

EVERYDAY TACTICS OF YOUTH FOR COPING WITH SOCIO-SPATIAL
STIGMATIZATION IN ŞAKİRPAŞA, ADANA

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ABSTRACT

EVERYDAY TACTICS OF YOUTH COPING WITH SOCIO-SPATIAL STIGMATIZATION IN ŞAKİRPAŞA, ADANA

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In this thesis, I examine the effects of socio-spatial stigmatization and economic exclusion, and the coping strategies of youths exposed to these conditions. To this aim, I conducted a field study based on in-depth interviews and participant observation in Şakirpaşa, one of the stigmatized neighborhoods of Adana. In this thesis, I object two dominant approaches that romanticize/dramatize or criminalize the poverty-related symptoms such as crime, violence etc. The common point of both approaches is to accept the poor as “innocent victim” or “inherent criminal” by ignoring their agency. Instead of these approaches that make poor’s voice unheard and ignore their experiences, I emphasize these youth’s active agency, by placing emphasis on how they cope with socio-spatial stigmatization by developing strategies. The main question was whether or not a specific spatial habitus is formed in the material conditions of the neighborhood. This study shows that the youth who have to live with socio-spatial stigmatization and economic exclusion tends to acquire a certain kind of “street capital” developed in the neighborhood conditions in order to cope with the neighborhood’s “site effects”. This study also shows that the phenomena such as drug dealing, crime, violence etc. that are the source of the “bad

reputation’’ of the neighborhood are also practices to obtain this capital that developed in the neighborhood conditions.

Keywords: Adana, Street Capital, Youth, Everyday Life, Socio-Spatial Stigmatization

ÖZ

ADANA, ŞAKİRPAŞALI GENÇLERİN SOSYO-MEKANSAL DAMGALANMAYLA BAŞA ÇIKMAYA YÖNELİK GÜNDELİK TAKTİKLERİ

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Bu tezde sosyo-mekansal damgalanma ve ekonomik dışlanmanın etkilerini ve buna maruz kalan gençlerin bu süreçlerle başa çıkma yollarını irdeliyorum. Bu amaçla, Adana'nın “mimli” mahallelerinden birisi olan Şakirpaşa'da derinlemesine mülakata ve katılımcı gözleme dayalı bir alan çalışması yürüttüm. Bu tez, en temel olarak, mimli bir mahalle gençliği olarak Şakirpaşa'daki gençlerin bu süreçlerle başa çıkmaya yönelik stratejilerini anlamaya yönelik bir çabanın ürünü. Bu çaba, yoksulluğu ve ona bağlı gelişen suç, şiddet vs. gibi semptomları romantize/dramatize veya kriminalize eden iki yaklaşıma karşı çıkıyor. Her iki yaklaşımın ortak noktası, eyleyciliği yok sayarak yoksulları ya “masum kurban” ya da “doğuştan suçlu” olarak kabul etmesi. Yoksulların sesini kısın ve deneyimlerini göz ardı eden bu iki yaklaşım yerine, Şakirpaşa'daki gençlerin bu süreçle nasıl başa çıktığını, hangi stratejileri geliştirdiklerini inceleyerek, aktif eyleyciliklerini göstermek istiyorum. Burada cevap aradığım temel soru mahallenin maddi koşullarında belli bir tür mekansal habitusun oluşup oluşmadığını anlamaktı. Bu bağlamda, sosyo-mekansal damgalanma ve ekonomik dışlanmayla yaşamak zorunda kalan gençlerin, mahallenin “mekân etkileriyle” başa çıkmak için, mahalle koşullarında gelişmiş belli bir tür “sokak sermayesi” edinmek zorunda kaldıkları anlaşılıyor. Mahallenin “kötü

ününün’’ kaynağı olan uyuşturucu, suç, şiddet vs. gibi olguların da aslında mahalle koşullarında gelişen bu sermayeyi edinmeye yönelik pratikler olduğu ortaya anlaşıyor.

Anahtar Sözcükler: Adana, Sokak Sermayesi, Gençlik, Gündelik Hayat, Sosyo-Mekansal Damgalanma

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Urban space has undergone a transformation in parallel with the neoliberal economic transition, especially after the 1970s, and there is little doubt that this transformation has brought about a global reshaping of cities. Harvey claims that this period seen the inhabitants of cities, especially the working class and urban poor, exposed to many forms of pressure as a result of “a combination of shrinking markets, unemployment, rapid shifts in spatial constraints and global division of labour” (Harvey, 1994: 364). For the working class and urban poor, this pressure has also a spatial aspect, in that they have seen their neighborhoods transformed, resulting in them being pushed to the periphery of cities. The socio-spatial consequences of neoliberal urbanization have deepened the divided structure of the urban space, in that while the middle and upper class move to the more valuable areas of the urban space, the lower class are forced to move to more undesirable areas. This separation takes two forms: the upper class segregate themselves in gated communities and in other luxury projects in which they are protected by both “physical” and “social” walls; while the lower classes are segregated and excluded by being pushed into notorious ghettos.

In addition to the new economic situation that is driven by privatization and deregulation, neoliberalism also brought about the development of new governing techniques. In short, neoliberalism brought in not only a new economic order, but also new governing techniques that rely on the punitive, disciplinary and juridical apparatuses of the neoliberal state to sustain the functioning of the economic order and to control the marginal proportion of the population that result from the application of brutal neoliberal policies. As a consequence of this process, the working class has become “de-proletarianized”, and has been pushed to marginal positions in terms of wages and work, while also being stigmatized and segregated as

“dangerous, criminals” etc. and subjected to the coercive discourse and practices of the state (Becket & Western, 2001; Gönen 2011; Wacquant, 1996a, 2008, 2009). In short, neoliberal urbanization refers not only to the management of *space*, but also to the management of *people in space* (Wacquant, 1996a: 126).

This process can be observed also in Turkey. In parallel with the depreciation in status of Turkey’s inner-city areas and the squatter settlements that sprang up in the 1980s, these places became to be stigmatized pejoratively. In fact, squatting can be traced back to the 1950s in Turkey, when urbanization and industrialization in the form of agricultural mechanization caused mass migration from the rural to urban. The result was a rapid rise in the urban population after the 1950s, and squatter settlements sprang up to resolve the newcomers’ accommodation problems. The ruling Democratic Party addressed the issue of migration with a populist approach, and adopted a tolerant attitude towards *gecekondu*s (Erman, 2001). In short, the squatter residents were able to use their electoral power to negotiate, and the authorities sought to perpetuate this situation to sustain this clientele relationship. This period of understanding the between squatter residents and the state ended in the 1980s with the advent of the term *varoş*, which came to replace the term *gecekondu* in discussions of these areas and their residents. *Varoş* should not be considered as a mere physical-geographical description, but should be considered rather as a symbolic and discursive form of violence related to space and inhabitation. Unlike *gecekondu*, it was not created by those to which it referred, but was rather ascribed from the outside. It can be argued that the criminalization and marginalization of the urban poor began with this change after the 1990s (Gönen, 2011). In this period, the urban poor and their quarters began to be seen as a source of danger, crime and deviance. In short, a change in attitude and discourse occurred in Turkey, especially after the 1990s, which manifested itself in the term *varoş*. Moving away from the “paternalistic civilizing attitude to the squatters in the previous era which aimed to turn them into disciplined labor” (Özçetin 2014: 52), the new period saw them treated as residual elements. Naturally, policies related to crime and security were rearranged during this period (Berksoy, 2007; Dölek, 2011; Gönen, 2011).

In this thesis, this process is traced through the example of Şakirpaşa, which is considered to be one of the most “dangerous” neighborhoods in Adana – itself, one of the most “notorious” cities in Turkey. Placing the young residents of the neighborhood at the center of the thesis, an examination is made of the effects of socio-spatial stigmatization and economic exclusion in Şakirpaşa. The choice to focus specifically on the young neighborhood residents is based on the observation of the dramatic consequences of this process on young people, who as a result become trapped between their responsibilities related to the family, school, neighborhood and work, and their concerns for the future. This thesis is primarily the product of an effort to understand the strategies developed by young people in the neighborhood to cope with the negative effects of stigmatization and exclusion. The intention in this regard is to present a perspective that will allow the active agency and strategies applied by these young people to cope with the conditions in which they live.

Why is this important? Poverty, socio-spatial exclusion and stigmatization are normally reproduced through “romanticizing/dramatizing discourse” or “criminalizing/blaming discourse” in media, academia, cinema and literature. So-called “innocent” romanticizing discourse exoticizes or dramatizes “sensitive” neighborhoods and their inhabitants, referencing some sort of culture of poverty or street. Such discourse, in fact, accepts poverty and other related factors (such as crime, violence, delinquency etc.) as something that are to be expected. This approach looks at places of poverty with an exotic eye, or sees only the “beauty” (purity, modesty, charity, honor, etc.) in there. As reminded by Bourgois, such an approach can run the risk of being a “voyeuristic celebration” of poverty, exclusion and crime (2003: 15). As a consequence of the perspective that considers ghettos and their inhabitants merely as victims of socio-economic mechanisms, this approach carries the risk of obscuring their agency, thus pushing them to passivity. Like romanticizing discourse, criminalizing discourse also looks upon poverty and delinquency in an essentialist and reductionist way. Based on statistics and numbers, this approach can only reproduce “traditional moralistic biases and middle-class hostility” (Bourgois,

2003: 11). Unlike romanticizing discourse, however, criminalizing discourse does not use the language of “compassion”, but rather demonizes poverty and the poor. It does not deal with the source of the problem, but instead identifies the poor as the source of the problem, hiding the systematic and structural causes of poverty, delinquency and the practices that develop under these conditions. In short, both approaches consider poverty, exclusion, crime and violence in essentialist, culturalist or reductionist ways, and it is the aim in this study to look for a different perspective.

To this end, this thesis looks at the everyday practices and strategies of young members of the urban poor to understand their agency and capabilities to cope with socio-spatial stigmatization and economic exclusion. By rejecting approaches that silence the voices of the young urban poor and make their experiences inexplicable, and accepting these young people as actors who have the ability to grasp their environment and their lives, my intention is to provide an understanding of these behaviors within power relations and the social structure. That said, as reminded by Erdoğan, it would be wrong to exaggerate their agency and potency, to the extent that they are deprived of political and cultural means of expression (2007: 42), as such exaggerations may lead to a romanticization of their attitudes and behaviors.

Accordingly, everyday life and everyday practices are important for this thesis in their ability to demonstrate the agency and capabilities of these young people. There is no doubt that this process should be understood within the context of power and resistance, and so it is necessary for this thesis to discuss the definition of resistance, especially everyday resistance. The term “everyday resistance” was used first by James Scott, although the notion has been used in many different ways and for different situations by several other thinkers, and for this reason, finding a clear definition of the notion can be difficult. In resistance literature, the notion of “everyday resistance” is used to describe many different forms of practice and action: from direct confrontation to hiding, from precautionary strategies to evading or bargaining, etc., and so it may be difficult to develop a clear definition of the notion. Everyday life is an area in which you need to be flexible, to take different positions

within various power relations, and it should therefore be understood that several forms of everyday resistance may exist.

Of the available theoretical tools that can be used to analyze the practices of everyday resistance, this thesis makes use of Michel de Certeau and Pierre Bourdieu's conceptualization on everyday life and everyday practices. De Certeau's conceptual framework allows the hidden aspects of everyday life to be revealed. In other words, in contrast to the viewpoint that considers everyday life and everyday practices as trivial and unimportant, de Certeau draws attention to the pluralist, heterogeneous, polyphonic and dynamic practices in everyday life. Through a conceptualization of "tactics versus strategy", he aims to reveal the clandestine and minuscule tactics of the dominated to counter the disciplinary and regulatory strategies of the dominant that operate in everyday life and in the urban space. In this way, he emphasizes the capabilities of the weak that are actualized through everyday practices. Bourdieu's approach, on the other hand, is used to investigate the explanatory potential of the spatial habitus. By using his conceptualization of habitus and capital, the aim is to show that space, as a material condition, is effective in the formation of a habitus. In other words, "spatial habitus" can be considered effective in understanding the logic behind everyday practices. Using the example of Şakirpaşa, this thesis shows that the material-spatial conditions in the neighborhood led to the development of certain behaviors, tendencies, forms and tactics, and then aims to understand the tactics of Şakirpaşa's "dangerous", "threatening" and "zippy" young people to cope with the processes of socio-spatial stigmatization and economic exclusion.

At this point, it is necessary to discuss a concept that may be quite useful - "Street capital" – which was developed by Sandberg using Bourdieu's theoretical toolkit to understand the cannabis economy and the street culture among young black men in Oslo. According to Sandberg, "street capital is a cultural toolkit, which can be used strategically by marginalized people" (2008: 156). It is kind of a mastery, a "street wisdom" (Anderson 1992) or a form of "street art" that allows one to negotiate one's way through the social space of the ghetto (Wacquant, 1999: 150), and a "street

literacy” (Cahill 2000) that enables marginalized people to manage their lives under marginalized conditions. In other words, it is a capacity that should be acquired by marginalized people to cope with socio-spatial and economic exclusion in the urban space.

This concept should be considered an important component of a spatial habitus, especially in the habitus of an excluded neighborhood. For example, Wacquant wrote about the “hustler”, as a social character that embodies certain capital in a black ghetto in the United States, who he referred to as a “master of a particular type of symbolic capital, namely, the ability to manipulate others, to inveigle and deceive them, if need be by joining violence to chicanery and charm, in the pursuit of immediate pecuniary gain” (Wacquant 1999: 142). Bourgois (2003), in his work in a Hispanic ghetto in the United States, showed that such capital provides both symbolic (respect) and economic capital in the neighborhood. Conteras, on the other hand, examined the formation of certain forms of capital among the street gangs in Salvador (2016), and found that violence was an important component of such capital in Salvador. In this regard, it would not be wrong to argue that a certain type of capital exists in stigmatized and excluded neighborhoods, and the consequences of such stigmatization and exclusion processes that constitute the material conditions of the neighborhood make the acquisition of such capital vital if one is to cope with the socio-spatial stigmatization and exclusion. The same can be said for Şakirpaşa and its residents, and it is the intention in this thesis to examine this situation.

After this brief introduction, Chapter 2 will analyze the socio-spatial stigmatization and exclusion found in the West and in Turkey. It may be argued that exclusion is the most significant and devastating consequence of neoliberal urbanization, based on its direct effects on the space and everyday life of the urban poor. The term “social exclusion” was first used in France in the 1970s in reference to the marginalized people in society and their problems. Exclusion can be social, spatial, economic, cultural or political, and can be actualized through different mechanisms, such as coercive practices, persuasion or judicial power. That said, it is neither economic

alone, nor is it only social or spatial, but it can be socio-spatial. In this thesis, the term “exclusion” is used in this relational and multi-dimensional sense, emphasizing the relationship that exists between its spatial and economic aspects. Spatial segregation, stigmatization and economic exclusion can be considered as the three pillars of social exclusion. The following section will look at the literature on the ghetto, underclass and subculture debate in the West to identify the effects of socio-spatial stigmatization and exclusion on space and people. An examination will then be made of how this process took place in Turkey through the discursive transition from *gecekondu* to *varoş*, and it will be shown how the urban poor and the places of urban poverty changed, both discursively and physically.

The third chapter deals with everyday life and everyday resistance. The urban poor cannot be considered passive or apathetic in the general atmosphere of the neoliberal urban space that excludes them both from the labor market and the dominant social sphere, and that punishes and incarcerates them. They are reacting to it, either through opposition or acceptance, and to understand how they do it, literature on everyday life and everyday resistance will be scrutinized. After discussing the socio-political importance of everyday life and evaluating the approaches to the everyday resistance to reveal the potency of the daily, of its minuscule and trivial details, the theories of de Certeau and Bourdieu, as the main conceptual tools in this thesis will be discussed. Through de Certeau’s conceptualization of tactic and strategy, the creative and resilient means and methods adopted by young people to cope with the exclusionary discourse and practices they experience will be explained; while through Bourdieu’s theoretical framework, a discussion will be made of the explanatory potential of spatial habitus, answering the questions of: What might be the role of a spatial habitus in coping with socio-spatial and economic exclusion? What would be its constitutive components? How can it help us to explain everyday life and everyday practices? At this point, the notion of “street capital” will be adopted, given its high explanatory potential, and its usefulness when used in conjunction with de Certeau’s tactic and Bourdieu’s habitus.

In the final chapter, the results of the field study will be evaluated and discussed. To this end, the general atmosphere of Adana and Şakirpaşa will first be described, identifying the material-spatial conditions of the neighborhood that characterize it, being socio-spatial stigmatization and economic exclusion, after which, an attempt will be made to show how Şakirpaşa's "zippy" young people acquire and use street capital to cope with socio-spatial stigmatization and exclusion.

1.1 Methodology

This thesis is a product of an effort to understand the conditions created by socio-spatial stigmatization and economic exclusion; the effects of these conditions on the young urban poor in Şakirpaşa; and the everyday practices developed by these young people to cope with these conditions. For the purpose of this study, I spent nearly one-and-a-half years in the neighborhood observing and engaging in everyday life,¹ and carried out in-depth interviews with 18 young men,² some of whom are married, some of whom are single, and some of whom are native to Adana, and others who came to Adana later in life. What they all have in common, however, is that they all grew up in Adana. I also had the chance to chat with many other young people and adults in the neighborhood. The stigmatization they endure was identified through references in the mainstream media, by which I mean not only newspapers and news bulletins, but also references in all visual and written mainstream information sources, such as *Ekşi Sözlük* (a popular online social dictionary, in which the content is created by its users), Facebook, Twitter, etc. that support the perpetuation of the dominant criminalizing and stigmatizing discourse. This broad range of media allows an understanding of how such news is circulated and reacted to, which is important

¹ At this point, I have to say something about how I got involved in the neighborhood's everyday life. Actually, my relationship with the neighborhood dates back to five or six years. I started to visit Şakirpaşa through my close friend Mümtaz. Mümtaz was born in Şakirpaşa, but then they moved from there after primary school. But there are still their acquaintances and some relatives living there. When I was spending time in the neighborhood for my field research, they helped me a lot to introduce the neighborhood. Mümtaz and his relatives have made it easier for me to overcome the obstacle that prevented me to talk some "criminal" and "illegal" youths, by using their influence.

² To protect the privacy of the interviewed people, I have changed their name.

in understanding how local people respond to the criminalizing and stigmatizing discourse.

So as not to be limited by the strict and inflexible limits of a quantitative method, a qualitative approach is considered more appropriate for this thesis, in that a quantitative approach, based on statistics or random samples, is likely to fall short of providing an understanding and explaining the deep socio-cultural mechanisms that exist behind poverty, exclusion, crime and violence, as well as the survival mechanisms enacted by individuals. At this point, it is necessary to address two issues. First, the lack of young female respondents in this thesis is completely intentional, as the gender barrier is a huge obstacle in the attainment of a satisfactory field work within the context of this thesis. As a result of methodological constraints, it is not easy for me, as a male, to participate in the everyday lives of young women and to carry out fruitful interviews with them. Although similarities may exist, there are huge differences between the male and female experiences of exclusion and stigmatization, and I believe this point deserves specific attention. In this regard, their absence should not be considered a deficiency or weakness of the study, but rather a methodological choice. It is also necessary here to define the term “young person” in the context of this study. As stated by Bourdieu, “young” and “old” are not unquestionable or given categories, but rather socially constructed positions that are determined in the relation between the young and the old (Bourdieu 2002: 144). For example, being married or having a permanent job may be seen as a sign of adult status, while being a student may be seen as an obstacle to being a “real man” (this may be one of the reasons for failure at school among the poor urban young, being based on the need to reach economic independence as soon as possible). In this respect, I do not use the term “young” with a biological basis, but rather try to reveal the youth-adult relationship in the research field. Put differently, my aim is to grasp the social conditions of being young.

As stated above, the study will make use of qualitative methods, including in-depth semi-structured interviews, participant field observations and group discussions, but,

as addressed by Scheper-Hughes, how can we prevent the study from being a “medieval inquisitional confession” or an “unwarranted intrusion into the lives of vulnerable, threatened peoples”? (1992: 27) At this point, it is necessary to pay heed to Goffman’s comments about fieldwork:

[Participant observation] is one of getting data, it seems to me, by subjecting yourself, your own body and your own personality, and your own social situation, to the set of contingencies that play upon a set of individuals, so that you can physically and ecologically penetrate their circle of response to their social situation, or their work situation, or their ethic situation, or whatever. (...) I feel that the way this is done is not to, of course, just listen to what they talk about, but to pick up on their minor grunts and groans as they respond to their situation. (1989: 125)

An ethnographic study is more than just a survey, and for this reason I strived to carry out my studies as a witness rather than as a mere interviewer. That said, my position as a researcher was problematic from the beginning. This is an epistemic problem that I, and many other social scientists, have struggled to resolve, but have tried to overcome. In fact, being aware of this problem is a part of the solution. First of all, there is a paradoxical problem related to the urban poor who are deprived of means of expression: how can the subaltern speak if they are characterized by a lack of means of expression? Is it possible to make them speak in an academic work through quotations? Or, as Baker once asked in a study in which he prioritized the creative and “affective” possibilities of visual images rather than survey records as being more appropriate for social sciences, “how is poverty shown?” (Baker 2011: 26) One approach is to focus on their “*own*” means of expression. For example, graffiti or rap lyrics were important for me in this respect. In short, trying to make them speak may be useless, or rather, harmful. We cannot interrogate them, but we can enter into a dialogue *with* them. I can speak neither “*in their name*” nor “*on their behalf*”, but I can use the opportunity to speak *for* them, of course, with their contribution. In short, this thesis is a product of a dialogic relationship between me and the subject.

Finally, I wish to underline an important ethical issue. This thesis contains details of criminal activities and confessions, but detailing them in this thesis should not be considered a disclosure. In other words, the statements in this thesis are not something

hidden in the neighborhood, but rather something that everybody knows, so it would not take more than five minutes for the police to find a corner used for illicit purposes in the neighborhood. In short, the statements here do not reveal something hidden. Nevertheless, as I said before, I prefer to keep names confidential for ethical reasons. Another important issue relates to the nature of crime. The things described in this thesis can be considered as crimes, although considering them as “moral problems” or “deviations” would be problematic. In other words, it would be wrong to consider anybody 100 percent criminal or 100 percent innocent. As Wacquant said about “Rickey”, who is an example of a social character “hustler” emerging in a black US ghetto:

Rickey is neither a social anomaly nor the representative of a deviant micro-society: rather, he is the product of the exacerbation of a logic of economic and racial exclusion that imposes itself ever more stringently on all residents of the ghetto. (Wacquant, 1999: 151)

1.2. Research Questions

Instead of specific and structured interview questions, I opted to sketch out some guiding questions related to the aim of the thesis, as carrying out interviews with flexible and open-ended questions that are formulated or shaped during the conversation was, I considered, more useful than structured questions. In this regard, there are no structured questions (there are, of course, some basic questions such as age, marital status, etc.), but rather pre-established headings to frame the guiding questions. I defined four general headings to identify the scope of exclusion and stigmatization in the everyday lives of the young urban poor: neighborhood, urban public space, education and labor market. I carried out the interviews and field research to understand the role of these four headings in the process of socio-spatial and economic exclusion, and these headings were defined following an analysis of previous observations in the field, and considering the results of other ethnographic studies in literature. I came to the conclusion that these headings served to create a background from which the effects of socio-spatial and economic exclusion could be directly observed and understood. These headings are important also due to their dual role, being both places of exclusion and opposition. Put differently, the young urban

poor do not experience exclusion only in these areas, but at the same time, they generate practices of resistance. Accordingly, we can comprehend their agency through these headings.

These are the general research questions that guided the field research:

1. Does any form of socio-spatial, economic exclusion or stigmatization exist in the neighborhood, urban public space, education and labor market, and if so, how are they manifested?
2. What are the consequences of these conditions on the everyday lives of the young urban poor?
3. How do they experience, interpret and recount these processes?
4. How do they cope with these conditions in their everyday lives?
5. What is the role of violence, illegitimacy and delinquency in coping with these conditions?
6. What is the role of the neighborhood in this process?
7. What kind of a “spatial habitus” is generated under these conditions, and what are the components of this habitus?
8. Does a “street capital” exist that ensures the necessary conditions of survival in the stigmatized and excluded neighborhood, and if so, what are the requirements of this capital?
9. Lastly, who are “they”? Is it possible to homogenize these young people? Is there only a single type of young person, or are there sub-groups, each with different trajectories, different intentions and different practices?

CHAPTER 2

TRACING SOCIO-SPATIAL STIGMATIZATION AND EXCLUSION

“Cities are battlefield.”
Walter Benjamin

It could be argued that exclusion is the most significant and devastating consequence of the neoliberal urbanization, affecting directly the space and everyday lives of the urban poor. As income inequality broadens, the distinction between the rich and poor becomes more apparent, and urban space is undoubtedly a part of it. Put differently, urban space is a physical representation of the prevailing unequal economic position, and is a physical site that reflects the positioning on the socio-economic site (Bourdieu, 1999).

Exclusion involves power relations, and is a natural part of the dominant hegemonic structure in society in which there exists an enforcer and the enforced. Put differently, it is a mechanism used by the hegemonic side to wield power over the powerless side, and takes advantage of its ability to isolate and exclude others from the available resources. The term “social exclusion” was first used in France in the 1970s to describe the people at the margin of society and their problems (Barnes, 2002: 5, as cited in Tanış, 2009: 42). Exclusion can be social, spatial, economic, cultural, political, etc. (Adaman & Keyder, 2006; Gough, Eisenschitz & McCulloch, 2006; Musterd & Ostendorf, 2005), and can be actualized through different mechanisms, such as coercive practices, persuasion or judicial power (White, 2003: 149). That said, it is neither solely economic nor solely social or spatial, but can be described as socio-spatial. The segregated and excluded condition of the lower class should be considered a result of both their economic and spatial conditions, and this relationship should be comprehended relationally. Put differently, they are segregated and

excluded because of their spatial conditions, and their space is segregated because of their economic conditions, and vice versa. By this way, I am emphasizing its multi-dimensional characteristic. In this thesis, I use the term exclusion in this relational and multi-dimensional sense, emphasizing the relationship between the spatial and economic aspects.

Spatial segregation and stigmatization, or socio-spatial polarization (Kesteloot, 2003), can be thought of as the two pillars of exclusion. For those who consider it to be a mechanism for social control, segregation is operated as a *cordon sanitaire* that protects public space from the spread of social discontent from segregated marginal areas. It is easier to control a segregated, concentrated and isolated marginal population, and to manage their discontent (Kasteloot, 2005: 142). At the same time, spatial segregation can also be considered a consequence of the social and economic distance that exists in society. As argued by Bourdieu, “there is no space in hierarchized society that is not itself hierarchized and does not express hierarchies and social distances” (1999: 124). In this regard, urban space should be comprehended as a manifestation of economic relations and contradictions; it should be seen as a battlefield upon which the lower and upper classes are in conflict with each other to gain a place:

Spatial profits may take the form of the profits of localization, which can be divided into two classes: income derived from proximity to rare and desirable agents and goods (such as educational, cultural or health establishments); and the profits of position or of rank (for example, assured by a prestigious address), which are a particular case of the symbolic profits of distinction tied to the monopolistic possession of a distinctive property. (...) These profits may also take the form of profits of occupation (or alternatively, of congestion), where possession of a physical space (extensive grounds, spacious apartments, etc.) is a way of holding at a distance and excluding any kind of undesirable intrusion (...) The ability to dominate space, notably by appropriating (materially or symbolically) the rare goods (public or private) distributed there, depends on the capital possessed. Capital makes it possible to keep undesirable persons and things at a distance at the same time that it brings closer desirable persons and things (made desirable, among other things, by their richness in capital), thereby minimizing the necessary expense (notably in time) in appropriating them. (...) Conversely, those who are

deprived of capital are either physically or symbolically held at a distance from goods that are the rarest socially; they are forced to stick with the most undesirable and the least rare persons or goods. The lack of capital intensifies the experience of finitude: it chains one to a place. (Bourdieu, 1999: 126-127)

Another critical aspect of neoliberal urbanization in the lower-class areas is stigmatization, based on the use of such negative labels as “vicious”, “filth”, “dangerous”, etc. when referring to the marginal lower classes and their neighborhoods. Segregation and exclusion accompany stigmatization, most of the time. In most instances, negative labels are seen as a reason for segregation and exclusion, and it is obvious that stigmatization is not limited only to the physical space, affecting also its inhabitants. In other words, “stigmatized areas symbolically degrade their inhabitants, who, in return, symbolically degrade it” (Bourdieu 1999: 129).

According to Wacquant, Slater and Perreira (2014), territorial stigmatization in the neoliberal era operates in several ways, arguing that it is “closely tied to the stain of poverty, subaltern ethnicity, degraded housing, imputed immorality and street crime” (2014: 1273). Several generic labels and stereotypes are used to identify the more notorious neighborhoods, and in most instances these neighborhoods are depicted as centers of violence and deviance, and accordingly, the people who live there are also seen as criminal, dangerous or deviant. The most critical consequence of condemnation and stigmatization is the penalization of these neighborhoods, referring to the “growth and glorification of the penal wing of the state in order to penalize urban marginality” (Wacquant, Slater & Pereria, 2014: 1274). In other words, the distance between the stigmatized place and the penalized place is very close.

The stigmatizing and criminalizing discourses and practices that circulate in the mainstream media and the public space have a significant impact on the everyday lives of these individuals, and this impact, no doubt, manifests as an obstacle for them. As shown in various studies of socio-spatially segregated areas in different

countries, such as Brazil (Penglase 2002), France (Boquet 2008, Dubet 1987, Dubet & Lapeyronnie 1992, Lapeyronnie 2008, Lepoutre 1997), the United Kingdom (Ilan 2007) and the United States (Bourgois 2003, Goffman 2014, Vankatesh 2006), the physical and symbolical exclusion from the labor market and the dominant cultural values and norms in public space is a global phenomenon for all “the wretched of the earth”, making this a “matter of life or death”. Regardless of their different dynamics and configurations, these countries have one thing in common: the evolution of neoliberalism has made life more difficult and urban space more challenging for those who are exposed to socio-spatial and economic exclusion and marginalization. It can be argued that their exclusion compels them to find some other way to live, and in a situation in which legal ways are restricted, they are required to live “off the books”. In other words, socio-spatial stigmatization and economic exclusion, as a material condition of these neighborhoods, compels the inhabitants to develop precarious, disreputable or dangerous income-generating strategies as an alternative to the formal economy. As emphasized by Bourgois, these strategies, which are part of “the underground economy”, should be considered “a symptom – and a vivid symbol – of the deeper dynamics of social marginalization and alienation” (2003: 2-3). By avoiding biased “middle-class morality”, we should strive to understand the political economy of these neighborhoods and its impact on the everyday lives of the urban poor.

2.1. Socio-Spatial Exclusion and Stigmatization in the West

2.1.1. Ghetto Debate

Urban space has undergone a transformation in parallel with the neoliberal economic transition, especially after the 1970s (Brenner & Theodore, 2002; Harvey, 1994, 2005, 2007; Jessop, 2002; Marcuse, 1997; Mayer, 1994; Peck & Tickell 2002; Smith, 2002; Wacquant, 1996a, 2007). There is little doubt that this transformation has reshaped the configuration of cities around the world, but, as claimed by Harvey, the inhabitants of cities, within this period, especially the working class and the urban poor, have been exposed to a great deal of pressure caused by “a combination of shrinking markets, unemployment, rapid shifts in spatial constraints and global

division of labour” (Harvey, 1994: 364). This pressure has affected the working class and the urban poor also spatially, who have seen their quarters transformed, pushing them to the peripheries of the cities. The socio-spatial consequences of neoliberal urbanization have deepened the divided structure of the urban space. While the middle and upper classes are moving to the more valuable areas of the urban space, the lower classes are forced to move to undesirable areas. This separation takes two forms: the upper class segregate themselves in gated communities and in other luxury projects in which they are protected by both “physical” and “social” walls; while the lower classes are segregated and excluded by being pushed into notorious ghettos.

Marcuse puts forward the term “outcast ghetto” to describe the new dynamics of the ghetto in the post-Fordist period (1997). According to him:

The post-Fordist ghetto is new in that it has become what might be called an outcast ghetto, a ghetto of the excluded, rather than of the dominated and exploited or of those only marginally useful. The outcast ghetto adds a new dimension to the classic ghetto: a specific relationship between the particular population group and the dominant society that is economically as well as spatially exclusionary. (...) In the past, ghetto residents have been segregated spatially but not excluded from playing a role in the economy in which they lived and worked. (...) Those in today’s black ghettos are not productive for their masters; their masters get no benefit from their existence. As far as the dominant society is concerned, they are only a drain on public and private resources, they are a threat to social peace, and they fulfill no useful social role. They are outcasts; hence the term outcast ghetto. (1997: 236)

Here, Marcuse claims that the characteristic features of the outcast ghetto are exclusion and desolation, and unlike in the previous period, he claims that the inhabitants of the outcast ghettos are seen as “useless”, which can be attributed to their exclusion from the labor market. This exclusion from economic processes forces them into the informal sectors; in short, just as their socio-economic role in society is marginalized and excluded, so are their neighborhoods. On this point, Marcuse makes a distinction between “ghetto” and “enclave”, and also between new and old ghetto formations:

Ghettos are very different from enclaves; ghettos are involuntary spatial concentrations of those at the bottom of a hierarchy of power and wealth, usually confined on the basis of an ascribed characteristic such as color or “race”; enclaves are voluntary clusters, usually based on ethnicity, often coupled with immigrant status, in which solidarity provides strength and the opportunity for upward mobility. Today’s ghetto differs, not only from such enclaves, but also from older forms of ghetto. It is new in that it has become what might be called an outcast ghetto, a ghetto of excluded, the marginal, rather than only the isolated and “inferior”. It embodies a new relationship between the particular population group and the dominant society: one of economic as well as spatial exclusion. (Marcuse, 2003: 277)

According to Wacquant, poverty, and social marginality and its spatial appearance have undergone a change in the post-1980 period that he defines in terms of the notion “advanced marginality”, which refers to the new dynamics of the segregated, isolated and deprived situation of the marginal groups that results from advanced capitalism. The spatial manifestation of this is, in his terms, the “hyperghetto” (1996a). To simplify the difference between old and new ghetto formations, it can be said that while “the poor neighborhoods of the Fordist era were ‘inner-city slums of hope’, their descendants in the age of deregulated capitalism are more akin to the ‘squatter settlements of despair’” (Wacquant, 2007:71).

Wacquant defines six distinctive points that distinguish post-Fordist marginality from Fordist marginality. First, he refers to the flexible and insecure status of the new wage labor, which is a source of fragmentation and precariousness for the working class and the urban poor. In a situation of advanced marginality, precariousness is not limited to the labor market, in that it affects all dimensions of life. Second, in parallel with the first point, he underlines that isolation from macroeconomic trends which manifests as a low employment rate. Third, he refers to the concentrated, isolated and stigmatized spatial formation of marginality, which manifests itself in the form of a hyperghetto. The characteristic features of this new form are impoverishment, stigmatization, deproletarianization, informalization, socio-spatial segregation and increased punitive interventions from the right hand of the state. The fourth feature is, as a consequence of socio-spatial stigmatization of hyperghetto, territorial alienation, which refers to the disappearance of spatial attachment. The pejorative

meaning attributed to these marginalized quarters resolves the inhabitant's attachment to place, destroys any shared emotions and mutuality, and thus turns it "from communal place to an indifferent space of mere survival and contest" (Wacquant, 1996a: 126). Fifth is the loss of the hinterland, referring to the disappearance of the economic support provided by the village or communal ghetto - a vital asset for the survival of the urban poor. Finally, symbolic and social fragmentation, which refers to the lack of "a language, a repertoire of shared representations and signs through which to conceive a collective destiny and to project possible alternative futures" (Wacquant, 1996a: 128).

These approaches explain ghetto and exclusion mainly in a racial sense, in that although they do not ignore class, race is the basic category of their discussion. This cannot be considered a shortcoming, in that these studies focus on the American ghetto formation, in which the black population is extremely significant. In short, race is a necessary factor when explaining exclusion and segregation in US society. Wacquant compares the hyperghetto, reflecting the US ghetto formation, with the French *banlieue* (1996b, 2008b). While underlining their different forms of exclusion, segregation and stigmatization, he emphasizes their difference in the management of poverty, highlighting that the basis of socio-spatial exclusion and segregation is race in the US hyperghetto and class in the French *banlieue*. In other words, the people who live in the hyperghetto share a common race and culture, in contrast to the heterogeneous class and race composition in the *banlieue* (Wacquant 1996b: 237).

2.1.2. Urban Poverty, Underclass and Subculture Debate

First of all, it is necessary to define the urban poor. Who lives in these neighborhoods? It can be argued that the urban poor have always been on the agenda of the ruling class. The rise of capitalism brought about the emergence of the issue of the regulation of the poor. Marx's interpretation of the Elizabethan Poor Laws can throw light on this issue. According to him, these laws were very important "to the rise of capitalism and the development of a reserve army of labor" (Mitchell, 2003: 173).

