LEAVING THE NEIGHBORHOOD FOR THE URBAN CENTER: YOUNG İZZETPAŞA ÇİFTLİĞİ RESIDENTS IN THE NEOLIBERAL URBAN ORDER

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Thesis Abstract

İnci Katırcı, "Leaving the Neighborhood for the Urban Center:
Young İzzetpaşa Çiftliği Residents in the Neoliberal Urban Order"

This study examines how the impact of neoliberalism is experienced by young *gecekondu* residents in Istanbul under the conditions of the changing urban economy and the restructuring of the city in accordance with neoliberal urbanism. The research was based primarily on interviews with a group of young residents from İzzetpaşa Çiftliği neighborhood in the vicinity of the central business district of Şişli.

The results of the study indicated that as the young *gecekondu* residents have to a large extent lost the channels through which their families could carve out a place in the city after the 1950s, they tried to negotiate their places in the neoliberal urban order through their relationship with different places in the city. The informants of this study who could integrate to the neoliberal urban economy from lower positions as low-wage workers in the service sector, tried to differentiate themselves from their neighborhood and from its unemployed young residents whom they viewed as losers in the neoliberal urban order. In order to secure better places in this order, they opted out from the public places in their neighborhood and gravitated to the urban center which has been reshaped under neoliberal urbanism. As they tried to negotiate their places in the neoliberal urban order by reorganizing their relationship with different urban places, they both manipulated the neoliberal consumerist ideal through their tactics of using consumption places as non-consumers and they reinforced this ideal in their attempts to differentiate themselves from the young people totally excluded from the neoliberal economy.

Tez Özeti

İnci Katırcı, "Mahalleden Ayrılıp Kent Merkezine Yönelmek: Neoliberal Kent Düzeninde Genç İzzetpaşa Çiftliği Sakinleri"

Bu çalışmada İstanbul'da genç gecekondu sakinlerinin değişen kent ekonomisi ve neoliberal şehircilik koşulları altında neoliberalizmin etkisini nasıl deneyimlediklerini inceledim. Araştırma temel olarak Şişli'nin merkezi ticaret alanının yakınında bulunan İzzetpaşa Çiftliği mahallesinden bir grup gençle yapılan mülakatlara dayanıyor.

Çalışmanın sonuçları, genç gecekondu sakinlerinin, ailelerinin 1950'lerden itibaren kentte kendilerine yer açmak için kullandıkları kanalları büyük oranda kaybettiklerini, bu durumda farklı kent mekânlarıyla kurdukları ilişkiler dolayımıyla neoliberal kent düzenindeki yerlerini müzakere etmeye çalıştıklarını gösterdi. Neoliberal kent ekonomisine düşük pozisyonlardan, hizmet sektörünün düşük ücretli işçileri olarak dahil olabilen bu gençler, kendilerini neoliberal kent düzeninde başarısızlık örneği olarak gördükleri mahallelerinden ve mahallenin işsiz gençlerinden ayrıştırmaya çalışıyorlar. Bu düzende daha iyi bir yer temin edebilmek için mahallelerinin kamusal alanlarından çekiliyorlar ve neoliberal kentçilikle yeniden şekillenen kent merkezine yöneliyorlar. Farklı kent mekanlarıyla kurdukları ilişkileri yeniden düzenleyerek neoliberal kent düzenindeki yerlerini müzakere ederken de, hem tüketim mekânlarını tüketici olmadan kullanma taktiğiyle neoliberal tüketim idealini büküp esnetiyorlar, hem de kendilerini neoliberal ekonomiden tamamen dışlanmış olan gençlerden ayrıştırma çabalarıyla bu neoliberal ideali pekiştiriyorlar.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In this thesis I examine how a group of young people living in a *gecekondu* neighborhood in Istanbul, namely İzzetpaşa Çiftliği, experience the impact of the neoliberalization of Istanbul. I study the experiences of young people as they are embedded in the changing urban economy and in the restructuring of the city under neoliberal urbanism. In making sense of the experiences of the informants, I contextualize them in the city by referring to the changing conditions for *gecekondu* populations since the 1980s, to their positions in the neoliberal urban economy and to their relations with different places shaped according to neoliberal urbanism.

Neoliberalism

According to Giroux (2004), the basic premise of neoliberalism is that the "market should be the organizing principle for all political, social, and economic decisions" which brings forward the condition that "everything becomes either for sale or plundered for profit," and collective life becomes organized around the modalities of privatization, deregulation, and commercialization (pp. xiii, xv). As stated by Harvey (2007), the signal features of the neoliberal project have been the corporatization, commodification, and

privatization of hitherto public assets; public utilities, social welfare provision and public institutions have been privatized to some degree under the neoliberal project (p. 35). He points to the redistributive aspect of neoliberalism as its main effect and argues that the state becomes a prime agent of redistributive policies which transfer assets, and channel wealth and income from the public and popular realms to the upper classes (p. 38). In this way, rather than revitalizing global capital accumulation, neoliberalism has succeeded in restoring class power (p. 29); in different countries, it has either restored class position to ruling elites, or created conditions for capitalist class formation (p. 34). The neoliberal project which carries the mentioned features has brought about major transformations in the political economy of Turkey which has been going through neoliberalization since the mid-1980s when the country joined economic globalization by means of government policies and the structural adjustment programs prepared by the IMF and World Bank.

Neoliberalization of Turkey

Ünay (2006) gives an account of the changing political economy of Turkey from the second half of the 1940s to the end of the 1980s from import-substituting developmentalist programs to neoliberalization. According to his account, over the course of the five years after the end of the Second World War, the economic sphere was gradually liberalized through a sharp reversal of state-led industrialization. After the Democrat Party came to power in 1950, the economy of the country was dominated by agricultural exports until the second half of the 1950s when the foreign exchange constraint resulted in pressures on the economy and the urban industrial bourgeoisie put

pressure on the government because of their discontent with the preferential treatment of agricultural interests. In the second half of the 1950s, the Democrat Party administration responded to these pressures and took measures to protect the endogenous and large-scale industrial bourgeoisie. Under the conditions of the 1960 military coup, the State Planning Organization was established and import-substituting industrialization was adopted as the paramount development strategy for two decades. After the military coup of 1980, import-substituting industrialization was discarded and "the critical transition to export promotion with substantial economic liberalization occurred in conjunction with the ascendance of neoliberalism as the new global orthodoxy of development" (p. 53).

Ünay states that the neoliberalization of Turkey was marked by privatization, trade liberalization, financial deregulation and reductions in public spending. The relative size of the public sector in manufacturing decreased and a more market friendly and open politico-economic environment was created which benefited the industrialists who could direct their operations towards export markets (p. 74).

This transition from state-sponsored developmentalism to free-market economy brought about substantial transformations in the economy and the social organization of Istanbul. According to Tuğal (2008), with the neoliberalization of the city, the construction and service industries became Istanbul's most dynamic sectors, the informal economy expanded, and formal manufacturing employment declined (p. 68). These transformations led to a sharp increase in the social polarization in the city with one small segment benefiting from the new dynamics of this system and the majority witnessing this new order without partaking in its material benefits (Tuğal, 2008; Keyder, 1999b). In

addition to these transformations in the economic realm, neoliberalism brought about a new organization of the city space.

Neoliberal Urbanism

Davis (2007) argues that neoliberalism brings "growing inequality among different cities and inside the cities themselves" (p. 21). The structural adjustment policies urged by IMF and the World Bank are especially "anti-urban;" they are devised to reverse any kind of "urban inclination" declared in the former welfare policies. The cities of the Third World countries have become the locus of poverty and inequality under these programs (pp. 186-188). This anti-urban inclination of neoliberalism is grounded in a fundamental turn in the way the city is conceived and the large scale restructuring grounded in this conception. As argued by Leitner, Sheppard, Sziarto and Maringanti (2007), in neoliberal urbanism the "city is conceptualized as an entrepreneurial city, directing all its energies to achieving economic success in competition with other cities" (p. 4). In this competitive environment, local governments take to different forms of local boosterism and the most important goal of urban policy becomes "mobilizing city space as an arena for market-oriented economic growth" (Mayer, 2007, p. 91). In accordance with these urban policies, cities are restructured under urban transformation projects which are defined as "creative destruction" by Harvey (2008). Harvey points to the class dimension of these projects and argues that "it is the poor, the underprivileged and those marginalized from political power that suffer first and foremost from this process" (p. 33). Istanbul has been

one of the cities which has been going through major neoliberal restructuring since the 1980s.

Urban Transformation in Istanbul

Bartu and Kolluoğlu (2008) study the restructuring of Istanbul as the result of neoliberal urbanism marked by

> a series of transformations in local governance, which have been enabled and legitimized through a set of legal changes wrapped in neoliberal language; implementation and planning of mega-projects; major changes in real-estate investments; and a new visibility and domination of the finance and service sectors in the city's economy and urbanscape (p. 12).

In this context, as the municipality law of 1984 rendered the local governments more powerful and enhanced their administrative and financial resources, a series of urban renewal projects were put into progress by the mayor of Istanbul Bedrettin Dalan in the late 1980s. With the enactment of different laws throughout the years, the power of the municipalities was gradually increased and they were granted the power to undertake major urban projects, "overriding the existing checks, controls, and regulations in the legal system" (pp. 12-14).

Gecekondu settlements were among the places which became targets of neoliberal restructuring. As stated by Bartu and Kolluoğlu, *gecekondu* neighborhoods are demolished and the residents are "dis/replaced" to public housing projects as a result of "Gecekondu Transformation Projects" and such dis/replacement projects may take the form of a displacement of poverty in urban space rather than the alleviation of poverty,

and may lead to the emergence of multiple layers of social exclusion and new forms of poverty for the dis/replaced *gecekondu* populations (pp. 26-27).

Besides the displacement of *gecekondu* neighborhoods, in global cities urban development is oriented towards the "new 'fantasy cities' where shopping, finance, real estate and general services shape a public space of consumption over production, of private over public spaces" and the new entertainment complexes privilege the affluent over those who do not fit (Roschelle and Wright, 2003, p. 154). This kind of urban transformation is grounded in privatization. Kohn (2004) describes privatization as the sale of state-owned assets to individuals or corporations and states that this process usually operates indirectly; "private ownership comes to predominate as commercial spaces such as shopping malls gradually replace public spaces such as town squares" (p. 4). According to her, most privately owned common spaces are part of profit-making ventures and are therefore treated as commodities (p. 5). With the increasing dominance of the finance and service sectors, the urban space in Istanbul went through a similar restructuring with the expansion of central business districts, large shopping malls, gated communities etc. and this restructuring resulted in changing conditions for different urban groups.

In this study, I focus on the changing conditions faced by a group of young *gecekondu* residents during the neoliberalization of the city. Living in a *gecekondu* neighborhood and being the children of migrants also shape the conditions under which these young people live. Hence, the history and the place of *gecekondu* settlements in the city, and the changing conditions for *gecekondu* populations of different vintages should be taken into consideration while contextualizing the informants in the city.

Gecekondu Settlements in Istanbul

The emergence of *gecekondu* settlements in Istanbul was initiated by the rapid industrialization in the city under the import-substituting industrialization programmes (Karpat, 2003; Pamuk, 1981; Tümertekin, 1997; Keyder, 1999; Şenyapılı, 1981, 2004; Tuğal, 2008). In this policy regime, *gecekondu* populations offered a source of cheap labor. *Gecekondu* populations were largely integrated to the urban economy as industrial laborers and they could benefit from a "comparatively generous social safety net" due to the "steady rise of real wages in the industrial sector between 1963 and 1976 as well as numerous laws improving social security and retirement provisions" (Ünay, 2006, p. 60). It was with the neoliberalization of the urban economy after 1980 that the majority of the *gecekondu* populations started to lose their jobs and the safety nets which helped them carve out a place in the city. As Erman (2001) points out, with the increasing migration to the cities and the changing occupational pattern, the lower-level jobs both in the public and private sectors, which once provided favorable employment opportunities for the *gecekondu* people, became very competitive. These transformations resulted in high unemployment rates and acute poverty among *gecekondu* populations (p. 987). Along with the worsening of the conditions for the *gecekondu* populations in the economic realm, these people came to be viewed as a "problem for the 'world-city' image" of Istanbul in the neoliberal era (Tuğal, 2008, p. 65).

While the neoliberal transformations resulted in harsher conditions for the majority of the *gecekondu* populations with the 1980s, some of the migrants who had

settled in the city in the 1950s and 1960s could grasp opportunities of upward mobility in the city. Işık and Pınarcıoğlu (2001) study the transfer of poverty from the earlier groups of migrants to the migrants of the post-1980 period as a result of the monopolization of the *gecekondu* areas and of the labor market by the migrant groups of earlier vintages, and they name this process "poverty by turns." In this study, I contextualize the young informants in the new urban order by considering both the resources acquired by their families in the process "poverty by turns" and the loss of specific resources due to the neoliberalization of the city.

As stated before, *gecekondu* neighborhoods have been subject to dis/replacement under urban restructuring but the neighborhood İzzetpaşa Çiftliği is not an immediate target of transformation projects. Yet, the impact of neoliberal urbanism is not limited to the dis/replaced populations. Even if they are not the immediate target of urban transformation like the dis/replaced populations, different populations integrate to the urban economy under the conditions of neoliberalization and they live and move in the urban space restructured in different ways in accordance with neoliberal urbanism.

İzzetpaşa Çiftliği is located in a central area in Istanbul unlike the majority of the *gecekondu* neighborhoods which are situated in the peripheries of the city. Even though İzzetpaşa Çiftliği is not an immediate target of transformation projects, it is situated in the vicinity of the central business district of Şişli which has been restructured in accordance with the neoliberal project of increasing the dominance of the finance and service sectors in the urban economy. This district is a finance, service and consumption center with various offices, stores and a large shopping center to which the young residents of İzzetpaşa Çiftliği can have access without taking any transportation vehicles. Inspite of

this quasi-accessibility of the center, these young people do not have enough material resources to consume the facilities offered in this center in exchange for money. Their integration to the neoliberal urban economy from lower positions limits their chances of appropriating urban centers. The basic focus of this thesis is studying the way young İzzetpaşa residents integrate to the neoliberal urban economy and to an urban center restructured in accordance with neoliberal urbanism.

I chose young people as the informants in this study on the grounds that they experience the neoliberalization of the city differently from the adults in their families. For many people, youth is the period when the course of their lives have not yet taken a definite shape, and compared to the adult members of their families, young people have quite limited material resources at their disposal for shaping their lives. Hence, they are more susceptible to the impact of neoliberal urban transformation. I argue that the repercussions of the neoliberal transformation will be rendered more discernable by studying young people, and this will also give us the chance for observing the novel responses of young people to these transformations. In addition, compared to the adult members of their families, young İzzetpaşa Çiftliği residents are more inclined to visit places which are designed for the upper classes. For this reason, studying youth will be informative about the way disadvantaged classes try to carve a place for themselves in the urban space restructured under neoliberal urbanism.

Research Question

The basic question of this study is under which conditions the young people living in a *gecekondu* neighborhood in the vicinity of an urban center integrate to the neoliberal urban economy and to the urban space shaped under this economy, and which kinds of practices they come up with in order to ameliorate these conditions. To answer this question, I study the changing circumstances for migrants with the neoliberalization of the economy and the restructuring of the city.

Informants of the Study

The core group of informants in this study consists of seven young people aged 23-24 living in İzzetpaşa Çiftliği neighborhood. The families of the informants migrated to Istanbul from different cities of the country and they have quite long histories in the city, some of which date back to the 1940s and 1950s. All the informants have grown up in this neighborhood and they have known each other since their childhood. Throughout the fieldwork of this study, I have seen these people quite a few times. I first met one of them, whom I will call Esra throughout the thesis, and I conducted a recorded interview with her. Then Esra introduced me to her friends. We conducted two recorded focus group interviews; the first one with Esra and two of her friends, the second one with Esra and three other friends. Then Esra introduced me to another friend of hers and we had an interview which I did not record. In the course of time I met every informant alone and conducted unrecorded interviews with them. As my relations with the informants took on

a friendly course, we started to meet and pass time outside the neighborhood, in Cevahir and Taksim. I also visited Esra a few times in the office where she works, and with two of the informants I once visited another informant in her working place. I also went to Esra's house once and met her mother and one of her brothers. Once I invited all of them to dinner at my house, five of the informants could attend but two of them could not. While I mostly draw on the data obtained in the conversations with this core group of informants, I also refer to the accounts given by different residents that I talked to; such as Esra's mother, one of her cousins, the elder sister of another informant, a 36 year-old man who was friends with some young male residents of the neighborhood, the headman of the neighborhood, some adult males from a village association in the neighborhood, and a few shopkeepers.

Organization of the Thesis

The thesis starts with some brief information about İzzetpaşa Çiftliği in the second chapter; where it is situated, how it got populated, and about the groups of people living there. Then I try to contextualize how it got populated in the 1940s-50s as a *gecekondu* neighborhood in the history of Istanbul. Considering the general connection between industrialization in the city, migration and the emergence of *gecekondu* areas, I study the emergence of İzzetpaşa Çiftliği in relation to the industrial activities in Bomonti. Then I focus on the location of the neighborhood in the city; as surrounded by Kuştepe and Kağıthane, two districts which also emerged as *gecekondu* neighborhoods, and Büyükdere Avenue in the central business district of Şişli.

In the third chapter, I aim to provide a framework for studying young İzzetpaşa Çiftliği residents by contextualizing the neighborhood and its residents in the history of the transformations in the city. I give an account of the changing conditions that the migrant residents faced in the city between the period of vast migration after the 1950s and the period of the neoliberalization of Istanbul in the 1980s. I first talk about the channels used by the migrant residents after the 1950s to carve out a place in the city. In this part I focus on the job opportunities available to the migrants in the burgeoning industrial sector and the informal relations they could mobilize. Then I give an account of how these channels started to fade out under the impact of the neoliberal transformations with the 1980s. I focus on the loss of industrial jobs with deindustrialization, the changing occupational pattern marked by a deepening gap between the well-paid positions in producers' services and the low-wage jobs, and the proliferation of informal economic activity as significant implications of the changing occupational patterns of the new neoliberal urban order. I point to how these neoliberal transformations result in tougher conditions and the loss of hopes for current *gecekondu* populations. The chapter concludes with an account of the current place of İzzetpaşa Çiftliği in the neoliberal urban order by contrasting it with the central business district of Şişli in its vicinity.

In the fourth chapter, I first discuss how to study the young İzzetpaşa residents by situating them in the social context in which they live. I start the discussion with an explanation of the concept of "common experience" as developed by Mannheim (1952) for studying generations, and I continue with the critique of this conceptualization leveled by the class-based approaches to youth. I follow the class-based approach and study the position of the young informants in the neoliberal urban order. By focusing especially on

their educational backgrounds, their occupations, the working conditions of these occupations, and the circumstances which force them to accept to work under these conditions, I try illustrate that the neoliberal urban order has deprived these young İzzetpaşa residents of the opportunities their parents had when they migrated to Istanbul. I study the conditions under which they live as the result of their integration to the neoliberal urban economy from lower positions.

The fifth chapter is consists of an analysis of the practices of young İzzetpaşa residents in city space and their thoughts about different places. I particularly focus on the way they consume the space of their neighborhood and Cevahir shopping center, located in the business district of Şişli. I analyze different factors which exclude them from these places and the demands they raise over these places in the face of their exclusion. I view their practices in these places and their thoughts about them as the reflection of the way they try to negotiate their position in the neoliberal urban order. I argue that the way they claim their rights on the consumption spaces shaped by neoliberal urbanism is a demonstration of their aspirations for better positions in this neoliberal urban order. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the burden shouldered by these young people in this process; the burden of ceaselessly differentiating themselves from their neighborhood which is taken to be an obstacle to their advancement in the new urban order, and from other young residents of the neighborhood who are taken to be the losers of this order. By studying the issues mentioned above, I try to analyze the responses of the young people from a *gecekondu* neighborhood -those young people who can integrate to the neoliberal urban economy only from lower positions and whose

neighborhood is not an immediate target of urban transformation- to the neoliberal transformations in the city.

Fig. 1. The map of İzzetpaşa Çiftliği neighborhood

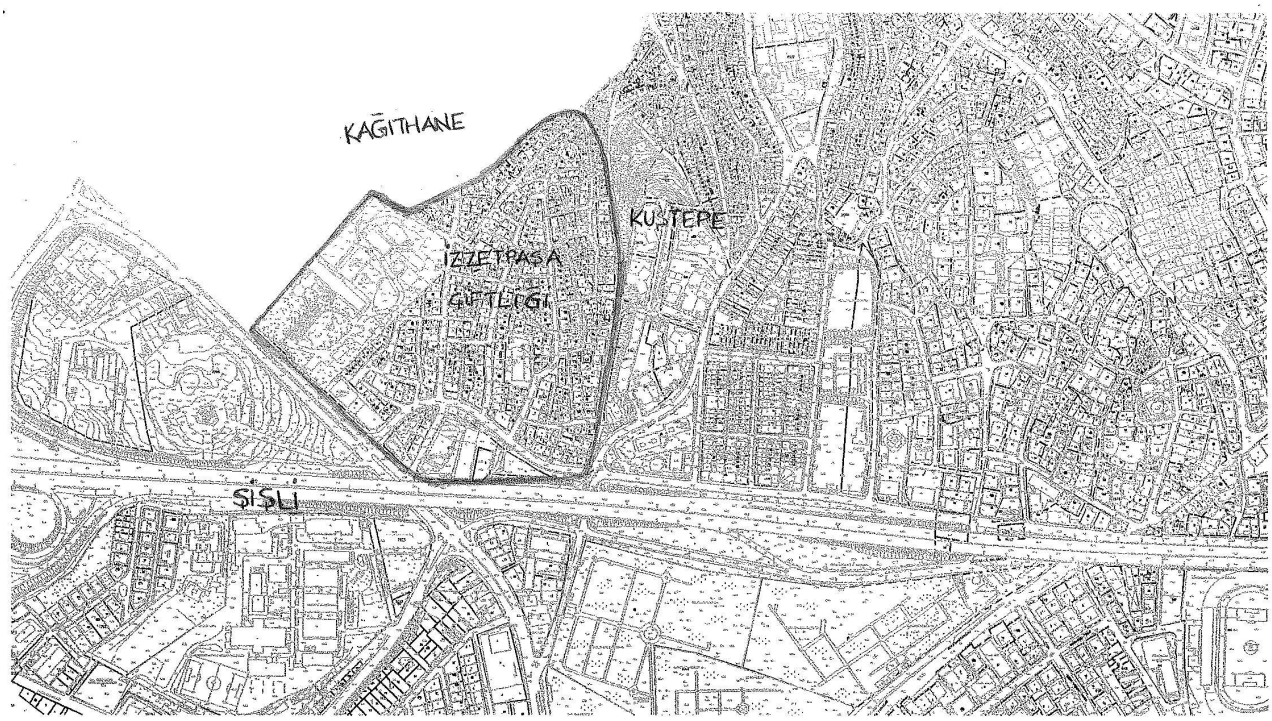

Fig. 2. The map of İzzetpaşa Çiftliği neighborhood and its vicinity

CHAPTER 2

INTRODUCING THE NEIGHBORHOOD

I will follow the way the residents call their neighborhood and refer to the neighborhood as "İzzetpaşa" instead of "İzzetpaşa Çiftliği." İzzetpaşa is a *gecekondu* neighborhood located in the municipality of Şişli. In this chapter I will briefly contextualize the neighborhood in the history of Istanbul. I will first give an account of the factors which initiated its construction as a *gecekondu* neighborhood and then I will talk about the changing population composition and spatial organization of İzzetpaşa through continuing migration. The chapter will conclude with some information about the districts surrounding the neighborhood.

A Brief History of the Neighborhood

Industrial activities and the industrial job opportunities intensified the volume of migration to Istanbul for a significant time. Studying the impact of industry on migration is of key importance for understanding how İzzetpaşa got populated as a *gecekondu* neighborhood and the conditions the migrants of the earlier periods faced in the city.

With the 1950s, one significant thing that the city had to offer the migrant population was the opportunity of employment. In the case of İzzetpaşa, a significant

portion of the migrants who settled in the neighborhood after the 1940s, and especially in the 1950s, were aware of the job opportunities offered to them by the factories and workshops in Bomonti and Merter. Current İzzetpaşa residents talk about the job opportunities in these industrial districts, especially in Bomonti, when they are asked about how the former residents made their living. The migrants who settled in İzzetpaşa could find jobs as industrial workers in Bomonti, which is in close proximity to the neighborhood. Studying Bomonti in terms of the job opportunities it provided to new migrants will help us to understand why a number of the migrants chose İzzetpaşa as the place of settlement and what kinds of conditions they encountered in the city. Here it should be noted that the industrialization in Bomonti was part of the citywide industrialization process under import substitution programmes and the way industrial job opportunities in Bomonti resulted in new *gecekondu* settlements in its vicinity was a local instance of the transformations taking place in the larger city space. First, the role of the growing industry in enhancing the extent of migration to Istanbul and in the construction of *gecekondu* areas will be mentioned, and then the specific case of Bomonti and İzzetpaşa will be studied.

Gecekondu Areas Emerging with Industrialization

While migration in Turkey before the 1950s originated primarily from outside the country and it was induced by political and cultural reasons, migration after the 1950s was substantially in the form of internal migration (Karpat, 2003, p. 113). Migration resulted mainly from the changing political economy of the country. Pamuk (1981) states

that after the Democrat Party came to power in 1950, strong emphasis was given to agricultural exports as the main mode of accumulation. However by the mid-1950s, a decline in the world market demand for raw materials and the decline in agricultural production in Turkey produced a foreign exchange crisis. As a response to this crisis, import substitution industrialization programs were implemented in order to resume the accumulation process (p. 27). As industrialization increased in different cities, these cities started to attract more migrants (Şenyapılı, 1981, p. 45). Istanbul was one of these cities which received mass migration due to rapid industrialization in the 1950s.

While the number of industrial enterprises in Istanbul made up 19.5% of the total number of industrial enterprises in the country in 1950, this ratio increased to 42.9% in 1964. The ratio of the number of industrial workers employed in Istanbul to the number of industrial workers employed throughout the country increased from 22.8% to 35% between the years 1950 and 1964 (Tümertekin, 1997, p. 42). These numbers illustrate the rapid and massive increase in the number of industrial workers in the city. Industrialization in the city was accompanied by a rapid increase in the population of the city. Comparing population increase rates for Istanbul and the whole country depicts the extent of migration to Istanbul.

Table 1. Population increase rates for Turkey and Istanbul between 1960 and 1975 (The table is obtained by combining two different tables taken from Tümertekin, 1997, 203).

