

CLASS EXPERIENCES OF SHOPPING MALL WORKERS
IN ANKARA

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO
THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
OF
MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY

BY

AYÇA ÜNSEVER

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR
THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF SCIENCE
IN
THE DEPARTMENT OF MEDIA AND CULTURAL STUDIES

SEPTEMBER 2014

Approval of the Graduate School of Social Sciences

Prof. Dr. Meliha Altunışık
Director

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

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Necmi Erdoğan
Head of Department

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

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Necmi Erdoğan
Supervisor

Examining Committee Members

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Necmi Erdoğan (METU, MCS) _____

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Mustafa Şen (METU, SOC) _____

Instructor Dr. Barış Çakmur (METU, MCS) _____

I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.

Name, Last Name: Ayça ÜNSEVER

Signature:

ABSTRACT

CLASS EXPERIENCES OF SHOPPING MALL WORKERS IN ANKARA

Ünsever, Ayça

MSc., Program of Media and Cultural Studies

Supervisor: Assoc. Prof. Dr. Necmi Erdoğan

September 2014, 129 pages

This thesis aims to examine the class experiences of the subcontracted cleaning workers, working in the shopping malls in Ankara. The study focuses on the precarious working conditions in terms of their effects on unionization, class consciousness, and future dreams of the workers. It also analyses how the workers experience class differences as a matter of self-respect in their relations with customers and chiefs, how they explain social inequalities, and to what extent they internalize class differences. Special emphasis is put on how precarious forms of employment and deepening class differences, are experienced by the workers. The field research of the study was conducted through semi – structured in - depth interviews with 20 cleaning workers in two large scaled shopping malls in Ankara.

Keywords: class, cleaning workers, shopping malls, precarious employment

ÖZ

ANKARA'DAKİ ALIŞVERİŞ MERKEZLERİNDE ÇALIŞAN İŞÇİLERİN SINIF DENEYİMLERİ

Ünsever, Ayça

Yüksek Lisans, Medya ve Kültürel Çalışmalar Programı

Tez Yöneticisi: Doç. Dr. Necmi Erdoğan

Eylül 2014, 129 sayfa

Bu tez Ankara'daki alışveriş merkezlerinde taşeron olarak çalışan temizlik işçilerinin sınıf tecrübelerini analiz etmeyi amaçlamaktadır. Bu doğrultuda güvencesiz çalışma koşullarının sendikal örgütlülüğü, işçilerin sınıf bilincini ve gelecekte beklediklerini nasıl etkilediğine odaklanmaktadır. Bununla birlikte, işçilerin müşterilerle ve şeflerle ilişkilerinde sınıf farklarını nasıl bir özsaygı meselesi olarak deneyimlediklerini, toplumsal eşitsizlikleri nasıl anlamlandırdıklarını ve sınıf farklarını ne ölçüde içselleştirdiklerini analiz etmektedir. Güvencesiz istihdam yapısının ve derinleşen sınıf farklarının alışveriş merkezlerinde çalışan işçiler tarafından nasıl tecrübe edildiği çalışmada özellikle vurgulanmıştır. Tezin alan çalışması Ankara'daki iki büyük alışveriş merkezinde çalışan 20 temizlik işçisi ile yarı - yapılandırılmış derinlemesine mülakatlar yoluyla gerçekleştirilmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: sınıf, temizlik işçileri, alışveriş merkezleri, güvencesiz istihdam

To My Family

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my supervisor, Assoc. Prof. Dr. Necmi Erdoğan, who supported me patiently throughout the study period and guided through his courses and studies. I am grateful for the experience of working with him. I also would like to extend my thanks to Prof. Dr. Raşit Kaya, who consistently supported me since my first day in the department, and to Dr. Barış Çakmur and Assoc. Prof. Dr. Mustafa Şen, for their helpful reviews and recommendations.

I wish to express my gratitude to the all workers, who despite their lengthy and tiring working hours, accepted to meet me for this study. Through the views and experiences they shared with me, they made a valuable contribution not only to the study, but also to my personal experiences.

I would like to thank my friends; Ece Karakuş for accompanying me during the writing process of this thesis; Sibel Şerbetçioğlu, Fatma Yazar and Günnur Öztürk, for their pleasant conversations and friendship throughout my graduate studies; and to Pelin Uğur, Sabri Otan, Ezgi Aksaray Çelik, Metin Çelik, and Işıl Ezgi Erkurt whose support I have always felt and appreciated.

I owe my deepest gratitude to my parents, Sevim and Cumali, and my sister, Yeşim for their endless love and support. I am grateful for their understanding and encouragement.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Objective of the Study

Malls have become an indispensable part of modern urban life around the world, as well as in Turkey. The articulation of modernity, cleanliness, and security in these malls make them inseparable parts of everyday life, especially in the eyes of middle and upper class customers. At the same time being the part of “invisibility” of the subaltern class, malls have a considerable role in the encounter of classes. While daily life of the middle and upper classes is situated around this world of consumerism, lower classes are situated mostly outside the consumer society. It is striking that “the cleaners who are not part of the idealized world of the malls are selling, but who are, nonetheless, essential to its creation and maintenance.” (Brody, 2006: 106).

The Shopping Mall Investors Association mentioned that in the last 25 years, the lives of the consumers became very colorful, consumers were more socialized, over 45 billion dollars was invested in shopping malls in Turkey and 385 thousand people were working in the malls. The Association of Shopping Malls and Retailers in Turkey stated that malls undertook the employment problem in Turkey to a great extent, it also exhibited images of modernity and wealth to the middle and upper class customers¹. On the other hand these approaches withhold the reality that the safe, clean, and modern appearance of the malls depends solely on the precarious employment of the lower class workers.

¹ <http://www.yapiplatformu.com/guncel-haberler/avmler-385-bin-kisiye-istihdam-sagladi-278.html> (accessed on 16 July 2014)

One of the most important tools of cheap and precarious labor is the subcontractor-based working regime, which is rapidly spreading in Turkey. The current study explores through which practices the mechanisms, which make these working relations in the malls sustainable, function, and how the workers experience working conditions in this regime. Without a doubt, the subcontracted cleaning workers are affected the most by precarious employment and wounded by social inequality. In this respect, the narratives of the cleaning workers who work at the lowest layer in the hierarchical structure of the malls are taken as references.

On the other hand, the low-status employment of the workers in shopping malls and precarious working conditions they are subject to, and restrictions on their decision making, leave the workers weak vis-a-vis power relations and damage their respectability in their social relationships. Accordingly, dignity becomes an important source of anxiety for the workers in hierarchical relations. The study of Sennett and Cobb (1972) indicated the emotional effects of class differences in modern society and drew attention to the problem of dignity with the existence of class society. According to Sennett and Cobb (1972: 170) “class society takes away from all the people within it the feeling of secure dignity in the eyes of others and of themselves”. How the workers experience a “lack of respect that consists of not being seen, not being accounted as full human beings” will be discussed in detail (Sennett, 2003: 13).

As the class differences deepened and as precarious employment rapidly expanded, how the lower class workers attribute a meaning to this insecurity and inequality and how they experienced it gained greater critical importance over time. In this respect, this study focuses on how the cleaning workers working in the mall react to the precarious employment process and how they experience it; how this process influence workers’ ability to develop solidarity and class consciousness; how they experience hierarchical class relations as a matter of self – esteem; through which practices the workers experience social inequality; and to

what extent they can internalize them. In essence, this study discusses what the deepening class differences and employment relations mean for the cleaning workers who work in the mall and the effect of it as it relates to their struggle for survival.

This study claims that precarious employment structure and deepening class differences have become apparent in cleaning workers working in shopping malls. In this respect, the study aims to attract attention to the working conditions of the subcontracted cleaning workers who work in shopping malls and to the social inequalities that they intensely experience, and to obtain an idea about these processes. Considering that there are few studies analyzing the class and working experiences of the workers in Turkey through their own narratives and that the main focus of the studies about shopping malls are consumerism and consumers, it is expected that this study will contribute to the class literature in Turkey regarding the example of cleaning workers in malls.

1.2 The Research Method

This study is based on the narratives and experiences of the cleaning workers, working in the shopping malls; Kentpark and Cepa in Ankara. Among the 38 shopping malls located in Ankara as of 2014, these two of the most visited ones share the same locations on Ankara-Eskişehir highway. Keeping in mind that the neighborhoods where the malls are located may cause differences in workers' experiences, this study is limited with two malls in the same neighborhood. The customer range in the malls chosen for interviews is generally the middle and upper class. Thus, the class experiences of the workers are aimed to be recounted clearly.

Interview questions were prepared in accordance with research questions and theoretical discussions of the study. Interview questions aim; examining the situation of the subject within the hierarchical structure and class relations,

analyzing working conditions and difficulties of cleaning workers, their expectations from the future, their relations with customers and managers, how they explain social inequalities, and their experiences related to gender roles. In the frame of these discussions a conceptual framework which enables this analysis, and experiences and narratives of the workers are included.

This study is shaped in the framework of workers' narratives, which depends on the semi – structured interviews and observations during the workers' working hours. Data was gathered through 20 face – to – face and depth interviews with male and female cleaners, working in shopping malls. Although the number of female workers in the malls is less than the number of male workers, in order to reflect the experiences of both genders the number of the interviewed male and female workers was kept even. For the purpose of confidentiality, the names of all the interviewed workers were changed.

Most of the workers are between the ages of 30 and 45, and only three of them are over 50. While three or four of the workers are high school graduates, rest of them did not continue their education after primary school. Except two of them, all the workers are married and have children. Most of them stated that they were born in countryside, in cities close to Ankara and they moved to Ankara due to financial difficulties. Most of the women said they were house cleaners before beginning to work in the mall. These workers stated that they began working after they were married in order to contribute to the family budget. Men began working at an earlier age compared to women. Before this job they worked as cleaners in the hospitals, stores, or as painters and stallholders.

The workers have tiring and long working hours, also they live in distant neighborhoods due to these reasons the field work took 9 months since the interviews were cancelled several times. Considering cleaning workers' subcontractor employment, it was impossible to reach them through unions due to their not being member of a union. Thus, I moved from one worker to another

through their contacts. In this regard, interviews were made individually and approximately lasted an hour for each worker.

The cleaning workers in these malls earn minimum wage and are employed by subcontractors. Therefore precarious and oppressive working conditions, which will be discussed in the next chapters, made the conduct of these interviewees difficult. Some of the workers said that they abstained from joining this study by stating that their chiefs put pressure and warned them not to give information about the working conditions to outsiders. However the silence of the workers who did not attend interview is also essential for this study.

On the other hand, the workers who accepted the interview despite intense working hours and oppressions coming from their companies are the ones who sincerely accept to share their experiences for this study. Moreover two older and more experienced workers seized upon the aim of this study and convinced their friends to join; this helped the study to gain speed in the last months. The workers did not want to attract attention of their chiefs, so the interviews with Cepa workers were conducted in Kentpark, and with Kentpark workers in Cepa. A high majority of the workers hesitated to accept the interview at the beginning and they accepted only after they were convinced that the aim of this study was research.

After the first interview, a closer relation was formed with most of the workers. Some of the workers did not want to share some issues in the first meeting or they avoid some issues, however they explained them more clearly and in detail in our second meeting. On the other hand, some unspoken experiences of workers are inevitable part of this study regarding mine being an outsider researcher in the eyes of workers.

On the other hand while the experiences of the workers about working conditions and class differences are analyzed in the study, labor process was only mentioned. Although the possibility that different social and economic roots and different

demographical features of the workers can create differences in their attitudes towards working life and social relations is taken into consideration, it cannot be dealt in detail in the scope of this study. Also, it is hard to say that approximately 20 workers reflect experiences of other workers. Due to a limited number of interviewees, the obtained data do not imply information that can be applied to all cleaning workers, but rather relate personal experiences from workers' lives and present daily life practices.

1.3 Precarious Employment and “The Lack of Respect”

In 1970's with the crisis period of standard mass production, new searching and technological developments devoted to solution brought the flexible production forward instead of Fordist production (Taşkıran, 2011). Transition to this flexible system in which, productions are made directed to needs and demands, required working within flexible hours instead of standard hours subject to production flexibility. Flexible production brought along flexible employment, too. While flexible production and flexible employment were functioning in favor of the employer, it created an unsecured and instable working environment in terms of workers (Aytaç and İlhan, 2008). Thus, transformation in the relation between labor and capital becomes clear following the crisis of Fordist production.

With the state's support to private enterprises in Turkey, labor relations began to be shaped with neo-liberal policies through flexibility in production relations, increasing subcontractor deals and regulations against the benefits of workers in labor market. This process is defined as giving up the ideal social state model with the developments following 1980 coup d'état (Durak, 2012: 23). While the barriers before capital accumulation process are eliminated through state policies, workers began to be exposed to precarious working conditions. A new process has begun where subsistence conditions of the workers solely depend on employers and where the state protects exterior conditions of production instead of regulating labor process (Koçak, 2014: 54).

One of the most important results of precarity is “creating double precarisation of labour” as Candeias (2008; cited in Oğuz, 2011) states. According to this, “while neoliberalism created precarity on the working conditions of the laborers, it also created precarity on individual and social reproduction process of the social masses (like health, accommodation, transportation)”. Also Harvey (2005: 76) argues a similar transition: “As the state withdraws from welfare provision and diminishes its role in arenas such as health care, public education, and social services, which were once fundamental to embedded liberalism, it leaves larger and larger segments of the population exposed to impoverishment”. In this respect precarity is not limited with the concept of not having a steady job, but actually indicates the withdrawal of the state from public services.

As Castel (2004: 41) mentions the individual supports oneself with his/her wage, and if one is unable to work due to illness, unemployment, accident or old age, etc. one will be inadequate to manage one’s own life. At this point the role of the social state gains meaning through Castel’s (2004: 41) discussion. He argues that in a society, based on wage system, basic function of the state is “to prevent social insecurity, meaning presenting an effective attitude in order to diminishing social risks”.

While exploitation relations began to be clear as a result of rapid transformations in labor market, new paid employment relations began to show up with mechanisms which justify surplus value production (Koç, 2010: 314). As a result of this deregulation, labor market in Turkey began to be flexible, privatized and subcontractor based. In this process working class movements were greatly oppressed and a hegemonic control in accordance with neoliberal accumulation regime was formed over working class. On the other hand, flexible employment structure in Turkey strengthened insecurity as well as subcontractor based, temporary and contracted employment. Therefore, flexibility, not having a union, insecurity and heavy working conditions became the outstanding characteristics of employment structure (Durak, 2012).

On the other hand, subcontractor system has become a tool to prevent unionization and thus to prevent workers to get organized. Since the workers do not stand under the roof of a union, they face the threat of losing a great extent of their rights. In this respect, a new working class appears which is exposed to heavy working conditions due to subcontractor system, which does not have job security and whose number is increasing every year (Taşkıran, 2011).

Beginning from the 1980s subcontractor based employment process has gathered speed depending upon the increasing influence of neoliberal policies. In Turkey, unqualified, disorganized, uninsured and low waged workers constitute the majority of labor market and subcontractor workers take part in this majority (Taşkıran, 2011). Problems such as; low wages, deprivation from social rights, heavy working conditions, social insecurity, facts that threat worker health, not having work security and non - unionization are important issues about subcontractor working process. As Yücesan (2010) points out, “in global capitalism, subcontractor workers are pushed to an insecure condition without constant time contracts, with becoming mobile by being flexible and by changing environment constantly”. In this respect, it can be claimed that subcontractor based employment is a despotic labor regime because it reproduces oppression conditions, causes strict fragmentation in working class, breaks resistance against exploitation, externalizes unions in the organization of labor process (Yücesan, 2010).

Another aspect of creating precarity is that in the process when the capital flows surmounting time and space boundaries, “working poor” appeared as a phenomenon. As Bora and Erdoğan (2011a) mention, shrinking in employment became structural and this transformed unemployment into a threat not only for the blue collars but also for the white collars. This situation indicates that proletarianization is no longer specific to working class but has begun to include other layers of the labor force.

In parallel with these discussions, Oğuz (2011) mentions Chainworkers Crew movement which is based on the concept of precariat commenced in Milano in 1999-2000. This political movement aims to create a bond between chainworkers who work in big shopping malls and retail sale chains and brainworkers who work in the sectors like media and information technologies, earning high amounts but without security, and to unite these two labor forces on the base of precarity. According to the study, the last twenty years of neoliberalism is highly important since it has begun to bring in working class identity to the people who work in two opposite sides of information and service sector regardless of their wage, education levels and life standards. At this point Oğuz (2011) argues that the concept of precariat is essential in terms of making insecurity visible socially and including class struggle. Thus the concept of precariat emphasizes that insecurity and uncertainty are everywhere and focuses on the commonality of the people who work at irregular times and temporarily. With reference to Bourdieu, she states that precarious employment is no longer exception in work life. As she points out, the policies which justify flexibility and precarity through the discourse of “increasing global competitive power” in the process beginning from 1990s begin to set forth “increasing the employment” discourses following 2008 crisis.

In the *Corrosion of Character*, Sennett (1998) puts a criticism on the working order where flexibility, uncertainty and instability come forward in the process called new capitalism and how this system transforms social structures, social identities and relations of the individuals. Temporal dimension of the new capitalism which focuses on the moment has a great influence on the emotional life of the individual. Character features like commitment, loyalty and having a goal are in danger of erosion. Insecurity, anxiety and adaptation to new conditions constantly begin to have destructive effects on ethical values. As a result of the flexible production relations, identity and character of the individual face the threat of erosion. This new process is also important because it weakens the ties among the workers thus transforms them into individuals who gather to do a task.

In a short-time oriented social order, it is almost impossible for people to maintain loyalty, trust and commitment (Sennett, 2010: 23).

As opposed to claims of free acting and possibility of taking initiative of workers in flexible working process, Sennett (1998) emphasizes the increasing supervision of workers and the invisibility of power in this system. With the expression of Sennett, the supervision upon the worker becomes direct. Nevertheless, not having a definite employer in employment relations that are produced over flexibility, increases ambiguity and instability and becomes a source of anxiety for the workers. According to Sennett (1998: 97) “an apprehension is about what might happen; apprehension is created in a climate emphasizing constant risk, and apprehension increases when past experience seems no guide to the present”. On the other hand, as Castel (2004: 35) states “being in a constant state of insecurity means one can neither manage the present, nor forecast the future positively”.

Flexible accumulation process has caused decrease in wages, increase in job insecurity and loss of benefits in many different cases (Harvey, 2005: 76). Harvey (1989: 150) discusses the effects of this process as below:

The labor market has, for example, undergone a radical restructuring. Faced with strong market volatility, heightened competition, and narrowing profit margins, employers have taken advantage of weakened union power and the pools of surplus (unemployed and underemployed) laborers to push for muchmore flexible work regimes and labor contracts ... But more important has been the apparent move away from regular employment towards increasing reliance upon part time, temporary, or subcontracted work arrangements.

At this point Harvey’s (2005; cited in Bora and Erdoğan, 2011a) definition of “disposable workers,” inability of being employed forever and exclusion from production process gain meaning. In this process the anxiety of unemployment and precarity are experienced as a threat to self-respect in both social and hierarchical relations. Thus, in a class-based society low-status, low-waged and precarious employment restricts the autonomy and decision making areas and

makes the individuals vulnerable in terms of respectability. According to Sennett (2011: 103) there is a certain meaning in relating oneself to others and drawing attention of others in social hierarchy and if we think that we are not worth attention because we are inferior our social status becomes a self-burden. As Candeias (2007) states: “There are fights over distinction and recognition, dividing lines of respectability, which make confidence, communication and comprehensive or even only local solidarity more difficult”. In this regard, class differences are experienced as a matter of respect and it has become a form of struggle in class relations.

While dignity and individual freedom are brought into the forefront in neoliberal process as the central ideal of civilization on the one hand, they are under compulsiveness of the authority on the other (Harvey, 2005: 5). Sennett (2003) interprets peoples being ashamed of feeling weak as a reaction observed in modern societies. According to Sennett and Cobb (1972: 58) well-educated and independent people are presumed classy and are recognized at a glance. The power of having more freedom and control in the world of white collar employees, make them more secure in the face of self-esteem concerns stemming from the feeling of inferiority. On the other hand, the opposite are people who do not attract attention at all (Sennett, 2011: 98). In this circumstance, “not seen as a full human being” is as offending as being insulted openly. As Sennett (2003: 3) states: “No insult is offered another person, but neither is recognition extended; he or she is not *seen* – as a full human being whose presence matters.”

As a result, class inequality in modern societies makes it difficult for the people to be respectful to one another and the symbolic violence of class relations turns self-esteem into a struggle (Sennett and Cobb, 1972: 147).

1.4 The Literature on Working Class and Class Encounters in Turkey

Social, cultural and political qualifications and formations of working class have been insufficiently illustrated in literature. In Turkey, limited number of studies present own narratives and daily experiences of working class. As mentioned by Koçak (2014), there are very few studies which analyze the history of the labor movement in Turkey as a process during which the workers themselves are the subject, and also give a central role to the experiences of the workers. Koçak (2014: 47) argues that only this kind of an approach can develop new approaches to bring forward class studies which are drawn into class definitions.

Geniş (2006) draws attention to the working class' representations being restricted to organized workers. Most of the academic studies about working class in Turkey have focused on organized workers. Limited number of studies consider experiences of disorganized workers. Also according to him, workers employed in the small industries are being ignored in academic discussions.

On the other hand, there are class studies which present different perspectives by moving away from dominant perceptions. One of them is by Erdoğan (et. al. 2007), which discusses how the poor – subordinates experience changing social hierarchy, class inequality and how they give a meaning to them. In this respect, by opposing the idea that the dominant ideology captured the thoughts of the lower class, he handles the poverty through the narratives of the poor. The study analyzes how the poor – subordinates experience dominance and exploitation relations via glance, talk, touch and handling practices.

Erdoğan's (2010) studies related to class encounters in Turkey oppose the tendency which claims that the notion of class has lost its importance and analyze how the class inequalities are reproduced every day and experienced. In these studies it is emphasized that class differences became more dramatic and sharper than before. On the other hand, although the class differences become deeper,

Erdoğan (2010) points out that it is brought up less and less. He discusses how the lower classes are exposed to dominance relations every day through their dirty and dangerous images attributed to them by others and how these relations are experienced by the lower classes. Moreover, he mentions the importance of resistance strategies developed by the lower classes in their relations with the middle and upper classes although these strategies do not reverse the inequality relations.

Bora's (et al. 2011) study about the white collar unemployment analyses how the unemployed white collars in Turkey express themselves, where they position themselves in society, how they relate their conditions with political processes, how they experience and give a meaning to this process, based on interviews. This study points out that white collar workers have their share like the blue collars from precarious and flexible employment process, and also brings forward the discussion on the process of proletarianization of the white collar workers.

Kalaycıoğlu and Tılıç's (2000) study focuses on how women start wage-working, their experiences on house cleaning, their relations with the middle class employer women and their future expectations (Kalaycıoğlu and Tılıç, 2000). A similar narrative on how house cleaners ease the lives of middle class women through low-cost labor can be found in the narratives of Özyeğin (2002) about how janitors and their wives ease the lives of middle and upper classes.

Most of the female cleaning workers in the mall began working as charwomen in order to contribute to the household budget like the charwomen mentioned in Kalaycıoğlu and Tılıç's (2000) study. The experiences of the cleaning workers from house cleaning have become a base to compare while evaluating the working conditions of their current job. In this respect, their former experiences are taken as basis while evaluating the working conditions of their current job and draw the border lines of their expectations for future working conditions.

Kalaycıođlu and Tılıç (2000) point that the role of the women, which is drawn within the limits of the house, has begun to change at the point when the man who is responsible for earning a living cannot fulfill his role alone. As an alternative to the unemployment and poverty in the society, women begin to take part in irregular and temporary work sectors. Moreover, as Özyeđin (2002) points out, although women begin to work as wage earners, their responsibilities at home have not changed.

Kalaycıođlu and Tılıç (2000) also points out that women generally work in sectors which reproduce their status within family, like cleaners, as an extension of the patriarchal ideology in society. Some women on the other hand prefer to have relatively secure jobs instead of irregular, temporary works. This tendency is in parallel with the experiences of the women cleaning workers interviewed in the scope of this study. Kalaycıođlu and Tılıç's (2000) study mentions the tendency of women to seize increasing opportunities in private sector. However in this study female interviewees stated that they had thought working under a company would have been better, but as they experienced the difficult conditions of the private sector they got disappointed.

Durakbaşı and Cindođlu's (2005) study exemplifies how the shopping malls, of which number began to increase rapidly in 1980s Turkey, shape class experiences. The study also deals with class encounters and working relations which are shaped on the basis of gender. Durak's (2012) study focuses on how employer-employee relations in Konya are articulated with neo-liberal Islamist discourses. In the study, to what extend the neo-liberal Islamicism of Turkey is effective in employer-employee relations in Konya and to what extend religious understanding is effective on working class in acceptance and internalization of the inequalities are discussed. In this respect, the narratives of both the employers and employees are included.

On the other hand, a limited number of studies focus on workers who work in shopping malls and their working experiences. It is possible to see that the studies both in Turkey and all around the world focus on consumerism, specifically on consumer behaviors and consumption patterns. *The Dirty Work of Neo-liberalism*, edited by Aguiar and Herod (2006) discusses how the cleaning workers experience labor process which has begun to transform through neo-liberal policies. The articles included in the book present different perspectives on how the cleaning workers experience deunionization, privatization and their job as a humiliating profession. One of these articles points out the invisibility of the cleaning workers working in a mall in Bangkok by the middle class customers (Brody, 2006).

Brody's (2006) study attracts attention to the fact that cleaning workers exist as constituents which provide the continuity of the hygienic appearance of the shopping malls, not as parts of the modern world of them. While malls become an indispensable part of middle class customers' life-styles, low-wage earners working there are invisible to the middle class customers. Moreover workers work quietly and it is forbidden to speak with each other during work; this reinforces the invisibility of the workers. Another remarkable point in the study is that interviewees care about their children's education because it will provide them a better future, and also they consider their education as a supportive element in case they may not be able to work in the future.

Erdoğan's (2012) interview with Kemal, who is a cleaning worker in a shopping mall in Ankara is about daily experiences of the cleaning workers who work under subcontractor at the mall and their experiences related to class encounters. On the other hand, Sözen's (2013) article depends on interviews with twenty-two female shop assistant working at the malls in İstanbul and it presents a critical approach related to their working conditions and their experiences based on gender in labor process.

Apparently, there are few studies about the transformation of the experiences of the working class during precarious and subcontractor employment process. When considered in terms of shopping malls example, it is seen that academic studies on class and working experiences of the workers are little if any. Consequently we know little about the class and working experiences of workers who are employed in shopping malls. In this study, working conditions of the subcontracted workers in the cleaning company, their relations with the employers, through which practices the social inequality are experienced in workers' encounter with the customers, future dreams of the workers and to what extent they can cope with social inequalities are discussed.

1.5 Outline of Chapters

The first chapter of the study contains literary review on working class and class encounters in Turkey besides a short discussion on precarious and flexible process which appear in the employment structure with neo-liberal policies.

The second chapter of this study aims to gather clues about how the cleaning workers under subcontractor experience the feelings of class consciousness, solidarity and trust in the context of employment manners shaped by neo-liberal policies. It also discusses how the workers experience class differences in their relations with the chiefs and managers in terms of respectability and to what extent they deal with this social inequality through subsistence strategies and other strategies they develop.

In the third chapter how the workers experience class inequality which they experience in their encounter with the customers in terms of respectability and deprivation, how the workers react to this process, to what extent they relate the social inequality they experience with the political processes, the narratives of the workers about politics and social inequalities, how the workers' material conditions shape their future dreams are discussed.

Fourth chapter gives a short evaluation about the conclusion derived from the research.

CHAPTER 2

CLEANING WORKERS' PRECARIOUS EMPLOYMENT IN SHOPPING MALLS

The discussion subjects in this part of the study are how the workers experience precarity, control and pressure in subcontractor based working regime, how this process influence commitment and solidarity among the workers, to what extent the workers develop commitment to their job, how they experience the hierarchical relationship with the chiefs as a problem of respectability, their approach to unionization and finally subsistence strategies developed by the workers under these conditions.

2.1 Working Conditions of Subcontracted Cleaning Workers

As it is discussed in Chapter 1, implementation of neo – liberal policies have sharpened class hierarchies, increased subcontractor employment and enabled subcontractors to get rid of social and legal responsibilities of workers (Nichols and Suğur, 2005). In this process, subcontracted workers have been subjected to insecure and flexible working conditions (Yücesan, 2010). Within that context, subcontractors take away struggle power of working class and make them vulnerable to the exploitative working conditions.

The cleaning services in the malls chosen for interviews are provided by different companies. Two different cleaning companies carrying a business in these shopping malls have begun to enter Turkey market with the power of global competition which spreads precarious employment and reduces the cost of labor. The company which runs the cleaning services in the Kentpark is an international

firm and entered the Turkey market in 2005. It was established in 1901 in Denmark as a security company and has served in the fields of cleaning, security, catering, disinfection, etc., in time in 53 countries. Especially beginning from 1998 the company has accelerated its growth target in order to reduce costs and increase competitiveness². The other company responsible for the cleaning services in the Cepa was established in 1966 in Marseille. Like the above-mentioned international company, this one has entered the markets of 80 countries including the USA, Japan, South Africa, Russia benefitting from the global competitiveness since 1980s³. This company's mission in cleaning services is: "we consider cleaning as a discipline and a professional service in order to provide a hygienic and safe working environment for our customers".

