

DELİKANLILIK (YOUTH MASCULINITY) IN THE INNER CITY:  
EVERYDAY RESISTANCE FOR SURVIVAL AND RESPECT

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**DELİKANLILIK (YOUTH MASCULINITY) in the INNER CITY:**

**EVERYDAY RESISTANCE for SURVIVAL AND RESPECT**

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## **ABSTRACT**

### **DELİKANLILIK (YOUTH MASCULINITY) IN THE INNER CITY: EVERYDAY RESISTANCE FOR SURVIVAL AND RESPECT**

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This thesis analyzes the everyday practices of male youth living in İçerenköy neighborhood, an inner-city area in Istanbul, which is recorded as having high social and criminal risk. Through narratives of young people and ethnographic fieldwork on their everyday practices, I explore their means of resistance for survival and personal dignity. Derived from Foucauldian approach, the concept of “resistance”, which centers on the relation between structural constraints and the subject, constitutes the core of analysis both in the narratives and ethnographic research. In this respect, this study investigates the agency of inner city youth in relation to structural constraints, gender relations, age hierarchy, violence, concluding with policy implications. I also suggest that everyday resistance furthers youth’s self-destructive behavior and social marginalization in the long term. Based upon the idea that both youth and masculinity are produced by a particular context, this study also aims to be a guide for policy-makers and civil society initiatives.

Key words: youth, inner-city poverty, everyday resistance, masculinity, dignity, violence

## ÖZET

### ŞEHİR YOKSULLUĞUNDA DELİKANLILIK: YAŞAM SÜRDÜRME VE KİŞİSEL İTİBAR MÜCADELESİNDE GÜNDELİK DİRENİŞ

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Bu tez, İstanbul'un sosyal ve suç riski altında olduğu öngörülen İçerenköy mahallesindeki genç erkeklerin gündelik yaşam pratiklerini analiz etmektedir. Kişisel anlatılar ve etnografik yöntemlerle gençlerin yaşam sürdürme ve kişisel itibar mücadelesinde geliştirdikleri direnç yollarını inceliyorum. Foucault'cu yaklaşımdan gelen, yapısal kısıtlamalar ve öznenin karşılıklı etkileşimini irdeleyen “direnç” kavramı, öznel anlatıların ve etnografik analizin temelini oluşturmaktadır. Bu bağlamda, bu tez, şehirli yoksul gençlerin birer aktör olarak yapısal kısıtlamalar, toplumsal cinsiyet ilişkileri, yaş hiyerarşisi, şiddet, ve idari yaptırımlar ile etkileşimlerini incelemektedir. Ayrıca, bu gündelik direniş ile gençlerin kendilerine ne şekilde zarar verdiklerini ve uzun vadede toplumsal olarak marjinalize olmaya itildiklerini gösteriyorum. Gençlik ve erkeklik kavramlarının belirli bir zaman, mekan, ve bağlam üzerinden üretildiği fikrinden yola çıkarak, bu çalışma aynı zamanda sosyal politikalar geliştirme süreçleri ve sivil toplum girişimlerine katkıda bulunmayı amaçlamaktadır.

Anahtar Sözcükler: gençlik, varoş, yoksulluk, gündelik direnç, erkeklik, itibar, şiddet

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## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

This thesis is about the everyday experience of youth masculinity in İçerenköy neighborhood, an inner-city area in Istanbul, determined with a high crime risk. Investigating daily practices and subjective narratives on selfhood, I intend to explore the means of resistance of inner-city youth in relation with inner-city social suffering, forms of resistance, and everyday violence. Thinking about the experience of youth under the age of 18 living in an inner city can open up a space to reconsider the academic literature and policy implementations of poverty, youth, violence, and gender roles in contemporary Turkish society.

My motivation to study on youth derives from my experience in a civil society organization that works with youth who commits crime and those who live in the inner-city. Regarding to their burdens and their social sufferings, their means of resistance, and subjectivities, I realized that the concept of youth and children are socially constructed phenomena. Then, the idea of implying ethnographic study in the inner-city derived from the belief that discourses of political parties or politically oriented groups do not reflect the social fabric of a country. I believe that ethnographic studies, which investigate the “experience” of citizens, are crucial for contemporary Turkish studies, since there are many discussions on Turkey’s future political inclinations and its place in the world politics. Additionally, the experience of people below the age of 18, constituting important percentage of Turkey’s population, is as worth as studying today’s top level discussions of adults who have politically oriented rhetoric.

There are some theoretical challenges to study on children and youth. Although children and the youth are different areas of study in academics, there is no universally determined distinction between the two. United Nations Charter of Children rights, in which Turkey is also included, define children as the ones under the age of 18. However, the United Nations defines “youth” between 15 and 35. Therefore, even the



most referred articles and United Nations reports, people who are between 15-18 are in an ambiguous position. (Başer, 9). This ambiguity derives from the constructed meanings attributed to child and youth.

Regarding to the recent academic studies on children and youth, as argued in Comaroff, Durham and Neyzi, it is difficult to describe a concrete line between childhood, youth and adolescence, since their practices are mainly defined by experience, policy regulations of the modern state do this. The concept of childhood has emerged due to the rise of bourgeois and science which are two determinants for the emergence of the concept of “child” in modern sense. Accordingly, bourgeois society was in need for scientific description of the concept of child due to reproduction of the society. (İnan, 63) This image does not coincide with innocent child image. While a child is perceived as an innocent person who needs to be protected and educated through policy regulations (De Boeck and Honwana 2005, 3, Lloyd-Smith and Tarr 2000, Aries 1962 cited in Gürbilek 2001, 47), youth perceived as the one who is energetic and active one (Lüküslü, 2008).

Concerning everyday resistance of inner city youth in the way of survival and respect, I benefit from Jean and John Comaroff’s analysis on children and youth in post-colonial societies and global capitalism. They state that children and youth constitutes a “counter-nation with its own illegal economies of ways and means, its own spaces of production and recreation, its own parodic patriotisms” (Comaroff and Comaroff, 7), while using universalist discourses and regulative policies, the violence constitutes itself.

I wanted to elaborate gender dimension of everyday practices. Through the media and middle class rhetoric, male youth from the inner city has always been the scapegoat of any bad attitudes such as being brutal, harassment, and illegal activities and so on. During my volunteer and work experiences, I realized that their burden is pretty much higher than I used to have when I was at their ages. Then, I feel uncomfortable about gender studies is the perception of “masculinity”. I want to contribute to masculinity studies while showing that this is not a unified concept. A man is perceived as the oppressive one who is responsible from woman’s suppression, violence, and disadvantaged position. And there are lots of surveys, studies, and campaigns against that ‘masculinity’. In Turkey, there are campaigns showing how violence of men against ‘women-and-children’ is a serious problem of society. They all

count up the number of woman who lost their life due to domestic violence or gender related crimes committed by their beloved ones, husbands or family members. However, no one does calculate how many deaths occurred in the name of masculinity. In this study, I will also elaborate gender dimension of peer-to-peer relations and family structure.

In this thesis what I want to mention about this contradictory lines between what modern states describes and what every day practices require in the inner-city. Accordingly, people under the age of 18 are children who have duties like going to school and they are supposed to be protected by a special branch of police etc. They, male youth, are in need of going to the obligatory school and contribute to families' income. In order to contribute family's income they need to work part-time illegally. Since they do not have direct access to structural benefits, their survival depends on personal ties in the neighborhood. In terms of male youth, these personal ties were regulated through "being the known" principles which necessitate a constant struggle in the name of manhood. In sum, their physical and emotional needs are not complying with what institutions provide them. Thus, while they are perceived as the "surplus" of the society, and while they become a scapegoat in the city, their means of resistance also damage themselves both physically and emotionally. I would state that youth do not victimize their situation, rather than that they try to show resistance against injustice.

The main reason why I prefer to focus on male youth in my thesis is due to my observations on the difference between inner city youth and the ones who belong to middle class. Being man requires an unending competition in each phase of life. In order to lead this competition a man needs a way to reach some certain ways so as to compete with the others. However, among the inner city youth, there is no way to get involved in this competition. They are disadvantages due to the quality of schools in their neighborhood, lack of family support both in economic and emotional sense, being inferior position in front of their partners due to lack of money and power.

According to Faucouldian approach, "resistance" is the core concept in analyzing both the larger picture of the İçerenköy neighborhood and subjectivities of the interviewees. In this sense, I borrowed James Scott's interpretation of "everyday forms of resistance". As a further step of this approach, I benefit from Philippe Bourgois's

study “In the search of Respect” ethnographic study of social marginalization in American inner-city, with the aim of focusing particularly on the experiences youth with their struggle for survival and then personal dignity. Elijah Anderson’s “Code of the Street” is another major study from which I benefit to show socialization process of the descent and street kids in relation with the space, particularly in schools ‘as the microcosm of the society’.

It is worthy to point Anderson’s explanation about aggression in adolescent ages which has biological characteristic. He states that in adolescent ages, everyone tries to establish their own identity, and security is always in a concern. Then, the way to establish a secure environment or a worthy identity could be in an aggressive way. However, as he says, young people from middle or upper class have various ways to express themselves and to feel themselves worthwhile (Anderson, 68). Meanwhile, physical response, rather than verbal communication, is more important for inner-city youth. This perspective would provide different lenses to analyze social conflicts and violence by young people.

Violence is what operates the existing power relations, and it is a way of communication among people. Violence is something embedded within their personal relations and world views. They begin answering some questions referring to violence even if I did not mention the word of violence in my questions. Those questions they answered by referring to violence are describing neighborhood, school, and family life. In İçerenköy the code of the street which regulates the behaviors of young people, particularly violence, which is a way of survival, self-expression, and communication. Yet, since they suffer from structural violence of the state and brute violence of the police, they do not hostile to the police. Instead they wish to respond with the same tools. As Frantz Fanon (1963) argues that the oppressed one is imagining resisting with the same means against oppressor in order to establish the same order by which they get oppressed. In this respect, many of the interviewees and those whom I shared common time in the neighborhood have a dream to become a policeman one day.

With the book “In the Search of Respect”, Bourgois leads one step ahead of Scott’s “Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance”. I will address the everyday resistance of young people and how these strategies lead self-destruction. Yet, in this chapter ‘resistance’ strategies will be evaluate a young person’s strategies to

get personal dignity and respect. These means of resistance are still not coherent and politically organized ones. In this sense, Philippe Bourgois's work 'In Search of Respect' will be the main analysis since it argues the relationship between structural constraints and individual responsibility. Accordingly, I will show how and through which ways young people shape the oppression that larger forces impose upon them (Bourgois, 17). Inside this disorganized violent activities, "elder brothers" and disorganized gang groups are important for young people's sense of security, and respect as well. However, it is not exaggerated to say that those older brothers and the duties they put on young people's shoulder give the shape of İçerenköy young people's daily lives.

### **Methodology**

Bourdieu suggests that the main inclination behind poverty studies should be to understand the whole life of the subject, and his/her conditions to necessitate for a particular action. (Bourdieu, 2003, 17). The methodology of this thesis is an ethnographic study which implies interviews with semi-structured questions, and personal observations of the researcher. I put dialogues because I strongly believe that the relationship between researcher and his/her way of asking questions is crucial in the process of a research. They called me "elder sister" (*abla*) since I gained their trust.

One of my interviewees, Eren, told his friends that we were writing the book of "delikanlılık" (youth masculinity) with sister Ayşe. In this sense, I prefer to "speak with them", instead of passive listening. To speak with them I created a common ground by referring my difficulties in Istanbul. As Bourdieu offers, I improved an active way of listening. In addition to this, I believe that there is another dimension behind their trust. I came as an outsider, and I am not their competitor in their close social environment, so they openly share their secrets and honest feelings.

It is important to note that implying an ethnographic study does not directly aim to inquire what really happens in the field. Rather, the aim of analyzing narratives explains subjectivity in relation with wider social relations. This also shows us how power relations function. (Fransozi, cited in Üstündağ, 20).

My methodology is also important for two reasons; first, youth studies in Turkey is overwhelmingly based on politically oriented discourse or surveys for those under the age of 18, second, the way I conduct my interview. I elaborate the power relations in the neighborhood in accordance with poverty, structural deprivation, and gender roles. In this respect, the methodology I follow in this study will contribute children and youth studies.

Inner city youth has its disadvantages for several reasons: structural violence, age limit to access to rights, family ties, age hierarchy among peers. I designed the structure of this study according to the disadvantageous positions of inner-city youth. First, I will describe the general situation of the inner-city İçerenköy, and its transformation during part four decades. Second, I will present how the everyday life operates itself through ‘everyday resistance’. Third, I will investigate the socialization process in which violence is embedded.

My interview questions begin with a general description of neighborhood. My main aim in this study is just to comprehend their own perception of their neighborhood and their personal relations. Then, I paid special attention in order not to shape their speech. My first question was “How can you describe İçerenköy neighborhood?” Then, our conversations flew with how they begin to answer or how they perceive my question in their meaning.

### **Field Entry**

I chose İçerenköy district of Atasehir neighborhood, since it has been determined as an area under high social and criminal risk by the state. Another dimension for my preference is about my familiarity with the neighborhood due to my volunteer experience in a civil society organization. During my experience, I observed that young people do not socialize according to political orientation as it was experienced during 60s, 70s, and 90s in the neighborhood.

My entrance to the field was sustained through my personal relations with youth whom I met during my volunteer experience in a civil society organization. Hakkı is one of them who spent serious effort to help me. He promised me that he will do his best in order to help me to successfully complete my homework. He invited me to their

home and he said he was going to introduce me to at least one person for that day. The time was late afternoon, and I walked through a dark and narrow path. I have already visited Hakkı's family three more times before. When I visit Hakkı's family's home, they welcomed me very warmly. When I came home there were three of them, the mother, the father and the little brother. Father, Hamdi, was complaining about the weather condition and his sickness due to difficult working conditions in street bazaar. I already knew family's financial problems. As Hamdi told, they tried to handle it; however since their children do not have a stable job, and give so much harm to family's protected money, the things are getting worse.

He told that their relations were quite good even he is not their step-father. However, they began to be more aggressive after their official break up with their father. This story goes beyond two years before. As their mother, Kader told me they needed to send some money to their boy during his military service. And finally, they decided to break up in order to get benefit that government provides for separated families.

The mother, Kader went to prepare tea for us and Hakkı went to the market to buy some biscuits for me. He brought 7-8 different pockets of biscuits. I told him not to open all pockets, but Kader opened and served all of them. And she said that you and any girl like you deserve the best of everything.

Ironically, as if they were aware that I would note this observation to use in my thesis, they were watching a TV series called "Arka Sokaklar" (Back Streets) which is a detective movie. I asked them whether they watch that series often. Hamdi told that those scenes are quite real regarding to Istanbul's reality. And, he immediately added "I do not understand why they are all young boys who commit crime. They all have strong bodies unlike mine. They are handsome; they have opportunities to study unlike my childhood. I really do not understand how things go that way." Then, he demanded me let him go to toilet. When he left the room, Kader immediately asked me whether I was afraid before going there or not. I thought that she mentioned the dark and narrow way which made me a little bit scared since there is no electricity, no voice, and a wet ground in which it was impossible to see where I was stepping. She added that if I always travelled from home to school or to Kadıkoy, how come nothing had happened to me. I asked what kind of thing could happen to me. Without responding, she asked if

there was anyone who bullied me, since I spent so much time outside. (asılan takılan olmuyor mu?) Just after I said “no”, she added that “if a girl doesn’t intend to lose her way, nothing bad happens on her, right?” Then I understood that she still have problems with her sons and their complicated relationship with their beloved ones.

Then, I remember the story that Hakkı had told me a couple of days before. Their oldest brother had a relationship with a gypsy girl and they have an illegitimate child. Other than lovers’ family members, there was no one to know what happened. Even that girl’s current husband doesn’t know about it. And, Hakkı added that I was the only one who knew the secret other than the family members! While I remember that story, I thought that Kader still felt guilty, since she could not do anything neither for her son nor that baby. I told that she was right in a sense that a person can manage things in his/her life, but sometimes things cannot be taken under control for various reasons. However, she was quite sure about that if a girl does not let them, boys do not behave girls in an inappropriate way.

While we were chatting, Hakkı entered into the room and told that he arranged some people to introduce me and help for my homework. He said let’s go to “Hızlı” (the name of Internet Café), since “ortam” (crew) was still there. Young people use “ortam” (crew) to describe the place and the meeting events with their friends. Then, we went to Hızlı Café to see the “ortam” ambiance and the crew. When I entered into the cafe, I was the only woman there, they felt that this was an unusual thing for a girl to be at the internet café. The owner of the café welcomed me, and Hakkı bought me a bottle of water without my demand. He told that there was nothing to offer you other than water; this is the reality of us. And, he added that those people spending time in cafes do not deserve anything other than a bottle of water. We moved to upstairs and he introduced me as “Ayşe Abla” (sister Ayşe) who wanted to interview with them about their problems. That was what I talked with Hakkı before demanding his help for my thesis. Then, we moved downstairs with a group of people. They sat around me and I began to explain my purpose to be there.

First, I explained who I was with showing my Sabancı University identity card, and explaining my position in civil society organization and how I met Hakkı and his family years ago. After that, I explained what a thesis meant. Accordingly, I defined a thesis like a long homework around a hundred pages. Later, I explained why I intended

to interview with people. I talked about my preference of a field study, other than summarizing what I read as we all did in history lessons in schools. I told that since my childhood I had always been interested on socializing with people and travelling to different places as far as I could. Being a traveler has been my dream in order to meet new people and learn about their stories. After that, I explained why I preferred interviewing particularly with young boys in İçerenköy. I told that I decided to do that job in order to give voice to young people. Accordingly, I was also a young person who struggled to survive in Istanbul which was still quite difficult for me on my own. In order to make them more comfortable about my position, I mentioned my personal linkages with some of their friends, and I gave their names. Their positive reactions were far beyond my expectations. I supposed that they would be reluctant about my position there since I might steal some information from them for the police. More importantly, I thought that they might underestimate my thesis, since school was not an important part of their life. However, they welcomed me and the idea of my thesis. Within one voice, almost 15 boys told me that I was quite right what I was saying about the position of young people. One of them asked me about my thesis advisor's name and wanted to come to Sabanci University to see and share his life story and difficulties he faced. One of them told that I should never go to their families to speak since he thinks that they probably would not understand me as they did not even understand themselves.



## CHAPTER 2

### THE NEIGHBORHOOD

As the very nature of ethnographic study, I present young people's daily life as an integral part of the neighborhood in which they live. To do so, I will elaborate the main dynamics which shapes the structure of neighborhood, how people use some particular spaces, and how those dynamics reconstruct themselves. While elaborating the structure of neighborhood, migration, economic structure and the changing moral codes, and influence of police is important not only for young people, but also their family's daily practices. That is very important to note that, the families' daily practices are as crucial as the dynamics of young people's peer-to-peer relations and school environment in evaluating young people's daily practices. Secondly, I will elaborate young people's use of space as a way of socialization. The importance of 'social space', as Bourdieu describes, is crucial to understand how spatial structures and mental structures are regulated: (Bourdieu, 1999, 126)

“... space is one of the sites where power is asserted and exercised, and, no doubt in its subtlest form, as symbolic violence that goes unperceived as violence.”

Scott argues that analyzing behavior alone uncovers for entire analysis of resistance. (Scott, 37) “The symbols, the norms, the ideological forms they create constitute the indispensable background to their behavior.” Scott says. (Ibid). And, according to his argument, a symbol could only be shared through an “encoded in concrete shared experience” which rooted from *cultural materials* and *historical givens*. (Ibid, 45). Stemmed from the argument that behavioral analysis can only be achieved through analyzing shared experience which creates the common norms and symbols, the neighborhood emerges as an important thing to evaluate. It is important to note that, I focus on an inner-city neighborhood in which all the people knows their private lives,

there is a high level of face-to-face interaction among the inhabitants. Sharing the same parks in which many violent fighting occur ritually, going to the same schools, governed by the same municipality, having a migration memory, in habitants of İçerenköy neighborhood have common cultural materials and historical givens.

### **The History and Transformation of İçerenköy**

When I was talking with my friends who live in Istanbul, they were surprised that there was a neighborhood in Atasehir district which has high “crime rates”. These records were arranged by the state. The main determinant for being labeled as crime risk is due to “social risk” of the neighborhood. They asked me if I was sure about the location of İçerenköy since it belongs to Atasehir. Atasehir is known with newly emerged skyscrapers, office towers, and various shopping malls. There have been very famous places due to TV advertisements by some big construction companies. Advertisements introduce neighborhood as a newly established place which has been equipped with security systems, parks in which their children can enjoy safety unlike in the others parts of Istanbul.

As I know from our children’s stories, there are always arguments or violent conflicts among peer groups however those arguments do not occur due to political polarization. One of the most surprising things during my field study was about the past of İçerenköy. One of its inhabitants whom I have known for a long time told me that İçerenköy once witnessed bloody political conflicts among youth groups. Those violent arguments were mainly emerged between İçerenköy and Küçükbakkalköy. Accordingly, during 70s the political conflict was based on left-right division as it was widespread among Turkey. During 80s and 90s, the conflict emerged between Kurds and Turks, and it sometimes turned into religious (Alevi-Sunni) disputes. But those conflicts have long been silenced. As Orhan said that İçerenköy and Küçükbakkalköy were two dangerous neighborhoods in which their inhabitants hated each other. During those times, no one could enter into each other’s neighborhood without having physical connection with that place.

Orhan and I met in a civil society organization and we have a trust-oriented relationship. He is now a 20 year-old young boy. Since his age is above my focus group,

I didn't need to interview him. However, while I was asking him where the political parties were located in İçerenköy, we began a discussion on the impact of the political parties that occurred decades ago.

Orhan told that his uncle once got involved in one of these violent conflicts. For Orhan, his uncle gave too much worry to his family, especially to his brother-in-law. He was from the leftist side, and always aggressive among his friends and family, let alone against people from opposite side. He wasted his family's money for no reason and was always in trouble with cops, Orhan said. Then, I asked what has been done yet? Orhan said that they did not want to continue their relations, because he damaged their family ties and especially with his father. As I know the story between Orhan and his father, he was worried very much with his father's death.

As opposed to the previous times, I observed that some other districts, Küçükbakkalköy was in the first place, youth and children from close neighborhoods come to İçerenköy in order to meet their friends and spend leisure time. They told that there are good places in İçerenköy to play football and basketball, cheap internet cafes to go to, and plenty of places to buy clothes and food. Then, I will elaborate İçerenköy neighborhood in accordance with the other neighborhoods surrounding it.

However, this 'leisure time' does not mean that they have a peaceful environment and friendly setting all the time. Violent arguments, drug selling, staring at one another and picking up a boyfriend/girlfriend are sustained by some particular spaces in the neighborhood. Those spaces are parks, schools and school gardens, and some certain streets under police control. Even though the type of fighting and violent actions are not politically organized like Orhan tells, how the violence and insecurity are embedded parts of neighborhood daily life is illustrated in my interviewees' responses.

The answers for that question show how crime and violence are embedded parts of neighborhood's youngsters lives. Some of them respond my first question emphasizing how their neighborhood is full of "serseri" (punkies) taking drugs and committing crime.

M: If I introduce someone who has not known... Punkies, let me say, the place in which the police beats. I would introduce it like that.

A: Why do the police beat?

M: If you have not an identity card with you or you tell them lies, they immediately beat you.

A: On the street?

M: Yeah. For example, when you wait in front of the school, they ask “what are you waiting for? Then, they beat you, they take you in the car and beat you! İçerenköy is a place like that<sup>1</sup>

For Önder, who is a guy addicted to drugs, “There is nothing interesting about İçerenköy. İçerenköy has been well-known with marijuana and heroin”. And, in terms of describing İçerenköy, “I mean that a punky one, the description of it depends on who asks the question. Everything... When you ask me how to describe İçerenköy, it is on the base of Kayışdağı, and Ataşehir, İçerenköy”. After a second of hesitation, he adds that:

Ö: It is known with majors, to start with.

A: Majors?

Ö: There was once Brother Ilker. He was the major of İçerenköy

A: How old was he?

Ö: He was 24 years old. He was killed during a burglary, may his soul rest in peace.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> İ: Hiç gelmemiş biri olarak gösterirsem eğer serseriler veya böyle nasıl diyeyim, polislerin dayak attığı bi yer yani, öyle bi yer gösteririm.

A: Nerede dayak atıyo polisler?

İ: Eğer kimliğin yok veya yalan söylüyorsun direk dövüyorlar.

A: Sokakta mı?

İ: Eğer mesela okulun önündeysen ne bekliyorsun, dövüyor. Arabanın içine alıyor dövüyor... İçerenköy böyle bi yer.