Years	Population increase rate for Turkey %	Population increase rate for Istanbul %
1960-1965	13.1	21.8
1965-1970	13.4	31.6
1970-1975	13.0	29.3
1965-1975	28.1	70.1

It is apparent that the population increase rates for Istanbul were much higher than the nationwide population increase rates. The migrants of the period were largely incorporated into the economy of the city as cheap laborers employed in industry and the services sector. These migrants needed dwellings and *gecekondu* areas started to accommodate a major part of the migrants. Industrial areas started to be surrounded by *gecekondu* neighborhoods where the workers employed in these industrial areas and their families lived. By the beginning of the 1960s, the number of *gecekondu* residences made up 40% of the total residences in Istanbul and *gecekondu* populations made up 45% of the population (Karpat, 2003, p. 33).

The majority of the g*ecekondu* settlements were constructed in the vicinity of industrial areas which provided jobs to the *gecekondu* populations. Tümertekin (1997) states that since the industrial enterprises were dispersed throughout different parts of the city in nearly total disorderliness due to the lack of zoning, the construction of *gecekondu* settlements around the industrial areas resulted in an urban view colored by the intertwining of industrial enterprises, *gecekondu*s and planned luxurious residences (pp. 11, 19). Keyder (1999a) defines this panorama of Istanbul in the following way:

> (…) the jigsaw pattern of established private property, abandoned non-Muslim holdings, waqf land without claimants, former agricultural holdings, and above all various kinds of publicly owned land, translated to a similarly unpredictable intertwining of zoned and gecekondu settlements, resulting in a surprising juxtaposition of villas and expensive blocs of flats with shacks, even in the wealthiest neighborhoods of the city (p. 146).

In order to understand the position of İzzetpaşa in this context, some background information will be given about the industrial area of Bomonti and its impact on the emergence of new settlement areas.

Bomonti and the Construction of İzzetpaşa

Bomonti lies inside the borders of Şişli; the southern part of Bomonti is in the neighborhood of Cumhuriyet and its northern half is in the central district of Şişli. Bomonti is to the south of İzzetpaşa and between İzzetpaşa and Bomonti lies the central district of Şişli.

The Bomonti Beer Factory started production in Bomonti in 1892 as the first industrial enterprise of the area, and the number of industrial enterprises gradually increased. While industrial activities in Istanbul were scattered throughout nearly every part of the city in the 1960s and 1970s due to the failure in zoning, Bomonti represented one of the few industrial districts in which industrial activities took place in a concentrated area. In those years, Bomonti was the oldest and the densest of the urban industrial districts (Tümertekin, 1997, pp. 50, 67).

While between 1960 and 1965 Bomonti accommodated 114 industrial enterprises, in 1993 this number increased to 173 (Tümertekin, 1997, p. 17). In the 1970s many large

industrial establishments in Bomonti moved to the peripheries of the city. With the departure of large scale industrial enterprises for the peripheral areas of the city, and the moving of small scale establishments to the places which were vacated by these large establishments, the dominance of small scale industrial enterprises endured in Bomonti (Tümertekin, 1997, pp. 17-18). In terms of the number of workers employed by the industrial enterprises, Bomonti in the 1960s and 1970s was predominantly an agglomeration of small scale industrial enterprises which employed less than 20 workers. In 1965, 90% of those small scale industrial establishments that employed less than 20 workers were located in central districts of the city and Bomonti was one of these places along with Eminönü, Mercan, Yeşildirek and Tahtakale (Tümertekin, 1997, p. 51).

In the years that the industrial area of Bomonti started to develop, it was a peripheral industrial district. Until 1955, Bomonti was distant from residences, located in the periphery of the urban land, but it gradually got surrounded by residences, and industrial establishments increased in number after that time (Tümertekin, 1997, p. 117). While it could still be considered as a peripheral district in the 1960s, by the 1990s it was totally surrounded by residences, some of which were *gecekondu*s; Bomonti became one of the earliest urban industrial districts surrounded by *gecekondu*s (Tümertekin, 1997, pp. 17, 67-68). This phenomenon then spread to the peripheral parts of the city with the relocation of large scale industrial enterprises at the peripheries of urban land (Tümertekin, 1997, p. 53). Such *gecekondu* areas evolved as "quasi-autonomous towns" in which most urban functions, services and employment opportunities could be found; Istanbul could even be thought of as a conglomerate of such *gecekondu* districts with limited organic unity (Keyder, 1999a, p. 149).

The construction of *gecekondu*s around Bomonti began in 1956, accelerated after 1960, and by the 1970s Bomonti was surrounded by *gecekondu*s especially on the west and south. These *gecekondu* areas supported industrial activities in Bomonti as sources of cheap workers (Tümertekin, 1997, pp. 108-109, 112). The *gecekondu* areas which provided workers to Bomonti were built after the 1950s inside Kağıthane, Feriköy, Mecidiyeköy, Gültepe and Kuştepe. Except for Kağıthane, all these districts are located in Şişli, and between 1965 and 1975 the population of Şişli increased by 64% due to the influx of *gecekondu* residents. The highest share of this increase took place between 1960 and 1965 which was the period of intense migration; between these years Şişli's population increased by 48.8% (Tümertekin, 1997, pp. 205-206). As officially a part of Kuştepe neighborhood until 1972, İzzetpaşa was among the *gecekondu* areas which supplied large numbers of workers to the industrial establishments in Bomonti. In terms of the cities they migrated from, the workers of Bomonti and the residents of İzzetpaşa showed a similar pattern. In the 1960s, the workers in Bomonti could be divided into three groups according to their place of origin; those coming from Ordu and Rize and other cities of the Eastern Black Sea region, those coming from the cities of Eastern Anatolia like Sivas, Erzurum and Erzincan, and those migrants from Yugoslavia (Tümertekin, 1997, p. 124). Except for the workers from Yugoslavia, the groups of workers employed in Bomonti in the 1960s were similar to the groups who settled in İzzetpaşa at that time. Large numbers of workers living in İzzetpaşa were employed in Bomonti, and accordingly, residents of İzzetpaşa and the workers of Bomonti converged in terms of the cities they migrated from.

In this part I tried to contextualize the construction of İzzetpaşa in the industrialization of the city and the emergence of *gecekondu* settlements around the industrial areas. As a source of industrial jobs, the proximity of the industrial zone of Bomonti was a crucial factor in the construction of İzzetpaşa on the piece of land on which it is situated now.

Changing Patterns in the Organization of İzzetpaşa

As said before, İzzetpaşa is located in Şişli and the nearby districts that encircle the neighborhood are Kuştepe to the east, the center of Şişli to the south and southwest, and Kağıthane to the west and north of the neighborhood. The highway E-5 separates İzzetpaşa and the center of Şişli from above on the southern end of the neighborhood.

İzzetpaşa was formally declared to be a neighborhood[1] with its own neighborhood office (*muhtarlık*) in 1972. Before this date the neighborhood was a part of Kuştepe.

As told by the headman of the neighborhood (*muhtar*), in the Ottoman years, the land of the neighborhood was used as agricultural land to grow vegetables and produce dairy products by some Albanian subjects. While neither the headman nor the other informants gave any clear information about how the land was used and how it was populated during that time, they stated that the land was still agricultural land until the 1940s and 1950s. As Keyder (1999a) notes, until the 1950s Istanbul had always been a

[1] Article 3 of the Municipality Law no. 5272 describes neighborhood (or quarter) as the administrative unit in the borders of the municipality, whose common priorities and needs have similarities and whose people have neighborly relations with each other.
http://www.cevreselgurultu.cevreorman.gov.tr/dosya/legislation/Turkish_legislation/english_version/Municipality_Law_No.5272,_2004.pdf

noncompact and sparsely populated city. Between the 1920s and 1945 the population of the city remained stable and during that period large areas of garden plots or dairy farms were interspersed within the urban fabric (p. 145). Along with the neighborhoods of Fulya and Feriköy in its vicinity, İzzetpaşa was one such farm land and the neighborhood was named İzzetpaşa "Çiftliği" ("Farmland" of İzzetpaşa) for this reason. In the website of Şişli Municipality, the name "İzzet Paşa" is explained to come from Keçeci İzzet Paşa, a known bureaucrat who lived between 1860 and 1925 and who was also in charge of the Madrid Embassy. The headman of the neighborhood says that İzzet Paşa was employed by the Ottoman State to fulfill missions similar to those of the municipal police now; he was responsible for sustaining order in İzzetpaşa.

İzzetpaşa became a *gecekondu* neighborhood with the settlement of migrants coming from different parts of the country from the 1940s on and the number of its residents gradually increased. In the website of Şişli Municipality the population of İzzetpaşa Çiftliği is declared to be 5846 in the year 1990; 7199 in 1997; 7402 in 2000 and 8341 in 2008. But the headman of İzzetpaşa, who has been in charge of the office since 1999, declares the current registered population as about 12500 and says that the population is sure to reach 15000 if the unregistered residents are added to that number.

In order to contextualize the population increase in İzzetpaşa, especially with the 1950s, it will help to have a brief look at the population changes Istanbul went through in this period.

As Tümertekin (1997) notes, Istanbul carried out its activities in some specific limited pieces of land for long periods of time; even in 1960 the city was not spread out on a large area. Inside the city borders, there were large unsettled areas among

settlements (p. 15). This settlement pattern in the city space went through a considerable change due to the vast migration Istanbul received; among the population of Istanbul, the residents who were not born in Istanbul reached a ratio of 57.6% in 1960 and 59.6% in 1965 (p. 238). Between the years 1960 and 1965, among the residents of Istanbul who were born in other cities, those who came from the Black Sea and Eastern Anatolia regions made up the majority. Those who were born in Kastamonu, Sivas and Giresun respectively made up the most crowded groups. While their order of share changed between the years 1960 and 1965, Trabzon, Rize and Erzincan were the next three cities which gave the highest share of migrants to Istanbul (pp. 239-240). Continually receiving growing numbers of migrants, Istanbul's population increased from over one million in 1950 to three million in 1970, four million in 1975, six million in 1985, nine million in 1995, and more than eleven million in 2004 (Keyder, 1999a, p. 146). At the moment, Istanbul is counted to be a Third World megacity which accommodated a population of over 11.1 million people in 2004 (Davis, 2007, p. 18).

This population explosion that took place in Istanbul in the second half of the twentieth century is a local instance of the worldwide increase of urban population in the same period. Davis (2007) states that, compared to the population increase in the cities, rural population increase had nearly no share in the increasing population of the world. The major part of this population increase in the urban areas took place in the cities of Third World countries and this phenomenon will boom in the following decades; the world population is estimated to reach 10 billion in 2050 and 95% of this increase will take place in the cities of the Third World countries (p. 16).

One of the most vital issues that emerged with this influx of migrants to the Third World cities has been that of housing. As stated by Davis (2007), the formal housing market could provide only a little more than 20 percent of the new housing supply, hence people were obliged to build shanty towns, settle in informally rented houses, and seize land and pavements (p. 32). After 1970, the highest increase in urban population took place in the shanty towns in the peripheries of the Third World countries; while slum dwellers make up only 6 percent of the urban population in developed countries, this ratio corresponds to 78 percent of the urban population in Third World countries, which makes up three quarters of the global urban population (pp. 54, 39). Similar to the pattern in the most crowded cities of other Third World countries, informal housing has been the recourse to absorb the vast wave of migrants in Istanbul. The population explosion from one million to about ten million during the second half of the twentieth century has been possible primarily because of the expansion of illegal housing (Keyder, 1999a, p. 144).

The population increase in İzzetpaşa went parallel with the general trend of population increase that took place throughout Istanbul in the same period. İzzetpaşa had started receiving migrants from the 1940s on but migration to the area accelerated after 1950, the period when a sharp increase was observed in Istanbul's population. İzzetpaşa became one of those settlement areas which accommodated the migrant population in the *gecekondu*s they themselves built. The current population of the neighborhood is mostly composed of the descendants of the migrants who settled in the area from the 1940s on. Those who settled in the neighborhood were born in cities from which came the majority of the migrants to Istanbul; the most crowded groups living in İzzetpaşa are those who came from Rize, Erzincan, Ordu, Trabzon, Giresun, Sivas and Erzurum. With the 1940s,

İzzetpaşa started to be populated by these migrants coming from the northeastern parts of the country. As stated by the current residents, these newcomers were usually adult males who started to work in the textile industry sector, especially in Bomonti, and migration continued as chain migration with the coming of mostly these migrants' brothers first and then the rest of their families. The residents differentiate three migrant groups while talking about the current population of the neighborhood. First they refer to people who came from the cities located on the northeastern and eastern parts of the country from the 1940s on. Then they refer to Roman people who migrated to the neighborhood from Beyoğlu and Tarlabaşı with the demolition and reconstruction of these areas. These people are said to have migrated to the neighborhood from the 1980s on. And the last group differentiated by the residents are Kurdish people migrating to İzzetpaşa from the southeastern parts of the country from the 1990s on. Current migration to the neighborhood is said to be composed mostly of the people coming from Batman, Siirt and Mardin.

The physical make-up of İzzetpaşa shows a basic pattern such that the physical quality of the buildings in the neighborhood decreases as one goes from the southern end of the neighborhood which faces Şişli to the northern end which lies towards the Kağıthane Stream. In the neighborhood, the most basic spatial organization of residence that attracts attention is that Roman residents live in the northern end of İzzetpaşa, towards Kağıthane, in shanty houses of poor construction while other residents are dispersed through the remaining parts of the neighborhood. The neighborhood falls on a slope and the southern end of the neighborhood is on the higher part of the slope while the northern parts of İzzetpaşa are on the lower end. Residents use the phrases "up the

neighborhood" and "down the neighborhood" while referring to the southern part and the northern part of the neighborhood respectively. While the words "up" and "down" define a physical quality in terms of the altitude of regions in İzzetpaşa, these words also refer to a social stratification in the neighborhood. When asked to talk about their neighborhood, many residents represent their neighborhood in such a way that "down the neighborhood" stands for intensive poverty, criminality, high levels of ignorance and illiteracy, unplanned and unstructured settlement, while "up the neighborhood" stands for not the "opposite," but "less" of these attributions; the southern regions of the neighborhood, in order words "up the neighborhood," is described as being in between the destitute, criminal, unplanned and insecure northern end of İzzetpaşa and the wealthy, "modern," planned, and secure central region of Şişli. In the minds of the residents whom I talked to, "down the neighborhood" was positioned opposite the center of Şişli, and "up the neighborhood" stood in between. In order to understand how such spatial differentiations emerged in the neighborhood, it will help to follow how various aspects of migration changed in different time periods. Some basic properties of migration to the larger city space of Istanbul in different time periods will be informative for keeping track of the migration İzzetpaşa received in time. In the case of the migration Istanbul received, one significant aspect of the differentiation between migration periods is the location of *gecekondu* areas in the city space.

Following 1945, *gecekondu*s were first built in the empty spaces within the inhabited city, but as the potential supply of this inner-city land could not satisfy the accommodation needs of the vast wave of migrants and as the squatters did not find it desirable to be too much in the public eye, *gecekondu* settlements began to expand to the

public land in the immediate perimeter of the settled area (Keyder, 1999a, p. 146). Gradually, new *gecekondu* settlements moved to the outer skirts of the urban land.

In Istanbul, another aspect of differentiation among the migrants of different periods has been the motivation of migration. Migration to Istanbul was initiated by different factors, and the conditions under which migrants settled in Istanbul were quite dissimilar in the 1960s-70s and the 1980s-90s. As Keyder (1999a) points out, the migrants of the 1960s and 1970s were attracted by what the city had to offer while those of the 1980s and 1990s were driven out of their habitats by economic and political crises. The migrants of the 1980s and 1990s arrived in Istanbul destitute and with hardly any connection to their villages from which they could expect no starting assistance. Since they did not have the chance to occupy and build on public land independently, they could live only in modest dwellings. In Keyder's words, "(a)ccordingly, the current transformation in shantytowns, as population density increases, is in the nature of a peripheral slummification" (pp. 156-157). Gradually, new *gecekondu* areas moved to the peripheries of the city and these settlements began to be built under poorer conditions and they turned into slums due to the inadequate resources of the new squatters and the loss of the opportunities the city offered to these people.

In the case of İzzetpaşa, for those who settled in the area before the 1980s and for those who settled after that time, the spatial organization of residence shows differences parallel to those that took place in the larger city space. İzzetpaşa residents who settled in the neighborhood after the 1950s had better opportunities in terms of securing a dwelling compared to those residents who settled in the neighborhood in the 1980s and after. By the word "secure" it is not meant that the residents could easily have their dwellings

secured by law; on the contrary, acquiring the right of possession on the residences they dwell in has been a long and tough process for İzzetpaşa residents, and even though many could get their titles in time, these titles do not exactly secure the right of possession on the flats they live in.

It was with the enactment of the *gecekondu* law in 1966 that the residents of İzzetpaşa started to claim legal right on their houses. This was the first law on *gecekondu* areas. In Ptáčková's words, this law

> legalized the already existing gecekondu areas and proposed a set of measures intended to address the issues connected with these areas. Those gecekondu areas which were in a relatively good condition were to be transformed into regular urban neighborhoods. The necessary infrastructure and services were to be built into them. The unsatisfactory gecekondus were to be demolished.

After the enactment of this law, residents formed *İzzetpaşa Cemiyeti* ("The Community of İzzetpaşa") to take action in order to gain the proper titles on the land of their houses. With the support of *İzzetpaşa Cemiyeti*, about 40 people from İzzetpaşa took part in a court case to claim the right of possession on the land of their homes, and then the number of people who became involved in the case reached about 250. In 1983, amnesties started to be granted to *gecekondu*s. From 1983 to 1985 many residents of İzzetpaşa could get title assignment documents (*tapu tahsis belgesi*). As opposed to the actual title, a title assignment document does not qualify as the absolute right of possession on the real estate; it rather defines *de facto* occupation of the estate and assigns personal right to the relevant person. In order to acquire the actual title for the estate with the title assignment document, a construction plan must be applied to the land in question. Title assignment documents started to be given while amnesties were granted

to *gecekondu* owners. These documents somehow helped to carry the *gecekondu*s into the system of law by defining the current situation of *gecekondu*s as a period of transition from informality to formality. The title assignment documents would serve as the basis for the proper titles the persons would acquire after the construction plans were applied on the land of their estates.

The headman of İzzetpaşa asserts that now most of the residents have title assignment documents rather than proper titles and there are only a small number of people with proper titles who obtained them in 1989 and after 2003. These proper titles and title assignment documents are for the ownership of the land on which the buildings are constructed rather than for each apartment flat in the building. This vagueness in the property rights designates the requirements of maintaining relationships of patronage. Keyder (1999a) defines this relationship in the following way:

> If patronage were to remain an effective mechanism, the rules of allocation of public land, and the dispensation of public services to new settlements, had to be deliberately left vague. A simple distribution or allocation on the basis of an advertised rule would preclude the striking of particularistic deals through which a politician could emerge as the patron of a newly urbanized group (p. 147).

The uncertainties in the entire process of land occupation and allocation continued after a house was built (Keyder, 1999a, p. 148). The fact that the title assignment documents and the titles indicate *de facto* ownership of the land of the buildings rather than of each flat in the building illustrates the continuity of this uncertainty. Under these conditions, by saying that the residents who moved to the neighborhood after the 1950s had better opportunities in terms of securing a dwelling compared to those who settled after 1980, I do not mean that the position of their homes are absolutely secure, rather I mean that the

former residents could appropriate land and build their own houses, they could get the title assignment documents, by negotiating with the authorities many could develop their poorly constructed houses into multistorey apartments, and many could even acquire income by renting out flats in their apartments to newcomers. With the help of job opportunities in Istanbul and the assistance they obtained from their kin still living in the cities they had left, many migrants of the early periods could somehow make their way in the city compared to those who came in the 1980s. An "upward" physical mobility of residence took place for some who could raise their standard of living; they moved from the northern parts of the neighborhood by Kağıthane to the southern parts towards the central district of Şişli. Some left their homes on the northern side of İzzetpaşa and bought poorly constructed houses in the southern parts and demolished them in order to build an apartments.

In İzzetpaşa, a local instance of "peripheral slummification" took place inside the neighborhood. The Roman people who started to migrate to the neighborhood in the 1980s now live in the poorly constructed slumlike dwellings located in the northern region of the neighborhood by Kağıthane. When these people arrived in the neighborhood, most of the neighborhood had already been filled by houses built by residents who had migrated earlier. Roman migrants then built their homes "down the neighborhood" and it is easy to presume that the prejudice and the reaction of the former migrants towards them and the inadequate resources they had were important factors that compelled them to build poor constructions at the northern end of İzzetpaşa. Lying towards the center of Şişli, the southern end of İzzetpaşa turned into the "center" of the

neighborhood while the northern end became the periphery where slummification occurred.

While the Roman residents of İzzetpaşa living in the slumlike dwellings of the northern end are one group of migrants who came to the neighborhood a lot more disadvantaged compared to the former residents, another disadvantaged group has been the Kurdish migrants coming to the neighborhood from the southeastern regions of the country in the 1990s. Forced to vacate their villages by the military, these people came to Istanbul with no assistance and with inadequate resources. According to Erder (1997), forced migration of the Kurdish people is viewed as the continuation of voluntary migration and there are no formal regulations to help the migrants settle in the city and set their lives; those who work in relevant institutions can help the new migrants only "informally" by using "individual" initiative. In addition, forced migrants are viewed as "untrustworthy" and they have difficulties in establishing neighborly relationships and relationships of localism (pp. 152-154). Erman (2001) points to the social and political discrimination aimed at Kurdish migrants and states that as a result, "they have created their own communities, usually in the most disadvantaged locations, and have ended up with impoverished lives and social stigma" (p. 988). Along with such difficulties, since they had no chance of building houses in the neighborhood, which had already been filled with apartments built by former squatters, the Kurdish migrants of İzzetpaşa could only settle in the neighborhood as tenants of the apartment owners. As opposed to the residents whose history in the neighborhood goes back to the 1940s-50s and who could own their houses, these Kurdish migrants of the post-1980 period can keep on living in the neighborhood only as long as they can afford to pay the rent of their homes. Without

the security of owning the house in which they live, and with the economic troubles they face due to the loss of jobs in the city, a good number of these tenants move to other parts of the city where they find it more affordable to live. With different tenants moving in and out of apartment flats on rent scattered around the neighborhood, İzzetpaşa has a quite mobile population. Among this population, while the conditions of intense poverty are more densely concentrated throughout the Roman dwellings in north İzzetpaşa, considering that the Kurdish victims of forced migration live as tenants scattered through the neighborhood, it should be noted that conditions of poverty are at the same time scattered all around the neighborhood.

The Vicinity of İzzetpaşa

İzzetpaşa is surrounded by the district of Kağıthane from its north and west, and Kuştepe lies on its east. Both Kağıthane and Kuştepe were built as *gecekondu* settlements. In previous parts, Kuştepe was mentioned as one of the *gecekondu* neighborhoods which emerged in close connection to the industrial activities in the surrounding areas. Some of the properties attributed by Kazgan (2002) to Kuştepe are also valid for İzzetpaşa; both Kuştepe and İzzetpaşa accommodate a relatively small population, they have a relatively long history of half a century and they are situated next to an urban center. Regarding the majority of *gecekondu* areas in Istanbul which are relatively new settlements with worse infrastructural conditions accommodating quite larger populations, İzzetpaşa and Kuştepe are different from the majority of *gecekondu* neighborhoods in Istanbul (p. 6). Considering that İzzetpaşa was constructed as a part of Kuştepe and under similar

conditions, although Kuştepe has been the object of heavier criminalization and prejudice due to the higher number of Roman residents compared to İzzetpaşa, it is possible to acknowledge that some basic similarities exist between these two neighborhoods. Hence, here I will refer to some results from a research conducted in Kuştepe in 1999 in order to give an idea about İzzetpaşa through quantitative data.

The majority of Kuştepe residents are not newcomers to Istanbul; those who have been living in the city for more than 10 years made up more than three quarters of the population of Kuştepe in 1999 (Çelik, 1999, p. 71 table 7). The majority of the economically active residents either work in occupations which do not require specified education or qualification, or they work as shopkeepers (Kazgan, 1999, p. 26). The children who are wage-workers with no social security reach a significant number which points to the high number of low-income families in Kuştepe, and in these low-income families, most of the members work irregularly in precarious jobs (Kazgan, 1999, p. 27). A little more than half of the population live in their own houses and 12% have rent revenues (Kazgan, 1999, p. 29). About 15% to 20% of the families have notably lower levels of income compared to the average income in the neighborhood (Kazgan, 1999, p. 27). The poorest families of Kuştepe spend 78.6% of their total income on food which illustrates that low-income families of the neighborhood live in serious poverty; they cannot even afford their basic necessities. In the research it was found that 63.5% of the population could not save any money due to the low amount of money they could earn (Kazgan, 1999, p. 29). The data on Kuştepe gives an idea as to the difficult economic conditions in which Kuştepe residents live. Considering the similarities between

İzzetpaşa and Kuştepe, it would not be wrong to presume that similar conditions are to a large extent prevalent in İzzetpaşa, too.

As for Kağıthane, this district can be considered as an agglomeration of *gecekondu* neighborhoods, and the industrialization in its vicinity played a crucial role in its emergence in a way similar to the case of İzzetpaşa. Kağıthane formerly had the status of a village settlement in the peripheries of Istanbul with its municipality separate from Istanbul municipality, and it was governed by village laws (*köy kanunu*). In time, industrial activities increased and the settlement areas, most of which were *gecekondu* neighborhoods, started to expand throughout Kağıthane. Compared to the settlement areas which fell into the central districts of the city, Kağıthane showed a drastic increase in population; between the years 1965 and 1975 its population increased by 108,291 people and most of this increase took place in the neighborhoods of Çağlayan, Çeliktepe, Gültepe, Hürriyet and Ortabayır which are *gecekondu* neighborhoods (Tümertekin, 1997, pp. 217-218). In 1975, the *gecekondu* neighborhoods of Kağıthane; Yahya Kemal, Harmantepe, Şirintepe, Emniyettepe, Çeliktepe and Gültepe were among the settlement areas in the city with the densest population (Tümertekin, 1997, p. 223). Industrial activities in Kağıthane played the leading role in the constitution and expansion of these *gecekondu* neighborhoods. Kağıthane falls to the west of Şişli-Büyükdere Main Street (*Şişli-Büyükdere Asfaltı*). In this part of the Şişli-Büyükdere Main Street, many large scale industrial enterprises developed. According to the zoning implementation in 1955, the eastern side of Şişli-Büyükdere Main Street was allocated to residences and the western side of the road was allocated to industrial activities. But on the western side of this Main Street, *gecekondu*s expanded around industrial enterprises. These gecekondus

expanded and got populated to such a degree that they formed one of the significant population growth areas in the city scale in the 1970s (Tümertekin, 1997, pp. 230, 233). Kağıthane is still a densely populated district which continues to receive migrants from different parts of the country. With the increase in population, many houses were demolished and multistorey apartments were built instead, different kinds of stores and service offices which met the demands of the residents developed in the district. While a significant number of the industrial enterprises in Kağıthane moved to the outer skirts of the city, some of them are still active in the district. In previous parts, Keyder's words were quoted which likened new *gecekondu* neighborhoods to "quasi-autonomous towns," Kağıthane is a good example of these *gecekondu* neighborhoods which have "evolved as quasi-autonomous towns where they provide most of the middle-range functions and services expected of second- or third-order settlement nodes in an urban hierarchy, including employment" (Keyder, 1999a, p. 149).