His emphasis on the reserve army here is significant, as by drawing attention to this point, Marx shows us the need to maintain an unemployed population (with his words, *lumpen proletariat*) as a reserve army of labor in a capitalist system. However, as argued by Mitchell, this necessity leads a contradictory situation in which “the homeless and the poor are desperately *needed*, but not at all *wanted*” (2003: 174), and if they cannot be eradicated, they should be regulated, according to the ruling class perspective.

The late 19th and early 20th centuries saw a number of studies discussing the problems of poverty and social inequality. Of these, Charles Loring Brace’s work *Dangerous Classes of New York* (1872), Charles Booth’s *Life and Labour of People in London* (1904) and Seebohm Rowntree’s *Poverty: A Study of Town Life* (1902) can be considered as the first studies into the issue of urban poverty in Europe and the United States. As a reflection of the dominant mentality of the period, these writers discuss the issue in the context of morality, choosing to ignore its socio-economic aspect, and claiming that it was moral corruption and deviant behavior that were the main causes of poverty (Jones, 2013; Welshman, 2006). There were also distinctions between the “worthy/unworthy” and “respectable/unrespectable” poor in analyses from this period, based mainly on the efficiency criterion, which refers to compliance with the labor market. From this perspective, there is a moral difference between the ordinary working-class poor, who are useful for production, and the pauper. The “useless” and “unskilled” urban poor were mostly a source of fear for the ruling class, and were perceived as a threat to public health and order. In short, it can be argued that the poor and other members of the social residuum were comprehended by the ruling class as something that must be managed since the very beginning, and their stigmatization as dangerous, deviant or outsiders accompanied this process.

Today, especially in US literature, the notion of “underclass” is an inseparable part of the ghetto and urban poverty debate (Auletta, 1982; Gallie, 1994; MacDonald, 1997; Mingione, 1996; Morris, 1994; Murray, 1994; Wacquant, 1996a, 2008b; Westergaard, 1992; Wilson, 1987, 1993; Wright, 1994). The term was first used by

Myrdal in 1962 in an economic sense, in reference to the consequences of economic change. In his approach, a member of the underclass is unemployed, economically excluded and welfare dependent. In short, the bottom of society (Myrdal, 1963: 40 as cited in Welshman, 2006: 129). However, there are still some difficulties when trying to describe the term, and it has been said that “there are as many definitions of the underclass as there are sociologists” (Macnicol, 1994: 30, cited in MacDonald, 1997: 3). However, there are still some difficulties to describe the term. It can be said that “there are as many definitions of the underclass as there are sociologists.” (Macnicol, 1994: 30, as cited in MacDonald, 1997: 3)

Jones’s (1997) claims that approaches to the term “underclass” can be separated into two branches: individualist and structuralist. According to Jones, individualistic approaches focus mainly on the poor, and claim that poverty and any related problems are of their own making. In other words, their poverty is a result of their choices, or rather their failure and passivity. In this regard, poverty and passivity take an essentialist form, being something natural. Put differently, poverty and any related problems are comprehended as components of the culture of poverty. Structuralist approaches, on the other hand, explain the term “underclass” within the structural context. In contrast to individualistic approaches, structuralist approaches consider the urban poor to be victims of circumstance, and going against the “individual choice” argument, social constraints are seen as the main reason for the underclass in these approaches. For example, explanations based on the changing attitude of the state to the poor or the structural transformation of the economy are more informative and explanatory. Accordingly, such approaches do not consider the poor to be responsible for their poverty, but rather that poverty and socioeconomic exclusion are not something cultural or natural.

In a similar way, Wright (1994) provides four different explanations, comparing them in terms of “whether they see the *individual* or *society* as the central unit of analysis for the most salient causes of poverty, and whether they see poverty as an unfortunate *by-product* of certain causes or as an *inherent feature* of the system” (1994: 32). The

genetic/racial approach treats poverty as something that is inherent and individual, and blames racial or genetic flaws. The cultural approach also explains poverty from an individualistic perspective, but comprehends it as a by-product of social and cultural processes, and not as innate or certain. In other words, in this approach, poverty is a consequence of the personal values and norms that generate a cycle of poverty. Another approach that explains poverty as a by-product of social causes focuses mainly on social and structural problems and their consequences on disadvantaged people, while the final approach refers to class exploitation, and considers poverty to be a natural and innate consequence of capitalism.

In the light of these works, which make it easier for us to classify the definitions of the underclass, I will now review the various approaches in literature.

As stated earlier, the term “underclass” was first used by Myrdal to describe the new poor in the post-industrial era, although it would not be wrong to say that it was popularized through the works of Murray, including *Losing Ground* (1984), *The Emerging British Underclass* (1990) and *Underclass: The Crisis Deepens* (1994). As a prominent figure in debates related to the underclass, he emphasizes the deviant, anti-social and immoral manners and behaviors of the urban poor, and considers these manners and behaviors to be a part of the culture of poverty³ which generates a cycle of poverty. In other words, he believes they are responsible for their own poverty. Murray puts forward three interconnected criteria for theorizations of the underclass: crime, illegitimacy/single motherhood and unemployment (MacDonald, 1997: 9-12). Murray claims that these are the real causes of deviance, and thus, of the underclass, and actually, these kinds of cultural and behavioral explanations are quite prevalent and deep-rooted. As indicated above, similar attitudes towards the urban poor can be

³ The notion “culture of poverty” is older than the “underclass”, and not directly related with it; although it can be understood as a significant aspect of it. As a proponent of the notion “culture of poverty”, Oscar Lewis argues that:

The people in the culture of poverty have a strong feeling of marginality, of helplessness, of dependency, of not belonging. They are like aliens in their own country, convinced that the existing institutions do not serve their interests and needs. Along with this feeling of powerlessness is a widespread feeling of inferiority, of personal unworthiness. (Lewis, 1998: 7)

For more detailed discussion about the notion: Lewis 1966, 1998

found in 18th- and 19th-century England, while Murray's approach, which considers the underclass to be something dangerous, immoral and deviant, can be understood in continuity with these approaches.

In contrast to Murray's approach, which looks at the underclass issue from a cultural and behavioral perspective, structural approaches exist that consider the underclass to be an outcome of social and economic processes. Wilson's approach to the underclass can be seen as an example of this structural explanation (Wacquant & Wilson, 1989; Wilson, 1985, 1987, 1991), and his approach is of particular importance due to the significant position of urban space in his analysis. Ghettos, as a spatial manifestation of the underclass, are essential for such analyses, and he focuses on the relationship between space and the inhabitant in his discussion of the underclass. It can be said that from Wilson's perspective, the structural and institutional changes in the urban space that spurred the exodus of middle- and working-class families from the inner cities have degenerated these areas and the people who live there. Accordingly, the underclass should be considered as a consequence of economic and socio-demographic changes in the urban space. Due to their limited access to the education, labor markets and other social and economic means that are essential in the neoliberal period, they are excluded from the rest of society and positioned at the bottom. In such a situation, race is an essential element in discussions of the underclass, especially in the US context, and Wilson actually defines underclass "as a black phenomenon, but to be defined in terms of vulnerability in the labor market, without reference to behavioral, moral or cultural factors" (Morris, 1994: 83). The empirical findings he derived from poor neighborhoods that were inhabited predominantly by black people shows us that the distance between race and underclass is, most of the time, minimal. In short, for Wilson, the approach based on socioeconomic isolation, as a consequence of structural changes in the economy and society, is more explanatory than the approach based on cultural or behavioral explanations.

Like Wilson, Wacquant also places emphasis on the space in his analysis of the urban poor, and tries to explain it taking the social and economic changes into consideration (Wacquant 1996a, 2008b, 2009), but for him, the term is too simplistic and limited to explain the case, and he points out its negative and malicious meaning. Wacquant approaches the term with caution. Although he accepts the new characteristic features of post-Fordist poverty, advanced marginality and hyperghetto, he claims that the term underclass is not an appropriate reference, considering it to be a “demonic myth” (Wacquant, 1996a: 132). Through the term underclass, he argues, ghettos are “being shaped - indeed imposed - from the outside, as its residents are increasingly stripped of the means to produce their own collective and individual identities” (Wacquant, 2008b: 48). In this regard, to the extent that the term represents the perspective of politicians and experts, it also produces and reproduces the negative image of the urban poor, making them unarmed and powerless. In short, Wacquant claims that “the explanation is not to be framed in individualized, moralistic terms concerning the lack of work incentive, but by ‘cumulative structural entrapment’” (Morris, 1994: 90).

Another approach that explains the underclass within the socioeconomic structure is that put forward by Wright (1994), in which the structure is capitalism. His explanation of the underclass emphasizes one of the key concepts in Marxism: labor power, in which the underclass can be defined as people who cannot participate in the labor market and are unable to sell their labor power. These “people” are, of course, the new poor of neoliberalism. As a consequence of the economic transformation that resulted in de-proletarianization and de-industrialization, low or unskilled labor was replaced with educated and high-skilled labor. In other words, thus excluding and eliminating them from the labor market. For Wright, these are members of the underclass.

Another important concept is “subculture”, which can be described as “the distinctive values and processes of particular groups within wider cultural and social formations” (Payne & Barbera, 2010: 676). Although not directly involved in the subculture

debate, the Chicago School's studies of urban space, crime, delinquency, marginalization, gangs, etc. in the United States can be considered the first example of this debate (Gelder & Thornton 1997). Although the School did not use directly the term "subculture", it developed its conceptual equivalents, such as "*rules of conduct*" (Thomas, 1967), "*peculiar canons and codes of conduct*" (Burgess 1930), "*moral code*" (Wirth 1931), "*deviant values*" or "*delinquency values*" (Shaw & McKay, 1942) (Barmaki, 2016: 798). The relationship of these concepts with urban space has also been theorized, through such spatial notions as "*delinquency area*" (Shaw, 1931), "*slum*" (Trasher, 1963), "*interstitial area*" (Trasher, 1933) and "*disadvantaged areas*" (McKay, 1962) (2016: 799).

The concept of subculture was originally used in the Chicago School to designate and describe small social communities within wider social groups that were considered deviant or delinquent, and the notion gradually acquired its present meaning with the development of Cultural Studies in the United Kingdom. With the advent of the 1950s, the concept was transformed in the United Kingdom and started to appear in academic literature. Changes in post-war society brought about changes in the experiences, consumption practices, etc. of the working class (Hebdige, 2003), and young people were no doubt influenced by these changes. Studies of young people in different fields were made in this period, investigating such fields as education and employment (Willis, 1977), friendship, consumption practices (Hebdige, 2003), neighborhood, delinquency and street gangs (Hall & Jefferson, 1993), etc. In particular, the subcultural theory developed by Birmingham University Center of Contemporary Cultural Studies identified young people as actors who develop active and conscious resistance practices and who resist the hegemonic dominant culture, declining to become passive consumers (Jenks, 2005). Rather than being a result of individual problems, the Birmingham School considered subcultures to be a reflection of the position of mainly young working-class people in relation to the particular social conditions in 1960s and 1970s Britain. The studies undertaken by the Birmingham School resulted in the development of a critical theory on the question of media representation and studies of how they were received in various

marginalized communities. Subsequently, these concerns gave rise to studies dealing with neighborhoods, ghettos, ethnic communities, young urban poor, working-class families and their cultural activities, etc., with the aim of the research center being to study cultural forms, practices and institutions and their relations with society and social change. The sources of the subculture become meaningful within the social and cultural conditions in which the subculture develops. In other words, subculture groups are understood “in term of their relation to the wider class-cultural networks of which they form a distinctive part” (Clark et al., 2003:6). From this perspective, the practices of members of subcultural groups can be seen as symbolic resistance, being a reaction to these conditions, as well as a product of these conditions: “Negotiation, resistance, struggle: the relations between a subordinate and a dominant culture, wherever they fall within this spectrum, are always intensely active, always oppositional, in a structural sense” (Clark et al., 2003: 34).

2.1.3. Governing the Urban Poor

In addition to the new economic situation that manifested itself as privatization and deregulation, the advent of neoliberalism also ushered in new governing techniques. In short, neoliberalism brought not only a new economic order, but also new governing techniques that made use of the punitive, disciplinary and juridical apparatus of the neoliberal state to sustain the functioning of the economic order and to control the marginal population that was created in response to the brutal neoliberal policies. As a consequence of this process, the working class was, on the one hand, “de-proletarianized”, exposed to precarious conditions and pushed into marginal positions in terms of wages and work and, on the other hand, stigmatized and segregated as “dangerous, criminal” etc., and subjected to the coercive discourses and practices of the state (Becket & Western, 2001; Gönen 2011; Wacquant, 1996a, 2008, 2009). In short, neoliberal urbanization refers not only to the management *of space*, but also to the management *of people in space* (Wacquant, 1996a: 126).

It would be useful here to make a distinction between the economic and governmental dimensions of neoliberalism,⁴ although the two dimensions are not fully separate, but rather different appearances of the same logic, like *Janus*. The intention here is not to argue that this distinction is peculiar to neoliberalism, but it does have a distinct character in the neoliberal period. In the historical process, each economic order, from 19th-century liberalism to the Keynesian welfare state or to neoliberalism, has maintained this distinction.⁵ In these periods, the regulation of labor through the penal and civil codes was a reflection of the transformation of the economic order. For example, Victorian penal and social policies, such as 1834 Poor Law, were important components of the *laissez-faire* capitalism of the 19th century (Garland, 1985), in which the working class was left completely to the mercy of market conditions, in compliance with the economic order of the period. In short, social and penal policies have always been an integral part of the market logic.

Neoliberalism not only established a new economic order, but also developed new governing and discipline techniques (Berksoy, 2007; Foucault, 1991; Gambetti, 2009; Gönen, 2011) to sustain the functioning of the economic system and to control the marginal population that had arisen out of brutal neoliberal policies. As a consequence of this process, the working class, on the one hand, became “de-proletarianized” and pushed to marginal positions in terms of wages and work, while on the other hand, being stigmatized and segregated as “dangerous, criminal” etc. and subjected to the coercive discourses and practices of the state (Becket & Western, 2001; Gönen 2011; Wacquant, 1996a, 2008, 2009). Unlike in the Keynesian period,

⁴ Originally, the term “*oikonomia*” (“*oikos*”- household and “*nomos*”- norm) meant “household management”, and so refers not only to monetary affairs, but also administrative issues.

⁵ Although this falls outside the scope of this thesis, Foucault clarifies the historical differentiations of the mode of rule by comparing liberalism and mercantilism:

“The new science called political economy arises out of the perception of new networks of continuous and multiple relations between population, territory and wealth; and this is accompanied by the formation of a type of intervention characteristic of government, namely intervention in the field of economy and population. In other words, the transition which takes place in the eighteenth century from an art of government to a political science, from a regime dominated by structures of sovereignty to one ruled by techniques of government, turns on the theme of population and hence also on the birth of political economy” (1991: 101).

problems related to social and economic marginality, such as unemployment, homelessness, poverty, etc., are tackled through penal policies and security discourse in neoliberalism. In this regard, these two processes of “de-proletarianization/marginalization” and “stigmatization/segregation/penalization”, are not isolated from each other, and create a rather vicious circle of neoliberalism.

As stated earlier, in addition to the economic dimension of neoliberalism that manifests itself in the form of oppressive and unstable working conditions, minimum wage, weak union rights, commodification and privatization of public services etc., there is also the governmental dimension of neoliberalism that makes the marginalized working class and urban poor manageable. By using the notion “governmental”, I refer to the punitive, disciplinary and juridical apparatuses of the neoliberal state that are operated by the police, the courts, etc. to repress and to discipline the “dangerous class” of neoliberalism (Wacquant, 1996a, 2001, 2010). In Bourdieusian terms, the governmental dimension of neoliberalism is operated by the state through its “right hand”, being the police, the courts, the prison or ministry, to enforce harsh economic policies and to discipline the working class, rather than “left hand”, which corresponds to the state’s supportive expenditures, including public education, health, housing, etc. (Bourdieu, 1998: 2; Wacquant, 2008: 5, 2010: 201). Unlike in the previous Keynesian state, it is the right hand that is dominant, and is used by the state much more effectively in the neoliberal period. Of course, coercive apparatuses such as the police and the courts have always been necessary for the state. They were not invented for the neoliberal state, but when one looks at the statistics, it is obvious that the police, prison, incarceration and discourse of security are used much more often today to cope with problems arising from marginalized-criminalized-stigmatized working class and the urban poor (Becket & Western, 2001; Garland, 2001; Harvey, 2005; Wacquant, 2008, 2009; Wright, 1973).

It can be argued that one of the reasons for the neoliberal turn was the state’s intervention into the market, although this does not mean that neoliberalism does not need any state intervention. Rather than shrinking the government, the neoliberal

state, as a facilitator, intervenes in the economic process in favor of the market (Harvey, 2005; Wacquant, 2010), and this paves the way for the implementation of neoliberal policies. Wacquant argues that the neoliberal state behaves like a “centaur,”⁶ guided by a liberal head mounted upon an authoritarian body” (2009: 43). The half liberal-half authoritarian neoliberal state responds to the demands of society differently. While it is liberal in its approach to the dominant class, its reaction to the marginalized urban poor is mostly authoritarian and oppressive (Wacquant, 2010: 217). Accordingly, it cannot be argued that the neoliberal state has shrunk and has put an end to intervention, in that it still continues to intervene in the working class and other marginalized groups with its “right hand” to ensure the maintenance of its neoliberal policies. As Peter Marcuse indicates:

It is not, however, a reduction in the role of the state; to the contrary, it may even be an increase in that role... They rather shift direction, from a social and redistributive to an economic and growth or profit-supporting purpose. At the same time, they shift from a public, in the sense of democratic or popular, instrument, to an instrument of private business purpose. (1996: 40, as cited in Musterd & Ostendorf 2003: 4)

It can be argued that violence (physical or symbolical), penalization, criminalization, stigmatization and policing are the basic components of the neoliberal governance of the urban poor. In other words, poverty and its consequences are managed by the state mainly within the penal and legislative context in the neoliberal period. The following section will review some of the approaches to this issue.

Smith’s notion of a “revanchist city” is significant (1996, 2002) in its capturing of the class nature of neoliberal urbanization. With this notion, Smith emphasizes the vindictive nature of neoliberalism that manifests itself against the working class and the urban poor. Smith claims that neoliberalism is a project that tries to recoup all of the gains made by the working class under the Keynesian system of welfare. In the urban context, this assault is actualized in the form of gentrification, urban

⁶ “Centaur” is a half human-half horse creature in ancient Greek mythology.

transformation and slum clearance, but the effects are certainly not limited to the built environment, as most of the time, the criminalization of poverty, rising levels of incarceration and “zero tolerance” against homeless, panhandlers, minorities and other marginalized groups accompany this process (Slater, 2010; Smith, 1996, 2002; MacLeod, 2002). According to Smith:

This revanchist anti-urbanism represents a reaction against the supposed ‘theft’ of the city, a desperate defense of a challenged phalanx of privileges, cloaked in the populist language of civic morality, family values and neighborhood security. More than anything the revanchist city expresses a race/class/gender terror felt by middle- and ruling-class whites who are suddenly stuck in place by a ravaged property market, the threat and reality of unemployment, the decimation of social services, and the emergence of minority and immigrant groups, as well as women, as powerful urban actors. It portends a vicious reaction against minorities, the working class, homeless people, the unemployed, women, gays and lesbians, immigrants. (1996: 207)

Smith points to 1990s New York as a prototype of the revanchist city. Under the administration of Mayor Rudy Giuliani, the social welfare policies of the time began to be seen as a cause of economic decline and socio-spatial decay in the urban space. The “affirmative” and “charitable” approach to the urban poor was replaced with a discourse of revenge, with the aim being to make urban space attractive and “clean” for investment and capital (Slater, 2010: 666). For this reason, while depressed inner-city areas were being transformed by gentrification, its “criminal”, “immoral” and “harmful” inhabitants were swept up and incarcerated.

The importance of this notion can be found in its comprehensiveness, referring to both the economic and social aims of neoliberal urbanization. In this way, Smith shows how neoliberal urbanization is not only related to the built environment and rents (1987), being at the same time, and inevitably, related to the government of its inhabitants and their behaviors, mostly in a vindictive and revanchist way:

The revanchist city is, to be sure, a dual and divided city of wealth and poverty (Mollenkopf and Castells 1991; Fainstein et al. 1992) (...) But it is more. It is a divided city where the victors are increasingly defensive of their privilege,

such as it is, and increasingly vicious defending it. The revanchist city is more than the dual city, in race and class terms. The benign neglect of ‘the other half,’ so dominant in the liberal rhetoric of the 1950s and 1960s, has been superseded by a more active viciousness that attempts to criminalize a whole range of ‘behavior,’ individually defined, and to blame the failure of post-1968 urban policy on the populations it was supposed to assist. (1996: 222)

Like Smith, Wacquant also considers neoliberal urbanization in terms of the changing nature of the social and penal policies of the state (1996a, 2008a, 2009, 2010), investigating the consequences of the neoliberal transition, which brought about a degeneration of the working class and their neighborhoods, and focuses on the changing response of the state to this degeneration. According to him, neoliberalism changed radically the state’s policies on poverty and social marginality, which manifested as a transition “from welfare to prisonfare”:

By analogy with ‘welfare’, I designate by ‘prisonfare’ the policy stream through which the state gives a penal response to festering urban ills and sociomoral disorders, as well as the imagery, discourses, and bodies of lay and expert knowledge that accrete around the rolling out of the police, the courts, jails, and prisons, and their extensions (probation, parole, computerized databanks of criminal files, and the schemes of remote profiling and surveillance they enable). Penalization joins socialization and medicalization as the three alternative strategies whereby the state can opt to treat undesirable conditions and conduct (Wacquant, 2009a:16–17). (Wacquant, 2010: 202)

Unlike the benevolent and compassionate Fordist state system, which, adopting the Bourdieusian term, “the left hand of the state”, the post-Fordist neoliberal state uses “the right hand” to manage poverty and social marginality (2008a, 2010). This, of course, has affected urban space, especially the ghettos and inner-city areas inhabited by the urban poor and other marginalized groups. As Wacquant states:

The ‘return of the repressed’ realities of extreme poverty and social destitution, ethnoracial divisions (linked to colonial history) and public violence, and their accumulation in the same distressed urban areas, suggest that First World cities are now confronted with what we may call advanced marginality. Such new forms of exclusionary social closure and peripheralization have arisen, or intensified, in the post-Fordist

metropolis as a result, not backwardness, but of the uneven, disarticulating, mutations of the most advanced sectors of Western societies and economies, as these bear on the lower fraction of the working class and on dominated ethnoracial categories, as well as territories they occupy in the divided city (Sassen 1991; Mingione 1991; Thrift 1993) (1996a: 123)

2.2. Brief History of Urbanization and Urban Poverty in Turkey: from *Gecekondu* to *Varoş*

The neoliberal transformations witnessed in the cities of the United States and Europe can be observed also in Turkey. While trying to bring the economy in line with the newly emerging neoliberal system after the 1980 coup d'état, the Turkish authorities were fully aware of the importance of urban space. As a consequence of neoliberal regulations, the spatial policies in the country's larger cities, such as Istanbul and Ankara, were reorganized, taking a completely different route to the previous period: urban transformation and gentrification projects were expanded, the number of people living in gated communities and residencies increased, and "populist" policies towards the illegal *gecekondu* houses were abandoned (Kuyucu & Ünsal 2010: 1480). In parallel to this, the state's approach to crime and security was rearranged, which naturally affected the attitude of the administration towards the governing of the urban poor.

Spatial segregation, poverty, squatter settlements, etc. are not, of course, peculiar to the neoliberal period, as squatting can be traced back to the 1950s in Turkey, as a consequence of the country's urbanization and industrialization. Agricultural mechanization spurred migration from the rural to urban, raising the urban population in the 1950s, and squatter settlements were the solution to the newcomers' dwelling problems. The ruling Democratic Party dealt with the issue of migration with a populist approach, adopting a tolerant attitude towards the *gecekondu* (Erman, 2001), which gave the squatter-dwellers the opportunity to use their electoral power to improve their position, and the authorities sought to perpetuate this to sustain the clientele relationship. The main instruments adopted by the authorities to this end were land registrations and amnesties (amnesties enacted in 1948, 1953, 1963 and 1966). However, this relationship between the squatter-dwellers and the state ended

in the 1980s. As a result of the expansion of the service sector, the relocation of manufacturing industries and increases in land values, in short, due to the neoliberal regulations, the inner-city areas began to be transformed, pushing their inhabitants towards the periphery of the city. In this way, the inner-city areas, which were once home to the working class and urban poor, began to be appropriated by middle- and upper-class families. While social and spatial segregation was not unique to the post-1980 period, it can be argued that the socio-spatial segregation in the neoliberal period was harsher than in the previous period. Coming to the 1990s and 2000s, urban transformation and gentrification projects and gated communities, which have spread like a virus, have exacerbated this process.

The *gecekondu* is a concept that has both social and spatial dimensions, and so the history of the *gecekondu* reveals the history of poverty in Turkey. The poor residents of such places can be considered a new form of poverty, and in parallel with the physical and spatial transformation, squatter settlements and their residents have also been transformed in a discursive way. The term “discursive” is used here to emphasize the changing discourse related to the urban poor and the squatter settlements in different periods. On the issue of the changing discourse related to squatter-dwellers, Erman (2001) argues that representations of squatter-dwellers have taken different forms in different periods, “from the ‘rural Other’ in the 1950s and 1960s, to the ‘disadvantaged Other’ in the 1970s and early 1980s, to the ‘urban poor Other(s)’, the ‘undeserving rich Other(s)’ and the ‘culturally inferior Other(s) as Sub-culture’ between the mid-1980s and mid-1990s, and finally to the ‘threatening/*varoşlu* Other’ in the late 1990s” (2001: 983). Proulx (2004) also distinguishes three facets in *gecekondu* discourse: the *gecekondu* as a judicial problem related to the ownership of the land; the *gecekondu* as an architectural problem; and the *gecekondu* as a problem of illegality. He notes that the term *gecekondu* started out by referring to a form of settlement with no negative connotations, but that its meaning has changed over time. Similarly, Gönen (2011) also distinguishes between three periods, and emphasizes the changing status of the relationship between the urban dwellers and the state in each period:

From the 1960s to the 1980s, migrants have been constituted as the anti-modern members of urban life, and also as a part of the “general criminality” of the political upheavals in the period. During the 1980s, their long-term engagement in illegal appropriation of the land placed them in the sphere of “illegality”. Their activities in the informal real estate market were deemed illegitimate in the face of the rising land prices of the era. As large cities and urban spaces were being transformed into significant profit sources in the neoliberal economies, the informal housing and land relations became the focus of criminalizing discourses. The story of the full-scale criminalization of migrants took shape starting from the late 1990s on. A racialized depiction of the criminality of migrants corresponded to the changing migration patterns, transformation of urban economies, and growing urban poverty. The main subjects of criminality in the crime discourses at this time were the urban poor, particularly Kurdish migrants. (Gönen 2011: 71)

At this point, *varoş* can be considered as an important break. In parallel with the depreciation of the status of inner-city areas and squatter settlements in the 1980s, *gecekondu*s came to be stigmatized pejoratively. With the great transformation that followed the 1980s, the status of the *gecekondu* also transformed, especially in the larger cities, in line with the changes in working and living conditions. This had an obvious effect on the situation of the squatter dwellers, and the advent of the term *varoş* refers to this change. In Turkish, *gecekondu* refers to a shanty or squatter house, and can be translated directly as “landed overnight” or “built at night” (Yonucu 2005: 81). As stated above, *gecekondu*s were mostly considered “harmless” in the beginning, while *varoş* has strong negative and derogatory meaning. In contrast to the initial positive image denoted by the term *gecekondu*, the term *varoş* began to appear in journalistic and political discourse pejoratively in the 1990s. *Varoş* can be considered as the Turkish equivalent of *favela*, *ghetto*, *bidonville* or *banlieue*, and came into common use in the 1990s in place of *gecekondu* to describe these areas and residents. *Varoş* should not be thought of as a merely physical-geographical description, but should rather be considered as symbolic and discursive act of violence against a space and its inhabitants. Unlike *gecekondu*, the term was not adopted by those to who it referred, but was rather imputed from the outside.

Since the turn of the 1990s, various studies have been carried out to chart the situation of the new residents of *gecekondu*. Some of these emphasize the basic mechanisms that distinguish urban poverty in Turkey from that in Western countries. In particular, it was the city-based solidarity networks (*hemşehrilik*) established by those who had already migrated to the city that gave newcomers the opportunity to find work and accommodation, and the early settlers gained the chance to benefit from amnesties, and built a system based on this situation. This relationship, referred to as “poverty in turn” (*nöbetleşe yoksulluk*) by Işık and Pınarcıoğlu (2001), prevented the urban poor from turning into the underclass that is highly prevalent in the West, although the new settlers do not have access to the advantages of informal networks enjoyed by the earlier settlers. The earlier settlers who overcame poverty through strategies that were based on local network relationships, transferred their poverty to the newcomers (Işık & Pınarcıoğlu, 2001), and according to Işık and Pınarcıoğlu, the new migrant poor have difficulty in joining these informal networks that would offer them a means of coping with their situation, which no doubt deepens their poverty. One of the neoliberal policies imposed by the state in the 1990s was aimed at strengthening administrative control over the squatter settlements, which brought an end to land occupations and informal housing, and forced newcomers to become tenants in slum areas or in existing *gecekondu* neighborhoods. Like Işık and Pınarcıoğlu, Erkilet also provides an explanation of the buffer mechanisms that prevented the formation of an underclass and the associated negative behavioral patterns on Istanbul’s Historical Peninsula (2011). On the other hand, Yılmaz, in his study of Tarlabası, describes the Kurdish migrants in the neighborhood as members of the underclass, claiming that the concept of underclass “can be applied to understand some facts in the new poverty model that has emerged in Turkey” (2008: 127).

In the 2000s in particular, the middle and subclasses began to diverge sharply as the cities were rearranged by the state and local governments. Squatter settlements and slum areas were gentrified, leading to a further decline in the socio-economic conditions of the urban poor, which was accompanied by criminalization and

stigmatization after the 1990s (Gönen 2011). In this period, the urban poor and their neighborhoods began to be seen as a source of danger, crime and deviance, and this was perpetuated with the support of the mainstream media and several so-called academic studies (Erman, 2001; Yonucu & Gönen 2011). As shown by Özçetin (2014), the role of the mainstream media in the marginalization and criminalization of the urban poor is immense. The urban poor, as an object driving the “legitimate fear” of the middle and upper classes, have been dehumanized, criminalized and marginalized through the media. The choice to use the word “legitimate” here is based on the idea that the neoliberal urban space is, to a large extent, constructed on middle- and upper-class anxiety. But whose fear is legitimate? The answer to this question is the same as the answer to the question “who is the ruler?” Well-secured gated communities, shopping centers, CCTVs, strictly-controlled public spaces ... All of these are supported by the “criminal, immoral, deviant and corrupted” image of the urban poor that is circulated by the mainstream media. In short, a change in attitude and discourse was witnessed in Turkey after the 1990s that manifests itself in the term *varoş*. Unlike the “paternalistic civilizing attitude to the squatters in the previous era which aimed to turn them into disciplined labor” (Özçetin 2014: 52), the new period treats them as residual elements.

In addition to these, as argued by some researchers, policies related to crime and security went through a change after the 1980s in Turkey, in parallel with the neoliberal regulations (Berksoy, 2007; Dölek, 2011; Gönen, 2011). As a natural consequence of this process, the state’s attitude towards the urban poor began to change within the discourse of crime and security. The establishment of Rapid Action Units (*Çevik Kuvvet*) in 1982 and the motorcycle police teams (*Dolphins/Yunuslar*) in 1993 can be considered a direct result of the changing discourse of the state related to crime and security, heralding in a new harsher and more oppressive attitude towards laborers and, of course, the urban poor.

Some researchers underline the ethno-racial and spatial aspects of the stigmatization and criminalization witnessed in Turkey, like other countries such as Brazil, France

and the United States. Gönen (2011) and Saraçoğlu (2010) emphasize the role of the forced Kurdish migration in the 1990s in this change, which had a profound effect on the composition of Turkey's cities. As a consequence of problems related to poverty, adaptation and unemployment, these migrant Kurds have been exposed to socio-spatial segregation in cities, and have begun to be treated as a scapegoat for all urban crimes. Through the mainstream media and police reports, the stereotype of the "criminal Kurd" has become widespread, and the mainstream media and state policies have supported their criminalization and stigmatization. In short, after being forced to migrate, the newcomer Kurds and their neighborhoods have come to be seen as a source of threat and fear, although it would be wrong to attribute this phenomenon only to race, ethnicity or color, as the intricate and complex relationship between class and ethnicity has also contributed to this phenomenon in Turkey.

The effects of socio-spatial stigmatization and exclusion discussed above have a negative effect on many disadvantaged groups in Western and Turkish society, among which can be included the young people group. In France, the United Kingdom and the United States, many official and academic studies have been conducted into this issue. With the neoliberal transformation in particular, how to integrate the young urban poor into working life and society has emerged as a problem. There have been studies suggesting that this integration issue may be resolved by criminalizing the young urban poor through judicial and penal means, and as stated above, there have been studies linking the youth issue to the subculture discussion. From this standpoint, it can be said that the young in an urban area, where unequal power relations and class positions prevail, form different subcultures based on their ethnicity and class position. Young people who have experienced such processes as migration, urbanization and urban transformation, develop a subcultural identity that is different from the dominant culture.

This situation is true also for Turkey. Young people arriving and seeking to integrate into the city emerged as a socio-economic problem, especially after the 1960s, and this issue of the urban youth, especially *gecekondu* youth, was covered at length in

urban sociology literature at the time. As one of the prominent works on this issue, Gökçe's study of *gecekondu* youth in Ankara sought to understand the relationship between urban space, migration, integration, employment, etc. from the viewpoint of young people (1976). Furthermore, universities and ministries have supported studies into the integration of these young new arrivals to the city, including *12-24 Yaş Arası Gençlerin Sosyo-Ekonomik Sorunları* (1986), *Uluslararası Terörizm ve Gençlik* (1987), *Gençlik ve Uyuşturucu Madde Alışkanlığı* (1987), *Aile ve Çevre Sorunlarının Gençlerin Kişiliğine Etkisi* (1989), etc. In addition to such newly-emerging urban-related problems as drug addiction, socio-economic integration, etc., the politically turbulent atmosphere of Turkey in the 1960s and 1980s also forced the authorities to take precautions, and the interest of universities and ministries in this issue can be considered testament to the importance of young people in the eyes of the authorities. Among the studies of young people, Güler's 1997 study can be considered of particular importance in its comparative analysis of the urban experiences of young people who study and those who work, offering a comparative perspective of many different aspects of youth, from cultural habits to relationships with parents. Erdoğan's study (2007) can also be considered as having contributed to the literature of urban poverty by including the situation of young people in its analyses, with the studies of youth subcultures by Burcu (1997), Yaman (2013) and Tıgılı (2012) listed as further examples of such studies.

CHAPTER 3

EVERYDAY LIFE AND EVERYDAY RESISTANCE

*‘‘The everyday: what is most difficult to discover. (...) The everyday is what we never see for a first time, but only see again.’’
Maurice Blanchot*

*‘‘Everyday life is what is given every day (or what is willed to us), what presses us, even oppresses us, because there does exist an oppression of the present. Every morning, what we take up again, on awakening, is the weight of life, the difficulty of living, or of living in a certain condition, with a particular weakness or desire. Everyday life is what holds us intimately, from the inside.’’
Paul Leuillot*

How do the urban poor youth manage their life in urban space? How can they cope with the stigmatization and exclusion? This is the central question of this thesis. In the previous section, by reviewing the various studies in the literature, I tried to portray the general atmosphere of neoliberal urban space which is mostly discriminatory, punitive and vindictive against the urban poor. Each impact causes a reaction. Therefore, the urban poor cannot be considered passive or apathetic in the general atmosphere of neoliberal urban space that excludes them both from the labor market and dominant social sphere and that punishes and incarcerates them. They are reacting to it, by opposing or by accepting. In this context, I will focus on the urban poor youth’s reaction to the dominant discourse and practices they are experienced in their everyday life. I will try to show their coping skills and techniques. In short, I argue that the urban poor youth are not incapable of coping with the exclusionary discourse and practices they are experienced in their everyday life. But the question is how do they do it?

In this section, I will evaluate the approaches to the everyday life and everyday practices of the ordinary people. By doing this, I want to show the potency of the daily. Put it differently, I want to show the importance of minuscule and trivial details of the everyday life. I will try to demonstrate the creative and resilient ways and methods urban poor use for coping with exclusionary discourse and practices of neoliberal urban space they are experienced. Despite the idea that everyday life is the site of stagnation and dullness, it should be considered as the site of spatiotemporal flows and movements. Only in this way everyday life's role as a site of struggle can be apprehended, and only in this way dynamics behind the everyday practices can be illuminated.