During our free times in the neighborhood and the interview, Sebahattin always warned me about any single one living in İçerenköy. For several times, he talked about how much he blamed himself because of his attendance to the theft and drug selling. However, his blaming himself is not due to ethical considerations about committing crime. His main concern was having been left alone by his friends after the police intervention.

A: Who lives in İçerenköy? What do are the people like?

S: Honestly, There is no auspicious person living here.

A: Also you are not auspicious?

S: Yes (laughing). For example, people from Bakkalköy are more peaceful<sup>3</sup>

On the other side, some of them, especially the ones living in other neighborhoods around İçerenköy, describe it as a peaceful area having some leisure time opportunities. When I heard about their perception of İçerenköy, I got a bit surprised. However, after thinking about it, I realized that they have already internalized the violence, since they put İçerenköy in a relatively peaceful situation comparing to the other neighborhoods. Additionally, their perception of the neighborhood and concepts

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<sup>2</sup> Ö: Hiçbir değişikliği yoktur İçerenköy'ün. Esrarıyla eroininyle tanınmış İçerenköy... Yani serseri birisine ne istediğine göre tarif edilir bir şey. Her şey. İçerenköy'ü nasıl tarif edersin bana deyince Kayışdağ'ın alt tarafı, Ataşehir İçerenköy... Büyükleriyle tanınır öncelikle.

A: Büyük?

Ö: İlker abi vardı burada. Kendisi İçerenköy'ün reisiydi.

A: Kaç yaşında?

Ö: 24 yaşındaydı, vefat etti Allah rahmet eylesin. Soygunda.

<sup>3</sup> A: İçerenköy'de kimler yaşar deseler mesela sana, nasıl tipler?

S: Valla pek tekin tipler yaşamaz.

A: Sen de mi tekin değilsin?

S: Evet. Mesela Bakkalköy'den gelenler daha sakindir.

like peace, crime, and punkies, depend on what they experience in particular time and space. For example, Osman, who lives in another neighborhood, have had an argument at school and got harshly threaten by the head of school, which made him decide to change his social environment. For two or three months he comes to İçerenköy on his own just to have a walk, to play basketball on his own or to go to internet café. He said that: “I can describe İçerenköy as a nice place. There are not too many punkies here, and it is a place with nice parks.”<sup>4</sup>

All people I met in the neighborhood are coming from immigrant families who came to İstanbul from rural areas. İçerenköy is surrounded with charming buildings and shopping malls. And it is close to a big industrial estate. In addition, it has connections with other neighborhoods and districts of Istanbul by highways. Family connections play important role in the settlement of immigrants. However, job opportunities make people migrate from other parts of the country.

### **Young People Using the Space**

As they referred in their interviews, and my observations in the neighborhood, young girls mostly go to public parks and shopping centers with a group of peers. On the other hand, young boys mostly socialize in their homes when their parents are not there, since it is cheaper. And, beyond this, home is the safest place to use marijuana.

A: Does the high rate of drug use disturb you?

E: I think it does.

A: What do people do, for example? Do they cross your path?

E: As far as I know, people do not smoke it on the streets. Because the police generally keep the streets under regular control and when anyone gets caught with the

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<sup>4</sup>O : İçerenköy’ü nasıl tarif ederim, güzel yer yani. Öyle çok serseri olmayan, parkları güzel olan bir yer.

pocket, they might get a four years punishment. Then, since they are afraid of getting caught, they smoke it in their homes, or in ruined wracks.

A: Where are those ruined wracks?

E: They are here. There is one in Küçükbakkalköy, behind power distribution unit. And there is a home in Çatakbaşı, there is something like a bird's nest below it, and they go there.

A: What if the buildings they do it in collapse?

E: If they are ruined, they will begin to use it in their homes, when their families are not there, or they would lock the doors. I think it would be better for them, because smoking it in a cold weather gives them a very bad harm. They smoke it when the weather is cold, they shake at the same time, and they try to smoke it. If he goes home, it is more comfortable. When I did it for the first time, I used in my friend's home. I do not know, but they do not usually use it on the streets. As far as I know, they use it in their homes.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> A: Peki bu kadar çok uyuşturucunun kullanılması burda seni rahatsız ediyor mu?

E: Bence rahatsız ediyor.

A: Ne yapıyor mesela bu insanlar? Sokak kesiyor, bilmem ne yapıyor?

E: Benim bildiğim sokaklarda kimse içemez bunu. Çünkü polisler genellikle sokaklarda dolandığı için, cebinde yakalanınca 4 sene yiyebilirler. O yüzden korkularından evlerde içebiliyorlar, belki yıkık bir harabede içiyolar.

A: Harabeler genelde nerde oluyo burada?

E: Burda harabeler. Küçükbakkalköyde var, şurda trafo var,trafonun arkasında var. Bi de Çatakbaşı'nın orada bir ev var onun altında böyle ne bileyim kuş yeri gibi bir yer var, oraya gidiyorlar.

A: Oralar yıkılsa ne olacak peki?

E: Oralar yıkılsa evlerinde kullanmaya başlarlar, aileleri olmadığı zaman ya da odalarına kitlerler. Yani o zaman onun için daha iyi olur, çünkü soğukta onu içmek, ona daha çok zarar veriyor. Onu soğukta içiyorlar hem titriyorlar bir yandan hem de bir yandan onu içmeye çalışıyorlar. Eve gitse adam evinde daha rahat. Ben içtiğim ilk gün ben arkadaşımın evinde kullandım. Hani ne bileyim sokakta genelde kullanmazlar. Benim bildiğim evde kullanırlar yani.

Several times, I have been in shopping centers especially the one which sells the outlet products, Optimum. I observed that there are friend groups constituted only by young girls or couples who prefer to enjoy the parks and cafes in it. That seems as a radical change in using space according to the gender roles. As opposed to the previous times in the rural, woman belongs to a limited space within the household, while public space is dominated by man. I explained the dynamics of woman' getting involved in the public space which derives from way of attachment to the economy of the city. But, what could happen to lead families let their daughters enjoy their time far from their homes?

As a complimentary to what Orhan explains about the past times of İçerenköy, when people are scared to go out in the late hours and always limit their kids to go out in certain places, Indifa shared his observations about how girls began to use public places more often than boys. As Indifa tells, today families are more comfortable to send their girls to public areas comparing to past decades, because "grand places have been opened".

M: In the past, this was not like that. But it is very common now. This is because the environment has changed very much. OK, hanging out with a boy is normal. But she stays in at late hours. We hang out at late ours in the neighborhood, yet, girls are with boys. Time does not matter; it might be 11 p.m. or 12 p.m. They are with boys. There was no such thing in the past. There was no such thing 5-6 years ago, because it was said that there was a pervert coming from Ümraniye. Everyone was scared of that, spending time at home, and few people used to go out. They only could go to close places in their neighborhood, went out in their close neighborhood, otherwise they could not. But now, the city has developed and become luxurious. I can say that even a covered girl has become dissolute<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> İ: Eskiden böyle değildi ama şimdi bayağı yaygın yani. Çünkü ortam bayağı bir değişti... Bunların kendileri değil aileleri sorumlu. Çünkü bir erkeğin yanında takılmak, tamam normaldir yapabilir ama tam gece geç saate kadar durur. Mahallede geziyoruz biz geç saate kadar filan, kızlar erkeklerin yanında. Saat 12 olsun 11 olsun, erkeklerin yanında. Eskiden böyle bir şey yoktu çünkü millet, nerden baksan 5-6 sene öncesine kadar böyle bir şey yoktu, çünkü hani böyle diyorlardı Ümraniye sapığı var şu var, herkes korkuyor evlerinde takılıyor akşam kimse çıkmıyor. Ancak böyle mahalledeyse çıkıyorlardı yoksa çıkmıyorlardı. Ama şimdi artık her yer genişledi lüksleşti filan. Herkes nasıl diyeyim başörtülü kız bile artık açılmaya başladı.



Although they complain about the people in İerenky, drug trafficking and criminal activities, there is a strong attachment to the neighborhood. None of them want to move out from this neighborhood. Even those who mind to move do not want to go far away from the neighborhood. It might be due to their lack of knowledge about the rest of Istanbul. Since they always argue with some of their peers, all of them know what happened to the others. They all know who get his mobile phone stolen, who left school, or whose family member gets a new job. For example, once I asked them what about Murat, they said “may the evil take him” They said that they do not mind what he is doing now. However, after a while, they give full information about one another.

According to their explanation one of the main reason behind their attachment to the neighborhood, they have developed certain ways to survive.

E: My uncles look after my mother, they do not make her abused, but... they told my mum several times to go live with them. We are also here, already get used to here, and they do not want to bring us there.

A: Why do not they want to bring you there? Wouldn't be easier to live in a small city?

E: Living there would be easier; however, I do not know we got used to living here. When I go somewhere new, when I enter into a new place, I do not want to make new friends. My friends here are very valuable for me. They are the ones who really love me. When appropriate, we laugh and enjoy, when appropriate we keep our gentle behavior, our politeness.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> E: Dayımlar sahip ıkıyorlar annemi babama ezdirmezler ama... Anneme ka kere dediler gel bize gel bize dediler, hani biz de burdayız ya sonuta, alıřmıřız, bizi de oraya gtrmek istemiyor.

A: Niye oraya dnmek istemiyorsunuz mesela? Kk řehirde daha kolay olmaz mı yařam?

E: Orada yařamak daha kolay olur da ne bileyim alıřtıđımız iin, buralara alıřtık. řimdi ben buradan gitsem, yeni bir yere gideyim yeni bir arkadařlıđa girmek istemem. nk benim buradaki arkadařlarım ok deđerli arkadařlar. Gerekten beni seven beni sayan, hani yeri geldi mi glp eđleniriz, yeri geldi mi efendiliđimizi koruruz, saygımızı.

The second reason, as they stated, is they believe that it would be more difficult to get used to a new place. Osman, who has cut his relations with many of his friends after he came to the edge of being kicked out of the school, he did not dream on moving in another place.

O: First, it takes long time to get used to somewhere new. For this reason, here it is fine. Besides, because I came here n a young age, that would be difficult. It would be difficult to quite the place in which I have been living from long time. I know many places and many people in İçerenköy, I would say. There is nothing else<sup>8</sup>

For Hakkı, having survived even with the most dangerous place of İçerenköy, which full of punkies and thinner addicted crew, is an enough reason not to leave the neighborhood.

A: Istanbulians always say they are tired of it.

H: No, Istanbul is a good place; it will not make you get tired. It is good.

A: Why is it good?

H: Let me identify it. For example, I know the streets. And my own environment is good.

A: Which places do you know in Istanbul? Which environments?

H: I know Bakkalköy, İçerenköy, and Çıkmaz

A: Where is Çıkmaz?

H: The dirtiest place of İçerenköy. When you enter in, you cannot leave there without getting beaten. But when I go there, I can, because I know them already. When I first went there, I left there getting beaten.

A: Who do that?

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<sup>8</sup> O: Yani şimdi o kadar senedir yaşadığım yeri terketmek biraz zor olur. Çoğu yeri bildiğim için, hani çoğu kişiyi tanıyorum İçerenköy'de, öyle diyeyim. Onun haricinde bir şey yok yani. Ya biz zaten, bir yere alışması uzun sürüyor. O yüzden burası iyi yani. Zaten ufak yaşta geldiğim için ben buraya, öyle zor olur.

H: Thinner addicted crew, but I know all of them now.

### **Gender, Work, and Family**

New moral economies according by the nature of job opportunities, municipality rivalry, and support of state institutions targeting poverty have impacts on young people's perceptions and behaviors. This impact is mostly related with their families' way of attachment to the new economic dynamics. This has brought about a dramatic change in social development which regulates the moral codes and cause new type of urban conflicts. This is a critical point of view as opposed to the argument on subcultures which constituted on solely on race and class argument. Following to Dillabough and Kennely's approach, in order to introduce a holistic point of view on new kind of social conflicts in the inner city, I will elaborate the thematic finding of my ethnographic research around symbolic, temporal, and spatial findings.

Work opportunities in service industry and gender related nature of work force have crucial impact on existing gender roles within the neighborhood. In rural areas from which most of the inhabitants has come, woman have had very limited role in public sphere. She is responsible for household cleaning, child-caring, and agricultural product if it exists. With the help of attached roles of woman, when they migrated to Istanbul, they could easily find a job in shopping malls, luxurious buildings and big hospitals around İçerenköy. The main occupation that women get involved in is cleaning. That situation facilitates the integration of woman to the economy. At the same time, they have health insurance or good salaries from the cleaning job. So, women have become the leader of family not only due to their permanent job opportunities. Another reason which makes women the main figure of family is men unemployment. In rural areas men have their own job, or they have qualifications such as repairing, craft, or bakery. However, after migration to Istanbul, they lose their jobs. And the professions they hold are temporary occupations such as selling products in İçerenköy bazaar and Sultangazi second hand bazaar or industrial state close to the neighborhood. All those occupations are daily based and do not guarantee them for the long term. If they complete 3 days in a job, they are free for the rest of the week. Also, they are lack of self-insurance. Women are still preferred more when compared to younger girls. However, as men get older, their turn to get involved into the work force

is declining, since their occupations need to buy power. As Buğra and Keyder (2003, 28) argues about poor people, men above 35-40 have difficulty finding a job. And families mostly depend on women's cleaning job, and children's temporary jobs.

This integration process into the city economy has dramatically influenced the daily practices of each family member. Domestic violence is the most visible one. Violence against women emerged due to women's new role as a leading figure of the family, as she has become more independent from her husband in economic sense. Now, she spends time out of her house, while her husband is sitting at home.

As it is pointed above, the way of integration to the economic life in the city has dramatically influenced gender roles within the family structure. Women have been easily integrated to the city economy due to the demand of service industry constituted around İçerenköy neighborhood. This has challenged the image of women who belong home and caring household issues. In İçerenköy women who are working as cleaning ladies in luxurious buildings, shopping malls, and big hospitals have become the leader of their family since they have monthly salaries and health insurance. On the other side, fathers lost their control over family economy. Occupations men involved depend on daily based salaries and do not provide a guarantee for the following day. Family economy is not the only thing over which father has lost his control. At the same time, he lost his authority over his wife since she has to stay outside during the day till late hours. This situation leads domestic violence due to jealousy between husband and wife, and gossips emerging about them among neighborhood.

Domestic violence is not only against women. Children have been influenced from that, as well. While children are exposed to direct physical and psychological violence, they have grown up within this environment without any good memories about their families. In addition to daily based duties of families, and lack of shared time among family members, this picture pushes children to stand against their families.

Family structure has a crucial impact on young people's daily lives, since they are obliged to share the same space. They express it in various forms. Some of them have problems with their fathers, some of them argue on financial issues and so on. What is common is lack of communication among family members.

I insistently wanted to learn whether they are curious about their family background or not. That was an interesting topic for me because in Turkey, people mostly focus on their pasts while referring to their superiority especially in middle class. However, those I met in İçerenköy do not pay attention to their families' pasts. It might be due to families' frustration and disappointment after migration to Istanbul. As in Önder's family's story, families used to have dreams before coming to Istanbul. What the prominent concerns in personal narratives of young people are fragmented families, domestic violence, hatred of fathers, and wish to protect mother.

Ö: I had very big dreams. Pardon, we (he mentions) had very big dreams. When we came here, my mom was working. My dad had deluded us so that I got surprised. That is my dad, he is like my friend as a 40 year old, he is worse.

A: Did your dad fall from your grace all of a sudden?

Ö: Yes, all of a sudden.

A: Did that happened after coming to Istanbul?

Ö: Yes<sup>9</sup>

He begin to talk about that his father is not a real 'man' since he always spends their family's money for his own pleasure and never concerns about his family. His father's attitudes and promises created frustration for Önder way too much.

Ö: My dad has never taken care about me. All has been my younger brother. I have never been exhibited love by my dad. My dad was working in municipality. Only one day he played with me. At that time I began to love my dad again. At that time, I

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<sup>9</sup> Ö: Çok büyük hayallerim vardı. Çok büyük hayallerimiz (vurguluyor) vardı, pardon. Buraya geldiğimiz zaman, annem işte çalışıyordu. Babam bizim gözümüzü o kadar boyamış ki şaşırdım yani. Babam ama, 40 yıllık arkadaşım.. Daha kötüdür yani.

A: Bir anda çöktü mü gözünde baban?

Ö: Evet bir anda.

A: İstanbul'a gelince mi oldu?

Ö: Evet.

felt myself attached to my dad. Moreover, he told me so many things before coming here. When we get there, we will have a house, a car, and when you grow up you will have your own car. We bought cars twice. We sold the first one. When we came here, my uncle bought that one, my other older uncle.<sup>10</sup>

What is common in the families is lack of communication and limited knowledge about personal stories about the past. Although, many of them consider family is still an important and sacred entity. Their main knowledge about families is some fragmented information about marriages or some older family members. Hakkı, who states that he always tries to mediate the relationship between his older brothers and mother, he committed that during an argument he always run away not to witness the situation. And despite his love to his family members, he is not into deep conversations with them.

H: I have never asked, and I do not know. But they always tell the same things.

A: For example?

H: While my mother and my grandmother were talking, they were telling... My grandmother told my mother about how she was before getting married. And my mom told that if she had not married, she would have left them alone in a humorous way. My

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<sup>10</sup> Ö: Çok büyük hayallerim vardı. Çok büyük hayallerimiz (vurguluyor) vardı, pardon. Buraya geldiğimiz zaman, annem işte çalışıyordu. Babam bizim gözümüzü o kadar boyamış ki şaşırdım yani. Babam ama, 40 yıllık arkadaşım.. Daha kötüdür yani.

A: Bir anda çöktü mü gözünde baban?

Ö: Evet bir anda.

A: İstanbul'a gelince mi oldu?

Ö: Evet.

<sup>10</sup> Ö: Ne öğrendim ben... Şimdi babam benim babam hiç benle ilgilenmezdi, hep kardeşimdi. Ben babamdan hiçbir zaman sevgi görmedim. Yani benle.. Babam belediyede çalışıyordu böyle... Benle bir gün oynadı, o zaman babamı sevmeye başladım. O zaman babama bağımlı gibi hissettim, yani ben babam. Ondan sonra buraya gelene kadar bana o kadar çok şey söyledi ki. Oraya gidince evimiz olacak, arabamız olacak, kendin büyüdüğün zaman senin de altında araban olacak. Biz iki defa araba aldık. Birincisini kendimiz sattık arabayı. Buraya geldiğimizde de o arabayı da amcam aldı, diğer büyük amcam.

grandmother prepossesses my mom while saying that give them to reformatory. So it goes.

A: Does she say it just for fun?

H: No, she says in a real way. Could my grandmother tell this just for fun? She says “if I were you I would give them to reformatory”. We make my mom angry. My mom sits near her. My mom says “uuh”. And she asks what happened. And my mom says that they made her worry again. She says that she told to give them to the old peoples’ house.<sup>11</sup>

When we talk about his decedent father:

H: I do not know. I am not home while they are talking. I take a walk.

A: But, how do you know what they are talking about?

H: What they are talking about? Once I was at home, and I was sitting. I woke up 9 o’clock and ate my breakfast, I turned off TV. That was a Sunday, and I didn’t go to Kadıköy. That was 2-3 years before, I guess. I was sitting in and watching TV, while my older brothers were talking. Volkan was questioning what kind of man my dad was. Brother Seyfi and Brother Serkan arrived there. He told that he was a good person. Whether it was a tough day or bad day, he was feeding us.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> H: Hiç sormadım da bilmiyorum da. Ama hep aynı şeyleri söylerler.

A: Ne mesela?

H: Anneannemle annem konuşuyorlardı, konuşuyorlar, anlatıyorlar işte bi şeyler diyorlar böyle böyle sen evlenmeden önce nasıldın dedi anneannem. Annem de... neydi... evlenmesem zaten bırakır bunları giderim dedi böyle şakadan. Anneannem de annemin aklını çeliyo tamam mı yurda ver yurda ver diye (gülüyor) öyle işte.

A: Şakasına mı diyor peki bunları?

H: Yok gerçek diyor ya, anneannem şakasına der mi? Ben senin yerine olsam yurda veririm diyor... Annemi sinir ediyoruz. Annem de anneannemin yanına oturuyor ya. Annem de uf diyo, ne oldu gene bunlar üzdü diyor. He he diyor, ya kızım ben sana baştan beri dedim, yurda ver bunları yurda ver diyor.

<sup>12</sup> H: Bilmiyorum... Onlar anlatırken ben evde olmuyorum ki, dolaşıyorum.

Eren's father is a drug addict and for him, he is responsible for every bad thing happening on each family member. I asked Eren: "What is family in your opinion? Is that something spiritual?"

E: For me, family is very special. In my eye, it is very special. No one wants it to be hurt, never. But no one wants that. For example, if I go someone's home and tell something about his family, he will come the day after and try to beat me. Why? Since, he is really attached to his family. Because he is a blood of his mother and father. The blood resembles to them. Or, how can I say? He really loves his mother. Because she is the one who gave birth to him. No one wants to see her got hurt. No one wants any kind of scar or any interject about her. When this occurs on my side, I will also do the same thing. But, if you have such a bad father, the family will inevitable get damaged. Children's psychological wellbeing is being challenged. And his mother demands psychological consulting, he rejects it. Maybe his mother is addicted and smokes something. Why does she smoke? Because of sorrow and anxiety. Maybe her husband, her husband is harassing her. The family cannot do anything easily; I think that is because of this.<sup>13</sup>

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A: Anlattıklarımı nasıl biliyorsun?

H: Anlattıklarımı? Bak bir kere evdeydim ben tamam mı, oturuyordum sabah kaç, 9'da kalkmışım, yemeğimi falan yedim, evde televizyon açayım dedim. Abim de dedi, Pazardı tamam mı, Pazar günüydü Kadıköy'e gelmemişim, 2-3 sene önceydi tamam mı, galiba, evet, oturdum televizyon izliyorum, abimler konuşuyor tamam mı. Babam nasıl birisi falan diyordu Tufan, Tufan demişti. Şey de oradan çıkmıştı, Seyfi abim ve Serkan abim. İyi birisiydi dedi. Zor günümüzde de kötü günümüzde de bizi doyuruyordu diyordu tamam mı.

<sup>13</sup> A A: Aile nasıl bir şey sence? Manevi bir şey mi yani?

E: Bence aile çok özel yani. Kendi gözünde çok özel. Ona zarar gelmesini istemezsiniz yani, kesinlikle. Kimse istemez gerçi ama. Mesela ben birinin kapısına gideyim ailesine bir şey söyleyeyim ertesi gün gelir dövmeye çalışır. Niye, çünkü ailesine gerçekten bağlı. Çünkü annesinden babasından bir kandır. Kan çeker, ya da ne bileyim annesini gerçekten çok seviyordur. Çünkü sonuçta onu dünyaya getiren insan. Ona zarar gelmesini, en ufak bi çizik ya da bir laf söylemesini bile istemez kimse. Hani bana da yapsalar ben de şahsen aynı şeyi yaparım. Ama insanın bazen öyle kötü babaları oldu mu aile de bozuluyor tabii. Çocukların psikolojisi bozulur. İnsan mesela, annesinin duyguları bozulur. Psikolojik tedavi görmek ister annesi karşı gelir. Belki annesi de bağımlı bir şey içer. Neden içer? Dertten içer, tasadan içer. Hani kocası belki kocası ona rahat vermiyodur. Rahat rahat bi şey yapamıyodur ailesi, ondan dolayıdır bence



What has surprised to me is that my interviewees' willingness to get married. Instead of challenging the idea of a family which always brings suppression on them, young people very much appreciate the unity of family. They dream on getting married with an honorable girl who will obey them and accept their families near them.

A: To whom you want to live within the future?

E: If there is someone I am in love, I would like her to be near me. And, I want my family near me.

A: Then, you want to get married?

E: Yes, I want to get marry. When I put effort, I put effort on a good way, a luxury space. I mean, not very luxurious... If I have to stay 3+1 or 5+1 with someone I really love, I would take my family with me. I would not have a care in the world. In addition, I want to bring my mother to pilgrimage so much. I will send my mother to pilgrimage.<sup>14</sup>

A: What are you imagining about the future? To whom you were dreaming live with?

Ö: What I am imagining about whom I want to live with is not a matter for me. The one I get married would be straight forward, honest, honorable, and reputable, it is

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<sup>14</sup> A: Gelecekte kimlerle yaşamak istersin?

E: Sevdiğim bir insan varsa aşık olduğum yanımda olmasını isterim. Ailemin yanında olmasını.

A: Evlenmek istiyorsun yani?