To the south and southwest of İzzetpaşa lies the central neighborhood of Şişli. Unlike Kuştepe and Kağıthane, the central neighborhood of Şişli is not a *gecekondu* area and the Büyükdere Avenue which lies to the southern end of İzzetpaşa is a central business district and a shopping area rather than a residential area.

Şişli started to be populated from the 1870s on; the district expanded as a residential area, and its residents were mostly the wealthy and elite; mostly wealthy Ottoman minorities and intellectuals. By the 1930s Şişli had become one of the most elite districts in Istanbul. Şişli developed as an elite residential area until the 1960s and 1970s and after that time business and entertainment functions started to outweigh the residential function of the district. With the 1970s the shopping area in Beyoğlu gradually

expanded towards Harbiye, Nişantaşı, Osmanbey and Şişli and the Büyükdere Avenue became a business line; many apartment blocs on the two sides of the avenue were either demolished and new buildings were built for emerging shopping stores or such apartments which functioned as residences were gradually left to function as businesses (*Dünden Bugüne Istanbul Ansiklopedisi*, 1994, pp. 185-187; Tümertekin, 1997, p. 191).

The physical make-up of Büyükdere Avenue is now marked by tall and luxurious buildings of plazas, holding companies, multinational companies, business offices, shopping centers, department stores, and other kinds of smaller stores mostly selling clothes, shoes, furniture, food items etc. Besides functioning as the service production site for international capital with many offices of international banks, insurance companies, accounting, auditing and consulting firms rising on its two sides, Büyükdere Avenue is at the same time a consumer space with a good deal of shops and stores which sprawl on the pavements of the avenue exhibiting their products. While producing services for international capital, this site also incites consumption by the display of various commodities.

In this chapter, I tried to give some background information about the construction, social and spatial organization of İzzetpaşa, and about the districts which surround it. In the next chapter, I will focus on the changing conditions faced by the migrant residents of the neighborhood under the impact of neoliberal urbanism.

CHAPTER 3

İZZETPAŞA AND THE NEW URBAN ORDER

In this chapter, I will examine the changing conditions faced by the migrants under the impact of neoliberal urbanism which restructured the economy and the spatial organization of the city in the 1980s. By studying the conditions under which the families of young İzzetpaşa residents integrated to the urban system until the 1980s, and the conditions which restructured the city after the 1980s, I will prepare the background for the next chapter which will focus on the experiences of the young İzzetpaşa residents which are shaped under the impact of neoliberalization. In this part, I will refer to the story of the family of one of the informants, Esra[2], and Esra's own story[3] in order to illustrate the changing conditions in the city through an example.

Earlier Periods of Settlement

In the 1950s, job opportunities in the city were the most significant resource that the migrants counted on. After the Democrat Party came to the power in 1950, the business sector and small-scale industry proliferated in the cities, and cities started to attract rural

[2] Throughout the thesis, pseudonames are used to protect the anonymity of the informants.

[3] Esra is the first young person I met in İzzetpaşa, also the person I met most frequently and still have a connection with. Compared to my connections with the other informants, I have more detailed information about Esra's family history and it has been Esra whose daily life I have had a better chance to observe.

populations (Şenyapılı, 1981, p. 45). Şenyapılı (2004) states that in the period between 1950 and 1960, there was an increasing demand for unqualified workers both in the service sector and the industrial sector. The role of the *gecekondu* populations in the urban economy changed fundamentally as a result of this development. Migrants ceased to be a marginal element in the economy of the city; they became a basic element of urban economy. In addition to the consolidation of their place in the urban economy, their influence in the political arena also increased as *gecekondu* populations started to be considered a source of political support by the government (p. 271).

The job opportunities which helped many migrants find a place in the city were provided mostly by the industrial sector, especially textiles. The textile sector has been and still is the most rapidly growing sector of employment in Istanbul's economy (Keyder, 1999b, p. 22). In the case of the population of İzzetpaşa, when I asked current residents how the residents made their living after migration, a major part of the people mentioned the industrial jobs in Bomonti. Production of chemical items, textile industry and apparel manufacturing accounted for the majority of the industrial activities in Bomonti (Tümertekin, 1997, p. 123). According to the current residents, a significant portion of the earlier migrants of İzzetpaşa could be absorbed by the employment opportunities in this industrial zone.

Although the migrants of the post-1950s were absorbed in the employment structure of Istanbul, their integration to the city was not a very smooth process. As argued by Öncü (1999), the way middle class urbanites viewed the migrants was full of despise and stereotyping. She gives an account of this middle-class view of the migrants by analyzing various cartoons chosen from different time periods in terms of how these

cartoons represented the migrants of different times, and how they were used as part of an ongoing struggle to redefine the boundaries of the middle classes (p. 98). The cartoon typologies of "migrants" that Öncü focuses on combine two central components; they operate as a repository of negative attributes, and as an invading outsider. In the cartoons the unjustified presence of the migrant is condensed and mediated through the metaphors of invasion, siege, and assault (pp. 97, 116). Even though the migrants were homogenized and despised through the characteristics attributed to them in the cartoons, one property of the migrants was left intact in the despising attitude of these cartoons. The stereotypes of "the migrants" gave no clue concerning their occupation; none of the typifications analyzed by Öncü explicitly illustrated a "worker migrant." Considering this, it seems plausible to argue that the despising middle-class view of "the migrants" did not absorb the worker identity of the migrants, and the migrants had their worker identity to resort to as a guard against the despising gaze of the middle-class urbanites. In a research conducted in Kuştepe, the words uttered by a retired worker living there depict that the migrants were needed in the city in the 1950s and they were welcome due to this. He opposes this attitude of the Istanbulites to the current situation. This man migrated to Istanbul in 1953 and settled in Kuştepe in 1962. When he is asked how the Istanbulites looked at him when he first came to Istanbul, he says:

> In those times the Istanbulites admired us, in the same way German people admired Turkey, now they dislike us, because Istanbulites needed men to work then. Democrat Party had come to power, the roads were being enlarged. In Taksim, from Pangaltı to Şişli, the right side of the road when you head from here, it was all demolished. Hence, there is a need for people to work, who will work, the people coming from Anatolia will

> work. They liked us a lot then. They used to serve us tea and coffee in the places we worked, I mean it was good[4] (Altuğ & Aytekin, 1999, p. 122).

In the study she conducted in Zeytinburnu, one of the earliest *gecekondu* neighborhoods in Istanbul, Yonucu (2005) depicts how the people of Zeytinburnu gained respect and value through the worker identity before the 1980s. As she argues, the "city" directed a discriminating gaze to the *gecekondu* people which degraded them

> because of their rural background, which was something opposed to the way of the 'modernity train.' Only if they found a job in a modern factory and left their rural past behind would they settle in the 'right' part of the train that follows the line of progress. And in this way only would they be exempt from being 'punished' and 'degraded,' or in other words, from the violence of the 'city' (p. 48).

Gecekondu people found the means of negotiating this discriminating gaze of the city by adopting the worker identity which was a modern subject position equivalent to the discriminating gaze. Whether participating in the political struggle or not, Zeytinburnu people invested in the subject position of worker; while the people of Zeytinburnu were devalued as *gecekondu* people, they gained respect as workers (pp. 67, 72). Rather than desiring to transform into the modern urbanites, the *gecekondu* people of Zeytinburnu created their own boundaries around the notion of modesty and created their own "appropriateness" as workers (p. 47). While the migrants integrated to the urban economy as workers, the way they tried to integrate to the larger city was shaped by their attempts for integrating with the formal urban system.

[4] "Ee o zaman Istanbullular bize hayrandı canım, Almanyalıların nasıl Türkiye'ye hayran olduğu gibi, şimdi tü kaka diyorlar, çünkü Istanbullulara çalışacak insan lazım o zaman. Demokrat Parti iktidara gelmiş Istanbul'un yolları genişliyor. Taksim'de Pangaltı'ndan Şişli'ye kadar sağ taraf buradan giderken hep yıkıldı. E tabi orada çalışacak insanlar lazım, kim çalışacak, Anadolu'dan gelen insanlar çalışacak. Çok seviyorlardı o zaman bizi. Çalıştığımız yerlerde çay kahve de ikram ediyorlardı iyiydi yani."

Integrating to the Formal Urban System

In Turkey there have never been effective state initiated programmes to handle issues of migration and settlement; welfare institutions were dead even before they were born (Erder, 1997, p. 101). The period starting with the second half of the 1940s was marked by the uncontrolled and peculiar growth of cities due to migration as a result of developing industrialization under import substitution strategies (Türkün & Kurtuluş, 2005, p. 13). As argued by Erder (1997), the inadequacy of the urban institutions in regulating migration obliged the migrants to settle in the city through informal channels and the attempts of the migrants to integrate to the formal urban system was not answered due to the inadequacy on the part of urban institutions. This led to urban tensions between the informally settled *gecekondu* residents and the formal urban settlements; the basic urban tensions emerged around the attempts of the new urban settlements for integrating with the formal urban system while sub-tensions emerged as these groups which came with different migration types, and which had different backgrounds were setting up their daily lives in the settlement areas they shared (pp. 51, 167-168). The migrants that became g*ecekondu* residents aimed to gain recognition, secure minimal municipal and public services, and access to the scarce urban resources (Erder, 1996, p. 85; Erder, 1997, p. 54; Erder, 1999, p. 163). The struggles of the *gecekondu* residents in these lines were directed at integrating to the formal system rather than toppling it down, but since the migrants did not have institutional channels to voice their demands, whatever they could acquire they acquired by force and struggle (Erder, 1997, p. 54).

To solve their problems, the migrants needed to invent different and novel channels of relations which emerged in the form of new "local" relations which would accommodate belonging to a new space (Erder, 1997, p. 158). In the absence of necessary equipment and services in their shared area of settlement, residents of informal settlements resorted to informal relations to solve their problems which arose in the struggle to settle in and integrate to the city system. These informal relations included the relations of localism, kinship, friendship and neighborly relations, and involved all the heterogeneous strata sharing the same inhabited space (Erder, 1997, p. 38; Erder, 1999, p. 163). Relations of localism (*hemşehrilik*) were among the most influential of these informal relations. As relations which are mostly awakened after migration (Erder, 1996, p. 239), and which are totally constituted anew for responding to novel needs in the city, relations of localism are based on real kinship or sharing the same village of origin, or even sheer coincidence (Erder, 1999, pp. 166-167). The most widespread and intense of these relations of localism are those that develop out of *gecekondu* neighborhoods (Erder, 1999, p. 167) and along with neighborly relations, relations of kinship and friendship, *gecekondu* residents mobilized relations of localism in order to gain access to the housing and labor markets (Erder, 1997, p. 117). Trust, solidarity, reciprocity, mutual assistance, and "self-help" were the basic aspects of these informal relationships (Erder, 1997, p. 38).

These informal relations among the *gecekondu* residents did not prove to be temporary relations that gradually gave way to other formal relations; rather they extended over time and operated as the basis of the way the migrants established mechanisms of support that they could count on in times of need. Jenny White's study

(2002) conducted in a *gecekondu* neighborhood, Ümraniye, reveals how the informal relations based on reciprocity and trust were of key importance in this heavily migrant neighborhood where the political activities of the Welfare Party which used these informal relations successfully resulted in a popular political mobilization in support of this party. According to White, "mutual obligation wove a web of support, where everyone put into the family and community, and could rely on the resources of the family and community when they needed them" (pp. 70-71). White finds the basis of the success of the Welfare Party in Ümraniye in the successful mobilization of the informal relations of trust and face-to-face interaction by the party.

By enjoying the job opportunities in the city, and by making use of the informal relations, a portion of the migrants started to become wealthy. The most prominent indicator of the increase in their material resources has been the construction of multistorey apartments in the neighborhood.

As the illegal occupation of land and the construction of dwellings received some recognition owing to political expediency, and as successive amnesties were granted to *gecekondu* residents, houses were gradually replaced by three- to four-storey buildings divided into flats; "informal entrepreneurs became landlords, and *gecekondu*s became urban dwellings, in a simulacrum of the middle-class style" (Keyder, 1999a, p. 156). Generally, the newly wed children of these apartment owners started to live in some flats of the apartments and other flats were rented out to the newcomer migrants. Although most of these buildings are inexpensive and low-quality buildings, considerable amounts of resources had to be invested in building them. With the resources used for them, these newly erected apartment buildings indicate that some increase in the incomes and life

standards of the property owners has taken place; and in return, the buildings contribute to the owners' economic conditions as sources of rent revenue. Those *gecekondu* residents who could not accumulate enough capital to build multistorey buildings agreed with contractors and got their share of flats in the newly built apartments; while they had a single house before, they usually acquired half of the flats in the new buildings, which contributed to their economic wellbeing. The principle dynamic of Istanbul's development has been the replacement of *gecekondu* neighborhoods in the perimeter of the city with these inexpensive high-rise flats, and "rather than the division between the illegal and the legal, the current line accordingly seems to be drawn between those who remain in the *gecekondu* and those who are able to make the move to the high-rises" (Keyder, 1999a, p. 156). In order to illustrate how these transformations took place in İzzetpaşa, I will refer to the story of Esra's family. By giving an account of the history of her family in İzzetpaşa, I will try to illustrate what the migrants of the earlier periods faced in Istanbul and how they carved out a place and made their way in the city.

An Upwardly Mobile Family in İzzetpaşa

The family member who first came to Istanbul was Esra's paternal grandfather. In the first half of the 1950s when he was in his early twenties, he started to work as a construction worker in Istanbul. He was living in a village in Rize before that time and there were some other young men from the same village who were also taking their chances to earn a living in Istanbul. Esra's grandfather was married at that time and while he started to work for long periods of time in Istanbul, his wife kept living in their village

in Rize. When construction work weakened due to harsh weather conditions in winter, he temporarily went back to their village in Rize. Esra's grandmother gave birth to all of her three children in the village. İzzetpaşa was the place where Esra's grandfather started living when he came to Istanbul; he built a small shack in İzzetpaşa and lived there for some time with two of his close relatives from the same village. For long years he worked in construction and shuttled between Istanbul and Rize. As he gained experience he advanced in his profession and became a skilled constructor in command of unskilled workers. While he worked in Istanbul, his children were all growing up in Rize living with their mother. All the children married people from the same city, Rize. Esra's uncle was the first child to get married; after getting married the couple moved to İzzetpaşa to live in the shack built by Esra's grandfather, where he had been living alone for some time. After Esra's uncle settled in Istanbul with his wife, he started to work with his father. Soon Esra's father and her aunt also got married and they all came to İzzetpaşa. Esra's grandmother also moved to Istanbul after all her children were married. In time, Esra's grandfather improved in terms of skill and accumulated some more capital and started to work as a building contractor. His two sons and his son-in-law were all working with him. They developed the house in which they lived; they built two extra floors. Esra was born in this apartment building. As they accumulated more capital, they bought a new house "up the neighborhood" towards the center of Şişli, developed it into a three-storey building and they all moved there. In the second half of the 1980s they gradually developed three more flats. Now they all live in this six-storey building; the three storeys of the building are covered by a single large flat and the remaining three flats are divided into two smaller houses. In the larger houses live Esra's family and the families of her

aunt and her uncle, in one of the smaller houses live her grandparents and the remaining five smaller houses are rented out to tenants. Rent revenue is shared between Esra's family and her relatives living in the building. On the basement of the building there are two parts; one of these parts is rented out to an association attached to the municipality of Şişli, and the other one is Esra's mother's workshop where she works on different kinds of clothes, produces trousseau items and sells them. While her mother makes money through the workshop where she works alone, her father keeps doing construction work.

At the moment, Esra's family may be counted to be one of the esteemed families in İzzetpaşa. Compared to many other families, Esra's family is well-off in economic terms; they have regular rent revenue in addition to the income earned by Esra's parents and by Esra who works in an establishment in the neighborhood. They live on the southern part of the neighborhood towards the center of Şişli in a six-storey apartment building with marble laid floors and with quite qualified physical make up compared to many other buildings in the neighborhood. Their house is quite spacious and furnished tastefully. This family reminds us of Davis' argument (2007) that "neither all the poor urban population live in the slums, nor all the residents of the slums are poor" (p. 41).

The history of Esra's family in Istanbul goes back to the early periods of the vast migration to the city. Esra's family presents one example of the families which benefited from migrating to Istanbul and made their way by enjoying the opportunities they could grasp in the city. One of the most important factors that helped them improve in economic terms and find a place for themselves in the city has been the job opportunities in the developing construction sector. The demand for construction workers at the time stemmed from a change in the middle-class housing demand (Öncü, cited in Keyder,

1999a, p. 150). As argued by Keyder (1999a), this housing demand of the middle-class was prompted by population increase, economic transformation brought about by national development and greater exposure to postwar consumption norms. By this time, Istanbul had become the growth pole of a relatively successful process of national development based on import-substituting industrialization, which increased the incomes of the growing middle class and changed their consumption patterns. "During the 1960s, ownership of a newly built flat (rather than a house in the suburbs) became *the* middle-class aspiration" (Keyder, 1999a, pp. 150-151). Most of these multistorey apartment buildings were constructed by small-scale contractors. Most of these entrepreneurs were from the provinces of the country, predominantly from the Black Sea region which had been sending seasonal construction workers to Istanbul since the previous century. Having started to work in the city as a construction worker from the Black Sea region, in time, Esra's grandfather became one of these contractors "who had sufficient capital, and more important, the connections to mobilize a construction crew, often from their own district of origin" (Keyder, 1999a, p. 151). By building houses in accordance with middle-class housing demands and accumulating capital in this way, Esra's family eventually built a house for themselves in middle-class housing standards in their *gecekondu* neighborhood.

In the story of Esra's family there are some prominent factors which reveal how the family could make their way in the city. First of all, her grandfather could find a place in the developing construction sector which could absorb a significant number of migrants like him. He could step in this sector by mobilizing the relations of localism. When Esra's grandfather migrated to Istanbul, he had co-locals in the city living in

İzzetpaşa, and it was no doubt in accordance with the exchanges with his co-locals that he decided to settle in İzzetpaşa and had access to the opportunities of employment. Mobilizing such relations he could place himself and gradually his sons and his son-in-law in the construction sector and started to accumulate capital. The family still has strong social relations in the neighborhood thanks to their place of origin; those residents whose families came to Istanbul from Rize make up one of the most crowded groups in İzzetpaşa and Esra's family is one of them. The family of the headman of the neighborhood who has been holding the office since 1999 also migrated from Rize, from the same village in which Esra's grandparents and their children lived before immigrating to Istanbul, and the headman is at the same time a relative of Esra's family. In the last elections there was only one more candidate who got enough support to compete with the current headman in charge; the family of this candidate migrated to Istanbul from Erzincan. The fact that the only candidates who had enough support to compete for the position represented the two groups of colocals with the highest population in the neighborhood gives a hint about the continuing power of the relations of localism in İzzetpaşa. Having the support of their local group of Rize origin, Esra's family could enjoy the benefits of the relations of localism that provide reciprocity, security, solidarity (Erder, 1999, p. 167); a support mechanism that they can count on in the times of hardship, a source of finding "commonalities" that help them to extend their networks in their immediate urban environment (Ekal, 2006, pp. 126, 136).

Another significant factor which helped Esra's grandfather was his connection to his village of origin that he kept alive; while he worked in Istanbul, his family stayed in their village. Thus, they did not need to find a dwelling to accommodate all the family

and spend high amounts of money for the sustenance of the whole family in the city; the rest of the family could live in the village and needed only small amounts of money for sustenance. In addition, through agriculture and stock-breeding in the village, the family could acquire revenue in the village in addition to that earned in Istanbul. With the migration of the rest of the family to Istanbul with their spouses, all the four men in the family started working together. They enjoyed the attractive aspect of the *gecekondu*s: that "they gave the opportunity of being developed by time" (Davis, 2007, p. 56) and the family lived together until they could accumulate enough capital to add extra flats, and by doing so they could postpone some of their expenditures and could bring together some amount of capital to mobilize for their work. Family relations by which they cut off expenditure and brought together capital helped the family to enjoy the opportunities the city offered them. Erder refers to her study in Ümraniye (1997) and states that the households which contain many working men are the ones which can show upward mobility and which benefit the most from informal relations, especially relations of localism (p. 41). Esra's extended family in the earlier periods after the migration corresponds to such a definition of upwardly mobile families. The story of how the family settled in İzzetpaşa and made their way in the city provides an example that illustrates the opportunities Istanbul offered to the migrants of earlier periods and the strategies the migrants resorted to in order to make use of these opportunities. As migration does not signify only spatial relocation but may result in social mobility (Erder, 1996, p. 205), Esra's family showed an upward social mobility after migrating to Istanbul.

By narrating the story of Esra's family, I tried to illustrate the relatively favorable conditions open to migrant populations after the 1950s. Job opportunities in the city, the use of specific informal relations, and the chance for developing the *gecekondu* houses into multistorey buildings emerge as the most significant factors which helped many migrant groups integrate to the urban economy, secure a dwelling and accumulate some capital. It was with the 1980s that these circumstances went through considerable changes. In the next part, I will point to the neoliberalization of the economy as the basis of these changes.

The New Urban Order

In Istanbul, while the three decades following the first waves of migration presented a relatively positive atmosphere for the migrants, a majority of the population started to face negative developments in the city with the 1980s; inequality sharply increased from that time on. Quoting Davis' words (2007), the new urban order became marked by the "growing inequality among different cities and inside the cities themselves" (p. 21). The roots of this increase in inequality can be traced to the enactment of the neoliberal policies directed by the IMF and World Bank in the early 1980s.

As Davis (2007) states, agricultural deregulation and the fiscal discipline policies urged by the IMF and World Bank resulted in an unprecedented disruption in the rural areas of Third World countries in the 1980s and 1990s. With this disruption in agriculture, vast waves of rural labor force migrated to the shanty towns even though job opportunities could no longer be created in the cities of these countries. Despite the

economic stagnation, and the lack of necessary investments in new infrastructure, educational institutions, and public health systems in the cities; it was again the cities htat had to shoulder the burden of the agricultural crisis. With the migration of villagers who had to sell their rural land and come to the cities, the deindustrialized cities became filled with labor supply, and overurbanization emerged as the result of the reproduction of poverty rather than the supply of occupations (pp. 30-31). Waves of rural migrants flew to the cities where they tried to survive in destitute conditions, but the difficulties confronted in the city were not peculiar to the newcomer rural migrants; the same period also witnessed deterioration in the plight of the migrants who had already settled in the city in the earlier periods of migration.

In accordance with the structural adjustment programmes put into force, real wages declined, prices went up, and urban unemployment rates showed an excessive increase through the 1980s and 1990s (p. 28). With the shrinking of the state and the following reduction in public expenditures and in public employment, the cities of the Third World countries became the locus of poverty and inequality (p. 188). Structural adjustment programs and neoliberal programs undermined local production, and the share of industrial production in the total employment declined sharply, which meant the "social abandonment" of the poor urban population (p. 198). Structural adjustment policies are especially anti-urban; they are devised to reverse any kind of "urban inclination" declared in the former welfare policies, and in the public investments. Under the structural adjustment programmes, instead of being the center of growth and wealth, Third World cities became trash heaps where the members of the "unnecessary"

population were crowded together to work in unskilled, insecure and underpaid service sector and business sector jobs either formal or informal (pp. 186, 209-210).

Turkey has been going through neoliberalization since the mid-1980s when the country joined economic globalization by means of government policies and the structural adjustment programs prepared by the IMF and World Bank. The government under the leadership of Turgut Özal followed neoliberal privatization as the political economy of the country and carried out the liberalization of finance and trade, and privatization (Helvacıoğlu, 2000, p. 331; Erman, 2001, p. 987). Erman (2001) states that these neoliberal economic policies increased migration to large cities, unemployment rates and hence social discontent. She points to the increasing competitiveness in both the public and private sector:

> the lower-level jobs in the public sector, which once provided favorable employment opportunities for the *gecekondu* people, became very competitive. The job opportunities in the private sector also became very competitive as companies reduced their workforce and as some small businesses went into bankruptcy (p. 987).

These transformations resulted in high unemployment rates and acute poverty in the *gecekondu* population (p. 987). In the next part, I will focus on the changing occupational patterns in Istanbul under the neoliberal policies.

Changing Occupational Patterns

Since the 1980s deindustrialization has been one of the most significant factors that transformed the economic and social bases of the cities. With the shutting down of factories and the loss of industrial jobs, masses of urban workers were left unemployed.

With deindustrialization, urbanization was radically detached from industrialization and the relation of the economic capacity of the city to the size of the urban population weakened as a result (Davis, 2007, p. 24). Istanbul was one of the cities in which deindustrialization had its full grip, and considering the predominance of industrial jobs among the migrant population, it goes without saying that the migrant population in Istanbul was intensely influenced by this incident.

In Ümraniye, which accommodates mostly migrants, more than half of the economically active population worked as industrial workers before the 1980s. As the demand for labor decreased, the laborers' new problem turned to be "insulating themselves against the reduction of real wages after 1980 and the inexorable rise in inflation" (White, 2002, p. 81). In another *gecekondu* neighborhood, Zeytinburnu, in the early 1990s the leather factories, which were the largest and the most organized of the factories in the area, left for Tuzla, a more peripheral area in the city, and many other large and small factories were also shut down during the same period (Yonucu, 2005, p. 73).

İzzetpaşa was one of the neighborhoods which experienced the impact of the loss of industrial jobs due to deindustrialization. As mentioned before, industrial activities had a great impact on the construction of the neighborhood; migrants settled in the area considering the job opportunities in its vicinity, especially in Bomonti. But, in time, Bomonti lost its character of being an industrial area. A quick walk in the area is enough to see that Bomonti is no longer an industrial area; it rather reveals a half-empty lot with some retail shops of specific textile firms inside. As stated by the residents of İzzetpaşa, Bomonti is no longer a source of industrial jobs for İzzetpaşa residents.