3.1. Possibilities in Everyday Life

What is the meaning of the “everyday life”? What does it mean beyond its ordinary usage? In other words, is it possible to consider the word in a political context? Can we comprehend the everyday life as an arena for political struggles or minor resistances? My answer is yes. I would like to argue that the everyday is political; it is not isolated from power relations and political struggles. Sometimes it presents massive political social movements but it is not limited only to it. Trivial, minuscule and ordinary practices in everyday life also carry a political meaning. I would like to say that the importance of the everyday lies behind these ordinary practices.

Highmore (2002a) draws our attention to the term's position on the power relations; indicates its politically and culturally loaded meaning for the ordinary people, or rather, people who are at the “below”:

The term everyday life has been used to side with the dominated against those that would dominate. (...) To invoke everyday life can be to invoke precisely those practices and lives that have traditionally been left out of historical accounts, swept aside by the onslaught of events instigated by elites. It becomes shorthand for voices from ‘below’: women, children, migrants and so on. (Highmore 2002a: 1)

According to this, it can be said that habitual, ordinary and trivial details of the everyday life are mostly neglected. However, this is precisely where we can find fragments of the defiance and tenacity. These fragments are important because of the ordinary people, so to say, talk through them most of the time to the extent that their voice and means of expression are repressed. Put it differently, if we want to hear the repressed voice of the people who are at the bottom, the everyday can give this chance to us. By this way, the invisible can be visible and hearable.

At this point, Highmore suggests two tendencies or perspectives to the everyday which I admit too:

Here I want to suggest that these dualities can be provisionally grouped in interconnected ways that relate to a variety of perspectives on the everyday. So, in approaches that have privileged the agency of individuals in daily life, forms of resistance or non-conformity to social structures, a stress on feelings and experience. Similarly, to approach everyday life as a realm of generality tends to privilege social structures, institutions and discourses, and to see these as a domain of power determining the everyday. (Highmore 2002a: 5)

Gardiner as well, like Highmore, indicates two central impulses in sociology which have influenced the approaches to the everyday life:

The 'system' perspective on the one hand, and a 'micro'-oriented, interpretive approach on the other (Swingewood 1991). According to this view [system perspective], social actors are effectively 'cultural dopes', to use Harold Garfinkel's term, who internalize passively extant social roles and behavioural norms, thus acting to reproduce, in a largely automatic and unwitting fashion, social structures and institutions. By the end of the nineteenth century, however, a reaction against the system perspective began to gather force, and with it the realization that the human sciences could not be satisfied with the construction of abstract, general principles about how social structures functioned to maintain society as a quasi-organic whole. (...) The symbolic and intersubjective meanings that people utilize reflexively to comprehend themselves and their world cannot be brushed aside in the quest for a scientific sociology. As such, the social sciences had to come to grips with the contextual aspects of the everyday experience vis-à-vis the actor's own subjective viewpoint. (Gardiner 2000: 4)

In short, it can be argued that there are two general approaches in sociology. Roughly speaking, they can be classified as structure-centered and agency-centered. These approaches, of course, consider the everyday life in different ways. However, I think that, by surpassing this distinction, or rather, by bringing them together, we can comprehend the holistic character of the everyday life. This holistic perspective gives us an opportunity to comprehend the interconnected relationship between the resistance of agency and the power of structure. As argued by Mills, sociological imagination is possible only when it associates “private troubles” to “public issues” (Mills 1959, as cited in Scott 2009: 2). Therefore, if we want to catch the possibilities in everyday life, it is necessary for us to make this connection. Scott recommends us two methods. First, we should discover the regularities in everyday life. Second, she draws our attention to Garfinkel’s advice. According to this, we should consider the familiar strange (Garfinkel 1967, as cited in Scott 2009: 4). In other words, we should not consider the daily activities and regularities such as eating habits, idle talks, walking etc. given, constant and obvious. Rather, we should try to decipher and decode them.

So, what is the everyday life? What does it include and exclude? Is it something invented or structured? Or, to what extent can we speak of its historicity? Lots of thinkers have tried to answer these questions, implicitly or explicitly. Although most of the people consider the term negligible and unimportant, it is necessary to emphasize its importance.

If there is the ordinary, there should be also the unordinary. According to Felski, everyday life is derived from this dichotomy:

It [everyday life] is often defined negatively, as the residue left over after various specialised activities are abstracted. One of these activities is philosophy. It is synonymous with the ‘natural attitude’ rather than the ‘theoretical attitude’, with the realm of common-sense and taken-for-grantedness rather than hard-headed scepticism. A second influential distinction is between the everyday and the aesthetic. (...) Finally, everyday

life is typically distinguished from the exceptional moment: the battle, the catastrophe, the extraordinary deed. (Felski 1999: 17)

It can be also said that everyday life has two aspects: time and space. They are constituent parts of it. When we talk about everyday life, we refer to a certain place and certain time; a certain spatial and temporal entity. For example, it may be used to indicate the difference between work time and leisure time, or between workplace and street or school. Generally, the term everyday is used to indicate the trivial side of this dichotomy. Felski argues that the everyday manifests itself in three facets: time, space and modality (Felski 1999: 18). According to her, repetition is the temporal characteristic of the everyday. On the other hand, spatial characteristic of the everyday manifests itself in a sense of home. And habits are the characteristic modalities of the everyday practices.

Historically, the everyday has been positioned in opposition to “institutionalized world of work” by the modernist view (Highmore 2002b: 5). According to this, the everyday life mainly refers to the absence of action and occupation. It also has been seen as the space and time of monotony (Highmore 2002b: 6). In short, according to the modernist view which mainly represents the capitalist perception of spatiality and temporality (it can be summarized as the dominance of productivity and utility), everyday life represents the triviality, passivity and unproductivity. However, against this unfruitful and simplistic view, some thinkers have drawn our attention to the productive, active, prolific and political side of the everyday life.

3.2. Everyday Resistance

In this thesis, I accept the everyday life as an arena of struggle and resistance. Therefore, in this context, “everyday resistance” is another concept that I want to suggest to be considered together with everyday life. It can be said that the literature on everyday life and everyday resistance has begun to be shaped under the influence of the post-structuralist, especially Foucauldian, analyses of the microphysics of power. As a criticism of the static, apolitical and infertile comprehension of everyday life, these studies on everyday resistance try to uncover its potential and possibilities.

Put it differently, they focus on micro forms of the everyday life which are neglected by macro analyses. However, “everyday resistance” is still an ambiguous, elastic notion. The term “resistance” also still lacks a clear definition. As Weitz said, “the term resistance remains loosely defined, allowing some scholars to see it almost everywhere and others almost nowhere” (Weitz 2001: 669). Therefore, it is necessary to review various definition in literature to reach an elucidative definition of the term.

Hollander and Einwohner’s study on resistance (2004) in which they defined some types by reviewing the literature on resistance would be useful to clear the fog cloud around the notion. First of all, they argue that there are two criteria which are shared by all approaches in the definition of resistance: “action” and “opposition”. According to this, a practice of resistance is, first of all, an *action* and this action is practiced *against* something. This is true also for etymologically (Latin “*resistere*”: *re* (opposition) + *sistere* (to stand)). According to Hollander and Einwohner, besides these two common criteria, there are two more criteria which complicate the issue: “recognition/visibility” and “intention”. Discussion on the definition of the term, in fact, revolves around these two criteria. There are two questions and various answers at this point: first, is recognition/visibility necessary for a resistant practice? And the other, is intention necessary for a practice to be considered as resistance? The answer can be “yes” or “no” for the first question. The answer “yes” leads us to big protests, insurgencies, riots and revolutions in which the power (or whatever the target is) is confronted openly and directly (Hollander & Einwohner 2004: 539). But the answer “no”, which means recognition and visibility are not necessary for an action to be qualified as resistance, leads us to take minuscule, clandestine and capillary paths of everyday life into consideration. From this perspective, concealment and invisibility might be the best action of resistance. According to Hollander and Einwohner, there can be three answers for the second question: first, actor’s conscious intention is necessary for an action to be considered as resistance; second, assessing the intention is not that easy; and third, even if actor is unaware of this, his/her action can be considered as resistance. Through these two criteria, recognition and intention, and related questions, they suggest seven distinct types of

resistance: *overt resistance, covert resistance, unwitting resistance, target-defined resistance, externally-defined resistance, missed resistance, attempted resistance, not resistance.*

This typology is functional of course. But, as stated by Hollander and Einwohner, it would be wrong to make a clear-cut distinction between the ordinary and the unordinary, resistance and compliance etc. Put it differently, their complex nature should be taken into consideration: Resistance can be both covert and overt at the same time, or it can be neither completely covert nor completely overt. Is it, for example, possible to ignore the everyday aspect of revolutions? Therefore, these notions should not be considered as a law or rule, but as a theoretical tool.

When we look at the literature on everyday resistance, we can easily observe that there is a controversy on the definition of the notion. Like “resistance”, “everyday resistance” is an ambiguous and controversial notion too. Some writers describe it as covert, clandestine, unrecognized and unorganized (Scott 1985, 1990; Vinthagen & Johansson 2013; Butz & Ripmeester 1999), whereas some other writers emphasize its overt, non-anonymous and organized character (Bayat 1997, 2000). In short, various forms of everyday resistance have been developed by many writers from many perspectives.

Among them, James Scott, as an inventor of the notion “everyday resistance”, deserves specific attention. With this notion that he developed through his observations on the peasants in South East Asia, he tries to emphasize clandestine, minuscule, prosaic and invisible practices of everyday resistance on the contrary to visible, collective and organized forms of resistance (1985, 1990). For Scott, resistance can occur in either public or disguised forms (1985): while “public resistance” occurs in the forms of revolt, revolution, occupation and so on, “disguised resistance”, or “infrapolitics” is occurs in a low-profile, clandestine and unorganized way. Scott terms them “public transcripts” and “hidden transcripts”. According to this, acts and behaviors that might be ignored in everyday life (such as

foot-dragging, dissimulation, false compliance, pilfering, feigned ignorance, slander, arson, sabotage (Scott 1985)) can be a political tool, an option of resistance, when the attempt of revolt or revolution is risky. With his words, this is “a social movement with no formal organization, no formal leaders, no manifestoes, no dues, no name and no banner. By virtue of their institutional invisibility, activities on anything less than a massive scale are, if they are noticed at all, rarely accorded any social significance” (1985: 35). Put it differently, this is a hidden and disguised way of surviving under the domination by avoiding confrontation with authority (Scott 1985: 29). According to Hollander and Einwohner’s typology, Scott’s approach on everyday resistance can be considered as an example of “covert resistance”.

There are also works that criticize Scott’s approach. Bayat’s approach is one of them. While Scott looking at villages and peasants, Bayat focuses on urban space and the urban poor. This makes Bayat’s studies important for this thesis. Through his observations on the urban poor in the Middle East, he developed a notion “quiet encroachment of the ordinary” (1997, 2010) which can be considered as a critic of Scott’s approach. He criticizes Scott mainly for his reductionist manner which constraints the subaltern and their everyday life into hidden and disguised forms. As stated by Erdoğan as well, by separating “public” and “hidden transcripts”, Scott reproduces and maintains the “binarisms of domination-resistance, acceptance-rejection” (Erdoğan 1998: 43). On the contrary, Bayat argues that everyday resistance of the urban poor goes between public and disguised, individual and collective forms. By “encroachment”, he referring to “the silent, protracted, but pervasive advancement of the ordinary people on the propertied, powerful, or the public, in order to survive and improve their lives” (2010: 56). Therefore, according to Bayat, it would be wrong to consider the subaltern in a defensive position: they do not try only to protect their position, but they can also act offensively to expand their space and gain new achievements. It might be even necessary for them to join the collective action and political alliances to protect their achievements (2010: 58). Put it differently, while the subaltern can gain only *de facto* achievements in Scott’s conceptualization of everyday resistance (Scott 1989: 34), Bayat argues that they can

gain also *de jure* achievements. In short, invisibility, anonymity and covertness should not be considered as nature of their resistance, according to Bayat's approach.

For this thesis, Bayat is important because of his objections to the prevailing perspectives on the urban poor. According to him, there are four dominant perspectives that overestimate or underestimate the agency of the urban poor: "the passive poor", "the surviving poor", "the political poor" and "the resisting poor". These approaches, according to Bayat, have some shortcomings. "The passive poor" tries to explain urban poverty in an essentialist way by emphasizing "certain cultural/psychological essentials as component of a culture of poverty – fatalism, traditionalism, rootlessness, unadaptability, criminality, lack of ambition, hopelessness, and so on." (Bayat 2010: 48) On the other hand, "the surviving poor" carries the risk of considering the urban poor as sufferer and victim; in other words, it is inclined to consider them in the defensive position. The shortcoming of "the political poor" and "the resisting poor" is their conceptual perplexity: an awareness about oppression can be easily confused with acts of resistance against oppression in these perspectives (Bayat 2010: 53). In short, I agree with Bayat and shares his arguments on the shortcomings of these perspectives. We should tackle this issue neither by exaggerating nor by underestimating the agency of the urban poor. In other words, we should keep away from the perspectives that passivize or romanticize them.

As I briefly showed above, defining the meaning of "everyday resistance" is disputable. A lot of thinkers can be added on this list. We can find strong interpretations on the everyday life and everyday resistances also in works of Lefebvre (1971, 1991, 2002), Bakhtin (1984), Goffman (1990), Debord (1990) and so on. However, it is not possible for me to review all of them within the context of this thesis. Therefore, I want to focus on especially two of them whose theories are essential for this thesis: Michel de Certeau and Pierre Bourdieu. Nevertheless, I will return other thinkers when it is necessary.

3.3. Michel de Certeau: Ordinary Struggles in Everyday Life

De Certeau's conceptual framework enables us to discover hidden aspects of the everyday life. Put it differently, in opposition to the viewpoint which considers the everyday life and everyday practices trivial and unimportant, he draws our attention to pluralist, heterogeneous, polyphonic and dynamic practices in everyday life.

In the introduction to *The Practice of Everyday Life*, he describes his approach as “a science of the singularity” (de Certeau 1984: ix). As argued by Highmore, his emphasize on “the generality of science” and “the particularity of the actual” points out a similarity between de Certeau, Simmel and Benjamin's approaches to the everyday life (Highmore 2002b: 170). Like Simmel and Benjamin, also de Certeau draws our attention to, with his own vocabulary, the singularities and heterologies in everyday life. In other words, he tries to show the significance of singular everyday practices which are ignored and underestimated. What makes these ordinary practices significant? To answer this question, we should first comprehend the everyday life's status in de Certeau's approach. And to comprehend its status, his conceptualization “tactic versus strategy” can give us an idea.

If it is true that the grid of “discipline” is everywhere becoming clearer and more extensive, it is all the more urgent to discover how an entire society resists being reduced to it, what popular procedures (also “minuscule” and quotidian) manipulate the mechanisms of discipline and conform to them only in order to evade them, and finally, what “ways of operating” form the counterpart, on the consumer's (or “dominee's”?) side, of the mute processes that organize the establishment of socioeconomic order. (de Certeau 1984: xiv)

This passage explains briefly the relation between tactic and strategy in everyday life. This relation should be understood within the context of domination and resistance. Roughly speaking, against the disciplinary and regulatory *strategies* of the dominant power that operate in the everyday life and urban space, the dominated resist with clandestine and minuscule *tactics*. At this point, it can be argued that de Certeau's approach tries to explain “the models of action characteristic of users whose status as the dominated element in society (a status that does not mean that they are either

passive or docile) is concealed by the euphemistic term ‘consumers’ (de Certeau 1984: xi-xii). Consumerism is often seen as passivity. Put it differently, “‘passive’” consuming is understood in opposition to “‘active’” producing and the consumer is seen as a person who only consumes, not produces. De Certeau opposes this. He tries to demonstrate the creativity and spontaneity of everyday practices such as reading, walking, listening, talking, cooking etc. It is obvious that the everyday life is to a large extent composed of these kinds of activities. Therefore, the everyday life is the space of creativity and spontaneity for de Certeau.

I call a strategy the calculation (or manipulation) of power relationships that becomes possible as soon as a subject with will and power (a business, an army, a city, a scientific institution) can be isolated. It postulates a place that can be delimited as its own and serve as the base from which relations with an exteriority composed of targets or threats (customers or competitors, enemies, the country surrounding the city, objectives and objects of research, etc.) can be managed. As in management, every “‘strategic’” rationalization seeks first of all to distinguish its “‘own’” place, that is, the place of its own power and will, from an “‘environment.’” (...) By contrast with a strategy (whose successive shapes introduce a certain play into this formal schema and whose link with a particular historical configuration of rationality should also be clarified), a tactic is a calculated action determined by the absence of a proper locus. (...) The space of a tactic is the space of the other. Thus it must play on and with a terrain imposed on it and organized by the law of a foreign power. It does not have the means to keep to itself, at a distance, in a position of withdrawal, foresight, and self-collection: it is a maneuver “‘within the enemy’s field of vision,’” and within enemy territory. It does not, therefore, have the options of planning general strategy and viewing the adversary as a whole within a district, visible, and objectifiable space. It operates in isolated actions, blow by blow. It takes advantage of “‘opportunities’” and depends on them, being without any base where it could stockpile its winnings, build up its own position, and plan raids. (...) It must vigilantly make use of the cracks that particular conjunctions open in the surveillance of the proprietary powers. It poaches in them. It creates surprises in them. It can be where it is least expected. It is a guileful ruse. In short, a tactic is an art of the weak. (de Certeau 1984: 35-37)

According to this, a tactic is a weapon of the weak; it is a mechanism which is used to cope with the manipulations and regulations of the system. Therefore, it should be considered as a resistance mechanism. What kind of resistance? This relation is not so clear cut and sterile according to de Certeau. In other words, tactic and strategy,

they both touch each other. A tactic does not directly go up against a power; does not directly resist. Rather, it tries to deceive it through tricks and maneuvers, through clandestine everyday practices. It does not try to displace the power; rather, it tries to cope with it within its boundaries. In this regard, it can be said that a tactic complies with a strategy. However, it is not docile. Put it differently, it is a tactical compliance. As I stated, a tactic is a weapon of the weak. Therefore, to the extent that the weak are not capable of direct opposing, they resist through minuscule, ephemeral and clandestine practices by pretending to be docile and obedient. In the absence of adequate options, they have to be creative and ingenious. Creative and spontaneous tactics which enable the weak to “make use of the strong, thus lend a political dimension to everyday practices.” (de Certeau 1984: xvii) The notion *la perruque*, the wig, is a metaphor de Certeau uses to explain the tactic. According to this:

La perruque is the worker's own work as he works for his employer. (...) La perruque may be as simple a matter as a secretary's writing a love letter on “company time” or as complex as a cabinetmaker's “borrowing” a lathe to make a piece of furniture for his living room. (...) Accused of stealing or turning materials to his own ends and using the machines for his own profit, the worker who indulges in la perruque actually diverts time from the factory for work that is free, creative, and precisely not directed toward profit. (de Certeau 1984: 25)

First of all, the tactic does not directly oppose the system; does not obviously manifest itself. Rather, it hides or disguises by camouflaging. And it does not aim to destroy the system; it operates within its boundaries. In short, it waits for an opportunity to make use of defects, bugs and gaps in the system.

In the urban space, according to de Certeau, we can trace the tactics and strategies. The relation between a city and its inhabitants is at the same time a relation between a strategy and a tactic. Put it differently, urban space in itself can be considered as a system. As de Certeau argues, this system produces its own space (*un espace propre*), its rational organization which represses “all the physical, mental and political pollutions” (de Certeau 1984: 94). With its streets, boulevards, dead ends, guide boards, traffic lights etc., a city imposes itself to its inhabitants. From this perspective,

according to de Certeau, to trace the everyday practices of inhabitants in urban space would be fruitful to understand the relation between tactic and strategy. What does an inhabitant do in urban space? Which ways does he/she prefer and how does he/she use these ways? To what extent his/her preference match up with the city's rationale? In other words, to what extent he/she performs a creativity? According to de Certeau, no matter how effective the urban space as a system, there are possibilities of counteracting. These are everyday practices withstand the pervasive urban imagination of urban planners, bureaucrats and decision makers. Put it differently, these practices "consume" the urban space differently from designs which are produced and imposed by planners and decision makers. With de Certeau's words, this is "a different kind of production" (de Certeau 1984: 31). As I said, a tactic is a weapon of the weak. Therefore, to the extent that they are deprived of the power to transform this "strategic city" totally, the weak try to make use of it through spatial everyday practices. At this point, de Certeau makes a distinction between a place (*lieu*) and space (*espace*). According to this distinction, "space is a practiced place" (de Certeau 1984: 117). The place becomes space through inhabitants' productive spatial everyday practices. In other words, inhabitants appropriate the urban space through their tactical spatial practices.

3.4. Bourdieu, Spatial Habitus and Street Capital

What can Bourdieu tell us about everyday life and everyday practices in urban space? What do everyday life, everyday practices and urban space mean in Bourdieu's relational sociology? Can it help us to bring them together? How can we utilize him in this regard? While trying to answer these questions, I will not examine his theory from top to bottom. Rather, I will try to emphasize the capability of some of the notions of his theory on the issue of everyday life, everyday practices and urban space. His relational conception of habitus, capital and field theory which are the cornerstones of his approach seems essential for such a debate. First, I will briefly explain these notions and then try to show their capability for an explanation of urban space, everyday life and everyday practices.

It would not be wrong to argue that habitus and field theory are products of the effort to overcome structure-agency dichotomy. Bourdieu considers this dichotomy useless, even harmful; neither individual behavior nor the determination of structure can explain the social reality perfectly. According to him, there is an interrelation between structure and individual behavior, which means neither structure nor agency is autonomous. In this regard, habitus and field theory should be considered as a bridge between agent and structure.

Habitus and field theory, according to Bourdieu, can only be defined within a system of relations (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992: 96). For this reason, he uses the “game” as a metaphor to explain field theory and habitus relationally. According to the game metaphor, the field can be considered as a “playground” in which a struggle occurs between “players” with the aim of increasing their “stakes” and protecting or promoting their positions. For Bourdieu, the field is the arena of struggle. According to amount and composition of their resources (that is to say, their positions), players make “moves” to succeed. Each field has its own “rules”. These rules restrict players’ actions; they have to comply with these rules to stay in the playground. In this respect, players “believe” in the rules; they believe in and feel for the games. In other words, they feel that they must play because they think that they can gain something through the game.

So, how can we interpret Bourdieu’s probably the most discussed notion, habitus, within this framework? But first, we should look at his conception of “capital”. Capital corresponds to the stake. There are four basic forms of capital: economic, social, cultural and symbolic. Each field has a different capital hierarchy, which means in each field different compositions of capitals are effective. For example, in the academic field, cultural capital may be more effective than social capital. These capitals can be also converted to each other. For example, academicians can use their cultural capital to gain economic capital. The most important feature of capital is its influence on agent’s position in the field: if someone wants to gain leverage in the field, he/she should collect the correct composition of capital. Otherwise, he/she

cannot rise in the hierarchy of the field. Put it differently, agent' position in the field depends on his/her capital' amount and composition.

Now, through its relationship with capital and field theory, we can examine habitus. With this notion, Bourdieu tries to explain “how the ‘outer social’ and ‘inner self’ help to shape each other” (Maton 2008: 50). In the simplest term, habitus can be defined as durable and transposable values, thoughts, perceptions, actions, in short, dispositions which are generated by agent's material conditions; in other words, it is a process of “internalization of external structures” (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992: 18) but at the same time externalization of internal:

[Habitus is] structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as principles of the generating and structuring of practices and representations which can be objectively “regulated” and “regular” without in any way being the product of obedience to rules, objectively adapted to their goals without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends or an express mastery of the operations necessary to attain them and, being all this, collectively orchestrated without being the product of the orchestrating action of a conductor. (Bourdieu 1977: 72)

As it can be understood even from his books' names, *The Logic of Practice* and *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, habitus is the core notion of Bourdieu's theory of practice. So, how is habitus shaped? Or in other words, how does human get into action? First and foremost, habitus is related to possibilities and capabilities; in other words, it is “the strategy-generating principle enabling agents to cope with unforeseen and ever-changing situations” (Bourdieu 1977: 72). What determines our capabilities? Bourdieu's answer to this question is amount and composition of capitals and thus, position in the field. In other words, capital is the vital part of agents' capabilities. So, what does it mean? Bourdieu tries to tell us that our actions and decisions are bounded with our position in the field which is determined by amount and composition of our capitals. Habitus, as the logic behind the practice, is actualized precisely at this point: at the complex intersection of the field, capital and personal trajectory. In short, it is the practice-generating mediator between *opus operatum*, structured structure, and *modus operandi*, structuring structure:

The relation between habitus and field operates in two ways. On one side, it is a relation of conditioning: the field structures the habitus, which is the product of the embodiment of the immanent necessity of a field. On the other side, it is a relation of knowledge or cognitive construction. Habitus contributes to constituting the field as a meaningful world, a world endowed with sense and value, in which it is worth investing one's energy. (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992: 127)

Through his conception of the field, capital and habitus, Bourdieu suggests us a topologic perception which presents the social world as a space in which agents' positions are aggregating or distancing according to their capitals' amount and composition:

Agents and groups of agents are thus defined by their relative positions within that space. Each of them is assigned to a position or a precise class of neighbouring positions (i.e. a particular region in this space) and one cannot really –even if one can in thought– occupy two opposite regions of the space. (...) The social field can be described as a multi-dimensional space of positions such that every actual position can be defined in terms of a multi-dimensional system of co-ordinates whose values correspond to the values of the different pertinent variables. Thus, agents are distributed within it, in the first dimension, according to the overall volume of the capital they possess and, in the second dimension, according to the composition of their capital. (Bourdieu 1985: 724)

Within this framework, spatial outcomes of Bourdieu's theory are much more understandable. Such an outcome, first and foremost, can give us a perception to understand the relationship between physical space and social space. His short essay, *Site Effects*, can give us a clue about this kind of an outcome. In this essay, he summarizes very clearly his conception of space: "If the habitat shapes the habitus, the habitus also shapes the habitat" (1999: 128). This is a very neat definition of "spatial habitus" which corresponds to agents' physical position in urban space, in other words, their habitat. According to this, agents who share similar social positions, thus similar habitus, in social space tend to share similar physical positions in urban space. This kind of conception has potential to explain socio-spatial segregation and exclusion in urban space which is materialized, for example, in the

form of ghetto, slum or gated-community. Space, as a part of material condition, reflects socio-economic hierarchy in society and spatial habitus, as “a sense of one’s place but also a sense of other’s place” (Bourdieu 1990: 131), is the mechanism which generates spatial proximity and distance on the basis of this hierarchy which stems from agents’ positions in the field, that is to say from their material conditions. Therefore, considering physical space as “reified social space” (Bourdieu 1999: 123) can help us to comprehend the physical and symbolical struggles in urban space.

As I said, habitus is the core notion of Bourdieu’s theory of practice. So, what might be the role of spatial habitus at this point? And how can it help us to explain everyday life and everyday practices? The authenticity of habitus is that it explains human practice neither through rational choice nor through structural determinism. Rather, human practice presents itself to us as a “procedure to follow, paths to take” (Bourdieu 1990b: 53), as an only practice we think we can actualize within the context of our circumstance. At the complex intersection of agent’s trajectory, habitus and the limits of the field, human practice is actualized as a response. Practice as a response has a logic, but it is not logical; it is rather a spontaneity: a spontaneous tendency to choose the most appropriate response in the repertoire, a repertoire which is composed of practices shaped by past experiences and acquired capitals. Space is a part of this repertoire too. It is one of the founding elements of habitus. Habitus, as a form of knowing and experiencing that does not require consciousness, is affected by spatial constraints and possibilities. In other words, space is the cradle in which habitus grows. To sum up, within this framework, “spatial habitus” seems very effective to understand the logic behind everyday practices. By this way, we can discern diversities in everyday life. It can give us an opportunity to discern different everyday *lives*: different everyday lives and everyday practices based on spatial habitus.

At this point, I want to point out to a concept that I think is quite useful: street capital. “Street capital” is the concept developed by Sandberg, by using Bourdieu’s theoretical toolkit, to understand the cannabis economy and the street culture of

young black men in Oslo. According to Sandberg, “street capital is a cultural toolkit, which can be used strategically by marginalized people” (2008: 156). It is kind of a mastery, a “street wisdom” (Anderson 1992), “street art” of negotiating one’s way through the social space of ghetto (Wacquant, 1999: 150), a “street literacy” (Cahill 2000) that enables marginalized people to manage their lives in the marginalized conditions. In other words, it is a capacity that should be acquired by marginalized people to cope with socio-spatial and economic exclusion in urban space.

In this regard, I think that this concept is an important component of spatial habitus, especially an excluded neighborhood habitus. For example, Wacquant has revealed a social character which is embodiment of a certain capital in American black ghetto: “hustler”, who is “master of a particular type of symbolic capital, namely, the ability to manipulate others, to inveigle and deceive them, if need be by joining violence to chicanery and charm, in the pursuit of immediate pecuniary gain” (Wacquant 1999: 142). Bourgois (2003) also in his work on the American Hispanic ghetto shows that such a capital provides both symbolic (respect) and economic capital in the neighborhood. Conteras also examines the formation of a certain capital in street gangs in Salvador (2016). In his work, he revealed that violence is an important component of such a capital in Salvador. According to Dewerpe, “having a certain capital in a field structured by rules and stakes, an agent adopts a strategy to derive maximum profit from it” (Dewerpe, 1996: 2). In this regard, it is not wrong to argue that there is a certain type of capital in stigmatized and excluded neighborhoods. The consequences of the stigmatization and exclusion processes that constitute the material conditions of the neighborhood make it necessary to acquire this capital for coping with socio-spatial stigmatization and exclusion.

3.5. Bourdieu and de Certeau: a *Versus* or a *Duet*?

In this section, I have tried to show the importance of the everyday life. What is the cause of this importance? To answer this question, Bourdieu and de Certeau’s approaches to the everyday life and urban space, besides other thinkers who emphasize the possibilities in everyday life, are essential for me. In opposition to the

approaches which consider the everyday life and urban space static, apolitical and unimportant, these thinkers have shown its political and social importance by emphasizing daily struggles and practices.

This is why I am referring to these thinkers. In the previous section, I have depicted the neoliberal urbanization and its consequences. I have especially tried to demonstrate that this neoliberal intervention in urban space is at the same time a new management technique which marginalizes, segregates and stigmatizes the urban poor. If we use de Certeau's terminology, this case can be interpreted as a spatial and day-to-day conflict between neoliberal urban "strategy" which tries to control the urban poor's everyday spatial practices and urban poor's "tactics" which are generated to cope with and manipulate this strategy. How do the urban poor cope with exclusion, segregation and stigmatization in their everyday life? Or, do they? What is the everyday practices' role in this resistance? To what extent can we describe this as a resistance or compliance? In short, it is necessary to take a glance at everyday life and everyday practices of the urban poor who should not be considered completely powerless and passive in order to understand their strategies for coping and dealing with the dominant discourses and practices in urban space.

Bourdieu's "strategy" and de Certeau's "tactic"... At this point, it seems necessary to review and compare their conceptualization of practice. First, let's look at de Certeau's criticism of Bourdieu who occupies a particular place in *The Practice of Everyday Life*. It seems that de Certeau arguing against Bourdieu's core notion of habitus. For de Certeau, the disturbing aspect of habitus is its ignoring of the creativity. Habitus, according to de Certeau, is based on reproduction rather than creativity or production; it just repeats the past without strategic intention, calculation or prediction (de Certeau 1984: 56). By generating a theory of practice around habitus, according to de Certeau, Bourdieu pushes the practice "behind the bars of unconscious" (1984: 60), as a "*docta ignorantia*", learned ignorance. On the contrary, de Certeau does not try to generate a general theory of a practice unlike Bourdieu; he rather tries to formulate "a science of singularities" (1984: ix).

However, he does not explain clearly how this tactical capacity develops. In this regard, de Certeau's "ordinary man" seems more creative and autonomous.

It would be also misinterpreted to think that Bourdieu is a pure determinist and that the habitus which generates social strategy is completely a product of the structure (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992: 135-136). In fact, it is possible to think that Bourdieu and de Certeau are dealing with a similar problem: how does the agent act against the certain power relations and to what extent does the agent act autonomously? At this point, it is misleading to consider Bourdieu and de Certeau within to opposition of objectivism and subjectivism. To co-ordinate these two thinkers in this thesis, I am suggesting that both de Certeau's insidious and crafty ordinary man who develops tactics against the strategy of the power and Bourdieu's agent who acts in the field under the guidance of habitus should be considered within a power relationship. Then, the question that needs to be asked is whether these practices are resistance or submission. Resistance and submission are not clear-cut notions; "resistance may be alienating and submission may be liberating." (Bourdieu 1990: 155) Bourdieu and de Certeau, I think, converge at this point. This is entirely a matter of possibility and capability. It is true that de Certeau's "ordinary man" is creative; however, this creativity may not create a resistance. Direct opposition is only one of the choices among other practices of resistance. Put it differently, this kind of a resistance does not always oppose the power directly, but tries to find its direction within the boundaries in the most reasonable, feasible and possible way. Similarly, Bourdieu's agent, under the guidance of the habitus, acts within the limits of the structure; his/her options are determined within these limits. In fact, what is determined here is not the practice, but the practice repertoire. What we can call autonomy is choosing the most reasonable and feasible option from the action repertoire. While Bourdieu defines this "feasible option" as "strategy", de Certeau calls it "tactic".

Both of them speak of an individual who is aware of the boundaries (as a fundamental difference, de Certeau lay emphasis on conscious whereas Bourdieu lay emphasis on unconscious habitus) but is not totally a slave of these boundaries and who acts with

an intuition, an impulse. In fact, it can be argued that this kind of a tactical attitude, seizing an opportunity and acting clandestinely, is a component of a subaltern habitus. This, I think, does not pose a problem to de Certeau, because he states that tactics are essentially weapons of the weak against the power. In this respect, I would like to argue that if stigmatized and excluded youths living in ghettoesque neighborhoods have a spatial habitus, Bourdieu and de Certeau's approaches are complementary to understand it, not contrary.

And finally, I would like to say something about notions. What is the status of a notion in a sociological study? This leads us to the relationship between theory and practice. A theory or a notion, first of all, should be elastic, not solid. Put it differently, it should be adjustable to the empirical. A notion should not be considered as something achieved. Rather, it should be regularly generated in relation with the empirical. A notion should always go between theory and practice to increase its explanatory potential and surpass its limitations. In this regard, neither de Certeau's nor Bourdieu's conceptualizations are explanatory on their own, but useful. I have benefited from their conceptualizations by recognizing their limitations. I have not considered them as a law or rule, but rather as a useful tool. It should be always remembered that a notion is something different from a law or rule (at least in sociological studies). Therefore, by melting their solidity and by stretching them, we should make them handy. Put it differently, we should refrain from fetishizing them.

CHAPTER 4

FIELD RESEARCH: ŞAKİRPAŞA NEIGHBORHOOD

“The truth about what happens in the “problem suburbs” certainly does not lie in these usually forgotten sites that leap into the headlines from time to time. The true object of analysis, which must be constructed against appearances and against all those who do no more than endorse those appearances, is the social (or more precisely, political) construction of reality as it appears to intuition, and of its journalistic, bureaucratic and political representations, which help to produce effects that are indeed real, beginning with the political world, where they structure discussion, and extending to the world of science.”
Pierre Bourdieu

4.1. Site Effects

As Bourdieu stated, there is an interaction between space and people, in other words, between the neighborhood and its inhabitants; just as the inhabitants forge the identity of their neighborhood, space also provides an identity to its inhabitants: “If the habitat shapes the habitus, the habitus also shapes the habitat” (Bourdieu 1999: 128). This situation, which Bourdieu called “site effects”, provides the formation of a spatial habitus which corresponds to agents’ physical position in urban space, in other words, their habitat. I think that this conceptualization has potential to explain the neighborhood’s material conditions effects such as socio-spatial exclusion, poverty etc. on the youth.

Now I will discuss this process through Adana and its stigmatized neighborhood Şakirpaşa. I think that Adana is a very appropriate case to trace socio-spatial segregation and economic exclusion. As one of the “famous” neighborhoods of the city, Şakirpaşa can give us this opportunity. Site effects such as concentration of poverty and exclusion, illegal and criminal activities and territorial stigmatization characterize Şakirpaşa. Today, Şakirpaşa is considered as a neighborhood where drugs, crime and violence is prevalent, even though the population of the

neighborhood is far from being completely criminal or drug dealer. This perception of course has a negative effect on the neighborhood's residents, especially youths. As Bourdieu argued, "the stigmatized are symbolically degraded by inhabitants, who, in return, symbolically degrade it." (1999: 129)

To understand Şakirpaşa's "site effects", its socio-spatial dynamics, I will first take a look at the formation dynamics of the neighborhood and brief history of Adana. Showing these dynamics is helpful to understand the formation of the material conditions of the neighborhood.

