative and qualitative knowledge thereby arguing that there is no necessarily direct relationship between epistemology and methods (Brannen, 1992; Bryman, 1988; Hammersly, 1992). Accordingly, the incompatibility between the two types of investigation seems to arise from their underlying philosophical commitments rather than their data-gathering tools; whereas, the question of which method is most appropriate is a problem about practice depending on the purposes and circumstances, but not on the epistemological premises of research (Hammersley, 1992). From this perspective, qualitative and quantitative methods seem different ways of data gathering providing different types of data. Combining the two methods thus refers to a strategy exploring the same research problem in a multi-dimensional manner by using the strengths of each method. Accordingly, whilst qualitative data can elucidate the social and cultural context of quantitative findings, quantitative method can supply an account for the general structural patterns of data obtained from qualitative research (Bryman, 1988).

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<sup>8</sup> For the classical example of the 'moral poverty discourse' see Murray (1984).

<sup>9</sup> The World Bank, which has conducted a qualitative research for the first time in its history (the report of *Voices of the Poor* constituting the background work for the 2000/01 Development Report), discusses the possibility of efficient research strategy combining both of methods for the poverty question in the workshops in which the considerable names contributing to this report (like Ravi Kanbur and Robert Chambers) and the academicians who are specialised in quantitative techniques join together. Related methodological debate on poverty research can be reached at <http://www.worldbank.org/poverty>.

The concept of social capital, which has been the hegemonic theme of poverty studies since 90s, seems likely to indebt its methodological justification to the idea that it is capable of handling this combination. Accordingly, the social capital is assumed to have proper content for establishing the link between the micro-social environments of the poor and the macro-economic conditions of society (see for example Lin, 2001). By this way, an area of empirical study with extraordinary width and variety in which the macro-structural indicators reinforce the qualitative data belonging to poor people's micro-social life would be purposed.<sup>10</sup> Its analytical width is so flexible that it can combine Durkheim, Simmel and Weber together beyond all epistemological distinctions – i.e. the inner bounds of groups, the links between different groups, and the institutional structures (see for example Woolcock, 1998: 168).

Although the social capital reproduces the empiricist account of social life whose roots extend to the 'primitive other' of the ethnography, its flexibility making the epistemological boundaries uncertain seems likely to arise from the fashionable routes of social thought over the last twenty years; that is, the postmodern notion of flexible and decentred sociality instead the notion of society that was assumed as a unified entity by virtue of its *a priori* causalities. In that paradigmatic shift, the social capital at last could have found an opportunity for using the social networks of the poor as a unit of analysis despite its roots relying upon the methodological individualism (for a detailed discussion see Chapter 3.) In brief, insofar as the social bonds are broken off from historically specific conditions of capitalism, the ontological loneliness of the poor can be maintained, whatever research type is used.

Another upshot of the postmodernist suspicion was the methodological tendency reducing the social world to the various forms of representation. One of the effective examples of this trend in poverty studies, again, belongs to the World Bank with *Voices of the Poor* study (Narayan et. al., 2000).

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<sup>10</sup> For this discussion and for the bibliographic knowledge about research examples to display an empirical scope of the social capital see Fine (1999)

### **2.2.2. *Voices of the Poor* and the Participatory Poverty Assessment**

The previous section examined how poverty studies, like all divisions of social science, have remained under the shadow of methodological polarisation between objectivism and subjectivism. Accordingly, whilst in the former, the experience of poverty generally is quantified – either one is poor or one is not – with regard to the lack of resources, which is hardly sensitive to the socially constructed nature of poverty, in the latter, it is generally equated to the phenomenological analysis of an individual's own views. The methodological justification for the objectivist approach is the empiricist account of material life in the notion of social facts perceived as 'things'. This justification, on the other hand, is the reduction of reality to representations in the subjectivist extreme, which can be romanticized, as in the 'voice of the poor'.

As its title may suggest, *Voices of the Poor* attempts to reveal poor people's voices that are supposed to be "more direct, vivid, powerful and authentic than ours" (Narayan et. al., 2000: 18) in order to set policy priorities for reducing poverty strategies. Understanding poverty through "local words and concepts of poor people" (ibid: 4) are accepted as an important resource, which would enhance poor people's influence on local decision-making processes and national political system. That is why, this study, named participatory poverty assessment (PPA), announced its findings that were obtained from the qualitative fieldwork including 23 countries, with this declaration: "There are 2.8 billion poverty experts, the poor themselves" (ibid: 2). With related to the changing strategies of the World Bank in 'attacking poverty', PPA serves a methodological tool for the politics of representation in a particular way.

Participation, for the international agencies, was the most favourite 'techno-political' means of improvement projects related to both rural development programmes and the basic need strategies in 1970s. Then, it was unified with the discourse of 'grass-roots self-help' as a tool legitimising lack of public support mechanisms that had been dissolved by neo-liberal politics and filling those gaps

with the NGO's effort in the 1980s (Laderchi, 2001). At last, participation became widespread at the international level both as a methodological principle and as a favourite social policy mechanism for reducing poverty since 1990s –with concepts accompanying it: sustainable development, social capital, governance, and empowerment.

Despite its theoretical diversity<sup>11</sup> that is applied in a broad range from the improvement of management techniques to rural development programmes, the notion of participation methodologically rests upon three main axis: Action-oriented study advocating the transformation of the social reality; grass-roots strategy starting from the daily life experiences, and collaborative research practice enabling active participation of the agencies in the research process. Regarding poverty studies, these principles are called the "contextual method of analysis" aiming to understand poverty in their own characteristics of the poor people's communities. PPA, therefore, departs from the idea that the perception of poor people is privileged. By stressing the poor's creativity/ability to analyse their own conditions, then, it suggests to understand reality through poor people's own analysis. Regarding this, finally it accepts that the researchers are the facilitators sharing the local knowledge and are willing to review their own perceptions and values (Laderchi, 2001).

Contextual analysis especially stems from the idea that poverty has different contents and priorities depending on different levels of development. However, for a researcher of an underdeveloped country, this idea implies conceptual difficulties beyond the measurement criteria in accordance with the national or local characteristics. Although our theoretical models are generally formulated in core countries, the conceptual frameworks especially related to the poverty remarkably do not seem to be belonging to 'ours'. Rather, these are accepted as the representative of the content derived from the welfare societies; therefore, what 'peculiar to our lands' is must be produced. For a researcher of an

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<sup>11</sup> For an ideological and conceptual examination addressed to theory, method and applications of the participatory development discourse see Cooke & Kothari (2002).

underdeveloped country, to study in a division of labour in which the theory belongs to the core and the adaptation belongs to the periphery is certainly a problem in itself because this division determines not only how we would conceive the facts, but also which facts are worth to be researched in 'our lands'.

Yet, the genuine restrictiveness of working with a determined agenda beginning from the selection of the research problem sometimes shows itself in the searching of peculiarity. It sometimes bears the easiness limiting our critical responsibility toward general theories simply because they 'do not fit us', as well sometimes bears the facility that exaggeratedly generalises the peculiarity, probably because we extremely trust its ability to represent 'which belongs to us'. For example, "poverty in turn"<sup>12</sup> (see Işık & Pınarcığlu, 2001) is one of the rare concepts developed so as to understand urban poverty in Turkey. The concept that is suggested as an attempt of "producing theory that is peculiar to the social context", has an importance in opening the conditions of Turkey to the discussion of poverty; nevertheless, it includes both risks of searching peculiarity. On one hand, it has a partial and a given relationship to poverty literature; on the other hand, it does not presume that the process of urban land rent appropriation, which is considered as the survival strategies, "can appear in a certain period of time in a few urban settlements, thus, is a phenomena having only limited explanative strength and validity for understanding poverty in Turkey", as Şenses (2001b: 491) argued. The transformation of the concern like the production of social context-bound theory into a restrictive, even into a depoliticising, methodic tool in poverty studies presumably stems from that this concern has a potential, which will detain us from the goal of exploring the common context we share with the core countries. To be sure, this point does not change the reality that concepts are contextual; but their explanative powers depend on whether they can create a window in 'their land' seeing the world. Poverty today, it can be said, is one of the most basic facts that could be transformed into such a window.

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<sup>12</sup> By this concept, the authors refer to the changing character of poverty in the squatter settlements in İstanbul in the post-1980 period when Turkey implemented an economic liberalization programme and argue that the coping strategies of the urban poor resting on the 'informal networks' play a crucial role in their acts of tackling against poverty.

In terms of the methodological principles what is also remarkable about the PPA is that the critical traditions of feminism and development studies could have been massed by a mainstream like the World Bank. In this approach, for instance, there is a feminist contribution to the critique of science like the 'privileged knowledge' aiming to make the experience of marginalised legitimate. On the other hand, there is a trace of the 'participatory (action) research' (PAR) tradition in development studies, which aspires to combine the scientific knowledge production with the struggle praxis of the oppressed,<sup>13</sup> and which actually has been applied for a long time in Latin America.

Both perspectives are the parts of academics and political heritage fostering my methodological attitude. Feminism, specifically the socialist tradition seeking to the materialist explanation of women's oppression, is one of the main sources of my study. PAR, specifically Freire (1973), provided me significant insights on both the organization of fieldwork as a solidarity practice and the meaning of my existence as a researcher in such an experience. In spite of their principles on behalf of the oppressed, the question why and how both traditions can become the parts of strong agencies like supra-national bodies, NGO's and governments, I think, is so crucial that it could not be explained only by the hegemonic power, especially for PAR activists.<sup>14</sup> This debate is beyond the limits of my study; but to consider how the discourse of participatory poverty assessment (PPA) depoliticises the experience of the oppressed may make us see the rationalities ensuring to being a part of the mainstream.

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<sup>13</sup> PAR aiming to the radical transformation of the social reality tries to render the power of knowledge pertained to the oppressed. From this, it offers the active and the full participation of the oppressed in the research processes ranging from selecting and defining research subjects to analyzing the problems and developing the solutions; therefore, it accepts the researcher not as the detached observer but as the militant of the research process. Freire (1973), known with his radical studies in the education issue, is one of the first names formulating the theoretical bases of PAR; for the Turkish translation see Freire (1991). Furthermore, for the PAR practice in the context of Latin America that is fostered by the critical Marxist tradition see Fals Borda (2001); and for the common methodologies in the PAR tradition despite different theoretical conditions see also Rahman (1985).

<sup>14</sup> For a debate the transformation of PAR into a 'policy' tool, see Gaventa & Cornwall (2001); for the argument that due to its revolutionist implications, the Freirean approach had been neglected in development studies see also Edwards (1989).

### **2.2.3. A-historical Duality of Poor/Non-Poor**

PPA is a part of the process of paradigmatic shift from grand narratives and practices, especially from Marxism, to contextual, local knowledge and agency-centred models of social change (Mohan, 1999). Its ontology, or in Bevan's words (2000: 754), its imagination about society and about people with which it is dealing before going out to explore them, are localities and communities. The meaning of locality as a new spatial orientation of capitalist accumulation especially in terms of the empowerment policy, and the functions of community especially in terms of the process of privatization will be discussed in detail (see Chapter 3); however, it may be said in general terms that whilst the economic and social processes are remarkably dependent on the global dynamics of capital, to seek understanding and reducing poverty within the micro-social conditions excludes capitalism from the horizons of critical inquiry. What is more, it makes capitalism 'invisible' although the destructive force of capital has reached into the ordinary activities of everyday life. For this reason, the key concepts of poverty literature such as capital, market, state can be used in a de-political manner, and the World Bank can find the "corruption, violence, powerlessness and insecure livelihood" as common and systematical problems affecting poor people's lives all around the world, albeit rural-urban, gender or cultural varieties (World Bank, 2000).

The scope of the problem, however, is deeper than depoliticising poverty. Poverty operates at the same time as an analytical tool to wholly exclude capitalism from our political comprehension. As Mohan (1999: 46) points out, PPA ontologically conceives the poor as a person who lives in the traditional community bounds such as kinship, ethnicity against the elite who uses the 'modern' formal channels and whose only identifying characteristic is "non-poorness". Since the duality of poor/non-poor can only be constructed through an a-historical premise like the individual being, social life fully divorces from class conflicts; then, for the poor, what remains is the chain of identities such as gender, ethnicity or race, having not any relations of exploitation or of oppression. By this way, the state, for

example, can be reduced to the 'corruption' simply because it is subtracted from being pertained to any historical relations; or the market can be transformed into the scarce 'opportunity' for the poor simply because it is detached from the arrangement of labour process by the market imperatives. Owing to this, as Bevan (2000: 754) points out, PPA mentions people as "the weak", "the vulnerable", "the poorest", "ultra poor", "villagers" or "beneficiaries" instead of 'labourers' against whom there is a specified elite 'we know who they are'.

Behind the unspecified generalities like the poor/non-poor duality, I think, is a denial of another generalisation, of the class. The mentioned process of paradigmatic shift has been determined by the assertion that to search 'foundation' for providing universality to certain subject positions is invalid. If PPA is the neo-liberal side of this process that is revised by some populist figures as grass-roots strategies, then post-Marxism identifying the political subject in the axis of difference rather than in the common relationship to the means of production is its radical side (see Laclau & Mouffe, 1985).

Apart from its own power of mainstream, the dynamics ensuring to be a part of the mainstream, presumably, also stem from this process in which the subject as an 'ontological essence', the class struggle as a 'deterministic historical praxis', and the ideal of emancipation as a 'universal project' are all negated. As a result, that international capital agencies invited us to listen to the voice of the poor is not simply an indicator of political manipulation; but it is due to the voices of the poor, which have been transformed into particularities that are epistemologically impossible to be represented. Namely, it is because their voices are regarded that they are not politically capable to decode our common oppression.

Whilst the first critical domain of my methodological concern – i.e. the political implications in constructing poverty as a research subject – was the empiricist account of poverty; the second one was the postmodern orientation putting the representation of the poor and the universality of oppression into a problematical procedure. Yet, to consider the intellectual practices in which poverty is being



thought is at the same time the moment to begin considering its own thinking as a similar practice. Awareness invites us to transform our consideration into an object of intellectual questioning and to analyse the social determinants of which we are parts. What I will also try to do will be this. The debate that emerged at the end may seem pertaining to politics rather than to methodology. However, my intention is, not to abstain from politics; on the contrary, my intention is to be able to return methodological problems by making them visible.

### **2.3. Epistemological Background of Data: Historical Materialism or On the Reality of Anger and Pain**

Whilst I was preparing for fieldwork, what worried me most was how talking about an experience like poverty that is painful and sometimes sinner due to the capitalist ethos transforming our lives into personal responsibilities, would be able to explain itself. My intention is not to deny a curiosity, the fundamental basis of the intellectual practice, even if our curiosity is a historical product rather than natural or coincidental. My intention is also not to negate the intellectual results of the scientific studies, or to find ways to cope with the emotional difficulties of the fieldwork. I am aware that the researcher is the 'thinking and writing' part of the research process, and the life in the field, whatever methodological relations are constructed, is nevertheless the 'sources of information'. By now I have learned that the emotional difficulties can be so complex and surprising that they may require not only a professional training, but also a long research experience. Still they sometimes (presumably for a researcher like me who has not enough experience to be ready for unexpected situations) make not only the sustainability, but also the actuality of the research debatable. My intention is relevant to the reason of this actuality.

When we began our 'classical' questions concerning the durable consumption goods, the attack of the householder's son, in his 20s, who looked uninterested in our interview until the time when he shouted out "So what? Will not we have even this much?" may be counted as no unusual case. Still the problem is not in

the confusion of being subjected to anger of the 'damned' classes, but in your awareness of how right this angry argument is. It is so right that it is possible to leave the house from which we could have been expelled, unless his father was there, with the uneasiness of the following question instead of finishing the rest of the questionnaire: Whether the drive of poverty studies is the curiosity to which extent can people pauperise.<sup>15</sup>

Similarly, the helplessness of a young girl who wrote down all her life on a few calendar papers and gave it to you as a gift, is surely not an exception: "I am 19 years old now; I began to understand life, I don't want to bleed the scabby wounds in my heart once more. It is over!" Though the life story of a woman who grew up immediately after birth may be enough to render you powerless. Seeing that this life is long enough to be wounded, but too short to form a scab, is already a problem in its own; yet, the departure point of the methodological debate is presumably related not to this young woman's life, but to the question 'why do we want to know it'.

Given that the methodology is interested in 'what we want to know?' and gives us an answer to 'how can we know it?', it can be said that the question 'why,' at least in the beginning, does not belong to the methodology. It is truly the ground of a political debate because if researching poverty had been bound only to the academic curiosity, or if our desire to learn informants' lives had had a purpose,

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<sup>15</sup> If there is something as curiosity (or desire) of seeing pauperisation, there is also a relationship of the uneasiness we suffered from the young man's anger to the revealing of our 'pornographic drive'. Erdoğan (2002a) arguing the tele-visual representations of poverty have pornographic language constructs various similarities between these representations and pornographic films such as the objectification of body, the exhibition of confidentiality and the application of zooming. However, if we mention poverty as "a visual object" like Erdoğan does, it is possible to say that 'the academic visibility' has a pornographic side in itself. This is not precisely related to the pornographic films. Rather, it is related to our gaze focusing not only on the misery of poor lives, but also on 'the most inferior', 'the most despised' feelings of these lives. That how this gaze sometimes proceeded insistently in spite of respondents can be seen in the interview texts of their study; for example, the interview numbered 98 in Erdoğan (ed.) (2002). As a result, the young man is right in his anger; he just invites us to face the shame of being caught in the moment of an obscene view. However, his anger became a part of our conceiving, insofar as we can join to his invitation. By this way, at least our academic visibility can show respect to the shyness of the respondent instead of searching the confession (as searched in the interview numbered 98, and I did as well).

which merely consists of explaining the reality better, it would be unnecessary to be bothered with the analysis of gender or class problems, as Eagleton said (1990: 230). Just because of this, the old woman's question "what do you want to find out?" interrogates the relationship of the explanation of reality to the reality itself. How this relation is constituted being not known, what poverty research would mean to both its researcher and its participants –unless saucepans and frying pans were given for free<sup>16</sup>– is probably the sense of inessentiality. Partly because of this, I thought very much about my personal experience and how I should look at it. More accurately, I tried to find out what kind of an encounter I would prefer with a researcher who wants to learn about our lives. It might be expected that I can only respond as a researcher but the distance between living in a gecekondu and being there as a researcher is not as far as might be supposed.

I grew up in a gecekondu district, in Seyranbağları, one of the oldest gecekondu districts of Ankara. My family had arrived to the city with the first huge wave of migration in 1950s. After working as doorkeepers in their early years in Ankara, they built their 'illegal' home. My mother struggled for nearly 40 years to make a living as a domestic worker and my father found a job in the public sector with the help of my mother's employers –like the first generation of migrant women whose relations with the middle-classes provided an opportunity to access an urban network for their relatives.<sup>17</sup> I first became leftist in the place where I grew up. Marxism encouraged me to perceive myself as an equal and active part of the

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<sup>16</sup> Metin Özuğurlu, who was in Denizli in 1998 for the pilot study of his doctoral research, had come back with the following anecdote: An American sociologist who was conducting a research in Denizli as an example of 'export production zone' a short time ago, had given saucepans and frying pans for free to every informant, thus, there had been a long queue of people for being informants in front of the researcher's table. When Özuğurlu said that "then, they will rightly ask 'what does your research give for free', rather than what do I research" to the DIE (State Institute of Statistics) competent who quoted the event, he seriously had recommended him to give "cheaper things like pencils and erasers" for free. See Özuğurlu (2005a) for a study that needed only the methodological perspective making "the invisible recognisable" to seek the proletarianization and the formation of working class in Anatolia.

<sup>17</sup> The relationship of domestic workers with their employers continues to function as a step providing the various opportunities in the city for the members of their household (see Kalaycıoğlu & Rittersberger-Tılıç, 2001). The authors show that these ties, they call an "imaginary kinship", can be used both as an employer strategy and as a mechanism facilitating the transition to the urban life for especially young generations of the domestic worker's family thereby ensuring jobs with more skill and higher income.

street, because it enabled me to grasp the idea of being poor in the wider context of oppression. Afterwards I became a feminist. It gave me an opportunity to re-problematize the wider context of oppression because I had to transform the meaning of home together with the meaning of street. At the last, 'my life was saved'. In terms of the interaction between researcher and researched 'object' what is at stake in the fieldwork, therefore, was the following question: Unless as researchers we suppose that our subjectivity is capable to establish common ties with the pain and anger of the other oppressed, is there a sense in talking with poor about 'their own' poverty? Because of this, "what do you really want to find out?" is a very legitimate question and deserves to be answered if we still do research despite this. As a researcher when I look into my 'informant' past, I see there is a response I can give in those two levels: The first relates to the ontological meaning of our subjectivity; it suggests that the oppression constitutes a 'totality' and that explains why I want to know about it. Second relates to the relationship between the researcher and the researched; it suggests that we are not "so distant and so strange"<sup>18</sup> (Mohan, 1999) to each other and that explains my process of knowing.

### **2.3.1. The Ontology of Subjective Experiences**

Totality is at the same time the materiality that ties my own emancipation to others' emancipation. The reason of my desire to know is to be involved in the historical visibility of this materiality – its ability to construct a common ground of pain and anger; for this ability saves life "even if we are hopelessly poor".<sup>19</sup> The rest of the discussion may seem to belong to politics, or in fact, from the

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<sup>18</sup> To be 'distant and strange' refers to the posture of postmodern ethnography stemming from the ontological crises of the postmodern subject. I will discuss this methodological stance in detail in the section 2.4.2.

<sup>19</sup> See (Lewis, cited in Özbudun, 2002: 61-62). The entire quotation from O. Lewis' (1968) book *The Study of Slum Culture: Backgrounds for La Vida* is like as follows: "When the poor reach class consciousness, or become active members of the syndical organizations, or acquire an internationalist perspective toward the world, they cease to be a part of the poverty culture, even if they are still hopelessly poor. No matter religious, pacifist, or revolutionist, every movement that organizes the poor and gives them hope, that actively encourages solidarity and provides opportunity for integration with wider groups cracks the psychological and sociological shell of the poverty culture."

perspective of positivism, it may be found ideological since it pertains to the world of values. However, "why I do want to know" does not only explain the reason for the existence of the analytic inquiry, but also designates how it can be done. This is so because, in order to understand the oppressed state of our particular lives, we need to reach out for the objectiveness that connects them to others who are oppressed, that is, to change them. The question 'why', that at the beginning separates us from the subject of inquiry thus returns to its subject, to the life of the young woman who grew up immediately after birth, that is:

Understanding is possible by changing because neither social life is an object of observation that cannot be thought of independently from our act, nor are we entities that can be dealt with separately from the historical development of social relationships.

In the first part of the above argument, lies the assertion that classical materialism (or objectivism), which casts out subjectivity from the concrete reality of the object, is but an illusion. In this case, the explanation of reality is based on the fixation of reality, as it is seen (Marx, 1992: 46). That is why the conservatism of positivism cannot be simply reduced to the value-free ideal and to the legitimating of what is dominant by this ideal. In positivism, the observation itself is already an act of the status quo because of its epistemic attitude.

In the second part of the argument, which is related to subjectiveness, there is a criticism of the idealist ontology that casts out objective reality from consciousness (or from now on, language and discourse). In this case, it is vain to look for a concrete reality corresponding to explanation because reality exists in the way we understand. That is why the epistemic attitude here views social life as a world of different interpretations and thus it "frees us from having a definite position about important issues" (Eagleton, 1990: 166).

Whereas, the idea that 'understanding is possible by changing' presumes that our subjectivity is our "relationship" with the "thing surrounding us" (Marx, 1992:

52), the materiality of social life. By placing the subjective experiences in the objective conditions of existence, it transforms the activity of the subject into a concrete-historical action containing the objective boundaries of circumstances in which the activity was born; and hence, the philosophical remarks that are rejected by post-structuralism such as 'truth', 'essence', and 'totality' gain a new meaning, which did not exist before Marx. According to this:

The question whether objective truth can be attributed to human thinking is not a question of theory, but a *practical* question. In practice man must prove the truth, that is, the reality and power, the this-sidedness of his thinking. The dispute over the reality or non-reality of thinking which is isolated from practice is a purely *scholastic* question (Marx, 1992: 21, emphasis in original).

The impossibility of understanding the reality by speculation stems from the fact that the ontological problem is a historical one in Marx. It is historical; for ontology involves the movement of circumstances that form the subject and the object as a *relationship*. For this reason, as much as it is impossible to impose an order independent from the subject's act –this is a scholastic exercise of the classical philosophy, it is equally impossible for the subjects to make history as they wish.

Insisting on the historicity of ontological verification first implies that things cannot have an essence outside a specified context determining their formations (Füredi, 2001: 230); it is as the commodity form of things would have no meaning outside the generalized market space, and due to this, it can only be a point of entry into analyzing capitalism in which the conditions of access to the means of survival and self-reproduction of labour is subjected to exchange value. Since the essence of things turns in its historically bounded context, that is, the change is internal to the ontological existence, action and structure should be deemed as abstractions arising from a single set of social process. In this sense, what is named structure is not simply a logical construction that "is always there" and presents itself as a totality through internal relations in its parts; but rather it is a "constructed or emergent" totality, which is "built up gradually as its

elements emerge, cohere and develop over time" (Ollman, 1993: 37). In other words, that way of being in the world engenders a peculiar way of knowing.

### **2.3.2. The Logic of the Real: The Dialectical Way of Knowing**

Before proceeding further, let me acknowledge the epistemological paradox of historical materialism, which seems to arise from its ontological distance between objective conditions of existence and the subjective experience of them. Given that Marxist dialectic offers a way of knowing putting the materialist explanation of reality into a process of abstraction passing through from the "real concrete (the world as it presents itself to us)" to the "thought concrete (the reconstruction of that world in the theory)" (Ollman, 1993: 24), there seems to be an "unbridgeable dualism between realist ontology of historical materialism and any epistemology" (Mohun, 2003: 407). Although it is based on the presumption of the 'real concrete' existing quite outside from all our interpretative activities, it contends that we can only capture it through abstractions, through thought.

From the anti-foundationalism of postmodernism, this is in fact a dualistic way of knowing, which historically stems from the representationist attitude of the philosophy of Enlightenment. In response to this dualism, the radical dissolution of ontological distance between things in reality and reflections in mind (Benhabib, 1990) appears to be the possible epistemological solution, which would not be trapped in any reductionist explanations. Given the 'essence' to 'appearance' characterization of Marx's investigation, we can arguably say that historical materialism is also a dualistic exercise in the sense that it has to show "how appearances both are in some sense different from an underlying reality, and at the same time derive from it" (Mohun, 2003: 402). However, that exercise, I think, is what is peculiar in historical materialism because it neither offers the epistemological procedure resorting to the ontological reductionism in which two methodological solutions are possible, as I sketched out their main points earlier: either objectivism by virtue of treating the real as hypostatisation of thought or subjectivism by virtue of reducing reality to thought (anti-foundationalism, I

think, is also subjected to this polarization in favour of subjectivism). Nor does it apply for the 'transcending concepts'<sup>20</sup> that can provide an interaction between object and subject.

To be sure, Marxist dialectic is found on the "ontological 'otherness' of an independent material reality"<sup>21</sup> (Mohun, 2003: 409); but for Marx, the question is not how knowledge constructs reality (as I discussed earlier, the relation is not exterior to the existence of reality); rather how the subject "comes to knowledge of an independent material reality" (ibid, 2003: 408) because of these two reasons: First, 'ontological otherness' of material reality is the empirical condition of verification saving the knowledge from being purely logical abstractions; otherwise thinking would be a self-sufficient activity and theorizing would be self-confirming process, which is by its nature an unavoidable essentialism.<sup>22</sup> Realist abstractions in this sense "are properties of the concrete, the creation of whose commonality (which enables meaningful abstraction) are *real processes*" (ibid: 409, emphasis in original) rather than transcendental ones:

The process of exchange, for example, is a real process that derives the money-form out of the property that all commodities are produced for exchange. (...) The abstraction 'alienation' is a real process in a society in which the direct producers have been deprived of access to either the means of production or the production of their labour, save through the market. (...) Similarly, the abstraction of 'the labour market' is derived from a set of particular historical circumstances ... (ibid: 409).

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<sup>20</sup> For a critical debate evaluating the transcendence strategies in terms of both Giddens's structuration theory and Bourdieu's notion of habitus see Mouzelis (2000).

<sup>21</sup> The presentation here mainly is based on Mohun's (2003) discussion arguing that the logic of ideology as the hypostatisation of thought is grounded in the real hypostatisation of the money-form of value in Marx's capitalism analysis.

<sup>22</sup> Essentialism is not due to the affirmation of idea as the only real, but rather is due to the affirmation of real (whatever its ontology is defined) as an infinite movement of self-realisation, as in Hegel's dialectic. For instance, the metaphor of base/superstructure dichotomy in Marxism could become the essentialist model, insofar as it was retrospectively generalized for any given mode of production; whereas, the dichotomic unity of base/superstructure is the historical peculiarity of capitalism imposing its power relations through the separation of economy from society. Thus, by the term of 'empirical condition of verification', I mean that what is the finite, namely, the abstractions having historically concrete contents, as all concepts of *Capital* have shown.



However, in another sense, to recognise the "otherness" of material reality itself is already the activity of thinking, or the process of theorizing. To ignore ideas through which social life in an obvious sense is constructed simply means to ignore the recognition of the inverted world of capitalism in which historically specific social relations seem universal and natural. In other words, the otherness of material reality (or realist ontology) not only substitute for the idealist ground (to be contented with this substitution would be "uncritical positivism"), but also displays how the real is treated as the hypostatization of thought. This is the second reason for the ontological otherness of reality; otherwise, it would not be possible to reveal the abstract basis of the commodity production on which capitalist social relations gain their own apparent mode of existence (without having realist ontology, to be contented with this predicate would be "uncritical idealism").

In fact, the economic structure of capitalism itself, for Marx, unites these two epistemological illusions, subjectivism/objectivism, or by his terms, combines 'uncritical idealism' with 'uncritical positivism' (Mohun, 2003: 411). That is, the existence of capitalism lies in the secret of commodity forms of things, which relies upon "the inversion of relations between concrete particular and abstract universal" (ibid: 415), and through which the contradictory process of market production is hidden. It first reduces commodities (i.e. concrete labour) to quanta of abstract labour by means of exchange; then hypostatise that abstract as the concrete, which represents value-equivalence to all other commodities (namely, money appearing directly as the ultimate commodity) (ibid: 415). In other words, abstract labour (i.e. the essence or the substance of value) circulates in the market only in the form of appearance of value (i.e. exchange value) and this phenomenal form is treated as the concrete particular.

That inversion between concrete and abstract is *real* process (because it is the necessary form of the generalized commodity production), therefore, *exists* only in capitalism (because it requires privately owned means of production). In short, if the 'essence' to 'appearance' characterisation of dialectic is a dualistic exercise,

it is because the social relations of capitalism ontologically appear as something different from what they really are. By Mohun's words (2003: 416) this is "not a simple epistemological mistake, because the real world of circulation itself is characterised by ontologically real processes of hypostatisation", and engenders very real consequences, such as:

Relations between producers appear as the objective characteristics of commodities, and class relations of production between worker and capitalist take the form of individual relations of the market-place: between consumer and commodity, and between employee and employer. In this manner, generalised commodity exchange forces a disjuncture between capitalist social relations and the way in which they appear, such that theory is required, both to set against the (real) appearances and to account for why those appearances take precisely the forms that they do (ibid: 413).

As pointed out by the last sentence, the logic of the real is the contradictory totality of 'essence' and 'appearance'. Since their differentiation is the principle distinction of capitalist mode of production, the analytical progress from 'essence' to 'appearance' shows the full story of exploitation, not the compartmentalisation of the real. In a sense, the 'distance' itself is an essence of class character through which capitalist exploitation gains its totality. That is why for the historical materialism, the real is differentiated, but contradictory united.

This logic of the real, or more accurately here, the 'distance' itself as a historical peculiarity in fact plays a crucial role in the exploration of the question of poverty. When it is abandoned on behalf of either appearance or essence, poverty becomes either a quantitative description of consumption or a problem of 'economic' reproduction of capital alone.

The former is the dominant viewpoint of poverty studies. The analysis of poverty basically is related to the survival conditions of labour and begins by the empirical instances identifying these conditions. Such as lack of income and productive resources sufficient to ensure sustainable livelihoods; limited or lack of access to basic services; or lack of participation in decision-making and in

social and cultural life; incapability of achieving a particular quality of life; or falling outside family support systems, social institutions and safety nets, and so on. These instances as well designate the different definitions of poverty; that is, the conceptual serial of poverty analysis comprises the empirical facts, which have not been passed through theoretical treatment. In so doing, the empirical conditions of labour survives in their variety is assumed, *a priori*, to be theorized.

Similarly, the majority of poverty studies in Turkey explicitly follow the same procedure.<sup>23</sup> This approach is methodologically such an entrenched attitude in poverty literature that it can implicitly have an axiomatic status even in the critical studies, which investigate poverty in terms of the structural characteristics of capitalism.<sup>24</sup> The problem here, I think, generally derives from the methodological gap between epistemology defining the research object and conceptual sketch analyzing it. Since capitalism is generally treated just as the 'underpinning' movement of social processes without having any assertion about the 'apparent' movement, the ambivalent relationship between descriptive and explanatory levels of analysis may occur. In such a state, capitalism lives only in the latter level (as a cause), while the former is submitted to the apparent form of concrete.

However, as we discussed earlier, from the historical materialist methodology, 'underlying reality' is not simply a pool of causality, but rather a way of making theory through which 'how things happen' becomes a part of 'what they really are' (Ollman, 1993: 29). For given that every class exploitation is a social relation in which direct producers always had to transfer their surplus labour to ruling classes in order to produce their own necessary consumption, it is then possible to construct the same universal for the labour's survival conditions, no matter how historically different. Under this epistemological circumstance, without doubt, poverty always exists in history as "an eternal problem" (see for example

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<sup>23</sup> See for examples Sallan-Gül (2002); Bircan (2002); Kümbetoğlu (2002); Ecerel (2002); Deniz Feneri (eds.) (2003) – since nearly all articles in the study of Deniz Feneri, albeit in rich topics, base on this core, it is difficult and, in fact, unnecessary to specify them.

<sup>24</sup> See for examples the studies of Özbudun (2002); Kaygalak (2001).

Demirci, 2003). Even though, eternity seems to be an exaggeration, the treatment of the empirical world as exemplar of the theory is a sufficiently strong illusion. It has only relevance to the phenomenal forms of the real, which otherwise would not belong to the same universal, and thus whose invisibility capitalism would not gain otherwise. In the abandonment of 'distance' on behalf of appearance, the conceptual treatment of poverty can only be restricted to the 'absent' form of capitalist exploitation, that is, the circulation sphere. In this case, the poor can merely be a 'pathologic consumer'; that is why she appears as the eternal subject of history.

The latter, i.e. over emphasis on 'essence', is in fact a very rare, albeit important, theoretical attempt in poverty studies; namely the class analysis of poverty (see Wright, 1995). However, since poverty is only understood as a 'function' of capital accumulation or the determining character of the social relations of production is construed as a mechanistic relation, either the class struggle is undermined or the peculiarities of the consumption sphere are neglected. Overall, concrete content of class struggle thus divorces from the class analysis of poverty.

The methodological significance of historical materialism, I think, lies in its ability to provide the conceptual treatment of poverty going beyond mentioned over-simplifications. To conceive poverty from the class perspective would be possible by an analysis embracing overall practice of social reproduction of labour, an analysis not resorting to the methodological reductionism.

By setting the social reproduction of labour into a historical perspective, this approach first posits that the structured isolation of consumption from production in capitalism cannot be taken into account as an external entity or as a simple opposition. Rather, this distinction must be analysed as a contradictory moment of the same totality (Terrail, 1985a; Fine & Leopold, 1993). Related to this, it secondly reveals as well the class conflict between capitalists' strategies of accumulation and labour's strategies of social reproduction (Conley, 1988). The

problem is, therefore, to grasp the logic of the entire process of capitalist production and its internal conflicts because the 'underlying' reality is an inherent and common aspect of various 'parts' of totality, not their exterior principle. Both points comprise the theoretical and empirical underpinnings of my study.

### **2.3.3. Theoretical and Empirical Motivations of the Research**

In the previous sections, it has been argued that the act of knowing in this study derives from neither the desire of 'explanation' nor of the 'understanding' of reality. The desire of 'explanation' treats material life as a 'raw material' that is assumed to be a priori theorized, and thus, ignores all properties of reality originated from being objects of knowledge. The desire of 'understanding', on the other hand, reduces material life to ideas and beliefs and thus disregards the objective structures making the experience of social agents possible. Conversely, the drive of knowing in this study is to 'change' the reality, which shapes and is shaped by our existence. By Eagleton terms (1997: 4), it sees knowledge "as an historical event rather than as abstract speculation, in which knowing *that* is no longer clearly separable from knowing *how*" (emphasis in original). Therefore, in terms of dialectical approach material life ontologically refers to the link between social structures and social agents and shows that regarding the context of this study, their relation indeed is a form of struggle between governing poverty (in part a control of labouring process) and tackling poverty (in part a process of class formation). This implies that diverse phenomena such as the production and the consumption do not exist as externally related entities; rather they exist as a differentiated totality. With regard to poverty issues, analytically, it means that the roots of poverty experience are socially constructed in a nexus of production relations; therefore, it is a constructive relation across the whole society rather than a discrete one.

Therefore, setting the problem of poverty into a historical perspective involves twofold task: Firstly, it proposes that the class analysis of poverty must provide an account of the social relations of production and reproduction by highlighting

their conflicts and structural limitations inherent in the capitalist mode of production. Such an analysis is necessary to break away from the idea of 'consumer society', which is the basic philosophical ground of the conceptual treatments of poverty. Secondly, it proposes that insofar as we could elaborate the moments of social reproduction of labour power in capital accumulation,<sup>25</sup> the class analysis of poverty is capable of exploration of the particularities stemming from, for instance, the role of state and patriarchal basis in livelihood experiences while remaining committed to the assertion that labour-capital dichotomy is an essential foundation of capitalist societies. Therefore, it implies that the notion of class and class struggle must be re-thought by paying attention to the process of social reproduction of labour.

Both propositions made in fact mention the analysis "roundabout form of class exploitation that the possibility of its explanation proves to be so elusive" (Lysandrou, 2000: 332). This is complex enough. Without doubt, for such an analysis, it is at least necessary to conceive the whole range of concrete content of the social process through which labourers reproduce themselves; namely, "the social relations and social practices in the labour market, the workplace, the consumption market, and consumption" (Conley, 1988) thereby considering history, economy, politics and sociology. This is evidently beyond both the theoretical effort and the intentions of this study. It is the intention here rather to use the basic elements of capital accumulation as a preliminary focus for the discussion of social reproduction of labour. Therefore, I have restricted the above mentioned-propositions to these partial aims:

Regarding the first proposition, I will attempt to designate how the question of poverty is directly related to the paradigm of society itself, which is as well the political project having its own subjects and philosophical underpinnings. In other words, I have deemed that "the roundabout form of class exploitation" is the

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<sup>25</sup> I owe this idea, which has been developed in discussions of his Thesis Seminar Group, to Mehmet Ecevit but I am responsible for the formulation that seems likely to be an orthodox one. See Ecevit (2003).

ontology of capitalist society; therefore, what is at stake in this debate, I thought, is the question of the relationship of the theoretical and political treatment of poverty to this 'ontological' meaning of society.<sup>26</sup> This is the task of the literature survey in this study and related to the 'underlying' idea of the conceptualizations of poverty.

Regarding the second proposition, I will attempt to illustrate empirically the contested context of social reproduction of labour arising from the limits and dynamics of capital accumulation thereby re-formulating the analytical structure of the poverty question (this framework is presented in Chapter 4). For such an illustration, I have restricted the process of social reproduction of labour, which is highly complex, to the articulation of those two main social dynamics:

The first comprises the employment of living labour in the context of *Çöplük*, including also the connections between employment policy and social policy (Pahl, 1985). (This connection is due to the fundamental axis in the social reproduction, namely the paid-labour – the details of discussion are presented in Chapter 4). Therefore, I will attempt to problematize the role the state play in the organization of labour processes by considering critically the formal/informal duality of economy (i.e. the low-paid economy, 'informalization', the dissolution of the public-private dichotomy), and further to investigate how the households as a pool of labour power respond to the transformations of the labour market (i.e. the degree and the patterns of commoditization in woman and child labour).

The second dynamic comprises the social conditions of consumption in the environmental context of *Çöplük*. Here, I am rather interested in the question of how the households respond to the process of the degradation of labour and the privatization of the public good at the stage of their consumption practices. For this investigation, I will first focus on the patterns of subsistence production (i.e.

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<sup>26</sup> For the very similar concern discussing how the ontology of the 'social' is constituted specifically through key institutions and mechanisms of governance associated with the social reproduction, see Brodie (2003).

small-scale agriculture in the garden, domestic animals, extra-ordinary domestic work); and then I will seek the environmental and moral degradation of labour's body (respectively, disinvested site of living conditions and the politics of poor relief).

In fact, there is nothing new in the proposed empirical investigation, if one considers gecekondu studies, one of the longstanding exercise of sociology in Turkey. This thesis, without doubt, is partly situated in the critical heritage of the urbanization literature; namely in the theoretical treatment of 'urban' with regard to capital accumulation.<sup>27</sup> However, it is sharply different from the Turkish literature of poverty, which takes into account the 'livelihood conditions' as a survival capacity or resource issue. Throughout this study, I hope to designate that these circumstances (i.e. provision of and access to basic services) are not resource issues, but rather "they are political issues that are limited by the dynamic of capital accumulation and therefore cannot be considered in abstraction from that context" (Kerr & Kwele, 2000: 1314). By proving how the informal activities of everyday life are a subject matter of class struggle, I hope at least I can problematize the traditional demarcation between the studies of gecekondu and class. However, before I move on with the main arguments of this thesis, a few more words which attempt to situate its motivations in the contextual background of the gathered data are needed.

#### **2.4. Contextual Background of Data**

In the data gathering process, the general concepts that form our theoretical framework – such as, social classes, gender, the oppressed, or the poor, are embodied in the 'real persons' who have a name, who think, suffer, and sometimes get angry at you, or who make you angry. Social theory names them 'data', but it is clear that each of them belongs to a certain social context, and they become data during the relations within and among themselves, as well as with the researcher who enters their life thereby having a certain theoretical and

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<sup>27</sup> For a critical evolution of the urbanization literature in Turkey see Şengül (1994).



political perspective. This contextual background, which is as important as the data themselves (Devereux & Hoddinott, 1992), includes a series of classical relations ranging from the research techniques to the particular circumstances they are applied, from the questions why and how we are 'there' and finally to how we depart from 'there' –not only in terms of what we leave behind but also what we are left with in front of us. The final issue of this chapter are about the questions of such a context.

#### **2.4.1. Choosing the Field**

The first academic reflex in the conduct of poverty research that I have faced with was generally this initial observation: "they are 'really' so poor!" It was also my initial reflex, even though I did not chiefly seek to what extent they are poor. Presumably, such an 'amazing' observation is partly an upshot of the nature of the sociological rediscovery in which we tend to forget that they have been there already. However, what is more striking is the emphasis on 'really', which implies a state of poverty that is worth doing research. Here, I think, is a powerful speculation on the imagination of poverty feeding both the scholarly literature and the popular consciousness on the same ground but in different ways.

The former generally tends to identify poverty as an empirical standard of livelihood, as discussed before, instead of a relationship of social class. In similar vein, sometimes I found myself in conversation with my colleagues about whether I do think that the habitants of Çöplük are 'truly the urban poor' or not, whilst some of them have a home with garden that seems to be comfortable, and have their own car. In this case, choosing the research site needed clarifying in terms of my theoretical criteria ascertaining who the urban poor is.

On the other side of this coin is a performance of those who are stigmatised aimed at 'proving' their inclusion into an ordinary majority and to distance

themselves from those beneath them.<sup>28</sup> In the initial weeks of my research, not surprisingly, sometimes I listened to 'truly' poor life stories belonging to those who live in another districts or in houses, even though I hesitated to use the word of poverty. To sum up, from both the scientific and popular imagination, poverty was conceived of as a threshold, which decides where the border line is; and this decision is generally taken as the theoretical criteria for choosing research site.

On the contrary, the theoretical significance of choosing criteria in this study lies in the ability of the research site to resolve the central socio-economic uncertainties of labour. As a research field Çöplük has a considerable inspiration involving the richness of historical experiences about the collective forms of social reproduction, as well as, the richness of moment about a variety of socio-economic occupations ranging from civil servant or worker to unemployed, from property owner to homeless. The first one provides an opportunity to problematize the theoretical demarcation between class struggle and urban social movements; and the second offers a 'big story' of people that is fractured but deeply common to understand a continuum of conditions of living under capitalism.

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<sup>28</sup> See for example Dean (1992) a study involving discursive interviews with social security claimants in Britain about their perceptions of poverty. Accordingly, 60 percent of respondents deny that they themselves were poor. This finding can be deemed as the historical peculiarity of Britain having a deep-rooted and long-standing class relationship based on the oldest history of the poor relief policies. However, as will be discussed in Chapter 4, poverty is also the process of moral degradation of the labour constructing the punitive and negative images in every space penetrated with capitalism. See for example Erdoğan (ed.) (2002) for the research whose simplified interview texts would also be read as the performance of the poor who negotiate with the boundaries of stigmatization. Researchers sometimes seemed likely to disregard the form of questions in terms of its implications. However, partly due to this regardlessness, we can see how the reactions of the respondents become different by depending on how the poverty question is asked. When they used general terms like 'why are people poor?' or 'what is the reason of poverty?', the respondents had generally referred to the structural features such as state politics, unemployment, inflation and so on. However, when they asked 'why are you so worse off, so poor?', the respondents thought about their personal incapacities due to the culpable tone of the question that indeed demands searching in the personal background. Since it evokes all guilt and shame of being poor, respondents 'rightly' tried to find the reasons to make their poverty innocent, such as 'having many children, being illiterate or their father's incapacities'; see for example interviews (29), (53) and (55) in the article of Şen (2002). Due to long-term fieldwork in which each of us could become 'knowable', I used the word poverty in a personal manner when I needed –but not in a manner that subjectifies them.

In the core of the historical process of the district, lies a junkyard at which all junk of the city is dumped together with people (de Jesus, 1971). As a matter of fact, the historical process and spatial development of the area have been determined by a junkyard, from which the name of the district derived. In this sense, the spatial movement of the region followed the spatial movement of junkyard. Before the appearance of the initial gecekondu, this area in Mamak was the junkyard of Ankara. The first settlers, with 120 households, who were mostly from Gümüşhane, Eastern Blacksea province came on 1974 thereby having a particular 'solution' for their housing problem:

One day, a friend of mine came toward here from the foots of Hüseyingazi, from those mountains. He was looking for a place, but these places were all planted. As we didn't know, we couldn't even think of doing something. ... After that, we formed a group of 4-5 guys the way one forms a committee, and then came here and found this site. This place was an empty area since it was junkyard. Garbage was still being dumped here. What could we do? We thought that this garbage would not be stay here forever, sooner or later, it would be taken away. "Let's settle here", we said.<sup>29</sup>

After seeking the property-origin of land, the pioneer group has been learning that it was the pasture of Imrahor-village, and then they have been buying the land on a 99-years lease by plotting witness by public notary from the village-committee. During the process of plotting, the informal social assistance fund (Sandık) of the first settlers has been organizing the overall plan of settlement by sparing the plots for the collective consumption spheres such as school, streets, children park, as well as, ensuring the network of neighbour by facilitating their financial problems. The gradual upgrading of the quarter has been passing both the processes of contestation regulating the 'unavoidable' coming of new settlers having their property claims and of collective actions incorporating their demands

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<sup>29</sup> *Bir gün arkadaşın bir tanesi Hüseyingazi'nin eteklerinden başlamış, o dağlardan, bu taraflara doğru gelmiş. Yer arıyor. Hep ekili tarla, bilmiyoruz ki, yaklaşıyoruz... Sonra biz bir komite kurar gibi 4-5 kişilik bir genç grubu geldik, bu bölgeyi bulduk. Burası boş bir alandı, çöp merkezi olduğu için. Çöpler halen buraya dökülüyordu. Ne yapalım? Bu çöp burada kalacak değil ya, ergeç buradan kaldırılacak, buraya yerleşelim dedik.*—From the interviews with Cevdet and İzzet Öztürk who are the first settlers of Çöplük. (For their detailed biographies see respectively p.1, p.62.)