While industrial job opportunities decreased in Istanbul, neoliberal policies intermingled with the attempts at globalizing Istanbul resulted in the creation of some different jobs and the demand for people to fulfill the new positions.

When one thinks about how the occupation patterns changed under the growing impact of globalization, one of the first things that come to mind is the image of well-educated and well-paid professionals who work in the top positions of multinational corporations. But it must be noted that the kinds of occupations which emerged under the impact of the globalizing economy were not limited to these top positions. Sassen (1996a) argues that the economy of a global city requires both high-income and low-wage workers (p. 28). According to Sassen (1996b), the large share of the jobs involved in finance are low paid clerical and manual jobs, many held by women and migrants (p. 188). She argues for the need to look for the interconnections between the corporate city of high-rise office buildings and the old dying industrial city and the migrants city, between corporate headquarters and small formal or informal firms, between high-income professionals and low-wage workers, that is, between "that which is represented as advanced and neutral and that which is represented as backward and particularistic" (Sassen, 1996a, pp. 23, 25). While the high-income professionals work in command functions in the corporate headquarters, formally and informally employed workers produce services and goods for these financial corporations and for the larger multinational industries. Transformations in the city under the efforts of "globalizing" the city result in a novel reorganization of employment.

Keyder (1999b) states that for global cities, the high-value-adding services that are associated with control functions become the index of success; as global control

functions and producer services catering to supranational clienteles predominate, manufacturing employment declines and services expand; the city becomes "more global." Although slowed down by uncertainty, ambivalence, and lack of legislative and physical infrastructure, Istanbul has experienced transformation in this regard with its flourishing service sector in marketing, accounting and management, banking and finance. Especially in the finance, insurance and real estate services, employment has grown considerably (p. 19). The burgeoning producers' services create employment for a wide range of personal service providers but "this is only partially due to the demand generated by the business service firms where cleaning staff, couriers, and other less skilled personnel will necessarily be employed. It is due mostly to the differentiated consumption patterns of the highly individualized and high-income-earning professionals," the professionals in top positions require unique luxury goods produced by labor-intensive methods and a wide variety of personal services (pp. 24-25). In addition to the well-paid positions in producers' services, the employment pattern of global cities includes those people who offer differentiated productive and service activities for these high-income earners (Keyder, 1999c, p. 188). Here it should be noted that while new areas of employment emerged due to the demand from the well-paid professional class for various services and products, the majority of the migrants who had lost their industrial jobs and those newcomer migrants in the city were not absorbed by the new emerging demand for labor. Keyder (1999b) explains this by pointing to the volume of migration to the city. He compares New York City and Istanbul, and argues that the volume of migration to New York City has stayed constant unlike the situation in Istanbul which has to accommodate three times as many migrants every year, hence

while it has been possible to absorb the newcomers into the employment hierarchy in New York City, Istanbul has not been able to meet the demand of the migrants for new jobs. In addition to the absence of job opportunities for the migrants in the restructuring city, most of those who could find jobs had to work in low-wage jobs without social security and under difficult conditions; "the 'decent' jobs of the previous era, promising middle-class incomes and status, were no longer being created" (p. 24). The proliferation of informal production and informal services was one of the basic factors which led to the worsening of the working conditions.

Proliferation of Informal Economic Activity

Informal economy can be defined as a process of income generating activity characterized by the lack of regulation (Sassen, 1996a, p. 33). In accordance with her argument on the need for uncovering the interconnections between sections of the urban economy which are represented by the dominant economic narrative as unconnected, Sassen (1996a) states that the informal economy can only be understood in its relation to the formal economy; informalization is a structured outcome of current trends in the advanced industrialized economies. The demand for informally produced goods and services come from the larger economy; due to the massive competition for reduced costs, and due to the inadequacy of provision of services and goods by the formal sector, larger industries in global cities resort to informal firms and sweatshops which supply the goods and services needed (pp. 34-35).

According to Davis (2007), the informal economy, which answers the demands of the formal sector, has shown an intense proliferation in the developing world since 1980,

the global informal working class has reached one billion; it is the only social class which develops with a speed never seen before. With the 1980s, employment in the informal sector grew between two or three times more rapidly than employment in the formal sector, and surviving through informal jobs became the new way of subsistence in most of the Third World cities. In these countries urban marginality came to be identified with occupational marginality; the informally working people make up 40 percent of the economically active population (pp. 211-213). This rapid proliferation of informal employment points to a massive worsening of the working conditions for a great share of the population since informal employment, by its very definition, means deprivation of formal contracts, rights and regulations; exploitation forms the basis of informal employment (p. 216).

As informal economic activities proliferated rapidly in the Third World cities, İzzetpaşa became one of the *gecekondu* neighborhoods of Istanbul which reflected this transformation with the informally operating sweatshops spreading all over the neighborhood. The ground floors of a significant number of apartments in İzzetpaşa are used as small scale sweatshops in which textiles and apparels are manufactured. Some of these apparel sweatshops are visible from the outside while the windows of some are covered with carton paper or paint, but the noise of the machines running inside reaches the streets. According to the headman of the neighborhood, there are more than 700 sweatshops in the district; a few have interim licenses but most of them have no legal permission. These sweatshops on the ground floors of the apartments are run by either the owners of the apartment building, or they are rented out. Most of them young, both female and male workers are employed in these sweatshops and the workers are said to

be mostly from the same neighborhood but there are workers who come from different parts of the city as well. They work mostly on shifts for long hours. In some sweatshops, production continues until the late hours of the night, which creates problems between the sweatshop owners and the residents who are disturbed by the noise that comes during production. Working conditions are difficult; sweatshops require working for long hours in a noisy, small closed area. The workers earn small amounts of money and they do not have insurance. According to the accounts of some young İzzetpaşa residents, young people find these conditions too heavy and the salaries insufficient, but they start to work in these sweatshops in order to earn some money to pay their most urgent debts or to afford urgent expenses, hoping to find better jobs with better conditions and quit the sweatshop in a short period of time.

The changes in occupation patterns, that is, the growing demand for personalized services for well-paid professionals, and the informalization of production and services seem to offer some job opportunities for the *gecekondu* residents who have lost the job opportunities in the industrial and service sectors. But these new opportunities of employment are mostly informal and involve difficult working conditions, insufficient salary, no insurance or social benefits and no guarantee of permanence. Thinking of these working conditions involved in the new job opportunities created by the neoliberalization and the globalization of work and of the urban order, they fall short of being real "opportunities" in two aspects; first, they are not opportunities for many people who cannot be absorbed by the employment structure due to the excessive labor supply compared to the labor demand, and second, what these new occupations offer is degrading, difficult and underpaid working conditions rather than "opportunities."

The Loss of Hopes in the *Gecekondu*s

Keyder (1999b) states that in Istanbul, like in all global cities, development has been exceedingly uneven both in terms of the access of the denizens to globalized activities and in terms of the physical spaces under transformation. While one small segment of the population rapidly incorporated into the new dynamics provided by the world economy, the majority witnessed and reacted to this incorporation without partaking in its material benefits. He adds:

> Entrepreneurs linking up with world markets, bankers, knowledge workers, data merchants, and professionals educated to be at home in the new paradigm quickly graduated to new salary and income sales on a par with their world counterparts, whereas the middle classes of earlier vintage and workers organized or informal, skilled or unskilled, permanent or casual, were left behind (pp. 23-24).

While the economic winners of the 1990s were the provincial bourgeoisie, government-sheltered business sector, and currency speculators (White, 2002, pp. 43-44), the losers were the workers who lost their jobs with deindustrialization, small-scale entrepreneurs, the former middle classes, those people who lacked adequate resources for integrating to the new economic order from the top positions of the employment hierarchy, and the unemployed people. *Gecekondu* neighborhoods were among the places where such transformations reflected sharply and left groups of people in despair. Davis (2007) cites Susan Eckstein's observations concerning the differences that took place in the *colonia*s of Mexico City between the years 1972 and 1987, and states that new tenants had quite little hope of socio-economic mobility compared to the tenants of earlier periods, and

colonia ceased to be the "*colonia* of hope" in total (p. 62). Besides these deteriorating conditions for the newcomer migrants who are the losers of the neoliberal urban economy, *gecekondu* neighborhoods also accommodate wealthy groups. Here I will refer to the process "poverty by turns" (*nöbetleşe yoksulluk)* put forward by Oğuz Işık and Melih Pınarcıoğlu (2001) to conceptualize the diversification among the groups of migrants, and I will discuss how this process reflects in the current plight of the population of İzzetpaşa.

With the term "poverty by turns," Işık and Pınarcıoğlu refer to the unequal power relations among the informal segments in the society through which different groups become richer at the expense of others (pp. 155-156). They contextualize the emergence of these unequal power relations in the failure of the formal, particularly with the 1980s. According to them, from the 1970s on, the worldwide structural crisis was marked by a failure of the formal in nearly every part of society and the resulting disruption led to the expansion of the domain of mobility for the informal segments (p. 56). The shrinking of the state and the uncontrolled operation of global markets led to the flourishing of an unconstrained global domain for the economic and social entrepreneurs to an extent which was never seen before (p. 58). With the flourishing of the domain of entrepreneurs, the formal and informal substantially intertwined which resulted in the production of a transitive social organization (p. 63). The writers conceptualize poverty by turns as an answer to the question of how poverty is transformed in this context of transitive social organization marked by the intertwining of the formal and informal. To study the transformation of poverty, they explore the resources and relations mobilized by the *gecekondu* populations before and after 1980.

According to the writers, before the 1980s, urbanization was financed by the distribution of urban rent among various social segments. While the bourgeoisie was enjoying the monopoly rents in the industrial area and the state was not directly involved in urban rent, urban space was left to the activities of small capital contractors and to the *gecekondu* dwellers (pp. 120-121). In this context, g*ecekondu* dwellers built their houses and participated in the labor market by using the informal webs of local relations. These webs of relations not only enabled them to settle down in the city, but also offered them opportunities of upward mobility (pp. 117-118). With the 1980s, the migrants faced quite a hostile environment compared to the migrants of earlier times. *Gecekondu*s got commercialized; the occupier, the builder and the resident were no longer the same (pp. 164-168). As stated by the writers, in the post-1980 period, *gecekondu* dwellers offered the apartment buildings which they had built to the newcomer migrants in exchange for rent. With the monopolization of the *gecekondu* areas and the labor market by some migrant groups of earlier vintages, the poverty of earlier groups of migrants was transferred to the migrants of the post-1980 period. The groups which won in this process were the migrants who participated in the land occupation and informal *gecekondu* building, who had the channels of information, and who could participate in communal relations and in the webs based on colocalism. The losers of the process were the migrants of the post-1980 period –particularly migrants coming from the south-east of the country- who had to pay rent since they did not have the opportunity to occupy land and build their own houses, and who could not participate in the informal webs and could only take part in the lowest segments in the labor market (pp. 171-175). Thus, through this process of poverty by turns, while the urban poor produce subsistence strategies

through webs of relations based on various local sources, these strategies function at the expense of those who migrate to the city after them, and poverty gets transferred to the newcomers.

This transfer of poverty is to a large extent valid for the residents of İzzetpaşa neighborhood, too. As stated earlier, the land of the neighborhood is occupied by multistorey apartments owned by the residents. The owners are the migrants of the earlier vintages who could occupy land in the neighborhood and who could accumulate enough capital to develop their *gecekondu* houses into multistorey apartments. By renting out some flats in their apartments to the newcomer migrants, some households in İzzetpaşa became richer at the expense of newcomer migrants. This situation reminds us of the differentiation among *gecekondu* residents made by Erman (2001), that with the commercialization of *gecekondu*s in the 1980s, "pessimism was felt deeply by some *gecekondu* dwellers who experienced increasing deprivation, while other *gecekondu* dwellers became economically better-off in a short period of time" (p. 987).

Under these conditions, it is apparent that the migrants of post-1980 have hardly any opportunities for accumulating resources in İzzetpaşa. The residents talk about the circulation of "newcomers" who settle in the neighborhood as tenants but who soon leave for other parts of the city in which they can sustain their lives by spending smaller amounts of money. But I argue that the loss of the channels for upward mobility and for accumulating resources is not peculiar to the newcomer migrants; even though their parents could show upward mobility, the children of the migrants of earlier vintages also experience such a loss. In order to illustrate this loss by an example, I will refer to the

conditions under which Esra tries to carve out a place for herself in the neoliberal urban order.

A Stagnant Young Woman

Esra is a 24 year-old young woman. She is single and she lives in an apartment building in İzzetpaşa with her parents and her two brothers. She is the oldest of the siblings, one of her brothers is 3 years younger and the other is 5 years younger than Esra. The status of her father in the occupational structure changed as a result of the post-1980 transformations in the real estate and contracting sector in Istanbul. According to Keyder (1999a), the developers in the post-1980 era were a different caliber altogether compared to those before this period. While the real estate sector used to be a competitive market of small-scale contractors before, with the inflationary environment of the 1980s real estate became the highest-profit sector in Istanbul and large firms, giant holding companies and foreign contracting firms dominated the sector (p. 153). Under such a transformation, Esra's father who used to work as a self-employed building contractor with his father, his elder brother and his brother-in-law, started to work as a skilled construction worker employed by others, which meant a loss in the revenue earned and a fall in the status of occupation. As said before, Esra's family owns a workshop on the ground floor of their apartment in which her mother works on different kinds of clothes and produces trousseau items.

Esra and both of her brothers have graduated from Şişli Industrial Vocational High School (Ş*işli Endüstri Meslek Lisesi*). Esra's department was electric-electronic.

After high-school she took the vertical transfer exam (*dikey geçiş sınavı*) which gave vocational high school graduates a chance to attend a 4 year university program in a department of a similar kind to their high school department. Esra could not succeed in this exam. The year she graduated from high school, she started a certificate program offered by Bilgi University. The program consisted of courses given free of charge by the Social, Economic and Political Research Center of the university. With these courses, the Center addressed the high school graduates and the public employees living in the vicinity of the university campus in Kuştepe. Courses were offered on campus in the evening hours. Esra attended the accounting courses and got an accounting certificate. She talks about this program as university education. Talking about her educational history, she says that she went to Bilgi University for 2 years. After these 2 years, Esra enrolled in the 2 year Local Government Department (*Yerel Yönetimler*) in the Anadolu University Distance Education Faculty (*Anadolu Üniversitesi Açık Öğretim Fakültesi*). When I met her in the spring of 2008, it was her second year in the 2 year program. That year she hoped to pass all of her courses and succeed in an exam at the end of the school term and become entitled to continue her education in the Anadolu University for 2 more years in a 4 year program. She hoped to graduate from a 4 year program rather than a 2 year which would give her higher chances of finding a good job according to her. She wanted to continue her education in either the Economics or Public Administration (*Kamu Yönetimi*) Department. In order to be able to pass this exam she went to *dershane*, a private test prep school, in Mecidiyeköy, in which instructors of different branches gave lectures focused on the content of this exam for a specific fee for a year. Esra went to these lectures 6 days of the week. In the weekdays the lectures started at 7 in the evening

and ended at 9. On Saturdays lectures started earlier and again ended at 9. At the end of the school term Esra could not pass some of her courses in the university and hence could not take the exam. The next year she took the courses she could not pass before. She attended another *dershane*, this time in Kadıköy because she was not satisfied with the previous one in Mecidiyeköy. At the end of the year, Esra was again dissatisfied with this second teaching institution, although she passed the courses in the distant education, she could not succeed in the last exam and could not continue her education in a 4 year program. Now she is a graduate of a 2 year program in Local Government and she does not have any further educational plans for now.

Esra started working as soon as she graduated from high school. While she attended accounting courses in Bilgi University and while she took courses in the distant education she was always working. First she worked as an assistant in a real estate company in Levent. She found the job by personal contacts through one of her relatives. Esra says that she started to feel uncomfortable in the office because some of the other employees tried to make her do their own work. Esra worked there for one and a half years and left the job when she found another job. Esra has been working in this new job for three and a half years. I will not specify where she works in order to maintain her anonymity but she works in an establishment in the İzzetpaşa neighborhood which is affiliated with Şişli Municipality. She was recommended for the position by her uncle who had close ties with the person who runs this establishment. Esra works in the establishment every weekday from 9 in the morning until 5 in the evening. In the office she responds to the persons who call or come to the office, and does the official correspondence. One point about her job which pleases Esra is that because this

establishment is affiliated with a formal institution, Esra works with social insurance. She says while she attended school her insurance was operating which was to her advantage. When she has health problems she can go to a hospital and benefit from the insurance. Another point she finds comfortable with her job is that the person who is in charge of the establishment does not stay in the office for long hours and Esra usually works alone. So, her friends can visit her at the office. However, she is not satisfied with her wage and says that she earns too little for the work she does. When I asked her whether she wanted to quit the job, she said someday she would quit because of the insufficient wage she earns, but she has to find a better job before she quits.

Her brothers, similar to Esra, graduated from Şişli Industrial Vocational High School. The elder brother graduated from the department of motor vehicle technologies while the younger one graduated from electric-electronic. The elder one took the university entrance exam but could not attain a score high enough to get into a faculty in a university which gave some hope of finding a good job after graduation. According to Esra, his brother's school performance had never been good and the family was not really expecting him to be successful in the exam. He did not take the exam again in the following years and did not try to attend university. After he graduated from high school, he looked for a job. He started to work in the office of a cargo firm in the neighborhood but according to Esra he earned only a small amount of money and he saw this job as a temporary occupation until he found a better job. Then he quit the job and joined the army for the compulsory military service. It has been about one and a half years since he returned from military service and now he is unemployed and looking for a job. Esra's younger brother graduated from high-school in the summer of 2008 and according to the

results of the university entrance exam he registered at a university in another city, Afyon. But he took an official leave of absence for a year and did not go to university. He is unemployed now.

Esra's family is the wealthiest one in the core group of informants in this study. For some time as a small entrepreneur and for some time as a skilled worker, her father could integrate to the urban economy from a position which made it possible for the family to accumulate resources to construct a multistorey apartment. By renting out flats they could earn some rent revenue at the expense of the newcomer residents. But even though this family could show upward mobility on these grounds, the favorable conditions enjoyed by the family do not translate to the same advantages for the children in the family. Unlike her parents who could secure a home, Esra and her brothers do not have the chance to own their houses in the immediate future. While her parents acquire some rent from three flats in their apartment building which they share with Esra's grandparents, her uncle and her aunt; considering the number of the children in these families, Esra will have only a relatively negligible amount of rent after she shares the revenue with her cousins. And although her father could earn in the construction sector a wage which contributed to his upward mobility, Esra now works for a very small amount of money because she cannot find a better job in the neoliberal urban economy. According to her, the medium which may help her find a better job is having a better level of education, which she cannot accomplish. Most of the young İzzetpaşa residents try to set their lives deprived of the opportunities their parents had before. While migrants of earlier periods could settle in the city and find chances of employment and social mobility to some extent, under the conditions of the neoliberal urban order, not only the

newcomer migrants but also the following generations of the formerly settled migrants have started to lose their places in the city. In order to explore the way that the young İzzetpaşa residents experience this loss and the way they react to these conditions, in the following chapter, I will try to clarify the place of these young people in the neoliberal urban order by referring to the circumstances under which the informants try to integrate to the urban economy.

CHAPTER 4

LOW-WAGE WORKERS OF THE NEOLIBERAL CITY

In the previous chapter I tried to illustrate that as a result of the neoliberal transformations in the city, the young descendants of the earlier migrants in İzzetpaşa became deprived of the opportunities their parents could once enjoy. In this chapter, I will focus on the place of these young people in this new urban order, I will examine the position from which they can integrate to the urban economy and the resulting material conditions that shape their practices. The core group of informants in this study is a group of friends living in İzzetpaşa. The group is composed of 7 people aged 23-24. Before focusing on their place in the new urban order, I will first try to clarify what studying these young *gecekondu* dwellers means in the context of Istanbul, what kind of an insight this will provide for this study, and then discuss the approach I will follow in studying these young people.

In this study, focusing on young people has been significant in understanding the repercussions of the transformations that take place in the world, in Turkey, but especially in Istanbul. Deindustrialization, the loss of job opportunities, informalization of work, proliferation of the service sector with the cleavage between the high status and low-wage jobs in this sector, concentration of the urban poor in *gecekondu* neighborhoods under difficult conditions, the loss of social security, and the loss of hopes in the *gecekondu*s have taken place in different parts of the world, but mostly in the

"globalizing" cities. Istanbul has been one of these cities in which such transformations meant growing inequality and disparity between the winners and the losers of this neoliberal urban order. Although these rapid transformations cause favorable or unfavorable ruptures for different social groups, one of the groups which is directly subject to the repercussions of these transformations and which is supposed to produce novel forms of reaction to them is the youth. For many people, youth is the period when the course of their lives has not yet taken a particular shape and when they do not have the accumulation of resources to mobilize in order to shape their lives in the way they desire. Hence, the way in which the future of the young is shaped is highly exposed to the changing circumstances in the city and the young people are peculiarly vulnerable to the negative impacts of the new urban order. Due to these reasons, studying youth occupies a central place in understanding the repercussions of the urban transformations and the new urban order. By focusing on the ways the poor *gecekondu* youth is excluded from the high status occupational positions and from different places reconstructed under neoliberal urbanism, and by exploring the different tactics they resort to in the face of their exclusion, this study aims to explore how the social segregation of the new urban order is negotiated by the practices of the young.

Within this context, it is necessary to emphasize Lüküslü's (2009) argument that the analysis of youth is at the same time the analysis of society. Lüküslü refers to Xavier Gaullier's statement that the analysis of generation is based on the idea of "crisis." According to this statement, when the valid social contract becomes destabilized due to technological changes and rapid socio-economic transformations, this necessitates the formation of a new deal between generations and a novel definition of generation. Based

on this argument, Lüküslü states that focusing on the three successive generations of youth in the country at the same time involves an analysis of three different periods of crisis and change. Hence, the analysis of youth turns into the analysis of Turkish society (p. 47). Following this argument, studying how the young *gecekondu* residents (re)negotiate their changing place in the city under the tough conditions of the new neoliberal urban order is at the same time an attempt to analyze how the social organization of the city will be shaped in the future. Baune (2005) answers the question of why it is important to focus on the youth by stating that "in general, young people are the seismograph of the future society;" understanding the problems of youth today will help to see the ruptures with which society will be confronted in the future (p. 129). Studying not just the problems of the young people but also their responses to these problems offers foresights about the future of the city.

Youth as the Object of Study

Many contemporary historical and ethnographic studies agree that the concept of youth is a relative concept and its emergence in different societies can be traced to specific points in history. Neyzi (2005) states that the emergence of "youth" as a distinct category and a stage in the life cycle has been linked to the history of modernity in Europe; Enlightenment ideas about progress pointed to the educated youth as the agents to take the lead in the construction of modern nation-states (p. 107). In Europe generations became of interest for their particular qualities in the late eighteenth and the early nineteenth century in relation to the impact of schooling, nationalism, and the emerging

public sphere which allowed youth to get a feeling of shared experiences with their contemporaries in other parts of the city and the country (Skovgaard-Petersen, 2005, p. 24). In the Middle East, the discovery of youth –especially male youth- took place in the late nineteenth and the early twentieth century, and the social and political role of youth became a dominant feature of social life in the twentieth century whereas nothing comparable could be found in the early nineteenth century (p. 21). As the concept of youth emerged as a topic of interest and youth came to be accepted as a period with its own cultural values and norms, young people more and more became the objects of daily talk and academic literature. Such an interest in youth produced popular and public definitions of being young and these definitions shaped the way adults represented youth.

A great deal of the academic literature and daily talk on youth refer to young people by attributing specific characteristics to them and by contrasting them with older generations and with the characteristics attributed to the latter. Along with these characteristics, various positive or negative opinions about the youth are uttered. One such characteristic frequently taken to be affiliated with youth is the tendency to change; Kłoskowska (1988) traces it back to Auguste Comte's argument that youth is endowed with "the instinct of change." Kłoskowska states that Comte juxtaposed youth and change and contrasted them with the tradition-oriented conservative forces of the older generation, he pointed to youth as a factor of social change, an important element in the process of historical development and of cultural transformations, and due to his ideal of progress, he evaluated youth in a positive way. Kłoskowska hints at the fragility of Comte's positive evaluation of youth by stating that Comte was at the same time strongly critical of the disruption of the basic social order, and the overriding concern of some

youth movements in the industrialized and post-industrial societies of the twentieth century has been the essential questioning of the social order (pp. 3-4). By being affiliated with change, young people were viewed ambivalently both as the carriers of change in a paradigm of progress and as the agents of the questioning and toppling of the social order.

On the one side of this ambivalence, young people are seen to be those best fitted to serve the ends of society. Mardin (1988) states that this idea is of recent vintage and it proposes that societies are destined to be moved "forward," which is a variant of the idea of progress. According to him, ideas on the usefulness of youth energies go back to the theories of Enlightenment thinkers; youth, training, and progress got indissolubly linked during the nineteenth century. He refers to Saint-Simon's argument that technological training would be the foundation of progress and the newly trained generation would set the direction of society. Mardin conceptualizes such ideas which connect youth and progress against a wider background of social relations. According to him, the philosophical speculations which provided theoretical justification for the use of youth's energies for progress were only part of a much wider-ranging social transformation. The backbone of that social transformation was formed by the formation of nation-states, the transformation of post-feudal economic relations, and the metamorphosis of the roles of the traditional social classes. In this process characterized by the transformation of social relations, youth no longer appeared as a resource but as a new danger (pp. 236-237).

In this issue two approaches to youth become prominent; one which views youth in a positive way as the ones who will serve the ends of the society thanks to their capacity and tendency for change, and the other which views youth in a negative way as

the ones who threaten the social order by criticizing the social relations and structures of hierarchy. Although these two ideas conflict with each other in terms of affirming or negating the deeds and capacities attributed to youth, they are similar to each other in that they think of youth as a powerful group capable of leading drastic changes in the social order. But this view of youth as the agents of change does not necessarily hold true; "youth period and the liminal characteristics of it may become the focus both of continuity of the social order as well as of protest against it, and of its change" (Eisenstadt, 1988, p. 95). Young people may identify with the values and symbols of the society and support the continuity of the social order, or they may equally challenge the very same order and protest against it. Hence, the representation of youth in popular discourse is marked by ambivalence and contradiction; youth is represented as the embodiment of hope and optimism but at the same time as a potential threat against the social order (Eisenstadt, 1988, p. 114). Many academic and popular discourses which view young people as a potential threat draw an image of rebellious and potentially dangerous troublemakers "hanging out" on street corners (Miles, 2003, p. 66). This image of youth as addicted to drugs, morally deteriorated, prone to violence, and also as lost, hopeless and potentially threatening represents youth not only as a threat against the social order but also as the victim of the very same order (Kazgan, 2002, p. 114; Miles, 2003, p. 66).