Subcontractors subordinate working class to despotic regime by reproducing the oppressive conditions. Apparently, workers have become subjected to intensive exploitation and oppression in many ways. Zeki, for instance, tells about oppressive practices in his workplace:

They are always intimidating. Actually they don't have the authority to say you are not working here anymore, I am sending you away but there are loop holes in the contracts and they are using them... For relocation, they need our signature, to sign the contract... But it is not how they are doing it. It is like an intimidation policy. Do this, do that, you did this and that, you are doing it wrong, they are constantly oppressing. They just humiliate you among other people. The workers come to a point where they can't take it anymore.⁴

² <http://www.tr.issworld.com/tr-TR/ss-hakknda-about/Tarhce> (accessed on 6 September 2014)

³ <http://tr.sodexo.com/trtr/hizmetcozumleri/yerindehizmetcozumleri/temizlik.asp> (accessed on 6 September 2014)

⁴ "Her zaman yıldırma politikası uyguluyolar. Aslında sen burda çalışmıycaksın seni başka yere gönderiyorum diyicek yetkiye sahip değiller ama sözleşmede boşluklar var onları kullanıyolar... Atama yapabilmeleri için yazılı olarak onaylamamız gerekiyo yani imzalamamız gerekiyo. Ama nası yapıyolar yıldırma politikası. Onu yap, bunu yap, öyle yaptın, böyle yaptın sürekli tepende sana baskı yapıyolar. İnsanların içinde laf söylüyolar rencide ediyolar seni. İşçi de psikolojik baskıyı görünce artık kaldıramıycak duruma geliyo." (Zeki)

Parallel to the argument of Aguiar and Herod (2006: 2) in their study about cleaning workers, the task of cleaning has been experienced as “sweatshop work” by cleaning workers in this study. The statements of the workers show that they are subject to intense working hours. In this case, cleaning services, defined by the company through the concept of “professional service,” become exploitative working conditions for the workers. One of the workers says that they are obliged to act as machines:

We are like their windup robot toys. Like machines. We can't think anything. Run where they tell you to, go wherever they command. We are in a routine now. Working in the cleaning business is the lowest it can be. You are working at the bottom layer. You put up with all the dirt because you are at the bottom. That is the core of this job. You don't get to have a say. The minute you refuse to do one thing, they start using it against you to fire you. You do everything and anything but when one day you don't, they just wave you goodbye. They try to make you do everything....⁵

Workers state that they can only take 45 minutes break instead of 1 and a half hour as defined in their contract and that they come to work in their off days upon call. In this case they state that they have to work more than what is specified in their contract, they do not get paid for overtime and unless special day leaves merged with weekly leave day, they have to work on special days too. Workers tell that even in their off days they have to go to work upon call, otherwise they may lose their jobs: “...at times you are called to work even on your off days. You just have to take it as it is. When you don't come even for one day, they show you out on the spot. You have to come to work even when they call you on your off

⁵ “Biz kurmalı bebek gibi olmuşuz artık. Makine gibi olmuşuz. Hiç bişe düşünemiyoruz. Ordan çağırıldılar koş oraya git, burdan çağırıldılar koş buraya git. Rutinleşmişiz artık. Temizlik şirketinde çalışmak tabanda çalışmak. En altta çalışan insansın. En alt tabaka sen olduğun sürece bütün pisliği sen çekiyosun. İşin özü bu yani. Senin bi seçenek hakkın olmuyo... Sen şunu yapmam dediğin anda bütün bu durumları senin aleyhine kullanmaya başlıyo göndermek için. Sana her işi yaptırırlar ama sen bi gün bu işi yapamam dediğin zaman hadi güle güle diyolar. Seni her işte kullanmaya bakıyolar...” (Vedat)

days." ⁶ Nazım also states that they can be called on their off days and they do not get extra payment for that: "...let's say Sunday is my off day, they call you and say we need you here, we are waiting. And you work on your off days. You don't get paid for those extra hours of course."⁷ Filiz complains about not being able to take a leave on special days: "Private companies are horrible. Sacrifice holiday was 4 days. But for three days we came to work at 10 in the morning and left at 10 at night..."⁸ On the other hand, expressions of most of the interviewed workers reveal that they are aware of the exploitative working conditions that they are subjected to. For instance Mustafa says:

I have a tea break for 5 minutes and a lunch break for 45 minutes. They even cut down my relaxation allowance. They tell us you start work at one thirty but you gotta be here at one precise. They are adding another half an hour like that. In this way my working hour goes up to 10 hours. Why work 10 hours when I can work 8 hours?... They don't even let us take leave during bairams. If weekly off occurs at the same time with bairam they let us take leave except this they don't. If I say I need money, I want to work during bairam, they gotta pay double so am I wrong? What's the companies doing, they just pay the normal fee. They make profit doing so again. The company makes you transport stuff and profit again. Makes you do extra and wins the day. There are some lacking men in other projects and they put you there, gaining money. Pocketing the money making you work there. Say you gonna do it if you work here. Management is in the dark about them...⁹

⁶ "...yeri geliyo izin günlerinde bile çağrılıyosun. Sen bu durumu böylece kabul etmek zorundasın. Bi gün bile gelmesen hemen çıkışını verirler. İzin gününde bile olsan çağrılınca gelmek zorundasın." (Ersan)

⁷ "...diyelim Pazar günü izinliyim burda arıyolar gel seni bekliyoruz diyolar. Boş gününde de çalışıyosun. Onlar için ayrı bi ücret ödemişler tabii." (Nazım)

⁸ "Özel şirketler berbat. Kurban bayramı 4 gündü. Biz üç gün sabah 10'da geldik akşam 10'da çıktık..." (Filiz)

⁹ "5 dakika çay molası kullanıyorum 45 dakika yemek molası. Dinlenme süremi bile kısıyorlar. Bize diyolarki işbaşı bir buçukta ama siz birde burda olucaksınız. Yarım saat de ordan götürüyorlar. Böyle böyle çalışma saatim 10 saate çıkıyo. Niye 8 saat çalışmak varken ben 10 saat çalıştım?... Bayramlarda bile izin kullandırmıyorlar. Haftalık iznin bayrama gelirse sana izin veriyolar onun dışında izin kullandırmıyorlar. Ben bayramda çalışsam ihtiyacım var diyosam 1e 2 ödemeliler haksız mıyım? Şirketler napıyo onu sana 1e 1 olarak ödüyorlar. Burdan da kazanıyorlar yine. Şirket taşımacılık yaptırıyo sana ordan da kazanıyo. Ekstra iş yaptırıyo ordan kazanıyo. Başka projelerde eksik adam oluyo seni oralara sokuyo ordan para alıyo. Parayı cebine atıyo seni orda çalıştırıyo. Burda çalışıyosun yapıcaksın diyo. Yönetimin bile haberi olmuyo bunlardan..." (Mustafa)

Workers are forced to work more hours by their employers who send them to jobs out of their contracts and reduce their break times; this way they are being subject to an intense exploitation. This capitalist production process is based on labor exploitation through the extraction of “absolute surplus value”, appropriated by the companies as the source of profit.

As discussed in the study of Yücesan (2010) subcontractors apply the heaviest working conditions in order to get the job from the main company. However, working class’ need to make money forces them to accept the material conditions of this exploitation (Curtis, 1994: 12). Similar to the expressions of many other interviewed workers, Vedat’s statements show that workers are aware that they are subject to intense exploitation but in order to keep their jobs and livelihood they bear these working conditions: “...they are trying to twist our arms in malls... For we are working on contract they are making us do all the work. The people here are working compulsorily or no grounded man might work under these conditions.”¹⁰ Apparently, economic survival becomes main concern of the workers. Ali also talks about his being obliged to accept challenging working conditions to maintain his family. In this regard, he summarizes general feelings of workers that I interviewed with: “...I have been working in this sector but it is a rough ride. Not like other corporation. If you have a family to make its living you’re forced to give up the fight with the conditions...”¹¹

Workers mention that although they are responsible for the cleaning of the shopping mall according to their contract, they can be given some other tasks by the company. They mention that they are asked to clean nearby sewers, to carry stuff and other tasks in different unmanned projects. The statements of the

¹⁰ “...AVMlerde seni her işe koşturmaya çalışıyorlar...Taşeron çalıştığımız için bütün işleri bize yaptırıyorlar. Burda çoğu mecburiyetten çalışan insanlar yoksa akli başında bi insan gelip bu koşullarda çalışamaz.” (Vedat)

¹¹ “...15 yıldır bu sektördeyim ama çok zorlukları var. Başka kurumlar gibi değil. Bakmak zorunda olduğun bi ailen varsa mecbur boyun eğiyosun koşullara...” (Ali)

workers show that the company intentionally gives these tasks to the cleaning workers in order to avoid employing new workers and thus increase its profit. This way, workers are subject to intense exploitation since they are given extra tasks besides cleaning as defined in their contracts.

Besides increasing its profit by giving extra tasks to the workers which are not defined in their contract, company also makes a gain by reducing the materials which the workers use to protect themselves while cleaning. Workers stated that company seek to cut costs through non – replacement of damaged cleaning materials. According to Sevgi, subcontractor company make profits restricting the materials that workers use to protect themselves: “... They even change the gloves we are using once in three weeks...I mean they cut back in such a way. Chiefs earn premium as they bring profit to the company. Gloves are in rags and tatters but you are forced to wear them.”¹² As it seems, masks and gloves are provided scarcely regardless of workers’ complaints. Ayten says: “... The masks and mops we are using are worn out but they aren’t buying new ones. We later started wearing gloves, they even keep them back from us...”¹³

Some cleaning workers, who were included in the interviews, indicated that they have had serious health problems depending on the heavy requirements of their jobs. However, the statements of the workers attract attention to the fact that sick workers have problems getting permission. Filiz, for instance, tells that the management forces the workers who get a medical report to quit: “The passing day I saw a doctor he said you have a hollow back...they tell me to receive a report if I should go under the knife. Then, you know what the company does? They give you the gate after you come back to work. They don’t like the men

¹² : “...kullandığımız eldivenleri bile üç haftada bir değiştiriyorlar.. Öyle tasarruf ediyorlar yani. Şefler böyle şirkete kar ettirdikçe prim alıyorlar. Eldiven yırtık pırtık oluyo ama sen onu kullanmak zorunda kalıyorsun.” (Sevgi)

¹³ “...kullandığımız maskelerle moplar eskidi mesela ama yenisini almıyorlar. Eldiveni bile çok sonradan kullanmaya başladık onu bile saklıyorlar bizden...” (Ayten)

receiving report too much. They are pushing you so you gotta quit...”¹⁴ Ayşe also says: “They want you to work even when you are sick. You have gotta work no matter what, you have to drag yourself to work. Rarely do they give us permission to take off from work, but it's very often they don't. Try to resist and they will see to send you away.”¹⁵

Workers mention that although there is a constant threat of getting fired, the number of dismissal is low because instead of firing, chiefs apply psychological pressure on the workers to quit on their own. The company is forcing the workers to quit in order to avoid compensation by firing them. Workers mention that chiefs apply psychological pressure through offending and insulting treatment in the presence of other workers and forcing them to quit through intimidation by giving tasks which require them to go distant places in inappropriate hours. Intensity of this oppression can be observed in the following statement of Ceyhun, who has been working for six years in the same workplace: “...They beat about the bush not to fire you. But you know what they do put you under psychological pressure. Then, you are up to here. You go off saying hang them all. All have an honor. Man offends you.”¹⁶ Similarly, Ayşe says: “No one fires you here. I have been here for a long time I see none of them firing anyone. They bring you into a situation that you want to quit. They give you the works that you can't do, send you somewhere you cannot go. If they set their mind on sending you away you can't stand...”¹⁷

¹⁴ “Geçen doktora gittim bel kemiğin eğilmiş dedi...Ameliyat olmam gerekirse bana rapor al diyorlar. Şirket ondan sonra napiyo biliyo musun işe geldikten sonra seni kapının önüne koyuyo. Çok rapor alan adamları sevmiyolar. Seni zorluyo kendin gitmek zorunda kalıyosun...” (Filiz)

¹⁵ “Hastaysan bile çalış diyorlar. Yerlerde sürünsen bile çalışman gerekiyo. İzin verdikleri zaman çok nadir vermedikleri zamanlar çoktur. Karşı çıkınca seni hemen göndermeye bakıyolar.” (Ayşe)

¹⁶ : “...Adam seni işten çıkarmamak için kırk takla atıyo. Ama napiyo biliyo musun psikolojik baskı yapıyo sana. Sonra şurana kadar geliyo. Lanet olsun bunlara diyosun çıkıp gidiyosun. Herkesin bi gururu var. Rencide ediyo adam seni.” (Ceyhun)

¹⁷ “Burda seni kimse işten çıkarmaz. Ben kaç senedir burdayım kimseyi bunların çıkarttığını görmedim. Seni işten çıkmak isteyeceğin duruma getirirler zaten. Yapamıycağın işlere, gidemiyceğin yerlere verirler. Seni burdan göndermeyi kafaya koysunlar duramazsın daha...” (Ayşe)

It is seen that the workers are controlled to work strictly and intensely. Workers are subject to an intense control through monitoring and pressure from chiefs. In this case, due to this intense control, the workers mention that they have to work constantly and that they feel under grand pressure. One of the workers expresses workers' suffer from intensive supervision of management:

There is a control every time every hour. Just think there are 348 cameras at the mall. They see everything. I mean no way out. Always under control. Chiefs also stroll around. They raise hell if you idle around a little bit. Since the customers come in the morning they want the business being followed all the time. They knock the wind out of our sails cos of cameras and chiefs. Who is in, who is out, who stops watching you all the time...¹⁸

It is possible to see a similar narrative in Kemal's statements. In the interview conducted by Erdoğan (2012), Kemal attracts attention to intense control over the workers. As he says: "First your superior already strolls around. Second security guys see you. Third mall management taking the service sees you. Four, cameras see you. I mean when I stand in the corner tired, the guy on the camera announce at once: "the personnel at number 21 is resting""¹⁹ Apparently, supervision over employees have become ever more direct. As Sennett (2003: 184) states, modern technology permits over exercise of surveillance. According to him, "modern technology plays a crucial role here; thanks to computerization, top leadership can measure on daily, even an hourly basis how well the troops are doing, markets behaving."

¹⁸ "Kontrol her zaman her saat var. Düşünsene 348 kamera var AVM de. Herşeyi görüyorlar oralardan. Kaçış yok yani. Sürekli kontrol altındasın. Zaten sürekli şefler de geziyo. Biraz oyalanacak olsan kıyameti koparıyorlar. Sabah müşteriler geldiği için işlerin sürekli takip edilmesini istiyorlar. Kameralardı şeflerdi nefes alamaz duruma geliyosun. Kim girdi, kim çıktı, kim durdu sürekli izliyorlar seni..." (Ersan)

¹⁹ "Bir, zaten kendi amirin dolaşıyo. İki, güvenlikçiler seni görüyo. Üç, hizmeti alan AVM yönetimi seni görüyo. Dört, kameralar görüyo. Yani ben yorulup şu köşede dikildiğim zaman kameranın başındaki vatandaş hemen anonsunu geçiyo: "21 numaradaki personel istirahat vaziyetinde"" (Kemal)

In subcontractor working regime, unsecured working conditions, to which the cleaning workers without a union are subject, cause concern for their future. The lack of struggle and organizing experience of the subcontracted cleaning workers under unsecured working conditions cause a great extent of fear of losing their jobs. On the other hand, their concern about losing their jobs reproduces pressure conditions and causes them to face serious violation of rights and intense exploitation.

In this study the cleaning workers, most of whom are married, mention their concerns related to their families' subsistence. In this regard, some of the workers expressed their anxiety related to their precarious working conditions: "Anxiety? I am anxious all the time. What if we quit, our tender ends, we can't find another job..."²⁰ Zeki also says: "When the tenders are closing in we become anxious. We get worried about what if this firm can't get the tender, the other one gets it. What if the newcomer company doesn't want to work with us and employs new ones. Like this, anxiety all the time..."²¹ Narratives of Fatma tell that she feels depressed due to fear of job loss: "If I looked after only number one I would know that I could handle it somehow. But we have kids and we are paying loan for house. We don't have a permanent income. How we pay our insurances without a job. So thinking all the time. Worrying about them I am buried under them..."²²

Some workers did not accept interview, some of them hesitated before accepting and sometimes they postponed interview dates; all of these behaviors show that they are afraid of losing their jobs. Accordingly, the fear of losing their jobs and

²⁰ "Endiŕe mi? Her gn endiŕe iindeyim. İŖten ıkarsak, ihalemiz biterse, baŖka bi iŖ bulamazsak..." (Salih)

²¹ "İhaleler yaklaŖınca bizi bi endiŕe sarıyo. Ya ihaleyi bu firma alamazsa br firma alırsa diyoruz. Ya yeni gelen firma bizi alıŖtırmak istemeyip yeni elemanlar alırsa. Byle srekli bi endiŕe..." (Zeki)

²² "Sadece kendimi dŖnsem bi Ŗekilde idare edebileceđimi bilirim. Ama ocuklar var Ŗimdi bi de evin borcunu dyoruz. Srekli bi gelirimiz yokki bizim. alıŖmasak alıŖmadan sigortamızı nası dyez. İŖte srekli dŖnyosun. Bunları dŖndke ok bunalıyorum ben..." (Fatma)

not finding a new job create the tendency of trying to bear unsecured working conditions. Some of the workers complained about not being able to exercise their rights due to fear of losing their jobs: “Since I started working I have been getting a raw deal. Frankly, I don’t believe nobody will do justice in this market. Because they are gaining while we are hard done by them. If you turn the scales they gonna try to send you out.”²³

Only two of the interviewees are single while the rest are married and have children. Single workers stated that they are not afraid of losing their jobs since they do not have a family to take care. One of these workers indicates that he does not experience fear of losing his job due to his being young and single: “I don’t taste such a fear because I don’t have a family to handle. Maybe it is because I am young. Even if I fall out of work I feel like I can find another again. But if I had kids, I would have job loss fear...”²⁴

Besides, some of the female workers also mention that they are not afraid of losing their jobs unlike most of the other workers. These workers state that they can go to houses for cleaning if necessary as they had been doing. Although they do not have a positive experience in house cleaning jobs, they consider it as an alternative opportunity under unsecured working conditions. In this regard, Leyla talks about her being able to find other job opportunities: “...I don’t fear from dismissal. If I can’t do anything I go for house cleaning, think so. I don’t like house cleaning actually but I think at least to pay my insurance I can do it for a day or two.”²⁵ Although it is observed that most of the workers are afraid of losing

²³ “Ben çalışmaya başladığımdan beri her ortamda haksızlığa uğruyorum zaten. Açıkçası bu piyasa ortamında hiç biyerin hakkımı vericeğine inanmıyorum ben. Çünkü biz haksızlığa uğrarken onlar bu şekilde para kazanıyo. Sen bu durumu bozarsan hemen göndermeye bakarlar seni.” (Mustafa)

²⁴ “Bakmam gereken bi ailem olmadığı için çok fazla yaşamıyorum böyle bi korku. Bi de genç olduğum için belki. Bi süre işsiz kalsam bile tekar iş bulabilirm gibi geliyo. Ama çocuklarım olsa, bakmam gereken bi ailem olsa işimi kaybetme korkusu yaşardım...” (Ersan)

²⁵ “...işten çıkarılmaktan korkmuyorum. Hiçbişe yapamasam ev temizliğine giderim öyle düşünüyorum. Ev temizliğini sevmiyorum aslında başkalarının evini temizlemeyi sevmiyorum

their jobs under unsecured working conditions, the way of experiencing this fear can differ due to various factors like gender, marital status, age, education and previous working experience.

It can be claimed that, subcontracted cleaning workers in the shopping malls are subject to a despotic regime using control and pressure mechanisms. In subcontractor working regime workers face intense exploitation as they have to work more than what is specified in their contracts. Deprivations of union rights, constant subsistence concerns and fragmentation of labor force, which will be discussed in the following parts, reproduce these pressure conditions which the workers are subject to.

2.2 The Lack of Commitment to Job and Workplace

The statements of the workers show that they can neither identify themselves nor develop commitment to their jobs and workplace. In this part the reasons why the workers cannot develop commitment to their jobs and workplace, but despite this condition why they do not look for another job and are afraid of losing their jobs will be discussed.

According to Sennett (1998: 23), the emphasis of the new capitalist system on short-term goals and moments makes it impossible for people to define long-term goals. The creation of short-term, irregular working conditions with an unclear future harms the workers' sense of belonging. Thus, today it has become risky and impossible for workers to adopt his job and workplace.

When workers were asked about their feelings of belonging to the workplace, most of them emphasized impossibility of belonging due to their temporary employment. In this regard, subcontracted workers do not develop a sense of

ama çok çaresiz kalırsam, en azından sigortamı yatırmak için bir gün iki gün ev temizliğine giderim diye düşünüyorum.” (Leyla)

belonging to their workplace. Leyla says: “I don’t feel I belong to here because I know this job will end one day. I can’t say I retire from here. I work, do other jobs, I retire but not from here.”²⁶ It is observed that temporary and unsecured employment prevent the workers from developing a sense of belonging and commitment towards the workplace. Beyond the job itself, the aggressive attitude of the managers are also effective in this lack of loyalty (Nichols and Suğur, 2005: 154). Ayşe believes that she would love her work, if supervisors acted respectfully: “...For managers look down on us, they behave us in an offending way. I would be content with my job, if the chiefs behaved us respectfully, in a civilized way. I would be happier with my job. For they misbehave I don’t like my job. See it as a dirty job. I want to walk out.”²⁷ Expressions of Fatma indicate that degrading behaviors of management lead to her feeling “alienated” at work: “...Sometimes I say I wish they kicked me out. Wish they would do the thing I daren’t. I think so most of the time. How can I feel I belong to here when I don’t like the circle? I think something else sometimes. Try not to think I am in this circle. I don’t like this place, behaviors of chiefs...”²⁸

In workers’ comments, working as cleaning worker is associated with negative values. They have negative feelings related to their work of cleaning. It is apparent that most of the interviewed workers are dissatisfied with their jobs. Laçiner (2007: 320) suggests “the fact that the lower classes are “convicted” for certain jobs and that the jobs they can find are far from creativity and productivity

²⁶ “Kendimi hiç buraya ait hissetmiyorum çünkü biliyorum birgün bu işin ve buranın da biteceğini. Birgün burdan emekli olurum diyemiyorum. Çalışırım, başka işler yaparım, emekli olurum diyorum ama burdan değil.” (Leyla)

²⁷ “...Yöneticiler bizi aşağı gördükleri için çok kırıncı davranıyorlar. Şefler bize daha saygılı, seviyeli davransaydı ben yaptığım işten memnun olurdu. Daha mutlu olurdu işimde. Ters davrandıkları için hiç sevmiyorum bu işi. Çok pis bi iş olarak görüyorum. Bırakıp gitmek istiyorum.” (Ayşe)

²⁸ “...Bazen diyorum keşke çıkarsalar beni. Benim cesaret edip yapamadığımı onlar yapsa. Böyle düşündüğüm de çok oluyo. Ben bu ortamı sevmiyorumki buraya ait hissediyim. Başka şeyler düşünüyorum bazen. Bu ortamda olduğumu düşünmemeye çalışıyorum. Hiç sevmiyorum bu ortamı, şeflerin davranışlarını...” (Fatma)

arouses a feeling of loath and shame towards their jobs". The statements of Zeki show that the workers think they do not have another option and that the working conditions which they think they have to stand create a feeling of worthlessness in the workers:

This is the worst job to do. You do it if you don't have any other chance. Think that we are doing a worthless job in both customers' and management's eyes. In time you get that you are doing a thankless job. Get that you are doing a completely worthless job and you are worthless. But if we bear them that's why we gotta. No one does such a job willingly. Really it isn't a job to do willingly, it is a dirty job.²⁹

The workers think that cleaning is considered to be low job in the society; this and their experiences prevent them from developing a sense of belonging to their jobs. Canan's statements show that her experiences support this view. As she says: "...sometimes I am ashamed to say I am a cleaning worker upon asking. Should I tell I think. You know what I am ashamed."³⁰ Bahar says: "Really hard. It's not good to work here. You lie low a lot. You hear scolding..."³¹ Also Vedat says: "...no one wants to be a cleaning worker working minimum wage now unless you gotta. You are exposed to all kinda injustice and humiliation."³²

When the workers were asked what they think about their jobs, they stated that they are working in the lowest layer in the shopping mall, that they do the filthiest job, their job is not respected and valued, and one would not do this unless one

²⁹ "Bu iş en son yapılacak iş. Başka hiçbi seçeneğin yoksa yaparsın. Hem müşterilerin hem yönetimin gözünde çok değersiz bi iş yaptığımızı düşünüyorum. Zamanla nankör bi işte çalıştığını görüyorsun. Tamamen değersiz bi işte çalıştığını ve değersiz olduğunu anlıyorsun. Ama bunlara katlanıyorsak mecbur olduğumuzdan. Kimse isteyerek yapmaz böyle bi işi. Gerçekten hiç bi şekilde isteyerek yapılabilecek bi iş değil, çok pis bi iş." (Zeki)

³⁰ "...bazen biri sorunca temizlik işçisiyim demeye utandığım oluyo. Söylemesem mi acaba diyorum. Valla bak açık söylüyüm utandığım oluyo." (Canan)

³¹ "Çok zor. Hiç iyi bişe değil burda çalışmak. Çok aşağılanıyorsun. Birsürü laf duyuyosun..." (Bahar)

³² "...şu anda kimse mecbur kalmadıkça asgari ücretle çalışan bi temizlik işçisi olmak istemiyo. Her türlü haksızlığa ve küçük düşmeye maruzsun." (Vedat)

has to. They said that they cannot dream of getting their retirement from their current company and if they find a new job they will quit their current job without giving a second thought. It is seen that the workers do not consider themselves as part of the company and they do not develop a sense of belonging to their job.

On the other hand, the negative evaluation of the market conditions is one of the reasons why the workers want to maintain their jobs although they do not develop commitment. Also negative experiences of some of the workers they have in their previous jobs reinforce this thought in their mind. In this regard, previous negative experiences cause the workers to feel desperate about the possibility of finding a new job with better conditions. Some women workers stated their working as charwoman before doing this job. As it is seen from their narratives, they experienced working as charwoman as a low status job. In our first interview with Ayten, she was unwillingness to talk about her old job experiences as if to hide. But later on, she mentioned about how unhappy she was while working as charwoman. Similar narratives can be seen in other workers' previous work experiences. For example, another worker mentions that being a cashier was more difficult than this job because besides physical tiredness, there was also mental tiredness. Another worker mentions that while he was working in construction sites, he could not even collect his wage and that it was difficult to work in the construction sites in the winter.

A major part of the workers emphasized that working conditions in minimum wage jobs are similar in terms of respectability and working environment. This situation prevents workers from hoping to find a higher status job. Ceyhun summarizes general feelings of these workers:

...if you get minimum wage you will have your work cut out for you wherever you go. I mean you gonna face up against such an order even if it's firm A or other. Nothing changed about my job neither respect nor

the money I get. All in all you're worker working minimum wage. So there is no point in changing job.³³

Workers left their previous jobs for reasons like not getting paid, dismissal, health hazard working conditions, long working hours and tiring working conditions. Most of the interviewees stated that although their current job is better than their previous jobs, it is still the “last” option and “the filthiest job.” On the other hand, the workers who have been working in this workplace for 5-6 years have concerns about not getting compensation in case they quit. Especially some of the workers who have been working for 5-6 years mention that they are waiting for the 10th year to get compensation. Some of the women say that they do not want to work after 10 years and they put up with these conditions in order to earn the right for compensation: “...it could be this if it wouldn't be that. But the work I've been doing for six years comes to nothing. If I didn't care about this I would never stay here. So you care that I have been working here for years I quit after I run out my indemnity period.”³⁴

Some of the workers mention that they found this job through some “higher level” people and emphasize the difficulty in finding a new job. Apparently, this situation creates concern about finding a new job. One of the workers says:

They employ acquaintant not everyone. Most ask if you have deputy acquaintant. I said you are employing for what. You need deputy acquaintant for public offices. They ask for deputy acquaintant even for cleaning job. You know the rest.³⁵

³³ “...şu var yani asgari ücret aldıktan sonra nereye gidersen git işin zor. Yani bu A firması olsun başka yer olsun seni böyle bi düzen bekliyo. Benim yaptığım işlerde saygınlık olsun aldığım para olsun pek bişe değişmedi. Sonuçta asgari ücretle çalışan bi işçi oluyosun. O yüzden iş değiştirmenin de bi anlamı yok.” (Ceyhun)

³⁴ “...bura olmasa şura olur. Ama 6 yıldır çalıştığım boşa gidiyo. Onu düşünmesem bi dakika durmam burda. Ama böyle olunca tazminat için süremi dolduryum öyle çıkıyım yıllardır çektiğim boşa gitmesin diye bakıyosun.” (Filiz)

³⁵ “Tanıdığı alıyolar herkesi almyolar. Çoğu milletvekili tanıdığı var mı diye soruyolar. Dedim nereye alıyosunuz. Milletvekili tanıdığı gerekiyo devlet daireleri için. Temizlik işi için bile milletvekili tanıdık istiyorlar. Gerisini sen düşün.” (Mustafa)

As it will be discussed in the next section which gives references to the dreams of the workers, the low educational level of the workers cause them to think that they cannot find a job with better conditions. Workers have concerns about finding a new job due to their low educational level, advanced age, high unemployment rate, etc. For instance Zeki, who is in his fifties, speaks about his anxiety related to his advancing age: “If I could find any better job I would leave without a backward glance. But I am of a certain age, at this age finding a job is a miracle. They wouldn’t employ me in any company if I quitted working here.”³⁶ Almost all interviewees indicated that it would be difficult to find a new job in case they left their current job here, and that the situation concerned them. This situation forces them to continue working in this job although the level of complacency is very low. The thought that they cannot find a new job makes it difficult for workers to resist to pressure and exploitation conditions.

2.3 Hierarchical Relations with Managers and Supervisors

In this part, it is tried to analyse how inequalities arise, impact they have, maintained over time and reproduced by everyday practices. In this context, this part of the study focuses on workers’ evaluating hierarchy in relations with their managers, experiencing hierarchical relations as a matter of self – respect, experiencing degrading attitudes of managers and access to the information of management.

According to Sennett (2003), “possession of the self – respect is fragile and vulnerable if it is achieved by someone at the bottom of the social order”. Respectability as a signifier of class has become the burden of “massified working class” (Skeggs, 1997: 3). It seems that being disrespected takes wounding form in every working day experiences of workers. It is seen that workers worry about

³⁶ “Herhangi daha iyi bi iş bulayım arkama bakmadan çeker giderim. Ama belli bi yaşa gelmişiz bu yaşta iş bulmak mucize. Şu anda ben burayı bıraksam herhangi bi firmada beni işe almazlar.” (Zeki)

respect in hierarchical relations. Expressions of Leyla reveals how she is sensitive to being disrespected: "...Chiefs look down on you. You have no rights. You ain't respected. The job we are doing is really not a revered job..."³⁷ Also Ersan says: "We are not respected by the chiefs at all. He calls you says come, you go..."³⁸

Workers mentioned that they are subject to insults, humiliating and offending treatments from the chiefs. It is understood from the workers' statements that they experience these insulting treatments as a matter of self-respect. A few of the workers who cannot accept this class relationship set forth their own values in the face of this inequality they experience. In the words of Sennett and Cobb (1972: 149) "workers assert humanity and self – esteem to stop insulting treatments of people in higher social positions."

On the other hand, humiliating attitudes of management appears in traumatic memories of workers. As Erdoğan (2007b: 49) points out, in the relationship between the lower and higher classes, humiliating events are frequently witnessed. Some workers that I interviewed with, expressed intensive degradation of their supervisors. As Leyla narratives:

One day I was having meal downstairs taking my break, the chief called. Upstairs somewhere around the perfumery nail enamel was spilled he asked if we had acetone. I said we don't have acetone. So he hung up and I hung up upon no response. Soon afterwards called again said I break that phone on your head why you hung up on me. I said I didn't hung up chief, went upstairs to him, said why you break the phone on my head what I did to you. If you are chief, I am a personnel you can just employ me said I. Upon I said so he got more aggressive started sneeping...talked in an insulting, humiliating way. I wandered around like a dead for a week, cried a lot. I cry a lot upon injustice.³⁹

³⁷ "...Şefler seni en alt seviyedeki insan seviyesine koyuyo. Hiç bi hakkın yok. Hiç kimseden saygı görmüyorsunuz. Gerçekten bizim yaptığımız iş hiç saygı gören bi iş değil..." (Leyla)

³⁸ "şeflerden hiçbi şekilde saygı görmüyoruz. Arar seni gel der gelirsin..." (Ersan)

³⁹ "Bigün ben aşağıda yemek yiyiyodum molamdaydım, şef telefon açtı. Yukarıda parfümerinin oralarda bi yere oje dökülmüş aseton var mı dedi. Ben de asetonumuz yok dedim. Yok diyince telefonu kapattı bende cevap gelmeyince kapattım telefonumu. Aradan iki dakika geçmedi tekrar

Expressions of Zeki indicate how workers experience oppressive behaviours of supervisors in a workplace event: "...Chiefs put the bite on you for a few weeks sometimes. They start to insult you. You feel under a lot of psychological pressure. Even if you have no guilt you can quit with such an anger and distress. It becomes unbearable..."⁴⁰ When I asked the workers if there was an incident with their chiefs which they cannot forget and hurt them, most of the workers talked about an incident stick in their minds.