However, the next day that plot was no longer belonging to Fadime; it had been reoccupied by someone, then she had to enclose another site. Since its upgrading processes arose from the historical circumstances of neo-liberalism in which "integration into society is nothing but integration into market" (Levitas, 1996: 12), this new settlement has been involving more contestable domains in terms of both property rights and poor environments. The establishment of the quarter coincided with the period in which major spatial and social transformations in the gecekondu areas occurred after the 1980s. An account of such a historical background was crucial in order to see the results of neo-liberal politics within the social and economical agenda of Turkey from the experiences of gecekondu dwellers. As a matter of fact, because of its environmental features, the inhabitants of this quarter have always lived under the risk of the loss of their homes since it was settled in 1987, and this problem encouraged collective social action, which was organised as a quarter-based movement. The famous motto of district, "we created a rose garden from the garbage" has been the product of their collective action against the eviction order of municipality in the year 2000.

The whole district, in fact, had an experience of collective action to some extent in the past. In the early 1970s, they first demanded the abolishment of the junkyard, then of the coal depot in the early 1990s. Since the new basin of junkyard is near to the borders of district, the close of junkyard is still an agenda of inhabitants (for their last protest see Birgün, 2005b). These examples of struggle, it was believed, were significant to understand the patterns and dynamics of the movement of poor people.

Now, Çöplük, which covers 96 hectares and is composed of 2200 households, consists of different and hardly relevant geographical sites to some extent. Between the first settlement region in the early 70s and the second one, there is the field of coal yard of Mamak, which was closed in 1997 and now is used for the animal sacrifice bazaar during the religious holiday (Kurban Bayramı). The third settlement, which was constructed on a rocky place, is nearer to İmrahor-

village and has quite distant relations with the neighbourhood because of the hill that was built by garbage. The fourth settlement, which was founded in the late 1980s is near to the new junkyard and is totally separated from the whole neighbourhood by the vehicle station of the municipality.

The whole district, which was comprised of two main gecekondu generations, reflected the main broken point in the history of economical and social programmes of Turkey and this feature was indeed remarkable in itself with regard to the opportunity of comparative analysis. Particularly because of this reason, whilst the participative element was the fundamental basis of the study, a quantitative method constituted an inevitable part in order to see the structural pattern of the whole district. Furthermore, the quantitative method was supplemented with the representative in-depth interviews from the other parts of the district including information about their historical background. In this way, it was hoped that retrospective analysis would be useful for highlighting the differences between the experiences of gecekondu dwellers within the relatively statist period of economy and their experiences within neo-liberal currency of economy and society. As a result, with regard to both the combination of different gecekondu generations belonging to different urbanization processes of Turkey and the particularity of environmental conditions, Çöplük involves not only the historical trajectory of social reproduction of labour, but also overall varieties of this process.

Moreover, having a local link methodologically was an important criterion as a necessary condition for the participative method of this study. My research, therefore, began by searching its feasibility. The voluntaries of People's House assisted me in building the fieldwork with their information and local links and the members of Society of Social Workers who work in poor neighbourhoods and among street children shared with me their experiences in developing the moral content of fieldwork. For 'being in the field' was a methodological attempt to locate my scientific gaze in a particular way in the research process.

#### **2.4.2. Being There: Ethics and Epistemology**

I lived with a host family in Çöplük, who settled in the old junkyard, which is composed of 340 households, although in the process I met with people who are from other parts of the district. The ethic of my involvement was established, in some extent, in the tradition of 'critical ethnography' advocating the intensive and active participation of the researcher into the reality of the researched subject without throwing away the burden of 'theory'.<sup>31</sup> This involvement is different from those fieldwork ethics depending on the traditional polarization of epistemology. First is the classical procedure of objectivism proposing being an impersonal and detached observer, and thus ignoring all properties of reality originated from being objects of knowledge. Second is the social constructivism and can be classified into two over-general sides in terms of the different treatments of 'truth': those who are committed to the truth on behalf of the oppressed (as in the feminist methodology and in the participatory –action–research) and those who advocate to the impossibility of truth (as in postmodern ethnography).

In short, depending on how the value-fact differentiation is constructed, fieldwork ethics or the background assumptions of researchers are generally bound up with either the traditional value-free ideal of positivism or the value-based criteria of social constructivism. In the first one, values are the barriers of objectivity; truth can be discovered if only the conditions of producing the knowledge are purified from subjective and arbitrary beliefs; in the second, they are the conditions of objectivity, as in the feminist epistemology (see Harding, 1993). Since the fact is constructed by its knowledge (at least since how we know shapes what actually exist), the standpoint that relies on the subjective experiences of marginalised or the 'situated and partial knowledge' (see Haraway, 1988) is a criteria of objectivity uncovering the "deeper reality", thus, refusing the dominant stratum that declares their position as an impartiality. It can be argued that whilst in the

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<sup>31</sup> See Yücesan-Özdemir (2001) who conducted a fieldwork in two automobile factories in Turkey as a worker, for a literature survey and an example of the study of critical ethnography.

positivism the epistemic stance disregarding to the social context of the knowledge causes a more uncritical relation to be established with the reality, in the social constructivism the epistemic relativism that does not give any chance of existence to the reality except the context to which it belongs conveys the opportunity of radical criticism to a restrictive and ineffective power.

According to Nanda (1997), even though social constructivism have a judgmental advocacy, as being a feminist or being a third world woman, it shares the traditional value-neutrality ideal of positivism because the objective truths are deemed as the more faithful representations of the reality in both cases. The problem, however, is not being a feminist or being an anti-imperialist; the problem rather is about the feature of epistemologies they have. In both of traditions, the epistemological grounds do not permit a possibility of the dialectic relationship between value and fact. For this reason, values are treated as a given presumption of "unrestricted sociality" (Nanda, 1997). To put it another way, there is neither the opportunity for the value to determine the relevance conditions of the knowledge in which ideas are tested (as positivism did), nor the possibility for the fact to engender values (as social constructivism did). Hence, values become *a priori* criteria of the sociality instead of being the parts of scientific knowledge.

On the other hand, postmodern ethnography posits two 'impossibilities' in the relationship between epistemology and fieldwork ethics: the impossibility of representation, which is nothing but the 'epistemological violence' for the other; and the impossibility of ethnography, which means nothing but fiction by virtue of the innate unknownability and instability of the meaning. Due to two of the impossibilities, anthropological experiment is proposed only as the dialogical narrative between discourses of the informants and ethnographers.<sup>32</sup> However, as Ahmad argued (1997), the unrepresentability of others bases on her "inability" to

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<sup>32</sup> See for example Clifford & Marcus (1986), the famous possessors of postmodern ethnography; also see Erdoğan (2002b) for the application of postmodern ethnography to the act of 'listening to the poor' in Turkey.



appear "authoritatively" in the research scholar's text rather than her ability to appear in history as a collective subject. That is why, in postmodern ethnography, the researcher becomes a 'voyager' in her relationship to the researched subject; and the question of truth transforms into a concern with rhetorical styles of writing about 'others'.

The ethical code of this research, however, originated from being a participant in reality instead of being an impersonal-detached observer. It defined, on one hand, my position as a researcher in relation to the setting, that is, the methods of collecting data had the status of an ethical imperative, e.g. arranging discussions about the content and purpose of research (which included a requirement for consent), establishing the study groups for survey, sharing daily-life experiences and demanding their control over the research agenda and results. On the other hand, it ascribed my moral obligations, namely the 'professional codes', to the research subjects, such as solidarity, trust, empathy and non-exploitative relations.

It was believed that if the research is not a 'laboratory situation', as Mies (1991: 77) said, but a 'real-life, everyday situation', the connection between researcher and researched subject is a material relation rather than a strictly moral and emotional one (Mies, 1991: 69). In other words, neither did I conceive my existence and my involvement as an 'epistemological trouble' (as in postmodern ethnography) nor did I treat it as an 'epistemological' priority (as in feminist standpoint methodology). Rather I accept, for example, being a feminist and being a Marxist as the products of the history of science, not as the raw social values that can be changed according to the political preferences; consequently, their existence as the background assumptions are open both to test the empirical evidences and to be revised by them. Therefore, I assumed that the social and emotional involvement of researcher in the setting restores the awareness of self as a critical ground and thus extends and transforms the borders of insider knowledge.

In this sense, having a subjective base, for me, means having a burden of theory. This is a burden that builds a 'critical distance' (Mies, 1983) not just between the researcher and participants, but also between researcher's subjectivity and her own factual life. That is, if I mentioned about my class and gender-based origin, it is exactly due to this critical distance in which we are no longer "prisoners of our (their) own past and present sufferings and mistakes" (Mies, 1983: 134). A person observing her family album and her memory by asking "whether there is any interesting evidence for my research" is a person who is already an outsider of her own factual life. For this reason, the decisive point in the research process is not a question 'who are you?', but a question 'what is the standpoint of (your) research'.

In contrast to postmodern ethnography, therefore, I accepted my subjectivity as a ground of dialogue through which 'responses' and given conceptualizations are transformed into new fields of scrutiny for both sides, not as a problem from which I must abstain. Within this relation, neither the world of participants is merely 'raw material', nor is the perception of the researcher burdened by a cognizance of all answers. To sum up, humility is an essential attribute for the establishment of dialogue with the participants because this cannot be an act of arrogance (Freire, 1973: 62-63). That is why I did not prefer to 'play' the role of an impersonal and omniscient character but entered freely into dialogues and sometimes disagreements with them, as they disagreed with me. Moreover, critical distance is not just about knowledge generating procedure between researchers and participants, but also about the moral obligation to "redress injustices" in the field (Devereux & Hoddinott, 1992: 19; Wilson, 1992: 189). On one occasion, for example, I needed to express 'publicly' my emotional support for a raped woman, who was perceived as a 'loose' person and being excluded.

I 'entered' the field, in fact, not only by informing the participants about 'what I do search', but also by talking about 'how I do want to undertake the research'. I circulated the copy of my research proposal, for instance, among the most interested, generally young participants and asked for comments. Their

suggestions, e.g. with whom I should be first introduced in the neighbourhood, at which stages of the research I should make contact with the particular groups of the quarter such as 'vagabond' youth (the dwellers' name for them), were definitely facilitated both my access to research setting and their access to the research agenda (it is not just being informant but also being participant).

During the first weeks, I was introduced to other dwellers, who were accepted as 'respectful and worthy' by the mother of my host family. (During these days, they warned me about the 'reliability' of 'responses' by saying that "Don't believe in everything that you are hear!, while some people exaggerate their conditions, expecting benefit from you, some people try to hide them due to shame"; in fact, from time to time, their tendency to protect me from those who were deemed as unreliable people became one of the difficulties of fieldwork I tried to overcome.) After having introduced me, she was generally opening up her conversation with the following words:

We need a pen, as well. Aynur will write a book but she cannot do it alone. So, we will help her. What we will do is to tell. What are our living conditions like? How do we struggle to make a living? We have children but what can we do for their education? We have built a home just of two rooms but they will demolish it... so what will we do?<sup>33</sup>

The last point indeed was referring to the introductory sentence of our meeting rather than the concluding one, because eviction order was the main topic in the neighbourhood thus in our sessions. In a sense, she tried to adapt the context of research into the currency of their agenda. In the following days, we continued to visit the neighbours at teatime just for a chat. I just 'lived' in there for one month without doing any 'formal' research and tried to participate, as far as possible, in their conditions – by shopping in the local bazaar, watching television together or by reading story books to children, sometimes by helping them to sell their

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<sup>33</sup> *Bizim kaleme de ihtiyacımız var. Aynur hoca bir kitap yazacak ama bunu kendi başına yapamaz. Biz ona yardım edeceğiz. Bizim yapacağımız şey, anlatmak. Hangi koşullarda yaşıyoruz, geçinebilmek için nelere katlanıyoruz? Çocuklarımız var, onların eğitimi için ne yapabiliyoruz? İki göz bir ev yaptık ama onu da yıkacaklar, biz ne yapacağız.*

handicrafts, or by going together to official institutions, or by finding a professional person to help their legal problems. During these days, they also undertook their research on me. They were never passive informants unaware of the hidden agenda coming from their researcher's interests. Not only did they want to know the aims and meanings of my research but they also asked all the typical questions fieldworkers are asked about their life.

Without doubt, talking with people about their personal experiences inevitably requires trust; nevertheless, it is neither a concluded practice nor a fixed situation in fieldwork. After having been once established, trust is always tested again and again through different stages of research. In this study, the trustworthiness as a process began at the point where they invited me to their house as a friend, was tested at the points where I was observed during some critical events in the neighbourhood, and developed at the point where they wanted to be 'proof-readers' of interviews by telling "our tongue may say something that is different from what our heart actually says". After approximately one month, we started to set out the meeting dates of in-depth interviews and organize the research team, which consisted of young people from the quarter.

#### **2.4.3. Multi-Method Strategies of Data Gathering and Sampling**

Data gathering strategy of this study is based on the combination of qualitative and quantitative methods aiming to see both structural generalities and processual features of Çöplük. Since Çöplük has a spatiality involving the upgrading histories of two gecekondus generation reflecting major transformations in the economic policies of Turkey, it was hoped that the multiplication of methods would be useful for highlighting differences and similarities in terms of the transition from the developmentalist period to the neo-liberal regulations. Therefore, whilst quantitative data could provide particularly the general patterns of labour market experiences involving also the commoditization tendencies in household's labour reserve, qualitative data could reveal their subjective contents.

A fair and true description of events is certainly a moral obligation of the researcher but all facts are selected and interpreted in accordance with a particular perspective. This means two things. By virtue of being an object of knowledge, "all quantitative data is qualitative" (Lockwood, 1992: 164), therefore, the context of epistemological claims lies down in a different location, as I discussed in the previous sections. Secondly, the multiplication of methods in itself does not refer to a particular epistemological position. It might help deepen understanding of different aspects of an issue; nevertheless, this does not mean that it is a necessarily self-validating exercise in itself simply because undertaking research is also a social practice rather than engineering one.

#### **2.4.3.1. The Features of Quantitative Data**

The quantitative part of this research aimed to find contrasts or similarities between different gecekondü generations within a population by providing comparable and generalizable background information for the qualitative assessments. It was given to a systematic probability sample by using a list of places of residence registered by the district authority of the central state. Within the universe of sampling, 2200 household, a total of 456 questionnaires were conducted with the heads of households, but that of 429 were appraised (comprising 413 men and 16 women).

As supporting data, the structure of the survey questionnaire (reproduced in Appendix A) rested heavily on identifying labour market experience, though commoditized labour pattern of the households, whatever its form, were included. This necessity also caused the main reservation concerning the quantitative data because it was restricted to interviews with the head of household, thereby ignoring intra-household differences in the process of social and economical mobility in urban space. Therefore, in such cases, even if the reproduction of household rests on the wife's or the elder child's waged labour, the head of household is accepted as a respondent (generally a husband), albeit her/his being unemployed, who is deemed 'socially' responsible for the survival of the family;

that is why the women-head of households were just single-parents comprising 9 widowed, 2 divorced, 3 single and 2 abandoned women.

By the term 'household', I mean a social and economic unit comprising the head of the household, spouse (if any), children and other relatives who eat from the same cooking pot, and by the term 'head of household', I mean a person who is assumed to be not only economically but also 'socially' responsible for the survival of other household members who continuously depend on her/his labour power. It should be noted that by emphasis 'socially accepted', I especially refer to masculinist rhetoric that is based on the notion of 'breadwinning' in the ideology of family. This ideology, as well known, defines men as providers and women as dependents who are responsible for reproduction and domestic life. By this way, it 'pastoralizes' women's work, and thus, naturalizes gender inequality (Glickman, 1997). Despite gender-biased terminology, the definition of head of household in this thesis does not mean that women's work are not vital element to the perpetuation of working-class life, as assumed in the ideology of family.

Quantitative data, however, did not simply provide an analytical facility by using a statistically representative sampling in order to look at generalities in labour market, but also supplied a peculiar contribution to the building of research practice as an active involvement process of participants. The survey study was implemented by the research team consisting of 4 male and 4 female young people who live in Çöplük<sup>34</sup> and was conducted at a fairly late stage. We determined together the criteria for inclusion in the study, e.g. willingness to participate in group study and living in different parts of the district in order to get access. This round of study was one of the most important aspects of the fieldwork because we could cope with the alienating nature of undertaking research by becoming co-researchers. During training programme, we have not only considered how the questionnaire would be executed, but also discussed the

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<sup>34</sup> The questionnaire survey was paid-work, even though they were hesitant about performing paid-labour rather than becoming volunteer.

theoretical relevance of each question from 'why demographic data is important?' to 'how inequalities in labour market are constructed?'

After completing an experimental study, which was conducted with their families or nearer neighbour, we regularly met – I also participated with them as an interviewer – before starting to work daily to discuss the obstacles and impressions of our studies as interviewers and to review the questionnaires that had been completed. In this way, they began to analyse their own experiences as a young person growing up in a *gecekondu* and to evaluate their direct observations as a 'sociologist'. This was the first time they had become interviewers and their experiences, for me, were as important as gathering data. Sometimes they preferred to go beyond the borders of the questionnaire; they sat down and listened to the 'long' stories of their 'informants'. Sometimes they felt frustrated in their 'discovery of poverty'. Especially for those who came from the initial migrant families of the 1970s and from a stable father's occupational background, it was surprising "how really terrible conditions people live in"; for they had supposed that "the poor live in somewhere, but not in (their) neighbourhood".

To be sure that our sessions were not full of the problems of undertaking research; we also enjoyed our togetherness. It was tiring and sometimes a little boring study for all of us both in physically and emotionally, nevertheless it was perhaps the only sphere I could be relieved. After finishing such physically and emotionally tiring work, we deserved a feast without talking about any 'serious' sociological topics. I thought they had indeed become researchers because, like all researchers, including myself, they had supposed that 'all the interesting and/or painful things happen to other people'. Some of the problems I encountered in the field related to this illusion of researchers and some of the ethical dilemmas derived from the nature of the research process, as I will examine in the next section.

#### **2.4.3.2. The Features of Qualitative Data**

The round of qualitative data gathering process is based on the participant observation and the life history technique, which was conducted with 30 participants including the headman, 18 male and 12 female (a profile is given in Appendix B). Although both types of quantitative and qualitative data were collected to be included also general information about household, the weak representation of women in both samplings should be seen in the context of the fact that I spent much more time with the women than the men.

Life history is generally used for providing the acknowledgement of overlaps in the chronology between individuals' lives and social structures (Dex, 1991). In this sense, its usefulness is highly dependent on the exploration of the relationship between the concrete experiences and universal context within which people have acted. Thompson (1978: 248) employs the term of experience in order to signify similar methodological linkage. For him, experience is a "dialogue between concept and evidence", and as the "missing term" it represents a junction-point in which "structure is transmuted into the process, and the subject re-enters into history" (Thompson, 1978: 362). However, what is more important in Thompson's notion of experience, I think, is the analytical content of the concept rather than its methodological function. In his investigation about the formation of English working class, the experience denotes how the negotiated landscape of class struggle is at the same time full of struggle over "customs, systems of values, ideas and public forms" (Thompson, 1986: 9). Therefore, it firstly emphasizes that the motivation, which is realized by mediation of the cultural experience of the unfair social order in the collective action of class, should be taken into consideration; and secondly, it displays that the formation of class should also be construed in the terms of cultural legitimization (Spohn, 1990).



In this study, the scrutiny of life experience aimed to pay further attention to this content of class struggle. Moreover, it allowed us to reconstruct ‘ordinary’ stories that seem no longer vibrant and valuable by making them historically evident. In this respect, it was neither simply a matter of carelessness that poverty was the most recent discovery of our survey group; nor was it coincidence that the participants, especially women, found themselves as the hero within the presentation of their lives. Sometimes, the awareness of past became even as important as life itself that they have suffered; as one of the participants, after pausing for a moment in the middle of our interview, said:

One lives life but it must be asked, namely... Until now nobody asked me in this way, why did you ask namely? Really! Nobody asked me: How are you, what are you doing, are you hungry, are you thirsty, are you full? Do you have a problem, how do you feel? How did you come to this age, how did you succeed in this? Really, nobody asked!<sup>35</sup>

Finally, collecting life histories was one of the most appropriate techniques to interview people in a wide variety of occupational positions. Its sampling procedure that is bound to contextual criteria facilitated to capture the range of social process.

The employment scale of the living labour paying attention to both the gender-based and generational differences constituted the contextual axis of sampling. Although this is not a monographic type of study, the local history was another criterion. Since every living memory was also embedded with the local history of

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<sup>35</sup> *İnsan hayatta yaşıyor ama bir sormak gerekiyor yani... Şimdiye kadar bana hiç böyle soran olmadı, siz niye sordunuz yani? Gerçekten! Ne haldesin, ne yapıyorsun, aç mısın, susuz musun, tok musun? Senin derdin ne, senin halin ne? Sen bu yaşa nasıl geldin, sen bunu nasıl becerdin diye hiç soran olmadı bana. Gerçekten hiç soran olmadı!* – From the interview with İlhan. He was 35 years old, married and has two children. His grandmother, working at a factory, brought İlhan up in Kırıkkale after his parents were separated when he was 3 years old. After elementary school, he had one year of training on electricity. He left his house when he was 13 years old and started to work in constructions like his father. He continued to work as an electric technician in constructions till 1989. After he married in 1989, he settled in Ankara and started to work in a firm in order to have a regular job. He worked there for 12 years. Then, he resigned and opened his own store specialized on electricity. He went bankrupt in February 2001 Crisis. His wife is working as a domestic worker; he is trying to redeem his store while looking for a salaried job.

Çöplük, I tried to trace of the provision of collective consumption, including environmental deprivation of the neighbourhood. Some selection criteria became important in the progress of fieldwork as two homeless families and 'vagabond' youth groups (the dwellers' name for them).

Even though I regarded the historical trace of a life story, I did not follow a straight chronological order; rather I used semi-structured and problem-centred interviews having flexibility, which is sensitive to the particularity of each experience. With the consent of the participants, I audio-taped all interviews and transcribed in full. Occasionally, they listened to the tape after our conversation had been completed and transcribed materials were given back to some of the participants who are able to read and the most interested in written material, as far as possible, and asked for their clarification.

There is no doubt that asking people to tell the story of their lives is an alienating activity and requires the establishment of rapport. As a matter of fact, these were people with whom I had some kind of relationship before undertaking the 'formal' interview. However, it did not mean that these were artificial relationships established only for the purpose of extracting information. Rather, we sometimes had a long discussion in which we could produce and systematize our knowledge; yet again, sometimes we poured out the worries and grievances of life. The length of our sessions – around four hours, in some cases around two days – in a sense showed that we were able to move beyond the formal borders of an interview. It was partly due to my longer term fieldwork study; but it was rather due to the establishment of the interview process that was based on reciprocity, trust and friendship instead of impersonality, directive and objective attitudes (Fontana & Frey, 2000). That is, in this work, life history technique was related not only to the gathering of qualitative data but also to the making of praxis that is more equal and fair. In this sense, this research is a feminist study particularly regarding its fieldwork politics.

#### **2.4.4. The Ethical Difficulties of the Fieldwork**

This study had its roots in the politics of fieldwork, inspired by both the feminist movement and Freirian pedagogy, which advocate for developing the alternative knowledge production process, due to their political commitment to the idea of emancipation, as I discussed in the previous sections. In other words, the ethical guidelines of this study such as rapport, empathy and solidarity were not only strategic functions required by a professional role or technical skills. In this sense, the 'dilemma' about being a researcher and a friend (see De Laine, 2000), or the 'conflict of interests' between the moral obligation to preserve the respondents' secrets and the professional rules covering the treatment of information (see Stacey, 1988) were not perceived as ethical tensions since these cases were not used as evidence for supporting the analytical findings. The evidence used in this study consisted of what the respondents wanted to be made known and, in every case, personal accounts have been presented in an anonymous form where the names of people and certain details of their life history (which could reveal their identities) were changed.

Nevertheless, there are no 'iron laws' by which we would be able to cope with the unexpected events or to negotiate the situations, which sometimes could be very contradictory, even 'being in the field' is enclosed by some basic ethical codes, whatever epistemological procedure is applied, (i.e. ensuring that participants do not suffer harm from research). I think, fieldwork practice is rather an 'emergent process' challenging not only our theoretical framework, but also our way of being, even if we as researchers are the shaper of the field. Of the ethical difficulties specifically related to poverty researches those two, summarise exactly how my research experience has evolved through the mentioned-contested process of fieldwork.

It is possible to say that regarding poverty research, two main problems arise at each stage of the fieldwork. First is the painful nature of study both for the participants and for the researcher; and second is rather about the potential

'benefits' of research. The former, I think, stems in part from the 'miracle' of undertaking research focusing on painful 'things'. By miracle emphasis, I mean the 'concretization' of poverty that is quite an upsetting process. For instance, although there is a 'big struggle' to ensure the sustainability of life in every experience, it is a little difficult to understand how each of them, at the same time, lives in an 'ordinary' manner. My research experience, needless to say, inescapably involved such pains that I needed to stop and take a breath in my life, which seems very 'usual', from time to time before starting off again. Not surprisingly, then, I spent much time in the early part of the fieldwork feeling quite upset about the status of 'academic world' and I found myself in need of discussing with my friends the capability and validity of 'left politics' because all these people were seeming more 'real' than our theories. This is, I think, the first upshot of the miracle through which the researcher is alienated to herself. To be highly 'real' can easily result in the normalization of other lives, which do not seem poor, by making them 'usual'.

Related to this, the second problem in the fieldwork, the potential benefits of the research, is an unavoidable situation by virtue of the characteristic of social conditions itself and poses a serious political dilemma for the ethics of fieldwork. On one hand, being able to cope with the painful nature of study, in fact, requires the decoding of the root causes of oppression, which is by its nature a political process; however, although undertaking research might be a political practice, it cannot be a substitute for political action. On the other hand, because of that the concretization of poverty is morally a very painful process, to be able to maintain the research requires being able to get used to poverty. In this sense, being in the field means the process of becoming 'indifferent'. This is, I think, the second upshot of the miracle through which the researcher is alienated to her research object, namely, which is the process of the normalization of living in poverty.

Both upshots of the miracle, I think, generate a very controversial fieldwork practice oscillating between two normalization processes; and as a total outcome it can become the hidden resource of elitism, which germinates in our own

perceptions more easily than we think when the matter is poverty. The following case was very upsetting in terms of that it displays how much my elitist perception could become clear, despite all my political sensitiveness that I assumed to have.

In the neighbourhood, a family with 6 children, the smallest one of whom was one-month-old had become homeless. Not having any results from our applications to the Municipality for an aid, I gathered money from my friends and helped them to rent a house in the same neighbourhood. A month's duration could help the unemployed father in his search for a job, and at the same time, the money could help the oldest daughter 13 years of age, who had started to work as a hairdresser's apprentice. Approximately one month later, I learned that they did not pay the rent and that their proprietor was giving them trouble for this reason; they had to sleep outside in the backyard of the house with the baby. Most part of the money we collected was spent by the father for drinks and strolls around Kızılay (city centre of Ankara) things that he could not afford for a long time; they also bought some fruits they had not eaten all that time. I found myself feeling angry not only at the 'luxury' expenditure of the father but also at their having bought grapes instead of milk. My unthinking reaction was, despite all my political consciousness, only an elitism saying, "on the one hand they need help, on the other hand, they do not know their place".

As a result, we had to collect money once more; I could justify my anger at the father more easily; but to explain my not perceiving the grapes as a necessary part of their social reproduction was not as easy as that. Although I carefully avoided establishing a charity relationship, obviously I had surrendered myself to such a relationship. It is because that in the relationship of charity, the real thing that is given is not the aid itself but a behaviour norm dictating what the receivers have to do; just as what I did without wanting to do. However, more important than this was that becoming pauper functioned as a criterion for us to justify the social reproduction at a minimum level. Namely, the capital accumulation instinct reducing the social reproduction of labour to necessary consumption goods as

much as possible was regarded more and more normal as the person got poorer. What I normalized was indeed this instinct, despite my theoretical sensitiveness.

To sum up, I found myself searching sometimes for money, some other time for home appliances such as refrigerators and getting angry at my friends for doing these alone. Neither was it possible for me to prevent a 15-year-old girl from asking for my trousers, nor could I stop direct requests for money. This was not only disturbing for me but for them too. As a result, the legitimacy of the field study is not guaranteed by the existence of your proclaimed principled rules, nor is it finalized once these principles are formed. It can arise as problems sometimes in small details, in each step of the inquiry. That is why 'critical distance' is very important; but it is equally such an emotionally tiresome job that sometimes one thinks to herself "I wish I had done a research as a detached observer and leave".

However, this presentation is only half the story. In fact, I neglected to tell how they actively assisted me for ensuring my potential benefits in the research. Not only did they spare their time to introduce me to people who live in quite distant parts of the neighbourhood, but also they shared their opportunities for providing me the most feasible working condition; for eating, for having rest, for asking weary questions or for meeting new faces. What is more, whenever I did something in their favour, they equally abstained from the transformation of the favours into the patronage relations by making me the gifts of their handicrafts. To conclude, being in the field can be finite but leaving from there is certainly an open-ended process, which is loaded with new problems and awareness. For this reason, what I left behind is still what is in front of me.

## **2.5. Conclusion**

In this section, I attempted to elaborate the difficulties of researching poverty stemming from its epistemological premises and to denote how my research coped with this. For this, I first focused on two different, but related mainstream

research tendencies of poverty studies by evaluating their political implications to bring out the appropriate conditions for my methodological approach. The first tendency, Anglo-Saxon tradition of poverty studies in general, has recently been organized around the notion of social capital encouraging micro-level analysis of poverty, which is juxtaposed by macro-level indicators without including any historical processes. The second one has been shaped around the discourse of participation by reducing the social world to various apolitical forms of representation. In defining the poor so, both tendencies have based on the "denial of class" (Harvey & Reed, 1996) at the theoretical level, even though they have been polarized between objectivist and subjectivist approaches at the methodological level.

In order to clarify the methodological path of this study, I preferred to trace the first question asked by informants in any fieldwork study: "What is this research for?" In response to this question, I ascertained the rationalities for both the epistemological and contextual basis of data. For the former, stemming from the historical materialist approach, I assumed that only by grasping the contradictory unit of production and consumption, is it possible to break away from the mainstream perceptions of poverty; this contradictory unit involves setting out the impossibility of capitalist production satisfying social needs – and thus restoring the question of social reproduction of labour to the context of the class struggle. For the latter, I attempt to document carefully the research process in order to demonstrate how I have arrived at the reported results of data by paying an attention to the practice of my inquiry. In this respect, I therefore assumed that validity is neither "an autistic exercise nor just an internal discursive experience" (Fals Bordo, 2001: 33); in this study, it rather derives from the "empathetic involvement in the process" (ibid: 2001: 33) which provides an awareness of the limitations of the research.

## CHAPTER 3

### LOOKING FROM ÇÖPLÜK TO THE QUESTION OF POVERTY: A THEORETICAL SURVEY

*Biz çöplüğün buradan kaldırılması için eylem yaptığımızda,  
22 Temmuz 1977, bize, "Çöplük mü önce buradaydı,  
siz mi buradaydınız?" dendi. Askerleri üzerlerimize  
saldıklarında bize bu söylendi\*.  
İzzet Öztürk*

#### 3.1. Introduction

A study that *looks at* poor people needs firstly to question its own reason of being. Looking at the poor is at the same time a fundamental activity –sometimes as a scientific phenomenon, and at others, as subject of moral norms and judgments– of the institutional-political arrangements and discourse practices through which knowledge is organized in a particular way, and with which social

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\* When we protested asking for the junkyard to be removed from here in 22 July, 1977, they asked back "Was it the junkyard or you, that was here before?". When they set the soldiers on us they told that to us. –From the interview with İzzet Öztürk, one of the first settlers of Çöplük District (Junkyard). He was married and had two children; he had a difficult life from orphanage to being a factory worker. At the age of 16-17, he was among those street children who were "picked up from Beyoğlu with a car" to take part in films as extras; İzzet Öztürk is one of the Byzantine soldiers who had to die with a sword cut in the popular Turkish films of that period. At the age of 18, he wanted to contact his relatives, who were settled in Hisarüstü gecekondu, in İstanbul. The *dolmuş* driver had dropped him in Etiler, a wealthy nearby district, in the evening. He had tried to find the address by asking people, but he was taken to the police station. He was beaten up for "strolling around in that area" and his wages from a 13-day construction work was taken by the policemen. He thought "his luckiest thing in life" was his wife. In 1971, he bought the plot where he later built today's gecekondus on a loan. He finished the house in 5-6 years by "building each year only one part of it". After his retirement from the factory, in 1998 he started working as a floor staff in a private educational course (dershane). When he passed away in 2001, shortly after this interview, he was 52 years old and was waiting for being called back to his job, from which he was given "leave without payment" due to the financial crisis experienced in February 2001.



policies are formed; it defines what the social problem is, identifies those worth knowing and institutionalizes certain political practices (Clarke & Cochrane, 1998: 35). For this reason, 'looking from the junkyard' has an intentional emphasis, a certain attitude that problematizes its own activity of *looking at* the problem of poverty.

The junkyard (Çöplük) is actually the name of the district where I implemented my field study. Almost all studies of poverty start their analysis from the poor; as in the case of ever increasing studies in Turkey, and as I did, either a gecekondu district is found for research, or the addresses of poor people are identified through society centres depending on Foundation for Social Charity and Solidarity or Social Services and Child Protection Agency (in Turkish SHÇEK).<sup>1</sup> There may be some benefits of doing the reverse; doing a poverty research including upper classes as well, may empirically yield to results that would help us understand how the perception of poverty is constructed especially in terms of different class backgrounds.<sup>2</sup> However, in both cases, if methodologically a historical perspective is lacking, the poverty analysis may easily serve to the investigation of the poor by detaching them from the wider context of class relationships.

The first meaning of looking from the junkyard concerns this methodological attitude in which the concepts and related categories of poverty is taken into consideration within the historical set of political practices linked to the social reproduction of labour power. The second meaning, which will be presented in Chapter 4, is about why poverty is additionally important for a criticism looking from the junkyard.

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<sup>1</sup> Poverty studies after 1990s have had a general tendency to deal with poverty in terms of 'subjects' beyond the spatial determinations. For a study that forms its sampling from people who take financial aid from governmental and municipal institutions see Erdoğan (ed.) (2002).

<sup>2</sup> For a study that emphasizes the importance of comparative studies containing different classes in the problem poverty see De Swaan, et al. (2000). Also for a study that looks at poverty in Turkey, from the perspective of the phenomenon of new forms of richness and privileged urban settlements see Kurtuluş (2002). An important empirical difficulty arises, as Kurtuluş shows in her study, from the 'unfamiliarity' of the upper classes to being research subjects, unlike the poor.

The first meaning of Çöplük constitutes the subject of this chapter, which is devoted to an examination of the main lines of argument in the conceptualizations of poverty, as well as attempting to clarify the appropriate conditions for a materialist approach proposed in this study. If it is rephrased in connection to the methodological meaning of Çöplük, it aims to transform the question of poverty into the historical question trying to pursue a sociological explanation; for example, where the current definitions of poverty come from, or why one theory of social welfare, rather than another is dominant at any particular time (Abrams, 1982: 11). Its focus, dealing with the definitional background of poverty analyses, will be on the link between the notion of class and the poor, and in particular on how the ontological meaning of society is transformed by the politics of poverty. Then, it carries out a discussion on the meaning and importance of the class concept by developing an opinion that, by Çulhaoğlu's terms (1996: 97), "there is not a separate segment of the poor initiating objectively class analysis".

### **3.2. Sociological Trajectory of the Poor: A Short Historical Insight**

Remzi lived with his wife and three children in Çöplük for 15 years, and then had to migrate with his family to Istanbul, near his relatives, to work in a textile factory after approximately one year period of unemployment. His last job was being a cleaner in SSK commercial building in Kızılay; during a protest march of civil servants, he opened the locked gate of the SSK commercial building to protestors escaping from the police. Doing that cost him his job, he was fired. At the time of the interview in August 2001, he was unemployed for the past two months. One year after the completion of the study, in 2002, he was still unemployed. His wife, who was a seasonal worker, had worked as a cleaner in a student dormitory for the last 3 years, while his youngest son was a worker in a small-scale socket workshop and his oldest son had apprenticed to a computer specialist. His daughter, having a baby, and her husband who was a street vendor had lived next door.

After finishing the primary school, Remzi had started to work as a male domestic servant to a peasant family in 1966, like his other oldest brothers. He was responsible for domestic tasks and daily agricultural work of his host family. His wages were paid to his parents, as was typical, and he commented his early working life as a sort of 'slave commerce':

I went to the village of Hasandede, in Kırıkkale for shepherding for 500 Turkish Liras for 5 months. In other words, my father sold me directly like selling a human. Then, I went to the village of Karaahmetli in Kırıkkale for 600 Turkish Liras for 5 months. This village was under the lake of damp now. My little brother left school and my father gave him as a shepherd to the village of Hamdi in Çorum. He also gave me to another person in the same village as a male domestic servant. This man had sown 40 hectares of watermelon. I was working night and day without any rest or sleep. It was only irrigating and hoeing and harvesting watermelon<sup>3</sup>...

Then, he "first set food in Ankara in 1969" with his oldest brother to look for new work alternatives. Like many workers before them, they set out for the construction through arrangements made by 'the windfall employment' (Düşüş), which was the oldest and still is the current mechanism of the informal labour market in Ulus; it is also called as the 'Station of Workers' (İşçi Durağı):

There was an uncle H... who was a security guard in constructions. We could come here thanks to him. On the first day, we could not find him and looked for a house for rent. But in Altındağ, they do not rent their houses to strangers. On the way to Dışkapı, there is a building of a transformer and we slept there for one night. We slept outside. We had brought our mattresses from our village. And it was not a mattress at all but a quilt that we wrapped around us. We slept there. During the night, street watchmen disturbed us there and we were brought to Aktaş police station. We said that we could not find a house and we did not know what to do. What could we do? Anyway... they served us tea etc; they told us to go and sleep there, and that we

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<sup>3</sup> Kırıkkale'nin Hasandede köyü var, oraya 5 aylığı 500 liraya mal gütmeye gittim. Yani, benim babam o zaman, şimdi insan sattıkları gibi, direkt satmış oldu yani ... 5 aylığına 600 liraya Karaahmetli köyü var, yine Kırıkkale'de, şimdi barajın altında kaldı, oraya gittim. Küçük kardeşim, okuldan çıktı, babam bunu Çorum'un Hamdi köyüne çobanlığa verdi. Aynı köyden birinin yanına beni yine hizmetkar verdi. Adam 400 dönüm karpuz ekmiş... gece-gündüz uyku-diinek yoktu. Su sula, çapa yap, karpuz zamanı geldi, karpuz topla.

would find one the next morning. So, we came back and slept there. The next day, we found that men and he became our leader. There was a man called 'Blind H'... we rented his house. There was only one room. Only one room! The floor was concrete! There was only a quilt. One half of it you spread beneath you, and with the other half you covered your body. We were sleeping on the concrete floor like that.<sup>4</sup>

Until 1986, Remzi worked in constructions as 'migrant labour'. By his terms, he "lived in Yenidoğan as a bachelor for 12 years", although he had married in 1973. During these years, his wife and children stayed in the village with his father's household by engaging in daily domestic and agricultural works. In 1986, Remzi finally rented a house in Akdere, Mamak, and then migrated with his family to Ankara. After one year, they built their gecekondu.

He continued going to Düşeş looking for a job until 1989 when he started working regularly in a large construction firm as a plasterer. Then, he actively participated in the unionization movement in his workplace. At the end of 1990, they succeed in becoming unionized but Remzi could stay as a unionized worker only for 6 months. Because of his pioneering role in the process of unionization, he was fired along with some of his friends. In fact, after having unionized, the construction firm utilized casual workers through subcontracting to a smaller firm that was also their establishment. After he was fired, Remzi could only work in temporary jobs either as a cleaner (employed by subcontracted companies), or as a plasterer but he rather experienced repeated periods of unemployment. In the middle of 2002, he finally migrated with his family to İstanbul to look for a job for all the members of his family.

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<sup>4</sup> H. amca diye biri inşaat bekçiliği yapıyormuş, onun sayesinde geldik biz buraya. İlk gün bulamadık onu. Kiralık ev aradık Altındağ'ında, ev vermiyorlar ki tanımadıklarına... Orada bir trafo binası var, Dışkapı'ya giderken; orada yattık bir gece. Dışarıda yatıyoruz. Yatağımızı da getiriyoruz köyden gelirken. Getirdiğimiz yatak da ne? Bir yorgan sarıyoruz, o kadar. Orada yattık. Gece bekçileri geldi rahatsız etti bizi; alıp Aktaş Karakolu'na götürdüler. Dedik, ev bulamadık, arada kaldık, ne yapak? Neyse... bize orada çay-may verdiler; gidin, dediler, yatın orada, sabah bulursunuz. Biz geri geldik, orada yattık. Ertesi gün o adamı bulduk, o bize önder oldu. Bir Kör H. diye bir adam vardı orada, onun evini kiraladık. Tek bir oda böyle. Tek bir oda! Taban da beton! Bir yorgan! Yarisını altımıza, yarisını üstümüze... betonun üstünde yatıyoruz öyle.

Although Remzi was 46 years old, his working life history is both recapitulate and confound the precedent of the debate of dependent or peripheral capitalism of Third World countries; such as the question of unfree labour, the dynamics of informal employment as a residual workforce or the role of migration in the urbanization as an adapted strategy. It could be said that during 1960s and the early 1970s, the analysis of 'urban poverty' in the peripheral zone of world economy had mainly engaged in the limited ability of the industrialization for the absorption of labour or the dependent nature of capitalist development restricting the process of proletarianization of workforce. A key problem for class analysis had been the conditions under which labour is carried out, namely, the status of a wage or salary earner without relying on the subsistence production.

Under this theoretical concern, Remzi's personal labour history was insufficient to make him a 'true' member of the working class. Because of his rural ties and interests, he could only have theoretical purchase within the category of the 'urban poor' or the 'casual worker' who was defined as "any way of making a living which lacks a moderate degree of security of income and employment" (Bromley & Gerry, 1979: 5). More importantly, since the main purpose of class analysis had largely been focused on the questions of class boundaries and class identities (Lembcke, 2002: 15), Remzi's class location had seemed to be in 'contrast' with 'the classical' working-class having a considerable degree of employment stability and security (see Bromley & Gerry, 1979: 5).

By the end of 1970s, Remzi's class position became one of the urgent, but 'fuzzy' problems of the globalization debate, since casual and temporary work arrangements had been an increasingly significant proportion of employment in a considerable number of OECD countries (Tucker, 2002). This unexpected rise of informal sector in the core zone of world economy has resulted not only in the dissatisfaction with the structural class analyses (see for example Keyder, 1998), but also in the abandonment of the concept of class altogether to grasp increasing diversity of the relations of oppression.

Considering that the conditions of 'post-capitalist' era in which the financialization tendency of capital accumulation and the flexibility of production process have largely been interpreted as the proofs of class concept losing its historical and social relevancy (see for example Alain & İnsel, 2000), Remzi's livelihood experience has never been met with a proper class identity throughout his history of half a century. Even though the only thing that remained for him is the obligation of selling his labour power as a commodity to survive without having job security, steady wages, decent living standards, and union organization, like the Düşüş Kahvesi (Düşüş Coffeehouse), which remained unchanged for 32 years:

32 years passed. Nothing changed. The only difference is that there is no work like in the old days; there are construction corporations and cooperatives everywhere. Those corporations generally prefer Eastern workers for they work for very low wages. As called 'windfall' (Düşüş) jobs! if a man or a corporation needs workers for an urgent work, they would come and take them for a few days and bring them back again. For 32 years or more, the coffeehouse of Düşüş has been the same. The former owner also used to be here until recently. At six o'clock in the morning, sellers of 'simit' (ring-shaped bread covered with sesame seeds), sellers of tea, sellers of seeds and sellers of pastry were there. All vendors were there. There are people from everywhere; Samsun, Yozgat, Çankırı and Çorum. There are always many people from everywhere in Düşüş. They wait in groups. Plasterers, bricklayers, dyers and layers of ceramic tiles have separate groups; people from Çorum have their own group. All these people stay there until 9:00 a.m. After 9:00 am, everybody leaves.<sup>5</sup>

Apparently, to grasp Remzi's history of poverty entails several analytical difficulties. We can think that insofar as the unit of class analysis derives from

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<sup>5</sup> 32 yıl geçti aradan... Hiç değişen bir şey olmadı. Eskisi gibi iş çıkmıyor sade. Şimdi bütün etraf kooperatif, şirket oldu. Şirketler ekseriyetle doğuluları çalıştırıyor, onlar çok düşük ücretle çalışıyor. Burada da adı üstünde, Düşüş! Adamın acil bir işi varsa ya da şirketler insana bunalırsa birkaç günlüğüne gelir, götürür; birkaç gün sonra bırakır. 32 yıldır, hatta daha evvelden beri, Düşüş Kahvesi aynı duruyor öyle. Eski sahibi de yakınaca duruyordu. Sabahleyin, sabah 6'da, simitçisi, çaycısı orada, çekirdekçisi orada, börekçisi orada. Seyyar satıcıların hepsi orada. Her taraftan insan orada; Samsunlusu, Çankırılısı, Yozgatlısı, Çorumlusu... Her taraftan insan olur Düşüş'te. Grup grup dururlar. Sıvacıların ayrı grubu var, Çorumlular'ın, duvarcılarının ayrı grubu var, fayansçısının, boyacısının ayrı grubu var. Saat 9'a kadar orada dururlar, 9'dan sonra herkes çekilir gider.

"the properties job positions" (Lembcke, 2002: 14), analyzing poverty becomes analyzing barriers between the concepts of class and poverty. It is in part due to the identification of the poor or the class in the peripheral zone of world economy, which has been and still is deemed a matter of different definition. However, it is also due to the problem of the abstraction level in analyzing class structures, which rather tends to determine the true location for the class position. Whilst class analysis is likely to be associated with the characteristics of employment, and thus, it seems to say little about the actual experiences of the poor people, the focus of debate on poverty generally says little about labour-capital relations. That is why, an attempt on the analytical synthesis between the concepts of poverty and class resembles a kind of theoretical negotiation. For example, it seems to be necessary either to eschew the class priority in order to understand the ethnic dimension of poverty –like the experience of the Kurdish construction workers who were mentioned by Remzi, or to neglect the consumption in order to reveal the class basis of poverty that resides in the characteristic of production relations.

Nevertheless, this theoretical negotiation is not simply a problem of abstraction. It is also related to historical reasons, which stem in part from the post-war expansion of capitalism, but which mainly originate from the genesis of poverty in capitalism. The former was at the same time the age of epochal rural uprisings and peasant-based wars of national liberation in the Third World countries and was founded on the idea of capital accumulation under national control promoting the development of productive forces and maintaining the capacity for self-sustained growth.<sup>6</sup> With regard to the progressive premises of post-1945 capitalism, it also fostered the expectations that capitalist development would bring us social integration as a process of positive promotion, which was also thought as a process of homogenization. This was an influential analytical context of Remzi's labour historiography in which, for him, being a construction worker has gradually become uncertain as a class identity:

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<sup>6</sup> For a review of the sociology of development see for example Larrain (1989).

We came back from the work with a string bag in our hands... there were string bags in those days; we wrapped our working suiting in a paper bag of cement and put it into the string bag. But before that, we used to come to work with those dirty clothes because we wanted them to know us, to recognise us as workers. My brother used to say so. He used to be mad at me, since I went to work putting my working suit into a string bag. He used to say "How will employer know that you are a worker? You should have some lime strains on your clothes." But afterwards cars and dolmuřs were modernized a little. You could not get on or ride in the car like that... we started putting our working suits in bags or small suitcases. Nowadays, people cannot recognise each other to tell if they are workers.<sup>7</sup>

However, as I will discuss later, the importance of the sociology of modernization and its Marxist critique surely cannot be restricted with the definitional boundaries between who the urban poor is or who the working-class is in the context of Third World societies. Insofar as the promises of post-war capitalism are also viewed as the particular historical form between class struggle and the development of state intervention, the past 50 years of capitalism also have a critical importance regarding the movement of general conditions of social reproduction of labour and its current transformations occurring in the social policies. This point refers to the fundamental reason of theoretical negotiation between the concepts of class and poverty, namely, the creation and expansion of the labour market itself in which the poor has become a matter of discrete population. By Wood's words (1998), this is "the long and continuous process subjecting labour to market imperatives" that is a contested process.