Here it should be noted that such popular representations of youth do not necessarily find voice in the ideas held by the young people themselves. As Neyzi (2005) asserts, "in studying youth, it is important to distinguish the definition and representation of youth from above, such as by powerholding adults, from the ways in which young

persons view and represent themselves" (p. 107). Taking the representation of youth from above for granted results in overseeing the genuine experiences, ideas and thoughts of young people. In Turkey, a long established myth of youth shapes the way young people are represented in the popular discourses.

Neyzi (2005) and Lüküslü (2009) study the deep rooted myth of youth in Turkey which constructs youth as a political category with a state-centered way of thought. According to the studies of the two writers, this myth originated in the late nineteenth century Ottoman era, when educated young Ottoman men were called to "save" the empire. With the establishment of the new Turkish state in 1923, youth was mobilized to take part in the building of a national consciousness and a modern nation-state. The period starting with the 1950s was marked by a wide politicization of university youth divided into leftists and rightists. The young movements of the time were modernist, nationalist, anti-imperialist and corporatist, and the rhetoric of the movements underscored the independence of the Turkish nation-state and the "duty" of youth to dedicate their lives to the construction of a future society. Ly (1988) asserts that the way young people look at their position in a society is linked to the way society looks at youth (p. 169). The representations of youth in the popular discourses carry normative assessments towards youth, assign to them various rights and duties in accordance with these assessments, and youth may identify with these rights and duties. As studied by Neyzi (2005) and Lüküslü (2009), what is striking about the youth of Turkey until 1980 is that their popular representation corresponded to a great extent to the way they represented themselves. The mission of transforming the society from above was assigned to the young people, and they held a state-centered mentality and internalized

the role assigned to them by the state; they acted as political subjects in order to "save" the country. This correspondence between the representation of the youth from above and the way they represented themselves resulted in a myth of youth as a state-centered political subject. Lüküslü (2009) studies this "myth of youth" in terms of its impact on the way the post-1980 youth is represented. According to her, it is against the background of this myth that the post-1980 youth are criticized for being apolitical or depoliticized, selfish, unconcerned and insensible. She argues that viewing youth through this myth conceals the experiences and thoughts of the young people. According to her, studying the post-1980 youth by leaving aside the preconceptions acquired through the myth of youth reveals that these people are not selfish, individualistic, unconcerned etc. and they are not unaware of what happens in the political arena or in the society. But since the young people think that the political arena is incapable of offering solutions to their problems and since they have a negative conception of the political arena, they resort to an attitude which is conceived as "apolitical" when viewed through the lenses of the myth of youth. Actually, youth resort to this seemingly apolitical attitude as a political choice, incorporated in this attitude are feelings of unhappiness and uneasiness which level a concealed criticism and opposition which cannot find place in the mainstream political arena (pp. 17, 190-191). As Lüküslü's study illustrates, while the post-1980 youth are depicted as apolitical through the myth of youth, a nuanced analysis of youth reveals the political basis of their attitude. Her study shows that attributing formerly defined characteristics to youth and viewing young people through popular representations create specific expectations from youth. When groups of young people, who act in the context of the social environment around them, are evaluated, they are criticized whenever the

behaviors and attitudes of these young people do not fit into the limits of the formerly defined characteristics. In this way, relating to youth through the myths and popular representations about them results in a failure to make sense of their behaviors, thoughts and attitudes.

In order to contribute to the understanding of society by a study on youth, youth should be conceptualized as a significant sociological category so that the study reveals some insight about how the society transforms through the changes in the social and economic organization and through the responses that the society produces in the face of these changes. In order to study youth as a significant sociological category, an approach should be employed which contextualizes the place of youth in the social transformations and which does not view youth through formerly produced attributions. In order to elaborate on such an approach I will first refer to the concept of "common experience" used in conceptualizing youth and then to its class oriented critiques.

Mannheim (1952) produced one of the earliest works which used "common experience" in conceptualizing generations. For him, the individuals who are of the same age group in the life span belong to the same generation location (p. 290), but common location is not based solely upon biological factors; mere contemporaneity becomes sociologically significant only when it also involves participation in the same historical and social circumstances. The age groups of common location are in a position to experience the same events and data (pp. 297-298) which delimits them to a specific range of potential experience, predisposing them for a certain characteristic mode of thought and experience, and a characteristic type of historically relevant action (p. 291). However, the actual manifestations of these orientations ultimately depend on the

prevailing social and cultural context (p. 297). It is in the context of a process of dynamic de-stabilization that a generation is likely to evolve its own, distinctive pattern of interpreting and influencing the world, that is, a generation is likely to become a *generation as an actuality*. It is by their *participation in the common destiny* and in the ideas and concepts which are in some way bound up with the unfolding of this "common destiny" that the individuals of the generation constitute generation as an actuality (pp. 303-306, original emphasis).

Mannheim acknowledges some differentiations among members of the same generation location in terms of the degree to which they are influenced by the significant changes, and in terms of the way they experience and interpret these changes in accordance with their peculiar backgrounds. According to him, young peasants and urban youth differ in the degree that they are affected by social changes, hence they may not form *youth* as an actuality (p. 303). Mannheim also distinguishes among the members of the same actual generation; according to him, "youth experiencing the same concrete historical problems may be said to be part of the same actual generation; while those groups within the same actual generation which work up the material of their common experiences in different specific ways, constitute separate generation units" (p. 304). While Mannheim acknowledges possible dissimilar experiences among the members of the same generation location in terms of to what extent they are influenced by significant social transformations, he does not specify any possible differentiations among these groups themselves. And when Mannheim distinguishes the members of an actual generation among themselves as generation units with different ways of feeling and thought, he does not specify the factors which cause such differentiations between the

generation units. It has been the class-oriented generational approaches in youth investigations which criticized this absence of the class backgrounds of young people in the conceptualization of generation.

Kłoskowska (1988) points at the problematic aspect of seeing generation through the lens of common experience by highlighting the impact of class background in differentiating the members of the same age group. Kłoskowska stresses the significance of class by referring to Rosenmayr's definition of youth as the "social stratum with incomplete possession of social rights and open life expectations, a generation of common experience which, at the same time, is conditioned by participation in various strata within the social (class) structure" (pp. 6-7). Kłoskowska takes Bourdieu's works on the educational system in France as an example of the class-oriented generational approaches in youth investigations. Bourdieu distinguishes two categories in the same age group students in French universities: "the category of legitimate heirs of social tradition (*les héritiers*) whose academic career has been facilitated by their family as a normal stage in their history; and the category of young men whose admission to university is comparable to a miracle (*les miraculés*) – the children of working-class and peasant families." Bourdieu stresses that higher education does not represent the same experience for these subcategories of a generation (pp. 12-13). MacLeod (1987) states that Bourdieu's studies illustrate how the class backgrounds of the students shape their experiences in their educational lives and how these experiences in turn shape the course of their lives. Bourdieu resorts to the concepts of cultural capital and habitus to explain the differences in the experiences of upper class and working-class children. By the concept of cultural capital, Bourdieu refers to the general cultural background,

knowledge, disposition, and skills that are passed from one generation to the next. The cultural capital acquired by the children of upper-class origin through family upbringing is substantially different than the cultural capital acquired by working-class children. And since class interests and ideologies are embodied in the schools, schools reward the cultural capital of the dominant classes and systematically devalue that of the lower classes. This results in the higher chances of success for the upper class students (p. 12). In addition to that, the formation of students' aspirations in accordance with their habitus also contributes to the differentiation of schooling experiences. Bourdieu explains habitus in the following way: "the conditionings associated with a particular class of conditions of existence produce habitus, systems of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures," and habitus generates and organizes practice by the "active presence of past experiences deposited in each organism in the form of schemes of perception, thought and action" (Bourdieu, 1990, pp. 53-54). Jay MacLeod (1987) studies two male teenage peer groups living in a low-income housing development in a north-eastern city of the USA and argues that the leveling of aspirations of lower-class youth contributes to the reproduction of social class inequality from one generation to the next. He defines the aspirations of an individual as the reflection of this individual's view of his or her own chances for getting ahead and explains them as an internalization of objective probabilities. He refers to Bourdieu's concept of habitus and argues that aspirations are not the product of a rational analysis; rather, they are acquired in the habitus of the individual. He states that a "lower-class child growing up in an environment where success is rare is much less likely to develop strong ambitions than is a middle-class boy or girl growing up in a social world peopled

by those who have 'made it' and where the connection between effort and reward is taken for granted" (p. 13). Personal expectations which are constituted through numerous experiences correspond to the existing objective conditions (İdemen, 2008, p. 429) and as MacLeod's study illustrates, the habitus acquired by the lower-class youth in accordance with their past experiences results in very weak aspirations which in turn destroys the very little chance of success they may have.

These studies support the argument that it is difficult to talk about some kind of "common experience" which constitutes youth as an actual generation. Schooling is chosen as the indicator of the fundamentality of class background in the formation of young people's experiences and their prospective chances. Following this approach, I argue that as the schooling experiences of the youth are shaped in accordance with their class backgrounds, it essentially depends on the class backgrounds of different urban groups whether they are excluded from acceptable positions of the new neoliberal economy and from the urban places reconstructed under neoliberal urbanism, or whether they can enjoy the opportunities offered in this new order. The economic and social transformations in the city have an impact on the lives of urban populations by being refracted through the conditions and prospects embedded in their class positions. For this reason, rather than defining youth as a definite category with specific characteristics, I will approach the young informants of this study by examining their class positions in the social and economic organization of the city. I will focus on the positions open to these young *gecekondu* dwellers in the new urban order and the conditions brought about by these positions, and I will study how they react to the conditions, possibilities and prospects embedded in these positions.

In this study I do not discuss whether some kind of common experience unites the young informants from İzzetpaşa to other young groups in the city, because I worked only with some young people in İzzetpaşa, not with a number of young Istanbulites with various backgrounds living in different parts of the city under different conditions. Hence, my arguments will be limited to the young residents of this specific neighborhood. In addition, I worked with a group of friends in the neighborhood who were all born in Istanbul and whose families have been living in the neighborhood for a long time. Hence, the conditions under which these young people live are relatively better than the conditions faced by most of the young İzzetpaşa residents who are migrants of later periods; as migrants of an earlier vintage, the families of the informants in this study have relatively richer social and economic resources to rely on compared to the families of other young residents who are migrants of the post-1980 period. Hence, it should be noted that this study focuses on the experiences of a group of young informants who differ from some other young groups in the neighborhood. In the following chapter I will try to illustrate how this specific group of young people try to differentiate themselves from some other young residents.

In the following section of this chapter I will elaborate on the class positions of the young informants and then I will study their experiences in the neoliberal urban order in relation to their class backgrounds. But among the same class, some significant factors further differentiate the experiences of the informants.[5] During the fieldwork conducted for this study, it attracted my attention that while their class positions drew a general frame for a possible range of action for these young people, their thoughts and practices

[5] Although ethnicity is a significant factor in shaping the way people participate in the urban order, it did not emerge as a prominent factor among the group of informants in this study, so I do not examine the impact of ethnicity in this study.

were also conditioned by their gender. The study Erkan (2006) conducted on two urban groups in Istanbul exemplifies the significance of gender in shaping the way groups of people define and consume urban space. In her study she examines two groups living in close proximity to each other in the Barbaros district in Kadıköy who occupy disparate class positions in the globalization processes in the city: one group is composed of Kurdish migrants who were pushed out of their villages in the eastern or southeastern parts of the country and who live in *gecekondu* houses in Kadıköy, and the other group of informants is composed of middle class elite living in a gated community. Erkan defines two axes of differentiation between and inside these two groups; class and gender (p. 268). Similarly, I argue that gender forms another significant axis of the discriminatory and exclusionary organization of urban space. The factors which exclude the informants from the neighborhood and from the larger city space and turn these places into dangerous places for them are different to a significant degree for young women and young men. In addition, the families of the informants also try to delimit the movement of their children in the city on the basis of their gender.

However, although I take class and gender as two significant factors in shaping the experiences of the informants, being young brings about some commonalities among them as different from the elder members of their families. I study young informants from İzzetpaşa not as part of a large group of youth connected to each other through some common experience, but rather as members of a specific class who are differentiated from the adult members of this class to some degree. I take two factors as significant in this differentiation. First, these young people are obliged to shoulder the burden of the neoliberal urban transformations under heavier conditions of uncertainty and insecurity

than the conditions of the adult members of their families because they do not have the resources which they can mobilize to shape the course of their lives in the way they desire. Secondly, they raise different demands on the urban space compared to the adult members of their families; although under quite unequal conditions, most of the time they are attracted to similar places of recreation with the other youth groups of different class backgrounds. Considering these, I try to analyze the practices of the informants by seeing these people as *young men* and *young women* embedded in a specific *class position*. I will first give some information about the informants' educational backgrounds, their working histories and the economic conditions under which they live in order to trace the impact of their class backgrounds on the extent to which they could benefit from the opportunities of education and participate in the neoliberal economy of the city.

Education and its Failure

The informants in this study have higher levels of formal education compared to the average educational background of the young İzzetpaşa residents. All the informants graduated from high school except for one, Selim. Selim, a 23-year-old young man, says that his father had health problems in Selim's high school years in the Vocational School. His father had to leave his job due to his health problems and the family fell into economic distress. Selim says their relatives turned their back on his family so Selim dropped out of school and started working. Now he is enrolled in distant education in order to graduate from high school.

The four young women in the core informant group, Esra, Zerrin, Bahar and Gülden all attended the accounting course in Bilgi University. They all graduated from high-school in the same year, Zerrin graduated from a Commercial High School while the other three graduated from Vocational High School. The year they graduated Gülden learned about the courses offered free of charge by Bilgi University. She informed her friends about it and they decided to attend the accounting course together. They all completed the course and got their accounting certificates. After they completed the course, they all started 2 year programs in the Distance Education Faculty of the Anadolu University. They all wanted to continue their education in a 4 year program and they decided to pay a *dershane* (a private test prep school) that could help them pass the exam and be entitled to enroll in a 4 year program. They went to the same *dershane* at the beginning of their second year in the distance education. Esra and Bahar could not pass some of the courses and they needed one more year to complete the 2 year program. Zerrin and Gülden passed the courses but they could not succeed in the exam and could not continue to the 4 year program. The next year Esra and Bahar attended another *dershane*. At the end of the year they passed their courses but neither of them succeeded in the exam for the 4 year program. Now these four young women have diplomas of 2 year programs in distance education and they have accounting certificates.

The remaining members of the core group of informants are two 24 year-old men, Okan and Gürhan. Both of them graduated from the hairdressing department of a vocational high school. That has been the end of their formal education.

As stated before, the educational background of the informants in this study is relatively higher compared to the average level of education of İzzetpaşa youth. Although

I do not have precise quantitative data on the issue, nearly in all of the conversations with several İzzetpaşa residents, residents cited lack of education as the most important factor in the high rate of unemployment in the neighborhood and in the frequency of unqualified and low-wage jobs among the employed youth. As stated in the previous chapters, İzzetpaşa developed as part of Kuştepe neighborhood. Considering this similarity between these two neighborhoods, data regarding the level of education in Kuştepe will be descriptive about İzzetpaşa, too. A research conducted in 1999 in Kuştepe neighborhood revealed that the majority of the entire population had an education of primary school level. The rate of the "heads of the household" who had no formal education was 13.5% and the corresponding rate for the spouses of the "head of the household" was 20.8%. Considering the eldest three children of the households, those with no formal education made up about 40% and the primary school graduates made up about 30% (Çelik, 1999, p. 62). While 85% of the men and 94% of the women thought that female children should have university education, and 89% of men and 95% of women thought that male children should take university education (Çelik, 1999, p. 62), respectively 5%, 3.4% and 1.2% of the first, the second and the third child of the households graduated from university, which shows that the young residents could not reach the level of education desired by their families (Çelik, 1999, p. 70 table 3). In another research conducted in 2001 which focused on the youth of Kuştepe, the rate of the youth who had no formal education decreased to 12.4%, the rate of those who graduated from the 5-year primary school education was about 41%, about 26% completed the 8-year primary school education, about 17% completed high school and only 2.4% of the youth were university graduates (Kazgan, 2002, pp. 9-10, 49 table 3).

The rate of university graduates was quite low compared to the countrywide level; 2.4% to about 9% (Kazgan, 2002, p. 10).

In line with the data on Kuştepe, İzzetpaşa residents state that a high level of education is very rare in the neighborhood. The headman of İzzetpaşa asserts that a significant number of parents do not send their children to even primary school. He says that he himself visits these families which are mostly Roman and he tries to persuade them to register their children to school and ensure that their children do not drop out of school. He says sometimes he has arguments with these families on this issue. Among the approximately 400 Roman residents of the neighborhood, only one person is a high school graduate and one is enrolled in a university. While I was talking to Emrah, a 36 year-old high school graduate, in a café in the neighborhood, he looked around at the people sitting in the café and said that nobody in the café was enrolled in a university. He said I would see the same thing if I walked around the streets in the neighborhood; it would be very rare to meet a university student or a university graduate in İzzetpaşa.

In such an environment, the informants in this study represent quiet higher levels of education. But when they talked about their education, they all mentioned the negative experiences they had had throughout their education. Rather than talking about what education added to them in positive ways or how they benefited from the education they had, it was common to hear them talk about the problems they faced in the educational institutions they attended.

Okan and Gürhan talked about their high school years as full of fights and violence between groups of students. They cited the ultranationalist youth club *Ülkü Ocağı* as the source of these problems at school. They said that the students who were the

members of *Ülkü Ocağı* used to force other students to go to the office of the club and attend their activities. When they resisted, the members used violence against them. In a joking manner Gürhan cited an incident where the members of the club had heard that Okan swore at them, they caught Okan, laid him down and beat him on the feet. In this conversation Selim said that they were subject to "persecution" (*zulüm*) by the members of *Ülkü Ocağı*. Esra and Zerrin also stated how uncomfortable they felt in their high schools. They said that both in the commercial high school Zerrin attended and in the vocational high school Esra attended, the number of female students was so few compared to the number of male students that being a female student was very troubling. According to them, since there were so few girls in their schools, every single behavior of the girls was observed carefully by the male students. Esra said when she entered the school garden, male students used to stare at her in an annoying manner. Female students could easily become the object of rumors. In addition, both Esra and Zerrin said they also had problems with the female students who came together and behaved like gangs and threatened other girls. In terms of the quality of the education, they said that the high school education did not provide them with sufficient background knowledge, so they took exams in the distance education defeated from the beginning with a score of "0 to 1" against others, and since the university exam does not contain the specified knowledge given in the curriculum of their departments in the vocational or commercial high-schools, they were disadvantaged in the university exam. All the female informants who attended *dershane*s in their distant education years also complained about these institutions. They said that the instructors working in these *dershane*s were not experienced staff, they did not even know about the types of questions asked in the exam.

Even primary school teachers and university students worked as instructors in these *dershane*s. Bahar, who went to a third *dershane* to help her in the State Employees Selection Exam (*Kamu Personeli Seçme Sınavı*) said that she would never pay for a *dershane* again because she was so sick of them. These young women stated that they were totally uninformed and unguided in the issue of education. After they were very dissatisfied with the *dershane* they attended for a year, they tried to choose a better *dershane* the next year. They went to another *dershane* to have some information about it and they got persuaded by the staff to register to this *dershane*. At the end of the year they learned that this second *dershane* was a subsidiary establishment of the other *dershane* which they had attended a year before. They were so dissatisfied with both of the *dershane*s that Gülden said if she had realized the situation before, rather than paying the *dershane*s in order to succeed in the exam to continue a 4 year program in distant education, she would spend that money in order to prepare for the university entrance exam again. But she did not plan to take the university exam again because she said it becomes difficult to consider university education once you start to work. When we got into this conversation, Gülden had been working for one and a half years with social insurance, and she had been benefiting from her insurance since that time, which also meant advantages for her retirement. Also, she had started to earn some money for one and a half years and it would be difficult to tell her parents that she would no longer earn money and she would start to take money from them again. In addition, she said she was 24 years old, and after a year of preparation for the exam and at least 4 years of university education, she would graduate at the age of 29 or 30. Rather than graduating at such an age she preferred to work, look for a better job and build a career. Similar to Gülden,

when an opportunity of making some money emerged for Esra, she went after this opportunity even when this required neglecting school. For about 2 months in the spring of 2009, after closing her workplace at 5 pm, Esra went to another firm in Levent where she had worked before her present job. In this firm one of the employees had had a serious accident and could not come to work and Esra was offered to do the work of the absent employee in the evenings for some money. Esra accepted this offer for the sake of saving up some money. She worked at two jobs for about 2 months and she could not follow the courses in the *dershane* during this period.

Considering the informants' attitude towards education, one of the things that attract attention is that the informants who have relatively higher levels of education in the neighborhood did not think that education -at least the education they had taken- provided them with various opportunities, they rather underlined that the education they had taken did not provide them with a background to help them in their lives. Their accounts about the educational institutions they had attended were also full of problems and frustration. However, young female informants appreciated one aspect of education; going to an educational institution gave young İzzetpaşa women greater opportunity to move in the city space and to pass longer periods of time with their friends, which they owed to the fact that going to an educational institution strengthened their hand against their parents in negotiating how, when and how long they consumed the urban space.

Condemned to the Low-Wage Jobs

In the conversations with the informants, the most urgent issue that they had to tackle with in order to set their lives emerged as finding a better job. Unemployment is obviously a significant issue in Turkey where the rate of unemployment is especially high among the young population. As stated by Yentürk and Başlevent (2008), while the total unemployment rate was about 11% in the country in 2006, the corresponding rate for the youth was 20% (p. 347). In 2004, the rate of unemployment for the age group 15-24 was 19.7% in Turkey, 16.5% in the EU and 13. 5% in the OECD (p. 350).The higher rate of youth unemployment in Turkey becomes even higher in the case of young women; while the rate of unemployment for the men of age groups 15-19 and 20-24 was approximately 21% in 2006, this rate reached 29% for the women of the same age groups (p. 349). The data on Kuştepe will give an idea about the dimension of unemployment in İzzetpaşa. In a research conducted in 1999, it came out that about 65% of the first children and about 75% of the second children of the households were unemployed. Wage workers made up the vast majority of the working youth in Kuştepe. The rate of those who worked without social insurance made up 40% of the working first children and 50% of the working second children (Çelik, 1999, p. 73 table 11). Another research conducted in 2001 released that approximately 12% of the young women in Kuştepe were working while about 53% of the young women were unemployed and looking for a job. Among the young men of the neighborhood, about 46% were working and 24% were unemployed and looking for a job (Kazgan, 2002, p. 50 table 5). Now I will talk about the working

histories of the informants in order to provide an idea as to the quality of their jobs and the conditions under which they have worked.

As stated in her story, the year Esra graduated from high school she started to work as an assistant in a firm in Levent and worked for a year and a half. After having problems with her job, she started to work in an establishment in İzzetpaşa. She works with social insurance.

Zerrin has been doing the accounting work in a primary school in Kuştepe for 3 years. She works with social security. She works from 9 am to 5 pm every weekday. Although she feels comfortable at school because she has good relations with the teachers and she likes being among children, she wants to quit her job because she is not satisfied with her wage. She wants to become a certified public accountant. In the spring of 2009, she paid for a course given by a *dershane* in Mecidiyeköy and she attended lectures in order to prepare for an exam which was a required step to become a certified public accountant. The course lasted 3 and a half months from 7 pm to 10 pm every weekday and from 9 am to 5 pm on the weekends. In the weekdays, after she finished her work at school she went to the course. If she had passed the exam she would have been required to work as a trainee for 3 years and pass a second exam in order to become a certified public accountant, but she could not pass the first exam. She says if she became a certified public accountant, she could work in a firm for a wage higher than what she earns now. She would also have a chance for promotion. She says there is no opportunity of promotion in her present work, it is always the same.

Bahar has been working as an assistant for a year and a half in a firm in Levent. Before, she worked as an assistant in an alcoholic drinks firm in Taksim for 4 years. Like Esra and Zerrin, she has worked while receiving education after high-school.

Gülden works in an office which sells computer programs. The office is situated in a multistorey office building two floors down the entrance of the building. This office building is in Kuştepe towards the border of the neighborhood facing Mecidiyeköy. The business is owned by a middle aged man who has the same place of origin with Gülden, Sivas. Gülden says she found the job through the intermediacy of one of their relatives who was friends with the owner of the business. It is one and a half years since Gülden started to work there and she works with social insurance. She is glad for that but she states that her wage is too low. As Gülden says, the owner of the business maintains the business by visiting different offices to market the computer programs and comes to the office very rarely. Gülden stays in the office and answers the phone calls of the customers who order programs and she attends to the customers who come to the office although this happens very rarely. One aspect of her job she is pleased with is that she feels comfortable in the office since she works alone and her friends can drop by the office and stay there comfortably.

Okan now works as a security guard in a store in the Cevahir shopping center. He has worked in many different places. He says in his secondary school years –which corresponds to the sixth, seventh and eighth grades of the primary school according to the new regulation- he used to work in textile sweatshops in İzzetpaşa during the summer months. After he started the hairdressing department in high school he started to work in hairdressing saloons, he mentioned it with the words: “I did my actual occupation.” He

worked in a hairdresser in İzzetpaşa first, and Gürhan was also working there at that time. Then Okan started to work in another hairdresser in Nişantaşı, and then in Etiler. He says he could not earn enough money as a hairdresser and the employers did not provide him with social insurance. Okan says due to these factors he decided to become a security guard because he would have social insurance and earn more. He went to an educational program and got his security guard certificate. It has been 3 years since he has been doing this job but he has changed the place where he works a few times. First he worked in the clothing store of a multinational brand in Akmerkez shopping center. Then he worked in the administrative center of a GSM operator, then in the office of a wine firm. Then he again started to work in the store of the multinational clothing brand but this time in Cevahir shopping center. Now he works 6 days a week on shift. Some days he starts work at 12 at noon and some other days at 2 pm, the earliest time for the end of the shift is 6 pm and some days he works till 10 pm.