According to Sennett (2011: 101), the employer's domination over the workers is created by the employer's months-long ignorance and contempt towards the workers more than clear insults. In this process the self-respect of the workers are eroded and melt away quietly. This hierarchical relation described by Sennett (2011) reflects experiences of some cleaning workers in this study. Vedat for instance complained about their supervisors' being indifferent to workers' individuality: "What we do is an ungrateful job. You don't count in anyways. The workers don't count. You aren't worth in the eyes of the supervisors, administration..."⁴¹ On the other hand in the chapter which discusses the encounter of the workers with the customers, workers define themselves with animal images through the eyes of the customers; a similar narrative is revealed related to their relations with the chiefs. In the later parts of Vedat's speech a narrative like this is heard: "... The company press you into every service, expects you to do everything but you can never ever ask for anything. They put a saddle

aradı o telefonu kafanda kırarım senin dedi sen telefonu suratıma niye kapattın dedi. Yok ben kapatmadım dedim şefin yanına çıktım sen telefonu niye benim kafamda kırıyorsun, ben sana ne yaptımki dedim. Sen şefsen bende personelim sen bana sadece iş verebilirsin dedim. Ben böyle diyince bu iyce agresifleşti, iyce hakaretler etmeye başladı...Beni rencide edecek, aşalılık şekilde konuştu. Bi hafta üzüntüden ölü gibi gezdim buralarda çok ağladım. Haksızlığa uğrayınca çok ağlarım." (Leyla)

⁴⁰ "...Şefler sana bazen iki üç hafta baskı yapıyorlar. Adamlar seni rencide etmeye başlıyor. Psikolojik olarak çok büyük bi baskı altına giriyosun. Yani o sinirle, üzüntüyle işi bırakıp gidebilirsin hiç suçun olmasada. Dayanamıyacak duruma geliyosun..." (Zeki)

⁴¹ "...Bizim yaptığımız iş nankör bi iş. Hiçbi şekilde değer yok. İşçinin hiçbi şekilde değeri yok. Şefin yönetimin gözünde sıfırsın..." (Vedat)

on you make you carry the entire load. As long as you carry the load it is ok. The moment you unload, they will send away the horse”⁴² A similar narrative is also revealed in Mustafa’s speech:

There was a word used during military service, soldier never feels cold, soldier never lies down, soldier never gets sick. That’s how working in private sector is. Worker never gets sick, worker can’t receive report, back on him, work him like a horse. Chief, manager and managing director are on your back, you have three people on your back. The three back on you. Pushing you to go on when you stop...⁴³

Although the desire to be respected and treated decently by the managers and chiefs is not voiced by the workers loudly, it is revealed frequently in their narratives disguised as resentment and offense on the face of humiliating treatment of the chiefs and managers.

Sennett (2003: 108) states that “as industrial capitalism progressed, the worker having ever less control over his or her work”. When workers were asked whether they take part in decision making process or not, they stated that they are completely out of this process. Narratives of the interviewees show that management takes decisions without asking workers’ opinions, as Filiz says: “Management? Come on! Who asks for our opinions? I wish they came and asked if we had any complaint, any need. Chance would be a fine thing! They tell you to do and you do it.”⁴⁴ Also, Nurgül states that workers’ opinions are not taken into account in decisions: “If there is a decision to make, chiefs talk to managers

⁴² “...şirket seni her işe koşturur her işini yapmanı bekler ama sen bigün bile bişe talep edemezsin onlardan. Semeri sana vururlar yükün hepsini taşıtırlar. Yükü taşıdığım sürece sen kralsın samanın da gelir arpan da gelir herşey gelir önüne. Yükünü indirdiğin anda güle güle atım derler sana.” (Vedat)

⁴³ “Bizim askerlikte kullanılan bi tabir vardı asker üşümez, asker yatmaz, asker hastalanmaz. Özel sektör de böyle çalışıyo işte. İşçi hastalanmaz, işçi rapor alamaz biniceksin eşsek gibi sırtına çalıştıracaksın. Bi şef biniyo, bi müdür, bide yönetimin müdürü ediyö üç kişi sırtında. Bu üçü adamın sırtına biniyolar. Vuruyolar gitmeyince de git diye...” (Mustafa)

⁴⁴ “Yönetim mi? Yok canım kim sorar bize fikirlerimizi. Bi gelse sorsalar ne yapıyosun bi şikayetin, isteğin var mı diye. Nerdee? Onlar yap der sen yaparsın.” (Filiz)

not to us. No one asks for our opinions here. They don't give us the time of the day in such a way. They make decisions and expect us to fulfill. You gotta adapt yourself to the decisions made.”⁴⁵

Sennett (2011: 102) interpreted the avoidance from attracting the authority's attention and the wish for the authority's indifference as a mask which the person used in the struggle for survival. According to Scott (1990: 23), workers appear deferential due to stratification system they are subjected to. In this regard, lower classes' behaviors to remain silent and to act submissive appear as an “art of handling” and a strategy they use against hurtful manners and hierarchical oppression (Erdoğan, 2007b: 80).

It seems that some cleaning workers appear deferential to humiliating treatments of supervisors to handle his/her situation in the workplace. Ayten indicates that she tries to ignore injurious treatments as far as possible: “At first we would feel sorry but we got used to it, nothing to do. Trying to pass off...”⁴⁶ Ceyhun indicates that he tries to handle his coercive situation to keep his job: “We are trying to pass off. But of course I experienced some insulting behaviors...”⁴⁷ Fatma also talks about their being obliged to keep silent not to get fired: “If you want to work in this job for a long time you gotta get into the way of this place. You gotta put pride so and so aside. Otherwise you can't stay in this place even a month...”⁴⁸ As most of the interviewed workers, Mustafa believes that workers are supposed to keep pace with orders not to get fired: “There is an order set wherever you go. They send out the ones who don't obey that rule... the one doing his job

⁴⁵ “Bi karar alınıcaksa şefler müdürlerle konuşur, bizimle değil. Burda kimse bize fikirlerimizi sormaz. İşçiyle o şekilde muhatap olmuyolar. Kararları alıp bizden yapmamızı beklerler. Burda ne karar alınırsa uymak zorunda kalıyosun.” (Nurgül)

⁴⁶ “Başta üzülyoduk da alıştık napalım. Görmezden gelmeye çalışıyom. Bişe olmamış gibi davranmaya çalışıyom. Öyle öyle idare etmeye çalışıyoz işte...” (Ayten)

⁴⁷ “İdare etmeye çalışıyoruz ama gördüm tabi kırıcı davranışlarını...” (Ceyhun)

⁴⁸ “Bu işte uzun süre kalmak istiyosan buranın yolunu yordamını öğrenicen. Gururu falan bi tarafa bırakıcan. Zaten öbür türlü bi ay kalamazsın bu ortamda...” (Fatma)

silently, obeying is the reasonable one. When you utter a word you start to cut a swathe...⁴⁹

It seems that some workers do not want to confront their supervisors due to fear of losing their jobs (Aguiar and Herod, 2006: 125). In this regard, wounding treatments of supervisors do not find expression. Filiz feels helpless in the face of humiliating treatments due to her low status in workplace:

Whom you bring to book, once you inform against they come for inspection who informed against, so and so informed against. You are in sight and then they (chiefs) gonna press you all the time. They gonna try until you quit...We are the lowest class working here.⁵⁰

On the other hand, some of the workers mention that the workers who keep their silence and do not claim their rights are oppressed more. For instance Nazım, who is older and more experienced than other interviewed workers, mentions that the workers who do not claim their rights are oppressed more and they are given more tasks. Besides that, approximately 6 months after following the interviews, three interviewees mentioned that they had to change their job due to the problems with the management and two interviewees mentioned that they had to go to another mall. It is seen that unsecured working conditions bring mandatory changes in jobs or workplaces although the workers try to handle the conditions. In this case, handling strategies that workers develop is not enough to control precarious employment.

⁴⁹ “Her gittiğin yerde kurulmuş bi düzen oluyo. O düzene itaat etmeyeni gönderiyolar... Sessizce işini yapan, itaat eden insan makul oluyo. Azcık sesini çıkarmaya başlayınca göze batmaya başlıyosun...” (Mustafa)

⁵⁰ “Kime hesap sorucanki şikayet ettiğin anda denetlemeye gelicekler kim şikayet etti filan şikayet etti. Sen göz önündesin ondan sonra sürekli seni ezicekler. İş bıraktırana kadar uğraşacaklar...Biz burda çalışan en alt tabakayız.” (Filiz)

2.4 Trust and Solidarity among Workers

Apparently, weak fraternity among coworkers is a consequence of short periods of work, lack of confidence and over control. These factors diminish class solidarity in time (Sennett, 2003: 190). According to Curtis (1994) “the very nature of the working class is changing, forced to become more individualistic. The development and transmission of class consciousness is thus more difficult than before”.

As Özüğurlu (2011) states, “the new working class consists of those whose destinies are being united while their lives are being fragmented”. Almost all interviewees stated their reluctance to share their problems with their coworkers due to lack of confidence among them. Therefore, they do not expect support of their coworkers in dealing with problems. When workers were asked with whom they would share their problems in workplace, most of them listed only a few coworkers. Nazım says: “...you fear someone pump you and bring it to someone else. So no one’s coming near to each other...I have two sisters here I tell my secrets to them only. Not sharing everything with anyone...”⁵¹ Also Sevgi says: “We have no unity among us. No one trusts each other. They fear someone use it against themselves if they say something. Some among us bandy about. Very few people getting on well. I get off with very few people here...”⁵² On the other hand, Nurgül does not want to develop intimate relationship with her coworkers: “...even so you tell some about your problems bare your heart, try to feel relieved but beyond this you stop, stay on this line.”⁵³

⁵¹ “...bu benden lafı alır gider başkasına satar korkusu var. O yüzde kimse kimseye yanaşmıyo... Benim iki tane bayan kardeşim var burda sırlarımı onlarla konuşurum. Oturupta herşeyi herkesle paylaşmam...” (Nazım)

⁵² “Aramızda birlik yok bizim. Kimse birbirine güvenemiyö. Bişe söylersem onu aleyhime kullanır diye bakıyo. İçimizde bazıları laf götürüyo. Çok az insan iyi birbiriyle. Ben üç beş kişiyle yakınlık kurarım burda...” (Sevgi)

⁵³ “...yine bazılarına sıkıntılarımı anlatırsın, içini dökersin, ferahlamaya çalışırsın ama daha derinlere gelince susarsın orda kalırsın.” (Nurgül)

It seems that, for some workers “distinguishing from the mass promise more chance to be rewarded, than acting together” (Sennett and Cobb, 1972: 246). Economic insecurity and intensification of differences in employment status cause rivalry and suspicion among workers (Aguilar and Herod, 2006: 133). As Kart (2011) states, the lack of lifelong jobs plays a role in increasing the competition among the workers.

The absence of trust and commitment among workers is highly remarkable in narratives of workers. It is also clearly observed in their expressions that these mechanisms shiver the unity among them. In this respect, it is seen that in flexible capitalism the workers are forced to become opponents to each other and they are alienated from having a sense of common fate (Bora and Erdoğan, 2011b). Rivalry among workers becomes clear in their expressions about their coworkers. One of the workers says: “...Everyone betrays each other to stay here longer. I know such things are going on here. There are people sell his friends out to make up to the chief. So you get that you gotta go on trusting nobody.”⁵⁴ Ersan also talks about his coworkers’ attempts to win favor of supervisors: “There could be no unity because there are people buttering up. Such people can do everything to win chief’s favor. They seem to give you back but you know who they really are. They are not trying to seek his right uniting...”⁵⁵

Apparently, weakness of trust among the workers is also created by the supervisors. The thought that supervisors favor some workers and workers’ depicting each other as “lackey” have negative effect on promoting solidarity and organization. (Coşkun, 2012). On the other hand, narratives of a few workers

⁵⁴ “...Şurda üç gün daha kalıyım diye herkes satar birbirini. Burda öyle şeyler olduğunu biliyorum. Şefe yaranmak için arkadaşımı satanlar var. Öyle olunca kimseye güvenmeden devam etmen gerektiğini öğreniyosun.” (Fatma)

⁵⁵ “Birlik olmaz çünkü aramızda yalakalık yapanlar var. Şefin gözüne girmek için herşeyi yapar öyleleri. Senin yanında görünür ama bilirsin onun aslında kimin yanında olduğunu. Uğraşmaz öyle birlik olup hakkımı aramaya...” (Ersan)

show that they are aware that chiefs' treatments and competition prevent the unity of the workers:

For we don't assert our rights as workers, we are in such a situation. Workers can't seek any of their rights. So they are pressing us. ..We don't have a unity among us because the order is set so. For example, one is doing his job good, the other lies down on the job. They call the skilled one aside and say put pressure on that guy, stir the pot we gonna make you chief making promises. They want that guy to stir the pot. Deceiving that guy like that. Taking the gun that man starts a fight sniping. Then they take the statement down as they disturbing the order in the workplace. But do you know what they fire both of them. I mean they even waste the ones whom they make promises. One goes another comes they assume. They don't care about anyone.⁵⁶

It seems that the fear of losing their jobs prevents the development of solidarity among workers. These kinds of threats cause the workers to remain distant from taking collective action (Coşkun, 2012). Vedat states that fear of losing their job hinders solidarity among them: "People working here are so shy. We are oppressed people. People beware of uniting here. We endure minimum wage as the oppressed workers working minimum wage cos we gotta do it. Therefore, we have a fear that we can't find another job if we quit our job here...."⁵⁷ Also Bahar states that some workers look out for their own interests not to lose their jobs: "...Everyone is trying to turn their own trick. If you make your case you just

⁵⁶ "Biz işçiler çalışanlar olarak hakkımızı savunmadığımız için bu durumda kalıyoruz. İşçiler hiçbi hakkını savunamıyo. Ondan bizi böyle eziyolar... Bizim aramızda birlik yok çünkü düzen bu şekilde kurulmuş. Mesela biri işini iyi yapıyo diğeri baştan savma yapıyo iyi yapanı çekiyolar sen bu adamı sıkıştır kavgı çıkar seni şef yapıcız diyolar o kişiye vaatlerde bulunuyolar. O kişi ortalığı karıştırısın istiyolar. Bu adamı öyle kandırıyolar. Buda o gazla gidiyo öbürüne laf söyleyip kavgı çıkarıyo. Sonra bunlara tutanak tutuluyo işyerindeki düzeni bozduklarına dair. Ama noluyo biliyomusun ikisinin de çıkışını veriyolar. Yani vaatlerde bulduklarını da harcıyolar. Bi Ahmet gider bi Mehmet gelir hesabı yapıyolar. Kimse umurlarında olmaz." (Vedat)

⁵⁷ "Burda çalışan insanlar çok çekingen olur. Ezilmiş insanlarız. Burda insanlar birlik olmaya çekiniyo. Asgari ücretle çalışan ezilmiş işçi tarafları asgari ücrete katlanıyosak mecburiyetten katlanıyoruz. O yüzden ben burdan çıkarsam bi daha iş bulamam korkusu var..." (Vedat)

offend the eye. Then they don't stop bothering you. They do everything to make you quit the job. After that you have no chance other than quitting the job..."⁵⁸

Coşkun (2012) argues that building social relationships outside the workplace is also effective in developing class consciousness. It is seen that the time which the cleaning workers spend outside workplace is scarcely any. Workers explained this situation in different ways. Accordingly, wearisomeness of the job, limited time left from job, low income, having different off-days, responsibilities at home and of their children are some of the reasons which keep them from socializing outside the workplace. Filiz, for instance, stated that workers do not have financial possibility and enough time to meet each other outside the work:

...We don't have time to see each other. Everyone set in their separate way and going on my dear. People here don't see each other outside much because no one has neither time nor money to do it.⁵⁹

Although the unity among the workers is fragmented to a great extent, some of the workers emphasized the importance of solidarity to claim their rights. Narratives show that they are aware that they could stand strong on the face of injustices if they had unity. İsmail says: "Uniting is important, of course. If you ask the reason, we can't seek our rights here. We are oppressed but can't say it to anyone. It would be better if we could unite and seek our rights..."⁶⁰. Ayşe says: "...If there would be unity here, chiefs couldn't oppress us so much. We oppress each other, don't watch for each other."⁶¹ Also Ceyhun points out the significance of

⁵⁸ "...Herkes kendi işini halletmeye bakıyo. Öyle kendini ortaya atıp göze batmak var. Sonra iflah etmezler seni buralarda. Gitmen için herşeyi yaparlar. O saatten sonra işi bırakmama gibi bi durumun da olamaz..." (Bahar)

⁵⁹ "...Görüşmeye zamanımız yok. Herkes ayrı ayrı düzen kurmuş gidiyo ablacım. Burdakilerden dışarda görüşen pek olmaz çünkü kimsenin ne zamanı, ne maddi durumu buna müsait." (Filiz)

⁶⁰ "Birlik olmak önemli tabi. Niye dersin haklarımızı hiç arayamıyoz burda. Eziliyoz ama kimseye bişe diyemiyoz. Toplanıp gitsek haklarımızı arasak daha iyi olurdu..." (İsmail)

⁶¹ "...Burda birlik olsaydı şefler bizi bu kadar ezemezdi. Biz birbirimizi eziyoruz, birbirimizi kollamıyoruz." (Ayşe)

solidarity among workers: “...we can’t unite because we don’t trust each other. We fall out with each other, we forget about seeking our rights. But we have the same problems here why we are falling out with each other.”⁶² The narratives of a few of the other workers show that although they lack a strong solidarity, they can support one another when necessary. Ali mentions that they are not very close but they support one another when necessary:

We keep our relationships discrete but if anyone gets hurt I feel sorry. The other day a friend got sick, he had to go to hospital, and they (chiefs) didn’t let him. Then, as we persisted as his friends they let him go. I felt bad about that incident for example. I even barely did my job on that day.⁶³

Management’s reducing travel subvention creates an essential cost for the workers who live in a distant neighborhood and who go back home by using more than one vehicle. In this respect, Leyla complains about not being able to seek their rights and protest against travel expenses since they are not united:

If there was a unity among the workers, our conditions might be better. For example our road toll cards were coined everyone kept their mouths shut, no one could utter a word...but if we would unite we could get it by force but cos there is no unity we couldn’t get our due.⁶⁴

It is seen that the unity and trust among workers is fragmented to a great extent, however they are also aware of their benefits in class relationships. The statements of the workers show that they think the working conditions would be better if they

⁶² “...birbirimize güvenmediğimiz için bir olamıyoruz. O ona düşüyo, o öbürüne düşüyo biz haklarımızı aramayı unutuyoruz. Halbuki burda aynı sorunları yaşamıyo muyuz birbirimize niye düşelim” (Ceyhun)

⁶³ “İlişkilerimizi belli bi mesafede tutarız ama içlerinden biri yaralanırsa bişe olursa ben çok üzülürüm. Geçenlerde bi arkadaş rahatsızlandı hastaneye götürülmesi gerekiyordu gitmesine izin vermediler. Sonra biz arkadaşları olarak üsteleyince gönderdiler. O olaya ben çok üzuldüm mesela. O gün kendi işimi bile zor yaptım.” (Ali)

⁶⁴ “Çalışanlar arasında birlik beraberlik olsaydı bizim koşullarımız çok daha farklı olurdu belki. Mesela bizim yol kartlarımız kesildi kimse sesini çıkarıpta bişe diyemedi...Ama birlik olsaydık hepimiz, biz onu söke söke alırdık ama birlik olmadığı için bütün haklarımız yeniyo.” (Leyla)

had unity. On the other hand, the distrust created among workers can show that they will not put up a collective action soon.

2.5 Workers' Evaluation of Being Member of a Union

In the new labor process which was shaped with individual employment, instability and insecurity, competition among the workers increased and solidarity decreased. Short term and precarious working relations made it difficult for workers to develop trust and solidarity. It also became difficult to trust formal institutions like unions during this process when individual actions and distrust has become apparent (Urhan, 2005).

With the implementation of neo – liberal policies in 1980s, domination over labor markets have increased. In 1990s, trade unions have been weakened and there has been a decline in number of them. In this process, trade union membership has become more challenging and trade union activities weakened (Nichols and Suğur, 2005: 185). Besides, workers' being member of a union has been precluded by subcontract working conditions. (Taşkıran, 2011). Subcontract working system has become a means for weakening against exploitation. In this regard, expressions of a few workers tell the need of union representation as a revolt against deteriorating working conditions. As Zeki expresses:

I can't struggle because I am not a union member. I can't go on strike. The lowest amount the union members take is 1.5 billion. Being a union member creates a difference in working conditions but we are not union members. When you are a union member you can seek your rights. We could have more rights than we have right now. But it is not possible in our conditions...I have never been a union member but I saw some union members among my friends. They always have better conditions than us. While seeking their rights they were not as coward as we were, because they knew the unions were back them up. If they go on strike, the union supports them.⁶⁵

⁶⁵ “Mücadele edemem çünkü benim sendikam yok. Grev yapamam. Sendikali çalışanların aldığı en düşük ücret 1.5 milyar. Sendikali olmak çok fark ettiriyor çalışma koşullarında ama biz sendikali değiliz. Sendikali olunca haklarınızı savunabilirsiniz. Şu anda sahip olduğumuzdan çok daha fazla

Similar to Zeki, Sevgi tells about the need of unionization: “No I have never been a union member but I know the union guards the worker. I mean it would be good for us to be a union member in terms of seeking our rights. At least we would have some place we take support where we tell our problems. Chiefs would know it and at least fear a little bit.”⁶⁶ Ali also points out importance of unionization with respect to its unifying function: “Of course being a union member is important. Ain’t there unity when you’re a member? Sometimes we can’t take time off in bairams. They cheat us of our rights. They are making us do non-contractual jobs but no one’s gathering and seeking their rights. That’s our complaint mostly.”⁶⁷ Filiz on the other hand mentions that they cannot make their voice heard because they are not unionized: “Union is important for sure. I wish we could seek our rights. We have no rights here. I mean if we were union member they might round us together. They might make us heard. We barely hear our voice here.”⁶⁸

Some of the workers put an emphasis upon their ignorance towards unions instead of taking a critical stance about them. İsmail says: “You know I know nothing about being a union member. I heard company asked if you want to be a member. They make the worker sign something as I heard. But I don’t know much about

haklara sahip olurduk. Ama bizim koşullarımızda böyle bişe mümkün değil... Ben hiç sendikalı olmadım ama görüyodum çevremdeki arkadaşlardan sendikalı olanlar vardı içlerinde. Onların koşulları hep bizden daha iyiydi. Haklarını ararlarken bizim kadar korkak değillerdi çünkü biliyolardı arkalarında sendika var. Biliyolardı grev yapacak olsalar sendikalar destekler.” (Zeki)

⁶⁶ “Yok ben hiç sendika üyesi olmadım ama sendikanın işçiyi koruduğunu biliyorum. Yani sendika üyesi olsak iyi olurdu haklarımızı aramamız açısından. Yine yaslanıcağımız sıkıntılarımızı anlatıcağımız bi yer olurdu. Şefler de bunu bilip daha bi çekinirlerdi en azından.” (Sevgi)

⁶⁷ “Tabi sendikalı olmak önemli. Sendikalı olunca birlik beraberlik olmuyo mu? Yeri geliyo biz burdan mesai alamıyoruz bayramlarda... Haklarımızı yiyiyorlar. Sözleşme üzerinde görünmeyen işleri yaptırıyolar ama kimse biraraya gelipte hakkımı arayamıyo. Zaten şikayetimiz o çoğunlukla.” (Ali)

⁶⁸ “Sendika önemli olmaz mı. Çıkıp haklarımızı arayabilseydik. Burda hiç bi hakkımız yok bizim. Yani öyle sendikalı olsak belki onlar biraraya toplardı bizi. Sesimizi duyururlardı. Burda sesimizi ancak kendimiz duyuyoz.” (Filiz)

what union does. I heard no union member here...”⁶⁹ Serhat stated that he never thought of unions until he was asked about: “I don’t know in fact I have never thought about being a union member. I haven’t thought about it until you ask. While working in this pace you even forget about yourself. Already no one does justice and no one pays recompense so how you can seek your right.”⁷⁰

It is evident that some workers find unionization impossible and that their demands for it are weak. The interviews with these workers show that they have not considered becoming a member of unions. While most of them expressed that their knowledge about unions was hearsay, the rest said they had never heard about unions before. Leyla states that unionization is unknown to her: “I can’t make head or tail of union. It can be because I have never been a member I don’t know. I heard some workers from other working places are union members but I have no idea.”⁷¹ Similar to Leyla, Mustafa tells he does not know what a union is: “No, I have no idea about what union is. It is over my head. I care about making my living going after it...”⁷² Also, it seems that some workers do not think of being member of a union due to fear of losing their jobs: “If you would try to be union member here, they would try to send you out. They don’t keep here anyone trying to seek their rights. As they know this, no one is in such attempts.”⁷³

⁶⁹ “Yani sendikalı olmayı ben pek bilmiyom. Duymuştum şirket soruyomuş sendikalı olmak istiyomusun diye. Kağıt imzalatıyolarmış işçiye. Ama sendika ne işe yarar pek bilmiyom ben. Ben buralarda hiç duymadım sendikalı falan...” (İsmail)

⁷⁰ “Bilmem işin gerçeği hiç düşünmedim sendikalı olmak hakkında. Sen sorana kadar aklıma bile gelmedi. Bu tempoda çalışırken kendini bile unutuyosun. Zaten neresi hakkını veriyom, neresi tazminat veriyom çıkıp hakkını arıycaksın.” (Serhat)

⁷¹ “Sendikadan hiç anlamıyorum. Daha önce de sendikalı olmadım ya belki de ondan bilmiyorum. Bazı yerlerde çalışanların sendikalı olduğunu duymuştum ama ben hiç bilmiyorum.” (Leyla)

⁷² “Yok ben hiç bilmiyorum sendikanın ne olduğunu. Kafam basmıyo öyle şeylere. Geçiniyimde diyorum onun derdindeyiz...” (Mustafa)

⁷³ “Burda sendika üyesi olmaya kalksan seni hemen işten çıkarmaya bakarlar. Buralarda öyle haklarını aramaya kalkanları tutmazlar. Bunu bildikleri için kimsenin de böyle bi girişimi olmuyo.” (Vedat)

Only one of the workers among the interviewed had been a member of a union before but the rest had never been. According to Nazım, who was member of a union in his previous job experience, nonunionization means being exposed to exploitative working conditions. In this regard, he talks about advantages of union membership:

I was a union member in 1982. I was a member of Basın-İş Union. Being a union member really creates a difference but not here. If you are a union member, both your salary and off days are different. They can't call you forth in after hours. If they do, they pay accordingly. You can seek your rights, they cannot oppress you. For example I am on leave on Sunday they call you say come here, we are waiting. You work on your day off. You can't say I will not come.⁷⁴

The statements of some of the workers however show that despite the obstacles on the way of becoming unionized and although the unity among them is fragmented, they are looking for ways to fight against the exploitative conditions that they are in. For example, Vedat mentions that he has been taking the photos of the tasks forced upon him which are not defined in the contract and that he will go to a lawyer with the documents and apply to worker court:

...How many hours I gotta work by law 8 hours, providing it includes meal and tea breaks. Why you are making me work 9 hours I say. They don't pay my money for one hour. They calculate our salaries on seven and half hours but I can prove that I worked extra on the schedule. I am not paid for these now. But I have started to take measures. I record a file, I put the copies of things I have done into my file. I have my list of salaries for eight years' work. I have the signed copies of every project I have worked at my hand. For example what did I do I cleaned shaft. When I do the work instead of municipality, I give my phone to my friend to take my photos while I am cleaning. I am collecting all documents, photos. I wanted a lawyer from the law society you know what the lawyer said to me, you win the case 100% if you are determined

⁷⁴ "Sendika üyesi 82'de oldum. Basın İş Sendikasına üyeydim. Sendika üyesi olmak çok fark ediyo ama burda olmaz tabi. Sendika üyesi olunca hem maaşın fark ediyo hem izin günlerin. Seni normal çalışma saatlerin dışında çağırıyorlar. Çağırınca da ona göre ücret ödüyorlar. Haklarını arayabiliyosun ezemiyorlar seni. Diyelim Pazar günü izinliyim burda arıyorlar gel seni bekliyorlar. Boş gününde de çalışıyosun. Ben gelmiyorum diyemiyosun." (Nazım)

to sue them. He said I will make the company pay double amount of what you have worked...⁷⁵

Vedat told other workers to go to court and claim their rights but he mentions that most of them abstain to take that step. If he wins, he says, other workers might act the same way. On the other hand, a few of the interviewees mention that they have filed a complaint to Ministry of Labor but, the inspection is unsatisfactory. One of the workers who worked in a printing house says that he likes writing and tells about his journals. In those journals the aim is to transfer the experiences which one cannot learn from the books to his children. He wants his children to learn from his mistakes and to live better lives; this is why he transfers his experiences and thoughts about life:

I have been keeping a journal for 20 years. For example what I experienced, what kinda knocks I took, what I suffered from, whom I helped, whom I got help, I go to my room and write them all. Write what I experienced from the top on down...I say my life story will teach you a lot my son. Read it after I die, I say. My uncle taught me so. My uncle died. He also had a journal and I took lessons from it. This journal of mine is for 20 years...Read this notebook as much as you want you can't know anything about the life I know even if you have travelled around the world. So I am keeping this journal. This journal includes my experiences of 20 years...⁷⁶

⁷⁵ "...Benim kanunen kaç saat çalışma sürem var 8 saat, yemek ve çay molası içinde olmak şartıyla. Niye sen beni 9 saat çalıştırıyorsun diyorum. Benim 1 saatlik paramı ödemişler. Maaş yedi buçuk saat çalışmamız üzerinden hesaplanıyor ama imza çizelgesine gelince ben fazla çalıştığımı ordan ispatlayabiliyorum. Ben bunlar için şu anda bi ücret almıyorum. Ama önlemimi almaya başladım. Evde bi dosya yaptım bütün yaptığım işlerin fotokopisini çekip dosyama koyuyorum. 8 yıldır çalışmış olduğum bütün maaş bordrom elimde. Her çalıştığım projenin fotokopisi imzalı olarak elimde duruyo. Ne yaptım mesela kuyu temizlemişim. Belediyenin yapması gereken işi benmi yaptım arkadaşına veriyorum telefonumu ben burayı temizlerken çek diyorum. Bütün hepsini biriktiriyorum belgeleri, fotoğrafları. Barodan bi avukat istedim bana avukat ne dedi biliyo musun sen mahkemeye vermeye kararlıysan yüzde yüz kazanıyorsun dedi. O fazla çalıştıklarının iki katını da şirkete ödettiricem ben dedi..." (Vedat)

⁷⁶ "Günlük tutuyorum ben 20 yıldır. Mesela ne yaşadım ne gibi darbeler yedim, ne gibi acılar çektim kimlere yardım ettim kimlerden yardım gördüm odama giderim hepsini yazarım. Baştan sona geçerim yaşadıklarımı...Oğlum ben öldükten sonra bu hayat hikayem sizlere çok ders verecek diyorum. Bunu okuyun ben ölünce diyorum. Amcam da bana bu şekilde öğretti. Amcam öldü gitti. Onun da günlük defteri vardı ondan çok ders çıkardım ben. Benim bu defterim 20 senelik bi defter... Sen kitabı istediğin kadar oku istersen dünyanın her tarafını gezmiş ol benim bildiğim hayatı sen bilemezsin. Ondan yazıyorum işte bu günlüğü. 20 yıllık tecrübem var o günlükte..." (Nazım)

One of the workers tells that they can gain some of their rights if they boycott, although it does not seem possible at this moment. In this regard, expressions of him show that he has hopes for the future to claim their rights:

We gotta struggle as a team, in a unity. First of all we gotta unite. I gonna give you an example there are lots working minimum wage here. Security staff, cleaning sector or shop assistant. Lots of malls but I don't know whether they lockout and go on a strike. I mean I don't know if they knock off or not. I think there cannot be such a strike. But I am sure about if they unite there can be a change. If there were no security and cleaning here what would they do here? If we didn't work how they could pull it off. If we didn't work a day here, they would take a knock. Actually you gotta do it even with five people. In such a case there would be someone tag behind us. You had rather not to live if you don't seek your right.⁷⁷

Nurgül's statements show that she has hope to gain their rights. However, like most of the narratives, there is not one statement on how to struggle to gain their rights. She says: "Laboring already means struggling. You labor and when time comes you demand justice. I always say labor wins one way or another..."⁷⁸

2.6 The Livelihood Strategies of Workers

This part of the study focuses on livelihood strategies of workers that they adopt to survive. As Erdoğan (2007b: 78) states, livelihood strategies are not only about

⁷⁷ "Bizler mücadele etmek zorundayız ekip şeklinde, birlik olarak. Öncelikle mücadele edebilmek için bir olman lazım. Sana bi örnek veriyim buralarda asgari ücretle çalışan çok. Güvenlik olsun, temizlik sektörü olsun, mağaza çalışanı olsun. Birsürü AVM var ama bilmiyorum işi bırakıpda Kızılayda boykot ederler mi. İş durdururlar mı yani bilmiyorum. Bence böyle bi boykot olmaz. Ama şundan eminim böyle bi birlik olsa bişeler olur. Burda temizlik olmadı mı güvenlik olmadı mı burayı napacaklar. Bu işler kolay işler değil görüldüğü gibi değil. Bizler çalışmasak altından nası kalkacaklar. Biz burda bi gün çalışmasak bunlar çok büyük zarar eder. Aslında 5 kişiyle bile olsa bunu yapmak zorundasın. Öyle bi durumda arkamızdan gelenler olur. Hakkını savunmuycaksan hiç yaşama daha iyi." (Ceyhun)

⁷⁸ "Emek vermek zaten mücadele. Sen emeğini vereceksin yeri geldiğinde de hakkını savunacaksın. Ben her zaman söylüyorum emek öyle ya da böyle her zaman kazanır..." (Nurgül)

financial sources like income and nourishment but covers daily life practices as a whole.