In this sense, the analytical barrier between the working-class and the poor is in fact the political barrier in which the tendency of the labour movement has been to give poverty a class content, whereas the tendency of capital has been to

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<sup>7</sup> *İřten gelirdik biz elimizde file... o zamanlar file vardı, iř elbiselerini řimento kağıdına sarıp fileye korduk. Yoksa önceden üstümüzün harcıyla, kireciyle gelirdik iře. Çünkü adam tanısin, iřçi olduğumuzu bilsin, derdik. Abim öyle derdi. Kızardı bana, iř elbisemi fileye koyup geliyorum diye. "Adam nereden bilecek senin iřçi olduğunu?" derdi, "üstünde kireç olacak" derdi. Sonradan arabalar, dolmuşlar biraz modernleřti. Arabaya böyle binilmez, girilmez... řantalara, küçük valizlere iř elbiselerini koymaya başladık. řimdi amele mi, iřçi mi birbirini tanıyamıyor millet.*



encircle it within a "default sociability" (Procacci, 1989)<sup>8</sup> and to assimilate its political content in this manner. The remainder of this section is intended to examine how this comes about by starting from the meaning of identifying the poor.

### **3.2.1. To Be Poor or Not To Be Poor**

As a scientific canon, the literature of poverty is based on three main themes: the construction of a poverty profile, the causes of poverty and the recommendation of an anti-poverty strategy. Respectfully, it is the definition (who the poor are), the explanation (why they are poor) and the policy suggestion (what to do about it). As shown, an attempt to understand poverty starts with the question - who is to be counted as the poor, which imposes a certain policy, and then continues the explanations of causes, which strongly depends on the historical career of the poor (i.e. pathological or structural). In a sense, defining poverty inevitably consists of those two levels, which Sen points out (1992: 102): *identification* of the poor, and *aggregation* of the statistics regarding the identified poor. In other words, the focus in poverty studies on the problem of distinguishing the poor from the non-poor. Given a particular indicator of welfare, a 'cut-off line' is drawn below with which the households or individuals are counted as the poor. Since how poverty is measured is clearly determined by the concept of poverty being used, there is a huge debate on the appropriate way of defining poverty. Although this debate is generally thought as being the relevant problem for advanced countries – because they have adopted a relative definition of poverty in the middle of 1970s<sup>9</sup> (an exception among the industrial countries is the US,

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<sup>8</sup> Procacci (1989) who argues the formation of social sciences can only be understood within the formation of the object of its investigation discusses how sociology has ascended leaning on the management of poverty as against the threat of relating poverty with labour. Now there was an idea of a sociability, which has turned into "an open area for the boundless pedagogy of the citizen" through Comte's social responsibility and Durkheim's social solidarity notions.

<sup>9</sup> Absolute poverty is regarded only as applicable to conditions in underdeveloped countries. However, this distinction identifying the general images of poverty in underdeveloped countries with malnutrition, destitution, and starvation not only masks the wider reality of poverty in the Third World (see Novak, 1995) but also ignores the absolute poverty in industrial countries (see Gordon, 2000).

which adopts the absolute poverty line as the national poverty line), it poses the crucial implications regarding the perception of poverty. The most common controversy revolves around the following problem: Whether poverty should be understood in terms of lack of income for the maintenance of merely physical efficiency (subsistence approach), of a lack of access to specific basic needs, goods and service (basic needs approach), or in terms of a deprivation of a quality of life (relative deprivation).

The first of two approaches define the absolute poverty line, which are usually based on the cost of the basket of basic goods and services. Whilst the first only calculates the basket of food necessary to reach a given calorific intake per day, the second is added other minimum necessities for private consumption such as shelter, clothing, and essential services such as safe drinking water, sanitation, public transportation, health, education and cultural facilities. Subsistence approach has been carried out by Rowntree in the beginning of the twentieth century, and has had a powerful influence both upon international and national policies through the rest of the century, such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. On the other hand, basic needs approach have been taken up in the 1970s and rather promoted by Unesco and the International Labour Organization (Townsend, 1993). These criteria being called the budget standard method<sup>10</sup> are still widely applied to almost any poverty measures, as also used in Turkey.

Second approach, i.e. relative deprivation, is defined by reference to the exclusion from the general standard living in a given country due to lack of resources. It has been used in the late 1970s and carried out mainly by Peter Townsend (1987), who is the best known advocate of relative poverty. He quantifies the living standards with a long list of sixty items, ranging from purely material requirements such as food, clothing, housing, work, environment to

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<sup>10</sup> For the evaluation of this method see Bradshaw, et.al. (1987); and for a comprehensive review see Callan & Nolan (1991), and Nolan & Whelan (1993).

purely social need such as eating out in restaurants, having friends at home, going on holidays, and so on. In so defining the threshold of deprivation, he argues that below this the poverty line people are poor, not just unequal, in relation to the rest of the population.<sup>11</sup>

Nevertheless, whilst some assert that relative method confuses inequality with poverty – because of that it is in fact a measure of a particular aspect of income inequality rather than of poverty (see for example Bosch, 2001), some argue that poverty is inherently a relative concept.<sup>12</sup> However, the most influential critique of relative poverty comes from Sen (1983), who was deemed as the main advocate of the absolute notion of poverty. He defines the absolute core of poverty as the failure to attain capabilities, though it can be relative in the space of commodities and incomes. For example, the failure of capability to reach sufficient food for survival is absolute poverty, however the costs and composition of that food basket is relative because it may vary between households across different groups, regions and countries. For him (1992: 110), because poverty should be assessed with regard to the inability to pursue well-being instead of low well-being, he proposes capability-based theory as an alternative both to the low income-based<sup>13</sup> and to the utility-based perspectives of poverty. Besides, the question of the threshold of poverty identifying the poor is a highly problematical issue in respect to the unit of analysis, such as how the intra household inequalities can be accounted or how many indicators can be aggregated by gender, race, or region.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> For a review of the intense discussion that this attempt brought about see Townsend (1993); Townsend & Gordon (1993). That attempt is continuing both conceptually and empirically by establishing indicators of minimum living standards on the basis of a public consensus instead of experts' views, which is called as 'consensual measures', i.e. socially approved budget standard. For a fuller discussion of this method, see for example Veit-Wilson (1987); Walker (1987).

<sup>12</sup> See for example Laderchi (2000) for an argument that absolute approach is relative nature.

<sup>13</sup> For one of the most detailed debate on the absolute vs. relative poverty, which occurred between Sen and Townsend, see Sen (1985); Townsend (1985).

<sup>14</sup> For a methodological review and operational attempt in terms of gender indicator, see for instance Ruspini (2000), and Cantillon & Nolan (2001).

Measuring poverty in Turkey resting commonly upon minimal income or consumption-based threshold dates back to the mid-1990s, and consistent with the World Bank classification, has adopted the population living on less than 'One-Dollar-a-Day' as the official poverty yardstick (see SPO, 2001, in Turkish DPT).<sup>15</sup> Apart from the official poverty line, The Confederation of Turkish Trade Unions (in Turkish Türk-İş – Türkiye İşçi Sendikaları Konfederasyonu) also periodically measures the threshold of poverty by accounting the purchasing power of minimum wage to obtain the minimum food for a family consisting of four members.<sup>16</sup> Of course this measurement describes the generous yardstick even in the absolute sense of poverty. What is at issue in this formulation is the claim of wage as a family wage, which is the oldest traditional battle between labour and capital. As a matter of fact, The Turkish Confederation of Employers' Associations (in Turkish TISK –Türkiye İşveren Sendikaları Konfederasyonu) argues that the minimum wage is legally ascertained only for one worker; therefore, the relationship of the level of minimum wage to the poverty is a misleading connection (see SPO, 2001: 142).

When it is used the absolute poverty level, which based on a country-specific minimum food basket, only 1.35% of the population of Turkey is below the line of poverty that includes food expenditures and 27% lives below the poverty line that includes food and non-food expenditures (see Ministry of Labour and Social Security, 2004). When considered the district of Çöplük, the rate of those who lived on less than one-dollar-a-day is round 18%, whilst the rate of those who lived on less than 2,15 dollar-a-day is 52.7% (see Appendix C, Table 9).

As can be seen, the problem 'who is to be counted as poor' traditionally tends to quantify poverty at the level of minimum subsistence or quasi-absolute notion of welfare, and thus, breaks off the connection between poverty and inequality. It is

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<sup>15</sup> Further, for the profile of poverty in Turkey in terms of the minimum food expenditure basing on intra and inter regional differences see Dansuk (1996); see also Erdoğan (1996) for the threshold of poverty using household survey-based measures of minimum nutritional expenditure and the cost of basic requirements.

<sup>16</sup> See [www.turkis.org.tr/icerik/turkisgidaendexi.htm](http://www.turkis.org.tr/icerik/turkisgidaendexi.htm)

simply because the question 'why particular people experience lack of basic needs' remains unanswered. Moreover, the cut-off line reduces poverty to an 'experience of threshold' by defining the poor as a person who falls down the line of threshold (Richardson & Traves, 1987), and thus hinders it from seeming to be as a constructive relation of whole society.

With regard to the quantitative setting out of the problem, it can be said, mainstream poverty studies seem to display the homogeneous practice even though it is full of endless arguments about where the line should be drawn. However, wherever the poverty line is drawn, insofar as it defines what the poverty is, the problem is not only limited with what Bourdieu called the 'blind empiricism' – "theory without empirical research is empty, empirical research without theory is blind" (Bourdieu, 1988-89: 777). Besides, the problem in the above-mentioned form of debate is also related with its pre-given assumption, which is bound to the one-sided view of the process of capitalist production, that is, the structured isolation of consumption from production, which is viewed "as the radical externalization of these moments in social practice" by Terrail's words (1985a: 7). By this way,

The logic of consumption appears as the primary, determining, autonomous moment, while productive labour is reduced to a simple instrument for provisioning the market, owing its autonomy to its necessary skill (Terrail, 1985a: 7).

Even if we assume that the measurement is only a set of techniques from which a poverty line is derived, understanding poverty as a distinguishing characteristic of the poor is still a problem in itself by virtue of its starting question, the question of who the poor is. It is worth reiterating how the poor will be accounted is the oldest and the most widespread practice of poverty studies and has a very particular intention. In fact, until the end of the 19th century, what was understood from the concept of poverty was not a level of income, or even a standard of living, but the condition of a working class, of an unpropertied

(Novak, 1995: 64). By the words of 1834 Poor Law Report "poverty is the state of one who, in order to obtain a mere subsistence, is forced to have recourse to labour" (cited in Novak, 1995: 64). In other words, poverty was exactly the relations itself that distinguishes the unpropertied from the property-owner classes. In fact, the fundamental problem of the arrangements of social reform, which had been conducted through the mid-19th century, was this "unfortunate double meaning of the word poor" in the terms of that era (cited in Novak, 1995: 64): First, it was widely accepted as the opposite of the word rich. Second it was including all, except the property-owner classes. In short, in the beginning there were only working class whose living conditions meant the definition of poverty. Charles Booth, one of the establishers of the modern empiricist framework of poverty studies, describes this problem as follows:

The question of those who actually suffer from poverty should be considered separately from that of the true working classes. (...) To confound these essentially distinct problems is to make the solution both impossible (cited in Novak, 1995: 64).

As Victorian poverty investigators, both Booth's first study of the London's East End (in 1887), which had witnessed widespread riots of the poor, and Seebohm Rowntree's first survey of York (in 1899), is still widely used as a ground of 'modern' poverty line, as I stated earlier. What is more, beyond the problem of identifying the poor, their heritage conceiving of poverty as a discrete existence and experience from that of the rest of population, is still the dominant theoretical perception of the contemporary poverty studies.

Apparently, the mentioned theoretical perception upon which the contemporary literature of poverty has risen did not occur, by Novak's terms (1995: 63), in a vacuum; rather it was constituted in order to replace the long-standing perception of poverty based on the experience of class. If so, the first question that should be raised against the mainstream line of poverty literature is why any attempt to understand poverty starts as an attempt to separate the poor from the rest of the

population. Secondly, if this departure point is very questionable, could we think that today if there are any obstacles in defining poverty as the living conditions of the working-class, as had been defined in the 19th century? It is obvious that the contemporary working class is structurally complex and diverse, and inequalities in their living conditions presumably are greater than they were in the 19th century; however, it is not as clear as that these are something entirely new.

Although it is not intended here to seek any sort of definitive answers, posing the above questions at least enables us to think how poverty is constructed as an object of description and where the analytical differentiation between poverty and the working-class comes from; thus turns the definitions of poverty into a problem related to the construction of the social hierarchies based on the private property regime. Rather than what the right definition is, the issue here is of what use is defining the poor. It is because the problem of how to define poverty is always the problem of how to legitimize wealth, and it is obvious that this problem is experienced as a struggle between universal values relating to 'humanity' and the cults of the private property regime. This assertion points out the historicity of not only the poor but also to the concept of poverty itself.

### **3.2.2. Form the Poor to the Concept of Poverty**

The concept of poverty is not as old as poverty itself; its emergence as a theoretical category just goes back to the first half of the 19th century. I do not intend here to rehearse in detail the history of poverty, but merely to signify the fundamental social relations beneath of which lie in the historical gap between the concept and the fact.

As a discrete typology the history of the poor is surely limited with the history of capitalism. In pre-capitalist periods, the poor as a cursed creature of God were already all of the subordinated population themselves. However, with capitalism, whilst wealthy pertained to the actual world, poverty could not remain divine.

From the beginning of the 17th century, the epoch being called the 'secularization of the poverty' was the era of the transition from the damnation of God to that of the market for direct producers; throughout this transformation the poor have gradually become a distinct category in population (Güngör & Özüğurlu, 1997). It was the long "bloody legislation" process what Marx (1997) defined as 'the primitive accumulation' separating labour from the means of production and thereby forced people into the market to sell their labour power as the only way of gaining access to the means of subsistence.

In other words, the constitution of poverty under capitalism has also a long administrative history, which took place from the 17th century to the mid-19th century. England is the first country, which implemented the programs of social assistance and the serial of poor laws by starting from the 18th century. 1834 Poor Law Amendment Act is generally accepted as the crucial point in the construction of free-labour market for the development of industrial capitalism, which is also called 'the golden age of liberalism'.<sup>17</sup> It based on the principles of a *laissez-faire* economy, which was essentially an anti-welfare criterion of measurement and remained largely unchanged until the beginning of the twentieth century. Its theoretical justification derived from the classical political economy and the social contract morality of liberal philosophy. By the former, the radical separation of state from civil society was legitimised and by the latter, the self-sufficiency of individual alone fitting for the self-sufficiency of market was constituted. In sum, passing from the poor to the conceptualization of poverty had required the particular existence of a condition in which the sphere of subsistence and maintenance of life, which in pre-capitalist societies was *a priori* a common social matter were privatised.

During the initial decades that the society began to be organized around the axis of waged labour, the main problem, however, was not what poverty was, but

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<sup>17</sup> For a Turkish study about the English Poor Laws see Güngör & Özüğurlu (1997); see also for examples Novak (1988); Dean (1991), and O'Brien (2000).



what was the 'number' of the poor (Dean, 1991). The manner of generalizing the discipline necessary for the regime of waged labour was through categorizing firstly the unpropertied mass into labourers and paupers, and then categorizing the pauper as deserving poor and determining who would be the undeserving poor and would be aided, who would be punished and made industry destitute for the creation of national wealth. Accordingly, there were three categories of pauper on which the imperatives of labour market were legally based –those who *will* labour, those who *will not* labour, and those who *cannot* labour. The last category was the legitimate objects of relief and maintenance or the 'impotent poor'; the second was the 'idle poor' who could get work by the suppression of beggary or punishment, and the first was the 'industrious poor'.

Although this very brief historical account stems from the context of England, imposing work through the commodity-form had required the similar practice of legislations, which were organized around the discourse of 'pauper'. For example Katz (1986) shows that from the early 19th century era of 'Poorhouse' to the mid-1960s, which is called the era of 'war on poverty', the priorities of the history of 'public welfare system' in the United States had mainly been constructed by the distinction between 'worthy' and 'unworthy' poor, which aimed to separate the 'able-bodied' people who forced to work from the rest who needed the social assistance.<sup>18</sup>

Transformation from the poor to the concept of poverty occurred within the raising of sociality as a distinct realm from that of the economic and political. This process included these two historical interventions: First was the rise of the

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<sup>18</sup> Consistent with the European history, in the Ottoman Empire, the meaning of work transformed into the social and moral duty of individuals, which would provide the basis for the coherence of society beginning from the mid-18th century. See Özbek (2002), who seeks the formation of social state in Turkey through the arrangements of social assistance and welfare provision that dates back to the Ottoman context. Although his study is not particularly about the subject of the 'poor', it provides a fuller discussion of how the division between deserving and undeserving poor has been constructed and transformed regarding especially the beggars and vagabonds who will labour, and therefore, would be forced to work as the requirement of "the scientific principle of wealth" (ibid: 81).

political working-class movement like Chartism. Beginning from the late 1830s, the sphere of politics witnessed for the first time with the concept of the proletariat as a category separating the proprietor classes from the unpropertied. Second was the emergence of the concept of the social to point out especially the nature of 'the uprisings'<sup>19</sup> as being about 'non-political issues' (Melton, 1995). Against the tendency of labour movement to polarize the society in the axis of labour and capital through the politicization of poverty, the notion of the social has seemed to offer poverty a frame that neither economy, nor judiciary was able to provide.

In sum, beginning from the 19th century, 'the social' has arisen as a product of a tension existing between the idea of unifying the social conflict on the basis of labour and that of dividing it on the basis of classifying 'the socially problematic' individuals.<sup>20</sup> Whilst the class movement has defined the liberal ideal of society relying upon the equality of self sufficient individuals and their *a priori* consent, on the basis of conflict between collective sides; capital has transformed from the poor to the concept of 'poverty' by pulling this conflict on a realm in which he could reorganize on the basis of non-political issues. In other words, by

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<sup>19</sup> The history of poverty in capitalism has too long the collective struggles of the unpropertied over the question of welfare provision and welfare settlements ranging from the food uprisings of 18th century (see Thompson, 1991) to the working-class movements of 19th century (see for example O'Brien, 2000 for the Anti-Poor Law Movement in May 1837, and Charlton, 2000) including a vast network of friendly societies as the alternative forms of popular welfare in England (see Jones & Novak, 2000).

<sup>20</sup> Regarding the historiography of poverty, the notion of social has partly shaped around 'the Foucauldian effect' throughout the 1970s and 1980s (see for example Dean, 1991; Walters, 1994). By Dean's terms, this genealogical comprehension, 'regimes of truths', defines the event as a process of 'eventialization' that is formed by the relationship between governance and knowledge. The articulation between the rhetoric about the spoken objects and the administrative practice hence constructs the social as the forms of treatment, relief and discipline. The notion of welfare therefore has a key role in forming the social; it organizes the knowledge, norms and social practice to regulate the body, its health, security and stability (for a comprehensive review of Foucault's account of welfare and ideology, see Hewitt, 1992). As I discussed in the previous chapter, methodologically the discursive construction of the social is also subjected to the counterfactual possibilities involving the creativity of the historical subjects, besides its role in promoting or sustaining social control. Moreover, the problem with condemning the social as being only about regulation the poor is that such approaches fail to trace the historical discontinuities in the transformations within the field of social policy and administration due to their search for an ideological and institutional continuity in the realization of the long-term strategies of the domination.

transforming the political claims into the forms of social services it has reorganized the framework of the class struggle within the borders of the regime.

It might be asserted that the social arising as a field came to us loaded with the conflict between the private interests of capitalist commodity production and the general interests of social reproduction of labour power. In this context, the contradictory nature of social is saturated with 'the tragedies of commons' whose roots lay in the transformation of customs upon which the social reproduction of labour was traditionally based into crimes through the construction and expansion of capitalist labour market. The following rhyme belonging to the 18th century England, might explain the history of tragedies, whilst it narrates the legitimized encroachments made in the domain of the public values and practices by the private domain for its own expansion: "The law doth punish man or woman / That steals the goose from off the common / But lets the greater felon loose / Who steals the common from the goose" (cited in Arthurs, 2001: 108n).

The common stolen from the goose is the capitalist form of existence in which the production is organized for the profit, not for the social needs; and, only through this way, the labourers could be left alone with the responsibility of maintaining their own reproduction. If one considers that the tendency of labour is to collectivize its own social reproduction, and that of capital is to make it something produced and consumed in the market, it might be further asserted that the scope and content of the social is going to be a political problem pertaining to the limits and grounds of state interventions whose borders are continuously redrawn by class struggle.

Thus, the attempts of social reform starting from the second half of 19th century has more meaning than simply the coming of the 'social individual', even though the period after 1870s that went to the road of collectivism were seen as marking the beginning of a radical change or of a decline in the age of *laissez-faire* capitalism (Bellamy, 1992). The idea of 'organic society' organized with the

concepts of 'social individual' and interventionist state, as against that of the period of *laissez-faire* bases on the assumption that not consent but the conflict is *a priori* (Negri & Hardt, 1994: 27). Durkheim's notion of a sui-generis society, in this sense, includes the existence of every element constituting the integration as objectivities, which impose themselves upon us and the insistence upon these existences. According to this, now, the integration should originate from the regulation of these conflictory forces that have to legitimize mutually each other. The state, which rose as a special form of this regulation has become a direct regulator of the social sphere as a financial and political player, during the years following the 1929 depression.

### **3.2.3. Integration versus Marginalization: Modernity and Developmentalism**

The Keynesian massive supply and demand equity providing the basis for the welfare state points out to the failure of the idea that the supply itself creates demand within the conditions of the liberal market, and the smashing down of the liberal myth claiming the autonomy of the capital (Negri & Hardt; 1994). Apparently, it was capital that is dependent on the labour and market. The relationship between these three was re-organized by the state on the basis of assuring the continuity of the private ownership of the means of production, organizing the labour in its bargain against capital not as a productive force but as a 'mass of waged labourers' and transforming the collective commitments of the class into the citizen-individual which is deprived of any kind of difference within the political arena. Thus, whilst the social policy that was fundamentally related to chronic poverty up to the pre-World War II period, was being extended as a citizenship right based on the axis of employment, the notion of the poor are being 'marginalized' as subjects of a population outside organized workers and dependent on the state subsidies in the capitalist core of world economy.

What was marginalized was not poverty itself, even though the major myth concerning the welfare state was that the conditions of post-war boom drew to the

end of poverty, –accordingly, now poverty meant 'backward' societies. Townsend's studies of the 1960s and 1970s, by creating a fundamental break from the longstanding tradition of Rowntree, was elucidating that the claims of income distribution were empty ones. Moreover, the growing numbers of feminist critics were demonstrating that the social policy itself organized the citizenship hierarchy according to gender and racial inequalities, as well as class systems.<sup>21</sup> What was marginalized, therefore, was the socially 'disintegrative subjects' of state welfare policies, such as unemployment and homelessness, drug abuse and crime, single parenthood and so on, which will arouse 'the moral underclass discourse'<sup>22</sup> after the 1980s as the material of political language of new-rights.

Nevertheless, until the early 1970s, the chief question among the left's priorities for theoretical analysis was rather the possibility of the development of social well-being within the capitalist system. By Mishra's terms (1975: 295), the urgent topic was that "how could the bourgeois state pass laws beneficial to the workers and detrimental to the interests of capitalists?" These regulations covering the 'problem of labour' were signifying the concepts of welfare state provided by the report of Beveridge in 1942 in England, which defined five threatening giants: want, disease, ignorance, squalor and idleness to be covered by five great services: poverty to be covered by income support, disease to be covered by a national health services, squalor to be covered by housing services and town planning and ignorance by the education services (Deakin, 1987). All of these services, of course, rested on a pre-given assumption that women's domestic

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<sup>21</sup> See for example Gordon (1995) for the problem of how the alleged groups were also created by "deliberate state action". Feminist critics of the 1960s and 1970s did not only limited with the patriarchal character of the welfare state; this attack also includes the critique of neo-Marxist account of the capitalist state ignoring the private and domestic aspects of the political economy of welfare; see for example McIntosh (1981); Rose & Rose (1982) for the main lines of feminist arguments in the critiques of that era including the debate on 'crises of welfare state'.

<sup>22</sup> For this categorisation see Levitas (1998). She divides the discourses of poverty into three main groups: 'the redistributionist discourse' referring to the income and resource-based explanations like the Townsend tradition; 'the moral underclass discourse' being based on American sociology and 'the social integrationist discourse' whose roots reside in French political discourse and Durkheimian sociology, symbolised by a 'third way' of the New Labour government.

labour is available to undertake the 'care' service supported via the family-wage system.

It can be said that the decade of the 1970s mainly provoked substantial discussion about the functionalist significance of the state, which included a set of ideas concerning the place of welfare under capitalism and which posed a particular perception of poverty. Under this concern, the leading schools of sociology generally assessed the welfare state as various types of a social integration mechanism. For Durkheimian approach, it was directed to ensure the economic security by neglecting the moral regulation of the society, and therefore, by having a lack of resistance to anomic tendencies of society. For Weberian view, the development of welfare state was an inescapable association between the advance of citizenship rights and the enhancement of bureaucratic control (Alber, 1988). Finally, from a Marxist perspective, the welfare state has emerged as the technocratic and potentially authoritarian attempt to neutralise new class problems generated by the nature of advanced capitalism. Its integrative function, however, inherently had contradictory nature in which it contains at the same time roles of both regulating economy for capital accumulation and ensuring social consensus for political legitimization (see for example Offe, 1972; O'Connor, 1973; Gough, 1979).<sup>23</sup>

The idea of class compact between capital and labour occupied a dominant position not only in the political analysis of welfare state, but also in its sociological comprehension. Accordingly, the most evident characteristic of the welfare state, as consistent with the notion of class compact, was the fact that the

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<sup>23</sup> Although the notion of social is part of a wider issue of the place of social policy and inevitably includes the examination of the nature of capitalist state regarding the role of public provision in social reproduction of labour, to pursue this point, however, would be far beyond my scope here. Covering such a generous ground requires a range of skills that I do not possess. To escape from this difficulty, in terms of the status of poverty, I have limited the concept of social with the idea of society. By this choice, I hoped to denote that the question of poverty has been to establish paradigm positions about the social as a fabricated ideal, therefore, that how and why it is changing now. However, we need to note that, with respect to the collective dimension of the social reproduction of labour, the proposed framework of this study has a critical reservation about the functionalist perspectives concerning the role of the capitalist state (see Chapter 4).

society is an organic integrity. This idea implied the general equivalence of the elements in which each of them had a functional interdependence. In other words, the organic integrity was a sociological formulation admitting the fact that capital and market cannot spontaneously maintain the social reproduction of the working class. Therefore, the social order should be based on the sustenance of integration among the elements that construct the order; that is, the social reproduction of the working class should be a part of the collective integrity from now on.

The idea of an organic society, which found its political meaning in the principle of citizenship has organized this principle on the axis of the social division of labour whose basis is assumed to be formed by the social classes, and has acknowledged it as a universal principle since it was regarded as a political-ethical position. The universality was a common ground in which everyone could benefit the same public services without considering his/her position in the labour market; in other words, it was defining the space for collective responsibility, and thus, it was organized within the wholeness of the nation-state geography. This spatial definition would constitute a vital terrain in the transformation of the social reproduction of labour after 1980s.

Related to the notion of collective responsibility, the idea of organic society was submitted a particular moral order, which have crucial implications for the perception of poverty. It claimed that each part of the society could be understood only in relation to the wholeness as required by the mutual interdependence of elements that it includes. It is because that the wholeness was not a simple aggregation of parts, but it represented a *sui generis* objectivity imposing itself on its parts as Durkheim has assumed; and, the individual lives born out of this objectivity. The political equivalent of this attribute, with the words of Rose (1996: 333), was a moral structure, which treats the individual responsibilities within the context of external determinations formed by the wider array of the social and economic forces. That is why, in the 1960s, when the advocates of the

'culture of poverty' tried to define poverty as the behavioural pathologies, their attacks were regarded 'discreditable' and vividly rejected.<sup>24</sup>

The way we used to comprehend the notion of informality or marginality as a characteristic of underdevelopment, was determined by a paradigm of society having this moral structure politically. It was because of this fact that in Turkey, when sociology studied migration, the squatter settlement, and the street vendor, it searched for the structural characteristics such as the capitalistic development in the agriculture, the urbanization processes, and the dynamics of labour market. In other words, it had a sociological perspective regarding the macro order of the social relations; therefore, although it was the individually experienced poor lives that were visible, the things sociology observed were not the poor ones themselves, but such structuralities related to the capitalist development as the petty commodity production resisting to the process of dispossession in the agriculture, the buffering mechanisms of urbanization, or the marginal sector of labour market.

Although the theoretical–conceptual dynamics which envelop the macro order of the society were rooted in an ideal world of capitalist development (i.e. the dominance of industry and mass production, the spread of wage labour, the rationalisation and commoditization of life), they were almost entirely a debate on itself for defining the characteristic of 'backward' or 'underdeveloped' societies. Regarding the question of poverty, the sociological comprehensions in the Third World societies delineate two different schools having a common

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<sup>24</sup> During the 1960s, the old distinction between the deserving and undeserving poor has re-emerged, somewhat unsuccessfully, in the form of the culture of poverty as a subculture, such as that of the Negro American, in the American poverty studies. Although, the subculture of poverty thesis was first introduced by Oscar Lewis, who sees it as the adaptive potential and resourcefulness of the poor, its conservative reinterpretation echoed in Daniel Moynihan's work, *The Negro Family: The National Action*, which identified the main problem in black communities as 'family structure' by using the metaphor of 'tangle of pathology'. However, the subculture of poverty thesis coincided with the civil rights movement in the United States, and was being strongly repudiated (see Katz, 1993). Lewis's work has remained under the shadow of this political climate for three decades as a 'misinterpreted theory'; see Harvey & Reed (1996) for this argument.



history. In Turkey, the gecekondü study of Karpat (1976) was the typical example of the modernization school; it views the social change within the duality of traditional/modern stages encompassing both the migrant's integration "through occupational change and gradual adaptation of physical and cultural aspects of urban life" (ibid: 138). Although there were many versions of the structuralist-historical views, the main line of debate was mainly related to how non-capitalist forms of production (i.e. petty commodity production) were incorporated into the process of capitalist development without being destroyed. In terms of the urban structure, for example the studies of Ersoy (1985), Keleş (1987) were the typical instance of this line including the concept of 'articulation' of informal and formal sectors. Moreover, Kıray (1982) developed the argument that the peripheral societies produce the 'buffer mechanism' in order to cope with the dramatic consequences of the urbanization due to their inability of formal institutionalisation.

In other words, theorising marginality or informality was an image of 'integrative' functions of the welfare state in periphery; therefore, it focused on "multiple 'inabilities' of states", by Sassen's words (2000: 94), which typically were "considered to include the inability to attain full economic modernization, stop excess migration to the cities, implement universal education literacy programs, create sufficient formal sector jobs, and so on", due to whether its process of 'over-urbanization' without industrialization or its 'distorted' path of capitalist development via the dependent character of accumulation on imperialist countries.

The notion of marginality referring to the deficiency of formalisation upon which modern capitalist society was built, in fact implied a kind of social compact that is peculiar to the Third World's capitalism. Although developmentalist characters of the Third World state had in some degree escalated with the extensions of public provision by employing an import substitution policy, the question of how poor people relate to the state which regulates their access to material resources

both in urban land and in labour market was to be deemed to constitute a 'social compact' that has an 'informal' character.<sup>25</sup> During times of retreat from Keynesianism to monetarism in core capitalist world, from developmentalism to structural adjustment in periphery come, therefore, what remained from the literature of marginality was the untouched domain in which the social reproduction of labour is a matter of class struggle.

#### **3.2.4. Inclusion versus Exclusion: Postmodernity and Capitalist Restructuring**

Welfare state regulation that has become the major target of the neo-liberal discourse starting with the late 70s has started to disintegrate on the ground of strengthening the private ownership regime in spite of the public, along with the decomposition of the idea of society to accompany it. Throughout the 80s, the society meant the domination of centralisation of the realms of individual activity, which are subjective and fractured by a bureaucratic and authoritarian state for the right, whilst it meant the domination of the politics of massive inclusion that is based on the suppression and marginalization of the differences for the left.<sup>26</sup> Thus the idea of society, which has constituted the foundation of the political arguments, related with social equality and justice has left its place to the groups both as a source of political reference and as the field of government (Rose, 1996).

The meaning of this paradigmatic shift for the politics is the reorganization of the social policy that was once based on providing the same service opportunities to

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<sup>25</sup> I took the term 'informal social pact' from Harders (2003), who refers to the access to an informal flow of resources, which is based on clientelistic relationship, contrary to the Nasserist social contract in Egypt, which promised welfare in exchange for political loyalty. However, we might consider that the functionalist-structuralist explanations of marginality have also an inherent assumption implying a kind of contractual ground between the state and the survival strategies of 'the informal labourers'. I will return to this point in Chapter 4.

<sup>26</sup> To some extent, there were several similarities between neo-liberal and Marxist critique of the post-war welfare both in condemning the social and in claiming the tendency of 'fiscal crisis' via the expansion of state expenditures. For a comprehensive debate on the critiques of welfare state see Özkazanç (1997).

all labourers, directly on the ground of class privileges. In other words, the public sphere which equalised the urban spaces and differences by submitting them through a set of standardisations, gets shattered on the basis of the creation of sterile spaces and a mass of social surplus which has been pauperised to such a degree that even its existence would not become subject to any categorisation.

If it is reiterated the idea of the common stolen from the goose, the notion of the public was to be transformed back to the 19th century's world of individual entrepreneurship and opportunities once again. It was not possible to mention a public space "even as a metaphor" anymore, given the postmodern conditions in which there exist only "constructed identities, multiple meanings and contested histories" (Arthurs, 2001: 95). However, what was left behind the critics of welfare state is the political crisis of the individuals who have been rendered incapable through the weakening of their social belongings and cultural resources for liberalism and the crisis of the marginalized who are thought to be impossible to be grasped through a class based struggle for the left.

Unfortunately the 'irreducible multiplicity' of the society exhibits a pathological politicisation practice under the conditions of the total domination of the discipline of capital that operates according to the rules of market, competition and maximizing the labour-productivity over the everyday life. However now, "everybody is liberal" (Bellamy, 1992). The literature of political science has spent approximately the coming 15 years by discussing the problem of why the politics of identity that brought a wave of liberties and even changed the classical content of politics in the West throughout the 70s, has turned into the totalitarian experiences such as fundamentalism, racism and nationalist massacres in the rest of the world. The problem has been described as being able to both be critical against the universal bases and offer a common politicisation ground that would enable the democratic expression of different identities. Despite the differences they have, all the sides of this discussion, from communitarian version of liberalism to the radical democracy perspective of the left, have all shared this

basic point: the assumption that the political liberalism does not share a necessary relationship with capitalism.<sup>27</sup> Such has the concepts of the politics attained a context free from the critique of market under capitalism of which the historical authenticity was to envelop all social relationships within the economy. This was probably the most 'unfortunate' thing that could happen to the poor, possibly after poverty itself. The concepts of rights, justice, equality and democracy thus gained a hegemony, which has no reference to labour, or relations of production through the opportunity provided by the grasping of society, which has been striped off the structural determination of capitalism (Negri & Hardt, 1994).

The concept community owes its rise as a new theme of political thought to the process of dissolution mentioned above. Bauman (1995) argued that one of the first victims of postmodernity is the border of the nation-state and the concept of the society, which has integrated with its organic integrity. According to him, the category of "the sociological project" thus has to be socialites rather than the society now. What makes the concept of community, which was the theme of the ethnographical sociology of the 1960s, the category of a political project in the 1990s (Rose, 1996: 332), was that it is the only form of sociality that remained from our collective existence under the conditions of postmodernity.

Liberalism had found its own crisis –the crisis of individuals which was thought to be caused by the "more comprehensive scale of social and economical organization" such as the welfare state, of individuals who were isolated and atomised, whose claims on their own identities were invalidated, and who became insensitive against the other– in the dissolution of the idea of the society (see Sandel, 1992). In this manner, the communities would be no longer the address of 'authenticity' that we have lost in sociology with the 'mass society' in the past, and it would be transformed into a reference for the political arguments such as the limits of the state and the possibilities of the civil society (see Sullivan, 1990), and the identity of the citizenship which would not only carry the

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<sup>27</sup> For the study that gathers the main discussions of this discussion see Benhabib (1996).

rights, but also the duties and responsibilities (see Etzioni, 1996). The actors of politics were not the central collective structures like the class anymore, but the voluntary associations and communities, which are called "anti-political motives" by Rose (1996). This was the general sociological context of the current transformations in the forms of labour regulation that are arranged by the notion of the 'employability' of those who were seen as detached from paid employment (Peck & Theodore, 2000).

Although work-based welfare reform emerged in Britain and the United State, it is a global policy orientation in the field of social welfare politics and is trying to rebuild a new legacy for the problem of poverty by transforming the meaning of the society together with the public. The last part of this section is devoted to the examination of this legacy in which the poor is reconstructed as a separate group once again in the history through imposing the social capital to periphery capitalist world as the equivalent of the workfare regime in core.

### **3.3. Social Capital: A New Threshold in the Colonisation of Social Reproduction of Labour**

The first thing that can be mentioned about the social capital is that it includes everything in society laying outside of the 'material assessment'. The following classification about the application areas of social capital stated by one of the World Bank's prominent sociologists, Woolcock (1998), may provide an idea about what a limitless research subject we are faced with: Economic and social developments, families and youth behaviour problems, schooling, and education, community life, work and organizations, democracy and governance, general cases of collective action problems, and intangible assets like sociability, moral resources.<sup>28</sup> In fact, the broadness of its scope and the indefiniteness concerning how to define it –hence Øyen (2000) prefers saying that "as a social scientist he would rather throw it overboard"– are the sole characteristics of this term.

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<sup>28</sup> The classification including a detailed bibliography for each title covers 3-page length footnote.

Social capital is sometimes used to refer to the participation into the informal relationship networks covering the origin-based community (*cemaat*) bonds, and sometimes into the relationships, which represent the organized social participation standing outside of the above mentioned networks such as becoming a member of various voluntary organizations; and still more, it is sometimes used to indicate the working and efficiency of formal institutions and rules.<sup>29</sup> Within time, although indefiniteness continues, it would be no longer regarded as a problem by suggesting that the definitional differences do not represent alternative views, but various dimensions (micro, meso, and macro) of the same process existing in different levels and complementing each other (see Serageldin & Grootaert, 2000; Grootaert, 1998; Woolcock, 1998). On the contrary of Øyen's claim, this extremely broad and flexible content does not indicate analytical unsuitability, but its power to establish hegemony as a political, analytical and empirical mean. As Fine (2001a: 98) stressed, the social capital can only exist by enlarging its application area, and this expansionism has its purpose as it would be discussed later.

One of the important steps that enable the expansionism of the concept comes from Coleman who unified the traditional subject matter of sociology with the rational individualism of neo-classical economics. According to Coleman, who is the determined supporter of the methodological individualism and of the rational preference theory in sociology, "Unlike other forms of capital, social capital inheres in the structure of relations between persons and among persons. It is

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<sup>29</sup> The discussion here is related with the concept of social capital regarding the question of what kind of sociability is theorised through the poverty problem. For the intellectual sources and the development of the concept, which is extending from P. Bourdieu to R. Putnam, see Fine (2001a), Harriss (2001), and Akdoğan (2002). Although Bourdieu (2001), who used the social capital as a form of power ensuring the reproduction of the class-based privileges, was one of the founding figures of the social capital literature, it is left outside of the discussion in this study. In fact, this situation is also in accordance with the social capital literature, which generally prefers forgetting Bourdieu and looking for the classical roots for itself within the history of social sciences. It is because there is an irresolvable tension between the de-historisation and the naturalisation attempt of this literature, and Bourdieu's tendency to see the capital always belonging to a specific historical-social context. However, it neither implies that Bourdieu's capital diversifications are free from problems, nor saves Bourdieu from the critics arguing that calling this or that dimension of the social life as 'capital' creates a language politics which de-politicises capitalism. For this critique see Smith & Kulynch (2002).

lodged neither in individuals nor in physical implements of production" (Coleman, 1990 cited in Harriss, 2001: 19). In other words, the social capital belongs to the area of social relations, which transcend the individuals and which are left outside the capital as being 'material assessments'.

The reason why that this area is called a capital is because the fact that the individuals can use the social networks in which they are part of it as a resource in order to promote their own personal interests. Since the area of social relations is an area of normative structures interwoven with expectations and liabilities, in which the sense of responsibility and solidarity for others are carried out. At the same time, as a necessity of the principle of trust, the motives of a person who shows their responsibility and solidarity is the expectation that one day he/she will see the benefits of his/her actions. Just as in the case of the transaction cost economics created by the common information area in which there exists mutual norms and sanctions, and in which the information about the clients is shared, without bounded by a formal agreement, as in the examples of jewellery traders of Kapalıçarşı, or the shop owners in Cairo; just as in the case of Korean student movements in which the similar geographical origin makes the political participation easier; or just as in the case of better educational performance of children in places where communication within the family and the community relations are strong (Coleman 1990, cited in Harriss, 2001: 19).

In brief, the utility does not originate from the person itself (or from the quantitative relations formed with 'bandits' in the market as the neo-classical orthodoxy assumes), but from the qualitative social relations experienced with other people; simply because "to own" social capital is only "possible through sharing it with others" (Narayan, 2002: 59). Or if we use the common saying of the social capital literature, "it's not what you know, it's who you know".

What is interesting from the methodological point is not only the situation in which the relational structures forming the social capital derive from the relations

among individuals who behave in accordance with the principle of utility maximisation – the famous axiom of the neo-classical economics. What is interesting here is that these individuals, not only in the realm of the formal relations such as the market, (rather considered as belonging to the economics), but also in the realm of the informal relations which hitherto were assumed to be located outside of the market (rather considered as belonging to sociology), do behave in compliance with the same famous axiom. Once the individuals are thought as the subjects that own the private ownership of the resources assumed to create the economic value (labour-power, education, and ultimately social bonds), or have the ability of accessing them, it would not be difficult to develop a rationality trying to reduce losses and to increase the gains, as a founding principle of the market, of the state, and ultimately of the social relations. This can be seen as one of the attempts that try to adapt the methodological approach of the orthodox economics onto the other areas of the social theory. After all, this is not the first time in which social sciences are to be captured by the universality claim of the neo-classical economic action.<sup>30</sup> However, if one briefly looks at the history of the conceptual relationship between the economics and the society, it will get clear that what the social capital makes is much more than this.

### **3.3.1. The Re-invitation of the Social by Dissolving It**

In the 1870s, the Marginalists, who laid the foundation of the modern economics discipline through separating the economics from the rest of the society, could succeed by reducing the 'economic one' to the market. Thus, the labour-capital

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<sup>30</sup> For the neo-classical approach, the universality of economic laws can not be inferred from the social and the historical relations, but only from the characteristics of human nature that are assumed to be fixed. In this case, it would not be necessary to restrict the assumption on the human nature, which is egoist, rational and unceasingly pursuing the utility, only with the economics. The claim that the economical approach is able to explain all the social phenomena existing outside the market, has been developed by the Nobel awarded economist Gary Becker in the 1970s (see Fine, 2001a, chapter 3); one of the concrete examples of this claim is represented in the subject-matter of political science via Public Choice approach. For a literature review of this approach, which applies the methodological individualism of the neo-classical economics onto the structures and relations, related with the public space such as state, bureaucracy, elector behaviours, party policies, etc., see Orchard & Stretton (1997).



relationship could be reduced to the exchange relations, only measured through use value (utility) from now on, among the free individuals whose will can only penetrate their own commodities. The social co-ordination of this type of exchange relation in which everyone 'sells what he/she owns' and in which everyone 'looks after himself/herself', would be facilitated via the neutral mediator; the market. The market is nothing but the anonymous and objective mechanism, which would replace the personalised power and privileges in the resource allocation. Hence, in the realm of "equality, liberty, propriety, and Bentham", the necessary condition for the maximization of the individual interests and the social wealth, the state could rise as an interest-free, a neutral political apparatus under the universality of demand-and-supply world as well as under its analytical priority.

What was left behind the market and the state was appropriated by sociology. It was supposed to work on the social. Sociology would look at the individuals through their own social relations, while economics handles them through the market variables. Yet, Marx wrote that the market means the establishment of a specific kind of social relationship. It was simply a relationship of domination based on the equality and the liberty, since one side of the exchange relationship owns nothing other than its own labour-power, and could do nothing other than selling this power. In other words, the domination was generalised as the realised state of the equality and the liberty necessitated by the commodity exchange, and thus, it has ended the use of out-of-economy coercion, which the political apparatus was in need of transferring the surplus-value (Wood, 1996). Therefore, what is signified by the differentiation of the economic realm away from the political realm through capitalism was hidden in what it rendered invisible, which means it was hidden under the sociality which it built in that way. As Marx deciphered this mystification of the capitalist exploitation based on the differentiation of the economics and the politics, this, in fact, turned out the insistence of sociology on the specific subject matter of study 'belonging exclusively itself' to be nothing.

However, we have sufficient reasons to think that mainstream sociology is already one of the owners of this mystification. It is because of the fact that when the Europe in the period of 1848-1871 is considered, the analytical demystification done by Marx was nothing but the very practice of the class struggle. Therefore, for the liberals who wanted to raise the economics as a branch of science staying out of the politics, there was a need of developing such an axis that would resist the radical collectivism represented by the class, but also would not appease the traditional communitarian values by making a concession, regarding the individualism of the modern economics (Cladis, 1992).

The solution was provided by Durkheim. It was true that we were, as individuals, the direct units of an economic activity based on the realisation of our own personal interests freely; however, it looks like we were also the subjects of the social bonds which lean themselves against us as they were the ideological unity of the common values, norms, and beliefs, and which connect each of us to another. Unlike the market relations which include the relations of the people with the goods, and which stand as a quantitative world having universal principles free of time and space, these bonds were representing the qualitative world of mutual obligations, the authenticity, and the relations formed among each and every person.

This differentiation made between the economical and non-economical ones would become the main determining characteristic of the history of social thought hereafter. The modernization, especially through its historical explanation and its future projections concerning the underdeveloped countries, was one of the most comprehensive attempts to theorise the above mentioned differentiation. Accordingly, as we summarized earlier, the problem of the world that is outside the Western modernity was their own local history and local social structures, namely, their informal characteristic of social relations, because both of them

were raising as a 'barrier' in front of the economic development.<sup>31</sup> Extensive family and kinship bonds surrounding the people, the community relations based on the ethnicity or the religion, subsistence and informal economies, in other words, 'the relational structures' which are called the social capital today were the hindrances preventing the individuality and entrepreneurship supposed to be the foundation of the modern market societies.

In sum, talking about the individuals motivated by the utility, but not about the class, talking about the demand-and-supply equality and efficiency, but not about the capital accumulation processes, being turned into a generality which is applicable for all the social and historical states, the economy either renders the social one dependent on its own 'a-social' rationality, or it only leaves the psychology to understand social bonds.

The success of the term social capital originates from its claim that it broke this vicious circle in order to unify the traditional differentiation between the economic and non-economic one. In other words, it places itself into the theoretical gap between the tendency of sociology in which individuals' behaviours are made dependent on the socialisation process determined by the social norms, values, and rules, and the tendency of orthodox economics in which these behaviours broke off with the given social relations. Coleman's attempt to resort to the economics for explaining the ancient question of the sociology, that is, how to pass from the individual to the society, is such a step (Fine, 2001a; 72). The fiction is actually quite simple: The principle of an individual pursuing its own utility is further maintained by accepting that this principle has always a social context. In the first case, there is methodological individualism claiming that the abstractions naming the social structures can be understood only when they are reduced to the most concrete unit. In the second case, there is rational

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<sup>31</sup> For a critical discussion extending from the version of the sociological modernization including Parsons and Weber to the psychological versions of it seeking a linear relationship between the development and the culture of entrepreneurship, and covering the economics as well, see Larrain (1989, chapter 3). For a discussion on the thesis of modernization in terms of the development programs and policies cut out for the Third World, see Mehmet (1999, chapter 3).

preference model upon which the social structures are built as required by the methodological individualism. Consequently, the theory is built upon the individual's basic principle of behaviour.