Gürhan was unemployed when we met in the winter of 2009. Like Okan, Gürhan started to work in a hairdresser's after he started the hairdressing department in the high school. First he worked with Okan in a saloon in İzzetpaşa, then in another saloon in Osmanbey. For a while he worked in a famous hotel in Maçka. Gürhan was reluctant to talk about his job in the hotel, he just said he had to get up at 6 am in the morning and it was a "torture" for him to get up at such an early time. He left the hotel and then worked in another hairdresser's in İzzetpaşa. He said he had problems with the owner of the saloon and left the job after a serious argument with him. He was unemployed for several months and he was very uncomfortable with it. He was living with his mother and his brother, he was sick of his mother's complaints about his unemployment. Gürhan also

had credit card debts and he said he had to find some money urgently to pay them. In this unemployment period, his daily life became irritating to himself, too. He played an online computer game the whole day. As he stated, he got up at 4 pm in the afternoon and started to play the game until 7 am in the morning, he said he did nothing else. As he did not have money, he passed the whole day at home during that period. In the spring of 2009, he was called back to work by his previous employer in the neighborhood with whom he had had a serious argument. Both Gürhan and Okan attributed this call to the fact that one of the employees in the hairdresser had left the job and the owner of the saloon needed to find an experienced worker, but he would lay Gürhan off as soon as he found a new employee. Gürhan knew this, but he reluctantly agreed to return to work because he needed money and he was sick of the way days passed in his unemployment period. As he himself anticipated, after a short period of time, he had problems with the owner of the saloon and he left the job. Then in the summer of 2009 he started to work again at another hairdresser's in Kadıköy.

And the last member of the informants Selim has been working since his high school years due to the economic difficulties his family fell into after his father had health problems. First he worked in textile sweatshops and then found a job in a firm in Armutlu which imports textiles and stationary equipment. He still works there. He both responds to the customers and does physical work like carrying the articles. He says that after finishing high school through distance education, he may work in a better job he finds.

Considering the working histories of the informants, one commonality among these young people is that none of them is self-employed; all of them work as wage

workers. This reflects a phenomenon common in Kuştepe. According to research conducted in 1999, among the youth population in Kuştepe, only about 6% of the first children and 5% of the second children were self-employed (Çelik, 1999, p. 73 table 11), and in 2001 only 3.4% of the whole youth population of Kuştepe was self-employed while 24% were wage workers (Kazgan, 2002, p. 50 table 4). The working histories of the male informants from İzzetpaşa go back to their high school years and even to earlier times, while female informants started working right after the high school. While in conversations with İzzetpaşa residents unemployment was mentioned as a serious problem for the young İzzetpaşa population, the informants in this study have not experienced long periods of unemployment. But most of them, especially male informants, have changed their jobs quite often. Considering the type of education they have received and the type of jobs they have worked in, most of them do not work in jobs which require the knowledge and capabilities they acquired through education. Zerrin is an exception who works in a job related to the education she has taken; she went to a commercial high-school, attended accounting courses in Bilgi University and she works as an accountant in a primary school now. Okan and Gürhan have also worked as hairdressers, in line with the education they have received in the vocational high-school. But although their educational background has enabled them to find a job, they were not satisfied with their occupation as employees in the hairdresser saloons because they worked without social security and they were very poorly paid. Due to these, Okan changed his occupation and became a security guard and Gürhan aims to work in another sector when he finds a better job. Esra, Bahar, Gülden and Selim are working as

assistants in different firms and their jobs do not require specified knowledge acquired through formal education.

Even though the informants did not experience long periods of unemployment, they are not satisfied with the jobs they can find. The most significant factor in their dissatisfaction with their jobs is the low wages they earn. Even though they work, they cannot earn enough money to sustain themselves. Among the informants, I guess Okan was the one with the most satisfactory wage, which corresponded to approximately a thousand Liras as he said in a conversation. Although I do not know their exact wages, the informants said they worked for very small amounts of money. Considering the status of their jobs and the money they earn through these jobs, although they are included in the neoliberal economy, the informants can find places only in the lower positions of this economy. Most of them are low-wage workers in the service sector. They all hope to find better jobs because they are unsatisfied with their jobs, they earn only very small amounts of money, some of them work informally without social benefits and they have to work in precarious jobs for limited periods of time. The informants' plight shows that the low-wage jobs in the neoliberal economy do not provide acceptable living standards, having a job does not mean that they can escape poverty and comfortably sustain their lives. This supports the argument that youth poverty, multigenerational poverty, poverty faced by employed youth, informal and tough working conditions are so significant and common phenomena that employment alone would not be adequate to solve even the economic problems of the young (Yentürk & Başlevent, 2008, p. 345). Throughout the world, 300 million out of a total number of 657 million employed youth between the ages 15 and 24 fall into the category of poor even though they work, and problems such as precarious

employment for short periods of time, working without social security and tough working conditions are common among the employed youth (Yentürk & Başlevent, 2008, p. 346). When youth poverty is described as the condition that a young person has an income corresponding to less than 60% of the median value of countrywide income, the rate of youth poverty corresponded to 20% in the EU and 26% in Turkey in 2004 (Yentürk & Başlevent, 2008, p. 357). Besides, the economic plight of the young persons is not determined solely by the wage they earn. As Gündoğan (2007) points out, the only reference for defining the working poor is not always taken at the level of the individual, some categorizations define working poor at the household level (p. 7). According to this, although the risk of poverty is relatively higher for the low-wage workers, the low-wage workers do not necessarily correspond to the working poor. The individual may be a low-wage worker but may not fall into the category of the working poor thanks to the additional incomes earned by the other members of the household (pp. 29-30). Hence, in considering the economic plight of the informants, the resources of their families should be considered, too.

In the case of the informants of this study, the families of most of them live under difficult economic conditions. For example, Selim's father has recently been laid off from his work in a textile sweatshop in Merter on grounds of the impact of the economic crisis. Her mother does baby sitting for a family living in Osmanbey. The family lives on the wages earned by Selim and his mother. Okan lives with his mother and his elder sister. His mother does not work and the family lives on the wages earned by Okan and by his sister who works as a manicurist in a hairdresser's. Gürhan lives with his mother and his brother. His mother does not work, and his brother works for a monthly wage of 100

Liras according to Selim. The only informant whose family lives under relatively better economic conditions is Esra, and Esra is the only informant who does not share the money she earns with her family. When one day I visited Esra in the establishment she works in, her mother dropped by and asked Esra for some money in order to pay an installment to a store. She said she would pay Esra back in a short time and asked her for her bank card. First Esra was reluctant to give her mother money, but then she accepted, but did not give her mother the bank card, and said she would pay the store herself. After her mother left, Esra said she did not give her the bank card because she did not want her mother to learn about how much money she had saved. She was an exception in the group of informants who shared their wages with their families living in economic difficulties. This makes the conditions of poverty heavier for the informants who earn low wages and share these small amounts of money with their families. Here I will refer to Gürhan's words which reveal the difficulty of the conditions they live in.

When Gürhan, Esra, Okan, Selim and I were talking about the living conditions in Turkey in general, Gürhan referred to their own plight and said "Anyhow we are well-off. We have a house, we can take cover there, food is cooked at home. We are well-off anyhow, what can a man do who pays rent, who is unemployed and who has children!"[6] A similar situation was observed among the youth of Kuştepe. When asked about the most favorable expectation they held for the future, the most popular answer given by 32% of the young people was being healthy (Kazgan, 2002, p. 39). When asked about which kind of a life they longed for, about 85% said they wanted to live a modest and riskless life. It is argued that these young people must be facing such high levels of risk

[6] "Bizim tuzumuz kuru yine. Başımızda bi ev var başımızı sokuyoruz, evde yemek pişiyor. Biz iyiyiz yine, kirada oturan, işsiz, çoluk çocuklu adam n'apsın!"

that a riskless life becomes such a collective longing (Kazgan, 2002, p. 40). It is also argued that the importance given to being healthy in the future reveals the dramatic dimensions of the inadequacy of the conditions they live in at the moment (Akgül, 2002, p. 171). Coming back to Gürhan's words, his modesty in defining themselves as "well-off" (*tuzu kuru*) on the grounds that they have a house and they can find food reveals the level of poverty they live in, a poverty that lowers the standards of being well-off to having a home and having enough food. Under such precarious conditions, even working with social security is of real importance to the informants; those who have social security see it as a key to a safer life and keep on their jobs for maintaining this source of safety even though they earn very little.

I will quote a part from a conversation which reveals the conditions under which these young people live. After I told Esra that I wanted to interview some young people in the neighborhood and asked her to introduce me to some of her friends in the neighborhood, Esra spoke to her friends Okan, and Gürhan, and Selim. We arranged a day and decided to meet in the Cevahir shopping center on Esra's suggestion. On Okan's suggestion, we sat at a table in the Hall Café which was composed of a number of tables on a hall in the center between blocks of shops. During the conversation I asked Selim about his occupation, and after he responded that he was working in a firm in Armutlu which imported textiles and stationary equipment, Gürhan asked Selim if they would recruit staff. Selim jokingly replied "No, especially not you." Gürhan had been unemployed for some time and he insisted that it could be any kind of job; he could make tea, mop the floor, or clean the toilets, anything. Selim said he would inform Gürhan if he heard about any recruitment. Gürhan went on by saying that he was even thinking about

applying to McDonald's for a job even if it required working late at night. Hearing this, Selim asked Gürhan: "Why, are you not a hairdresser?" Gürhan replied "Forget about hairdressing." Gürhan said you could make no money in hairdressing as long as you were not the owner of the saloon, even the most qualified and most experienced one employee (*kalfa*) earned 600 Liras in a hairdresser. Okan joined the conversation and said that working conditions were too bad for a hairdresser; no social insurance and very little pay. Moreover, due to economic crisis, a large number of hairdressers were shutting their saloons down and it would be difficult to find a job even if you accepted to work as a hairdresser. Esra agreed with them and said that many girls in the neighborhood who used to have their hair blow-dried every morning before work now did it themselves. Selim interrupted and referring to Gürhan and Okan said "Then, you two set up a shop." It came out that this was an issue between Gürhan and Okan, and Esra and Selim also knew about it. Okan was willing to set up a canteen type small café with a few tables selling *döner* sandwich for a small amount of money. He gave the example of a *döner* café in Mecidiyeköy where he bought a chicken *döner* sandwich for his lunch for only 2,5 Liras, he said a lot of employees were eating there and its owner was making good money. Okan said he was offering Gürhan to set up such a canteen but he could not convince Gürhan. The conversation went on as:

> Gürhan- (to Okan) People cannot even go and sit anywhere, they have no money, you tell me to set up a café. I cannot even pay my credit card debt, you say "Let's set up a café." With which money will we?
> Esra- You have your mother backing you.
> Gürhan- (ironically) I am sure my mother will give me money for a café.
> Selim- It is up to you to convince her. It is not for no purpose that you are so talkative.
> Gürhan- Hang on, (referring to Okan) from where will this friend of ours find the money?

Selim- He will find it from somewhere, why do you care? Do the banks work to no effect?
Okan- Anyway, his mother will not give him any money, (to Gürhan) go and get a bank loan. If I were [your mother], I would say "Go get a bank loan and pay it back, work and pay it back."
Esra- [What a pity] If the woman trusts a man like you and lends you the money.
Gürhan- (Jokingly) Anyway, I will get arrested and sit in the prison the whole day, let the state look after me.
Okan- (Referring to Gürhan) Nothing will come out of him. Just a coward!
Esra- Such coward people are-
Okan- Always thinking of "What if I go bankrupt, what if I go bankrupt!"
Selim- You need to do something at some point.[7]

Gürhan defended himself by stressing the fact that if they set up a café, Okan would continue working in his current job and he would have support even if they failed in the business, but Gürhan himself would not have any kind of support if he failed. Gürhan went on by recounting the expenses involved in setting up a new business; he said they would need at least two more employees in the café. At this point Selim interrupted Gürhan and said that Gürhan's brother could work for them. Gürhan said: "He will not come, he is a hairdresser," and Selim replied bitterly: "What a hairdresser, he works for 100 Liras." Esra supported Selim by adding that Gürhan could find a lot of young people in the neighborhood who would readily work for 200 Liras a month, she said even Gürhan himself would agree to work for somebody else for 200 Liras. Gürhan said a few

[7] Gürhan- (Okan'a) Abi millet gidip oturamıyor parası yok, sen kafe açalım diyorsun. Ben kredi kartımı ödeyemiyorum sen kafe açalım diyorsun, neyle açalım?
Esra- Anan var oğlum arkanda.
Gürhan- (ironik) Ya anam kafe için ne para verir var ya bana!
Selim- Onu da kandırması sana kalmış yani. O kadar dili boşuna uzatmadın herhalde.
Gürhan- Bi dakika, (Okan'ı kastederek) bu arkadaş nerden bulacakmış parayı?
Selim- Ya bulur bi yerden, sana ne ki. Bankalar boşuna mı çalışıyor?
Okan- Zaten anası buna para vermeyecek ki, (Gürhan'a) git kredi al. Ben [annen] olsam derim "Git kredi al öde, çalış öde."
Esra- Senin gibi adama güvenip de kadın para verirse-
Gürhan- (şakayla) Neyse zaten hapishaneye girip bekleyeceğim bütün gün, devlet baksın bana.
Okan- Bundan var ya, hayatta bi şey olmaz ha. Korkak ya!
Esra- Korkak insanlar var ya böyle-
Okan- Hep böyle "Ya batarsam ya batarsam!"
Selim- Bi yerden bi şeyler yapmak lazım.

more words about the expenses such as electricity and water bills, the rent, the money to be spent for advertising the café etc., and the subject ended with a common disagreement with Gürhan.

I added this conversation because it reveals the material conditions of the informants' lives. First, it reveals the extent of the deprivation of these young people from resources to be used to set up their lives. Gürhan is so deprived of material support behind him that he cannot take the risk of receiving a bank loan. But having a permanent wage of about a thousand Liras gives Okan such support in the conditions of poverty that he approaches the idea of setting up a café a lot more confidently than Gürhan. This conversation reveals that these young people cannot get material support from their families. Under the neoliberal transformations in the city, families have lost the resources many of them once had. While Esra's father worked as a building contractor and made a considerable amount of money, now he does not encourage his own children, neither Esra nor his sons, for the occupation he held. Gürhan's and Okan's conversation reveals that as the migrants lose their resources this reflects on their children as deprivation of the possible support of the families. Under these conditions, İzzetpaşa youth accept to work in low-wage jobs, for even 100 or 200 Liras as said in the conversation. Due to the economic distress they live in, they are condemned to these jobs in order to earn some money to afford their most urgent expenses and pay their debts. Gürhan reluctantly returned to the hairdresser's in the neighborhood because he urgently needed money, and considering the complaint of the informants that they earn very small amounts of money, it seems that most of the informants would not want to work in their current jobs and they would be unemployed if they did not need such small amounts of money.

In addition to such poverty, these young people live in an urban order in which money provides various advantages such as a qualified education, qualified health services, and being respected; they live in a society in which everything is bound up with money and economic status (Lüküslü, 2009, pp. 126, 168). It is also argued that with the increase in the use of technological opportunities, the lives of the young people become surrounded by the alternatives they are aware of but which they cannot attain due to the economic and cultural background of their families, and this may increase the feeling of deprivation felt by young people (Yentürk et al, 2007, p. 72). Considering the proximity of İzzetpaşa to Şişli which is marked by the multiplicity of the facilities of consumption, it is apparent that such a feeling of deprivation becomes heavier for the İzzetpaşa youth. In the next chapter I will study how the position of these low-wage workers in the neoliberal economy affects the way they consume urban space. They are in an ambivalent position of being included in the neoliberal urban order but under very unsatisfactory conditions; they are neither totally left out from the new urban order like the mass of young unemployed İzzetpaşa residents who no longer have hopes of finding a job, nor included in the occupational pattern of this order, in the high status jobs with satisfactory wages and social benefits. I will study how these young people affiliate certain places with certain positions in the neoliberal order and how they opt out of some places while they try to consume some other places under the conditions brought about by their place in the urban economy.

CHAPTER 5

LOOKING FOR A PLACE IN THE CITY

In the previous chapter I focused particularly on the position of the informants from İzzetpaşa in the occupational structure of the neoliberal economy. However, the place of these young people in the neoliberal order is not limited to their occupational position; their exclusion from and inclusion in different places in the city is another indicator of the young people's place in this order. As argued by Brenner and Theodore (2004), "cities are not merely localized arenas in which broader global or national projects of neoliberal restructuring unfold. On the contrary, cities have become increasingly central to the reproduction, mutation, and continual reconstitution of neoliberalism itself during the last two decades." The writers add that a marked urbanization of neoliberalism has been taking place during this period as cities are becoming targets for neoliberal policies and projects (p. 28). Following this approach, I do not examine the informants' integration to the neoliberal urban order only in economic terms; I argue that another significant aspect of their integration to this order is their spatial integration to the city. Hence, I try to follow the neoliberal transformations as inscribed in specific urban spaces, İzzetpaşa neighborhood and Şişli especially, and I try to make sense of the spatial practices of the young İzzetpaşa residents as responses and novel forms of action in the face of these transformations. I study the changing relations of the young *gecekondu* residents to these places; how they opt out from specific places while they try to accommodate others from

which they are excluded in different ways, how they try to enjoy these places for social reproduction, how they resort to various tactics to accommodate them. In this way, this study tries to make sense of the city as the "site of ongoing urban conflicts about the provision of the material basis for social reproduction" which is not always a "process of active contestation" (Low, 2005, p. 10). I argue that the young low-wage workers in İzzetpaşa negotiate their place in the neoliberal urban order through the claims they raise for specific places or through their tendency to keep away from some other places, and through their practices in these places. I will start with an account of their changing relation to their own neighborhood.

Leaving the Neighborhood

İzzetpaşa neighborhood is not an immediate target of urban transformation; it is not subject to any *gecekondu* regeneration projects driven by neoliberal urbanism. Nevertheless, the neoliberalization of the city brings about changes in the way the residents relate to their neighborhood. Before examining how the young low-wage workers in İzzetpaşa try to distance themselves from their neighborhood under the conditions of neoliberalism, I will briefly talk about the inadequate recreational facilities in the neighborhood and other factors which push the informants out from İzzetpaşa.

When I asked the informants about how they passed the time in İzzetpaşa, without exception every single answer included the comment that there was nothing to do and nowhere to go in the neighborhood. While walking in the streets of the neighborhood, one can notice the absence of different places which offer the youth the opportunity of

coming together and socializing. The only open public spaces of recreation in the neighborhood are two small parks. These parks are situated in the east and west sides of the southern end of İzzetpaşa on the border between the neighborhood and the center of Şişli. The one on the west is a playground for children with play equipment and the one on the east is both a playground for children and a sports ground for adults with some sports equipment. I have many times seen these two parks crowded with children and adults either watching over their children or exercising on the sports equipments. Except for these two parks I could see no other open public space in the neighborhood designed for bringing people together. Besides, the number of indoor places in which young people can come together is very limited, too. There are only a few restaurants and a few patisseries and a number of internet cafés. All the core group of informants had computers and internet connections at home, hence they do not go to the internet cafés in İzzetpaşa. In the neighborhood, the places in which a number of people can come together are the village associations and *hemşehri* associations, the streets of İzzetpaşa are crowded with these associations. I visited one of these village associations in the neighborhood twice and what I saw was an atmosphere similar to an ordinary coffeehouse; mostly middle-aged and some old men were sitting around tables in groups chatting or playing cards or playing the game called *okey*. One middle-aged man employed in the village association was walking among the tables delivering glasses of tea in exchange for money. The only apparent difference between an ordinary coffeehouse and the village association was that the visitors of the village association were male migrants from a specific village while in a coffeehouse the visitors would be more diverse in terms of their places of origin. When I asked the informants about the

hemşehri associations and village associations, they agreed on the point that these places were in fact coffeehouses run under the name "association" because it was easier to have the license for an association than for a coffeehouse. They added that men gambled in most of these associations. These are places for men, not women. The male informants also said that these associations did not appeal to them and they never visited these places. Some of the male informants said they did not go to the associations because they did not want to waste their time there doing nothing. Besides, Okan expressed his reluctance to come together with his colocal people. His mother had migrated to İzzetpaşa from Erzincan and Okan said he would not go to the association of his mother's village because he did not like the migrants from Erzincan, he found these people rude and uneducated. In our conversation Okan imitated how one such person greeted him when he saw Okan on the street. Imitating the accent of this person, he referred to this person's inability to adapt to the city, he said: "It has been years since this man is in Istanbul but he still does not correct the way he talks, he has not transformed himself, he has not improved."[8] Considering Okan's words, it is apparent that he wants to distance himself from the places in the neighborhood where the relations of localism endure. Another reason why the informants state that there is nowhere to go and nothing to do in the neighborhood is that according to them, there is not a place in İzzetpaşa where a group of friends composed of both girls and boys can go and pass the time comfortably; particularly young women are excluded from the socializing places in the neighborhood. One factor that pushes young women out of İzzetpaşa is the gaze of the residents scrutinizing their behaviors.

[8] "Adam yıllar olmuş Istanbul'da, hâlâ konuşmasını düzeltmiyor, değiştirmemiş hiç kendini, gelişmemiş."

The Gaze of the Neighborhood

In an interview with Esra, when I asked her whether there was some place in the neighborhood where she could spend time, she answered:

> It's not possible in the neighborhood, it's not possible in that way; now if I go to a café here, maybe my father would not say anything about it but maybe I would not find it suitable for myself, I mean in fact I don't know why I would not find it suitable but I wouldn't go, either I stay at home, or if I will go out, I go somewhere else, to Taksim or to Mecidiyeköy.[9]

Esra explains the proper way of behaving within the neighborhood as minimizing the time she spends outside the walls of either her house or her friends' houses and she explains this against a discursive background which consists of an "interplay between a 'code' which rules ways of doing things and a production of true discourses which serve to found, justify and provide reasons and principles for these ways of doing things" (Foucault, 1991, p. 79). The code according to which Esra organizes her behavior in the neighborhood is shaped by what being a "lady" (*bayan)* requires. She says, as a lady, she should be reserved (*ağırbaşlı*), by implicitly referring to the young men in İzzetpaşa, she says she should not talk to many people in the neighborhood and she should not be seen with these people. In order to justify her compliance with this code, she says her family is a family known by many residents in İzzetpaşa and since "you cannot know what is inside others,"[10] she knows some residents of İzzetpaşa may go to her father and spread rumors about her. Having the authority to produce knowledge on how a "lady" should

[9] "Mahallede olmaz yani, hani mahallede olmaz nasıl olmaz, şimdi ben gidip burda bi kafede otursam hani belki babam bi şey demez ama ben kendime belki de yakıştıramam, hani neden yakıştıramadığımı da bilmiyorum aslında ama mahallede gitmem yani, ya evde otururum- otururum, dışarı çıkacaksam da başka yere giderim, Taksim'e giderim, Mecidiyeköy'e giderim."

[10] "Herkesin içini bilemezsin."

behave, the residents of İzzetpaşa turn into a source of gaze which scrutinizes the practices of Esra. The authority of the residents is then transferred to Esra's father who is seen to be the one to take action. In assessing the appropriateness of the practices of the young women in the neighborhood, the residents use some concepts; in Esra's account "being reserved" is used to describe the appropriate manner of the "ladies." Esra also undertakes a mode of objectification in which "a human being turns him- or herself into a subject" (Foucault, 1982, p. 208) and recognizes herself as a "lady" who should follow specific ways of doing things and avoid others; she does not find it suitable for herself to pass time in a café in the neighborhood. Her spatial practices become the link between the knowledge of the neighborhood residents regarding how a young woman must be and the power of her father to act upon Esra's action. And since Esra cannot know "what is inside others," from the moment she steps out in the streets of the neighborhood, she is surrounded by the gaze of the residents but she does not know which gaze may lead to trouble with her family. As a result, under the potential threat of the gazes, she disciplines herself to acting "appropriately" within the neighborhood.

In a similar manner, some of the male informants state their concern for being labeled as a rogue (*serseri*) by the residents of their neighborhood when they are seen in the streets. They themselves label other young men who hang out at the street corners as rogues and try to avoid them. But it should be noted that they care less about this issue compared to the female informants and such a concern is less effective for the male informants in organizing their spatial practices in İzzetpaşa compared to the female informants. In addition to the attempt to evade the gaze of the neighborhood, the

informants' perception of the streets of the neighborhood as dangerous is another significant factor which pushes the informants out of the streets of İzzetpaşa.

Streets of İzzetpaşa as the Home for Danger

In the accounts that the informants give about İzzetpaşa, the neighborhood emerges as a place marked by danger. While talking about İzzetpaşa as a dangerous place they point to three factors as the source of danger: petty crimes committed in the neighborhood, use of drugs by young men on the street corners and the threat of sexual harassment for young women.

To start with the petty crimes, the most common as told by the informants are theft and fights on the streets which sometimes result in injuries. I have heard many stories of theft from different informants. I will refer to one such story in order to point to the informants' basic concerns about these incidents. Esra and Okan once told me how a man living in the neighborhood faced a thief in his bedroom at night. What Esra and Okan underlined as the interesting side of the story was that the owner of the house was the principal of the primary school in the neighborhood and the young man who broke into the house was an İzzetpaşa resident who had had his education at this school. They said when the school principal woke up at night and saw his ex-student in his bedroom the young man jumped down the window and ran away. According to Esra and Okan, the principal did not take any action after this event because he was acquainted with the family of the young man and he was also afraid of getting into trouble with him. The point underlined by the informants about the current theft incidents in the neighborhood

is that the houses in the neighborhood are broken into again by the residents of İzzetpaşa. According to the informants, this situation indicates a significant break in the relationship of the residents of the neighborhood with each other. According to them, in the İzzetpaşa of their childhood, contrary to the current situation, those residents of the neighborhood who committed theft did not break into the houses or the cars in the neighborhood, they stole from other districts in the city. The informants talked about the past of İzzetpaşa as if some unwritten rules operated which prevented the residents from disturbing and giving harm to other residents of the neighborhood; as if the residents obeyed such rules and the rules organized the way the residents behaved to each other. In their accounts, the İzzetpaşa of their childhood emerged as a safe place thanks to the security grounded in knowing that no harm would come from within the neighborhood. Contrary to this, the informants talk about the current situation in İzzetpaşa as marked by insecurity owing to their belief that the residents no longer follow any rules which organize life within the neighborhood. With the indifference to these unwritten rules, the neighborhood itself and the people living in it start to pose a threat to other residents; the neighborhood becomes a place of danger for its own residents and because of its own residents.