Apparently, most of the workers struggle to create opportunities for livelihoods within the capitalist economy. It seems that having an extra work has an essential part in cleaning workers' livelihood strategies. While almost all of the male workers said that they are going to shops for cleaning, it is seen that women do not have extra works. According to Zeki he is supposed to do extra work to provide the subsistence of his family: "We can't make a living unless we work extra...I have 200 million liras after I put the money for vital needs aside...So what you do, you barely complete the month working extra. Unless I work extra I can't make a living with 200 million liras..."⁷⁹ Just like all the other male workers, Vedat works hard to maintain his family: "I work day and night to remedy my financial conditions. Sometimes I come to work with my eyes get bloodshot...I feel as someone put lots of needles into my eyes...Sometimes I work without sleeping."⁸⁰

Without overspending, trying only to supply the basic needs has become one of the subsistence strategies of the workers. As most of the other interviewed workers, Mustafa mentions that they try to support themselves without spending for entertainment or travel:

We are trying to make both ends meet. Some part of the salary we take is spent for road toll and the other part for cigarette. I run out of money quickly. In this day and age making a living with minimum wage is a success. ..Let's say I use annual leave, there is no money how I can go somewhere. You just sit at home. My elder sister and her husband live in

⁷⁹ "...Ek iş yapmasak geçinemiyoruz...Evin zorunlu ihtiyaçlarını bi kenara ayırdıktan sonra elimde 200 milyon para kalıyo... Ne yapıyosun bu sefer ekstra işlere giderek ayın sonunu getiriyosun. Ekstraya gitmesem kalan 200 lirayla geçinemem..." (Zeki)

⁸⁰ "Gece gündüz çalışıyorum ekonomik durumumu düzeltmek için. Bazen gözlerim kan çanağına dönmüş şekilde geliyorum işe. Gözlerimin içine birsürü iğne doldurmuşlar gibi hissediyorum...Uyumadan çalıştığım oluyo." (Vedat)

Antalya; I can't even go and visit them. I saw the sea when I went into army. I haven't seen the sea since then...⁸¹

Clearly, leisure activities of workers are restricted by their income level. In this regard, spending their off-days at home has also become one of the subsistence strategies. The struggle to make a living becomes main concern of the workers. As Ceyhun says: "...I spend my day off at home. I mean you can't go out hanging out with friends. We can neither afford it nor have time for it. People working here have no social life..."⁸²

Although it is known that traditional networks of solidarity has been damaged, it is possible to find traces of solidarity in the expressions of workers (Nichols and Suğur, 2005). In this regard, solidarity between relatives contributes to subsistence strategies of some workers. İsmail mentions the contribution of cooperation with his family on his income: "...sometimes I take money when I am caught short. My father is supporting us. I mean who has money gives it. We support each other within the family or it is hard to make a living. ..It would be hard if we didn't support each other, we get by supporting each other."⁸³ Also Fatma states that their relatives meet their basic food needs. This situation contributes a lot on Fatma's income: "We are trying to make both ends meet....My

⁸¹ "Kıt kanaat geçinmeye çalışıyoruz. Aldığımız maaşın bi kısmı yol parasına, bi kısmı sigara parasına gidiyo zaten. Maaşımı alıyorum sağ cebimdekini sol cebim görmüyo. Bu zamanda asgari ücretle geçinebilmek gerçekten büyük başarı...Ben senelik iznime çıktım diyelim, para yokki bi yere gidesin. Oturuyosun evde. Ablamla eniştem Antalya'da yaşıyo onların yanına bile gidemiyoruz. Ben hayatımda hiç tatile gitmedim. Denizi de askere gittiğimde gördüm. Bi daha deniz meniz görmedim ben..." (Mustafa)

⁸² "... evde geçiriyorum boş günümü. Yani çıkıyım biraz arkadaşlarla dolaşımı diyemiyosun. Buna hem zamanımız hem ekonomik gücümüz yok. Bizim burda çalışanların sosyal hayatı olmaz..." (Ceyhun)

⁸³ "...Bazen babamdan da alıyom yetmeyince. Babam da destek oluyo bize. Yani kimde varsa o veriyo. Aile içinde birbirimize destek oluyoz yoksa zor geçinmek...Birbirimize destek olmasak zorda böyle birbirimize destek olup idare ediyoz işte." (İsmail)

husband's family sends all our wintery food from their hometown. They send everything from the village. This relieves us somewhat.”⁸⁴

Working outside the home mean contribution to the household budget for women rather than feel of independent and safe. Experiencing economic difficulties in recent years, women have gone out to work. Especially, education cost of their children and credit debts forced them for breadwinning (Scott, 1990). In this regard, including women in work life has become one of the subsistence strategies (Bora, 2007). Filiz stated that being obliged to go out to work was unimaginable for her. However, she is supposed to contribute to subsistence of her family:

...Making both ends meet with minimum wage is quite hard. We don't have any extra expense. We can't go outside anywhere. Still we can't make a living. After the house loan it got worse to make a living. So I had to work. The kids have grown up, we can't afford school costs. Making a living in this day and age is not easy at all. I gotta work here or we are caught short...Back in the day we never thought about it, we marry our husband looks after, we said. This is my sixth year here. Sometimes I can't believe I have been here for 6 years...⁸⁵

Also Ayten states that changes in living conditions force women to work outside the home: “Just we can't make a living if I don't work...The days that we said my husband works and I will be a housewife are bygone...how I can say that I'm not gonna work, my husband brings home the bacon...”⁸⁶

⁸⁴ “Geçinmeye çalışıyoruz işte...Eşimin ailesi de memleketlerinden bizim bütün kışlıkları gönderiyo. Köyden herşeyimiz geliyo. O da baya ferahlatıyo bizi.” (Fatma)

⁸⁵ “...Asgari ücretle geçinmek çok zor. Ekstra hiçbi harcamamız yok. Hiçbi yere gezmeye gittiğimiz yok. Buna rağmen geçinmiyoruz. Evin kredi borcu olunca hiç geçinemez olduk. O zaman benim çalışmam gerekti. Çocuklar da büyüdü onların okul masraflarına yetişemez olduk. Bu zamanda geçinmek hiç kolay değil. Burda mecbur çalışıyom yetmiyo yoksa... Zamanında hiç düşünmemiştik biz evleniriz eşimiz bize bakar demişiz. Burda 6.yılıım. 6 yıldır burda olduğuma inanamiyom bazen...” (Filiz)

⁸⁶ “...Şimdi ben çalışsam geçinmeyiz...Artık öyle kocam çalışsın ben evimin hanımı oluyum denilen günler eskide kalmış...nası diyicen ben çalışmıyım kocam evi geçindirsin...” (Ayten)

While most of the male workers working at noon shift stated that they go to cleaning jobs to the shops in the mall for extra work, workers working at morning shift stated that hours are not suitable for them to go to the shops, thus they work at other jobs like open markets or painting after their shifts. On the other hand most of the women aimed to contribute to the family budget by making things at home at the beginning but due to financial difficulties, they began cleaning other people's houses for a few days a week. They thought they could spare more time to their responsibilities at home by working only a few days a week but due to negative experiences about being a charwoman and financial difficulties they began looking for a new job. In this regard, while financial difficulties force men to take extra jobs, they force women to find a job in addition to their responsibilities at home.

2.7 Concluding Remarks

It is observed that all of the interviewees worry about working and social conditions. It is possible to talk about an accumulation of anger felt by the workers towards working and living conditions. Although they do not internalize their position on the face of social inequality, they do not intend to take a step towards a collective action soon. Their fear of not being able to find another job in case they lose their current job, lack of union organization and chiefs' actions to smash the union among workers are barriers in front of the possibility of building a class consciousness and this situation cause them to act hesitantly while defending their rights in hierarchical relations.

Workers mentioned occasions between them and chiefs which upset them; it is seen that they resent. However, it is observed that they respond to these occasions not through an anger directed outside but towards inside like crying or reflecting these problems in their family relations. Most of the workers mentioned that their troubles at work are reflected on their family relations and that these troubles cause health problems. On the other hand, in order to survive within capitalist economy, workers use various subsistence strategies, some of which are solidarity

among relatives, women's beginning to work outside home and men's taking extra jobs. While men consider supporting themselves more and take extra jobs, women take the responsibility of cleaning and childcare, which are already socially attributed to women.

Although workers do not develop commitment towards their job, they state that most of the time they respond by acting indifferent or trying to handle on the face of humiliating treatment of the chiefs in fear of losing their jobs and not being able to find a new one. Despite this, it is also observed that some of the workers had to change their jobs within a short period of time. Moreover although the workers do not have a strong class consciousness, it is seen that they are aware of the class benefits. Although it is seen that the workers are separated strictly, they also have important emphasis showing that they can fight for their rights together.

It can be claimed that workers are subject to a despotic labor regime through deprivation of union rights, fragmentation of the unity among them and constant pressure and control mechanisms. On the other hand, workers' efforts to survive under unsecured working conditions and to adjust these conditions in fear of losing their jobs reproduce the conditions of oppression.

CHAPTER 3

EXPERIENCING CLASS DIFFERENCES IN ENCOUNTER WITH CUSTOMERS

Social and economic inequalities experienced by the cleaning workers in their encounter with the customers, whether workers develop sense of deprivation before rich customers and images of wealth presented by the malls, and how workers classify the customers visiting the malls are analyzed in this chapter. Experiences of the workers depending on gender roles, their subsistence strategies and how they interpret social inequalities and political issues are also among the issues briefly analyzed with reference to workers' own narratives.

3.1 Workers' Demand for Respect and Experience of Class Differences

Shopping malls have become a signifier of luxurious and modern environments for customers and it feeds imagination of them for better lifestyles (Durakbaşı and Cindođlu, 2002: 81). On the other hand for the cleaning workers, who remove dirt to ensure this wealth images, malls are the places that they never come except working days. They tell reasons of that from various aspects. Leyla, for instance, says: "...I would never come here if I were sitting at home. What will I do here? But I get that for customers, those who have money, it is a nice place. For people like us, there is nothing to do here."⁸⁷ Also, expressions of İsmail indicates that he feels like an outsider in shopping malls, even if he works there: "I come here only to work. Otherwise why would I be here? It is also very far. These places are different. What I mean is the atmosphere. Rich people come here. People from our

⁸⁷ "...evde oturuyo olsam asla gelmem böyle yerlere. Buralarda ne yapıcım... Ama tabi müşteriler için, parası olanlar için cezbedici yerler olabilir. Bizim gibiler için hiç gelinmiyecek yerler." (Leyla)

neighborhood wouldn't come here. I only come because I have to. We are not used to such places. What do I mean; I mean the atmosphere is different."⁸⁸

It is seen that workers experience their class differences when they arrive to neighborhoods where the shopping malls are situated, addressing to middle and upper classes. On the other hand workers experience their own class differences in their encounter with the customers. Some of the workers frequently emphasized that they are not respected in their relations with both the customers and the management. In this respect, Skeggs' (1997:1) discussion of respectability in class relations is significant to be cited here again. According to her:

Respectability is one of the most ubiquitous signifiers of class. It informs how we speak, who we speak to, how we classify others, what we study and how we know who we are (or are not). Respectability is usually the concern of those who are not seen to have it. Respectability would not be concern here, if the working classes had not consistently been classified as dangerous, polluting, threatening, revolutionary, pathological and without respect. It would not be something to desire, to prove and to achieve, if it had not been seen to be a property of 'others', those who were valued and legitimated.

It is observed that the workers, who define their job as "unappreciated," worry about respect. Animal images mentioned in narratives of poor – subalterns in Erdoğan's (2007b: 64) study can be seen in the narratives of the cleaning workers while describing the way the customers perceive them. In this case it is seen that some workers use animal images while defining how the customers view them:

It is very sad that you put all that effort and it is not respected. But there is nothing to do. We put that platform and climb up to clean windows. You know sometimes customers leaving the mall stop and watch us. Normally they don't show respect to what you are doing but when they

⁸⁸ "Buralara işim var diye geliyom. Yoksa bizim buralarda ne işimiz var. Uzak zaten. Buralar farklı bizim oralardan. Yani nasıl mesela ortam farklı. Zengin insanlar geliyo buralara. Bizim ordakiler gelmez. Bende mecbur olduğum için geliyom... Biz alışmamışız böyle yerlere..." (İsmail)

see you like that they just stop and watch. It must be amusing to them, we being circus monkeys playing up there.⁸⁹

In the narratives of the interviewees it is emphasized that their job is considered as “low” by the customers. Not being respected by the customers makes the workers feel worthless. Ersan, for instance, thinks that the customers scorn their job: “...In society, cleaning workers are not regarded with respect. It is looked down upon. You feel you are humiliated. When you walk into this mall you see everywhere is clean but they don’t care that you are the one who is doing it.”⁹⁰ Similarly, Filiz complains about the lack of respect for their job: “...so many disrespectful people. I just cannot say anything to some you know there are some people who kick the toilet seat to raise it. They don’t think if there is someone cleaning here afterwards.”⁹¹

As we can see in the narratives of some workers, they feel worthless in the eyes of customers. Experiencing this criticism in the eyes of customers, workers tend to justify their own presence. Fatma’s statements show the resentment felt by the workers who realize what they do for a living is not appreciated:

The complaints never end. They must think we are robots. I mean they forget you are also a human being... Do you even know what my job is? I am running to all those things at the same time. I just don’t get it sometimes; ask myself what kind of people are they. I mean there are some people who are inhuman. Just because you come here to work, they look down on you ...⁹²

⁸⁹ “Sonuçta bu kadar emek verip emeğine saygı gösterilmemesi üzücü. Ama yapacak bişe yok. Biz örümceği kurup camları silmek için çıkıyoruz. İşte AVMden çıkan müşteriler geçip seyrediyolar bazen. Normalde yaptığın işe bi saygıları yok ama öyle olunca merak ediyolar geçip seyrediyolar. Biz maymunuz orda oynuyoruz ya eğlenceli geliyo heralde.” (Mustafa)

⁹⁰ “...Toplumda temizlik işçisine iyi bakılmıyo. Aşağı bi iş olarak bakılıyo. Küçümsendiğini hissediyosun. Şu alışveriş merkezine girildiğinde insanlar her tarafı temiz buluyo ama bunu senin yapmanı önemsemiyo açıkçası...” (Ersan)

⁹¹ “...o kadar saygısız insanlar varki. Bazılarına hiç bişe diyemiyom ayağını vurup klozete ayağıyla kaldırıyo. Arkamdaki insan da burayı temizliyecek diye hiç düşünmüyo.” (Filiz)

⁹² “Şikayetleri hiç bitmiyo. Heralde robot sanıyolar diyorum bazen. Yani senin de insan olduğunu bunlar unuttuyo...Sen benim yaptığım işi biliyomusunki? Aynı anda birsürü işe koşuyorum. Ben

The managers' over protection of customers' rights cause workers to feel worthless and offended. Cleaning companies and mall management emphasize that "customer is always right" and the work of cleaning should be evaluated as a "professional service". Under these circumstances, cleaning worker experience his/her always being unfair in the face of humiliating attitudes of customers. When the workers were asked about their actions upon facing offending treatments from customers, most of them said that they have to stay silent and cannot defend themselves. Because of the low status of the workers, they always end up in the wrong. In this regard, workers' low status results in damage to their dignity.

In the interviews some of the workers complain that they lack the right of self-defense when the customers use insulting statements. Filiz mentions that she feels sorry since the workers do not have any rights against degrading words and attitudes of the customers: "...Customer is always right, so they say. They say they are patrons. Then what are we? The workers don't have any rights. They don't see our rights. The customer insults you, humiliates you but you can't say a single thing. It saddens me a lot, this whole thing."⁹³ Nurgül says: "You have to put up with everything because you are a worker. The customer is always right! They know it very well that you are right but the customer still right"⁹⁴. Apparently workers feel worthless when they are supposed to make customers feel like they are right, even if they are wrong. Some of the workers mention that they feel humiliated in the face of injustices: "When something happens they say

bazen anlamıyorum bunlar nasıl insanlar diyorum. Yani insanlıktan nasibini almamışlar var. Şuraya gelmiş çalışıyorsun diye seni aşağı görüyorlar..." (Fatma)

⁹³ "...Müşteri daima haklıdır diyorlar. Velinimetimizdir diyorlar. Biz neyiz peki? İşçinin hiçbi hakkı yok. İşçilerin haklarını görmüyorlar. Müşteri hakaretler ediyö, aşağılıyo seni ama sen sesini çıkaramıyosun. Böyle olması beni çok üzüyo." (Filiz)

⁹⁴ "Çalışan olduğun için alttan almak zorundasın. Her zaman müşteri haklıdır! Senin haklı olduğunu bilenler çok iyi bilir ama yine de müşteri haklıdır." (Nurgül)

customer is right! I mean no one cares whether you are offended, feel degraded... You don't have any rights against a customer in here...”⁹⁵

These narratives of the workers show that they experience class relations as a matter of self-respect. Although the management put pressure on the workers to keep the customers content constantly, it is observed that the workers consider it unjust and that they do not acknowledge it. The workers experience their job as heavy and renunciating; this also raises their need for respect.

On the other hand, similar to those of cleaning workers in the study of Brody (2006: 112), “dirt” becomes a signifier of class difference in narratives of interviewed workers in this study. Even if workers are responsible to maintain hygiene of shopping malls, sometimes their presence becomes a threat to the cleanliness of customers. According to Özyeğin’s (2002: 51) research, which focuses on connections between domestic labor and inequalities based on gender and class dynamics, urban classes, especially members of the middle class are concerned with the confusion of their class boundaries. As she states, fear of pollution and concern of keeping boundaries stems from a particular class insecurity. In this regard, fear of pollution reinforces “symbolic distancing vocabulary”.

Erdoğan’s (2000) discussion concerning the fear of contact between social classes can also be applicable to the class experiences of cleaning workers in this study. He talks about the fear of contact of the “higher” classes with the “lower” classes. He attracts attention to the paradox where the hygiene related jobs are performed by lower classes that are defined as dirty, unhealthy and dangerous. “Symbolic violence” of this experienced class difference becomes clear in narratives of some interviewed cleaning workers (Erdoğan, 2007a: 39). An occasion between Filiz

⁹⁵ “Bişe olsa müşteri haklıdır her zaman diyolar. Yani sen orda rencide olmuşsun gururun kırılmış kimse bunu düşünmüyöki. Senin burda müşteri karşısında hiçbi hakkın yok...” (Ceyhan)

and the customer can be given as an example to indicate this relation between the two:

The other day there was a customer walking past me. She was wearing a headscarf. The mop hit her feet accidentally while I was mopping the floor. She said look where you are going stupid, she started insulting. I said madam I didn't mean it and I apologized. But again she said you nullified my ablution you moron, dirtbag. You people are always like this, she said. You are all inhumane, said the woman. She went on to insult me. You splashed dirty water on my feet, she said. "You will not get my blessings in this holy day!" Oh and the rest of the things she said, you had to hear her. What blessing is she talking about? Why would I need her blessings, she is the one who will not get my blessings. What did she do for me? I am the one who is cleaning their mess. And then she said she was gonna complain to my supervisor. And she did. She made my supervisor promise that I will be punished. She made him swear on the holy night. I cried so much on that day, I was feeling really upset...⁹⁶

Also, experience of Nazım is similar to that of Filiz. Nazım's words state the discomfort of the customers from touching the cleaning workers: "The other day, my shoulder touched a woman's shoulder. I had this bucket in my hand and I told her madam I am sorry it as an accident. We bumped into each other because I didn't see you walking out of the aisle. But she said "How vulgar you are! I don't need your apology!" There are such people out there. You can't find anything to say..."⁹⁷ Workers' comments show their awareness of the negative values associated with lower class. In this regard, Sevgi summarizes the general feelings of these cleaning workers: "...Ours is the least respected job in this shopping

⁹⁶ "Geçen gün bi müşteri geçiyodu yanımdan. Türbanlı bi kadındı. Ben mop yaparken mop ayağına çarptı. Önüne baksana gerizekalı aptal dedi hakaretler etmeye başladı. Hanımefendi kusura bakmayın dedim isteyerek olmadı dedim. Abdestimi bozdun gerizekalı adi pislik dedi yine. Sizin gibiler hep böyle dedi. İnsanlıktan anlamazsınız dedi. Hakaretler etti birsürü. Ayağıma pis su sıçrattın dedi. Mübarek gün bugün sana hakkımı helal etmiyorum dedi. Ama ne laflar duysan. Onun bana ne hakkı olacak buraların pisliğini temizleyen benim. Bana ne yaptın sen olsa olsa benim sana hakkım geçmiştir. Şefine şikayet edicem seni dedi. Sonra gidip beni şefe şikayet etmiş. Şefe yemin ettirmiş bana ceza vermesi için bugün kandil söz ver cezalandıracağına demiş. Ben çok ağladım o gün sinirlerim bozuldu..." (Filiz)

⁹⁷ "Geçenlerde geçerken benim omzum bi bayanın omzuna değdi. Bi elimde kova vardı hanımefendi kusura bakmayın isteyerek olmadı dedim. Bi anda siz çıkınca çarpıştık özür dilerim dedim. Terbiyesize bak bide özür diliyo dedi. Öyle insanlar da var. Bişe diyemiyosun..." (Nazım)

mall. You are just someone who is dealing with all the dirt. You are working in dirt. They look at us and all they see is dirt. Recently, there was this woman at the restroom; she was trying so hard not to touch me. She touched my clothes accidentally while she was walking by, and she looked at me sniffily. O saw that look.”⁹⁸ When the workers were asked if there has been an occasion with the customers that they remember, it is possible to find similar answers about how the customers feel uncomfortable about touching the workers and that they worry about getting dirty.

Class relations are also experienced as smell relations. In this regard, Erdoğan (2010a) draws attention to the significance of “smell relations” between social classes. As he states, “we know that class relations are also exploitation relations, as well as smell relations. Repulsion from the smell of lower classes, fear of contact and hygiene obsession has a considerable place in the history of Western Europe’s class relations”. This class relation asserted by Erdoğan (2010a) is explicit in the accounts of a few interviewed cleaning workers. It is possible to see in the expressions of workers that this situation is experienced as a “class wound”. According to İsmail, customers think that the workers stink and look dirty: “Customers wouldn’t think my job as a clean one... They must say it stinks. Oh that is stinking, they must say. They must be seeing dirty and messy clothes when they look at us. They come here with their nice, clean clothes, I think they must be looking down on us...”⁹⁹

Expressions of some interviewed workers reveal that they are concerned about their appearance in encounter with customers. As Skeggs (1997, 82) states, class

⁹⁸ “...Şu alışveriş merkezinde en düşük görülen iş bizimki. Buraların pisliğini temizleyen kişinin bundan öte bişe değilsin. Pis bi işle içiçesin. Üstümüzü başımızı da pis görüyolar. Geçen bi kadın bana değicek diye ödü koptu. Tuvalette şöyle ufaktan bi deydi beni görmeyip, şöyle bi küçümseyerek baktı üstüme başıma. Fark ettim onu.” (Sevgi)

⁹⁹ “Müşteri benim yaptığım işi iyi görmezki...Kokuyo diyolardır. Ne biçim kokuyo bu diyodur. Bakınca pis görüyodur bizi. Üstü başı pis diyolardır. Müşteriler güzel temiz giyinip geliyo buralara bizi küçümserler diye düşünüyom ben...” (İsmail)

distinctions are produced through bodies and appearance. Appearance of individuals expresses differences and becomes the marker of social positions (Bourdieu, 2002: 192). In this context, clothing functions as a signifier of distinctions and respectability (Skeggs, 1997: 85). Fatma's statements put forward that she experiences her own class in front of the customers with nice outfits: "They come here with their fancy clothes. Hair done, coming in here in all that bling bling. She is not there to work; she is there to walk around. She left her house all dressed up."¹⁰⁰ On the other hand, some of the workers do not accept that the customers find them dirty; although they are cleaners they care for their outfit. Ayşe says: "...OK, I get that you are doing alright and dressing up real fancy, but I am also taking care of what I wear. I try to keep them clean, am I right?"¹⁰¹

There is also a counter view which argues that wearing nice outfits and having expensive stuff do not always indicate wealth. A few of the workers mention that appearance is not enough to guess one's financial situation: "...even those who are in bad shape financially try to seem they are doing well. You don't understand who is what anymore. You just can't solve that. It is hard to figure out those beggars on the street. Everyone tries to disguise themselves"¹⁰² Similarly, Mustafa says: "There we have a bunch of wannabes. You know he is not rich or something but he is still holding the latest cellphone..."¹⁰³

¹⁰⁰ "E onun üstü başı pırlı pırlı. Saçlar yapılmış takmış takıştırmış gelmiş. Oraya iş yapmaya gelmemişki gzmeye gelmiş. Evden giyinip süslenip çıkmış." (Fatma)

¹⁰¹ "...tamam durumun iyi güzel giyiniyosun ama bende burda üstüme başıma dikkat ediyorum temiz kalması için. Öyle değil mi sonuçta?" (Ayşe)

¹⁰² "...maddi olarak durumu kötü olan da kendini iyi göstermeye çalışıyo. Anlayamıyosun kimin ne olduğunu. Çözemiyo artık. Sokaktaki dilencilerin bile ne olduğunu çözmek çok zor. Herkes bambaşka kılıklara giriyo." (Ceyhun)

¹⁰³ "Bizde özentide çok. Mesela maddi durumu iyi olmasada bakıyosun elinde son model bi telefon..." (Mustafa)

On the other hand, the image of danger, linked to the lower class, is turned into an issue of trust in the relationship between the workers and the customers. As Can (2007: 190) states, “the state of necessity of the lower classes is turning into a problem of building up trust”. In this regard, for the cleaning workers who attach a lot of importance on moral values, being held responsible for customers’ lost properties is humiliating. A few of the interviewed workers complained about their being blamed for customers’ lost precious goods. Fatma mentions that she feels sorry since the cleaning workers are held responsible for customers’ lost properties: “...I clean the toilets, I do that and this one customer, and she took her ring off while she was washing her hands and forgot it there. She came running to the toilets. She asks me ‘where is my ring?’ Think about it, you come here to work and you are held responsible for everything...”¹⁰⁴ Zeki also recalls a similar event: “...for example, one day a customer came to the food court in the morning and left for home. He realizes he forgot his cellphone at the mall after 5 hours. He is asking me where his phone is. All those people passing by there during those hours... And yet you are still the one who is responsible...”¹⁰⁵

As it can be seen from the narratives of the workers the problem of respect between the lower and higher classes is experienced in different ways in workers’ relations with the management and the customers. Workers clearly state that customers scorn their job and have worries about touching the workers; workers state that they are not respected in front of the customers. It is seen that workers worry about the issue of respect and they expect customers to respect their job which they define as renunciant.

¹⁰⁴ “...ben tuvaletleri temizliyorum ya bi müşteri elini yıkarken yüzüğünü çıkarmış lavabonun kenarına koymuş unutmuş gitmiş. Sonra hatırlayıp koşa koşa gelmiş. Yüzüğüm nerde dedi bana?...Çalışmaya gelmişsin şurda her kaybolan şeyden sorumlusun düşün...” (Fatma)

¹⁰⁵ “...Mesela bi gün müşteri sabah gelmiş yemek katında oturmuş evine gitmiş. Beş saat sonra cep telefonunu AVMde unuttuğunu fark etmiş. Ben telefonumu unutmuşum nerde diyo. Şimdi o saate kadar burdan birsürü insan gelip geçiyo. Ama suçlu direk sen oluyosun ...” (Zeki)

Gürbilek (2008: 30) draws attention to the fear of disdain, which actually accompanies the wish to be seen. According to her, “a part of him wanted to be seen, the other part, however, is aware of the fact that he is scorned when he is seen”. For the cleaning worker who mostly feels humiliated in his/her relationship with the customers, “doing his/her job quietly” and “stay out of sight” becomes a coping strategy. Vedat tells he does not expect customers to appreciate his work, he simply wants to do his job and go home:

I don't really care about the customer to be honest. What is gonna happen even if you have a contact with the customers is he going to appreciate what you do? You don't have any value for them. What you do doesn't count for them. You see that in time. I am telling you don't wear yourself out for that in vain. I mean cleaning works are seen as the lowest. You just accept those when you start working. I do what I do without even thinking and then I go home. I don't deal with the rest.¹⁰⁶

Cleaning workers are expected to make themselves imperceptible in the work environment. In this respect, the labor force must remain invisible not to diminish modern and sanitary fictions of shopping malls (Aguilar and Herod, 2006: 14). According to Zeki, some cleaning works in malls need to be done at night not to disturb customers. In this regard, statements of Zeki attract attention to the discomfort created by cleaning in sight of the customers:

It is the night time that real work is done at a mall. The morning routine is like the finishing touches for the night work... Most of the hard work is done at night... customers don't like to see you working all the time in front of their eyes. They don't see it but lots of workers are here working at night. When they come in the morning, it is all very clean everywhere but that is because we all are working here nightlong...¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁶ “Müşteriler pek umurumda değil açıkçası. Müşteriyle ilişkin olsa nolucakki yaptığım işi mi takdir edicek. Onların gözünde hiçbi değer yok. Yaptığım işin hiçbi değeri yok. Bunu zaten yıllar içinde görüyorsun. O yüzden bu konuda kendini yormak boşuna. Zaten temizlik işçiliği en alt seviyedeki bi iş olarak görülüyö. İşe başlarken bunları kabul ederek başlıyorsun. Ben sessiz sakin işimi yapıp gidiyorum. Gerisiyle ilgilenmiyorum zaten.” (Vedat)

¹⁰⁷ “AVMlerde asıl iş gece yapılır. Sabah yapılanlar gece yapılanların rötuşu gibidir... Yani ağır işlerin çoğu gece yapılır... Müşteri senin sürekli onların gözü önünde iş yapmanı istemez. Müşteriler sabah geldiklerinde görmezler ama gece boyu birsürü işçi çalışıyo bu AVM'de. Sabah geldiklerinde her yer temiz oluyo ama işte bizler sabaha kadar çalıştığımız için...” (Zeki)

With reference to Dostoyevski, Gürbilek (2008: 33) states that “domination arises from not only being seen or being looked down but also from not being seen”. Apparently, some cleaning workers witness to their “invisibility” in encounter with customers. Their presence does not matter, unless they disrupt shopping fantasies of middle and upper classes (Aguiar and Herod, 2006: 12). Ayten tells customers do not care about workers unless they have complaints: “We never talk to the customers. I don’t want to contact with them ever... Anyway they aren’t interested in us either. They don’t see us as long as we do our job. You don’t deal with them unless they have a complaint...”¹⁰⁸

Erdoğan’s (2012) interview with a cleaning worker also signs to “invisibility” of cleaning workers, working in shopping malls. In the interview cleaning worker Kemal attracts attention to the invisibility of the workers for the customers. Kemal did say: “In any case we only face the customer when we do something to draw their attention. Otherwise we just step aside when they are coming towards, and then walk by. They don’t notice us anyway. They don’t even see. Because we aren’t there in the eyes of the customers. We are only there when we do something different. That’s how it is.”¹⁰⁹ Besides smell, touching, dirtiness and danger relations, it is also observed that not seeing reproduces class inequalities. In this context, class relation between the customers and workers is experienced as a relation of mutual rejection to see, similar to the discussions of the narrations of the urban poor in Erdoğan’s (2007b: 51) study.