4.1.1. On Specificity of Adana

Why did I choose Adana as a case study to examine socio-spatial segregation and stigmatization in Turkey? Where does its importance stem from? There are several reasons. First of all, Adana is a city where the poverty and unemployment rates are high (TÜİK 2014a). Crime rates and prison population are also above the average of Turkey (TÜİK 2014b). In addition to (or, as a "natural" consequence of) these, it has got a notorious reputation because of manipulative news in mainstream media. I said manipulative, because this news distorts the truth. However, even if its crime rates and prison populations are above the average, Adana is not "more scandalous" than İstanbul, Ankara, İzmir, Antalya, Bursa or Mersin. Despite its notorious reputation created by mainstream media, it is not that "vicious". Nevertheless, one thing is so characteristic for Adana: drug use. Statistically, drug uses and drug-related crimes (and of course drug-related deaths) are more prevalent than other cities (except İstanbul and İzmir) (TUBİM 2014).

Besides, when we look at the recent history of Adana, we can see clearly the negative consequences of deindustrialization in urban space. It can be said that there were agricultural and agro-industrial sectors that began to develop especially after the 1950s in Adana. In parallel with this, rural-to-urban migration and rate of the population working in the industry also began to accelerate, just as other big cities of Turkey. As shown by Karakuş and others, there were 145 industrial facilities and

13.325 workers who work in these facilities by the end of the 1960s (1999: 240; as cited in Keser, 2006: 119). In short, Adana was one of the most industrial regions of Turkey especially in the sectors that based on agriculture, such as textile and food sectors until the 1970s. After the 1970s, decreasing of the importance of agriculture in the economy affected also industrial enterprises in Adana. While agricultural sector was losing its economic significance, agro-industrial sector based on agriculture also affected negatively (Karakuş et al., 1999: 239; as cited in Keser, 2006: 126). Economic stagnation occurred both in agricultural and in industrial sectors caused an increasing both in informal and service sectors. But, ironically, Adana's population has continued to increase. The most important reason of this was settling of the people who escaped (due to violence) from the Southeastern region in the peripheries of Adana. As a result, the lack of the economic possibilities to include the newly arrived population in the labor market caused some problems in social life and urban fabric of the city.

Physically and spatially divided structure of the city is the most obvious sign of this distortion: Adana is, literally, a divided city. Wealthy-poor distinction can be observed easily through northern and southern part of the city, namely “kuzey Adana” and “güney Adana”⁷. D-400 highway (Turhan Cemal Beriker Boulevard) can be considered as a demarcation line between northern and southern Adana. Northern Adana has been developed as a solution to dwelling requirement of upper and middle class, especially after the 1990s. In the same period, migration from eastern and southeastern regions which was not supported with job opportunities has deteriorated living conditions in southern Adana (Keser 2006: 135). In brief, while the upper side of this demarcation line belongs to the upper and middle class, lower side belongs to the urban poor.

⁷ This spatial distinction produces also civil-uncivil, highbrow-lowbrow etc. dichotomies: <https://eksisozluk.com/entry/40422332>: “...while its northern part is one of the most livable places of turkey and is quite open-minded , its southern part is a place that is continuously circulated in news with violence and crime like south iraq”, <https://eksisozluk.com/entry/59049510>: “...while its one [southern] part is in this [corrupted] situation, its other [northern] part is quite modern...”, <https://eksisozluk.com/entry/41606162>: “how mature and competent is the mentality of those who live in a huge varoş?”

As I stated, the population of Adana, especially after the 1990s, has been shaped greatly by migration from eastern and southeastern regions of Turkey. As a consequence of this process, a considerable amount of Kurdish population aggregated in the city, especially in its southern part. Neighborhoods such as Dağlıoğlu, Şakirpaşa, Gülbahçe and Barbaros are *ghettoesque* places where mostly appropriated by this Kurdish population. Besides that, there are also mixed neighborhoods such as Sarıyakup, Beşocak, Hürriyet and Turkish-intense neighborhoods such as Tepebağ, Kayalıbağ, Kuruköprü and Şehit Duran in southern Adana (Keser 2006: 143). In short, socio-spatial segregation in Adana is intensified both by class and ethnical differences. However, as shown by Alacahan and Duman (2012) in their study on the poor neighborhoods of Adana which is supported by empirical findings, economic marginalization and socio-spatial segregation is not unique to Kurdish or another ethnic population in Adana. Put it differently, socio-spatial segregation is a common problem for Kurdish, Turkish or Gypsy (*conolar*) population who live in southern Adana. Nevertheless, it would be wrong to deny the ethnic discrimination mostly experienced by Kurdish and Gypsy population (Alacahan & Duman 2012: 69). Migrant Kurds are considered as “the main actor of the notorious reputation”⁸ of the city by some of the “genuine” people of Adana; they, “monsters who came from the countryside and packed into outskirts”⁹, are the real cause of deterioration. Even their presence in the city center sometimes can be problematic¹⁰; thus, it is not wrong to “clean them out”¹¹.

⁸ <https://eksisozluk.com/entry/59049510>

⁹ <https://eksisozluk.com/entry/37626012>

¹⁰ <https://eksisozluk.com/entry/40422332>: “...these notorious groups [migrant Kurds and gypsies] have begun to invade lively places such as Gazipaşa, Cemalpaşa...”

¹¹ <https://eksisozluk.com/entry/39446731>



Figure 1. Spatial segregation in Adana (source: Google Earth, 2017)

4.1.2. Şakirpaşa: “*This is the world of those who play better, not those who are well-mannered*”¹²

Şakirpaşa is one of the biggest neighborhoods of Seyhan and Seyhan is one of the main central districts of Adana. Seyhan is the district where Adana developed around of it. Its another importance is that it is the most crowded and intense district of Adana. The crowded population of Seyhan, together with the socio-economic transformation of the city, has caused a very heterogeneous population in Şakirpaşa. It is not only Şakirpaşa, in fact, Adana is a very cosmopolitan place in general. Arab

¹² A writing on the wall in Şakirpaşa: “*burası iyi olanların değil iyi oynayanların dünyası*”

Alevis, Kurds, Turks, Syrians... The city has become a home for all these groups as it is an attractive place both in terms of agriculture and industry.

Since the 1950s, industrial activities and development projects have had a considerable influence on Adana and especially on Seyhan. Rapid industrialization of the city, development of irrigated farming and agro-industries, in this context, brought about a rapid population increase. Especially with the development of the agro-industries, Adana's attractiveness has increased. Seyhan was affected substantially by this process too. The reason is that Seyhan is the first stopping point in the city for newly-arriving migrants. Because Seyhan was Adana's closest district to the villages. And the first factories were also here. After the first arrivals settled in here, their relatives settled here too. Another wave of migration is the forced migration from the Southeast in the 1990s¹³. With the population increase due to industrialization and migration wave coming from the Southeast, no doubt, influenced the city both socially and spatially. Housing problem and squatting can be considered as the leading spatial problems. On the other hand, unemployment seems as the most important social problem of the city. It can be said that Seyhan is one of the most deprived districts of Adana. Employment participation rate is 38,4 percent, which is below the average of Adana (Municipality of Seyhan, 2010). Educational level, as one of the main factors that determine employment, is also in a poor condition. Whereas 4 percent of the population is illiterate, 20 percent is literate but not graduated from primary school which is the highest rate (Municipality of Seyhan, 2015). It is possible to say that all these problems are experienced in Seyhan and especially in Şakirpaşa extremely. We can consider Şakirpaşa as a small example of the general state of Seyhan.

According to local narratives, Şakirpaşa began to grow with those who came to the city to work in industry:

¹³ The large Turkish cities experienced forced migration of Kurdish population between 1984 and 1999. They had to leave their homes because the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) started the armed struggle against the state in 1984 and the Turkish security forces intensified their fighting against the PKK in the context of the State of Emergency declared in 1987.

Mehmet Sözütek: My dad (Mümtaz Sözütek) came to the neighborhood in 1955. Doğan's also came for us, maybe even a while ago. The neighborhood was close to villages than the city. Adana's natives Arabs, Turkmens, initially, they have begun to come to the city thinking that it is more attractive, while they were living in the village. My dad started to work as a driver at General Directorate of State Hydraulic Works (Devlet Su İşleri). But he also, for example, could buy a minibus. We had worked as an apprentice, we had worked in every job. My little brother has continued public transportation. Then we have set up our own business and have continued repairing.¹⁴

Mehmet Sözütek, also known as “*Kara Mehmet*”, is the uncle of my friend Mümtaz who introduced me to the neighborhood. He is sixty-four years old and he was born in Şakirpaşa. I had a chance to talk with him about the recent past of the neighborhood. At this point, I have to say something about how I got involved in the neighborhood's everyday life. Actually, my relationship with the neighborhood dates back to five or six years. I started to visit Şakirpaşa through my close friend Mümtaz. Mümtaz was born in Şakirpaşa, but then they moved from there after primary school. But there are still their acquaintances and some relatives living there. When I was spending time in the neighborhood for my field research, they helped me a lot to introduce the neighborhood. Mümtaz and his relatives have made it easier for me to overcome the obstacle that prevented me to talk some “criminal” and “illegal” youths, by using their influence.

Another attractive aspect of Şakirpaşa was that it was close to the factories:

Me: How was the working conditions in the neighborhood?

¹⁴ Mehmet Sözütek: Babamın (Mümtaz Sözütek) gelişi mahalleye 1955. Doğan abiler de bizle beraber gelmişler, hatta biraz daha önce galiba. Mahalle köye şehirden daha yakın o zaman. Adana'nın yerlisi olan Araplar, Türkmenler, bunlar köyde yaşarken şehrin cazibesini, fırsatını görüp gelmeye başlıyorlar öyle ilkin mahalleye. Devlet Su İşleri'nde işe başlıyor şoför olarak. Mesela babam dolmuş hattı almış işte. Biz de çıraklık yaptık, her işi yaptık. Sonra kendi işimizi kurduk, o iş tutunca devam ettik tamirciliğe.

Mehmet Sözütek: Tekel, Sasa, Bossa¹⁵... There were a lot of factories. My sister, Gülseren, for example, used to work at Tekel. Her social security was good, his income was good. It was even being called as “Little Germany”. Her retirement salary is still very good. People were willing to get this job.¹⁶

Especially with the 1980s, this situation began to change and the industry has decreased significantly in Adana. This decreasing in the industry has, no doubt, affected the local employment opportunities in Şakirpaşa badly. Even if many of them are moved or closed, auto industry site in the neighborhood’s territory or local factories around the neighborhood are still important job areas:

Mehmet Sözütek: Then, of course, they all disbanded and closed. Unemployment increased.

Me: When this happened?

Mehmet Sözütek: It was 80s and 90s, around that time. These dirty jobs (drug business) emerged after that. This is what happens when there is no job. Not only for our neighborhood, closure of the factories has influenced all Adana. For example, we had been repairing the trucks in the city, we had been repairing their crankshaft. We used to make good money. Then the works started to slow down.¹⁷

Undoubtedly, this situation has also influenced the socio-spatial situation of the neighborhood:

Mehmet Sözütek: We were five sisters and brothers here. We are not living here anymore. The neighborhood has been degenerated. There is drug everywhere now. We moved to cleaner places.

Me: How clean?

¹⁵ These are big factories that used to employ a lot of people in Adana.

¹⁶ Ben: İş durumları nasıldı peki mahallede?

Mehmet Sözütek: Tekel, Sasa, Bossa bir sürü fabrika vardı o sıra. Ablam Gülseren Tekel fabrikasında çalışıyordu. Sosyal güvenliği çok iyiydi. Gelirleri çok iyiydi. Hatta “küçük Almanya” derlerdi. Hala da iyidir emekli maaşı. İnsanlar girmeye can atardı.

¹⁷ Mehmet Sözütek: Sonra tabi hepsi dağıldı kapandı. İşsizlik de arttı.

Ben: Ne zaman oluyor bu?

Mehmet Sözütek: 90'lara doğru işte. O sıralar. Bu pis işler de zaten sonra çıktı. İş yok güç olmayınca bunlar arttı. Sırf bizim mahalle de değil, Adana'yı etkiledi bu fabrikaların kapanması. Mesela biz şehre gelen kamyonlara bakardır, krank mili olur, o işe bakıyorduk biz. İyi de kazanıyorduk. Sonra onlar da kesildiler.

Mehmet Sözütek: Drugs, cannabis, corner boys... These are things that degenerate the neighborhood. It was not like this before.¹⁸

When migration and economic decreasing are combined, change in the socio-economic structure of the neighborhood is inevitable. Spatial decomposition has begun to take place in the neighborhood, especially after the migrations from the Southeast. Kurdish migrants began to cluster in certain places of the neighborhood. Whereas sections of the neighborhood called Ova and Uçak are places where the Kurds live, sections such as Onur are more heterogeneous places where Turks, Kurds and Arabs (it seems that Syrians are now a part of this group) who have come with the first wave of migration live together¹⁹. Although this distinction is so latent and transparent, it is valid, as far as I observed. I observed this especially among the parents of youths who have shown me around. Some people have told (or rather, “warned”) me that we should not spend too much time at the places like Ova and Uçak. However, it would be wrong to argue that this is a sign of “Kurd-phobia”. It is rather because these sections are focal points of the drug business in the neighborhood. It is also very disturbing for Şakirpaşa’s residents that these neighborhoods are confused with Şakirpaşa in the media²⁰. Some adults, especially parents, are trying to keep their children out of these sections because they consider these sections as the center of the drug, crime and violence. I have not observed this kind of dread among the youth.

¹⁸ Mehmet Sözütek: *Biz 5 kardeş burada yaşırdık. Şimdi hiçbirimiz kalmadı burada. Mahalle bozuldu. Her yerde uyuşturucu var artık. Birbirini vuranlar, kavga dövüş... Daha temiz yerlere geçtik.*

Ben: *Nasıl temiz yani?*

Mehmet Sözütek: *Uyuşturucu, esrar, torbacılar... Bunlar yani mahalleyi kirletenler. Eskiden böyle değildi ki hiç.*

¹⁹ In fact, Onur, Ova and Uçak are not different sections of Şakirpaşa, but separate neighborhoods. As mentioned by mukhtar Ali İzdaş, they used to belong to Şakirpaşa. But then they become separate neighborhood. The reason for not showing them like a separate neighborhood is that everyone in Şakirpaşa think that these neighborhoods belong to Şakirpaşa:

Ali İzdaş: *Şakirpaşa büyük bir mahalledir geçmişte. Uçak, Ova, Onur buradan ayrılıp mahalle oldular. Ama halen hepsi Şakirpaşa gibi.*

²⁰ Ali İzdaş: *Şakirpaşa olarak Ova, Uçak, Onur mahalleleri bizden ayrılan mahalleler ama hangi mahallede bir şey olsa Şakirpaşa’nın adı kullanılıyor. Birçok olayla bizim hiçbir alakamız yok. Uyuşturucu diyorlar mesela, bizim burada olmaz. Bunu basına ve emniyete de anlatıyorum. Bu çevrede dört mahalle var ama sadece Şakirpaşa öne çıkarılıyor.*

Wacquant argues that the withdrawal of the state from ghetto has caused a havoc and squalidness in these neighborhoods. The absence of municipal services, social opportunities etc. worsens the conditions in the neighborhood. Similar situation can be observed also in Şakirpaşa. When you go to the neighborhood, you can easily observe the conditions of poverty and exclusion; you can observe this even before you go. For example, when you realize that the buses to Şakirpaşa are older and neglected (and work less often) than other buses... Or, when you learn that some of the bakeries in the city sell the remaining stale products much cheaper in Şakirpaşa and in some other poor neighborhoods... Or, when you see the police station in the neighborhood almost looks like a military outpost... Or, when you see a school with barbed wire walls and barred windows in the neighborhood that looks like a prison... Or, when you feel that your appearance draws attention in the neighborhood... And so on...

Şakirpaşa is one of the *varoş* neighborhoods of Adana. However, as Yücel (2016) argued, it is wrong to think that there is a single form of *varoş* and *gecekondu*. Yücel claims that there are three forms of *varoş*: inner, fragmented and integrated. “Inner *varoş*” indicates the *varoş* with physical proximity to the urban center. Neighborhoods such as Tarlabası is an example of this form. “Fragmented *varoş*” indicates the physically, socially and identically fragmented and decentralized *varoş* fragmented with TOKI etc. And “integrated *varoş*” are neighborhoods where the neighborhood identity and spatial relations are preserved.

According to this classification, it can be said that Şakirpaşa is an example for the integrated *varoş* form. The quality of the building is bad. There are no apartment buildings, apart from the buildings with three or four storeys on the main street (Şakirpaşa Street and Onur Street). Rather, there are mostly detached houses with two storeys and with a small yard, shared by the members of the same family. Apart from the main street, streets are narrow. Narrow streets also make it difficult for garbage trucks, firefighters and ambulances to enter the neighborhood. Infrastructure is also

inadequate: toilet was not in the house in some of the detached houses. Street lights are often broken and do not work²¹. Streets are not so clean²²; I have not seen any waste bins belong to the municipality, people had their own waste bins in front of their houses.

However, it is wrong to consider Şakirapaşa as a ghetto or slum area. Rather, it is an example for integrated *varoş*. In other words, the conditions of exclusion and abandonment here are not as heavy as American or French ghetto. For example, as argued by the mukhtar of the neighborhood, Ali İzdaş, one of Adana's biggest indoor sports hall is in the neighborhood (not exactly in the neighborhood, but at the border). Especially for women and children, there are various social services provided by the municipality: vocational courses at *SEYMER* (*Seyhan Belediyesi Sürekli Eğitim ve Uygulama Merkezi*), sports halls and libraries for youths and children for example. Establishment of "Child and Adolescent Rehabilitation Center" in the district is also on the agenda of Seyhan Municipality. However, this does not mean everything is fine. For example, Ali İzdaş also says that the working hours of the health center (*sağlık ocağı*) was shortened for security reason of the personnel.

In fact, it would not be wrong to think that services such as sports hall etc. are designed to keep youths away from the street. Ali İzdaş works jointly with police department and municipality on this issue. The mayor of Seyhan Municipality Zeydan Karalar and the governor of Adana Mahmut Demirtaş also draw attention to the benefits of such services to keep youths away from the street, crime and drugs²³.

²¹ Ali İzdaş: TEDAŞ ile sorunlarımız var. Sokak lambaları yanmıyor. Vatandaş bizlere şikâyeteye geliyor biz muhatap bulamıyoruz.

²² Hakkı: Hakkı: Belediyenin tutumu iyi değil valla. Temizlik memizlik olmaz doğru düzgün. Ancak bir salı günü, o da pazar kuruluyor diye.
Doğan: Dayı yeterli hizmet yok hiç. Bu yerleri süpüren kamyonlar var ya hani, neden bizde yok dayı? Çöp kamyonu bile gelmez doğru düzgün amına koyayım. Mahalleye gelen otobüsler bile, hepsi eski, kliması doğru düzgün çalışmaz...

²³ <http://www.bolgegazetesi.com.tr/haber/359/mucadelemiz-suruyor.html>: "We are building new sport facilities especially in the suburbs for the benefit of our youths."

The mayor thinks that even urban transformation projects are useful in this respect to protect children from ‘‘terrorism, drugs and a lot of bad things’’²⁴.

As far as I observed, there is a mentality in the neighborhood that sees ‘‘troublesome youths’’ as the responsible of the authorities’ apathy towards the Şakirpaşa. For example, it is believed that garbage trucks do not enter the neighborhood because the youth close the road; or it is believed that busses do not enter the neighborhood because the youth throw stone. Especially the youth who are dealing with drug business are attracting the reaction of shopkeepers and families with a child. These youths are considered as a source of some problems in the neighborhood. Another critical point here is political demonstrations attended by Kurdish youth. I have said that there is no deep ethnic segregation and discrimination in Şakirpaşa. Even in Adana it is wrong to talk about ethnic discrimination towards Kurdish youths. The Kurdish youths I spoke with said they have not experienced any discrimination due to being Kurdish in Adana. But political demonstrations touch this ethnic sensitivity. The idea that these political demonstrations support terrorism is causing a reaction towards these youths. Also, as I said, this is seen as the reason for the apathy of local authorities towards the neighborhood.

Shopkeepers and the mukhtar regard unemployment as responsible for the youth’s sympathy to drugs. They show the lack of job opportunities as a reason for the youth’s idleness:

Ali İzdaş: Now the youth it is not like our time. First of all, there is no job. There was Bossa here, there were lots of factories. Now most of the youths are looking for vagrancy. There are drugs in the neighborhood now. I think this is because of unemployment. There is nothing to keep the youths busy.²⁵

²⁴ <https://www.haberler.com/seyhan-belediye-baskani-karalar-aciklamasi-8285830-haberi/>: ‘‘In the blind streets where firefighters cannot enter we do urban transformation. Urban transformation is absolutely necessary in areas where drugs, terrorism and a lot of bad things placed.’’

²⁵ Ali İzdaş: Gençler valla hiç eskisi gibi değil, bizim zamanımızdaki gibi. İş yok bir kere. Burada Bossa vardı, bir sürü fabrika vardı. Şimdi gençler bitmiş, serserilik peşinde çoğu. Uyuşturucu girmiş mahalleye. Ben bunun işsizlikten olduğunu düşünüyorum. Gençlerin meşgul olacak bir işleri yok ki.

Nihat Sözütek, the chairman of the Chamber of Tradesmen and Artisans, underlines this point:

Nihat Sözütek: Not just Şakirpaşa, we have a lot of problematic neighborhoods in Adana. The municipality and the governor are interested with the problems of these neighborhoods. But unemployment is high here. Young people cannot get a job. This is of course an opportunity for drug dealers.²⁶

4.1.2.1. Everyday Dynamics in Şakirpaşa

Urban public space is not something natural and determined, rather it is a subject of social struggles and power relations. It is always re-structured through the practices of its users. Space is a structuring element of the identity. Street can then be considered for the youth as a space of socialization, of possibility to identify the marginalized existence. As stated by Mayol:

One is from the Croix-Rousse or from the rue Vercingétorix, just as one is known as Pierre or Paul. A signature attesting to an origin, the neighborhood is inscribed in the history of the subject like the mark of an indelible belonging inasmuch as it is the primary configuration, the archetype of every process of appropriation of space as a place for everyday public life. (De Certeau, Giard & Mayol, 1998: 12)

Space is important in the processes of socialization for youths in *varoş*. It can be said that for youths who labeled as “*varoş* youth”, neighborhood has an identity-forming effect. Factors such as the history of the neighborhood, the connection of the youth to this history, the social patterns in the neighborhood and the participation of the youth to this pattern, and the physical and social boundaries of the neighborhood are influential on this process (Yılmaz, 2016: 58). This collective identity is based on sharing the same place; it consists of an exclusion experience and of different reactions to it.

²⁶ Nihat Sözütek: Sırf Şakirpaşa değil, Adana’da bir sürü sorunlu mahallemiz var. Belediyemiz, valimiz buraların sorunlarıyla ilgilenmiyor değiller. Ancak buralarda işsizlik fazla. Gençler iş bulamıyor. Bu da uyuşturucu satıcıları için fırsat tabi.

“Space is a social product” (1991: 26), Lefebvre says. Lefebvre (1991) proposes a “triplicity” of spaces: conceived (the objective representations of space), perceived (the practice of space through everyday spatial practices) and lived (the space of representation or the space modified and appropriate by the individual). Lived space is the place of a practice full of meanings (emotions, symbols, codes etc.). In other words, people give meaning the space by experiencing it. De Certeau (1984) also says that people have developed their own tactics against the strategies of the space; they appropriate it by using. Space is constructed through such reciprocal relations. This is of course also valid for Şakirpaşa. In Şakirpaşa, the neighborhood space is used and reproduced by youths in different ways. With de Certeau’s own terminology, youths turn the neighborhood place (*lieu*) into their own space (*espace*). The walls on which the wall writings are written and the streets arranged for car and motorcycle races are examples of turning the space into a place. There is also a power relationship here. The wall writings are erased, but they are repeated over and over again. Youths gathered for the car race also struggle with the police to persuade each other. Birmingham School argues that subculture practices mean a kind of resistance against the dominant and hegemonic values of the society. Contrary to the approach of the Chicago School, Birmingham School does not interpret them as a deviation in a reductionist way. Rather, these are the culturally resilient practices of the oppressed groups of the community. In other words, they are products of the society. De Certeau also argues that it is possible to trace the power and resistance in the everyday spatial practices of the inhabitants of the city. Of course, resistance should not be exaggerated here. Resistance may not be in the form of obvious resistance; it can also be hidden and clandestine. Sometimes it takes the resistant form, sometimes submissive form in different contexts: it goes between these two poles. Sometimes anonymity/avoidance/disguising may be the best option to resist. But in some occasions, it may be necessary to resist openly/explicitly. Or sometimes, negotiation/bargaining may be useful. In short, neighborhood habitus is the logic, the sense that makes it possible to choose the right way to manage everyday life according to requirements of different situations. In this respect, car races and wall writings can be interpreted as two different forms of everyday resistance in the sense

that de Certeau has stated: wall writings are performed anonymously while the police are confronted openly in the car races. In this subsection I will look at these practices and a few points that I find important in the everyday life of the neighborhood.

First of all, “being a youngster from Şakirpaşa”, as a clearly and proudly accepted trait, was so common among the youth I talked (However, it should not be forgotten that there are disturbing situations caused by the negative labels of the neighborhood. I will show this in the next section.). As far as I observed, the youth I talked do not spend much time outside of the neighborhood. Any kind of activity can be done in the neighborhood:

Doğan: After the work, everyone drinks what he wants. Some drink beer, some smoke cannabis. We gather in the shop and chew the rag.

Me: Who usually participates? Youngsters?

Doğan: There are both married guys and seventeen-year-old apprentices. This place is both our job, our restaurant and our night club dude (laughingly).²⁷

The neighborhood is embraced and loved. But it is not completely a place of freedom. It is important to find, or if necessary, to create places where no one will disturb, no one will find, especially the police. Şakirpaşa (and other stigmatized neighborhoods) used to be called as “liberated zone”, because the police could not enter easily. But now this situation seems to have changed a bit. Conditions created by the State of Emergency have no doubt an impact on this situation.

As far as I observed, the police appear more frequently in Adana’s southern suburbs than rich northern neighborhoods. And in the southern suburbs, it can also be said that the police are perceived differently than the northern neighborhoods. Because the youth here are in a different relationship with the police. The police represent the common enemy of the youth in street. Its authority seems illegitimate because it is

²⁷ Doğan: Dayı valla iş bittikten sonar bira içen birasını alır, cigara içen cigarasını alır, dükkânda toplanırız. İsteyen istediğin içer, muhabbet döner işte.

Ben: Kimler takılır genelde? Hep gençler mi?

Doğan: Valla evli, çoluk çocuk sahibi abilerimiz de var, on yedi yaşındaki çırak da gelir o ortama. Bizim işimiz de lokantamız da gece kulübümüz de burası dayı (gülerek).

considered persecutory rather than protective. As Emrah said, discrimination comes mostly from the police outside of the neighborhood:

Me: Have you ever felted that you were being treated differently in the city or the neighborhood?

Emrah: Nobody says anything in the neighborhood. But outside of the neighborhood, the police disturb us mostly. Because we are tanned and scrawny probably... Because we look like a criminal...²⁸

Mustafa has told a story about how appearance is treated by the police:

Mustafa: For example, last night. We were riding a motorcycle with Turan. A Doblo approached us. Turan was riding the motorcycle, and I was sitting behind him with a hat and a hooded coat.

Me: You look exactly illegal, right? (laughingly)

Mustafa: Yeah, exactly. Then Doblo approached. I saw the radio set. Two guys turned their heads and started looking at us. Turan said: “Bro, cops are looking at us”. I started looking at the guys too. It took about five seconds. Then they went straight ahead.

Me: Because, if you are criminal, you would run away.

Mustafa: Exactly. If you are a little bearded, if you are the type that those guys are looking for...²⁹

Me: How is the relationship with the police around here?

Hakkı: The police are like enemy here! Even if you do not have a crime, you are afraid.³⁰

²⁸ Ben: Şehirde ya da mahallede falan öyle farklı bir muamele gördüğün oldu mu mesela?

Emrah: Valla mahallede kimsenin bir şey dediği yok da dışarıda en çok polis takıyor. Esmeriz, zayıfız diye herhalde... Eşkalli gözüktüyoruz diye...

²⁹ Mustafa: En basiti bak, mesela dün akşam. Turan’la biz gidiyoruz. Adana Park yapıldı ya, onun o arkasından Marsa hastanesinin yoluna düştük. Bir tane Doblo yanımıza geldi, motoru Turan sürüyor, ben de montu çekmişim kafamda şapka...

Ben: Eşkallisiniz yani tam. (gülerek)

Mustafa: Hee tam. Doblo yanaştı, baktım telsiz kabloları falan. İki adam böyle döndürdü kafalarını bize bakıyor. Turan dedi ki abi polisler bize bakıyor. Döndüm adamlara böyle baktık baktık... Bir beş saniye baktık. Adamlar yanımızdan dümdüz gitti.

Ben: Eşkalli olsan bakmaz kaçarsın çünkü.

Mustafa: Aynen. Biraz sakallı, biraz böyle tam o adamların aradığı tipte olsaydık ikimiz de...

³⁰ Ben: Polisle ilişki nasıl buralarda?

Hakkı: Polis burada düşman gibi ha! Suçun yoksa bile bir korkuyorsun.

Emre points out the police's attitude which has been changed, hardened and become more brutal in the last two years, probably because of the State of Emergency:

Me: So, the police are shooting now, right?

Emre: Yeah, they are shooting at first sight, bang bang bang... They used to be feared to shoot, because they might be punished. Even decrepit cops are annoying us now, as if he will beat me! Until two years ago, regular cops could not enter the neighborhood, they could enter only with Scorpion (armored vehicle). Now they have the authority to shoot, it is no joke. Nobody can comfortably sell drugs anymore in the neighborhood because of that.³¹

It can be said that the fear of police and capture causes a kind of sense of insecurity. I have observed this especially on my discussions with corner boys. As stated by Goffman, this kind of a fear is the reason to live like a fugitive, because it penetrates “into the basic activities of daily living – work, family, romance friendship and even much-needed medical care” (2014). It was hard for me to overcome the consequences of this uneasiness. For example, I was suspected of being a cop. Or, I noticed that some questions I asked were answered incorrectly or briefly. I conducted all the interviews in the neighborhood to make them relieved; however, some have tried to finish it in haste. I sensed that they were disturbed by some of the questions about illegality.

In short, the police are regarded as an actor the youth are afraid to meet. But the perception of the police differs both inside and outside of the neighborhood. What I am trying to say is that the police in the neighborhood are more familiar and a part of the routine. Sometimes they even “stretch the rules” for little things. The police have also to consider the neighborhood's dynamics, instead of treating with a high hand. For example, Cemal told me that when he was caught with two packages of cannabis in the neighborhood by a cop, he eluded by managing the cop saying that he does not

³¹ Ben: Polis sıkıyor artık yani ha?

Emre: Hee, görür görmez tak tak tak... Önceden sıkmaya korkarlardı ceza alırdı diye. Şimdi moruk moruk polisler bile caz yapıyor amına koyayım. Sanki beni dövecek! İki yıl önceye kadar polis molis normal memur giremezdi ha mahalleye, ancak Akrep'le. Şimdi vur emri var, şakası yok valla. O yüzden rahat rahat torba da tutamıyor kimse artık mahallede.

do anything bad and that he smokes this carefully.³² Or Doğan, for example, told me that he is afraid of getting caught by the police while driving boozily at the places such as Özal and Demirel where socio-economic level is higher; but in Şakirpaşa, he said that he is more comfortable because the police do not pay attention to it.³³ In short, it would be a mistake to consider the relationship with the police as a very strict and unilateral power relationship. In some cases, the cops are feared but in some other cases they can be challenged. Or, the police sometimes abstain from to use the authority that the law gives them. I will show it again later in the case of car and motorcycle races.

Cannabis is quite common in Şakirpaşa, so much so that it used to be packed and sold in the middle of the neighborhood.³⁴ It is not easy doing this openly now. Therefore, they had to find different ways to smuggle cannabis into the neighborhood. Interestingly, I learned that the crowded political demonstrations in the neighborhood are also used for a different purpose: to take drugs in the neighborhood. It is easier to take drugs in the neighborhood by taking advantage of the tumult and crowd caused by the demonstration.

Sefa: You know, demonstrations are organized in the neighborhood. You have to see! This street is full of people during that time. The police are right across the street. In this razzle-dazzle, I see our zippies rushing (laughingly). The safest moment is that moment. Why? Because the location of the police is obvious. The crowd does not get them in the neighborhood. When the police are trying to contend with the demonstration, they get their job done behind.³⁵

³² Cemal: Dedim ki “dayı ben bunu valla sırf zevk için içiyorum, kimseye zararım yok yeminle”. Ayak yapıyor tamam mı? Sonra bir paketi aldı “hadi siktir ol” dedi, “git evine iç düzgünce”. Saldı sonra.

³³ Doğan: Abi ben şu an bu ortamda kendimi çok rahatsız hissediyorum.

Ben: Niye ki?

Doğan: Polis çevirip ceza yazabilir şimdi. Ama kendi mahalleimde olsam, “abi ben içiyorum böyle böyle”, “tamam” der, “hadi çok içme, git” der. O yüzden Özal, Süleyman Demirel, cart curt, en çok korktuğum yerler.

³⁴ Sefa: Kardeş bak bundan 4-5 sene öncesinde kadar, muşamba var ya hani sokakta, onları açar herkes başına geçer onun üstünde paket yapardık anladın mı? O kadar yaygındı.

It is not easy to do this openly now but smoking cannabis is still quite common:

Emre: Whole neighborhood smoke this dude. When we go out to the street, someone immediately comes, “dude do you have five bucks for my five bucks”, “do you have five bucks for my three bucks”... An immediate coalition is formed...³⁶

Turan: I spend my weekly wages mostly for ecstasy and cannabis.

Me: You like it too much huh?

Turan: This is our pleasure dude. If we go out and drink at Hangover (a luxury place in Adana), it would cost us a lot (laughingly).³⁷

Although it is so common and known, youths do not smoke it around parents. But this is just a matter of respect.

Sefa: We smoke at the roof, at the garden...

Me: So, does not anyone see?

Sefa: This guy has been in prison for two years because of this. This guy has been smoking this for thirty years, every day. I think he is craving for it (laughingly).³⁸

Me: How long have you smoking this Süleyman?

Süleyman: I suppose I started this at fourteen. We smoked at school, then went to the watercourse, started to laugh, it was funny.

Me: I suppose you smoke too much?

³⁵ Sefa: Mesela bu eylemler falan oluyor ya hani. Göreceksin, şu cadde ful doluyor ha. Karşıda da polisler. Zaten karakol şurası. O curcunada bakıyorum bizim yengeçler koşturuyor (gülerek). En güvenli an o an sana söyleyeyim. Niye? Polisin yeri belli çünkü. Kalabalık sokmuyor mahalleye. Polis çevik falan eyleme bakıyor ya, bunlar da arkada döndürüyorlar işlerini.

³⁶ Emre: Abi bütün mahalle içiyor zaten. Sokağa bir çıkıyoruz, hemen geliyorlar “beşime beşin var mı”, “üçüme beşin var mı”... Anında bir koalisyon... Alıyoruz içiyoruz öyle.

³⁷ Turan: Haftalığımın çoğunu valla şekerle cigaraya veriyorum.

Ben: Çok seviyorsun yani ha?

Turan: Bu da bizim eğlencemiz dayı ne yapalım? Gidip de Hangover’da (Adana’da lüks bir mekân) oturup iki bira içsek 100’lük olacağız (gülerek).

³⁸ Sefa: Damda içeriz, bahçede içeriz...

Ben: Peki kimse görmüyor mu burada?

Sefa: Şu adam iki yıl yattı bundan. Şu amca otuz yıldır her gün içiyor. Hatta canı çekmiştir, yazık. Komşuluk hakkıdır, vereyim. (gülerek)

Süleyman: Cannabis, drugs... Just because we get used to these, we always do this on weekend.³⁹

And he added that the favorite part of Şakirpaşa is that it is easy to find cannabis. Unlike those who are like Süleyman, there are also those who are disturbed with corner boys. For example, according to Hakkı, they are the source of the bad reputation of the neighborhood⁴⁰.