As it can be seen from the following example seeming to be more sociological, this principle is "motivated by the innate need for survival, and survival is seen as dependent upon the accumulation of valued resources" (Lin, 2001; 130). For the theoreticians of the social capital, the assumption of "at the beginning, there were independent individuals" does not create any problem; but the problem lies in demonstrating how interdependent individual actions produce system -or collective- outcomes (Lin, 2001; 130). Likewise, also Coleman does not see any problem in the neo-classical economics' treatment of the social thing as the aggregation of individuals other than the existence of "misnomer"; however, for him, "it is insufficient to aggregate; it is also necessary to show how aggregation is consistent with the reproduction of social structures in which individuals act" (cited in Fine, 2001a: 73). The rational choice exists for this purpose. The rationality of "the minimisation of loss and the maximisation of gain" is the rule of the resource accumulation, and hence it is the founding principle of the social relations. It requires the mutual recognition of everyone's claim on his/her own resources –called 'trust' in the literature of social capital– and the co-operation (see Lin, 2001: 131). Otherwise, making "neighbour's bicycle your own capital" would not be possible. As a conclusion, the social capital does not only bind each of us to the rest, but it also builds social structures from these bonds. Therefore, what is left for sociology is "to study the choice behaviour in the context of structural opportunities and constraints" (Lin, 2001: xi). There is no doubt that this is the neo-classical economics rather than the sociology.

Yet, what has to be thought about is not how the methodological relation, which connects the concrete world of micro relations with the abstract world of macro relations, can be established through the a-historical and asocial individualist ontology. Because, turning the 'social' into the capital necessitates an already

individualised sociality as we will discuss its political consequences later on. Although there is not much left over the sociology, what is worthwhile is the question of why the neo-classical orthodoxy invites the sociality into the economic realm, which it has previously driven away.

### **3.3.2. Transformation of Informality: From 'Barrier' to 'Capital'**

Given that the social capital provided this invitation, it is really a success. It is because of the fact that the term directly mentions the social reality instead of the traditional psycho-social supposition that is alien to the subject matter of the study for the social sciences except for the mainstream economics such as the egoistic human nature (Smith & Kulynych, 2002).<sup>32</sup> The subject matter of the social capital covers such things like the storable food coming from the village for the winter; the countrymen (hemşehri) who might help to find a job, the friends or relatives who might loan some money; the products of an unpaid domestic labour which also inspired the micro-finance practices, such as handmade cardigan; divorced parents (see Isham, et. al. 2002); the members of the school-family associations, unions, or canary-lovers club; the football matches played among the neighbouring wards in Turkey, the bowling tournaments in America (see Putnam, 1995). In conclusion, the social capital points out the organizational forms observed in the interpersonal relations dependent on the trust, the solidarity, and sometimes the power on which the sociologists studies since long time as required by the problematic of the social order.

Until recently, this area got its importance as a sociological problem since it primarily represented the 'informal' social structure of the underdeveloped countries, as we have just reviewed. Since capitalisation was identified with the formalisation process in which the society was subjected to the market rules that

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<sup>32</sup> Smith and Kulynych (2002: 166) say that exactly because of this, the social capital makes the 'economic imperialism', which makes the other social disciplines dependent on the principles of neo-classical economics, a kind of generic form at an extent never seen before.

are assumed to be recognisable by everyone and subjected to the institutional regulations of the state related with the social wealth, the underdeveloped countries, having both an incomplete commoditization of labour and the traditional co-operation forms reinforcing the market, were to be defined by the relative share of the so-called 'informal' or 'marginal' sector. Therefore, what is especially critical for us regarding the discussion on social capital, is the question that why the informal area, which we accepted once as a 'barrier' as it was required by the modernization paradigm, or which we called 'the buffering mechanisms' representing the survival conditions of the poor as it was required by the functionalist-structuralist paradigm, transformed into a 'capital' now.

The answer is actually hidden within the transformation itself, because today the informal economy "has been colonised as the most profitable area" of the capitalism (Quijano, 2000: 134). What is 'colonised' is the out-of-wage opportunities that the labour is able to sustain its own social reproduction under and against the capitalism. The pauperization of labour experienced in the production relations via flexibility and de-unionisation, has been increased at an extent that includes not only the process of the waged labour, but also all the life processes through which the social reproduction is realised. The social capital is the name of this pauperization program. From the point of labourers, the meaning of this program is to create an empty space formed entirely by the market between the state and the family, and to make this empty space to be filled by the efforts of the labouring households, especially of the women, as much as they can afford. Formulating the assumption of the classical, egoistic human nature as a 'survival', as in the example of Lin (2001), and accepting this striving as 'the innate need of human' are not in vain. As Marx envisioned correctly (1997: 546), the capital, by relying on this innate need, pushes the wage level toward the necessary physiological needs, and hence expands the dependence of labour to the market on the one hand, and it liquidates the collective forms of the social reproduction through privatising the public good, and hence enables the expansion of the market on the other hand.

The social capital, in fact, makes the sociology of the social reproduction from the angle of the capital accumulation strategy. So, what it transforms in reality is our knowledge about what society is through poverty. In other words, there is a paradigmatic difference directly concerning the meaning of the society between perceiving the informal relations as a characteristic of underdevelopment and perceiving them as the social capital. Without taking this difference into account, or more accurately, without making the methodological examination, talking about the informal relations as the capital of poor would mean that we ignore how the social reproduction of labour has such a political relation under capitalism. There exists the same apolitical perspective as the literature on poverty concerns with the issue of how the poor could survive under the conditions of impoverishment rather than dealing with the class relations that create poverty.

This paradigmatic difference is established at a great extent through the intervention done on the idea of the public. The discursive and institutional practices, in which poverty is defined and classified as a social problem, play crucial roles as being both the realm and the tool in which this intervention is realised. Due to the fact that the public is a part of the struggle given on the issues of how the reproduction of labour would be solved and of who will be responsible for that; it is related with the capitalism as a whole but not with the separate individual capitalists –it directly includes the state and the ideological terrains related to the patriarchy. The social capital, from this perspective, relies on two critical conceptual tools: Firstly, the communities as a myth, which also provides a sociological framework for the privatisation of the social well-being. Secondly, the language of the capital enables the ideological liquidation of the idea of public by erasing all the traces of labour in the everyday life so to make the capitalistic values as a source of our social values<sup>33</sup>.

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<sup>33</sup> The idea explained by Ecevit (2003) as the labour has been made invisible in the cultural, symbolic universe of our everyday life, and hence it has been also degraded ideologically, can also be used to define the language of the social capital as we will discuss later on.

However, before proceeding on this discussion, it is necessary to examine Robert Putnam's (1993) work titled as *Making Democracy Work*. This work has an important role both in the expansionism of the social capital, and in the transformation of the underdeveloped countries' sociality from barriers to the capital.

### **3.3.3. Reclaiming the Public Good as a Capital Form**

In the above-mentioned work, Putnam studies on the reasons of the developmental differences between the north and south Italy. The ground he founded was the lack of social capital. This connection established with the economics would lead to the quick expansion of the term social capital into the literature of social sciences, primarily on the themes of the development and the poverty, via especially the World Bank.<sup>34</sup>

By making the social capital as the basis of the countries' economical and political performance, Putnam ascribes an economic ground for the importance of the civil society, and hence, it seems that he founded "an answer which is attractive both for the neo-liberal right –still sceptical about the role of the state– and for those who committed to the ideas about the participation and the grassroots empowerment" (Harriss & De Renzio, 1997: 920). Putnam (1993: 167) defining the social capital as "trust, norms and networks that facilitate social co-ordination and co-operation for mutual benefit", takes the development level of the associations in the informal relations which he called as "the networks of civic engagement". Accordingly, the civic engagements, which he measures by means of preference voting, referendum turnout, newspapers readership, and scarcity/density of sports and cultural associations, develop the reciprocity relationship, and build an environment of trust that is "an essential component of social capital"; and hence, it forms a basis both for the democratisation and for

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<sup>34</sup> The World Bank has dedicated a web page on this subject:  
<http://www.worldbank.org/poverty/scapital>



the economic development. The northern region is in debt for its development to the high level of the social capital.<sup>35</sup> It means that the social capital, which was a 'productive' resource for individuals in Coleman's view, now becomes "a property of a whole society" (Harriss, 2001: 7).

If we ignore the myths that Putnam's fiction has fed,<sup>36</sup> what is a crucial thing in his fiction regarding the development of the social capital is exactly this: The social capital transformed into a product of social and economic activities. Because, the real meaning of explaining the wealth through the level of social capital that the society owns, and the poverty through the insufficiency of the social capital, is hidden behind the sociological support, following the footsteps of economics and politics, provided for the marketization of everyday life.

The most important basis of this support is the concept community that is "partial, local and ultimately private", which substitutes the public (Champlin, 1997: 577). Otherwise, it would not be possible to make the concept community as one of the favoured social policy tools of the liberalism that has no place in the neo-classical economic theory at all. At one side of this analytical attempt

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<sup>35</sup> The validity of Putnam's empirical findings and his way of looking at history of Italy as well has become the subject of many critics unanswered by him yet. For a literature review including these critics, see Harriss (2001, chapter 3).

<sup>36</sup> The partnership formed between the capitalist development and the democracy is one example of this. Although the development history of the developed countries are full of the empirical evidences that invalidate the claim of the market and democracy feed each other, this myth continues to be the basis of the developmental prescriptions imposed on the underdeveloped countries (see Chang, 2002). The second myth, the more common one, is related to the term civil society. The civil society, which has broken off with the economical context that it had in Marx for a long time, can be employed as a political metaphor used to keep the democracy problem out of the labour-capital relationship. For example, it comes into the front as a domain of participating into the political and social life without relating it to the problem of the organization of labour, and as in Putnam, it is respected as a socialisation tool through which the civil values are to be learned, and the democratic civil culture is to be developed. At an extent the civil society is broken off as the domain of the private property and the market under the guarantee of the state, the problem of social welfare can be formulated as a role-division within the triangle of state, civil society and market, therefore, as an example, the notion of 'active citizenship' –as in Putnam too– can be a tool of getting away from the statist corporatist solutions. For this discussion, see Kidd (2002). For a study which discusses the issue of how conceptualising the civil society as something free of conflicts, standing neutral against the different interests, and based on the consensus-oriented activity, transformed the handling of the urban problems in Putnam, see Mayer (2003).

privatising the public good, according to Champlin (1997), there is an act of assembling the community as a norm of behaviour that encourages people to make co-operation for maintaining their mutual benefits. At the other side, there is an approach of poverty culture that regards the family ties –exalted as a moral unit– as the basis of the community life.

The first one is a definition of the social capital, and it is clear that there is nothing social in fact. The community could establish itself only through individuals' moral motivation favouring co-operation. However, for an "individualised" community term, it is necessary to explain how the co-operation, remained abstract as a norm of behaviour, but whose economic effect is embodied as either wealth or as poverty in the public life, could be formed and sustained (Champlin, 1997). Since the social capital, especially in the Putnam's formulation, becomes an intrinsically public good, it shall rely on the moral norms that prevent the free-riding behaviours of the community members. It is exactly because of this fact that the literature starts with the question of "how people trust each other (especially the foreigners)?" For the co-operation could only be possible if everyone behaves in accordance with the rules, and it is a problem of providing the co-operation as liberalism employs a conception of individual not related to the society. Therefore, in liberalism, the social life traditionally requires contract-based external regulations such as the state.

Yet, for Putnam (1993: 174), the vertical networks of relation, which incorporate the hierarchy and the dependence, can not be the creator and the maintainer of trust and co-operation; hence, seeing the state as the source of trust, which the civil society necessitates, is a problem rather than a solution. For example, even for Fukuyama (2000), who similarly says that there is a social capital lying behind the economic development and wealth, it may even result in dangerous outcomes. For Fukuyama (2000: 377), who believes that the reformation of the social capital –which he expanded the term in a way to include the corporations– through the governmental policies would be rather difficult, "yet" he says, "[it]

can be still spent more voluntarily through the governmental policies". Although the result is a tautology, the purpose is quite obvious: The address of economic growth and wealth is trust and co-operation, whose sources are composed of 'the network of civil occupation', 'communities', 'civil society', or rather social capital in brief, however, in order to trust others and to be able to co-operate with them requires to own the social capital as well.

The literature on the social capital was full of the examples of how societies, especially the poor ones could be successful in a wide variety of area extending from health to education, from economic wealth to political participation, from social security to living in an environment higher in quality, to rescuing the pathological life-styles under the influence of crime or drugs.<sup>37</sup>

Social capital is announced as "a missing link" in the development by the World Bank following Putnam (see Grootaert, 1998). What is left to be done, especially if it is considered that the underdeveloped countries are not unfamiliar with the forms of assistance and co-operation based on the *hemşehri* and kinship, is to incorporate the vertical relations into the economic analysis for the sake of public good promised by social capital. By recognising that there is need of doing more than the networks of the horizontal relations and the efforts of voluntary associations for the development and for the poor, the state and the public are called for duty (for example, see Narayan, 2002).

What makes this call a necessity, according to the literature of social capital is the 'embeddedness' of economics within the horizontal relations, and hence, it is the indispensable existence of the 'synergy'<sup>38</sup> between the social realm and the

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<sup>37</sup>, See, for example, Saegert, et. al. (2001); Isham, et. al. (2002); World Bank, Social Development Department (2000).

<sup>38</sup> Among the important studies, which locate the social capital within the relations of the 'complementarity' and the 'synergy' existing between the state and the society, different from Putnam's tendency emphasising the priority of the civil society, there are works of Evans and his colleagues. For a discussion collected in *World Development*, see Evans (1996). For an example that studies the state-society relationship from the question of the social welfare, by relying on "the weak social capital structure of Turkey", sees Buğra (2001).

political realm regarding the development of social capital (see Woolcock, 1998; Narayan, 2002). As it can be recognised, what is mentioning is not the embeddedness of horizontal relations into the market economics. This would imply talking about the capital as a social relationship that has a tendency of penetrating life as a whole.

Whereas, what is necessary from the viewpoint of the social capital, is to find a starting point to overcome the difficulty when the humanitarian depression caused by the neo-liberal policies once again comes out as a rule rather than an exception of the 'market failure'. Like the idea that economics is affected by and is dependent on the non-economics, which is supposed to be specific and local. This idea is a good starting point that would allow equating underdeveloped countries, which were already assumed to have 'deviations' from the formal market structure, with 'market imperfections' (Fine, 2002). Hence, it is also a quite appropriate starting point, which would let relating the problem with the specific social and cultural characteristics (that is, the structure of social capital) of those countries. With the sharp statement of Fukuyama (2000: 23), "the most important lesson we learned from the examination of the economic life, is the fact that a nation's wealth, in addition to its competitive capability, is conditioned by a unique and widespread cultural characteristic: that is, the innate level of the trust existing within society." Serageldin (2000: 44) describes this as "the glue that holds societies together and without which there can be neither economic growth nor human well-being".

Once the social capital is assumed as a socio-cultural basis upon which the economic life can arise successfully, then the history becomes a deterministic past in which the nations are destined to their own specific faiths, as in the analysis of the regional development levels in Putnam, or as in the cross-country historical comparisons made by Fukuyama. In other words, there is more than the claim of modernization theory. Dirlik (1994) says that the first time in the history of capitalism, the trans-national capital is divorced from its historical origin in

Europe; what multiculturalism means is that the non-Western capitalist societies may have their own claims for the history of capitalism. Therefore, the local narratives represent the articulation into the narrative of the capital rather than providing alternatives against the Western origin. The argument developed by Dirlik also explains how the traditions and the norms, which were assumed to be standing as barriers preventing the capitalist development, reconciled with the capital. If capitalism is no longer in need of a Western origin, the social capital could assert that 'underdevelopment is your fault' more strongly and easily than the modernization theory could do. Due to this, the point emphasised by Champlin (1997) is crucial because the public invited by the social capital is only partial; what he actually put stress on via the term community, is the local and private one, not the universal and the common one. This, to some extent, means the end of public 'as-we-know-it', and it is closely related to the other 'ends' (the end of reason, of universal subject, of history) represented by the postmodernity.

#### **3.3.4. Privatisation of Social Welfare**

As we stated before, the most evident characteristic of the modernist project was the idea of organic society imposing the collective responsibility as a universal principle. Rose (1996: 333) argues that the first characteristic subjected to the mutation of the idea of society was exactly related with the spatial definition of collectivity. What governs our state of belonging is not a singular collective space like society anymore, but is the socialites that have localised, varied and generally exclusive differences like communities. The state of belonging to a community provides a ground for having a partial responsibility instead of the collective one by assuming –or as being forced to assume– an ethos of partnership which takes the responsibility of their own wealth, health, and security. It is what the social capital expects from the social bonds which individuals participate. The partiality, or more clearly, the heterogeneity based on the local initiatives organized around their own definition of common interest instead of the homogenising power of the collective responsibility based on universality, presents the marketization of

public services as a democratisation on one hand, and allows to get profit on "the misery and misfortune" of lives on the other hand (Rose, 1996: 347). The prevalence of private courses aiming to provide marketable skills, or bidding of social programs to private institutions are obvious examples of public-private sector co-operations which redefine the social expenditures as to be limited with the financial responsibility of the public.<sup>39</sup>

Another result of the partialization of collective responsibility is the generalization of mercy from the viewpoint of poverty. This result, which reconstructs the principles of social policy, is closely related with the second dimension of mutation experienced in the idea of society, that is, the change of "moral characteristic" (Rose, 1996: 333), and it imposes a particular kind of poverty perception. As we discussed before, the moral characteristic of organic society, by virtue of its principle of collective responsibility, stemmed from the claim that social problems have a common root. However, when the domain of the state of belonging is the community, the individual's obligations and responsibilities are to be formed on the ground of this state of belonging. Therefore, the moral connection between the individual and the society, in Rose's term,

(it) is retrieved from a social order of determination into a new (...) perception of the individualised and autonomised actor, each of whom has unique, localised and specific ties to their particular family and to a particular moral community (Rose, 1996: 34).

The emphasis made by the literature of the social capital that idealises the family, is typical considering this. For example, Fukuyama (2000: 20) relates the "success" of a civil society, which is build upon the institution of family according to him, with "the individuals' habits, traditions and moral values". In a

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<sup>39</sup> For a study that shows how the social services are distributed under free-market or quasi-market conditions –based on the different combinations of their distribution among the state, non-governmental organizations and private sector– constructed the networks of relation that make the capital accumulation simpler in the case of Canada, see Browne (2000).

similar manner, for Putnam (1995: 73), family is "the most fundamental form of the social capital", and there is compatible relationship between the dissolution of family bonds and that of the sense of mutuality and trust within a society.

Leaving the problems such as defining the civil society in way that it includes the family, and ignoring the feminist critics on patriarchy aside, what is crucial in this critic is the ontological axis within which the objective social conditions are defined. The objectivities –such as poverty– are virtually to be emerged out of the peculiarities of the individual lives. It is exactly what the social capital demands from the poor in considering their poverty: Keeping family bonds and conditions of their network of relations responsible of it. This defines the analytical horizon of a sociological perspective, which considers the informal relations as the social capital. What is observed in the squatter settlements or in shoeshine kids, is therefore the individualised poor lives.

As the structural determinations of capitalism are to fade out of the analytical horizon by the social capital, another ethos about the order of things is going to be established. This ethos can be easily identified from the following speech made by the members of a group who is known as 'the gang of vagabonds' in the Çöplük district. 19-years old youngster nicknamed as Malkoçoğlu represents a position in between two extreme sides of the range of the ethical perception: he is either 'the most troublesome' or 'the most brave' person. He grew up his parents being divorced; at the age of 5, he worked in the junkyard with his father, frequently ran away from his home and lived in the streets for a long time. He already has the story of numerous fights, cuttings of razor blade, and police stations:

Malkoçoğlu: You have never had parental compassion, you end up in a police station, but your father does not come. Of course, all these things offend you. If father had helped me, if mother had helped me, if they had told me don't do this and do that ... we would not fall into such environment. We would go to school just like everybody else.

We would go to work. Is not it! Normally ... we would have had education; we would be a great man!

Ercan: Son, you are talking about the present but we did not have anything in the past, as well. We did even not have shoes. We also had to steal firewood from the coal bins; that is, we did many things too. My father used to drink alcohol at that time. We suffered a lot. Everyone should have so; you should have been suffered a lot in the past as well.

Malkoçoğlu: That is true.

Ercan: The one who says I'm not suffering, he lies. This guy used to sell coal by collecting it from coal-carriers (*referring to their third friend*). Then, what happened after all? He has a grocery store now. Some things have reached at a level. We have a shop; we have reached some level (*referring to his father's coffee-shop*). That is the point.<sup>40</sup>

The individualised poor lives require a perception of the social order based on neo-liberalism's individualist ethos. What was 'the point' that Ercan attracted attention by mentioning the difference of the 'level' indicates the perception of an individual, who is able to control his/her own fate, who makes choices, and thus, who is responsible of his/her own development. Therefore, Malkoçoğlu, despite of his nickname, is an unsuccessful person in his friends' esteem. As long as he searches for the reasons of his living in his specific conditions, probably he would never have reasons that can be regarded as legitimate. This criterion of legitimisation also defines the borders and the content of the public sphere.

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<sup>40</sup> Malkoçoğlu: Ana-baba şefkati görmemişsin, karakola düşmüşsün baban gelmemiş. Zoruna gidiyor tabii insanın herşey. Ama baba tutsaydı elimizden, ana tutsaydı, gel oğlum öyle yapma böyle yap... biz bu ortamlara düşmezdik. Herkes gibi okurduk. Biz de koç gibi işimize giderdik. Öyle mi! Normalde bir ... okurduk, bir büyük adam olurduk ya!

Ercan: Oğlum, zamanında bizim de hiçbir şeyimiz yoktu, şimdi öyle diyorsun da sen. Bizim ayakkabımız yoktu. Biz de çocukluğumuzda gittik kömürlükten odun çaldık, yani çok şeyler yaptık. Bazı şeyleri geçirdik yani. Babam o zaman alkol alırdı. Çok şeyler çektik. Herkes çekmiştir, siz de çekmişsinizdir zamanında.

Malkoçoğlu: Doğru.

Ercan: Çekmiyorum diyen insan yalan konuşur. Şu adam zamanında burada kömür arabalarından kömür toplar satardı. Haa, ne oldu şimdi? Bunun bakkalı oldu. Bazı şeyler, seviyeye geldi. Bizim dükkânımız var, bazı seviyeye geldik. Mesele o yani.



Poverty is the most important tool of this definition, because the social well-being is no longer a public good, on the contrary it is connected before everything private sphere –relations of market, family, and community– as required by the individualist ethos. Then, there is only one thing left to be done to determine what the public responsibilities in maintaining the social justice and well-being is legitimising the differences among people's misfortunes with such categories like 'worthy' and 'unworthy'.

The categorisation of poverty allows organizing the public on the ground of the selective criteria rather than the universal and inclusive social policies. Hence, restricting the demands in the public space would be possible (Rioux & Zubrow, 2001). The official circular, concerning the preparation of the "Inventory of Poverty", sent by the State Minister, Beşir Atalay, to the foundations of Social Assistance and Solidarity (in Turkish Sosyal Yardımlaşma ve Dayanışma) in January, 2003 (Radikal Newspaper, 2003), exactly represents this attempt. The circular, demanding "the complete determination of persons and families who are lack of social security, and who live in such poverty that would disturb the public's conscience", narrows the responsibility area of the public. Likewise, Atalay pointed that "helping persons and families who are in economic and social deprivation, is a social and public responsibility rather than being a duty of humanity and of conscience". The public responsibility is only limited with the poor included in the inventory, that is, with the 'worthy' poverty, at the expense of the social citizenship. The rest could be left to the market, the capital of informal relations and the charitableness.

This point also indicates how the relations between specific categories like 'marginals', 'excluded' and the class are regulated, and it is closely related to the last component of the transformation experienced in the paradigm of the society – in a more correct expression, it demonstrates how the statement made by the new-right's declaration in the early 1980s as "there exists no society", has turned into a reality. The categorisation of the poverty based on the discrimination of worthy-

unworthy or deserving-undeserving poor is to be constructed by denying the idea that the social problems have common roots. Otherwise, it would not be possible to limit the public responsibility with the selective programs and to enforce the market rules for the 'undeserving' poor.

This negation divides the poor on certain sections as 'abjected subjects' on the one hand, and it re-unifies them morally and spatially on the other hand. It makes them subjected to a moral ordering based on whether they are capable of and wilful for self-management at first, and then, it relocates them within the space both spectrally and strategically (Rose, 1996: 346-347). Such as the street children, the homeless people, the thinner-addicted people, the prostitutes, the poor families with single parent and the danger of busy streets identified with them, the darkness of the back streets, the pornographic fomentation of the squatter settlements and the poor houses that can not be entered.

The result is the sociality based on micro social engineering in each of which specific expertises and voluntary institutions are organized. In this area, called as "governing and margins" by Rose (1996: 344), the social capital plays a very crucial role –regarding both the formation of the borders and the defining of the main body via this. The web site document of World Bank is full of the examples demonstrating the importance of the social capital. The Bank, which views the poverty as "a function of the weakness and of being excluded", states the followings in a section titled "Social capital and access to formal markets":

Securing access to markets is a crucial step along the path to economic advancement for the poor. One of the defining features of being poor is that one lacks connections into the formal economy including material and informational resources. The poor's social capital, derived primarily from family and neighbours, can serve as an important day-to-day 'safety-net', but the social capital possessed by the rich enables them to further their interests. Helping the poor to transcend their closed networks in order to access additional resources is one of the challenges of economic development.

What the Bank is talking about is not the society, but the market; being excluded and weakness, accepted as 'a function' of poverty, defines the relationship with the market, not with the society. Moreover, the market is no longer an economical apparatus working perfectly under the existence of rational individuals and the formal rules as the liberal orthodoxy have always assumed. On the contrary, it arises on the assumption of that our economic orientation has a social context. Market imperfections imply a market that is based on traditions, habits, decision processes and informalities that could not be expected, necessarily, to be based on the maximisation.<sup>41</sup> The space within which the 'imperfections' are defined is the socialites –everything once viewed as a barrier for the capitalist development. In this case, it is necessary to rethink the place of 'the margins' pointing out that the poverty is a state of exclusion, because the borders are not at the edges of the society, but within the market itself. If one considers that the market could create exclusion and weakness only through inclusion, no one is at the 'outside' any longer.

As a conclusion, when the World Bank observes, firstly, it only sees merely a labour power (Cammak, 2002). With the words of Marx, they are nothing but the necessary labour-time devoted for the very growth of the capital in all their lifetime in the eyes of the capitalist. Secondly, the labour-power, which is 'their most abundant asset' (World Bank, 1990: 51), is a commodity that should be subjected to the order of commodity just like any other commodity. It is not purposeless that Narayan calls the context of policies, which includes the separate interventions of the state, the private sector, and the non-governmental organization, or the joint intervention of all the three -targeting at the development of the poor's social capital- as "a transition from substitution

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<sup>41</sup> For an "information-theoretical economic approach" of Stiglitz, ex-chief-economist of the World Bank, see Fine (2001a, chapter 1). For Fine, this approach, which also means the colonisation of the social sciences by the economics, tries to unify the analysis of economic and the non-economic on the ground of methodological individualism by using the society and the history as informational defects and as path dependency, respectively. Although the imperialistic regulation of the economics on the social sciences is not something new, what is new in this economic approach, for Fine, is that it suggests an analysis of societies, institutions, and even history without feeling a need of other areas of the social sciences (Fine, 2001a: 14).

relationship to complementary one between the informal and formal institutions." What is aimed with the transformation of the informal sources so as to establish the connection between the poor and the economy, is the type of "governing" which would make the market relations effective for the informal relations as well. This implies the expansion of economy, which is organized completely independent of all the social criteria at macro level, in a way to incorporate the micro social relations. For the social capital, which is assumed to make "the social-structural explanation of the economic life" (Woolcock, 1998: 185) possible, not only the economy, but also social relations lack the social content as well. Therefore, it is necessary to examine the politics of language that calls the social relations as the social capital more closely.

### **3.3.5. The Poor as a 'Social Capitalist' or The Ideological Degradation of Labour**

The social capital has provided a 'sociological' framework to claim that the principles related with the market – efficiency, productivity, economic benefit, etc. – can be applied on sociology; a claim which hitherto was difficult to be accepted by sociology. Moreover, this is no longer false as well. Because, for capitalism, human (labour) and nature (land) are elements of market just like other commodities produced to be bought and sold. Education and skill, therefore, become the means of achieving a competitive advantage in the market. The labourers, as the concept of human capital assumed, are seen as investors owning an individual capital who carry their own labour-power. Even the people, who do not own anything for investing on their labour-power, have now 'a portfolio of relations of friendship and co-operation' in which they are the entrepreneurs.

From the viewpoint of the meaning of sociality, the epistemological inference of the social capital is very serious once we think about a language of market that spread into our everyday life, such as "making investment on relations", "giving someone a credit". When 'the social' becomes also a capital, there is no one left

who is not a capitalist. There is one more form of the capital that we own inevitably because of the very fact that we are social beings, in addition to the 'forms of capital', that is, the financial capital of the capitalists, the natural capital of the countries, and the human capital of the educated people. The ones, who do not own anything other than their poverty, can even be thought as "active subjects"<sup>42</sup>, that is, as 'social capitalist' who own this form of capital. For this, it is quite obvious that we have to think as the capital is not a social relation first (Fine, 2001a: 26). Otherwise, it would be impossible to find not the existence, but lack of the capital in a person who suffers from poverty.<sup>43</sup>

In this case, for example, the domestic labour, which is actually a relationship of being oppressed under the yoke of capitalism and patriarchy for women, becomes an asset; or the women's historical susceptibility for forming network becomes simply a ground for the small-scale entrepreneurial activities (see Narayan, 2002). Similarly, the trade union, the political mean of workers in which they are able to use their power originated due to their position in the relations of production against the capitalist, becomes merely an association (see Putnam, 1995). It is now even possible to talk about a similarity between the labour and the capital, which in fact they have nothing in common, as they have different forms of capital (Smith & Kulynych, 2002). Regarding the analysis of the social relations, as the idea of exploitation and oppression disappears with the emergence of the social capital, the political axis building 'the governing of margins' shifts from the struggle to the participation, from the resistance to the empowerment, from integration to inclusion.

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<sup>42</sup> For example, see Warren, et. al. (2001), and Putnam (1995).

<sup>43</sup> The social capital looks like a term that the poverty studies conducted in Turkey are ready to absorb. See for examples Keyder (2005); Şen (2002: 178). Although Şen's conceptual framework is based on an argument that the solidarity and co-operation relations rested on the origin "cannot be reduced into the economic relations that defines the exchange", in the coming pages, the social relations at stake are called by using the term 'capital' whose sole aim is to produce exchange value without making any explanation. What is the most distinguishing property of the social capital is its easiness to be used as a given analytical element that would not even require any explanation.

In conclusion, what is envisioned with the idea of the social capital is such sociality in which the all-historical meaning of the capital is cleaned out completely. It is, in fact, is nothing but only the market presented as inevitable and innate characteristic of our existence as human beings. Probably, the thief, who had stolen the communality from the goose, has never been made as legitimate as today. In the rest of this section, I will focus on the determinants for the historical-materialist approach proposed here, to bring out its implications for understanding poverty by paying attention to the traces of the 'thief' within the 'essential logic' of capitalism as stated by O'Brien (2003) below:

The nature of laws surrounding the question of poverty in society is not *only* particular to each historical circumstance throughout the history of capitalism – although they are partly that. Their *essential* logic stems from the nature of capitalism itself. We can therefore only understand poverty, and responses made to poverty, over the course of modern history by seeing it in terms of the essential form of exploitation which defines capitalism as well as the class structure and form of class struggle associated with it (O'Brien, 2000: 13, emphasis in original).

### **3.4. Sanchez's Children and the Proletariat of the Manifesto**

Since the intellectual esteem of poverty belongs to liberalism, in poverty studies the Marxist literature is usually represented by the famous 'lumpen proletariat' category, which is construed as a poor typology. According to Marx (1976) these unpropertied who live on the labour of the workers –the burglars, beggars, bandits and criminals are a "social scum" who are more inclined to reactionism due to their conditions of living, and they are "a passively rotting mass". Their existence as a social subject can only be possible when they are swept into the movement by a proletarian revolution. Whilst integrating this scum to the capitalist relations as a reserve, 'the reserve army of labour' as one of the fundamental concepts related to poverty, is also found lacking the ability to solve the political uncertainty of the poor as a social subject.

However, the theoretical pose of poverty for Marxism is related to its being a trend belonging to both of the capital accumulation's double tendencies; aggravating the misery of the proletariat (because of its commoditised labour being subordinated to competition and profit) and socially strengthening its position (due to its position as the creator of the social wealth). This is, however, at the same time, where the problem starts for the mainstream poverty studies; because, Marx could not predict the rising of social power and deepening the impoverishment of proletariat, has not been experienced on the ground of the unification of the world proletariat, but rather on the ground of its residential polarisation (Arrighi, 1993). Hence the process seems like it has brought about these two problematic results with regard to class and poverty: On one hand, the poor have been the political subject of the claim to power in the Third World countries where poverty spreads throughout the masses and the working class is qualitatively very weak. The 'lumpen proletariat', has reached a political esteem especially as the revolutionary power of the national liberationist wars against the colonialism. But on the other hand, in the advanced countries in which the working class has the social power, the class movement has sided with the reforms based on getting larger shares of the social security system and the income, as against the claim of political power; and this has marginalized the poverty with regards to the subjects of it – the women, immigrants, blacks. As a result, the 'lumpen proletariat' - even though it is remembered to draw an analogy with the 'underclass' concept in the American poverty literature – is seen almost only as an archaic outer-class poor typology by the mainstream poverty studies.

However, children of Sanchez and the proletariat of the Communist Manifesto have ceased to carry a relationship based only on the unique alliances formed at the historical moments of unrest but they have come to the point that they consist of the same human material, as has been foreseen by Marx (Arrighi, 1993). The thing that brings together the two classics of poverty literature and class literature is 'of course' a result of the second global wave of the capitalism and is related on one side with the reorganization of the national economies as a part of the global

commodity chain, and accordingly, related with the dispersion of the traditional realms of power of the class struggle. Consequently, the place where the problem should start for poverty studies is the same. It is because this process in which the capitalist relations of production replace whatever there is left as pre-capitalist relations is the process of commoditisation of the totality of life on a global scale (De Angelis, 2000; Robinson, 1998). As a result, poverty can only be discussed as the subject of these two 'classic' levels of analysis: the restructuration of the capitalist relations of production according to the global processes of capitalist accumulation and the process of the subordination of the reproduction sphere to the market.

A perspective based on the aforementioned analytical levels enables this kind of insight against the hegemony of the given poverty literature: First, it problematizes the categorisation of poverty according to certain criteria – as in level of income, standard of living, social capital or social exclusion. Because it does not accept the answers that the definitions in question give to the question of "why are the poor, poor?" – from money-metric approach to entitlement analysis – as a reason but as a result; hence, it directly criticises the logic of capital itself. Second, because of this, it problematizes the political consequences of the previously mentioned theoretical attempts, which determine who the poor are; hence it carries its own propositions of solution beyond the logic of the capital.

#### **3.4.1. Defining Poverty as a Class Problem**

Calling for poverty to be discussed on the basis of the antagonist relationship between labour and capital, i.e., remembering the 'structural necessities' of capitalism in the context of poverty literature, is ultimately nothing more than acknowledging today what Patric Colquhoun, the police chief of London did in 1815. According to Colquhoun:

Poverty is that state and condition in society where the individual has no surplus labour in store, or, in other words, no property or means of



subsistence but what is derived from the constant exercise of industry in the various occupations of life. Poverty is therefore a most necessary and indispensable ingredient in society, without which nations and communities could not exist in a state of civilization. It is the lot of man. It is the source of wealth, since without poverty, there could be no labour; there could be no riches, no refinement, no comfort, and no benefit to those who may be possessed of wealth (recited in Perelman, 2000).

However the problem is, to demonstrate what is engaged in the study of poverty today, after approximately two hundred years of break, is capable of solving. Does the classical Marxist approach that sees the poverty as a structural necessity of capital accumulation tells us "everything and nothing", as Alcock (1993) claims? When we consider the need of the impoverishment of urgent solutions, does the relations of production fixation in Marxism renders taking concrete steps to solve poverty impossible? After all what is the use of there not being another solution than overthrowing capitalism for the poor today?

Firstly, under the paradigmatic shift of social sciences from class to identity, from structural contortionism to contingency; when it is considered that the theoretical basis of current poverty studies, especially of those research levels, which formulate poverty as problematic, rely on "denial of class" (Harvey & Reed, 1996); reminding the structural needs of capitalism is a good on its own.

Secondly, this reminding separates itself by class politics; from politics that can not be based on any ontological foundations, the politics based on plural subject positions and resultantly whose needs cannot be met by the politics of class. This separation shows that poverty can be grasped politically only through the field and possibilities of class struggle and thus enables us to actualise the historical experience of the class movement as an instrument of understanding and surpassing today. This is especially required, because perhaps the most important thing that the class experience unveils is that the historical coercion of capitalism that seems to be long forgotten is in fact living trough as an actual coercion. Knowing this, builds up a struggle in a world that we otherwise do not believe

that we possess enough compatibility qualities, and because of this we would be left out of the market 'opportunities' which seem to be a natural principle of our lives, and think that the resources are truly scarce and believe that we would be saved from poverty if the production and productivity ever increases.

For this reason, Colquhoun, when he said that wealth could only aggregate by creating poverty, was not only speaking about a past in which "the ancestors of modern working class were forced to become vagabonds and beggars" (Marx, 1997; 698) but also about today. Once capitalism becomes the constitutive principle of the society, then what is at hand is a world that is dedicated to the accumulation of the capital. The 'classic' antagonism of this world between the bourgeoisie and proletariat includes the tendency of continuous deprivation of the labour from the capacity to recreate itself as well as the dispossession of it. In other words, it is not enough to be deprived of the property of means of production; it is also required to be shunned out of both of the niches of collective reproduction; those inherited from the pre-capitalist relations and those organized outside of market relations.

Briefly, there is the coercion for and struggle against tearing off from the means of survival outside of paid labour system, within the classical antagonism. This means an eternal rooting process that working class' conditions of living are subordinated by the movement of capital accumulation. Even though the social sciences seem to have forgotten the looting nature of capitalism for a long time now; it is quite evident that it is not safe from being depicted as an image of apocalypse in the collective consciousness of the oppressed. Such as in the below story that Dürdane tells:

The riches... it does not have content for few. Life is dead. Even the apocalypse has come to an end. It came to an end that... Look, take this by heart: in 3 or 4 years from now, this world will terminate. There was a hodja in our village, he used to say, the time will come, he used to say, there lies a dog by the river... the man read from the book, we were all children, the man he was like a sage hodja, he used

to gather us all, and started to tell as such. There will lay a dog, he said, by the river, a shedog, in the instant a neighbour goes to ask of something to a neighbour, the dog in her womb, before the mother speaks will shout an answer as barf barf, to say "don't give it". This is how the offspring of the apocalypse time are... They won't respect the mothers and fathers. Three cauldrons boiled in the river. The three cauldrons boiled over and pour, into each other, the cauldron in the middle burnt up terribly... The riches were boiling over, but the cauldron in the middle burnt up and this is the poor of the apocalypse time, he used to say. There laid a lion by the river and cried out "I'm burning, I'm burning". The water of the river could not extinguish the fire. Our lord the prophet called out to him "hey lion, the whole the water of this huge river is pouring in your mouth and why aren't you still filled up?" And this is the government of the apocalypse time he said. It eats and eats, but is never filled up. Now is exactly like that...<sup>44</sup>

The capital, against the fetishist perception that renders it into an economic factor, is a living power in the experiences of the oppressed, it changes the social values, it increases the polarization between the richness and poverty and it advances in a limitless 'clarity'. For this reason, it is handled as "the destiny of the working class" in Marx, because it simply "grows only with the number of people that it grasps within its sovereignty and its own size" (Marx, 1997: 589).

This growth includes the primitive accumulation strategies of the peasants' being ripped off their control over their own means of subsistence, as in the prophecies like "it will all be vineyards, the hills past Çertek<sup>45</sup>; but the day will when a single

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<sup>44</sup> Varlık... aza kanaati yok. Yaşam öldü. Ahirin de sonu geldi. Sonu geldi ki... Bak burayı belle: 3 sene veya 4 seneye bu dünya gark olacak! Köyümüzde bir hoca vardı, derdi ki, zaman gelecek derdi, ırmağın kenarında bir köpek yatarmış... adam kitaptan okurdu, büyük olarak, biz çocuğuz, adam yani bilgili bir hoca, başına bizi toplardı, böyle anlatırdı. Bir köpek yatacak, derdi, ırmağın kenarında, kancık bir köpek, bir komşu bir komşuya bir şey istemeye geldiği anda, karındaki köpek, annesi konuşmadan hav hav diye karşılık verecek ki, 'verme' diye. Bu, ahir-i zaman evlatları... anayı-babayı tanımayacak. İrmakta üç kazan kaynarmış. Üç kazan birbirine taşıp dökülürmüş, ortadaki kazan çatır çatır yanarmış. Zenginlik taşıp dökülüyor, ortadaki yanıyor... bu da ahir-i zaman fakirleri, derdi. Bir aslan yatarmış ırmağın başında, "yanıyoom, yanıyoom" dermiş. İrmağın suyu yangınıni söndürememiş. Peygamber efendimiz buna demiş ki, "yahu aslan, koca nehrin, ırmağın suyu ağzına akıyor da, sen niye doymuyorsun?" Bu da, ahiri-zaman hükümeti derdi. Yiyor, yiyor doymuyor. İşte şimdi aynı öyle.

<sup>45</sup> It's a village of Çorum. The informants admits that the area in question has really become a vineyard, while she was around 12 years old, and tells that of those vineyards which 5-6 tons of grapes were collected, only remains empty fields remain.

grape will not be found to eat", of capitalization of the agricultural fields and common lands and thus the destruction of the ecological foundations of production and reproduction, and of the refinement of the public by opening the collective consumption spheres organized outside of the commodity relations to the market; and the devalorization processes of the labour market through the flexibility, deregulation and low wages policies.

It is possible to define this accumulation process as "pauperisation of labour"<sup>46</sup> (Özuğurlu, 2002). Pauperisation does not only consist of the poor labourers, those who are propelled outside the labour market; neither is it only comprised of the weakening of the organized workers, or the subordination of the social policies to the market regulations and restrictions of international competition. This concept expresses, as the sum of all above, the absolute capitalisation of our existence up to our most fundamental needs. Poverty is the 'absolute common rule' of the process of the pauperisation of labour. Both the organized-skilled worker and the unemployed who won't be able to become a part of active labour power until the end of his/her life are subjected to this process that is being created by similar forces and relationships on a global scale. For this reason, Sanchez's children and the proletariat of the Communist Manifesto are together.

However still, this only shows us the social relations of production and in this form; it appears as if there is no other avenue that we can advance from the starting point. The relations of production are an objectivity that brings together heterogeneous groups, but what makes them as a class is their experience of the objectivity that they are subject to (Wood, 1995) as a relation of struggle (Thompson, 1986). That is why discussing poverty within the question of how the social life is organized within the logic of the capital shows us not only the location of the exploitation but also that of the resistance.

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<sup>46</sup> Amin (2003) also similarly describes the current trend of capital accumulation with the term "pauperisation" and he defines this phenomenon, which he claims to have "devastating effects in all dimensions of social life", as the modernization of poverty.

In Salih's words, who was born in 1955 and came to Ankara to work in constructions besides his countryman from Çorum at the age of 12 and who has not stopped working yet, this means not only becoming a worker, but learning how to be a worker at the same time. For Salih, his initial years as a worker in Ankara were the years which, by him words, "he continued living bashfully all on my own":

It is for the cost of a bread, after all. It's only the cost of bread that you are going to earn, not more! You look at your life; look at what you are wearing... while another man looks for a place to spend his daily expenses, you've left your hometown to come here... all you earn is money for a little piece of bread. You see the difference, even if you are only a child. This crushes you whether you like it or not. Maybe a thousand different things cross your mind, but... You keep on living bashfully on your own. It is really very hard, you know! <sup>47</sup>

In the year 1972, he starts working in İskenderun Iron and Steel Factory and witnesses a strike for the first time in his life: "It was good for me. It was really good for me. I've learned that I myself was a worker; than I've gained a little more courage".

Salih is telling us these two things together: Firstly, what he is talking about now is himself as a member of a class; secondly, knowing this gives him courage. In other words beginning from the very moment he starts seeing his individual experience as a part of a class experience, construction worker Salih faces a world that he no longer feels bashful against but one that he accuses.

Ours is a forced life you know! Now you see the buildings as they are built up polished well, painted and brilliant; but the lives of those people who did this job, those who have strived for it is very bitter. I'm telling the truth. If it is for the toil... there is no other who works more than the workman. My dad worked, my grand-father had

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<sup>47</sup> *Bir ekmek parasına sonuçta. Kazanacağın bir ekmek parası, başka bir şey değil! Yaşantına bakıyorsun, giydiğin elbiseye bakıyorsun... adam günlük parayı harcayacak yer ararken, sen memleketini bırakıp gelmişsin buraya... bir lokma ekmek parası kazanıyorsun. Çocuk da olsan aradaki farkı görüyorsun. Bu ister istemez insanı kahrediyor. Belki kafandan binbir çeşit şeyler geçiyor ama... Kendi başına mahcup mahcup yaşamaya devam ediyorsun. Çok zor ya!*

worked, and I did work, and I have done the utmost of works, but I have never lived a life in luxury. For some to live in ease, some should be oppressed. Some should constantly serve the others.<sup>48</sup>

The struggle not only changes the objectivity – which is often thought to be an a priori abstraction – of the social relations of production in to a 'living' commonality for the oppressed, it also takes back the personal responsibility they are expected to feel for their revalorised life, and returns it back to the ones responsible for it. Otherwise it is impossible to understand why the new generation of construction workers who have never yet experienced a strike in their lives find 'courage' in times of rising struggle of the organized worker movement:

Now the built-and-sell types of organizations have appeared, this has crippled the constructing people. But when the unionised workers or the public servants get into action, it does reflect on the constructing people. They find courage, they feel themselves a little bit more powerful, even though they lose the job, they somewhat do not care that much (Construction worker Salih).<sup>49</sup>

Advancing from this starting point gives us important basis for not only for the critiques but also for understanding poverty.

#### 4.2.1. From the Poor Typologies to Class Relations

Sociology works through typologies and every typology, by its nature, is based on a principle of differentiation. Poverty as a typology, in this respect, can only describe a hierarchical differentiation according to a relatively strict criteria such

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<sup>48</sup> *Bizimki zoraki bir yaşam ya! Şimdi görünüşte binalar dikilmiş, cilalanmış, boyası çekilmiş, pırıl pırıldır. Ama o işi yapan insanların, o emeği veren insanların yaşamı çok acıdır yani. Gerçek söylüyorum. Alınteriyse... ameleden çok çalışan yoktur. Benim babam çalıştı, dedem çalıştı, ben de çalıştım, hele ki çalışmanın en fazlasını yaptım, ben lüks yaşamı görmedim. Birilerinin rahat yaşaması için birilerinin ezilmesi gerekiyor. Birilerinin onlara sürekli hizmetçilik yapması gerekiyor.*

<sup>49</sup> *Şimdi yap-satçılar çıktı, bu inşaatçı kesiminin belini çok kırdı gerçi. Ama sendikali işçiler ya da memurlar hareketlendi mi, dışarıda bir canlılık oldu mu, inşaatçı kesimine de yansır bu. Kendini biraz daha güçlü hissediyor, moral buluyor, işi de kaybetse, bir yerde umurunda olmuyor.*

as being deprived of material resources that enables one to take part within the society, or according to a relatively broad criteria such as being partially or totally left out of the economical, political, social and cultural systems that make up the social integration. Inequality, as a measure of comparison constitutes the fundamental principle that the hierarchical differentiation is based on. Even in those situations that this is seen as a structural hierarchy that belongs to capitalism, poverty ultimately explains in which different ways the people are situated within this hierarchy. Consequently, in both of the manners of the conceptualisation, poverty points out a place within or outside of the class; although it is always those at the 'bottom'.<sup>50</sup> It is clear that poverty as a 'location' is related with grasping the class as a location. The class in this respect becomes a definition of place within the society rather than being a relation of contradiction of capitalism, and thus it leaves us two things to determine the place of the poor; either to take it out of the class relationship or revise the definition of class.