¹⁰⁸ “Öyle hiç konuşmuyoz müşteriyle. Müşteriyle görüşmek istemiyom hiç...Zaten onlar da ilgilenmiyo bizimle. Sen işini yaptığın sürece ilgilenmiyolar seninle. Bi şikâyetleri olmayınca muhatap olmuyosun...” (Ayten)

¹⁰⁹“zaten müşteriyle çalışma alanında onun dikkatini çekecek bi hareket yaptığımızda karşılaşıyoruz. Yoksa müşteri karşıdan gelirken kenara çekiliriz; geçer gider. Zaten o anda bizi görmez. Görmüyo bile. Çünkü biz müşterinin gözünde orda yokuz zaten. Ancak onun dikkatini çekecek bi davranışta bulduysak görüyo. Genelde böyle.” (Kemal)

3.2 Experiencing Sense of Deprivation

Expressions of workers tell that they experience sense of deprivation in encounter with customers who have high purchasing power and in the face of malls' brilliant images of wealth. When Nurgül was asked what she feels when she encounters with customers with high purchasing power, she told that when she first started working she was curious about customers' lives; yet she overcame the discomfort created by this situation by giving up thinking about these things: "Well when I first started I felt my heart sink. I was thinking how come they are so comfortable when we are doing these works... And then I would think of their lives. I would think how they lived, where they lived, what they did for money. I used to wonder at times..."¹¹⁰ It is also seen that the workers intensely experience the inequality related to the life-style differences between themselves and the customers. Serhat says if he had money, he would come to malls with his family just like customers do:

I guess I would come here too if I had money. But it is not possible under these conditions. I work minimum wage. How many times can I actually come here? If I came here three times in a row, in the fourth I would be in debt. I would have to stay hungry for two months. They come here with their kids and they go to playgrounds, bowling, eating and the cinema and so on, once you enter you can not exit. I could never afford all these if I brought my kids with me. People come and spend all that money walking out here; I say we don't have any money...¹¹¹

Expressions of some workers reveal that they feel offended in the face of economic and social inequalities that they experience in working days. Concerts

¹¹⁰ "Hani ilk başladığımda içim eziliyordu. Bunlar böyle rahatken biz niye bu işleri yapıyoruz diyodum... Sonra onların hayatını düşünüyodum. Nası hayatları vardır diye, nerelerde oturuyolardır, ne iş yapıyolardır diye. Merak ettiğim oluyodu..." (Nurgül)

¹¹¹ "Param olsa belki ben de gelirdim. Ama bu koşullarda mümkün değil. Ben asgari ücretle çalışıyorum. Ben buraya kaç sefer gelebilirim? Buraya üç kere gelmeye kalksam dördüncü bütçemi sarsar. Dördüncü sefer gelsem iki ay aç kalırım. Mesela geliyolar çocuklarıyla oyun parkıydı, bowlingiydi, yemeği, sinemasıydı şuydu buydu çıkamazsın burdan. Çocukları alsan gelsen imkansız karşılayamazsın. İnsanlar geliyo bu kadar para harcıyo geziyo tozuyo demekki bizde para yok diyorum..." (Serhat)

organized right next to the mall cause the workers to experience this inequality over again. The statements of some of the workers reveal the surprise and anger felt by the workers who see how much time and money the customers spend on entertainment. Ceyhun's resentment towards inequalities shows that he could not naturalize this situation:

They come here and walk around and have fun while you are working, you are always working. Who is to blame? I think the government. There are some people who have 4 off days in a month. And what do we do? We leave home at 8 in the morning and work until 10 in the evening. We don't have a social life. We don't have the money or time to go out. They say there is hunger in Turkey. They sold 30,000 tickets for the Tarkan concert. They cost a pretty penny but so many people could find money to buy those tickets. It costs around 200 liras or something. Imagine they give all that money to a concert. And then there is another one, Murat Boz. They are giving away concert tickets to shoppers. You just say to yourself how can these people buy so many things? In this country, the rich is always rich, and the poor always stays poor. There is no such thing as equality.¹¹²

On the other hand, one of the workers who used to work in the food court mentions that the money spent by the customers on food is a considerable amount for her income. She stated her anger towards customers' extravagant expenses:

...I dumped a whole untouched meal when I was a busser. It costs at least 15 liras. That person spends 50-60 liras on some foods they like and I work for three days to earn that much money. And than they go and throw it all to waste, how is this normal? I just get really pissed off when I see such things.¹¹³

¹¹² "Onlar geliyo geziyo eğleniyo sen sürekli çalışıyosun, sürekli çalışıyosun. Buda kimin suçu devletin suçu bence. Ayda dört gün izinleri olanlar var. Biz ne yapıyoruz sabah 8'de çıkıyoruz akşam 10'a kadar çalışıyoruz. Sosyal hayat diye bişe yokki bizde. Gezecek ne zaman var ne para var bizde...Türkiye'de açlık var diyorlar. Şurda Tarkan konserine 30.000 bilet satılmış. Çok pahalı oluyo o biletler ama o kadar insan konsere bile para bulabilmiş. Bilet 200 milyon mu neymiş. Düşün o parayı konsere verebiliyorlar. Bide Murat Boz mu ne varmış. Alışveriş yapana bilet veriyolarmış. Bu insanlar nasıl bu kadar alışveriş yapıyo diyosun. Bu ülkede zengin her zaman zengin fakir her zaman ezilen olarak kalıyo. Yani eşitlik diye bişe yok." (Ceyhun)

¹¹³ "...Ben komilik yaparken dokunulmamış yemek döktüm çöpe. Yemek zaten en kötü 15 milyon. O insan canının istediği bi yemeğe 50-60 lira harcıyo ve ben o parayı kazanmak için üç gün çalışıyorum. O insan tutuyo yemeği çöpe atıyo var mı böyle bi şey? İşte bunları görünce sinirleniyorum." (Bahar)

The narratives of the interviewees indicate that they cannot understand the customers' lavish expenses. Most of the workers state that they are curious about what kind of jobs the customers have to spend that much money comfortably and to have that much leisure time. Ceyhun for instance mentions he wonders what the customers do for a living: "...see, I am just trying to figure out if this customer is here wandering all the time when and where do they go to work? And if they are not working how do they spend so much on shopping? I mean where do they get the money? They throw that money around eating out going out, OK, I got it but what is the source of their money?..."¹¹⁴ Zeki says that level of income of the customers is high but he cannot guess where they work: "Well I got no idea what they do for life. They come here and eat burgers and toasts. So you just think they must be doing well. Must be so since they come here for shopping all the time..."¹¹⁵ Similarly, Canan's statements show that she tries to understand the relationship between the customers' job and level of income: "I find it nonsense for them to come here but I just cannot help but wonder where they get the money and spend so easily?..."¹¹⁶ Also Vedat says: "...say, some of these customers are officers, and we don't know what the rest do... They are rich, but how?"¹¹⁷ Ali's statements on the other hand reveals the doubt, common among the workers, that indicate the income of the rich might be gained through illegal ways: "...take a look at the people working in our country. We got corruption. Just look at the rich people, they are squeezing money out of somewhere."¹¹⁸

¹¹⁴ "...şimdi bu müşteri sürekli burda geziyorsa ne zaman hangi işte çalışıyo diye düşünüyorum. E çalışmıyorsa nasıl bu kadar alışveriş yapıyo diyorum. Yani bu parayı nerden buluyo? Bol bol saçıyo yiyiyo içiyo ama gelir kaynağı ne yani?..." (Ceyhun)

¹¹⁵ "Hani bilmiyorum ne iş yapıyorlar. Geliyorlar hamburger tost bunlarla doyuyorlar. Bunların gelir düzeyi de yüksek demekki diyosun. Sürekli burdan alışveriş yaptıklarına göre..." (Zeki)

¹¹⁶ "Saçma buluyorum müşterilerin buraya gelmelerini ama bi yandan da diyorum bunlar nerde çalışıyorlar da bu harcamaları yapıyorlar?..." (Canan)

¹¹⁷ "...bu müşterilerin hadi bi kısmı memur olsa bi kısmı ne iş yapar bilmiyoruz. Zengin ama neyle zengin?" (Vedat)

¹¹⁸ "...bizim memlekette çalışanlara bak yiyiciler çok. Zengin olan insanlara bak hep ordan burdan para sızdıran insanlar." (Ali)

The thing the workers pay attention the most while trying to understand the class difference between themselves and the customers is what kind of jobs the customers do to have that income. They also state that they are astonished to see how much time they can spare for entertainment while working. It is observed that the workers form a relation between the customers' level of income and the profession but not between the former and the level of education. Therefore it is not possible to find a statement which acknowledges that the customers work in high income jobs because they are educated. The workers cannot justify life-styles and levels of income of the customers by educational capital. While the workers relate working conditions of their jobs with level of education, they do not form such relation for the customers. They think that even educated people have limited opportunities; this shows that they are aware that a good education is not enough to get a high status job and high level of income today. In this regard, it is understood that workers do not think the level of income of the rich is just.

3.3 Workers' Evaluation of Politics and Social Inequality in Society

In this part of the study, how the workers explain social inequalities, which political parties they support and their expectations from these parties and what they think about current state of their country are discussed.

When workers' opinions were asked about the current state of their country, almost all of them replied negatively that it was not going well and that their country is riding for a fall. Filiz feels outraged in the face of raising unemployment of educated people and precarization of labor:

It feels like all hell is going to break loose. Unemployment is at its peak. Even the college graduates started working at cleaning services. Going to a college doesn't mean you are good to go in life. We have no idea what awaits our children. We tell them to study further but we don't know what is gonna happen. I don't find anything any hope-raising in this country. The powers that be are only good to themselves. We are the

ones working hardest but we get paid the least. They don't see our rights. The workers have no assurance...¹¹⁹

In the interviews, the workers frequently emphasized the fact that they could not find a channel where they would talk and lay their problems. Their wish to be heard and hopelessness about future attracts attention. According to Leyla:

I am not content with the government at all. What is there to be content with them? We are not getting the money we should be. I am angry with the government. They don't give any rights to workers. If they came and said you can't treat a worker like this, you can't fire him without paying compensation, could the supervisors treat us like this? They are oppressing the workers. You don't have any rights the minute they fire you. By the time our turn comes...If the government said they worked and earned this money... I have been here 6 years and if I leave here today I would have nothing. Those are the truths.¹²⁰

The workers' interest in politics is generally in the form of supporting one of the big parties. Most of the workers say that their political views come from their families and that they vote for the same parties. It is seen that the majority of the workers who participated in the research support right-wing parties. None of the workers that I interviewed with stated their affinity with left – wing parties. On the other hand, four workers stated that they support Republican People's Party. Most of the workers stated that they support Justice and Development Party and Nationalist Movement Party. Apart from these, three or four workers voted for different parties in each election because of their unrealized social expectations.

¹¹⁹ “Her şey felakete sürükleniyö gibi geliyo. İşsizlik had safhada. Üniversite mezunları bile temizlik şirketlerinde çalışıyo. Okuyanların bile yolları hiç açık değil. Çocuklarımızı ne bekliyo bilmiyöz. Onlara oku diyoruz ama ne olacak bilmiyöz...Memleketin durumunu hiç iyi görmüyöm. Baştakiler kendilerine iyi sadece bize iyi değil. En çok çalışan biziz en az zam bize geliyo. İşçilerin haklarını görmüyölar. İşçilerin hiç bi güvencesi yok...” (Filiz)

¹²⁰ “Hükümetten hiç memnun değilim. Hükümetin neyinden memnun olucaz...Hak ettiğimiz parayı alamıyoruz. Ben devlettekilere çok kızıyorum...İşçiye hiçbi hak tanımiyölar. Çıkıp deseler işten çıkarırsan tazminatını da vereceksin şefler böyle davranabilirler mi? İşçiyi çok eziyölar...İşten çıkarıyölar hiçbi hak talep edemiyösün...Sıra bize gelene kadaar...Devlet çıkısa dese çalışmış bu parayı hak etmiştir. O parayı alacak dese. Ben 6 sene oldu burdayım bugün kendim çıksam hiçbişe yok. Bunlar gerçekler yani.” (Leyla)

All of the workers that I interviewed with complained about parties that they support. It is gathered from the statements of the workers that they have problems in finding a party to represent them. The opinion that the parties serve for their own benefits and that they do not adopt lower classes is very common among workers. Nazım complains about political parties' and politicians' serve to their own interests rather than public interest:

Here in our country there isn't such a thing as right. Don't look for your rights. They are unfair, crushing our rights and nobody is saying anything about it. We work here the most and we get paid the least. Do we vote so they would fill their pockets? They don't think about their people. I don't believe any of them (politicians) are any different. Soon I just stopped voting. I won't vote for any existing parties. I might vote for a new part if there will be one.¹²¹

While talking about the parties they support, most of the workers emphasize their approach to lower class and social inequalities instead of their contribution to national economy and development of the country. In this case it is seen that the parties' approach to lower class plays an important role in workers' mobilization amongst parties. According to Canan, political parties disregard rights of lower class:

I gave my vote to Republican People's Party...When you just consider the situation today, you don't know who is going to claim your rights. You can't rely on any of these (parties). They all are busy with their own troubles. I don't know who am I going to vote in the next election. I'm not satisfied with any of them. None of them protect the lower class. They don't regulate our rights. They promise all those things until they are elected.¹²²

¹²¹ "Bizim bu Türkiyede hak diye bişe yok. Hak mak arama. Bunların adama faydası yokki. Şurda haklarımızı yiyiyorlar dönüp noluyo diyen yok. En çok biz çalışıyoruz en az maaşı biz alıyoruz. Bunlar halkını düşünmeyen adamlar. Ben hiç birinin de farklı olduğuna inanmıyorum. Öyle olunca oy vermemeye karar verdim. Ben bu mevcut partilere oy vermem artık. Yeni parti çıkarsa belki ona veririm." (Nazım)

¹²² "Ben CHP'ye verdim oyu mu...Ama işte bugün duruma baktığımızda kim senin haklarını savunacak bilmiyosun. Yani bunlardan hiçbirine sırtını yaslayamazsın. Hepsisi kendi derdine düşmüş. Bi dahaki seçimlere kime veririm oyu mu bilmem. Hiçbirinden memnun değilim. Hiçbiri

On the other hand, distrust towards politics and politicians is revealed in other workers' statements, too. Ersan, for instance says: "They are living large. He bought the half of Ankara. Where does he get the money from?..."¹²³ Serhat says: "...Our statesmen, no thanks to them, they are sponging off people like us. Our government isn't short of grafters. Rich people are always the one leaking money out of the state. They all trying to fill their pockets..."¹²⁴ Bahar also says: "...Our leaders make it shower where they want it to shower, to other places there isn't even one drop. They spend our monthly payment at once. There is so much injustice."¹²⁵

Although the workers have tendency towards right wing parties, it is observed that religious references are very rare in their statements. It is observed that there are not religious references which make the social inequalities sufferable and a submissive attitude in workers' narratives. References to an Islamic justice is absent in the narratives in the scope of this study. It seems that this situation makes it difficult for workers to internalize and justify the conditions that they are in.

Most of the interviewees define themselves as poor and lower class, working with minimum wage. Workers state that they were born in poverty and grew up in the country side and had financial difficulties. Workers relate their class mostly with their low educational level and thus with the jobs they have to do. Most of the workers emphasize that their families have low status jobs and have financial difficulties, and thus they have to live within the similar impossibilities. For

alt tabakaya sahip çıkmıyo. Bizim haklarımızı düzenlemiyolar. Seçilene kadar birsürü laf söylüyolar ama gerisi gelmiyo." (Canan)

¹²³ "Adamların hayatı rahat. Adam Ankara'nın yarısını satın aldı. E paranın kaynağı nereden geliyo?..." (Ersan)

¹²⁴ "...Büyüklerimiz sağolsun bizim gibilerin sırtına bindikçe biniyo. Bizim devletin yiyicileri çok. Zengin olan insanlara bak hepsi devletten para sızdıran insanlar. Hepsi cebini doldurmaya bakıyo..." (Serhat)

¹²⁵ "...Başımızdakiler yağdıracığı yere yağdırıyolar yağdırmayacağı yere yağdırmıyolar. Kendileri bizim aldığımız bir aylık maaşı bir seferde yiyiyolar. Çok adaletsizlik var." (Bahar)

example Ceyhun says that inequality between the rich and workers who work minimum wage like himself has always been present:

I don't know people like us, oppressed working as laborer, our lives don't change much. When you look, even when your kids go and study, they will never live a life like those people here (the mall). You can't provide the opportunities they provide for their children. Clearly their families are also wealthy. Their kids will be living their life tomorrow. It is how it goes, the inequality stays the same.¹²⁶

Similarly, Mustafa says that lower class has always been oppressed and this has been going on forever: "...In the end, it is always us the poor people. It always comes down to affect us. We have been always oppressed and still being oppressed because we are at the lowest. That's the way it goes around. That's my view."¹²⁷ On the other hand, one of the workers whose family is living in village says that the production has stopped in villages and that these people have to come to the cities to look for a job. In this context, inequality created through the exploitation of labor is one of the important points emphasized by Ali: "Look at the villages, the countryside, there isn't left any farming or production. They buy the products from the villager for 5 liras and sell them here for 20. The producer then says why I would just sit here while they make money out of it. That's how they come from villages to cities. And then in the end they all are unemployed or working at the lowest jobs..."¹²⁸

¹²⁶ "Bilmiyorum valla ezilenlerin bizim gibi işçi olarak çalışanların hayatları pek değişmiyo. Bakıyosun çocuklarda okuyunca senden iyi olsa bile yine burdakiler gibi bi hayatları olmuyo. Bunların çocuklarına sağladığı imkanları sen sağlayamıyosun. Belliki bunlarda zengin ailelerden geliyo. E yarın bunların çocuklarında bunlar gibi bi hayat yaşıyacak. Genelde öyle oluyo eşitsizlik hep devam ediyö." (Ceyhun)

¹²⁷ "...Sonuçta hep olan biz zavallı halka oluyo. Hep olan biz garibanlara oldu. Alt tabaka olduğumuz için hep biz ezildik ve ezilmeye de devam ediyoruz. Bu böyle gelmiş böyle de gidecek. Benim görüşüm bu." (Mustafa)

¹²⁸ "Köylere bak üretim diye bişe kalmadı. Köyde üreten adamın elindekini 5 liraya alıp geliyo burda 20 liraya satıyo. Adam bakıyo ben üretiyorum bunlar burda rahat ediyö benim emeğimi o yiyo diyo. Öyle olunca ben de giderim diyo. E geliyo buralarda işsiz kalıyo sonra alt tabakadaki işleri yapıyo..." (Ali)

Most of the workers define themselves as poor and a few of them say that they find municipal aids unjust:

Many rich people get money aid from municipalities, they should be investigating these and give that money to poor people. People with cars and houses, they guy help but poor people like us don't get anything. I wish they saw all these, be in contact with the people. I would expect such things but no, they are not doing it.¹²⁹

On the other hand, distrust towards politics cause the workers to feel intensely hopeless about both the conditions they are in and social conditions. In this regard, distrust towards politics and hopelessness about the future of the society are intertwined (Erdoğan, 2007b). This feeling described by Erdoğan is similar to that of the cleaning workers in this study. Expressions of Ceyhun indicates that he is desperate about the future of public:

... You know, sometimes you just wish there would be a different person to do the right things. But whoever comes, they are just trying to get fill their pockets. They don't care about you. The rich is rich and the poor is poor... They are using every opportunity for themselves... Nothing changes... People up there, they are comfortable but they are there because of our votes. When they have their seats, they stop thinking about you, that's what gets under my skin. What guarantees your retirement form this place? There is no guarantee for anything in here. We don't know what will happen to us tomorrow...¹³⁰

Some workers think that rights of the lower class are not regulated and that's why lower class is oppressed. In this regard, a few of the workers mention that lower class has been left to its own destiny. Vedat says:

¹²⁹ “Çoğu zengin belediyeden yardım alıyo bunları araştırmaları bizim gibi fakirlere vermeleri lazım. Evi arabası olanlar yardım alıyo çok fakirler hiç bişe yapamıyo. Bunları daha çok görmeleri halkla ilişkileri olması lazım. Ben öyle şeyler beklerdim ama yapmıyolar.” (Ayşe)

¹³⁰ “...Hani belki biri çıkar daha düzgün bişeler yapar umudu oluyo. Bakıyosun kim gelse cebini doldurmaya bakıyo seni düşünen yok. Zengin yine zengin fakir yine fakir durumda... Bunlar her imkanı kendine kullanıyo...Değişen hiçbişe yok. Yukardakiler kendileri rahat ama bizim oyumuzla oraya geliyolar...Onlar kendilerini düşünüyo. O koltuklara oturup seni düşünmedikleri zaman o senin zoruna gidiyo işte. Senin burdan emekli olabileceğin ne malum peki. Bizde hiçbişeyin garantisi yok. Yarın ne olucaz belli değil...” (Ceyhun)

You have to take care of your own alone in this country. Everyone is for themselves now. The lower class is always oppressed. Oppressed people like us have always been afraid. We have come to these days feeling afraid and oppressed... I don't believe these parties represent me. You see what they do when they are elected. You have to stand up for your rights or no one else is gonna help you. That is what I learned. You have to stand up for your rights as a worker. And you gotta know that you are all alone in this.¹³¹

Mustafa complains that solidarity among people no longer exists and tells that he has to take care of his own without expecting anything from anyone else:

...The times are so... no one helps any one. It is every man for himself nowadays. You won't get any help from anyone if you needed. Everyone is busy with their own struggle to make a living. There is no solidarity or understanding between people. That is how the modern times are; you only do well to yourself.¹³²

The majority of the interviewed workers expect the state to make regulations for compensation, working hours, wages and leaves. In this respect, the need for state regulations is another essential emphasis put by the workers. As Bahar says: "If only the state gave rights to people who worked for so long. At least we could erase our debts or put them off until we find a new job. If we claimed our rights a little bit, maybe the administration would fear the workers would change their jobs..."¹³³ Similarly, Vedat emphasized the role of the state while evaluating their working conditions: "Just like anyone else, I demand there should be no taxation

¹³¹ "Bu memlekette başının çaresine bakmak zorundasın. Herkes kendi çıkarına bakar olmuş. Alt tabaka hep eziliyo. Bizim gibi ezilenler zaten geçmişten korkarak gelmişiz. Ezilerek gelmişiz bu günlere... Bu partilerin beni temsil ettiklerine inanmıyorum. Gelenlerin ne yaptığı ortada. Kendi haklarını savunmazsan sana kimseden fayda yok bunu öğrendim ben. İşçi olarak kendi haklarını savunmak zorundasın. Bu konuda da kendi başına olduğunu bilmek zorundasın." (Vedat)

¹³² "...Zaman öyle bi olmuş ki kimseden kimseye fayda yok artık. Kendi tırnağı olan başını kaşıyo. Yoksa bi dara düşsen sana yardım edebilecek birini bulamazsın. Herkes kendi geçim derdinde. İnsanlar arasında ne dayanışma var ne anlayış var. Zaman böyle artık kendinden başka kimseden fayda yok." (Mustafa)

¹³³ "Devlet bu kadar yıl çalışmış insanlara bi hak tanısa. Hiç olmazsa borçların varsa ödersin yeni bi iş bulana kadar idare edersin. Az da olsa hak talep edebilsek yönetim de korkar belki işçisi iş değiştirir diye..." (Bahar)

on minimum wage. You see, I am 45 now and I want guarantee. If they lay me off today, I am afraid that I may not find another job...the government should try to improve the conditions we work, those people on minimum wages work...”¹³⁴

Some of the workers think that working conditions should be regulated by the laws passed by the state. In this regard, they relate their exploitative working conditions with state’s roles. Ersan argues that they have to submit to these conditions because the state does not regulate workers’ rights:

Eventually you know what’s gonna happen, the government will step in and stop the rot. They will take care of this compensation business. They will say everyone who completed a full year will get their compensation. Things wouldn’t end up like things if this was the case. If they regulated our seniority indemnity rights, they couldn’t fire us so easily. Here companies are only guilty to a certain point. Government should regulate these things with laws so the companies would have to follow them. It is all in the hands of the government.¹³⁵

A major part of the interviewees put an emphasis upon their distrust to politics and mention that the rights of the lower class are not protected. On the other hand, three of the workers say that they do not want to talk about politics because their knowledge and education are not enough to discuss. İsmail defines the feelings of these workers as such: “The country is headed in the wrong direction, there problems everywhere. But I can’t talk of these problems right now. Those matters of the country are way over us. We didn’t go to school we can’t talk about this

¹³⁴ “Herkes gibi asgari ücretten vergi alınmamasını istiyorum bende. Düşün ben 45 yaşına gelmişim bi güvencem olsun istiyorum. Bu yaşta işten çıkarsalar tekrar iş bulamam korkusu yaşıyorum...işte devletin bizim gibi asgari ücretle geçinen kesimin koşullarını iyileştirmesi lazım.” (Vedat)

¹³⁵ “Neticede ne olacak biliyo musun devlet bi yerde artık bu gidişata dur diycek. Bu tazminat işini halledecek. Bir yılını dolduran herkes tazminatını alacak diyecek. Zaten öyle olsa işler bu noktaya gelmez...Kıdem tazminatı haklarımızı düzenleseler mesela bizi böyle kolay işten çıkaramazlar... Burda şirketin de bi yere kadar suçu var. Devlet bunları kanunla düzenliyecek ki adamlar da ona göre davransın. Devletin elinde bunlar sonuçta.” (Ersan)

stuff, economy and so on...’’¹³⁶ In this case, the narratives of the workers who think their knowledge and education are not enough to discuss politics and social inequality are as important as the narratives of the other workers about these issues in terms of social inequality.

3.4 Coping with Wounding Treatments and Social Inequality

Gürbilek (2008: 11) talks about degradation caused by humiliation and inadequacy more than poverty. This humiliation is sometimes reflected from other people’s eyes. Poverty, on the other hand turns this humiliation into a reoccurring fate. One of the key qualities, which workers define themselves before this social inequality is “virtue”, similar to the urban poor in study of Erdoğan (2007b: 49). According to him, the poor – subalterns defend their moral values against the “rapacious” nature of the rich. As he states, in the middle of show-off world lower classes take their own arms of morality (Erdoğan, 2010b). This narrative is seen in cleaning workers’ statements too. Expressions of some workers tell that they are concerned about moral values while discriminating between themselves and customers.

It is observed that the cleaning workers develop a sense of deprivation when they see customers’ lifestyles, but it is understood that they do not accept this as natural and rightful. As in the narratives of the urban poor in Erdoğan’s (2007b: 50) study, wealth is described as evil due to the behavioral patterns it created. This situation is revealed in the narratives as a weapon used by the workers in the face of social inequalities they experience every day. According to Sevgi, although the purchasing power of the customers emulates them at the beginning, it is possible to see that money corrupts people in time. In this regard, she says money corrupts the character: “At first, when I first started working, I would look up to them. I would say what a beautiful life they have but after some incidents I started

¹³⁶ “Memeleketin durumu iyi değil sorunlar var hep. Ama bu sorunları ben anlatamam şimdi. Memeleketin durumu konuları bizi aşıyo. Biz okumamışız ya pek konuşamıyoz ekonomi falan...” (İsmail)

thinking some of them aren't even human. . I mean if that's what money does to people, you think I am better off without the money..."¹³⁷ Ayten says: "...Sometimes I say to myself, we are happier than them, even though we ain't got any money. I think we have a better and bigger humane part in ourselves. We are more sensitive. I don't know that's just how it feels sometimes."¹³⁸ Ayşe says customers have economic capital but they do not have cultural capital. In this regard she classifies customers as nouveau – riche: "People coming here, you can see they are wealthy people, they got money. But they are not all mannerly; there are some mannerless people also. Just because they got the money, it doesn't mean they got the good manners too..."¹³⁹ Zeki, on the other hand, classifies the customers as spoiled and saunterer young people. He thinks that most of the customers are young people wandering with the money they took from their parents. He states that this situation also corrupts morale: "When I was a young, there weren't any shopping malls like those. But we had those sentimental values. Now I am looking at those people coming here... They are spoiled. They are all selfish. Most of them are just young idler people..."¹⁴⁰

On the other hand, it is observed that when the inequality between them and the customers became troublesome in their daily lives, some of the workers try to act indifferent. According to Sennett (2011: 122), the thought that we are not worthy of attention since we are the lower class is significant in terms of social hierarchy. As he states, "if the social conditions do not let people to be equal, as a way of

¹³⁷ "Yani ilk başladığım zamanlarda çok özeniyodum. Ne güzel hayatları var diyodum ama yaşadığım bazı olaylardan sonra bazılarının insan olmadığını düşünmeye başladım. Yani para insanı böyle yapıyorsa param olmasın daha iyi diyosun..." (Sevgi)

¹³⁸ "...Bazen diyom paramız olmasada biz onlardan daha mutluyuz. Bide insanlık tarafımızın daha gelişmiş olduğunu düşünüyom ben. Bilmiyom bana öyle geliyo." (Ayten)

¹³⁹ "Buraya gelen insanların parası daha çok varlıklı insanlar belli ama hepsi kültürlü insanlar değil görgüsüz olanlar da var. Sonuçta parası var diye hepsi görgülü değil ya..." (Ayşe)

¹⁴⁰ "Benim gençliğimde AVM yoktu doğru düzgün. Ama manevi değerlerin olduğu yıllardı. Şimdi buraya gelenlere bakıyorum. Şımarık insanlar var artık. Hep bana diyen insanlar. Çoğu genç yaşlarda aylak gezen insanlar..." (Zeki)

self-defense they show listlessness or willingly insensitivity towards other people. Thus being a prisoner in the outside world, one can act however he/she wishes in the inner world”. In this sense, narratives of a few of the workers show that they try to cope with class inequalities by being indifferent to customers. İsmail, for instance, tells that he is not concerned with customers: “...well I don’t really look at customers. I don’t pay attention to how they are. You just do your thing, you don’t see them. They walk past me I don’t pay attention to them...”¹⁴¹

In his study, which analyses how the poor - subaltern experiences and gives meaning to social hierarchies, Erdoğan (2007b: 89) states that poor – subaltern turns to “egalitarian apprehension” in order to cope with their hierarchical roles when they cannot accept them. Parallel to the argument of Erdoğan (2007b), “egalitarian apprehension” stands out in the narratives of a few interviewed cleaning workers in this study. These workers assert their humanity to stop overwhelming treatments of customers. Filiz says, for instance:

Most of them are bigheaded boastful people. They crush you if you are somehow lower than them. What you do holds no value for them. They see you so low...we could of the lowest layer but no one has the right to look down on us, we are human beings as well.¹⁴²

Filiz frequently emphasized that the customers scorn workers’ job and that they are at the lowest level working in the mall. While putting forward her own values in one part of our interview, on the other part she shows that she is aware that this social inequality is not eliminated: “...well all in all you would never have an easy life as theirs. What could change in my life after this point? You are a

¹⁴¹ “...yani müşterilere bakmıyom ben pek. Nasıl olduklarına dikkat etmiyom. İşini yapıyon anca onları görmüyonki. Yanımdan geçıyo gidiyo dikkat etmiyom öyle...” (İsmail)

¹⁴² “Müşterilerin çoğu kendini beğenmiş. Kendinden azıcık aşağıda ol insanı ezip geçiyolar. Yaptığın işin hiçbi kıymeti yok. Seni çok aşağı görüyolar... alt tabakadan insanlar olabiliriz ama kimsenin bizi küçümsemeye de hakkı yok biz de insanız yani.” (Filiz)

cleaning worker, that's it.”¹⁴³ Other narratives of the workers which indicate that this inequality is not eliminated are also given in the other part which discusses their approach to social inequality. It is observed that moral weapons used by the workers on the face of smell, dangerous class and dirtiness images which reproduce social inequality between them and the customers are not enough to eliminate class differences they experience every day and get ahead of their emotions like resentment and humiliation.