When the informants talk about danger posed in the neighborhood, the streets of the neighborhood emerge as the most common place and evening and night hours emerge as the most common time of danger. It was common for me to hear from an informant the scenes of fights she/he encountered while walking on the street or when looking out of the window of their houses. Talking about these fights, most of the time the informants specify the street on which the fight took place, the approximate number of people involved and the weapons such as knives and even cleavers used in the fight. They say

the fights usually break out when two hostile groups of rogues fall into conflict. Some informants described how they had to turn back and walk through another street or how they took cover in the nearby house of an acquaintance when they came across a fight in the street. As the streets of İzzetpaşa pose a threat, the houses become the places which offer safety.[11]

According to the informants, the primary factor which turns the streets into dangerous places is the groups of young men who hang out at the street corners in the evenings and at nights. These groups of young men, who gather at specific corners and chat, explicitly take alcohol and drugs on the street according to the informants. All of the core group of informants expressed the discomfort they felt with these young men but the primary reason why they found these men dangerous was different for the male and female informants. While male informants expressed their worries about the possibility of getting injured due to being pulled into a fight with these groups, young women expressed their worries of being sexually harassed. Talking about his worries Gürhan said:

> After all, you know some of these boys and you don't even know the others. It is unknown how much [drug] he has taken, it is unknown what he'll do. If he starts a fight, provokes you for no reason, you cannot even fight with him since his mind does not function properly, it is unknown what he'll do. When I come across them I don't even look at them, I walk past them fast.[12]

[11] I do not have much data as to what the informants experience in their homes with the members of their families. I just point to how the homes emerge as relatively safe places in the accounts of informants in contrast to the danger on the streets, but it should be noted that the degree of "safety" in their homes is open to question.

[12] "Zaten bazılarını tanıyorsun, bazılarını tanımıyorsun. Ne kadar çekmiş belli değil, adamın ne yapacağı belli değil. Kavga çıkarsa, durduk yere sataşsa kavga da edemezsin, kafası yerinde değil zaten, n'apacağı belli değil. Ben denk gelince hiç bakmıyorum bile, hızlı hızlı yürüyüp geçiyorum."

In such accounts, the inability to know what such people on the streets will do form the basis of the worries of a male informant. Gürhan says he does not know these men and he does not know what they can do after taking drugs; he does not have the safety of getting in touch with a person under the conditions of knowing what this person is likely to do. Due to the absence of such a safety grounded in knowing about these persons, he chooses not to get into contact with the young men on the streets, he chooses to walk past the street with a fast pace. Gürhan adds:

> Those old acquaintances are no longer in the neighborhood. The good side of it was that the rogues did not trouble others. They did not verbally abuse the children or the girls of the neighborhood. We could stroll around till 12 or 1 [at night], now this is not the case. You don't know about him, a rogue, you look at him but you do not recognize him, whatever you say- you cannot say anything to the man, he has been bred somewhere and ended up here.[13]

In Gürhan's words, along with the discomfort grounded in not knowing about the people in the neighborhood, comes the invalidation of the unwritten rules which prohibited giving harm to the residents of the same neighborhood and the sexual harassment of the young women in the neighborhood.

The anxiety about being sexually harassed in the city space came to the fore in the conversations in a meeting with the female informants. Esra, Bahar and I once visited Gülden in her workplace. I first met Esra and we walked there after 5 pm when Esra shut down the establishment in which she works. As said before, Gülden works in an office in Kuştepe and she is usually alone in the office during the day. That day Bahar had talked to two of her friends, two young women with whom she worked in her previous job, and

[13] "Eski tanıdıklar şu anda yok. En azından güzel yanı serseri de kendi çapındaydı yani. Mahallenin çocuklarına veya mahallenin kızlarına laf atmazdı. 12-1'e kadar dolaşırdık, ama şimdi öyle değil. Tanımadığın, serseri, bakıyorsun tanımıyorsun adamı yani, ne desen, hiçbi şey diyemezsin adama, türemiş gelmiş."

she had called them to Gülden's office. At about 7 pm while we were drinking tea and chatting, they called Bahar and asked her to give the address. Then they arrived in an anxious state because they had been followed by a man while they were walking to the office. They said that after the man followed them for a while he came closer to them. This frightened them so they increased their pace of walk and when an old man in front of an office building asked them if there was something wrong, the women walked towards him and waited until the man who was following them disappeared. After a while, they kept on walking to the office building where Gülden works. As they entered the office in anxiety after this incident, the conversation among us took the form of talking about the incidents of sexual harassment. The issue was so familiar to all of the young women in the office that each of us had something to tell. Most of such incidents told by Esra, Gülden and Bahar took place within the borders of İzzetpaşa rather than outside the neighborhood; most of them took place in the streets of İzzetpaşa in the evening hours and the harassers were said to be mostly young men employed in the textile sweatshops, or those men hanging out at the street corners, or sitting at the coffeehouses in the neighborhood. When I asked how they responded to such an incident, the informants stated that they tried to walk past the harasser in order to evade any physical contact. I also learned that sometimes their families got involved in this issue, too. Esra told me that once some adult male residents, including her father and uncle, got together and they threatened a group of young men hanging out at a specific corner who harassed the young women in the neighborhood. Esra says they managed to intimidate these young men and they had to leave the corner.

Along with the streets of the neighborhood, the female informants said that sexual harassment frequently took place in public transportation vehicles. I will refer to what Gülden told me about such an incident in a bus. She said she was recently travelling on a bus sitting on a seat by the aisle. Then a man came, stood close to Gülden and he started to lean his body on Gülden's shoulder and arm. Gülden says she was disturbed and moved away from the man toward the woman sitting next to her by the window. As she moved to the opposite side, the man came closer. Gülden says she nearly jumped on the woman's lap in an attempt to evade the physical contact with the man. She repeated how disgusting it was and said she thankfully had a sweater on hence the man did not touch her bare arm, and she added that after getting home she took off her sweater and put it among the dirty clothes to be washed. This account illustrates how the transgressive male behavior coerces these young women to leave the public spaces in which they are present. They are expropriated from even the physical space their bodies occupy; in the bus while Gülden tried to evade physical contact with the harasser she had to leave the physical space she occupied and this space got occupied by the man. While we were in Gülden's workplace talking about the incidents of sexual harassment, I mentioned how I once run after a man who harassed me in Taksim, hit him on his back and started to shout at him. While I was telling this to the informants I realized that they found such a behavior strange, such a response to harassment was quite dissimilar to their ordinary way of responding. Rather than highlighting their presence in that particular space where they were harassed by taking action against the harasser, they tried to distance themselves from the place where this happened; by walking fast, they tried to decrease the time they

passed in public spaces and tried to get to their homes in order to take shelter in the relative safety there.

While the anxiety about sexual harassment makes the streets dangerous for young women, the use of drugs on the street corners makes the streets dangerous for young men. The use of drugs in the neighborhood is seen like a contagious disease by the informants. While none of the informants relate this issue to themselves in their accounts, I have heard from many of the informants their anxiety that their younger brothers could take drugs and get addicted to them. They said that men were inclined to try it under the influence of their peer group, hence they tried to keep their younger brothers off the streets of İzzetpaşa.

These perceptions of danger push the informants out of the streets of İzzetpaşa. When they are within the borders of the neighborhood, informants pass the time in their houses or in the houses of their friends, or they visit their friends in their workplaces. The borders between the streets and the houses become sharper. Due to the insecurity felt in the streets, informants try to shorten the time they spend on the streets, the streets turn into places to be passed through fast, into obstacles to be passed over on the way to the safe houses.

While the factors mentioned above push the informants out of the streets, the informants themselves seem to have the will to draw away from the neighborhood. When I asked the question how they would have liked to pass the time in İzzetpaşa and what kind of a place they would have wanted there, most of the answers did not reflect any interest in the issue, the informants did not voice a will to reappropriate the public spaces of İzzetpaşa which they have lost. Although they gave nostalgic accounts about their

childhood as to how they could move freely in the streets, this nostalgia did not translate to a demand for the streets of İzzetpaşa today. I argue that such a loss of the claim on the streets of the neighborhood is closely related to the informants' ideas about the place of İzzetpaşa in the neoliberal urban order, and to their attempts for negotiating their own places in this order. In order to study this phenomenon I will study the way the informants affiliate İzzetpaşa and the young men who appropriate its streets with failure in the neoliberal urban order and the way they try to differentiate themselves from the neighborhood in accordance with their attempts to participate in this order from better positions.

İzzetpaşa as a Place of Failure in the Neoliberal Urban Order

When I asked the informants about İzzetpaşa, what they thought about the neighborhood and about the people living in it, most of the answers represented the neighborhood as a good-for-nothing place. In their accounts, İzzetpaşa was full of rogues, the people who cannot adapt to the city life, who are lazy, indifferent to whatever happens, etc. In the interview we conducted, when she was talking about the people living in the neighborhood, Zerrin stated that either married or not, nearly all the men of the neighborhood were danglers, they were all preoccupied with how they could appeal to the girls. The young residents had their head in the clouds, they did not understand anything about life, they did not take anything seriously, neither school nor work, all they could think about was having fun with their friends and so on. She underlined that the people of İzzetpaşa did not try hard for anything; as long as the opportunities were not served to

them they did not bother to struggle for anything. According to her, those young people who have been unemployed for long periods of time did not improve themselves in order to find a job. Then she mentioned her efforts to succeed in an exam to become a certified public accountant, how much time she spent in the *dershane* everyday after work. Then she added that maybe it was all that way because these people had nothing else to do, if they had been raised under better conditions, if they had had better resources, maybe the situation would change. She went on saying: "If opportunities were created, it could change. How would it change then, what would happen then? Yet, it is the same environment again, it would not let you out."[14] In her account, the residents of İzzetpaşa emerge as the failures in the new urban order; they are the unemployed, the uneducated people without enough resources, those who are left behind in an urban order in which the cleavage between the winners and losers gradually deepens. And the neighborhood itself is put forward as the source of the failure of these residents. According to Zerrin, the neighborhood "would not let you out." A significant factor which made the informants try to draw away from İzzetpaşa is this aspect of the neighborhood and of its residents; that the residents did not struggle to succeed in the new urban order, and that the neighborhood itself comprised an obstacle to success. I will refer to Selim's words which illustrate such a belief that the streets of the neighborhood and the young men who appropriate the streets corrupt a person:

> You go out and hang out with the rogues, what will happen then, if they offer you marihuana, will you say 'no, thanks'? OK you may say it, but you say it once or twice, you take it the third time, that's the case. You stay on the street till 2 or 3 at night, you get up in the morning, you go home and get up in the morning at 1 or 2 or 3 [in the afternoon], you take

[14] "İmkânlar yaratılabilse bu şey değişebilir yani. Nasıl değişebilir, işte ne olabilir? Gerçi yine aynı ortam, bu ortamdan çıkılmaz."

> money from your mother and father, you do not work, you enjoy yourself. You enjoy yourself, but how long will it last? You end up in a deadlock.[15]

In their narratives, the informants represent the young residents of the neighborhood as divided into two groups which reflects their positions in the urban order. Wacquant (2002) defines these positions as the two distinct yet closely linked and mutually reinforcing quandaries of the problem of poverty and work in America: "*exclusion* from employment (deproletarianization) and *inclusion* into precarious wage labor (casualization) that maintains employees in a state of deprivation, dependency, and dishonor" (p. 1518, original emphasis). He further defines these two fractions of the black urban proletariat; one is "situated at the cusp of the formal wage economy and tenuously oriented toward the official structures of white-dominated society (the school, the law, marriage), the other deproletarianized to such an extent that it is turning inward to the informal society and economy of the street" (p. 1500). In their narratives, the informants contrast themselves to the unemployed street hangers of the neighborhood, to the "rogues" as they call them. While the informants are integrated to the neoliberal order, although tenuously and from the lower positions as low-wage workers, the "rogues" represent total failure in this order. The informants also see that as these street hangers keep on their lifestyle in the streets, they are subject to higher levels of violence.

The violence experienced by the street hangers originates from a combination of their families, the police and the neighborhood residents. In a meeting with Esra, Bahar and Gülden, the three women started to talk about an incident when some young men from İzzetpaşa were taken to the police station and they were badly beaten by the police

[15] "Çıkacaksın serserilerle takılacaksın, e n'olacak, esrar verse 'almam' mı diyeceksin? Dersin de bir dersin iki dersin üçte alırsın, n'olacak. Gece kalırsın sokakta 2'ye 3'e kadar, sabah kalkarsın, eve gidersin sabah kalkarsın 1'de-2'de-3'te, alırsın parayı anandan babandan, ne çalışırsın, oh keyfine bakarsın. Bakarsın keyfine, de ne kadar bakarsın? Gelir bi yerde tıkanırsın."

in the interrogation. These young men were among the "rogues" who occupied a street corner in the neighborhood. One day the father of one of these men realized that when his son came home he was under the effect of the drugs he had taken. The man got very angry with his son and he clobbered him. Then he took his son to the police station and told the police that they should beat him more in order to learn about the identity of the drug dealer who sold drugs to his son. According to the informants, the young man was beaten by the police, too. The police learned about the drug dealer and other friends of the young man who used drugs. The informants said all these men were badly beaten and the drug dealer was sent to prison.

The attitude of the father is reminiscent of the method of disciplining explained by Goldstein (2003) in her study in a Rio shantytown. She defines this method of "being cruel in order to be kind" as a survivalist ethos of child rearing used by the main informant of her study, Gloria. Since the trajectory into criminality by young men is a form of local knowledge and a vehicle of advancement due to the lack of alternatives (p. 203), particularly mothers try to distance their children from criminality by using violence in order to protect them from more brutal violence faced by criminals. In the case of the young man from İzzetpaşa who was beaten and taken to the police station by his father, Esra, Gülden and Bahar approved the behavior of the father. Bahar said: "But what else can the man do, [it was] in order to ensure that his son did not do the same thing [again], for rescuing him."[16] According to the informants, the residents of İzzetpaşa also use violence against the street hangers in order to kick them out of the neighborhood. Under these conditions, the fraction among the young residents of İzzetpaşa takes the form of a fraction between the low-wage workers who try to consolidate their precarious

[16] "E ama n'apsın adam, yapmasın diye, belki kurtarabilirim diye."

places in the neoliberal urban order through upward mobility to better positions, and the unemployed street hangers who are totally excluded from the formal occupational opportunities in this order. Accordingly, the way the low-wage workers relate to their neighborhood and to the street hangers is shaped in line with low-wage workers' fears of falling into this second group. Considering the possibility of losing even the little money they earn, and considering the high levels of violence leveled at the street hangers, the young low-wage workers try to keep away from the neighborhood which they view as a source of failure, and they try to differentiate themselves from the street hangers as a first step for consolidating their place in the neoliberal urban order. As a part of these attempts, they resort to a nostalgic narrative of the past of İzzetpaşa.

In the informants' narratives about the past of the neighborhood during their childhood, it was striking to see the similarity of their narratives in terms of the way they talked about the neighborhood as a place of comfort, a place known to them, a place they easily strolled around. The streets of İzzetpaşa were mentioned as the primary place their days passed. Every single informant stressed that they were on the streets the whole day. In a conversation with Esra, Gürhan, Okan and Selim they all shared each other's accounts on how their childhood passed on the streets of the neighborhood the whole day and till late at night, they interrupted each other's words and were pleased to talk about that. They said that the garden of the primary school, which is the only school in the neighborhood, was also a playground for them in addition to the streets of İzzetpaşa. Informants said that they used to play various games in the neighborhood until late hours at night. It was difficult for their mothers to take them home. The interview I conducted with a 36 year-old man Emrah, illustrates the degree to which streets were like "home" to

the children of the neighborhood. It was Esra who introduced me to Emrah. She knew him from her childhood and called him "[elder] brother Emrah" (*Emrah abi*). He was born in İzzetpaşa and has lived there all his life. He had close relations with young İzzetpaşa residents, mostly young men. After I asked him where he himself and the young people passed the time in the neighborhood now, he replied there is no place to pass the time there. He said:

> That old thing is no longer on the streets. Before, since I am an original inhabitant here [my childhood passed here], we used to sleep on the streets before. Because, everybody was familiar to each other, everybody knew each other, erm everybody was acquaintance and kin. Now, everywhere has become- I mean, related to textiles, sweatshops, erm that atmosphere is no more, everyone has become strangers, there remains no original inhabitants, I mean it's so rare.[17]

Young men in the group of informants narrated how they used to pass the whole day on top of the trees in the school garden. The conversation went as:

> Okan- We were on the top of the trees the whole day, like monkeys. Everybody had a tree, we knew which tree belonged to whom, [and we used to say] "This is my tree!"
> Selim- [Like] "Don't pick berries from my tree!"
> Okan- But that was really the case. There was that thing, there were groups, there were groups then, too, like our group, that of Erhan's… There used to be fights but, nevertheless…
> Esra- We used to come to an agreement.
> Okan- We used to fight but-
> Selim- Like pissing off each other.
> Okan- But nevertheless we used to do that, we nevertheless had a friendship, that thing, we were not like enemies. We used to fight, do everything but you knew each other, you would agree in the end.[18]

[17] Sokaklarda artık eski şey yok. Önceden, tabi ben yerlisi olduğum için [çocukluğum burada geçti], önceden sokaklarda yatardık biz. Çünkü herkes birbirini tanır, herkes birbirini bilir, eee herkes eş-dost akrabaydı. Şimdi her yer şey oldu- işte tekstille alakalı olsun, işyeri olsun, atölye olsun, eee ortam kalmadı, herkes yabancılaştı, artık eski yerlisi kalmadı, yani çok nadir."

[18] Okan- Biz bütün gün ağaçların tepesindeydik, maymun gibi. Herkesin bi ağacı vardı, hangi ağaç kimin bilirdik, "Bu benim ağacım!" [derdik.]
Selim- Böyle "Benim dutlarımı alma!" falan.

This piece of conversation gives an example of how these young people in their childhood connected to the neighborhood and to the other residents through a relationship of knowing the neighborhood, of familiarity with it. It starts with a tiny detail as to how the children claimed the right on specific trees in the school garden and how they expected others to know and acknowledge this, and then this memory is tied to a story of how being familiar with other groups in the neighborhood prevented them from getting involved in serious fights. They talked about the İzzetpaşa of those times as if all the streets belonged to them, in Emrah's words "they slept in the streets." The borders between the streets and the houses tended to disappear in their narratives.

The informants did not talk about anything that obstructed their movement in the neighborhood. They talked as if all the places in the neighborhood were open to them, and as if there were no borders between different places that would block their movements. In their narratives, İzzetpaşa of their childhood was a limitless space; there were no borders between the homes and the streets, between those places they could go to and those they could not go to. But the informants also talked about this limitless space of the neighborhood as totally graspable by them, as a place they could know. Selim said: "Before, the houses were one storey or two, there were no apartments. When you went up to the terrace of your house you could see every part of the neighborhood from one way

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Okan- Gerçekten öyleydi ama. Hani şey vardı, hani grup vardı hani, o zaman da grup vardı, mesela bizim grubumuz, Erhanların grubu... Kavgalar oluyordu ama yine de...

Esra- Anlaşılıyordu yani yine.

Okan- Kavga ediyorduk ama-

Selim- Birbirine gıcık gitme işte böyle.

Okan- Ama yine de böyle ama yine de şey yapıyorduk, yine böyle bir arkadaşlığımız şeyliğimiz vardı, hani böyle düşman gibi değildik. Kavga yapıyorduk, her şey yapıyorduk ama biliyorsun birbirini, anlaşıyorsun sonuçta.

to the other, you could see every single house, down to the stream."[19] In the accounts that the informants chose to tell about the past of İzzetpaşa, the neighborhood emerged as a borderless, limitlessly extending space that contained and embraced the whole world of the informants in their childhood without constraining it, as a place that was totally known to them and graspable by them because the residents used to follow some rules which made it possible to know what a person would and would not do to another resident. Two related feelings are prominent in these narratives about the past of İzzetpaşa; one is a feeling of security grounded in the knowledge the informants had of the neighborhood and of its residents, and the other is a feeling of comfort and freedom grounded in being able to move comfortably in the streets of the neighborhood.

This narrative is significant in terms of how it is used by the informants in differentiating themselves from İzzetpaşa today. I argue that the nostalgic stress on the İzzetpaşa of the informants' childhood as a golden past is a specific account constructed by the informants in accordance with their experiences and desires today. Özyürek (2008) argues that what makes any moment of nostalgia unique is the role it plays in relation to today. She studies the first generation educated youth of the republic who still represent themselves as the embodiment of the ideals of the republic today and she analyzes the list of virtues which belong to the "golden age of the Republic" as shaped in dialogue with and criticism of the political circumstances in modern Turkey (p. 50). In a similar way, the nostalgic narrative of the past of İzzetpaşa uttered by the informants is shaped according to their experiences today. By underlining that the streets of İzzetpaşa belonged to them in the past and that they could know about the neighborhood, they

[19] "Eskiden evler hep 1 katlı-2 katlıydı, apartmanlar yoktu. Çıkardın evin terasına baktın mı baştan aşağı mahallenin her yerini görürdün, her evi görürdün, dereye kadar."

pointed to what they experience today. Through the nostalgia felt for the past of İzzetpaşa, they pointed to the absence of what existed before; being the owners of the streets and knowing the neighborhood. Through this narrative they showed that they did not own the streets anymore, and they did not know about the neighborhood and its residents anymore. In this way, they used this narrative as part of an effort to differentiate themselves from the neighborhood.

As the informants try to differentiate themselves from the street hangers in İzzetpaşa, they support harsh policing strategies against the "criminals;" they further criminalize the young groups who are left out of the neoliberal urban order. Goldstein (2003) states that the working classes, who are most often the victims of police violence, are also the keenest supporters of violent police actions (p. 199). Similarly, the informants who may easily lose their precarious places in the new urban order support the police violence which frequently targets the groups excluded from the formal economy. Esra complained that the police could not stroll around in İzzetpaşa at night. In a conversation with Esra, Okan and Selim, they agreed on the point that there was an increase in the incidents of theft and purse-snatching because the police could not take effective action against the criminals since they had limited authority. In this conversation I asked Okan who was working as a security guard in a department store in Cevahir Shopping Center about the incidents of theft that came up in his workplace. Okan answered that there were too many incidents. When I asked him how they responded to such an incident, he was reluctant to give details but he stated that they had to use initiative in these incidents because the legal procedures operated too slowly and the punishments were not deterrent. I argue that the informants try to further differentiate

themselves from the "criminals" and "rogues" in their neighborhood by supporting police violence against these groups excluded from the formal economy of the neoliberal order and by accepting the necessity of "taking initiative" when they find the police violence inadequate and legal procedures too slow. Since they are so close to the groups excluded from the formal urban economy and since they may easily fall into these groups, the young low-wage workers try to distance themselves by continually stressing their difference from these groups. In their attempt to minimize their contact with them, they minimize the time they spend in the streets of their neighborhood. While they point to the "danger" on the streets of İzzetpaşa as the reason why they try to leave the streets of the neighborhood, this perceived danger is embedded in their discourses and behaviors through which they criminalize the street hangers in the neighborhood. As a group of the young residents of İzzetpaşa neighborhood gets integrated to the neoliberal urban economy as low-wage workers and another group of youth is totally excluded from this economy, the former group tries to leave their neighborhood and the latter group is further criminalized in their neighborhood. Under these conditions, the urban centers restructured under neoliberal urbanism appeal to the young low-wage workers who try to distance themselves from their neighborhood. In the following part of this chapter I will examine the spatial practices of these young people in the Cevahir Shopping Center located on the Büyükdere Avenue in the business center of Şişli.

Gravitating to the Urban Center

Büyükdere Avenue is the locus of the business center in Şişli. This avenue presents two urban functions; global business functions are prosecuted in the luxurious high-rises of multinational business offices which produce services for international capital, and the avenue also functions as a consumer space with a large shopping center, a good deal of shops and stores which sprawl on the pavements of the avenue exhibiting their products. This avenue connects the Büyükdere-Maslak Axis to Osmanbey and Beyoğlu. The Büyükdere-Maslak Axis has been studied by Öktem (2005) in terms of the role the global city discourse plays in the transformation of urban space. In line with the argument that globalization is a strategic discourse which acquires meaning and content in concrete power struggles, and operates as the basis of justification and legitimization for various practices in the metropolis (Öncü & Weyland, 2007, p. 31), Öktem argues that as the globalization discourse became the dominant discourse in academic and political circles, the projects of turning Istanbul into a "global city" has been used in the service of legitimizing the political and economic programs produced by the dominant class and the distribution of land rent among this class. Öktem studies the role played by the local governments which were in power between the years 1984 to 2004 and argues that although these governments held different global city imaginations for Istanbul in accordance with their own lines of thought, they converged on their attempts to build an international finance center in order to prepare the city for international capital. In this attempt, the Büyükdere-Maslak Axis became the locus of that international finance center. This transformation of the Büyükdere-Maslak Axis increased income inequality in

the city by protecting the interests of elite groups, resulted in land speculation, and increased social polarization by spending the resources of the city for the sake of creating the economic infrastructure for transnational capital instead of for the housing, education, health and transportation needs of the poor classes.

Büyükdere Avenue and the Büyükdere-Maslak Axis have some dissimilarities because while Büyükdere Avenue is a business district which developed in earlier periods when globalization attempts did not have their full grip on urban programs, the Büyükdere-Maslak Axis was rebuilt in recent years in accordance with the requirements of preparing the infrastructure for international capital. Therefore, while there are a number of skyscrapers and a number of shopping centers on the Büyükdere-Maslak Axis, there are a number of high-rises with fewer flats and one large shopping center on Büyükdere Avenue. Despite such differences, Büyükdere Avenue also functions as a business center in the service of international capital. With the offices of multinational corporations, a large shopping mall and various stores addressing global consumption patterns, Büyükdere Avenue is a site where the resources of the city are concentrated under neoliberal projects intermingled with the attempts of globalizing the city.

According to Harvey (2006), urbanism depends on the concentration of a significant amount of surplus-product in a specific point in space (p. 207). He analyzes urbanism in capitalist societies as the center of the creation, appropriation and circulation of surplus value; urban economy creates, extracts and concentrates surplus and the city functions as a productive center around which an active space is created from which increasing quantities of surplus-product can be extracted (pp. 211, 217). According to Harvey's account, the substantial surplus-product concentration in the capitalist market

economy is mainly accumulated in large corporations and it must be spent in a way that does not menace scarcity which is the basis of market economy. In this way, surplus product is consumed in socially undesirable ways such as conspicuous consumption, grandiose construction in urban areas and wastefulness (pp. 109-110). Looking through Harvey's perspective, both the luxuriousness of the high-rises along the Büyükdere Avenue and the abundance of commodities exhibited for consumption mark this place as a spatial embodiment of the concentration of high amounts of surplus value. This site of corporate culture and consumption displays the concentration of wealth, abundance and luxuriousness; it presents the mobilization and investment of the resources –or the surplus product- in the service of the global market economy and in the service of the upper and middle class elites who benefit from the proliferation of global corporate culture in the city. As the increase in shopping malls and offices from the 1990s on is embedded in the larger process of the increasing dominance of the finance and service sectors in Istanbul's economy (Bartu & Kolluoğlu, 2008, p. 16), Büyükdere Avenue represents this transformation.