In the first of these solutions, the worst possibility is that the poor become the subject of an anti-labour discourse –as a wandering, vagrant band lacking the working ethic– and thus we are at least persuaded again that free time is the natural right of the ruling classes. In the best of possibilities, they turn into the 'unfortunates' who could not deal with the never questioned results of capitalism, because of the lack of social capital, and as such they constitute a typology worth

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<sup>50</sup> For the 'poverty at the bottom' (dipteki yoksulluk) concept, which is offered as the Turkish counterpart of the underclass see Tol (2000). The poor at the bottom, which Tol proposes as "... a concept which manages both to describe a segment which is left outside of social classes and to point out that these are the poorest segments, whose conditions are seriously desperate" is a good translation into Turkish but, because of the nature of the concept itself, it points out to a weak understanding of class. The claim is that, as far as the fundamental determinant of the class position is the ownership of means of production or selling out the labour power; the place of the poor at the bottom as they can not even sell their labour is the outside of classes. Even though every concept bears the problem of the possibility of caricaturization, there is also a limit to it for the others. It is true that the labour power is something "... that can only be sold as long as it can be reproduced" (Marx, 1997: 590) However, this shows that labour power belongs to the capital even when it is unable to be sold. The problem is clearly that the labour power has turned into something that can be sold. Hence, not only those who could be employed are the victims of the paid-labour slavery, but also the "paid labourers who have been thrown out at the instant that they have become excesses for the necessity of growth of the capital", as Marx have called them. (1997: 586) If we do not believe that the law of demand and supply is a scientific fact, this means that the more proletarianization there is, the more unemployed there will be.

investigating not only by their numbers and crimes, but also by their manners of interpretation, ways of living and cultural norms. In either way, however, they are called for submitting the discipline of paid-labour. In the words of İlyas who has been working as a construction worker since he was 13 years old:

The man (Sabancı – who is one of the biggest capitalists in Turkey) says: "you should work, you should work, and you should work". For God's sake, Sabancı's family of seven lineages has not work, has not work! The man speaks. You know, there is a commercial, everybody who has a mouth speaks; see, some speak without any consciousness like me, and some have the capital like him and his capital speaks.<sup>51</sup>

The second of solutions is to criticise the homogeneous perception of class, to handle heterogeneity as a new and distinctive feature of class and thus provide a space for the poor. However, this does not tell us anything more than that people are just stay there situated within different class positions; or by rejecting that the labour-capital contradiction is an ontological relationship, the social realm is thought to be opened up to different/non-class contradictions and thus the place of the poor ceases to be a problem. However, what this can tell us is nothing more than "an inequality which is only a measure of comparison without any theoretical value" (Wood, 1995: 77). It is because the problem of defining the class as a location is that it forgets that the production of surplus, the 'differentia specifica' of capitalism in Marx's words; is a set of social relationships that contains antagonisms. This negligence perceives the capital as a thing in itself

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<sup>51</sup> Adam (Sabancı) diyor ki: "çalışacaksın, çalışacaksın, çalışacaksın". Yahu, Sabancı'nın yedi sülalesi çalışmamıştır! Yedi sülalesi çalışmamıştır! Adam konuşuyor. Hani reklam var, ağzı olan konuşuyor; işte benim gibi bilinçsiz konuşur kimi, kiminin de onun gibi sermayesi olur, sermayesi konuşur. – From interview with İlyas. He born in Çorum in 1963 as a fourth child of 8 children (6 boys, 2 girls) family. Until he graduated from primary school, he worked as a shepherd only with a pant and shirt for 30-40 million TL. as quarter's payment. He came to Ankara in 1976 to work in constructions like his elder brothers. Until he joined the army, he worked as seasonal construction worker. He married and settled in Ankara in 1986. After he rented a house for one year, he built his house on a plot land on junkyard, which he bought from first 'occupier'. He still works in constructions. His daughter is in secondary school and his son is in the second-class in high school. His wife has do handicrafts during their marriage. During this research his wife was in search of a wage labour because of increasing educational costs of his son who studies for university examination and his unemployed position for two years. One year later upon this research, she started to work in a restaurant for making 'manti' (a ravioli-like dish served with yogurt).



and ignores that it should always and necessarily be a certain type of social relationship; consequently, as can be seen in the criteria which accepts 'the poor at the bottom' as outer-class, the relations to the means of production ceases to be the field of social relations based on domination and exploitation and turn into inequalities based on market 'opportunities'.

But an analysis which starts from the relations of production, enables us foremost, to think of poverty as a 'process' rather than a situation. Poverty is of course a state of being, but this condition is constituted and maintained by the oppression process that originates it. However poverty as a condition pictures a given moment that somebody's in and handles it as a sum total of a list of insufficiencies and/or deprivations in the wide or narrow scopes of the terms. The problem is more about the fact that every indicator that makes up the list, much like the condition itself is handled as given, than being about the list of deprivations itself. What is observed is the income on individual or household level, the inadequacies in the comfort of nourishment, clothing, accommodation and location, and deprivations of infrastructure, education, health or cultural opportunities in the social sense. Since each one of the indicators is an a-historic category, a causal explanation, the lack of social capital or capability for example, is searched. In both cases the description is made of the structural obstacles in front of the effective participation within the markets, depicted as a realm of opportunities. The solution, for the recent years is the 'empowerment of the poor by market oriented coordination between state, markets and the non-governmental organizations (see for example Friedmann (1996). The meaning of this is nothing other than regulation of the unavoidable contradiction between the social needs and a macro economic program that operates in terms of profit and compatibility priorities.

Meanwhile, looking at the condition of poverty as a process historicises the given moment; and thus turns every indicator that consist the conditions of living into a historical question. For example, it does not handle the 'gecekondü' only as a

problem of residence, but forces us to think about the entirety of the contradictory process of bringing the need of accommodation a subject of private property and the resistance against it. For being a woman, being an immigrant worker (*gurbetçi*), being Kurdish, losing employment, having 'too many' children, 'being ignorant', having an 'income', being unskilled, building a *gecekondu*, planting a poplar tree in the doorway, being a snatcher, being detained in a police station and to die before is too late are all states of 'relationships' which originate from somewhere and headed somewhere else and they are only manifest within the process that constitutes them as a relationship. Maybe this is the reason why it is not surprising to see that the people that we applied for the interviews are in fact novelists or poets that would like to write their lives – sometimes as a title for a book that has been decided long time ago, sometimes as some pages that have been added to this title, and sometimes as books that have already been written or even published:

The end of the 40s... A poor Anatolian village that shares common characteristics with many of the different regions in the country. The name of this village is Kırıntı. It's a village of the Şiran district of Giresun. I was only one of the tens and hundreds of children born in this village. It is impossible to tell the exact date of my birth because the registrations back then were not held accurately. But it is said that my birth was around years 1948 and 1950 (...)

The conditions of living for İzzet were changing in Giresun, he believed that he was entering the world of the young, but he was still a child. He was barely 11 years old and he was attending the fourth grade in the elementary school. He believed himself to be more grown up than the other children. He felt himself as though he was 15 years old. He wanted to subsidize himself on his own. He didn't want to live on other people's caring. He thought that he had grown up. He wanted to get free off the state orphanage (*Çocuk Esirgeme Kurumu*) and see other places, see himself in other environments. One day he decided, he would leave Giresun and head for Istanbul, which he held in his dreams. He departed with money that would not even be enough to feed him. They may have not let him into a bus as a child. He would immediately catch their attention. But he thought "if I follow the highway on foot, nobody can interfere" (...) He was following the highway. When he was tired, he sometimes watched the fisher boats in the shores of the Blacksea, he slept in a boat when he saw a deserted one, ate the left-overs of the fishermen if he found

any. (...) The sky had already been darkened when he reached near Ordu. He was looking around him in fear and searching for a place to spend the night. (...) He was starting to realise that he was still a child and had not grown up yet in this lonely atmosphere. But there was no turning back now. He saw an empty hut in a hazelnut garden. The door of the hut was open. He entered. His heart was beating recklessly with the excitement that resulted from not knowing what he would encounter...<sup>52</sup>

The poor districts have their writers. Their desire to unravel and record not what is apparent but what actually transpires reminds us once more why the history is important for the oppressed. Like İzzet Öztürk, a retired factory worker and the writer of the above lines, who had been trying to dream how would it be like to wear red shoes, the only thing that he was able to see while he was working as a carrier in Giresun's streets when he was around 11 and 12, who was living as a street children in Beyoğlu-İstanbul in the 60s and who passed away at the age of 52, before being able to complete writing about the house he built up of boxes, his "box-house-mate" and the "sweet memories he could never forget" even though they were brief. Like Ali Baba who left a book load of poems behind after he committed suicide and Kadriye Canlı, the writer of the book *Yaşam Yokuşu* (The Life Slope)...

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<sup>52</sup> 1940'lı yılların sonları... Yurdun pekçok yöresinin ortak özelliğini taşıyan yoksul bir Anadolu köyü. Kırıntı'dır bu köyün adı. Gümüşhane'nin Şiran ilçesine bağlıdır. Ben, bu yoksul köyde doğan onlarca, yüzlerce çocuktan sadece biriydim. O zamanlar nüfus kayıtları sağlıklı tutulmadığı için doğumum hakkında kesin bir tarih söylemek olanaksızdır. Ancak 1948 ile 1950 yılları arasında doğduğum söylenmektedir.

(...) Giresun'da İzzet için artık yaşam koşulları değişiyordu. İzzet, çocukluktan gençliğe doğru adım attığına inanıyordu. Ama o hala çocuktı. Henüz 11 yaşındaydı ve ilkokul dördüncü sınıfa gidiyordu. Diğer çocuklardan kendini daha yetişkin görüyordu. Kendini 15 yaşında gibi hissediyordu. Geçimini kendisi sağlamak istiyordu. Başkalarının yardımıyla ayakta kalmak istemiyordu. Büyüdüğünü sanıyordu. Artık, Çocuk Esirgeme Kurumu'ndan kurtulmak, başka yöreler, başka ortamlar içinde kendisini görmek istiyordu. Bir gün kararını verdi. Giresun'dan ayrılarak düşlerinde yaşattığı İstanbul'a gidecekti. Cebinde karnını doyurmaya bile yetmeyecek bir harçlıkla yola çıkmıştı. Bir çocuk olarak otobüse alınmayabilirdi. Hemen dikkat çekerd. Ancak "yürüyerek gidersem hiç kimse bana karışamaz" diye düşündü. (...) Karayolunu izliyordu. Yorulduğunda Karadeniz'in kıyı sahillerinde zaman zaman balıkçı kayıklarını gözlüyor, تنها bir kayak gördüğünde içinde uyuyor, balıkçılardan kalmış yiyecek bulursa onu yiyordu. (...) Ordu yakınlarına geldiğinde hava kararmıştı. Ürkek bir durumda çevresine bakıyor, geceyi geçirebileceği bir yer arıyordu. (...) Bu yalnız ortamda çocuk olduğunun, büyümediğinin ayırına varmaya başladı. Ama artık geriye dönüş yoktu. Bir fındık bahçesinde boş bir baraka gördü. Barakanın kapısı açıktı. İçeriye girdi. Neyle karşılaşacağını bilememenin yarattığı büyük bir heyecanla yüreği küt küt atıyordu...

In conclusion, the thing that we would see if we historicize poverty would be that the market is a relation of subordination and not of opportunities. The meaning of historical relationship and process is not a comparison starting from before capitalism, like what Laçiner (2002) for example. Historical relationship is simply what enforces us to reach the basic means of subsistence through market, now, today. Meaning, the thing without which capitalism could not be, could not have been at all. Poverty is an attempt of de-historicising<sup>53</sup>, not only for societies but also for individuals too. It renders them out of place, shatters the positions, knowledge, qualifications and realms of power that they hold. That is why the homeland and diasporas can only be found in the collective repertory of the oppressed and only they can be rendered "ignorant" again, every time. This is nothing other than the process of proletarianization, in a concept that is familiar.

The concrete content of the Proletarianization shows us that this process should also be thought as a process of struggle concerning the rights, needs and the normative values about what could be a life worth human beings. It is because that the relations of production in which men and women are born are experiences that are also established in 'the other' spheres of life, "which are shaped within customs, systems of values, ideas and public forms" (Thompson, 1986: 9) as well as being shaped in the sphere of production. This is necessary because the relation of labour and capital is also a relation of "turning the society itself into an adjunct of the market" (Wood, 1994; 20). It is impossible to build up capitalism without building up 'market societies' in which the social relationships are devoured within the economy. For this reason E. P. Thompson (1991) in his work which studies the food uprisings of 18th century England, handles capitalism not only as the process of proletarianization but also as a process of conflict between alternative values and practices and the establishment of the market society. It is because the market society necessitates the reaching to the basic means of survival to mediate through the market, and this necessity faces

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<sup>53</sup> Dansuk, Ercan. From a conversation made with the author of the unpublished doctorate thesis, an oral history study on poverty. The concept describes the modernization process in Dansuk's study.

the resistance of the traditions and the common beliefs and expectations constructed about the right of living.

According to Thompson, even though poverty and hunger triggered them, it is impossible to see the food uprisings as an action of hopeless people because poverty neither dictates them that they should revolt nor determines the form of their uprising. Explaining the severity of the uprising in relation to the severeness of the poverty, according to Thompson is in fact nothing other than the assumption of homo-economicus individual. The action of the poor originates more from the confrontation between the social practices that organize the meeting of their needs through the means of market and the social practices outside the market which meets their needs through the basis of social consent that the social norms and obligations constitutes. According to Thompson (1991: 188) there is a sphere of a "moral economy of the crowd" that forms the frame of reference in this confrontation. That's why the moral economy that invites the people to resist against the free market economy can be found in every place that the capitalism spreads and every common values and norms that it breaks out. This prevents it from being thought of as something that is only traditional, or belonging to the past. On the contrary, the moral economy, according to Thompson (1991: 341), "continuously regenerates itself as anti-capitalist critique, as a resistance movement". If we are to talk in terms of class concepts, this is a sphere where relations of classes are 'debated' and as such it does not only show how the hegemony is enforced but also how it is articulated within the everyday life (Thompson, 1991: 345).

### **3.5. Conclusion**

The poor have been moved to the platform that has arranged them as a category through the discourse of 'social problem'. What the historical process shows is that the social problem is not a given but a momentum of the class struggle. In every historical moment that poverty has been politicised as a class based

problem, the social problem has organized the 'separation of the class relations within the non-class forms' (Holloway, 1991: 249) by the hand of the state. In other words, the action of the state that extends from justice to morals, from economy to the political discourse has always been realised as a practice of class. What separates the area of social problem in which the poor are constructed as a distinct community today from the past is directly related to this practice.

Capitalism managed to generalise its fundamental relationship of domination – the relationship of surplus extraction – with the externalisation of it from the public government mechanisms through its characteristic formal separation of economy and politics and as such it made the state special with 'apparent' neutrality. This meant, in traditional terms, the emergence of politics as a problem of social legitimacy; thus the description of poverty as a problem needed the existence of a field of reference, which would enable 'non-class forms'. However, the politics today are directly based on the assurance of the conditions of capital accumulation. The problem does not originate from economy and politics' apparent constitution of different levels but that the exploitation is directly organized by political means.

This results in these two problems, which are related with each other with regard to the problem of poverty: The state, on one hand is becoming visible as the government of a single class to a degree that it has never been in its history (Wood, 1997: 16) and as such the meaning of poverty as a problem is becoming relatively autonomous. On the other hand the state is becoming the focal point of a direct class struggle as it has never been before and thus the poverty ascends as a problem of class which not only dominates the production sphere but also whole realms of life.

The first result is related to the fact that while poverty is organized by the state as a criteria to indicate that its lands are adequate for the international flow of finance (Werlhof, 2000: 741), the relationship that is being established with the

problem of poverty is described in a non-political space. In other words, poverty is created as a 'reason' but the relation is established with its being a 'result', and thus the political responsibility can be formulated as being completely a moral issue. What makes a-politics possible is this crazy logic of capitalism: the more we increase the productibility the more we can prevent the meltdown of the standards of living (De Angelis, 2000). Consequently the relationship of poverty with the capital is assumed apolitical almost *a priori*. As a conclusion, the relative autonomy of poverty means rendering the political responsibility of poverty on nobody whereas pertaining the poor themselves on everyone. This is the reason behind the reorganization of the public sphere as a Şefkat Kapısı<sup>54</sup> (Care Gate) for the poor, since the disgusted and scolding discourse of the neo-liberalism has lost its credit.

The second result that constitutes poverty as a problem of class is that it is not only the meaning of poverty as a social problem but it is also poverty itself in its objectivity that is being constituted differently than the past. Another thing that the historical process shows us is that poverty shapes in relation to the level of domination that the reproduction of capital has over the society and the nature. In the historical level where the labour processes were not substituted to the control of capital in its whole entirety and the sphere of reproduction was left relatively commodity-free, the class has organized its collective uprising where the capital has controlled it directly, at the point of production and has subjected poverty into its power of collective bargaining. The poverty today is different than the period of primary accumulation or poverty of the reserve army labour of the industrial society, because this time the relation of commodity has been generalised to include the entirety of social practices and the nature too (Kees, 1997). This point shows why we need the investigation of capitalism in respect to the social reproduction of labour today.

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<sup>54</sup> The name of the association concerned with the poor in Konya, which still operates is: *Şefkat Kapısı: Kimsesizleri, Güçsüzleri, Barınmazları, Açları ve Zor Durumda Olanları Koruma Derneği* (Care Gate: The Association for the Protection of the Forlorn, the Weak, the Homeless, the Hungry and those who Endure Hardships).

## CHAPTER 4

### SOCIAL REPRODUCTION OF LABOUR: CONFLICTS AND STRUGGLES

*Bu kadında favela ruhu yokmuş. Çünkü faveladaki aç kalırsa, çöplüklere başvurur, pazarlarda dökülen sebzeleri toplar, dilenir ve böylece sürünür gider.*

*Caroline Maria de Jesus\**

#### 4.1. Introduction

What made Maria de Jesus think of 'the favela spirit' was the news in the newspaper that caught sight of her, while she was going to buy a food. A woman with her three children had killed herself because she could not subsist. That social reproduction of labour must be an accomplishment –at a minimal level at least– is almost by the definition (Katz, 2001). For this reason, the favela spirit is not a fictional analogy, but a real situation. When the prime minister Erdoğan who is president of the Justice and Development Party in to be power (in Turkish AKP – Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi) proclaimed that a family consisting of five persons earns now an amount of money, which can fill up their stomach with simit and tea and even can be sufficient to make an accumulation throughout one month (Birgün, 2005a), it was not only calling to this spirit, but also admitting

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\* *This woman does not have a favela spirit; because if a person at favela falls in hunger, s/he turns to the junkyard, picks up vegetables from market floors, begs and it goes on like that. – From the novel titled 'Junkyard' by Maria de Jesus (1971). The 1955-60s diaries of Maria de Jesus, who lived in the favela of Sao Paulo in Brazil, were published in the form of novel with the help of Dantas, a journalist. The worldwide best-selling novel was translated into Turkish in 1964 and, as it happened with the other languages it was translated into, it also gained great popularity in Turkish and reached its sixth edition.*



that the level of social well-being of labourers is nothing but a 'cost', which must be minimised as much as possible. To put it another way, the social reproduction of labour, despite its existential nature, is a highly controversial sphere in which "the workers never obtain the most minimal satisfaction of their demands without a bitter struggle" (Terrail, 1985b: 55). The similarity is entirely accidental but Çöplük represents why it is a significant issue for criticism looking from the junkyard not only as a study location but also as a metaphor.

As it is well known, the junkyard is a sphere where the useless, defunct and dirty things are deposited outside the settlements areas. In fact, as an object of perception, it 'terribly' resembles the poor but the resemblance is not the one I intended. Çöplük is such a junk-yard that, in Nurettin's<sup>1</sup> words, it receives from Çankaya (a wealthy area in Ankara) "parlak-mallı çöp" (luxury garbage), but from gecekondu "küllü-pis çöp" (dusty garbage). The hierarchy of garbage actually is a class hierarchy. As Nurettin suggested, "Çankaya's garbage is not the same as Keçiören's". No need for metaphors, looking from the junkyard may inform us about class inequalities and may provide us a critical insight about the centrality of consumption to modern capitalism, which is our the most general agreement. For this reason, the subject of this chapter is devoted to the hierarchy of garbage. In the first section, as far as poverty studies are concerned, I will just sketch the main points of the 'consumption theories'. Then I will concentrate on the implications of the historical materialist account for understanding the wider content of social reproduction of labour. My intention is not to re-address these issues, but to clarify the determinants of the conceptual sketch, which is proposed here for capturing the concrete content of the favela spirit. Stemming from this operational guide, in the second section, I will try to concretize empirically the role of capital accumulation in the process of social reproduction of labour in the case of Çöplük.

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<sup>1</sup> From interview with Nurettin. He was 5 years old when he migrated with his family from Sivas to Ankara in 1976. At third grade, he started to collect sponge and rubber from the Mamak junkyard, as his father did. Since then, in his words, he "did not get out of the garbage". He is 32 years old even though the garbage "wore him down, made him older". He is married and has two children. Up to now, he has had no insurance. His only desire is to keep his children away from garbage collection, which he inherited from his father.

## 4.2. A Conceptual Sketch For Çöplük

As we discussed earlier, the conceptual treatment of poverty is mainly related to the level of social reproduction and pursues the empirical instances that identify the survival conditions of the poor. For Marxist critique, the main problem with this formulation is the ignorance of the relations of production. By this way, it undermines the fact that capital and labour are split by a conflict pertaining to the production that is prior to the distribution. That is why the poor appear to be either through narrow or wider criteria, as 'pathological consumers' who are deprived of satisfying their needs. In this sense, the axis of consumption is a sphere where the fundamental weakness of the mainstream poverty studies begins.

Although the poor can raise to the level of a theoretical subject only through their visibility in the consumption sphere in which their producer positions are denied, the awareness of the deficiency in consumption cannot be negligible. As we mentioned earlier, because Marxist approach to the question of poverty is a debate about the material basis of capitalism, it is rather deemed as the over-generalised view, which is hardly sensitive to the concretisation of a great hardship living in poverty. However, the problem with the poverty literature is not simply related to being a consumer. There is no doubt that everyone is at the same time the subject of consumption. Rather, the problem is the fact that insofar as our being the subjects of consumption is not thought together with our being the subjects of production, the only thing that is left out of us is being a 'purchaser'.

For this reason, before proceeding towards the 'concrete' content of Çöplük, it is necessary to return to the central principles underlying the idea of 'consumer society'. This brief overview clarifies as well the appropriate analytical conditions for a perspective, which would keep the visibility of poor as a consumer in relation to the sphere of production.

#### **4.2.1. The Myth of Consumer Society**

Our most popular judgement about capitalism is that it is a consumer society. This definition came to being as a product of the years in which the core capitalist economies rapidly developed after the Second World War. However, the emergence of consumption as a main theme of social sciences has a much longer past than the idea of 'consumer society'. In late 18th century, the utilitarian school fictionalised the individual as an abstract entity who carried a capacity to have the utility of the goods offered to him/her in the market. The need was based on the legitimisation of the right to have individually, and the whole structure of liberalism germinated from the following hypothesis: Individuals' needs are represented at the marketplace, the area of consumption (Terrail, 1985a).

Approximately a century later, this idea was systematised by the neoclassical economy as the behavioural principle of the rational consumer. There was a relationship based on maximisation of utility between the consumer as an abstract being and the objects of consumption that were also abstract, that were not identifiable as corresponding goods. This relationship became the fundamental principal of the economic balance, the equilibrium of supply and demand, and since then remained unchanged. In other words, since economy broke away with the Marginalist revolution from Ricardo's labour-value theory, it maintained the determining and autonomous concept of consumption, in which economic activity was directed entirely by these 'sovereign consumers' – thought as if a self-employed company. In contrast, in classical economy-politics, in Ricardo, consumption was in relation with the labouring classes and a basic commodity like corn from the living conditions of the labouring class (Fine & Leopold, 1993).

As a result, the rise of economy as a discipline separated from political economy stripped consumption away from its contents as an economic variable, which was entirely devoid of social relations. The result of this situation for other disciplines

of social sciences is the economic stripping away of content from consumption. Because of its production based nature, Marxism was not seen as fit for comprehending consumption. Furthermore, it was claimed that both neoclassical economy and Marx's economy-politics shared a common characteristic of thinking objects of consumption only as 'goods', and thus ignoring their ideological and symbolic meanings (Fine & Leopold, 1993). In short, if production belonged to economy, consumption belonged to social rather than economy.

Doing 'sociology of consumption' at the very beginning of 1990s was the most important trend of social sciences that developed rapidly. However, the discipline of sociology had discussed consumption earlier as a part of cultural studies. In the 60s, Neo-Marxist Critical Theory introduced us the concept of 'mass culture' which was thought as a consumption culture. In those years when there was an emphasis on monopolisation and how monopolies dictated what to consume, consumption was regarded as a capitalist cultural product which was egoistic, alienating and unhumanistic. In facts, those were the years when life standards had risen, including the lower class groups as well (Fine & Leopold, 1993). It was perhaps the first time in history that the labouring classes, though mainly in the core capitalist world, had gained an opportunity to consume more than ever before.

During the 1970s, the theoretical debate on consumption as the 'cultural products' were mainly driven by an empirical reassessment of the historical dynamics of capitalism, as in the Marxist tradition. What differentiates the years of 80s was the attempt to escape from the historical theory of consumption whose relations correlates with the relations of production and distribution. Postmodernists like Baudrillard (1988) asserted consumption as the semiotic code constructing the postmodern era of capitalism itself. What was crucial in the postmodern type of consumer was not only the ultimate identification of capitalism with consumption but the complete deprivation of the notion of need from its substantial content

(Terraill, 1985a). Now, signs were consumed in its difference, not objects in its materiality. Hence, the longstanding theoretical interest in consumption, i.e. the treatment of it as the symbolic manifestation of the social status and class differentiations, reached the formulation involving not only elites, but all classes.

It was the new urban sociology that opened the way to the re-evaluation of consumption with a materialist content. Saunders (1990; cited Campbell, 1995) declared this as the 'new research agenda' of sociology. Going further, he suggested that sociology should eliminate older production-centred paradigms. According to this, Marxism analysed class conflicts in terms of their relationship with the means of production, but sociologists had to realise that the main division in the society lied in different consumption styles, especially between the socialised and privatised consumption forms (Campbell, 1995). Although Castell (1977) did not surely mean that, he was the one who started the transformation in urban sociology's slide towards consumption categories by arguing that in late capitalism, the cities are characterised not the process of production, the usual Marxist emphasis, but the 'collective consumption' referring to forms of services collectively provided, usually by the state (Fine & Leopold, 1993).

Saunders's call (see Campbell, 1995), when the years of New Right are considered, had a clear political significance; taking into consideration the activity of postmodernity that put traditional paradigms about class relationships out of fashion, this call quickly gained popularity. The new urban sociology surely made a contribution by bringing forward collective consumption; however, their reconstructing relations of production as a theory of consumption nurtured the 'depoliticized agenda' of poverty studies. In other words, the assertion that today's societies are ones of consumption implied, on one hand, that the societies were organized not on the basis of the production of commodities and services but in fact, on the basis of their being marketed and sold – which it belonged to the hegemony of neo-classical economy, as much as it eliminated the Marxist economy-politics. On the other hand, the idea of consumer society almost

generalized the belief that as members of the consumption society, we live for our consumption choices (Campbell, 1995). Considering that the period was the era of New Right, the language of consumption sociology as such served to the legitimization of market-centred policies. As Campbell stated (1995), these policies forced us to think ourselves as consumers rather than for example filmgoers, readers or students. As a matter of fact, neo-liberalism would directly start calling us 'clients' via the most basic political apparatus like the state. Since then we started being unable to consume. Now we are doing its sociology, i.e. the sociology of poverty. Then, it is necessary to start our being subjects of consumption not from our being buyers of commodities, but from our being sellers of a certain type of commodity peculiar to capitalism. This means that "the question of consumption poses itself in the wider framework of the reproduction of labour power, which refers directly to the conditions of the production process" (Terrail, 1985a: 26).

#### **4.2.2. The Poor As a Merchant of Labour Power**

Labour power is not simply a reasonable methodological choice, which would make it possible to recover the indefinite and indeterminate content of the social reproduction of labour. It is at the same time a unique abstraction, which would set the means and conditions of subsistence, the main concern of poverty studies, into a historical perspective. Without the axis of labour power, it would be difficult to say how we capture the complexity of relational patterns of the social reproduction of labour both historically and in the current situation, due to certain obstacles.

One of the obvious obstacles is about the notion of social reproduction itself because its content, almost by definition, is far from the definite borders (Mingione, 1983: 312). Not only does it involve every social and material form, but it also covers 'everyone', which means no one in particular (Katz, 2001: 718). Therefore, to begin with labour power only refers to the historical peculiarity of

social reproduction of labour under capitalist conditions involving dispossession of entire social strata in ownership and control of the means of production, not to narrowly wage labour. As we discussed throughout this study, a generalised commodity production is the entire basis of capitalism, which would not be thought without taking into account the imposition of work. In this sense, as Cleaver (2000) puts forward,

the commodity form is not some apolitical concept which simply describes or denotes a set of relations in capitalist society. Capital's power to impose the commodity-form is the power to maintain the system itself – a system in which life for most people is converted into labour power (Cleaver, 2000).

Although the Marxist tradition having certain methodological principles and theoretical instruments to grasp the unlimited content of social reproduction by the axis of labour power, it still bears methodological hardships that need to be surpassed. Partly because of its main emphasis on the production sphere –that is deemed as a condition in which labour power are essentially reproduced– and partly because of its functionalist tendency to focus on structural requirements of capitalist accumulation, the social reproduction of labour has considerably remained without being theorized. For this reason, the concept of reproduction could not become the prominent topic in the working-class history. Rather, it has been discussed as the key word of family and women's history (Conley, 1988: 76). Until the early 1980s, especially from the socialist feminist theory and politics, the question of social reproduction has been a major field by which Marxism's failure to challenge patriarchy would be overcome and liberal feminism's inattention to examine capitalism would be criticised. By focusing on the unpaid domestic work of women including the biological reproduction, they used the concept social reproduction to signal the specificity of women's oppression in relation to but different from the capitalist class structures.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> For a comprehensive review of the history of domestic labour debate see for instance Savran (2003). For recent discussions concerning the concept of social reproduction in the feminist literature see Ferguson (1999).

Despite the obstacles mentioned above, at least viewing capitalist accumulation from a vantage point of labour's social reproduction seems to have a very great and radical potential for criticising the current conditions of capitalism. For, in Katz's terms (2001), it is "the missing figure of globalization", which has been discussed until now with regard to the features of production relations such as financial liberation, transnational cooperations and flexible production. Whereas, "social reproduction always takes place somewhere" by its mainly place-bound nature (Katz, 2001: 715), and it is such a place where the costs of capitalism is paid in the hardest and in a most direct way.

Partly because of this, social reproduction of labour is also a spatial sphere in which the 'invisible' hand of economy can quite plainly be seen, or the structural foundation of economy that we are accustomed to thinking it laying somewhere beneath, can be embodied in a palpable power passing together with the state in everyday throughout our cities, our workplace, our streets and houses. At each of these phases, the social reproduction of labour merges into a variety of oppression forms and practices that characterize each process, as well as, reconnecting them. That is why the landscape of social reproduction enables us to see broad avenues of counter-attacks of class struggle, almost by nature of capitalist production in which there are no social needs that are above all the creations of exchange value.<sup>3</sup> To pursue this last point, however, requires the explanation how social reproduction of labour would provide an analytical framework for both the class analysis of poverty and "the historical structuring of class conflict" (Conley, 1988: 78) without falling in the functionalist account.

#### **4.2.2.1. Reproduction Cycle of Labour Power within Political Economy**

From the point of view of Marxist political economy reproduction of labour power involves the following cycle: Labour power–wages–commodities–labour power.

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<sup>3</sup> For this reason, the social content and average of needs are entirely a historical category that is dependent on class struggle. For the elaboration of this point in terms of the conditions and dynamics of petty commodity producers in Turkey see Ecevit & Ecevit (2002).



Workers exchange their capacity to work for wages, which they purchase commodities; in consuming them, they reproduce their labour power to be sold again. Analytically what is the most important point is that if market penetrates the core of social reproduction of labour, it is due to the fact that the fundamental exchange relation in capitalism is between the classes of capital as a whole and of labour as a whole. Worker is the owner of his/her own labour power as a commodity, but not the owner of the means necessary for putting it into use. This is why s/he "cannot reproduce himself for himself except in reproduction himself for capital" (Terrail, 1985b: 53). Therefore, the necessity for the constant selling of labour power in order to live means the constant struggle over the acquirability of the standard of living, as İlyas who is construction worker said:

We did all kinds of work you know. We still do. Look, what do I say? I started from peeling off trees, to leave that aside, I learnt how to coat, to make plaster, to paint. It means that you have to learn these. If you want to eat a piece of bread, then whatever you do, you have to... even if you are not strong enough and your bread is under a tone of stones, you have to lift those stones and get that bread. Either you steal, or you get your bread under a tone of stones... You always know that either and reach it, or the stone will crush my hand.<sup>4</sup>

In Marx's words, worker's consumption "provides on one hand, the means for their maintenance and reproduction: on the other hand, it secures by the annihilation of the necessities of life, the continued reappearance of the workman in the labour market" (Marx, 1997: 547). Reproduction form with its structural mediation to capital through wage form can be deemed as the confirmation of functionalist explanations. What is more, some remarks of Marx, as in the below passages, seem to imply that as if the reproduction of labour power under

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<sup>4</sup> *Her iş yaptık yani. Halen de yapıyoruz. Bak, ne diyorum ben? Ağaç soymadan başladım, hadi onlar bir kenarda kalsın, bak, alçıyı öğrendim, sıvayı öğrendim, boyayı öğrendim. Yani bunları öğrenmek zorundasın. Eğer bir ekmeği yiyeceğim diyorsan, illa ki, o ekmeği ne yapar yapar ... yani gücün yetmedi, bir ton taşın arasından o ekmeği çıkarmak zorundasın. Ya, hırsızlık yapacaksın, ya o ekmeği bir ton taşın arasından ... biliyorsun ki, ben bunu ya elimi sokup alacağım ya da elimi bu taş kesecek, kıracak. – From interview with İlyas (for his detailed biography see p. 130, n.51).*

capitalism "not only left off the capitalist's agenda but also disappearing off the theoretical agenda" (Fine & Leopold, 1993: 260):

(It) is the production and reproduction of that means of production so indispensable to the capitalist: the labourer himself. The individual consumption of the labourer, whether it proceed within the workshop or outside it, whether it be part of the process of production or not, forms therefore a factor of the production and reproduction of capital. ... The fact that the labourer consumes his means of subsistence for his own purposes, and not to please the capitalist, has no bearing on the matter (Marx, 1997: 546).

The maintenance and reproduction of the working-class is, and must ever be, a necessary condition to the reproduction of capital. But the capitalist may safely leave its fulfilment to the labourer's instincts of self-preservation and of propagation. All the capitalist cares for, is to reduce the labourer's individual consumption as far as possible to what is strictly necessary (Marx, 1997: 546).

As we stated earlier, if that this structural relation is established between reproduction of labour power and capital is not accounted as a historical relation, which requires dramatic changes in ownership and control of the means production, there can be no difference between the reproduction of slave's and worker's labour. For historical character of capitalism means those two things in terms of the social reproduction of labour: First is that all products of labour and labour power are exchanged and consumed in order to be a commodity; that is, the aim of capitalist production is production for providing profit, not for satisfying need. Second is that workers' productive consumption (i.e. use-value of labour power) and self-reproductive consumption (i.e. exchange value of labour power) are 'totally' separated:

In the former, he acts as the motive power of capital, and belongs to the capitalist. In the latter, he belongs to himself, and performs his necessary vital functions outside the process of production. The result of the one is, that the capitalist lives; of the other, that the labourer lives (Marx, 1997: 545-46).

Capitalism is the first system in which the productive consumption of labourers (i.e. consuming the labour-power for surplus-value) is distinguished from their individual consumptions. Due to the very existence of labour as a commodity form *par excellence* in capitalism, labourers have also different aspirations, both in the economic and in the civil arena from, for instance, that of slaves who "know only too well what will happen to their children as a continuing means of production to their current owners" (Fine & Leopold, 1993: 260). This means that labourers are those who do not only suffer from the imperatives of capitalist market but also 'negotiate' their conditions of access to the means of survival and self-reproduction as "the merchants of their own labour" (Casanova, 2002). In other words, reproduction of labour power is neither a smooth nor an automatic process as far as the functionalist approach assumes. One considers how İlyas who picks up his metaphors from the rural subsistence production perceives his own experience of exploitation, it can be seen that the antagonist interest between reproduction of capital and of labour is a clear experience of labourers' daily life:

5 million of 65 million is perfectly rich. 15 million is normal, and 5-10 million of it makes a living this or that way, so what is left? 50 million (his own words). And 50 million dies in hunger. It is that simple. Resources are plenty but possessed by few. You plant tomatoes but water is given in a queue, I am ahead in the queue, I control everything. If I see it fit, I let 2-3 litres of water pass to your garden. Do you know why I let that much? If you have no tomatoes, you die out of hunger. Then who do I exploit? As the saying goes, if you don't give grass to the cow, you get no milk. We are cows. It is not that they think of us. The rich would let all those 50 million to starve, if they could. That is, if they could start a war and we become like orphans, then they would throw us out into the sea and live comfortably.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> 65 milyonun 5 milyonu tam zengindir, 15 milyonu normaldir, onun da 5-10 milyonu şöyle kendi yağıyla kavrulur, geriye ne kaldı? 50 milyon. 50 milyon da acından ölür. Bu kadar basit. Kaynak çok ama 3-5 kişinin eline geçmiş. Sen domates ekmişsin, suyu sıraya koymuşlar, suyun başında da ben varım. Herşey benden soruluyor. Benim işime gelirse, senin bahçene suyu bırakıyorum, 2-3 litre. Onu da niye bırakıyorum, biliyor musun? Domatesler olmasa sen acından öleceksin. O zaman kimi sömüreceğim? Hani derler, ineğe saman vermezsen, süt alamazsın. Biz bir ineğiz. Yoksa seni beni düşünen yok. Elinden gelse, zenginler bütün o 50 milyonu tamamen kıracak. Yani harp yapabilse, biz yetim gibi olsak, götürür denize döker, rahat yaşar.

That labourers are no longer able to live without consuming their capacity to work for capital accumulation is not only a material reality, but a concrete knowledge of Ilyas's life. That is why, for him, it is evident that capital is a blind force that never responds to the social needs. In short, the above mentioned twofold character of worker's consumption is not just 'totally' separate, but the hostile poles of commodity (Terrail, 1985a); there is the clear-cut opposition between capital and labour in respect to the aim and outcome of reproduction.

Two hostile poles of commodities are in fact two contradictory points of views (Cleaver, 2000). From workers, the goal of reproduction is not to prepare themselves to work again and again; they do not live in order to work. This imposition is a capital side of reproduction. In contrary, for workers, the purpose of reproduction is the satisfaction of needs; they work in order to live (Conley, 1988). The interview below with Nurettin who is the worker in the garbage of Mamak, shows us how this contradictory unity of being commodity resides evidently in workers' life as a material knowledge even it is not always formulated by political terms:

Look, if I don't work, I am hungry, and if I work and I am full, isn't it so? But that man because he purchased it and everyone agreed, no one can say anything to this man. Because we work out of compulsion. Is not it so? We had agreed to it.

*So what if you do not agree?*

If we don't agree, then God shits in his mouth. (Turkish slang for saying 'God puts him in his place').

*Whose?*

The contractors.

*So, is it better if you do not agree?*

It is bad for him. For us ... if we don't agree, then he doesn't employ us. We die of hunger. He says work if you like, if you don't want, don't work. Anyway... there is representation, they say it is his balls that let the donkey bawl. And in this case, it is his money that lets him bawl. Do I make it clear?

*You have been working for years, has it ever happened that as workers you thought of assembling in order to bargain collectively with the owner...?*

They are all bitches! They cannot say it! They gossip about the man. Once upon a time, we were collecting nylons, and they said they would as for an increase. We were 9 or 10 people, we went and nobody talked; so I talked. He told me to leave the place. 'OK' I said, 'may God be pleased with you, whether you employ me or not'. They are bitches I say! Look, we gathered and talked all together in there and look, when we went there nobody talked, not one sound! They gave us an increase of 500 thousand liras and said OK. We would get an increase of 5 millions. I went and worked in another place for two years... We come and go like that, we work. Thank god, we are surviving. Yet we are surviving by crouching and crushing our bones. Again we thank god. We cannot sleep until morning because of pain. Thanking god will not reduce your pain! You thank god., they thank him for what he endows. Thank god even for this job. What will happen when there is no job? For example? Think that you don't work at all? Think you don't find any work?<sup>6</sup>

Nurettin's words, which have very masculine expressions may not involve any abstractions such as exploitation or capital. Nevertheless, his introductory sentences, for example, offer a causal explanation, which starts from the private possession and control of subsistence means and which are characterised almostly as an 'obligatory consent' in his language. It is so that even thanksgiving, albeit formulated as a powerful consolation, is not sufficient to justify being imposed to

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<sup>6</sup> *Bak, ben çalışmasam açım, çalışırsam tokum, değil mi? Ama bu adam (he means the contractor of Mamak garbage) parasıyla aldığı için, herkes de razı olduğu için, bu adama da bir şey diyemiyor. Çünkü biz mecburiyet karşısında çalışıyoruz. Değil mi? Ona razı olmuşuz.*

***Peki razı olmasanız ne olur?***

*Razı olmasak, Allah ağzına sığar.*

***Kimin?***

*Müteahhitin.*

***O zaman razı olmasanız daha mı iyi?***

*Kötü olur onun için. Bizim için... biz razı olmasak, o da çalıştırmaz. Acımızdan ölürüz. İşine gelirse çalış, gelmezse çalışma diyor. Nasıl olsa... bir temsil vardır, eşiği zırlatan taşşığı, derler. Bunu da zırlatan parası. Anlatabiliyor muyum?*

***Hiç oldu mu, yıllardır çalışıyorsun, işçiler olarak bir araya gelip mal sahibiyle ortak pazarlık edelim diye...?***

*Hepsi kancık ya! Diyemiyorlar ki! Adamın gıyabında atıp tutuyorlar. Şimdi biz naylon topluyoruz o zamanlar, dediler ki, zam isteyeceğiz. 9-10 kişiye ya, gittik, kimse konuşmuyor, ben konuştum. Sen çık git, dedi bana. "Hay hay", dedim, "çalıştırsan da Allah razı olsun, çalıştırmasan da". Kancıklar gı! Orada hep toplandık konuştuk bak, oraya gidince de kimse konuşmadı bak, çıt yok! 500 bin lira zam verdiler, tamam, dediler. 5 milyon zam alacaktık. Gittim iki sene başka yerde çalıştım<sup>6</sup> ... Gidiyoruz geliyoruz işte, çalışıyoruz. Çok şükür geçinip gidiyoruz. Ama ezile büzüle gidiyoruz. Yine şükrediyoruz. Sabahaca yatamıyoruz sancıdan. Şükretmek senin sancını hafifletmez ki! Allaha şükür ediyorsun. Verdiği nimete şükür ederler. Bu işe de şükür. Hiç olmasa ne olacak? Misal? Hiç çalışmadığını düşün? İş bulamadığını düşün? – (for Nurettin's detailed biography see p. 139, n. 1).*

work to gain a life. In sum, any attempt to understand social reproduction of labour under capitalism have to take into account the antagonistic interests between capital and labour side of reproduction. Only by taking into consideration the distinction and the inter-relation between the twofold character of commodity as a unit of analysis, i.e. two opposite views of reproduction, is it possible to confine both the determinants of social reproduction of labour and the scope of class struggle. The importance of this perspective lies in its ability to resolve the present and emerging forms of labour's reproduction in the conflict-ridden process of the capitalist mode of production, and therefore, to reveal the wider content of class-struggle. For this reason, it is not enough to point out the contradictory essence of the social reproduction of labour; it is also necessary to demonstrate how this essence realises itself within the life course of labourers.

#### **4.2.2.2. The Contradictory Scope of the Social Reproduction of Labour**

In the previous sections, a number of theoretical arguments have been proposed and their potential significance for the analysis of poverty has been highlighted. The commentary has been summarized around three themes: First, the consumption aspect of poverty analysis needs to be interpreted in a wider framework of the social reproduction of labour referring directly to the conditions of the production process. Second, labour power is a necessary condition of the social reproduction of labour under capitalism. This means that labour as a commodity is only possible with the privatization of the sphere of subsistence and maintenance of life. That is, it refers to 'the common stolen from the goose' as in discussed previous chapter, not to the narrow category of working class as wage labour. Third, the social reproduction of labour is an integral but antagonist part of the reproduction of capital. This is precisely the point what the functionalist comprehension of social reproduction misses, due to the fact that it looks at the reproduction of labour power from the point of view of capital. That is why, the comprehensison of social reproduction of labour can be characterized, in general, by the silence on the class struggle.

The last statement leads to a question: how is it possible to concretize the content and scope of class struggle especially in the social reproduction of labour especially regarding the context of poverty. Figure 1 reinterprets the simple circulation of labour power according to the components of reproduction and shows the class-conflict ridden scope of each components, which reside in labour market, work place, public sphere and household.

Social Reproduction of Labour		Class struggle ↔		Capital Accumulation	
Indicator	Dimension	Domain of struggle	Place of struggle	Indicator	Dimensions
commodities/ monetary needs	wage	capital & state	work place	Degradation of labour in the production processes	<u>Pauperization of Waged Labour</u> * proletarianization * low-paid economy * recommodification of labour * unemployment and sweated work conditions
		economical & political			
subsistence	unpaid labour	patriarchy & capital	private & public space	Degradation of labour in the domestic life cycles	<u>Pauperization of Self-Reproduction</u> * inadequate living conditions including cultural consumption * Cheaper mode of consumption <u>Domesticification of Social Reproduction</u> * intensification of domestic labour and extra-ordinary domestic burdens
		ideological & political			
public provision	common assets and public services	state & capital	public space	Degradation of labour in the socialized consumption processes	<u>Pauperization of Labour's Body</u> * privatization of public good. * environmental degradation – disinvested sites of home, poor quality of service provision. * moral degradation of labour – partial and selective social policy.
		political & environmental			

Figure 1. Social reproduction of labour according to the components of monetary needs, subsistence production and public provision.

Labour market and work, in the narrow sense, address the general conditions of sale of labour power and how the labour power is consumed under the constant imposition of the capitalist process of reproduction on an expanded scale. It involves, therefore, the tendency for the capital relation to be universalized by incorporating more spheres and people into the commodity production (i.e. the enforcement of dispossession, the dismantling of public goods and services) and by extracting relative surplus value and absolute value. Whilst the former, as it is known, is necessarily linked to the expansion of the division of labour (i.e. cheapening labour power), the latter is related to the work conditions (i.e. longer, harder work). In short, both 'stages', which is called 'degradation of labour in the sphere of production relation', represent the contradictory unity of labour process and process of valorization of capital (Hirsch, 1978).

This contradiction manifests itself in the consumption market as the expanded commodification and pauperization in material living conditions of labour, which is called 'degradation of labour in the socialized consumption processes'. Since the goal of production is not social subsistence but surplus-value production, articles of consumption are produced provided that they can be sold for a profit, and therefore, are distributed on the basis of ability to purchase, not on the basis of need. That is why, tendency to the socialization of the reproduction of labour power arises "as a class response to capital's tendency to increase the rate of exploitation, and to the inadequate living conditions produced by capitalist production" (Precetelli, 1985: 122-123).

The socialization of the reproduction of labour power both in workplace (i.e. collective bargaining, unionisation, social benefits and insurance, and so on) and in consumption market (i.e. housing, transportation, health, education and so on) represents labour's tendency to the decommodification of social sphere; therefore, it is necessarily linked to the capitalism as a whole by involving directly the state interventionism (Precetelli, 1985: 126). In other words, the socialized forms of the reproduction of labour is neither an automatic upshot nor a spontaneous



process of the capitalist development; rather it is only possible if there is a class producing concretely the socialization tendency of consumption (Terrail, 1985b). Therefore, it implies a process of struggle through which labourers have been formed historically as a working class.

The last phase of reproduction, the household, is typically the basic unit of self-reproduction and limited mainly by household incomes. The constraint of wage and the eradication of socialized consumption, therefore, lead to both the choice of cheaper modes of consumption and non-wage forms of survival calling for the intensification of domestic labour of women (Precetelli, 1985).