3.5 The Role of Gender in Workers' Everyday Experiences

In this part, it is tried to introduce a brief discussion related to construction of gender roles in differentiating experiences of cleaning workers. It is seen that both male and female cleaning workers experience unsecured working conditions through similar concerns. When the class relations of the workers with the customers and management are considered, it is observed that women give more intense reactions or express their thoughts more easily.

Apparently, patriarchal roles shapes bread – winner and housewife images of workers (Coşkun, 2012). In this regard, women experience weightness of household responsibilities, while men struggle for extra works to provide subsistence of his family. It seems that some male workers consider bread – winner image as their own responsibility. In this regard, a few of the male workers stated that they do not let their wives to work outside the home. As Serhat says: “No, my wife doesn't work. I don't want her to work outside. I will try to bring home the bread as far as I could. I want my wife to look after the kids at home. If necessary, I'd work harder and bring the bread. I would work at a second job if I need to...”¹⁴⁴

¹⁴³ “...yani sonuçta o insan kadar rahat bi hayatın olmuyo. Şimdi bu saatten sonra benim hayatımda ne değişicekki. Sen temizlik işçisisin bu böyle.” (Filiz)

¹⁴⁴ “Yok eşim çalışmıyo. Ben istemem onun dışarda çalışmasını. Ben elimden geldiğince ailemi geçindirmeye çalışırım. Eşim evde çocuklarla ilgilensin isterim. Gerekirse ben daha çok çalışıp evin geçimini sağlarım. Daha çok ek iş yaparım gerekirse...” (Serhat)

Even if women work outside the home, burden of cooking, washing and childcare still falls on their shoulders. This means women should continue to work all day (Nichols and Suğur, 2005). Apparently, long working hours and household responsibilities create great pressure on women workers. Almost every interviewed women complained about their workload at home. When Ayten was asked how she spends her time in her free days, she said she is supposed to take care of household duties: “I am usually home in my off days. With the ironing, laundry, cleaning, and the kids, one day isn’t enough. I work at home as much as I work here. Housework is all on me...”¹⁴⁵ Women cleaning workers are also responsible for the cleaning of their homes although they are waged-workers outside. This situation shows that they work overtime (Coşkun, 2012). Fatma tells she does not have free days due to her household responsibilities:

There isn’t one day that I don’t work. On weekdays, I come home late and really tired so I only have time to cook something for dinner, so there is no time to clean the house. On my off day, I clean and tidy the house since I got time...I am working everyday. I am cleaning each and every day of my life. I swear there isn’t a day that I don’t clean. I don’t even notice it is my off day. That is our life.¹⁴⁶

Majority of the female workers began working later in life when compared to men in order to contribute to family budget. Most of the women thought gainful occupation would be temporary when they first started working, but financial difficulties pushed them to keep working for long years. In this regard, they dream about getting retired like male workers. As Sevgi says: “When I started working, I never thought I would work for so many years. I can’t say I will be retired from

¹⁴⁵ “Boş günlerde genelde evde olurum. Ütü, çamaşır, temizlik, çocuklar derken bi gün bile yetmiyo. Burda yaptığım iş kadar, çalıştığım kadar evde de çalışıyom...Ev işleri hep benim elime bakıyo...” (Ayten)

¹⁴⁶ “Çalışmadığım gün yokki. Haftaiçi yorgun olduğum için işten gelince anca yemek yapıyorum ev temizliğine öyle pek vakit kalmıyo. Boş günümde zamanım varken evi temizliyorum... Hergün çalışıyorum ben her gün temizlik işi yapıyorum. Valla bak hergün temizlik yapıyorum ben. O günümün boş olduğunu fark etmiyorum bile. Hayatımız böyle işte bizim.” (Fatma)

this place but I want to be retired. It is hard under these conditions but we are just working for it...¹⁴⁷

Intense working hours and working overtime prevent workers from spending enough time with their families. Apparently, this situation is becoming more pronounced in expressions of women workers. Almost all of the female workers complain that due to their responsibilities at home they cannot find enough time to spend with their families. Leyla, for instance, worries about not having enough time to spend with her children:

You can't spare time for your family when you work. Since you are also the lady of the house, you have to cook and work when you arrive at home too. My children miss me a lot. I can't have enough time with them since I only see them in the evenings. Especially my daughter, she misses me so much. She hugs me, lies on my lap and says I miss you when you go. She asks why we can't spend time together, why we can't go out together...¹⁴⁸

On the other hand, most of the male workers have an extra job and this situation keeps them from spending time with their families. However while only a few of them state that, most of them reveal their concerns about their families' income. Like other male workers, Mustafa worries about surviving till the end of month. In this regard, he summarizes the general concern of the male workers: "I go to clean the stores when I leave work. I don't have any free days. I have to work

¹⁴⁷ "Çalışmaya başlarken bu kadar yıl çalışacağım aklıma gelmezdi. Ben burdan emekli olurum diyemiyorum ama emekli olmak istiyorum tabi. Bu koşullarda zor ama bunun için uğraşyoruz işte..." (Sevgi)

¹⁴⁸ "Ailene fazla zaman ayıramıyosun çalıştığın zaman. Çünkü evin hanımı da sen olduğun için eve gidince yemek yapmak zorundasın, iş yapmak zorundasın. Çocuklar çok özlüyo beni. Sadece akşamdan akşama görüştüğümüz için onlarla fazla zaman geçiremiyosun. Özellikle kızım çok özlüyo beni. Gidince sarılıyo, kucığıma yatıyo çok özlüyorum seni diyo. Niye biz birlikte zaman geçiremiyoruz, çıkıp birlikte gezemiyoruz diyo..." (Leyla)

everyday. Life conditions feel too much. We can't survive if I don't work everyday. You see, bringing up the family is our only problem...”¹⁴⁹

Most of the men stated that they deal with gardening and alteration in their home, that they do not generally help women to clean and cook. Although women start working and earn money outside the home, it is observed that patriarchal ideology is present in daily lives of the workers. In the light of the discussions above, it can be claimed that the division of labor at home is constructed by patriarchal gender roles. Besides, gender roles shape the workers' work and class experiences and relationships with family members.

3.6 Unfulfilled and Future Dreams of Workers

In today's world, the lifetime employment has become almost impossible (Sennett, 2006: 23). According to Sennett (2003), one of the consequences of modern capitalism is that impossibility of “get a life through one's work”. In this regard, uncertainty and instability are now important sources of concern for the workers. This feeling structure described by Sennett is similar to that of cleaning workers in this study. Unsecured working conditions cause workers to look into the future with concern. Similar to the charwomen in the household cleaning service in the study of Kalaycıoğlu and Tılıç (2000: 161), workers' future dreams are shaped by material conditions of capitalist society.

In his study on urban space of poverty, Ocak (2007: 158) mentions that dreams of the poor focus on having a roof over their head and explains this by stating that one of the basic requirements of coping with poverty is to get rid of paying rent. Similarly in this study too some of the workers tell their dreams of owning a house, as Zeki says: “...I dream of buying a house. So I can get rid of paying rent. We can't buy a house because we don't have a large amount of savings. We want

¹⁴⁹ “Mağaza temizliklerine gidiyorum iş çıkışı. Boş günüm hiç yok. Hergün çalışmak zorundayım. Hayat şartları ağır geliyo. Hergün çalışmayınca geçinemiyoruz. İşte ailemizi geçindirebilmek tek derdimiz...” (Mustafa)

to buy ourselves a house when we are retired”¹⁵⁰ As most of the other workers that I interviewed with, Mustafa feels hopeless for the future dreams. Apparently, having an indefinite future prevents him from dreaming. He expresses that having his own house is a compelling dream for him:

I got no expectations from future, believe me. I am a realist person. You are working on minimum wage; you don't have a proper life. You are always thinking of the bread you are going to bring home. What am I gonna trust with when I dream? If they lay you off tomorrow, you are unemployed. We don't get to have dreams like those luxurious lives. Those things are already far from us. Making a living is our only dream. My only big dream was to have a house of my own. And it doesn't seem likely. You know what they say, it's behind those mountains, but you can't see.¹⁵¹

While workers talk about their dreams of buying a house they mention that they do not have capital and as they are afraid of losing their jobs they cannot apply for a credit or take loan. This way, workers reveal their concerns about their dream of buying a house. Leyla's statements indicate her desire to reverse the relation between the upstairs and downstairs defined over the wish to own a house: “I really want a house on third floor. That's what I always dreamt of. I always wanted that. I don't like the first floors; I like a house on the upper floor...”¹⁵² In our second meeting, Leyla emphasized that although she had a dream of buying a house, she thought it seemed difficult: “I don't think of anything about the future. Because there is no way you know it. We don't know what will happen tomorrow.

¹⁵⁰ “.ben ev almanın hayalini kuruyorum. Kiradan kurtulmak için. Bizim elimizde toplu para olmadığı için ev alamıyoruz. Emekli olup ev almak istiyoruz.” (Zeki)

¹⁵¹ “Yok valla gelecekte hiçbi beklentim yok. Ben gerçekçiyim. Asgari ücretle çalışan bi insansın doğru düzgün bi hayatın olmuyo. Hep geçim derdindesin. Neye güvenip hayal kuruyumki. Yarın kapıya koyduklarmı işsizsin. Bizim öyle lüks hayatlar gibi hayallerimiz olmaz. Onlar zaten çok uzak şeyler. Geçinebilmek bizim en büyük hayalimiz işte. En büyük hayalim kendimize ait bi evimizin olması. Oda ufukta görünmüyo. Hani derler ya şu dağın arkasında, dağın arkasından bile görünmüyo.” (Mustafa)

¹⁵² “3. katta bi evim olsun çok istiyorum. Yıllardır böyle hayal kuruyorum. Hep öyle istedim. Alt katları sevmem ben üst katta olsun istiyorum...” (Leyla)

I want to buy a house but I am scared of being in debt in case I lose my job. It is even difficult to dream of retirement...”¹⁵³

Apparently, temporary and unsecured employment of the workers has a negative effect upon their expectations from the future, so much that some of the workers do not even want to have any future expectations. When workers were asked about their future dreams, a few of the workers said they do not dream. Ersan tells that a worker with minimum wage cannot dream:

I expect nothing from the future. Neither marriage, nor kids, or a house or a car, nothing! I don't know what to expect under these circumstances. We don't live in such an order to have dreams about future. We live on minimum wage and we can't be sure if we will still get that tomorrow or the other day. I have no dreams. When you are a worker on minimum wage you don't have dreams what are you going to dream of anyway when it is so hard to make a living?¹⁵⁴

On the other hand, feelings of a few interviewed workers show similarity to those of the urban poor in the study of Erdoğan (2007a: 37). He talks about a symbolic universe, in which subaltern wants to reverse the hierarchical relations. Getting out from the domination of management describes Nurgül's dream of being independent: "...I want to be independent. I want to be on a higher position if it's in my destiny somehow. At least a job that is better than this one, one that I could make more money and at least have some say... I want to give my own decisions even if it meant losing it all, it would be my call.”¹⁵⁵

¹⁵³ “Gelecekle ilgili bişe düşünmüyorum. Çünkü geleceği hiç bilemiyosun. Yarın ne olur bilmiyoruz. Ev almak istiyorum ama borç almaktan korkuyorum ilerde maaşım kesilirse diye. Emekli olmanın bile hayalini kurmak zor...” (Leyla)

¹⁵⁴ “Gelecekte hiçbişe beklemiyorum. Ne evlilik, ne çocuk, ne ev, ne araba hiçbişe beklemiyorum. Bu koşullarda ne beklenir onuda bilmiyorum. Gerçekten hiçbi hayalim yok. Bizim hayal kuracak bi düzenimiz de yok. Asgari ücretle geçiniyoruz yarın öbür gün bu işimiz olucak mı onu bile bilemiyoruz. Hiç hayalim yok. Asgari ücret alan bi işçinin hayalleri olmuyo. Neyi hayal edebilirsin ki geçinmek bu kadar zorken.” (Ersan)

¹⁵⁵ “...Bağımsız olmak istiyorum. Üstte olmak istiyorum ben oda nasip olursa tabi. En azından bu işime göre daha iyi, biraz daha fazla gelir getiren, söz sahibi olabileceğim bi iş...Kaybedecek olsam bile kararlarımın benim kararım olmasını istiyorum.” (Nurgül)

Nurgül has a dream of getting a higher status job but in our talk about working conditions she mentioned she put up with these working conditions because she thought it was difficult to find a new job. Although Nurgül's dreams focus on a higher status job, it is also obvious that she does not find the conditions that she is in enough. On the other hand, Ali dreams of winning the lottery although he thinks it a low possibility. In this regard, he has dreams about reversing his state before social inequalities (Erdoğan, 2007b: 89). He says: "I started dreaming these days. I bought this lottery ticket the other day. If I get the first prize I want to do everything I couldn't do so far ..."¹⁵⁶

Some interviewees relate their class and working conditions with their low education level. In this regard, unfulfilled dreams of workers focus on their education. İsmail indicates that if he was able to pursue higher education, he would be doing better jobs: "...It would be better if we had better jobs of course. I mean easier jobs. We would be in a better position if we had studied but my family couldn't afford to send me to school. So that is the only thing you work at. You only get angry with yourself, who else is there to put the blame..."¹⁵⁷ As most of the other interviewed workers, Leyla is deprived of the opportunities to realize her dreams. When I asked about her unfulfilled dreams, she talked about her sorrow about not being able to pursue higher education: "I feel sorry that I couldn't study further. Maybe we'd be doing different jobs if we went to school. We'd be more comfortable..."¹⁵⁸ Most of the workers do not expect to find a job with better working conditions and higher status due to their low level of education. As Ayten states: "...didn't have that education and the rest. You have to sit down and accept these jobs. Leave this job and walk away, what other job

¹⁵⁶ "Hayal kurmaya başladım bu aralar. Milli Piyango bileti aldım bi tane. İkramiye bana çıkarsa bu zamana kadar yapamadıklarımı yapmak istiyorum..." (Ali)

¹⁵⁷ "...Daha iyi işler yapsak iyiydi tabi. Daha rahat işler...Daha iyi yerlerde olurduk okusaydık ama ailem geçim derdinden okutamamış. Öyle olunca başka bi iş yapamıyosun tabi. Kime ne diyim insan kendine kızıyo anca..." (İsmail)

¹⁵⁸ "Okuyamadığıma üzülüyorum ben. Okusaydık belki başka işler yapıyo olurduk. Daha rahat ederdik..." (Leyla)

will I find?”¹⁵⁹ Most of the interviewees attract attention to the fact that their education level is low and thus they cannot dream of getting jobs with better conditions. In this regard, Bahar summarizes general feelings of these workers:

...can't make ends meet ever, always in the hole. Why? Because we are paid the minimum, because we are doing this job, because we can't do anything else... We are uneducated, we don't have a profession. If you want to walk off the job today, you can't. We won't get anywhere as long as this goes on like that.¹⁶⁰

On the other hand, some workers dream about retirement and educational achievements of their children. Expressions of İsmail make clear that education means to workers getting more chance for social mobility and higher – status jobs (Sennett and Cobb, 1972: 25). In this regard, he expects that his children will have the power to make wider job choices: “...of course I want my kids to live a better life. I want them to be educated so they can save their lives. Or else they are gonna have to become cleaning workers like us...”¹⁶¹

For workers, being public employee implies having job security and some degree of autonomy (Sennett and Cobb, 1972: 236). Some of the interviewed workers dream about state guaranteed-jobs for their children, although they think it is not possible for themselves. For example, Leyla wants her children to get education and become officials: “I want my children to study at good schools and work at ‘clean jobs’ unlike cleaning job. I want both of them to be officers... They get

¹⁵⁹ “...okumamışız etmemişiz. Öyle olunca bu işlere boyun eğiyon tabi. Çıksam desem bu işi yapmıyom başka ne iş bulucam?” (Ayten)

¹⁶⁰ “...iki ipin ucu bir araya gelmiyo hep açık kalıyo. Neden? Asgari ücret aldığımız için, bu işi yaptığımız için çünkü başka bi iş yapamıyoruz. Bizler okumamışız elimizde mesleğimiz yok. Bugün çıkıyım başka bi iş yapıyım desen böyle bi imkanın yok. Böyle olduğu müddetçe hiçbi yere gelemeyiz.” (Bahar)

¹⁶¹ “...çocuklarım daha iyi şartlarda olsunlar istiyom tabi. Kendi hayatlarını kurtarmak için okusunlar istiyom. Yoksa bizimki gibi temizlik işçiliği gibi şeyler yapmak zorunda kalırlar...” (İsmail)

more rights, that's I want them to be officers. They work in warmer cleaner offices than the places regular workers work at..."¹⁶²

A major part of the workers define their dreams of future over their children's educational successes but the conditions that they are in worry them. Similar to Leyla who wants her children to become officials, Ayten wants her children to get education and become officials, too. However, Ayten tells that she is concerned that they may not complete their education. She complains that they cannot deal with their children's education and their failures at school:

We can't take care of our children. We're here working hard all day and we go home tired. My boy came home with nothing but all poor grades, but we can't do anything because we can't take care of his education. If we stood there by his side and helped him, he might get better grades but we can't say anything to him under these circumstances. I want them to have education and be important people but I don't have time to take care of their education.¹⁶³

Most of the workers emphasize the relation between their low educational level and the jobs they have to do, but they also state that in today's conditions they are worried that getting a good education does not guarantee to find a good job. The study published by Bora (et. al., 2011) about the unemployment of white-collar, confirms that not only blue-collar but also white-collar are subject to the results of unsecured employment.

Therefore, the workers want their children to get a good education and work at a job with better conditions than theirs but they also state that they are worried about the future of the educated people. Mustafa says: "A friend of ours graduated

¹⁶² "Ben çocuklarım okuyup bi yerlere gelip temiz işlerde çalışınlar istiyorum. İkisinin de memur olmasını çok isterim...Onların hakları daha çok, o yüzden memuriyet istiyorum. Normal işçiye göre bi memur daha farklı tertemiz sıcak yerde oturup çalışır..." (Leyla)

¹⁶³ "Çocuklarımızla ilgilenemiyoz. Akşama kadar çalışıyoz akşam da eve yorgun gidiyoz. Benim oğlan 8 tane zayıf getirdi ama başında olmadığımız için bişe yapamıyoz. Başında durup ilgilenbilsek belki düzelticek ama böyle olunca bişe diyemiyoz. Ben onların okuyup iyi yerlere gelmesini istiyom ama onların eğitimiyle ilgilenecek zaman yok." (Ayten)

18 years ago, he had his teaching certificate but he is not stationed. He is working at a street market because he is not stationed. When you see things like that, I am asking myself what would it change to study at a college, you know? This is the country you are living in, you know that you can't ask for much for your kids in life.”¹⁶⁴ Vedat has worries about the future of the educated people, too. He says: “If the children don't get educated, they won't have different life from ours. But in Turkey, in our country, people with uncles in important places have good jobs. Even if these kids go to school, I don't think they can get to anywhere because they don't have ‘an uncle’ somewhere.”¹⁶⁵ Similarly, while Filiz wants her children to get education and work at “clean jobs,” she mentions her worries that the future of the educated people is unclear.

In this case workers consider education as an important factor for their children to find jobs with better conditions than theirs, but it is also clear that they have concerns whether these dreams will come true. It is observed that the problems like not being able to afford their children's education due to financial impossibilities and to deal with their education due to long and tiring working hours alienate these dreams. To conclude, the conditions that the workers are in, prevent them from making their dreams real. It is seen that the dreams of the workers are based on “realistic” contexts.

3.7 Concluding Remarks

While the cleaning workers define their relationship with the customers, they take lower class position and emphasize upon the class difference between them and the customers. They express class difference which they experience through daily

¹⁶⁴ “Bizim arkadaş 18 yıldır mezun öğretmenlik diplomasını kazandı ama atanamıyo. Atanamadığı için pazarcılık yapıyo. İşte öyle olunca bu çocuklar okusa bile napıcak diyorum. Şimdi böyle bi ülkede yaşadığımı biliyosun çocukların için ne istiyecen” (Mustafa)

¹⁶⁵ “Çocuklar okumazlarsa bizden farklı bi hayatları olmaz ama zaman kötü bi zaman. Bizim Türkiye’de dayısı olan, torpili olan heryere geliyo. Bu çocuklar okusa bile bunların dayısı bi yerlerde olmayınca bişe yapamazlar ben öyle düşünüyorum.” (Vedat)

practices with terms like lower class, inferior and wealth. Workers associate their class positions before the customers mostly with their jobs and financial conditions. Narratives of some workers show that they are sensitive to humiliating and degrading attitudes of customers. The feeling of worthlessness was emphasized by many workers that I interviewed with. Obviously, they feel worthless in their relations with customers and in social hierarchy. The desire to be respected by the customers is revealed as a troubling problem in the narratives of the workers. It is observed that workers define their class positions as unjust and in this respect they cannot internalize customers' criticisms. In this regard, most of the workers emphasize moral values to cope with social hierarchy they experience in encountering with customers. However, the narratives of the worker who claim that the social inequality is not eliminated show that they cannot naturalize this inequality in any way.

Both female and male workers anxiously experience unsecured working conditions and in this respect some of the workers avoid dreaming about future. Apparently, workers are pessimistic about finding a better job with higher pay and status, due to their limited level of education. In this regard, they expressed their wish for their children to receive a good education and get job with high status. Moreover, the distrust towards politics creates concern about the future of their own and children.

From the expressions of workers it is gathered that they have no institutional site to distribute their claims and struggle against unfair treatments of dominant class. Although the workers do not naturalize class differences and social inequality, they feel incapable of changing their own conditions. Although the workers cannot naturalize social inequalities, it does not seem possible to talk about an anger directed outside on the face of these inequalities at that moment. On the other hand, workers' expectations from the state focus on regulations about the rights of the lower class and social inequality. One of the important points emphasized by the workers is that political parties do not look after the lower

class and instead reproduce social inequality. In this regard, most of the interviewees think that political parties do not represent them. The lack of confidence towards politics causes the workers to look into the future with concern and think that the lower class is left to its own destiny.

CHAPTER 4

CONCLUSION

This study aims to draw attention to precarious employment process and the problems of self-esteem stemming from the deepening class differences through the example of cleaning workers employed in shopping malls. The discourse that asserts that shopping malls as a solution to unemployment in Turkey, attempts to legitimize precarious and low-cost labor and can be seen in the working conditions which can be labeled “sweatshop work” (Aguilar and Herod, 2006:2).

It is alleged that cleaning workers are subject to a despotic regime that operates with pressure and control mechanisms within a precarious employment structure, which is shaped by a subcontractor labor regime. The breaking up of solidarity and reliance between them, deunionization, and precarious work have made the workers subject to intense exploitation.

Subcontractor employment has become one of the main tools used to prevent unionized organization. Most of the workers mentioned that they were not knowledgeable about unions, and it was observed that they had relatively weak demands with regards to unionization. Workers’ lack of unionization are burdens for them to develop class consciousness and in this process, workers distance themselves from solidarity and collective struggle. It was observed that the workers’ unity was significantly broken and they were aware of this fact that if they had unity, their conditions would be far better; this in turn indicates that the workers were not completely unaware of their class interests.

One of the most important results created by these working conditions is, without a doubt, the constant fear of losing their jobs, and thus, subsistence anxiety. The most important reason for the fear of unemployment is the fact that workers are frequently being subject to dismissal. The precariousness they experience at work becomes obvious in their constant worries. Thus, it is possible to state that oppression mechanisms shape the working conditions of cleaning workers.

Workers emphasized that working in the private sector that they experienced through precarious working conditions was extremely difficult. With this system, workers are forced to work under direct and continuous control, and as such, their freedom is suppressed. It is seen that workers envy those employed by the state, since these people have security and relatively autonomous working conditions. In this regard, the longing for autonomous work is experienced as a way of relief from precarious and oppressive working conditions.

The interviewees stated that although they thought cleaning was a low-status and low-wage job, they kept working because of subsistence anxieties. They also stated that they could not hope to change their jobs due to their advanced age and low possibility of finding another job in the market. According to their narratives, their job is one of the lowest-status professions that can be done only when there is not any other option. The workers have stated that they would leave their jobs without a second thought if the opportunity occurred, but it is clear that they do not expect to find a new job. The more the workers fear unemployment, the more they try to adjust themselves to precarious working conditions and this makes them vulnerable in front of oppression mechanisms.

In the eyes of the workers the chiefs have become a source of pressure and inconsiderateness and they experience mall management as an invisible pressure mechanism. Although some workers stated that they were obedient and quiet, it is observed that there is a lack of dependence between the employer and the employee. Although the workers try to stay on their current job through their

handling strategies, it is seen that the chiefs may put them under intense pressures in order to force them to quit. In this case, although the workers seem to adapt to control hierarchical relations because of precarious working conditions, it is observed that the strategies they develop are not enough to overcome precarity.

Weakening solidarity and trust which began to be dominating in capitalist societies is observed as individualization and becoming withdrawn in the interviewees' lives. The workers are alienated from both labor process in capitalist working order and from their daily lives outside of work. At the center of workers' lives there is family, they define their dreams and anxieties over their family lives and the future of their children (only two of the interviewees said they were not married). This situation reminds Coşkun's (2012) claim which argues that as a result of their discontent related to their lives and inequalities, workers tend to withdraw into their personal lives, led a family centered life and they alienate themselves.

The workers have often mentioned that they are not respected by supervisors and customers. Allegedly, not only do they suffer from precarious working conditions, but also from the underestimation of their efforts. According to Sennett and Cobb (1972), in a class society, respectability has become a growing problem. The workers expect understanding and respect from the customers and supervisors. This situation shows that they are sensitive to hierarchical relations. In the narratives of the workers, the feeling of longing towards autonomy and respect is obvious, but most of the time the desire for respect is not clearly expressed; instead feelings of sadness and resentment emerge. This demonstrates that the respectability problem in hierarchical relations is experienced as "the hidden injuries of class" (Sennett and Cobb, 1972).

While the number of shopping malls increase with their image of wealth presented to middle and higher classes, the problem of why the perception of poverty is strengthened in the working class, who come to these places to work, becomes

visible in social inequality they experience. The workers' define themselves as poor within the rich-poor dichotomy; because of this perception it is necessary to go beyond the narratives which define poverty only with material terms. Erdoğan (2007a) points out that poverty is related to a feeling structure instead of being a financial indication in terms of cultural history of Turkey. In this respect, it is seen that the experienced poverty is strengthened by the feelings like despair, forgottenness, being left alone with one's fate.

The poverty that the workers experience related to their own lives is revealed in the inequalities experienced in their encounters with the customers in the malls, in their relations of respect, touch, getting dirty and (not) see, as well as the customers' expenses, their income level and practices of involvement in social life in their leisure times. On the other hand, it is thought that, due to heavy working conditions and financial impossibilities, their perception of themselves as poor is strengthened by the weakness of involvement in social life practices, insufficiency of their financial conditions in actualizing their dreams about both their own and their children's future, being obliged to work in bottom layer jobs, the lack of having proper channels through which they can express themselves and the feeling of being left alone.

Workers' experiences about wealth are revealed mostly in their encounter with the customers. The customers who are defined as rich by the workers are the ones who do not form any kind of relation with the cleaning workers unless they have to, who have high income level, and who can spend time with their families and friends for entertainment unlike themselves. On the other hand, "wealth" is experienced in such an intense social inequality that it cannot be defined with interiorized and naturalized expressions in terms of workers' point of view.

The emphasis upon the possibility that wealth might have been gained through illegitimate ways in the narratives of the workers shows that they do not accept the educational and cultural authority of the rich. Instead of explaining the source

of wealth with cultural and educational credentials, they emphasize that this wealth might have been gained through illegitimate ways. When the narratives of the workers questioning the source of income of the wealthy and their anxieties about the future of the educated people are considered, it is understood that wealth is not justified with having good education and found just. This situation points to the fact that the close relationship between the educational capital and economic capital is being questioned by the workers.

Workers' emphasis upon social injustice before class difference that they experience in their encounters with the customers shows that they cannot internalize economic and social inequalities. On the other hand this resentment before social inequality is expressed by the workers through feelings like contempt, slight and disrespect to the labor coming from the customers. Workers mention that wealth damages moral values however there are only a few narratives featuring their own moral values. Although it is possible to encounter "egalitarian apprehension" even if slightly, it is observed that these apprehensions are not enough to overcome resentment and to accept social inequality (Erdoğan, 2007b). We see that the moral weapons which the workers use against hierarchical relations are not strong enough in the face of the symbolic violence of class differences.

On the other hand, it is seen that the workers develop subsistence and resistance strategies against difficult social conditions. They try to make their own way with subsistence strategies before the power of capital; and to achieve this, for example, men work in additional works and women begin working as wage-earners. On the other hand it can be said that working outside as wage-earners does not create immense changes in women's role in the division of labor or their responsibilities within family. This stability in the division of labor shows that patriarchal ideology maintains its existence. It is understood from the narratives of the women that they want to transfer from temporary jobs like house cleaning to a regular and permanent job by working in cleaning companies. However it appears

from working conditions that they are also subject to irregular and temporary work relations in the cleaning sector. In this respect workers mentioned that they had expected to work under better conditions but they were disappointed.

The intense state of despair and the concerns about the future are remarkable in the accounts of the workers. Not even one worker said he/she was hopeful about the future, or that conditions would improve. Although their dreams are mostly expressed in regards to their children, it is obvious that workers are anxious about it. Even though their children's attainment of a good education means that they will find better jobs than theirs, they have expressed their concerns about the unemployment of even well – educated. They also stated that although their children received a good education, it was almost impossible for them to have a life like the other children who inherited a higher status from their families.

Apparently, the fact that the workers mention their concerns about white collar unemployment shows that they have concerns about the market conditions and the future of their children. Although all of the workers want a better job, the conditions that they are in prevent them from having the opportunity to choose. They stated that they did not have hopes of changing their jobs because of their advanced age, their level of education and low possibility of finding another job in the market. They define their dreams as “realist” considering the conditions that they are in.