E: Evet evlenmemizi isterim. Hani gerçekten böyle iyi bir yerde iyi bir şekilde bir çaba gösterebilmişsem, lüks bir yere, o kadar da lüks değil de, gerçekten 3+1 5+1 bir yerde oturabilme şansım olsa, sevdiğim biriyle gerçekten, ailemi yanıma almaktır, başka bir şey umrumda olmaz benim. Bir de annemi haca göndermeyi çok istiyorum. Haca göndereceğim annemi.

enough for me. If so, I could carry stone, I would care about her. Only God knows the place I will live. I cannot comment about that.<sup>15</sup>

Domestic violence is very common among the families. In addition to this, they witness all the arguments, bloody violence in the family, since there is no private space for anyone in their home to run away. Any questions during the interview when it comes to the issue of family, many of them begin to talk about how their fathers have damaged their families, how they impose violence on their mothers. Some stories about Eren's and Önder's families:

E: I am not good with my dad. In other words, we can kill ourselves when we have an opportunity, things get on to level. I mean, I do not expect anything from someone who is torturing his family.

A: When did it become like that?

E: When? It has been like that since when I came to this world. It is like that ever since I could remember. He takes a hard line with woman. Woman tells that today, he hasn't come yet. As she says, he immediately comes and he applies violence. For example, I would tell something to you sister Ayşe. While I and my mom were sitting at home, he entered and began to swear. Swear and swear, and then he got quite. He watches something on TV. And he immediately judges such things. I have a little sibling. He loves him. When that kid was born, my dad was not here. He quitted the kid, and sitting at home while my mom was giving birth. I went near my mom and my brother. My dad didn't come there. He just gave me 5 lira to go there. I brought my mom's clothes. May God blessed, there is a grocer, brother Vahap, he helped us. I am not lucky about my father. If I didn't have my dad, I would not have any problems with mom. There are problems with my mom, too. I mean, not as much as with my dad. If I didn't have my dad, I would be very good with my mom and siblings. But there is such a problem: I am not the one who is supposed to bring bread home that is my dad. All in

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<sup>15</sup> A: Gelecekte ne hayal ediyorsun? Kiminle nerrde yaşamayı hayal ediyorsun?

Ö :Valla gelecekte nerede yaşamayı hayal ediyorum, benim için hiç farketmez. Evleneceğim kişi doğru, dürüst, namusunda şerefinde bir insan olsun, orası yeter bana. Hani taş taşırım yine de ona bakarım yani. Nerede yaşayacağımı da Allah bilir hiçbir yorum yapamayacağım.

all, he got grown us to this age. I mean that he brought the money home. But what happened? HE left us alone for three months. For three months he didn't come home.

A: How old were you at that time?

E: I was thirteen. I was not that little. I could bring water to the grocery.

A: Where did he go for three months?

E: For three months, he was bothering us, he was breaking our windows. Once he attempts to kidnap my sibling. <sup>16</sup>

Ö: When I meet a girl, first my mom knows about that.

A: You are that close to your mom, but why not to your dad?

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<sup>16</sup> E: Benim babamla aram hiç iyi değil. Yani elimizden gelse birbirimizi nerdeyse öldürüceğiz yani o dereceye geldi. Çünkü ailesini işkence yapan bir insandan ben hiçbir şey beklemem.

A: Ne zamandır böyle olmaya başladı?

A: Ne zamandır mı? Ben dünyaya geldiğimden beri... Ben kendimi bildim bileli böyle. Kadına bir ağız tadıyla bir nefes aldırıyor ya ağız tadıyla. Kadın oh be bugün gelmedi ne güzel diyor, diyor ama bir saat sonra adam kapıya damlıyor. Kadın bir rahat rahat nefes bile alamıyor. Geliyor şiddet uyguluyor.... Mesela ben sana şöyle anlatayım Ayşe abla, annemle ben evde oturuyoruz, içeri giriyor direk küfretmeye başlıyor. Küfür de küfür, susuyor. Bir şey görüyor televizyonda, hemen yok şu şöyle yok bu böyle, ufak bir kardeşim var.... Onu seviyor meviyor. Çocuk doğduğunda benim babam burada değildi. Çocuğu bıraktı, kendisi evde oturuyordu annem doğum yaparken. Ben gittim annemin ufak kardeşimin yanına... Benim babam gelmedi. Bana 5 lira verdi o da yol parası diye. Kıyafetlerini götürdüm annemin. Allah razı olsun bakkalcı Vahap abimiz vardı bizim, Allah razı olsun o yardımcı oldu bize. Şimdi baba tarafından ben hiç şanslı doğmamışım. Ama anne tarafından, babam olmasa benim annemle hiçbir sıkıntım olmaz. Annemle de sıkıntım oluyor, babam kadar değil. Şimdi benim babam olmasa ne bileyim babam gelmesee eve annemle çok rahat anlaşırım, kardeşimle çok rahat anlaşırım. Ama bir de şöyle bir sorun var, eve ekmek parası getirecek kişi ben değilim, babam. Sonuçta bu yaşa kadar o bizi buraya getirdi. Yani o para getirdi. Ama ne oldu bizi terketti bir aralar, 3 ay boyunca. 3 ay boyunca gelmedi... 13 yaşımıdaydım. O kadar şey değildim ama ben bakkala gidiyordum 2-3 su götürüyordum.

A: Nereye gitmiş o 3 ay boyuca? Nerede yaşamış?

E: 3 ay boyunca bizi rahatsız ediyordu. Geliyordu bizim camlarımızı kırıyordu ediyordu. Yatak odasından bir kere benim kardeşimi kaçırmaya kalktı o.

Ö: I do not love my dad in any way... I never love my dad. We came to İçerenköy six years ago. We came from Çorum, Uğurlubağ. It has been six years since we first came to İçerenköy. No one put up with a lot of trouble as she did for six years. No one put up with a trouble as she did because of my dad. He called my mom a prostitute, sorry to say that, he called her a bitch.

A: In front of you?

Ö: Yes, he punched my mom in front of me. I was 11-12 years old at that time. I have been full of hatred with my dad from very young ages. If he slaps my mom now, I will jump down on his throat.

A: How about now?

Ö: Now, they have some arguments between them. I and my dad used to argue, as well. But nowadays, he has given up bothering my mom.

A: What happened?

Ö: What happened? My dad was taking my mom's mobile phone and throwing it to wall.

A: What was the reason?

Ö: That is a very little argument, when he couldn't get money. My dad is addicted to beer. When he couldn't get money, he makes great trouble to arise.... My mom goes to houses for cleaning since when we came to Istanbul. I mean that her income which is good thanks to God. When we first came to Istanbul, we didn't even have any armchairs. We used to sleep on the floor.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>17</sup>Ö :Öncelikle bir kızla tanışayım o gün annemin haberi olur.

A: O kadar yakınsın yani. Babana değil de annene?

Ö: Ben babamı hiç sevmem... babamı hiç sevmem. Anneme, yani biz istanbul'a geleli 6 sene oldu, 6 senedir içerenköy'de oturuyoruz...-Çorum Uğurlubağ'dan geldik. İçerenköy'e geleli 6 sene oldu. 6 senedir annemin çektiği kahrını kimse çekmemiştir. Babamdan çektiği kahrını hiç kimse çekmemiştir.... Yani anneme orospu dedi afedersiniz, kahpe dedi

A: Gözünüzün önünde

One important reason to involve labor in a very young age is due to their concern about bringing money home, since their father doesn't bring enough money. The job could be a criminal one like drug selling like Sebahattin experienced 10 years after his father's death. Or, it could be any kind of daily based job on service industry like Önder applied from almost his primary school times. Therefore, as

Ö: he asked me that weather I will work for him when he gives me 900 lira. I said that I would come. But I cannot sustain you insurance, Önder, he said. I will only give you 200 lira, and because of that I cannot provide you insurance. I said OK brother I was in need for money at this time. And I worked there. I worked there because I was worrying about my mom.

A: You even sacrificed the insurance?

Ö: Exactly. I cannot stand when my mom is suffering. I do not know. One child might not love his mom. I do not have a love about my mom inside of me. But I have something missing. I do not have love.

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Ö: Evet benim gözümün önünde annemi yumrukladı. Benim yaşadığım olayı şu İçerenköy'de hiç kimse yaşamamıştır.

A: Kaç yaşındaydın o zaman?

Ö: Ben o zmana yaklaşık 12-11 yaşlarındaydım.... -yani. Ben küçüklükten beri babama nefret doluydum. Şu an anneme bir şamar atsa kesin boğazına atılırım.

A: Şu an nasıl peki araları

Ö: Şu an biraz daha tartışma falan oluyodu aralarında. Babamla kavga falan ediyoduk yeri geldiği zaman. Bu aralar çekti elini biraz annemin üzerinden

A: Nasıl oldu da böyle oldu?

Ö: Nasıl oldu da böyle oldu... şimdi babam annemin telefonunu hep alır alır duvarlara çarpardı.

A: Sebep?

Ö: Sebep neydi... Böyle en ufak bir tartışma. Para alamadığı zamam, babam bira bağımlısıdır. Babam alkol bağımlısı. Para alamadığı zaman evde kıyamet kopar... Annem ev temizliği yapıyor İstanbul'a geldik geleli. Yani kazancı Allah bin bereket versin çok güzel. Biz buraya geldiğimiz zaman bir tane koltuğumuz yoktu. Yani yerde yatıyorduk.

A: Why do not have love?

Ö: It doesn't mean that I do not love. I love, but I do not love so much.... My dad made me like that about my mom.

A: Why?

Ö: He called my mom whore. When my dad broke down my mom's mobile phone, she began to buy new ones constantly. Since she began to buy new phones, my dad turned things just the opposite. Then he began to executing without due process.<sup>18</sup>

In addition to the violence in the household and lack of communication, hatred of father goes hand in hand with questioning father's place and his obligations within the family:

A: Maybe your dad also had some dreams and relied on them. Didn't you think on that before?

Ö: I thought about that too much. My dad never brings the money he earned. He says that he has sequestration and debt. For two years, he told that I have 7 billion debt to the bank. He said that he had 7 billion debts to the bank, and we are not that stupid. We can understand what happens. I do not know, my dad... I thought about that, I thought very much about that. But no, everything has ended... I tried loving; it doesn't mean that I never loved. I did love. But after a punch on my mom, my dad in my eyes...

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<sup>18</sup> Ö: 900 milyon maaş veriyorum sana gelir çalışır mısın dedi. Tamam gelirim dedim. Yalnız sana sigorta yapamam Önder dedi. Yalnız 900 milyon maaş vereceğim sana bunun için de yapamam dedi. Tamam abi dedim, bana da zaten para lazım şu anda dedim. Neyse, girdim çalıştım falan. Orada geldi yani. Anneme üzüldüğümünden dolayı işe girdim.

A: Sigortayı bile gözden çıkardın?

Ö: Aynen öyle. Ben annemin ezilmesine hiç dayanamam. Ne bileyim bir çocuk annesini sevmiyordur. Benim içimde anneme olan bi sevgim yok ama özlemim var. Sevgim yok.

A: Neden sevgin yok?

Ö: Sevmiyorum değil, seviyorum ama fazla sevgim yok... Babam anneme karşı gözünü çok doldurdu.... Anneme orospu dedi. Babam benim annemin telefonunu kırdığı zaman annem ikidebir telefon almaya başladı. Telefon almaya başladığından da babam bunu tersine çevirdi. Sorgusuz infaz yapmaya başladı.

how can you beat a woman? My mom has been suffering from balsam, her lips are snapped, and her eye blew and got blacked.<sup>19</sup>

### **Gentrification and Its Others**

Gentrification has recently been an important discussion which includes municipalities, media, civil society institutions and the conflicting parties. Gentrification is perceived as a way to increase benefits of architectures, politicians, and upper-class people. For Kennedy and Leonard (2001) the process of gentrification occurs through the renovation of the structure of the neighborhood which force poor people out of their homes (Kennedy and Leonard, 2001, in Behar and Islam, 17). Therefore, the gentrification has four main components: involuntarily removal, creating common physical and social constituents, changing the social order through rich people's coming, and consequences which have impact on social fabric of entire city. (Ibid.)

Although gentrification of İçerenköy and its surrounding is not a focus of my study, I posed some questions about gentrification or establishment of new luxury buildings in the neighborhood. What I found that there is not a common understanding or collective resistance about these initiatives. It is important to note that I only conduct with young people. However, they do not have any consciousness against or by gentrification. Some of them appreciate the personality of one of the richest architecture who has recent initiatives in Ataşehir. One important dimension about gentrification is that since the neighborhood is also a place of drug dealers and their distribution, gentrification initiatives will have impact on organized crime operated in the

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<sup>19</sup> : Belki babanın da kendi hayalleri vardı, inanıyordu ona. Yani sırf seni kandırmak için belki? Hiç onu düşünmedin mi?

Ö: Onu çok düşündüm. Babam şu an bile kazandığı parayı eve getirmez. Hacizim var diyor, borcum var diyor, bankaya 7 milyar borcum var diyor iki senedir. İki senedir 7 milyar borcum var diyor, biz de mal değiliz yani. Yani anlıyoruz neyin ne olduğunu. Yani ne bileyim babam... Düşündüm, çok düşündüm. Ama yani hiç, yani artık bitti yani... Sevmeye çalıştım, sevmedim değil. Sevdim. Ama anneme vurulan yumruktan sonra babam resmen gözümde... Bir kadına nasıl vurabilirsin ki ya? Yani, annem balzem oldu, dudakları patladı, gözü şişti morardı. Annem kan boşalımı yapıyor

neighborhood. Therefore, some young people, like Sebahattin says, will get benefit from removal of some inhabitants. And as İndifa states that many of the inhabitants are uncomfortable with living with gypsies who are also the first target group of the gentrification. In this respect, we should question about whether we create a category of “poor” in which everyone from any gender or age have the same benefits and interests.

Atasehir has taken place in the media due to urban gentrification projects of the municipality. Many of young people I met do not know the terminology such as gentrification, or urban transformation. However, some of them pointed that renovation of old buildings is good for the appearance and the beauty of the city. Sebahattin pointed another benefit of urban gentrification. For him, it would be good for those who produce marijuana.

They also categorizing themselves and creating their own “other”. For İçerenköy, the “other” is Gypsy people. In addition to this, the real inhabitants do not complain about the results of gentrification process. As the opposite of it they are content about it. Sebahattin is one of young people who has been involved in criminal act and forced to use drug before. While he is complaining about his social environment which leads him to that kind of inferior acts, he thinks that gentrification would be good for absolute abolition of those places. It is important to note that I do not compare two politically oriented discourses on gentrification issue. While advocates see the picture in a general context as protesting it, the local people concern about the practical results which have immediate impacts.

İndifa also talked about how gypsies are the ‘others’ of neighborhood. They are the others not because of political affiliation, but due to their attitudes. Quite different from the story that Orhan explains about the history of İçerenköy, the only “other” in the neighborhood is gypsies today. İndifa whose family decided to move from İçerenköy to another neighborhood in Atasehir explains the reason why they moved, and he also explains how they categorize gypsies.

M: The neighborhood was bad. There were punkies. They grow marijuana in front of us. Since we witnessed that... And also, there were gypsies. There were many thieves. And, since the place we are staying now belongs to a relative, he offered a cheaper price. We moved there. It has been four months. We are quite fine.



A: How can you understand whether someone is gypsy or not, other than looking his/her dark skin?

M: This is not about being dark-skinned. There is an expression as gypsy. They are brokers, and flower seller. Flower sellers do not practice theft. The ones who we call Romans, they are practicing music. The ones who we call gypsies are collecting papers, stealing, and travelling by horse and cart. They have already got integrated in many places. We moved because of that.

A: That is what you mean by gypsy?

M: That is what I mean by gypsy. We had an old neighborhood, gypsies had wedding ceremonies. We couldn't sleep till the morning. Because when they have relatives, they enter into others gardens. And, we moved because of that.<sup>20</sup>

In sum, neither young people nor their families do organize against gentrification policies. They consider the policies in terms of their practical results. While political groups who advocate the rights of poor in front of gentrification policies of the state, the poor in İçerenköy who felt under the threat of drug dealers and brutality of gypsies are optimistic about the results.

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<sup>20</sup> A: Niye taşındınız?

İ: Ya mahalle kötüydü serseriler falan vardı. Ya bizim çocukların, yani kendi karşımızda esrar yapıyorlardı... Ondan sonra biz gördüğümüz filan için, bir de ortamı kötüydü, çingeneler filan vardı. Çok hırsız dolaşıyordu filan. Bir de gittiğimiz şimdiki oturduğumuz yer tanıdık akraba olduğu için hem ucuza verdi evi filan oraya taşındık. 4 ay oldu işte. Gayet iyiyiz.

A: Nasıl anlardın birinin çingene olduğunu esmer olması dışında?

İ: Ya esmer olması değil, çingene diye bi deyim vardır, roman vardır, kırıcı vardır, bir de çiçekçiler çingeneler vardır. Çiçekçiler yani hırsızlık filan yapmazlar. Çiçek satarlar. Roman dediklerimiz müzikle ilgilenirler, işte çingene dediğimiz kağıt filan toplar, hırsızlık yapar, at arabalarıyla gezer. Çoğu yere girdiler bizim zaten. O yüzden taşındık.

A: Çingeneden kastın bu yani?

İ: Çingeneden kastım o... Yaa eskilerden olduğu için bizim mahalle çünkü, düğün olur çingenelerin, gece sabaha kadar yatamıyorduk. Çünkü akrabaları olunca eve geliyorlardı, bahçeye geliyorlardı, o yüzden taşındık.

## School As the ‘*Microcosm Of Society*’<sup>21</sup>

In this study, I look at schools as a “space”, a part of neighborhood. In these public places (schools), we can see all the components of the social and structural relationship among society. Schools are the places in which social hierarchy and the power relations among peers and teachers and students are exercised.

Hakkı swears on deputy principal in his high school, Nuri Cingilloğlu High School. The content of the text contains a serious amount of slang words. The main issue behind his anger is about deputy-principle’s command to cut his hair. What is interesting in Hakkı’s comment is that he perceives the conflict at quite individual level. Hakkı complains about why he made him to cut his hair while the other deputy principles do not tell anything about his apperance. In Hakkı’s rising, there is nothing about ideological hatret towards school system. The issue is quite individualized both Hakkı’s side, and the professors. He finish his sentence: “... I am going to cut my hair, then I will persecuate you as far as in me lies”.



Önder was a very hardworking student who could read before his peers in this school. However, his success ended when they moved to Istanbul. In Hasan Leyli Primary School, which is quite heterogeneous, he confronted many difficulties.

<sup>21</sup> I borrow this statement from Elijah Anderson.

Ö: Since I was the new comer, they discriminated me.

A: Why?

Ö: I am a peasant. That was all because I was a peasant. There is a movie as ‘I came from the village to the city’. They always discriminated me in the school. There was a friend, Burak. He was fat like me. I got on well with him. There was Gülay sitting at the first row, she was very nice. We were very good friends with her. We were there.

A: What were they saying for instance?

Ö: My accent was different. Once I came here, I couldn’t speak Turkish with a proper İstanbul dialect. I spoke with an accent... I had a friend, Atakan. His family was rich. There were table clothes. They made them wash once a week. Once, it came up to me. I took it on Friday. I brought it to my mom to wash. They always threatened me as a peasant and poor. On Saturday, my mom washed that. He thought that she would wash it by hand, but there was a washing machine. I made that washing. Anyway, Atakan was telling me that I did not wash it, if I had washed, they would not use that. He was saying that something washed by me would still be dirty. I had it washed and brought it to school. Everyone put them on their desks, but he didn’t. Once I had it washed and brought it, the smell of class changed. Due to the smell of tablecloth, the smell of class changed.

A: Vernel?

Ö: I do not know about such things. I mean the smell of class changed. Once they came to class, each teacher reacted to that. They reacted in a positive way. After this, that friend of mine stopped messing around with me. If he would stop messing around with me just like that, why did he do that?<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> : Yeni geldim beni hep dışlıyorlardı.

A: Neden?

Ö: Yani köylüyüm, e köylüyüm yani. Köyden geldim şehire diye bir film vardı ya. Yani beni hep dışladılar okulda. Bir arkadaşım vardı Burak diye, o da benim gibi kilolu. Onunla çok iyi anlaşıyorduk. Ön sırada Gülay diye bir arkadaşım vardı, çok iyidir, Onunla çok iyi anlaşıyorduk. Üçümüzdeydi yani.

A: Ne diyorlardı mesela? Direk köylü mü diyorlardı, ne diye dalga geçiyorlardı?

However, high schools are quite homogenized, and middle and upper class families send their children to private schools, if they fail to pass national exams to enter prestigious ones. Therefore, high schools are labeled as prestigious, successful, or dirty places. Nuri Cingilhoğlu High School is the one which is labeled as a dirty place in the eyes of teachers and the policemen.

The schools have become the place of power struggle between students and teachers:

E: I sworn.

A: Where did pick that up from?

E: From my family, my dad's side. My dad used to swear us at that time.

A: What did your teacher react?

E: He beat me. Then, he failed me with exams.<sup>23</sup>

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Ö: Ben konuşma tarzım bir değişik. Buraya geldim Türkçe'yi doğru düzgün konuşamıyorsun, köylü diliyle konuşuyorsun. Benim Atakan diye bir arkadaşım vardı, zengindi ailesi. Haftada bir, masa örtüleri var, haftada bir yıkattırıyolardı masa örtülerini. Bir hafta bana denk geldi, Cuma günü aldım, anneme götürdüm yıkattım. Hani köylü fakirdir falan filan, bana hep öyle muamele ediyolardı... Pazartesi olduğu zaman, Cumartesi anneme verdim yıkattırdım, elinde yıkattığını zannediyordu herhalde, makina var. Yıkattırıyordum. Neyse, Atakan bana diyordu, sen yıkama senin yıkadığın örtüyü ben kullanmam falan filan. Sizininki kesin getirdiğin kirli falandır diyordu. Yıkattırdım getirdim, herkes masasına taktı o takmadı. Onu yıkatıp geldikten sonra sınıfın kokusu değişti. Örtünün üzerindeki kokudan dolayı sınıfın kokusu değişti.

A: Vernel?

Ö: Yani... Pek anlamam onlardan. Yani sınıfın kokusu değişiyor, her gelen hoca tepki gösteriyor tabii olumlu halde, tepki gösteriyor. Ondan sonra o arkadaşım benim üzerime gelmemeye başladı. Bir şeyden dolayı benim üzerime gelmeyeceksen yani neyin üzerine geliyorsun ki?

<sup>23</sup> E: Küfür ettim.

A:Nereden çıktı o küfür öyle?

E: Aileden baba tarafından. Babam o zamanlar küfürediyodu ya bize.

A: Ne yapmıştı hocan sana da küfür ettin?

E: Dövdü, ondan sonra sınıfta bıraktı beni.

When we start talking about schools, the first issue emerges is peer violence. The school does not emerge as a place in which there is a suppression of educational system which is posed by teachers, or racial segregation by national education. Some of them who are complaining about the violence at schools support more restrictive rules to decrease the level of violence and increase the efficiency of education, and bring there more justice.

Scholars like Cohen (1972) and Willis (1977) argue that "... no straightforward resistance to the most visible forms of educational and social authority" as Cohen (1972) and Willis (1977) According to this view, resistance is the most powerful form of class reproduction. (Dillabough and Kennelly, 4) However, the new kind of social conflict in İçerenköy is not based on racial or political orientation. Instead, conflict among peers, family members and street violence derive from performance, production, and 'being to the known'.

Anderson describes a social organization in which "code of street" governs the behavioral patterns among and between young people. He states that:

*"This is because the street culture has evolved a 'code of the street' which amounts to a set of informal rules governing interpersonal public behavior, particularly violence. The rules prescribe both proper comportment and the proper way to respond if challenged. They regulate the use of violence and so supply a rationale allowing those who are inclined to aggression to precipitate violent encounters in an approved way. The rules have been established and are enforced mainly by the street-oriented; but on the streets the distinction between the street and decent is often irrelevant. Everybody knows that if the rules are violated, there are penalties. Knowledge of the code is thus largely defensive, and it is literally necessary operated in the public..."*  
(Anderson, 33)

When we start talking about school experience, they begin describing school life referring to violence. My interviewees go to different schools in İçerenköy. The most famous school in İçerenköy is Nuri Cingilloğlu High School which has got the highest

number of students. Cingillođlu, as they called, is famous for fights among peers, violence from teachers, and drug trade and use.

A photo uploaded by students from official Facebook page of Nuri Cingillođlu High School:



A photo from the Cingillođlu I took during my research:



E: Nuri Cingillođlu is that sort of school; it is usually successful. But at the same time, if there are 1000 students, 700 of them fail, and 200-300 pass to the upper level with low degrees. They pass with difficulties. Maybe the rest 100 of them pass with their own effort. There is something in our school. If you do something wrong to anyone, or stare at someone, he immediately collects the ones behind him. He brings his friends by saying that we shall beat that guy, there is an issue there, and he stared at me.

A: On what kind of issues they get collaborated?