The overall framework for the exercise of fundamental dimensions in the scope of social reproduction of labour shows that "the workers' standard of living are not a static entity, but is constantly being undermined by the movement of accumulation of capital" (Precetelli, 122). Therefore, the proposed framework above implies that the pauperization of labour is a process of struggle between an attempt of capital to create and govern the downgrading of labourers' living conditions in part an existence condition of its self-expansion and an attempt of labour to afford their own social reproduction in part a formation of class. This is the standpoint of empirical exercise of this thesis in which the concept of class struggle carries an analytical priority to explore the dynamic and the structure of poverty. However, it should be noted that the social reproduction of labour, like 'class' and other multidimensional concepts, is not easy to quantify. The various processes summarized under the general rubric of social reproduction of labour in Figure 1 are presented by the 'artificial' fragments, which are far from complicated and interwoven content of concrete reality. Similarly, each dimension and struggle of domain in every phases of reproduction represents a complicated process rather than a perfect and flat one. Thus, Figure 1 should only be considered as a conceptual guide for both theoretical orientation and empirical investigation of this study.

### **4.3. Making a Living Place in Çöplük: A Short Historical Account**

In Turkey, the first striking appearance of poverty as an 'urban phenomena' goes back the late 1940s. In 1947, the journals mentions for the first time a kind of 'shelter', which could hardly be described as a house (Şenyapılı, 1998). Then, 'gecekondu', literally meaning 'built in one night without permission', entered into the vocabulary of social science as a new concept referring to the squatter-settlements.

The years of 1950s were the first broken point in the history of gecekondu. Whilst the earlier period of 1945 referred to the unorganized settlements, concentrated and extensive poverty, the period of post-1950s was the era of becoming 'localized' in the unfavorable topographic areas of cities for newcomers of cities. Although the gecekondu were not the legitimate part of urban-law, they gained the social justification because these were shelters that based on use-value and were built by the poor. The perception of the gecekondu, therefore, turned into integration problem of 'semi-peasant' population. This was the second broken point in the history of the gecekondu. In the end, the gecekondu became legal with the enforcement of Laws in the 1966 and met with the technical and administrative services.

The history of gecekondu, without doubt, is the history of capitalist development in Turkey, which has been largely, characterized by rapid rural-urban migration, as in many the Third World countries. Its historiography, therefore, has always been a substance of the economical processes, which was represented by the development of market forces in relation to the state. I do not intend here to rehearse in detail the dynamics of urbanization process in Turkey. I rather intend to view in brief the nature of contemporary accounts in the urban studies with regard to the conceptualization of these 'illegal' housings, which are defined in terms of their property-based.

Conventional and contemporary accounts of gecekondu phenomenon become much more sensible for the general economic policies of Turkey. According to these perspectives, wave of immigration and constructing gecekondu was started by the employing important substitution policy in agriculture dated in 1950s that resulted in dissolution of peasantry. In 1960s, import substitution policies took the target of industrialisation through which proliferation of employment alternatives functioned as pulling effects and thus, big cities of Turkey (e.g. Ankara, İstanbul, İzmir, Adana) were surrounded by those who had surged into the publicly owned land and built up their 'illegal houses' by the mechanism of self-help. By taking this story, conventional approach perceived the gecekondu as functional outcomes for solving the housing problem of the pool of the labour market in a cheapest way. In this line, Şenyapılı (1998; 1996:345) offers three interrelated propositions: First is to take gecekondu as a dependent variable of the development models of Turkey. That is to say, gecekondu can not be defined as a spatial housing problem. Second is to take gecekondu as a reflection of economic, social and political space in the physical domain. Final point is about distinctive feature of gecekondu as flexibility that drives from the flexibility of labour provided by the gecekondu dwellers enjoying to rapidly move from one place to another in the economic space between sectors and activities. Current account of gecekondu phenomenon is rested on the different economic policies that deployed after the collapsing of the import substitution in the late 1970s as export oriented development policy. For last 10 years Turkey has enjoyed the open market economy in which economic resources and policy instruments of the country are largely dominated by the global mechanisms of capital accumulation. Now, current studies on gecekondu take this phenomenon as peculiar mechanisms of Turkish type of 'welfare regime' in which Turkish state is defined according to its redistributive role in the income and resources allocation. Thus, all governments are defined by their populist policies that make formal and legal of the status of gecekondu dwellers approaching as a pool of votes<sup>7</sup>.

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<sup>7</sup> For the current accounts of gecekondu phenomenon see Buğra (1998), Keyder (2000), Işık & Pınarcıoğlu (2001).

In fact, conventional and contemporary approaches become inadequate to grasp the role of the state that has deployed the discipline of private property over the newcomers of the cities who are condemned as being occupiers' of public land in an illegal way. Policies for providing infrastructural services and giving title deed for each gecekondu could be interpreted as an extending the scope and power of private property regimes. For the Latin American context, Kerr & Kwele (2000) highlight the same point by arguing the any policy to 'formalize' the squatter settlements lead to extend the realm of private property in which the needs and rights of dwellers become separated by the money form. According to the main theoretical stand of this thesis, action of immigrants is to 'illegally' occupy the empty lands of cities and to build up gecekondu with the self-help mechanisms is the community based manifestation of shelter right. On the contrary, governments' policy is to formalize this 'illegal actions' by giving title deed is seen to be a policy to 'stole' shelters rights of urban poor by bringing them under the regimes of private property. Under the light of this analysis, I would like to turn to the history of Çöplük, which started in the beginning of 1970s with those who throw out latterly than the junk of Ankara expresses the real content of shelter right and shelter need.

Cevdet, who is one the first settlers of Çöplük said that:

Truly, in here, even there was no shadow to hide. There was a kind of bountiful thorn that covers completely this hill. Without exaggeration, there were thousands of thorn roots in addition to thousands of plastic bags brought by the wind from the junkyard that attached on thorns like a hat. During the night, they were seemed as cropping sheep. We lived in them. We raised children with them<sup>8</sup>.

In fact, there has been a controversial relation between dwellers and the junkyard where their every attack to build up administratively *mahalle* (district) resulted in

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<sup>8</sup>. *Hakikaten gölge dahi yoktu. Burada bol bol bir tür diken vardı, bu tepenin kompleinin üzerinde, mübalağsız söylüyorum, binlerce diken kökleri, çöpten rüzgarın getirdiği binlerce poşet dikenlerin üzerine şapka gibi... gece gördüğünde sanki koyunlar yayılıyor. Biz onların içinde yaşadık, onlarla çocukları büyüttük.*

the eradication of the land as a place of junk. In that sense, it can be proposed that the formation of people as a *mahalle* is the main motive behind the history of Çöplük. Upon the latent motive, thus, I prefer three main stages: First is the period of *pre-mahalle* that had extended from early to late 1970s. Second is the period of *de facto mahalle* that had extended the middle of 1980s. The last one is the period *de jure mahalle* since 1985. Let me give a brief detail on this periodisation.

First of all, domain of gecekondu does not contain a pre-given community based character. Instead, inhabitants of the gecekondu have formed themselves as a community, i.e. *mahalle*. Rationale of this sort of account is related with the meaning of the place for the working class. Cevdet said that "Making a place is not easy. My family could not settle, I came to Ankara in 1973, neither could we settle; we just alight and migrate. One can settle, only when s(he) is wealthy" (*Yer yapmak kolay değil. Benim ailem yerleşemedi. Ben 73'te geldim Ankara'ya, ne de biz de yerleşebildik. Konup göçüyoruz. Varlıklı olduğunda ancak oturuyor bir yere insan*). Cevdet was aware of the fact that holding a place is a matter of ownership transmitted from generation to generation by the mechanisms of inheritance and, in fact, made a remarkable contribution by using the term of *making place* instead of constructing one. His contribution becomes my departure point to discuss the history of Çöplük. Under the light of this, I prefer to conceptualise the gecekondu as a struggle materialised around the theme of making place at the expense of their degradation.

As well-known, the term of gecekondu both literally implies the state of quickness in the action of building and the state of lawless in public domain. In terms of 'making a place', constructing the gecekondu becomes a *perpetual process* involving the fundamental phases of socialized forms of consumption through the community-based mobilization rather than one night activities. This is the distinguishing point for understanding the gecekondu that may be owned by family unit but not constructing in isolation, on the contrary, existence of the

poor buildings depends on whether being or not being a part of *mahalle*. In a sense, gecekondus stand not at the beginning but at the end of the process. Short history of Çöplük provides several evidences.

In the *pre-mahalle period*, the earliest dwellers, having common regional roots and solidarity funds, came nearer the junkyard and bought the land parcel by parcel from the native villagers of İmrahor village in Mamak province (see details in chapter 2) in a legal way. Among the pioneers of Çöplük, there was no immigrant who directly arrived in Çöplük. All of them came to Ankara before 1975, rented a house within the boundary of the same district (Mamak) or neighbour districts (as Altındağ and Çankaya) and worked for several years. Land of Çöplük became the second step for their immigrant journey in Ankara. Those pioneers came to this land with the map of *mahalle* where each parcels of houses, place of roads, parks, and school were drawn. It is clear that they aimed to build up not just a house but *mahalle* in all true sense. In a short period, this wild and remote place was faced by attacks of 'invaders' who were also immigrants and acted with the same motivation of pioneers. Thus, pioneers' plan was started to be destroyed, but under the ruin of this plan, Çöplük Mahallesi *de facto* started to flourish for the late 1970s.

Formation of the shelters' dwellers into a *mahalle* was firstly manifested in the demand for sweeping the junkyard away from Çöplük. Dwellers applied several ways to expose their vital demand: making a petition in several times, demonstrations, applying to religious sects and regional networks in the meeting with political authorities. This period had been deeply effected by the left-wing uprising through which all struggle tended to demand the removing junkyard, infrastructural services (road, electricity, water etc.) and public transportation were organised. In 1977, municipality of Ankara cancelled to throw out junks in this area and, thus, dwellers of Çöplük leaped a big step for making the *mahalle*.



Picture 1. A view from Çöplük in 1976  
(from the archive of Cevat Günal, inhabitant)



Picture 2: General view from Çöplük after the mid of 1980s  
(from the archive of Cevat Günal, inhabitant)

Ending of the junkyard became a declaration of *de facto* mahalle in which second wave of immigrants had accelerated and the scope of the place was extended. The left-wing dominant characters of 70s also effected the power relations in Çöplük where left-wing domination gave an initiative for the pioneer's plan by which designing the place of Çöplük with the houses arranged in order with garden, smooth and relatively large roads and place of public garden, school and so on. Even though this plan was not totally in progress, the impression of the planed

based arrangements might be described in the locally popular narrative, "Communists are founding a mahalle at Çöplük!"



Picture 3: A view from building a shelter in 1974  
(from the archive of Cevat Günel, inhabitant)

Before 1978-79, dwellers had lived under the light of oil lamps and drunk the water from the place of man-made open pool. As I stated above, mainstream approach takes the infrastructural services for the gecekondu's area as an indicator of populism by which politicians provide these services as a kind of 'election corruption' for gaining huge votes potentials of gecekondu's dwellers.

However, the short history of Çöplük warned us about the fact that populist coalition was not the product of rational choices of actors; on the contrary, this is a matter of permanent struggle taking place within and between actors. For instance, taking the first meeting of dwellers with water and electricity, people of Çöplük offered their manual power to collective work in every stage of constructions. It means that infrastructural public services get hold of the poor by



reproducing class divisions and inequality at the level of urban publicity where the poor were employed themselves at the expense of their unpaid labour.



Picture 4: A view from constructing the first electricity line in 1979  
(from the archive of Cevat Günel, inhabitant)

During the first half of the 1980s, dwellers of 1970s had spent much more effort to improve the infrastructural services and water pipe line and electricity were connected to each house in 1984. All these efforts were the efforts for transforming from *de facto* to *de jure* mahalle. Under the shadow of this transformation, a new land was opened to settlement. This land was produced directly from the small hill of the junkyard by covering the debris of buildings that were destroyed at the old regions of *gecekondus* to build up apartments. Newcomers and old dwellers of Çöplük had come together and the status of distinct *mahalle* as being *muhtarlık* in 1989. For the *de jure* period of Çöplük, officially called Ege Mahallesi (*Aegean District*), what is the tragedy is that whilst dwellers have become formalised in terms of their place of living, their lives have tended to leave behind the accelerating process of informality. And now, it has followed the deep trace of the neo-liberal wave of pauperization within the daily life of real men and women as dwellers of Çöplük.

#### **4.4. Degradation of Labour in the Production Process**

In the previous chapters, it has been argued that any attempts to split the poor from the rest of working class results in the splitting poverty from the axis of capitalist production. This means that wide separate and mostly common experience of labourers as a pauperization process is coded out of the working class trajectories. Theoretical and political implications of this stand sweep the question of poverty away from the capital as social relations, primarily manifested at the point of production. Pauperization of labour, hence, as the prevailing effects of the class struggle taking place within the organization of labour processes is titled out of the poverty content. The main challenging position of this study is to link those that mainstream breaks off and is to show that the experience of poverty of which roots are socially constructed in a nexus of production relations is a constructive relation across the whole society rather than a discrete one.

In this section, labour market policies and work conditions are taken into consideration by the aim of capturing their social policy implications. This aim leads us to take the concept of informalization, which forcefully redistributes the burden of being commodity from the state to labourer individuals. Therefore, in spite of its long history in the Third World societies, the concept of informalization here is not used to refer to the notion of 'segmented' labour market, or the 'residual forms' of pre-capitalist period, as in used the traditional formal/informal duality.<sup>9</sup> Rather, it is used as historically persistent tendency of capitalism (Broad, 2000). It is because that within current era of neo-liberalism as a pro-active strategy of capital accumulation at the world scale, the tendency of informalization has been accelerated in the form of capitalization of non-capital assets, privatization of public goods, and personification of social relations, as we discussed under the section of 'social capital' in chapter 3.

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<sup>9</sup> For a fuller review of the history of debate on marginality and informality see Quijano (2000).

However, I will rather consider this informalization trend in the context of field study. Methodologically, it should be noted that I attribute descriptive rather than analytical power for my quantitative findings. But most importantly, for the qualitative materials, I do not apply conventional analysing techniques, simply because I take dwellers of Çöplük as references of this research rather than as respondents.

Taking the category of labour as a locus of attention for the empirical investigation of poverty question directed this study to grasp the labour force pool of respondents' household. Table 1 indicates the general picture of the households' labour force potentials. Approximately 72 per cent of the family member placed in the category of labour force or an economically active population that covers above 15 and below 65 ages old.

Table 1. Household's Labour Force Pool

	Number of Respondents	Sum	Mean	Number of each per employee
(a) Family size	429	1861	4.34	3.2
(b) Family labour force	408	1347	3.30	2.3
(c) Employee family member	429	581	1.35	1
(d) Dependent family member	408	456	1.12	0.8
(e) Rate of employment (c/b)	372	-	2.45	-

Even though 21 households (respondents) declared that they had not officially defined dependent family member (child below 15 and elder above 65), rate of dependent population is just 24.5 per cent. As it is known, substantial proportion of the schooling child opts for entering into the labour market (see Appendix C Table 8). That is, the real extent of the employable labour pool of household may indeed go over to 70s per cent. Moreover, just about 45 per cent of the labour force seems to be employee. In fact, there are 2.3 economically active persons per employee in each household, and the arithmetic mean of employment, in this picture, is about 2.5.

Overall, Table 1 shows mainly three facts: First, there is relatively large size of family structure in comparison with the urban rate of Turkey. Second, almost half of them are employed, and third, there is a tendency to push their labour force pool in every occasion into the labour market. In order to support the last point, further analysis might be necessary to identify the relationships of the rate of employment with the set of explanatory variables that I selected according to the priority of my analysis.

Table 2. Web of links for the rate of employment

		Family size	Family labour force	Occupation	Date of immigration	Family budget
Rate of employment	Pearson Correlation	,416(*)	,530(*)	,081	-,098	-,047
	Sig. (2-tailed)	,000	,000	,118	,078	,365
	N	372	372	372	326	371

\* Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table 2 clarifies the fact that there are significant relations between the derived variable of the employment rate and family size (at the 0.01 level). What is striking is that the rate of employment has no any more significant relations with the head of households' date of immigration, types of occupation and the level of family budget. It means that any attitude toward being employed does not change with the period of urban experiences, budget levels of family and occupational positions for the poor households. For whom, it is just a matter of the size of their labour pool. After the brief presentation of the labour potentials of the household, quantitative analysis may be directed toward the contents of the pauperization of the labour. Quantitatively, this issue will be covered by looking at the proletarianization pattern, employment strategy, and the work conditions.

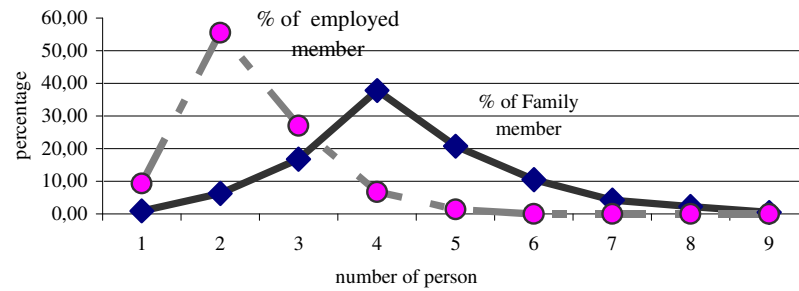


Figure 2. Rate of family member and employee

#### 4.4.1. Patterns of Proletarianization

Sociological literature tells us that the tale of the proletarianisation is mostly a tale of the migration coming from rural to urban. My survey indicates that respondents largely came from the rural roots located through mainly three regions; Central Anatolia (85 %), East Anatolia (10 %), and Black Sea (5 %). As Figure 3 shows that the average of the immigration date is 1979. Even with the rate of those who were born in Ankara is about 10 per cent; one of the clear-cut results is that Çöplük seems to be a poorest place of dwellers gathering from the different waves of immigration.

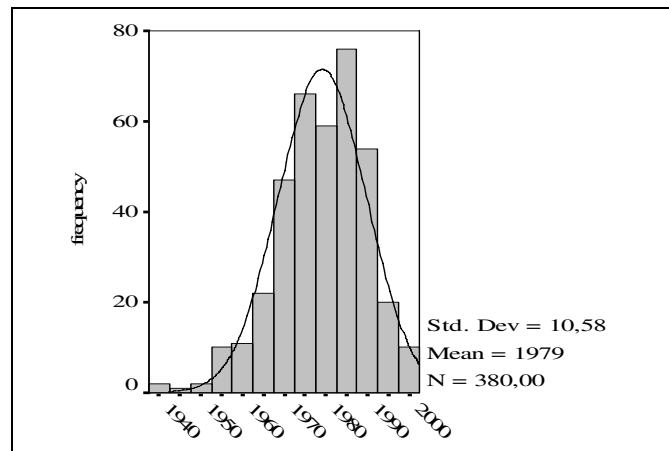


Figure 3: Time patterns of immigration to Ankara

Roughly, Turkish courses of migration could be categorised under three titles, and for each period, my respondents are represented as substantial proportions. Prior to 1975 immigrants, taking about 32 per cent, may seem to be an outcome of the first migration wave conditioned by the mechanization of agricultural production and acceleration of the internal market. 1976-1985 immigrants, taking 37 per cent, may be an effect of the import substitution policy of industrialisation, growth of civil servants, and enlarging urban based formal and informal job spheres. Rate of the most recent comers of Ankara, dated from 1986 to 2000, is 31 per cent and their tale is mostly conditioned by the export led industrialisation and full openness to the world capitalist market.

As Table 3 shows that the most recent comers have relatively the strongest rural ties in comparison with formers. But, overall picture represents that approximately  $\frac{3}{4}$  of the immigrant left behind their economic ties with rural, and for whom the village at the moment exit from the unit of production.

Table 3. Characteristics of the rural ties

	Owner of cultivated land in village (N.380)		Receiver of stored food from village (N.380)	
Date of immigration	Count	Row %	Count	Row %
-1975	9	7.5	14	11.7
1976-1985	38	27.0	36	25.5
1986+	42	35.3	44	37.0
<i>Total (column)</i>	89	23.4	94	27.4

Of course, village is more than this, and almost 80 per cent of them went to their village in certain periods. Among the seasonal 'village visitors', just 16 per cent of them went to the village by the aim of cultivation. Holiday and certain cultural ceremonies (i.e. funeral and wedding) become main reasons for surviving their ties with the village. At this point, it seems to be necessary to point out the hidden assumption behind the analysis in which level of rural ties is taken as pivotal indicator for the theme of the proleternisation. It is assumed that the entering into

the labour market is urban experiences; or, in reverse, the rural place is the place of pre labour market. However, most of recent studies highlight the fact that meaning of the living in village is not being out of the labour marker. Current rural studies in Turkey demonstrate that holding permanent labour market experience has accelerated in the rural area especially for last 25-30 years. Current findings are not just about the seasonal rural labour, but permanent labour powers that still stay to live in their villages.

This survey also indicates that around 70 per cent of the immigrants have entered into the labour market prior to the date of immigration. This challenging results are well summarised in the Figure 4 that is derived from the calculation by subtracting the starting year to wage work from the year of immigration. Thus, the number of zero at the  $x$  axis refers those whose dates of immigration and the beginning years to work are the same. Minus values, hence, refers the situation where they started to work earlier than they migrated. Positive values indicate *vice a verse*.

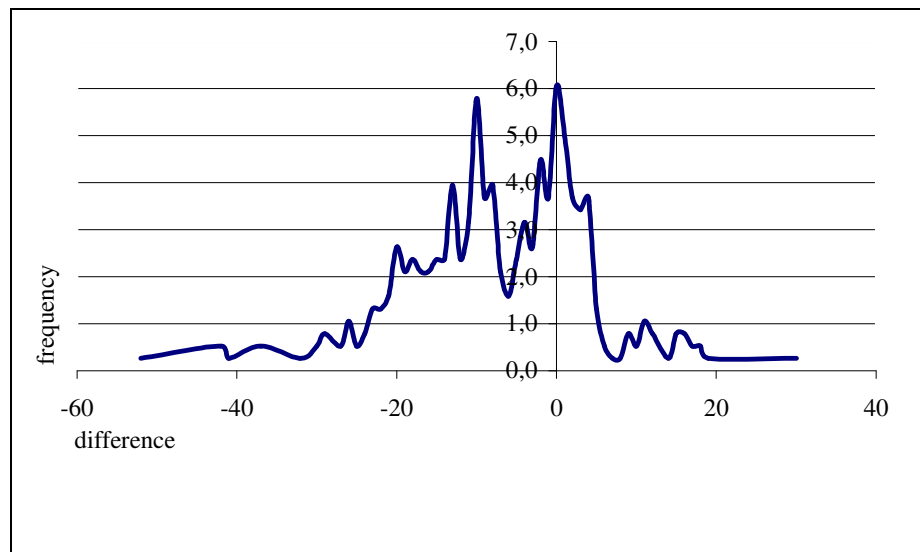


Figure 4. Distribution of the difference between the date of first entry into the labour market and immigration (N.380)

My survey also resembles with the conclusion of current studies on rural areas. Table 4 demonstrates that the differences between work and immigrate dates becomes gradually high in favour of rural settlement by coming from old to current immigration periods. For instance, category of the 'prior to 1975 immigrants' takes -1.72 years as a total mean of differences between the date of starting to work and the date of immigration. That is to say, these groups started to work just about 2 years earlier than when they immigrated.

Table 4. Relations between the ratio of the first entry into the labour market and immigration date and period

Period of immigration	Mean	N	Std. Deviation	Compare means (Linearity)		
				Mean Square	F	Sig.
Prior to 1975	-1.72	120	11.11	7247.991	69.867	.000
1976-1985	-7.06	141	9.70			
After 1986	-12.73	119	9.76			
Total	-7.15	380	11.06			

The same tendency sharply rises to around 13 years for those who immigrated after 1986. Under the light of this fact, it may be possible to argue that Anatolian villages have also tended to become places of wage labourers. In fact, comparison of the means of these two variables makes obvious that the work/immigration ratio significantly differs according to the periods of immigration. As Table 4 exposes, linearity analysis reflects variation due to a linear relationship that exists here, since the significance value (.00) is less than .050. There are additional findings to support this linear relation: For instance, among the causes of migration, seeking to find a job takes the highest grades from the group of who migrated before 1975 (93 %) in comparison with others (see first column of Table 5). Dispersion of the socialisation (living place before 15 ages old) variable is akin to the causes of immigration.



Table 5. Types of socialisation and reasons of immigration by immigration period

Immigration period	Types of living place up to 15 age olds (%)				Reasons to immigrate (%)			Total (n)
	village	town	middle-scale city	big city	job	Accessing urban services	Other	
-1975	66.7	2.5	2.5	28.3	93.3	2.5	4.2	120
1976-1985	85.1	2.8	5.0	7.1	83.7	10.6	5.7	141
1986+	79.8	4.2	14.3	1.7	84.9	5.0	10.1	119
Total (%)	77,6	3.2	7.1	12.1	87.1	6.3	6.6	380

By taking these results, it might be possible to interpret that the urban settlement has no longer been unique place for 'finding job' especially after 1980s. Widening the rural based wage employment means that subsistence fund of the village's labourers becomes fund of the capital through which wage levels could be keep under the press. However, it might be wrong to take this sort of 'divisions of labour' as functional in character. In fact, by stressing on the conditions of the social reproduction of labour, subsistence assets (village ties) would become the site of resistance as well as obedience for labourers.

#### 4.4.2. Informalization of Employment and Diversification of the Household's Labour Employing

By the aim of capturing the job diversifications as far as possible, I formulated open-ended question in my survey, and more than 50 different jobs were coded. Upon the basis of this data, I derived three different variables. The first encompasses all employees at the basis of household according to both sectors and types of employment criteria. Second is about the head of households (i.e. mostly respondents), for whom 50 different jobs were coded according to the criteria of occupational position under 8 indicators. Lastly, secondly derived variable of occupation was recoded by the criteria of formality and informality.

This sort of *modus operandi* in quantitative analysis spontaneously directed researcher to build up different typologies of labourers that rested on the average rates of peculiarities. That is to say, neither 'infinite' nor 'identical' indicators of variable are statistically applicable. In contrast to the logic of statistics as the logic of average tendencies, as it is discussed in chapter three, this thesis stresses on common characteristics in which I have tried to point out the fusion of 'Sanchez's Children' into 'the proletariat of the Communist Manifesto'. Therefore, my derived variables based on formality and informality could be seen as products of descriptive rather than analytical efforts. Before entering into the deep analysis of employment patterns, it might be complementary to deal with the theme of immigration by taking occupational shift from respondents' fathers to him/her.

Table 6. Patterns of occupational shift among generations

Father's occupation (N.415) (Row %)	Respondents' occupation (N.415)				
	Formal	Informal			Total (N)
	Wage labourer (N.146)	wage labourer (N.203)	self employed (N.48)	domestic & marginal (N.18)	
Factory workers	54.5	36.4	4.5	4.5	22
Small manufacture workers	25.0	50.0	25.0	-	4
Construction workers	27.3	54.5	9.1	9.1	33
Service (organised workers)	30.0	57.5	12.5	-	40
Service (unorganised workers)	31.3	50.0	12.5	6.3	16
Marginal workers	25.0	37.5	25.0	12.5	8
Peasants	36.4	48.5	11.0	4.0	272
Small entrepreneur	100.0	-	-	-	4
Self-employed	12.5	56.3	25.0	6.3	16
Total (Column %)	35.2	48.9	11.6	4.3	415

Table 6 clearly shows the direction of this shift from one to another generation. If we called fathers as first and respondents as second generation, results can be drawn from Tables 6 as follows: Although, what predominant occupation in the

first generation is peasant (66 %), ratio of wage labourers among them takes about 30 per cent. Turning to second generations, they are almost entirely wage labourers (85 %). Among the wage labourers of second generation, while more than half have peasant origin (56 %), around 25 per cent is about second-generation workers. Despite the peasants for the first generation, of those fathers who are wage labourers, there is roughly 'occupational' path between generations. But, statistically speaking, there is no indeed, linear by linear association among them (Chi-Square test counts higher than .05). Under the light of my field study, it is asserted that the main direction of the material life conditions of the labouring classes from generation to generation has been subjected to the discipline of the wage system. Now, we can look at dwellers of Çöplük closely, whose life is the short summary of spending great efforts to sell their labour power.

Table 7 offers brief features of respondents for the discussion of dispersion within the type of households' employed labour. As stated above, wage worker as dominant mode (82 %) is categorised into two poles. Formal wage worker refers relatively secured and insured employment regardless for sectorial divisions (i.e. private-public or manufacture-service). Oppositely, informality refers precarious work conditions. Rate of the formal wage workers is about 35 per cent, and they have slightly varied character in comparison with other wage labour categories by having relatively the most extended labour market experiences (average is about 30 years), high score in schooling years (about 8,5 years), and relatively big family budget. Marginal and domestic labourers represent the worse profile by taking the score under the total average of family budget and schooling years.

In Table 7, I intend to select scale type of variables that represent statistically significant relations with the employment status of respondents (less than .05). That the scale variables covered the population issues (i.e. size of family, labour force and of employee) represent statistically insignificant relation with the employment status of head of households.

Table 7. Selected indicators for the head of households by the form of the employment

	N	%	Means			
			Age (N.418)	Schooling year (N.403)	Family budget (billion TL) (N.417)	First entry in waged work (N.418)
Formal						
Wage worker	146	34.0	44.25	8.03	330.19	1971
Informal						
Wage worker	206	48.0	40.26	6.29	242.10	1975
Domestic & marginal	18	4.2	44.67	5.67	179,17	1974
Self employed	48	11.2	38.44	6.55	320,52	1977
Sub-total	418	97.4	-	-	-	-
Irrelevant	11	2.6	-	-	-	-
<i>Total</i>	<i>429</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>41.64</i>	<i>6.92</i>	<i>279.25</i>	<i>1974</i>

It might be a very thin impression, but, I think, this sort of evidences implies the groundless of the breadwinner typology, at least, within the working class families. Simply because, there is no significant differentiation between the households' employed labour strategies and the employment status of the head of household. On the other hand, all head of household, in fact, are not actively involved in the labour market. Rate of actively employed is 72 percent and there is also retired-employee by 4 per cent. Collecting the rate of unemployed (13, 5 %) and retired (14 %) is more than ¼ of the total respondents. Nevertheless, by remembering their duration of labour market experiences as 30 years in average, it can be enough to mention about processes rather than cross-sectional findings.

Table 8. Sectorial shifts of the head of households in the labour market (N.302)

Current Job (N.302)	Public sector (N.85)	Private sector (N.217)
First job	Public 6 Private 27	Public 12 Private 94
Second job	Public - Private 9	Public 3 Private 49
Before the last/current job	Public 2 Private 5	Public 1 Private 19
Current job as a first job (no sectorial shift)	36	39

Table 8 offers a part of labour market experiences for the actively employed head of households (n.302) by emphasising on the sectorial shifts from one job to another. For the current type of employment, the private sector is seemed as dominant by 78 per cent. Moreover, what is remarkable is that rate of the secured labourers (i.e. current job is the first job) in the private sector is very low (18 %) in comparison with public employment (including municipality). It means that the private sector is the sector of high labour turnover. Looking at the former compositions of the present sectors, appearances of the private sector looks like the wider and relatively closed river ground where the rate of private sector workers who have public work experiences is just 7.3 per cent. This picture is sharply reversed in public sector that is seen as secured and relatively open for prior experiences from other sectors. For the labour market experiences of labourers, the meaning of the public sector is what the private sector is not.

In order to grasp the detail of the labour market experiences of head of household, it might be supplementary to attend their journey of the changing job at the level of occupational status. Overall picture of the respondents' occupation including retired and unemployed is reported as follows: Of those who organised and disorganised as workers of the services sector take the grade of almost 50 per cent. For the rest of them, construction workers occupy a significant place with the rate of about 20 per cent. Factory as a site of 'high prestige' among labouring classes is seen to be far away from the dwellers of Çöplük. The rate of factory workers is just 4.5 per cent. On the contrary, small-scale firms become 'attractive' work place for those who are the wage workers in the small trading, manufacturing, or repairing jobs (their rate is about 17 %). Finally, self-employer and small entrepreneurs take about 12.5 per cent.

Upon the basis of this picture, Table 9 stated above gives us a clear-cut summary of labour market experiences of actively employed people in terms of the job changes. A 'job change' was defined as a changing in the occupation, in the

employment status, and in the skill, or the carrier level of a job. Changes in labour force status, such as unemployment, military service, illness etc. were also deemed as breaks in employment.

Table 9. Job changes of the actively employed head of households in the labour market (N.302)

Occupation	Rank of the employment (%)			
	first job (N.250)	second job (N. 103)	last job before the current job (N.34)	current job (N.302)
Factory workers	4.8	5.8	2.9	4.6
Small manufacture workers	1.2	1.0	-	2.6
Workers in small entrepreneurship and repairing goods	7.2	3.9	14.7	8.6
Construction worker	31.2	8.7	14.7	8.6
Workers in small shop for trade	5.2	5.8	-	3.6
Service (organised workers)	19.6	17.5	26.5	29.8
Service (unorganised workers)	22.8	44.7	29.4	21.9
Marginal workers	4.0	4.9	8.8	5.3
Small entrepreneur	.8	-	-	5.3
Self-employed	3.2	7.8	2.9	9.6
<i>Total</i>	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

In Table 9, each column represents the proportion of job within the rank of the occupation. When we compare the 'first' and 'current' job columns, it is possible to argue that the organised and unorganised services sectors and construction workers are seen to be a main pull for labouring classes to enter into labour market. But, this conclusion becomes inadequate without the time dimension: In fact, organised section of these sectors had tended to close its hangar for Çöplük's labourers after 1986s (see Table 10). As it is known, the construction sector had dramatically accelerated in 1980s, and more than half of the construction workers had worked in this sector at that period. It can be possible to make objection to this point by noticing the proportions of construction workers, placed in the row of Table 9, whose rate sharply fall down from the first (31,2 %) to the current employment (8,6 %). This is true, but the reality is masked under the fact of unemployment in which majority of them are construction workers.

By limitedly employing the logic of longitude analysis, it becomes statistically possible to follow direction of the employment channels in near past of Turkey. All indicators point out the fact that the channel of formal and secured employment has tended to become narrower for the labouring classes at the expanse of extending informality especially last 20-25 years.

By focusing the insured figures at Table 10, it is obvious that the insurance facility is seen to be mainly phenomenon of the 1970s. Especially for the first job, there is considerable gap between those who immigrated prior to 1975 and after 1986; rate of insured is decreased from 44 per cent to 22 per cent drastically. For the current job, the table does not significantly set apart in line with the benefit of labourers.

Table 10. Tendencies of informality: Insured rate and job changes of the actively employed head of households by immigration periods

<i>Period of immigration</i>		- 1975		1976-1985		1986 +	
<i>Selected sectors</i>		N	%	N	%	N	%
Service (organised workers)	First job	24	50.0	18	37.5	6	12.5
	Current job	23	28.4	40	49.4	18	22.2
Service (unorganised workers)	First job	17	35.4	16	33.3	15	31.3
	Current job	15	27.3	22	40.0	18	32.7
Construction worker	First job	13	17.3	21	28.0	41	54.7
	Current job	4	16.0	7	28.0	14	56.0
Insured	First job	49	44.1	38	34.2	24	21.6
	Current job	48	26.5	82	45.3	51	28.2
Non-insured	First job	28	23.3	37	30.8	55	45.8
	Current job	24	30.4	20	25.3	35	44.3

In fact, new comers of the Çöplük had a lesser chance to find a secured job. When a dweller of Çöplük, construction worker, tried to assemble the existence of trade union with the public sector, he might impulsive pointed out the synchronic processes as accelerating informality and withdrawing public sector since 1980s:

I did not know what trade union was. Nobody told us about it properly. We were hearing something about it. They were repeating: trade union, trade union... As far as I understood, I was thinking like this: if it related to civil services, there is a trade union.<sup>10</sup>

Turning to the language of statistics, it is also evident that informality of employment could not be perceived as 'natural' conditions of material existence for poor immigrants. They do not bear with informality, but, they are pushed towards where they are hard-pressed. Under the tendencies of informality, working class families of Çöplük directed to allow their labour pool to gain wage revenue at the maximum level. Simply because, their life is bounded with cash-nexus by which they perceive the market as a domain of compulsory rather than opportunity. When İlhan said "life is a kind of art for us", he may perceive themselves as a tightrope dancer performing feats of balancing on the risky situations.

I do not have idea how wealthy people evaluate living but we see it as an art. You ask why? It destroys us in the case of an insignificant fault. There is no remaining wealth we could depend on. Everything we own is from the strength of our forearms.<sup>11</sup>

İlhan's emphasis on the 'manual' labour is not an accidental qualification. The maintenance of life for the labourers forcefully depends on the mobilization of their 'manual' capacities, that is, their labour power. Table 11 shows the composition of this mobilization in the labour force pool of households. The number of employed family members is limited by the three members.

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<sup>10</sup> *Sendikanın ne olduğunu bilmiyordum ki ben? Onu bize doğru dürüst aktaran olmadı ki! Duyuyorduk. Diyorlardı ki, sendika sendika... ben o zaman anladığım kadarıyla şöyle biliyordum: devlet işi olunca sendika oluyor.*

<sup>11</sup> *Zengin kesimler nasıl görüyor bilmiyorum ama biz yaşamayı bir sanat gibi görüyoruz. Niye diyeceksiniz? Ufak bir hatamızda bizi götürüyor. Geride dayanabileceğimiz hiçbir varlığımız yok. Her şeyimiz bileğimizin gücüyle.*



Table 11. Commoditization patterns of household labour

Closeness with the head of household	Family members who work as wage worker (%)		
	First person (N.389)	Second person (N.151)	Third person N.36)
Himself / herself	90.0	.7	-
Spouse (generally women)	.8	27.2	-
Son	6.9	45.0	50.0
Daughter	2.1	14.6	38.9
Father	-	4.0	-
Mother	-	1.3	-
Brother/sister	-	5.3	8.3
Other relatives	.3	1.3	2.8
Bride	-	.7	-
<i>Total</i>	100.0	100.0	100.0
<i>Form of Employment</i>			
Stable	30.3	7.3	5.6
Unstable	66.6	92.7	94.4
Other	3.1	-	-
<i>Total</i>	100.0	100.0	100.0

Despite proportional size of family members, the composition of the household labour force for the family budget covers all possible member of family, from children to grandfather and from brides to other relatives. Table 11 also gives a clear-cut impression for the employment situations where the high rate of instability reaches the supreme level especially for the second and third members of family. Turning to the child labour, approximately half of the children directed to work outside during their period of education (see Appendix Table 8). What is striking is that this tendency is common for male and female children at similar proportions. In fact, child, work and education would become the trio of the nightmare for the poor parents who spent much more time and energy in order to combine them smoothly. This is the task of calculations with and within the life and Dürdane informs us for the inputs of this calculation.

That 15 years old child says: "School has closed for 3 months. If I have worked three months, I could by school clothes and books. Tomorrow you and me are going to quarrel". Right. He is right. This

guy (her son) wants to cover himself with his own hand but where is the job to work? There is not! If you send your child to sell sesame roll they will not permit. There are 4 or 5 young men and they said they don't permit. Schools will open next month. After one month, it will be bought dress suit, books. How will I bought? I said him: "Son I will send you school by begging, I will support it". How will I do? When I want something from anybody, he says "You are healthy, go and work, do housework". Housework stopped. What will a person do? Today, school demands 10 million TL as a support for each student. During the end of semester, I paid it this year. Last year, his teacher paid it. I said her elder brother to suspend him from school at his 14 years old by talking head of the school to make him work for the household. We, six people in a house could not manage with 93 million TL. At least we could apprentice him to anywhere until he growth. By this way he would learn a job and relieve himself. His elder brother said that other sisters and brothers did not go to school, at least he could. Let's say he will be at second grade class this year. Today he is 14 years old; he will be at third grade class. Two years would pass. The sum is five years. He will be 17 and 18 years old. Then, he will join the army. When he comes back he would be an adult. The apprenticeship would not suit him. They will give the apprenticeship salary in place of senior....<sup>12</sup>

As it is obvious that child caring and training for the parents of poor family encompasses very dimensions of their material life: self-help, charity, beggar, home worker, street vendor, apprentice worker etc. What is more, children are not only responsible for their self-reproduction, but they also provide significant

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<sup>12</sup> *Şu çocuk 15 yaşında. Diyor ki "okul 3 ay kapalı duruyor, üç ay çalışmış olsaydım üstümü-başımı, kitaplarımı alırdım. Yarın yine ikimizin kavga başlar" diyor. Haklı. O da haklı. Adam (oğlu), kendi eliyle kendini örtmek istiyor. Ama iş nerede? Yook! Çocuğunu simite göndersen, çalıştırmıyorlar. Ee, yolda bir mekan edinmiş 4-5 delikanlı, biz burada sattırmayız, diyorlar. Şurada bir ay kaldı. Bir ay sonra, bu çocuğa iki takım elbise alınacak, kitap alınacak, nasıl alacağım? Ee, buna diyorum ki, "oğlum, öbürleri 5'ten ayrıldı. Seni, deşir edeceğim (dilineceğim, A.Ö.) yine okutacağım" diyorum. Ama nasıl edeceğim? Deşirmeylen de olmuyor bu işler. Adamın kapısına varıyorsun, diyor ki, "elin tuttuyor, ayağın tutuyor, git çalış. Ev işine git" diyor. Ev işleri de durdu aha! Ne yapacaksın? Bugün okula senede 10 milyon para alıyorlar, makbuz parası, yardım, çocuk başına. Okul kapanırken verdim ben bunu. Geçen senede öğretmeni yatırdı. Aha, ben geçen dedim ki, büyük oğlana, "oğlum" dedim, "müdürle konuşsam da, aha 14 yaşında bunu çıkartsam işe versem, ecik eve katkısı olsa", dedim, "ee, 93 milyonla 6 tane adam geçinemiyoruz. Hiç değilse bir yere çırak olarak veririm" dedim. "Ekeleşenece (büyüyene kadar, A.Ö.) bir meslek öğrenir, ekelenişince de hiç değilse o kendini kurtarır" dedim. Oğlan da, "anne, ötekiler okumadı, bu barım okusun" dedi. Ee, okusa ne geçecek eline? Aha, diyelim ki, ortaikiye gidiyor bu yıl. Ortaikiye gidecek. Bugün 14 yaşında. Ortaikiyi okuyacak. 1 sene daha, ortaüçü okuyacak. İki sene öyle gidecek. 3 senede liseye gidecek, 5 sene. Ee, bu çocuk olacak 17-18 yaşında. Ee, bu yolda askere gidecek. Askerden gelse, direk gibi adam, çıraklık yapsa yakışmayacak. Çıraklık parası verecekler, büyük parasını vermeyecekler.*

economic benefits to the reproduction of elder generation as a whole. Erdal, who is 19 years old and who left school at the first grade of high school summarises this situation as follows:

I began to work outside when I was at third grade class of secondary school. After that, we saw and tried to recognize the conditions of life. Absolutely, everybody works in different kinds of job. I worked in electric installation. Mostly, I worked as waiter in bars, restaurants and cafes. I worked as a cashier. I worked in summers. The financial situation of family is evident. If it is well one does not stay here. Or you will rent an apartment in a very good neighbourhood and live without thinking anything like '*ekmek elden su gölden*'(being sponger). There is a determined financial situation of family and we have to work. When the school is going to open, one has to buy his pencil at least. One does not have to borrow pocket money from his father from the ground. Even, you have to always work<sup>13</sup>.

For the overall picture of this section, I would like to conclude that the accelerated process of job diversifications recorded in more than 50 items, are the phenomenon of Çöplük; but, in reality, accelerating job diversity coincides with the unifying tendency of informality. Therefore, households' strategy to diversify the employed labour is conditioned by the unequal structure of the labour market. Under the conditions of informality, job becomes no longer findable but creatable 'thing' for the poor. Thus, households' strategy to diversify labour employing might be conceptualised as a non-collective but family-based way of resistance towards the process of informality. A non-collective way of *resistances* is usually called a mechanism of *adaptation*. For the social policy implication of this analysis, pivotal question is not related with the 'active employment policies', advised and directed by the World Bank, through which it is aimed to allow poor

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<sup>13</sup> Ortaokul sonnda çalışmaya başladım. Ondan sonra hayat şartlarını gördük, tanımaya çalıştık. Her iş var bizde. Burada herkes mutlaka bir sürü işte çalışmıştır. Ben elektrik tesisatında da çalıştım, ama çok olarak garsonluk yaptım, barlarda, lokantalarda, kafelerde. Kasiyerlik yaptım. Yazları çalıştım. Zaten ailevi durum belli. İyi olsa, burada oturamazsın. Veya daha güzel yaşanacak yerde daire tutarsın, ekmek elden su gölden, hiçbir şey düşünmeden yaşarsın. Aile durumun belli olduğun için çalışmak zorundasın. Okullar açıldığında hiç yoktan kalemmini kendin almak zorundasın, hiç yoktan 2-3 ay babandan harçlık almamak durumundasın. Hala da çalışmaya devam edeceksin.

to enter into labour market. However, the burden question is related with the market in itself. Informality hit poor with insecurity in everywhere, house and work. This conclusion takes the analysis into the theme of unemployment.

#### 4.4.4. Two Sides of the Same Coin: Unemployment and Sweated Work Conditions

Throughout the courses of the capitalist development, it could be evident that capitalism creates both employment and unemployment. In fact, unemployment can be conceptualised as an axis under the balance of supply and demand of labour power that turn on. That is, the theme of unemployment is the inner component of the capitalist labour market. Especially under the conditions of informality, exclusion/inclusion duality lost its all explanatory power and creates an illusion by which the theme of unemployment is seen as solvable social problems at the heart of hard-core capitalism.

Table 12. Distribution of unemployed (more than 3 months)

Density of unemployment	Number of respondents	% of respondents	Valid %
None	207	48.3	49,4
Once	45	10.5	10,7
2 through 4 times	51	11.9	12,2
Many times	116	27.0	27,7
<i>Sub Total</i>	419	97.7	100,0
Irrelevant	10	2.3	
<i>Total</i>	429	100,0	

Although the rate of those who are already unemployed is around 14 per cent, the rates of those who have an unemployment experiences throughout their labour market involvement are around 51 per cent. Moreover, majority of them have become unemployed more than one times (see Table 12).

All these comments and perspectives are grounded on the Çöplük, daily living experience of labouring class. That is why this study takes the unemployment issue as an *experiences* rather than cross-sectional state of being. The rational stand behind this sort of consideration is very simple: For those who were recorded as unemployed in a certain time, would be employees having experiences of unemployment in a different time. But, what is important is that effects of being unemployed does not an end when job is founded. It is a bitter experiences and it is not easy to sweep its tracts from minds and hearths as Cevdet reminds us: "I became unemployed in several times, and I deluded my family by saying I was going to work. I never stayed in home, No!" (*Zaman zaman işsiz kaldım, işe gidiyorum diye ailemi kandırmaya çalıştım. Yok! Evde oturamıyordum*).

Table 13. Experiences of unemployment by the immigration period, age group and employment pattern

		Experiences of unemployment				
		Yes		No		Correlation Test
		Number	Row %	Number	Row %	
Period of immigration	-1975	50	43.5	65	56.5	N= 370 Pearson= -.14* Sig. (2-tailed)= 0.007
	1976-1985	61	44.9	75	55.1	
	1986+	80	67.2	39	32.8	
Age group	41-50 age	81	52.6	73	47.4	N= 419 Pearson -.133* Sig. (2-tailed)= 0.006
	31-40 age	76	57.6	56	42.4	
	51+ age	39	55.7	31	44.3	
	20-30 age	16	25.4	47	74.6	
Employment pattern	Formal Wage worker	42	28.8	104	71.2	N= 418 Pearson -.172* Sig. (2-tailed)= 0.000
	Informal Wage worker marginal & domestic labourer	133	64.6	73	35.4	
	self employed	13	72.2	5	27.8	
		23	47.9	25	52.1	

\* Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Table 13 offers an evident to support mainly two underlying propositions of the unemployment issues. At first, it is obvious that unemployment has permanent character. Second is about its direction; that is, correlation of the having experiences of unemployment with the age group undoubtedly demonstrates that staying unemployed more than 3 months is an indispensable part of dwellers life. On the other hand, this state of being tends to accelerate in recent years. From the pioneer dwellers (migrated before 1975) to the latest one (migrated after 1986), there is a constant tendency to rise the rate of unemployment.

Figures at the third row of Table 13 demonstrate the scale of this tendency by different employment pattern. Formal employment is seen to be rarely secured position. However, experiences of unemployment give the impression of being routine state in the marginal and/or the informal employment. There is wide separate perception of the unemployment as a state of vacuum where the unemployment has been experienced by the people as an individual in alone. This is very common and romantic consideration of the issue. It might be certain grounds for the member of middle classes, but the members of labouring classes should spent such an effort by activating certain networks and assets to overcome the bitter results of unemployment.

Table 14. Resources used in the unemployment duration according to the employment pattern

		nobody	informal networks	forced to sell assets	forced to sell family labour
Formal Wage worker	Count	15	21	6	-
	Row %	35.7%	50.0%	14.3%	-
Informal Wage worker	Count	57	51	19	6
	Row %	42.9%	38.3%	14.3%	4.5%
Marginal & Domestic	Count	4	5	3	-
	Row %	33.3%	41.7%	25.0%	-
Small entrepreneur & Self employed	Count	7	6	6	3
	Row %	31.8%	27.3%	27.3%	13.6%
<i>Total</i>	Count	83	83	34	9
	Row %	39.7%	39.7%	16.3%	4.3%

Table 14 summarise resources, which is mobilized during unemployment duration according to their position in labour market. Community-based sharing, i.e. kinship and countryman networks, and self-help mechanisms, i.e. respondents' own family, operate in a significant proportion by around 40 per cent. In a certain ratio, the unemployment may stimulate the processes of unpropertied and active proletarianization (20 %) at the level of household. Any attempts to deal with the burden state of unemployment may prevent us to perceive another side of the same coin where sweated work conditions of wage employment have been also accelerated since 1980s. Of course, labour processes and work conditions are not primarily issues in my survey study. I just tried to investigate these topics by asking two closed questionnaire questions that are about the job duration and the reasons for leaving jobs.

Table 15. Current job according to the working duration

		working duration in the current job (year) (per cent)					
		-5	5-10	10-15	15-20	20+	Correlation
Age group (N.302)	20-30 age (n.57)	52.6	28.1	17.5	1.8	-	Pearson =.430(**)  Sig. (2-tailed) = .000
	31-40 age (n.113)	23.0	17.7	32.7	16.8	9.7	
	41-50 age (n.101)	19.8	5.9	16.8	17.8	39.6	
	51+ age (n.31)	25.8	9.7	9.7	9.7	45.2	
	Total Column	27.8	14.9	22.2	13.6	21.5	
Period of immigration (N.260)	-1975 (n.72)	23.6	5.6	18.1	13.9	38.9	Pearson =-.330(**)  Sig. (2-tailed) = .000
	1976-1985 (n.102)	15.7	11.8	21.6	24.5	26.5	
	1986+ (n.86)	37.2	24.4	26.7	4.7	7.0	
	Total Column	25.0	14.2	22.3	15.0	23.5	
Employment status (N.302)	Formal Wage labourer (n.106)	16.0	10.4	24.5	15.1	34.0	Pearson =-.161(**)  Sig. (2-tailed) = .005
	Informal Wage labourer (n.135)	31.9	18.5	21.5	14.1	14.1	
	Domestic & marginal (n.16)	50.0	12.5	25.0	6.3	6.3	
	Self employed (n.45)	35.6	15.6	17.8	11.1	20.0	
	Total Column	27.8	14.9	22.2	13.6	21.5	

\*\* Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Data obviously demonstrate the intensification of working periods. Arithmetic mean of working duration for actively employed respondents in their current jobs is around 13 years. For the first job, this figure rarely falls down at 11.3 years. Table 15 stated below reports figures of working duration according to the three selected variables; age group, period of immigration and the type of employment. First of all, correlation test underlines the fact that the values of the current and the first job duration are proportional with the values of selected variables and among them there are strong and statistically meaningful linear relationships. Indeed there is no surprise for the age level and immigration period, since the working duration is to some extent a function of the age level and of the residential period. Nevertheless, cells of Table 15 show rich-full conclusions for each section. For instance, distributions of the age group, 51+, agglomerate into two opposite directions: While 26 per cent for the working duration is less than 5 years, 45 per cent for the working duration is more than 20 years. These figures are about the re-working and over-working attitudes representing the meaninglessness of retirement right in the concreteness of poor. Figures in the period of immigration are akin to these results. Distributions of the employment status re-support the fact of high turnover. For each sub-category of informal employment, more than half of the respondents place under the line of less than 10 years.

Table 16 gives us supplementary information under the basis of head of household's labour market history, to understand the high rate of turnover.

Table 16. Reasons of the job changes (N.257)

Reasons of job changes	1. job		2. job		3. job	
	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
Fired	34	13.2	30	29.4	11	32.4
Insecure (job and insurance)	55	21.4	20	19.6	6	17.6
Retired & disabled	51	19.8	25	24.5	8	23.5
Fixed term employees	54	21.0	2	2.0	3	8.8
Hard work conditions (low wage etc.)	32	12.5	10	9.8	2	5.9
Other	31	12.1	15	14.7	4	11.8
<i>Total</i>	257	100.0	102	100.0	34	100.0



Unsecured character of work seems to be main reason resting behind the high turnover. This character is labelled as degradation that involves arbitrary attitudes of employer, lack of insurance, contractual/seasonal work and sweated work conditions. Dwellers of Çöplük had suffered from permanent character of unemployment as a state of being and/or threat, and sweated work conditions through which they started to visualise not just basic necessities of daily life but whole life rested on the class based contradictions.

#### 4.4.3. Low-Paid Economy

As we discussed throughout this study, the historical tendency of capital accumulation is toward put the limitations on the living standard of labourers thereby constraining their purchasing power as 'merchants of labour power'. The level of wage, in this context, is nothing but the level of class-struggle; therefore, low paid-economy, which is presented here by income levels and resources, should be thought as a particular manifestation of class-struggle.

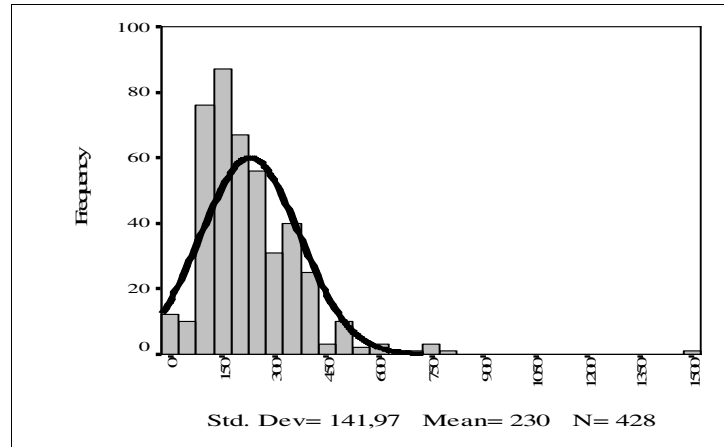


Figure 5. Monthly household incomes (USD)

Here, Figure 5 illustrates that there is no huge income differentiation among the households in Çöplük. Average monthly income of households is 232 USA \$<sup>14</sup>.

<sup>14</sup> Value of Turkish Liras is converted to the value of USA dollar according to the TR Central Banks' declaration of the selling rates, dated 15 June 2001. (1 USA \$ = 1.201.687 TR Liras. See [www.tcmb.gov.tr](http://www.tcmb.gov.tr) (recorded date 10 June 2005))

Majority of them occupy the interval between 100 and 300 USA \$ (65 %). Extremity lies through between two groups: One is living on less than \$ 100 and the second is more than \$ 400 per month, while both of them take almost 12 per cent separately.

Rate of 'affluent' households of the pauperised settlement, living on more than \$ 500 per month, is just 3 per cent. Level of households' monthly revenue is strongly correlated with the set of variables, namely, size of family, size of family labour force and number of employed persons per family. These connections might be seen as by definition. What is fascinating is, however, that the employment status is not significantly correlated with the level of households' monthly income. This might be seen as nonessential details. However, under the light of statistical language, an inadequacy of the income based class sociology once again becomes evident.

For the income resources, wage revenue becomes dominant form by 90.7 per cent. Whilst 14 per cent of respondents receive the pension revenue, just 5 households depend on the old-age pensions. As it is expected that job diversification facilitated under the conditions of informality does not result in the diversification of the income sources. It is obvious that the wage dependency is the common basis for the reproduction of labour in Çöplük. At this respect, it might be complementary to look at the variance in wage ratios. Mean of monthly wage level is around \$220 and half of the labourers earn less than \$200 per month.

Table 17 indicates the wage and household income figures according to the status of employment. Although there are no deep wage and family income differences according to the employment status, the most vulnerable segment is seen to be a marginal and domestic labourer whose wage ratio is almost 50 per cent less than total average. Within the absolute low levels of wages, variance between the formal (\$245.7) and informal wage employment (\$184.2) would be remarkable.

Table 17. Means of monthly wage and households' income by the patterns of employment (USD)

Employment status	Means of wage (Monthly, \$*)	Means of households' income (Monthly, \$*)	Desired income level of household (Monthly, \$*)
<i>Formal employment</i>			
Wage worker	245.71 (n.106)	274.70 (n.146)	570.87 (n.146)
<i>Informal employment</i>			
Wage worker	184.24 (n.133)	201.42 (n.205)	517.37 (n.206)
Marginal & domestic	138.46 (n.14)	149.06 (n.18)	407.07 (n.18)
Small entrepreneur & self employed	285.40 (n.36)	266.66 (n.48)	574.17 (n.48)
<i>Total</i>	217.17 (n.289)	232.32 (n.417)	537.83 (n.418)

\* Exchange rate of TR Central Banks, dated 15 June 2001, 1 \$=1.202.687 TL.

Respondents were also asked to their desired level of income for regarding their expected living standards. There is close connection between the differentiation of actual and desired income for each items of employment status. As like an idiom, the result of test demonstrates that 'they set their foot as to the size of their quilt'. Except the most vulnerable group (i.e. marginal and domestic labourers), desired income ratio of the rests is almost 2.5 times more than their real wage ratio. To put in another way, desired income approximately exceeds \$300 per month to their actual monthly revenue. Under the lights of figures, it is possible to read the 'desired' as a 'real income' of poor. The gap between the actually gathered income and amount of necessities would be a matter of debt. In fact, 60 per cent of respondents declare that they are in debt. While the majority of them take debt within the personal networks, the rate of those who takes debt from banks is not statistically meaningless by 16 per cent.

Debt relations of poor may not always arise from deprivation. On the contrary, it is primarily a matter of cash nexus. In the case of Çöplük, of those who have not debt, their average of actual and desired monthly income levels is considerably less than general average. On the other hand, those who utilise bank credits become the group of having relatively high rate of actual and desired income level. This point becomes more evident in the case of whether using credit cards

or not. The profile of credit card users looks like the 'affluent of the paupers' as having quite secured and regular jobs. As a matter of fact that within the bank credit and credit card users, formal wage workers takes more than 60 per cent. A few portions, on the other hand, are belonging to the marginal and domestic labourers (almost 6 percent, respectively).

As it is stated in the previous chapter, the pauperisation of labour experienced in the labour market is in fact increased at an extent involving not only the process of wage labour, but also the whole life through which social reproduction is realized. From the point of labourers, the meaning of informalization process is to create an empty space formed complicatedly by the market imperatives between the state and the family, and to make this empty space to be filled by efforts of working class households, especially of women, as much as they can effort. Following section is about the withdrawal of the state in the socialized forms of consumption, which is one of the main grounds of social welfare.

#### **4.5. Degradation of Labour in the Socialized Consumption Processes**

As it is known that the concept of privatization is a matter of long disputes on the issue of effectiveness and efficiencies of public and private ownership. However, if it is perceived from Çöplük, meaning of the privatization becomes quite simple and short. Indeed, it is nothing more than the capitalisation process under which the life of the poor as a whole has tended to be subjugated. In this manner, the concept of privatization could be still applicable for identifying the state owned organizations that act according to the priorities of market imperatives. The label on this sort of public organisation is called the 'market friendly' or the 'state/public as a firm'. Although, the privatization of the public goods (i.e. social well being) and of the shoe factory shares same logic, there are considerable differences among them in terms of their concrete implications upon the social organisation of the daily life of the poor as well as the organisation of society as a whole. The last point is the kernel of the issue as stated throughout the thesis. In

fact, the privatization of public goods is related with the very question of which criteria that the society is fabricated on. Within the limitation of my study, this question could be taken as a question of social policy.

At this point, ongoing processes of the privatization of the public goods seem to be highly ironic. It is simply because, the capital has proactively intervened the process by sweeping the wage labourer from the focal point of social policy in the name of poor. It is declared that the fundamental aim of the social security is to combat the poverty rather than secure the most 'secured' portion of the population as wage labourers and employers. Under the guide of international regulatory institutions (i.e. the World Bank, International Money Fund, OECD and so on), redefinition of the social policy has mainly two vital implications:<sup>15</sup>

At first, inner links between wage labour and social security system is broken down and re-linking these relations externally. Meaning of the splitting inner links is to put an end on the organisation of social policy as a contemporary way of compensation of the surplus labour exploitation. Re-linking an external relation means that the domain of social well-being is reorganised as a new profitable field of capital by coding wage labour as a fund owner who demands social services (input) for satisfying his/her own needs (output). Socio-political position of the wage labourer is, hence, defined as 'an entrepreneurial costumer' through which the position of the social citizenship has come to an end. This is the big leap of the capitalist market economy to set up the 'market society'.

Upon this base, the second implication is about socio-political position of the poor. Attributing demands of the poor is taken as the demand of persons who are in need of help. Hence, the poor are perceived as the population who lost their citizenship rights and fall in the subservient position. Public services for social well-being become no longer the matters of the citizenship rights but the matters of assistance for the pauper. In sum, the political economy of the privatization of

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<sup>15</sup> For the nature of the recent transformation of the social policy in Turkey see Özügürü (2005b).

social well-being is related with the dissolution of the social citizenship into the twofold processes: The first is making customer; the second is making pauper. These synchronic processes are the two side of the same coin.

#### **4.5.1. The Provision of Urban Services: 'Community Sector' for the Poor**

Accelerating community based social relations and informal networks among the poor can not be perceived as an 'objective' and 'structural' consequences of social development. On the contrary, current strategy of capital accumulation at the world scale called neo-liberalism and 'global' regulatory institutions as WB, IMF, OECD, and UNDP have intended to flourish informalization by the aim of regulating poverty. All community based organisations and cliental forms of social relations that are functional for the survival strategies of poor are saluted as the most important assets of poor for combating poverty questions (see for example Kalaycıoğlu & Rittersberger-Tılıç, 2002). Thus, policy for empowering the poor becomes the policy of enforcing and persisting the 'informal networks' and 'community based organisations' rested on regional, ethnic, religion, and sects identities. This is the strategy of sweeping the matter of social well-being from its political context in which social well-being is the matter of public responsibility, equality and citizenship rights. Thus, de-politization of social well-being is the political intervention of capital into labour by the aim of reproduction of the value of oppressor at the level of oppressed. Cevdet gives us clear-cut example of this sort of intervention.

The only thing I own is an identity card. Until 1984 I had a 'gecekondu'. They could destroy it whenever they want. In 1984, state gave me a certificate of deed allotment that could be cancelled in the case of necessity. We had no idea about it. Anyway, we learned everything. Later, the certificate of deed allotment is transformed to title deed. It is trimmed many times and 280 square meter of is transformed to title deed. The only place that is given to me in Turkish Republic is this! In Çankaya, Kavaklıdere and Ayrancı provinces and similar provinces of İstanbul, people keep dogs in their houses. Those have had identity cards. What is the difference between to give an identity card to me or to a dog? This shows us where we

are. Now, I live in a 280 square meter place. I will send my child to state school because I could not send to private school. The state doesn't take any responsibility. In the case of any health problem and from the view of living conditions, where and in which atmosphere this child sleeps or does this child diseased or suffers from tuberculosis? State does not consider these conditions. But, suddenly it notices when a citizen is at the age of 20. State tells. "Come, the national borders of motherland awaits you!" All right! I will go to national borders to keep guard. But, in the most beautiful places of motherland, others live. I keep guard at the border against the enemy but they are already inside!<sup>16</sup>

Indeed, modernist vision faces difficulty to explain the attitudes of gecekondu people overwhelmingly directed towards organized circles of the city. Thus, concepts of paternalism, clientelism and so on are applied to devaluate the attitude for being organised. Throughout this study, I prefer paradigmatic shift by reversing the helpless images of immigrants as real men and women of the labouring classes who have historically tended to organise themselves as a class. Paternalist, clientelist, modernist and class based networks as a whole are employed in a certain way as the inner components of the processes in which real men and women have opted for collectivising their material conditions of the social reproduction in synchronous with the formation of themselves as a class.

Table 18, stated below, represents the tendencies of organized respondents according to their employment status. Taken as a whole, of those who engaged in such organisation is around 45 per cent. Among them, formal wage workers stand

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<sup>16</sup> Benim sadece nüfus cüzdanım var. 84'e kadar gecekonduyumdum vardı, diledikleri zaman tepeme yıkarlardı. 84'te buna bir tapu-tahsis belgesi verdiler. Belge... gerektiğinde iptal edilebilir anlamında verildi bu. Biz bilmiyorduk, artık öğrendik bunları. Sonra tapu tahsis belgesi, tapuya dönüştürüldü... Kırıldı, kırıldı 280 metrekaare bir tapuya dönüştürüldü. Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nde bana verilen yer bu! Yalnız Çankaya'da, Kavaklıdere'de, Ayrancı'da ve benzeri yerlerde, İstanbul'da da buna benzer yerlerde yaşayanların evlerinde besledikleri köpekler var. Onların da herhalde nüfus cüzdanları varmış. Ne farkettiler ki! Ha bana nüfus cüzdanı vermiş, ha ona vermiş! Nerede olduğumuzu bu da gösteriyor. Şimdi, burada 280 metrekaarede yerde yaşıyorum, ben çocuğumu devlet okulunda okutacağım, özel okula gönderemiyorum. Devlet hiç mesuliyet kabul etmiyor; herhangi bir sağlık probleminde, yaşama koşullarında, nerede yattı, hangi atmosferdeydi, verem mi, hastalıklı mı? Bunları hiç irdelemiyor devlet. Ama senin 20 yaşına geldiğini farkediyor hemen. Diyor ki, gel, vatanın sınırları seni bekliyor! Tamam. Ben gideyim vatanın sınırlarına, oraya kadar gidip bekleyeyim. Ama vatanın içinde en güzel yerlerde, başkaları yaşıyor. Ben bekliyorum sınırda düşmanı, ama onlar zaten içerde!

over the average rate by 51 per cent. The most unorganised segment of the labouring classes is the marginal and domestic workers by 6 per cent. Moreover, attitudes of the informal wage workers resemble with formal sector workers by 42 per cent. Under the conditions of informality, small entrepreneurs and self employers are seen as the most organised group by around 55 per cent. Taking the organised portion of respondents, main tendencies to direct the kinship based organisations as village associations by 85 per cent. Participating more than one organisation is also typical attitudes for Çöplük (around 10 %). As Table 30 shows, rate of membership to political parties and trade unions is seemed to be statically meaningful by 22 per cent.

Table 18. Type of organisation by employment status of respondents (N.188)

Employment status	Members to organization			
	Members to village association (n.188)		Members to political network (n.188)	
	N	Row %	N	Row %
<i>Formal</i> wage worker	57	77.0%	24	32.4%
<i>Informal</i> wage worker	79	90.8%	14	16.1%
Marginal & domestic	1	100.0%	-	-
Small entrepreneur & self employed	22	84.6%	3	11.5%
<i>Total Column</i>	159	84.6%	41	21.8%

Under the informalized work conditions, therefore, political struggle for labourer is required mainly a sort of heroic effort rather than an anonymous world of class organisation. İlyas is one of the subcontracting workers, who have to become a 'hero' through the image of an 'ugly king' of Turkish cinema, namely, Yılmaz Güney:

I came down on our chief and said him: "Look at me! There is a movie of Yılmaz Güney. The man in this movie asked another man to forgive him this time. But, this couldn't be not forgiven. Cause you threatened my live hood. I do not forgive this". Seriously, I told him like threading. We were alone. He was stronger than me. For a moment he said he is doing karate. He relied on karate. However, I had a spatula in my hand like a razor. Against any move, I would cut



his neck. If he was hit and felt me once, I felt. Otherwise, I would challenge him. I said this is not forgiven. I saw two men coming. He asked what I meant. I told him not to talk much and have to pay twice as much my one-hour wage. I told him to did it in this month otherwise we would quarrel. I told him I did not forgive this like Yılmaz Güney said: "This could not be forgiven!"<sup>17</sup>

#### 4.5.2. Privatization of Social Well-Being: Making Pauper

As it is stated above, current and hegemonic strategy of capital accumulation opts for de-politicisation of social welfare that manifest in the form of privatisation of social well-being. At the moment of my field study, it was recognised that 6.5 per cent of respondents were already taken the advantage of aid programme (that is, food aid from, bread aid and winter coal aids). However, at least 42 per cent of them started to think for applying the aid programme. Çöplük has been indeed loaded with bitter stories of the institutional aid affairs. Context of these stories is simple: capitalism hits poor, and poor usually started to 'abuse' legal basis of the aid affairs as Songül did it.

They (officers) came here looked at me and home. There is nothing. He said all right sister and it was my right to come and take my provision. He demanded certificate of property holdings, certificate from insurance and from Bağ-Kur. I provided certificates and gave them. They registered to my file. They gave me provision quarterly. Some people complained us. OK my man is retired (her husband). Do I retire? Considering that it is not given to retired people. How do you give him? He get pension. His son and wife work in a shop. He has three resources. He is given both coal and provision. I have no pension and any other income. They thought I lied that my husband was dead and interrupted provision. I obliged to lie: How could I send my four children to school? How could I feed them? I went to the

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<sup>17</sup> *Bizim şefin yakasını topladım. Dedim, "Bak, bana bak!", dedim, "Yılmaz Güney'in bir filmi var, diyor ki" diyorum, "adam diyor ki, beni affet bu sefer". Bu affolmaz, dedim. "Benim ekmeğimle oynuyorsun, ben bunu affetmem. Bu af olmaaaz! Bunu düzeltereksin!". Resmen. Tehdit eder gibi laf konuştum. Ama ikimiz yek yekeyiz. O benden de babayığit. Bir ara dedi ki, ben karateciyim falan. Karateciliğine güveniyor. Ama benim de, jilet gibi spatula var elimde, birsey yapsa boynunu keseceğim. Yani bana vursa, bir seferde beni yıktı yıktı, yıkmadı ben müdahale ederim kendine. Dedim, bu af olmaz. Bu arada baktım, iki kişi geliyor. Dedi, "sen ne demek istiyorsun!" Dedim, "Sen fazla konuşma, benim saat ücretimi ikiye çıkaracaksınız; bu ay oldu, oldu! Olmadı, dövişürüz. Ben bunu affetmem. Yılmaz Güney", dedim, "böyle der, bu af olmaz!"*

office of the governor and confessed that I hide the pension of my husband. If I was guilty I accepted what you say. I couldn't feed four children. "The provision you gave had been sufficient for two months. Big states lie and governments are robbed but they are given everything" I said, "If you give a death penalty two my words, give it and inflict a punishment!"<sup>18</sup>

As I discussed before in details, from the poverty alleviation program to the discourses of neo-classical economists, all bourgeoisie camp came to an agreement that unemployment is a matter of individual that has social consequences. Hence, any possible solutions should be directed to empower the unemployed poor for entering into the labour market forcefully. This bourgeoisie approach has not any tracts within the material conditions of unemployed poor who constantly insist that job (jobless) is a matter of public. Nurettin, street sweeper, reported his face-to-face conversation with the head of Mamak municipality in a tone of certain exaggeration as peculiar to the voice of oppressed.

İsmail Dereli who was the mayor of Mamak at that time came to our province. He said he would remove the garbage dump from here. I told him to find job to 300 men in this province. He said: "Go and work in a construction". I told him that the problems didn't solved by his manners and by telling people to work in constructions. I continued that the problem is not ours but his problem. I told him to take me and find a job and come here again and go on your show. I asked what those 300 people would eat.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> *Onlar (görevliler) buraya geldiler, bana baktılar, eve baktılar. Bir şey yok. Tamam, uygun bacım, dedi. Sana hak, dedi. Gel erzağını al, dedi, mal varlığından kağıt getir, dedi, sigortadan kağıt getir dedi. Bağ-Kur'dan kağıt getir. Tamam, dedim. Gittim kağıtları aldım götürdüm verdim, dosyama kayıt etti. 3 ay doldu mu, gidiyom, erzağı elime verirlerdi. Bizi şikayet etmişler. Tamam, adam emekli (kocasını kastediyor). Ben emekli miyim? Benim emekliliğim yok, bir yerden gelirim yok. Vay, bize yalan söylemiş diyerekten erzağı kesiyor, kocası ölmüş diye. Mecburum yalan söylemeye. 4 çocuğumu ben neyle okutayım, neyle karnını doyurayım? Ben kaymakama da çıktım söyledim. Evet, sakladım kocamın maaşını. Benim bu söylediğim bir çift laf suçsa dedim, ne diyorsan kabul ediyom, dedim. 4 çocuk, dedim, karnını doyuramıyorum ben 4 çocuğun, dedim. Buradan gelen erzak bana bir-iki ay gidiyor, dedim. Koca devletler yalan söylüyor, büyükler yalan söylüyor, hükümeti soyuyor, onlara veriliyor da, benim bu bir çift lafıma mı veriliyor? Benim bir çift lafıma beni asacaksan as, ceza vereceksen ver!*

<sup>19</sup> *İsmail Dereli gelmiş, "bu çöpü ben kaldıracağım". Buradaki 300 kişiye, dedim, bir iş bul. "Git, inşaatta çalış", dedi. Senin el kol hareketi yapmanla, dedim, git inşaatta çalış demenle olmuyor, dedim. \_O, dedim, benim sorunum değil senin sorunun. Al, dedim, götür beni bir işe sok, ondan sonra gel burada öt, tantana et, dedim. 300 kişi burada ne yiyecek lan, dedim.*

'It is not my (poor) problem but yours (public)'. Liberal scholars usually ready to label this word as an example of individualistic irresponsibility and paternalist attitude for seeking patronage protection under the muscular arms of the state. Nurettin, worker in the junkyard of Mamak, on the contrary, just reminds us the fact that welfare is a matter of public organisations and condemned his public agent for privatising the social context of the well-being (i.e. privatization of social welfare). However, of those who do not penetrate to the world of street sweeper still continue to turn the reality in opposite directions. For instance, Buğra & Keyder (2003:43) became surprised when a poor woman openly declared, "free use of electricity is a right for the poor". According to them, expectations of poor woman as like others who were interviewed, are the manifestation of the employment and rent opportunities that were expected to create by the state. Instead of paternalist expectations, Buğra & Keyder bring poverty assistance into notice as a citizenship right to poor. Kadir, who was unemployed and head of homeless household, having two children, was offered to take poverty assistance as a 'citizenship right' and applied to the head of local district. Kadir reported his conversation with the head of local district as follows:

Official governor of district told us to buy sesame rolls with the cost of three million for selling. I told him: "Alright sir. I bought sesame rolls for three million. The profit of it is 650 TL. The cost of transportation is 1000 TL for going and coming. How do you pay remaining 400 TL?" He said me that I was making politics. I told: "Brother! I was talking about reality. What will Eray and Koray eat? Even I don't eat I have to give milk to 7 months baby. Otherwise he cries. I can't tell him that I don't work and haven't money". He told me he had nothing to do and it was my problem. He asked me why I gave a birth to a child at that situation. He remonstrated that I have cigarette in my pocket and I know to smoke it. He dictated me not to buy cigarette.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> *Siz, diyor, 3 milyonluk simit alın, götürün bunu satın diyor. Peki, dedim, kaymakam bey, 3 milyonluk simit alacağım, bunun karı 650 bin lira. 650 bin liranın, 500 bin lirası gelişi, 500 bin gidiş... kalan 400 bin lirayı nasıl karşılayacaksınız, dedim. Sen, dedi, işi siyasete çekiyorsun kardeşim, dedi. Ben gerçeği söylüyorum, dedim. Peki dedim, Eraylar, Koraylar ne yiyecek? Ben yemesem de olur; 7 aylık bebek, süt vermezsen ağlar, dedim. Çalışmıyorum oğlum, param yok, diye ben ona anlatamam dedim. Vallaha kardeşim, benim yapacak birşeyim yok, dedi; o senin sorunun dedi, çocuk yapmasaydın o zaman, dedi. Cebinde sigara var, dedi; sigara içmesini biliyorsun, alma, dedi. Alma, dedi.*

What is applied to social assistance recipients is to prevent the deserving poor from the undeserving poor and to reintegrate the undeserving. Cases of Songül and Kadir both assert that taking the poor relief is indeed bitter and complicated experiences for the poor. But theoretical content of these experiences is clear and certain: Firstly, by employing the distinction between deserving and undeserving position, the issue of social well-being become subordinate to the priorities of market imperatives. Secondly, social well-being becomes personal responsibility of the poor who have to proof that they are really poor. In fact, for certain cases, providing evident to proof the poor may not be enough. Additionally, it might be necessary to present your evident in a stylised form. Following section tell us story of the stylised form of application to take poor relief.

#### **4.5.3. Moral Degradation of Labour: Two Cases**

One day, a 'stranger' family with two children settled in the municipality house (a sort of gecekondu) remaining from an old building of coal depots, which is near the Çöplük. Then, it caused exciting discussions and gossips among the established dwellers. It is because this family became the 'news' in one of the local Islamic channels and by this way they had stored food, some amount of money and the job including a shelter in an agricultural estate in Istanbul. This case did not seem 'fair' for the established dwellers whilst they were still unemployed or lower-paid employed and still having no money. I frequently visited them partly because nobody in fact was their neighbour due to their special condition. During fourth month-unemployment period, they first had to sell their all furniture apart from basic ones, after nothing remained which would be worth to sell, they had to leave from their rented home, then decided to become the 'news' in TV-channels as a final solution. They told me all tricks of becoming the news: how they used frequently the name of Allah (because only Islamic channel was interested in them); how his wife covered her hair although she does not like such a style of wearing; how they constructed their theoretical justification specifically basing on the idea of 'endurance' and 'resistance to not

becoming a sinner'. In other words, being poor was not enough, it should be stylised in order to get relief, or, as he said, "you must have a theory". They had to reproduce their stylisation in a certain discursive context of which one is appropriate.

This case might be interpreted as an example of survival strategy or resistance form in daily life but it also includes much more implications if we consider another related case. The previous dweller of this house indeed was a different family with six children, the oldest of whom was 13 years old. They had passed to similar stages like new dweller but became a failure. Whilst TV-channels said "such cases are no longer news", the municipal power forced them to leave from this house. After these two families met each other, the new-occupier man said to me that "they cannot do it because they have not got a theory", although Fatma, who is the mother of the previous dweller, tried to memorise five pillars of Islam. Since she could not still make any progress instead of her all efforts, I accompanied with Fatma on her visits to the municipality in order to extend their staying-time in this house, in earlier days. What I had to do was to provide a sort of 'scientific stylisation' of their poverty that would seem more reliable and natural because she did not have a theory! She was using all ideological signifiers while talking: "Why, am not I a citizen of this state? ... Am not I a daughter of this nation? ... Isn't all of us Muslim brothers?" Moreover, she did not know the language of public buildings. Her 'comfortable' behaviour - as if she is not the poor! - irritated the governors. Of course, what was irritating in her conversation including her body language was that she did not want help actually, but she was claiming the right by using all the way she knows. However I had to request help -although I do not believe it- through strict formality of scientific language; because I had to prove 'truly' her poverty while her symbolic action seems to be not the poor. At last, we could get another extension.

What was particularly interesting in Fatma's discourse is the juxtaposing of three different ideologies in the same conversation. Perhaps, the reference of this

communality lies down in a different place rather than the very contexts of each ideology. Otherwise such a juxtaposing could not be very possible. The signifier of each ideology, indeed, has operated a long time as a discrimination experience rather than equality. At least, the new political poles in Turkey have no longer narrated the poor for the last decades. This currency also indicates what the problem is in the concept of citizenship, as Levitas (1996) points out: "integration into society is nothing but integration into market". In other words, while all aspects of economic structures have rapidly re-formed (such as the purification of villagers and small-tradesmen, the reorganisation of labour market according to the principle of flexibility, and the commoditisation of basic needs), the last political 'tradition' of developmentalism (such as the notion of social integration) left from the notion of citizen. We just know that Fatma speaks - it is strongly possible - through a different perception of justice. And perhaps, the references of this justice just derive from her 'structure of feeling'; however, we still do not know how these perceptions will be formulated as a new political language of justice and equality.

#### **4.6. Degradation of Labour in the Domestic Life Cycle**

Theoretical place of the consumption issue was tried to understand in this study by grounding it within the general framework of the social reproduction of labour. However, I would like to admit that there are certain obstacles for analysing and interpreting the quantitatively gathered data. Such an obstacle is arisen from the logic of quantitative analysis that informs us mainly about the rate of *average* tendencies. On the contrary my propositions are directed to capture *common* tendencies<sup>21</sup> required by in-depth studies with the aim of stressing on process rather than state of research unit and gathering inter-relational existence of the social fact rather than facts existed in isolation. That is why following statistical analyses is not inadequate to discuss the class inequalities in patterns of

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<sup>21</sup> Methodological distinction between common and average tendencies is owned by Professor Ecevit who continuously pointed out this idea during his voluntary arrangement of the Graduate Dissertation Discussion Group in METU. See for instance Ecevit (2002).

consumption. Moreover, the problem in the analysis of consumption is deeper than the limits of statistical accounts. It is simply because patterns of consumption are "both heavily modified and veiled by their interaction with other socio-economic variables" (Fine, 1996: 221). The remainder of this section, therefore, should be read as a general panorama in the deterioration of self-reproduction process, not as a comprehensive analysis of consumption. Now, the dwellers of Çöplük takes place here as consumers including the "hidden producers" of their households (Hollingsworth & Tyyska, 1988), namely, women.

#### 4.6.1. Pauperization of Self-Reproduction

Although patterns of consumption are culturally and historically determined, income level as a quantitative indicator might bring about qualitative differences (Fine, 1996) by limiting purchasing power, and thus, by establishing a certain framework for both consumption items that can be afforded and consumption level that can be allocated. Table 19 gives a little bit impression about how the employment status affects the daily life conditions of households by restricting their consumption needs.

Table 19. Respondents' appraisal of their household livelihood conditions (N418)

Employment status of respondent	An appraisal sentence that evaluates livelihood condition			Total
	Living by cutting unneeded spending <sup>22</sup>	Living by cutting needed spending <sup>23</sup>	Living by collapsing in need of charities <sup>24</sup>	
<i>Formal wage worker</i>	55 37.7%	58 39.7%	33 22.6%	146 100.0%
<i>Informal wage worker</i>	59 28.6%	70 34.0%	77 37.4%	206 100.0%
<i>Marginal &amp; domestic</i>	0 .0%	2 11.1%	16 88.9%	18 100.0%
<i>Small entrepreneur &amp; self employed</i>	18 37.5%	9 18.8%	21 43.8%	48 100.0%
<i>Total Column</i>	132 31.6%	139 33.3%	147 35.2%	418 100.0%

<sup>22</sup> In Turkish, "Füzuli masrafları kısararak evi döndürmeye çalışıyoruz."

<sup>23</sup> In Turkish, "Boğazdan kısararak evi döndürmeye çalışıyoruz."

<sup>24</sup> In Turkish, "Muhanete muhtaç hale geldik."

In the survey, respondents were also asked to certain home products by the aim of rather measuring their living standards. Here, Table 20 shows two figures that compete with rivalry. First is just about proportions of each items, and the second is about aggregated set of items that offers more or less evidence for the level of living standard.

Table 20. Distribution of the durable consumption goods (N.428)

		Frequencies of items		Aggregated result for living standard		
<i>Code</i>	<i>Products</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>Code</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>N</i>
K1	Refrigerator	99.3	425	K1	99.3	425
K2	Colour TV	98.6	422	$K2' = K1 + K2$	97.9	419
K3	Telephone	95.3	408	$K3' = K2' + K3$	93.9	402
K4	Automatic laundry	88.3	378	$K4' = K3' + K4$	85.3	365
K5	Vacuum cleaner	88.3	378	$K5' = K4' + K5$	81.1	347
K6	Gas water heater	75.0	321	$K6' = K5' + K6$	67.1	287
K7	Set of bedding	60.3	258	$K7' = K6' + K7$	45.8	196
K8	Cooker	58.6	251	$K8' = K7' + K8$	35.0	150
K9	Mobile phone	57.7	247	$K9' = K8' + K9$	26.4	113
K10	Set of music player	47.4	203	$K10' = K9' + K10$	18.2	78
K11	Automobile	31.3	134	$K11' = K10' + K11$	8.9	38
K12	Set of dining room	21.3	91	$K12' = K11' + K12$	4.9	21
K13	Video	15.4	66	$K13' = K12' + K13$	2.6	11
K14	Computer	7.5	32	$K14' = K13' + K14$	1.4	6

As it is declared, frequencies of each item occupy substantial portions. Ratio of ownership for the basic components of the durable consumption goods is varied from 99 per cent to 75 per cent. Except the automatic dishwasher, mechanised equipment of domestic works is to be found at the substantial level in Çöplük.<sup>25</sup> This is the case by which someone remained us of the famous phrase from the Communist Manifesto, and tells 'The proletarians have anything to lose plus their

<sup>25</sup> During my field work, I noted that second-hand sectors were primary market place for purchasing the durable consumption goods.



chains. They have a world of market to win!<sup>26</sup> However, those facts, which are about the proportion of each items show nothing more than the products-based information. It is no doubt that it will be useful for the marketing researches. But, this study is not about the world of commodities, it is just about the world of those who are *forced* to be a commodity, i.e. working class. That is why, the task is to go beyond the frequencies of each product, and reorganise them as an indicator of living standard, unless the composition of items would be narrow. By the aim of building the scale of living standard, I tried to develop two sets of variables: At first, all products were ordered in descending, and calculated cumulative values from higher to lower percentage of products. Results of this procedure are presented at the second column of Table 20 with the label of 'aggregated result for living standard'.

It can be extracted different conclusions upon two different presentations of the same data. First column, frequencies of items, gives an answer the question of how many products are there. On the contrary, second column is about the question of which set of products are owned by families. Disparity between two methods would be identical. Albeit the curiosity of marketing researchers may not be satisfied, let's take the column two that shows cumulative proportions of each combination of products. Thus, data tell us that the rate of those who own all products is just 1.4 per cent. And, just after the aggregated raw of gas water heater, the rate of living standard sharply fall down below 50 per cent.

Secondly, I categorised 14 products into three variables by attributing specific coefficients based on the function of products. These three variables are; (a) equipment of domestic works,<sup>27</sup> (b) equipment of communication facilities<sup>28</sup> and

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<sup>26</sup> I remembered that a survey report of the metal workers union was reported under the headline of "Workers have anything to lose, but rather their chains" by Sabah newspaper in 1995.

<sup>27</sup> This variable was computed by taking 6 products: Refrigerator, Vacuum cleaner, Cooker, gas hat water, non-automatic laundry, and automatic laundry. First five products were multiplied by 1, while last one was multiplied by 2 and total score of the variable become 7.

<sup>28</sup> This variable made up by telephone (1), automobile (1), hand phone (2), and computer (3) and total score was again 7 point. .

(c) product for home comfort.<sup>29</sup> Moreover, I counted the number of three sub-sets into the new variable, titled 'living standard measure'. Results of this procedure seem to be complementary with the cumulative way of calculations. Taking the maximum score of the equipment of domestic works as 7, respondents' average score is around 5 and thus, this fact declares that households of Çöplük largely accommodate items of the fundamental white-products. However, for the home comfort products (maximum score is 6) and the equipment of the communication facilities (maximum score is 7), average scores of both are around 2.6. Above all figures, it is possible to argue that the scope of the compulsory items is seen to be limited by the fundamental durable goods.

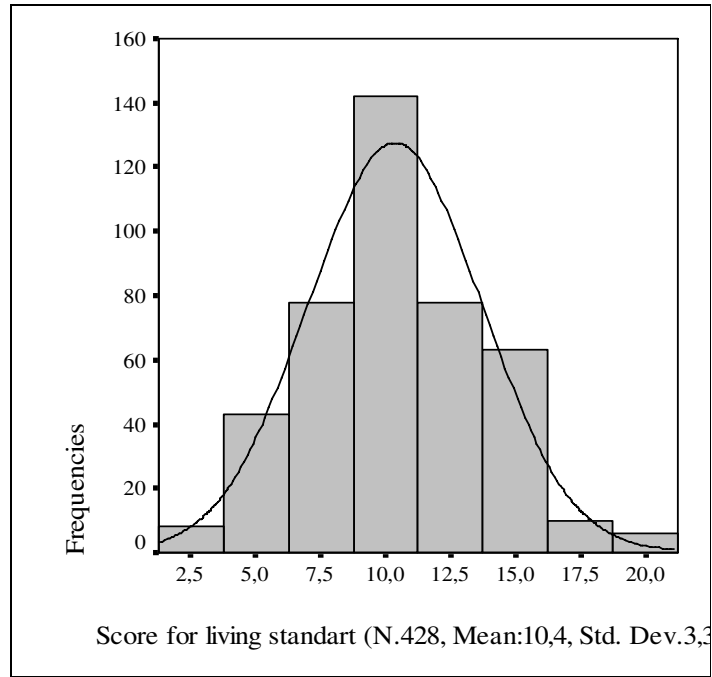


Figure 6. Total Score of Living Standard

Here, Figure 7 summaries the distribution of the living standard measure with the score of minimum (1) to maximum (20) grades. Rate of those who take less than

<sup>29</sup> This set was covered by bedding (1) and dining room (2) sets, colour tv (1), video (1), music player (1) set. Maximum score of the home comfort was 6 point.

6 point is 7 per cent. At the opposite side, there is relatively 'high living standard' group by taking the rate of 6 per cent.

Table 21. Average of the living standards by the employment status and the monthly income revenue of household

(Minimum- Maximum)	Total score for living standard (1 to 20 score)	Equipment of domestic works (1 to 7 score)	Product for home comfort (1 to 6 score)	Equipment of communication facilities (1-7 score)
<b>Employment status</b>				
<i>Formal</i> wage worker	11.64	5.46	3.05	3.14
<i>Informal</i> wage worker	9.72	4.92	2.41	2.39
Marginal & domestic	6.72	3.33	1.78	1.61
Small entrepreneur & self employed	11.17	5.31	2.96	2.90
<i>Total</i>	<i>10.42</i>	<i>5.08</i>	<i>2.67</i>	<i>2.68</i>
<b>Households' monthly income</b>				
-100 \$	7.71	4.00	1.83	1.88
101-200 \$	9.54	4.86	2.37	2.31
201-300 \$	10.83	5.27	2.76	2.80
301-400 \$	11.80	5.67	3.00	3.14
401 + \$	12.89	5.64	3.66	3.60
<i>Total</i>	<i>10.36</i>	<i>5.07</i>	<i>2.64</i>	<i>2.65</i>

In order to clarify the 'consumer pattern' for the products listed above, I tried to set out further analysis in which innovated variables of the living standard are subjected to correlate with the set of explanatory variables. It is statistically evident that variable of the living measures has no significant relations with the variables of age of respondents, family size and of the monthly wage level of respondents. However, strong correlation rests on the variables of marital status, number of rooms, desired and actual family incomes, and the employment status. Here, it could be deduced that the pattern of consumption has mainly family based character. That is, consumer attitudes towards these products mainly opt for common needs of household rather than specific needs of family members. This might be departure point to clarify the question of why communicative equipment and home-comfort - products take low grades in comparison with the rate of equipment for domestic works. Any consumer attempts to go beyond the common and fundamental needs of family are related with the employment

status. As Table 21 shows that formal employment provides also 'security' to take more or less stable revenue, by which purchasing attitudes of poor are carried in balance. On the contrary, state of informality tends to demolish the confidence of purchasing power to cover the family needs. Row of the households' monthly income at the second part of Table 21 may be seen as a function of employment status.

In this survey, respondents were also asked to the deficiency in nourishment in terms of protein. 1/3 of respondents declared that they consume red or white meat more than once per week. Of those who do not regularly consume the meat, the rate is around 20 per cent. Upon my field observations, it can be noted that not surprisingly, the main component of the protein-products is the white meat, chicken. As it is usual, the amount of family income has strong correlation with the frequencies of eating meat. However, uncorrelated set of variables as family size, number of the children and rate of dependent family member has to be noted for further analysis. As Table 22 shows, there are considerable differences in the attitudes of eating meat, according to the different segment of the employment status. Marginal and domestic labourers are the most deprived group; for the half of them, eating the meat would be a kind of ceremony arranged from –in Turkish- 'bayramdan bayrama' (from holiday to holiday).

Table 22. Nourishment pattern by the employment status (N.418)

Employment status	nourishment by meat, fish, chicken						Total Row
	once-twice per week		once-twice per month		very seldom in a year		
<i>Formal</i> wage worker	35.6		50.0		14.4		146 100.0
<i>Informal</i> wage worker	30.1		43.7		26.2		206 100.0
Marginal & domestic	11.1		38.9		50.0		18 100.0
Small entrepreneur & self employed	50.0		39.6		10.4		48 100.0
<i>Total Column</i>	n.140	33.5	n.189	45.2	n.89	21.3	n.418 100.0

It might be enough to quantitatively deal with the issue of shelter and its accommodation level and the kitchen activities. Stressing on differentiation within the consumption of certain items can not be resulted in misleading conclusions as perceiving Çöplük as a highly heterogeneous place. In fact, even in terms of the mode of consumption, the dwellers of Çöplük are familiar with the real addresses of polarization, as in the following assertion of İlyas who defines consumption by the possession of wealth.

In short, it is like a fruit. This year it gives walnuts, they ripen, we eat them, and the next year once more. When you look at it that way, the human being is also the same. Your mother is born, she gives birth to you, and then it is her due time and she passes away. Your child is born, (s)he reaches your age, becomes a parent. So, what does this mean? That's right, "the goods is a lie, property is a lie, and you take your time". We are the ones who say this. Again we! If these goods and properties are all a big lie, then why does this Vehbi Koç (*who is one of the biggest capitalist in Turkey*) etc. believe in this? He always claims to be the possessor. We say what we possesses is only a shroud. OK, it is a shroud, and I also know that. But he lived in bliss, along with his whole lineage. And I am living in torment. For goodness, let us use all capital together, let all people live as long as their due time. Or say, who says it is a lie? Neither the goods nor the property is a lie! It is all mine! All my descendents will live with this. That's it. And to hell with you!<sup>30</sup>

For the dwellers of Çöplük, living under the threat of cash-nexus necessitates certain capabilities to find out appropriate ways for surviving daily lives of family member. Forms of relations with grocers, for instance, have peculiar place for this capabilities. Grocers with their credit notebooks (*veresiye defteri*) are seen to be a critical figure stand at the edge of place where poor come into faces with the

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<sup>30</sup> Kısacast, bir meyvaya benziyor. Bu sene cevizi oluyor, yetiştiriyor, biz onu yiyoruz, ertesi sene bir daha. İnsan da, baktığın zaman öyle. Senin anan doğuyor, seni doğruyor, sonra onun yaşı geliyor gidiyor. Senin çocuğun oluyor, senin yaşın geliyor, çocuğun ana-baba oluyor. Ha, bu da ne demektir? Doğru, mal da yalan, mülk de yalan, al biraz da sen oyalan. Bunu diyen biziz. Gene biziz! Madem, bu mal-mülk yalan, bu Vehbi Koç falan, onlar niye ona inanıyor? Hep bize, hep bize, diyor! Aldığı götürdüğü bir top kefen, diyoruz. Yahu, güzel, bir top kefen, ben de biliyorum. Ama o sefa içinde yaşadı, 7 sülalesi. Ben de cefa içinde yaşıyorum. Yahu, bırakın, bu sermayeyi beraber kullanalım, bütün insanlar yaşasın, yaşadığı güne kadar. Ya da de ki, ne yalanı! Mal da yalan değil, mülk de! Hepsi, benim! Benim 7 sülalem bununla geçinecek. Bitti. Sen de ne bok yersen ye! – From interview with İlyas (for his detailed biography see p. 126, n.51).

hard presses of the market requirements. Halime, who is 33 years-old with a son and married, tell us details of this relation:

Use credit card, do not buy on credit from grocery. I never recommend! (laughing). When you ask how much the tomato sauce is, he says "if you buy for cash, it is 1.250, if you buy on credit it is 1.350". 'Haymanalı' grocery charges 25 thousand lira extra for the bread to be sold on credit. Bread, it is only bread! You have to buy! But everyone can not do shopping on credit. It requires credit-worthiness. What is credit-worthiness? If you pay your whole debt to the grocer on 1st or 15th day of the following month, he continues to sell you on credit next month. Or, for example, if you are in debt of 30 million and you pay 20 million of it, he continues to sell you on credit. The family of my mother in-law has started shopping from the grocery at the other side. She can not pay! F...s leg (her mother in law's other son) was broken and he could not work for a while. My mother in law's income is not enough, my mother in law, her daughter in law and the child live together. Her income is not sufficient. What does she do in this situation? She did shopping from 'Telli' grocery, the debt increased, the grocer said "I will not sell you on credit anymore, pay your debt". She began to shop from 'Adalet' grocery, Adalet also stopped selling to her on credit. She did shopping from 'Haydar' grocery, and argued with him, too. She did shopping from 'Haymanalı' grocery and argued with him also. Now, she does her shopping from a place over there. They pay 70-80 millions only to the grocer. What does 70-80 million breakfast supplies cost mean? It means a great deal of sausages and salami<sup>31</sup>.