The decline of the welfare state during the process when neo-liberal discourses began to be dominating is also apparent in experiences of the workers. The demand from the state to protect the workers come forward frequently in the narratives of the workers. Most of the workers said that state should have brought an arrangement about annual leave, overtime and compensation. This situation shows that the workers' expectations from the state are towards the betterment of their position and conditions within precarious employment structure.

The distrust towards politics and hopelessness about the future of the society are intertwined in the narratives of the workers (Erdoğan, 2002b). On the one hand they want their voice to be heard but on the other they are hopeless about the future. The break of the representation tie between the political parties and the workers led them to feel desperate about the future. While the workers think that state regulations are necessary, the inability to make their voices heard and distrust towards political process strengthen the feelings that they need to take care of their own and that they are left to their own fate.

Even if the workers tend to withdraw into their personal lives, they do not show submissiveness towards class relations. The workers are exposed to intense control, the conditions are getting harder to adapt to precarious employment and they experience social inequality every day; all of these cause the workers to question these processes. On the other hand, the thought that there are not alternative job opportunities, the trust issue created among the workers, subsistence anxieties and the lack of struggle and organizing experience and also the lack of a channel through which they can make their voice heard make it difficult for workers to stand against the pressure and exploitation conditions. Consequently, despite the resentment the workers show towards class differences, the fact that they believe they cannot change their situation and their withdrawal into their personal lives implies they do not have a tendency to collective action anytime soon.

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APPENDIX A

INFORMATION ABOUT THE INTERVIEWEES

Name	Sex	Age	Marital Status	No. of child	Education *	Experience in shopping malls	Earlier work experience
Vedat	M	45	Married	2	S. S.	8 years	Stallholder, Cleaner in malls and hospitals
Sevgi	F	37	Married	–	P. S.	2 years	Cook, Charwoman
Filiz	F	38	Married	2	S. S.	6 years	Charwoman
Zeki	M	52	Married	3	S. S.	7 years	Cleaner in hospitals and stores
Ayşe	F	36	Married	2	P. S.	4 years	Charwoman
Ali	M	38	Married	2	S. S.	3 years	Painter, Stallholder
Fatma	F	33	Married	3	S. S.	2 years	Charwoman
Salih	M	29	Single	-	H. S.	1 year	Waiter
Leyla	F	44	Married	2	P. S.	6 years	Charwoman
Nurgül	F	30	Married	1	S. S.	2 years	Saleswoman

Nazım	M	53	Married	2	H. S.	3 years	Worker in Printing House
Ceyhun	M	34	Married	2	S. S.	6 years	Cleaner in Stores
Serhat	M	34	Married	2	P. S.	5 years	-
Mustafa	M	38	Married	2	S. S.	5 years	Cleaner in Malls, Painter
Ersan	M	32	Single	-	S. S.	1 year	Supermarket Cashier
Derya	F	29	Married	1	H. S.	2 months	-
İsmail	M	51	Married	3	P. S.	3 years	Construction Worker
Ayten	F	42	Married	2	P. S.	4 years	Charwoman
Bahar	F	31	Married	1	S. S.	1 year	Product Presentation
Canan	F	38	Married	2	S. S.	2 years	Charwoman

*P.S. Primary School

S. S. Secondary School

H. S. High School

APPENDIX B

AN EXAMPLE OF INTERVIEWS

-Merhaba Vedat abi

Merhaba

-Biraz kendinden bahseder misin? Kaç yaşındasın, nerelisin?

45 yaşındayım ben. Kastamonuluyum.

-Evli misin, çocukların var mı?

Evliyim iki kızım var küçükler daha. Biri 3 biri 6 yaşında.

-Eşin çalışıyo mu?

Yok o çalışmıyo anlamaz dışarı işlerinden. Alışık değil yani çocuklarla ilgileniyo. Zaten yaptığımız işler zor mecbur kalmadıkça çalışsın istemem.

-Kaç yıldır bu işte çalışıyosun?

6 yıldır burdayım ama 8 yıldır temizlik sektöründeyim. Buraya gelmeden başka bi AVM'de temizlik işçisiydim. Bide daha önce bi hastanede yine temizlik işine bakıyodum.

-Buraya geçmenin bi nedeni var mı?

Yok öyle bi nedeni yokta. O ara başka bi iş bulurum dedim ama yine temizlik işçiliği oldu. Arada iş değişiklikleri oluyo. Gittiğin yerde kaç yıl kalabilirsin bilemiyosun. Yine 6 yıldır burdayım.

-Burda daha mı iyi çalışma koşulların?

Yok yine aynı pek dişe değişmedi aslında. Yine temizlik işçisiydim yine bu işleri yapıyodum. Hastanede de temizlik işçiliği yaptım bi süre aynıydı değişen bişe yok. Zaten benim çalıştığım yerler evime yakın olmadıkları için gidip gelmek ikisinde de zor oluyo. Onun dışında koşullar açısından da fark eden bişe olmuyo. Burda başlamadan önce çok iş değiştirdim hiçbirinde öyle farklı değil koşulları.

-Çalıştığın yer değişse bile koşulların değişmiyo mu?

Tabi ne deęişicekki yaptığın işler belli alt tabaka işler yapıyosun. Her zaman ezilensin nasıl deęişsin koşulların. Koşulları en ağır işlerde çalışan hep sensin bişe deęişmiyo o yüzden.

-Niye deęişmiyo peki?

E eğitimin yok bişe yok elinde yapabildiğin işler belli. Ailenin koşulları belli sana sağladıkları imkanlar belli öyle bişe deęişmiyo hayatında. Hastane olsun AVM olsun yaptığın iş temizlik sonuçta.

-Temizlik işi zor deęil mi?

Zor tabi temizlik işinin ayrı bi zorluğu var. Yani asgari ücretle çalışman dışında temizlik işçiliğinin aşağı görülen bi durumu var. Pis bi işle içiçesin. Kimse mecbur kalmadıkça yapmak istemez.

-Çalışma koşullarına tekrar döneriz ama çok zor günler geçirdim dedin görüşmemizden önce. Yaşadıklarından bahseder misin biraz?

Bizim aslında 20 yıl önce durumumuz iyiydi. Biz okumadık ortaokuldan sonra ama durumumuz iyiydi. İstanbul'da ekmek fırınımız vardı. Fırınımız iyi çalışıyordu. Bi düzen kurmuş gidiyoduk. Ama babamın kumar merakı bizi bu durumlara düşürdü. Kumarda bizim her şeyimizi batırdı. Babam ondan sonra kafasını yerden yere vurdu bizi düşürdüğü durumdan sonra. Türkiye'nin en fakir insanı durumuna geldik. Onca varlıktan geriye hiçbişe kalmadı. Ben daha çocuktum o sıralar. Su satmaya başladım. Yollarda pazarlarda soğuk su satıyodum. Yollarda teneke kutu topluyodum. Yıllarca hurdacılık da yaptım, çöpleri karıştırıyodum. O biriktirdiklerimizle babamın borcunu ödemeye çalışıyoduk. Hamallık yaptım senelerce. Kaportacılık yaptım. O iş senin bu iş benim çalıştım. Gün geldi aç kaldım ben. Günlerce aç kaldığımı bilirim ben. Oturacak evimiz yoktu bize kapısını açanlar oldu. Benim komşum bazen kirasını istemezdi durumumu bildiği için ama akrabalar öyle deęil.

-Akrabaların destek olmadı mı?

Beş yıl kadar akrabamın evinde otururken çok zor günler yaşadım ben. Hergün gelir evi kontrol ederlerdi. Evi gezip zarar verdik mi diye kontrol ederlerdi. Durumumuzu başımıza kakarlardı. Aldığımız en ufak şeye siz açsınız bunu napıcaksınız derlerdi. Orda konuşurlardı burda konuşurlardı. Bayramlarda ziyarete

giderdik, etin kokusunu aldı geldi derlerdi. Köpek miyim ben derdim çok üzülürdüm o durumlara. Yani o çevrede de çok ezildik. O zaman bi karar verdim durumumu düzelticem dedim. Şimdi gece gündüz çalışıyorum. Mağaza temizliğine gidiyorum pazarda çalışıyorum. Ailemi göremiyorum desem abartmam. Ama o durumları yaşamak kolay değildi. Yemin ettim kendime. Şimdi akrabaların ihtiyacı oluyo benden borç istiyolar vermiyorum. Eskiye unutmam mümkün değil.

-Şimdi geçinebiliyo musun?

İşte ben böyle gece gündüz çalışıyorum. Bankadan çekiyosun 800 milyon maaşını eve gidene kadar cebinde 100 milyon para kalıyo. Bu kadar borcum var hangisini ödüyüm diye düşünmeye başlıyosun. Asgari ücretle geçinmek çok zor. Ama diyorum ya başka işler de yapıyorum. Gece gündüz çalışıyorum ekonomik durumumu düzeltmek için. Bazen gözlerim kan çanağına dönmüş şekilde geliyorum işe. Gözlerimin içine birsürü iğne doldurmuşlar gibi hissediyorum. Dışardan gören içen biri olduğumu düşünür öyle geziyorum ortalıkta. Uyumadan çalıştığım oluyo. Akşam gidiyorum eşim çocuklarım uyuyo oluyo sabah geliyorum uyuyo oluyolar. Çünkü evde zaman geçiremiyorum hiç. Şimdi genç olduğum için bu kadar çalışabiliyorum ama geleceğimi de şimdiden düşünmek zorundayım.

-Yaşlanınca ne yaparım diye endişeleniyosun di mi şimdiden

Tabi hep düşünüyorum bunları hasta olup çalışmasam ne yapıcım kim geçindiricek ailemi. Daha çocuklar küçük onlar büyüyüp okuyacak daha. Ben bunları sürekli düşünüyorum. Şimdiden düşünmek zorundayım. Biz bi şekilde idare etsek çocuklar napıcak diyorum.

-Çocukların okuyup ne iş yapsın istiyosun?

Aslında okusunlar istiyorum kendilerini kurtarsınlar. Çocuklar okumazlarsa bizden farklı bi hayatları olmaz ama zaman kötü bi zaman. Bizim Türkiye’de dayısı olan, torpili olan heryere geliyo. Bu çocuklar okusa bile bunların dayısı bi yerlerde olmayınca bişe yapamazlar ben öyle düşünüyorum. Ama bi yandanda istiyosun tabi temiz bi işleri olsun temiz yerlerde otursunlar. Bizim oralar kolay yerler değil.

-Nerde oturuyodun?

Yenidoğan tarafında. Bizim o taraflardan buralara gelince görüyorsun zor bi ortamın içinden geliyorsun.

-Nasıl sıkıntılar var?

Şimdi bizim oralarda uyuşturucu kullanımı, hırsızlık gibi olaylar çok olur. Benim etrafım komple esrarcı torbacı hırsız dolu. Kolay bi ortam değil. Her türlü pisliğin içinden geliyorum. Adamlar akşama kadar şarap içer karısı çalışır eve bakar. Şarabına sarılır uyur sokaklarda. Bizim oralarda her türlü pislik var. Ama yokluktan geliyo bunların çoğu. İşte benim kızlarım var o ortamda büyümelerini istemiyorum. Ondan da bu kadar çalışıyorum. Yarın büyüdüklerinde biz onları o ortamdan nasıl koruycaz.

-AVM'ye gelince farklı geliyo mu buralar?

Tabi buralarda varlıklı insanlar oturuyo varlıklı insanlar geliyo. Sokaklar temiz yokluk ne bilmez burdakiler. Bizim ortamı anlamak için oralarda yaşamak lazım. Hiç kolay değil.

-Buraya gelenler hep varlıklı müşteriler mi?

Tabi varlıklı olanlar gelir ancak. Bizim ordakileri buralarda görmem mümkün değil. Nası gelsin zaten gelip n'apsın. Burala gücü yetenler belli işte.

-Varlıklı dediğin müşterilerin hayatını merak ettiğin oluyo mu buralarda karşılaştığında?

Arada konuşuyoruz arkadaşlarla. Görüyorsun rahat bi hayatları var diyorsun. Merak ediyorsun ne iş yapıyorlar falan ama tabi bilemiyoruz.

-Müşterilerle ilişkileriniz nasıl konuştuğunuz oluyo mu?

Müşteriler pek umrumda değil açıkçası. Onların gözünde hiçbi değer yok. Yaptığın işin hiçbi değeri yok. Bunu zaten yıllar içinde görüyorsun. O yüzden bu konuda kendini yormak boşuna. Zaten temizlik işçiliği en alt seviyedeki bi iş olarak görülüyo. İşe başlarken bunları kabul ederek başlıyorsun. Yaptığımız işin emek isteyen bi iş olduğunu anlayacaklarını sanmıyorum. Ama dedim ya bizim müşterilerle pek işimiz yok. Biz işte kendi koşullarımızın derdindeyiz.

-Temizlik işçisi olmak zor dedin. Peki, AVM’de temizlik işçisi olmanın ayrı bi zorluğu var mı hastanede de çalışmışsın ya bi dönem

Hastane ortamı sağlık açısından daha riskli oluyo. Enfeksiyon kapma ihtimali yüksek. Hastayla atıklarla birebir içiçesin o ortamda. Yani sana verdikleri giysiler hiçbiri seni koruyabilecek şeyler değil. Ama AVM’lerde de çalışmak zor tabi seni her işe koşturmaya çalışıyorlar. Aslında temizlik işi zor zaten. Temizlik diye giriyosun ama başka işlere de veriyorlar. Taşeron çalıştığımız için bütün işleri bize yaptırıyorlar. Burda çoğu mecburiyetten çalışan insanlar yoksa akli başında bi insan gelip bu koşullarda çalışamaz.

-Ne işlere koşturuyorlar sizi?

Mesela kanalizasyon bizim işimiz değil. Şirketler AVM yönetimi belediyeye para vermemek için onları da bize yaptırıyorlar. Sonuçta bu iş için şirkete para ödüyö yönetim ama onu işçiye ödemiyorlar. Yönetim her işi şirkete yaptırıyor. Şirkette bize yaptırıyor. Yönetim bu işleri yapmıyıcaksan topla personelini çek git diyo şirkete. Şirkette bu işleri bize yaptırıyor ondan sonra. Elimizde bi tane kürek kuyulardan pislik çekiyoruz. Ne kullanıyorsunuz kendinizi bu pislikten korumak için dersen hiçbişe kullanmıyoruz. Elimizde lateks eldiven üstümüzde tulum incecik bi tane maske. Bunların hiçbiri koruyan şeyler değil hepsi su çekiyo. Normalde belediyenin bu işleri yapmak için makineleri var. Vakum makineleri var onların. Atıyorlar hortumu kocaman bi tankerle çekiyorlar. Bütün işleri biz yapıyoruz. Taşıma işlerini de bize yaptırıyorlar. Taşeron çalıştığımız için bütün işleri bize yaptırıyorlar. İşe alırken desen ayrı bi tartaklıyolar seni.

-Ne dediler mesela?

Kavgacı mısın diyolar. Kavgacı birine benziyosun diyolar. Tipin kayık seni beğenmedik diyolar düşün. Daha işe girmeden aşağılanmaya başlıyosun zaten. İşte sana dedim ya etrafım yoksul insanlarla dolu. İşte biraz da bunlardan kaynaklanıyo. Sen işe almıyosun tipin kayık diyosun, o işe almıyo adam da başka yollara sapmaya başlıyo bu sefer. Yok bu iş yapmaz, yok bu kör, yok bu topal diyip de bu insanlara iş vermezsen bu adamlar ne iş yapacak.

-Bunlar incitici oluyo değil mi?

Tabi çok incitici. Senin yerin dibine sokmak için herşeyi yapıyo adamlar. Daha işe girmeden başlıyolar aşağılamaya.

-Sonra da öyle mi devam ediyö?

Öyle devam ediyö hatta daha beter seni her türlü ezmeye başlıyolar.

-Var mı aklında kalan bi olay?

Burda hergün bi olay var ama aklımda kalsın istemem hiç. O olayı ben yaşamasam bi arkadaşım yaşıyo. Adam sana her türlü lafı söyleyebliyo. Böyle şeyler çok oluyo bu ortamda.

-Yaptığın işi sen nasıl görüyorsun?

Biz kurmalı bebek gibi olmuşuz artık. Makine gibi olmuşuz. Hiçbişe düşünemiyoruz. Ordan çağırdılar koş oraya git, burdan çağırdılar koş buraya git. Rutinleşmişiz artık. Temizlik şirketinde çalışmak tabanda çalışmak. En altta çalışan insansın. En alt tabaka sen olduğun sürece bütün pisliği sen çekiyosun. İşin özü bu yani. Senin bi seçenek hakkın olmuyo. İşe girerken sana bi kağıt imzalatıyolar. Sen yurtdışına şehir dışına çıkabileceğine dair kağıt imzalıyorsun. İstedğim yerde çalıştırabilirim diye kağıt imzalatıyolar sana. Seni mesela Sincana göndericem 7 de orda olucaksın diyorlar. Otobüs 6.30 da zaten benim 7 de orda olmamın imkanı yokki.

-Ne yapıyorsun öyle olunca?

Ya gidicen ya işi bırakıcan. Sen şunu yapmam dediğin anda bütün bu durumları senin aleyhine kullanmaya başlıyo göndermek için. Sana her işi yaptırırlar ama sen bir gün bu işi yapamam dediğin zaman hadi güle güle diyorlar. Seni her işte kullanmaya bakıyolar. Bizim yaptığımız iş nankör bi iş. Hiçbi şekilde değerini yok. İşçinin hiçbir şekilde değeri yok. Şefin yönetimin müşterilerin gözünde sıfırsın. Resmen amelelik yapıyoruz burda. Ama bizi toplayıp konuştukları zaman siz bizim elimiz ayağımızsınız diyorlar. Siz olmadan biz ekmek yiyemeyiz diyorlar. Peki işçinin hakkını niye ödemiyosun? Şu anda kimse mecbur kalmadıkça asgari ücretle çalışan bi temizlik işçisi olmak istemiyo. Benim fazla çalışma ücretimi ödemedikleri gibi birsürü paramı kesiyolar. Kimi şirket maaşı düzenli ödemez, kimisi sigortayı düzenli ödemez her türlü haksızlığa maruzsun. İşçinin hakkını çok fazla yiyolar. Senin bi işin olsa kimse destek çıkmaz hemen arkasını dönüp

giderler. Yani şirket seni her işe koşturur her işini yapmanı bekler ama sen bigün bile bişey talep edemezsin onlardan. Semeri sana vururlar yükün hepsini taşıtırlar. Yükü taşıdığın sürece sen kralısın samanın da gelir arpan da gelir herşey gelir önüne. Yükünü indirdiğin anda güle güle atım derler sana.

-Sendikalı olsan farklı olur muydu?

Bilmiyorum valla olabilirdi. Burda sendika üyesi olmaya kalksan seni hemen işten çıkarmaya bakarlar. Buralarda öyle haklarını aramaya kalkanları tutmazlar.

-Sizin böyle bi talebiniz oldu mu daha önce?

Yok olmadı. İşte işten çıkarırlar diye kimsenin böyle bi talebi olmuyo. Bide bizim sendikalar hakkında çok bi bilgimiz de yok. Hatta arkadaşlardan hiç duymamış olanlar da vardır.

-Hani diyosun ya temizlik dışındaki işlere de veriyolar karşı çıktığımız olmuyo mu?

Burda çalışan insanlar çok çekingen olur. Ezilmiş insanlarız. Asgari ücretle çalışan ezilmiş işçi tarafları asgari ücrete katlanıyosak mecburiyetten katlanıyoruz. O yüzden ben burdan çıkarsam bi daha iş bulamam korkusu var. Haklarımızı savunalım tamam mı diyosun tamam diyolar. Sonra geri adım atmaya başlıyolar ortada öyle kalıyosun. Haklılar çünkü gerçekten iş bulmak çok zor. Çoğu ilkokul mezunu. İş bulamam diye korkuyolar. Ama dediğim gibi insanlarda bi korku var. Şimdi burda çalışanların çoğu ilkokul mezunu ama çoğu yer lise mezunu istemeye başladı bile. Ben kendi açımdan söylüyüm şeflere fazla taviz vermem. Neden çünkü şirketler kendini ezdirmeyen adama kolay kolay bişey yapamıyolar. Ezebildiklerini de çok eziyolar. Daha önce hastanede çalışırken müdürle biz hergün kavga ediyoduk. Yöneticimiz bi bayandı ağzına geleni söylüyodu çekinmeden. İnsanları yerin dibine sokuyodu. Bi insan bu şekilde olamaz dedim. İnsanları yerin dibine sokardı. Arkadaşları birbirine düşürdü. İnsanların ağzından laf alırdı. Ben 45 yaşındayım karşılarında küçük bi çocuk yok sonuçta. Hiçbi müdür kalkıp bana sesini yükselterek beni rencide ederek konuşamaz. Bunlara izin vermem artık. Senin de çalışan olarak tepkini koyman gerekiyo.

-Nasıl koyuyosun tepkini?

Şimdi şöyle bana bi iş veriyö mesela ben o işi yaparım. Ama hiç bi işi dört dörtlük yerine getirmem. Hemen bende sesimi yükseltiyorum. Bazen diyorum yapmıyorum sen bunun parasını yönetimden alıyo musun alıyosun bana niye ödemiyosun? Bana bunu bedavaya yaptırıyosun hiç bi ücret ödemedem. Benim kanunen kaç saat çalışma sürem var 8 saat, yemek ve çay molası içinde olmak şartıyla. Niye sen beni 9 saat çalıştırıyosun diyorum. Benim 1 saatlik paramı ödemiyolar. Maaş yedi buçuk saat çalışmamız üzerinden hesaplanıyo ama imza çizelgesine gelince ben fazla çalıştığımı ordan ispatlayabiliyorum. Ben bunlar için şu anda bi ücret almıyorum. Ama önlemimi almaya başladım. Evde bi dosya yaptım bütün yaptığım işlerin fotokopisini çekip dosyama koyuyorum. 8 yıldır çalışmış olduğum bütün maaş bordrom elimde. Her çalıştığım projenin fotokopisi imzalı olarak elimde duruyo. Ne yaptım mesela kuyu temizlemişim. Belediyenin yapması gereken işi ben mi yaptım arkadaşşa veriyorum telefonumu ben burayı temizlerken çek diyorum. Bütün hepsini biriktiriyorum belgeleri, fotoğrafları. Adliyeye gittim işçi mahkemesine gittim. Ben orda bi tane avukatla görüştüm. Barodan bi avukat istedim. Benim durumum yok dedim senelerce sürebilir bu iş sonuçta. Barodan bi avukat gelince ücret ödemiyosun. Kaybeden taraftan bu adamlar parasını alıyo zaten fazlasıyla.

-Ne oldu peki mahkeme işi?

Gittim işte barodan bi avukatla görüştüm. Avukat bana elinde herhangi bi delilin varmı dedi. Ben elimdeki bütün imza çizelgelerini, maaş bordromu avukata gösterdim. Avukata ben bunları gösterdim bakın dedim ben onlarla sadece temizlik yapıcam diye anlaştım kuyu temizliycem diye anlaşmadım fotoğrafları burda dedim. Amele gibi bütün taşıma işlerini yapıcam diye anlaşmadım ama bütün taşıma işlerini yapıyoruz dedim. Ben siteler tarafında amelelik yapsam günde 70 milyona bundan fazlasını kazanıyorum. Ben temizlik işçisi olarak girdim burdaki bütün işleri niye ben yapıyorum dedim. Bana avukat ne dedi biliyo musun sen kararlı mısın mahkemeye vermeye dedi. Kararlıysan sen yüzde yüz kazanıyosun dedi. O fazla çalıştıklarının iki katını da şirkete ödettiricem ben dedi. Bayramlarda nasıl çalışıyosun dedi. Ben bayramlarda hiç izin kullanmıyorumki dedim. Bayramlarda sana kolay kolay izin kullandırmıyolar. Seni gönderiyolar

eksik adam olan projelerde çalıştırıyorlar mesela. Yönetim kontrol etse seninle 100 eleman için anlaşlık benim iki üç elemanım nerde dese öyle bi denetim de yok. Avukat bana şunu önerdi dediki ister şimdi davayı açalım istersen 3600 yarasını bekle. 3600ünü kazan hakkını biraz daha genişlet dedi. Ben sana o davadan bi daire parası çıkarıcam dedi. İki sene sonra seni bekliyorum dedi.

-Diğer işçilerle de konuşur musunuz bu haklarınızı?

Arkadaşlarla hep konuşuyorum anlatıyorum onlara ama arkadaşlar bundan çekiniyo. Ya kaybedersem diyolar. Bu sefer diğer yerlerde tepki koyar diye düşünüyorlar. Tazminatı alamıycam mahkeme masraflarını ödüycem diyolar bu sefer ben ailemle de kötü olucam diyolar. Evliyse yuvam yıkılıcak diye düşünüyorlar. Böyle bi korku var insanlarda. Diyorumki arkadaşım bak hiç bişeyden korkmayın siz de hakkınızı savunun diyorum. Biz işçiler çalışanlar olarak hakkımızı savunmadığımız için bu durumda kalıyoruz diyorum. İşçiler hiçbi hakkını savunamıyo. Ondan bizi böyle eziyorlar diyorum. Bilmiyorum belki ben kazanırsam onlarında böyle bi girişimi olur zamanla.

-Burda arkadaşlık ilişkileriniz nasıl sıkıntılarınızı konuşur musunuz?

Çok yakın arkadaşlıklar yok bu ortamda. Bizim arkadaşlarla aramızda birlik yok çünkü düzen bu şekilde kurulmuş. Mesela biri işini iyi yapıyo diğeri baştan savma yapıyo iyi yapanı çekiyorlar sen bu adamı sıkıştır kavga çıkar seni şef yapıcaz diyolar o kişiye vaatlerde bulumuyolar. O kişi ortalığı karıştırısın istiyolar. Bu adamı öyle kandırıyorlar. Buda o gazla gidiyo öbürüne laf söyleyip kavga çıkarıyo. Sonra bunlara tutanak tutuluyo işyerindeki düzeni bozduklarına dair. Ama noluyo biliyomusun ikisinin de çıkışını veriyorlar. Yani vaatlerde bulduklarını da harcıyorlar. Bi Ahmet gider bi Mehmet gelir hesabı yapıyorlar. Kimse umurlarında olmaz. Arkadaşlar da işte üç gün daha kalıyım diye bakıyo.

-Bazı işçiler burdan ayrılırsa tazminatının içerde kaldığını söylüyo

Tazminatı es geç bence. Sana burdan tazminat vermemek için herşeyi yaparlar zaten. Seni alır burdan gidemiyceğin yerlere verir. Diyiceksin ki sen niye çalışıyosun? Büyük firmaların çevresi geniş oluyo heryerde adamları var bunların.

-Nasıl bi sıkıntı yaratıyo bu durum?

Bu sefer seni diđer yerlerde de iflah etmiyolar. Gidiyosun bi yere ben sıkıntıdayım şikayetim var diyosun sen daha çıkmadan bu adamları arıyolar. Bi de bizde böyle bi sıkıntı var işte. Böyle bi korkuda yaşıyoy. İşte böyle olunca herkesi kendimi koruyum diye birbirinin kuyusunu kazmaya çalışıyo. Kendi yerini sağlamlaştırmak korumak için şeflere yaranmaya başlıyo. Herkes birbirinin ekmeđine taş koymaya başlıyo. Ben genç gelen herkese söylüyorum gidip meslek öğrenin burda ne işiniz var diyorum. Gidin kaportacılık öğrenin bu işin sonu yok diyorum. En azından elinde bi mesleđin olur. Senin burda emeđine deymiycek diyorum. Mađaza çalışanları bile yemek çekleri şudur budur 2 milyar maaş alıyolar ve senden az çalışıyolar. Sen burda kendini yırtıyosun.

-Daha mı iyi mađaza çalışanlarının koşulları?

Tabi daha iyi. Hem maaşları hem çalışma koşulları daha iyi. En azından bizimkinden daha çok saygı gören bi işleri var. Onlar bile yeri geliyo senin yaptığın işi küçük görüyo. Biz burda en alt tabakada çalışanlarız.

-Onlar da mı işinize saygı göstermiyo?

Valla bence kimse saygı göstermiyo yaptığımız işe sen de görüyorsun. Burda yaptığımız işin hiçbi değeri yok diyorum ya bu konuda kendini yormak boşuna.

-Memleketin durumunu nasıl görüyorsun?

Ülke olarak nereye gidiyoruz ben onu anlamıyorum. Kimin ne yaptığı belli deđil. Bana dokunmayan millet bin yaşasın durumu var memlekette. Bu memlekette başının çaresine bakmak zorundasın. Herkes kendi çıkarına bakar olmuş. Alt tabaka hep eziliyo. Bizim gibi ezilenler zaten geçmişten korkarak gelmişiz. Ezilerek gelmişiz bu günlere.

-Peki alt tabakanın halinden anlayan bi parti var mı senin de beđendiđin?

Bence yok böyle bi parti. Ben oy kullanmıyorum. Bu partilerin beni temsil ettiklerine inanmıyorum. Gelenlerin ne yaptığı ortada. Kendi haklarını savunmazsan sana kimseden fayda yok bunu öğrendim ben. İşçi olarak kendi haklarını savunmak zorundasın. Bu konuda da kendi başına olduğunu bilmek zorundasın.

-Mücadele ederken kimseden destek istemez misin?

Bilmiyorum herkesin birbirinin ekmeğinde gözü var. Aslında böyle olmaması gerekiyo herkesin birbirini savunması gerekiyo işçiler olarak. Ama düzen böyle kurulmuş ondan eziliyoruz.

-Nasıl değişir bu koşullar?

Devletin düzenlemeler getirmesi lazım. Herkes gibi asgari ücretten vergi alınmamasını istiyorum bende. Düşün ben 45 yaşına gelmişim bi güvencem olsun istiyorum. Bu yaşta işten çıkarsalar tekrar iş bulamam korkusu yaşıyorum .İşte devletin bizim gibi asgari ücretle geçinen kesimin koşullarını iyileştirmesi lazım. Ben kendi önlemlerimi almaya başladım ama devlet nasıl önlemler getirir bilmiyorum.

-Geleceğini nasıl görüyorsunuz?

Geleceği görebilmen mümkün değil. Yarın ne olacağını bilmiyosun. Tabi benim böyle düşünmemde yaşadıklarımın etkisi var. Öyle olunca yarın başıma herşey gelebilir diyosun. Bizim geleceği belli olmayan bi işimiz var o yüzden elimiz ayağımız tutuyoken bişeler yapmaya bakıyoruz işte. Yaşımız olduğu yerde durmuyo belli bi süre daha bu tempoda çalışabilirim.

-Hayalin var mı?

Elimde mesleklerim var onları kullanmak istiyorum artık. Yıllarca başkasının yanında çalışmak kolay değil. Kızlarım daha düzgün bi ortamda yetişsin istiyorum. Erkek çocuklarım olsaydı canımı bu kadar sıkımdım. O ortamda büyürlerse bi gün sahip çıksan diğer gün sahip çıkamazsın. Kız çocuklarını bu ortamda büyütmek çok zor. Biz onlardan sevgimizi eksik etmemeye çalışıyoruz. Yokluk ortamında çocuk büyütmek zor hadi ben gidiyorum diyip çeker giderler. Ama büyücekler o zaman sahip çıkman zor öyle bi ortamda.

-Zaman ayırdığın için teşekkür ederim

Ben teşekkür ederim

APPENDIX C

TURKISH SUMMARY

Bu çalışma, alışveriş merkezlerinde taşeron olarak çalışan temizlik işçilerinin sınıf deneyimlerini analiz etmeyi amaçlamaktadır. Alışveriş merkezlerinde çalışan temizlik işçileri örneğiyle; güvencesiz istihdam sürecine ve derinleşen sınıf farklarına ve bu yolla tecrübe edilen saygınlık sorunlarına dikkat çekilmek istenmektedir. Çünkü temizlik işçileri ağır çalışma koşullarına tabi olmalarının yanı sıra hiyerarşik ilişkilerde saygınlık sorunlarına da açıktırlar.