Various works on the city restructuring and gentrification projects point to their exclusionary aspect towards the poor populations. As explained by Roschelle and Wright (2003), city redevelopment policies promoting tourism, shopping, sports, and entertainment have facilitated the social exclusion of the poor and promoted harsh policing strategies against them. The urban policies that lead to rapid gentrification of the city have been displacing poor and working people for years. In addition, recent increases in disparities of wealth combined with a reduction in the social wage, inadequate health care, and the decline of affordable housing have forced the poor and homeless out of

desirable public spaces, isolating them in peripheral neighborhoods and in shelters (p. 149). As stated by Bartu and Kolluoğlu (2008), "one of the main factors enabling and justifying primarily *Gecekondu* Transformation Projects, Prestige Projects, and History and Culture Projects is the discourse that marks the areas populated by the urban poor as dangerous, a breeding ground for illegal activities, and areas of social decay or social ill" (pp. 41-42). Goldstein (2003) argues that while the middle and upper classes seem to have become obsessed with crime and the shrinking of public space, under the exclusionary practices in public spaces it is the working classes that in distinct ways continue to be barred from important dimensions of public life (p. 92). In Istanbul, the criminalization of *gecekondu* residents and their accusation for the "backward" sides of the city has a long history; migrants and the squatters have for long been criminalized and the newly urbanized population blamed for lowering the quality of the human stock (Bora, 1999, p. 55). Hence, the exclusionary aspect of the urban centers towards the poor populations and the *gecekondu* residents should be kept in mind in studying the way these people try to consume these places.

Cevahir Shopping Center falls on the Büyükdere Avenue in the central business district in Şişli. Before studying the informants' practices in this shopping center I will first give an account of the borders that the informants should pass in order to reach this place. Even though Büyükdere Avenue and İzzetpaşa are physically very close to each other, this physical proximity is interrupted by physical and symbolic borders. One such border is the part of E-5 highway that runs between Şişli and İzzetpaşa from above. It will be useful here to remember what Erder (1997) says about E-5; according to her this highway separates poverty and wealth in the city space. While urban land which is

included in the formal urban system lies along one side of this highway, on its other side lie new informal urban settlements whose residents desire to get integrated into the formal urban system. She argues that basic issues of tension in the city take place between the residents of the two different areas; namely those "up the E-5" and "down the E-5" (pp. 116, 167). Similarly, the *gecekondu* neighborhood İzzetpaşa falls on one side of E-5, and on the other side of the highway lies the central business district which embodies the concentration of urban resources in the formal urban system.

While İzzetpaşa and Büyükdere Avenue are physically proximate, the way leading from one to the other is not a straight way; it is interrupted by the Armenian Cemetery. With its high walls surrounding it and the lock on its gates, this cemetery interrupts the route between İzzetpaşa and Büyükdere Avenue. In order to walk from İzzetpaşa to Büyükdere Avenue, one has to walk around the cemetery either from the eastern or the western side of it since one cannot take the straight way across the cemetery. In addition, the high walls around the cemetery interrupt the sight between these two areas and separate them by making them invisible from each other.

Another factor which interrupts the route between İzzetpaşa and Büyükdere Avenue is the questioning of the identity cards of pedestrians by police officers. One who takes the route on the western side of the cemetery facing the building of the newspaper *Cumhuriyet*, frequently comes across some police officers who stop some pedestrians without any formal criteria and ask to see their identity cards. This practice is called "general information control" (*genel bilgi tarama*) and different arguments are made to justify this practice. It is argued that this practice is a measure against possible terrorist attacks, or it helps to pick up military deserters and other criminals etc. While some

young informants from İzzetpaşa were convinced with the arguments in favor of this practice, some complained about it. Those who complain say that especially young men are arbitrarily stopped by the police. Gürhan said: "The moment you stand [on that street] for 2 minutes, you find the police under your nose immediately,"[20] he was uneasy about becoming a suspect so arbitrarily. In order to go to the Cevahir Shopping Center in the central business district, the informants pass over these obstacles which separate them from this place.

One of the most significant factors which shapes the way informants organize their practices in their neighborhood and in the larger urban space is the economic difficulties they live in. Lacking money at their disposal results in their exclusion from various places and activities. This situation is included in the definition of social exclusion. As stated by Yurttagüler (2008), social exclusion denotes the condition that individuals or groups cannot have access to social the sphere due to various reasons although they want to. The social sphere that young people find difficult to access or cannot access due to their disadvantages is used to denote both space and social services. The social activities that they cannot attend and their inability to enjoy opportunities such as employment, education, health services, dwelling, and social security are all conditions of social exclusion (p. 380), and the bases on which people are socially excluded include poverty, their language, their place of residence and unemployment (p. 382). Poverty stricken people and youth are taken to be two categories which have the highest risk of facing social exclusion (p. 386). I could observe how lacking enough money led to the social exclusion of young informants from different places and services in the city. In a conversation on the phone with Gürhan while he was unemployed, he told me there was a

[20] "2 dakika durdun mu hemen polis bitiyor yanında."

possibility that he could be employed by a GSM operator in Bursa and he could move to Bursa. He added that he wanted to start that job with social security because it was very difficult to live unemployed or employed without social security. He said if he got sick it would be very difficult for him to afford the expenses of a medical examination and of the necessary medicine. Since he did not have enough money, he was excluded from the basic health services.

Lacking money also delimits the mobility of the informants in the city space. A similar case is illustrated by Whyte (1981) in his study conducted in 1937-1938 which focuses on a corner gang composed of young Italian migrant men living in a slum district named Cornerville in Boston's north end. Studying this corner gang named Nortons, Whyte pays special attention to Doc who is seen as the leader by the members of the gang. Doc says if he had a job, he would be thinking about getting married. He says he drops the girls he dates because he has nothing to offer to a girl. He says he will never get married unless he finds a good job (p. 36). Whyte says that although Doc had moved freely through Cornerville and in outlying districts, and he was popular and had influence on the young men around him, after losing his job, "the years of unemployment had sapped his confidence and steadily narrowed his sphere of social activity," Doc's sphere of movement got limited to the Norton Street in Cornerville because he was "too disgusted with [himself] to go to any place else," in Doc's words (p. 40). Unemployed, Doc withdrew from the group activities since having no money to spend prevented him from doing things that were expected of him in these activities (p. 40). When there was no money among the members of the gang, there was little that the members could do except hanging out on the corner (p. 42). In a similar way, when I asked the informants

which places they frequented, the answers were very limited and some answers stated that this was because they did not have enough money. Gürhan told me that once Gürhan and Okan were flirting with two girls and one day the girls asked them to meet somewhere. They had very little money which would not meet the cost of sitting in a café and drinking something. They said as a principle they would not let the girls pay for anything so they went to their friends in order to borrow some money. Gürhan said if they could not have borrowed any money, they would have feigned an excuse and would not have met the girls. Having little money encloses the informants in their houses. Selim once said that rather than going out after work and spending money, he borrowed the DVDs of his favorite serials from his friends and watched them at home. Okan once stated that he had not gone to the pictures for 6 or 7 months because the fare was very high. Particularly the female informants prefer to spend time in Taksim and Kadıköy because they want to evade the gaze of the neighborhood, but their economic plight limits their movement in these districts, too. Esra, Bahar and Gülden once told me how they went to different cafés in Kadıköy and bargained with the staff in order to spend time there with their friends for smaller amounts of money. Since many recreational activities are offered in exchange for money, these informants who have little money are excluded from many of such activities and from the places in which the activities are offered. In this limited range of places visited by the informants, Cevahir Shopping Center was among the first places the informants said they went to. I will focus on their practices in this shopping center in an attempt to bring to light how they claim a place in the new urban order through their spatial practices.

Non-Consumers in the Shopping Center

As stated by Roschelle and Wright (2003), in global cities urban development is oriented towards the "new 'fantasy cities' where shopping, finance, real estate and general services shape a public space of consumption over production, of private over public spaces" and the new entertainment complexes privilege the affluent over those who do not fit (p. 154). Such a transformation of the urban space is prominent in Istanbul and a significant instance of this transformation is the spreading of shopping centers throughout the city. As stated by Abu-Lughod (1994b), "quasi-public" space is substituted for truly public space in shopping centers and malls; "while activity in such spaces are presumably 'free' and open to all, such spaces are essentially 'private property'" (p. 260). While these recreational places are designed to promote consumption and hence address the affluent classes and privilege them in this sense, they also appeal to the lower classes by responding to some of their demands which are not answered in the public spaces available to them. As the young informants from İzzetpaşa cannot find public spaces in their immediate environment which can answer their demands, and as they try to differentiate themselves from the street hangers and accordingly leave their neighborhood, they turn to Cevahir Shopping Center. Even though they state that they do not like shopping centers, they all visit Cevahir. Before focusing on the informants' practices in Cevahir, I will first mention the reasons why they go to this shopping center. I will specify their demands from a recreational place and in which ways this shopping center fulfills these demands.

Different studies on the consumers' use of shopping centers reveal the primacy of the socializing function of these shopping environments; young people can come together to spend time among their peers and friends in these places; "the act of purchase is not pivotal to the experience" (Miller et al, 1998, cited in Miles, 2003, p. 73) and "young people use shopping environments as places to socialise first and consume second" (White, 1996, cited in Miles, 2003, p. 73). Similarly, the young low-wage workers from İzzetpaşa demand from a recreational place that it provides them the opportunity to socialize with their friends, they do not visit these places alone. They also want to feel comfortable in such a place as a group of friends composed of both women and men which is not possible in their neighborhood according to them. While Cevahir Shopping Center gives the informants this opportunity which they cannot find in the neighborhood, it also appeals to them as a safe place and helps them to evade the "danger" in their neighborhood. They can stay in Cevahir until it closes at 10 pm while they say İzzetpaşa is dangerous particularly at evening hours. In addition to staying away from danger by passing time in Cevahir, they can evade the gaze of the adult residents of İzzetpaşa since it is the young residents rather than adults who visit the shopping center. As shopping centers become places which help young upper class men and women of Cairo to "escape their parent's guardianship," and which secure them "a private space separated from their family in which to build a relationship" (Eum, 2005, p. 102), particularly for the female informants, Cevahir offers a relatively private place sheltered from the gaze of the adults who may spread rumors about them. These reasons make Cevahir a convenient place for the informants to comfortably socialize with their friends. But another determining factor is that even though it is a place designed to promote consumption, Cevahir gives the

informants the opportunity to enjoy some of its benefits without spending any money or by spending only small amounts of money. I will try to clarify this issue by focusing on the tactics they use in coping with the condition of consuming this place of consumption most often as non-consumers.

The basic complaint of the informants about Cevahir was that it was expensive. When I met four of the informants in a café in Cevahir for a focus group interview, in the conversation examples were given about the high prices of clothes in the stores, and how expensive it was to eat in this shopping center. After we paid for the glasses of tea we drank and left the café, one of the informants pointed out that we had drunk just a few glasses of tea and had to pay a high amount of money. I also heard from some other informants that the prices in Cevahir were too high for their budget. Their critique was fundamentally oriented to the high prices rather than to the fact that this place was designed to offer socializing opportunities in exchange for money. The informants did not voice any demands for places in which they could socialize without paying money. Rather than criticizing such consumption places on the grounds that they should not be obliged to pay for recreation and socialization, they manipulated the design of Cevahir through their spatial practices there. In studying the informants' practices in the shopping center I will draw upon de Certeau's conceptualization of "tactic."

De Certeau (1984) defines one purpose of his work as bringing to light "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'" (pp. xi-xii). He studies everyday practices as "ways of operating" or doing things in the space constituted by others (p. 18), as ways of using

things according to circumstances within the order established by the "strong" (p. 40). In De Certeau's conceptualization, the basic difference between strategy and tactic is that "strategies are able to produce, tabulate, and impose spaces" whereas "tactics can only use, manipulate, and divert these spaces" (p. 30).

Drawing on Certeau's conceptualization, I study the informants' spatial practices in Cevahir shopping center in terms of the use they make of this place, in terms of the tactics they employ while consuming this place which is a "product imposed by a dominant economic order" (pp. xii-xiii), and the way their use of the dominant social order deflects its power (p. xiii).

On the grounds that they are designed for promoting consumption, shopping centers are the product of the neoliberal urban order which shapes a space of consumption over production. By using tactics, what the informants do in this space of consumption is consuming it without performing the practice inscribed in its design, that is, they consume the space of the shopping center without spending money, they manipulate the imposed consumption pattern of the shopping center. They "claim space as non-consumers in a consumer-oriented world" (Presdee, 1986, cited in Miles, 2003, p. 72). In order to consume this place without spending money, they get together with their friends and they walk around the shopping center without buying anything. They eat at home and then visit the shopping center in order not to spend any money in the restaurants. And when they decide to sit in a café in the shopping center, like the time we conducted a focus group interview in Cevahir, rather than an expensive café, they choose the cheapest café; one that is situated in a hall between the rows of stores. When we spent time in the café we all drank tea, the cheapest thing on the menu. When the weather is

nice, they sometimes sit on the stairs outside the entrance of the center. Through these tactics, they consume the shopping center by benefiting from the opportunities it offers; such that while we were talking about Cevahir, Gürhan stated that the good thing about this place was that when you pass the time there, you are indoors, you are in a warm place and you still do not pay for it. While the shopping center is a place constituted by the neoliberal urban order which "they lack the means to challenge," they escape its design "without leaving it" (De Certeau, 1984, p. xiii). De Certeau (1984) states that "innumerable ways of playing and foiling the other's game, that is, the space instituted by others, characterize the subtle, stubborn, resistant activity of groups which, since they lack their own space, have to get along in a network of already established forces and representations" (p. 18). Similarly, the informants who leave their neighborhoods and who are excluded from different recreational places because they do not have enough money, consume the constituted space of the shopping center through some tactics and resist the design of this place through the tactics they use in making use of this place. By walking around in the shopping center without any shopping bags in their hands which would demonstrate the practice of consuming in exchange for money, the informants create a space for "utopian points of reference" (De Certeau, 1984, p. 18); they embody the demand for a public space in the neoliberal urban order which is designed for free recreation and socialization, a space that they can enjoy without needing the fundamental value in the dominant order; money.

Although the informants manipulate the design of the shopping center through the tactics they employ in consuming this place, their relationship to this place is not so clear. They also support the consumption-oriented design of the shopping center through the

critiques they level against other young residents of İzzetpaşa who visit this place.

It was surprising for me to see that the informants criticized other young residents of İzzetpaşa who visited Cevahir rather than criticizing the middle or upper classes who consumed this place. Their critiques focused on the point that many other young men and women from İzzetpaşa came to Cevahir in order to meet new people of the opposite sex and to flirt with them. According to them, those İzzetpaşa residents who spent time in Cevahir did not behave there in the appropriate way, they even went there for immoral reasons. I will quote a conversation with Bahar which highlights how they accused others of being immoral. Referring to the young female İzzetpaşa residents who spent time in Cevahir, Bahar said: "They do not go to Cevahir for shopping. She orders a coke and sits till the evening hours looking around her. If somebody comes and wants to meet her and says 'Could I sit here?" it is so normal [for her] that she says 'OK,' they become friends. They go to Cevahir in order to meet rich men."[21] She also said that boys and girls were looking at each other with sheep's eyes in Cevahir. This critique underlines how the informants draw a difference between the reasons why themselves and the other young İzzetpaşa residents visit Cevahir; while the informants visit this place in order to get together with their friends, other İzzetpaşa residents try to flirt with the people whom they meet there. Underlining such a difference, the informants try to further differentiate themselves from the residents of their neighborhood. But by blaming other İzzetpaşa residents for flirting inappropriately in Cevahir, they take on the gaze of the neighborhood which they themselves complain about, and they direct this gaze against the other young residents of İzzetpaşa. And by saying that these young İzzetpaşa

[21] "Cevahir'e alışverişe gitmiyorlar ki. Alıyor bi kola, oturuyor akşama kadar sağına soluna bakıyor. Tanışmak isteyip de gelen olursa "Oturabilir miyim?" dese [ona göre] çok normal, "Otur" diyor, arkadaş oluyor. Zengin adam bulmaya gidiyorlar Cevahir'e."

residents do not come to Cevahir for shopping, and by stressing the inappropriateness of their behavior of ordering just a coke and sitting for long hours, they reinforce the consumerist design of the shopping center which they manipulate through the tactics they employ.

In this thesis, I tried to illustrate that the way the informants consume urban space is closely related to their positions in the neoliberal urban economy. These low-wage workers who can integrate to the neoliberal urban order, even though tenuously, believe that they can secure their integration to this order and claim better positions in it as long as they can differentiate themselves from the other young groups in their neighborhood who are left out from the occupational patterns of the neoliberal order. Since the low-wage jobs they work in have great value for them due to the inadequacy of their resources, they undertake the burden of continuously distancing themselves from the "rogues" in their neighborhood, and from the neighborhood itself. To this end, they leave the public spaces of İzzetpaşa by using the streets solely as places of passage. Although some factors such as their attempts to evade getting into fights or being sexually harassed push these young people out from their neighborhood, they willingly contribute to their exclusion from İzzetpaşa. By further criminalizing other young groups in their neighborhood and complaining about the "danger" on the streets, they leave their neighborhood.

As they leave their neighborhood as part of an attempt to secure their places in the neoliberal urban order, they gravitate to the shopping mall in the urban center. Although they manipulate the neoliberal motive by consuming this consumption space as non-

consumers, they reinforce this neoliberal motive in their attempts to differentiate themselves from the other young İzzetpaşa residents.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

Istanbul has been going through significant transformations under neoliberal urbanism and the repercussions of these transformations which have been reshaping the economy of the city and the urban space are experienced by various urban groups in different ways. In this thesis, I studied a young group of friends from a *gecekondu* neighborhood which is not an immediate target of any urban transformation project, and I tried to examine the impact of the neoliberal transformations on the lives of these young people. I focused on their positions in the neoliberal urban economy and the way they reorganized their relationship with different places in the city in accordance with the conditions embedded in their positions in the urban economy.

In order to discern the position of these young people in the city, I first referred to the changing conditions for migrant groups in the city as a result of the neoliberalization of the city starting with 1980. As migrants of the 1940s and 50s, the families of the informants could find employment opportunities in the city, secure their homes, and with the process "poverty by turns" (Işık & Pınarcıoğlu, 2001) some of them could even accumulate material resources at the expense of the newcomer migrants after 1980. I argued that even though the resources accumulated by families brought specific advantages for their children, the opportunities they could grasp in the city were not

directly transferred to their children; the young *gecekondu* residents born in the second half of the 1980s try to carve out a place in the neoliberal city deprived of the resources that their families could once enjoy. Unlike the conditions in the city under the import-substituting programs, it is difficult for the young *gecekondu* residents to find jobs with the changing occupational pattern which cannot absorb the vast wave of migrants (Keyder, 1999b), and they are deprived of the "comparatively generous social safety net" (Ünay, 2006, p. 60). In addition, unlike their parents who could appropriate urban land and secure their houses, these young people have very limited prospects of owning a house.

After pointing to the changing conditions for the *gecekondu* populations after the 1980s, I tried to delineate the informants' position in the urban economy by focusing on their educational backgrounds and their working histories. Even though they had higher levels of formal education compared to the average educational background of the young residents of their neighborhood, the education they received did not offer them the chance of working in high status jobs. They fall into the category of low-wage workers in the service sector. As the opportunity of the "decent" jobs in the previous era is lost as a result of the changing occupational structure of the neoliberal urban economy, employment opportunities for the majority of the young *gecekondu* residents become limited to low-wage unskilled jobs in the expanding service sector. Under the conditions brought about by their positions in the neoliberal urban order, the young informants are in need of material resources, working with social security is very desirable for them, and it is a priority for them to find a job with better opportunities. For these young people who cannot acquire much material support from their families, and most of whom even share

with their families the small amounts of money they earn, securing a better position in the urban economy is the most necessary step in setting up their lives. I argue that their relationship with the urban space is closely related to this necessity. Miles (2003) states: "A discussion of young people's relationship with the city should help to illustrate the fact that their consumption of city space represents a prime means by which they negotiate the ups and downs of life in a so-called risk society" (p. 66). In a similar way, the way these young people organize their relationship to different urban places is shaped by their attempts to negotiate their places in the neoliberal urban economy and to claim better positions. I examined their relationship with the urban space by focusing on two different places: their neighborhood and a shopping mall in the business center of Şişli.

The relationship of these young people with their neighborhood is particularly marked by their attempts to detach themselves from the neighborhood; they are leaving the streets of their neighborhood. This detachment is to some extent grounded in specific factors which push them out from the streets; they try to evade the gaze of the neighborhood which delimits their behaviors, they try to avoid being pushed into fight in the streets and young women try to avoid incidents of sexual harassment. But the fact that they do not state serious complaints about losing the public spaces in the neighborhood, and that they do not raise any claim to reappropriate these places points to a voluntary aspect in their detachment from the public spaces in the neighborhood. I tried to make sense of this voluntariness by focusing on the informants' thoughts about the neighborhood and about the young men hanging out on its streets.

The way the informants viewed the young men on the streets was closely related to the positions of these two groups in the occupational pattern of the neoliberal urban

order. While the position of the informants was in the form of "*inclusion* into precarious wage labor (casualization) that maintains employees is a state of deprivation, dependency, and dishonor," the position of the street hangers was in the form of "*exclusion* from employment (deproletarianization)" (Wacquant, 2002, p. 1518, original emphasis). Accordingly, the young low-wage workers viewed the unemployed young men hanging out on the streets as representing failure in the neoliberal urban economy, and they viewed the neighborhood itself as the reason of this failure. Since the precariousness of their own position made the low-wage workers feel under the threat of falling into this group of losers and of losing their positions in the urban order as a result of contacting these people, the informants tried to evade this threat by minimizing the time they spent in the streets of their neighborhood, and by differentiating themselves from these people by blaming them for their plight and by criminalizing them. The arguments that the low-wage workers used against the street hangers were largely produced within the presumptions of a neoliberal discourse.

Leitner et al (2007) argue that as neoliberalism diffused over space and across scales with remarkable speed, it brought about a neoliberal subjectivity. One feature of this subjectivity is that it takes individuals to be responsible for their own well-being (pp. 1-2). According to this subjectivity, "employees are redefined as entrepreneurs with an obligation to work, and personal and social responsibility are equated with self-esteem" (p. 4). Similarly, Harvey (2007) argues that the media propagates a myth created by the upper classes which benefit from neoliberalization. This myth explains the deterioration of the conditions among the lower classes by stating that "they fail for personal and cultural reasons to enhance their own human capital through education, the

acquisition of protestant work ethic, and submission to work discipline and flexibility. In short, problems arose because of the lack of competitive strength or because of personal, cultural, and political failings" (p. 34).

In the case of İzzetpaşa, the young low-wage workers try to differentiate themselves from the "rogues" in their neighborhood by accusing them of not struggling hard and not using their wits. I have many times heard different informants leveling insults at them. When they talked about any young man using drugs they used to add how stupid he was. When they talked about some young men who stole from stores and got caught by the police, they made fun of the stupidity of these people. According to the informants, those who fail in the neoliberal urban order and turn to the informal economy are responsible for their plight. By taking on this neoliberal discourse, they try to differentiate themselves further from the unemployed street hangers.

This study reveals that the neoliberalization of the urban order does not have the same repercussions for all the young people living in a *gecekondu* neighborhood. Abu-Lughod (1994a) argues that there is a need for a new type of community study for studying inner-city neighborhoods. In this new type of study she offers to look not for a "common culture and consensus but diverse groups which intermingle in physical space but which pursue disparate lifestyles and often, conflicting goals," she offers to view neighborhoods not as "unified or 'natural' communities, but indeed the arenas within which subgroups struggle, not only with outside interests (…), but with one another" (p. 5). Similarly, let alone living in the same neighborhood, even belonging to a group of "the youth of a specific neighborhood" does not turn the young people of İzzetpaşa into a unified group; their positions in the neoliberal urban order results in a fraction between

the young people of the neighborhood and this fraction substantially shapes their relationship with each other and with the urban space. The low-wage workers tend to detach themselves from the streets of their neighborhood and from the street hangers who occupy these streets.

As the young low-wage workers opt out from their neighborhood, they gravitate to the consumption spaces restructured in accordance with neoliberal urbanism. Giroux (2004) states that "instead of providing them [the youth] with vibrant public spheres, we offer them a commercialized culture in which consumerism is the only measure of citizenship" (p. 86). In the case of the young İzzetpaşa residents, the way they consume the shopping mall in the business center is substantially shaped by their material constraints; although they take on the commercialized culture and they want to buy different commodities and enjoy the recreational services offered in exchange for money, they consume this place as non-consumers due to their material constraints. Even though they come to the shopping center accepting the consumerist culture of the neoliberal order and they leave their neighborhood in order to secure their positions in the neoliberal order, they embody a critique of this order through the "tactics" (De Certeau: 1984) that they employ in consuming this place as non-consumers; they raise a claim for recreational places where they can socialize without spending money. Nevertheless, as they criticize other young people from their neighborhood for not consuming this place appropriately, they reproduce the neoliberal urban order in their attempts to differentiate themselves from these people.

Brenner and Theodore (2004) argue that the "cities are not merely localized arenas in which broader global or national projects of neoliberal restructuring unfold. On

the contrary, cities have become increasingly central to the reproduction, mutation, and continual reconstitution of neoliberalism itself during the last two decades" (p. 28). In this study, I argue that while the positions of the young *gecekondu* residents in the neoliberal urban order shape the way they consume urban space, these people at the same time (re)negotiate their positions in this order through the way they organize their relationship with different places in the city. In the case of the young low-wage workers, opting out of their *gecekondu* neighborhood and gravitating to the consumption places in the urban center is part of their attempts to secure their positions in the neoliberal urban order and to claim better positions. And in their relationship with urban space, they may reproduce the neoliberal urban order by undertaking its premises or they may as well embody a critique towards this order through their bodily existence and their practices in the places designed under neoliberal urbanism as places of consumption. In the case of this study, although the young *gecekondu* residents do not directly claim their "right to the city" by raising demands for the democratic management of the urban deployment of the surplus value (Harvey, 2008), through their practices they raise a demand over the free use of the shopping center which is built with the concentration of this surplus value in accordance with neoliberal urbanism.

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