Even if the neighborhood residents do not find smoking cannabis odd, this is not an activity that can be done openly, mostly because of the fear of police. Therefore, some places have been especially designed for this activity. For example, *Üçgen Havuz*, a vacancy next to the watercourse. When I came, there were about fifteen youngsters at *Üçgen Havuz*, gathered around small circles. Cannabis was the thing that brought these little circles together. The main activity at the garden was smoking cannabis. Around cannabis, they were discussing and conversating each other. This illicit ritual is first of a sign of the way of ‘‘making territory’’. This place is the best because it gives maximum protection for everyone to hide and allows to observe the arrival, especially the arrival of the police. It also gives a chance to lose track when the police are chasing, because the garden is next to the cornfield and when you enter the cornfield, it is very easy to escape from another side of the field.

There are places such as *Üçgen Havuz* that is designed for hiding from the police; but there are also places where the police are openly ‘‘challenged’’. The desire for visibility is another fundamental aspect of spatial everyday practices. The investment of certain public spaces and practices responds also to a strategy of visibility and

³⁹ Ben: Kaç yıldır içiyorsun bunu Süleyman?

Süleyman: 14 yaşında tam içmeye başladım ben bunu herhalde. Okulda geldi, içtik, kanala gittik, güliyoruz, ne güzel eğlenceli geliyor o zaman.

Ben: Baya içiyorsunuz galiba?

Süleyman: Esrar, uyuşturucu tek şey... Sadece bu kafaya alıştığımız için, hafta sonumuz hep böyle geçiyor.

⁴⁰ Hakkı: Abi torbacıların bana zararları yok, çoğu arkadaşım. Ama zararları çevreye, bela getiriyorlar, mahallenin adını çıkarıyorlar.

attraction. Spatial practices developed for social visibility and recognition can take many forms: claim of territory, graffiti, etc. In this context, street can be regarded as the area of freedom for many of them. And freedom, in here, is reached by using and experiencing the public space differently. Street contains the moments and places of emancipation in which prevailing social norms are distorted and inversed. I think that it is necessary to evaluate these counter-cultural practices in terms of ethics and even aesthetics, not moral. I want to show two “moments of emancipation” for the youth in Şakirpaşa: car and motorcycle races and wall writings.

There is a situation where the youth in the neighborhood openly “cock a snook”⁴¹ at the police: car and motor races. This is not just for the youth of Şakirpaşa, it is actually an activity where all the “illegitimate”, “zippy” youths of the city get involved. These are the races that the youths working in workshops compete with each other in the city with the engines and cars that developed by their “masters”. The prize is money.

Sefa: Your vehicle must be full if you want to participate in the race.

Me: What do you mean by full?

Sefa: I mean, your vehicle must be Şahin or Doğan, its engine must be modified... Got it?

Me: So, who usually participates in the races?

Sefa: Most of them are neighborhood youngsters working at mechanical workshops. They assemble their car together with their master. For example, everybody gets gasoline from the same pump for equality.⁴²

Me: What is happening in these races?

Doğan: Usually 20-25-30 cars came together. Those who want to race race, others try their cars. Just then, the police come....⁴³

⁴¹ “*nanik yapmak*”

⁴² Sefa: *Yarışa katılmak istiyorsa aracın dolu olacak.*

Ben: *Dolu derken?*

Sefa: *Dolu ne demek, motorun modifiyeli olacak, Şahin ya da Doğan olacak anladın mı?*

Ben: *Kimler katılıyor peki çoğunlukla yarışlara?*

Sefa: *Çoğunlukla sanayide çalışan mahalle gençleri. Kendisi yapmış arabayı ustasıyla, kafasına göre. Mesela aynı pompadan benzin alınır eşitlik olsun diye.*

Interesting point here is the relationship between the youth and the police. In fact, the police are indispensable part of this event. I can say that races are one of the rare occasions that give the youth an opportunity to “cock a snook” at the police.

Me: How is the relationship with the police in these races? Do they intervene? What do they do?

Doğan: They often come to spoil. Sometimes they interrupt, but we get used to it, they also get used to us (laughingly). For example, I was listening Müslüm in my car. Then, a cop said “turn the volume down”. I went to his car to give my identity card. He was listening Müslüm too! I said “you are listening Müslüm too” and he said “yes, but in a low voice”. I said “give us identity cards”. If we do not disturb the environment, there will be no problem. Otherwise, he has no doubt about us. “You can race, but I do not want to hear any complaint”, he says. He minds his own business too.

Me: Do not you worry that they could pull your car or take you into the custody? They can do it, right?

Doğan: This is not easy, dude! He cannot do this there. Dolphins are sometimes annoying, because they are faster than us, they can catch us. But normal cops cannot catch us. Is there anything else more enjoyable than escaping from the police dude? (laughingly)⁴⁴

The police are not able to use force against the crowded young people (their numbers can reach 100-150 with audiences): they just try to persuade them by acting tenderly and benignantly. On the other side, the youth are over-speeding in front of the police as they know that the police will not increase the tension, with their own word, they “cock a snook” at the police by this way; they take the plate of civil police cars and

⁴³ Ben: Ne oluyor bu yarışlarda?

Doğan: Genelde 20-25-30 araba toplaşır. Yarışanlar yarışıyor, diğerleri arabaları deniyorlar. Yapma etme derken polis geliyor...

⁴⁴ Ben: Polisle ilişki nasıl bu yarışlarda? Çok karışıyorlar mı? Ne yapıyorlar?

Doğan: Valla dayı, gelirler tadımızı kaçırmaya. Bazen engelliyorlar da yine de alıştık artık. Onlar da bize alıştı. (gülerek) Mesele bir kere arabada Müslüm dinliyorum. Geldi dedi ki “sesi kıs”. Yanına gittim kimlik vermeye, baktım onda da Müslüm çalıyor. “Abi” dedim “sen de dinliyorsun işte”. “Yav ben dinliyorum da sessiz dinliyorum” diyor. “Ver abi hele kimliğimizi” dedim. Çevreyi rahatsız edersek sıkıntı, yoksa bizden şüphesi yok. “Yarışın da şikayet gelmesin” diyor işte. O da işine bakıyor, ne uğraşacak yoksa.

Ben: Arabamı çekerler, göz altı yaparlar falan diye endişe etmiyor musun? İsterse çekebilirler yani değil mi?

Doğan: Hadi alsın göreyim! Orada zor dayı. Bir Yunuslar sıkıntı, onlar baya hızlı, yakalarlar. Normal memur zor yakalar takipte. Polisten kaçmak kadar zevkli bir şey var mı dayı ya? (gülerek)

share it on their networks immediately (to avoid being caught in traffic). Nobody was taken into custody, no one's car was seized by the police at the gatherings I participated. However, they were not allowed to race except for little shows of speed.

So, why is this very popular among the youth? As Emrah said, why do these youths “love speed and fast life”⁴⁵? It can be said that the symbolic value of the money invested in car and motorcycle races is very high; it is regarded as a very respectable. Winnings are spent usually on car maintenance and modification.

On the other side, wall writings no doubt show us a new modality of accessibility to public space. This is the remarkable way of materializing the identity in public space, especially for the youth of stigmatized neighborhoods. The manifestation of the youth' belonging to the neighborhood is provided through practices providing the construction of identity. But these practices can provide also exclusion. For example, wall writings can be considered as a spatial practice that supports the spatial identity but it is at the same time, due to its transgressive nature, marginalize and exclude this identity and its owner.

In fact, wall writings and graffiti are common means of expression all over the world, especially in the stigmatized neighborhoods of big cities such as New York, Paris, Marseille, Istanbul; furthermore, the emergence of graffiti was matching with the economic and social turmoil in the early 1970s (Sarıyıldız, 2007). It would not be wrong to think that a place with graffiti is neglected and abandoned. For example, in places where the New York municipality was not adequately cared for due to the economic downturn, such as slum areas, underground stations etc., it is not a coincidence that there are too many graffiti (2007: 16). This is, like other stigmatized neighborhoods of Adana, is very prevalent in Şakirpaşa. Where does its importance stem from? In this respect, wall writings can be regarded as “art of vanishing”. In

⁴⁵ Ben: *Bu motor, yarış aşkı nereden geliyor peki?*

Emrah: *Dayı sana kısa ve net söyleyeyim mi? Adana'nın insanları hızı seviyor, anladın mı? Hızlı yaşamayı seviyor, kısa ve net.*

other words, it is the aesthetic form of an anonymous existence; an effective way to be in existence and to be heard without being seen. If wall writings have a power and potential of threatening it is no doubt because they are anonymous. By making it anonymous, wall writings make social problems de-personalize. There was even a wall writing about this: “walls are the people’s printing press”⁴⁶. I saw here the same wall writings of Adana’s other stigmatized neighborhoods or of other cities. These neighborhoods and people are far from each other, but their personal troubles are common and actually social. I can say that the wall writings have the power of turning the personal problem into the social one: “you have made us bad”⁴⁷, “this the world of those who play better, not those who are well-mannered”⁴⁸, “we have dreamed, but others are living the life”⁴⁹, “either the best days will be our, or no one will have a beautiful day”⁵⁰, “we have become junky while trying to be happy”⁵¹...

⁴⁶ “duvarlar halkın matbaasıdır”

⁴⁷ “bizi siz kötü yaptınız”

⁴⁸ “burası iyi olanların değil, iyi oynayanların dünyası”

⁴⁹ “hayalleri biz kurduk hayatı başkaları yaşıyor”

⁵⁰ “ya en güzel günler bizim olacak, ya da kimsenin güzel günleri olmayacak”

⁵¹ “mutlu olalım darken müptezel olduk”



Figure 2. Example of wall writing from Şakirpaşa #1#



Figure 3. Example of wall writing from Şakirpaşa #2#

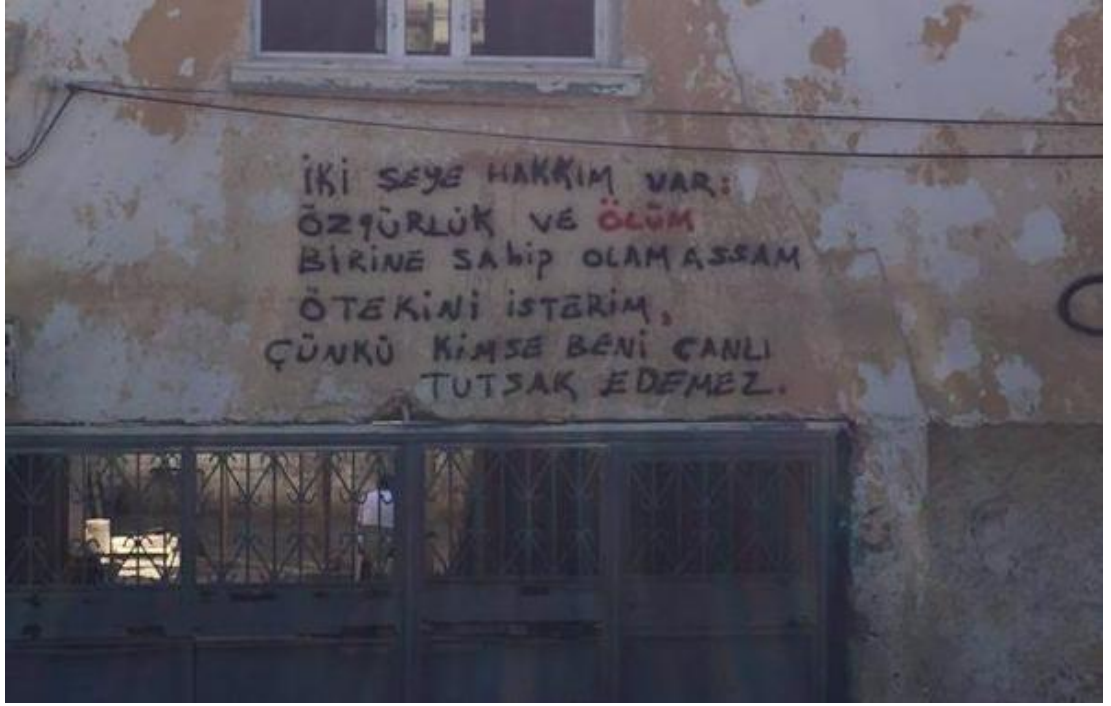


Figure 4. Example of wall writing from Şakirpaşa #3#

Going to “*Üçgen Havuz*”, randomly walking in the neighborhood, waiting at the street corners, violating the ordinary norms of using of places, racing with cars and motorcycles, creating empty spaces for wall writings, making a fire, gathering around it and rolling a joint... All of them are a sign of the territorial commitment. These are spatial practices blur the spatial order that governs social relations and values. In short, this kind of spatial practices, persistent manners and attempts, counter-measures, car and motorcycle races, wall writings, more or less violent, dangerous, noisy attitudes etc. are indeed alternative ways of appropriating of urban space. This kind of a threatening presence and theatrical forms of violence in urban space indeed have a tactical aspect.

As I stated, the stigmatization process is one of the important factors affecting daily life in Şakirpaşa. At this point, I want to discuss criminalization and stigmatization process on the neighborhood. Mainstream media’s role is no doubt great on this issue. Its attitude towards Şakirpaşa (and other stigmatized neighborhoods) is like orientalist perspective of the nineteenth century: mystic, enhanced and formidable

image of Adana. Mediatic gaze creates a myth around it. Dominant representations of the city in the mainstream media characterize it as the place of crime, violence and drugs. Mediatic gaze mystifies and/or dramatizes the neighborhood, its streets⁵², its youths by narrating fictitious stories or by exaggerating/distorting real ones. All of them are considered as a part of an urban myth created around the neighborhood. Mediatic gaze works through dichotomies and stereotypes. According to this, there is only good or bad, white or black. Fixed images determine who is good and who is bad: a child should play the game; a youth should have got a decent job etc. If a child does not play the game with his/her peers, he/she may be a terrorist⁵³, or if he/she throws stone to police, he/she should not be considered as child anymore; for a youth, unemployment can be a reason to be treated as “illegal” or as a “wastrel” etc.⁵⁴ In fact, what is important for the mediatic gaze is not the case itself, but the case’s contribution to the myth and its stereotypic allure. Put it differently, personal stories of Ahmet or Mehmet is important only in relation to this myth. Therefore, it always shows us “crime machines”, “boors” etc.⁵⁵ It also always adds earlier illegal activities to the case to make it attractive. Neighborhood is another vital part of this. Whether it is relevant or irrelevant, mediatic gaze always relates the incidence with neighborhood and its notorious reputation. In short, they are either uncivil wastrels or social victims for mediatic gaze: “condemnable or excusable” (Truong 2013: 18).

⁵² <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/girilmez-denilen-sokaklara-girdiler-40294560>: “*Impenetrable streets*”

⁵³ <http://www.aksam.com.tr/yasam/pkknin-cocuk-timleri/haber-551638>: “*...children who should play the game with their peers...*”

⁵⁴ <https://eksisozluk.com/entry/30382378>: “*...worthless, penniless, jobless, illegal wastrels hanging on the corner...*”

⁵⁵ <http://www.aksam.com.tr/guncel/iste-suc-makinesi-cocuklar/haber-307485>: “*Here is the crime machine kids!*”, <http://www.milliyet.com.tr/suc-makinesi-maraz-ali-yakalandi-adana-yerelhaber-1431638/>: “*Maraz Ali, the crime machine, was arrested*”, <http://www.milliyet.com.tr/suc-makinesi-maganda-bu-kez-tutuklandi-adana-yerelhaber-604742/>: “*Crime machine boor was arrested this time*”, <http://www.posta.com.tr/15-yasinda-16-suc-kaydi-olan-cocuk-polisle-catisti-haberi-1224711>: “*15 years old kid who has 16 criminal records clashed with police*”, <http://www.ensonhaber.com/14-yasindaki-cocugun-28-suc-kaydi-cikti-2015-11-22.html>: “*14 years old kid who has got 28 criminal records*”

Manipulative and degenerative news about these notorious places and their “dangerous youths” are instrumentalised mostly as a motive to interfere, physically or symbolically, these neighborhoods. In other words, “it legitimises both civilian and state violence against the “criminals”, associated primarily with urban poor populations” (Yonucu & Gönen 2011: 76). Mainstream media, in one sense, may be right: these individuals and events are real. They may be violent, criminal, drug dealers, thief etc. However, the problem is the discourse which dominant media use to represent them. This is completely a criminal and accusatory discourse. By caricaturizing, blaming and stigmatizing them, mainstream media’s accusatory and socially-blinded discourse on the urban poor, intentionally, conceals the social and political aspects of their conditions. Media is not concerned *with their problems*; rather, it is concerned *with them as a problem*. It transforms social problems to personal sphere and inequality to deviance. In other words, it “translates a political issue into a criminal one” (Hall et al. 1978: 224, as cited in Yonucu & Gönen 2011: 81). Because of this criminalizing discourse, the neighborhoods mostly obliged to deal with the state’s “right hand”: arbitrary police raids, unlawful arrests etc.⁵⁶ Therefore, against the stereotypic, criminalizing and blaming discourse of the mediatic gaze which problematizes neighborhoods and its inhabitants, we should perhaps problematize the media itself.

But youths do not respond this passively. In other words, Şakirpaşa is not constructed only from the outside through negative labels, but also constructed from the inside by its inhabitants to cope with this violence coming from the outside. How do they cope with it? In everyday life, sometimes they accept the negative label, sometimes they try to avoid its consequences. In other words, they make their move by taking into consideration the requirements of the situation.

4.1.3. “Laws of the Street”: Strategies to Cope with Socio-Spatial Stigmatization and Economic Exclusion in Everyday Life

⁵⁶ <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/adana-da-1000-polisle-uyusturucu-operasyonu-27285168>: “Drugs raid with 1000 cops in Adana”

A wall writing from Şakirpaşa: “This is the world of those who play better, not those who are well-mannered”⁵⁷. This poetic expression, I think, briefly explains the survival conditions in the neighborhood and summarizes the logic of everyday practices of these youths: everyday life as a game; urban space as a game field. Ordinary struggles and ordinary gains. To win this game (so to say, to survive in these conditions), it is necessary to know the rules: to be aware of the situation, to detect the limitations and to feel the occasions, in other words, “to play the game by the rules”.

This is at the same time, literally, a life-or-death struggle for some of them: a game of survival. Seyfi was a tragic example of this. I am using the past tense because he is not alive anymore. I have met him in Şakirpaşa through my friend Mümtaz. Seyfi was a childhood friend of him. They spent their childhood together in Şakirpaşa. However, while Mümtaz had the chance to “save” himself from the neighborhood, Seyfi did not have such a chance. Therefore, he had to stay in the neighborhood and to learn the codes of the streets. But one mistake cost him his life: he was killed by another “corner boy”⁵⁸.

In this subsection, I want to present material analysis of the everyday life (or in other words, so-called “dangerous” and “threatening” everyday practices) of these “dangerous youths” and their strategies that they have generated to recover the economic, cultural and symbolic capitals that they are deprived of. In the previous section, I have stated that spatial habitus as a fact emerging in the material conditions of space provides an opportunity to understand this process. I also have said that we can name it “neighborhood or ghetto habitus” in the context of this thesis. However, it is necessary to underline one point here: I am not arguing that the neighborhood habitus is characterized by the absence of something (economic deprivation is of course very prevalent); it is wrong to consider it as “the culture of deprivation”. And

⁵⁷ “*burası iyi olanların değil iyi oynayanların dünyası*”

⁵⁸ “*torbacı*”

I am not also arguing that the neighborhood habitus is characterized by “the culture of resistance”; it is wrong to romanticize it. These are equally inaccurate assumptions. Rather, I am arguing that the neighborhood habitus is the logic that enables the youth to interpret their environment and to act within this environment according to requirements of the situation. To choose the proper action from the repertoire according to the necessity of the moment and the situation is the rationale of those who are subjected to power mechanisms, as de Certeau and Bourdieu have stated. So, it is not possible to tell neither story of pure heroism nor story of completely helpless and needy victims.

So, what is right and what is wrong in Şakirpaşa? This is an ethical issue, not a moral (as it is written on the wall: you should *play good* rather than *be good*). It is about opportunities and disabilities. In other words, it is about “the laws of the streets” that are determined in the relation between the broader socio-economic context and everyday experience of the youth. By borrowing from Sandberg, I term the ability to fulfill the conditions imposed by these laws “street capital”, which is a distinctive component of neighborhood habitus. It means “living a fast life” (being “zippy”⁵⁹, with their own words), that is to say, to have certain physical and mental capacity: knowing how to intrigue, how to manipulate others, how to look tough etc. It is a threshold between the naive and the “hard-bitten”, between the new and the old, between those who “know the street” and the others. This “street virtue” express itself both on the most ordinary things and on the most serious things.

Analysis of strategies for coping with stigmatizing and exclusionary conditions through the concept of spatial habitus, street capital and tactics allows us to understand not only how social practices reproduce themselves and social structure, but also how these practices change, transform and adapt to new situations. Spatial habitus of the neighborhood, on the one hand, contributes to the structuring of actions and perceptions, on the other hand, it is structured by environment and social

⁵⁹ “*hızlı genç*”/“*yengeç*”

structure; so, it contributes to the formation of social structure of the neighborhood. As Bourdieu said, “if the habitat shapes the habitus, the habitus also shapes the habitat” (Bourdieu 1999: 128).

Why is this notion important? Through this notion, I think, it is possible to demonstrate how socio-spatial and economic exclusion produces a subjectivity, and more importantly it also enables us to consider the youth as active and conscious agents instead of passive victims of exclusion and marginalization. Now I want to show how socio-spatial and economic exclusion shape everyday life of the youth in Şakirpaşa and how the youth cope with it. Put it differently, what are “the laws of the streets” in Şakirpaşa? What are the components of street capital? How do the youth acquire this capital? And, how is this utilized?

First of all, it is necessary to emphasize one of the critical effects of “site effects”: dual role of the neighborhood.

4.1.3.1. Distortion between the Inner Reality and the Outer Dreams

“Cities are battlefield”, says Benjamin. This can be considered as a metaphor but it is more than a metaphor for the youth of Şakirpaşa; this is their reality. Everyday life and urban space are indeed a battlefield for them. On the one hand, there is a war conducting against the outside of the neighborhood. It is a defensive warfare: against the exclusionary and stigmatizing violence of the outside. And it is also a guerilla warfare: a hide-and-seek, a puss-in-the-corner game that is played with the police. On the other hand, there is also a war inside of the neighborhood: the war of survival.

This shows us the dual role of the neighborhood. It is, on the one hand, the place of stigmatization and confinement, so to say, a burden, but on the other hand, it is the place of belonging and protection. The neighborhood is the main place of socialization for most of the youth. They rarely leave it. This territory, through everyday spatial practices, becomes the symbol of a kind of community: all the youth

know each other and stand together against the “hostility” comes from the “outside”. This makes the neighborhood a protective enclave for them.

This dual role of the neighborhood causes some handicaps for the youth in their life, but it is at the same time the place where they cope with the handicaps: it is both a cage and a cocoon.⁶⁰ Through the attachment to the neighborhood, the youth develop a kind of conscience that reverse the handicaps into a resource. By this way, the feeling of desolation becomes the strength of the group, the place of exclusion becomes a space of protection and internal frustration becomes collective anger. However, this dual role of the neighborhood causes a distortion between the inner reality and the outer dreams. It causes a feeling that “life is elsewhere”: “The result is a permanent difficulty for the individual to access reality: he has the feeling that life, the true life, is not for him, that it is reserved for the outside world and that he is prevented from living.” (Lapeyronnie, 2009: 7) We can trace this feeling in Süleyman’s expression. Süleyman is twenty-three years old and lives in Şakirpaşa with his parents. He was born here but his parents migrated to Adana from Mardin. He dropped out after secondary school:

Me: Why do you want to be rich?

Süleyman: It is normal for me to want to be rich. You see, (laughingly) I’m tired of living bro, enough is enough!

Me: So, what will change when you make more money?

Süleyman: I will live a little more comfortably. I will come here again but come with Hayabusa, not anymore Mondial⁶¹. I mean, there is no change, the mentality is the same.

⁶⁰ Maybe for this reason feeding pigeons is a very popular hobby among the youth of Şakirpaşa. Actually, this is not specific only to the youth of Şakirpaşa. As we can see in the famous crime drama TV series “The Wire” which centers around Baltimore’s ghettos, it is very popular in American ghettos too. Feeding dog is also very popular, especially the wild ones as a symbol of power. Maybe they feed the pigeons because of its symbolic meaning? In “Notes from a Dead House”, Dostoyevsky said that prisoners sympathize with flying pigeons as the pigeons remind them of their own freedom. Pigeons are also very faithful animals: they do not forget their “home”, they always fly back to their owner. Maybe this loyalty reminds these youths of their own relations with the neighborhood: one day, they can leave the neighborhood, they can be “free” but they always be a youth of the neighborhood. In addition to this, there is a very practical purpose of feeding pigeons: when the police enter the neighborhood for searching, pigeons are released to announce this.

⁶¹ Hayabusa is a more faster and more expensive type of motorcycle.

Me: When you make money, will you stay in Adana?

Süleyman: I won't stay in Adana. I mean, I won't stay too long. I will certainly come again. How can I do without Adana? But I will travel. I know that money will find me because I am sure that I have lived this life fairly. Drugs and alcohols, okay, but they are harmless to me. I am trying to not to hurt anyone, trying to be a loveable person.⁶²

His approach to school is also ambivalent:

Me: How was your school life?

Süleyman: I did not have school life. In fifth or sixth class, my teacher said them to put me in a job. And at the same time, I was also rambling around, trying to get used to the outside, the school was indeed boring.

Me: So, the school has never been attractive to you?

Süleyman: (laughingly) How could I study in the middle of all that works!?

The school was not attractive at all!⁶³

But when I asked him about his brother's educational background, he responded me deplorably:

Me: So, what about your little brother?

⁶² Ben: Neden zengin olmak itiyorsun?

Süleyman: Benim zengin olmak istemem normal yani, (gülerek) artık yeter sıkıldım yaşamaktan kardeşim ya!

Ben: Peki daha çok para kazandığında ne değişecek?

Süleyman: Biraz daha rahat yaşayacağım. Yine buraya geleceğim, ama artık Mondial'le değil Hayabusa'yla geleceğim. Fark eden bir şey yok yani, kafa aynı kafa.

Ben: Eline para geçince Adana'da durur musun?

Süleyman: Adana'da durmam. Nasıl durmam? Çok durmam yani. Yine gelirim, Adana'dan vazgeçilir mi ya? Ama gezerim. Paranın beni bulacağını biliyorum, çünkü bu hayatı doğru yaşadığıma eminim. Uyuşturucu, alkol tamam, ama bunların zararı sıfır bana. Kimseye zarar vermemeye çalışıyorum, kendimi sevdirmeye çalışıyorum.

⁶³ Ben: Okul hayatın nasıldı?

Süleyman: Okul hayatı yoktu ki. İlkokul 5'te mi 6'da mı ne, hoca "bir işe verin bu çocuğu çalışsın" dedi. Bir de o sırada gezip tozuyorum falan, dışarıya adapte olmaya çalışıyorum, okul tabi sıkıcı geliyor.

Ben: Okul sana hiç çekici gelmedi yani?

Süleyman: (gülerek) Lan o kadar işin arasında bir de ders çalışılır mı, okul nasıl çekici gelsin!?

Süleyman: He left school too, he will suffer misery like we do.⁶⁴

It is clear that there is an interest in education in the case of Süleyman. He thought that school could offer a chance, an opportunity. But he is also aware that it is not possible for him to study under these circumstances:

Me: Did you want to go to university?

Süleyman: Even if I wanted to study, let's say I earned it, did I have an opportunity to go and study, got it? The best work is to milk the sheep, to help the people, you can get something in this way. And if you learn a job, it's okay!⁶⁵

It is possible to see such an ambivalence (between leaving and staying in the neighborhood, between wanting to study and knowing the impossibility of this) in his approach to work. On the one hand, while a comfortable and regular job is wanted, on the other hand, this kind of a job is seen an obstacle for freedom. It is possible to see this ambivalence even within a minute or two in the same conversation:

Me: Are you looking for a regular job or something?

Süleyman: I think like everyone else, but I cannot do what I think.

Me: What are you thinking about work?

Süleyman: It should be clean, should be comfortable, otherwise it makes me uneasy. You should have a steady job. Driving, I think, is the most comfortable job. But it should get changed constantly, otherwise I may get bored.

Me: What are you doing now?

Süleyman: I am working in a workshop. But I'm tired of repair. I am searching another job, but I cannot find a good one. Insurance fee+1400. fits me. Regular job... Anyway, I do not know. At last I will grow cannabis, it is enough to

⁶⁴ Ben: Peki küçük kardeşinin okul durumu nasıl?

Süleyman: Okumuyor bıraktı, sürünecek o da bizim gibi.

⁶⁵ Ben: Üniversiteye gitmek istedin mi peki?

Süleyman: Yani bizim o zaman okusan da, hadi kazandın diyelim, hangi imkanla gideceksin de okuyacaksın, anladın mı? En güzel iş süt sağlamak, birilerine yardım etmek falan, oradan bir şeyler kazanırsın zaten. Bir de iş öğrendin mi!

grow twenty cannabis! (laughingly) I do not know, you have to work in this life. I want to work too, but I cannot.

Me: But why? Because you are boring?

Süleyman: I actually do not want to work but I have to. If you want to, you can live your whole life like a holiday.⁶⁶

I can say that this kind of ambivalence is so common among the youth I interviewed in Şakirpaşa. They construct an identity in relation to their neighborhood and at the same time their precarious position translates into the ambivalence. This identity, as far as I have observed, is not individual but collective and territorial that is based on the neighborhood. They realize that they are going through the same obstacles and they aware of their capacity to resist. There are some commonalities among these youths' experiences inside and outside of the neighborhood: distance from the family (especially from the father), dropping out of the school, unemployment etc. Actually, Süleyman's story is not only about him. In other words, there is only one story that these youths live, "a single catastrophe" (Benjamin 2003b: 392) in which they have been scattered. Or by Süleyman's own word, they are "the frogs of the same water."⁶⁷

Like Süleyman's case, this distortion can be traced also in Hakkı's statements. He is eighteen years old, and he was born in Şakirpaşa. He is working as an apprentice in

⁶⁶ Ben: Düzenli bir iş falan arıyor musun?

Süleyman: Ben de herkes gibi düşünüyorum da düşündüğümü yapamıyorum.

Ben: Ne düşünüyorsun?

Süleyman: Temiz olacak, rahat olacak, huzursuz oluyorum ben yoksa. Düzenli bir işin olacak. Şoförlük mesela ya, en rahat iş bence. Değişecek ama sürekli sıkılabirim yoksa.

Ben: Şimdi ne yapıyorsun?

Süleyman: Bir atölyede çalışıyorum. Ama tamir yapmaktan yıldım. Başka iş de bakıyorum ama yok öyle güzel. Sigorta+1400'e tavım ben zaten. Sürekliliği olan bir iş... valla bilmiyorum, neyse işte. En son esrar döşeyeceğim valla, şöyle 20 tane eksen yeter! (gülerek) Bilmiyorum işte, bu hayatta çalışman gerek, ama ben çalışamıyorum.

Ben: Niye ama? Sıkılıyor musun?

Süleyman: Ben aslında çalışmak da istemiyorum da zorunda kalıyorum. İstersen var ya tüm hayatı tatil gibi yaşayabilirsin.

⁶⁷ "aynı suyun kurbağası değil miyiz hepimiz?"

his father's barber shop. Like Süleyman, he feels that he belongs to the neighborhood, but he also wants to go outside:

Me: Are you happy in Şakirpaşa Hakkı? What do you like in the neighborhood?

Hakkı: People are so sincere and friendly. All of these shopkeepers love me. If I ask them, all of them help me.

Me: So, what is disturbing you in the neighborhood?

Hakkı: Corner boys, dude. They do not disturb me, most of them are my friend. But they disturb the other people, they bring trouble to the neighborhood.

Me: Do you want to stay in Şakirpaşa in future?

Hakkı: I want to do the same job. I want to open my own saloon, but not here, in Özal.

Me: Why Özal?

Hakkı: Milieu is decent. I have worked for one year in Demirel. People were decent, their speech was decent. No one was belittling or overpraising anyone.⁶⁸

Like Süleyman, also Hakkı experiences this ambivalence: on the one hand, he is happy in the neighborhood and satisfied with the social relations here, but on the other hand, there are some outer socio-spatial factors that are attracting him. It is evident also in his approach to school and job:

Me: How is your school life?

Hakkı: I do not have much interest in school since I have an interest in occupation. I mean, I want to get driver license. They do not give it to those who did not finish the school.

Me: What is your job? Why does school prevent it?

Hakkı: Barber. I am an apprentice at my father's barber shop. Actually, I want to open my own barber shop. If you study... I do not know, you will gain

⁶⁸ Ben: Şakirpaşa'da mutlu musun Hakkı? Mahallede nelerden memnunsun?

Hakkı: İnsanlar sıcak kanlı. Şu esnaftan hangisine gitsem, istesem, bana yardım eder.

Ben: Peki seni rahatsız eden şeyler neler mahallede?

Hakkı: Torbacılar dayı. Bana zararları yok, çoğu arkadaşım ama çevreye zararları var, bela getiriyorlar mahalleye.

Ben: Şakirpaşa'da kalmak ister misin ileride?

Hakkı: Aynı işe devam ederim diyorum. Kendi salonumu açmak istiyorum, ama burada değil, Özal'da.

Ben: Özal niye?

Hakkı: Ortam düzgün. 1 yıl çalıştım Demirel'de. İnsanlar düzgündü, hitapları düzgündü. Kimse kimseyi küçümsemiyordu büyümsemedi.

better of course. If I get fifty a day here... I would get much more if I would be a doctor or, at worst, teacher.

Me: So, would not you want to be a doctor or something?

Hakkı: I would not.

Me: Why?

Hakkı: Let's just say it is because I am used to here.⁶⁹

It is obvious that Hakkı is aware of the possibilities provided by the school (more income etc.) but he thinks that he is not able to reach it (in fact, it seems that he is not convinced why he cannot: *let's just say it is because I am used to here*).

Like Süleyman and Hakkı, we can observe the same ambivalence in Cemal's case. He is twenty years old and was born in Şakirpaşa too. He dropped out after secondary school and started to work immediately:

Me: What did you do after you dropped out of school? Did you begin to work?

Cemal: Turnery, plumbing, painting... I have been in this kind of jobs.

Me: So, why did not you go to school?

Cemal: I cannot do it dude. I cannot reach this culture. I cannot buy book or something. I decided to start a job, to become a master, to earn my own living as soon as possible. If you have grown up in the neighborhood, if your situation is not good, if you do not go to school, you should have a job. They put you in a work! Everyone has a job here.⁷⁰

⁶⁹ Ben: Okulla aran nasıl?

Hakkı: Yok. Yani mesleğe ilgim olduğundan okula pek yok? Yani liseyi bitireyim ehliyet alayım istiyorum, liseyi bitirmeye vermiyorlar.

Ben: Senin meslek ne peki? Okul niye engel ki?

Hakkı: Berberlik benim, babamın yanında çıraklık yapıyorum. Sonra kendi dükkanımı açmak istiyorum aslında. Okursan tabi ne bileyim, daha iyi kazanırsın aslında. Burada günlük 50 alıyorsam doktor olsam ya da öğretmen en basitinden daha iyi kazanırdım.

Ben: Peki istemez miydin doktor falan olmak?

Hakkı: İstemezdim.

Ben: Neden ki?

Hakkı: Buraya alıştığım için diyelim.

⁷⁰ Ben: Bıraktıktan sonra ne yaptın? Çalışmaya mı başladın hemen?

Cemal: Tornacılık, tesisat, dış cephe falan o tarz işlere girdim çıktım.

Ben: Neden devam etmedin peki okula?

Cemal: Okumayı ben yapamam dayı. O kültüre erişemem ben, kitaba falan. Bir an önce mesleğime atılayım, usta olayım, ona göre hayatımı kurayım dedim. Mahallede büyüdüysen, durumun iyi değilse, okumuyorsan meslek sahibi olman lazım. Sike sike seni bir mesleğe verirler, herkesin bildiği bir iş vardır. Çalışır çalışmaz, orası ayrı, ama herkesin bildiği bir iş vardır.

Sefa has experienced this territorial dilemma in his daily life too. He was the one whose socio-economic status is the best among the youth I interviewed. He is twenty-six years old and he was born in Şakirpaşa. He works at the auto gallery; before, he used to work as car repairer. His most remarkable difference from other youths is that he has a bachelor's degree. I can say that his father's job (he was a civil servant; he worked as private driver of the governor) has ensured him a different life (but not so different) than other youths. But I will discuss this point later. For now, I can say that Sefa feels this territorial dilemma too:

Me: You like the neighborhood, huh?

Sefa: Of course I love it. I feel comfortable here.

Ben: How comfortable?

Sefa: Very comfortable. Like I can do what I want to do, like I do not have to deal with anyone.

Ben: Are not you comfortable outside of the neighborhood?

Sefa: I am comfortable also outside, but I am much more comfortable here.⁷¹

But he is also aware of the negative label that the neighborhood carries, and he suffers from it:

Me: You know, Şakirpaşa's bad reputation...

Sefa: Yeah, Texas... (laughingly)

Me: How do you experience this?