Grocer is here a type of mediator rather than bumper for compulsory requirements of the market relations that have been transmitted to some extent throughout the local channels as like grocer, in which consumption pattern of labourers has been continuously degraded.

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<sup>31</sup> *Herkes veresiye yazılmaz. İtibar gerektirir. İtibar nedir? O itibar, bir ay boyunca yediğini ayın 15'i ya da 1'i geldiği zaman tık diye ödersen, adam ertesi ay sana yazıyor. Ya da, diyelim ki 30 milyon borcun var, 20'sini ödersen, adam sana yazmaya devam ediyor. Kayınvalidemgil şimdi de şu taraftaki bakkaldan alışveriş etmeye başlamışlar. Veremiyor! F...un bacağı kırıldı, bir süre çalışmadı. Kayınvalidemin maaşı yetmiyor, evde çocuk, gelin, kayınvalidem... yetmiyor! Yetmediği noktada ne yapıyor? Telli bakkaldan alışveriş yaptı, oraya borç yükseldi, orası artık veremem, borcunu öde, dedi. Adalet bakkaldan yapmaya başladı, Adalet de kesti hesabını. Haydar bakkaldan yaptı, orayla tartıştılar. Haymanalı bakkaldan yaptı, orayla tartıştılar. Haydar bakkala geri döndü. Satılmış, verin annemgile veresiye, demiş. Orayla tekrar tartıştılar, bu sefer şuradan bir yerden alışveriş yapıyor. Aylık 70-80 milyon sırf bakkal parası. 70-80 milyonluk kahvaltılık ne demek ya? Kamyon kamyon sucuklar, salamalar demek!*

#### 4.6.2. Domestification of the Social Reproduction of Labour

Gordon (1995: 169) argues that "in the Victorian gender system, 'underclass' women were in some senses responsible for men's sins, because they failed at their prescribed task of domesticating men and disciplining them to work". Now, it might be added with the responsibility for the capitalist market's sins. For they have tried to organise family based resistance which against the new wave of enclosure movement of capital at the expense of their pauperized labour. Domestic labour may be deemed as an inevitable resistance tool against the enclosure movement of capital that manifested in the processes of marketization and privatization of public assets and eradicating self-sufficient equipment and skill; however, it should be recalled that this is only half the story. I have already defined the processes of capital accumulation as an endless tendency of capital towards privatising social conditions of reproduction of labour. In opposition to this, I have already mentioned about working class tendency to collectivise their context of reproduction of labour. This struggle based on principle contradiction has taken place not just at the point of production but in every sphere of life. Living domain (i.e. *mahalle*) of the poor and their households has become a direct and open site of this contradiction. And, women with their domestic labour are located in middle of this contradiction. Çöplük as a *mahalle* of the poor is a place of women where they are visible with their all state of affairs.

Issue of domestic labour was investigated by using qualitative research techniques as I mentioned in methodology chapter in detail. For a general observation, it can be proposed that every act of the poor women is directed to the saving for living at the unit of household. In fact, household is primarily a unit of social organisation that usually combines shared residence and shared reproduction by deploying income-generation and domestic activities. However, it is also important to note that participation in the inputs and benefits of household life is by no means equal for all household members; there are often considerable imbalances in labour loads and resource allocation between

individuals within the same domestic unit. Any effort of the poor households to resist against or adapt to the capital enclosure are afforded by women's labour at the expense of degrading their well-being as well as their body. This is why; Nazlı, who is 31 years old and lives with her 11 years-old son declared that need of her was not a husband but a wage work: " If I had a job, it would be better than an unfaithful husband. In fact, I do not want to husband who I had before, but at that time I was still in need of bread" (*Benim bir işim olsa, bakmayan bir kocadan iyi yani. Ben koca istemem mesela. Kocam vardı, ben yine bir ekmeğe muhtaçtım*).

She is right when she said; 'job is better than an unfaithful husband' because the well-being issue is necessitates the collective efforts of working-class family. The poor households do not have any chance to tolerate whoever was unfaith. In fact, under the general conditions of pauperization of labour, breadwinner typology has been eroded. Now, bread by loosing its symbolic meaning becomes vital as bread. At the level of household, there is no any longer a breadwinner, but breadfighter. Women stand at the centre of this fight. Evident for resurgent of subsistence productions (making food, bread etc.) were recorded from each women interview without any exceptions. This observation was valid for the resurgent phenomenon of the commoditisation of domestic labour.

Çöplük was not only a place of the rubbish damp of Ankara but at the same time it was the plant of large official store of coal mining from where dwellers did not feel difficulty to find out their winter fuel needs in a certain way. After the closing this large coal store, this store was left behind the heap of coal dust. For a long time, dwellers of Çöplük have provided their winter fuel need from the rich coal dust by mixing with plaster. Remzi tell us the short story of this activity as follows:

Coal has been there in winter and summer alike. Anybody who has no coal cut the wire and stole it at night. There were night guards around the cottage. While they were treating tea to those night guards and



chatted, others have cut the wire and stole coal. After they removed the cottage that was used as store, people were digging coal. I didn't pay any money to coal for one year. I have dug coal that would meet our need for one year. I did for one year; some people in neighbourhood had had for 2 or 3 years. If another person came to dig the place I find, there would be some quarrels. An upstanding person does not do this. Everywhere is dug in here. At the end someone ploughed the area with tractor. After ploughing some people pick coal from within it. Then they sifted the remaining dust. They mixed it with plaster, dried and burned it. Put water in coal dust, mix it with plaster, shape and insolate it. It burns like normal coal. I also did it with plaster. At that time, my mother was living with us, I mixed it and she shaped. We insolate them in front of the house here. There is nothing now in this area. Children play football on it.<sup>32</sup>

The scale of subsistence production is not limited with domestic activities as making food, bread etc. Households are always on alert by scanning all around with the perception of subsistence needs in which two types of attitudes are evident. The first is about convertibility capacity of environmental assets into cash. The second is about subsidising capacity of the assets for decreasing cash dependency. All these activities point out the vital process as privatization of public good. I prefer throughout the thesis that all attitudes of labouring classes towards the constructing shelters (gecekondus) and 'illegal' way of consuming infra structure services should be taken as a response of poor against the process of privatization of social well-being by internalising the fundamental parameters of private ownership regime. Therefore, what is crucial is that 'dangerous classes' typology is not meaningful insofar as 'dangerousness' would be on an agenda

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<sup>32</sup> *Yaz-kış kömür orada devamlı duruyor ya... mahallede daralan, bunalan olurdu; teli kesen çalardı yani, gece. Klübe vardı, bekçiler vardı kenarlarda. Aşağı kısmında bekçilere çay götürürlermiş; lafa takarmış biri, ikisi de öbür taraftan teli kesip çalarlarmış. Depo kalktıktan sonra burada millet kazmayla kömür çıkardı. Bir sene ben de para vermedim kömüre. Bir yıl yetecek kadar kömür kazdım oradan. Ben bir yıl ettim, mahalleden belki 2-3 yıllık kömür kazanlar oldu. Şimdi ben mesela şöyle bir yer bulmuşum, orayı kazıyorum. Sen de gelip orayı kazarsan, ufak-tefek kavgalar olurdu yani. Kendini bilen de kazmazdı. Her taraf kazıldı, bütün her taraf! En sonunda biri traktörle sürdü... pulluk attı arkasına traktörün, sürdü, ondan sonra onun içinden seçtiler. En sonu, tozu kaldı. Tozunu elediler. Alçıyla kardılar, kuruttular, öyle de yaktilar. Kömür tozunu sulandırıp alçıyla kar, yuvar yap, güneşin altına koy, normal kömür gibi yanıyor. Ben alçıyla da yaptım. Annem vardı o zaman yanımda, ben kardım annem de yuvarlak yaptı yaptı, burada, evin önüne serdik kurudu. Şimdi bir şey kalmadı artık, top sahası yaptı çocuklar.*

when they opt for collective way of resistance and rebels and vital process of privatising social well-being determinates the root of both the obedience and revolt.

#### **4.6. Conclusion**

These men and women –unemployed and civil servant, homeless and property owner– who told oral histories of their struggles filled with a continuum of conditions of living in capitalism were not a discrete category of people to whom poverty has be befallen. As the research site Çöplük has provided a 'big story' of people that may fracture but is deeply common. It was what I tried to tell thereby questioning how labourers reproduce themselves in the relations of subsumption and the hostile arrangements that generate and sustain their conditions of poverty. Quantitative and qualitative aspects of Çöplük has showed us any possibilities and obstacles that poor dwellers are faced for collective basis of resistant against the enclosure movement of capital as manifesting privatising social well-being. That is why; conclusion of this chapter is in fact the conclusion of the thesis as a whole. This is a matter of the last chapter.

## CHAPTER 5

## CONCLUSION

*Memur ne ki! Memur, borçla geçinen biri  
demek. Büyük bir iş alanı olacak,  
işçiyi de koyacak içine çalıştıracak,  
zengin olur\*.*

This thesis has started thinking about poverty not by determining who the poor is, but by thinking about how poverty is conceived both epistemologically and politically. For the meanings attributed to poverty not only defines the poor themselves but also the order of the world –the state of humanity that is being experienced, that is legitimised and suggested. And by the very same reason, looking at poverty deciphers the world order, if somebody looks through the eye of the conscience. Poverty has without doubt a normative side to it which calls to our social sensitivities; because it is a 'problem' for our investigations and moral values as well as it is a troubling experience for the poor themselves. What is more, as 63 year old Cemal, who still goes on working as a construction worker,

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\*. *What is a civil servant! S/he is a person who manages to live on loans. One has to have a large field of work, employs many workers that is the rich man.* – From the interview with Nazlı. She is 31 years old and lives with her 11 year-old son in a rented house. She came to Ankara after her marriage at the age of 14. During her marriage that lasted 15 years, she continuously suffered from her husband's violence. Her husband, who worked in irregular jobs, never had a role in the financial maintenance of the household. Nazlı sustained her life sometimes with the help of her father-in-law, and sometimes by doing housework for neighbours (washing carpets, making bread). In 1998, she started working in a cleaning company as a worker. A year later, she divorced her husband and moved to the Çöplük neighbourhood. In the mean time, she lived an extramarital relationship with a man, resulting in her alienation by her family members. When the interview was done, she was unemployed for the past 3 months and her relationship was over. Her family think that she does not deserve their financial support because she does not live as a 'chaste widow'. Nazlı tries to make her living by neighbours' help and doing housework for them.

expresses; "kapıya konacak bir dert de değildir" (*it is not a trouble that you can throw out of the door*). However, conscience here goes beyond the normative expectancies and it belongs to an epistemology that points to the necessity of changing the world in order to understand it; because it does not look for the reality in a scholastic exercise that reflects the material reality or constructs it in our minds, but rather within the struggle which constitutes a social-political power in relation to the material reality. The thesis in this regard, has not simply found an empirical material in the lives of women and men who suffer poverty, but has found the experience of oppression as a methodological axis that we can use in analysing the social conditions that capitalism creates. This axis is the axis of utopia anyhow, because as Engels (1992) has said, "the utopia begins when one undertakes 'from existing conditions' to prescribe the form in which this or any other of the antithesis of present-day society is to be solved".

This undertaking, as Marx suggested, mostly requires refusing the questions, not to consent to them for seeking the true responses. The capitalist production relations are such a theoretical ground, albeit viewed as old-fashioned, overly-abstracted or overly-restrictive, challenging to the existing questions. Insisting on the production relation, this thesis has at least formulated its analytical attempt as an effort to capture the content of the basic questions in the poverty literature, i.e. the questions 'who is the poor?', 'why are they poor?', 'how can it be solved?', without falling in the logics and rationales of them.

For this reason, the departure point of this study has been the methodological questioning including the epistemological examination of the connection between concepts and facts. Thereby re-evaluating methodological tendencies in poverty researches, Chapter 2 has sought both the ontological imaginations about what kind of a world we are faced with and the epistemological attempts trying to convince us about the realities of our humane situation. Then, by resting on the methodological premises of the historical materialism, it has assumed that diverse phenomena such as the structure and the agent do not exist as externally related

entities; rather they exist as a differentiated totality. With regard to poverty issue, analytically, it meant that the contradictory unite of production and consumption reveals the experience of poverty as a constructive relation across the whole society rather than a discrete one, and therefore, restores 'the survival conditions' of labourers to the context of the class struggle.

By reason of its methodological perspective, the analytical inquire of the thesis has not involved whether the definitions of poverty are true or false; in fact, it has already assumed that poverty is the condition of working class by reason of its theoretical premises mentioned below. Therefore, it has rather asked where the current definitions of poverty come from, or why one theory of social welfare, rather than another is dominant at any particular time. The main concern of the theoretical survey in Chapter 3 has been comprised of these questions that are based on the conceptual history of poverty. In this section, the literature on poverty has been considered in the historical development of institutional-political regulations, which categorize the poor as a 'social problem', and which try to 'solve' that problem. Then, it has been concentrated on the implications of the class perspective for understanding of poverty arising from the 'total' process of capitalism and sought the experience of being poor in the nexus of production relations by basing on those two theoretical premises:

First, poverty is the 'absolute general law' of the process of the pauperization of labour. What was mentioned here was directly about class relation itself rather than an analysis of poverty by the class terms. Therefore, it has reiterated the fact that the secret of capital's global accumulation relies on the cheapening of labour power through constant development by means of production.

Second, this is of course not a natural law, but a central dynamic of the antagonistic character of capitalist accumulation. That is, the pauperization of labour is a process of struggle between an attempt of capital to create and govern the downgrading of labourers' living conditions in part an existence condition of

its self-expansion and an attempt of labour to afford their own social reproduction in part a formation of class. Again, it has reiterated that from the beginning, the development of capitalism has been subjected to class struggle. In sum, the analysis of poverty in this thesis has strived to base its effort on the exhibition of the conflict between labour and capital on one hand, and the demonstration of what kind of class practices this conflict is experienced in relation with, on the other hand.

The first effort, i.e. the exhibition of the class-conflict, explains the causes creating poverty, and precisely due to this capability, it enables us to see how it is constructed as an object of description. For capitalism produces poverty as a 'cause' but treats it as a 'result' and only by this way, it 'makes poverty work' within the borders of capital accumulation. However, poverty is a 'causal' experience within the concrete life course of labour. That is why, the politization of poverty as a class problem means the rise of interrogation concerning the foundations of capitalism in history every time. From labourers, it is an attempt to define poverty as a class relation distinguishing themselves from the property-owning capitalists. On the other hand, capital can cope with labour's definition, insofar as it institutionalizes the typologies of poor as a discrete category, which is separated from the working-class and implemented the recodes and classifications undermining the class nature of poverty. That is why poverty as a 'social problem' is related with the ontological axis of society, in general and the political principles of public sphere, in particular.

The concept 'social capital' determining the theoretical framework and the empirical agenda of contemporary poverty studies has been taken into hand as a remarkable example, which displays the historical role of poverty as a 'social problem' in the process of paradigmatic construction of society. It has been argued that this approach re-builds the meaning of society that had collapsed in the dissolution era of neo-liberalism and postmodernism, in a particular way, and that its political language, which naturalizes capital and its social policy practice,

which privatizes the social well-being, as Fine argued (2001a: 11), are also useful both to ignore the critics of the liberalization programmes, which had been implemented over the past 20 years, and to conceal what they share with traditional neoclassical economics is more than what they shed.

To argue that the social coming to us loaded with meaning and significance is a matter of class struggle means also to argue an idea concerning the subjects of social. In other words, the above discussion has assumed that those who are labouring classes do not only suffer from 'social diseases', but also 'negotiate' their conditions of access to the means of survival and self-reproduction as "the merchants of their own labour" (Casanova, 2002). Therefore, what was the crucial here was to demonstrate what kind of social practices labour-capital conflict is experienced in relation with.

The second effort of thesis has pursued this last point by putting the notion of standard of living into the conflict-ridden process of capital accumulation. Chapter 4, therefore, has been devoted to the question how labour-capital conflict is experienced in concrete social practices of daily life. It has examined living in poverty, with particular reference to the influence of labour market regulation, the privatization of public provision and the domestic consumption of household. In this section, the simple circulation of labour as a commodity (commodity is a social relation, not material thing) has been proposed as a powerful operational guide that would concretize the class-based context of living in poverty. This dimension, which is partly disregarded by the class analysis because of its overemphasis on the relations of production, has been defined by the structural link between production and consumption; therefore, the overall livelihood conditions, which are traditionally called 'survival strategies' by poverty studies, such as the struggle for housing and obtaining rights to public services, decent living standards have been interpreted as the class-based experiences.

In fact, in terms of both theoretical efforts mentioned-above, this thesis has only borne the principle conflict between the collective character of production and the private form of the means of production to the sphere of social reproduction by bringing forward the claim as follows: The sphere of social reproduction is subjected to the conflict between the historical tendency of labour, which is to collectivize its own reproduction, and that of capital, which is to make it something produced and consumed in the parameters of market production. This contradictory link transforms, therefore, the locus of daily life into the class question by including the direct role of state both in the politics of labour market and in the socialized forms of consumption, as well as, the domestic consumption of households.

However, it should be noted that the development of a concept of social reproduction does not necessarily mean the re-theorization of class in a wider notion. Rather, it means to reveal the class context of social life by integrating the process of capital accumulation to the overall process of social reproduction of labour. Nevertheless, this connection has crucial implications for rethinking the notion of class, at least, in relation to the question of poverty.

As mentioned in chapter 3, during the early 1970s Marxist class analysis was involved in two separate channels: The concept 'working-class' as a model of full-proletarianization was rather identified with the 'truly' wage labour whose struggle was mainly located in the workplace and whose goal was saturated with the economical interests. On the other hand, the concept 'urban poor' as a model of semi-proletarianization was rather represented by rural ties and community-based networks for both entering the urban lands and the labour market, which have considerably informal characteristics. Their action was mainly located in the level of *gecekondus*, and therefore, their purpose was rather to being involved in the formal urban system by mobilizing rather patronage mechanisms or clientelist groups (see for examples Erder, 1996; Keyder, 2005). Politically, the struggle of the former was generally deemed as class action and that of the latter was



theorised as 'social movement'. Until the late 1970s, this duality was the main motive of urban studies and developed throughout 1980s by notion of 'urban social movements', which take place within the sphere of consumption rather than that of production.<sup>1</sup> After the collapse of developmentalism under the so-called 'structural adjustment programme', this duality in a sense has been reproduced by the conceptual couple of 'exclusion-inclusion' dilemma, which is mainly fabricated on current transformations both in labour market and in urban land (see for examples Keyder 2005; Işık & M. Pınarcıoğlu, 2003). From this standpoint, the economic liberalization process, which is directly linked to global reconfiguration of capitalism did not only created new poor, but also changed the form of urban poverty (i.e. social exclusion) by dismantling the 'traditional welfare regime' of Turkey (see Buğra, 2001). As we discussed in chapter 3, what is at stake in these approaches is the question why the informal area such as squatter-housing, informal networks in work recruitment, which were coded once as the structural results of the dependent capitalist development transformed into a 'welfare regime', 'social capital', or 'assets' of the poor as the mechanisms of incorporation now. The below statement is one of the examples of this:

If social integration depends on the existence of networks, the new migrants are not in a fortunate situation in terms of being able to tap into existing links in order to generate networks to be used toward employment or housing. The new immigrants are socially excluded: unlike the older immigrants who could assure socio-economic integration through the mobilization of network relations, they lack the material resources and the social capital necessary for any integration (Keyder, 2005: 132).

The transformation of informality into the resources of poor people is in fact linked to the transformation of analytical scope of capitalism. Its emphasis on 'social networks', as Arrighi argued (2001: 110), "is distinctly 'micro', 'social interactionist', event – or at most conjuncture-oriented approach to economy and society, rather than 'macro' and 'structural' oriented" approach to capitalism.

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<sup>1</sup> See Aslan (2004) for one of the typical examples of this dualistic understanding in current urban studies in Turkey.

Therefore, it is possible to conceive of poverty, i.e. the description of livelihood conditions, as a definition of the 'new' subjects.

Conversely, by placing 'livelihood conditions' in the context of 'big structure' of capitalism like production, this thesis has asserted that current pauperization processes of labour should be considered as a situation in which the whole class is in a defensive position to capital. The political economy of social reproduction is such an analytical attempt, which can reveal how the capitalism reaches into every detail of social life. From this standpoint, hence, it is possible to argue that the subject is the working class; poverty is the material conditions of working class and subjected to class-struggle, which also takes place at the realm of social reproduction.

One of the most important results of this theoretical stance is the comprehension of gecekondu as a plant of common class experience rather than as fractured socialites.<sup>2</sup> It does not mean that the internal hierarchies of labour market regulations and heterogeneity to which the working class is in fact more subjected than any other classes are negligible dimensions. Rather, it means that it must be recognized how capital "comes to dominate and penetrate more areas of life" and how "the three sphere of capitalist society – capitalism, the market, and everyday life – intersect" (Broad, 2000: 46).

Overall, the history and the currency of Çöplük district indicate that although the degradation process of labour advocates fracturations and diversity in the organization of production relations, there is a deep class-based experience. In terms of their wage dependence, of their similar mobility in labour market, of their sweated work conditions and of their subsumption in the informalization of employment status, the dwellers of Çöplük display a character of class-based 'community'. Moreover, the character of common class-based community is also

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<sup>2</sup>. For a fuller analysis of the 'labouring class', which conceptualizes the squatter-settlements in the context of Latin America as a sphere of common class identity see for example Scott, Alison M. (1994).

formed through the perpetual struggle for collectivising their social reproduction. Their communal attempts to access to housing and public services, even to obtain rights to decent environmental sphere and living standard express class-based goals.

Even though I made no claims to develop a truly integrative analysis for the historical relationship between capital accumulation and social reproduction of labour, I did tried to offer a critical insight through which we are able to take account of conflicts and complexities of the lived reality without falling into the trap of any functionalist, or derivativist perspectives. This study, therefore, has only hoped to systematically clarify antagonistic class interests that are created at each phrase of the social reproduction of labour in terms of the point of view of working-class. It is because that looking at social reproduction from the working-class' standpoint provides us with a framework that enables us to understand the vast repertoire of the labourer in the Third World countries ranging from citizen fellowship mechanism to the occupation of the state's lands, from a widespread informal economy to the 'illegal' use of city's opportunities. Thus, it renders it possible to think how working class are constituted in the moments of their coming across with the state and the capital. Moreover, in a period in which the whole daily life is devoured on the basis of the strategies of profit, social reproduction of labour enables to see the possibilities and dynamics of a new class consciousness –*he will take his family into his heart, and deal with the whole village, he will take the village into his heart and deal with the whole world* (ailesini kendine yar edip köyüyle uğraşacak, köyü kendine yar edip alemle uğraşacak)<sup>3</sup> – starting from today.

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<sup>3</sup> A saying which the construction worker İlyas uses with pleasure.

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## **APPENDICES**

### **APPENDIX A: Survey Questionnaire**

Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi  
Sosyoloji Bölümü

#### **EGE MAHALLESİNDE YAŞAYANLARIN DEMOGRAFİK VE SOSYAL PROFİLİ ARAŞTIRMASI**

#### **ANKET FORMU**

Bu araştırma, Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi, Sosyoloji Bölümü’nde Doç. Dr. Mehmet Ecevit danışmanlığında yürütmekte olduğum “Türkiye’de Yoksulluk” konulu doktora tez çalışmasının bir parçasıdır. Bu çalışmanın amacı, Ege mahallesi sakinlerinin yaşam biçiminin bazı özellik ve sorunlarını belirlemeye yöneliktir.

Bu tür bilimsel araştırmalar yapmak içinde yaşadığımız toplumu anlamak açısından son derece önemlidir. Bu nedenle vereceğiniz samimi yanıtların büyük katkısı olacaktır.

Bu araştırmada isim, yer ve adres bilgileri gibi sorular yer almamaktadır ve anket sonuçları tamamen doktora tez çalışması çerçevesinde değerlendirilecektir.

Bu güvenle anket formunu yanıtlamak için gösterdiğiniz özen ve sabır için çok teşekkür ederim.

Saygılarımla.

**Aynur Özügurlu**

(ODTÜ - Sosyoloji Bölümü / Ankara)

1. Yaşınız? .....

2. Cinsiyeti? 1 ( ) Erkek 2 ( ) Kadın

3. Eğitim Durumunuz? (*Kesintisiz* kaç yıl okuduğu sorulacak!) .....

4. Medeni Hali?

1 ( ) Evli 2 ( ) Eşi ölmüş 3 ( ) Boşanmış 4 ( ) Bekar 5 ( ) Başka (belirtiniz).....

5. Ne zaman evlendiniz? 19.....

6. İlk evliliğiniz mi? 1 ( ) Evet 2 ( ) Hayır

7. Nasıl evlendiniz? 1 ( ) Görücü usülü 2 ( ) Anlaşarak

8. Resmi Nikahla mı? 1 ( ) Evet 2 ( ) Hayır/(İmam Nikahlı)

9. Eşinizle/sözlünüzle/nişanlınızla nerede tanıştınız? (Birden fazla şık işaretlenebilir)

1 ( ) Çalıştığım yerde 2 ( ) Yaşadığım muhitte 3 ( ) Tanışmadık, görücü usulüyle

10. Eşiniz kaç yaşında? .....

11. Eşinizin eğitim durumu? (*Kesintisiz* kaç yıl okuduğu sorulacak!) .....

12. Evden ayrılmışlar da dahil, kaç çocuğunuz var? .....

13. (*Çocuk sahibi ise*) Çocuklarınız kaç erkek, kaç kız?

Erkek çocuk sayısı .....

Kız çocuk sayısı .....

14. Çocuklarınızın yaşlarını belirtir misiniz?

(a) 0-3 yaş grubu ..... çocuk (c) 7-15 yaş grubu ..... çocuk (e) 20 ve üzeri yaş .... çocuk  
(b) 4-6 yaş grubu ..... çocuk (d) 16-19 yaş grubu ..... çocuk

15. Çocukların eğitim durumlarını belirtir misiniz?

	Erkek		Kız	
	Sayı	Ara verdi mi? Evet-Hayır	Sayı	Ara verdi mi? Evet-Hayır
İlköğretime devam eden				
İlköğretimden terk				
İlköğretim mezunu				
Liseye devam eden				
Liseden terk				
Lise mezunu				
Üniversiteye hazırlanan				
Yüksekokul/üniversiyete devam eden				
Yüksekokul/üniversite terk				
Yüksekokul/üniversite mezunu				



16. Çocuklarımızdan öğrenim süreleri boyunca, çalışarak okuyan ya da yaz aylarında çalışanlar oldu mu? 1 ( ) Evet 2 ( ) Hayır

17. Evde toplam kaç kişi yaşıyor, kaç kişi aynı kaptan yemek yiyor? .....

18. Düzenli ve sürekli olmasa da evde aile bütçesine kaç kişi çalışarak katkıda bulunuyor? .....

19. Ev bütçesine kimlerin, hangi işleri yaparak katkıda bulunduğunu tek tek belirtir misiniz?

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

20. Babanız ne iş yapardı? (Babası vefat etmiş olsa da sor; emekli derse ne emeklisi olduğunu sor; halen çalışıyorsa hem şimdiki işini hem de Ankara'ya göçmeden evvelki işini sor ve ayrı ayrı yaz!)

.....

.....

21. Anneniz ne iş yapardı? (Annesi vefat etmiş olsa da sor; emekli derse ne emeklisi olduğunu sor; halen çalışıyorsa hem şimdiki işini hem de Ankara'ya göçmeden evvelki işini sor ve ayrı ayrı yaz!)

.....

.....

22. Babanızı eğitim durumu neydi? (Kesintisiz kaç yıl okuduğu sorulacak!) .....

23. Annenizin eğitim durumu neydi? (Kesintisiz kaç yıl okuduğu sorulacak!) .....

24. 15 yaşına kadar çoğunlukla nerede yaşadınız?

- |                |                                   |              |
|----------------|-----------------------------------|--------------|
| 1 ( ) Köyde    | 3 ( ) Orta büyüklükte bir şehirde | 88 ( ) Diğer |
| 2 ( ) Kasabada | 4 ( ) Büyük şehirde               |              |

25. Nerelisiniz? (Nüfusa kayıtlı olduğu il!) .....

26. Ankara'ya ne zaman göç ettiniz? 19.....

27. Neden göç ettiniz?

- |                                  |                                  |
|----------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1 ( ) İş-geçim için              | 4 ( ) Tayin/Evlilik              |
| 2 ( ) Çocukların eğitimi         | 5 ( ) Kent yaşamı daha iyi       |
| 3 ( ) Aile seçimi-akrabalık bağı | 88 ( ) Diğer (belirtiniz!) ..... |

28. Ankara'ya ilk geldiğinizde doğrudan bu mahalleye mi yerleştiniz? 1 ( ) Evet 2 ( ) Hayır

**29. (Yanıtı *Hayır* ise) Bu mahalleye gelene kadar oturduğunuz mahalleleri sırayla belirtir misiniz?**

Yerleşim	Mahalle /Semt	İlçesi	Kira mıydı? E: Evet H: Hayır	Gecekondu muydu? E: Evet H: Hayır	Kaç yıl oturdu?	Neden taşındı?
1. ev						
2. ev						
3. ev						
Son ev						

**30. Bu mahalleye taşınmanızın en önemli nedeni neydi?**

.....  
.....

**31. Köyde, size ya da babaevinize ait işlenen topraklar var mı?** 1 ( ) Evet 2 ( ) Hayır

**32. Köyden un-bulgur gibi kışlık erzak gelir mi?** 1 ( ) Evet 2 ( ) Hayır

**33. Memleketinize (kendisinin/eşinin) hangi sıklıkta gidersiniz?**

1 ( ) Her sene 2 ( ) Tatil ve bayramlarda 3 ( ) Çok nadir 4 ( ) Hiç gitmem

**34. (Gidenler için!) Memleketinize daha çok hangi işleri yapmak için gidersiniz?**

1 ( ) Hasat işleri 3 ( ) Sadece tatil ve ziyaret amacıyla  
2 ( ) Cenaze, düğün 8 ( ) Başka (belirtiniz!) .....

**35. Sizin gibi bir ailenin rahat yaşabilmesi için aylık gelirin ne kadar olmalı?** ..... milyon.

**36. Ev bütçesine ayda bu miktarın ne kadarı giriyor?** ..... milyon.

**37. Oturduğunuz ev size mi ait?**

1 ( ) Evet, evsahibi 2 ( ) Hayır, kira 3 ( ) Akraba evi, kira yok

**38. İmarlı mı?** 1 ( ) Evet 2 ( ) Hayır

**39. Evi yapılı/alalı kaç sene oldu?** ..... sene

**40. Nasıl ev sahibi oldunuz? (Birden fazla seçenek işaretlenebilir)**

1 ( ) Çalışarak edindiği birikimi kullandı (emekli ikramiyesi dahil)  
2 ( ) Mirası kullandı (tarla vb. miras kalan mal/mülkleri satarak)  
3 ( ) Düğünde takılan ziynet eşyalarını sattı  
4 ( ) Borçlandı

**41. Oturduğunuz ev kaç odalı? (Salon bir oda sayılacak!) .....**

**42. Düzenli ve sürekli olmasa da, evde ya da dışarda çalışarak ilk kez ne zaman ekmek parası kazandınız?** ..... yaşında

**43. Şu anda gelir getirici herhangi bir işte çalışıyor musunuz?** (Düzenli ya da geçici; evde ya da dışarda!)

1 ( ) Evet, çalışıyor      2 ( ) Hayır, emekli      3 ( ) Hayır, işsiz      4 ( ) Emekli, çalışıyor

**44. Yaptığınız/çalıştığınız işle ilgili aşağıdaki tabloyu doldurur musunuz?**

İşi nasıl buldu?	Çalıştığı süre (ay / yıl)	Çalıştığı sektör (kamu/özel)	Çalıştığı yerin özelliği (fab., büro, atöl., sok., ev...	İşi, görevi?	Sigortalı mı? (Evet / Hayır)	Aylık Kazancı

**45. Yaptığınız işle ilgili en önemli sorununuz/zorluğunuz/sıkıntınız nedir?**

.....  
.....

**46. Bugüne kadar kaç iş değiştirdiniz?** ..... 0 ( ) İş Değiştirmedim

**47. (Sadece iş değiştirenlere sor!) Son işinizden önce, sırayla bugüne kadar yaptığınız işler için aşağıdaki tabloyu doldurur musunuz?**

	Çalıştığı süre (ay / yıl)	Çalıştığı sektör (kamu/özel )	Çalıştığı yerin özelliği (fab., büro, atöl., sok., ev...	İşi, görevi?	Sigortalı mı? (Evet / Hayır)	İşi bırakma nedeni
1. işi						
2. işi						
3. işi						
Sondan önceki işi						

**NOT:** Yanıtlayıcı sadece “bir” iş değiştirmişse, bu işiyle ilgili bilgiler “Sondan önceki iş” kolonuna yazılacak. İş değişikliği 4’ten fazla ise, sadece ilk 3 işin ve “sondan önceki işin” bilgileri alınacak.

**48. Çalışma yaşamınız boyunca hiç 3 aydan fazla işsiz kaldığınız oldu mu?**

**Kaç kez?** ..... 0 ( ) Olmadı.

**49. İşsiz kaldığınız zamanlarda kimlerden yardım/destek aldınız?**

1 ( ) Hiç kimseden      2 ( ) Birinci derece akrabalar (anne-baba, kardeşler)      3 ( ) Diğer akrabalar  
4 ( ) Komşular      5 ( ) Arkadaşlar      88 ( ) Diğer (Belirtiniz!) .....

**50. Aşağıda sayacağım eşyalardan hangisine sahipsiniz? Bunlardan borcu/taksidi olan var mı?**

Borcu var (+)		Borcu var (+)	
1 ( ) Buzdolabı	( )	9 ( ) Telefon	( )
2 ( ) Renkli TV	( )	10 ( ) Şohben	( )
3 ( ) Otomatik Çamaşır M.	( )	11 ( ) Cep telefonu	( )
4 ( ) Merdaneli Çamaşır M.	( )	12 ( ) Misafir odası takımı	( )
5 ( ) Elektrikli Süpürge	( )	13 ( ) Yatak odası takımı	( )
6 ( ) Video	( )	14 ( ) Bilgisayar	( )
7 ( ) Müzik Seti	( )	15 ( ) Otomobil (Marka)	( )
8 ( ) Fırınlı Ocak	( )		

**51. (Eşya taksidi dışında) Borcunuz var mı?**

1 ( ) Evet, şahısa      2 ( ) Evet, banka kredisi      3 ( ) Hayır

**52. Banka kredisi kullanır mısınız?**      1 ( ) Evet      2 ( ) Hayır

**53. Yiyecek/giyecek vb. alışverişinizi genellikle nereden yaparsınız? (Birden fazla şık işaretlenebilir!)**

1 ( ) Semt pazarı      2 ( ) Ulus-hal      3 ( ) Mahalleye gelen seyyar sat.      4 ( ) Mağaza/Hipermarket

**54. Kredi kartı kullanıyor musunuz (VISA vb.)?**      1 ( ) Evet      2 ( ) Hayır

**55. Ayda en az bir kere; (Birden fazla şık işaretlenebilir!)**

1 ( ) Sinemaya gider misiniz?      4 ( ) Tiyatroya gider misiniz?  
2 ( ) Konsere gider misiniz?      5 ( ) Kent merkezindeki parklara gider misiniz?  
3 ( ) Kent dışında pikniğe gider misiniz?      6 ( ) Kütüphaneye gider misiniz?

**56. Evinize her gün düzenli olarak bir gazete giriyor mu?**      1 ( ) Evet      2 ( ) Hayır

**57. Evde ne kadar zamanda bir et, tavuk ya da balık yenir? .....**

**58. Son bir yıl içinde tatile gittiniz mi?**      1 ( ) Evet      2 ( ) Hayır

**59. Herhangi bir sosyal güvenlik kurumuna bağlı mısınız, lütfen belirtir misiniz?**

0 ( ) Hayır      2 ( ) Emekli Sandığı      4 ( ) Özel Sigorta  
1 ( ) SSK      3 ( ) Bağ-Kur      5 ( ) Yeşil Kart

**60. Üyesi olduğunuz herhangi bir dernek/kuruluş var mı? ..... 0 ( ) Hayır.**

1 ( ) Spor derneği      6 ( ) Sendika  
2 ( ) Köy derneği      7 ( ) Meslek Odası  
3 ( ) Sosyal Yardım derneği      8 ( ) Cami Yaptırma Derneği  
4 ( ) Siyasi Parti      88 ( ) Diğer (Belirtiniz!) .....  
5 ( ) Halkevi

**61. Bugüne kadar kaymakamlık, belediye ya da vakıf gibi kurumlardan yardım almak için müracaatta bulundunuz mu?**      1 ( ) Evet      2 ( ) Hayır

**62. Bu ve benzeri kurumlardan bugüne kadar yardım aldınız mı?**      1 ( ) Evet      2 ( ) Hayır

**63. Bu ve benzeri kurumlardan yardım almak için müracaatta bulunmayı düşünür müsünüz?**

1 ( ) Evet      2 ( ) Hayır

**64. Son yıllarda art arda yaşanan ekonomik krizler karşısında aşağıdaki cümlelerden hangisinin sizin halinizi en iyi anlatıyor? ( Yalnız bir tanesini işaretle!!)**

- 1 ( ) Füzuli masrafları kısararak evi döndürmeye çalışıyoruz
- 2 ( ) Boğazdan kısararak evi döndürmeye çalışıyoruz
- 3 ( ) Muhanete muhtaç hale geldik, evi döndüremiyoruz.

**65. Sizce Türkiye'nin en önemli sorunu nedir? (Belirtiniz!) .....**

**66. Mahallenizin en önemli sorunu nedir? (Belirtiniz!) .....**

**67. Muhtardan beklediğiniz en önemli hizmet nedir? .....**

.....

*Anketimize gösterdiğiniz ilgi ve sabır için teşekkür ederiz.*

### **Anketör İzlenimi**

Anketörün adı/soyadı: .....

Anketin yapıldığı tarih: .....

Anketin yapıldığı mekan: .....

Uygulama sırasında kesinti oldu mu? .....

Yanıtlayıcının cevap vermekte tereddüt ettiği sorular var mıydı? .....

Hangileri?.....

Yanıtlayıcı ve hanesi hakkındaki < sosyo-ekonomik ve kültürel profili hakkındaki > izleniminizi kısaca belirtiniz:

## **APPENDIX B: The Profiles of Participants**

(in alphabetic order)

### **Females**

- Adile: 33 years old with 2 children and married; leave the first grade of high school; worker in the small-scale garment atelier.
- Dürdane: 47 years old, with 5 children and married; illiterate; self-employed.
- Fadime: 46 years old with 5 children and married; illiterate; domestic worker.
- Fatma: 38 years old with 6 children and divorced; illiterate; homeless family.
- Gülşen: 20 years old and single; leave junior high school; domestic worker.
- Halime: 33 years old with a child and married; graduated from high school; civil servant.
- Naile: 27 years old with 2 children and married; housewife, homeless family.
- Nazlı: 31 years old with a child and divorced; graduated from primary school; she worked as a cleaner; unemployed.
- Nuran: 18 years old and single; leave the second grade of high school; unemployed.
- Kamile: 58 years old with 4 children and widow; .....
- Songül: 43 years old with 4 children and married; illiterate; putting out worker.
- Zeliha: 19 years old and single; literate without any diploma; putting out worker.

### **Males**

- Cem: 24 years old with and single; graduated from secondary school; factory worker; he is head of household consisting of a sister and 2 brothers, who are students; his mother is subcontracting worker.
- Cemal: 63 years old with 6 children and married; graduated from junior high school; retired from public service; construction worker.

Cevdet:	58 years old with three children and married; graduated from high school; civil servant.
Erdal:	19 years old and single; leave the first grade of high school, subcontracting worker, now unemployed.
Ferhat:	36 years old with 6 children and widow; waiter, unemployed, father of homeless family.
İbrahim:	64 years old with 9 children and married (his third marriage); illiterate, retired from servant in bank.
İlhan:	35 years old with 2 children and married; graduated from vocational junior high school; small-entrepreneur.
İlyas:	38 years old with 2 children and married; graduated from primary school; construction worker.
İzzet:	52 years old with 2 children and married; graduated from primary school; retired from factory; servant in private sector.
Kadir:	46 years old with 2 children and married; graduated from vocational high school; unemployed; homeless family.
Malkoçoğlu:	19 years old and single; graduated from primary school, unemployed.
Mecnun :	16 years old and single; student in the second grade of high school; temporary worker in small-industry.
Nurettin:	32 years old with 2 children and married; graduated from primary school; garbage worker.
Remzi:	46 years old with 3 children and married; graduated from primary school; cleaner worker, unemployed.
Salih:	46 years old with 3 children and married; graduated from primary school, construction worker.
Sezai:	33 years old with a son and married; leave secondary school; pumper in filling station.
Vahit:	25 years old and single; graduated from vocational high school; worker in the small-scale manufacturing.

## APPENDIX C: Supplementary Statistics for Çöplük

### Family Size (N.429)

Mean = 4.3 persons per a family.

Minimum= 1, Maximum= 9, Sum= 1861, Std. Deviation= 1,374

### Sex

Table 1. Distribution of Sex (N.429)

	Frequency	Percent
Male	413	96,3
Female	16	3,7
Total	429	100,0

### Age

Mean= 41.8 years

Table 2. Distribution of Age (N.429)

	Frequency	Percent
20-30 age	63	14,7
31-40 age	135	31,5
41-50 age	157	36,6
51+ age	74	17,2
Total	429	100,0

### Marital Status

Table 3. Distribution of Marital Status (N.429)

	Frequency	Percent
Married	402	93,7
Single	10	2,3
Widowed	3	,7
Divorced	12	2,8
Male Abandoned	2	,5
Total	429	100,0



## Forms of Marriage

Table 4. Forms of marriage (N.402)

<i>Variables</i>	<i>Indicators</i>	N	%
First marriage?	Yes	384	95.5
	No	18	4.5
Type of marriage	Arranged marriage	224	55.7
	Engaged marriage	178	44.3
Official marriage?	Yes	399	99.3
	No ( <i>Imam</i> ceremony)	3	0.7
Couples' place to meet	Working place	7	1.7
	Living place	226	56.2
	No meet but engaged	169	42.0

## Education

Table 5. Education profile according to age groups

Age of respondents		Head of Household (respondents)			
		Means of schooling years (respondents)	Means of schooling years (spouses)	Means of schooling years (father)	Means of schooling years (mother)
20-30 age group	Mean	8.19	8.13	4.54	2.68
	N	63	55	63	63
31-40 age group	Mean	6.87	6.04	2.56	1.62
	N	135	123	135	135
41-50 age group	Mean	6.88	5.33	1.98	.80
	N	152	125	157	157
51+ age group	Mean	5.72	5.08	1.32	.54
	N	60	38	74	74
Total	Mean	6.91	6.01	2.42	1.29
	N	410	341	429	429

## Children

Table 6. Selective demographic indicators of children

	N of Respondents	N of Children	Mean	Minim	Maxim
# children including who leave home	417	1171	2.81	1	9
# of male child	352	585	1.66	1	7
# of female child	316	586	1.85	1	6
0-6 age	109	124	1.14	1	3
7-15 age	211	322	1.53	1	4
16-19 age	164	226	1.38	1	7
20 + age	187	495	2.65	1	9

Table 7. Education patterns of children according to sex

	Male n.	Female n.	Total
Primary education; continue	105	111	216
High School; continue	42	58	100
Higher Education (2-4 yearly); continue	25	16	41
<i>Sub Total</i>	<i>172</i>	<i>185</i>	<i>357</i>
Primary education; abandoned	25	28	53
High School; abandoned	14	10	24
Higher Education (2-4 yearly); abandoned	4	0	4
<i>Sub Total</i>	<i>43</i>	<i>38</i>	<i>81</i>
Primary education; graduated	69	64	133
High School; graduated	104	114	218
Higher Education (2-4 yearly); graduated	24	18	42
<i>Sub Total</i>	<i>197</i>	<i>196</i>	<i>393</i>
<b>Total</b>	<b>412</b>	<b>419</b>	<b>831</b>

Table 8. Mean of children who work during his/her education (N.417)

Did your children work outside during his/her education?		Male Child	Female Child
YES	Mean	1.94	2.02
	% of Total Sum	50.2	44.1
	Sum of children	272	247
NO	Mean	1.54	1.85
	% of Total Sum	49.8	55.9
	Sum of children	270	313
Total	Mean	1.72	1.92
	% of Total Sum	100.0	100.0
	Sum of children	542	560

## Poverty Measures

Table 9. Official Poverty Rates in Çöplük according to poverty limit method, 2001

Poverty Limits	Number of person	Percent	Valid Percent
Under \$ 1 per capita per day	77	17,9	18,0
Below \$ 2,15 per capita per day	225	52,4	52,7
Below \$ 4,3 per capita per day	107	24,9	25,1
Below \$ 7 per capita per day	18	4,2	4,2
<i>Total</i>	427	99,5	100,0
<i>no answer</i>	2	,5	
Total	429	100,0	

TL 1.202.000 has been used here as the equivalent of the purchasing power parity of \$ 1 for 2001.

Table 10. Official Poverty Rates in Çöplük According to Employment status

Employment Status		Poverty rates				
		under \$ 1 per capita per day	below \$ 2,15 per capita per day	below \$ 4,3 per capita per day	below \$ 7 per capita per day	Total
formal-wage	N	9	74	56	7	146
	%	6,2%	50,7%	38,4%	4,8%	100,0%
informal-wage	N	55	106	36	7	204
	%	27,0%	52,0%	17,6%	3,4%	100,0%
informal-domestic & marginal	N	5	13	0	0	18
	%	27,8%	72,2%	,0%	,0%	100,0%
informal-self employed	N	5	28	12	3	48
	%	10,4%	58,3%	25,0%	6,3%	100,0%
Total	N	74	221	104	17	416
	%	17,8%	53,1%	25,0%	4,1%	100,0%

## VITA

### PERSONAL INFORMATION

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### EDUCATION

<u>Degree</u>	<u>Institution</u>	<u>Year of Graduation</u>
Ph.D	METU, Sociology	2005
MS	METU, Sociology	1997
BS	Ankara University, Faculty of Political Science, Economy	1987

### WORK EXPERIENCE

<u>Year</u>	<u>Place</u>	<u>Enrollment</u>
2001-02	Bristol University, International Poverty Research Center	Visiting Fellowship
1996-2000	Anatolian University, Sociology	Lecturer
1995-1993	ODAK – Ortadoğu Toplumsal Araştırmalar Ltd. Şti.	Research Assistant
1992	Mor Çatı Kadın Sığınağı Vakfı	Assistant
1991-1990	Journal of Sokak	Journalist

### PUBLICATIONS/CONFERENCE PAPERS

- 2002 : "Yoksulluk Kavramına Çöplük'ten Bakmak" (The Concept of Poverty: A Perspective From Junkyard District), in *Yoksulluk, Şiddet ve İnsan Hakları (Poverty, Violence and Human Rights)*, ed. Y. Özdek, TODAİ: Ankara.
- 1996 : "Kalkınma, Göç ve Kadın: Modernist Söylemin Eleştirisi" (Development, Migration and Women: Critique of Modernist Discourse), presented at II. National Sociology Congress (20-22 November, Mersin).
- 1992 : "Aile İçi Şiddet ve Kadın" (Domestic Violence and Women), presented at 8 March Women and Health, Panel, Türk Tabipleri Birliği, (8-11 March, Health Congress, Ankara).