E: What kind of issues? He sniped me, or he made a comment about my girlfriend. He brings his friends in this way. Even when I am defenseless, I am right, because I didn't do anything wrong. Why do I beat my friends, since there is no reason? But they misunderstand the issue. When you look at them, they misunderstand it. They say that when this guy stared at me, I will beat him. I think Nuri Cingillođlu high school is not a good school. For me, it is a bad, very bad school. I do not deem that school is suitable of me. But at the same time, I am not a good student, not a perfect one. But it is still not a good place.

A: Are there any gangs, for example?

E: Too many.

A: Do the gangs have a name?

E: No, the gangs have no name. For instance, when you see the rush hour after school, everyone is separated among groups. Some of them get together in one part, and some of them get together in another part. There are some people who are getting together in front of Nuri Cingillođlu. Sometimes, big brothers, older brothers come. They come to interfere in the fight. Then the police come and they cannot resolve. When they cannot get revenge, they say let's solve our issue in another place. They bring others and kill them in a narrow street. Or, they smash someone's face. They can do anything. I think that is not a good school. That is not a well-disciplined school.

A: What is supposed to be done? Who should do this; family, school, or police?

E: I think it must be the Ministry of Education or police's business. Look sister Ayşe, the situation is that; they can bring knife inside the school. When he brings a knife into the school, he stabs someone, if there an argument emerges. What happens then? Then, a trouble comes out. The school can be closed. Whatever... I do not know whether you saw or not, there are doors with alerts, but I think Ministry of Education should start using them at school entrances. They should enter one by one. There should be a queue, a straight queue. There should be discipline. There should be the one who demands severity in the schools. Once those things are sustained, the schools will be perfect. But since no one is serious or they are spoiled and show of your big brotherhood, nothing works well with that school.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> E: Nuri Cingillođlu Lisesi şöyle bi okul, hani genellikle başarısı olur ama şöyle bir şey var bir de genellikle okulda 700 öğrenci varsa ya da 1000 öğrenci, 700'ü kalır. 300'ün 200'ü de zayıfı mayıfı öyle ite kaka geçerler. Kalan belki 100 tanesi gerçek kendi emeđiyle geçer. Mesela bizim okulda şöyle bir şey var. Birine yanlış bir şey, şöyle ters ters baksan bile adam hemen arkasını toplar getirir. Arkadaşlarını toplar, gelin mevzuu var, gelin şu çocuđu döveceđiz, bana baktı.

A: Ne gibi konularda toplanırlar hemen böyle?

E: Genellikle ne gibi konuda toplanırlar, hani der kanka gel bana bulaştı, ya da kız arkadaşına laf attı. Bu şekilde arkadaşlarını toplar gelirler. Savunmasız olsam bile haklıyım çünkü bir şeyim yok. Ben arkadaşlarıma niye vurayım ki? Durduk yere. Hani



For Eren, the school has to be more disciplined places. And the discipline can be provided by municipality. In addition to this, he offers a kind of control mechanism like in police stations. In his narratives, we come to the point that Bourgois states about ‘resistance’ of street culture.

When kids begin to schools, some of them, unlike their current situation, were keenly adapted to learning and also their teachers. But, what could have happened to disrupt a kid’s enthusiasm of learning and school life? For Anderson, once a kid realizes respect is the most important thing in their public environment, they bring it to the

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onlar yanlış anlıyorlar. Bakınca onlar yanlış anlıyorlar baktığın zaman, ters ters baktı, ben ona bir tane koyarım, ben bu çocuğu döverim şeyini yapıyorlar. Yani bence Nuri Cıngıllıoğlu Lisesi çok iyi bir lise değil. Bana göre çok kötü bir lise, ben kendimi de oraya layık göremiyorum ama hani çok da güzel bi öğrenci de değilim ama hani dördörtlük. Ama yani çok iyi bir yer değil.

A: Çeteler var mı mesela?

E: Çok var çok var.

A: Çetenin bir adı var mı?

E: Yok çetenin bi adı yok. Mesela çıkışı görseniz, çıkışta herkes gruplara ayrılır. İki bölmeli böyle sokak var. Böyle bu tarafa toplananlar var bu tarafa toplananlar var, Nuri Cıngıllıoğlu’nun önünde toplananlar var. Hani bazen ağır abiler gelirler, büyük abiler. Onlar gelirler kavgaya karışırlar. Polisler gelirler polisler ayıramazlar. Bunlar hınçlarını alamadıkları zaman hadi gel şurada halledelim meselemizi derler. Götürürler ara sokakta birbirlerini öldürürler ya ağzını burnunu kırarlar. Hepsini yaparlar yani. Bence çok iyi bir okul değil. Çok disiplinli bir okul değil yani orası.

A: Ne yapmak lazım peki sence bunun için? Kimin yapması gerekir, aile mi okul mu milli eğitim mi polis mi?

E: Bence milli eğitim ve genellikle polise düşer bu. Çünkü ne bileyim kapıda, şimdi Ayşe abla bir de şöyle bir durum var, admlar içeriye bıçak sokabiliyor. Şimdi içeriye bıçak soktuğu zaman noluyor, biri gelip bir şey oldu mu bir baksalar bir kavgaya tutuşsalar ne olacak bıçağı adama sokacak. Sonra ne olacak, al başına belayı. Okul da kapanır. Her neyse bence milli eğitim oralara güzel hani polis karakolunda görmüşsünüzdür belki, hiç girdiniz mi bilmiyorum ama şeyler var böyle dıt dıt diye öten, bence kapılar öyle olmalı. Tek tek girmeliler, hani sıra olmalı güzel bir sıra. Disiplin olmalı, okulda gerçekten ciddiyet isteyen insanlar olmalı. Hani bunlar oldu mu bence onlar dördörtlük bir okul olabilir. Ama herkes cıvık olursa herkes kendini beğenmiş olursa, yok ben şöyle ağır abiyim böyle takılırım derse o okuldan hiçbir şey olmaz bence.

school. Then, schools become a “staging area” to exercise the street “code” (Anderson, 93).

O: The school is full of punkies.

A: What do they do for example?

O: They go to the school, but they act like punkies, instead. There always fight after school. There is always police after school time<sup>25</sup>

As an example for Anderson’s conceptualization of descends kid, Osman has spent too much effort from the very beginning of his school life. He told that after a punishment in his school, in order not to be removed from the school life, he begins to play drama in front of his teachers. What is that drama? When he sees any argument in the corridor, he immediately goes and tries to mediate the one who argue. And he is very careful about choosing his friends, and choosing his high school as well:

O: Since through a high school, it is easy to be successful at an exam. And, its location is easy. First, my appointment was at Nuri Cıngılıoğlu. But I didn’t go there

A: Due to the same reasons?

O: Sure. And also it is an ordinary high school. I thought that I shall go to a vocational-high school. At least, I can get an occupation after graduation.

A: But what if they insist on that you should go the Nuri Cıngılıoğlu?

O: No, I would not... Inside of the school is more beautiful than the others. I have been studying there for a year. We went there, since our school was under construction. The inside of school is very beautiful. But the students are bad.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> O: Okula diye gidiyorlar, direk serserilik yapıyorlar öyle diyeyim. Yani çıkışlar hep kavga olur. Okulun çıkışında ve hep polis olur tabii kavga olursa diye. Silahlı kavgalar oluyor mesela orada.

<sup>26</sup> O: Şimdi düz lise hani kolay kazanılır ya, bir de hani yakın olduğu için falan. Mesela benim de ilk şeyim Nuri Cıngılı’ya çıkmıştı, ben oraya gitmedim mesela.

A: Bu sebeplerden?

O: Yani. Hem düz lise diye. Dedim meslek lisesine gideyim, orada mezun olunca hiç değilse bi mesleğim olsun diye.

Anderson makes a distinction between “descent” and “street” kids. Accordingly, descent one tries to adopt middle class norms and tries to find a way to eliminate the negative effects of street codes. However, the indicators of being respectful are different in the school corridors. As a consequence, the way immigrant families’ integration to the economics and state institutions, role models constituting the norms of street and the school, and peers who direct face to face relations in the school from the morning till the afternoon have impact on children’s socialization process.

A: Is there any psychological councilor in your school.

E: They didn’t care about me.

A: What did they say?

E: He asked me what happened. I said that there was an argument. He said alright, go out. He was eating roasted chickpea at the same time. One must ask about what happened to you. He never asked. He said “Go out”, that is all. If anything happens, I will call you. And, nothing happened to that boy. The boy has battered me for no reason. Instead of kicking him out of the school, they gave him something else. That meant that if it happened one more time, they would kick him out from the school... They punished him with temporary debarment. Then I can beat anyone that I can? How is that possible? When my mom heard about that, she got mad and she attacked the guy. I didn’t even ask my mom to go there. I didn’t tell that to my family. I do not trust anyone in the school. Anyone! None of them are trustworthy. A reliable person is someone who is near their friend. He is the one who do not put his friend in a bad position.

For Eren, both his unsuccessfulness and the general bad environment derived from its students, rather than teachers:

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A: Diretselerdi peki Nuri Cingillođlu olacak illa ki diye ne yapardın?

O: Yok okumazdım ki... Okulun içi ötekilere göre güzel. Bi yıl orada okudum ben, bizim okul tadilattayken biz oraya gittik. Okulun içi müthiş derecede güzel ama öğrencileri kötü

E: ...They do not fully concentrate on the lectures. If once they do, he will understand. For example, I sit and draw something, and I never listen to the lecture. The teacher asks me stand up. I stand up. He asks me a question. And I cannot answer, since I am physically there, not mentally.

A: Where is your mind, for instance?

E: My mind is, maybe I think about what I will do with my friends after school. Maybe, I am addicted to a game, and then I think about it. I do not know. I would say that I will smoke, since I cannot do at school. Generally, someone thinks about something until the lecture ends. Or, he does something with pencil and paper.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> A: Okulda rehber danışman var mı sizin?

E: Benle hiç ilgilenmediler.

A: Ne dediler?

E: Bana dedi noldu dedi, kavga dedim, tamam dedi çık git. Leblebi yiyor bi de. Ya insan bir sorar senin burana ne oldu diye, hiç sorma morma yok yani, çık git tamam. Bir şey oldu mu ben seni ararım. Çocuğa de hiçbir şey olmadı yani. Beni darp etti durduk yere çocuk, çocuğa da okuldan atacakları yerde çocuğa şey verdiler, ne diyeyim hani bir daha olursa okuldan atarız... Uyarı cezası verdiler. O zaman ben de önüme geleni dövüyüm. Öyle şey mi olur? Benim annem onu duydu, annem kendinden geçti ya çocuğa saldırdı. Ben annemin oraya gelmesini bile istemem. Ben kendi aileme söylemedim. Ben dedim ki merdivenlerden düştüm dedim annem üzülmesin diye. Ona bile katlanmışım ama, okulda böyle rehber öğretmenlerin olduğu sürece, disiplin olmadığı sürece hiçbir işe yaramaz yani... Ben okulda hiç kimseye güvenmiyorum, hiç kimseye. Hiçbiri güvenilir insan değil. Güvenilir insan gerçekten arkadaşının yanında olan insandır. Arkadaşını kötü yola sürüklemeyen insandır.

E: ... Kimse kendini derse vermiyor, kendini derse verse anlayacak. Mesela ben oturuyorum, böyle boş boş bir şeyler karalıyorum, hiç dersi dinlemiyorum. Hoca kalk diyor bana kalkıyorum, bir soru soruyor cevaplayamıyorum. Kafa başka yerde.

A: Nerde mesela kafan senin?

E: Kafam nerde mesela... Belki arkadaşlarımla çıkışta ne yapabileceğimi düşünürüm, hani belki bir oyun vardır onun bağımlısıyım, onu düşünüyordum. Ne bileyim yani, belki çıkışta bir sigara içerim derim okulda içemiyorum. Hani genellikle insan gene bir bi şeyler düşünüyor aklında ders bitene kadar. Ya da kağıtla kalemi alıyor bir şey yapmaya çalışıyor benim de 9 tane sıfırım var. Benim şimdi 9 tane sıfırım da olmayabilirdi. Çalışsaydım olmazdı. Niye? Çünkü kafa başka yerde kafayı vermiyoruz ki derse. Hani niye vermiyoruz onu da, okuldaki arkadaş ortamı bozuyor. O yüzden kimse kendini derse veremiyor. Hani mesela şimdi ben arkadaşlarımı düşünmeyip de kendimi düşünsem, ben ailemi düşünsem, desem ki ben okuyacağım ben aileme

....

E: I got zero with 9 subjects. I wouldn't have got zero 9, If I worked, it wouldn't happen. Why? I am physically there, not mentally. We cannot concentrate on the lecture. Why cannot we do this? The school environment disturbs it. Because of this, no focuses on the lectures. For example, instead of thinking about my friends, if I think about myself and my family, if I tell I will get educated to look after my family, if I got passionate, I can get education. Everyone gets educated. Everyone has a certain rate of intelligence. God gives intelligence to everyone.

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bakacađım, hırsılsam böyle gerekten okurum. Herkes okur. Herkesin zekası var ünkü, Allah herkese zeka vermiř.

## CHAPTER 3

### SURVIVAL THROUGH ‘EVERYDAY RESISTANCE’

*“They require little or no coordination or planning; they made use of implicit understanding and informal networks; they often represent a form of individual self help; they typically avoid any direct symbolic confrontation with authority.” (Scott, 29)*

Inquiring the most subordinated classes’ everyday experiences, James Scott states that they have not engaged politically organized class conflict against the upper class or the state. For him, that is a luxury for the most subordinated class. (Scott, 1) According to Scott, ‘everyday resistance’ is the struggle that the most subordinated class constantly exercise against social order and political institutions (Scott, 29). The very intrinsic characteristic of ‘everyday resistance’ is to reach immediate and de facto gains, as opposed to a politically organized resistance which aims to de jure change within the system (Scott, 33). Following to Scott’s approach, in this chapter I will evaluate the intentions (de facto gains), ideas, and language (including symbols and norms) of everyday resistance in the neighborhood.

James Scott argues the concept of ‘hegemony’ and its related concepts of false-consciousness, mystification, and ideological state apparatuses which centers on Gramscian approach (Scott, 317). First, the argument on hegemony underestimates the capability of the subordinated classes to penetrate to the ideology. Second, the inevitable nature of the constant relations with prevailing ideology and necessity of routine are ignored. Third, since the hegemony created an idealization, then the criticism emerge against it will inevitable be derived from *in its own terms* and using the same language. Fourth, regarding to past revolutionary movements, the main objectives to active through mass movement are limited with what the dominant ideology offers. And lastly, the idea that breaking the prevailed ideology could only be achieved by the

ones who are able to create a new mode of production perceive subordinated classes backward looking (Ibid.)

Scott also argues that history and social sciences “is written by the intelligentsia using by written records” could not able to fully cover the class struggle, especially anonymous forms of the struggle. (Scott, 36) Stemmed from this argument, we could argue that ethnography and storytelling bring important contributions to studies on subordinated group. However, I would state that without visual and auditory materials, in addition to limited shared time that researchers spent in the field, the ethnographic studies still have some limitations. I argue that using more social visuals, auditory, documentary records, and even social media profiles are quite important to better reflect the spirit of the field. This is especially important for youth studies, inasmuch as the music, graffiti, and style are important; and social media usage is quite widespread in youth’s everyday life.

Scott’s approach is quite in the line with Michel Foucault’s interpretation on subject and power relationship. For Foucault, resistance is “*a form of power which makes individuals subject. There are two meanings of subject: subject to someone else by control and dependence, and tied to his own identity by conscience or self knowledge*” (Foucault 1983a: 212; see also Althusser 1971, in Gupta and Ferguson). This understanding on subjectivity makes individual’s identities and behavioral activities are determined by structure. Then it fundamentally questions the durability and stability of the identities.

This understanding on subjectivity is still crucial for policy implementations targeting to poor and children (or poor children). Because, regulative nature of the modern state determines street children, juvenile delinquents, and so called marginalized youth as the main groups which should be regulated to the extent to create disciplined, productive and docile bodies. As Comaroff and Comaroff say, in our global capitalist era, children and youth are “mutant citizens” which create a source of surplus value. (Comaroff and Comaroff, 7, in Darıcı).

Daily practice in İçerenköy is based on survival. The nature of relation between inhabitants and those institutions are determined by temporal needs. It depends on winning and losing in a temporal time. There is no guarantee for job, no guarantee where the money comes, and no guarantee for friendship. So, there is no appreciation

for any kind of academic success or occupation, no loyalty for peer group, and no reliable relationship with institutions. A very interesting example for this situation is the sticker on the stairs of Hızlı internet café: “The pleasure cannot be on account!” (*zevkin veresiyesi olmaz*).

Hakkı’s parent’s story is one of the best examples of how the daily life goes around everyday resistance through benefiting from tools. Kader and Hamdi have decided to divorce two or three years ago. Their main aim was to receive extra money for their children during they were performing military obligations. In Turkey, the state gives money for children, if their families are divorced. However, Kader and Hamdi continue to live in the same house. It could be a very extreme decision considering the Islamic rules. Thus, traditional Turkish-Islamic culture living with his/her partner in the same home is not an appropriate act. However, when Kader told me that story she seemed very comfortable and did not get embarrassed with the situation. Once I was talking about this experience with a lady who has got involved in charity activities in Istanbul, she told me that that kind of divorce is a very common thing among those people. Especially when their children are in need for money during wedding, or a loan, that is a common technique to get some more money. After that, it has become clearer that why and how Kader share this information with me comfortably when we first met.

In “Weapons of the Weak”, James Scotts explain the importance of putting ‘experience’ at the center of social analysis.

I had an opportunity to attend to a football match in İçerenköy outdoor football field which belongs to İçerenköy Idman Yurdu Football Team. The match was between Atasehir Municipality and Avcılar Municipality (another neighborhood of Istanbul). Eren is not allowed to have a place in this match since he was red-carded due to previous match. And Hakkı’s older brother Volkan was a player in this match. Outside the ground there are few younger people who are obviously their friends with their same age. I have been involved in some football matches both in professional teams or amateur ones like high school matches. However, I didn’t witness such passionate players before. I found the game very passionate because of players’ interference to the referee’s business. They were speaking up loudly after each decision of referee. And, that was such a mess while everyone was shouting at the same time without waiting the



decision of the referee. In any action they warn and even touch them in order to give the correct decision for their benefit. Toward the end of the match, Volkan and two other friends were screaming to the referee: “Brother, (abi) look at that guy and give him a penalty!” They repeated that constantly. The referee had been very calm about their voices, at that time the main referee shouted at them while saying “I did, I did” and he began laughing. Although we are all familiar with arguments between players and referees during the game (which is sometimes understandable), I didn’t see a football team who were shouting at the same time about what he the referee should decide.

I asked Eren about how the relationship between players and the committee like referees and head of the team. He told a story about the treatment of their head staff of local football team. For this story, in the eyes of people, everything is permissible in order to strengthen their newly established football team. A very common way to gain a match is sending someone who is successful but red-carded or above the age limit on behalf of the less successful player.

E: For example, there is someone whose identity card shows he was born in 1997. But he does not come to the club but he has a card.

A: 15 years old?

E: Yes, 15 years old. That boy being 15 does not come to the club; he has a license but cannot play. But we want success. The coach says that Eren, I will bring you into the play on behalf of Metehan. He says that I will let you play on behalf of him. He says that he has already had a license. It means that he says that he will bring me into the match illegally. When someone asks your name he should say Metehan. He says that you shall say I am Metehan Şirin in order not to be revealed. When we get captured, the club will be closed.<sup>28</sup>

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E: Şimdi mesela 97’li kimlikte ama adam kulübe gelmiyor lisansı var.

A: 15 yaşında?

E: Evet 15 yaşında. O 97’li adam kulübe gelmiyor ama lisansı var oynamıyor, şimdi biz de galibiyet almak istiyoruz. Hoca da diyor ki, Eren diyor seni Metehan’ın yerine sokacağım diyor, seni oynatacağım onun yerine diyor. Nasıl olsa onun lisansı var diyor, yani diyor seni kaçak oynatacağım onun yerine. Senin adını sorarsa diyor Metehan dersin diyor. Metehan Şirin de diyor yakalanmamak için. Yakalandık mı kulübü kapatırlar.

While I was talking about Eren's football career and I tried to convince him to reenter to the team and negotiate his coach, he began to explain how the relations and organization structure functions in their football team.

The main point in these dynamics is that they normalize the idea of using any function to get what they want. Yet, the issue is not so simple to conclude. They act in that way in order to get what they "need". For Eren, quitting cigarette is only for the sake of getting involved into the football team in order to have a good salary in the future.

E: Volkan offered to take me to their club. At that time, I had a friend, Tuncay. He told me that if I know how to play, let's come with me my brother. I told that I knew how to play. When I first got there, I used to smoke a lot. One day, the weather was very hot, and I could not run. I was bunged up. I set my mind on reducing smoking cigarette. Maybe I have a talent; someone would see me and enjoy that. Maybe I could get to somewhere. There is a hope to have a little chance. For that reason I am trying to reduce smoking, or smoking it once or twice a day. I wish I could quite. Or I will call the line to get support to stop smoking. I do not have chance about schooling, but at least I could become a football trainer. At least I could train the kids. They get 2 billion liras per month from there.<sup>29</sup>

Another example for everyday resistance of the inner city inhabitants is their perception of political parties. As I pointed above, İçerenköy has been known as the place for bloody political conflicts among youth. After learning this fact, I begin to

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<sup>29</sup> E: Tufan dediğim, kanka dedi gel beraber kulübe gidelim, bizim kulübe. O zaman Tuncay diye bir arkadaş vardı. Kardeşim dedi oynamayı biliyorsan gel dedi. Ben dedim oynamayı biliyorum. İlk gittiğim zamanlar ama bayağı sigara içiyorum yine o zamanlar. Sonra bir gün hava sıcak koşamıyorum böyle tkanıyorum. Kafama koydum sonra dedim ben bu sigarayı azaltacağım. Yoksa benim belki ne bileyim bir yeteneğim olur, belki biri görür beğenir, belki büyük bir yere gideriz. Hani ufak bir ümit olsa bile bir şansımız olabilir diye düşünüyorum. Ben de o yüzden sigarayı ne bileyim tek tük ya da günde 1-2 dal içerek bırakmaya çalışıyorum. İnşallah bırakırım... Ya da sigarayı bıraktırma hattını arıyacağım, yardım isteyeceğim oradan. En azından, hani ben okuldan bir şansım olmasa bile ben en kötü olmadı antrenör olurum. Hani çocukları eğitirim, orada 2 milyar maaş alıyo aylık.

question what could have been happened those political parties there. There should at least one political party influence on youth. My interviewees were jointly told that there is no political conflict among young people. However, they told that youth of İçerenköy mostly support to the Nationalist Movement Party (MHP). However, that sense of belonging does not cause a political confrontation against other political entities. Instead, young people who belong to the same political party argue with each other for some other reasons. The reasons of the violent or verbal conflicts are based on gender related or identity conflicts.

It is important to point that state institutions in Turkey highly disorganized and exercised through personal linkages. Then, this situation further distrustful relationships towards state institution and state officers. This is especially in the fields of poverty relief practices and the police activities.

E: While they are arguing with my dad, my mom called the police, and they arrived. They asked what the issue was. They took them to the police station, and then told them to go home. We do not expect anything from police any more. Really! They say the state. Yes that is the state, but the husband commits violence against his wife. He stabs his knife or leaves this, he possesses violence. Just imagine that someone possessing violence against your wife, would you desire that? That is a human being. He possesses violence against a living thing created by God. He could get suspension or punishment. They didn't give anything. My mom did something one day. But at that day, my mom didn't want that. One day we went to the police station. I wish that they told. We complained. We were familiar with the policemen there, Brother Erol. He told us to go home and he would manage the issue. But there was a familiar police there. If he went there, the issue would have evolved into another place.

A: Who is that?

E: Brother Turan is from the same village of my mom. He was appointed to some other place. May God bless that man. When my dad was not at home, he brought us provisions.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> E: Babamları kavga ediyorlardı, annem de polisi aradı, geldiler. Dedi mevzuu ne falan. Götürdüler karakola evinize gidin dediler. Artık polislerden de bir şey beklemiyoruz. Geçrekte hani devlet diyolar tamam devlet de, kocası karısına şiddet uyguluyor, karısını bıçaklıyor hani bıçaklamayı geçtim, şiddet uyguluyor. Düşün ya

Atasehir Municipality is currently under Republican Democratic Party (CHP). As Eren told that they do not have strong sense of belonging to one single political party. As it is seen that belonging of political party branches or supporting another one in when they are in need for help all those example show that the main struggle in the city.