Bu çerçevede, alışveriş merkezlerinde çalışan temizlik işçilerinin güvencesiz istihdam sürecini nasıl deneyimledikleri, bu sürece nasıl tepki verdikleri, güvencesiz istihdam yapısının işçilerin dayanışma ve sınıf bilinci geliştirebilme olanaklarını nasıl etkilediği, işçilerin hiyerarşik sınıf ilişkilerini nasıl özsaygı meselesi olarak deneyimledikleri ve sınıf farklarını ne ölçüde içselleştirebildikleri tartışılmaktadır. Çalışma temel olarak, neoliberal uygulamalarla şekillenen güvencesiz istihdam ilişkilerinin ve derinleşen sınıf farklarının, alışveriş merkezlerinde çalışan temizlik işçileri için ne anlama geldiğini ve hayatta kalma mücadeleleri üzerinde nasıl etkili olduğunu tartışmaktadır.

Türkiye’de işçilerin sınıf ve çalışma deneyimlerini işçilerin kendi anlatılarıyla inceleyen sınırlı sayıda çalışma olduğu ve alışveriş merkezlerine ilişkin çalışmaların tüketim ve müşteri odaklı olduğu düşünülürse, bu çalışmanın alışveriş merkezlerinde çalışan temizlik işçileri örneğiyle Türkiye’deki sınıf literatürüne katkı yapması umulmaktadır.

Bu tartışmalar doğrultusunda, bu analize imkan verecek kavramsal bir çerçeveye ve işçilerin tecrübelerine ve anlatılarına yer verilmiştir. Çalışmanın ilk bölümünde esnek ve güvencesiz istihdam sürecine, taşeron çalışma rejimine ve

Türkiye’deki sınıf çalışmalarına dair kısa bir teorik tartışmayla birlikte çalışmanın amacından ve araştırma yönteminden bahsedilmektedir. Çalışmanın ikinci bölümü, taşeron olarak çalışan temizlik işçilerinin güvencesiz istihdam biçimlerini sınıf bilinci, güven, dayanışma ve sendikal örgütlülük bağlamında nasıl tecrübe ettiklerine dair ipuçları yakalamayı amaçlamaktadır. Bununla birlikte işçilerin şeflerle karşılaşmalarında sınıf farklarını nasıl saygınlık sorunu olarak deneyimlediklerini, şeflerin uygunsuz davranışları ile ne ölçüde baş edebildiklerini ve işçilerin geçim stratejilerini tartışmaktadır. Çalışmanın üçüncü bölümünde; işçilerin müşterilerle karşılaşmalarında tecrübe ettikleri sınıf farklarını, saygınlık ve yoksunluk bağlamında nasıl tecrübe ettikleri, işçilerin bu sürece nasıl tepki verdikleri, tecrübe ettikleri sınıf farklarını politik süreçlerle ne ölçüde ilişkilendirdikleri, işçilerin mevcut siyaset biçimleriyle nasıl ilişki kurdukları ve işçilerin içinde buldukları koşulların gelecek hayallerini nasıl şekillendirdiği tartışılmaktadır.

Alışveriş merkezlerinin Türkiye’deki istihdam sorununa büyük bir katkı sağladığı ve tüketicilerin hayatını oldukça renklendirdiği yönündeki yaygın söylemler emeğin güvencesiz konumunu gizlemektedir. Diğer taraftan, alışveriş merkezleri örneğinde işçilerin tecrübelerine dair oldukça az çalışma bulunması ve yapılan çalışmaların genellikle tüketim ve tüketici davranışlarına odaklanması emeğin görünmezliğini pekiştirmektedir. Türkiye’deki alışveriş merkezlerinin istihdam sorununa önemli ölçüde katkı yaptığını öne süren söylemlerin güvencesiz ve ucuz emek gücünü meşrulaştırma amacı, işçilerin sınıf tecrübelerinde ve “ter atölyesi” olarak tanımlanabilecek çalışma koşullarında görünür olmaktadır (Aguiar, 2006). Bu bakımdan AVM’lerin hiyerarşik yapılanması içerisinde en alt tabakada çalışan, AVM’lerin hijyen ve modern görüntüsünü mümkün kılan temizlik işçilerinin anlatımları konu alınmaktadır.

Bu çalışmada Ankara’daki iki büyük alışveriş merkezinde çalışan 20 temizlik işçisinin anlatımları ve tecrübeleri referans alınmaktadır. Görüşmeler için seçilen alışveriş merkezleri, 2014 yılı itibarıyla Ankara’da bulunan yaklaşık 38 alışveriş

merkezinden aynı konumdaki iki büyük alışveriş merkezidir. Buralara gelenler daha çok orta ve üst sınıf müşterilerdir. Böylece işçilerin sınıf tecrübelerinin açık bir şekilde anlatılabilmesi amaçlanmıştır. Alışveriş merkezlerinde çalışan kadın işçi sayısı erkek işçi sayısından az olmasına rağmen her bir alışveriş merkezinden eşit sayıda kadın ve erkek işçiyle görüşülmüştür. İşçilerin yorucu ve esnek çalışma saatleri ve çalışma yerlerine uzak semtlerde oturmaları nedeniyle görüşmeler sık sık ertelenmiş ve bu nedenle alan çalışması 9 ay gibi uzun bir zaman almıştır.

Güvencesiz çalışma koşullarının yarattığı en önemli sonuçlardan birisi şüphesiz işçilerin devamlı olarak tecrübe ettikleri işini kaybetme korkusu ve bununla birlikte geçinme kaygısıdır. Bu bakımdan bazı işçiler, şeflerinin dışarıdaki kişilere çalışma koşullarıyla ilgili hiçbir şekilde bilgi vermemeleri konusunda kendilerine baskı yaptıklarını söyleyerek bu çalışmaya dahil olmaktan çekindiklerini belirtmişlerdir. Diğer taraftan, çalışmaya katılan işçiler yoğun çalışma saatlerine rağmen görüşmeyi kabul edip tecrübelerini içtenlikle paylaşmışlardır.

Fordist üretim sisteminin içine düştüğü kriz sonrasında ikinci büyük endüstriyel dönem olarak tanımlanan süreçte emek – sermaye ilişkisinde dönüşümler de ortaya çıkmaya başlamıştır. Türkiye’de devletin özel teşebbüsleri destekleme süreciyle, üretim ilişkilerinde esnekleşme, taşeronlaşma ve emek piyasasında işçi aleyhine düzenlemeler yoluyla çalışma ilişkileri neo – liberal politikalarla şekillenmeye başlamıştır. Bu süreç, Türkiye’de 1980 darbesi sonrası yaşanan gelişmelerle ideal sosyal devlet modelinden vazgeçilmesi olarak tanımlanır (Durak, 2012). Devlet politikalarıyla sermaye birikim sürecinin önündeki engeller kaldırılırken işçiler gittikçe daha ağır çalışma koşullarına maruz kalmaya başlamışlardır. Böylece, işçilerin geçim koşullarının tümüyle işverene bağlı olduğu ve devletin emek sürecini düzenleme işlevi yerine üretimin dışsal şartlarını koruma görevi üstlendiği bir sürece girilmiştir.

12 Eylül 1980 müdahalesiyle Türkiye’de emek piyasası güvencesiz, esnek, özelleşmiş ve taşeronlaşmış bir nitelik kazanmaya başlamıştır. Bu süreçte neo –

liberal birikim rejimine uygun olarak işçi sınıfı üzerinde hegemonik bir kontrol kurulmuş ve işçi sınıfı hareketleri önemli ölçüde gerilemiştir. Diğer taraftan, Türkiye’de esnek istihdam yapısının olgunlaşması taşeron, geçici ve sözleşmeli çalışma ilişkileriyle birlikte güvencesizliği de pekiştirmiştir. Böylece esneklik, sendikasızlık, güvencesizlik ve ağır çalışma koşulları istihdam yapısının göze çarpan karakteristikleri haline gelmiştir (Durak, 2012).

Emek piyasasındaki hızlı dönüşümler sonucu sömürü ilişkileri belirginlik kazanmaya başlarken artı – değer üretimine meşruiyet sağlayan mekanizmalarla birlikte yeni ücretlilik ilişkileri de ortaya çıkmaya başlamıştır (Koç, 2010). 1980’li yıllardan itibaren liberal politikaların artan etkisine bağlı olarak taşeronlaşma süreci hız kazanmaya başlamıştır. Taşeronluk sistemi işçilerin örgütlenmesini engelleyen sendikasızlaştırmanın aracı haline gelmiştir. İşçilerin sendika çatısı altında yer almaması ise ciddi hak kayıplarına uğramalarına neden olmaktadır. Bu bakımdan taşeronluk sistemiyle ağır çalışma şartlarına maruz kalan ve iş güvencesi olmayan, sayıları yıldan yıla artış gösteren bir kesim oluşturulmuştur (Taşkiran, 2011)

Diğer taraftan, esnek üretim ilişkilerinin sonucu olarak bireyin kişiliği ve karakteri aşınma tehlikesiyle yüz yüze kalmıştır. Yeni kapitalizmin an’a odaklanan zamansal boyutu bireyin duygusal yaşamını da önemli ölçüde etkilemektedir. Karakterdeki bağlılık, sadakat, hedef sahibi olmak ve kararlılık gibi özellikler erozyona uğrama tehlikesi içindedir. Güvensizlik, endişe ve sürekli yeni durumlara adapte olma ahlaki değerler üzerinde yıkıcı etkiler yaratmaya başlamıştır. Bu yeni çalışma şekli işçiler arasındaki bağları zayıflatıp bir işi yapmak için bir araya gelen bireyler haline dönüştürmesi açısından da önemlidir. Kısa vadeye odaklanmış toplumsal bir düzende insanların sadakat, güven ve bağlılıklarını sürdürebilmeleri neredeyse olanaksız hale gelmiştir (Sennett, 1998)

Bununla birlikte, güvencesizliğin en önemli sonuçlarından birisi de Oğuz’un Candeais’e (2008; cited in Oğuz, 2011) referansla bahsettiği “çifte

güvencesizleştirme” sürecidir. Buna göre, “neoliberalizm bir yandan emekçilerin çalışma koşullarını güvencesizleştirirken, öte yandan toplumun geniş kesimlerinin bireysel ve toplumsal yeniden üretim sürecini de (sağlık, barınma, ulaşım gibi) güvencesizleştirmiştir”. Castel’in (Castel, 2004: 41) belirttiği gibi aldığı ücret sayesinde geçinebilen birey; hastalık, işsizlik, kaza ya da yaşlılık gibi nedenlerle çalışarak yaşamını kazanamaz duruma gelmişse o kişi kendi yaşamına hakim olmakta yetersiz kalır. Bu noktada sosyal devletin rolü Castel’in (2004: 41) tartışmasıyla anlam kazanmaktadır. Castel’e göre, ücret sistemine dayalı toplumda devletin temel işlevi “sosyal güvensizliği önleyebilmek, yani toplumsal riskleri azaltma yönünde etkin davranış sergileyebilmektir”.

Güvencesizleşmenin diğer bir yönüne bakarsak, sermayenin zaman ve mekan sınırlarını aşarak akışkanlık kazandığı süreçte çalışma koşullarının güvencesizleşmesinin yanı sıra “çalışan yoksullar” olgusu ortaya çıkmıştır. Bora ve Erdoğan’ın (2011a) bahsettiği üzere, istihdamdaki daralmanın yapısal bir nitelik kazanması, işsizliği ve güvencesizliği sadece mavi yakalılar için bir tehdit olmaktan çıkarmış beyaz yakalılar için de bir tehdit unsuru haline getirmiştir. Bu durum proleterleşmenin işçi sınıfına özgü bir durum olmaktan çıkıp emek gücünün diğer katmanlarını da içine almaya başladığına işaret etmektedir. Sonuç olarak denilebilir ki, güvencesiz istihdam çalışma yaşamında bir istisna olmaktan çıkmıştır. Oğuz’un (2011) dikkat çektiği gibi, 1990’lı yıllardan günümüze uzanan süreçte esnekliği ve güvencesizliği “küresel rekabet gücünü artırma” söylemleriyle meşrulaştıran politikalar, 2008 krizi sonrasında “istihdamı artırma söylemlerini” öne sürmeye başlamıştır.

İşçilerin tecrübelerinde güvencesizlik; iş güvencesinden ve sosyal haklardan yoksun olarak sürekli olarak hissettikleri kaygı duygularında ortaya çıkmaktadır (Oğuz, 2011). Fazla çalışma süreleri, sözleşmede görünen işler dışında işlere verilme, işini kaybetme ve bunun sonucunda yeni bir iş bulamama endişesi ve piyasadaki diğer işlerin de çalışma koşullarının ağır olması işçiler için emek piyasasının zorlayıcı koşulları anlamına gelmektedir.

Türkiye’de sınıf temelli dayanışmanın oluşturulmasında yaşanan güvensizlik sorununa ve sendikal dayanışmanın gerilemesine sebep olan faktörlerden birisi şüphesiz neo – liberal politika uygulamalarıdır. Neo – liberal ekonomik politikalarla, sermaye ve emek arasındaki ilişki sermaye lehine kurulurken emeğin örgütlülüğü ve maliyeti düşürülmüştür. Bu süreçte sendikal faaliyetler ve işçilerin formel örgütlülüğü de zayıflamaya başlamıştır. Sendikal nedenlerle işten çıkarma ve hükümet politikaları yoluyla sendikal hakların ihlalinden payını alanların başında ise Türkiye’de hızla yaygınlık kazanan taşeron sistemiyle güvencesiz olarak çalıştırılan işçiler gelmektedir. Bu anlamda taşeron istihdam biçimi sendikal örgütlenmenin engellenmesinin temel araçlarından biri haline gelmiştir. Bu bakımdan taşeron çalışma rejimi; işçi sınıfında meydana getirdiği katı parçalanmalarla, sömürüye karşı direnci kırmasıyla ve emek süreci örgütlenmesinde sendikaları dışlamasıyla despotik bir emek rejimidir (Taşkiran, 2011).

İşverenin baskısı, sendikal faaliyetlere olan güvensizlik ve sendikalar hakkında fikir sahibi olmama sendika üyeliğini engelleyen nedenlerdendir. Bununla birlikte, yeni toplumsal düzende kolektif kurumlara olan güven azalırken yalnızca kendine güvenen ve başkalarından destek almaktan kaçınan bireyci yaklaşımlar ve yalıtılmış bireyler ortaya çıkmıştır. Bu durum işçilerin örgütlenme eğilimlerini zayıflatmaktadır. Bununla birlikte işçilerin güvencesiz olarak değerlendirdikleri Türkiye’deki istihdam yapısı, işçilerin işsiz kalmalarına dair önemli endişeler yaratmaktadır. Bu koşullar altında, ilerleyen yaşları, hastalık durumları ve düşük eğitim seviyeleri gibi nedenlerle işsiz kalma korkusu işçiler için devamlı tecrübe edilen bir kaygı haline gelmiştir. İşçilerin işini kaybetme korkusunu yoğun olarak deneyimlemelerinin en önemli nedeni ise sürekli olarak işten çıkarılma riskine maruz kalmalarıdır. Görüşülen işçilerin işlerini kaybetme endişesi taşımaları ve birbirlerine rakip kılınmaları onları ortak kader anlayışından uzaklaştırmış ve bu durum açıkça işçi sınıfı bilincinin gelişmesinin önünde bir engel haline gelmiştir. İşçilerin aralarındaki birliğin parçalanması ve sendikal örgütlülüğün yoksun olmaları sınıf bilinci geliştirmelerinin önündeki engellerdir ve bu süreç işçiler

arasındaki dayanışmayı zayıflatmaktadır ve onları ortak mücadeleden uzaklaştırmaktadır.

Görüşülen işçiler daha çok sendikaların kendilerine bilinmezliğini vurgulamışlardır ve bu anlamda işçilerin sendikal örgütlülük talebinin de zayıf olduğu görülmektedir. İşçilerin aralarındaki birliğin önemli ölçüde parçalandığı görülmekle birlikte, aralarında birlik olsaydı koşullarının çok daha iyi olacağına dair anlatımları sınıfsal çıkarlarından tamamen habersiz olmadıklarını göstermektedir.

Şefler işçilerin karşısında patron figürü olarak baskı ve anlayışsızlık kaynağı haline gelirken AVM yönetimi işçilere tamamen görünmez bir baskı mekanizması olarak tecrübe edilmektedir. Bazı işçiler her ne kadar itaatkar ve sessiz göründüklerini belirtse de işçi ve işveren arasında bağlılık ilişkisi kurulmadığı görülmektedir. İşçiler her ne kadar geliştirdikleri stratejilerle şimdiki işlerinde kalabildikleri kadar kalmaya çalışsalar da şeflerin işi bıraktırmaya yönelik yoğun baskılarına maruz kalabildikleri görülmüştür. Bu durumda, güvencesiz çalışma koşulları nedeniyle işçiler denetime, baskıya ve hiyerarşik ilişkilere uyum sağlar gibi görünseler de geliştirdikleri bu stratejilerin güvencesizliği aşamadığı görülmektedir.

İşçilerin müşterilerle karşılaşmalarında deneyimledikleri sınıf farkları karşısında toplumsal adaletsizliğe vurguları ekonomik ve toplumsal eşitsizlikleri içselleştirmediklerini göstermektedir. Bazı işçiler hem müşterilerle ilişkilerinde hem de yönetimle olan ilişkilerinde saygı görmediklerini sık sık vurgulamışlardır. Yaptıkları işi değer görmeyen bir iş olarak tanımlayan işçilerin saygıyı dert ettikleri görülmektedir. Müşterilerden ve şeflerden anlayış ve saygı beklemeleri bu hiyerarşik ilişkilere duyarlı olduklarını göstermektedir. İşçilerin anlatımlarından sınıfsal konumlarını adaletsiz olarak anlamlandırdıkları ve bu anlamda müşterilerin eleştirilerini içselleştirmedikleri görülmektedir. Diğer taraftan sınıf farkı deneyimleri içleme, adam yerine konmama ve emeğe saygı

duyulmaması gibi duygularla ifade edilmiştir. İşçilerin bazıları müşterileri şımarık ve sonradan görme olarak nitelendirmiş ve paranın insani değerleri yıktığını vurgulamışlardır. İşçiler zenginliğin ahlaki değerleri yıprattığından bahsetmiş ancak kendi ahlaki değerlerini ön plana çıkaran oldukça az anlatıma rastlanmıştır. Araştırma kapsamında görüşülen işçilerin hiyerarşik ilişkilere ilişkin anlatımları değerlendirildiğinde bu ilişkiler meşru kabul edilmemiş ancak dışarıya yönelen bir öfkeyle karşı da çıkılmamıştır. İşçilerin anlatımlarında özerkliğe ve saygıya duyulan özlem açıkça görülmekle birlikte çoğu zaman saygı duyulma isteği açık ifade edilmemiş, bunun yerine üzülmeye ve gücenmeye gibi duygularla ifade edilmiştir.

Neoliberal birikim süreciyle birlikte alışveriş merkezlerinin sayısında da gözle görülür bir artış yaşanmaya başlamıştır. Alışveriş merkezleri orta ve üst sınıfa sundukları zenginlik imajlarıyla yıldan yıla artış gösterirken bu mekanlara çalışmak için gelen işçi sınıfında neden yoksulluk algısını güçlendirdiği sorunsalı işçilerin tecrübe ettikleri toplumsal eşitsizliklerde görünür olmaktadır. Çalışma kapsamında görüşmeler için seçilen alışveriş merkezlerinin orta ve üst sınıf müşterilere hitap ettiği ve temizlik işçilerinin buralara sadece çalışmak için gelebildiği göz önünde bulundurulduğunda, işçilerin müşterilerle karşılaşmalarında sınıf farklarını yoğun bir şekilde deneyimledikleri anlaşılmaktadır.

Görüşülen temizlik işçilerinin kendilerini yoksul olarak tanımlamaları ve bu yönde şekillenen tecrübelerinin analizi Türkiye’de yoksulluk bağlamında hakim eğilimlerden uzaklaşan akademik tartışmalara başvurmayı gerektirmiştir. Erdoğan (2002) Türkiye kültürel tarihi açısından yoksulluğun maddi bir gösterge olmaktan ziyade bir hissetme yapısıyla ilişkili olduğuna dikkat çekmektedir. Bu bakımdan, tecrübe edilen yoksulluğun çaresizlik, unutulmuşluk, kaderiyle baş başa kalmışlık gibi duygularla pekiştiği görülmektedir. İşçilerin kendi yaşamlarına dair tecrübe ettikleri yoksulluk, özellikle alışveriş merkezine gelen müşterilerle karşılaşmalarındaki saygı, dokunma, kirlenme ve görme(me) ilişkileriyle birlikte,

müşterilerin harcamaları, gelir düzeyleri ve işten kalan zamanlarında sosyal hayata dahil olma pratikleri karşısında tecrübe edilen eşitsizliklerde ortaya çıkmaktadır. Diğer taraftan, çalışma koşullarının ağır olmasına ve maddi imkansızlıklara bağlı olarak işçilerin sosyal hayata dahil olma pratiklerinin zayıf olması, çocuklarına ve kendilerine dair hayallerinin gerçekleşmesinde içinde buldukları maddi koşulların yetersiz olması, eğitsel ve kültürel imkanlarının kısıtlı olması, kendilerini ifade edebilecekleri kanallardan yoksun olmaları ve bu çerçevede kendi kaderlerine terk edilmişlik hissinin kendilerine dair yoksulluk algısını güçlendirdiği düşünülmektedir. İşçilerin zenginliğe dair tecrübeleri de yine en çok müşterilerle karşılaşmalarında ortaya çıkmaktadır. İşçilerin zengin olarak tanımladığı müşteriler; zorunlu olmadıkça temizlik işçileriyle ilişki kurmayan, çoğunlukla gelir düzeyinin yüksek olmasının yanı sıra kendilerinin aksine, ailesiyle ve arkadaşlarıyla gezmeye ve eğlenmeye zaman ayırabilen müşterilerdir. Diğer taraftan, işçilerin bakış açısından “zenginlik” içselleştirilmiş ve doğallaştırılmış anlatımlarla ifade edilemeyecek kadar yoğun eşitsizlik ilişkileriyle tecrübe edilmektedir.

Geleceğinin şimdikinden daha iyi olacağını ve geleceğe umutla baktığını söyleyen hiçbir işçi olmamıştır. Görüşülen işçilere gelecekle ilgili hayalleri sorulduğunda şaşkınlıkla karşılamaları ve belirsizliğe vurguları güvencesiz çalışma koşullarının hayal kurabilmelerini engellediğini göstermektedir. Bunula birlikte, kurulan hayaller de daha çok çalışma koşulları daha iyi bir iş, ev sahibi olma ve çocuklarının iyi bir eğitim almasına odaklanmaktadır. Ocak (2007: 158) yoksulluğun kentsel mekansallığına ilişkin çalışmasında yoksulların hayallerinin başını sokacak bir ev sahibi olmaya odaklandığından söz etmektedir ve bu durumu yoksullukla baş edebilmenin temel gerekliliklerinden birisinin kira ödemekten kurtulmak olmasıyla açıklamaktadır. Benzer şekilde bu çalışmada da bazı işçiler ev sahibi olmayla ilgili hayallerinden bahsetmişlerdir. Ancak bununla birlikte bu hayallerini gerçekleştirebilmelerinin imkansızlığını da vurgulamışlardır. İşçilerin hayalleri en çok çocukları üzerinden ifade edilse bile çocuklarının geleceğine dair oldukça endişeli oldukları anlaşılmaktadır. Çocuklarının iyi bir eğitim alsalar dahi

ailelerinden yüksek bir statü ve eğitim devralanların hayatları gibi bir hayata sahip olmalarının neredeyse imkânsız olduğunu belirtmişlerdir. Diğer taraftan, çocuklarının okuyup iyi bir eğitim almaları her ne kadar kendi yaptıkları işe göre statüsü daha yüksek bir iş bulabilmeleri anlamına gelse de iyi eğitilmiş insanların bile işsiz kalabildiklerine dair endişelerini de dile getirmişlerdir.

İşçilerin hepsi çalışma koşulları daha iyi bir iş istemekle birlikte içinde buldukları koşullar seçim yapma şansına sahip olmalarını engellemektedir. Yaşlarının ilerlemesine, eğitim seviyelerine ve piyasada başka bir iş bulma olasılığının düşük olmasına bağlı olarak iş değiştirebileceklerini ümit edemediklerini belirtmişlerdir. İşçilerin içinde buldukları koşulların hayallerini gerçekleştirmelerini engellediği görülmektedir. Bu durumda, işçiler hayallerini kendi koşullarına dayanarak “gerçekçi” bir şekilde belirlemektedirler.

Bununla birlikte, kapitalist toplumlarda egemen hale gelmeye başlayan yalnızlaşma, zayıflayan dayanışma ve güven duyguları görüşülen işçilerin yaşamlarında bireyselleşme ve içe kapanma davranışları olarak gözlemlenmiştir. Kapitalist çalışma düzeninde işçiler emek sürecine yabancılaşırken işten kalan zamanlardaki gündelik hayatlarına da yabancılaşmaya başlamışlardır. İşçilerin aile merkezli bir yaşam sürmeleri, hayallerini ve kaygılarını aile yaşamları ve çocuklarının gelecekleri üzerinden tanımlamaları, ki görüşülen işçilerden yalnızca iki kişi bekar olduğunu söylemiştir, Coşkun’un çalışmasında gündeme getirdiği, işçilerin yaşamlarına ve eşitsizliklere ilişkin hoşnutsuzluklarının bir sonucu olarak özel yaşamlarına kapanma ve aile merkezli bir yaşama yönelme ve yabancılaşma eğilimlerini akla getirmektedir (Coşkun, 2012)

Diğer taraftan, zorlu toplumsal koşullar karşısında işçilerin geçinme stratejileri geliştirdikleri görülmektedir. Özellikle erkek işçilerin ek işlerde çalışması, kadınların dışarıda ücretli olarak çalışmaya başlaması gibi yollarla sermayenin hükmünün karşısında geçim stratejileriyle kendi yollarını çizmeye çalıştıkları görülmektedir. Kadınların dışarıda ücretli olarak çalışmaya başlamalarının aile

içindeki sorumluluklarında ve iş bölümünde pek fazla değişiklik yaratmadığı görülmektedir. Kadınların anlatımlarından ev temizliği gibi geçici işlerden temizlik şirketlerinde çalışarak düzenli ve kalıcı bir işe geçiş süreci yaşamak istedikleri anlaşılmaktadır. Ancak temizlik sektöründe de düzensiz ve geçici iş ilişkilerine tabi oldukları çalışma koşullarıyla açıkça ortaya çıkmaktadır. Bu doğrultuda işçiler de bu işe başlarken çok daha iyi koşullarda çalışacaklarını düşündüklerini ve hayal kırıklığına uğradıklarını belirtmişlerdir.

İşçilerin siyasi süreçlere dair anlatımlarında ortaya çıkan eleştirel tutumları ve öfkeleri bu süreçlere olan güvensizliklerini göstermektedir. Görüşülen işçilerin çoğu destekledikleri partilerden bahsederken partilerin ülke ekonomisine katkısından ziyade alt sınıfa yaklaşımlarını ve toplumsal eşitsizlikleri vurgulamışlardır. İşçilerin hemen hemen hepsi oy verdikleri partilerin alt sınıfın koşullarını düzenlemediğini ve kendilerine sahip çıkmadıklarını belirtmişlerdir. Bu durumda görüşülen işçilerin partiler arasındaki mobilizasyonlarında alt sınıfa yaklaşımların önemli bir rol oynadığı görülmektedir. Bazı işçiler alt sınıfların haklarının düzenlenmediğini ve bu yüzden alt sınıfların ezildiğini düşünmektedir. Bu anlamda bazı işçiler alt sınıfın kendi kaderlerine terk edildiğinden ve kendi başlarının çaresine bakmak zorunda kaldıklarından söz etmişlerdir.

Neo – liberal politikaların hâkim olmaya başladığı süreçte devlet desteğinin azalması işçilerin tecrübelerinde de açıkça görülmektedir. Devletin işçilere sahip çıkması talebi işçilerin anlatımlarında sık sık ortaya çıkmaktadır. İşçilerin çoğu yıllık izinlerine, fazla çalışma saatlerine ve tazminatlara ilişkin devletin düzenlemeler getirmesi gerektiğini belirtmişlerdir. Bu durumda, işçilerin devletten beklentilerinin güvencesiz istihdam yapısı içindeki konumlarını ve koşullarını iyileştirmeye yönelik olduğu görülmektedir.

İşçilerin anlatımlarında devletin işçilere sahip çıkması talebi ile siyasete olan güvensizlik iç içe geçmiştir. İşçiler bir yandan seslerini duyurmak isterlerken diğer yandan geleceğe ilişkin umutsuz olduklarını belirtmişlerdir. Siyasi partiler ile

işçiler arasındaki temsil bağının kopması işçilerin geleceğe dair yoğun bir umutsuzluk hali içinde olmalarına neden olmaktadır. İşçiler devlet düzenlemelerinin gerekli olduğunu düşünmekle birlikte seslerini duyuramamaları ve siyasi sürece ilişkin güvensizlik içinde olmaları kendi başlarının çaresine bakmak zorunda oldukları ve kendi kaderlerine terk edildikleri hislerini yoğunlaştırmıştır. Ancak bu çalışma kapsamında görüşülen işçilerin kendi kaderlerine terk edildikleri düşüncesi tevekkül içinde olmalarına değil, seslerini duyurabilecekleri mecralardan yoksunluğa ve yalnızlaşmaya işaret etmektedir.

Bütün bu süreçler işçilerin idare etme stratejileriyle kontrol etmekte zorlandıkları ve deneyimledikleri sınıf farklarını geliştirdikleri stratejilerle yumuşatamadıkları süreçlerdir. Diğer taraftan işçilerin siyasi süreçlere olan güvensizliği de kendi koşullarına dair umutsuz olmalarına neden olmakta ve kendi başlarının çaresine bakmak zorunda olduklarını düşündürmektedir. Bütün bunların sonucunda işçilerin eşitsizliklere karşı hoşnutsuzlukları kendi özel yaşamlarına kapanmalarına neden olmaktadır. Tepkilerini ve isteklerini dile getirebilecekleri bir konumda olmamaları, sınıf farklarını doğallaştıramadıkları “gizli bir yara” olarak yaşamalarına ve durumlarını içselleştirmedikleri halde tepkisiz görünmelerine neden olmaktadır.

APPENDIX D

TEZ FOTOKOPİSİ İZİN FORMU

ENSTİTÜ

Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü	<input type="checkbox"/>
Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Uygulamalı Matematik Enstitüsü	<input type="checkbox"/>
Enformatik Enstitüsü	<input type="checkbox"/>
Deniz Bilimleri Enstitüsü	<input type="checkbox"/>

YAZARIN

Soyadı : ÜNSEVER
Adı : AYÇA
Bölümü : MEDYA VE KÜLTÜREL ÇALIŞMALAR

TEZİN ADI (İngilizce) : CLASS EXPERIENCES OF SHOPPING
MALL WORKERS IN ANKARA

TEZİN TÜRÜ : Yüksek Lisans Doktora

1. Tezimin tamamından kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir.
2. Tezimin içindekiler sayfası, özet, indeks sayfalarından ve/veya bir bölümünden kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir.
3. Tezimden bir (1) yıl süreyle fotokopi alınmaz.

TEZİN KÜTÜPHANEYE TESLİM TARİHİ: