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REPRESENTATION OF PRECARIOUS LABOR AND CITY OUTSKIRT IN THE LATE CINEMA OF TURKEY

Master's Thesis

FUNDA KAYA

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Supervisor: PROF. DR. Z. TÜL AKBAL SÜALP

Name of the thesis: Representation of Precarious Labor and City Outskirts in the Late Cinema of Turkey
Name/Last Name of the Student: Funda Kaya
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The thesis has been approved by the Graduate School of Film and Television.

Asst. Prof. Burak KUNTAY
Director of Graduate School Social Sciences
Signature

I certify that this thesis meets all the requirements as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts.

Asst. Prof. Kaya Özkaracalar
MA Program Coordinator
Signature

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

Examining Comittee Members	Signature
Thesis Supervisor Prof. Dr. Z. Tül AKBAL SÜALP	-----------------------------------
Member Prof. Dr. Serpil KIREL	-----------------------------------
Member Asst. Prof. Nilay ULUSOY	-----------------------------------

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Istanbul, 14th June 2013   Funda Kaya

ABSTRACT

REPRESENTATION OF PRECARIOUS LABOR AND CITY OUTSKIRTS IN THE
LATE CINEMA OF TURKEY

Funda Kaya

M.A. In Film and Television

Thesis Supervisor: Prof. Dr. Z. Tül AKBAL SÜALP

June 2013, 118

This study deals with the representation of precarious laborers and city outskirts in the late cinema of Turkey. To discuss the matter, five contemporary films of recent cinema (*Bahti Kara*, Patterson, 2009; *Baska Semtin Cocuklari*, Bulut, 2008, *Kara Kopekler Havlarken*, Er & Gorbach, 2009; *Neseli Hayat*, Erdogan, 2009 and *Zerre*, Tepegoz, 2012) are selected to investigate how the most vulnerable segment of the population is represented as they struggle to find work and survive among the urban masses. In order to compare the representations with the present social dynamics, the notions of social classes, *precariat*, post-Fordism, economic crises, neoliberalism, employment trends, spatial segregation, transformation and production of space, *gecekondus*, *varos* and crime are discussed. Through the introduction of these notions, this study attempts to provide a sociological reading of films. It is concluded that with de-industrialization, metropolises often provide low dignity service jobs whereas the characters of the films have two choices, either to die or to comply. The concept of solidary is often neglected in the films and therefore it is argued that films reproduce middle class point of view and define lower classes within this perspective.

Keywords: Late Cinema in Turkey, City, Urban Space, Precarious Labor

ÖZET

GÜVENCESIZ EMEK VE KENT KIYILARININ SON DÖNEM TÜRKIYE SINEMASINDA TEMSILI

Funda Kaya

M.A. In Film and Television

Thesis Supervisor: Prof. Dr. Z. Tül AKBAL SÜALP

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Bu çalışma güvencesiz emek ve kent kıyılarının son donem Türkiye sinemasında nasıl temsil edildiği ile ilgilenmektedir. Konunun tartışması Türkiye sinemasında yer alan beş güncel film üzerinden gerçekleştirilmiştir (*Bahti Kara*, Patterson, 2009; *Baska Semtin Cocuklari*, Bulut, 2008, *Kara Kopekler Havlarken*, Er & Gorbach 2009; *Neseli Hayat*, Erdogan, 2009 and *Zerre*, Tepegoz, 2012). Bu filmlerin ana karakterleri, sürekli olarak iş bulma mücadelesi veren ve kent kalabalıkları içerisinde var olmaya çalışan toplumun en hassas kesiminde yer alan karakterler olarak düşünülebilir. Filmlerde yer alan temsillerin günümüz sosyal dinamikleri ile ilişkisini kurabilmek adına öncelikle sosyal sınıflar, *prekarya*, post-Fordizm, ekonomik kriz, neoliberalizm, emek piyasasının koşulları, işsizlik değerleri, mekânsal ayrışma, mekânın dönüşümü ve üretimi, gecekondu, varoş ve suç ilişkisi gibi kavramlar incelenmiştir. Bu kavramlara dayanarak filmler bir sosyolojik okuma denemesine tabi tutulmuştur. Bunların sonucunda, endüstrileşme sonrası kentlerde oluşan iş fırsatlarının çoğunlukla onur kırıcı hizmet sektörü işler olduğu gözlemlenmiş ve karakterlerimizin bu ortamda iki seçim arasında kaldıkları görülmüştür, ölmek ya da kabullenmek. Dayanışma gibi kavramların hiç işlenmemesi ya da sınırlı bir anlatımda kalması bize bu filmlerin orta sınıf bakış açısını yeniden ürettiğini ve alt sınıfları bu çerçeveden çizdiğini göstermektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Son Dönem Türkiye Sineması, Kent, Kentsel Mekan, Güvencesiz Emek

CONTENTS

1. INTRODUCTION

Capitalism either renders people completely hopeless or kills them. This might look like an overstatement but when we examine the representation of precarious laborers surviving in the city outskirts we can see that they are either get killed or are barely surviving. In 2007 for the first time in history, populations in urban spaces have surpassed rural areas, at the same time service industry has become the leading sector of employment in the world followed by agriculture and industry respectively (International Labor Organization 2012, p. 98). This thesis aims to investigate how the most vulnerable segment of the population is represented in late cinema of Turkey as they struggle to find work and survive among the urban masses.

I will discuss these societal dynamics focusing on five contemporary films of recent cinema in Turkey which are *Bahti Kara* (Theron Patterson, 2009); *Baska Semtin Cocuklari* (Aydin Bulut, 2008), *Kara Kopekler Havlarken* (M. Bahadir Er & Maryna Gorbach, 2009), *Neseli Hayat* (Yilmaz Erdogan, 2009) and *Zerre* (Erdem Tepegoz, 2012) with a sociological reading attempt on representation of precarious labor and city outskirts. The leading characters of these films are longsuffering "unsuccessful" pessimist middle aged temporary workers, jobless and angry youth who try to break their destinies headed towards criminal ends or single mothers who try to survive in the inner-city downtowns. It is argued that the characters' employment state *is* also a character in these films. It is also seen that these films have certain tendencies in representing precariousness of labor. Some films tend to underline the increasing informal economy while addressing criminality, whereas some underline a resigned pessimism that there is no way out. Also some emphasize solidarity or rely on social community networks when the characters fight with precariousness and unemployment. Moreover some of them refer to structural dynamics and reflect bigger social problems whereas some focus solely on characters and approach to matter relatively in isolation supported with blame-the-victim endings.

In order to establish these representations within the social and political dynamics, the thesis starts with elaborating the recent phase of capitalism. To begin with, social classes will be discussed in detail within the Marxian and Weberian frameworks. This

will be followed by an analysis of the new emerging class, namely the *precariat*, in post-Fordist societies. The word *precariat* is the combination of the adjective precarious and the noun proletariat. Some scholars argue that *precariat* is a stillborn group and only capable of unmaking itself whereas others argue *precariat* is to post-industrialism what the proletariat was to industrialism, referring to a revolutionary mission. The general characteristics of precarious labor can be summarized as brutal flexibility, interchangeability, insecurity, firing and hiring at will, lack of skill, lack of healthy conditions at the work place, lack of stable income and income generating opportunities in the market. Moreover the shift to multinational production leads to generate job vacancies in low-dignity subordinating service jobs in metropolises. Most of the traits listed above are the structural properties of the labor market in the recent phase of capitalism. In the films, all these influence our characters while they are making important decisions about their lives. Therefore one of the main research questions of this thesis is to elaborate whether the films reference such structural dynamics or whether they are completely ignored.

This brings me to the following section in which the spirit of neoliberalism and hegemonic discourse of the neoliberal dynamics are analyzed. It is often argued that neoliberalism produces rational economic actors and individual entrepreneurs who can take care of themselves. In addition, in the neoliberal rationality, citizenship is reduced to self-care where permanent underclasses or criminal classes are seen as inevitably parallel to the uprising of the penal arm and downsizing of the welfare states. In the later sections these discussions are supported with the function of the never-ending crises of capitalism. Also employment trends in the world and in Turkey are briefly provided to figure out the changing structure of the labor market.

Keeping in mind the dynamics of the neoliberal capitalism, an attention is given to the dynamics of the space in the following chapter because the films selected take place in *gecekondu* neighborhoods or inner city downtowns. The literature on everyday life elaborates that it is the connective tissue, which contains power relations and the dialectical relationship of work time and leisure time. Moreover, transformation and production of urban space will be discussed with the emphasis of uneven geographical developments and spatial segregation within the cities. Later a literature review will be

presented on the specific conditions of Turkey, on the history of *gecekondu* neighborhoods, their mission, development and transformation to *varos* in the discursive arena.

To sum up, in the first two chapters the dynamics of the *chromos* (time) and the *topos* (space) are discussed based on sociological literatures. The following chapter deals with issues related to representation, realism discussions in film studies. Further formalist and neo-formalist contribution, film language, apparatus theory and ideology will be discussed with the assumption that film is a cultural product and a political phenomenon because every decision made in a film is political whether consciously declared or unconsciously distorted.

Finally in the last chapter, representation of poverty, exclusion and social class in recent cinema of Turkey is elaborated based on the selected films. To start with, periodization of cinema in Turkey and general characteristics of late cinema will be briefly summarized. Later, the films of the thesis will be positioned in the late cinema of Turkey and will be analyzed based on a set of standard questions regarding the narrative structures, visual elements and their approach to represent the time and space.

2. THE TIME: SOCIAL DYNAMICS IN THE RECENT PHASE OF CAPITALISM; CLASS RELATIONS AND POVERTY DISCUSSIONS

This chapter deals with the dynamics related to the recent phase of capitalism. To begin with, social classes are discussed in detail within the Marxian, Weberian, Neo-Marxian and Neo-Weberian tracks. Further the concept of *precariat* as the new emerging class is situated in post-Fordist societies. Moreover the subjectivities created in neoliberalism and general features of neoliberalism are summarized supported with the functions of crises inherent to capitalism. Finally employment trends are summarized to figure out the changing structure of the labor market in the recent phase of capitalism.

2.1. SOCIAL CLASSES

Crompton (1995) underlines that both ideas of both Marx and Weber continues to shape debates in class theory in the late twentieth century. She stresses that the major sociological paradigms of the 1950s and 1960s were essentially positivist, which led to study of objective observable facts in the social world and investigation of structural coherence and normative integration of the social systems in a broader sense. She argues that when later criticism to positivism holds ground, recasting of social theory started to be associated with an increasing emphasis on human action. She also emphasizes that as a consequence of these theoretical debates, sociological analysis to social class is very fragmented and divergent.

Although social class theories in sociology are divergent and developed in various directions, it is generally accepted that founding fathers of class theories are Karl Marx and Max Weber. In a very broad sense the Marxist approach to culture underlines that all texts and practices must be analyzed in relation to their historical conditions of production, whereas the Weberian track to class analysis centralizes market relations, and concepts of power and dominance. Therefore Marxian and Weberian social class approaches based on existing discussions and debates on social class theories will be areas of initial discussion. Then both paths' main followers will be pointed in order to summarize more contemporary discussions based on social classes and class theories. The main topics of discussion will be definition of social classes, issues on subject-

structure relationship, exploitation, oppression, stratification and domination in social class relationships.

2.1.1. Marxian, Weberian, Neo-Marxist and Neo-Weberian Class Discussions

Marx's shift to materialism starts with breaking with Hegel's idealist philosophy, which helped him to work on a method that he can use in studying society and history on materialist basis. Moreover as Marx introduces his materialist outlook as a theoretical perspective, he concentrates on historical formations of societies and recognizes that history and society are historical outcomes of economic acts of production, where history can be examined in a series of economic acts and economic epochs in which structure of societies are mainly shaped by modes of production (Morrison 2006, p. 41). As stated in the excerpts from *Toward The Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right* (1844), for Marx the task of history is to establish the truth of this world rather than the world beyond the truth, whereas the task of philosophy is to unmask self-alienation in its unholy forms. He grounds the focus from 'criticism of heaven to criticism of earth, from criticism of theology to criticism of politics, from criticism of religion to criticism of right' (Marx 1844, in Feuer 1972, p.304).

In order to explain material conception of history, Marx details his abstract theoretical construct, the 'mode of production' concept. Marx uses this theoretical construct as an analytical tool to explain social formation, history and social classes. Callinicos (1999) calls 'mode of production' as the master concept of Marx's theory of history. Starting from slavery, Asiatic and feudal forms to capitalist mode of production, Marx underlines that each of these socio-economic systems developed and articulated their own 'laws of motion'. Marx emphasizes that productive forces establish their social relations of production where social cooperation is an essential feature of human existence; and interaction with nature and laboring process are universal conditions for human beings (Callinicos 1999, pp. 84-85).

In *The German Ideology* (1846), Marx and Engels put the ontological basis for the mode of production concept. In a theoretical manner, they explain the nature of class domination and discuss materialist conception of the society and history. Firstly, they

underline the production of material conditions, material needs of life, such as commodities, goods and services which are the necessary means for survival and are called 'means of production'. The most essential part is, the condition of ownership over the means of production, which is the most fundamental fact of materialist theory of history, which also leads to division of society into social classes (Morrison 2006, p. 44).

Further, in *The German Ideology* (1846), Marx and Engels point that every production produces its 'social relations of production' that come along with its specific class relations and property relations. They underline the existence of a materialistic connection of people within the society, which is determined by not only their needs but also the mode of production in that society in that particular era (Marx & Engels 1846, in Feuer 1972, p. 292). They specify the importance of social division of labor, which indicates mutual interdependence of individuals among whom the labor is divided.

The concept of mode of production does not only refer to the economic form but also the social relations that are articulated by forces and relations of production. Marx centralizes the concept of production as a social, economic and historical concept. For Marx, forces of production are composed of laborers and non-laborers, in which laborers transform nature into goods and commodities, whereas non-laborers are those who own the means of production, who benefit prom relations of real appropriation, who extract the 'surplus' created during this production process. In *The Critique of The Gotha Programme* (1875), Marx addresses the nature of capitalist mode of production and state that it rests on the fact that material conditions of production are in the hands of non-workers in the forms of property or land, 'while the masses are only owners of the personal condition of production, of labor power' (Marx 1875, in Feuer 1972, p. 161).

Marx underlines that fundamental relationship is based on 'ownership' of means of production; to put it simply, laborers do not own the means of production whereas non-laborers own them. But this ownership is not solely composed of economic terms rather it is surrounded by necessary legal relationships of exclusion and power relations. Further Marx argues that these relationships of possession and exclusion form the basis

for the social classes and class antagonism in the society. Because owners and non-owners are mutually exclusive, meaning that what one group possesses cannot be possessed by the other, class relationships are contradictory in nature which leads to unavoidable class struggles in the society. In sum, ownership of means of production historically leads to continuous class dominations and class struggles in the society. For Marx, in this sense, mode of production is the 'causality' in historical, societal and political change.

With their materialistic point of history, in *The Manifesto of the Communist Party*, Marx and Engels (1848) state that 'the history of all existing society up until now is the history of class struggles'. Further they emphasize that the significant distinctive feature of capitalist era from others is that the increased antagonism between the oppressor and oppressed classes. They underline that the society of their era is more and more splitting into two great hostile camps, which are the bourgeoisie and proletariat and property in its present form is based on 'antagonism of capital and wage labor'. In the manifesto, they also state that 'bourgeoisie cannot exist without constantly revolutionarising the instruments of production, thereby the relations of production and with them the whole relations of the society' (Marx & Engels 1848, in Feuer 1972, pp. 48-63).

To conclude, Marx argues that each significant period in history is constructed around a particular mode of production and the society in general is organized around it. He underlines that each mode of production produces specific means to obtain necessities of life, specific social relationships between workers and who control the mode of production and specific social institutions. So, for Marx one's class position is structurally determined by the mode of production and social classes are historical phenomena because as long as there is an organized society, there are class relationships in that society.

On the other hand, for Weber classes and status groups are mechanisms of distribution of power in a society. While Marx argues that class antagonism is a historical inevitable result of economic structures, Weber thinks that economic sphere itself is not the major determinant of class structure. He states that class situation is determined by the life chances that a class has in the market relations while they are selling their skills in the

market. So for Weber, class positions are not result of property ownership over the means of production and he underlines that life chances for income and wages can exist independently of ownership relations (Morrison 2006, pp. 296-7).

In his essay *Class, Status and Party,* Weber (1922) defines class situations by market situations that exist when a number of people have in common a specific causal component of their life chances, when this component represents economic interests under the conditions of labor markets and commodity markets. For Weber a class situation is the typical chance for supply of goods, personal life experiences and external living conditions determined by the power (or lack of power) in an economic order (Weber 1922/1947, pp. 181-2).

In Weber's theory of modern class situation, other skills independent from property ownership such as educational credentials can also create life chances to be sold in the market. He underlines that acquiring credentials, certificates, or other forms of opportunities which are outside direct of property relationships may formally define class situations in the modern society. Unlike Marx, Weber stresses the importance of social actions, which are derived from individual motives and interests that may serve mobilizing and protecting a certain class position's interests. For Marx, class interests are assigned to individuals by the structural location in the economic relations whereas for Weber, individual motives arise from class situations. Weber points that during modern period classes were differentiated and individuals started to act with separate motives autonomously from their class positions. To him, class antagonisms and struggles shifted to a legal phrase and are shaped in legal order (Morrison 2006, pp. 298-303).

To sum up, Weber's classes have a fluid character and they may change related to the market situations. Moreover individuals in the same class share the need for common social action but this common is not determined by relations or forces of production, rather related to activities in the market. So to Weber, social classes are not necessarily antagonistic, can be segmented, are based on individual perception of a common social action and are strictly related to capitalist societies.

Wright (2000) compares Marxian and Weberian class analysis and concludes that for both class analysis the control over economic resources is central. Wright argues that in terms of class analysis, posing Marx and Weber as polar opposites could be misleading because to him Weber explains his propositions on the concept of class in his 'most Marxian voice'. Wright summarizes that both Marxian and Weberian class analysis define social classes *relationally* and both focus on examining relationship between people and economically relevant resources. He argues that both Marxists explanation of social classes in relation to means of production and Weberian focus on market capacities are similar empirical approaches for explaining social classes. He also adds that both traditions see the classes as operating in causal relationships based on material interests that shape strategies for acquiring income or resources. For Wright, inclusion of skills and credentials in determining class structures is the hallmark of Weberian class analysis (Wright 2000, pp. 27-28).

In addition, Wright argues that Weberian class analysis emphasizes that, as one owns more resources, his or her opportunities for income in the market increases. So study of life chances of children based on parents' capacity is an important part of Weberian class analysis. In addition, for Weber, even some workers have higher living standards, the trade-offs they face are less desirable. On the other hand, within a Marxist framework, the concept of 'exploitation' is central to class analysis which points to conflicts within production sphere, not conflicts in the market. Wright sees Weberian class analysis as revolving around single causal nexus, which is the market sphere whereas to him Marxist class analysis covers the Weberian nexus and also adds another dimension, which includes the causal structure in the production sphere (Wright 2000, pp. 29-30).

For Wright, exploitation centered class analysis affirms the linkage between production and exchange spheres, which also spots our attention to the fact that class relations are relations of power. Moreover he argues that seeing classes as inherently antagonistic facilitates analyses on social conflicts and adds that exploitation centered analysis provides a basis for analysis of systematic pressures or ideological practices that are operating in the system (Wright 2000, pp. 32-33).

Joyce (1995) underlines that for Marx the central problem of class theory might be the relation between structure and action, or between subjective and objective elements of classes. He underlines that Marx's distinction and tension between 'class-in-itself' and 'class-for-itself' tends to be resolved in favor of the structure. Joyce underlines that consciousness is ultimately seen as a product of the conflict between relations of production and forces of production. Moreover, Joyce emphasizes that for Weber social classes are not world historical forces and the relation between structure and action is not necessarily contingent (Joyce 1995, p.11).

One of the major debates in Marxist theory has been the relation of Marx's theory to Hegel's. In the Hegelian 'expressive totality', totality of diverse elements are synchronized and unified through reason. It is assumed that in this unity there is an essence that brings different elements together which leads them to a certain destination; and therefore Hegelian expressive totality is *teleological*. Moreover it is 'expressive' because every element or dimension under this unity expresses this essence. The essence is inherent to every element of this totality and what happens in one dimension has consequences in other dimensions. Hegel proposes that the 'ethical state' has a *telos*, which is freedom and that *telos* leads to realization of universal reason in history so that the mission of history is a relentless progress towards realization of freedom. For Hegel, civil society has contradictions in itself and is self-regarding, therefore it should be controlled by the ethical state, which is other regarding and can be organized via bureaucratical estates.

As discussed above Marx, in opposition to work of Hegel, argued that social world cannot be product of ideas and history is not steady realization of thought, instead, ideas grow out of human life and the material basis of society (Craib 1997, p.13). Marx criticizes Hegel's conception and indicates that rather than reason, labor is behind property relations. He sees that industrial proletariat is missing in Hegel's picture and to Marx it is the most important social class with its revolutionary character. Hegel diagnoses inequalities within the society, but Hegel puts the blame on individuals, whereas Marx draws a revolutionary argument stating that capitalism would create its necessary conditions that would free proletariat. In general, Marx underlines that social

totality is determined by contradictory dynamics generated from 'inside' of society and the state is the reflection, in a way expression of this social totality.

In *The Critique of The Gotha Programme* (1875), Marx addresses his central question once again, he states that bourgeois declare the present day distribution to be 'fair' but 'are economic relations regulated by legal conceptions, or do not, on the contrary, legal relations arise from economic ones?' (Feuer 1972, p.157). For Marx, economic structure determines superstructural forces, which are law, politics, military and security mechanisms, and which help to articulate societal relationships in the society. In the excerpts from *The Critique of Political Economy* (1859) Marx states that neither legal relations nor the state cannot be understood or explained by themselves or in terms of general progress of the human mind, rather they are 'rooted in the material conditions of life'. Marx underlines that it is not the consciousness of men that determines their existence but on the contrary, it is their social existence determines their consciousness. Marx states that, in the social production, individuals enter into definite relations that are independent of their 'will', referring to 'formal and real subordination' concepts, and continues that;

> …These relations of production correspond to a definite stage of development of their material powers of production. The sum total of these relations of production constitutes the economic structure of society, the real foundation, on which rise legal and political structures and to which correspond definite forms of social consciousness. The mode of production in material life determines the general character of the social, political and spiritual processes of life… (Marx, 1859 in Feuer 1972, p.84)

As Neilson summarizes key concepts of Marx's theory, formal subordination refers to the processes that lead dependency and exploitation, such as losing independent means of subsistence that leads to wage dependence, whereas, real subordination refers to dehumanization and deskillization of the workers within the production sphere. With this formula, exploitation that means extraction of surplus value takes ground in relations of production. Subordination is the mechanisms and political technologies that drive continuity of this appropriation process (Neilson 2007, p.94).

Crompton (1995) underlines that by 1970s two broad approaches within Marxism had emerged on the base and structure discussions. In a broad sense first camp defended

human action in explanation of the social and central role is given to the human actor, whereas in the structural approach, priority given to human action is criticized and emphasis has shifted to primacy of class structures (Crompton 1995, pp. 44-45). It can be argued that the *instrumentalist* or *humanist* school follows Marx's initial arguments stating that there is causality, and it is the economic structure that determines superstructural, state and juridical relations. Economic mode of production determines artistic, ideological and cultural forms of society and they all 'express' qualities that are determined by the economic structure. Here we see an approach linked to the Hegelian expressive totality because economic relations are inherent to every element of this social totality, and they are also the determining factor of this causal articulation.

On the other hand, *structural* Marxists add up to Marx's initial argument and state that economic structure is not a whole empirical entity; rather it can be defined in terms of its effects. Super-structural levels are not only the effects of economic structure, but also they support the structure. So scholars of this approach argue that there is two-way causation; causality from bottom-up as well as up-down. Economic mode of production and superstructural forces are in a 'reciprocal' relationship. Althusser, following Engels' words, holds the idea that economy is determinant 'in the last instance'.

Rather than Marx and Engel's base-superstructure model in which economic forces are the fundamental determinant of superstructure, Althusser proposes that superstructural forms could function independently from the economic base. Borrowing from Freud, he terms this situation as the *overdetermination*, meaning the complex set of elements and associations that comprise the social formation. Althusser rejects totalistic notion of history and deterministic views of social change that particular Marxists imagine to be linear. For Althusser social formation cannot be reduced to simple causality. He recognizes important role of ideology and states that it constitutes the 'misrecognition for understanding the real conditions of existence' (Lewis 2002, pp. 92-94).

In *The Philosophy of Marx*, Balibar (1995) discusses determination 'in the last instance' concept. Taking into account Engels (1859) statement on 'the determining element in history is the production and reproduction of life, but it is not the *only* determining factor', Balibar argues that Althusser's proposition on reciprocal action and retroaction

of the superstructure on the base expresses complexity of the social whole and its *materialistic dialectical* nature (Balibar 1995, p.93).

Olsen (2009) summarizes the origins of mode of production theory and mainly discusses whether society is a complex and decentered totality or an expressive totality by giving examples from several Marxist discussions. These arguments are centered around the discussion on the deterministic role attributed to economy. Basically the central debate is on whether the base (means of production) solely determines the superstructure, or the superstructure reciprocally shapes the base and other relations. Bernstein (1961) criticizes one-sided ultimately deterministic role attributed to the economy, Plekhanov (1976) sees society as a relatively complex system of mutual interaction and diverse causality, and lastly Kautsky (1988) rejects simple determinism, but also embraces determination by the economy 'in the last instance'. They underline the primacy of forces of production on social change and see society as a system of mutual interaction and diverse causality (Olsen 2009, pp. 177-195).

Wright (1989) underlines that exploitation distinguishes Marxist class theory from other class theories. He argues that conception of neo-Marxist approaches to class structure tends to substitute exploitation with domination in their analyses, where domination is set as the core concept of class discussions in a context of multiple oppression relationships. He underlines that approaching to class analysis via marginalizing exploitation would damage historically and socially central position of classes in society and social formation. He argues that unlike domination, exploitation implies the opposing material interests that individuals hold in a society. On the other hand multiple oppressions such as sexual, racial, national or economic do not have any explanatory priority over each other to analyze the society (Wright 1989, pp.4-6). Neilson suggests that such a shift from exploitation to oppression as Wright mentions diverts Marxist class analyses towards non-Marxists Weberian dimensions. But he also criticizes Wright being rigid on both concepts which results in a total abandonment of power in class analysis (Neilson 2007, p. 91)

Neilson (2007) further argues that neo-Marxist class theory went into significant decline after 1970s and scholars particularly concentrated on discussions on middle class

positions where the focus shifted from contradictory class locations to wage earners' class locations between capital and labour. Moreover rapid changes in labour processes also led rethinking social classes during 1970s and 1980s. Neilson stresses the increased fragmentation of non-middle class sections of the contemporary proletariat where the waged work spread into the service sector (Neilson 2007, pp. 89-91).

Wood (1999) also discusses divergences in Marxist theory and she underlines that younger left who were raised in the 'Golden Age' of capitalism, referring to Keynesian welfare era, have a different perception of capitalist normality. She states that class struggle in its traditional sense is replaced by ideological class struggle, where labor movements and student movements merged into each other. Later she argues that post-Marxist theories in 1980s saw no alternative to capitalism, which led less room for class politics than there was in initial post-Marxism. In her book *The Retreat From Class*, she wants to dig further what happened in this turning point in class discussions. She underlines that discussions in 1980s rejected Marxist economism and class reductionism, which led to exile of class struggle from theories. She further points that the distinctive feature of these discussions led to autonomization of ideology and politics from social basis and class foundation. Since economic determinism is rejected, working class lost its privileged position in the theories and ideological and political means replaced economic class conditions. Wood also emphasizes the shift to 'discourse' and 'ideology' that took place in theoretical discussions to understand the social life (Wood 1999, pp. xxi-2).

Wood (1999) further summarizes how this 'new revisionism' rejected essential premises of Marxist tradition and rotated to democratic struggles and 'new social movements'. To her, the arguments that are preparing the ground for exile of classes from social analysis are the inability of working class to produce a revolutionary movement, which also led to rejection of correspondence between economics and politics. Moreover privileged position of working class was criticized as being a necessity and politics are constructed autonomously from class and economic conditions. Furthermore plurality of democratic struggles is emphasized on the basis of a variety of resistances finding ground on various forms of inequalities and oppressions (Wood 1999, pp. 3-5).

Acar Savran (2004) also points that recently discourse has shifted to definition of subjects who are not located and defined based on objective economic structural locations but on 'democratic', universal, economy-free criteria. She thinks that unfullfilment of working class of the revolutionary mission that was attributed to them and new social movements that take place in the Western countries are behind this identity based subject definitions. She also underlines that there are three levels of discussions working class studies, first of which is based on the definition of the working class, second one is on questioning the revolutionary potential of the working class and lastly the central ontological position of the working class (Acar Savran 2004, pp. 60-61)

To sum up, the major themes that class theory faced criticism are the economic determinism, subject structure duality, class reductionism, essentialism and lastly interpretation of differences within classes. Özuğurlu (2002) underlines that most of the neo-Marxist and neo-Weberian class theoreticians discussed around these major themes in their theories (Özuğurlu 2002, pp.30). On behalf of the criticism listed above Özuğurlu proposes that the analytical priority should be given to class struggle instead of what classes are in order to follow the theory of historical materialism. To him social classes are not one of the categories in the 'holy trinity' (gender, race and class) but instead are historical actors. He underlines that contingency and relativity had become permanent in contemporary class analysis. He criticizes these social anthropological views that have the tendency to fixate cultural relativity. He further argues that those of class studies that disconnect classes from their historical context such as the ones focusing on solely differences within classes in an anthropological view such as studies on 'black women workers', or 'poverty' or 'women workers' are misleading (Özuğurlu 2002, pp.37-39).

Savage (2003) on the other hand stresses the process of deindustrialization, decline of trade unions and labor movements, which led to colonization of middle classes to the empty social and cultural space left by working classes in British culture. He underlines that the practices of middle class have turned to be the definition of the social itself, where middle classes self interests are understood as universal good. He points that this

'normality' of middle class needs should be the area of investigation in class studies (Savage 2003, pp. 536-7).

Serge (2010) states that in general neo-Weberian class tendencies are focusing on the analysis of lifestyles, collective identities, social rankings and exclusionary practices among classes. He underlines that market as a source of differential life chances, opportunities of class mobility as a factor of class structuration and boundaries between classes have been major areas of discussion in these neo-Weberian analysis (Serge 2010, pp. 221-223).

Crompton (1995) interprets major and early Weberian class sociologists such as Lockwood, Dahrendorf, Goldthorpe as being left Weberians. In his book *Class and Class Conflict in Industrial Society*, Dahrendorf (1959) states that class theory needs to be concerned with two analytically separable elements, which are the theory of class formation and theory of class action, or class conflict. He underlines that the analytical reduction of social classes to structural conditions cannot be fully understood without analyzing emergence and formation of classes (Dahrendorf 1959, p.153). Crompton underlines that Bendix, Lipset and Lockwood also applied this division in their class analysis. Lockwood described class position as including three separate elements; the market situation, work situation and status situation and he also wanted to locate multiple occupations within classes empirically. And lastly Goldthorpe used Lockwood's concepts of work situation and market situation as the key elements in his class scheme. It can be generalized that after Second World War, social stratification is empirically analyzed where social and employment aggregates are defined as classes (Crompton 1995, p. 49-50).

Özuğurlu (2008) argues that working class cultural studies can be thought within two broad paths, first of which is within 'cultural paradigm' and second one is within 'pluralist class paradigm'. Özuğurlu states that the pluralist branch tends to be more neo-Weberian which centralizes working class culture and lifestyles as the core point of their analysis. These studies are pluralist and Weber-inspired because do not see social classes as antagonistic, secondly they focus on a separation between class consciousness and class struggle in their analysis and thirdly they focus on status positions as a more

permanent element in their analysis. It can be argued that they follow Weber's argument that the power relations to have a central position in class analysis. Özuğurlu sees Lockwood's works at this category, especially his works focusing on explaining working class typologies (Özuğurlu 2008, pp. 53-54).

On the other hand, works of E.P Thompson can be seen in the cultural paradigm as Özuğurlu classifies above. In her book *Democracy Against Capitalism*, Wood (1995) summarizes E.P. Thompson's approach in analyzing working class culture. Thompson's conception of 'experience' is central to understanding classes and to him social consciousness is shaped with this lived experience. Wood proposes that Thompson's experience is like a middle term to explain the mode of production that exerts pressure on every activity of the worker including non-working activities. Thompson moreover sees 'class as a process' and focuses on the investigation of this process (Wood, 1995 pp. 96-101). Özuğurlu (2002) points to the similarity between Thompson's conception of experience and Bourdieu's concept of *habitus* and states that Bourdieu, like Thompson, also develops a third layer between the structure and the subject in his social action theory (Özuğurlu 2002, pp. 44-45).

The concept of *habitus* is central in Bourdieu's analysis. Bennett states that although the term is associated with Bourdieu, its origins can be traced back to Weber's works. For Bourdieu, *habitus* consists of a set of unifying principles underneath the tastes; it is the social logic that a particular group holds in the social space (Bennett 2010, p. xix). Bourdieu works on the idea of taste, which is an acquired disposition to differentiate and appreciate a distinct knowledge. To him, taste is the practical mastery that an individual occupying a given position in the social space, it is the anticipation of value given to choices and practices. He proposes that individual and collective classification of perceptions and appreciations, as he names as the 'social world', is the missing dimension in examination of class struggles (Bourdieu 1984, pp.468-485). Callinicos (1999) also summarizes Bourdieu's conception of the social world. He states that social world does not solely consist of symbolic systems or objective structures that are independent from consciousness and capabilities of agents, but is guided or constrained by practices and representations of the agents. Bourdieu sees economic capital as a source of power, whereas cultural capital as the sum total of the practices seen as

legitimate in a society. A third form of capital is the symbolic capital, which is recognized as legitimate but misrecognized as a form of capital, it is the conversion of economic capital that cannot be connected back to economic basis but disguised under a veil of moral relations (Callinicos 1999, pp: 288-290). Therefore, Bourdieu believes that everything that human practices reveal should be the starting point of investigation.

In his book *Class Counts*, quoting from Parkin, Olin Wright states that 'in every neo-Marxist there seems to be a Weberian struggling to get out' and states that it can be added further that 'in every left-wing Weberian there is a Marxist struggling to stay hidden'. So, starting from the major contributors Marx and Weber, there had been significant debates and discussions based on social classes in sociological theory. Some claimed the death of classes and dismissed them as an analytical tool from the studies, some perceived them to be as stratification categories, some focused on the changing nature of power relationships in the societies, some based their theories on the cultural aspects whereas some argued their consistence. Taking into account these discussions, the following chapter will be on changes in nature of work and modes of production in contemporary economic structures where new forms of working classes such as temporary and precarious laborers could be or could not be positioned as new forms of proletariat.

2.1.2. The Concept of 'Precariat' in Post-Fordist Societies

In his book *Class* (1995) Joyce emphasizes the restructuring of western economies from manual and industrial sectors to new forms of industrial management, where he also recognizes a parallel restructuring of labor force especially in post-Fordist societies. He summarizes that the major changes in this new paradigm are expansion of work, flexible working hours, inclusion of women labor force and rise of new forms of employment of non-manual kind. Moreover he underlines that these changes also affected collective understandings and personal identities where a shift taken place from production, employment and investment emphasis to consumption industries in which people's desires and hopes are centered. Joyce also emphasizes the rise of social movements and identity politics parallel to neoliberalism where identity is not registered

in class politics but in gender, ethnic groups or politics of environmentalism or consumerism (Joyce, 1995: 3-4).

To begin with a brief historical perspective on economic and political processes of twentieth century capitalism, it is recognized that Keynesianism as an economic policy, was influential in Europe and in the US between the late 1920s and the late 1970s whereas significant outcomes of Keynes' thought have been dominant especially in Western developed countries between 1948-1973. Meghnad (2002) calls this period 'Golden Age of capitalism' or the 'Age of Keynes'. Keynes' ideas were most influential after the Great Depression of 1929 when there was a collapse in credit systems and Keynes provided a solution by securing adequate demand with a vision of full employment. He also proposed an alternative to revolutionary socialism and totalitarian government models without giving up liberal democratic capitalism. Moreover Keynesianism was influential in development of the international financial order and financial institutions like International Money Fund and World Bank after World War II (Meghnad 2002, pp. 174-179). Keynes proposed that a state's agenda should be stabilizing credit, income and employment to rationalize the socialization in the society rather than leaving to it to liberal ideals such as *atomistic* individualism or *laissez faire*. Parallel with the emergence on nation-states and territorial politics, Keynes provided macroeconomic solutions that propose to stabilize demand, employment and income generation within a 'deglobalized' world vision.

Gibson-Graham (1996) points to the relative wealth experienced after the first twenty five years following the Second World War, in the high Fordist era where mass production and mass consumption was the formula of growth for industrial societies. The Fordist industrial paradigm is often associated with mass production in which Taylorist labor processes are significant which sharply and scientifically separate division of labor between machines and labor power. In this process, assembly lines are the major structure in the production process that not only shapes movements of laborers but also imposes highly routinized standardized mass production processes. Combined with Keynesian welfare politics that hold together large industrial companies, trade unions and government agencies, the Golden Age of Fordism took place during the 1950s and 1960. But it also started meeting its limits by the 1970s,

starting in the United States and United Kingdom, as the social safety net provided by the states began to loosen (Gibson-Graham 1996, pp. 149-150).

Welfare states and unions collaborated for the betterment for conditions of working classes during the high Fordist and Keynesian era. On the other hand, Standing (2007) summarizes that during the era of welfare state capitalism workers were made more dependent on performance of labor for their welfares and social statuses. Quoting from Polanyi, Standing also argues that the 'decommodification of labor' was 'fictitious' because what appeared to be *rights* were only *entitlements,* meaning that they were conditional to a range of experiences and behavior. As Standing (2007) emphasizes, when you are labored you have benefits from 'cradle to grave', on the other hand, when you are not, you face enormous troubles (Standing 2007, pp. 67-70).

Post-Fordism can be characterized with flexible specialization that requires flexible workers, flexible machines and just-in-time management system models which are called Japanese style of industrial production. Here the initial argument was replacement of deskilled workers associated with old mass production systems with flexible workers and flexible machines. Not only workers are required to work in teams to fulfill a wide variety of job but also small firms tend to cluster in industrial districts to create and share a pool of skilled workers, equipment and services that none of them could afford alone (Gibson-Graham 1996, pp. 151-152).

Kumar (1995) summarizes discussions that took place around the theme post-Fordism and adds that globalization; developments in information technologies and decentralization are the common denominators of post-Fordist paradigm. Although initial discourse tended to underline more optimistic aspects of post-Fordism such as improvement, flexibility, growth rates in employment, or combining skilled craftwork with unskilled labor, soon the negative aspects of these developments are recognized more clearly. Kumar underlines that historically (referring to early initial phases of capitalism) mass production has overcome craft production whereas under post-Fordism a recovery of skill in work is called back to its place. Flexible specialization not only requires skills and flexibility in workers but also in machines. Because large industrial firms could not adapt to such flexibility, 'subcontracting' has become worldwide and a

common phenomena. Kumar summarizes that flexible specialization and capabilities of new technologies have been at the heart of the post-Fordist theory discussions (Kumar 1995, pp.61-71).

Despite the discourse shift that points to 'consuming as a source of power and pleasure' which is also backed up with language of individualism that emphasizes choice and diversity, post-Fordism is rather characterized with strengthening of capital, which attacks structures of labor and breaks strong labor organizations. 'Regulation School' theorists who discussed the matter during 1980s such as Lipietz, Aglietta and Boyer, underline that 'neo-Fordist' strategies are designed to enable capitalism to overcome its crises by establishing a system of global Fordism where production became decentralized and moved to the cheap-wage regions of the world meanwhile central control remained in the metropolises of advanced industrial countries. Regulation School wants to stress that Fordism in its global phase is also burdened by the same contradictions that classic Fordism faced (Kumar 1995, pp.79-81). Regulation School discusses historical emergences of different regimes of accumulation and concludes that the factors that led the rise of Fordism are similar to the ones that lead to the emergence of neo-Fordism (Vallas 1999, p. 70). They problematize the processes of economic and social reproduction via the changes in regulations (Gibson-Graham 1996, pp. 153).

In terms of labor structure, Kumar emphasizes that the strategies of 'flexible specialization' not only created a workforce of multi-skilled craft type of core workers who are able to perform 'functional flexibility', but also created a workforce who are causally employed and relatively unskilled that provides the 'numerical flexibility' for the labor market. In a way, Kumar addresses both sides of the coin and states that relatively weaker groups in the labor market, such as migrants, ethnic minorities, youth and women are much more affected during this process. For instance, for him, women workers of mass production industries of 1930s became insecurely employed, low skilled and numerically flexible service workers in the 1970s and 1980s (Kumar 1995, pp.82-83).

Fuentes and Ehrenreich (2000) emphasize the shift in multinational production that has accelerated since 1960s during which labor-intensive, low skilled jobs shifted to 'newly

industrializing' countries where the management and technology remained in the developed headquarters. Not only export-led industrialization had become a favored strategy for development, but also international institutions such as International Money Fund and World Bank encouraged establishment of export platforms in developing countries. Free trade zones are a result of this process in which national firms are usually prohibited to operate. Rather, national firms are expected to supply labor and infrastructure for the multinationals (Fuentes and Ehrenreiach 2000, pp. 165-166). On the other hand big financial cities and metropolises generated job vacancies in service jobs because of the sharp decreases in industrial jobs, which had already moved to other parts of the global assembly line. So stable factory workers disappeared from big cities as a result of the deindustrialization process. Bourgois (2000) argues that these low-dignity subordinating service jobs available in the big capitals also generated cultural confrontations within the cities that pushed more vulnerable labor segments to marginalized peripheries.

Neilson (2007) underlines that recent industrial proletariat is facing similar conditions and experiences with the working class of the nineteenth century industrializing countries in terms of 'low wages, long working hours, despotic workplace discipline and the ability to hire and fire at will'. He also underlines that this new industrial proletariat is segmented from insecure daily workers of the informal sector and neo-Taylorist sweatshops to relatively stable workers in relatively technology dependent industries. He emphasizes that the combination of post-Fordism and neo-Taylorism leads to a creation of autonomous production workforce scattered globally who are engaged in the final assembly. He also points to the increase of subcontracted workers who are easier to be controlled directly and who are working in more insecure conditions. This labor-market flexibility and increased formal subordination correlates with strategies of creating absolute surplus value, which is also threatening the security of the core workers (Neilson 2007, pp. 105-106).

Johnson (2011) summarizes the origins of the term 'precariat' which is firstly used by Bourdieu in French as '*precarite*' in reference to contingent workers connected to the impacts of deindustrialization experienced in Europe and North America. The word 'precariat' is the combination of the adjective 'precarious' and the noun 'proletariat'.

Johnson argues that neoliberalism has universalized and expanded the concept of precariat, because it not only expanded to ex-advanced industrialized cities but as well as cities of the developing world. The concept signifies insecurity and risk experienced by workers all around the world and acknowledges changing nature of living labor within global capitalism. Brutal flexibility, interchangeability, and insecurity are the common characteristics to describe general conditions of precariat. Johnson also underlines the term's differences with 'precarious work' and 'precarity' where the former includes vulnerability of death and injury related to work conditions, while the latter addresses the issues of loss of union representation, layoffs and wrongful treatments. Precarious work may also include informal and criminal activities where imprisonment, death or abuse can be involved in the working conditions (Johnson 2011, pp. 470-471). He also underlines that 'if precarity is a generalized condition of insecurity under neoliberalism then the precariat is the class which is fundamentally defined by conditions of labor flexibility, informality and political marginalization' (ibid. p.451).

Standing (2011) also points to proliferation of temporary and part-time labor which extended the 'ranks of precariat'. He defines precariat as the emerging class of people who experience multiple forms of insecurity and has little hope to escape. He approaches to define precariat from two ways; firstly, from Weberian track precariat is a distinct socio-economic group. Here the point of analysis is stratification, which first requires a definition and content analysis. Yet Standing does not find stratification analysis satisfactory alone and combines it with Marxian perspective which opens the discussions whether precariat is a *class-in-the-making* but yet not a *class-for-itself* (Standing 2011, p.7).

Standing (2011) argues that precariat consists of people who lack the seven forms of labor-related security. Firstly they lack 'labor market security' because there are not adequate and enough income earning opportunities in the market, which is also related to the lack of policies that vision increasing employment. Secondly, they lack 'employment security' which is related to protections, employer's responsibilities to adhere the rules and regulations on hiring and firing. Thirdly precariat lacks 'job security', which refers to opportunities for upward mobility. It also lacks 'work

security' that underlines the health conditions and protections against accidents. Fifthly, precariat lacks 'skill production security ' which is related to gaining skills, trainings and building competencies. Moreover precariat lacks 'income security' where there is no stable income and social security. Lastly they lack 'representation security' that is related to create a collective voice in the labor market (Standing 2011, p.10). Standing emphasizes that because of these lacking, precariat does not feel a part of solidaristic labor community rather experiences marginalization (ibid: 12).

Wacquant (2007) stresses the differences between advanced marginality in urban space from the previous forms of poverty because a broader context is provided that leads to class decomposition rather than class consolidation. He recognizes deproletarianization and precarization tendencies rather than unification or homogenization. He states that

> Aging industrial laborers and lower level clerks reduced to being operatives on a white collar assembly line or made expandable by technological innovations and the spatial redistribution of productive activities, precarious and temporary workers in the deregulated service sectors, apprentices, trainees and holders of fixed-time contracts, the unemployed running out of rights and participants in social minima programmes, long-term recipients of public aid and the chronically homeless, beggars, delinquents and hustlers living off the booty economy of the street, human rejects of the social and medical services and regular customers of the criminal justice system, the disenchanted offspring of the declining fractions of autochthonous working class facing the unexpected competition of youths from ethnically stigmatized communities and of new immigrant inflows on the markets for jobs, affordable housing and credentials, how to forge a sense of common condition and purpose when economic emergency and social necessity are so diversely configured? (Wacquant 2007, pp. 244-245)

Wacquant's pessimism on precarious laborers forming a class is felt clearly in his discussions. He concludes that 'precariat is a sort of stillborn group' and can only 'unmake' itself unlike the proletariat which is called upon 'to abolish itself in the long term by uniting and universalizing itself' (ibid. p. 247). On the other hand Neilson (2007) underlines that the neoliberalized version of Toyotism implies 'a degree of global proletarian homogenization'. He stresses the global deepening of both 'formal subordination' and 'real subordination' and to him this deepening homogenizes global proletariat in certain aspects (Neilson 2007, pp. 106).

Disch (2011) connects precarity to post-industrial transformation of the conditions of labor and life, from permanent employment and retirement security to 'flexible,

Taylorised, service work' in which the increased level of unpredictability affects all levels of social relations. She also stresses the disappearance of 'Fordist system of rights' as a system of social life where part-time and self-employment type of labor emerged under the umbrella of 'more flexible life', which also gives raise to a new cycle of exploitation. She argues that there are diversified precarity movements that focus on putting the social benefits back to its place such as in fast-food, clothing, hotel and merchandise industries. Moreover she underlines the discussions that argue 'precariat is to post-industrialism is what the proletariat was to industrialism' and concludes that precarity movements do not aim to form and represent a class but ends up with dismantling centrality of mass workers position in labor struggles. So she argues that it is a matter of positioning and representation within the labor market that calls precarious workers to become a collective political agent (Disch 2011, pp. 124-125).

Davis (2004) approaches the issue stressing the increased poverty in urban space. He underlines that, though informal working class is the fastest growing social class on earth, this only leads to reproduction of absolute poverty all around the world. Moreover, though it is the fastest growing class, this class cannot bear to break their chains and challenge the existing mode of production. Davis also shares pessimism similar to Wacquant on precarious workers' forming a class. He adds that

> Informal proletariat is not the pettiest of petty bourgeoisies neither is it a 'labor reserve army' or a 'lumpen proletariat' in any obsolete nineteenth century sense. Part of it, to be sure, is a stealth workforce for the formal economy and numerous studies have exposed how the subcontracting networks of Wal-Mart and other mega companies extend deep into the misery of *colonias* and *chawls*. But at the end of the day, a majority of slum-dwellers are truly and radically homeless in the contemporary international economy (Davis 2004, p.10).

Harvey (2008) emphasizes that the discussions taking place around the division of informal and formal labor as well as increased number of subcontracting which produces subcontracted laborers that started growing after 1970s, centralize developed capitalist countries and tend to ignore India, Latin America and other geographies. So he rather prefers to address social classes as a historical phenomena and concludes that recent situation of working class, including *precariat*, can also be evaluated as a process that reinstates similar conditions of working classes early in the history. Therefore he

suggests that the focus should be on the changes in laboring processes during the times that capitalism itself changes. He states that capitalism produced definitely a different labor regime during the last twenty-five years which can be characterized as more precarious, which is based on temporary contracts, produced laborers who move faster and are flexible, which in the end led to de-organization of working class. Harvey suggests that focusing on production sphere is not enough to track class consciousness but following E.P. Thompson's footsteps, rather he suggests that neighborhoods or urban space can be the places where class consciousness is created (Harvey 2008 in Süalp 2011, pp. 119-120).

To conclude, it can be argued that dismantling in production sphere and the emphasis on flexibility under post-Fordism led to proliferation of informal and precarious workers all around the world. Employment trends and recent labor structure figures will be elaborated further in the following sections but here it can be underlined that changes in capitalistic mode of production affects all geographies in the world and lead to changes in the forms of social classes. Recent changes not only led an increase in service jobs in the de-industrialized metropolises but also led to new forms of labor-intensive over-exploitive laboring processes in the other geographies of the world. So, changes in capitalist regime directly effects labor markets and creates its new forms in laboring structures.

It can be argued that this new form of social class, namely *precariat*, is capable to form a social class but as many literature discussed above emphasizes, there is a long way to go. At one hand, *precariat* may seem to be incapable to form a 'revolutionary' class or may be seen as close to *lumpen proletariat* in Marx's terms but, on the other hand, the increased antagonism and polarization in laboring structures should be kept in mind, which may attribute a critical role to *precariat* in the near future. In addition to laboring structures, recent changes in mode of production regimes affect the whole social life and social relations as well. Therefore the focus of the next chapter will be a brief summary of capitalism's crises and subjectivities that neoliberalism produces based on the expansion of free market over the social life.

2.2. NEVER ENDING CRISES AND SOCIAL DYNAMICS OF NEOLIBERALISM

*Economics are the method; the object is to change the soul… (*M. Thatcher, 1979)

In *The German Ideology* (1846), Marx and Engels point that every production produces its social relations of production with specific class relations and property relations. They also emphasize that separate individuals are enslaved under a 'power alien to them' and argue that the division of labor in the society is not a voluntary or natural phenomenon as it is represented, but an alien power enslaves the human which is oppose to him, which forces him and from which he cannot escape. This power derives from the *world market* that connects human beings in the realm of commodities.

In *Philosophy of Marx*, Balibar (1995) underlines that the social forms of commodity circulation, the structured relations of exchange not only constitute the social world but also its representation as the valid and objective way of how things are constitutes specific subjects, subjectivities and consciousness. This commodity fetishism constitutes subjects alongside with the 'things' and commodities, but as well constitutes subjects who are above all 'economic subjects'. Referring to Marx, Balibar argues that 'constitution of the world is not the work of a subject but a genesis of subjectivity as part of the social world of objectivity' (Balibar 1995, pp.66-67).

In his book *The Great Transformation* (1944) Polanyi also argued that market economy is not a spontaneous or natural phenomenon but a 'political project', which is institutionalized through commoditization of land, labor and money as vital concepts. He states that in capitalism, instead of the economy's being embedded to social relations, it is the social life embedded to the economic system. Therefore he explains that market economy is constructed upon the 'concepts' of labor, money and land, supported and institutionalized through legislative action leading to subordination of human society in the logic of the market (Bugra, 2007b, pp. 2-3).

In this regard, this chapter will firstly focus on the effects of neoliberalism and the expansion of free market over the social life and as Thatcher says, the 'changed souls of

neoliberalism' will be traced. Later, employment trends in the world and in Turkey, discourse on capitalism's recent crises and new poverty discussions will be elaborated.

2.2.1. The Spirit of Neoliberalism

As Harvey (2005) underlines, neo-liberalism proposes that human well being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms, which can best be practiced with private property ownership rights, free markets and free trade. Furthermore the state's role in this portrait can be summarized as protecting such practices with its institutions of military, defense, law, police and the like. With the neo-liberal turn, which had started its momentum in the 1980s in Britain and the United States during the leadership of Thatcher and Reagan is characterized with policies of deregulation of finance both internally and globally. These regulations (or deregulations) were to keep state interventions to markets at a minimum rate due to claims of state bias and unsatisfactory information of the state in true market conditions. Harvey also underlines that signals of neoliberal policies like deregulation, privatization and withdrawal of the state from social provisions were felt during the 1970s. (Harvey 2005a, pp: 1-2). He states that today neoliberalism has become hegemonic as a mode of discourse from academics to international organizations. Furthermore, its pervasive effects on ways of thought and political economic practices have become commonsense and it has turned out to be the way we interpret the world (Harvey 2007, p: 23).

Harvey underlines that neoliberalization was presented and projected as a 'utopian' project for reorganization of global capitalism but it also served as a 'political' project to re-establish the conditions for capital accumulation and to ensure positions of economic elites. He indicates that the first neoliberal 'utopian' projection has not been as much effective as the 'political' latter. Neoliberalism has succeeded remarkably well in restoring and creating power of the elites and the supposedly utopian part can be read as a justification and legitimization for the politics that claimed whatever has to be done to achieve that goal. Harvey also underlines that initial goals of neoliberalism are now forgotten, twisted or unrecognizable (Harvey 2007. p: 19). Harvey states that policies of neoliberalism had long-term destructive effects on not only division of labor, social relations, welfare regulations, but also way of life, way of thought and 'habits of the

heart'. To Harvey, neoliberalism seeks to bring all human action into the domain of market rules (Harvey 2007. 3).

Harvey underlines that the neoliberal state emphasizes the importance of personal and individual freedom, liberty and responsibility particularly in the market place. Social success or failure is associated with personal entrepreneurial qualities or failings rather than attributable to any systematic dynamic (Harvey 2005b, p. 21). Moreover Zukin emphasizes that the rise of symbolic economy based on finance, information, fashion and other rapidly shifting forms of advantage have pushed men and women to become entrepreneurial in a broader sense (Zukin 2006, 117).

In his book *The Corrosion of Character* (1998) Sennett states that in general, workers are asked to 'behave nimbly', to be open to adjustments in short notice and to take risks continually and are expected to be less dependent on formal regulations and procedures. Sennett argues that today flexible capitalism serves for blocking the straight path of career, diverting employees from one career path to another quickly. He underlines that flexible work makes people do pieces of labor over the way of a lifetime (Sennett 1998, p. 9).

Sennett states that today flexibility is used as a 'lift' for the annoyance of oppression packaged in capitalism. In emphasizing risk and attacking rigid bureaucracy, flexibility is the supposedly keyword giving freedom to people in shaping their lives. But it is also a complex term when it is announced with words requiring long term stability, like the character. Sennett underlines that character is expressed by mutual commitment and loyalty, it is a pursuit of long term goals and it contains personal traits which we value in ourselves and expect to be valued by others. But he states it is very difficult to sustain lasting values in a society that is impatient, requiring immediate movements and adapting quickly to change (Sennett 1998 p.10). As mentioned above, Harvey emphasizes that all human actions are shaped by market rules; Sennett accepts this fact and focuses on the long-term effects on the character.

In *Culture of New Capitalism* (2006) Sennett argues that fragmentation of big institutions lead to fragmentations in people's lives as well. In terms of time he

underlines that short-term relationships with the work, moving from one task or place or job to another means that institutions no longer provide long term relationships. Furthermore, developing skills in this environment is a very hard mission to accomplish. Compared to craftsmen, new culture of capitalism advances and celebrates short-term potentials compared to past achievement. Sennett indicates that past service or experience no more guarantees a place in organizations. He states that in general many individuals are feeling that their lives are 'casting adrift' (Sennett 2006, p: 4).

Brown (2006) defines neoliberalism as a rationality that organizes the social, the state and the subject simultaneously. Neoliberalism represents free markets, free trade and entrepreneurial rationality as 'normative' through law, but does not represent it as 'natural' as it was in classical liberalism. It is dominated by market concerns but also it is a culture of 'rational economic actors' in every sphere of life. Moreover, it produces individual entrepreneurs who can self-care themselves where neoliberal political rationality sets criteria of productivity and efficiency for governance. In this rationality, entrepreneurial selves are depoliticized, citizenship is reduced to self-care, a business approach to governing is accepted and permanent under-classes or criminal classes are seen as inevitable (Brown, 2006: 694-5). Brown also underlines that neoliberals deviate from *laissez faire* economics in mobilizing law and policy to support the market and shape social goals. In addition, equality is not a value in neoliberal universe nor is liberty, but it is a world made up of 'winners' and 'losers' based on their entrepreneurial skills (Brown, 2006, p. 700).

In her article, Brown also focuses on the de-democratization forces that are produced at the intersection of neoliberal and neo-conservative rationalities where she states that the de-democratization effects of neoliberalism such as devaluation of political autonomy, de-politicization of social problems, legitimate statism and accommodation of heavy degrees of governance in everyday life prepared the ground for 'authoritarian' features of neoconservative governance. She argues that there is a blurred line between religious and political culture, between theological and political discourse. Moreover she emphasizes the subjectivities created in between the triadic nature of truth-authority-submission relation based on religious belongings are attached with statist power. She concludes that state power exploits and borrows from a religious structure of authority

for its own. So that populism of religion is mobilized via state power and authority, a combination of which creates an anti-democratic political culture (Brown, 2006). In a way the fragmented subjects are sutured with an authoritarian populism in the neoliberal order.

Hall (2011) underlines that neoliberalism borrows extensively from classical liberal ideas but 'dis-articulates and re-articulates' them in different discursive forms at different historical moments. This is manageable because these ideas are 'sedimented into *habitus* of everyday life, into common sense and popular consciousness'. Similar to Brown, he proposes that an evolution from law and order society towards authoritarian populism takes place. Hall argues that ideology works best by suturing together contradictory lines of arguments; it wins consent through elements of common sense, popular life and consciousness.

Hall (2011) argues that neoliberalism as hegemony is a process, is not a state of being. In neoliberalism, society is boxed by legislation, regulation, monitoring, surveillance and control, at the same time new entrepreneurial subjects were created for the advance of market forces. Moreover Hall underlines that neoliberal discourse promoted two figures: taxpayers and customers and from now on no one ever thinks of a citizen who relies on public services. Hall concludes that 'neoliberal logic' firstly targeted constituencies and attacked the idea of being dependent on the state. Secondly, privatization transformed constitutions into profit making mechanisms. Thirdly education has moved to the realm of private sector, while investing on children's 'human capital' is over emphasized. He also adds that in neoliberalism, communities replaced local democracy and state's involvement in quality of life has been cut down.

2.2.2. Never Ending Crises of Capitalism: Focusing the recent finance crisis

There had been many discussions on explaining capitalism's crises in Marxist perspective. Very briefly, accumulation theories, which assume crises are inherent to capitalism, can be clustered to three, first of which are 'disproportionality' theories that focus on circulation of capital. There are also theories of 'under-consumption', which basically focus on the demand side (means of consumption), and theories of 'over-

accumulation' which focus on the supply side (means of production). In over-accumulation theories the anarchic nature of capitalism is underlined. They also focus on the competitive nature of supply side and state that this over-accumulation tendency will be the triggering mechanism for breakdown of capitalism. (Madra & Adaman 2007)

Another approach to examine capitalism's crises is the class exploitation approach, which tend to focus on not only multiple forms of exploitation but also possibility of other social formations, alternative class structures and other forms of democratic forms. With this emphasis, it diverges from capital accumulation theories. Class analyses approach also try to map the sphere of non-capitalism, like surplus labor within households, local communities and other communal forms of socialization. Moreover it tends not to equate economy with capitalism. It also moves to discussions beyond western civilized advanced capitalism forms to non-western forms. Since class analysis' starting point is exploitation, it also focuses on the appropriation of surplus value at any scene. It focuses on how are these exploitative circumstances culturally, legislatively and politically reproduced (Madra &Adaman, 2007).

When we shortly examine the discussions on recent crisis of capitalism, which is also known as finance crisis, firstly, Resnick and Wolff (2010) emphasize the reoccurrences in emergence of Keynesian and neoclassical policies one after the other, both of which jointly concealed Marxian economics since the 1940s. Writers argue that these two dominant approaches have a shared 'profound conservatism', which tends to prevent crises *in* capitalism from becoming crises *of* capitalism. Writers later argue that from 1890 to 1970, in the US history, real wage increase rates were way below than productivity increase rates, where these considerable portions of surplus went to capital accumulation, which secured a growing capitalist system, which cumulatively raised the rate of exploitation. Whereas in the capitalist logic, notion of poverty turned out to be a 'blame the victim' discourse and consumption standards are set as a measure of personal success of life. In this capitalist hegemony, exploitation is redefined in terms of consumption standards. The writers argue that this massive growth of capitalism developed a hesitation to confront class exploitation and class structures. But from 1970s on, this rate of exploitation rose steadily to unprecedented heights where

managers, bankers, shareowners, property owners prospered, on the contrary majority of workers started to survive in increasingly difficult circumstances (Resnick & Wolff 2010, pp. 176-177).

Resnick and Wolff also argue that recent finance crisis of 2007 is not solely capitalism's crisis but it is socially working class family's crises since consumption levels increased with a lack of rising wage to afford them where investing on human capital is associated with social success. All these resulted in increased working hours of all family members. Writers argue that total number of hours worked in a household increased where debts and mortgages have become routine way of life. They suggest that personal and social costs of this increased working labor in the household had been more visible with its social outcomes such as increased divorce rates, increased costs of women's labor like child care and similar expenses all of which added with increased consumption and indebtedness. These whole unseen costs negate with net contribution of family income in the households (ibid. pp. 178-179).

Marazzi emphasizes autonomization of financial capital, how it gets stronger based on the profits that is not accumulated, not reinvested in constant or variable capital, how it multiplies with financial engineering and is redistributed to shareholders. As these fictitious profits proliferate, they also become unmanageable and discrepancy between social needs and financial logics leads to a mode of production that is open to crises. He clarifies his thesis as following; 'financialization is not a parasitic deviation of surplus value and collective saving but rather accumulation symmetrical with a new process of value production'. With this perspective he states that it would be clearer to see today's financial crisis as a crisis of capital accumulation than a process of lack of capital accumulation (Marazzi 2010, p. 36-37).

He also wants to explore the relationship between financialization and the process of value production 'beyond factory gates' because for Marazzi an enormous percentage of surplus value is derived from externalized production processes. He defines this concept as *biocapitalism* which creates productive consumers, where labor costs for this surplus value is zero, and there is no necessity of reinvestment in production sphere. Here profits are not generated by stable employment. He concludes that this excess of surplus

is a result of a new accumulation process that requires *cognitive capitalism*, which is possible because a value is produced outside the production process where strategic importance of fixed and variable capital decreases. In addition, he argues that increase in the profits over the last 30 years is due to a production of surplus value by accumulation which is external to classical productive process So, financialization represents the adequate and perverse modality of accumulation of new capitalism (Marazzi 2010, pp. 37-44).

Yeldan (2009) propose that the recent crisis of capitalism is not a result of technical errors that took place on their own, but rather a result of systematic imbalances of capitalism in the last three decades. He underlines that as the Keynesian politics, which argued that 'finance is a national matter', are not applied anymore, the hegemonic power of finance capital started to enhance. Moreover, the value of money is open to speculations and high financial income with high interest rates has become the main focus. In addition, generating employment is not a main focus in this economic environment, as it was in Keynesianism and profits are indexed to financial speculations. (Yeldan 2009, p.14-20)

When we come to effects of this finance crisis on Turkey, Yeldan underlines that unemployment rates will increase, unemployment problem will deepen, production will decrease and industrial sphere will get smaller. Based on TUIK figures he states that;

> …Employment statistics published by TUIK documents that unemployment problem in Turkey goes on with its full strength. In Turkey, unemployment rate is stable around 9.6% where the number of chronic unemployed people increased to 4.2 million people, who are 'ready to work if a job is available, but are not looking for jobs because are not hoping to find one' (Yeldan 2009, p.20).

Hall (2010) argues that crises do not solely rely on economy but rather different levels of society, the economy, politics, ideology and common sense fuse in a rupture in the unity. According to Hall, not every dominant political philosophy achieves widespread consent, but when it becomes how things are, taken for granted or common sense, hegemonic settlement takes place. Hall underlines that neoliberal discourse shifted from equality to fairness, capital to free markets and society to community. In short, Hall underlines the hegemonic components of neoliberalism and how the ideology of

neoliberal logic has been the norm, the common sense. When we come to recent crisis of capitalism, Hall argues that today public believes that financial system is beyond their intervention or reach, where poverty and inequality all became matters unspeakable.

2.2.3. Employment Trends in the World and in Turkey

Rifkin (1996) underlines that human labor is systematically eliminated from the production process and claims that machines are replacing humans in numerous tasks, which forces many people into unemployment lines. He proposes that high-tech automated production; global commerce and extraordinary material abundance are the new excitements of the world rather than unemployment rates. Rifkin emphasizes that unemployment trends are irreversible and altering human life in fundamental ways. Human resources trends like re-engineering, downsizing, de-cruiting, total quality management or lean management are the recent topics in many countries that frustrate young generations as well as older workers (Rifkin 1996, pp. 3-5).

Global Employment Trends Report published in 2012 by International Labor Office (ILO) indicates that the world enters to 2012 facing a serious job challenge after three years of continuous financial crisis, which increased unemployment rates all around the world, especially in Europe and the United States. The report also underlines that more than 400 million jobs are needed over the next decade to avoid a further increase in the unemployment rates. In contrast to this challenging portrait, global job generation is getting worse. When we add up 2012's unemployed population of three million to the total, the figure comes 200 million unemployed people all around the world. The report also emphasizes that youth aged between 15 and 24 are particularly hit by the crisis. Not only unemployment rate of youth increased compared to pre-crisis levels but also globally unemployment of young people increased approximately three times more than adults. In addition, report underlines that around 6,4 million young people gave up looking for jobs. Moreover the jobs they get are more of part-time employment often on temporary contracts (ILO, p: 9).

According to the report, in the year 2007 service sector has been the leading sector of employment for the first time in the world followed by agriculture and industry respectively. Today employment in services industry represents 43.8 percentage of total employment, while agriculture represents 34.1 per cent and industry represents 22.1 per cent (ILO 2012, p. 98). So that we can conclude the trend from agriculture and industry to services sector continues.

For working poverty and vulnerable employment, ILO report indicates that nearly 30 percent of the all workers in the world are living with their families below US$2 per day poverty line. These workers and their dependants are more vulnerable to crises and the number of working poor continue to grow in Africa, South Asia and Middle East whereas East Asia has managed to reduce the number of working poor during previous years. Furthermore, 50 million working poor are added to total figure during 2011 with follow-up trends of latest crisis (ibid. p. 41-42).

Maloney (2011) underlines that in the United States one in five young workers is unemployed, which is the highest rate of unemployment ever recorded for this age group. Moreover even the young people constitute only 13 percent of the labor force, they make up 26 percent of the total unemployed in the US. Although educational attainment reduces the likelihood of being unemployed, figures indicate that black college graduates are two times more unemployed compared to white graduates. Lastly young population has shorter employment durations, which may be due to switching to other jobs or giving up working (Maloney 2011, pp. 137-138). Maloney also emphasizes that the 'scaring effects' of prolonged unemployment may have upsetting effects while the youth are shaping the future career (ibid. p. 146).

Sennett (2006) emphasizes that after 1990s with the developments in technology and micro-processing, automation has become a reality that threatens both manual and bureaucratic labor. From then on, Sennett argues that the process going on is favoring more investments on machines rather than paying people to work (Sennett 2006, p. 7). Furthermore Harvey claims that, issues of unemployment may be translated to issues of ethnic or racial discrimination in the job market. Rather than the underlying economic

issue conflicts are solved and resolved in a manner that moves the problem around, without touching the underlying structure (Harvey 1988, p. 279).

Şenyapılı (2004) describes the labor market of Turkey before 1980 as a pyramid. He states that the top was occupied by union protected formal Fordist work, the middle was occupied with small-scale work and the bottom was occupied with large group of informal workers. After 1980, the pyramid was disrupted and now occupied mostly by new rising high-level white-collar professionals.

When TUIK data is examined, the general population of Turkey is imagined as 72 millions of people whereas 26 million 725 thousand make up the labor population. Within this number, 2 million 615 thousand is recorded as unemployed with the ratio of 9.8 %. The youth unemployment is more in the cities compared to rural. Moreover general urban unemployment rate (12.4%) is more than the average rate of unemployment (9.8%). It is also seen that 42.1% of the employed do not have to social security records. Istanbul is the city with the highest unemployment rate and ironically it is the leading provider to total employment with the share of 17.5% (TUIK 2011).

3.   THE PLACE: SOCIAL DYNAMICS IN URBAN SPACE

This chapter starts with the theories of production of space focusing especially on Lefebvre and Harvey who made the first writings on effects of capitalism on urban space. Following Marx' argument on space that capitalism annihilates space, these scholars worked on transformation of space due to capitalist order. Therefore transformation and production of urban space will be elaborated with the emphasis of uneven geographical developments and spatial segregation within the cities.

Then a focus will be given on Istanbul, which is a 17 million-population overcrowded city in Turkey. The transformation of Istanbul with the vision and projection of being a global megacity will be briefly elaborated. As many researches show us that *gecekondu* areas are being transformed according to the changing demands of capitalism. It is often claimed that *gecekondu* areas are not needed any more in İstanbul because they are too valuable to be left to the people occupying them. Therefore a brief history of *gecekondu* dwellings and their functions will be discussed and will be associated with the discursive change from *gecekondu* to *varos*.

In Istanbul different policies are applied that fetishize the land and many central spaces are commodified, gentrified as the motor of income generation. There are many urban literatures on transformation of space, especially on Istanbul. But a broader perspective would be more appropriate to begin with, which is the literature on everyday life. Because everyday life is he connective tissue, which contains spatiotemporal power relations, the relationship of work time and leisure time and has to power to reveal many societal dynamics.

3.1.   EVERYDAY LIFE IN THE CITY

> *…The history of a single day includes the history of the world and of civilization…* (Lefebvre 2009, *Everyday Life in the Modern World*, p: 4)

Savage (2000) elaborates Benjamin's early writings in late 1920s and 1930s and states that Benjamin's theory of history is characterized with the replacement of 'experience' by 'instrumental reactions' in urban life. Benjamin states that genuine experience was

found in preindustrial societies where it was based on repetition of actions without conscious intention, which was bound to traditions and was the legitimized ways of acting. Whereas 'instrumental' reactions of city life are simple reactions to endlessly changing stimuli based on instrumental habits of thinking in order to cope with the environment. Savage underlines that Benjamin's thought on urban experience is more of a 'shock experience' in which daily routine is shaped by reflexive filters of protection under attack of various shocks. Meanwhile *flaneur*, who is the street wanderer fascinated by the city offers a critique of the distant relationships of the city, of the 'mass' (Savage 2000, pp. 37-38). Savage also emphasizes that Benjamin's interest in urban experience was not to describe 'way of life' in the city, but instead to recover specific types of experiences which might be sources of present day actions in relation to past (ibid. p. 43).

For Lefebvre everyday life is the 'connective tissue' holding up together every detail of daily activities that are attached to broader social dynamics. It is the place that gives totality and coherence. As Gardiner elaborates in *Critiques of Everyday Life* (2000), Lefebvre underscores that everyday life should not be neglected as taken for granted or unseen since it is where all vital human desires, powers and potentials are formulated, developed and realized. For Lefebvre everyday life is where we enter into a dialectical relationship with nature and social world (Gardiner 2000, pp. 76-79). Moreover Lefebvre states that everyday life could be mistakenly perceived as a non-philosophical phenomenon compared to idealist philosophy but its power on representation of reality should not be ignored. He underlines that philosophical life is considered to be superior compared to everyday life nonetheless philosophical life actually provides unreality. Moreover what Lefebvre claims is that a philosophical man and ordinary everyday man cannot coexist at the same time, because from the philosopher's point the world should be first thought and then realized but for the everyday man its vice versa, for everyday man it is spontaneity coming first (Lefebvre 2009, p. 12).

Lefebvre states that it is no surprise to claim the death of the subject or in his terms; 'the blurred lost outline' of it. But these are also the times when 'the subject plays the lead' (Lefebvre 2009, p. 8). Lefebvre underlines that nature of labor is highly fragmented and specialized; moreover family life and leisure time are separated from work life. This

high level of fragmentation and split of consciousness into private and public-self accompanying with fragmentation of labor, pushes all social interactions to be purely utilitarian (Gardiner 2000, p: 76). Questioning everyday life has the potential to reveal all relationships taken for granted. Everyday life is the place 'what is left over' from those all 'superior' activities. But, actually, it is the everyday life that relates and connects all these activities, that faces all the conflicts and ties the common ground that shapes the whole form at the end of the day (ibid. p. 79).

For Lefebvre, modernity encourages 'inward looking', focusing on private life, family life, occupational thinking and 'class determined commodity consumption' all of which lead to a more abstract perception of the leftover. This results in creating 'imperious ego' of individuals which head to setting more instrumental relationships towards the rest of the world. He states that

> …When an individual life is shaped by individualistic tendencies, it is literally a life of 'privation', a life of 'deprived': deprived of reality, of links with the world- a life for which everything human is alien. It is a split into contradictory or separate poles: work and rest, public life and person life, public occasions and intimate situations, chance and inner secrets, luck and fate, ideal and reality, the marvelous and the everyday… (Lefebvre 1991 p.149; Gardiner 2000, p. 83)

Lefebvre states that with bourgeois society work and leisure relationship has become a unified whole. He underlines that the relation between leisure and everyday is not simple or contradictory. It is not the simple deduced contrast between Sundays and weekdays. Rather signifies work-leisure unity so that we should approach to leisure as a part of work, therefore he states that everyday life is the totality of all those activities that reflect all the social dynamics in the system (Highmore 2002, pp.226-227).

Furthermore Lefebvre states that everyday is the arena where capitalist alienation is greatest and the only escape route to break this alienation is creating extraordinariness during daily activities. For Lefebvre everyday has the potential to stand against the systematic oppressions of capitalism and commoditization (Bridge and Watson 2003, p: 376). Moreover everyday life is the totality that determine the concrete individual, it is not the fragmented labor, family life or leisure activities by themselves (Highmore 2002, p. 228).

Moreover most of the leisure activities involve passive attitudes. Lefebvre also underlines that leisure activities only fulfill compensation for work and it is like a 'vicious circle' that replaces real unhappiness with fictions of it (Gardiner 2000, p. 84). Furthermore he emphasizes that films and literature use everyday life as a frame of reference but they may conceal the details and only expose the supposedly objective and impressive aspects of it (Lefebvre 2009, p. 8).

Lefebvre describes everyday life as the social arena of organized consumption. But what is needed to focus in the first place is not the economic dimension but the daily life that envelops it. Moreover, it is necessary to be cautious about the idleness and attractiveness of unquestioning everyday life because it should not be forgotten that it also holds up the necessary creative components that have the potential to transform the principal and unquestioned (Doğan 2006, p. 96).

Lefebvre uses the term *rhythmanalysis* to fully understand not the visual but the temporal dimension of the city. It is a method to break free the city to remember a spectrum of possibilities other than the present one, it is the method to discover the rhythm of the city. Since the city is a complex entity it contains numerous spaces and times meanwhile holding the liberating potential to transform itself (Thrift 2003, pp. 402-403). It is the place where oppression, exclusion and marginalization take place at the same time with playfulness and liberating potential. De Certeau also underlines the potentials of the city for resistance and he states that everyday life is the storehouse of a group of 'tactics' of resistance. He invites us to walk in the city to internalize the 'long poem of walking', which reveals the concealed details of city dynamics (Rossiter and Gibson 2003, p. 439). De Certeau uses Lacan's concept of *real*, which is pre-linguistic period without symbolizations, representations or language in early childhood and claims that the exact heroes could only be the liberated ordinary people whose practices are the pre-symbolic or pre-linguistic real of the everyday. He claims that resistance exists outside the texts and tactical invaders of everyday life are so powerful. So resistance to official culture could only be developed by the practices of everyday (Lewis 2002, pp. 270-272).

Debord underlines that everyday life should be studied just because of the explicit necessity to transform it. Debord states that everyday life is not everything but we have to center it in analysis of everything since it is the measure of all things, of human relations, the lived or experienced time or of the revolutionary politics. To him, failing to criticize everyday life means accepting the forms of culture and politics (Highmore 2002, pp. 238-239).

According to Painter (2000) Bourdieu's theory of practice can be defined as the mixture of human activities that shape the richness and details of everyday social life. In Bourdieu's terms 'subjectivism' locates prime causes of social behavior in individual free will, objective decision making and lived experience whereas 'objectivism' locates it on objective regularities such as structures, laws and systems. Bourdieu states that *rational actor theory*, which proposes that individual decision-making is central to human action, is paradoxical since objective structures are dependent on subjectivity of the so-called objective observer. As a result, Bourdieu claims that social practices neither represent objective and social laws nor stem from individual subjective decision-making. He states that it is the *habitus* operating. Habitus gives individuals a sense of how to act in specific situations without consciously thinking, it is the 'practical sense' that everyone has (Painter 2000, pp. 241-243). Bourdieu (1984) underlines that *habitus* is 'both generative principle of objectively classifiable judgments and the system of classification of these practices'. He indicates that the relationship between capacity to produce classifiable practices and capacity to appreciate these differentiated practices constitute the *habitus*, the differentiated life-styles and tastes (Bourdieu 1984, pp. 165-166).

Jenkins (1992), who has worked on ideas of Bourdieu's also underlines that *habitus* can be defined as the bridge between the objectivism and subjectivism dichotomy explained above. *Habitus* is a Latin word that refers to a 'habitual or typical condition, state or appearance particularly of the body'. *Habitus* accepts that practice is neither a result of supra-individual structures nor individual decision-making. In this sense it exists in everyday social practices particularly when social interaction takes place, so *habitus* is not an abstract concept but instead it is hidden in ways of talking, moving, standing still,

making things and all the like. Moreover, it is an integral part of behavior (Jenkins 1992, pp. 45-46).

Since supposedly minor everyday life details have the potential to reveal major dynamics in the society or resistance, representation of it is also a foremost and critical issue. Starting from the body to the transportation systems, daily routines, leisure activities, relationship with strangers, rituals, minor illegal city occurrences, walking and wandering in the city, marriage life, flirting, representation of neighborhood relations, life on the streets and the like have the potential to contribute understanding social dynamics, so that they will be used in the following chapter during film analysis.

3.2. TRANSFORMATION AND PRODUCTION OF URBAN SPACE

From the beginning Lefebvre became increasingly aware that the urban revealed the oppositions of the society (Kofman & Lebas 1996, p. 14). In *Production of Space* (1991), Lefebvre defines three kinds of spaces, which are always in interaction that are the *physical* space, the *mental* space and the *social* space. Mental space is the formal abstractions of physical space whereas social space is the space of human interaction. Lefebvre states that these different fields of space are not separate domains and separation, fragmentation and conceptual dislocation of space creates consent with dominant ideologies. Moreover he brings these different modalities of space together, within a single theory in order to decode it and expand it with Marx's notion of production. To Lefebvre, in order to understand the dynamics and contradictions we should get beyond the fetishism of the physical space, which is the observable appearance, the place on the surface (Merrifield 2006, p. 104).

Lefebvre also underlines that space is actively produced, it is organic and it has a fluid and transient nature. He states that

> Instead of uncovering the social relationships (including class relationships) that are latent in spaces, instead of concentrating our attention on the production of space and the social relationships inherent to it…we fall into the trap of treating space "in itself," as space as such. We come to think in terms of spatiality, and so fetishize space in a way reminiscent of the old fetishism of commodities, where the trap lay in exchange, and the error was to consider "things" in isolation, as "things in themselves." (Lefebvre 1991, p. 90)

Lefebvre also underlines that each mode of production produces and reproduces its own particular space and a shift from one mode to another must entail the production of a new space. Late capitalism has produced and goes on producing its specific urban forms, continuing to colonize, commodify, create, recreate and tear it down (Merrifield 2006, p. 107). For him space is never neutral, but is a product filled with ideology (Jones 2003, p. 458)

Lefebvre also emphasizes the distinctions between *representations of space* and *spaces of representation* as separate concepts. The first refers to the conceptualized space constructed by professionals, technocrats or any higher authority whereas the latter signifies the lived in spaces and the space of everyday experience. The first is more of a world of abstraction and contains ideology, power and knowledge, and therefore a conceived space, whereas the latter is alive and it speaks for itself rather than a higher authority. The latter is alive, it contains emotions, fluid and dynamic therefore thought wants to master and dominate it (Merrifield 2006, pp. 109-110).

David Harvey who is another critical urban thinker worked on space and developed further ideas based on Lefebvre's arguments. In *Social Justice and the City* Harvey (1988) searches for a revolutionary view of the spatial organization of social inequality in which the city plays a central role. For him the space supports and improves capitalist moral, political and economic position. Zukin describes Harvey's work as a part of new urban sociology that combined geography and economy, in addition evoked Marxist tradition on the concept of continuation of inequality, capitalism's annihilation on space and Engels' ideas on the ability of a ruling group to camouflage poverty behind the façade of urban improvements (Zukin 2006, p. 103).

Harvey underlines that the mode of production of material life conditions the general process of social, political and intellectual life (Harvey 1988, p.197). He states that urbanism is a social form, a certain division of labor a certain hierarchical ordering of activity, which is broadly consistent with the dominant mode of production. The city may function to stabilize a particular mode of production but also has the potential to give birth to a new mode of production (ibid, p. 203). Harvey acknowledges the contrast between the repressive potential of effective space and the liberating potential of created

space. Harvey states that created space is constructed by forces alien to us. He underlines that the crucial point that holds the major axis of repression and liberation coexist in cities (Zukin 2006, p. 105).

Harvey indicates that seeing the city as a landscape of power enables us to question where and why urban communities are formed. Informal racial segregation, unequal access to mortgages and services, ability and desire to move high-class residences outside city centers were and are examples of structural dynamics when urban growth and decline are questioned. Following Lefebvre, he discovered and revealed the dynamics behind the instrumentality of economic power on labor and land. He wrote on the shifts from one circuit of capital to another, from one industrial sector to another, from industry to finance, from finance to real estate in search for higher profits. He states that production of space is a social and a material process, not only created by a decision of like-minded people living together but also decisions of economic and political interests of higher authorities (Zukin 2006, pp. 106-107).

Harvey underlines four conditionalities for uneven geographical development, which are the material embedded capital accumulation, accumulation by dispossession (or devaluation), law-like character of capital accumulation and lastly political, social and class struggles at a variety of geographical scales. For the first conditionality, as he names, the material embedding of social processes in the web of life, he states that different social groups have embedded their modes of sociality into the web of life so abstractions of capital accumulation outside of daily life becomes impossible. In order to transform our environment we necessarily need to transform ourselves. Moreover, he underlines that property owners, landlords, developers, finance capitalists and the state are the primary agents to shape our environment, our cities, thereby shaping us. Secondly, Harvey suggests that any theory of uneven geographical development under capitalism must incorporate accumulation and devaluation through dispossession as a fundamental force. Thirdly Harvey underlines that capital accumulation shapes time and space via market exchange, coercive laws of spatial competition, geographical division of labor, monopolistic competition, annihilation of space through time, production of scale and territorial systems of political administration. Lastly, Harvey suggests that social struggles should be examined in relation to other three elements. Harvey

concludes that if capitalism survives through uneven geographical development, if it is uneven geographical development, theory can never provide a definite account of the world, so case studies should be applied that internalize above mentioned theories (Harvey 2005, pp. 58-88).

Harvey underlines that within metropolitan economy there exists a potential demand in unfulfilled needs of a poverty population. He states that poverty populations have dual functions, they can be viewed as industrial reserve army; they can be used as a threat to organized labor or can be viewed as surplus labor force when expansion needed. The industrial reserve army should be floating, latent, underemployed or have the potential to join in the workforce when needed, an example can be women workforce. But Harvey emphasizes that much of the poverty in advanced metropolitan economies is found in populations who cannot join to work force like the aged, female heads of households who depend on welfare for survival. This stagnant workforce can be used as a tool to manipulate government policies. So poverty populations have the function of stabilization in the society that rests on their suffering and degradation. Harvey continues that the distribution of income is structurally determined and the geographical patterns in urban residential structure are the expression of this capitalist distribution (Harvey 1988, p. 272).

As an undercapitalized country, Turkey routed its limited resources to industrialization after World War II rather than urban developments. Balaban (2011) underlines that low-income non-socialist countries during Cold War frequently took the track of self-help in urbanization, instead of massive construction projects with state assistance. The urban population of Turkey rose from 32 per cent (1960) of the total population to 54 per cent in 1985. During the early rural to urban migration, from 1960s to 1980s, *gecekondu* (built-overnight) neighborhoods characterized urbanization of big cities in Turkey most of which gained their legal rights in the 1970s by populist governments. *Gecekondu* squats were represented as the only feasible solution for migrants' shelter problems. Moreover, self-built *gecekondus* were decreasing labor costs, since they were built collectively with the savings of the workers, and from a point of view, the bourgeoisie benefited from the illegality of these shelters because squatters living in these shelters significantly contributed low wages labor.

Because *gecekondu* neighborhoods come to existence out of a participatory nature and dependence on relationships to others, it has also written its unique history. In a way these neighborhoods are not produced directly by higher authorities but have been molded little by little by the participants (Poyraz 2011, p. 17). With its peculiar history, one can argue that *gecekondu* neighborhoods could be defined as lived space and spaces of representation in Lefebvre's terminology. Moreover we can also claim that these spaces reflect many dynamics of everyday life and social relationships.

In *Spaces of Hope* (2000), Harvey indicates that capitalism has the tendency to eliminate all spatial barriers, to 'annihilate space through time'. Moreover, it can produce a geographical landscape with its space relations, territorial organization, division of labor functions appropriate to its dynamic at a particular moment of its history, and destroy and rebuild it at a later date (Harvey 2000, p. 59).

Şenyapılı (2004) underlines that in Turkey squatter housing have had its unique voyage after 1950s. He underlines three consecutive periods that transformed squatter housing; 1950-1960, 1960-1980 and 1980 to present. The initial period was characterized by Marshall Aid that resulted in reduction of rural labor force that pushed the extra labor force to urban areas. The incoming unskilled, inexperienced, untrained labor force remained in the margins of both the labor market and the urban area. The general attitude in terms of urbanization can be summarized as; those who had arrived were to stay, but migration to cities should be kept under control with series of laws. The second period is characterized with the import substitution models. With this model, rapid industrialization took place and squatter population took over very important functions in both economic and urban space. The last period is characterized as a radical break by Şenyapılı, coming along with closing down of worker migration channels to Europe, forced migration from the east and southeast regions of Turkey due to political unrest and new-privatization based, export-oriented economic model that had negative effects on labor markets.

Şenyapılı (2004) concludes that during these periods the dominant urban land model transformed from illegal invasion to shared ownership, then, from shared ownership to

first housing cooperatives and then to massive cooperatives ending up in transformation of squatter housing.

Since *gecekondu* neighborhoods have fulfilled their initial mission, today those that are in the more inner periphery are in transformation. Kurtuluş states that, the neoliberal turn in economy after 1983 in Turkey has accumulated and established its neo-liberal capital via the production of space. So, the urban transformation of space has been one of the main components of neo-liberalism policies in Turkey. Urban space has been transformed from production space to consumption space; moreover, the space itself was and has been marketed and reproduced in accordance with the demands of local and global new classes. In this context, large scale shopping malls and closed luxury residential islets were constructed at the inner periphery for new middle classes and upper level classes, which are marketed both locally and globally. She states that the number of massive construction projects of these 'welfare islets' were numbered at 100 during the 1990s whereas this number has reached 800 as of the mid-2000s (Kurtuluş 2011, p. 93).

After the state protection on private sector diminished, many firms faced international aggressive competition, which created the tendency towards more profitable sectors like construction or real estate. Now the peripheries of urban space are a much more valuable commodity and therefore cannot be left to *gecekondu* occupants (Erman 2010).

Erman (2010) emphasizes that *gecekondu* dwellings have always been a 'relief valve' for poor immigrants in Turkey. Today the central *gecekondu* areas are transformed into either apartment buildings or upper class closed living sites, thus transformed from a living space to a commodity. After 2000s, the tight regulations forbidding new constructions of *gecekondu* areas make new immigrants more vulnerable and push them to new peripheries, sometimes forcing them to live in tent-squats. According to Erman, this whole process incorporates with potential of dangerous social dynamics (Erman 2010).

Now in Turkey, we can mention a replacement of capital on central *gecekondu* areas in accordance with neo-liberal policies but we cannot mention a special governmental

policy about the very distant peripheral *gecekondu* squatting areas that are developing now. According to Poyraz, these edges are left alone to face the cruel flow of social and economic difficulties on their own (Poyraz 2011, p. 21).

Today exhaustive mega urban transformational projects are applied in İstanbul. Şen (2011) states that gentrification, de-industrialization and the new middle class have created a triadic deal on urban space. She states that gentrification became a current issue in urban centers since 1990s creating a new economic search (Şen 2011, p. 1). So the gentrification policies in the inner periphery push informal labor to new outer peripheries of the city. Even though we cannot mention a specific policy for outer peripheries as of today, ignoring them completely can be considered a policy.

It can be concluded that until 2000s the production and distribution of space in Turkey was in nature compensating social inequalities and distribution of income, whereas, after 2000 with tight regulations, we can talk about redistribution and reallocation of space, which disregards the working class and the socially disadvantaged (Çavuşoğlu 2009).

Because *gecekondus* have finished their initial mission these informal housing type is facing continuous transformation during the last thirty years. Moreover, with the neo-liberal turn, every square meter of İstanbul is transformed to a main source of capital. As Çavuşoğlu states, mega urban transformation projects push the disadvantaged social layers to a more marginalized position and İstanbul is getting more and more decomposed in social and spatial terms both horizontally and vertically. Moreover this process leads to a new mapping of social class structures due to replacement of property ownership.

3.3.   CITY OUTSKIRTS AND SPATIAL SEGREGATION

As of 2002, *The Challenge of Slums Report* of UN-HABITAT (United Nations Human Settlement Programme) reports that almost one billion people, in other words, 32 per cent of the world's urban population lives in slums, the majority of them in the developing world. According to the report, the number is to be expected to double itself

by 2030. The report mainly focuses upon the shelter conditions of the majority of the urban poor and states that poor inhabitants struggle to survive within urban space through informal shelter and informal income-generation strategies. The report emphasizes that slums are a manifestation of the two main challenges: rapid urbanization and urbanization of poverty (p. vi).

The report explores both negative and positive sides of slums. The negative aspects suggested are that slums have the worst living conditions, which include; insecurity of tenure, lack of basic services, unsafe building structures and overcrowding. Moreover these areas have high concentration of poverty and social and economic deprivation that may include broken families, unemployment and economic, physical and social exclusion. Slum dwellers have limited access to credit and formal job markets due to stigmatization, discrimination and geographic isolation. On the supposedly positive side the report states that the slums are the first stopping point of the immigrants, they provide low-cost and affordable housing that enable the immigrants to save for their eventual absorption into urban society (p. vi).

A more recent study on slum dwelling is conducted by Mike Davis and was published in his book *Planet of Slums* in 2006. Davis indicates that the urban population of the world is continuously increasing and there is little or no planning to accommodate or provide them with adequate services. He states that diffuse urbanism is taking place regardless of early urban histories of the cities, in which there are neither traditional cores nor recognizable peripheries (Davis 2006, p. 9). Davis defines slum by overcrowding, poor informal housing, inadequate access to safe water and sanitation and insecurity of tenure, where these circumstances lead to economic and social marginality (ibid, p. 23).

Davis also adds that the size of the city's economy does not necessarily get better related to its population size. Urbanization without industrialization can be linked to *silicon capitalism* projections of the cities in more developed countries. But in Africa, Latin America, Middle East and much of South Asia urbanization without growth is more obviously the legacy of a global political conjuncture related with the debt crisis of the late 1970s and IMF-led structuring of developing countries. According to Davis,

during the 1990s urban unemployment skyrocketed and real wages dropped in third world countries. Policies of agricultural deregulation and financial discipline enforced by IMF and the World Bank continued to generate migration of surplus rural labor to urban slums (ibid, pp. 14-15). Davis underlines the unexpected tracks of neoliberal world and states that;

> …rather than the classical stereotype of labor-intensive countryside and the capital intensive industrial metropolis, the third world now contains many examples of capital-intensive countryside and labor intensive deindustrialized cities. 'Over-urbanization' in other words, is driven by the reproduction of poverty, not by supply of jobs (ibid, p. 16).

Wacquant on the other hand focuses on the developed countries and in his work *Urban Outcasts* (2008), he states that in most of these countries special terms are designated, such as *ghetto*, *favela, banlieue, degradati, or villa miseria*, for the neighborhoods where social problems gather and fester and social life appears to be chaotic and brutish. These places are the urban outcasts of the turn of the century, which earn negative attention from the media, politicians and state managers. These areas are mostly infamous as 'lawless zones', the 'problem states' or 'no-go areas' accompanied with the general perception of fear towards them (Wacquant 2008, p. 1)

Wacquant underlines that the outbreak of the public disorder accompanied by inequality and marginality in the western metropolis contrasts with the 'democratic' and 'civilized' discourse of the post-war era (ibid, p. 229). He defines this new state as the urban 'advanced marginality' where extreme poverty, social destitution, ethno-racial divisions and public violence accumulate in the same areas of the city. He also mentions that, these marginalized areas are claimed to be the degraded urban areas characterized with mass joblessness and de-proletarianisation especially for the youths (Wacquant 1996, p. 123).

Wacquant defines six distinctive properties of advanced marginality, which are, wage labor as the vector of social instability and life insecurity, functional disconnection from macro-economic trends, territorial fixation and stigmatization, spatial alienation and the dissolution of place, loss of hinterland and lastly social fragmentation or the unfinished genesis of precariat (Wacquant 2008, pp. 233-245). In terms of wage-labor, Wacquant

underlines that it has turned from homogeneity, solidarity and security into a source of social fragmentation and precariousness for those who are at the bottom level of the employment sphere. Part-time, flexible, variable schedule positions, reduced or non-existent social and medical coverage, performance-based pay scales, reduction in job tenure, increase in stuff turnover and widespread use of subcontracting tactics has institutionalized the 'permanently temporary work' (Wacquant 2008, p. 235).

In terms of functional disconnection from macroeconomic trends, he states that national and regional aggregate unemployment trends grow asymmetrically. For instance, in France he emphasizes that in terms of youth joblessness, the country's general youth unemployment rates increased from 20 to 26 per cent between 1990 and 1999, whereas these rates were 20 to 40 per cent respectively in sensitive urban zones (*ibid*, p. 236). In sum, when conditions get better these marginal zones stagnate, but during times of recession or slowdown, these zones get dramatically worse compared to macro economic trends.

Moreover, advanced marginality tends to be concentrated in isolated and bounded territories, which is stigmatized by discourses of vilification both from 'below', in the ordinary interactions of daily life of the marginalized group members and from 'above', by journalists, media and policy makers (ibid, pp. 237-238). As a result of this territorial stigmatization, the 'place' in which urban populations identify and feel at home dissolves. Moreover, with the loss of the hinterland, the place you can fall back on when needed is not there anymore. Nowadays individuals excluded from employment cannot rely on collective informal support, but rather have to find improvised strategies to survive like self-provisioning, shadow work, unreported employment, underground commerce, criminal activities and quasi-institutionalized hustling (ibid, pp. 241-245).

Based on UN-HABITAT estimates, Davis states that Turkey is the tenth largest slum population country with 19.1 million dwellers, which constitutes 42.6 per cent of the urban population (Davis 2006, p. 24). With its 13.5 million official population as of 2010 (TUIK 2011, p. 30), İstanbul is one of the most crowded cities in the world. As a metropolitan city, it receives high flow of internal immigration facing rapid urbanization since 1950s. The observed population increase of İstanbul is 500.000

inhabitants every year (Ünsal et al. 2001, p.2). If the population growth rate continues in the same average ratio, 2023 forecasts are around 22-25 million inhabitants (Çavuşoğlu 2009). Işık and Pınarcıoğlu underline the dynamics that shape uneven distribution of inner city income in post-1980 era. According to 1994 statistics, in İstanbul 17.800 households that figure 1 per cent of the population hold 29 per cent of the income of the city which is 327 times more than poorest households (Işık & Pınarcıoğlu 2001, p. 42).

Erder (2002) emphasizes that in İstanbul uneven urban areas are produced due to unparalleled growth of urbanization and industrialization. Quoting from Asiama (1985), Erder states that rather than approaching to poverty solely with income criteria, poverty as a concept should be redefined in relation to living conditions in the city. Erder underlines that characteristics of housing areas directly have an effect on quality of everyday life, job potentials, environmental conditions, chance to survive, educational opportunities and future of children and youth. Housing occasions should not be treated as solely shelters but as an environment that may have short-term and long-term multi-dimensional effects on their inhabitants (Erder 2002, pp. 36-37).

Poyraz (2011) emphasizes that class stratification tendency originated from the center pushes lower classes to the peripheries in İstanbul. The newcomers and new immigrants struggle to survive at the outer periphery whereas early comers try to protect their more advantageous position in the inner periphery. Poyraz states that now, the outer peripheries are composed of mostly Kurdish immigrants who have either immigrated by themselves or forced to during the war on terrorism. He also adds that ethnic identity stigmatization combined with poverty and being distant from the center creates a unique existence. He also highlights that some groups lead other groups in these communities and try to impose and dominate the norms of the community (Poyraz 2011, pp. 18-19).

Poyraz (2011) also recognizes a tendency towards leaving these poorest and different ethic originated communities all alone in the struggle of survival at the edges. He highlights that the emphasis of the discourse is based upon protecting the rest of social layers from their harm. (Poyraz 2011, p. 23). Kurtuluş (2011) states that today it is impossible to pay the high rents in the inner periphery for the immigrant labor force whether immigrating with economic reasons or as a result of forced immigration. She

states that these new immigrants try to hold on and form an outer periphery in İstanbul. Davis names these areas 'transition zones' where the informal labor and poverty agglomerates (Kurtuluş 2011, p. 94).

Erder (2002) proposes that immigrants solve their initial problems of shelter, labor or health via informal relationship networks as they arrive to city (Erder 2002, p. 43). She also underlines that the groups mostly benefiting from these informal relationship networks are at an advantageous position compared to the isolated rest. In her study focusing on Ümraniye based on access to informal networks, she concludes three distinctive groupings in *gecekondu* areas. The first group consists of 'rising houses' that benefit from urban speculation of land or rentals. The second group consists of people who can stand on their own, and proud of being so, they are more isolated in their daily life activities. Lastly, the third group consists of people who are already or becoming poor, these groups are also isolated but involuntarily. These groups may have members of disabled, elderly people or forced immigrants with different ethnic origin (Erder 2006, pp. 291-296).

Işık and Pınarcıoğlu (2001) who worked on Sultanbeyli make a similar diagnosis on group dynamics in *gecekondu* areas. They define the relationship with a new concept as they call it, 'poverty in rotation' by which a group benefits and gains welfare over the new coming groups. According to them, this is a form of informal deal made between the groups in order to fight tough conditions of the post 1980 era. This agreement is mainly based on land and housing relations that are articulated through community relations, as a result of which income is distributed unequally (Işık & Pınarcıoğlu 2001, p. 40). Poverty in rotation helps the urban poor develop their survival strategies based on relationship networks and by this method poverty is transformed from one group to another in time (ibid, p. 49).

Perouse (2011) makes a similar conclusion and underlines that new immigration movements create a source of income for initially immigrated groups and eventually cultivating new immigration may turn out to be one of the missions of the informal relationship networks. In short, immigration may serve creating a dependent and loyal debtor reserve army for those who benefit from them (Perouse 2011, p. 52). In

Nöbetleşe Yoksulluk (Poverty In Rotation/Shift) Işık and Pınarcıoğlu conclude that inner city poor have the tendency to give up struggling desperately similar with underclass, whereas *varoş* poor have the tendency to struggle and transform their conditions similar to immigrant labor force (Işık & Pınarcıoğlu 2001, p. 39).

We can conclude that *gecekondu* squatting has some similar characteristics with Wacquant's argument on advanced marginality but also contains unique characteristics underlined above. Wacquant emphasizes differences of *banliueu* and ghetto in *Urban Outcasts* and states that it is extremely dangerous to examine different marginalized urban groups as homogeneous. Today inhabitants of initially legalized *gecekondu* areas have become potential middle class consumers whereas new immigrants face harder conditions for their sheltering problem.

3.4.   URBAN SPACE AND CRIME DISCUSSIONS

'...and the varoşs went down the city'

Quoting from Portes (1972), Wacquant highlights that *'the grave mistake of theories on the urban slum has been to transform sociological conditions into psychological traits and to impute the victims the distorted characteristics of their victimizers'* (Wacquant 2008, p. 89; Portes 1972, p. 286). This section briefly starts with theories of crime, and then elaborates the transformation of dominant discourse from *gecekondu* to *varoş,* that the latter signifies a more homogeneous 'threatening other', which has more cultural connotations than spatial.

Crime as a topic is very crucial because it is a very attractive narrative tool for films. But this study does not aim to theorize crime as a criminological, philosophical, psychological or sociological matter, but it is to relate crime discussions and dynamics with the filmic representations.

Firstly, functionalist theories see crime and deviance resulting from structural tensions and lack of moral regulation within society. For instance Durkheim's concept of *anomie* happens when there are no clear standards to guide behavior in a society (Giddens 2009,

p. 941). In social disorganization theory Shaw and McKay (1942) state that delinquency is primarily caused by social factors where structure and institutions of society are in disorganization (Shoemaker 2010, p. 101). Social disorganization is defined as the inability of local communities to realize or solve commonly experienced problems (Harbeck 2011, p: 51). They also underline that larger societal conditions that affect large number of people who find themselves at a disadvantageous position relative to legitimate economic activities engage in illegitimate activities (Shoemaker 2010, p. 121).

On the other hand, interactionism theories ask how behaviors come to be defined as deviant and why certain groups are labeled as deviant. Labeling theorists claim that rules of deviance is defined by wealthy for poor, by men for women, by older people for younger people or by majorities for minority groups (Giddens 2009, p. 945). Following this argument, the neo-Marxist or 'radical approach' is based on broad conceptualizations of delinquent behavior and examines it in societal basis. Marxist criminologist Spitzer (1975) underlines that capitalism creates its 'problematic' populations who should be continually guarded and controlled by developed mechanisms. As capitalism advances contradictions within society expand and institutions to protect ruling class interests advance accordingly (Shoemaker 2010, p. 288).

Hall et al. (1978) underlines that every incident named as crime has a pre-history and contradictions; it is bound to wider historical context, historical conjuncture, and conditions of existence. He also emphasizes that crime events contain publicity and this publicity takes place far away from the scene of crime. Therefore most of the time determining conditions of crime is neglected. These components of crime should not be let to be packed by common sense of people, in contrast it has to be elaborated widely, in Hall's terms; crime should be 'dismantled in terms of its wider relations to these contradictory forces' (Hall et al. 1978, pp. viii-ix).

In *Punishing the Poor*, Wacquant (2009) states that urban disorders are methodically arranged, exaggerated, dramatized or even ritualized in a repetitive, mechanical, uniform and predictable sense. They are represented in the same manner in the media

deliberately ignoring their causes and their meanings, mostly not heading the audience to identify with the poor. He underlines that the generalization of social and mental insecurity is represented as production of the de-socialized wage labor against the conditions of increased inequality. Wacquant argues that the downsizing of the welfare sector goes parallel with the upsizing of the penal arm, both of which are restructuring back regions of social and urban space in the age of ascending neo-liberalism (Wacquant 2009, p. 43).

Gönen underlines that the shift from welfare to penal state may apply to core capitalist countries but in Turkey additional circumstances affected the rise of the penal state. The regime of September 12, the *coup d'état* that took place in 1980, expanded both legal and extra-legal state violence against political protesters and working classes. She argues that not only elimination of welfare state but also the practices and institutions of authoritarian state in response to social conflicts lie beneath the new forms of regulation of the urban poor in Turkey (Gönen 2011, p. 5).

A study conducted by Yirmibeşoğlu and Ergun concludes that in İstanbul crime rates are higher in the districts that are older and closer to the center and lower in districts established as a result of rural migration. It is important to underline that their research data depends on where the crime occurs. They also highlight that crime rates are lower in squatter districts in contrast with the findings of studies carried out in other countries. Writers emphasize that this may be a result of community culture and family ties functioning as a kind of informal control in squatting areas (Yirmibeşoğlu & Ergun 2007, p. 452).

Şenyapılı summarizes transformation of public approach to squatter housing problem from the 1950s to post 1980. He states that initial public approach to squatter housings during the 1950s to the 1960s was seeing them as illegal and temporary problem and efforts or diagnosis were on redirecting migrant flows. During 1960s to the 1970s, the construction sector was unproductive, at that time legalizing and classifying existing squatting became slowly legal, but new settlements were prohibited. In addition, migration to Europe eased internal immigration pressure on cities during this period. The following decade can be summarized with politization of squatter housing areas

between nationalists and radical left groups, while cooperative organization in housing sector was dominant. Here squatter problem is more and more identified with poverty and started losing its housing connotation. Senyapılı indicates that the post 1980 era is characterized with commercialization of squatter areas followed by internal fragmentation and rising conflicts in squatter communities due to decreasing opportunities. Lastly, according to him the post 1980 era tends to define the problem in terms of poverty (Şenyapılı 2004).

Demirtaş and Şen (2007) underscore the transformation of media representations of the concepts *gecekondu* and *varoş* both of which signify squatter settlement areas in Turkey. They state that the term *varoş* is used as a label to define low income settlements as a homogeneous space and the nature of 'othering' process as a part of dominant discourse has changed and gained momentum since the second half of 1990s. They state that *varoş* is used in a more wide range to denote underground and kitsch aspects of contemporary urban life (Demistas & Sen 2007, pp. 87-88). It can be concluded that the emphasis has switched from space to lifestyle or cultural aspects of the inhabitants living in squatter areas.

The term *varoş* comes to Turkish from the Hungarianword *város* that signifies the small neighborhoods right outside the castle borders in medieval times. Aslan states that instead of the French word *banlieue*, *varoş* is more fitting to the discourse that intends to push violence, crime and danger outside high walls. Aslan states that the term *varoş* began to be used for the violent acts and movements by the press after 1 May 1996 that took place on Worker Day events. The following day newspapers wrote the term in their headlines. He also underlines the fact that the term has almost fifteen years of history as of today, whereas *gecekondu* settlements have history beyond fifty years. So the term does not solely signify a socio-spatial concept but redefines it with its new connotations. He states that the *varoş* emphasis in dominant discourse labels *gecekondu* settlements as 'potential threat' areas that warn the rest of the public, mostly the middle class identities. He recognizes that the word *varoş* is put in sentences with violence, social threat, anarchy, chaos, and rebellious acts against the system in the dominant discourse (Aslan 2011, pp. 99-101).

Erman (2004) reviews *gecekondu* studies of academic world and summarizes that representation of *gecekondu* squatters were the 'rural other' in the 1950s to the 1960s, which changed to the 'exploited other' in the 1970s. The urban 'poor other' in the 1980s to 1990s evolved to the 'threatening other' in the late 1990s and 2000s. Erman states that because private sector wants to occupy valuable urban peripheries, there is a need to develop the discourse that backs up legitimizing transformation of *gecekondu* areas. To her, the discourse about *varoş* satisfies this need. She states that it is extremely dangerous to homogenize all peripheries and squatter settlements and to label them violent and dangerous, because this in return may become a self-fulfilling prophecy (Erman 2004, §. 28).

Erman and Eken (2004) also underline that the term *varoş* is used with all negative connotations ranging from street gangs or street children's substance addiction to radical political activists. They highlight that today in the urban periphery there is an emerging formation of unregulated territories outside state regulations and there may take place inner city conflicts in-between these repressed groups. They use the term 'the other of the other' to describe conflicts between these marginalized groups in the urban periphery.

Poyraz (2011) emphasizes that the zeitgeist of our era is characterized with individual success and talent where individual effort is the only thing needed for accomplishment. The general acceptance of this creates a vital dynamic in the society packaged with the tendency to suppress the weak without conscience or consideration. He underlines that the media coverage of mugging and gang related crime incidents is the expression of this understanding (Poyraz 2011, p. 22).

So crime and criminality maybe used as a tool to stigmatize certain spaces and neighborhoods, and crime may be used as a discursive tool of justification. Therefore I would like to end this section quoting from Erdoğan Bayraktar who was the former head of Public Housing Institution;

> We are trying to get rid of gecekondu dwellings and informal housings because
> people doing weed, heroin, drug business and prostitution are living in these areas
> (19.11.2007, Yeni Safak, in: Cavuşoğlu 2011)

4. ISSUES OF REPRESENTATION AND IDEOLOGY IN FILM THEORIES

In their book *Cinematic Sociology* Sutherland and Feltey (2010) state that films help us to think about major institutions and social structures that shape our lives and our interactions with them. Films vary in how to represent social the structures around us. Some may offer simple narratives whereas some represent complexities and interactions between class, race, sexuality, gender and citizenship. (Sutherland & Feltey 2010, p.xiii).

Before starting detailed film analysis, a short detour on film theories that are relevant to this thesis will be an appropriate start. As, Monaco argues film as a popular phenomenon plays a vital role socio-politically and psycho-politically. He states that whether consciously distorted or not, whether providing a convincing and powerful representation of reality or not, film is a political phenomenon (Monaco 1977, pp. 289-291). Accepting film as a cultural product or as a text, every decision made from narrative tools to visual language is a political decision. Therefore this chapter deals with issues related to representation, realism discussions, formalist and neo-formalist contribution, film language, apparatus theory and ideology in film studies.

4.1. REALISM DISCUSSIONS

Stam (2000) underlines that the first discussions on realism were originally linked to an oppositional attitude toward romantic and neo-classical models in fiction and painting. Later, as Stam terms 'a key debate' took place between Lukacs and Brecht in realism discussions. Lukacs claimed that realist literature should portray the social totality through the use of typical characters, because he wanted to criticize current representations' blindness to underlying historical contradictions. On the other hand, Brecht favored a fragmented theater of interruptions, which he believed to be helpful in creating a critical distance and therefore would lead to avoidance of spectators from identification and stitching to *diegesis* (Stam & Miller 2000, pp. 221-222).

The most conventional definition of realism in cinema is linked to the idea of an accurate representation of the world with a sufficient verisimilitude. Bazin and Kracauer

are the most influential figures in early film theory discussions that favored realism. Monaco (1977) argues that, what Bazin discusses in terms of realism can be named as more of a functionalist argument, which can be thought beyond a claim of simple realism because for Bazin film has significance not for 'what it is' but for 'what it does' (Monaco 1977, p. 457). He states that for Bazin level of 'subject' mattered more than style and therefore Bazin felt great affinity for Italian Neo-realism.

Stam (2000) also summarizes Bazin's contribution to discussions on realism in cinema and states that for Bazin, 'a movement toward realism in the form of clear and believable stories told in transparent language' should be the main aim of cinema. Bazin underlined the democratic right of the viewer to scan depth of the screen in order to determine his or her own meaning. Therefore as a realist, Bazin favored the long take, deep focus shots, clear and believable stories, invisible montage and the feeling of a life flow in the films (Stam and Miller 2000, p. 224-225).

Zavattini as a theorist and a Neo-realist filmmaker argued for democratization of cinema by inclusion of subjects and events that worth talking about. Further he argued that no subject would be 'too banal' for cinema, and indeed cinema should focus on ordinary lives of ordinary people but not in a voyeuristic way, but instead in a solidaristic way. Other theorists like Aristarco, similar to Lukacs's arguments, criticized that simple registration to daily life would not be enough but a 'critical realism' should be followed to reveal the dynamic causes that lie behind social changes and social circumstances.

Stam (2000) adds that Kracauer and Bazin believed in camera's intrinsic realism, which would bring democratization and mechanical means of photographic reproduction that would assure 'essential objectivity' of film (Stam 2000, p.73-74). Stam emphasizes that for Bazin 'realism had an ontological, apparatical, historical and aesthetic dimension'. He valued down-to-earth, relatively eventless plots, unstable character motivations and believed in long-take shots to emphasize the depth of reality in time and space. Bazin argued that depth of field allowed the filmmaker to integrate in spatiotemporal world of the film, so the literal mimesis of 'world out there' is not the main point for him.

According to Stam (2000) like Bazin, Kracauer cannot be reduced to a naïve realist as well, because Kracauer wanted to analyze democratic and anti-democratic potentialities of the medium. In his analysis of German cinema, Kracauer argued that cinema has the potential to reflect the profound psychological tendencies of societies because firstly, films are collective productions and secondly they mobilize mass audiences not through explicit manipulative discourses but through the power of the hidden and the unsaid (Stam 2000, p.76-78).

Moreover, Kracauer claims on a materialistic aesthetic, which derives its strength from the content, but not primarily from the artistic form. Kracauer argues that traditional arts exist to transform life whereas cinema itself has the power to present life. He underlines that cinema tends to expose its matter whereas other arts 'exhaust their subject matter in the creative process'. Kracauer believes that when a filmmaker shows a building to us he or she points our interest to the building itself. He states that the primary function of the medium is recording and revealing, therefore signifying the visible world around us (Andrew 1976, pp.107-108).

Kracauer's argument is primarily composed of a pursuit of realism but he also underlines the battle between the form and the content in an art form. He points to the importance of following 'flow of life' rather than pursuing the already existing constructs in the minds of filmmakers. Therefore, he puts priority first to reality and than the cinematic record of reality. He emphasizes that a filmmaker should be both realist and formative, both capable of recording and revealing, and he/she must both 'let reality in and penetrate it with his techniques' (Andrew 1976, pp.110-112).

Easthope (2000) summarizes that, realists like Kracauer and Bazin appreciate cinema just because it has the potential to provide a representation of reality. He proposes that Bazin was aware that in cinema filmic objects are not presented but *re*presented, which gives the real fruitful value of filmic world because the viewer feels free to criticize and reflect on the issues he/she sees in the film (Easthope 2000, p.52). Later Metz would argue that representation regardless of its bond to reality is an 'intervention', which makes it an act of signifying that reality can never make itself alone (ibid. 55).

Stam underlines the politicized reflexivity tendencies in the 1960s and 1970s and less politicized intertextuality tendencies of 1980s and 1990s, both of which criticized realism issues in their own ways. In the 1970s, realism discussions shifted from film's visual aesthetics towards its psychological meanings, verisimilar representations of the characters and the dream-like state of the spectators. The specific features of cinema like narrativity, continuity, point of view and identification that make spectators become part of the apparatus designed for them had been matters of discussion (Miller 2000, 403). It is argued that films could never be ultimately realistic since they at most can provide an 'impression' of realism (Stam 2000, p.226).

Monaco (1977) summarizes early theories and debates that took place around realism and states that those theories that 'celebrate the raw material' are basically realist whereas those that focus on power of the filmmaker and to 'modify and manipulate reality' are expressionist (Monaco 1977, p.442). Next chapter, these expressionist arguments, namely a discussion on formalism and neo-formalism will be briefly elaborated.

4.2. FORMALISM AND NEO-FORMALISM

Monaco states that formalism can be thought as the 'less pretentious but more sophisticated cousin of expressionism' (Monaco 1977, p. 457). The tradition of formalism can be generalized as the general contribution to film aesthetics. The initial arguments on formalist claim focused on 'defamiliarizing taken for granted' and unveil the covered glassy shield of familiarity (Christie 2000, pp.58-59).

Formalists such as Arnheim, Eisenstein and Balazs defended cinema as an art form and insisted that it should go beyond realism. To depart form literal mimesis, montage techniques and other markers of mediation are favored. Arnheim favored moving away from realism to a position of film as a work of art, he proposed not to imitate real life and rejected the tendency of *mimesis*. According to him, film should not imitate but originate fiction (Stam & Miller 2000, p.225).

Arnheim rejects the proposition on film's mission to make a mechanical reproduction of real life. First he suggests that experience of sitting in the cinema differs from our everyday perception of everyday world. He also addresses the limit of the frame, which shapes what we view. He rather argues that cinema 'constructs a reality' with its medium specific instruments such as camera angles, camera movements, focus, lighting effects, framing, altering motion and lenses. Moreover to these, editing makes something available to the audience that they could never be able to see in the real world. Therefore for Arnheim, cinema exceeds reality and should focus on this strength of its (Easthope 2000, p.52).

Christie (2000) argues that formalism became an all-purpose term, which favors any artistic experiment or resistance to authoritarian or mainstream realism, and he underlines that formalist critical tools are still used under the name of Neo-formalism either by analyzing the structure of narration or defamiliarizing with mainstream cinema (Christie 2000, p.58).

Bordwell and Thompson underline that only cinema's basic tools can contribute building an adequate historical poetics of cinema. Criticizing structuralist and psychoanalytical methodologies, neo-formalist criticism requires active participation of spectatorship including perceptual and cognitive processes. Moreover by separating *fabula* and *syuzhet*, (where *fabula* refers to the story, the imagined sequence of events narrated by *syuzhet*, the plot), options of representing *fabula* and manipulating *syhuzet* and style can be separately investigated and analyzed (Christie 2000, p.62).

Lastly, Easthope (2000) argues that although formalist theory and realist theory appear to oppose each other both positions propose that cinema is a photographic process and must be evaluated as a part of a mechanical reproduction process whether weak or strong in convincing or representing reality (Easthope 2000, p.52). Stam (2000) finds both formative theorists and realist theorists essentialist and exclusionary. He argues that they are essentialist because they favor aesthetics as the revealing mechanism for the inherent potentials of the medium, they are also exclusivist because filmmakers feel they must choose between different aesthetics, where there is little place for aesthetic pluralism (Stam & Miller 2000, p.225).

4.3.   APPARATUS THEORY, IDEOLOGY AND REPRESENTATION

There had been a shift in film analysis from the realities portrayed on the screen to the phantasies and projections of the desiring spectator after 1970s. Film's verisimilitude, the strong impression of realism in narrative films had been the area of investigation (Stam & Miller 2000, p.225-226). According to Metz, narrative films induce a strong 'impression' of realism and the imaginary nature of cinematic signifiers heightens the impression of realism, but this impressionism is never the illusion of reality. Metz developed the notion of textual system on the networks of meanings around which the text coheres. For Metz, textual analysis explores cinematic codes like camera movement, sound, etc. as well as extra-cinematic codes like ideological binarisms on gender, race, sexuality or cultural aspects. Therefore, textual analysis favors narratology, psychoanalysis and deconstruction by which the analysis of cinema is integrated into a broader cultural theory (Stam 2000, pp. 34-35). Therefore, for Metz the meaning of the image is contextualized via cultural codes.

Baudry also works on the meanings produced in the filmic world. Baudry (1986) states that, cinema itself is ideological with its basic cinematographic apparatus. Cinema cannot represent objective reality because of its decoupage, camera instrument, editing and projection stages. Thus, cinema becomes a work made, a consumption product where knowledge and reality is concealed. Baudry states that, in cinema, construction of the image to the perspective is influenced by Renaissance art where the subject is centered on space. The hallucinatory image is centered on the screen in a dark atmosphere with the conception of fullness. There is an illusion of continuity, reality and denial of difference for the viewer. Also the arrangement of different elements, like projector, darkened hall, screen creates an atmosphere described in Plato's cave, reconstructs the situation necessary to the release of Mirror Stage discovered by Lacan. The subject is centrally located with the feelings that of god and the whole apparatus is designed to obtain an ideological effect. Therefore ideology of representation forms a singular coherent system in cinema that maintains the dominant ideology. People who do not have the privilege to reach production mediums, media, academic knowledge, science and institutions are represented by the authority and instruments of dominant system. Authority, privileged classes, educated people, people who hold the power of

information, men, major ethnic and religious groups give direction to representation of the people who do not have the chance to reach the mediums (Baudry 1986, pp. 286-290). For Baudry films have the capacity to be both an impression of the real and more than the real (ibid. p.299).

In addition to medium specific ideological discussions, Gramsci is one of the initial thinkers who discussed the concepts of hegemony and ideology in a broader sociological perspective when he was in prison during pre-Second World War years. Gramsci defines hegemony as the leadership of a class on other classes, which is build via complex cultural, political and ideological forms rather than using coercive forces. Hegemony is an ideological struggle to forge unity between, economic, political and intellectual objectives. It is a fusion in which different groups form an alliance through the intermediary of ideology. Mouffe summarizes that the hegemonic class articulates the interests of other classes to its own, where a collective will is created and dominant ideology is the cement of it. Moreover, civil society is the arena where hegemony is constructed and it is not an open coercive struggle but a struggle in various fields with continuous disarticulations and re-articulations. Therefore, for Gramsci ideology is neither a false consciousness, nor a system of ideas but a necessary component for social formations and is a domain of struggle, which produces certain types of subjects in a society. For Gramsci proletariat is the only class who can form an expansive hegemony with active engagement and consensus. The other form of hegemony is called the passive revolution in which interests of masses are absorbed, neutralized and assimilated. (Mouffe 1979, pp. 168-204)

Further, Althusser has been influenced by Gramsci's concept of hegemony and he expressed ideology as a system of representation of the imaginary relation of individuals to the real conditions of their existence. For Althusser, freeborn individuals are culturally produced subjects via ideological apparatuses. In Ideological State Apparatuses theory, Althusser divides superstructure into two instances: repressive state apparatuses such as army, police, prisons, law, government and ideological state apparatuses such as, religion, school, family, films, television and other cultural institutions (Althusser 1971, pp. 127-176).

Additionally, Althusser worked on a rereading of Marx, and called his method of 'symptomatic reading', which is designed to reveal meanings that were concealed beneath the surface of his writings. For Althusser, freeborn individuals are actually culturally produced subjects and the superstructure overdetermines their lives. The ideology of superstructure is free-floating and unhistorical; furthermore, individuals believe that they are freely choosing although their fates are determined in advance by the system (Allen, 2004). As defined by Althusser and Gramsci, bourgeois ideology is generated by the dominant class society through which the dominant class provides the general conceptual framework of the society for furthering their own political and economic interests (Stam 2000, p. 133).

When we combine these theories of ideology with the filmic apparatus, it is argued that the apparatus theory problematized the exclusive concentration on representation, where ideology and interplay of text and culture are integrated in the domain of film analysis (Miller 2000, p. 407)

In 1980s, critical theorists began to take up issues of race, feminism, queer and third cinema discussions. Multiculturalism and Eurocentric hegemony of ideology, forcing of cultural heterogeneity into a single paradigmatic perspective has been questioned and become areas of discussion (Stam 2000, pp. 267-269). According to Stam, *liberal pluralism* and radical *polycentric multiculturalism* are two points of views in race discussions. Liberal pluralism is a kind of United Colors of Benetton pluralism, where established power controllably promotes some authentic flavors for commercial or ideological purposes. On the other hand, polycentric multiculturalism has the idea of empowering the disempowered, is against under-representation of the marginalized, see minorities as active and generative participants of the community and favors cultural exchange of both parties (Stam 2000, pp. 271-272)

Reading films through sociology as a method requires a critical approach to the filmic world. Sutherland and Feltey summarize how critical theories provide a strong vehicle as the following;

Feminist theory allows you to ask bout prevailing attitudes and assumptions concerning gender, as well as the structure of patriarchy. Critical race theory and critical white theories frame questions concerning racism, racial discrimination and the acceptance of whiteness as the norm. Marxist theory is concerned with issues of power specific to capitalism, exploited workers and class divisions. Marxist theory can also address power in the making of the movies, who has the power to reproduce ideologies? (Sutherland and Feltey 2010, p.11)

The writers also state that a reading of hegemonic interpretations of the filmic text involves a close reading of characters, content and dialogues with the question in mind stating whether these story lines reproduce existing relations of power and inequality (ibid. p.13).

Therefore in the following chapter, the approach to film analysis will rely on the narrative world of the filmic texts, development of the characters and their actions. Accepting film as a cultural text, meanings created in the filmic world will be critically approached and linked to societal dynamics and the hegemonic discourse.

5. REPRESENTATION OF POVERTY, EXCLUSION AND SOCIAL CLASS IN LATE CINEMA OF TURKEY

In her analysis on worker and working class representations in both cinema of Turkey and the world cinema, Genc (2011) recognizes the theme of solidarity and collectivity as a cultural motif. She underlines that especially the films that reflect the pressures of the system on the individual are connected with the theme of solidarity or lack of it in working class representations (Genc 2011, p.167). Akbal Sualp (2010) also summarizes the films and directors that deal with working classes both in the world and in Turkey. She mentions Ken Loach, Mike Leigh, Fernando Solanas and Mark Herman as filmmakers deal with working class living conditions, immigrant workers or underclass problems in the world. Focusing on Turkey, she underlines a selection of films that deal with conditions of working classes, such as; *Karanlikta Uyuyanlar* (1964, Gorec), *Bitmeyen Yol* (1965, Sagiroglu), *Sehirdeki Yabanci* (1962, Refig), *Linc* (1970, Olgac), *Otobus* (1970, Okan), *Maden* (1978, Ozkan), *Demiryol* (1979, Ozkan), *Almanya Aci Vatan* (1979, Goren), *Seyit Han* and *Umut* (1968, 1970, Guney) (Akbal Sualp 2010, p.110).

Moreover Akbal Sualp underlines another tendency of 1980s, such as commercial films of Ertem Egilmez, that use poverty and desperation thematically in the story world in order to represent the oppressed classes with good intentions. But the scholar argues that these films rather reproduced a feeling of 'impressionism' based on the problems of the oppressed. She also emphasizes that cinema in Turkey has been a cinema of neglect in terms of class analysis which 'lightly skips the social classes' with minor hints left behind. She further states that whether intentionally or unintentionally, cinema of Turkey often neglected social classes and even blocked the gates of historical and social analytical analysis in film studies (Akbal Sualp 2010, p.110-111). Kirel (2010) also mentions that popular comedy films of 1980s, referring to the ones that deal with poverty, create stereotypes both gender-wise and social-wise. She adds that comedy as a genre reinstates the templates of the social structure where unquestioned rules are seen as normal way of dealing with them (Kirel 2010, p.14).

Based on this brief introduction, the main problematic of this section evolves around the question of representation of the individual crises that the characters face under pressures of unemployment and precarious state of employment in the selected films of late cinema of Turkey. In addition, the aim is also to analyze and connect the representations of individual and societal crises in the films' story world. But first, it would be appropriate to start with general characteristics of the late cinema in Turkey.

5.1. PERIODIZATION AND GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE LATE CINEMA IN TURKEY

Many film scholars roughly agree upon the periodization of cinema in Turkey, which focuses on broadly three periods, the pre-Yesilcam, Yesilcam and the post-Yesilcam. In his book *Cinema in Turkey*, Arslan (2011) elaborates these periods and defines pre-Yesilcam cinema until the late 1940s, Yesilcam cinema period from the 1950s through the 1980s (including the periods of early Yesilcam, high Yesilcam and late Yesilcam) and the post-Yesilcam period since the early 1990s (Arslan 2011, p. xi). He divides and evaluates periods with reference to "Yesilcam" and renames the recent cinema in Turkey as the 'New Cinema of Turkey'.

Based on film historian Nijat Ozon's categorization, Kuyucak Esen (2010) also divides and names cinema in Turkey periods as;

> "Early years (1914-1922), Period of Theater (Thespian, 1922-1939), Period of Transition (1939-1950), Filmmakers Period (1950-1970), Period of Oppositions (1970-1980) and Post 1980, Coup d'état Period (1980-2010)" (Kuyucak Esen 2010, pp.1-2)

Kuyucak Esen highlights the effects of military coup for the turn of new cinema in Turkey. On the other hand Donmez-Colin (2008) summarizes the periodization of cinema in Turkey as follows:

> "Cinema in Turkey has experienced diverse periods: the domination of one man, Muhsin Ertugrul, in the early days, the hegemony of Yesilcam in the 1950s and 60s, experiments with social realism and neo-realism in the 1970s, *auteur* cinema in the 1980s, a serious decline in the early 1990s and a new movement of independent art cinema on the one hand and a revival of commercial cinema on the other…" (Donmez-Colin 2008, p.56)

Donmez Colin's emphasis is on the sharp decline and the rise of new cinema in Turkey after 1990s. She recognizes the basic characteristic of this new cinema as the split of mainstream commercial films with the relatively independent art house branch.

In order to understand the new cinema of Turkey, a few words on Yesilcam cinema is necessary as the background information. As Arslan (2011) elaborates, high-Yesilcam period often provides low quality, low budget productions from mainstream films to auteur or art films with a variety of film genres such as family melodrama, comedy, action, fantasy, sex and horror. But he argues that poor *mise-en-scene*, or poor editing and production quality was not a problem for the spectators because of the structure provided by performing arts history in Turkey, such as theater in-the round. The films basically relied on oral cues, on extensive dialogues and explanations of the situations verbally (ibid, p. 17). In addition, Donmez-Colin (2008) states that mainstream films of the high Yesilcam era endorsed family values and female audiences where families were the major audiences of the period. The general storyline of these high popular films of the era follows 'boy meet the girl' narrative tradition of Hollywood. But the events were arranged chronologically in accordance with cause-effect principle (Donmez-Colin 2008, p.30).

In her work focusing on Yesilcam films of 1960s, Kirel (2005) mentions that Yesilcam films of the era produce popular, traditional, classical narratives with predictable endings, where they most often provide characters, typologies or heroes/heroines easy to identify with. Although the narrative structures of the films are easily predictable, she recognizes this situation not as a disadvantage but rather a space of attraction because of the quick changings in social dynamics in the outside world (Kirel 2005, pp.298-299).

Arslan (2011) indicates that late Yesilcam period can be characterized with new constitution of 1982, introduction of the new phase of capitalism and increased emphasis on new identity politics. He argues that all these shaped the general tendencies in late Yesilcam, right before 1990s. Kuyucak Esen (2010) also underlines the effects of 1980 coup d'état on film industry. She states that the sharp end of erotic cinema coincides with the military intervention and arabesque films started dominating the mainstream commercial film industry. She also acknowledges the effects of censorship

that lead to prohibition of social-political-critical films, which led to the increase of storylines that emphasize individual identity crises. Moreover to her, these intentions focusing on the 'individual' helped developing three-dimensional characters opposed to typical cartoon characters of mainstream high-Yesilcam period. She also emphasizes the policies that limited distribution of domestic films during 1990s, which she calls the 'Hollywood' coup d'état (Kuyucak Esen 2010, pp. 185-187).

In the post-Yesilcam era, Arslan (2011) addresses to a distinct separation between the popular mainstream cinema and art, auteur, festival cinema in Turkey. According to Arslan, (2011) not only there is high quality, live recording sound films shot in the late cinema of Turkey with the technological improvements, but also both the filmmakers and filmgoers are comparatively well-educated and younger. He also addresses that the narrative content of the films have changed in which popular films adapted a similar storyline with global popular cinemas whereas the art house films explored alternatives 'ranging from modernist and minimalist to multifarious and layered postmodernist stories' (Arslan 2011, pp.20-21).

Donmez-Colin (2008) defines this period as 'a new energy or wave' that is in the air after the half of 1990s in the cinema of Turkey. Similarly, according to her, the contributing factors for the upheaval of late cinema in Turkey can be opening of several film schools, global and technological advancements, financial initiatives available for the filmmakers and relaxation of tight censorship regulations that were dominant after the military intervention of 1980. Arslan (2011) also argues that the domination of Hollywood majors in the distribution network led to dissolution of Yesilcam networks and development of a new economic structure for the filmmakers. According to the scholar, post-Yesilcam reflects new global dynamics, which combines local and international capital in production, distribution and exhibition. Thematically, post-Yesilcam auteur cinema focuses on international conflicts, ethnic minorities, discourses about religion, which resembles the trends of the world cinema. According to Arslan, the increase in art cinema is in line with the rise of global auteurs in the world (Arslan 2011, pp.245-249).

Zaim (2008) calls the art house branch of late cinema in Turkey as the 'alluvium' cinema. He defines this analogy as follows:

> …I would like to briefly state my objections to the word "independent" and offer another definition. Hence, at this point, I would like to introduce a term, borrowed from geography, that I think is instrumental in referring to the group of directors and their cinema that emerged in the nineties. The term I suggest is "alluvion." A geographical expression, I utilize "alluvion" to denote that these directors are all flowing in the same direction, and to the linkages among them which can take different forms. Directors that emerged during this period conduct their activities independently but parallel to one another, similar to the sediments of alluvium that together form an alluvion. At times they come together, and at times, spread apart, as do alluvia. The analogy of alluvion was chosen, for I believe it will be highly accurate and useful in defining the dynamics and diversities that abide in this group, which boasts different styles and different forms of production, financing and distribution... (Zaim 2008, pp. 91-92)

Akbal Sualp discusses general thematic tendencies of the late cinema in Turkey in various texts. Firstly she (2008) mentions the 'boredom' films that take place in the countryside, which reproduces nihilist, mystical existential male characters that glorify *lumpen* culture and banality. She criticizes these male centered narrative lines in which the anger and pain is filled with nothingness (emptiness) that are not related to any societal dynamics. She also underlines that these films may reflect domination crises of male characters and may reproduce nationalism or religious conservatism parallel to the recent social conjuncture in Turkey (Akbal Sualp 2008, p.43-47). In another article she addresses to the glorifying attitude of lumpen culture in some specific films. To her, these films reproduce 'hostile feelings towards the city and the women'. She argues that the male characters in the chaotic metropolises of uneven development and conflicts may project their anger towards women (Akbal Sualp 2008, p.95).

Another general tendency that Akbal Sualp (2008) recognizes is the male characters that lack experience and wander around in the city surface aimlessly, within unidentified, unseen territories that she calls the 'glass bells'. These characters does not want to connect to the city nor to the community but alienated to the social world around them. She defines these male characters as being prone to popular nationalism, hatred towards women and towards outsiders. She underlines that these male characters are represented as lost souls in their individual nightmares in the transformed city space (Akbal Sualp 2008, pp.204-206). A third category Akbal Sualp (2008) refers is composed of the films that seem to be critical but does not have any direct message to the audience. Therefore

these films produce obscure political statements and mask/blur societal dynamics and history (ibid. p.213).

Arslan (2011) also highlights male centered narratives in late cinema of Turkey that he calls 'masculine melodramas' in which men in search of identity demand recognition from women, whereas women are pushed to the edges of the narrative (Arslan 2011, p.254). But recently, it can be argued that female centered narratives are also produced and acknowledged in cinema of Turkey such as in *Araf* (Ustaoglu, 2012), *Geriye Kalan* (Vitrinel, 2012), *Can* (Celikezer, 2012) and *Zerre* (Tepegoz, 2012). Although male centered narratives occupy and dominate the films of late cinema, these films focusing on female characters' point of view are also being produced recently.

Keeping in mind the general political economical changes in the film industry, it can be concluded that narrative-wise recent cinema of Turkey is dominated by male-centered narratives and there is a general division between art-house independent films and popular mainstream films. Following section elaborates the selected films of this thesis while positioning them within this general framework of the late cinema in Turkey.

5.2.   REPRESENTATION OF CITY OUTSKIRTS AND PRECARIOUS LABOR IN THE LATE CINEMA OF TURKEY

In Turkey, authorities and technocrats have claimed that Turkey is not affected by the latest economic and financial crisis of 2007 compared to the developed countries of Europe and the United States. On the other hand, since economic crises do not take place in isolation, it is recognized that the utterance of the word crisis was enough to put pressure on employers, workers and the unemployed segments of the population. As discussed in the previous chapters, the global trend of transformation to post-Fordist economic scales combined with the neoliberal policies also created its certain structural dynamics, which modified the structure of labor segments and created new forms of low-dignity service jobs in metropolises.

In recent cinema of Turkey it is recognized that a group of films have precarious or temporary laborers as the main characters in their storyline, which take place in big

metropolises of Turkey and which are also shot after latest economic finance crisis. These films are namely, *Bahti Kara* (Patterson, 2009), *Baska Semtin Cocuklari* (Bulut, 2008), *Kara Kopekler Havlarken* (Er & Gorbach, 2009), *Neseli Hayat* (Erdogan, 2009) and *Zerre* (Tepegoz, 2012). These films not only have unemployed, temporarily or preciously employed characters but also the effects of this certain state of employment contribute to the storyline and lead the characters to make crucial decisions about their lives. It can be argued that their employment state *is* also a character in these films. It is also seen that these films have certain tendencies in representing precariousness of labor processes. Some films tend to underline the increasing informal economy while addressing criminality, whereas some underline a resigned pessimism that there is no way out. Also some emphasize solidarity or rely on social community networks when the characters fight with precariousness and unemployment. Moreover some of them refer to structural dynamics and reflect bigger social problems whereas some focus solely on characters and approach to matter relatively as a more isolated matter.

Not only these films have unemployment or precarious labor as the main theme but also they take place in city outskirts, mostly in *gecekondu* neighborhoods or in the low-income inner city downtowns. The characters work mostly in temporary service sector jobs of the metropolitan life. It is also recognized that most of the scenes of these films take place in living spaces rather than the workspaces. Some of the characters interact with the space whereas some are portrayed disconnected to the urban sphere they experience. Therefore, the representation of dynamics of urban space and its interaction with the characters are included in the analyses as well.

The films are analyzed based on a set of standard questions starting from the production, directing and reception processes of the films. It should be underlined that in the selection, *Neseli Hayat* can be positioned as a popular mainstream example, whereas *Bahti Kara* and *Zerre* can be positioned at the art house / independent end. The other two youth films *Baska Semtin Cocuklari* and *Kara Kopekler Havlarken* can be seen in between the art house and popular mainstream scale. Therefore it should be noted that films are not selected according to their being popular or art-house, or their box office expectations but based on their leading characters, who struggle to find work in the urban masses throughout the filmic story world. Consequently, first and foremost

narrative lines of the films are the basic material of discussion for this thesis. In addition visual and formal elements based on preferences on coloring, music, editing, camera angles, point of views and *mise-en-scene* are discussed. Later the films are examined on the basis of their approach to time and space, such as where the characters spend time, what they do, which transportation vehicle they use, where they live will be the type of questions to elaborate. Moreover sources of social conflicts, ways of solving and facing the conflicts, barriers that the characters cannot overcome during facing these conflicts are the main questions asked during analyses.

The films analyzed in this section are *Bahti Kara* (Patterson, 2009) with its longsuffering pessimist middle aged character; *Baska Semtin Cocuklari* (Bulut, 2008) with its jobless and angry youth who try to break their destinies, *Kara Kopekler Havlarken* (Er & Gorbach, 2009) with its young male characters headed towards criminal ends while trying to work in security business, *Neseli Hayat* (Erdogan, 2009) with its "unsuccessful" middle aged temporary worker character and lastly *Zerre* (Tepegoz, 2012) with its single mother character who tries to survive in the inner-city downtown.

5.2.1. JOBLESS YOUTH AND CRIMINAL TENDENCIES

5.2.1.1.   *Başka Semtin Çocukları* (*Children of the Other Side*, 2008, Aydin Bulut)

Baska Semtin Cocuklari (*Children of Other Side*) is the debut feature from director Aydin Bulut. It was seen in theaters by 44.050 viewers over 24 weeks. The director also works in the television industry where he directs popular television series. *Baska Semtin Cocuklari* received Best Art Director, Best Young Talent in Directing and Best Supporting Actor awards at the 45th Antalya Film Festival. The film also won the Audience Award at the 28th Istanbul Film Festival (Sinematurk.com, May 2013).

In an interview the director defines his film as a crime investigation drama that focuses on a neighborhood in which the audience witness lives, dreams, expectations of the youth. He also expresses that he wants to show how ethnic, sectarian and cultural

identities are critical in these neighborhoods. He adds that he wants to underline what these young people are seeing as a future for themselves and reflect such neighborhoods as a place of vicious circles and crime (Yeni Aktuel 2008).

The film features multiple characters who intersect throughout the film. The first half of the film focuses on the murder of Veysel (Ismail Hacioglu), while the second half follows his brother Semih's (Mehmet Ali Nuroglu) attempt to find the killer. The film takes place in the Gazi neighborhood, which is one of the largest and most notoriously politicized neighborhood in Istanbul. Gazi is home to a large population of Alevis.

Interestingly the film starts with a funeral scene similar to *Kara Kopekler Havlarken* (Er & Gorbach, 2009) analyzed in the following pages. Veysel's body is found in a dumpster and his brother Semih is discharged early from the military service thanks to his many achievements during the Turkish-Kurdish war. Semih decides to solve his brother's murder case. The film broadens its storyline by adding characters and traveling in time through such devices as flashbacks and parallel editing.

Veysel wants to marry Saadet but because of sectarian differences (Alevism-Sunnism) both families oppose this marriage. Because of these oppositions, Veysel wants to run away with Saadet to America as illegal immigrants but for that he needs start up money. They both work for very low wages in a textile workshop that is probably a subcontract partner of a bigger firm. Veysel's closest friend is Simo (Volga Sorgu) whose dream is to enter the nightlife business and be a bodyguard to Kerim's (Bulent Inal) club. Both Veysel and Simo spend time feeding birds on a roof as a hobby and try to figure out ways to beat the system. It is also implied that they used to be members of a gang of petty criminals when they were younger but then left and started working in the more 'proper,' less risky part of the informal economy.

Saadet's family is very religious (Sunni Muslim Sect) and they categorically oppose her relationship with Veysel. One night, Saadet's brother Engin and two of his friends beat Veysel very badly and threaten him with a gun. The following night Veysel and Simo threaten Engin back and steal his gun. The very same night Veysel is killed but there are many suspects.

As Semih gets more involved the murder case, his own story emerges. Semih always has nightmares and flashbacks about the military combats he was involved in. He's very depressed having experienced the deaths of many soldiers and also being forced to kill many guerillas. He is portrayed as a victimized male character with military experience.

Gurdal is the first suspect in Veysel's murder according to Simo. Gurdal is also as a victim of military experience, but he comes off as more nationalistic, racist and has a tendency to hurt women. Gurdal is Gul's ex-boyfriend and he wants to regain her love but still beats her to death since he believes that she had other relationships when he was in the service. One night in a bar fight Veysel, his uncle and Simo protect Gul as Gurdal wants to take her away. Simo believes this a strong enough motive for Gurdal to assassinate Veysel.

Towards the ending, Gurdal and Semih meet in a large open field away from the city in order to settle their accounts. Semih gets injured when Gurdal attempts to kill Semih and cut his ear as a military ritual. Simo arrives and shoots Gurdal dead. Finally, we understand that it was actually Simo who killed his best friend Veysel because of jealousy and incompetency.

As discussed earlier, with the neoliberalism financial cities and metropolises provide less industrial jobs but more low-dignity service jobs and slum dwellers have limited access to formal job markets. At the end of the film, a flash-forward in time takes place and we see Simo working as a bodyguard at the door of Kerim's restaurant, 'enjoying' his dream career. He becomes a part of the informal criminal economy and ends up a half-mobster bodyguard. The subtext is that everything that transpired is due to Simo's greed.

The neighborhood is shown as a lively space where kids are playing, women are conversing in front of their houses, walls are covered with political graffiti and posters. The director uses warm yellow tones supported with emotional music for the neighborhood shots and tries to convey the nostalgia of a collective neighborhood. But this neighborhood will not survive because Kerim, who has mafia connections, makes

an agreement and sells the neighborhood to an urban transformation construction firm. The dialogue that takes place between them is quite interesting;

> *Kerim*: There is sweat of mine in the molds of these houses… in each of them!
>
> *Firm Representative*: It must be fun, all that collectivity and those sorts of things…
>
> *Kerim (glares at the man)*: We said 'shelter for all, wages for all' back then. We finished some of these houses in one night. Now they are calling these people occupiers as if this is Palestine. They say this place has become the nest of illegality, criminality. So, we have to cut it out!
>
> *FR*: We could not buy all of the houses if you were not with us in this business. But at the end they will be very happy and will feel gratitude towards you when they have houses with plumbing, natural gas and so forth…

Kerim rebuffs him, because he can see the condescension towards his neighborhood as if his community is composed of savages. But he has turned his aim towards monetary gain long ago. So the agreement is acceptable for him even if the representative of the firm indirectly insults his community and reduces them to a homogeneous population as discussed while explaining the term '*varos'*. Later, Kerim walks around the neighborhood and sees five men playing music and singing *turku* in front of their houses as they sip their *raki*. He joins this collective experience to alleviate his conscience one last time and sings a *turku* with them.

The director points to transformation of the *gecekondu* neighborhoods and urban space as one of the background stories in his film. Initially a highly politicized working class neighborhood, deindustrialization as transformed the space itself into a sort of ghetto but also transformed the dynamics within the community. It is not portrayed as a neighborhood of solidarity and collectivity but more as a space of corruption.

At the same time the characters always blame the neighborhood and associate their social position with the space. The space itself is being blamed for the stigmatization and labeling, in which case it can be argued that the characters internalize the point of view of the hegemonic *varos* discourse. For instance Veysel states that 'I will get out this dumpster one day' or 'this neighborhood is not enough for me (*burası bizi kesmez!*)' So the neighborhood is stigmatized and labeled as the space of degradation

and is considered to isolate the characters, rather than attributing their position to greater structural social dynamics.

It can be argued that masculinity is overemphasized and reproduced during the film. The director uses well-known action templates during fight scenes such as shaky cameras, long fighting scenes with the camera in the middle of the action, effects such as light shining off a knife and so on. Moreover guns are always shown and explicitly pointed straight at camera in many scenes. Evidently the masculinity of these characters is defined and reproduced through guns. The director constructs masculinity with the help of fights, slang language and guns as he tries to define these young people as a street gang. Female characters are not well developed in the story line and their point of view is often neglected. Because *Baska Semtin Cocuklari* is a film with multiple characters, most of their motivations and development is skipped very quickly and leads to a film relying upon dialogues rather than creating a consistent visual language. It can also be argued that because it is based on dialogues, many characters state their victimized situations in a didactic way with music backed monologues and this results two-dimensional characters who are either reproducing mafia, psychopath soldier, slum-belle or bodyguard clichés.

It is clear that the film produces male centered melodrama, in which women are passive. In general the film can be defined as a 'buddy movie'. The state of being unemployed is used as a melodramatic element in this highly racial, sectarian and gender discriminative story world. The living space is addressed as the source of the conflict, the nest of criminality whereas the characters' angers are addressed towards the neighborhood itself. The characters' individual success stories are directly connected with criminal ends and male characters are portrayed as victims of a greater social system. These male victims cannot form a solidarity to make their life conditions better but only kill and beat each other up while teaching lessons of manhood with their internalized discourses on nationalism and religion.

Finally it can be argued that the film portrays the loss of youth, while searching for their individual entrepreneurial subjectivities. The characters in the film are a threat to each other. They do not encounter other social class positions and are not connected to the

greater social dynamics. Lastly, their anger towards the system is concealed within the language of militarism, discrimination and nationalism.

5.2.1.2. *Kara Köpekler Havlarken* (*Black Dogs Barking*, 2009, Mehmet Bahadir Er & Maryna Gorbach)

Kara Kopekler Havlarken (2009) is Mehmet Bahadir Er and Maryna Gorbach's first feature film. It was released in theaters in 2010. It also had a festival run winning the Film Critics Award at the 21st Ankara Film Festival (Sinematurk.com, May 2013).

The film is based on the story of Selim (Cemal Toktas) and Celal (a.k.a Caca) who live in a relatively central *gecekondu* neighborhood of Istanbul. Similar to *Baska Semtin Cocuklari*, they feed birds and sell them occasionally in bird auctions. These young male characters work in parking lots run by the mafia around the neighborhood. Selim has a girlfriend in the neighborhood, Ayse, who works as a teacher in a kindergarten nearby. Selim's basic motivation is to marry his girlfriend as soon as possible and to pay off the mortgage of the house they are buying from the Mass Housing Project Institution (TOKI).

Selim visits a shopping mall in the first act of the film in order to make an agreement with the manager. Selim wants to open a security firm with his friend Caca (Volga Sorgu) and aims to join the bid for the mall security contract. As he enters the mall, the manager calls Selim as 'Sir' and acknowledges him as a business partner. Selim wears a suit for the meeting and we hear the elegant music in the shopping mall atmosphere. It can be argued that the cultural codes for class mobility for Selim are all established in this scene. The shopping mall creates a space of difference; it makes Selim feel inferior and small while at the same time promising a way out. The manager describes the duty of the security firm as such;

> '…it is important to keep the safety of the workers in this shopping mall, we must provide them their comfort, so they find themselves in an environment where they want to work. Our problem is that the neighborhood around here is not very safe and we can't expect everything from the government. We have to put up a better struggle with the baggers and pickpockets. There is a reason why our customers spend more money here than elsewhere. Here in this safe environment, they experience their own elite habitats…'

Similar to many scholars, Bartu and Kolluoglu (2008) also argue that neoliberal urbanism creates the spaces of exclusion. Although their work focuses on a comparison of gated towns and public housing projects, this luxury shopping mall represented in the film resembles the description of gated towns in their study such as the over emphasis on security, hype on urban crime and danger, isolation and inward looking (Bartu & Kolluoglu 2008, pp. 5-40).

When Selim meets his friend Caca they feel very enthusiastic about becoming their own bosses in this security business. They imply that the manager receives bribes to accept the firms' bid. They complain that this is why young people don't get a chance to be productive. Selim states that 'the nature of security is very interesting; you can even win a war with all those security staff. I don't get who protects who from whom!' Because Selim is one of the members of the stigmatized neighborhood that the manager refers to, he cannot understand the nature of the security business. On the other hand Caca thinks that the streets are dangerous places and being rich requires its protective mechanisms. So Selim and Caca desire to enter a legal business of their own and the type of job available for them in this metropolis is the security business, which is grounded on securing capital, in other words protecting the rich from the poor.

It can be argued that there are many elements of masculinity in the storyline. Characters make condescending jokes about queers, send people to military service with militaristic and nationalistic slogans, underline that women must be protected in the public space and so on. It is emphasized that our characters in the film are youngsters that internalize the patriarchal and moral traditional order who reproduce it in their daily life. One day, they spent their night in jail, because they fight with other young men in a café. During that scene when they are locked up with strangers in jail, Celal first hides that he can speak Kurdish, but when everyone leaves and he stays alone he starts speaking in Kurdish with the unknown cell mate about the his immigration story. It is clearly understood that Celal hides his identity, or at least does not live it openly, which is probably unacceptable in this community. When they encounter an authority figure such as the police, they define their occupation as bird feeders and defend themselves based on patriarchal social values in front of the law, such as 'they insulted our elder,

therefore we had to respond.' So throughout the film the characters reproduce nationalism, masculinity and homophobia in their daily lives and discourses.

In the development part of the film, Selim and Celal start receiving threats from the head of the security firm who is currently working for the mall, they soon discover that the fight in the café was a planned attack to sabotage them. In addition to these threats, the 'brother boss' of Selim and Celal in the parking business warns them not to be so 'entrepreneurial' if they don't want to risk their lives. He underlines that they should be satisfied with what they have at hand and should not get involved in a new business that they know nothing about. Celal gives up after all these warnings and threats, he wants to keep what they have and tries to convince Selim to protect and enlarge their parking business. On the other hand Selim refuses this type of cowardly attitude and sees such a behavior as an incompetent masculine behavior. He answers back;

> '…our problem is getting rid of all these dogfights Caca (it is not limited to the security business as such)…listen to me! When you work in the parking at 15 they call us hardworking. If you do it in your 20s, people think he's doing it till he finds a job. But if you are 25 and still doing it, you are labeled as a loser!'

Selim does not want be a loser. He aims at building a legal business before he gets married with Ayse. He is naïve and unable to foresee that his life is in danger.

They spend the night with their friends to be safe but Celal's fondness of guns attracts comments that he feels incompetent and wants to compensate this lack with a gun. He states that 'if we put two of these in our pockets we could sleep like babies tonight, and everything could be fine'. So again a state of incompetency and inferiority is associated with guns.

Soon they discover that Selim's wife to be is kidnapped by security members of the mall to intimidate them further. They go to the mall and cannot find Ayse but learn that she has been raped by one of them. During the third act, wild black dogs that are owned by the security manager attack and kill Selim, Celal and the rapist security personnel in the parking lot of the shopping mall. The film ends with three funerals, where three birds are freed to fly.

In one of the night scenes Caca and Selim kill time while listening to arabesque music in Caca's modified car and joyriding on the freeway. They drive by what they will never reach, the phallic enclaves where they will never belong. They can pass by them but never be a part of them. The director wants to visually emphasize the contrast between the characters' neighborhood and the skyscrapers they drive along. It can be argued that the contrasts and hierarchy of these spaces underline the social stratification in the society. Moreover, this contrast is also emphasized when they enter the shopping mall. The characters are portrayed as small and insignificant in the huge mall. These scenes are also supported by either wireless walkie-talkie sounds or elegant music that they never hear. The director uses these sound effects to convey to the audience that the space they are fighting for is alien to them. The director disrupts the identification with the characters through the use of walkie-talkie sounds.

The audience follows Selim's storyline, identifies with the character and follows his point of view most of the time. Moreover the director chooses to portray him in relation to his environment and shows the city as the background where the city is portrayed as the city of contrasts. It is also the city of stigmatization, discrimination and crime for young characters fighting against their predetermined destiny by acting entrepreneurial.

The directors of the film chose a visually powerful element for the closing scene. He and she start using security camera's point of views. They also cuts all ambient sounds in these shots such as the characters' screaming. For a while we don't hear them, but we just see them shouting. It can be argued that the point of view shifts from Selim to the society. Because in these security camera point of view shots Selim and Caca are portrayed as vandals and criminals who break in a shopping mall at midnight. The directors put a distance between the audience and the characters. As we all experience, nowadays televisions and visual media uses such security or CCTV camera images in news and at the end of the film our characters are shown to us as one of those criminals in prime time news broadcasts.

The directors also use birds as metaphors. During the closing titles he uses dramatic and strong music while showing a seagull eating a small sparrow on a roof. Also at the funeral of the characters three pigeons are released to the sky. With this metaphor the

director wants to emphasize that there is no way out for free spirited birds, in this case our young characters. They risked their lives rather than complying the system.

The dispossession and immigration history of Caca is implied but not underlined in the film. Neither the backgrounds of the characters nor their families are explicit in the storyline. Their relation to a greater social system is neglected and these neoliberal entrepreneurial subjectivities are shown as coming from out of nowhere and not connected to the system. Their characteristics such as being naïve and young are explicitly underlined. Moreover it can be argued that their precarious state of employment is directly used as an element to justify their criminality and masculinity. The film's ending emphasizes that there is no way out in this system. They are portrayed as victimized, melancholic male figures. In addition, most of the supporting figures in the neighborhood are portrayed as typologies since neither their motivations nor their struggles are displayed but shown as a bouquet of tastes and lifestyles reproducing masculinity, nationalism, patriarchy and homophobia.

5.2.2. CONFORMITY AND MIDDLE AGE RESIGNED PESSIMISM

5.2.2.1.　　*Bahtı Kara* (*Dark Cloud*, 2009, Theron Patterson)

Bahtı Kara is Patterson's first feature film and has been watched by 2236 viewers in 2010 over 11 weeks. The film received Best Film, Best Actor and Best Screenplay awards at the 4th Bursa Ipekyolu Film Festival (Sinematurk.com, May 2013). Patterson used improvising technique during shooting and did not inform the actors beforehand about the script. The director wanted to focus the performance of the actors on the characters and the scene rather than the whole story. In an interview he states that he wanted to increase probabilities and excitement during the shootings (Patterson 2010)

The film is based on the story of Adnan (Reha Ozcan), who works in a small parking lot. Adnan lives with his adolescent son in Istanbul and later we learn that Adnan's wife passed away a while ago. Adnan is portrayed as an emotional and romantic character. For instance he listens to birds chirping, sounds of the wind, daydreams while staring at stars and seems like he needs some time to be alone. It can be claimed that Adnan wants

to be invisible in this city. But a series of seemingly minor incidents lead him to commit suicide.

His relationship with his employers (a father and a son) is not based on mutual respect but more of an authoritarian relationship in which shouting and lecturing Adnan seems like a daily routine. They want to discipline him. One night while Adnan lies on the sofa of the parking lot, doing literally nothing because his work requires just being in the lot to watch the cars, a frame falls down accidentally because of the wind. The following day the parking lot owner's son states that 'do you think of here as a car park or an amusement park Adnan? You dropped that frame from the wall on purpose, I know, it is my father's military photo. You want to damage my relationship with my father, so that he will force me to go to the military service…' He spins a crazy story out of that simple incident. Later he questions Adnan's capabilities, stating that 'you are just playing around, lying all day, listening to music. What kind of job is this? If you won't be able to do it, beat it!'

This monologue upsets Adnan and makes him feel bad. He puffs and starts throwing small stones. It can be argued that his anger is embodied in that a small stone, but any stone thrown away in this city would hit something, and expectedly it breaks a car's window. The car owner gets out, Adnan apologizes, but it is too late. The son of the boss takes care of the situation and makes an agreement with the car owner. He also makes an agreement with Adnan that he will work for free until his debt on this car's repair is paid off. But dark clouds don't leave Adnan alone. After a while in a very sad mood Adnan forgets another car in the neutral after parking it and causes the car to hit the wall.

Finally Adnan's working days are over after all these incidents. The film cuts to Adnan's brother-in-law's house. The weather is very hot, the television is on while Deniz (Yesim Ceren Bozoglu), Adnan's sister is ironing at home and Can (Haktan Pak) is watching television. Adnan's son Burak finds some photos of family members, they all laugh, and we see a tight family. But an interesting dialogue takes place between Can and his wife Deniz. Generally, Deniz is a portrayed as a housewife, who occasionally spends time with her neighbors. Deniz thinks that the water pipe set used as decoration

near the television does not fit to house's general concept. She states that 'I will tear this thing apart!' She hates it but expresses this in an over-aggressive manner. Can answers back 'Feel free to break it, I will buy another one and put it there!' It can be argued that the tension between Can and Deniz is expressed in an unveiled manner.

Can owns a canteen and employs two young men. The two employees don't show any sort of solidarity but rather seem not to get along with each other. One of them tries to snitch to the boss on the other one's alleged mistakes. Their relationship seems to be based on competition and jealousy. Adnan arrives to Can's canteen to ask for money. When he explains what happened to him, Can quickly gets angry and states that 'I don't have peace at home, look at my employees, I'm drowning Adnan. You have to solve your problems by yourself, I am messed up, I cannot carry out everything, I am messed up!'

Adnan goes back to his workplace and sees the boss and his son discussing what happened the previous day. The big boss infantilizes both his son and Adnan, and starts lecturing them. The father wants to discipline his son by sending him to do his military service, whereas the son doesn't want to go. The boss defines both Adnan and his own son as incompetent, unsuccessful, undisciplined and therefore worthless in this world order. The boss threatens him to take the case to court, making Adnan feel more and more stuck.

Adnan looks for another job in the construction business, but he is told that they are also firing employees over there. As Adnan walks in anger, he recognizes that his trousers are somehow wet. He turns back a bit and sees a leaking fire hydrant on the street. He hits the hydrant with anger and suddenly it explodes and breaks the window of a house. Adnan tries to stop the water but to no avail. Later, as he is running away from the incident, he runs into two street marketing promotion laborers dressed in animals costumes. As they insist on informing Adnan about their products as he's trying to get away, he punches one of them as a reflex to get rid of him and injures the man.

Finally the stress gets too much when he learns that his son is harassing a girl from his school over the phone. Adnan tries to talk to Burak doesn't listen to as he also sees his

father as a useless loser. Later Burak blames his cousin for cheating in class. The school's psychological counseling teacher invites both of the families to solve this case. It becomes clear that Burak accused him to undermine his standing in the school. At the very end, Adnan decides to commit suicide in a dream like state at home, but his son does not let him die.

As Savage (2003) argues that the practices of middle classes turns to be the definition of the social, the normal and the universal good (Savage 2003, pp. 536-7). Both Adnan and his son are threats to this middle class family. Because Can and Deniz's nuclear middle class family is in the threshold of their class position, it can be argued that they perceive Adnan and Burak as a dangerous and serious threat, as a parasite sucking their blood. In one statement it is clarified by Can that he shouts to Adnan as 'leave me alone, I cannot carry you Adnan!. The middle class family looks at Adnan with an instrumental rational point of view that they see him rather useless and a complete failure. His social failures are directly associated with personal qualities rather than attributable to any systematic dynamics. So the director makes visible the gaze of the middle class upon the 'threatening class.'

Not only people, but cars, buildings and everything overcrowd the streets in Istanbul. In addition, the living spaces are portrayed as extremely hot, sticky and congested. Everything is at its limits in the city. Adnan is naïve and he can still be shocked by what is going on around in this city. He cannot believe what he sees but drowns as he moves. He is expected to absorb every insult because he is unemployed, therefore his anger is channeled towards the city and the crowds but in this fight he loses every time.

Although the film seems like an ironic almost tragi-comic, it quickly alternates with very tense moments preventing the viewer from relaxing throughout the film. Both time and space puts pressure on the characters. Whatever Adnan does is not acceptable in this world order, as if the world would be a better place without him. He is an extra for this order.

To sum up Adnan cannot solve any of his problems, neither is he accepted as a more 'useful' person for his family or the society. In the end his son holds Adnan's hand back

and connects him back to struggle of life. But what did Adnan fail actually? He failed to be a rational economic actor of the social order in which he is incapable of being a self-caring entrepreneur. He even convinced himself that he deserves to die in this order. Moreover, urban experience is portrayed as a place in which daily routine is shaped under attacks of various shocks. But in Adnan's story, the reflexive filters are not enough to block the shocks and the director shows us how a person can quickly come to the point of suicide due to the effects of daily minor incidents in an overcrowded congested city experience. In addition it can be argued that the director focuses on everyday life rather than relatively important superior activities compared to the other films analyzed in this thesis. So by focusing on the activities of the 'left over' the director makes visible the conflicts hidden in the territory of the taken for granted. Adnan is too much for this world because his existence threatens middle classes.

5.2.2.2. *Neşeli Hayat* (*Joyful Life*, 2009, Yilmaz Erdogan)

Neseli Hayat is the director's fourth film shot in 2009. It received a huge audience of 1.125.601 viewers in 19 weeks. The director is also a famous actor, comedian whose previous films such as *Vizontele* (2001, 3.308.000 viewer), *Vizontele Tuuba* (2004, 2.894.802 viewer) and *Organize Isler* (*Magic Carpet Ride*, 2005, 2.617.452 viewer) have been watched by millions (Sinematurk.com, May 2013). As opposed to the other selected films, *Neseli Hayat* is positioned as a popular mainstream film with box office expectations.

The leading character of *Neseli Hayat* is Riza (Yilmaz Erdogan), who is a middle-aged married man without children, lives in a *gecekondu* neighborhood in Istanbul and works at temporary jobs. In the opening scene we see him in a slipper costume, which shows us he works as an amigo in football games. But it becomes immediately clear that he's not very good at being a 'slipper' since he does not 'bounce' satisfactorily and is incompetent in motivating the supporters. Riza found this job with help of a friend, but unlike him he can't pretend to laugh at the jokes of his supervisor, nor can he accept this as a job to be proud of. His friend remarks that finding any job in these times is so hard, but finding a manager who jokes around with his subordinates is even harder. So Riza should be content with what he has.

In the set-up, we also recognize that Riza has had problems with his past work experience. With entrepreneurial intentions, he joins to Joyful Life Company to sell their beauty products door-to-door but as the government bans an ingredient in the company's products, the firm declares bankruptcy. This failure costs Riza his wife's wedding gold because he gave it all to the company as a start-up payment. Since he also involved his friends in this business caused them to lose their savings as well, to get their money back his friends in the neighborhood sue the company and therefore Riza. Riza jobless and completely broke has to deal with attorney fees as well.

Through the same agency where he works as a 'slipper', he finds another temporary job being Santa Claus for a month. His duty is to welcome the guests of a toy store located in a huge luxurious shopping mall. He finds this job quite satisfactory in monetary terms since it lasts for a whole month and he receives a cumulative amount of money. This time Riza asks for internal training, because becoming Santa Claus seems culturally far distant to him. Before, when he was a slipper, he also demanded training when he was labeled as an unsuccessful slipper. He was mocked by everyone. Even his manager retorts that 'Riza wants training, he wants to go to high school to be a slipper!' So, it can be argued that, these discussions around training reveal both how unskilled his job task is and how hard for Riza to internalize these inferior jobs.

From his coworkers he learns to say 'ho ho' like Santa Claus but feels that saying 'ho ho' to people's face is very rude because they used to say it to the cattle back in the village. Rules are easy in this job; you have to smile all the time, welcome people, say 'ho ho' to kids. Talking on the phone and smoking is prohibited when wearing the costumes. He stands around for eleven hours. But when he goes back home he hides the details of his job from his wife, he just says that he found temporary work in a shopping mall. Riza definitely finds this job degrading.

The audience follows his work life story while Riza explains it to his lawyer. Riza is actually a cook and he used to own a small-scale restaurant but faced bankruptcy during one of the economic crisis. He states that since then he did not even cut a tomato, he doesn't even cook at home anymore. It can be argued that his anger towards the system implodes within him, he blames himself and sees himself responsible from everything.

During the flashbacks we see him killing time, playing card games in cafes. One day a salesman introduces the Joyful Life Company and convinces Riza to join their business. He goes to one of the company meetings and there he recognizes the potential, a way to get rich quickly. Riza states his feelings as 'you get rich in two years, even you earn the means to feed a dog, I saw it with my own eyes, Ayla (Busra Pekin), in two years we can start living in a villa, while enjoying petting our dog!' So Riza enters this new business with entrepreneurial intentions once again, and he fails once again. He definitely admires this new life style, which is expressed via choices of taste.

Ayla, Riza's wife does the housework and occasionally does in-house tailoring. She is also a member of the informal and flexible economy, she does not have a stable job but does tailoring on demand. She loves her husband and wants to have a baby, but because of the unemployment stress of Riza, they don't have an active sex life; therefore she tries to feed her husband with special compounds to raise his sexual desire. There is also another character, Lokman (Ersin Korkut), Ayla's brother, who used to work in a car-wash service but is currently unemployed. He states that he quit his job due to unsatisfactory conditions. Lokman has a girlfriend who is pregnant and it is implied that he has to marry her very urgently because his girlfriend's brothers and family threaten to kill him if their family honor is damaged when her unmarried pregnancy becomes public. Lokman needs Riza's help both in monetary terms and as a 'brother' to solve this complicated marriage arrangement as soon as possible.

Riza feels very depressed because of all these reasons. He mentions his feelings as 'I could not find my place in this world, and they don't let me search for it! There is no one I can trust / depend on in this neighborhood; my friends, my neighbors they are all letting me down...' One night, Riza starts drinking in a depressed mood and goes to work (the shopping mall) late the following day. His breath smells of alcohol and he reacts to a kid negatively when the kid tries to pull his fake beard. He gets immediately fired from his job because of his reaction. He cannot take the money of his workdays because he does not have a contract. Apparently, his job does not tolerate a hang over morning.

When he turns back to the agency, his supervisor tells him that he had committed a discipline crime. He adds that Riza should consider himself lucky because they are not suing him. He still needs money desperately both for Lokman's wedding and his own court expenses. So his coworkers convince him to go and apologize the the shop owner in order to get his job back and not lose his salary. And it works. So, Riza experiences hiring and firing at will. He does not have any worker rights and he has to fight for his well-being by himself, which solely relies on his abilities to get along with his superiors who are always harsh to him.

In the end, Riza gets back his temporary job and Lokman finds a way to marry his girlfriend in a wedding hall on New Year's night. Close to the resolution part, everything starts to be positive in the film. On new year's day, which is Riza last day of work in this temporary job, Riza states that 'anyone can adapt to any condition, and I have to confess, I myself also got used to this work. Whenever a child sees me, his face shines!' So Riza internalizes his working conditions at the very end and starts focusing on the positive aspects of his work. At the final scene he confesses to his wife that he worked as a Santa Claus in a toystore and was a 'slipper' before that. Riza internalizes what he found inferior before, and states that 'you feel depressed at the bottom when you stare to the top. Then you claim what you feel humiliated, and feel humiliated from what you have claimed…' So Riza definitely gives up from bettering his conditions and even redefines asking for more as greed. Riza receives his payment in an envelope so we understand that he got no insurance, nor he was recorded.

The film is shot in a positive atmosphere with warm colors and is supported by a positive and emotional music theme most of the time. The audience follows Riza's point of view and identifies with the character. In the third act a cathartic happy ending takes place and the audience relaxes and can leave the theatre with a smile on their faces. The narrative structure of the film is mostly based on dialogues and it basically focuses on the actions of the characters in a cause and effect relationship.

The interior scenes are either in his home or in the shopping mall. The home setting can be associated with security and happiness. Moreover it can be argued that his home is secured by the neighborhood he lives in. On the other hand, in the shopping mall

scenes, Riza is portrayed as very small in the shiny huge shop. The director contrasts Riza with the shopping mall and tries to underline that it is not where Riza belongs. Riza cannot afford buying anything from that shopping mall; he can only sell affectionate emotions at the door of a toy store. Moreover the director highlights the hierarchy of spaces when Riza leaves the shopping mall from a corridor that no customer sees but only the personnel uses. This corridor is not portrayed as a shiny yellow atmosphere rather a blue, dark and thin road. It is implied that this is where Riza belongs in this luxurious shopping mall.

The neighborhood is implied as a *gecekondu* setting in which Ayla's brother Ahmet Abi is portrayed as a conservative religious person, who first immigrated to this neighborhood and initiated his other relatives to immigrate. Ahmet Abi's living standards fit to 'rising houses' defined by Erder (2002) who are first comers to a gecekondu neighborhood and benefit from other houses. When relations with Ahmet Abi is endangered, Ayla states that 'I hope our relationships don't get worse, because then Ahmet Abi may ask for rent'. So Ahmet abi protects the family and shelters them but they have to behave according to his values for the sake of their relationship. For instance Ahmet Abi can be convinced in the mosque in front of his friends with peer pressure. He also questions Riza for not attending prayers in the mosque. So Ahmet Abi is the figure of protector for conservative values, whereas Riza acts to comply with his cultural norms only to prevent conflict.

In the resolution of the film, it can be argued that social community networks and supportive family have formed the basis of the happy ending. Although Riza's unemployment problem is not solved, his problems with the court and Lokman's wedding are solved and set as enough for the happy cathartic ending. Moreover it can be argued that Riza gave up on trying harder. He is identified with his position in the social strata and at last found his place in this world. His place is near his family he will feel lucky when he finds another temporary job in the near future. Also, searching for bettering life conditions are portrayed as adventures. Riza will not question the greater societal system anymore; his anger towards the system in directed inwards where he internalizes ineffectiveness, incompetency. Therefore the film reproduces a blame-the-victim discourse. He will be a person who will take care of himself while conforming

the new employment structure, while it is emphasized that the only thing he can rely on from now on is his family.

5.2.2.3.   *Zerre* (*The Particle*, 2012, Erdem Tepegoz)

Zerre is Erdem Tepegöz's first film and released in seven theaters while this thesis is in progress. Up until now, the film has received Best First Film, Best Director, Best Production Design and Critics awards in the 49th Antalya Film Festival. It also was awarded with Best Actress and Best Editing awards in the 3rd Malatya Film Festival (Sinematurk.com, May 2013).

First and foremost the leading character of the film is a female character, which is the major difference of *Zerre* from the rest of the films analyzed above. Zeynep (Jale Arikan), is a single mother living with her old mother and disabled daughter in Tarlabasi. In the opening scene we see her working in a textile sweatshop but she gets kicked out the very same day when she is suspected of having connections to worker unions. Although she is not represented as active in the unionization process, it seems like even sitting next to the workers who are looking for solidarity and unionization is enough to get fired. The firing scene takes place at a very inhumane level because she doesn't want to leave her desk and sticks to her table while two supervisors hold her brutally and throw her out of the door as if she is a bag of garbage.

Apart from her family, Zeynep has two friends; one is Remzi who is inferred as a relative and a woman who works in a buffet and sells bus tickets and newspapers. Remzi is portrayed as the real support of Zeynep. He works in a small restaurant and gives Zeynep left over meals from that restaurant every night. He works as the busboy of the restaurant, but we don't see the interior parts of the restaurant since we always follow Zeynep's point of view throughout the film and she never enters the place. The woman in the buffet is more of a chatting partner for Zeynep, who knows of job vacancies in the neighborhood if there is any.

Zeynep is portrayed alone in the big city of Istanbul. She rarely talks. She uses public transportation, gets lost in the crowds, looks for a job door by door but cannot find any

for a while. At the same time her landlord is pushing her hard asking for her accumulated rent. The landlord character suggests she should get some blood tests and call a doctor in return for erasing her debts. This is the first reference to the organ mafia connections of the landlord.

Zeynep's mother takes care of Zeynep's disabled daughter. Three of them sleep together in a very small room and watch television most of the time when they are at home. Zeynep's permanent job is selling lavender packages at the door of mosques after funerals. Therefore at home sometimes she prepares her lavender packages. She states that she cannot sell these packages as a full time job because of municipal police. She says that they somehow let her sell them after funerals.

Zeynep's mother can take care of herself and is not a physically dependent elder figure. She does not complain openly and critically but she makes Zeynep feel incompetent most of the time. She often blames her for not finding a "proper job", as if it is Zeynep's choice. In one scene she mentions "it would be great if you could work in the municipality, but you are not pushing it really hard Zeynep!" But Zeynep knows that in order to apply for a job in municipality, an initial payment is required. If she had that kind of money, she would apply to work in municipality, but for the time being even for applying, she is not eligible.

Zeynep lives in Tarlabasi, a neighborhood of Istanbul which is very central, an inner city ghetto area most of which has been demolished recently due to renewal processes conducted by the state. Kuyucu and Unsal (2010) calls Tarlabasi as the missing piece of a jigsaw puzzle in Taksim. They summarize ghettoization of Tarlabasi and argue that it is triggered by two major incidents. First is the deportation of non-Muslim communities in 1964 and the demolition of Levantine buildings to make room for today's boulevard initiated in 1986 by the Dalan municipality. According to the writers, these two incidents cut off the economic and social flows from Taksim and led 'slummification' of the area. It is stated that by the mid-1990s the area had become a low-cost living zone for internally displaced Kurds, undocumented immigrants and various marginalized groups. It is also underlined that as of 2008, 75 percent of the inhabitants are tenants and 5 percent are occupiers in the area (Kuyucu & Unsal 2010, pp. 1486-7).

Today Tarlabasi holds a central place in the gentrification discussions. The area is going through a renewal process with the aim of turning it into a residential, touristic and commercial center. The facades of historical buildings are protected in this urban transformation project and the owners of the buildings are offered to purchase mass housing apartments built in Kayabasi, which is 35 km. away (Kuyucu & Unsal 2010, p. 1488). So the vulnerable segment of the population who used to live in Tarlabasi are left alone to their faith whereas the owners of property are forced to move to the edges of the city. But our character is not a house owner in Tarlabasi, she is the one who is staying in the half demolished buildings there.

The director of *Zerre* gives us the depth of space in Tarlabasi shots. He emphasizes documentary aesthetics with shaky camera movements and medium shots. Moreover Tarlabasi is portrayed, as Rome was portrayed in *Rome Open City* (1945, Rossellini) after the Second World War within its wrecks and ruins. So when Zeynep comes from the city to her ghetto we see her habitat as a post-war half-demolished space, a place in ruins. This in-between space during its in-between interval, creates its in-between habitants. In Tarlabasi the most vulnerable segments are trying to survive, such as Zeynep, for a short time until the demolishing is completed.

Because of her landlord's pressure, Zeynep looks for a new room to move in but cannot afford any of them. The real estate agents tells her that the municipality is demolishing the houses one by one so that there is no flat available at that moment within Zeynep's budget. The same night her landlord visits Zeynep's house again and states that 'you can stay in the house until it's demolishment and I will erase your debt, all you have to do is to take a blood test'.

The tensions and pressures accelerate in Zeynep's life day by day. She has no money, no support and no hope for the future. The following day she visits her friend working in the pull in and Zeynep tells her that 'I would work like a dog, if only I could find a job'. The audience feels her vulnerable position once again. On the other hand, her friend in the kiosk who seems to be in a more privileged position complains about her husband. She states that not only herself but her children too are working so hard for the

father of the household. Later she mentions a queue of workers she came across the other day. It looks like there is a job opportunity for Zeynep in a textile factory.

Zeynep goes to the hiring queue, a scene that quite resembles Italian neo-realism aesthetics especially the queue of workers in *Bicycle Thieves* (De Sica, 1945). Finally she gets the job but she has to stay five days in the factory, which is in Trakya, far from Istanbul, with a salary of 90 liras per week. She takes the job.

The supervisors enforce the discipline of workers in the factory and workers are not treated as human beings but rather as simple unskilled labor power. Zeynep's work is an unskilled work that she has to count the bags all day and carry them within the factory. At night she sleeps with approximately ten more women workers in a hall and an unexpected visitor, a rat. But she hasn't seen the worst of this factory yet. Apparently the foremen and supervisors are asking for women workers' company at nights in return for a salary increase of 30 liras per week. Zeynep immediately refuses this request.

The following day, Zeynep calls Remzi's restaurant and hears that the landlord took her daughter for blood tests. Zeynep panics and runs away from the factory without having her three days of salary. She returns to Istanbul and visits the landlord and accepts his terms for selling her body organs. The landlord gives her some amount of money as a downpayment. Finally Zeynep finds a dishwashing job and goes back home looking outside her window thinking about her future.

Although the immigration histories or proletarization processes of the characters are not provided to the audience explicitly, it seem like the director does not try to explain the actions of the leading character rather he shows a piece of Zeynep's life without explanations or excuses for her choices. The film relies on visual aesthetics rather than dialogues. Zeynep's life can be seen as a story of survival in the patriarchal capitalist order. The film reflects the difficulties of this adventure as a single mother. *Zerre* is shot from Zeynep's point of view in which the director choses to use hand-held camera in external shootings with medium shots to show the imbalance and action in a documentary fashion. Moreover, hand-held camera aesthetics provides an urgency and dynamism to external shots.

In addition, the director uses male figures in the exterior shots to underline the patriarchal order in the public sphere. In the street shots, the character is always crowded by faceless anonymous male figures with a composition of the frame that aims at trapping the character. On the other hand, shots in the neighborhood, in Tarlabasi, Zeynep is portrayed as a lonely woman lost in the ruins of this city. As mentioned above these ruins of Tarlabasi resemble post-war Italian neo-realism frames.

In the internal settings, mostly in the house, the director chooses frame within the frame compositions to increase the claustrophobic atmosphere. Moreover in the factory scenes this claustrophobic aesthetic continues with the help of the machines. She is portrayed either behind the walls or television in her house or behind the parts of the machines in the factory setting.

The director uses naturalistic light, neutral and earth tones in his film. The audience follows Zeynep's point of view and the director sometimes chooses to use shallow depth of field in order to underline Zeynep's feelings and isolation. But mostly she is portrayed in relation to a greater social order and we can relate to her situation to the social dynamics of her struggle within the frame.

Zeynep does not show anger towards anything; she has already given up and headed towards selling her body organs in order to survive in this order. Her story is connected to greater social dynamics including neoliberal capitalism, dynamics of urban space and patriarchy. The only form of solidarity exists in this cruel order is within the family and the relatives. But it is not enough and does not provide an exodus.

5.2.3. DISCUSSION

The approach to production as a social, economic and historical concept provides a basis of analysis for revealing systematic pressures or ideological practices that is operating in the system. Following this argument, it can be stated that the films that reproduce militaristic, nationalistic, homophobic manhood stories use unemployment as a melodramatic tool and reproduce identity based subject definitions and typologies.

The system itself is not questioned by the characters, nor criticized by the directors. The characters either conform or die while pursuing their entrepreneurial adventure.

Expansion of working hours, fusion of informal and formal jobs, fragmentation in both neighborhood and in workspace, decrease in social relationship networks and communal support are represented in the films analyzed above. The characters' wage dependence was clear in the films but their process of dispossession has been often neglected. Obviously, the films do not have to explain everything explicitly, but often the directors decided to neglect the visual tools and produced male melodramas in cause-effect narratives that rely on verbal cues. Therefore it can be argued that *Baska Semtin Cocuklari* is a film of male melodrama taking place in isolation where the anger is channeled towards the neighborhood rather than the societal dynamics. Characters try to explain themselves throughout the film by dialogues. The director uses music to evoke emotions in touristic neighborhood shots. Similarly, *Kara Kopekler Havlarken* reproduces male typologies in the background and creates a male centered narration in which characters pursue individual ends rather than collectivity and solidarity.

As with post-Fordist economic scales, the world itself turned into a production band, it was stated in the previous sections that financial cities and metropolises often generate flexible low-dignity service jobs. The characters in *Bahti Kara* and *Neseli Hayat*, as middle age characters, try to refuse these jobs but later have to internalize the conditions because of lack of alternatives in the employment market. As neoliberalism seeks to bring all actions into the domain of market rules, Adnan and Riza try to comply with market rules throughout the film. Their failures are associated with their personal insufficiencies by their families, therefore it can be claimed that these films reflect how neoliberal subjectivities and logic is internalized by the society and how are reproduced as the hegemonic discourse everyday.

Moreover as Sennett (1998) argues that people have to do pieces of labor over the way of a lifetime, seem like all of the characters that survive in the films will be doing so. *Neseli Hayat*'s Riza accepts this state and conforms, *Zerre*'s Zeynep if she can manage to survive without her organs she will continue doing pieces of work, *Bahti Kara*'s

Adnan will definitely have to do so. In the culture of rational economic actors, they will have to survive as self-caring entrepreneurs, and try not to sink at the bottom line.

In some of the films, such as *Baska Semtin Cocuklari*, the space itself is fetishized, considered in isolation and therefore representation of space by the hegemonic discourse is reproduced. Its inhabitants label the space as a lawless zone and problem state. The space itself 'dissolved within' because of the process of territorial stigmatization and advanced marginality.

The youth in the films try on improvised strategies rather than working in low-dignity service jobs. The young characters' motivation is linked to marriage or love most of the time and family is implied as the sterile goal to reach. Therefore as the characters could not succeed, they felt like incompetent and their male dignity and honor is injured as they fail. Also they get engaged in shadow works, underground, Mafioso activities and petty gang crimes, and these preferences are justified with honor. It can be argued that, in these films the only way out to protect masculinity and dignity can be by means of criminality or underground economy.

Moreover desires based on consumption and taste has also been recognized as a thematic element in the films. Especially in *Bahti Kara* middle class tastes are shown and Adnan has been a threat to these tastes and life style. On the other hand, in criminal youth films, male characters glorify *lumpen* culture while trying to be anti-heroes to identify with. The gestures, bodily movements, talking, movements and all of elements forming the practical sense, namely the *habitus*, helped glorifying *lumpen* culture in these films. As it was discussed in previous chapters that from *gecekondu* to *varos*, the emphasis switched from space to lifestyles, these films reproduced this switch.

Being free as a bird has been a metaphor for two criminal youth films. In the jobless youth films selected, the main characters died in the pursuit of greedy success. It can be argued that these films provided closure ends that is telling us that asking for too much summons death, so we should better not ask for it.

In *Neseli Hayat*, Ahmet Abi is portrayed as the node of collectivity; he dominates the norms of the community. He gains this priority because of his age. In addition because he is a rising house as the first comer, he is in an advantageous position benefiting from the newcomers. In one scene Ayla tells Riza that, 'I hope my brother won't request rent from us after all this mess'. So the rising house set the norms in a climate of fear and newcomers use auto control and self-censorship not to lose what they have.

It was also discussed that inner city poor may give up struggling such as Zeynep in *Zerre* but *varos* continues to struggle to change its conditions such as in *Baska Semtin Cocuklari* and *Kara Kopekler Havlarken*. Interestingly youth in *Baska Semtin Cocuklari* justify their criminality by blaming the space, but the youth in *Kara Kopekler Havlarken* try to enter security business and get rid of informal economy. Security business as a goal is not a coincidence since the sector is a rising star with the downsizing of welfare and uprising of penal arm in the age of ascending neoliberalism.

Zeynep in *Zerre* is differently portrayed and her story is connected to social dynamics such as neoliberalism, gentrification of inner city, feminization of poverty, organ mafia and patriarchal order. The forms of solidarity represented are within the family and community whereas the only struggle is for survival for one more day. The director connects the place with the time while not using her pains as a tool to exploit the audiences' emotions.

6. CONCLUSION

This thesis started with an over statement, claiming that 'capitalism either renders people completely hopeless or kills them'. It is recognized that for the films selected in this thesis, middle-aged leading characters such as Riza (*Neşeli Hayat*), Zeynep (*Zerre*) and Adnan (*Bahtı Kara*) are barely surviving, living at the threshold of committing suicide or selling their bodily organs while internalizing the hegemonic discourse of not struggling for more, whereas the youths namely Selim (*Kara Köpekler Havlarken*) and Veysel (*Başka Semtin Çocukları*) both died in the pursuit of changing their social conditions. It can be argued that the narrative and storylines pointed that the most vulnerable segment of the urban population has no alternative other than compliance or death.

In order to establish these representations within the social and political dynamics, the thesis started with elaborating the recent phase of capitalism. Social classes within the Marxian and Weberian frameworks and the new emerging class, namely the *precariat* is discussed in the literature above. It can be argued that *precariat* is represented as a stillborn group without any revolutionary reference. In addition, it can be argued that the films are approaching to classes in a more Weberian approach. In general, the hegemonic point of view of middle classes is reproduced while lower classes are defined within this perspective. In the films, social classes are defined within cultural codes, life styles and therefore the antagonistic nature of social classes is often neglected. Moreover the most vulnerable segments are sometimes stigmatized, sometimes shown as threat to society and to middle classes. Solidarity is often ignored therefore signified as non-existent. Moreover in the storylines, the characters are marginalized or developed according to clichés, especially in youth crime films.

In the previous chapters the spirit of neoliberalism and hegemonic discourse of the neoliberal dynamics are discussed. It is often argued that neoliberalism produces rational economic actors and individual entrepreneurs who can take care of themselves. It can be underlined that the story world of the discussed films associated structural dynamics with personal incompetency. Especially in youth criminal films crimes are related to individual greed and incompetency, where the sociological conditions are

transformed into psychological traits. So it can be argued that the films reproduced the discourse of 'celebration of individualism', rather than collectivity.

Keeping in mind the dynamics of the neoliberal capitalism, an attention is given to the dynamics of the space in the previous chapters because the films selected take place in *gecekondu* neighborhoods or inner city downtowns. Transformation and production of urban space is discussed with the emphasis of uneven geographical developments and spatial segregation within the cities. *Gecekondu* neighborhoods are represented as the space of isolation, segregation and criminality in the films. Moreover especially in youth crime films the space itself 'dissolved within' because of the process of territorial stigmatization and advanced marginality.

It was discussed in the literature above that everyday life is the place what is left over from all those superior activities. It is recognized that the split of work and leisure time is not possible for the characters in the film, because they have to focus on finding money or a work every night after the regular working hours. So leisure time can be thought as an improvised interval to generate jobs for the following day's work time, and in that case leisure time is more occupied by the work time. Actually, it was always a part of the work with reproduction activities in order to be able to work the other day, but now the content of it has completely changed. It can be argued that precarious laborers do not have leisure time to reproduce themselves; rather they have to focus on generating new job opportunities in these time intervals. So they are always psychologically down and tired, which may lead them to make crucial and fatalistic decisions about their lives.

Various forms of precariousness and insecurity have been shown in the films. Lack of enough income earning opportunities, firing and hiring at will, lack of skill production, lack of healthy conditions, lack of stable income and collective voice or representation are all explicitly felt throughout the films. But the characters internalized these conditions and could not find a solution to create a collective opposition and solidarity. Keeping *Zerre* apart, the other films' characters' conflicts are not connected to structural class positions but associated with the neighborhoods, the city, or individual

greed. It is clearly recognized that the anger of the characters is channeled to the city or the neighborhood.

While the leading characters are precariously employed, most of the supporting roles who seem to have stable jobs were bellboys, in-house tailoring housewives, parking lot owners or vales, bird feeders, buffet managers, kiosk workers, or Mafioso people involved in criminal economy. Therefore the argument, which states that in the metropolises, factory workers disappeared from urban space whereas low-dignity service jobs are generated, is somehow confirmed in the representations.

In the films, it is also recognized that there is an increase of working hours of all family members where debts or mortgages become the routine way of life. Selim's (*Kara Kopekler Havlarken*) mortgage payments, Zeynep's (*Zerre*) cumulate rental debts, Riza's (*Neseli Hayat*) court expenses, Adnan's (*Bahti Kara*) debts regarding the damaged cars and Veysel's (*Baska Semtin Cocuklari*) runaway plans all put pressures on the characters while they are making decisions. While drowning in these debts, or dying to find some money, being 'permanently temporary' workers without social and medical support becomes a way of life for the characters. Therefore, the lack of welfare state and of social security is acknowledged in the representations, while the characters are portrayed as individuals who have to self-care themselves.

The stories took place in isolation, except it is discussed in *Zerre*. In the article 'Can Subaltern Speak?' Spivak (1988) states that, "the ideological construction of gender keeps the male dominate. In the context of colonial production, the subaltern has no history and cannot speak, the subaltern as female is even more deeply in shadow" (Spivak & Morris 2010, p. 257). As Spivak states above, in the film, the female subaltern Zeynep not only has to face many difficulties of hard living conditions but also as a woman has to fight with gender originated oppressive roles imposed by the society. She is always crowded by faceless anonymous male figures while trying to survive alone among the masses as a single mother, in the ruins of the city.

It is stated in other pages as well that the criminal youth films reproduce militaristic, nationalistic, homophobic manhood stories and use unemployment or precarious state

as a dramatic tool. Especially *Baska Semtin Cocuklari* reproduces typologies whereas the system itself is not questioned by the characters, nor criticized by the director. *Kara Kopekler Havlarken* criticizes the system but provides a representation that the audiences feel pity for the naïve young characters. Therefore it uses unemployment as a justification of their criminal and patriarchal actions. As a mainstream popular film *Neseli Hayat* also uses Riza's precarious state and despair as a melodramatic tool and offers simple solution to a the problems in a greater complexity. It should also be stated that social community networks and dynamics of *gecekondu* neighborhood are represented realistically parallel to the urban space literature discussed in the previous sections. *Bahti Kara* approaches to unemployment and precariousness ironically, and provides a tragi-comic setting where the audience is stuck in between feeling pity for the character and identifying with him. It can be argued that the mood of the film is like the mood of the leading character. Unlike the other films, *Bahti Kara* makes the middle class gaze upon the lower classes explicit. Lastly, *Zerre* does not use Zeynep's state as a dramatic tool but provides a distant and critical approach to precariousness, urban transformation, gentrification, nature of organ mafia and patriarchy.

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Başka Semtin Çocukları (Children of Other Side)

Release Date: 24.04.2009
Box Office in Turkey: 44.050
Director: Aydın Bulut
Screenplay: Aydın Bulut, Serkan Turhan
Director of Photography: Tolga Çetin
Music: Cem Yıldız
Editing: Sonay Değer
Cast: İsmail Hacıoğlu, Mehmet Ali Nuroğlu, Ertan Saban, Volga Sorgu, Bülent İnal, Eyşan Özhim, Avni Yalçın, Serkan Keskin, Özge Özder
Distribution: Medyavizyon (Bulut Film Ajans)
Production: Turkey
Length: 95'
Genre: Drama

Bahtı Kara (Dark Cloud)

Release Date: 21.05.2010
Box Office in Turkey: 2.236
Director: Theron Patterson
Screenplay: Theron Patterson
Director of Photography: Shaune McDowell
Music: Theron Patterson
Editing: Theron Patterson, Özcan Vardar
Cast: Reha Özcan, Kamer Çelenk, Yeşim Ceren Bozoğlu, Haktan Pak, Tolga Sarıtaş, Banu Fotocan, Şerif Erol, Şehsuvar Aktaş
Distribution: Tiglon (Bulut Film)
Production: Turkey
Length: 90'
Genre: Drama

Kara Köpekler Havlarken (Black Dogs Barking)

Release Date: 19.03.2010
Box Office in Turkey: 0
Director: Mehmet Bahadır Er, Maryna Gorbach
Screenplay: Mehmet Bahadır Er
Director of Photography: Sviatoslav Bulakovskyi
Music: Alp Erkin Çakmak, Barış Diri
Editing: Maryna Gorbach
Cast: Cemal Toktaş, Volga Sorgu, Erkan Can, Ayfer Dönmez, Murat Daltaban, Ergun Kuyucu, Taylan Ertuğrul, Mehmet Usta

Distribution: Pinema (Karakırmızı Film)
Production: Türkiye
Length: 88'
Genre: Drama

Neşeli Hayat (Joyful Life)

Release Date: 27.11.2009
Box Office in Turkey: 1.125.751
Director: Yılmaz Erdoğan
Screenplay: Yılmaz Erdoğan
Director of Photography: Uğur İçbak
Music: Yıldıray Gürgen, Deniz Erdoğan
Editing: Engin Öztürk
Cast: Yılmaz Erdoğan, Büşra Pekin, Ersin Korkut, Rıza Akın, Erdal Tosun, Sinan Bengier, Cezmi Baskın, Caner Alkaya, Ayberk Atilla, Fatma Murat
Distribution: Cine Film (BKM)
Production: Turkey
Length: 113'
Genre: Comedy, Drama

Zerre (The Particle)

Release Date: 12.04.2013
Box Office in Turkey: 0
Director: Erdem Tepegöz
Screenplay: Erdem Tepegöz
Director of Photography: Marton Miklauzic
Music: Emrah Ağdan
Editing: Mesut Ulutaş
Cast: Jale Arıkan, Rüçhan Çalışkur, Özay Fecht, Remzi Pamukçu, Ergün Kuyucu, Dilay Demirok
Distribution: Pinema (Kule Film)
Production: Turkey
Length: 80 dk.
Genre: Drama