E: Republican People Party came to our neighborhood. We were voting for Justice and Development Party. CHP gave us provisions. And my mom asked me to take it. She said that a provision has come, just take it and put it down. And never mind, she said. What to say... Donkey.. No. You should call bear as uncle while passing the bridge. You should tell this. They asked whether our votes go to CHP or not. She said yes it goes to CHP. And he said that alright I was waiting you near ballot box. And my mom said that you would wait long time, and put it on downstairs. My mom gives her vote to AKP (Justice and Development Party). Yet, AKP gains. It does not matter that whether we give our vote to it or not. Why? Because they do work, but if does not work; it allow terrorist to enter into our lives.<sup>31</sup>

In terms of ‘everyday resistance’ it is important to clarify that; it doesn’t mean lack of any political institutions. Instead, what I am explaining in İçerenköy case is the

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senin karına biri şiddet uyguluyor, hoşuna gider mi? Gitmez... Bir insana uyguluyor sonuçta. Allah’ın yarattığı bir cana uyguluyor. Hani bir uyarı alır bir uzaklaştırma alır, hiçbir şey vermediler. Annem bir ara şey yapmıştı ama, o gün de annem istememişti. Bir gün karakola gittik keşke deseledi ki hani şikayetçiydik ya biz tanıdık Erol abi diye bir polis var. Dedi ki tamam evlerinize gidin halledersiniz... Ama bizim bir tane tanıdık memur abimiz var o gelseydi iş daha farklı yerlere gidebilirdi.

A: Kim o?

E: Turan abi diye bizim annemin bir köylüsü. Şimdi tayini çıktı başka yere. Allah razı olsun o adamdan. Babamın eve gelmediği zamanlar bize getiriyordu erzak veriyordu.

<sup>31</sup> E: Bizim mahalleye şey geldi, CHP. Biz AKP’ye vermiyorduk. CHP erzak verdi, annem de al dedi, erzak gelmiş al aşağı koy dedi, boşver dedi. Hani ne demişler, eşşeğe, yok köprüyü geçene kadar ayıya dayı diyeceksin demişler ya öyle diyeceksin. Demiş oyunuzu bize veriyosunuz değil mi demiş CHP’liler. Evet CHP’ye veriyorum demiş. Tamam demiş oy sandığına sizi bekliyorum. Annem de demiş he çok beklersin demiş, aldı aşağı koydu. Annem kaç seneden beri hep AK Parti’ye veriyor AK Parti de hep kazanıyor ama. Hani biz oyumuzu versek de vermesek de kazanıyor. Niye? Demek ki adam gerçekten işini yapıyor. Ama işini nerede yapmıyor? Teröristleri geldi te içimize kadar soktu.

relation of the state institutions and political entities Önder's family sent their two children to a dormitory after Önder's attendance to a crime and punishment in the court. That dormitory is near their home city and owned by a religious group; "Süleymancılar". Önder describes his experience there:

A: But it has educated you in a spiritual manner?

Ö: You are far away from your mother and father. There are three professors standing over you. They do whatever they tell.

A: What do they tell for example?

Ö: What did they tell? Clean the toilets, I don't know, sweep the building, use vacuum cleaner. There was a prayer room, he told me to clean the prayer room, and wipe the desks. We read Kur'an. Before reading Kur'an, wipe the desks he told. Like that.<sup>32</sup>

As it is seen in Önder's narrative, his family used a religious institution to discipline their children. On the other side, during his dormitory experience, Önder was not being thought a kind of politicized Islam which could constitute any political opposition.

When families get aid from state institutions, they mostly send their children to get the money, as Eren says "The neighborhood unit to hospital are my places... why did I went to go neighborhood unit, my mom send me there to get poor relief document."<sup>33</sup> As I heard about their gossips about how some families are lucky in terms of inducing

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<sup>32</sup> A: : Ama manevi olarak yardım etmiştir sana?

Ö: Ya annenden babandan uzaksın, 3 tane hocan var başında, onlar ne derse onu yapıyorsun.

A: Ne diyolar mesela?

Ö: Ne diyolardı, tuvaletleri temizle, ne bileyim, binayı süpürün, makinayı tutun. Mescit vardı mesciti temizleyin derdi, sıraları silin derdi. Kuran okuyoduk. Kuran okumadan sıraları sil diyordu. Öyle yani.

<sup>33</sup> E: Muhtarlık hastane oralar benim mekanım. Ben muhtarlığa niye giderdim, annem beni fakirlik kağıdı almaya gönderirdi.

state officers. According to these stories, they were lucky, because they get health benefit fund from the state while introducing their children like mentally handicapped.

## CHAPTER 4

### GENDER AND GENERATION

Connell argues that “They (masculinities) are inherently historical; and their making and remaking is a political process affecting the balance of *interests in society* and the *direction of social change*.” (Connell, 44) Following Connell’s discussion on “masculinity-in-relation”, I want to emphasize the class dynamics, changing family roles, age hierarchy, and political conjunction of the country. Thus, masculinities constitutes a part of larger structure. For this, Connell offers to focus on “...process and relationships through which men and women conduct gendered lives” (ibid, 71).

Unlike İçerenköy’s previous times, today’s generation codes of behaviors and sense of self depend on changing gender roles, ‘older brothers’ as new role model in city life, school environment, violence in an unorganized way. The image of older brothers and widespread violence are the most visible themes which regulate daily based practices among youth. My main aim is to show that what is common in these dynamics is their disorganized nature which is based on de facto gain for temporal needs. That is important to note that these dynamics are also exercised differently than previous generations. In this chapter, I will show how practices of manhood and violence being exercised.

While we were having free time with Hakkı and Orhan in the neighborhood, Orhan was giving some suggestions to better do my research. For him, whoever I found to interview is retarded. They are not aware of themselves, let alone knowing about history and problems of İçerenköy. For him, I should have a recorded interview with him on behalf of at least 5 people. And, if my professor asks about it, I can tell that that information comes from 5 people below age of 18. Then, in a humorous way with smiling I told that “no, we should trust people and what they told me. And more importantly, I will do my work honorably!”. And Orhan answered with smile also “if

you continue to trust those retarded ones, then you will get zero from your professor honorably!” Then, both of them begin to laughing and craping their hands.

### “Delikanlılık”

*“In order to take root, he has to give thousands of promises to himself and to the whole world. He was born into a deep guiltiness, and an occupied world. His narrow horizon determines the boundaries of his legitimacy... As he behaves like the earthman, he hurts the earth. As he hurts the earth, he justifies his existence. A man is a legitimacy problem.”<sup>34</sup>*

- Yıldırım

*Türker*

Being respected, “being the know” goes hand in hand with gender issues in the neighborhood. Committing crime, involving violence, or individual resitance are the means to prove their personal dignity, or simply survival in daily basis. “Delikanlılık, honor, justice are the common terms in teir belives to struggle with. This struggle could be involving crime, committing violence, or individul based resistance such as lying. However, even the main objective is to reach “justice”, the means to achieve it may not always be just, fair, or legal way. In his Facebook status, Furkan says: “Only if you have the cards that make you win, then you play the game fairly.”



<sup>34</sup>Tutunmak için kendine ve dünyaya binlerce söz vermesi gerekmektedir. Derin bir suçluluğa, işgal altındaki bir dünyaya doğar. Daracık gözerimi, meşruiyetinin sınırlarını belirler... Dünyalıymış gibi davrandıkça dünyayı incitir. Dünyayı incittikçe varoluşunu meşrulaştırır. Erkek, bir meşruiyet sorunsalıdır.



## Men Do Cry!

“When someone hurts his pride.”<sup>35</sup>

- Semih

There is a question that I find very important; Do men cry? Surprisingly many of them give the answer “Yes, they do!” According to their answers, a “man” cries when he got humiliated, or get into debt, or loss of some family members. When I heard their answer “Yes, men do cry” I unintentionally got happy, since I believe that I gained their trust for me and my study. However, I simultaneously got upset while thinking about how they are in need to speak with someone to express their feelings and ideas, since they even confess their vulnerability in front of a foreigner.

Ö: There is no such thing that men do not cry. Men cry. There is no man who does not cry. Man who does not cry is not a real man in my eye. I cried too much, I still cry. When I get high as the sky, I use marijuana. I get high, and I remember the girl I love. While I am crying, the one next to me cries at the same time. I have a friend, Nihat, he is a very nice person. I love him like my brother. There is nothing that he does not know about me. He knows everything about me. We are so close that he can understand what I will do during any kind of act. And, while tear falls down from my eye, he begins to cry. He gets hurt as well. I have such a brother, such a friend.<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> A: Bir erkek ne zaman ağlar?

S: Gururunu kıracak bir şey söylerse.

<sup>36</sup> Ö: Erkekler ağlamaz diye bir şey yok. Erkekler ağlar. Ağlamayan erkek yoktur. Ağlamayan erkek erkek değildir benim gözümde. Ben çok ağladım, hala da ağlıyorum. Kafam güzel olur esrar kullanırım, kafam güzel olur, o sevdiğim kız aklıma gelir. Ben ağlarken yanımdaki bile ağlıyor. Benim Nihat diye bir arkadaşım var, çok iyidir. Kardeşim gibi severim. O benim hiç bilmediğim, benim hakkımda hiç bilmediği şey yoktur, her şeyimi bilir. Yani en ufak bir hareketimi bile ne yapıcağımı anlar, o kadar

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For Osman, crying has also another meaning. I mean, crying means running after a girl vulnerably.

O: Do men cry? I do not know. I have never cried

A: Didn't you cry when you were born?

O: I cry only when I get angry during fighting. For example, when an event occurs in which I am the one who gets punished intemperately, I get angry. When I get angry, tears come from my eyes... There is no man who does not cry

A: But first you said they do not?

O: I thought that was another type of crying such as breaking up with a girl.

A: No, I asked it in a general sense

O: No, why not? Aren't they humans?<sup>37</sup>

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Enes, who lost his father about one year ago:

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yakınız. Ve gözümünden yaş dökülsün, o da başlar, onun da canı yanar. Öyle bir kardeşim var, öyle bir arkadaşım var yani.

<sup>37</sup> A: Sence erkekler ağlar mı?

O: Erkekler ağlar mı? Valla o kadarını.. Ben hiç ağlamadım ki.

A: Doğarken de mi ağlamadın?

O: Böyle hani kavga filan ettiğim zaman sinirden ağlarım sadece... Mesela bir olay oluyor, haksız yere ceza yiyen ben oluyorum mesela, sinirleniyorum, sinirlenince gözlerimden yaş geliyor... Ya ağlamayan erkek yoktur ki ya.

A: Az önce değil dedin ama?

O: Öbür ağlama zannettim hani kızdan ayrılınca falan.

A: Genel anlamda soruyorum. Öyle bir laf vardır ya erkekler ağlamaz diye.

O: Onlar insan değil mi de ağlamasın?

E: He cries.

A: What must happen to make you cry?

E: For example, when his mom dies, god forbid, he cries. When he breaks up with his girlfriends, he cries. When he gets angry, he cries.

A: What someone tells you anything to cry?

E: If he uses hard words. When my mom dies, and he tell something about her, I would take it personally.<sup>38</sup>

.....

Hakkı seems like remembering his brothers after having argument with their mother:

H: He cries. When he gets upset or he gets into dept, he cries.

A: How does a man get upset?

H: When he gets very upset, or his mother or father died, he cries even while he is a man. It is like that. But he cries. There is no such thing that men do not cry. Men smile at people, but they cry when they are alone.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> E: Ağlar.

A: Ne olur mesela ağlar?

E: Ne olur, annesi mesela Allah korusun vefat ettiğinde ağlar. Sevgilisinden ayrıldığında ağlar. Sinirlendiğinde ağlar.

A: Birisi sana ne söylese ağlarsın?

E: Çok ağır bir laf söylerse. Benim anem vefat ettiğinde, arkasından bir laf söylediğinde çok üstüme alınırım.

<sup>39</sup> H: Ağlar. Canları sıkıldığında ya da çok borca falan girince ağlar.

A: Canı nasıl sıkılıyor bi erkeğin?

H: Çok üzülünce, üzülünce ağlarlar, üzülünce, sonra şey, eğer annesi ya da babası ölürse yine ağlar, erkek de olsa. Öyle işte. Ağlar ama ağlar, erkekler ağlamaz diye bi şey yok. Erkekler... neydi, karşındakine gülerler ama tek başına ağlarlar yalnız kalınca.

Questioning the place of fathers as a bread-winner, protector of wife's honor, and sustaining money to his children, fathers are not the role models of inner-city youth any more. Rather, what is influential in their discourses is the 'older brothers' (abiler) from the neighborhood. When they confronted a troubled situation, they appeal to them through involving their networks. Then, the word of "youngster" (delikanlı) is important in their terminology. The day after I met with a group of young people, I heard from some others about my involvement into the neighborhood. Eren told his friends that "With the help of our life stories, sister Ayşe will write 'the book of manliness.'" (delikanlılığın kitabı).

While Önder was talking about how the friend environment is insecure and there is almost no trust among friends, I asked that "should I get afraid of you?" And his answer explains that how gender identity have important role for violence.

Ö: No, never. Since you are our sister, you are elder sister, and since I perceive that, of course. I will never wrap me up in that personality. Never.

A: You say that it depends on the other side?

Ö: Of course. I treat regarding to how the other one act against me. The more you humiliate me, the more I will humiliate you

A: Do bad events begin with humiliation?

Ö: Yes. He rest depends on how great God is.

A: It means that a bad relationship begins with humiliation?

Ö: Revilement, humiliation, evil tongue, and an offensive term exasperated everyone. Especially, that is a very bad thing for a man.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>40</sup>Ö: Yok yok asla. Sizi bir ablamız olduğunuzu, bir bacımız olduğunuzu gördüğüm, bunu düşündüğümüz zaman tabii ki de yani, hiçbir zaman öyle bir karaktere bürünmem yani. Hiçbir zaman.

A: Karşımdakine bağlı diyorsun?

A couple of days before I entered into the neighborhood, one of Eren's friends had been punished with 4 years as a result of robbery. For him, four year was too much for this poor kid. With full of emotions about his friend's situation, he evaluated his first and the only experience of theft.

E: I did it once in my life, only once. I was 12 years old at that time. I entered into BİM (a market) and stole a chocolate. I have not stolen anything after that day. I have sworn to give up stealing anything after that day. I have not stolen even a chewing gum from a grocery after that day. I have sworn. Why didn't I steal? I thought that if my family saw me in that situation, they would not welcome that. They thought that my son has been lost his face. And his friends did it, they would say. Actually, they are right. They do not want to see their son in trouble. One day you may see him while stealing something unimportant. But one day you might see him while stealing something very expensive. Then their son goes into the jail. He does two or four years in prison. There is no reason for him to be sentenced. That is wrong, very wrong. Why shall I do in prison, while there is a life in outside, there is hanging out, or meeting with girlfriend, or having a family. The most important thing is the family.<sup>41</sup>

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Ö: Tabii ki de. Karşımdaki bana davranırsa ben de ona öyle davranırım. Siz beni ne kadar aşağılarsanız ben de sizi o kadar aşağılarım.

A: Aşağılamakla mı başlıyor kötü olaylar?

Ö: Evet... Ondan sonrası Allah kerim zaten.

A: Yani bir insanla kötü ilişki aşağılayınca mı başlıyor?

Ö: Hakaret, aşağılama, kötü bi söz, aşağılayıcı bir söz bir insnain damarına dokunur yani. Hele de bir erkek için çok kötü bir şeydir.

<sup>41</sup> E: Ben hayatımda bir kere yaptım, ama bir kere. Onu da, ben o zaman 12 yaşındaydım. BİM'e girmiştım bir tane çikolata çalmıştım. He BİM'e girmiştım bir tane çikolata çalmıştım, o günden sonra da çalmadım yani. O günden sonra tövbe ettim. Bakkala gidip bir ciklet bile çalmadım o günden beri. Tövbe ettim. Hani niye çalmadım, dedim ailem beni o durumda yakalasa hoş görmezler. Derler ki benim oğlum bozulmuş, arkadaşları bozmuş der. Haklıdır da yani. Çünkü oğlunun başına yanlış bir şey gelmesini istemez. Bir bakarsın bir gün ufak bir şey alır ama ertesi gün bakmışsınız en pahalı şeyi çalmaya çalışır. Ondan sonra da oğlu cezaevine girer. İki sene ya da bilemedin 4 sene falan yer. Onu yatmasının gereği bile yok. Yanlış, çok yanlış bir şey. Ben şimdi orada niye yatayım ki? Dışarda güzel bir hayat varken, gezmek varken,

In their narratives on gender, the common concern is norm they wanted to reach and their experiences.

Indifa explains what ‘older brother’ (abiler) and ‘environment’ (ortam) mean:

M: While saying older brothers, I mean that there are some people who were trafficking marijuana. They were good with young ones because they attract them. While attracting them, they force them to do their job. Moreover, some of them were beating while saying that how come you did this to me, you should not swear at me, or be rational. There is such kind of brothers. Young people love him so much; they love him as their brothers. ‘Olders’ means that he established his environment; such as friendship. He established a big environment.

A: What does “ortam” mean? How can it be established? Does he have good money like a money bags?

M: Like moneybags, for example, just assume that they are in narcotic business. He cannot manage that narcotic business on his own. He brings a friend with him and goes somewhere else to sell. Moreover, they sell it in Kadıköy, Üsküdar, or some other cities. They earn their own money.

A: Is this known as the place of brothers?

M: How can I say... Long before, here there was a gypsy neighborhood in İçerenköy in which police could not go in. There were such things. Police could not go in there, only gendarme could do. Gendarme hardly did it. If they did not have guns, they could not go in. No one could pass there. Moreover, gypsies attacked suddenly to the police station. Again, police could not do anything.

A: Where did they move?

M: They have dispersed because every house has been pull down. Before, many people known as mafia in and around İçerenköy died. They are the ones who were mafia against everybody’s life. Some of them died and some of them got married.

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tozmak varken ya da kız arkadaşınla buluşmak varken, ailen var bir de, en önemlisi ailesi var.

And, I asked him to give an example of a life story of a brother:

M: They are like 30 years old. Then, they come after him and shot gone. His friends ran away. The police men arrived, and then they encircled and stamped with a seal it in order to prevent anyone who would enter into there. Then, it has been closed and turned into a food shop. One of them died, and some of them escaped. They followed him around. That boy ended up in jail. Since some of them have got married and having children, they quitted. Some has quitted, some continue, and some killed themselves.

A: Is suicidal events common here?

M: In the past, there were so many.

A: How long ago?

M: In all ways, that was about 8-9 years ago. I was little. Those places didn't exist here, those high buildings. Here was full of slums. We were coming here to play snowball or football, and hanging out. We know it from there.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> İ: Büyükler derken şöyle bir şey var nasıl diyeyim yani çok eskilerden burada esrar işlerini falan yapıyorlar işte. Kendilerinden küçüklerle iyi anlaşıyorlar çünkü onları kendilerine çekiyorlar. Kendine çekerek kendi yaptığı işi onlara yaptırıyor. Ondan sonra kimileri işte dövüyor. Bana böyle bir şey yapmayacaktın, laf falan atmayacaksın, akıllı olacaksın diye. Öyle abiler var. Çocuklar mesela çok seviyorlar onu, abi diye seviyorlar. Büyükler derken bi de adam ortamını kurmuş, arkadaşları falan, çok ortam kurmuş mesela.

A: Ortam ne oluyor? Nasıl oluyo ortam kuruluyor? Çok mu para böyle mesela para babası gibi bir şey mi?

İ: Para babası derken yaptığı iş, atıyorum mesela narkotik işi. O narkotik işini mesela tek başına yapamaz. Kendine yanına arkadaş alıyor, gidiyor başka yerde satıyorlar. Ondan sonra Kadıköy olsun Üsküdar olsun veya başka iller olsun gidip satıyorlar. Orada kendi paralarını kazanıyorlar.

A: Burası abilerin yeri olarak mı biliniyor?

İ: Ya nasıl diyeyim. Eskiden, herkes yani nasıl diyeyim, bizim bu Bakkalköy'de çingene mahallesi diye bi yer vardı polis giremiyordu. Yani öyle bir şey var. Polis oraya gelemiyordu, ancak jandarma. Jandarma zor giriyordu, silahları olmasa giremez oraya. Kimse geçemiyor filan. Ondan sonra bu çingeneler polis karakolunu bastılar falan. Yine polisler yine bir şey yapamadı.

A: Nereye taşındı onlar?

Accordingly, they are very much respectful to those “older brothers” (*abiler*). As Önder emphasize that older brothers have some “image” (*şekil*) so as to influence on the other people. As they state that those brothers force them to steal some goods from supermarkets, and involve them to drug trafficking among and beyond the neighborhood.

A: Was there anyone who got happy due to his death?

Ö: Happy ones were market owners, grocery owners.

A: Why?

Ö: Because of garnishment. He had an ‘image’. In İçerenköy the image is important. Here, everything depends on image, not on gun or blustering. You should have the image. What do you mean by ‘image’? You should give one face and know how to the other face. You should keep everything at that level. It is similar to growing up a child. Giving face and taking face. How can you grow up a child at the age of 18? Sometimes you love him, and sometimes you get worried for him. But you always

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İ: Onlar dağıldılar çünkü her ev yıkıldı aşağıda. Bakkalköy’de her yer yıkıldı. Bu İçerenköy taraflarında falan işte İçerenköy’de falan eskiden çok kişiler öldü kendini mafya bilen böyle, herkesin canına mafya olanlar. Onlar da işte kimileri öldü kimileri evlendi filan.

İ: Bunlar daha gençler en fazla 30 yaşında filanlar. Ondan sonra işte bu geliyor onun arkasından vuruyor pompayla, arkadaşları kaçıyor. Polisler falan geliyor, bir şey alıyorlar, nasıl diyim, çembere alıyorlar kimse girmesin diye işte mühürlüyorlar. Sonra kapandı işte orası çiğköfteci falan oldu.... Ondan sonra işte çiğköfteci falan oluyor, çocuk hapse giriyor. Bir tanesi ölüyor kimileri işte kaçıyorlar. Sonra bu çocuğun peşine falan düşüyorlar. Çocuk şimdi hala hapiste... kimileri var işte evlendikleri için yani çoluk çocuk sahibi oldukları için bırakıyorlar. Kimileri bırakıyor, kimileri hala devam ediyor. Kimileri ya hala kendini öldürüyor.

A: Çok mu yaygın bu intiharlar burda?

İ: Eskiden çok yani bayağı bir şeydi.

A: Ne kadar eskiden mesela?

İ: Nerden baksan 8-9 sene öncesinde filan. Çok küçüktüm, buralar falan yoktu yani bu büyük binalar yoktu, direk gecekonduydu buralar, biz burada böyle kar filan top filan oynamaya geliyorduk, aşağıya gezmeye geliyorduk, oradan biliyoruz yani.



demand the moderate one in anything. Those are our brothers in that way. We loved him a lot. May God bless him.

A: Did he grow up in İçerenköy?

Ö: Sure.

A: How about his family? Are they ordinary people?

Ö: The family was ordinary. But he moved toward somewhere as the time went. Since he perceived as he was too much discriminated, he got involved in punky actions.

A: Did he use any drug? Did he lose himself?

Ö: The amount was to lose himself<sup>43</sup>

Ö: I had an issue in the court with brother Ünal. That case was about theft. They forced 4-5 people including me to theft. What it has been happened... It was about 4 years ago.

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<sup>43</sup> A: Ölünce Sevinen oldu mu mesela?

Ö: Sevinen, market sahipleri falan oldu, bakkal sahipleri.

A: Neden?

Ö: Hacizden. Şekli vardı yani, İçerenköy'de şekil önemli. Buranın her şeyi şekle bağlı, silaha kabadayılığa bağlı değildir. Şeklin olacak. Şeklin dediğin nasıldır... Yüzünü vereceksin o yüzü de almayı bileceksin. O yüzü verip almayı da bileceksin. Her şeyi o seviyede tutacaksın. Aynı çocuk büyümeye benzer bu da; yüz vermek yüz almak. 18 yaşında bir çocuğu nasıl büyütürsünüz? Biraz seversin biraz üzersin ama her şeyin ortasını istersin. Onlar da öyleydi abimizdi. Çok severdik kendisini, Allah rahmet eylesin.

A: İçerenköy'de doğup büyümüş o da?

Ö: Tabii.

A: Ailesi filan nasıldı, normal bir aile midir?

Ö: Normal bir ailedir. Ama o kendisi zamanın akışına göre ilerliyoe. Kendini çok dışlandığını zannederek kendini serserililğe vuruyor.

A: Madde kullanımı var mıydı onun? Kendini kaybedecek kadar filan?

Ö: Kendini kaybedecek kadar. Nasıl diyeyim, bir film vardı hatta.

A: Why did he do such a thing to little kids?