Sefa: I keep it in most cases. For example, when the customers ask, I say that I live next to the airport, I cannot say that next to the bus terminal. Because I suppose to keep it at this moment, got it? But in different situations, I show myself in a different position, for example. At eight a.m., I am beginning to play my second personality. Am I disturbed? Yes, but I have to work, what can I do?⁷²

⁷¹ Ben: Mahalleyi seviyorsun ha baya?

Sefa: Seviyorum tabi. Rahat hissediyorum kendimi burada.

Ben: Nasıl rahat yani?

Sefa: Çok rahat. İstediğim her şeyi yapabileceğim gibi, kimseyle uğraşmam gerekmeyecekmiş gibi.

Ben: Dışarıda rahat değil misin?

Sefa: Dışarıda da rahatım ama buraya adım attım mı çok daha rahatım.

⁷² Ben: Şakirpaşa'nın kötü bir ünü var ya hani...

Sefa: He Teksas... (gülerek)

Ben: Sen nasıl tecrübe ediyorsun bunu?

These statements show us how they construct an identity in relation to their neighborhood and at the same time how their precarious positions translate into the ambivalence. In short, there is widespread uncertainty about education, work and the future. On the one hand, there is an attitude that considers them negligible and sets out an alternative life without them, but on the other hand, there is also an attitude that cannot ignore their benefits. A distortion caused by knowing that there are more attractive conditions but knowing also it is impossible to reach them; fluctuating between getting into the conditions and the hope of achieving the better...

4.1.3.2. Making Use of the Label: Coping with Stigmatization

In situations that they think the label may cause a trouble, for example, when they are searching for a job or when a cop asks their address, it is so common to hide or to change the neighborhood's name. For example, what was happened to Hakkı is an example to this:

Me: What do you think about the perception of the neighborhood?

Hakkı: Texas. It is always bad in the eyes of the people. For example, I met someone on Instagram who living in Barajyolu. I said Şakirpaşa and then she blocked me, it is that simple! I do not say that I am living in Şakirpaşa anymore, I say Fevzipaşa.

Me: Why Fevzipaşa?

Hakkı: Why, because they are clean.

Me: What do you mean?

Hakkı: I mean there is not a corner boy, you cannot find even a single one.

Me: What is the reason for that? This "Texas perception"?

Hakkı: I think it is because drug addiction of the youngsters, their actions' unpredictability, I mean, just because you did not give way to, just because you gave a nickname...⁷³

Sefa: Çoğu durumda saklıyorum. Mesela müşteriler soruyor, havaalanının orda diyorum, otogar falan diyemiyorum. Çünkü o anda gizlemem lazım anladın mı? Ama başka durumlarda da farklı gösteriyorum, mesela kolpa iki adam geldiğinde, onlara farklı pozisyonda gösteriyorum. Sabah sekizde ikinci kişiliğime bürünüyorum ben. Bundan rahatsız mıyım? Evet ama mecburum çalışmaya ne yapayım?

⁷³ Ben: Mahallenin dışarıdaki algısı nasıl sence?

Hakkı: Teksas. İnsanların gözünde kötü hep. Mesela bak bir şey anlatayım. Instagram'da biriyle tanıştım, Barajyolu'nda oturuyor, Şakirpaşa dedim engel attı bana, bak bu kadar basit. Ben artık demiyorum Şakirpaşa diye, Fevzipaşa diyorum.

He also stated that the negative label on the neighborhood is an obstacle when looking for a job, especially when looking outside of the neighborhood:

Hakkı: It is of course difficult dude. He looks your record, and when he sees Şakirpaşa, and that is all! So, now you are marked with a red stamp. Just as banks do not give credit to swindlers, it is the same if you are from Şakirpaşa.⁷⁴

Sefa also shares a similar story:

Me: You know, Şakirpaşa has a bad reputation...

Sefa: Yeah, Texas... (laughingly)

Me: How do you experience this?

Sefa: I keep it in most cases. For example, when the customers ask, I say that I live next to the airport, I cannot say that next to the bus terminal. Because I suppose to keep it at this moment, got it? But in different situations, I show myself in a different position, for example. At eight a.m., I am beginning to play my second personality. Am I disturbed? Yes, but I have to work, what can I do?⁷⁵

But they do not try totally to get rid of the negative label. Labels such as “dangerous”, “threatening”, “troublesome” etc. that are attached to the

Ben: Fevzipaşa niye?

Hakkı: Niye, oradakiler temiz çünkü?

Ben: Nasıl yani?

Hakkı: Yani bir tane torbacı yok, torbacı bulamazsın.

Ben: Bunun sebebi ne peki sence? Bu “Teksas algısının”?

Hakkı: Yani gençlerin uyuşturucu kullanıp her şeyi yapabilmeleri, yani en basiti sırf adama yol vermedin diye işte sırf lakap taktın diye...

⁷⁴ *Hakkı: Tabi zor oluyor dayı. Adam siciline bir bakıyor, Şakirpaşa’yı görünce tamam zaten! Yani kırmızı bir damga yiyorsun. Nasıl bankalar kredi vermiyor dolandırıyorsan, Şakirpaşalı’ysan da aynı öyle işte.*

⁷⁵ *Ben: Şakirpaşa’nın kötü bir ünü var ya hani...*

Sefa: He Teksas... (gülerek)

Ben: Sen nasıl tecrübe ediyorsun bunu?

Sefa: Çoğu durumda saklıyorum. Mesela müşteriler soruyor, havaalanının orda diyorum, otogar falan diyemiyorum. Çünkü o anda gizlemem lazım anladın mı? Ama başka durumlarda da farklı gösteriyorum, mesela kolpa iki adam geldiğinde, onlara farklı pozisyonda gösteriyorum. Sabah sekizde ikinci kişiliğime bürünüyorum ben. Bundan rahatsız mıyım? Evet ama mecburum çalışmaya ne yapayım?

neighborhood are seen sometimes as a source of self-confidence and honor. In the neighborhood, among these youths, these negative labels are considered almost like a medal, a reward. This is a tactic what I term “making use of the label”. What I am trying to say is that the youth in Şakirpaşa are able to transform the negative label to a positive trait. They use negative labels attached to them tactically. I am trying to say that the bad reputation of Şakirpaşa that arouses fear is used to arouse respect at the same time. In other words, I am trying to explain that what is seen as negative in dominant public space may have a symbolic power in the neighborhood.

As I have shown from the examples in the media, there is a myth that walking into stigmatized and “dangerous” neighborhoods are often difficult for strangers, even for the police. This is also said for Şakirpaşa. Actually, some youths accept this. However, it is wrong to say that everyone shares this idea. As I said, there are those who are disturbed by the perception of the neighborhood outside, especially when looking for a job. But some youths, especially youths who try to seem dangerous, are trying to benefit from this “bad reputation” of the neighborhood. They make the neighborhood’s bad reputation a part of their “tough” identity.

I detected this in my conversations with Cemal. I met him outside of the neighborhood, at a farm-house out of the city. He was uncomfortable with me at the beginning. Then, when we were going to the neighborhood (to see his corner boy friends), he began to answer my questions more comfortably. So to say, he began to play the role of “home owner”: he introduced me to his friends, explained their nicknames, he even requested them to make me a “favor”. In short, he tried to show me his prestige and influence among his friends in the neighborhood. This prestige, however, rests on the things that we observe in the mainstream media’s discriminatory and accusatory discourse: drug and gun uses, criminal records, delinquency etc. Whereas these instances are constructed in mainstream media’s biased discourse in a degenerative way, Cemal and his friends make use of them. For example, he told me a story to explain “how violent his anger”: one day, some children had annoyed him for a simple matter, and then, he chased them with an

automatic weapon in the neighborhood. He told this story almost proudly. Bullying children with an automatic gun, for example, can ensure to be seen ‘calamitous’, and according to most of them this is a desirable status.

I detected this also in my conversation with Seyfi at his corner. Normally, corner boys do not carry cannabis with them because it is risky. When you go to a corner boy, first, he must be convinced that you are not a cop. Only then he can take you to the place where he hides his stuff. But when I went to Şakirpaşa with Cemal to talk with him, Seyfi was waiting on the corner comfortably and his stuffs were in a black pouch in his hand. I asked whether it is risky or not. Then he answered proudly and haughtily that it is not dangerous for him and that the police cannot enter this area easily. This was a kind of “liberated zone” where it was forbidden to the police, according to him.

This leads us to think about the importance of negative label in Şakirpaşa: why these youths try to take advantage of the negative label? What is its advantage for them in their everyday life? Why do they sometimes try to escape from it and sometimes try to make use of it? We know why they try to escape: this situation creates difficulties especially when they are searching for a job or when they are being investigated by the police. And based on my observations, I can say that the reason of making use of the negative label is the requirement to look “tough”. Stereotypic images such as troublesome, threatening etc. are used tactically to get the other people to know and to keep them away from him. In a dominated and frustrated situation, delinquent act can be seen as heroic. Creating a dangerous image, ironically, may keep you away from trouble and being look like a stranger may cause a trouble. In Şakirpaşa, negative labels can bring somebody prestige and protection. If your appearance looks unfamiliar to mainstream society, it can be a source of status for you in Şakirpaşa. I have experienced it in my research. For example, it was very funny for them to listen to me when I am using their local jargon: During one of my group conversation, I used the word “dude” (“*dayı*”) which is usually used to address each other. Suddenly they started to laugh and make fun of it. Then Sefa explained what was

funny for him: he thought I said “mister” (“*bayım*”) instead of “dude” (“*dayı*”) because it is more appropriate to my mouth. At this moment, I was an object of derision because of my accent and appearance.

After, I noticed that Sefa himself like to “acting”. I learned this not directly from him, but from his friends:

Mustafa: His father was a civil servant. He was private driver of the governor. Sefa has grown in Şakirpaşa, of course, but he never hung out in Şakirpaşa, maybe until high school, got it? Why not? Because his parent did not let him. He has grown up comfortably, his father was a civil servant... But he likes to show, like to act. He acts well but never has a life like that. He likes to act like that.⁷⁶

I think this is a form of socialization and I term it “exclusionary socialization”. By this notion, I want to indicate these youths’ exclusionary counter-practices that they generate against “the exclusionary outside”, that they generate to distinguish themselves from the outside (as I stated above, wall writings can be considered as a practice like this). By this notion, in other words, I refer to the practices that give the youth social protection in the neighborhood: to the extent that he can distinguish himself from a stranger from the outside, he can be more respectful in the neighborhood. Marginalization is not experienced passively as something exposed, but it is experienced actively as a counter-culture: forming a counter-identity that enables to stay “tough” in harsh conditions and that allows not to get under oppression or domination of others. In the case of stigmatized youths, their exclusionary socialization practices can be understood as a form of identity protection.

⁷⁶ Mustafa: Babası devlet memuru bir adam onun, valinin şoförlüğünü yapmış. Sefa Şakirpaşa’da büyüdü eyvallah ama Sefa o mahallede hiçbir zaman, belki liseye kadar, oturup kalkmadı anladın mı? Evleri bile tam sınırında mahallenin. Niye kalkmadı? Çünkü ailesi izin vermedi. Rahat büyümüş, devlet memuru babası. Ama göstermeyi sever, rolü sever, iyi rol keser ama hiçbir zaman öyle bir hayatı yaşamamıştır. Öyle davranmayı seviyor.

This is actually a necessary condition of acquiring street capital. A negative situation that causes discrimination outside of the neighborhood may have a positive effect in the neighborhood. Negative labels which come from appearance, clothes, jargon etc. turn into a positive component of street capital in the neighborhood:

Me: Is there any discrimination here?

Mustafa: Of course, there is. He eyes you from head to foot, if you look a little like junky or illegal type, your dressing style, your image...

Me: What kind of dressing style is that?

Mustafa: They wear Adidas track suit, for example, hat, loose-fitting clothes.⁷⁷

At this point, Cemal began to speak:

Cemal: There is no such thing! This is because most of them are thieves.

Me: So?

Cemal: They wear like this because it is comfortable.

Ben: Ah, I get it!

Mustafa: They want to have influence. They want to attract attention as soon as possible. They want to be called dangerous. They say ‘‘I’m here’’.⁷⁸

They even ironically told me that my ‘‘naïve’’ and ‘‘decent’’ appearance would help me to sell drugs as I do not draw so much attention of the police with my appearance:

Cemal: ‘‘He is writing a thesis. So, he is fucked up, your honor. That is why he smokes’’, we would say. You do not look like a badass, so they would release you (laughingly).⁷⁹

⁷⁷ Ben: *Ayrımcılık var mı buralarda?*

Mustafa: *Var var. Baştan aşağıya bakıyor bir şöyle, yani gayrimeşru veya bir madde kullanıyor tarzı bir tipin vücudun varsa, şeklin giyim tarzın...*

Ben: *Nasıl bir giyim tarzı o mesela?*

Mustafa: *Eşofman giyiyorlar mesela, o Adidas madidas var ya. Şapka giyiyorlar. Bol şeyler giyiyorlar işte.*

⁷⁸ Cemal: *Hiç öyle bir şey yok! Çoğu hırsız onların, ondan öyle geziyorlar.*

Ben: *Yani?*

Cemal: *Yani rahat olsun diye öyle giyiniyorlar.*

Ben: *Haa anladım!*

Mustafa: *Sözüm geçsin istiyor ya, bir an önce mahallede dikkat çekeyim istiyor, ‘‘lan gardaş bu çocuk tehlikeli ha’’ desinler istiyor, ‘‘ben buradayım’’ diyor.*

Physical appearance creates the strong/weak hierarchy that is used daily. These are almost routine practices that classify young people between strong and weak which make or break with the street capital. The physical confrontation seems to determine the social hierarchy. Most of the delinquent youth display external signs of wealth (cigarette brand, mobile phone, automobile etc.) acquired mostly through drug dealing. Or rather, they display their toughness and courage through tattoos and scars.

However, delinquency and illegality, as the main component of street capital, shows a certain ambiguity. It is necessary to keep the right balance. Too individualistic big brothers who openly despise too many of their inferiors, or youngsters who misuse and abuse the power of his big brother are thus banned from the group. Physical violence must correspond to certain norms to be understood and accepted by the group. Otherwise, these violent and illicit practices might cause to the punishment or expulsion from the group. Seyfi and Ali is an example for this. Besides drug dealing, they are also a thief and stealing is an activity that is not accepted in the neighborhood. For this reason, Seyfi was not a popular person. Even his family, according to other youngsters I talked, had rejected him because of this. According to rumors, he was murdered because he stole money from a rival drug gang. Another corner boy, Gökhan, was also killed in vain. Seyfi told this to me before he died:

Seyfi: While Gökhan was joking with his friend, his friend could not take the joke. When they were drinking they started to nickname each other, then they started to swear. Then, the other youth stabbed Gökhan because he swore to his mother.

Me: He died for nothing, huh?

Seyfi: It was not for nothing dude! He had sworn to his mother, what would he do? He cannot stand idle with his hands tied. You cannot swear to the mother even if as a joke.⁸⁰

⁷⁹ Cemal: *Bu tez yazıyor, kafayı yemiş hakim bey, ondan içiyor deriz. Faça bir tarafın da yok, salarlar hemen.* (gülerek)

⁸⁰ Seyfi: *Gökhan arkadaşıyla şakalaşırken arkadaşı şakayı kaldıramıyor. İçerlerken birbirlerine lakap falan takmaya başlıyorlar, sonra iş küfürleşmeye varıyor. Sonra diğer çocuk annesine küfür etti diye Gökhan'a bıçağı takıyor.*

Ben: *Pisi pisine öldü ha?*

Attitudes of the “notorious” big brothers prove this ambiguity. On the one hand, they brutally and dreadfully impose their authority, on the other hand, they know how to make themselves popular and “clement”: by offering cannabis and alcohol, providing physical and symbolical protection, arbitrating internal conflicts within the group and try to maintain a certain social cohesion with certain social justice, “limiting” the delinquent and illicit activities to ensure a minimum social peace that reduces the complaints of the residents of the neighborhood... If social ascending in the street hierarchy requires the street reputation, “top” leader must act moderately. Physical violence and power are of course necessary but they, for example, do not need to be used systematically because once the reputation is established, the mere threat (gestural, verbal etc.) is sufficient. In short, only ideal dose of threat perception can be useful to establish the daily social management in the neighborhood:

Sefa: He protects and supports you. For example, my big brother Hüseyin. He got out of prison, I saw him after 6 or 7 months. In my life, I have been affected only when I was going to the army and when I saw him. It is something different, got it? If you do not have money in your pocket, if you do not have any cigarette, go talk to him and he will give you right away. I do not know, something different, a different commitment.

Me: Why is he so protective and helpful? Just for respect and attachment?

Sefa: He knows that he is loved and respected, and he loves because he knows that he is loved. Do you have any problem? It is solved immediately. For example, did any corner boy annoy anyone in the neighborhood? He has been beaten maybe for ten minutes because he annoyed someone in the neighborhood.⁸¹

Seyfi: Pisi pisine olur mu dayı! Anasına küfretmiş, ne yapsaydı ya? Pısıp otursa mıydı? Şaka da olsa küfredemezsin öyle.

⁸¹ *Sefa: Ağabeylik yapıyor sana işte. Mesela Hüseyin ağabeyim, 6-7 ay sonar gördüm, hapisten çıkmış. Ben hayatımda bir askere giderken, bir de onu gördüğümde duygulandım. Farklı bir şey yani anladın mı? Mesela şimdi git yanına, paran yoksa, cigaran yoksa, git derdini anlat çıkartır verir. Ne bileyim yani, farklı bir şey, farklı bir bağlılık.*

Ben: Peki neden böyle korumacı ve yardımsever? Sırf sevgi ve bağlılık için mi?

Sefa: Adam sevilip sayıldığını biliyor, sevildiğini bildiği için de seviyor. Bir durumun mu var, mutlaka çözülür. Mesela bir torbacı mahallede bir adama caz mı yaptı? Var ya, on dakika dövdü bu mahallede caz yapmayacaksın diye.

To sum up, being tough and minacious is an essential part of the street capital which is indispensable to inspire fear and to make it possible to defend oneself in the neighborhood. It is also a key feature for pursuing a career in the underground economy where it is imperative to be a fearsome person. However, in addition to this, there are of course youths who are disturbed by the perception of the neighborhood outside. It is a fact that this is an obstacle, especially when looking for a job. Therefore, it seems that negative labels carried by the neighborhood operate in different forms in different situations. So, the negative label of the neighborhood is something that should be avoided in some cases, and something that should be adopted in some other cases. Spatial habitus is seen as the mechanism by which the youth manage the relationship between the choice of avoiding, adoption or resisting images and discourses on their neighborhood.

4.1.3.3. Being on the Edge of Illegitimacy: Coping with Economic Exclusion

Urban poor youth's educational qualities whose market values are low is one of the most important reasons for their nonparticipation in the labor market. Youths who graduated from vocational high school or those who drop out of school early and enter a job seem to have relatively advantageous positions on the job market, but their working conditions are bad and unstable. In short, urban poor youth's relationship with the labor market is characterized by long-term unemployment, short/transient, precarious, unstable and dangerous jobs. Under these conditions where options for making money in a legal way diminished, illegal ways such as peddling, gambling, drug dealing, theft etc. have appeared as an alternative. Youths I have interviewed define their educational situation and the structural economic problems as an obstacle to find a job. They also point out to the problems created by the stigma of their neighborhood.

The “Şakirpaşalı” label does not have a negative connotation in the neighborhood, but as I showed in the previous section, this is experienced as an obstacle outside of the neighborhood, especially in the process of finding a job. I think that this can be shown as the reason why there are few young who work outside of the neighborhood.

While Sefa is working in an auto gallery outside the neighborhood (a “big brother” from the neighborhood had helped Sefa to get into this job), some like Turan, Emrah and Mustafa work in the nearby factories. Others, like Hakkı, Emre and Nadir work as apprentice or foreman at workplaces in the neighborhood or work, like Doğan, Cemal and Süleyman in the mechanical workshops next to the neighborhood.

But as far as I observed, I can say that no one is satisfied with a single job. There are those, like Turan and Cemal, who sell egg and milk. Or, there are those who go to touristic cities such as Antalya to work in summer, like Ali who is the big brother of Süleyman. In fact, Ali is a jack-of-all-trades: he is a worker, also a bartender, also a bodyguard and also a corner boy at the same time (it is also said that he is a bag-snatcher and a thief):

Ali: I go to Antalya or anywhere at the seaside to work in summer. Sometimes I carry drugs.

Me: Have not you been caught by the police on the road? They check out the buses on the way to Ankara.

Ali: I never come and go alone. I travel with a woman because the police pay less attention (laughingly). I carry a bag of sugar (drug). I line my own pocket. We also have big brothers in the bar there. If anything happens to them, we will strive for them and if something happens to us, they will strive for us.⁸²

However, perhaps the most common and characteristic “additional job” is drug dealing in the neighborhood. In the next subsection, I will examine the dynamics of this situation.

4.1.3.3.1. Drug Economy

As I have explained in the previous chapters, evolvement process of neoliberalism has made life more difficult and urban space more challenging for the people who are exposed to socio-spatial and economic exclusion and marginalization. It can be

⁸² Ali: Yazları Antalya’ya, deniz kenarlarına çalışmaya gidiyorum. Bazen esrar götürüyorum.

Ben: Hiç yakalanmadın mı? Ankara’ya giderken kontrol ediyorlar otobüsleri.

Ali: Hiç tek gidip gelmem. Yanımda bir kadın oluyor polis daha az dikkat ediyor diye (gülerek). Bir torba şeker taşıyorum. İyi de buluyorum yolumu. Barda abilerimiz de var. Onlara bir şey olsa biz koşarız, bize bir şey olsa onlar koşar.

argued that the exclusion compels them to find some other way to live on and, in the situation in which legal ways are restricted, requires living “off the book” (Vankatesh, 2006). In other words, socio-spatial segregation and economic marginalization as material conditions of these neighborhoods compel them to create precarious, disreputable or dangerous income-generating strategies which are alternative to the formal economy. The lives of the youngsters are becoming more difficult as they are not included in the labor market. Their lack of opportunities to socialize and material deprivations produce much heavier living conditions. In some cases, youths can also make illegal ways to earn money, such as drug dealing, theft or pickpocketing. As emphasized by Bourgois, these strategies which are part of “the underground economy” should be considered as “symptom – and a vivid symbol – of deeper dynamics of social marginalization and alienation” (2003: 2-3). By avoiding biased “middle-class morality”, we should try to understand the political economy of these neighborhoods and its impacts on the everyday life of these youths.

Poverty and unemployment are very prevalent in Şakirpaşa. Most of the youth work in precarious conditions, with low wages and without insurance. Many of them work as an apprentice in small workshops, but there are also workers who work in big factories. On the other side, a minority group who have been educated a few more levels work in place like auto gallery. Changing job is also very prevalent; only a few of them have been doing the same job for a long time. Moreover, alternative income generating activities are also produced. For example, Cemal told me that he tries to earn money by buying eggs from the village and then selling them at the market, besides his ordinary job. But drug dealing is maybe the most prevalent “second job” in Şakirpaşa. In fact, the line between the legality and illegality is so vague in Şakirpaşa. Put it differently, life is living at the liminal space here: being neither completely illegal nor completely legal, or as Cemal’s own words, “being not at the center, but at the edge”; to maintain a balance between these two situations, “to get

on course’’⁸³. Not only the unemployed, precarious youngsters, but even the shopkeepers are in this drug business:

Hakkı: For example, a barber next to three shops from our shop... He keeps drug dealer’s products, so line his own pockets. They give him 100-500 liras per week. Or, they give 50, not 20 liras, after shaving. But if you make a mistake, do wrong, it is dangerous, they would humiliate you. Or Yasin... He was working as a welder, then he quitted to bring “product” from Hatay. They said him, “come on boy, take this car. Here, 1000 lira”. So what happened then? He was caught the second time, in Urfa. He was sentenced to nine years.⁸⁴

There is an everyday phrase which is widely used as a synonym of “to live” in Şakirpaşa: “to strive’’⁸⁵. We can understand from this that to live, according to them, means to strive, to tackle etc. But it is so difficult to do this in legal ways. I do not mean that illegality is the only option for them, or, the neighborhood is a cradle of illegality. But, I am trying to say that, in the situation in which legal ways are restricted, illegal income generating strategies would be more “popular” and accessible. For the one whose horizon of possibilities is limited and who cannot reach the “legal” economic means due to the academic/professional failures, family conflicts etc., illegal ways could be the best option to reach social advancement, first in the hierarchy among the youth and then in society. In the neighborhood, delinquency could provide a certain social prestige and economic advantage. Income generating strategies such as theft, drug dealing etc. can give some hope to escape from idleness and precariousness. In short, the fact of being unemployed and

⁸³ “yolunda olmak”

⁸⁴ Hakkı: Mesela bizim dükkanın üç dükkan yanındaki berber... Adam torbacıların malını saklıyor, oradan da buluyor yolunu. Haftalık 100-500 arası verirler mesela. Ya da tıraş olmaya gelince 20 değil de 50 atarlar. Ama yanlış yaparsan da tehlikeli, rezil ederler, adını çıkarırlar... Veya Yasin vardı bizim... Kaynakçılık yapıyordu, ayrıldı işten. Hatay’dan mal getirmek içinmiş. Buna dediler ki “gel oğlum, al sana araba. Git gel 1000 lira”. Ne oldu ama? İkinci gelişinde yakalanıyor Urfa’da. 9 sene içerde.

⁸⁵ “cürmalamak”

uneducated (put it differently, the fact of being deprived of economic and cultural capital) is therefore a factor favoring the development of street capital.

Drug dealing, as an income generating strategy, is very prevalent in Şakirpaşa. It is indeed an activity constitutes an alternative socio-economic model that offers a different outcome from school, family and a decent job. There are various reasons for it but it mainly causes from economic precarity and searching for respect. Relatively sustainable and ostentatious drug economy offers a double alternative to unemployment and dishonor. Development of unemployment and precarity massively affect the youth and from this perspective, illicit practices such as drug dealing, theft etc., as economic activities, can be considered as a response to the vulnerability caused by economic precarity. This is a central issue, as Bourgois has shown, also for Latinos and Afro-Americans living in the ghetto, whose structural vulnerability in the legal labor market forces them to participate in the underground economy.

Me: Why is this business so popular?

Sefa: That is because there is a lot of money dude, you have to see.

Me: So how do the youth think about entering this business?

Sefa: They see it in the neighborhood. Their big brothers are doing this job. Look bro, until 4-5 years ago, we used to open linoleum on the street and pack it on it, got it? It was very popular.⁸⁶

As Sefa stated, the most attractive feature of this business is that its proceed is very high. Cemal gives an “inspirational” example for this situation:

Cemal: Seyfi’s cousin, Mesut, he was an apprentice at a barber. He is now on the run, you have to see, he has grown his hair and beard, he looks like a

⁸⁶ Ben: Neden bu kadar yaygın bu iş?

Sefa: Bir para dönüyor dayı böyle akıllara zarar.

Ben: Peki girmek nasıl geliyor akıllarına?

Sefa: Mahallede görüyorlar. Abileri yapıyor. Kardeş bak bundan 4-5 sene öncesinde kadar, muşamba var ya hani sokakta, onları açar herkes başına geçer onun üstünde paket yapardık anladın mı? O kadar yaygındı.

fugitive. He has become rich through drug dealing. He bought an apartment, a car and so on with the money he earned from this job.⁸⁷

For the one who has grown up in the neighborhood, it is very easy to be a part of the underground economy. It offers even more attractive prospect than legal economy. It was explained to me by Cemal:

Cemal: There is ‘‘big brother’’ (ağabey) here. I mean, there is a guy who is respected, okay? If this guy is striving, if this guy is inclined to delinquency, the youth try to be him, they try to imitate him. I mean, the youth who want to gain power through the group gather around him. The power is established in this way in Adana. For example, Halim Şimşek. He has been in prison for fifteen years, then he got out. In 99 or 2000, he murdered a civil servant, the director of DSI in Mardin and then they earned reputation. What can they do after the jail? They necessarily mess with illegality again. What did they learn inside of the prison? They learned ‘‘illegal bet’’ inside, okay? They got down to the job, then the youth who imitate them, who know them, began to look up to these guys. So that is the case. I mean, zippy youth, they have not got any expectation in life, they just want to leave a mark in this life, they want to make more money. How do they make money? They see these guys who manage a lot of money. They have not got another chance to make this money. They work only as a manual laborer. But at the table (he refers to drug dealing), he can earn 3000-5000 easily.⁸⁸

As we can see, offering more money than another legal job makes drug dealing very attractive for the youth who want to be respectful. And it is very easy to be a drug

⁸⁷ Cemal: *Bizim Seyfo'nun (Seyfi) halasının oğlu ya, Mesut, berber çırağıydı. Şimdi firarda, bir görecen, saç ı uzatmış, sakal bırakmış... Köşeyi böyle (torbacılığı kastediyor) döndü o işte. Ev, araba falan aldı.*

⁸⁸ Cemal: *Burada ağabeylik vardır, mahallede saygı duyulan bir adam vardır tamam mı? Bu adam koşturuyorsa, bu adam suça bulaşmış bir adamsa ona özenip onun gibi olmak isteyen, yani gücünü o grupla birlikte yakalayıp karakter koymak isteyen gençler de onun etrafına toplanıyorlar. Gücü öyle sağlarsın Adana'da. Mesela Halim Şimşek. Adam hapishaneden çıkıyor, 15 yıl yatmış. Bu adamlar 99'da mı 2000'de mi ne Mardin'de DSI'nin müdürünü vuruyorlar, içeri giriyorlar, isim sahibi oluyor çıkıyorlar. Bu adamlar ne yapacak hapisten sonra? Mecburen gayri meşruiya buluyorlar yine. Ne öğreniyorlar içeriden? Kaçak iddia diye bir şey öğreniyorlar tamam mı? Bunlar bu işe atılıyorlar, arkasından da ‘‘bunlar adam vurdular, bunlar devlet memurunun kafasına sıktılar’’ diyen gençler, mahalleden tanıyan falan gençler bu adama saygı duyup etrafında toplanıyorlar. Mevzu bu yani. Hızlı gençlik dedikleri olay, adamın hayattan bir beklentisi yok, hayatta bir iz bırakmak istiyor, para kazanmak istiyor. Nasıl para kazanacak? Çok hızlı para döndüren bu adamları görüyor. O parayı başka yerden kazanma şansı da yok. Bu adam çalışa da işçi, gidecek tornacılık yapacak ölene kadar. Tezgahta bir adamın cebinde 3000-5000 döndüğünü görüyor.*

dealer. There is another interesting point in this statement: “big brother”⁸⁹. This is indeed a very interesting case about the neighborhood. Big brother is the one who protects the youth in the neighborhood and who is respected. For the youth who cannot see any future outside of the neighborhood, big brother would be the key to live in the neighborhood; living under the protection of big brother would be the best option. In short, big brother presents the chance to be rich and respectful:

Hakkı: You are a corner boy, and your corner’s owner is your “big brother”. Like your father. He puts money in your pocket, knows where you walk, what you eat and drink. Did something happen to you? If you get into trouble, this guy steps in.⁹⁰

Sefa: He protects and supports you. For example, my big brother Hüseyin. He got out of prison, I saw him after 6 or 7 months. In my life, I have been affected only when I was going to the army and when I saw him. It is something different, got it? If you do not have money in your pocket, if you do not have any cigarette, go talk to him and he will give you right away. I do not know, something different, a different commitment.

Me: Why is he so protective and helpful? Just for respect and attachment?

Sefa: He knows that he is loved and respected, and he loves because he knows that he is loved. Do you have any problem? It is solved immediately. For example, did any corner boy annoy anyone in the neighborhood? He has been beaten maybe for ten minutes because he annoyed someone in the neighborhood.

Me: Why do these youngsters need a big brother? Or, do they need?

Sefa: I do not know. The people who are gravitating to religions are also in searching, got it? Is not every human being on a searching? That is the situation in the neighborhood. They have accepted his path as their own path.

Me: So, what makes big brothers so respectable?

Sefa: Nothing other than their actions and performances. When they escaped from the prison, for example, youngsters in the neighborhood close the road and hold the pass for them. They should be respected. Their lives are very different. They paid a price, got it? They had been imprisoned, had shot and had been shot for their purposes.⁹¹

⁸⁹ “ağabeylik”

⁹⁰ Hakkı: Torbacısın, tezgahının sahibi senin ağabeyin oluyor. Baban gibi oluyor. Cebine parayı katıyor, nerede gezdiğini yediğini içtiğini biliyor. Başın derde mi girdi? E ne oluyor, direk bu adam devreye giriyor.

⁹¹ Sefa: Ağabeylik yapıyor sana işte. Mesela Hüseyin ağabeyim, 6-7 ay sonar gördüm, hapisten çıkmış. Ben hayatımda bir askere giderken, bir de onu gördüğümde duygulandım. Farklı bir şey yani anladın

Street forms a kind of “second family”, with its little and big brothers. Little ones often live “under the wings of” big brothers who take their care and “educate” them in their own way: the older ones teach “laws of the street” to “survive” in the street. The older ones also provide them physical protection. If a little brother is appreciated by his big brother (because of his success in drug dealing or bravery), he “gets a promotion” in street hierarchy:

Me: Drug dealing is very prevalent in Şakirpaşa, right?

Hakkı: Seventy-eighty percent of the youth are in the drug business. I mean, the person who in this business drives the car he wants, wears quality clothes. If he is smoking Prestige while he is idle, he can smoke Parliament when he starts to this business. He puts 200-250 in his pocket per day. It starts by selling drugs. Then big brother, corner’s owner, if you are good enough, tells you to find another corner boy and collect money. After, you become the watchman, you watch the police and lookout the corner; you do not carry cannabis, so it is less risky. In the upper level, you take over the business. For example, if your big brother is caught, you get behind the wheel, you look after your big brother in prison.

Me: So, why do the youngsters get into this business? I mean, it is risky.

Hakkı: His family has not shown any affection; besides he is uneducated; and he also got the taste of money...⁹²

mı? Mesela şimdi git yanına, paran yoksa, cigaran yoksa, git derdini anlat çıkartır verir. Ne bileyim yani, farklı bir şey, farklı bir bağlılık.

Ben: Peki neden böyle korumacı ve yardımsever? Sırf sevgi ve bağlılık için mi?

Sefa: Adam sevilip sayıldığını biliyor, sevildiğini bildiği için de seviyor. Bir durumun mu var, mutlaka çözülür. Mesela bir torbacı mahallede bir adama caz mı yaptı? Var ya, on dakika dövdü bu mahallede caz yapmayacaksın diye.

Ben: Peki bu gençlerin neden bir ağabeye ihtiyaçları var? Var mı ya da?

Sefa: Bilmem. Mesela dinlere yönelmiş insanlar da bir arayıştalar anladın mı? Her insan bir arayışta değil mi? Mahallede de durum o yani. Onun yolunu yol bellemişler.

Ben: Peki ağabeyleri bu kadar saygıdeğer yapan şey ne?

Sefa: İcraatları yani başka bir şey değil. Adamlar firar ediyor, sokakları kapatıyorlar, tutuyorlar onlar için mesela. Saygı duyulacak yani. Yaşamları çok farklı. Bedel ödemişler, anladın mı? Davaları için hapis yatmışlar, vurmuşlar, vurulmuşlar, yaralanmışlar...

⁹² Ben: Torbacılık baya yaygınmış Şakirpaşa’da, değil mi?

Hakkı: Yüzde yetmiş-seksen gençler uyuşturucu işine girerler. Yani torbacılık yapan insan istediği arabaya biniyor, marka giyiniyor. Boşta gezerken Prestige içiyorsa bu işe girince Parliament içiyor. Günlük cebine 200-250 koyuyor. İlk baş uyuşturucu satarak başlarsın. Sonra bakıyor ağabeyin, tezgahın sahibi, eğer iyiysen diyor altına torbacı bul para topla sen. Para toplamaktan ne oluyor, gözcülüğe geçiyorsun, polis molis geliyor mu onu gözlüyorsun, tezgahı kolluyorsun. Üstünde taşımadığın için riskin yok. Ondan bir üst kademesi, tezgahın başına geçiyorsun. Mesela ağabeyin yakalandı mı, işin başına sen geçiyorsun, ağabeyine bakıyorsun hapiste, ihtiyaçlarını karşılıyorsun.

Ben: Gençler neden giriyor peki bu işe? Tehlikeli yani neticede.

As we can see in Cemal, Hakkı and Sefa's statements, the guys like Halim Şimşek have, so to say, a charismatic power on the youth. Big brother has an impact on their lives even more than their family or school. For example, as told me by Cemal, some of them can serve their time in prison for his big brother's benefit if he meets his needs in return.

Cemal: For his big brother, if it is necessary, he could even go to jail.

Ben: How so? I mean, could he commit a crime for him, by taking the risk of being imprisoned.

Cemal: He could commit a crime, if it is necessary he could pay his brother's due. He could take the blame of his big brother. He could say "I shot", "I sold"... But his big brother should take care of him in prison. He should take care of his friends and relatives.⁹³

As Wacquant argued, in parallel with the transformation of the welfare state in the West, there has been a transition "from welfare to prisonfare" (2010). Although not as harsh and widespread as in the West, this change has also been observed in Turkey (Gönen, 2011). The rate of imprisonment among youth is high in Şakirpaşa too. I interviewed eighteen youths; eight of these youths have been arrested at least once. The fact of having been in prison is often an asset for a delinquent career. This often intimidates the other youngsters of the neighborhood who do not know the prison. It also increases your reputation in the eyes of other, unless you snitch on someone. It seems that imprisonment is more a real factor of street capital than a consequence of the search for it. In other words, the prison is a way of acquiring the street capital. Because "social capital" can be acquired in prison; youths gain experience in prison. As Halim Şimşek told, different and new "activities" can be learned in prison. It can

Hakkı: Ailesi şefkat göstermemiş, okumamış zaten, paranın da tadını almış...

⁹³ Cemal: Abisi için gerekirse yatar da.

Ben: Nasıl yani? Onun için hapse girmeyi göze alarak suç mu işler?

Cemal: Suç da işler, gerekiyorsa onun cezasını da yatar. Suçunu üstlenir abisi yatmasın diye. "Ben vurdum" der, "ben satıyordum" der... Ama abisi de ona bakacak yani içeride. Dışarıda eşi dostu varsa baktığı onlara bakacak.

be assumed that prison is a way to acquire the street capital which then gives a dominant position in the group:

Me: So, what makes big brothers so respectable?

Sefa: Nothing other than their actions and performances. When they escaped from the prison, for example, youngsters in the neighborhood close the road and hold the pass for them. They should be respected. Their lives are very different. They paid a price, got it? They had been imprisoned, had shot and had been shot for their purposes.⁹⁴

But, of course, this is not valid for everyone. There are those who stay away from these illegal activities after prison. In other words, the difficult conditions of the prison may be a breaking moment in the life of some young people.

As stated by Sefa, you have to “pay the price” for increasing the street capital, and being imprisoned means paying the price. I had said that the everyday life is like a puss-in-the-corner game for most of the youngsters in Şakirpaşa. However, this game is played not only with the police, but they also play among themselves. For example, it is such a “game” to decide who is able to sell drugs at the corners of the neighborhood. To win this puss-in-the-corner game, you have to pay its price:

Me: Can I come and sell here as an outsider?

Hakkı: You cannot, you have to pay the price. If you pay the price, if you can protect your territory, you can.

Ben: What is the price?

Hakkı: They might try to shut down your business, or they might say “you have to take care of our member in prison, to pay your tribute”.

Ben: If I do not?

Hakkı: It will not be so easy (laughingly). You will fall out with each other and fight dude.⁹⁵

⁹⁴ Ben: Peki ağabeyleri bu kadar saygıdeğer yapan şey ne?

Sefa: İcraatları yani başka bir şey değil. Adamlar firar ediyor, sokakları kapatıyorlar, tutuyorlar onlar için mesela. Saygı duyulacak yani. Yaşamları çok farklı. Bedel ödemişler, anladın mı? Davaları için hapis yatmışlar, vurmuşlar, vurulmuşlar, yaralanmışlar...

⁹⁵ Ben: Dışarıdan gelip satabilir miyim burada mesela ben?

Hakkı: Satamazsın, bedel ödersin. Bedel ödersen, alanını korursan gel sat.

Ben: Bedel ne oluyor?

Drug dealing cannot be regarded as a normal decent job as it is not an income generating practice with certain conditions of working and of enter/quit like any other job. As Cemal and Doğan said, and as the example Hakkı gave, everybody is in fact on the threshold between illegality and legality in the neighborhood. That is, nobody is a hundred percent illegal, drug dealer etc., or nobody is a hundred percent clean. Therefore, no one explicitly accepts that he is a drug dealer. As in the case of the barber, there are those who want to take a share from this business by hiding drugs in his store. Or, there are also those who want to take a share by smuggling drugs for once, like Yasin. Or, there are also people who do this job just for pocket money while unemployed. Some of the youth I talked also told me that they came in and out from this business time to time (I sensed that they were hesitant to tell this openly in our first conversations.). For example, I learned from another one that the barber shop which Hakkı mentioned and where drugs were hidden was in fact Hakkı's father's own barber shop. However, among the youth I talked, only Seyfi has said that he does this as a job to make money. Only he has openly adopted this.

Seyfi is originally from Siirt but he was born and raised in Şakirpaşa. He was twenty-two years old. He dropped out after primary school. As I said at the beginning, shortly after I met him I learned that Seyfi was dead. The cause of murder is not clear. According to rumors, he was murdered because he stole money from a rival drug gang. So how did he get into this business? He had said that it was actually a “family business”. He had said that his uncles were in drug dealing business. But whereas his uncles were living almost like a “drug lord”, Seyfi's parents were meeting the need for “crew”. According to Seyfi, that is why they are poorer than them. He was working a hundred liras a day. Seyfi did not say that he was on the edge of the

Hakkı: Tezgahımı kapattırmaya çalışırlar ya da gelir der ki ‘benim mahkumuma bakacaksın, haraç vereceksin’.

Ben: Yapmazsam?

Hakkı: Sikim amda götüm cennette, yok öyle (gülerek). Düşmanın olur, savaşırsınız dayı.

illegality, like Cemal said. On the contrary, he was at the exact center of the illegality: “For people like us, the road ends in jail or in the grave.”⁹⁶

At this point, it is important to note that the entire population of the neighborhood is not involved in these illegal ways of earning money. However, in the conditions of poverty, in the conditions that family relations are weak, especially youths and children try to escape from these conditions with these kinds of practices. It seems that illegal activities appear to be alternative to escape from poverty. There is not enough room for a discussion of the nature of the crime. However, considering these activities as a “moral problem” or a “deviation” is not possible without rejecting the social reality. In other words, it would be wrong to see anybody a hundred percent guilty and criminal or a hundred percent innocent. What I am trying to say here is that these activities are practices that are conducted to survive in the neighborhood, put it differently, to acquire street capital. As Wacquant said about Rickey who is an example of a social character of “hustler” emerging in American black ghetto:

Rickey is neither a social anomaly nor the representative of a deviant micro-society: rather, he is the product of the exacerbation of a logic of economic and racial exclusion that imposes itself ever more stringently on all residents of the ghetto. (Wacquant, 1999: 151)

4.1.3.3.2. School and Family Life

Based on my observation, I think that we should consider the role of the economy in conjunction with the education and family. Transition process from school to work is a very critical threshold. This transition substantially shapes the future. The proportion of university graduates is very low in the neighborhood. Among the youth I have talked, only Mustafa, Sefa, and Nadir are university graduates. They were graduated from two-year vocational high school in Adana and Niğde. Other youths are secondary or high school graduates.

⁹⁶ Seyfi: *Bizim gibiler için yol ya mahpusta ya mezarda biter.*

Violence and delinquency in the neighborhood are actually a defensive strategy. What I am trying to say is that when the youth understand that it is forbidden (or very hard) for them to reach dominant values such as success, decent work, diploma etc., they “chose” to refuse the norms and the institutions such as school and family that embody these values: they choose to fail at school, choose to gain money very quickly etc. Violence and delinquency thus appear as a conduct of dignity and an attempt to overcome the lack of capacity. They feel that their role as “good student” is totally vain and it is preferable to play the role of “bad boy”: “street school” would allow them to live in harsh conditions, whereas the school does not offer an opportunity, a horizon:

Me: If you have studied, would things be different Doğan?

Doğan: If I have studied... If I have studied, I would be a doctor, my wife would be a doctor. I mean I would have a life like a fuck, a boring life. (laughingly)

Me: So, is this your reason to not study?

Doğan: Because I realized that I could not be a man by studying. I realized that nobody could be something.

Me: Do you mean the youth in the neighborhood?

Doğan: Yes. When I noticed that nobody could be something, I gave up. Look at the educated children. How did our Efe (his brother) become the bastard of the neighborhood? Can anyone fool him? The educated child was said by his mother consistently “study, study, study”... I will raise my children as a bastard! Apartment boy would lose his house when he goes to street.⁹⁷

And according to Doğan, this is not a situation only he experienced, but in general everyone suffers from the same situation:

⁹⁷ Ben: Okusan farklı olur muydu peki bir şeyler Doğan?

Doğan: Okusaydım... Okusaydım doktor olurdum, doktor bir eşim olurdu, yarağım gibi bir hayatım olurdu, sıkıcı bir hayat. (gülerek)

Ben: Okumama sebebini bu yani?

Doğan: Çünkü okuyunca bir adam olamayacağımı fark ettim. Baktım okuyunca kimse bir şey olmuyor...

Ben: Mahalledekileri mi diyorsun?

Doğan: Evet. Kimse bir şey olmuyor, bıraktım. Okumuş çocuklara bak hele. Bizim Efe (kardeşi) nasıl ortamın piçi olmuş, onu kimse kandırabilir mi? Okumuş çocuğa annesi “oku oku oku” demiş, o yüzden piş yetiştireceğim çocuğum olursa. Apartman çocuğu amına koyayım sokağa çıksa evini kaybeder.

Me: Studying is not beneficial, I got it. So, what do the other youngsters in the neighborhood do for a living mostly?

Doğan: Some of them welder, some of them apprentice in workshops... But everyone sells drugs, as a second job, a mask, everyone uses his job, but they are all corner boy. They start vagrancy in fifth grade, by selling cigarette, then cannabis.

Me: It is not so common to go to school, right?

Doğan: Why would they go? They earn five hundred liras per day. Would you go to school? (laughingly)⁹⁸

Similarly, Hakkı considers studying as a futile activity too:

Me: How is your school life?

Hakkı: I do not have much interest in school since I have an interest in occupation. I mean, I want to get driver license they do not give it to those who do not finish the school.

Me: What is your occupation? Why does school prevent it?

Hakkı: Barber. I am an apprentice at my father's barber shop. Actually, I want to open my own barber shop. If you study... I do not know, you will gain better of course. If I get fifty a day here... I would get much more if I would be a doctor or, at worst, teacher.

Me: So, would not you want to be a doctor or something?

Hakkı: I would not.

Me: Why?

Hakkı: Let's just say it is because I am used to here.

Me: As far as I can see, that is the general case here.

Hakkı: Yes. The majority have a bad circle of friends. From age 14-15, in every child's around, there is a corner boy. He cannot be jailed because he is young, he also gains money....⁹⁹

⁹⁸ Ben: Okuyarak bir şey olunmuyor demek. Peki gördüğün kadarıyla diğer gençler ne işle uğraşıyor mahallede genelde?

Doğan: Kaynakçılık yapan var sanayide, mahallede dükkanlarda falan... Ama herkes torba tutuyor, ikinci bir meslek, maske olarak herkes mesleğini kullanıyor ama hepsi torbacı. Beşinci sınıfta başlıyorlar serseriliğe, o yaşta sigara satmaya başlarlar, sonra esrar.

Ben: Okuyan pek yok yani?

Doğan: Niye okusunlar ki dayı? Günlük beş yüz lira veriyorlar, sen okur musun? (gülerek)

Cemal's attitude towards studying is not different too:

Me: So, why did not you go to school?

Cemal: I cannot do it dude. I cannot reach this culture. I cannot buy book or something. I decided to start a job, to become a master, to earn my own living as soon as possible. If you have grown up in the neighborhood, if your situation is not good, if you do not go to school, you should have a job. They put you in a work! Everyone has a job here.¹⁰⁰

Süleyman points out as well the difficulty of studying and the necessity to earn money immediately:

Me: How was your school life?

Süleyman: I did not have school life. In fifth or sixth class, my teacher said them to put me in a job. And at the same time, I was also rambling around, trying to get used to the outside, the school was indeed boring.

Me: So, the school has never been attractive to you?

Süleyman: (laughingly) How could I study in the middle of all that works!? The school was not attractive at all!

Me: Did you want to go to university?

Süleyman: Even if I wanted to study, let's say I earned it, did I have an opportunity to go and study, got it? The best work is to milk the sheep, to help

⁹⁹ Ben: Okulla aran nasıl?

Hakkı: Yok. Yani mesleğe ilgim olduğundan okula pek yok? Yani liseyi bitireyim ehliyet alayım istiyorum, liseyi bitirmeye vermiyorlar.

Ben: Senin meslek ne peki? Okul niye engel ki?

Hakkı: Berberlik benim, babamın yanında çıraklık yapıyorum. Sonra kendi dükkanımı açmak istiyorum aslında. Okursan tabi ne bileyim, daha iyi kazanırsın aslında. Burada günlük 50 alıyorsam doktor olsam ya da öğretmen en basitinden daha iyi kazanırdım.

Ben: Peki istemez miydin doktor falan olmak?

Hakkı: İstemezdim.

Ben: Neden ki?

Hakkı: Buraya alıştığım için diyelim.

Ben: Burada genel olarak öyle sanki gördüğüm kadarıyla.

Hakkı: Evet. Çoğunun çevresi bozuk, 14-15 yaşından itibaren çevresinde illaki bir torbacı vardı bir çocuğun. Yaş küçük, hapis yatmıyor, cebine para da giriyor...

¹⁰⁰ Ben: Neden devam etmedin peki okula?

Cemal: Okumayı ben yapamam dayı. O kültüre erişemem ben, kitaba falan. Bir an önce mesleğime atılayım, usta olayım, ona göre hayatımı kurayım dedim. Mahallede büyüdüysen, durumun iyi değilse, okumuyorsan meslek sahibi olman lazım. Sike sike seni bir mesleğe verirler, herkesin bir mesleği vardır. Çalışır çalışmaz, orası ayrı, ama herkesin bildiği bir iş vardır.

the people, you can get something in this way. And if you learn a job, it's okay!¹⁰¹

As we can see in Hakkı, Doğan, Cemal and Süleyman's statements, school is regarded as an obstacle to begin to work, to earn your own life. The belief that the school will provide a safe future is not common among the youth. Even if there is such a belief in school, there is also a lack of self-confidence, a feeling of failure that accompanies it. The belief that the school will provide a bright future is disappeared by the thought that it is difficult or even impossible for them to reach it.

Another important issue is the role of the family. Crack between family and street life is remarkable. Socialization in the neighborhood is actualized mostly through peer group rather than school or family, through more or less illicit activities. In fact, for some of them, school is the place where delinquency is first learned:

Emrah: We have first met with these things in school.

Me: In your circle of friends, or with elders outside of the school?

Emrah: There were friends who were dealing with this. There were also big brothers outside. We used to run an errand for them.¹⁰²

Doğan: They start vagrancy in fifth grade, by selling cigarette, then cannabis.¹⁰³

¹⁰¹ Ben: *Okul hayatın nasıldı?*

Süleyman: *Okul hayatı yoktu ki. İlkokul 5'te mi 6'da mı ne, hoca "bir işe verin bu çocuğu çalışsın" dedi. Bir de o sırada gezip tozuyorum falan, dışarıya adapte olmaya çalışıyorum, okul tabi sıkıcı geliyor.*

Ben: *Okul sana hiç çekici gelmedi yani?*

Süleyman: (gülerek) *Lan o kadar işin arasında bir de ders çalışılır mı, okul nasıl çekici gelsin!?*

Ben: *Üniversiteye gitmek istedin mi peki?*

Süleyman: *Yani bizim o zaman okusan da, hadi kazandın diyelim, hangi imkanla gideceksin de okuyacaksın, anladın mı? En güzel iş süt sağmak, birilerine yardım etmek falan, oradan bir şeyler kazanırsın zaten. Bir de iş öğrendin mi!*

¹⁰² Emrah: *Valla bu işlerle okulda tanıştık ilkin.*

Ben: *Arkadaş çevresi mi yoksa öyle okul dışında büyükler sayesinde mi?*

Emrah: *Arkadaşlardan da vardı uğraşan. Dışarıda abiler de vardı. Getir götür işleri yapardık.*

¹⁰³ Doğan: *Beşinci sınıfta başlıyorlar serseriliğe, o yaşta sigara satmaya başlarlar, sonra esrar.*

Such a perception of the street, synonymous with insecurity and marginality, is so common and so strong among parents, especially among mothers. Their views are different from their children; according to them, as far as I observed, the street is a barrier to education and a safe future. In short, whereas the street is an obstacle for parents to reach a safe future, it is an alternative and a different solution for the youngsters to the absence of this possibility:

Doğan's mother: My dear, we have wanted to move from here for several years. I would like Doğan and Efe to grow in a better place. Nevertheless, I am thankful for everything, the kids are in good situation. But they have not studied. So be it, my dear, thank god. I do not care if they are studied or not. Luckily, at least they have a job. They have learned a job with their father.¹⁰⁴

But the relation with the father is more problematic than the relationship with the mother. Oppressive authority of the father seems to be more problematic and annoying than compassionate solicitude of the mother:

Cemal: There is not much communication with my dad. Whatever he does, it is not my concern.¹⁰⁵

Sefa: Believe me, I do not want to come home when my dad is home.¹⁰⁶

Hakkı: I am not good with my dad. We are at cross-purposes. We are contrary to each other. My attitude is wrong for him, and his is wrong for me.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁴ Hakkı'nın annesi: Ablacım biz de yıllardır taşınmak istiyoruz buradan. Doğan'la Efe'nin daha iyi bir yerde büyümesini isterdim, gerçi çok şükür bizimkiler iyiler işlerine güçlerine bakıyorlar. Ama okumadıklar tabi. Olsun ablacım, yine de bin şükür. Aman ne yapayım okumasın onlar da. Allah'tan kollarında altın bilezikleri var, babalarının yanında iş öğrendiler.

¹⁰⁵ Cemal: Babamla yok pek muhabbetimiz. Ne yaparsa yapsın, banane.

¹⁰⁶ Sefa: Babam evdeyken eve gelmek istemiyorum inan.

¹⁰⁷ Hakkı: Babamla iyi değilim. Artı eksi gibiyiz, zıtız. Benim hareketim ona yanlış gidiyor, onunki bana.

Emrah: I was going counter to my dad. This has diminished my enthusiasm for school. Besides, there was also a need for money, do you get it? I had a troubled relationship with my dad, so I had to work.¹⁰⁸

It is a matter of protecting the “immature youth” from the “thousand dangers in the street”. This kind of a dangerous perception of the street produced mainly by the parents, of course, has multiple sources: drug dealing, violence, street fights etc. Therefore, it can be argued that there is an intergenerational struggle between the youth and their parents. In other words, the street can be considered as a way of emancipation from parental authority.

According to the law, it is necessary to be eighteen years old to be regarded as an adult. However, being youth or adult is not about age, but about the social dynamics of the neighborhood in Şakirpaşa. For example, Doğan’s little brother, Efe, despite his age (he is thirteen years old), is hanging with older men, like the other “kids” in his age group. Or Hakkı who hangs with older guys even though he is eighteen years old and who told this as a qualification, an advantage.¹⁰⁹ Though he is thirteen years old, Efe says he wants to work, instead of studying, at his father’s mechanical workshop like his brother Doğan. Their father is a repairman. Doğan is working as a foreman and Efe, despite his little age, as an apprentice. He has decided to refuse to study and to work at the workshop, at the age when he should go to high school:

Ben: Why do you want to drop out school Efe?

Efe: Why should I keep study bro? It is boring. I cannot bear it. Besides, I am making money. I am fine at my father’s workshop.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁸ Emrah: Babamla baya zıt gidiyorduk o sıra, o da kaçırıldı hevesimi (okumak için). Bir de para lazım zaten, anlıyor musun? Babamla da aram açık olunca, mecbur çalışacağım.

¹⁰⁹ Hakkı: Valla dayı burada kendimden 40-50 yaş büyük adamlarla bile şakam var, muhabbetim var. (gülerek)

¹¹⁰ Ben: Neden peki bırakmak istiyorsun okulu Efe?

Efe: Ya ne okuyacağım abi, sıkıcı sıkıcı. Hiç uğraşamam. Ben paramı kazanıyorum valla. Babamın atölyede keyfîm yerinde.

Efe's case confirms what Doğan and Hakkı said. The children in the neighborhood cannot find anything in their surrounding that will increase their motivation to study. Studying is not, according to them, guaranteed to earn money and is also seen as a waste of time.

To sum up, education is one of the most important factors for the reproduction of social hierarchies. In principle, educational opportunities are equally open to all. However, urban poor youth have difficulty in accessing these opportunities due to their limitations. For most of the youth I interviewed, financial impossibility is the most important reason for dropping out of school. A primary school teacher also underlines this point¹¹¹. In addition, factors such as unsteady educational background, desire to have a job, earn their own money and stand on their own feet etc. are factors that play a part in dropping out of school. Low educational quality that is common in the friends' circles of youths is also reducing the sympathy towards school. Dropping out of school and starting to work quickly, referred as an individual preference by youths, can be considered as one of the surviving tactics of these youth. Some youths have also stated that they are not adequately supported by their families to continuing their education. For the poor families, education that will last to the university may require great investments and sacrifices. Therefore, parents may abandon this instinctively (habitus) by estimating the economic obstacles that would be encountered in this process.

4.1.3.4. Different Routes, Differentiating Habitus

It is important to emphasize an important point here. Actually, two trends are at work in the neighborhood that correspond to two different ways of living: on the one hand, some youngsters are willing to join drug dealing, delinquent careers etc. But on the other hand, for some of them, there is no effort towards the underground economy.

¹¹¹ Öğretmen: Burada az okula ilgisi çocukların. Aileler de çok ilgili değiller. Okula alınması gereken, derse getirilmesi gereken bir şey oluyor, çocuk alamıyor durumu yok diye. Çocuk da ilgisini kaybediyor. Biz de bunu göz önünde bulundurmaya çalışıyoruz mahallenin durumu, ailelerin durumunu. Çocukları okuldan çok sokak çekiyor. Görmüşsünüzdür siz de, uyuşturucu baya yaygın mahallede. Çocukları okuldan bunlar soğutuyor.

As I said, the line between the legality and illegality is so vague in Şakirpaşa: even if you are not at the center, you might be somehow at the edge. But, as far as I observed, some are closer to the center than others, or at the exact center. So, what could be the reason for this?

Based on my observations I can say that school and family are the main determinants of this. In other words, transition process from school to work has a very important impact at this point. It would be wrong to argue that there is only one type of youth in Şakirpaşa. This is a reductionist and a faulty approach. It is not possible to homogenize these youths. As far as I observed, subgroups can be distinguished according to the educational trajectory, working condition and parent's socio-economic condition. Thanks to the family's socio-economic status and educational background, in other words, thanks to the economic and cultural capital provided by the family and school, some young people can stay away from the street. In other words, street capital is not as important for them as the others. Access to the legal income-generating activities is a little easier for these youths. For them, it is possible to overcome the "site effects" of the neighborhood. It is even possible to move from the neighborhood. For example, my friend Mümtaz. Although he was born and raised in Şakirpaşa, his family's relatively good socio-economic position gave them a chance to move from the neighborhood, and then he got a chance to go to the university.

I want to illustrate this through three friends from the same neighborhood, but with different socio-economic backgrounds: Seyfi, Sefa and Cemal. Among these three friends, Sefa is the only one who is a university graduate. On the other hand, Seyfi dropped out after primary school and Cemal dropped out after secondary school. If we look at their working conditions: Sefa is working at the auto gallery, and his monthly salary is nearly 2000 liras with bonuses. On the other hand, Cemal who started to work as a turner, plumber etc. after leaving school has no regular income, but he does not earn more than the minimum wage and he does not have social security. He told me that sometimes he also has made money through drug dealing.

Perhaps the “richest” among them is Seyfi: he was only making money through drug dealing and sometimes through thieving. He said he could earn 100 liras a day, but not every day. Sefa has grown up with a relative prosperity stemming from his father’s job (he is a public servant), and this gave him a university diploma and a secure job. So, as his friend Mustafa said about him, “he likes to show, he likes to act, but he never has a life like that. He just likes to act like that.” In other words, Sefa knows the rules of exclusion in the neighborhood and acts accordingly. He knows that the relative “advantages” he has may have a negative influence in the eyes of his friends in the neighborhood. Maybe this is why he said this: “at eight a.m. I am beginning to play my second personality”. In short, Sefa is aware of the street capital he has to reach and behaves accordingly. Thanks to his parent’s relatively secure socio-economic condition, he had to chance to follow the “secure” path. On the other hand, Cemal and Seyfi had to leave the school to work. Cemal has had a chance to get a job and he is continuing on with that job. But Seyfi has been involved in directly drug business as his family has been involved in this business. Transition process from school to work is different for each of them, and it seems that the socio-economic situations of their families have an impact on this. Hence, considering the local dynamics of the neighborhood, their degree of involvement in illicit practices and local dynamics is also different. In other words, even if “street capital” is shaped with the local dynamics and material conditions of the neighborhood, not everyone in the neighborhood gets it in the same way. And everyone needs it at different degrees. Young people, such as Seyfi and Cemal, whose transition process from school to work is troublesome, tend to be more illegal to the extent that they lack the socio-economic means that can compensate their trouble. Young people like Sefa, whose transition process from school to work is “normal” are avoiding getting involved in illegal activities. In short, it seems that the way and degree of acquiring of street capital are highly related to transition process from school to work and socio-economic status of the family. The consequences of failing to acquire street capital are also not the same for everyone. Whereas youths like Sefa have the possibility to compensate it, youths like Seyfi might pay the slightest fault with their lives. Therefore, it is wrong to say that there is only one stereotype of neighborhood youth,

although there is not enough data to say that there are many different habitus in the neighborhood.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

This thesis has examined the strategies developed by young people living in the Şakirpaşa neighborhood of Adana to circumvent the conditions created by the prevailing socio-spatial stigmatization and economic exclusion. The study involves only the young men, based on the difficulty in gaining access to the everyday lives of women as a male researcher involved in this form of everyday life ethnography. This can be considered as a limitation of the study, given that the effects of exclusion and stigmatization in Şakirpaşa are experienced by women to the same degree as men. In addition to the socio-spatial stigmatization and exclusion experienced by all, women are also exposed to patriarchal pressure and offensive masculinity. In this regard, these mechanisms, which are not examined in this thesis, should be the subject of future studies. On the other hand, the reason for choosing young people for study is that the impacts of socio-spatial stigmatization and economic exclusion are much deeper and poignant in the lives of the young. Furthermore, the dramatic consequences of this process have a significant effect on young people, who are trapped between family, school, neighborhood, work and their concern for the future.

The second chapter provided an overview of socio-spatial stigmatization and economic exclusion in the West and in Turkey, in which the ghetto, underclass and subculture debate was important, especially when attempting to understand stigmatization and exclusion processes in Western cities. It should be noted that, even though it bears resemblances to the ghetto, *banlieue* and *favela* in, respectively, the United States, France and Brazil, the dynamics of socio-spatial exclusion (territorial stigmatization, economic precariousness, criminalization) in Turkey are “softer”. In other words, there is a *ghettoesque* form in Turkey, rather than a ghetto. It is true that socio-spatial stigmatization and exclusion are widespread, but an absolute ethnical-

racial exclusion-stigmatization process similar to that experienced by the *favela* residents in Brazil or by black people in the United States and France would appear not to be valid for Turkey, or it is a matter of controversy whether or not a subclass formation has formed in Turkey like it has in the ghettos in the United States. Nevertheless, these concepts may still be useful for understanding the transformation of the poor and the places of poverty in Turkey. The body of available literature contains studies that highlight the problems and “deviations” arising from the socio-economic transformation of cities, and among these, the studies that examine the effects of the socio-economic transformation of cities on young people are particularly significant. Furthermore, there have been a number of studies by Turkish authors examining the problems faced by the urban young that can be attributed to the socio-economic transformation of cities, and this thesis aims to contribute to this wealth of literature.

The migrations that occurred as a result of the industrialization policies of the state in the 1950s served to revive the cities in Turkey, although this, naturally, had an impact on the spatial and social structure of the cities, the most significant of which was the advent of *gecekondu*s. Residing in a *gecekondu* was initially regarded as acceptable, given the desperate need for accommodation for the workforce. However, this situation changed in the 1980s, and with it, the public perception of *gecekondu* dwellers, and it was the advent of the term *varoş* that served as a point of demarcation regarding this change. With, in particular, the forced migration from the Southeast, it became a common understanding among the public that urban problems had an ethnic character. The Kurds, in experiencing problems such as employment, unconformity, etc. in the cities to which they migrated, created a change in the socio-spatial structure of the cities, although it would be wrong to attribute this this phenomenon only to race, ethnicity or color. It was the intricate and complex relationship that exists between class and ethnicity in Turkey that could be blamed for the rise of this phenomenon in Turkey’s genuine historical conditions.

As a prototype of this process in Turkey, the focus of this thesis is Adana, where socio-spatial stigmatization can be observed clearly, and one specific neighborhood - Sakirpasa. The study has shown how Şakirpaşa, as well as Adana as a whole, started to grow and transform in the 1980s with the development of agro-industries after the 1950s. Adana and Şakirpaşa were a point of attraction both for Turkey's working population in the 1950s and the Kurdish population following the forced migration of the 1990s, and for this reason, the impacts of socio-spatial stigmatization and economic exclusion can be clearly observed. In short, Şakirpaşa can be considered *ghettoesque* in the context of Turkey.

In this thesis, the intention was to go beyond the two basic approaches to poverty, which, along with socio-spatial exclusion, is mostly reproduced through “romanticizing/dramatizing discourse” or “criminalizing/blaming discourse” in the media, academia, cinema and literature. So-called innocent romanticizing discourses exoticize or dramatize “sensitive” neighborhoods and their inhabitants with reference to some sort of culture of poverty or street, accepting poverty and related factors, such as crime, violence, delinquency, etc., as something to be expected. This approach looks at places of poverty with an exotic eye, or simply sees the “beauty” (purity, modesty, charity, honor, etc.) there. As a consequence of the perspective that considers the ghetto and its inhabitants to be merely victims of socio-economic mechanisms, this approach carries the risk of obscuring their agency and pushing them to passivity. Like romanticizing discourse, criminalizing discourse also considers poverty and delinquency in an essentialist and reductionist way. Being based on statistics and numbers, this approach can only reproduce “traditional moralistic biases and middle-class hostility” (Bourgois, 2003: 11). Unlike romanticizing discourse, criminalizing discourse does not use a language of “compassion”, but rather demonizes poverty and the poor. Rather than dealing with the source of the problem, it sees poverty and the poor to be the source of the problem, hiding the systematic and structural causes of poverty and delinquency, and the practices that develop under these conditions. In short, both of these approaches consider poverty, exclusion, crime and violence in essentialist, culturalist or

reductionist ways. By rejecting these approaches that make the voices of the young urban poor inaudible and experiences inexplicable, and by seeing these young people as actors who can grasp their environment and their lives, the intention in this study is to explain the meaning of these behaviors within the prevailing power relations and social structures.

The intention in this regard is to show that the young people of Şakirpaşa cannot be regarded as passive victims of socio-spatial and economic exclusion. Drawing upon previous theoretical approaches, this study makes use of de Certeau's tactic-strategy conceptualization and Bourdieu's conceptualization of habitus to show how the urban youth are active subjects that are trying to cope with exclusion. Throughout the course of the study, I have noticed that the material conditions in the neighborhood have led to the formation of a certain kind of spatial habitus. In other words, I have noticed that certain tactics have been developed to deal with these processes, leading to a certain type of capital to be acquired that I refer to as "street capital". So, what are the material conditions and constitutive components of such a neighborhood habitus and street capital?

The territorial stigmatization and economic exclusion observed during the field study can be considered the constitutive components of the neighborhood habitus. In other words, territorial stigmatization and economic exclusion, as material conditions of the neighborhood, are the two conditions that have a direct effect on the everyday lives of the neighborhood youth.

The Şakirpaşa neighborhood has been referred to as "dangerous", "insecure", etc. in mainstream and social media, similar to other stigmatized neighborhoods in Adana, and this would appear to be an obstacle for residents who are seeking a job outside the neighborhood. As a result of labeling, only a few residents are employed outside the neighborhood, except for in the nearby factories. Among the young people interviewed, only Sefa is employed outside Şakirpaşa, and hides the location of his home from his colleagues. In short, this situation restricts access to employment

opportunities. When this is considered together with the apathy towards school, it is apparent that the young people in the neighborhood struggle to find employment, except in local apprenticeships.

On this point, it would seem that the neighborhood has a dual role, on the one hand being a place of stigmatization, confinement and burden, while on the other, a place of belonging and protection. The neighborhood is the main arena of socialization for most young people, and they rarely leave their territory. Indeed, through everyday spatial practices, it becomes a symbol of the community, where all young people know each other and stand together against the “hostility” that comes from the “outside”. For the residents, the neighborhood is a protective enclave, being both a cage and a cocoon, although this creates a mismatch, an ambiguity between the inner realities and the outer dreams. The neighborhood is both a place to escape from and a place that provides a sense of belonging, and this form of ambiguity can also be found in the perception of the young residents towards school and work. On the one hand, school is considered to be the key to a better future, but it does not seem possible to achieve it; in the neighborhood conditions, school does not offer a future. In short, the precarious existence of the young residents complicates their perception of the neighborhood, work and school.

We need to open a parenthesis here for school. This is important to understand the strategies for coping with economic exclusion. It would appear that school does not offer a future for young people, being instead regarded as an obstacle to the acquisition of “street capital” and a barrier to earning money and being perceived as “a man”. This situation also brings about a deterioration in the family relationship, as parents, especially mothers, consider the “street” to be an obstacle preventing their child from attaining a safe future. It was observed during the field study that school was not deemed essential among the parents, who see the street to be a place of violence, crime, drugs and danger that threatens the welfare of their children. In short, studying is not necessary as long as they have a “legal” job. On the other side, the street is regarded as place of emancipation for young people, especially from paternal

authority and the police, but also a place of resistance, as demonstrated through car and motorcycle races, graffiti and different uses of the same places during the field study.

It is necessary to emphasize a further point here. No specific age group was specified for the study, in that, as Bourdieu points out, “youthfulness” and “adulthood” are processes that are shaped within the power relations in the field, rather than being biological concepts. For example, getting married and having a job can provide a teenaged with an “adult” status, and young people may be keen to leave the school and start working as soon as possible in order to be accepted as adults. This was certainly encountered in Şakirpaşa, and it can be said that being an adult contributes to street capital. For example, 13-year-old Efe and 17-year-old Hakkı gave more priority to earning money than school, and hanging around with older men was something to brag about for them. In this respect, the desire to be regarded as an adult can be considered as contributing to the apathy towards school. Being a student makes it difficult to be an adult in Şakirpaşa, in that there are no “inspirational” examples of “being a man by studying” in the neighborhood. Instead, there are others whom youngsters look up to. The big brother (*abi*) is the one who the youngsters regard as role model, a mentor, who may support themselves through illegal means, and this further explains the apathy towards school. The big brother, who passed along the same path as them, can give youngsters the chance to become rich and respected in the future, and the possibilities provided by the big brother are more attractive than those provided by parents and school.

Unemployment and unstable working conditions are the norm in the neighborhood, although this is not a “destiny”. Young people are looking for ways to change this situation, and look for different ways and tactics to earn money. As mentioned above, the big brother can provide this opportunity. So, how does he ensure this? This leads us to a very popular “economic activity” in the neighborhood: drug dealing.

Drug dealing is very common in the neighborhood, and is popular among the young people I spoke to as an “additional job”. Some of them, like Cemal, carried drugs for pocket money when they were unemployed, and others, like Seyfi and Gökhan, did this as a “profession”. In fact, the line between legal and illegal is vague in Şakirpaşa. Put it differently, life lived in the liminal space here, being neither completely illegal nor completely legal, or in Cemal’s words, “being not at the center, but at the edge”, aiming to maintain a balance between the two. It is not only the unemployed youngsters that lack stability who are involved in the drug business, as even the shopkeepers see the opportunities to “make a fast buck”. It is of course very risky, as there is always the possibility of being caught. For this reason, big brothers mostly use people who are under the age of 18. The youngsters make good money and the big brothers do not “pollute” their hands, and so both sides are “happy”. In fact, drug dealing is also seen as a “career path” in which one starts at the bottom, holding a bag at the corner of the neighborhood, and rises up the ladder to “ownership” of the corner. There are, of course, some necessities to provide this rising, some “laws of the street”.

As explained previously, the negative label attributed to a neighborhood in the form of a “bad reputation” can be detrimental to everyday life, especially when looking for a job, although there are also some “positive” sides to this. I refer to this as “making use of the label”, as a characteristic component of the street capital of the neighborhood. The young people in Şakirpaşa are able to transform this negative label to a positive trait, and use the negative labels that are attached to them tactically. What is seen as negative in the dominant public space may have symbolic power in the neighborhood, and it can be said that the reason for this is the desire to “look tough”. Why? As a component of the street capital, it seems that “looking tough” serves as a form of “protection” in the neighborhood that people “respect”. Being tough and menacing is an essential part of street capital, and is indispensable in inspiring fear, which makes it possible to defend oneself in the neighborhood. Stereotypic characteristics, such as being seen as troublesome or threatening, are used tactically to let people know to keep them away from them. In a dominated and

frustrated situation, a delinquent act can be seen as heroic, and projecting a dangerous image, ironically, may keep you away from trouble and being look like a stranger may cause a trouble. In Şakirpaşa, negative labels can bring prestige and protection. If your appearance is unfamiliar in mainstream society, it can be a source of status for you in Şakirpaşa. Such characteristic are also a prerequisite for climbing the ladder in the drug business, staying in the business, surviving, and earning more money and respect. However, in addition to this, there are of course those who are disturbed by the perception of those outside the neighborhood, which can be an obstacle to them, especially when looking for a job. In short, it would appear that a negative label applied to a neighborhood can operate in different forms, depending on the situation. The negative label of the neighborhood is something that should be avoided in some cases, and adopted in others. It seems that spatial habitus is the mechanism by which the youth manage the relationship between the choices of avoiding, adoption or resisting.

That said, it is necessary to maintain the right balance in the neighborhood, and as is written on the wall, you should *play good* rather than *be good*. Over-individualistic big brothers who openly despise many of their inferiors, or youngsters who misuse and abuse the power of the big brother, are thus banned from a friend group. Physical violence must correspond to certain norms if it is to be understood and accepted by the group, as misuse of violent and illicit practices may lead to punishment or expulsion from the group. Seyfi and Ali know of this all too well, as besides drug dealing, which is accepted, they are also thieves, which is an activity that is frowned upon in the neighborhood, and for this reason, Seyfi is not a popular person in his place of residence. In short, there are different “street rules” that determine the relationships between young people in the neighborhood.

This can be considered a form of “exclusionary socialization”, referring to the exclusionary counter-practices that these young people generate to distinguish themselves from “the exclusionary outside”. In using this term, I refer to the practices that give the youth social protection in the neighborhood, to the extent that he can

distinguish himself from a stranger from the outside and can gain more respect in the neighborhood. Marginalization is not experienced passively as something that is exposed, but actively as a counter-culture that supports a counter-identity that enables one to stay “tough” under harsh conditions, and that prevents one from being oppressed or dominated by others. In the case of young stigmatized people, their exclusionary socialization practices can be considered a form of identity protection.

To sum up, the findings of the study can be summarized as follows:

- Şakirpaşa is a cocoon and a cage for young people, and this situation creates a “distinction between inner realities and outer dreams”, and ambiguities towards school, the neighborhood and working life among young people in Şakirpaşa.
- Şakirpaşa is constructed from outside through negative stigmatization, although the neighborhood is also constructed from inside. In other words, stigmatization is not passively experienced, but actively confronted. There are two points of note here: firstly, there are options such as concealment or claiming residency in a different neighborhood to overcome the negative effects of the stigma; secondly, the “bad reputation” of the neighborhood is utilized within the neighborhood to project an image of “toughness”, which I refer to as “making use of the label”.
- The young people in the neighborhood do not consider poor job opportunities due to low levels of education and stigmatization as their “destiny”. In coming up with ways to cope with this, it would appear that illegal income-generating activities are important in this struggle.
- School does not offer a future for the youth in Şakirpaşa, and it is even considered to be an obstacle to earning money and “becoming a man”. Young people do not believe school offers opportunities to them due to their lack of cultural and economic capital.
- The future that the school cannot provide is provided by big brothers, who are role models to young people.

- Illegal income-generating activities (such as drug dealing, theft, peddling or gambling, etc.) are common in the neighborhood, with young people usually walking a tightrope between legality and illegality. Even those with a regular job may still carry out illegal activities, in that although there are risks involved, the economic returns are high.
- It cannot be said that the neighborhood contains a single youth profile, as not everyone is involved in the drug business, and many do their best to steer clear. On this issue, it was observed that the socio-economic status of the family and the educational background were influential. It can be concluded that young people who have greater access to economic and cultural capital through their families are better able to stay away from street capital.
- It is apparent that activities regarded as illegal or deviant, such as violence, delinquency, drug dealing, apathy towards school, etc., are in fact symptoms of the prevailing socio-spatial stigmatization and economic exclusion. Furthermore, they can also be considered as tactics that have been shaped by the material conditions of the neighborhood, rather than cultural or essential traits and that hide or ignore the systematic and structural causes of poverty, the lack of education, as well as the violence and delinquency. In other words, they are the necessary components of “street capital” that are required to cope with the socio-spatial stigmatization and economic exclusion.

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APPENDICES

A. INTERVIEWEE PROFILES

Name	Age	Hometown	Length of Stay in Şakirpaşa	Level of Education	Occupation	Criminal Record
Cemal	20	Şakirpaşa	20 years	secondary school drop out	repairman	Yes
Hakkı	17	Şakirpaşa	17 years	high school	apprentice at a workshop	No
Sefa	26	Şakirpaşa	26 years	two-year vocational high school	auto gallery	No
Ali	27	Mardin	24 years	secondary school drop out	no regular job	Yes
Süleyman	23	Mardin	23 years	high school drop out	repairman	No
Mustafa	24	Şakirpaşa	24years	two-year vocational high school	laborer	No
Emrah	26	Diyarbakır	26 years	high school drop out	laborer	No
Seyfi	22	Siirt	22 years	primary school drop out	no regular job	Yes
Doğan	21	Şakirpaşa	21 years	high school drop out	repairman	No
Emre	25	Şakirpaşa	25 years	high school drop out	apprentice at a workshop	No
Mesut	27	Siirt	27 years	high school drop out	no regular job	Yes
Turan	22	Şakirpaşa	22 years	high school graduate	laborer	No
Nadir	23	Şakirpaşa	23 years	vocational high school	apprentice at a workshop	Yes
Gökhan	26	Siirt	26 years	high school drop out	no regular job	Yes
Efe	13	Şakirpaşa	13 years	secondary school	part time apprentice at a workshop	No
Mehmet	24	Şakirpaşa	24 years	two-year vocational high school	no regular job	No
Özgür	18	Bingöl	18 years	secondary school drop out	no regular job	Yes
Sedat	19	Şakirpaşa	19 years	high school drop out	no regular job	Yes

B. TURKISH SUMMARY / TRKE ZET

Bu tezde, sosyo-mekansal damgalanma ve ekonomik dıřlanmamaya maruz kalan řakirpařalı genlerin bu srelerle bařa ıkmaya ynelik stratejilerini inceliyorum. Temel amacım, mahallede yařayan genlerin sosyo-mekansal damgalanma ve ekonomik dıřlanmanın yarattıęı kořullarla nasıl bařa ıktıęını gstermekti. alıřmada yalnızca gen erkekleri ele aldım. Bunun nedeni, erkek bir arařtırmacı olarak bylesi bir etnografik alıřmada, kadınların gndelik yařamına dahil olamayacaęım gereęiydi. Bu durum alıřmamın bir eksiklięi olarak grlebilir, ancak bilinli bırakılmıř bir eksikliktir. Mahallede dıřlanma ve damgalanma elbette kadınlar tarafından da deneyimleniyor. Ve onların bu deneyimi erkeklerin deneyiminden daha hafif deęil. Sosyo-mekansal damgalanma ve ekonomik dıřlanmaya ek olarak patriarkal baskı ve saldırgan erkeklikle de bařa ıkmaya alıřıyorlar. Dolayısıyla benim eksik bıraktıęım bu mekanizmaların da incelenmesi elzem. Dięer yandan, genleri sememin nedeni sosyo-mekansal damgalanma ve ekonomik dıřlanmanın etkilerinin onların hayatında daha derin ve daha yakıcı olması. Aile, okul, mahalle, iř ve gelecek kaygısı arasında sıkıřmıř genler iin bu sre ok daha sert geiyor.

İkinci blmde sosyo-mekansal damgalanma ve ekonomik dıřlanmanın Batı'da ve Trkiye'deki seyrine gz attım. Bu aıdan getto, sınıfaltı ve altkltr tartıřması, zellikle damgalanma ve dıřlanma srelerinin Batı řehirlerindeki etkilerini anlamak aısında nemliydi. Fakat Amerika, Fransa ya da Brezilya'daki getto, favela, banliy kořullarını andırırsa da sosyo-mekansal damgalanmanın (mekansal damgalanma, ekonomik gvencesizlik, sululařtırma) Trkiye'deki biimini daha "hafif" olduęu sylenebilir. Dięer bir deyiřle Trkiye'de gettodan ziyade *gettoesk* yerler olduęu sylenebilir. Sosyo-mekansal damgalanma ve ekonomik dıřlanmanın yaygın olduęu bir gerek, ancak Amerika ya da Fransa'daki siyahilerin veya Brezilya'daki favela sakinlerinin deneyimine benzer derin bir etnik ayrımcılık-dıřlanma olduęunu sylemek zor. Ya da Amerika menřeili bir kavram olan sınıfaltının Trkiye'deki

oluşumu tartışmalı. Yine de bu kavramlar Türkiye’de yoksulluğun ve yoksulluğun mekanlarının geçirdiği değişimi anlamak açısından faydalı olabilirler. Bu literatür içinde şehirlerin geçirdiği dönüşüme paralel olarak gelişen bazı problemleri ve “sapmaları” inceleyen çalışmalar da yapıldı. Bu çalışmalar içinde, şehirlerin geçirdiği sosyo-ekonomik dönüşümün gençler üzerindeki etkilerini inceleyen çalışmalar önemli bir yer tutuyor. Türkiye’de de bu açıdan gençlerin problemleri üzerine veya gençleri problem olarak gören çalışmalar yapıldı. Bu tez de bu literatüre bir katkı sunmaya çalışıyor.

1950’lerde sanayileşme politikalarına paralel gelişen kentleşme ve göç Türkiye’de şehirlerin mekansal ve sosyal dinamiklerini etkiledi. En önemli mekansal sorun gecekondulaşma sorunuydu. Gecekondular ilk başta, kente yeni gelen işgücü için barınma sorununu giderdiği ölçüde kabul edilebilirdiler. Fakat 1980’lerle birlikte değişen durum, gecekondular ve gecekonduların sakinleri üzerine olan algıyı da etkiledi. “Varoş” tabiri bu değişime işaret ediyor. 1990’larla birlikte varoş tabiri gecekondular ve sakinlerini nitelemek için kullanılmaya başlandı. Varoş yalnızca fiziksel bir niteleme olarak düşünülemez; daha ziyade, sembolik ve söylemsel bir şiddet aracı olarak düşünülmeli. Gecekonduların aksine, varoş tabiri gecekonduların sakinleri tarafından üretilmez, dışarıdan dayatılır. Yoksulların ve yoksulluk mekanlarının damgalanması ve kriminalize edilmesi de bu süreçle beraber gelişmiştir (Gönen, 2011). Bu dönemde kent yoksulları ve mekanları tehlikenin, suçun ve şiddetin kaynağı olarak görülmeye başlandı. Gecekonduları emek süreçlerine dahil etmeye çalışan önceki dönemin paternalistik söylemine karşın 1990’larla birlikte varoşlar bir artık gibi görülmeye başlandı (Özçetin, 2014: 52). Suç ve güvenlik politikaları, hiç şüphesiz, bu dönemde yeniden düzenlendi (Berksoy, 2007; Dölek 2011; Gönen, 2011). Özellikle Doğu ve Güneydoğu’ndan gelen zorunlu göçle birlikte kentlerdeki sorunların etnik bir karakteri olduğu fikri de gelişti. Göç ettikleri şehirlerde işsizlik, uyum vs. gibi sorunlar yaşayan Kürtler, şehirlerin sosyo-mekansal yapısını da biçimlendirdi. Fakat bu durumu yalnızca etnisite ile açıklamak eksik olur. Sınıf ve etnisite arasındaki kompleks ilişki, Türkiye’nin özgül koşullarında bu fenomeni şekillendirdi.

Bu sürecin bir yansıması olarak, sosyo-mekansal damgalanmanın en bariz olduğu şehirlerden birisi olan Adana'ya ve onun bir mahallesi olan Şakirpaşa'ya odaklanıyorum. Neden Adana? Öncelikle, Adana işsizlik ve yoksulluk oranlarının yüksek olduğu şehirlerden birisi. Suç ve hapse girme oranları da Türkiye ortalamasının üzerinde. Ayrıca, ana akım medyada hakkında üretilen haberlerle “kötü ün” sahibi olmuş bir şehir. Bunun yanında uyuşturucu kullanımı ve satışının çok yaygın olduğu bir yer. Bunun yanında, şehir fiziksel olarak da ikiye ayrılmış durumda: kuzey ve güney Adana. Yoksul ve fakir ayrımı şehrin bu iki yakası aracılığıyla çok net gözlemlenebiliyor. Kuzey Adana üst ve orta sınıfların ağırlık yaşadığı bir yerken, güney Adana daha çok kent yoksullarının kaldığı “damgalı” mahalleleri içeriyor. 1950’lerde tarıma dayalı sanayisi sayesinde gelişen Adana’nın, 1980’lerle birlikte bir değişim geçirdiğine şahit oluyoruz. Adana ve Şakirpaşa, hem 1950’lerde kırdan gelen işçi göçü için hem de 1990’larda yaşanan zorunlu göç için çekim merkezi olmuş. Güney Adana’daki Dağlıoğlu, Şakirpaşa, Kiremithane, Hürriyet gibi mahalleler bu göçler neticesinde kurulmuş yerler. Dolayısıyla sosyo-mekansal damgalanma ve ekonomik dışlanmanın etkileri Adana’da açıkça gözlenebiliyor. Bu mahallelerden birisi olan Şakirpaşa Türkiye’de gettoesk olarak nitelenebilecek yerlerden bir tanesi. Yukarıda kısaca anlattığım iki süreç, 1950’lerdeki kentleşme ve sanayileşme ile 1990’lardaki zorunlu göç, Şakirpaşa’nın sosyal dinamiklerini etkilemiş. Mahalle bir zamanlar fabrikalara yakınlığı ve istihdamın yüksekliği nedeniyle “küçük Almanya” olarak nitelendirilirken 1980’lerdeki neoliberal dönüşüme paralel olarak bu özelliği artık ortanda kalkmış durumda. Dolayısıyla artık yoğun bir işsizlik kol geziyor. Buna ek olarak, 1990’lardaki zorunlu göçle gelen Kürtler de mahallenin sosyal dinamiklerini etkilemiş.

Bu tezde, yoksulluğa yönelik iki temel yaklaşıma karşı çıkıyorum. Yoksulluk ve sosyo-mekansal dışlanma medyada, akademide, sinemada ya da edebiyatta çoğunlukla “romantize/dramatize edici” veya “kriminalize edici/suçlayıcı” söylemle üretiliyor. Sözde masum romantize edici söylem “hassas” mahalleleri bir

tür yoksulluk veya sokak kültürüne referansla egzotize ya da dramatize eder. Aslında yoksulluğu ve yoksulluğa bağlı suç, şiddet vs. gibi durumları verili ve doğal kabul eder. Bu yaklaşım yoksulluğa ve yoksulluğun mekanlarına egzotik bir gözle bakar ve oradaki “güzelliği” (saflık, kanaatkarlık, onur vs.) görür. Yoksulları sosyo-ekonomik mekanizmaların kurbanları olarak gören bu yaklaşım, neticede yoksulların eyleyciliğini yok saymak ve onları pasifize etmek riskini taşıyor. Benzer şekilde, kriminalize edici söylem de yoksulluğu özcü ve indirgemeci bir şekilde ele alıyor. Rakamlara ve istatistiklere dayanan bu tarz bir yaklaşım, yalnızca “geleneksel ahlakçı önyargıları ve orta-sınıf düşmanlığını” yeniden üretiyor (Bourgeois, 2003: 11). Ancak romantize edici yaklaşımın aksine, kriminalize edici söylem “şefkat” dilini kullanmıyor; yoksulluğun sorunlarıyla ilgilenmek yerine, sorun olarak yoksullarla ilgileniyor. Yoksulluğun, suçun ve bu koşullarda gelişen pratiklerin sistemik ve yapısal nedenlerini gizliyor. Kısacası, aşmaya çalıştığım her iki yaklaşım da yoksulluğu, dışlanmayı, suçu ve şiddeti özcü, indirgemeci, kültürelci bir şekilde ele alıyor. Kent yoksullarının sesini kısıtlayan ve deneyimlerini göz ardı eden bu yaklaşımları reddederek, bu gençleri kendi çevrelerini ve hayatlarını kavrayan aktörler olarak düşünerek eylemlerini güç ilişkileri ve sosyal yapı içinde kavramayı öneriyorum.

Bu tezde yapmaya çalıştığım şey, Şakirpaşa’daki gençlerin sosyo-mekansal damgalanma ve ekonomik dışlanma koşullarında pasif kurbanlar olmadığını göstermek. Bu noktada, Michel de Certeau ve Pierre Bourdieu’nün teorik yaklaşımlarından faydalaniyorum. De Certeau’nun “stratejiye karşı taktik” ve Bourdieu’nün “habitus” kavramsallaştırmasının, gençlerin bu süreçlerle başa çıkmaya çalışan aktörler olduğunu göstermek için faydalı kavramsal araçlar olduğunu düşünüyorum. “Stratejilere karşı taktikler” kavramsallaştırmasıyla de Certeau, gündelik hayatta ve kent mekanında işleyen iktidarın düzenleyici ve kontrol edici stratejilerine karşı gizli, kurnaz taktiklere işaret ediyor. Bu sayede zayıf olanın iktidar karşısında gücü ölçüsünde gerçekleştirdiği eyleyciliğine ve kabiliyetine vurgu yapıyor. Diğer yandan Bourdieu’yü mekansal habitusun açıklayıcılık potansiyelini anlamak için kullandım. Habitus ve sermaye kavramlarını kullanarak

mekanın, maddi bir koşul olarak, belli bir tür habitusun oluşumunda etkili olduğunu söylüyorum. Diğer bir deyişle, mekansal habitusun gündelik pratiklerin arkasındaki mantığı anlamada etkili olduğunu düşünüyorum. Bu tez bağlamında bunu Şakirpaşa'daki gençler üzerinden göstermeye çalışıyorum. Şakirpaşa'nın maddi koşullarının belli bir tür mekansal habitusun, tavırların, tutumların, stratejilerin gelişimini sağladığını söylüyorum; diğer bir deyişle, Şakirpaşa'daki “tehlikeli”, “hızlı” gençlerin sosyo-mekansal damgalanma ve ekonomik dışlanma koşullarında geliştirdikleri stratejiler olduğunu söylüyorum.

Bu noktada önemli olduğunu düşündüğüm bir kavramı devreye sokuyorum: “sokak sermayesi”. Sokak sermayesi Sandberg'in (2008), Bourdieu'nün teorik araçlarından yararlanarak ortaya attığı bir kavram. Bu kavramla Oslo'daki dışlanmış siyahi gençlerin geliştirdiği sosyal tutumları ve davranışları işaret ediyor. Sandberg'e göre sokak sermayesi marjinal koşullarda yaşayanların gündelik stratejilerini, aralarındaki ilişkileri belirleyen bir sermaye biçimi olarak işlev görüyor; bu koşullar altında yaşamayı sağlayan, edinilmesi gereken bir sermaye biçimi. Bunu bir tür ustalık, “sokak bilgeliği” (Anderson, 1992), getto koşullarında yaşamayı sağlayan bir “sokak sanatı” (Wacquant, 1990: 150), “sokak okuryazarlığı” (Cahill, 2000) olarak da düşünebiliriz. Kısacası, sosyo-mekansal damgalanma ve dışlanma ile başa çıkmaya yönelik kapasite olarak tanımlanabilir bu.

Bu kavramın dışlanmış ve damgalanmış mahallelerdeki mekansal habitusun önemli bir bileşeni olduğunu düşünüyorum. Örneğin Wacquant Amerikan siyahi gettolarında ortaya çıkmış bir sosyal tip olarak “dümenci” tipini, belli bir tür sermayenin cisimleşmesi, ete kemiğe bürünmesi olarak tanımlıyor (Wacquant, 1999). Bourgois da (2003) Amerikan Hispanik gettosundaki çalışmasında böylesi bir sermayenin mahalle koşullarında hem ekonomik (yeraltı ekonomisi) hem de sembolik (saygı) kazanımlar sağladığını gösteriyor. Veya Conteras (2016) da Salvador'daki çeteler üzerine yaptığı çalışmada şiddetin böylesi bir sermayenin önemli bileşenlerinden birisi olduğunu gösteriyor. Bu açıdan, dışlanmış ve damgalanmış mahallelerde, hakim kültürel, ekonomik ve sembolik sermaye biçimlerinden uzak yerlerde, farklı

bir tür sermaye biçiminin geliştiğini söyleyebiliriz. Mahallenin maddi koşullarını belirleye dışlanma ve damgalanma süreçleri böylesi bir sermayeyi edinmeyi şart kılıyor. Benzer şeylerin Şakirpaşa için de söylenebileceğini düşünüyorum ve bu tezde bunu göstermeye çalışıyorum.

Mekansal damgalanma ve ekonomik dışlanma, gözlemlediğim kadarıyla, mahalle habitusunun kurucu unsurları olarak karşımıza çıkıyor. Diğer bir deyişle, mekansal damgalanma ve ekonomik dışlanma, mahallenin maddi koşulları olarak, gençlerin gündelik yaşamlarını doğrudan etkileyen en önemli iki faktör.

Mahalle ana akım ve sosyal medyada “tehlikeli”, “güvensiz” vs. etiketleriyle üretiliyor, tıpkı Adana’nın diğer damgalı mahalleleri gibi. Bu durumun mahalle dışında iş arayışlarında bir engel teşkil ettiği görülüyor. Damgalanmanın bir sonucu olarak, çok az genç mahalle dışında çalışıyor. Görüştüğüm gençler arasında yalnızca Sefa mahalle dışında çalışıyordu. Ama o da mahalle dışında Şakirpaşa’da oturduğunu iş arkadaşlarından gizlediğini söylüyor. Kısacası bu durum, görüştüğü gençlerin anlattığı üzere, iş imkanlarını oldukça kısıtlıyor. Bu durumu okula yönelik ilgisizlikle birlikte düşündüğümüzde, bu gençler için mahalle dışında çok fazla iş imkanı olmadığı görülüyor.

Bu noktada, mahallenin ikili bir rolü olduğunu söyleyebilirim: mahalle bir yanda damgalamanın ve kapatılmanın mekanı, yani bir yük; diğer yandan ise aidiyetin ve korunmanın mekanı. Mahalle gençlerin çoğu için sosyalleşmenin mekanı. Mahalle dışına çok fazla çıkılmıyor, mahalle de her iş görülebiliyor. Gündelik mekansal pratiklerle mahalle bir topluluk simgesine dönüşüyor: herkes birbirini tanıyor, Şakirpaşalılık altında tüm gençler dışarıya karşı birleşiyor. Bu, mahalleyi dışarıya karşı bir sığınağa dönüştürüyor. Kısacası mahalle hem bir koza hem de bir kafes. Ancak bu içeride kurulan hayaller ve dışarıdaki gerçeklik arasında bir uyumsuzluk, bir çelişki yaratıyor. Mahalle hem kendisinden kaçılmak istenen bir yer (yarattığı sorunlar yüzünden) hem de ona kaçılan bir yer (bazı sorunlar karşısında). Benzer bir uyumsuzluk okula ve işe yönelik algıda da karşımıza çıkıyor. Okul hem iyi bir

geleceğin, daha çok para kazanmanın imkanı olarak görülüyor, ama mahalle koşullarında bu imkana erişmek imkansız addediliyor. Hatta mahallede koşullarında bir an önce para kazanmak için, “adam olmak” önünde bir engel olarak görülüyor. Kısacası istikrarsız koşullar okula, mahalleye ve işe yönelik algıyı da karmaşıklştırıyor.

Burada okul için bir parantez açmak gerekiyor. Bu, ekonomik dışlanma ile nasıl başa çıkıldığını anlamak için önemli. Okulun gençler için parlak bir gelecek sunmadığı anlaşılıyor. Aksine, bahsettiğim sokak sermayesine erişmenin önünde okul bir engel olarak beliriyor: bir an önce para kazanmak için, “adam olmak”... Bu durum gençlerin aileleriyle olan ilişkisini de etkiliyor. Aileler, özellikle anneler, sokağı güvenli bir geleceğe erişmenin önündeki engel olarak görüyorlar. Ancak gözlemlediğim kadarıyla okul onlar için de vazgeçilmez bir şey değil. Daha ziyade, çocuklarının suçun, şiddetin, uyuşturucunun merkezi olarak gördükleri sokaklardan uzak durması için okulu, okumayı ve düzenli bir işi önemsiyorlar. Dolayısıyla düzenli bir işleri oldukları ölçüde okul aileler için de önemsenmiyor. Diğer taraftan, sokak gençler için tabiri caizse bir özgürleşme alanı olarak beliriyor, özellikle babanın otoritesinden. Sokak yalnızca ailenin ve polisin otoritesinden kaçılan değil, aynı zamanda bunlara direnilen de bir yer. Bunu sokaklardaki araba ve motor yarışları, duvar yazıları ve bazı başka mekansal pratiklerle göstermeye çalıştım.

Burada bir noktayı daha belirtmem gerekiyor. Bu çalışmada belirli bir yaş grubuna odaklanmadım. Çünkü Bourdieu’nün de belirttiği üzere “gençlik” ve “yetişkinlik” biyolojik olmaktan ziyade alandaki güç ilişkileri içerisinde tanımlanan kavramlar. Örneğin, evlenmek, işe girmek bir gence yetişkinlik statüsü kazandırabilir. Hatta bazı gençler için okulu bırakmak, bir an önce işe girmek, yetişkinlik statüsüne erişmek için çok daha cazip olabilir. Şakirpaşa’da da bu durumla karşılaştım. Yetişkin olarak kabul görmek de bahsettiğim sokak sermayesinin bir parçası olarak işliyor. Örneğin, 13 yaşındaki Efe ve 17 yaşındaki hakkı para kazanmaya okuldan daha fazla önem veriyorlar; kendilerinden yaşça çok büyük adamlarla takılmalarını övünerek anlatıyorlar. Bu açıdan, yetişkin sayılma isteğinin okula yönelik ilgisizliği de

açıklayabileceğini düşünüyorum. Öğrenci olmak yetişkinliğe geçmeyi Şakirpaşa’da zorlaştırıyor. Mahallede örnek alınacak birisinin olmaması da okula yönelik ilgisizliği açıklayabilir. Mahallede “okuyarak adam olmuş”, iham verici neredeyse hiç kimse görülüyor. Bunun yerine gençlerin örnek aldığı, imrendiği başka birileri var: abiler. Abi, gençlerin kendilerine örnek olarak aldığı, tabiri caizse yol gösterici kişiler. Bu kişiler genellikle gayri meşru yollarla zenginleşmiş ve “saygı görmüş” kişiler. Gençler, kendilerinin geçtiği yoldan geçmiş ve paraya, saygıya kavuşmuş bu abiler gördükçe okula yönelik ilgilerini de kaybediyorlar; okul dışında zenginleşmenin bir alternatifi olduğunu abilerde öğreniyorlar. Kısacası abiler, aileden ve okuldan daha “cazip” bir gelecek imkanı sunabiliyor.

İşsizliğin ve güvencesiz çalışma koşullarının mahallenin maddi koşullarından olduğunu söylemiştim. Fakat bu gençler tarafından bir “kader” olarak kabul edilmiyor. Gençler, bazı başka gelir getirici faaliyetlerin peşine düşüyor, bu durumu değiştirmeye çalışıyor. Daha önce bahsettiğim gibi, abiler buna imkan sağlıyor. Peki abiler bunu nasıl sağlıyor? Bu soru bizi mahallede oldukça yaygın bir “ekonomik faaliyet” olarak torbacılığa götürüyor.

Torbacılık Şakirpaşa’da oldukça yaygın. Görüştüğüm gençler arasında da bu işle uğraşanlar, ek iş olarak yapanlar vardı. Cemal gibi bazıları bunu işsiz olduğu zamanlarda cep harçlığı olarak yapıyor, Seyfi ve Gökhan gibiler bunu tabiri caizse bir meslek olarak yapıyor. Aslında legallik ve illegallik arasındaki çizgi oldukça muğlak ve geçirgen Şakirpaşa’da. Diğer bir deyişle, hayat burada sınırda yaşanıyor: ne tam illegal ne de tam legal olmak, Cemal’in dediği gibi, “ortasında değil, kıyısında köşesinde dolanmak”; bu iki uç durum arasında bir denge tutturmak. Yalnızca işsiz, güvencesiz gençler değil bazı esnaflar bile bu işten “yolunu buluyor”. Çünkü kısa sürede oldukça iyi para kazanmayı sağlıyor. Tabi elbette oldukça riskli bir iş, yakalanma ihtimali her zaman yüksek. Bu yüzden abiler genellikle reşit olmayan gençleri kullanıyor, böylece hem abi kendi elini kirletmiyor hem de gençler para kazanıyor. Tabiri caizse iki taraf için de “kazan kazan” durumu oluyor. Aslında torbacılık bir “kariyer” sunuyor. Dipten başlayıp tepeye kadar çıkma imkanı var: bir

köşede torba tutmaktan, o torbayı tuttuğu köşenin sahibi olmaya giden yol... Elbette bu yükselişi sağlamak için bazı şartlar, “sokakların kuralları” var.

Mahallenin taşıdığı negatif etiket, “kötü şöhretinin” özellikle iş arama süreçlerinde olumsuzluk yarattığını söylemişim. Fakat bu durumun yarattığı bazı “olumlu” durumlar da var. Bu duruma ben “etiketi işletmek” diyorum. Bu, mahallenin bahsettiğim sokak sermayesini önemli bir boyutunu teşkil ediyor. Söylemeye çalıştığım, Şakirpaşa’daki gençler olumsuz etiket olumlu bir niteliğe dönüştürebiliyorlar, tabi elbette mahalle koşullarında. Olumsuz etiket taktiksel bir şekilde kullanabiliyorlar. Hakim ana akım medyada ve kentin kamusal alanında olumsuz olarak gözüken şeyler mahallede sembolik bir güç kazanıyor. Bunun nedeni olarak gençlerin “sert gözükmek” isteği söylenebilir. Peki neden? “Sert gözükmek”, mahallenin sokak sermayesinin bir bileşeni olarak, mahallede “koruma” sağlıyor. Sert ve tehditkar gözükmek, mahallede korku uyandırmak ve etrafında bir koruma kalkını yaratmak için, sokak sermayesinin önemli bir bileşeni olarak işliyor. Belalı, tehlikeli vs. gibi stereotiplerden türeyen imajlar tanınmak, bilinmek için mahallede taktiksel bir şekilde kullanılıyor. Tehditkar bir imaj yaratmak, ironik bir şekilde, mahallede beladan uzak tutabilir ve dışarıdan birisi gibi gözükmek dikkat çekebilir. Şakirpaşa’da olumsuz etiket, gençler arasında, prestijli gözükmeyi sağlayabiliyor. Fakat elbette bunun yanında mahallenin dışarıdaki algısından rahatsız olanlar da var. Bunun özellikle iş arayışında bir engel olduğu bariz. Dolayısıyla mahallenin taşıdığı olumsuz etiket farklı durumlarda farklı şekillerde işliyor. Bu etiket bazı durumlarda kaçınılması gereken, gizlenen bir şeyken bazı başka durumlarda, özellikle mahalle içerisinde, benimsenen ve kabul edilen bir şey olabiliyor. Mekansal habitus, gençlerin mahallenin bu imajından kaçınma ya da onu benimseme seçenekleri arasında tercih yapmalarını sağlayan mekanizma olarak işliyor.

Fakat mahallede doğru dengeyi tutturmak gerekiyor; duvar yazısında yazdığı gibi, *iyi olmak* değil *iyi oynamak* gerekiyor. Altlarını ezen abiler, ya da abisinin otoritesini suiistimal eden gençler dışlanabiliyor. Yani, otorite ve güç kabul edilmesi için belli normlara uymak zorunda. Aksi takdirde, bu faaliyetler dışlanmaya ve

cezalandırılmaya yol açabiliyor. Mesela Seyfi ve Ali buna örnek olarak gösterilebilir. Torbacılık gençler arasında kabul ediliyor, ancak hırsızlık böyle bir faaliyet değil ve bu yüzden Ali ve Seyfi bunun olumsuz etkilerini yaşıyor. Kısacası Şakirpaşa’da gençler arasındaki ilişkileri düzenleyen farklı “sokak kuralları” işliyor.

Bu aynı zamanda bir sosyalleşme biçimi ve buna “dışlayıcı sosyallik” demek istiyorum. Bu tabirle, gençlerin “dışlayıcı dışarıya” karşı geliştirdikleri, kendilerini dışarıdan ayıran kendi karşı-pratiklerini ve sosyalliklerini kastediyorum. Bu tabirle, diğer bir deyişle, gençlere mahallede sosyal bir koruma sağlayan sosyallığı kastediyorum: gençler kendilerini dışarıdan ayırabildikleri ölçüde mahalle içinde daha fazla kabul görebiliyor. Dışlanma pasif bir şekilde maruz kalınan bir şey olarak deneyimlenmiyor. Aksine, bu duruma aktif olarak dahil olunuyor. Dışlanma ve damgalanma koşullarında, dışlayıcı sosyallik aidiyeti koruma işlevi görüyor.

Toparlayacak olursak, çalışmanın bulgularını şu şekilde özetleyebilirim:

- Şakirpaşa gençler için hem bir kafes hem de bir koza. Bu durum, gençlerin anlam dünyasında okula, mahalleye, işe karşı, “içerinin gerçekleri ve dışarıya dair hayaller” arasında çelişik algılar üretiyor.
- Şakirpaşa dışarıdan olumsuz etiketlerle üretiliyor. Ancak mahalle içeriden de inşa ediliyor. Diğer bir deyişle, damgalanma pasif bir şekilde maruz kalınan bir süreç olarak deneyimlenmiyor, aktif olarak karşı koyuluyor. Burada iki nokta karşımıza çıkıyor: birincisi, iş arama sürçlerinde, bu olumsuz etiketle başa çıkmak için mahallenin ismini gizleme ve değiştirme gibi seçenekler üretiliyor; ikincisi, mahallenin “kötü ünü”, mahalle içinde gençler arasında sembolik değeri yüksek bir şeye dönüşüyor ve bu şekilde benimsenebiliyor, taktiksel bir kullanım kazanıyor. Ben buna “etiketi işletmek” diyorum.
- Düşük eğitim seviyesi ve sosyo-mekansal damgalanma neticesinde azalan iş imkanları “kader” olarak görülüp kabul edilmiyor gençler tarafından. Bu koşullar altında illegal gelir getirici faaliyetler birer alternatif olarak önem kazanıyor.

- Okul Şakirpaşa'daki gençlere bir gelecek sunmuyor. Gençler hem ekonomik sermayeleri hem de kültürel sermayelerini kısıtlılığı açısından okulu bir imkan olarak düşünmüyorlar. Hatta okul bir an önce para kazanmanın, “adam olmanın” önünde bir engel olarak düşünülüyor.
- Okulun sunamadığı bu geleceği ise gençlere örnek olan, gençlerin imrendiği abiler sağlıyor.
- Söylediğim gibi illegal gelir getirici faaliyetler mahallede oldukça yaygın. Fakat gençler legallik ve illegallik arasında bir sınırda bulunuyorlar. Düzenli bir işleri olsa bile bu tarz işleri halen sürdürebiliyorlar. Çünkü bu aktiviteler riskli olsalar bile oldukça iyi gelir getirebiliyor.
- Mahallede tek bir tip genç profili olduğunu iddia etmek hatalı olur. Mahallede herkes illegalliği bir alternatif olarak görmüyor. Bu yolu seçmeyen gençler de var. Gözlemlediğim kadarıyla bu durumda en önemli etken, ailenin sosyo-ekonomik koşulları ve eğitim seviyesi oluyor. Ailesi sayesinde ekonomik ve kültürel sermayeye erişimi daha kolay olan gençler, bahsettiğim sokak sermayesine ihtiyaç duymayabiliyor.
- İllegal ya da sapma olarak görülen şiddet, suç, agresiflik, uyuşturucu, okula ilgisizlik vs. gibi şeylerin aslında sosyo-mekansal damgalanma ve dışlanma koşullarının ürettiği semptomlar olduğu görülüyor. Bunları kültürel ve değişmez meziyetler olarak gören, sistemik ve yapısal nedenlerini göz ardı edip gizleyen indirgemeci yaklaşımları aksine tüm bunların sosyo-mekansal damgalanma ve dışlanma koşullarında gelişen stratejiler olduğu görülüyor. Diğer bir deyişle, mahallenin mekansal habitusunun ortaya çıkardığı stratejiler, mahalle koşullarında gelişmiş sokak sermayesini edinmeye yönelik pratikler oldukları anlaşılıyor.

C. TEZ FOTOKOPİSİ İZİN FORMU

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