Ö: Sometimes he took them and sold the items. And sometimes he did it just for pleasure.<sup>44</sup>

For Eren, older brother means “The ones who are in our environment. Our environment means that the ones who lead us to steal.” I asked him about the ones who I bring him into the crime.

A: Do they still continue to that process?

E: They have sworn to give up, our brothers. There is one brother who will do his military service obligation. After he returned, he told us that he laid my hands off such things. I will not do that anymore, he said. But he doesn’t do in real sense. Before, he was beating every boy in İçerenköy. Each of them... He even beat me. He was a very psychotic person... Now he tells me how are you, Eren. I am fine. I gave him my polar, and I couldn’t get it back.<sup>45</sup>

How school, both inside and close surrounding have become a place for kids to dramatize street culture:

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<sup>44</sup> Ö: Erdal abi, zaten benim onunla mahkemem falan vardı. Hırsızlık mahkemesi vardı. 4-5 kişiye filan zorla hırsızlık yaptırıyordular ben de onun içindeydim. Ne zaman oldu, yaklaşık 4 sene falan oldu.

A: Niye böyle bir şey yaptırdılar minicik çocuklara?

Ö: Bazen alıyordu satıyordu, bazen zevkine yaptıırıyordu?

<sup>45</sup>E: İşte bizim çevreki insanlara. Hani bizim çevreki derken bu işin başındaki hırsızlık yapan kişilere.

A: Şimdi hala devam mı ediyor o abilik süreçleri?

E: Onlar da tövbe ettiler, abilerimiz... Şu an bir tane abimiz var askere gidecek, askere gidip geldikten sonra, şey zaten bizimle konuştu dedi ben o işlerden parmaklarımı çektim dedi. Hani bir daha yapmayacağım dedi. Ama harbiden yapmıyor yani. Önceden bütün İçerenköy’ün çocuklarını dövüyordu bu, herkesi, beni bile dövdü. Çok psikopat bir insandı... Bana diyor şimdi nasılsın Eren, iyiyim. Polarımı verdim geri alamıyorum polarımı.

Ö: Just think in that way my sister, if something which makes good money is stolen, wouldn't be sold in good price? What is sold in ŞOK (a market) is such as alcohol like raki.

A: That kind of things? When you told that, I thought about something childish

Ö: No, it cannot happen. If it happened we would already have escaped. We didn't escape. After that event, our families heard about it. I had a friend, Ali. Just because of Ali and me, brother Ünal took his hands from us.

A: What did you do for this?

Ö: While we were escaping from the school, my dad was near the iron bars. He took us near iron bars during throwing our bags. My dad was waiting there and chatting with the school master. What a misfortune. They were talking there and bags are falling to their heads. Just on their heads.

A: That is really funny, just like movies of Kemal Sunal

Ö: Exactly the same. We did such a stupid thing. Normally, we always check. We thought that we always controlled that but no one would catch. Then we said that lets do not wait for anyone. We were waiting a stupid one there. We told him that just to check whether there was someone or not. There was an outlet store just at the corner. He knew us. And while escaping, he was shouting behind us. He was saying where you are going again. He immediately informed against us. And we told him to check whether the shop keeper is there or not.

A: What did your dad do?

Ö: What my dad and the school master did... My friend Ali, like I said before, he runs very fast. Brother Ünal is the first, and Ali is the second. Those are the fast runners in İçerenköy.

A: Is there something like the fast runners in İçerenköy?

Ö: That is not running fast. But that is escaping from police.<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>46</sup> Ö: Şöyle bir şey var, bir de şu taraftan düşün abla, para yapan bir şey çalınırsa satılmaz mı? Şok'ta ne satılır mesela? İçki olarak raki filan.

Önder continues this story which causes that his parents decide to send him a religious institution to be disciplined:

Ö: I stayed at Ali's home. His family arrived. We went their home together. Her mom said that Önder come to our home. She never regards someone stranger. I am good with everyone's family. I know how to have conversation. I have a good conversation. But since my family concerned about me, they came to Ali's home as the last resort. They had checked everywhere. Then, they informed the police. Lastly, they came to Ali's home. His father and mine had already have disputes. He was shouting in front of the window; Önder Önder. I was looking and saying what. He said that come and we go to the home. I told him that I would not come, dad. I had already been beaten. In the school, when we enter into school master's room, we explain that theft story. At that time, there was a water shop, he make this store closed.

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A: Öyle şeyler yani. Sen öyle deyince ben çocuksu şeyler zannettim.

Ö: Yok öyle bir şey olmaz, öyle bir şey olsa zaten direk kaçırız. Kaçamadık da zaten. İşte ondan sonra ailemizin haberi oldu zaten. Sadece Ali diye bir arkadaşım var. Ben ve Ali sayesinde Erdal abi bizden elini çekti.

A: Ne yaptınız da çekti?

Ö: Okuldan kaçıyoruz babam arka demirlerde. Arka demirlerde bizi yakalıyor, çantalarla diğer tarafa atılırken. Babam da orada bekliyormuş müdürle birlikte sohbet ediyorlar şanssızlığa bak. Bunlar orada sohbet ediyorlar, bunların kafasına çanta yağıyor. Resmen kafalarına.

A: Çok komik, Kemal Sunal filmi gibi.

Ö: Aynen öyle aynen. Böyle bir aptallık yaptık. Normalde hep kontrol ettiririz, ya kontrol ettir ettir kimse çıkmıyor dedik. Dedik hiç kimseyi beklemeyelim, saf birisini bekliyorduk orada, aha geliyor gel gel dedik, bak bakalım birisi var mı? Şimdi bizim tam o köşede bir milyoncu vardı. Tanıyordu bizi kaçarken bağıyordu arkadan, lan nereye gidiyorsunuz gene falan filan diye. Direk şikayet ediyordu. Bak bakalım o bir milyoncu orada mı diye baktırıyorduk.

A: Ne yaptı sonra baban?

Ö: Babamla müdür yaptı... Ali diye bir arkadaşım var, söylediğim daha önceden, o çok hızlı koşar yani. Erdal abi bir Ali iki. İçerenköy'de en hızlı koşanlar.

A: İçerenköy'de hızlı koşmak diye bir şey mi var sizde?

Ö: Hızlı koşmak değil, polislerden kaçmak.

A: Why?

Ö: There is anything brewing at that shop

A: What kind of water shop is that?

Ö: That was a shop that sells water. There are Erdal Kurtulmaz and Ünal Saral who were ahead of us. That is because of these two... They have kept their hands off such things. The other day, there was a ceremony for those who go military obligation, he came to there. I saw Ercan there after years. He got me out of the way, and told me that we still have an issue to handle. I said that we shall meet, do not hesitate.

A: How many years after?

Ö: 3-4 years later. The length of our court took 7-8 months. We were occupied with that. Then, he got me out of the way. And he spoke with me. He told me that Önder we have an issue to see about, what we shall do. What kind of invoice I shall make out for you. I said that you can make out any kind of invoice. But the price of that invoice would be on your head, I said. Then, he was threatening me, and I was threatening him.

A: What did you threatened him with?

Ö: I have only one assurance. That is my brother Kerim Şenoğlu. How can I tell you that... He is at the head of the gang. I have a brother Kerim Şenoğlu, and there is a man at the head of that gang. He went on trial. Actually he is a famous man. Who was him? He was mafia, mafia (tries to remember his name)

A: You mean Süha Yener?

Ö: He is someone like Süha Yener. He is like him. My dad has already known Süha Yener. He also came due to my issue. HE sent his men to our village. Ünal was also stalking us. I mean we were closed to be killed. He was that big. Actually, I learnt Süha Yener and Kemal Türkoğlu after that event. They set someone on my tail. Kerim Şenoğlu did not pay too much attention since Süha Yener had a hand on that issue. They send men, and obviously we got under protection. That is not important for me. But my younger brother was with me. While staying at dormitory, my brother was with me. My only concern was him.

A: Did you go to that dormitory for that reason?

Ö: Yes<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> Ö: Bu Ali dediğim arkadaşımın evinde kaldım. Ali'nin ailesi de geliyor. Onların evine gidiyoruz, Önder diyor gel bizde kal diyor annesi, hiç yadırgamaz yani kimseyi. Ya benim aram herkesin ailesiyle iyidir yani. Sohbetim güzeldir, sohbet etmesini bilirim, öyle yani. Ama sonuçta bizimkiler beni merak ettikten sonra Ali'lerin eve geliyorlar işte en son çare olarak. Her yere bakmışlar polise bile haber vermişler, en son Ali'lerin eve geliyorlar. Babasıyla da benim babam kavgalı. Önder Önder diye bağıyor camdan. Bakıyorum ne var diyorum, gel hadi eve gidiyoruz, yok ben gelmem baba dedim zaten orada dayak yedim o kadar. Okulda zaten müdürün odasına gittiğimizde o hırsızlık olayını anlattık biz Ali ile, böyle bir şey var dedik. O zaman da bir suçu vardı, suçuyu kapattırdı.

A: Niye?

Ö: Sucuda oluyodu bütün her şey, her dolap sucuda dönüyordu.

A: Nasıl suçu bu?

Ö: Su satan dükkan var. Erdal Kurtulmaz var, bir de Ünal Saral var başımızda. Bu ikisi yüzünden yani.... Valla elini ayağını bizden çekti zaten. Geçen gün bir asker uğurlaması vardı oraya geldi. Orada gördüm, yıllar sonra yani Erdal'ı. Orada kenara çekti, senle görüşülecek bir hesabımız var Önder dedi. Görüşelim abi dedim ayıpsın.

A: Kaç sene sonra?

Ö: 3-4 sene sonra. Bizim mahkememiz zaten 7 ay mı 8 ay mı ne sürdü. Git gel git gel uğraştık. Ondan sonra işte çekti kenara konuşuyor. Önder diyor senle görülecek bir hesabımız var ne diyorsun diyor, ne yapalım diyor, ben sana bundan ne fişi keseyim diyor. İstedğin fişi kes abi dedim, sonra sana fazla patlamasın bu şeyin fişin miktarı dedim. Ondan sonra işte o beni tehdit ediyor ben onu tehdit ediyorum.

Ö: Sen neyle tehdit ettin?

A: Benim tek bir güvencem var, Kerim Şenoğlu diye bir abim vardır. O da nasıl diyim ben size bu hani çetenin başında... Kerim Şenoğlu diye bir abim var bu çetenin başında bir adam vardı, mahkemelik falan oldu. Hatta ünlü bir adam, neydi o ya. Mafya ya mafya.

A: Süha Yener'i mi diyosun?

Ö: Süha Yener gibi birisi. Yani onun gibi, zaten babam Süha Yener'i de taniyo, o da geldi zaten benim bu olayım yüzünden.... Adamlarını falan gönderdi benim köye. Erdal da zaten şey yapıyordu, bizi takip ediyordu. Öldürülecektik yani. O kadar büyüktü yani. Zaten Süha Yener, Kerim Şenoğlu ondan sonra tanıdım bunları. Şey gönderdiler adam gönderdiler peşime. Süha Yener, Kerim Şenoğlu şey yapmadı fazla ilgilenmedi zaten Süha'nın parmağı var diye. Adam gönderdiler, koruma altına alındık yani resmen. Benim için hiçbir önemi yoktu, kardeşim yanımdaydı. Orada yurtta kardeşim bende idi, tek düşüncem kardeşimdi zaten.

Several times, I heard about the police men hit on the girls in the neighborhood. One night while some kids were taking me to the bus station, Hakkı showed me the place where they throw snow balls to the cars. Hey began to throw snow to the cars randomly. Then, a police car passed through the street with sounding horn. And Hakkı said that, since you were with us sister Ayşe, the police men didn't bring us to the station. When I asked why, the answer was an unexpected one for me. For them, the police men always treat the girls in different ways. I wanted to ask this issue to Önder as a person who passionately want to become a police. I expected an answer which is about ethical explanation of being police. However, Önder's answer show how the relation between older brothers and the police men.

A: I heard gossips. It is said that police in İçerenköy hit on girls.

Ö: I did not witness such kind of thing. If I did, the police could not stay here, I think.

A: Why? What would you do?

Ö: I cannot do anything. We cannot do anything, we as junior ones. There is Ünal Saral. I can say about Ünal Saral that he has an older brother; that is mafia. We do not know him. Even we didn't see. He is a mafia of underground world, as I heard. If there was something like this, brother Ünal would not have let this occur. He would immediately tell such things to his brother.

A: Why does he care about girls?

Ö: We ask about why he cares about girls, because he had a sister who died.<sup>48</sup>

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A: O yurda biraz da o yüzden mi gittin?

Ö: Evet.

<sup>48</sup> A: Buradaki dedikodulardan duydum. İçerenköy'ün polisleri kızlara filan çok yazıyomuş.

Ö: Öyle bir şeye şahit olmadım, zaten olursam da öyle bir polis buralarda duramaz diye düşünüyorum.

While the power relations between elder brothers and the police are beyond the ideological one, Ömer's answer explains how age hierarchy determines their youngsters' relationship with elder brothers.

### **'Image' Get the Girls**

As Eren, Osman, and İndifa told that even the girls admire to be with those influential figures in order to feel them safe. Anderson says that: "Poor people adapt to these circumstances in the ways they know, meeting the exigencies of their situation as best they can. The kinds of problem that trigger moral outrage begin to emerge: teen pregnancy, welfare dependency, and the underground economy." (Anderson, 111). Accordingly, young girls continue what they learned about traditional gender roles within the family. That is the fact that identity of a woman is defined regarding to her father, brother, husband, or a boyfriend.

Although young girls are out my analysis in this work, I asked some questions about girls in order to learn their perception through gender identities:

E: My sister, do you know what our girls living here are keen on? They generally check whether there is "environment" (ortam) with boys or not, and I go with them. Or she looks and says how that man is powerful so that he can protect me. But all of them are fictions. While you could be with you beloved one, it doesn't matter that there is a man who can protect you.

A: I didn't understand what does a protective man means.

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A: Niye naparsın?

Ö: Ben bir şey yapmam, hiçbir şey yapamayız yani biz. Ufaklar olarak hiçbir şey yapamayız. Erdal Kurtulmaz var, nasıl diyim Erdal Kurtulmaz'ın bir şeyi var, abisi var, mafya, biz de tanımıyoruz hiç görmedik bile. Yani yer altı dünyasının mafyasıymış, öyle duydum. Yani öyle bir şey olsa bile Erdal abi hiç izin vermez yani. Hemen abisine söyler abi böyle böyle bir şey varmış.

A: Ona ne kızlardan mesela?

Ö: Ona ne kızlardan mesela diyemeyiz, çünkü onun bir bacısı vardı vefat etti.



E: Powerful man. For example he has a “image” (şekil) here. He has a style. When I hang out with that man, no one can do anything on me, she would say.

A: Do they feel insecure?

E: They feel insecure. They think that they are with someone in safe, but they are more insecure there. For example, they enter in a social environment. She says in herself that here is full of man, I shall involve this environment. And she involves in a social environment. My sister, I can tell you that girls here are not that steady.<sup>49</sup>

.....

O: I would directly say that there are some with show-off and there are some who are straight.

A: What does the one who like show-off for example?

O: The one who likes show off mostly hang out with boys

A: they hang out with many boys in order to show-off?

O: Exactly. To say that you do not have so many boy friend. Like this.

A: What else?

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<sup>49</sup> E: Bizim buranın kızları genelde neye düşkün biliyor musun mu abla? Genellikle bakıyor, aa erkek ortamı var mı var, hemen gideyim bunların yanına. Hemen geliyor. Ya da bakıyor, ulan diyor bu adam ne kadar güçlü ben gideyim bu bu beni korur. Ama bunların hepsi hikaye, sevdiğinin yanında olmak varken, seni koruyan adam olsa olur ki?

A: Koruyan adam ne demek onu pek anlamadım.

E: Hani güçlü adam, burada şekli var diyelim mesela. Adamın şekli var, hani ben bu adamın yanında takılayım bana kimse bir şey yapamaz der.

A: Güvensiz mi hissediyorlar yani kendilerini?

E: Kendilerini güvensiz hissediyorlar, güvenli birinin yanına girdiklerini zannediyorlar ama orada daha güvensizler. Mesela bir ortama giriyorlar, ulan diyor ben bu ortama gireyim diyor erkek dolu diyor. Bir giriyor, ortama giriyor. Hani sana şöyle diyeyim abla, buranın kızları o kadar sağlam değil. Hani benim gözümde böyle. Bizim buranın kızları o kadar şey değil.

O: what else, there are some who is covered, however they are bad. I know someone like that. Apparently she is covered but she is not a good girl.... what else... they are hanging around the park. For example they are hanging around İçerenköy park.

A: what do they do there?

O: Mostly they hang out with boys. I mean that they do not involve girl groups, they mostly hang out in environment of boys.<sup>50</sup>

When I asked Hakkı to compare young girls in their home town Tokat and Istanbul he said: “They are sitting at home, they do not go out”

A: Is this the same for girls in Istanbul?

H: More stylish

A: More stylish?

H: They do whatever they want<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> O: Şimdi direk şöyle diyeyim böyle havalı olanlar var düzgün olanlar var.

A: Havalı olan ne yapıyor mesela?

O: Havalı olan daha çok erkeklerle takılıyor, öyle diyeyim.

A: Çok erkekle takılıp hava atıyor.

O: Aynen öyle. Hani bu kadar erkek arkadaşınız yok sizin diye, öyle.

A: Başka nasıl oluyorlar?

O: Başka nasıl var, hani dıştan kapalı olanlar ama içten kötü olanlar var mesela, tanıdık var benim böyle. Görünüşte kapalı ama kız iyi değil yani... Başka... parkta takılıyorlar daha çok. Mesela İçerenköy parkta takılıyorlar.

A: Ne yapıyorlar parkta?

O: Daha çok erkeklerin yanında takılıyorlar, yani kız ortamına girmiyorlar, erkeklerin yanına takılıyorlar.

<sup>51</sup> H: Genç kızlarda evinde oturuyor, dışarı çıkamıyor.

A: İstanbul’daki kızlar da aynı şekilde mi sence?

H: Daha şekil.

For İndifa, social environment and transition of Ataşehir neighborhoods is influential for bad attitudes of girls:

M: Before there are some girls who obey morals, but it is long before, very long before. But not anymore! Now, how can I say, I am also young but today's young girls have become a bitch (kaşar).

A: What do they do for example?

M: For example, while they are dating with someone, she finds another lover. While they are together, she is dating with someone else. Moreover, they all hate their families. Now, there is Facebook. She logs in Facebook and writes down inappropriate things on it. Inappropriate thing is for example about her family... She says that I slept with him, pardon me. They called someone as "fame" who has 1000 friends or subscribers on Facebook. That is also wrong. I added few people like 600-700. Many people know me. When saying İndifa, everyone shows me. Am I "fame"? I am not. Because there is no such thing as "fame". That is an effort to show-off among youth. This is like that. For example, Girls from Bakkalköy are mostly bitch. There are lots of in Cıngıllıoğlu (high school) High School, in İçerenköy. Now, Bakkalköy, Kayışdağı, İçerenköy, all of them are like that.

A: Why is that for you?

M: Why is that... because, as I told before, they take it from the other. One has a boyfriend says that I can arrange dating between you and his friend. Then, she dates with him. How can I say, pardon me, there are raping events.<sup>52</sup>

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A:Daha şekil?

H:İstediği şeyleri yapıyorlar.

<sup>52</sup> İ: Artık şöyle bir şey var, eskiden nasıl diyeyim böyle, gene böyle adabını bilen kızlar vardı eskiden çok eskiden. Ama şimdi artık yok. Herkes yani nasıl diyeyim gençler bile ben de gencim ama, şimdiki kızlar afedersin kaşar olmuş.

A: Ne yapıyolar mesela?

Those young boys in adolescent ages not have any reason to feel themselves integrated to the social order. Without a successful performance in school, without having a permanent job, and without 'image' to have a girlfriend, they fall into a kind of emptiness.

For Sebahattin "There is nothing to say about them". He states that "As I think that they should not hang out too much. I do not know... they should not come to home at 11-12 o'clock. I mean, this is not for girls".

A: How do they get money?

S: they take it from their mothers

A: How do their mothers give them?

S: They do take it themselves. They say that I have homework<sup>53</sup>

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İ: Ya gidiyor mesela biriyle çıkarken bir sevgili buluyor kendine, onlar çıkarken başka biriyle çıkıyor. Bunlar ondan sonra ailelerinden nefret ediyorlar. Şimdi Facebook var, Facebook'ta gidiyor, ya mesela hiç olmadık şeyini yazıyor, olmadık ne bileyim böyle ailesiyle olan şeyini yazıyor... ya onunla birlikte afedersin yattım filan diyor. E çünkü öyle. Şimdi fame olma durumu falan var. fame falan diyorlar işte birbirlerine. Neymiş Facebook'ta 1000 arkadaşı olan aboneleri falan filan olan fame oluyo filan diyorlar. O da yanlış bir şey mesela. Bende çok az kişi ekli, 600-700 kişi ekli. Tanımış mı, çoğu kişi tanıyor beni. İndifa deyince direk gösteriyor. Ben fame miyim, değilim. Çünkü fame diye bir şey yok. Böyle gençler arasında işte kendini büyütme çabası falan işte. Öyle yani. Bakkalköy'ün mesela kızları çok yani böyle kaşar çoktur. Cıngıllıoğlu Lisesi, İçerenköy'de çoktur. Artık yani Bakkalköy, Kayışdağı, İçerenköy hepsi öyle olmuş.

A: Niye öyle sence?

İ: Niye öyle, çünkü, ilk başta da dediğim gibi birbirlerinden görüyorlar. Bir tanesinin sevgilisi var diyor ki arkadaşımı sana ayarlıyım, o onunla çıkıyor. Böyle nasıl diyeyim afedersin tecavüz olayları falan oluyor.

<sup>53</sup> S: Onlara bir şey denmiyor ya artık... Benim bildiğim çok gezmezler. Yani ne bileyim, gece 11-12'de eve gelinmez. Kızlar için gelinmez.

A: Parayı nereden buluyorlar bu kadar gezmek için?

S: Annelerinden alıyolar.

A: Anneleri nasıl veriyor?

S: Onlar alıyolar, ödevler var diyolar.

At this point Sebahattin mentions produce us information about girls' integration to the public sphere. When they told that they have homework to do they could easily get the money from their mother (not from father!).

### **Violence**

While he describes the social settlement of the neighborhood, he says that this environment regenerate itself. I recorded 10 hour and 6 minutes length interviews, and the most optimistic explanation among them is Osman's statement about his relation with his boss. He said that there is no problem between him and his boss; even he did not get beaten by the boss. That shows how the violence has become normalized. The relations are named by the lack of violence, not with the love or trust.

Eren is one of the most enthusiastic ones to speak and also my devoted facilitator in the field. He was always telling me how valuable work I am doing by attaching their neighborhood with full of "*vagabond*" (*serserilik*). He was always complaining about violence, lack of trusteeship, and *serserilik* in the school. However, his expectation about school system in order to improve school conditions to become more secure is astonishing. For him the most appropriate way to make schools safer place is putting something on the entrance of schools like in police station.

Violence is a way of communication which can be used in anytime when one tries to show how the issue is serious for him. For example, when Önder, Eren, Sebahattin and me having fun and eating something in a patisserie, I demanded to give sugar from the other side of table. Eren told me that ok after I used I will give you. But, Önder beat Eren due to his rudeness while ignoring a girl's demands in the table. And the violent act is beyond a simple touch to warn him. From the other part of the table I heard the voice when he punched to Eren's bone two times. However, any of them didn't perceive it as a violent action. As nothing happened they didn't interrupt our discussion. And Eren answered "ok why you kick me, I will give her after I will use". And, he didn't perceive Önder's action as a humiliated act against his personality in the public sphere.

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Most of the time, violent arguments begin with staring at someone:

Ö: I have not stared at anyone from 8-9 months. I do not like fighting without someone who gives me hard time.

A: What would happen when someone does this? Do you sometimes ignore such things?

Ö: When someone touch my sore spot. Once it happens, I would beat that boy. I am a very calm person. I do not oppose everyone. The ones who I oppose are people I very well know about. They are the ones I already know, they are my friends. that is a kind of joking.

A: What is exactly your spot? The thing that no one couldn't touch? I mean what is the topic that you are sensitive?

Ö: No one in İçerenköy can swear at my mom or my decedent sister... My mom is not your wife in law<sup>54</sup>

Fighting is a kind of ritual among friends and even siblings. Hakkı's brothers, as he says, have always that kind of ritual. I asked whether they called police or not. He answered that there is no need for police because that was a 'sibling fighting'. And there is a particular space for that kind of ritual. That was a park at the very center of İçerenköy neighborhood's middle class district. When they bring me to there, I realize that place from news which was about a murder of 3 people within the same day. Then,

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<sup>54</sup> : Ben 8-9 aydır kimseye bakmamışım. Kavga etmeyi ben sevmem, üzerime gelinmedikten sonra.

A: Üzerine gelince ne oluyor? Hiç böyle görmezden geldiğin oluyor mu?

Ö: Bir insan benim damarıma basarsa. Bana onu yapacaklar ki, ben o çocuğu döveceğim. Ben çok sakın birisiyimdir, herkese kafa tutmam. Kafa tuttuğum kişiler de hep huyunu suyunu bildiğim kişiler, hep tanıdığım kişilerdir, arkadaşımıdır. Şakalaşma manasında.

A: Ne peki o damarın? Dokunulmaması gereken şey sana? Yani her şeyi yap ama bana bunu yapma dediğin bir konun var mı, hassas olduğun?

Ö: Benim anneme ve ölmüş bacıma kimse küfür edemez şu İçerenköy'de... Benim annem senin nikahlı karın değil ki.

Sebahattin told me that it could be normal to see that place on television because that is the place in which young people agree on fighting and giving those rendezvous.

While we were talking with Enes and Semih, (they wanted to speak jointly), about punkies in İçerenköy, Semih were looking out of the window to his friends. And he said that “those are like punkies of İçerenköy” with smiling. When I look at the place that Semih did, I saw their friends throwing snow balls to the cars. Then, I remember what Hakkı said about that corner of the street. That corner is the place where they throw snow balls or mud to the cars, but not to the luxury ones.

E: That is near Hasan Leyli. Everyone goes there and have picnics and so on

A: Woman, kids, grandmothers; could everyone go there?

E: Yes, that is morning sport

A: But it is told me that that place is dangerous one?

S: It is dangerous

E: No, it is not dangerous till the evening

A: Decide whether it is dangerous or not. You demand me to interview jointly.

E: It is not dangerous. It could be dangerous only after midnight

S: It could be dangerous when a fight occurs

A: Are fighting generally occurred there?

S&E (jointly): Yes

A: Do they go there on agreement, or?

E: They go there with an agreement

A: Then, they tell that lets have fighting there

E: Since those places belong to them, they prefer to have fighting there

A: Who are they, again youngsters?

S: Grey Wolves<sup>55</sup>

However, since it was a day time when we visit the park, everything seems quite “normal” as a park should need to have. There are kids who are enjoying with staff, mothers who bring their little kids, and a middle-aged man reading newspaper. The only exception is the wall writing which full of swears. I asked them how come that the park seems very peaceful. The answer is because it is a day time. Semih and Enes also gave the same explanation to me. For them, in daytime everything is peaceful inn public spheres like parks in İçerenköy. However, when it is evening it will be the most dangerous place in the neighborhood. It seems that, not only the peer groups who have involved criminal activities and using drug internalize and normalize the existence of violence. But the other inhabitants of the neighborhood is also feeling the same way.

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<sup>55</sup> E: Hasan Leyli'nin oradaki. Herkes geliyor işte piknik falan yapıyor.

S: Oyun oynuyorlar.

A: Kadın çoluk çocuk anneanne babaanne herkes gelebiliyor mu oraya?

E: Evet. Sabah sporu.

A: Bana oralar tehlikeli olur demişlerdi ama?

S: Tehlikeli.

E: Yok akşama kadar tehlikeli olmuyor.

A: Tehlikeli mi değil mi? Karar verin, birlikte konuşacağız dediniz.

E: Tehlikeli değil. Tehlike olmuyor ama 12'den sonra oluyor.

S: Kavga çıkarsa tehlikeli olabiliyor.

A: Kavgalar orada mı çıkıyor genelde?

S&E: Evet

A: Anlaşıp mı oraya gidiyorlar, yoksa?

E: Anlaşıp gidiyorlar.

A: Orada kapışalım deniyor o zaman.

E: Zaten oraları o park onların olduğu için yine orada kapışmayı tercih ediyorlar.

A: Mesela yine delikanlılar mı?

S: Ülkü ocakları.



The constant struggle ‘being to the know’ is not based on political identity any more. As they say, there is only one widespread political organization in İçerenköy. That is Nationalist Movement Party (MHP) which has also extreme branches that support extreme type of Turkish nationalism. There are few followers of BDP (Kurdish Nationalist Party). However, what is important is that there is nearly no visible conflict or argument between those two groups in İçerenköy. Instead, the bloodiest conflicts emerge among those who support Nationalist Movement party. Some of them officially belong to the youth branches of that party.

As I mentioned before, violence is a way of communication. Regarding to this, if violence comes from a respectful person its meaning changes. Indifa told that he was beat by his teacher for the first day of his school life. His fault was that he made blow of a juice pocket. However, he doesn’t perceive his teacher’s slap as a bad thing:

M: I already forget. There is something different here. That professor who lead us until 5th class was doing everything whatever we want. Because she loved us very much. We perceive her like our mother. She was like a mother. She treated us with full of love. Then, that was not a problem for me. If she comes and beat again, I will not say anything.<sup>56</sup>

Interpreting Bataille, Noys refers to self-destructive nature of violence in the community which the use of violence (Noys, 101). Since violence is a way of communication, self-desruction is also a part of it to express some feelings or to demand something. In our case, there is a common expression to explain the act of damaging body; *faça atmak (tackling)*. Faça atmak is common way when they confront a difficulty. At the same time, it is perceived as a way to show how painful life they have. As I asked them during our trip among neighborhood, Sebahattin and one of his friend inform me that most of the young people have that kind of “scar” on their bodies. There can be hidden part of their bodies but most of them do this. I wonder about why they are in need to hide this signs they told me it is because of their families. In order not to

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<sup>56</sup> İ: Ya unuttum gitti şimdi şöyle bi şey var, çünkü şöyle bi şey var, bizi 5. sınıfa kadar okutan hoca bizim her dediğimizi yapıyordu. Çünkü bizi çok seviyodu, biz anne gibi görüyorduk zaten onu, bize anne gibiydi, çok sevgiyle yaklaştı filan. O yüzden sorun olmadı yani. Şu an gelse yine vursa yine bir şey demem.

irritate my relation with them, I couldn't ask whether they have any sign on their arms. And, that was the winter time when I was doing interviews. However, since I saw met some of them later, I saw some *scars* on their arms.

Hakkı told me an interesting story, which has been supported by Önder's story later. Accordingly, family members or someone in society is not their interest to hide their *scar*. The main problem that people with scar confronts is during their military obligation. When general realize these signs on their bodies their treatment on them would be different. For Önder there is nothing interesting for my thesis to a photo of scar, since everyone has it, and since there are lots of photos on the internet. Then, I would not need to any retarded person in İçerenköy.

H: They show-off. Look, I am doing (he shows how to tackle his arm) He did it at home. I told to my brother. Then, my brother asked him that why you didn't inform me when you drink

A: What did he drink?

H: Beer or something like that. Once we got starved. Volkan and I told that stay stayed hungry. But brother Seyfi didn't have money. I didn't have money, as well. Brother Seyfi was drunk, and brother Serkan drank something else. He told brother Serkan that you had the money but you didn't bring bread to the home. And brother Serkan did like this; he took the knife and told that and now brings me to the hospital. He cut this part of his arm. Then we brought him to the hospital.

A: Did he tell that I am regretful?

H: No, he doesn't tell that I am regretful.<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> : Hava atıyorlar. Bak çekiyorum al. Evde yaptı, abime söyledim ben de. Abim de dedi ki bana, neydi, içiyorsun madem bana ne söylemiyorsun dedi.

A: Ne içiyor?

H: Bira falan. İçiyosun madem, bir kere aç kalmıştık tamam mı bilerekten aç kaldık dedik biz Tufan ile. Ama Seyfi abimde de para yoktu, bende de yok, Serkan abim içmemişti, Seyfi abim içmişti tamam mı, Serkan abim başka bir şey mi ne içmiş. Sende para varmış, içtin eve ekmek almadın dedi Serkan abime, Serkan abim böyle yaptı bıçağı getirdi al şimdi beni hastaneye götür dedi. Bu kolunu buraları da kesti sonra hastaneye götürdük.

## CHAPTER 5

### SOCIALISATION THROUGH STREET CULTURE

*The street is the place people live,*

*The street opens up bad roads,*

*The street is like a dark crypt,*

*That is the street where there is no dream<sup>58</sup>*

*-İndifa*

In order to better understand how this daily based negotiation process functions, we need to look Elijah Anderson's "Code of the Street". Anderson improves a deep analysis on the codes which shape behavioral patterns of young people. He sets light on the steps how those changes have influence on kids, and then how the process becomes a social norm. He poses a new approach to sub-cultural studies which has been dominantly discussed around race and poverty. Putting daily experience into the core of analysis, he presents new insides about socialization process of inner city youth. During the socialization process, school as a microcosm of the society, intra group dynamics of peer groups, and issue of respects emerge main concepts in this approach.

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A: Pişman oldu mu peki sonra?

H: Yoo. Pişmanım demiyo ki.

<sup>58</sup> İnsanların yaşadığı yer sokak,  
Kötü yollar açar sokak,  
Karanlık mahsen gibidir sokak,  
Rüyaların olmadığı yer sokak.

Bourgois argues that street culture is an alternative from which give place to exercise personal dignity and rejection of subjugation. This “spontaneous set of rebellious practices” which is neither organized nor politically oriented is constantly bringing about “personal degradation and community ruin”. (Bourgois, 8-9) In order words, In this chapter I will show their narratives to explain how the gains and pain excised personally, as well as resistance itself.

Önder has told me probably the most interesting story about their neighborhood and peer groups. As he said, İçerenköy has 45-40 young people in 16-17 ages that created all this chaos in the neighborhood. For him, that group of people is responsible for every bad thing İçerenköy has now. The thrilling story is that; all those peers graduated from the same school in the same year. And, the school has a successful history other than this period. This band, composed of 45-50 boys, is organized by one of their colleagues who studied in the same period; Ampul Mehmet. And, Mehmet has grants from the school due to his success for a debate competition. When I hear this I got thrilled. At the first phase, that is difficult to understand how a successful student having a grant from state’s school can be responsible all the organization of criminal activities of all their peer groups. Mehmet is still 17 years old now! This story could require a psychological explanation while observing the group dynamics and the way of socialization of that peer group. However, this is beyond the aim of this study. But for Önder, Ampul Mehmet is “He is at the head of gang, and he is good-nature, very good-natured at the same time.”<sup>59</sup>

A: Was there a head of that gang?

Ö: Sure, there is a head of gang. There was only one person. And, he can prepossesses everyone.

A: Who was that?

Ö: As we call him “Ampul”, he is Mehmet. Like I said before, Nihat and Methmet who are my only friends. We call him as Ampul. But he is very smart. There is nothing that he does not know. How can I say... He can easily convince a person. Once we were sitting all together during a break. He immediately appears and says that

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<sup>59</sup> Ö: Hem çetenin başında, hem de iyi huylu aslında çok iyi huyludur

guys lets meet at that tent during the break. We rejected that, and we had an exam. I remember that I escaped from an exam. He is such a persuader.

A: How did you escape from that exam?

Ö: For example he said that I have parliament (cigarette) today. We were little. He says that buddy, 15-20 people will just arrive and they will not left. You could come during the break and then you catch the exam, he said. While we are saying no, we realized that we are already enter into the tent.

A: did he have Parliament?

Ö: He tells the truth. Fair's fair.

A: He has a kind of "şekil", then?

Ö: Yes, he has.<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> A: Çete başımız var mıydı tek bir tane?

Ö: Çete başı vardı tabii. Tek bir kişi vardı, o da zaten bütün herkesin aklına girebiliyordu.

A: Kim o?

Ö: Ampul dediğimiz kişi Mehmet. Daha önceden de söyledim, bu Nihat ve Mehmet sadece iki arkadaşım... Ampul deriz biz ona. Ama çok akıllıdır, bilmediği hiçbir şey yoktur. Ne diyeyim bir insanı kolay bir şekilde her türlü ikna edebilir. Bir teneffüste hepimiz biz birarada oturuyoruz, hemen ortama giriyor, ya beyler hadi biz bu teneffüs çadırda buluşalım. Ya olmaz falan filan modundayız işte derse girelim yazılımımız var falan filan. Ben yazılıdan bile kaçtığımı biliyorum o kadar ikna edici, ikna edebiliyor yani.

A: O yazılıdan nasıl kaçtın?

Ö: Diyo mesela, ya kanka diyo bugün bende Parlament var diyo. Küçüktük yani, Parlament var kanka diyo, 15-20 kişi gelecek şimdi hiç kalmayacak gelirsin teneffüste diyor, ondan sonra sen derse yetişirsin diyor. Ya olmaz falan filan derken baktık biz çadırdayız.

A: Parlamenti var mıydı?

Ö: Doğruyu da söylüyodu ama, doğruya doğru.

A: Şekli var yani adamın.

Ö: Var.

When I asked Önder what the main reason to behind Mehmet's success to organize such a big group, he couldn't give a concrete answer. But he says that once Mehmet promise on something, he does.

A: What does happen, when he is your close friend?

Ö: In İçerenköy no one keeps the others secrets even in a second. When someone leaves from me, you can see him near someone else in two minutes. Some people tell that Önder did such and such things. Even when they hold a gun to Mehmet and Nihat, they could not get any word from their mouths. That is impossible.<sup>61</sup>

While talking about Mehmet, I understood that he gained their trust since he always keeps promises. When getting this answer from Önder, it is not surprising that a person who always keeps promises could be a leader in their social environment which is composed of lack of trust, temporal work and social relationship, unstable relations within family life. He says: "That is both good and bad. He is a very strange person. No one could resolve him. He is such a complicated boy."<sup>62</sup>

When we consider Anderson's explanation about the division of descent kid and street kid, and their socialization process in which descent kid have more difficulty to struggle the new codes in the school, that experience in Hasan Leyli School is poses an example for that kind of socialization process. Regarding to Turkey's context, it is important to note that primary schools are mixed one in terms of socio-economic backgrounds of families, like Hasan Leyli Primary School.

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<sup>61</sup> A: Ne oluyor da yakın arkadaşın oluyor? Yani sır mı tutuyor? Nedir noluyor?

Ö: Şimdi İçerenköy'de şu var, kimse bir lafı bir saniye bile ağzında tutamaz. Benim yanımdan çıktığı zaman elbette ki bir arkadaşıyla iki dakika sonra görürsün. Direk böyle böyle yapmış Önder der bazı kişiler. Bu Mehmet ile Nihat dediğimizde öldürseler kafamıza, kafasına silah dayasalar ağzından bir kelime laf alamazsınız, imkansız.

<sup>62</sup> Ö: Yani hem iyi hem kötü acayip bi insan onu hiç kimse çözemedi zaten, karman çorman bir çocuk.

## Peer Relations

A: *Who was bad last night?*

Ö: *Last night? All of us...*<sup>63</sup>

When we come to peer-to peer relations, I can easily tell that verbal communication is not the common way to communicate. After finishing interviews or during having free time with them in the neighborhood, most people told that I am a good listener. And no one has listened them in that way. Önder told that I cannot share that information about himself with any friend here. He thanked me for this and he demanded another interview simply because of the same reason. And he was one of my facilitators in the field. After the interview, stopping recorder, Eren told that he was very thankful for me because I listened and understood his pain. As he stated in the interview, again he told that when the others know how they would be relaxed after talking with me, they would already be agree to interview at least one time. To sum, young people in İçerenköy do not trust one another. And each of them does not want to put the first step to break this anxious environment.

Ö: You shouldn't trust anyone in İçerenköy... When appropriate, sons of İçerenköy act like a bastard

A: What do they do?

Ö: What do they do? You will never know what emerges in their minds. The God is above us, I am pure in heart. Thanks to God that I am reading Kur'an-ı Kerim, after staying at that dormitory. The dormitory has changed me dramatically. I started to go to the school and work, when I came back here. My life has changed after that

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<sup>63</sup> A: Dün akşam kim kötüydü mesela?

Ö: Dün akşam? Hepimiz...

dormitory. I learnt about whom I should hang out. I learnt how I should walk around. That means that it has changed everything in my life. As the military obligation changed everybody's life, that dormitory changed me a lot.

A: Like made you more mature?

Ö: Yes. My mind has come to my sense. I couldn't get my mom's love. I couldn't get my dad's love. I had a brother there, and I had to care about him. During Saturday and Monday, they set us free. We didn't have any money. We had to work. At the same time, when there was an issue, even a little one, I ran away. I bought and when my brother demanded, I gave it to him. He said that I do not have any money and want such thing.<sup>64</sup>

All of them who accept to have interview with me, they warned me about not to trust their peers. All of them talk about how the young people in İçerenköy lie, gossip, not keep promises, always have bad intentions among young girls, and most importantly they are all uneducated and retarded.

E: For me, do not talk with any of them. None of them will take you seriously. Thanks to Hakkı, he knows us somehow. He knows we get it seriously. Do not care about while we are laughing and enjoying at cafe. We are just enjoying with friends. I

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<sup>64</sup> Ö: İçerenköy'de kimseye güvenmeyeceksiniz. Zamanı geldiği zaman İçerenköy'ün çocukları afedersin çok piç olur.

A: Ne yaparlar?

Ö: Ne yaparlar... Aklına ne geldiğini hiçbir zaman bilemezsiniz. Allah yukarıda, kalbim temiz. Ondan sonra, Kuran-ı Kerim okuyorum Allah'a bin şükür o yurda gittikten sonra. Zaten o yurt değiştirdi beni. Buraya geldim okula falan başladım, şeye işe falan başladım. O yurttan sonra zaten hayatım değişti. Kimle takılıp takılmayacağımı öğrendim. Gezip gezmeyeceğimi öğrendim. Yani benim her şeyimi hayatımı değiştirdi. Hani herkesin hayatını askerlik değiştirir ya, erkeklerin falan, benim de yurt çok değiştirdi.

A: Olgunlaştırdı gibi mi?

Ö: Evet. Aklım başıma geldi. Anne sevgisi görmüyodum, baba sevgisi görmüyodum. Kardeşim var kardeşime bakmak zorundayım orada. Cumartesi Pazar günleri bizi bırakıyorlar, cebimizde beş kuruş para yok, çalışmak zorundayız orda. Gidiyorum aynı zamanda en ufak bir şey yani olsa en ufak bir konu bile olsa kaçıyorum. Alıyorum kardeşim istiyor, veriyorum. Abi param yok, abi bir şey istiyorum.



can tell you that only that long boy and me. I do not know about Ertan. Maybe you already talked with Hakkı or someone else, I do not know. But there is no one who takes you seriously other than me and that boy. No one takes you seriously.

A: But you have mentioned many names. For instance, you say about Nihat?

E: Nothing works with Nihat. He always uses marijuana. He would say that I do not have that time to listen her. He would definitely tell that. He would say that I can go to my home to smoke marijuana or to use heroin since no one does disturb me there. I would stay at home, instead of having interview with that sister, he would say.

A: He would say that what will be my benefit from this

E: Yes, he would ask what his my benefit is. They think in that way. They do not know how you will be relaxed when you talk. They just misunderstand. For example, sister Ayşe, when someone see you and me together, they will misunderstand. Do you understand? Eren, you got a girl? Buddy! Just look at that sister and then look at me. Just look at me and then at that sister. How old is that sister? How old are you my sister?

A: Twenty five

E: Twenty five. And look at me, I am seventeen years old. there is seven or eight year difference between us. But our environment is just like that. They misunderstood just in two minutes. Gossiping immediately emerges. Who is that? It will immediately spread. I do not advise to anyone to come here. This is not a good environment.<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>65</sup> : Bence sen hiçbiriyle konuşma, hiçbiri ciddiye almaz seni. Hani sağolsun Hakkı bizi biliyor az çok, bizim ciddiye alacağımızı hani bakma öyle internet kafede gülüp eğlendiğimizi, biz sadece arkadaşlarla öyle şey yapmak için... O yüzden ben sana söyleyeyim mi, o uzun boylu çocuk, ben, Ertan'ı bilmiyorum ama. Hani Hakkı'larla makkılarla zaten konuşmuşsunuzdur belki bilmiyourm ama benle o çocuktan başka seni ciddiye alan kale alan başka hiç kimse yoktur. Kimse almaz.

A: Niye? Birsürü isim saydın, Nihat filan dedin.

E: Nihat olsa ne olacak ki adam hep esrar kullanıyor. Adam der ki işim yok gücüm yok bir de onu mu dinleyeceğim. Bunu der kesin yani. Ben der gider evimde eroin içer esrar içerim bana dokunan yok eden yok. Hani evimde otururum, bir de bu soğukta gider ablayla röportaj mı yapacağım der.

A: Benim ne faydama olacak der.

.....

M: you are suppressed here. You talk with your friend and you suppressed. You cannot explain yourself. I know you from almost five years. I easily tell, since I rely on you. Otherwise, I do not tell it to anyone.<sup>66</sup>

In their terminology, they describe “environment” (ortam) is important to be involved:

E: Ortam means that there is drug, alcohol, and they smoke thinner. That is all, there is only bad attitude. I have never seen a good behavior from any of them. All are bad attitudes. When you enter in that environment with your friend, they tear him apart from me. He tears him apart and takes him into his “ortam”. He forces the boy to do that. And you realize that the boy goes to theft. There is nothing happens on him. You will just make your mom and your family upset. Nothing else.<sup>67</sup>

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E: Evet, benim ne faydama olacak der... İşte ama onlar öyle düşünüyor. Bilmiyorlar, konuştun mu insanın rahatlayacağını ama yanlış anlıyorlar. Mesela şimdi Ayşe abla senle beni birileri yanyana görse, millet yanlış anlar. Anladın mı? Vay Eren manita yapmışsın. Ulan bir bak bakalım, bir o ablaya bak bir bana bak. Bir bana bak bir o ablaya bak, kaç yaşında bu abla. Kaç yaşındasın abla sen?

A: 25

E: 25, bir bana bak ben daha 17 yaşındayım. Aramızda kaç yaş var 8 yaş mı 7 yaş mı ne var arada. İşte bizim çevre de böyle. İki dakika içerisinde yanlış anlarlar. Hemen dedikodu çıkar. Kim ulan kim, hemen yayılır. Yani bizim çevre böyle. Ben kimsenin buraya gelmesini tavsiye etmiyorum. İyi bir çevre değil.

<sup>66</sup> İ: Sıkılıyorsun burada kendi arkadaşınla konuşuyorsun, sıkılıyorsun, kendini anlatamıyorsun. Ben seni nerden baksan 5 senedir rahat tanıyorum, güvendiğim için rahat rahat anlatıyorum. Yoksa kimseye anlatmam.

<sup>67</sup> E: Yani ortam derken uyuşturucu vardır, bir alkol vardır, tiner içerler çekerler, bunlar vardır yani hep kötü alışkanlıkları vardır. Bir kere iyi alışkanlıklarını görmemişimdir hiçbirinin. Hep kötü alışkanlık. Arkadaş ortamına soktuğun zaman o arkadaşımın da gerçekten de koparır kendinden. Senden de koparır kendi ortamına alır. Çocuğa onu yaptırır. bir bakmışsın bir de ertesi gün çocuk hırsızlığa gidiyor. Hani o da onun iyi bir şey olmaz, ailesi üzülür, aileni üzersin. Başka bir şey olmaz yani.

Indifa is the only one who is relatively content with his parents, especially father. For him his father is a very respectful man since he never tells bad thing about his clothes and the music (rap) he practices. At the end of the interview, I asked him whether he wants to add something about youngster in İerenky or not.

M: What I mean is that everyone should depend on their families. They should be dependent on their families, not to that artificial “environment” (ortam). Because the ones who called mother, father, and sibling are respectable. When you do not respect, they do not respect you as well. The life does not respect you. Once you tear apart, everything ends.<sup>68</sup>

What is the way of communication among peers? Youngsters do not talk with themselves directly. “Looking bad” is a way of communication among them. Sometimes, it could be a reason to begin a violent argument. Looking, or using eyes, could also mean a good treatment for a respectful person. In other words, youngsters believe that eyes could explain everything about the others’ identity and his/her position about the others. To sum, in İerenky the communication is “indirectly” sustained.

Facebook is a very important thing for each of them in their daily life in terms of “indirect” communication. Facebook creates a free space for them to express themselves using chat application. Through Facebook, they also have chance to become friend someone who didn’t approach to talk face to face. While posting some posts, photos, videos or sharing status they try to get “like” from their friends. Getting “like” as much as possible is one of the absolute aims for their socialization process.

O: For example someone do this on my friend’s account. They took that girl’s photo and turned her account into another one. That is different, but the photo is the

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<sup>68</sup> A: Bařka İerenky’le ilgili ne ylemek istersin İerenky’deki delikanlılarla ilgili?

İ: Demek isteđim tek řey řu herkes ailesine bađımlı olsun. Yapacađı o ortama deđil ailesine bađımlı olsun. ünkü anne baba dediđin, yani kardeř anne baba dediđin saygı duyulacak bir řey. Saygı duymadıđın zaman onlar da saygı duymaz, hayat sana saygı duymaz. Koptuđun an her řey biter.

same. Just like that. Then our friends saw that and share. They wrote a complaint letter. If you complain, that account would get closed.<sup>69</sup>

Önder told another story about the usage of Facebook:

Ö: The first thing at Cıngıllıoğlu is that girls are gaining their own money... They begin in 16-17 ages. But if a boy does not want it, they would not occur. While a boy does not demand it, why does a girl do?

A: But how the money enter into the issue?

Ö: How the money enter into the issue... I would say that they talk, meet, and send message through Facebook. There are many pages on Facebook. There is "bayan partner fan... There are some who practice it on her personal account... they meet through fan pages, and then connect on personal pages

A: Have you witnesses or hear about such thing in your close environment?

Ö: Yes, I heard about a girl who is only 1 years old

A: Does she very much in need for money?

Ö: Her family's situation is bad but not that much. At least not to become a prostitute

A: what did she get in return for it?

Ö: I do not know. It should be 20-30 lira<sup>70</sup>

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<sup>69</sup> O: Mesela benim arkadaşıminkini yaptılar. Kızın resmini aldılar, başka birisi yapmışlar. İsmi farklı ama resim aynı. Öyle. Hani eklesin diye. Ondan sonra işte bizim arkadaşlar bunu gördü, paylaştı, şikayet yazdı. Şikayet yazınca o face kapatılıyor zaten

<sup>70</sup> Ö: Cıngıllıoğlu'ndan önce şu var. Başka kızlar da kendisi kazanıyor parasını... 16-17 yaşlarında başlıyorlar zaten. Yani erkekler zaten onu düşünmese o da olmazdı yani. Bir erkek onu istemedikten sonra bir kız neden yapsın ki?

A: Ama yani para nasıl ortaya giriyo, o asıl sorun.

Ö: Para nasıl ortaya çıkıyor, şöyle diyeyim, Facebook'tan konuşuyorlar tanışıyorlar mesajlaşıyorlar. Zaten Facebook'ta bayağı bir sayfa var. Bayan Fan Partner var. Kendi hesabı üzerinden yapan da var... Fan sayfası üzerinden tanışıyorlar ondan sonra kişisel hesaplara birleşiyorlar falan filan yani.

One of them asked me how many friends I have on my Facebook account. I answered “about 500 people”, and they began to laugh at me. For them, it is unbelievable to have 500 friends as a person who are 25 years old and having two university degrees. I have to have at least 2000 friends on my Facebook account. There is a special expression for those who have more than 1000 friends on his/her account; “fame”. There is a big competition to have more friends on Facebook and getting more likes to their status and sharing on it.

These young people do not have any opportunity to express themselves as the other peers who have opportunities to involve social cultural activities and having a stable relation in their school life. These young people have no opportunity even to talk with each other, let alone talking on public sphere. However, some of them produce rap music to express themselves. Rap culture is a common one among youth’s daily life. However, some of them strongly reject the rap music while blaming it with being so punky. They mostly listen to *arabesque* music.

One of those who produce rap music and want to continue his career on this is Indifa. He prefer to being called “Indifa”. Indifa is one of the few young people who have good relations based on mutual trust with his parents. In that sense, he could be a unique example which should be put out of this study. However, as a part of this neighborhood, he confronted the same difficulties, involved the same network, and still has some common problems with his peers. Indifa gave me ideas about the perception of rap among other people while he describing his position in the life. He involved a

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A: Yakın çevrenden gördün mü öyle bir şey, duydun mu veya?

Ö: Duydum evet daha 15 yaşında bir kız.

A: Çok mu paraya ihtiyacı var nedir yani?

Ö: Valla ailesinin durumu kötü ama o kadar da kötü değil. En azından kendini orospu yapacak kadar değil.

A: Ne almış karşılığında?

Ö: Ne bileyim yani 20-30 lira falandır.

criminal act and punished by police. Then he got a punishment for his identity card with which he will always confront in his life during finding a job or going abroad.

Lüküslü implied a qualitative study about the hip-hop culture as an important part of lower or lower-middle class youth. Through her in depth analysis on interviews, she argues that the main aim of hip-hop culture is not to resist the social order, although it seems marginal regarding to their clothes and physical appearances. Instead, they try to prove how their interest overlaps with the social realities. What they emphasize is not their marginal ideas, and they do not want to be marginalized from the society. Instead, Lüküslü argues that they demand to be taken seriously; those young people are screaming to be appreciated (Lüküslü, 214).

When we meet with İndifa to have an interview, he brought a notebook in which he writes the edited version of his rap lyrics. He told me that he brought that notebook in order to let me understand his “job”. He added that he trusts me so I could bring it to the home for a couple of days in order to better understand it. As Lüküslü argues that İndifa’s lyrics, his way of giving an interview, and his attitude on his notebook show that İndifa wants to be appreciated. He wants to be appreciated, because he believes that he is capable to analyze the deep problems of society, and then he gives advice to people around him. He says that he does not compose any rap lyrics in relation to love or romance, although he has a girlfriend and plans to get married to her in the future. The famous Turkish rap artists whom İndifa admires are the ones composing their lyrics based on social issues.

M: I see Fuat Ergin as the closest one to my style. Because the man gives the necessary and correct response. He is a free-spoken person. I am also a free-spoken person like him. When I perceive a statement personally, I directly give a response against that. There is such a thing. And, that man says very tough things. He does not swear, but he puts tough statements. He knows how to disgrace a person, and how to appreciate a person.

A: How many rap lyrics did you write up until now?

M: They are almost 24 lyrics. Writing lyrics is an easy job. It is easy in the way that you write what you live. I write about what I lived, what I experienced. Since I

write on some subject that I want to mention, it is so easy for me. But there are some people who are kidding around rap. They are doing bullshit.

A: What do you mean by kidding around?

M: In rap, you explain yourself. But what they do is swearing and saying does not do such and such things. How can I say? Everyone write about their girlfriends. They swear at their girlfriends. They slam about their friends. That means that they are bullshit. But, on my side, I didn't write anything about my girlfriends, or anything romantic. I do not like anything about love.<sup>71</sup>

After that event, something has dramatically changed his life and it reflects to his rap lyrics as he states. He prefers to compose the lyrics while observing the social environment around him. He has a kind of position, he says, which is different than other rap writers. One of Indifa's songs is following:

*"I am the street child*

*I learnt how to love from the sun*

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<sup>71</sup> İ: Ben yakın böyle kendi tarzım olarak Fuat Ergin'i görüyorum. Çünkü adam laf altında kalmıyor direk dışına vuruyor, açık sözlü biri. Ben de onun gibi açık sözlüyümdür. Direk lafa alınırsam eğer o lafı karşımdaki insana yedirtirim. Öyle bi şey var. Sonra o adam çok ağır sözler söyler, küfür etmez ama ağır sözler söyler. İnsanı yere düşürmeyi de biliyor kaldırmayı da biliyor.

A: Kaç tane rap yazdın şimdiye kadar?

İ: Şimdiye kadar nerden baksan 24 falan söz vardır. Söz yazmak çok kolay ama şöyle yazmak kolay, mesela yaşadığın. Ben yaşadığım şeyleri yazıyorum, gördüğümü yazıyorum, istediğim şeyleri yazıyorum o yüzden bana çok kolay geliyor. Ama kimileri var işte rapi dalgaya alıyorlar. Nasıl diyeyim saçmalıyorlar.

A:Ne demek dalgaya almak?

İ: Dalgaya almak derken mesela rapte şöyle bi şey vardır, kendini anlтыyorsun rapte ama onların yaptığı şey şu, onu yapma bunu yapma küfürlü sözler. Artık herkes nasıl diyeyim sevgilisine yazıyor, gidip sevigilisine küfür ediyor. Arkadaşlarına filan sövüyor gidiyor. Yani saçmalıyor. Bizim işte nasıl diyeyim, hayatımda sevgilime veya duygusal bir şey yazmadım. Aşkla ilgili hiçbir şey sevmem.

*How to hate from the cold nights*

*How to demand by begging from the cats*

*How to steal by hiding from mice*

*And, how to believe on friendship form humans.*

*I saw the poverty and pain in myself*

*And, the abundance in trashes spread*

*I saw freedom in the wind of a flying bird*

*And, the captivity in the iron crypts*

*Breathing and going on are seeing you on the mirror*

*That is not the life, living is harder that dying*

*Watch yourself, and die silently*

*Divide war and peace into two*

*Take a pen and write the story of street*

*Pain, honor, and anger*

*Take sight and shoot*

*For me, that is a leaf pruning in the autumn*

*Telling about freedom*

*For some that is struggling, for some that is enjoying*

*We are street dogs, in other words*

*When I was born, there was no cigarette on my hand, neither a swear*

*There is darkness near me, my eyes cannot see*

*And, there are one or two troubles that ran after you*

*The ones near me have gone, and I was remained like a puppet.”*



# 1. versiyon Sokak

INDIYA

DATE

..... / ..... / 200.....

Ben sokak çocuğu  
Sevmeyi görseli gülden  
Nefretin sağıt gecelerden  
Yalvararak istemeyi kadınlardan  
Saklanarak gelmeyi farelerden  
Dastluğa inanmayı ise insanlardan öğrendim  
Yaklığı ve acıyı kendimde  
Saklığı saçılan sözlerde gördüm  
Özgürlüğü için kusun kanadında  
Tutsaklığı demir kafesten mahkemelerde  
Nefes almak yürümek ayırda kendimi görmek  
Yaşamak değil yaşamak ölmekten daha zor  
Kendini gör vede sessizce öl  
Savaşı ve barışı iki parçaya böl  
Eline al kalemi yaz sokak hikayesini  
Acı gurur vede öfke  
Nişan al ateş et sende  
Son baharda dökülen bir yaprak  
Benim için sadece özgürlüğü anlatmak  
Kimi için savaşmak kimi için eğlenmek  
Sokak köpekleri yani bizler  
Doğduğumda elimde sigara yakıtı vede bir küfür  
Karanlık var yanımda gözüm görmüyor  
Vede bir plü bela kimi taşar sarabına  
Ganimetkiler gitti oldum kutlan

Sokak

BOLU

Selale

A: Why the other children do not have good relations with their families?

M: You draft apart from your family. Because, someone tell that smoke a cigarette my friend, do this, nothing will happen only once. Moreover, since it is the adolescent ages, they do this because of adolescent ages. They take forward this; hey become complete users of it. They, how I can say, they cut and sell and fall into this business. At one point, he earns money from that, and there emerges an argument with his family. His family says that you walk around until late hours. He sets against his family. He beats his mother and father. Some of them throw them to the street

A: For your opinion, is peer environment important for this, I mean doing a bad thing, or is that the family? I mean, if we need to blame someone, who would that?

M: When we need to blame, that is the family. Because they too much liberate their children. I cannot say about each family. But some families very much liberate their children. For example, Children come home very late, but they do not know what their children are doing. For example, their children leave home in during very early hours; they do not know what their children do. The child smoke marijuana, or something, or a pill. We had a friend older than us living in our ex neighborhood. They induced a boy to get a pill, and they left him in a creek.

A: Where is that creek?

M: There is an old creek near to our Ata Primary school, there was water. They left the boy there and escape. Bakkalköy, the place in which once lived, and İçerenköy is full of that kind of events. Because there is a revolutionary spirit. In İçerenköy, there are mafia and olders.<sup>72</sup>

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<sup>72</sup>A: Niye peki ailesiyle arası yok diğer çocukların?

İ: Ailelerle ayrı düşünüyorsun çünkü bir ortama giriyorlar, diyor ki kardeşim bir sigara iç, bir şunu yap, bir kere yapmadan bir şey olmaz. Ondan sonra bir de ergenlik dönemi olduğu için, ergenlik dönemi olduğu için işte yapıyorlar bu işi. Bunu ilerletiyorlar falan, tam kullanıcı tarzına geliyorlar. Bunlar, yani nasıl diyeyim, alıyorlar satıyorlar falan

Hakkı and Osman told a very interesting thing about their relationship with friends. For both, if a person smokes, that means that he will get them addicted to any drugs. Then, they do not prefer to get close anyone who smokes. There is no space to speak with one another. Only gestures, mimics, and some symbols such as smoking, shaping hair, Facebook profile speaks on behalf of them.

H: There Cihan and Can. They are nice. They do not smoke cigarette or something. We just hang out and walking around.

A: What do they do in their daily lives?

H: The same. When we have money, we eat döner. We spend time in that way.<sup>73</sup>

Can, one of Hakkı's cousin wanted to have interview with me, once he heard that I would also interested on rap lyrics that amateur young people write. However, his

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iyice işini yapıyorlar bunun. Bir yerden sonra onun parasını kazanıyor ve ailesiyle tartışma oluyor. Ailesi diyor ki geç saate kadar geziyorsun. Annesine babasına karşı çıkıyor annesini babasını dövüyor. Kimileri var sokağa atıyor.

A: Peki sence arkadaş çevresi mi önemli bunun için, yani kötü bir şey yapması için, yoksa aile mi? Yani birini suçlamak gerekirse kimi suçlamak lazım?

İ: Suçlamak gerekirse bence aile gerekli çünkü yani çocuklarını çok serbest bırakıyorlar. Her aile demeyeyim de bazı aileler çocuklarını çok serbest bırakıyorlar. Ya çocukları mesela eve geç saatlerde geliyor ama çocuğun ne yaptığını bilmiyor. Çocuk mesela sabahın köründe çıkıyor, çocuğun ne yaptığını bilmiyor. Çocuk ya esrar içiyor ya onu bunu, ya hap içiyor. Bizim bir arkadaş vardı bizden büyüktü bizim eski mahallede oturuyordu. Çocuğu kandırdılar çocuğa hap içirdiler çocuğu dereye bırakıp kaçtılar çocuğu.

A: Nerede dere?

İ: Bizim Ata İlköğretim Okulu'nun aşağısında eski bir dere vardı, su filan çıkıyordu. Sonra işte oraya bırakıp kaçtılar çocuğu. Yaşadığım Bakkaköy diyeyim, İçerenköy hepsi böyle şeylerle dolu. Çünkü hepsi bir devrimcilik var. İçerenköy'de mafyalar falan var büyükler var.

<sup>73</sup> H: : Can ile Cihan. İyiler yani. Sigara migara içimiyorlar. Öyle takılıyoruz dolaşıyoruz.

A: Onlar ne yapıyor günlük hayatta?

H: Aynı. Paramız olunca gidiyoruz döner möner yiyoruz. Öyle vakit geçiriyoruz.

mother didn't let us to interview. As Indifa said, his parents are very restricted and ignorant, because they also warn their kids not to be a friend Indifa because of his style.

M: In everybody's mind there is something like that; rappers are punkies. Rapper do such and such thing, and do not get closer to them. For example I have such a thing in my life. One of my friend's mom warns him about not to hanging out with me.

A: Which friend is that?

M: That is Can. He is not a friend but just an acquaintance. That is a kind of friend, Can.

A: Is that Hakkı's cousin?

M: Yes, that one. His mom tells that do not hang out with him. Why does he wear loose clothes? There is nothing wrong with wearing loose. Nothing bad will happen from the one who wears loose. Because there is such a thing in people's minds: a rapper smokes marijuana, and goes astray, and walking during the night. Doesn't a rapper do that? Most of the rappers do. Most of my rapper friends do that. But we have an aim. For example, I Was smoking, but I quit. Now, no one smokes or using alcohol in our group. I was the only one who used cigarette, but I already quit. Our aim is that: we will not become a street rapper. I would say that we will not become a street punky. We will not leave from the home as they do. Because most of the rappers do not live in their homes. They constituted some place for them in Kadıköy or Üsküdar.

A: What kind of home they hired? Like a bachelor pad?

M: Most of them are single, they have girlfriends. They are staying with them. They hired a home for themselves, and bring girlfriends near them. For Example Ceza's team is like that. For example, Ceza Has some friends like Eren Baransel, as I watched that in a documentary about Ceza. Ceza has a place like a studio, they're staying there. These men spend their lives there.<sup>74</sup>

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<sup>74</sup> İ: Herkesin kafasında mesela şöyle bi şey vardır, rapçiler serseri, rapçiler şunu yapar yaklaşmayın. Mesela benim hayatımda öyle bi şey var, arkadaşımın mesela annesi onunla gezme diyor mesela.

One of the most interesting points which made me surprised is that there is no stable relation among friend groups. They are always some friend groups; however, group members can easily switch from one group to the other. The dynamics can easily change according to dynamics of the day. The main part of this ‘code’ is being tough and ‘watching your back’ (Anderson, 26). As I pointed above, all the friendship relations depend on daily interests. Once Önder got arrested by police and sent to the court, any of his friends refused to speak with him:

Ö: Sometimes they answered and put down it while saying I am busy. It seems like everyone took a dislike to me all of a sudden. I said that you shall dislike me. Tomorrow’s another day.<sup>75</sup>

After the school hours, there emerge some peer groups who are waiting to the others in order to have fight with each other. The reason of fighting can be any reason.

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A: Hangi arkadaş bu?

İ: Can bizim arkadaşlardan değil de tanıdık bu. Can diye bir arkadaş var işte.

A: Hakkı’nın kuzeni var o Can mı?

İ: O işte. Onun annesi diyor onunla gezme, neden bol giyiniyor. Bol giyinmekle alakası yok çünkü bol giyinen insan zarar vermez. Çünkü rapçilerin, şey insanların kafasında şu var, rapçi esrar içiyor, ondan sonra kötü yola düşüyorlar filan, gece geziyor. Her rapçi yapıyor mu yapıyor, çoğu rapçide var. Çoğu rapçi arkadaşım da yapıyor hepsini. Ama bizim amacımız şu, ben mesela sigara içiyordum bıraktım, bizim grupta hiçbirisi sigara alkol falan kullanmıyor artık. Tek ben kullanıyordum sigara, bıraktım ondan sonra. Bizim amacımız şu işte, biz sokak rapçisi olmayacağız, yani nasıl diyeyim serseri modunda olmayacağız, onlar gibi evi terkedip gitmeyeceğiz. Çünkü rapçilerin yarısından çoğu evde yaşamıyor, mekan kurmuşlar kendilerine Kadıköy’de veya Üsküdar’da. Mesela o Kadıköy’e Acil dediğim taraf şöyle bir şey var orada da, kimileri eve gidiyor kimileri gitmiyor. Orada yani yatıp kalkıyorlar.

A: Nasıl yani bekar evi gibi bir şey mi tutmuşlar?

İ: Genelde hepsi bekar, sevgilileri var. Onlarla falan kalıyorlar, kendilerine orada bir tane ev tutmuşlar mesela kendi evine almışlar. Mesela Ceza’nın grubu öyle. Ceza’nın arkadaşları vardı mesela Eren Baransel filan, ben Ceza’nın bir belgeselini izledim. Ceza’nın kendine ait stüdyo gibi bir yeri var, orada kalıyorlar kimileri, yani hayatları orada geçiyor adamların.

<sup>75</sup> Ö: Bazen açıyolar işim var deyip kapatıyorlar. Yani herkes ne bileyim bi anda benden soğudu sanki. Soğuyun dedim ya, bugünün yarını da var

But most commonly they begin to swear one another “why did you look at me like that?” Another reason can be about girlfriend issues.

Although they can easily change friend groups and they have no difficulty to integrate into another one, when the things become serious they do not support or advocate their close friends. This is especially when the police intervene to the fighting or when one of them arrested because of drugs. Therefore, we can state that friendship changes due to their temporal needs and issues to handle. Regarding to the data from interviews, in İçerenköy interpersonal conflicts emerges from “he says, she says” and “signifying games”, as Anderson explains. And, symbols speak.

O: I do not hang out with the ones who smoke. Mostly I walk around İçerenköy. What else.. Sometimes I come to internet cafes.

A: What kind of dynamics determine you choices for friendship?

O: generally I talk with anyone. But the ones whom I mostly connect are interested in their classes. Some people not having fights and saying swear. I select that kind of good people. But I also talk with everyone. There is no one whom I do not talk

A: I see. That means that not to smoke is a kind of criteria for you?

O: That is already enough for me someone who does not smoke. That is good. If he is nice, he is pure in heart that is enough for me.

A: how you recognize that?

O: At first, his appearance tells about what kind of person that is. For example there is a boy in our class, Furkan. He is such a decent person. He is nice. He does not say bad swear. He does not have business with smoking. He is a nice boy. I hang out with him, for example. When you demand something, they would immediately provide you. I mean that kind of people.<sup>76</sup>

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<sup>76</sup> O: Sigarası olanlarla fazla takılmam. Daha çok, nasıl diyeyim, gezerim İçerenköy’de falan. Başka... Arada internet kafelere falan gelirim.

A: Ne karar veriyor senin arkadaş seçiminde?

O: Genelde herkesle konuşurum. Ama daha çok muhatap olduğum kişiler böyle dersleriyle ilgili olan, çok kavga etmeyen küfretmeyen kişileri falan. Böyle iyi olan

However, being belonged to some group or at least having friend is very important. We can understand this fact due to their daily strategies. When they want to punish someone they prefer not to speak with him. When I asked them why they finished their friendship with Murat, they told me that that was not the end of their friendship. As they said, ending communication with someone means punishing him because of his fault. This type of punishment is a temporal one. In addition to this, everyone knows about any development in others' life. Those events can be about school life, family issues, being arrested or losing cell phone and so on.

### **Crime**

In the socialization process of a child, since he witnesses the way how older people from the street or from their family win and lose, he learns and internalizes these processes. The process is mainly based on being capable of taking care of yourself, being respected, and “watch your back” without regarding whether the way they follow is ethical or not (Anderson, 71).

For Anderson, “respect” is the main tool for survival. Respect is mainly sustained through violence and having a “name” in the front of the others. (Anderson, 67). The figure of “older brothers” is very strong in young people's everyday life. Some of my interviewees have close relations with some of them, and very much respectful to their existence. These older brothers stimulate them to get involve criminal acts. The main criminal act is theft. In a very young age during their primary schools, they commit theft from supermarkets. Their first criminal act begins with theft and it continues to selling drugs. First they steal some biscuits, and chocolates from the

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kişileri seçiyorum. Gene konuşuyorum herkesle ama, konuşmadığım kişi yok yani...  
Yani sigara falan içmemesi benim için yeter yani. İyi birisi olduktan sonra, kalbi temiz olduktan sonra yeter bana

A: Nasıl anlıyorsun onu?

O: Şimdi zaten ilk başta görünüşten belli oluyor nasıl biri olduğu. Mesela bizim sınıfta Furkan diye bir çocuk var, böyle temiz birisi, iyi yani. Öyle kötü küfür falan etmez, öyle sigarayla falan işi olmaz, iyi çocuk. Mesela onunla çok takılırım. Bir şey istediğin zaman hemen verirler yani öyle kişiler.

markets, and when time passes, they begin to steal some alcohol and cigarettes. In other words, those children are being abused by their older brothers from very young ages. Having a “name” in front of the others is conceptualized as having “image” (şekil) in İçerenköy. As Önder says:

Önder’s story is a very interesting one to show how these older brothers are strong and the families are helpless to protect their children from that environment of İçerenköy:

Sending away their child to another city which is quite far from Istanbul shows us how the influence older brothers are high on young people. Önder’s case is not the only example about families’ approach about the impact of criminal act in the neighborhood. Families spend too much effort in order to protect their children to any kind of criminal issues, especially from drug and theft.

While doing my interviews, Hızlı internet Café was our meeting place before going to another café or patisserie to interview. The owner of the internet café, Ali, (they called him Ali Abi) was a friendly one both for me and the young people there. He gave a special treatment to me and my work from the first visit of the café. While leaving the café in the evening when Hakkı brought me, he told that all those young people should care about my “suggestions” for them. He told to the whole group of young people that they should take seriously what I was doing there, and take my university career as a successful example. He told me that he wished that any of them could have patient and luck to become as successful as me.

Whenever I come to the café, the place is always crowded since it is a favorite place of young people. And, its location is close to municipality, so many people come there to get access to internet and take a copy for their documents which municipality demands. Yet, we couldn’t get a long time to speak or a recorded interview with Ali Abi. However, whenever I go there, he welcomed me and tried to speak about the situation of the neighborhood. In each day he told me what I “should” put on my thesis. Those subjects are school environment, influence of friendship other than family, hate of fathers, special care of mothers. He emphasized on the importance of peer relations which led them “vagrancy” (serserilik). When I ask him what the real meaning of “being punky” (serseri), he gave me a more comprehensive meaning than I know. For him, as the other youngster explained later, *serseri* means being idle without a job,



living without a vision for the benefit of family and motherland, and attending criminal acts and using drugs.

For him, it is impossible to solve the problem of “serserilik” with the help of families or police. Police threat them as their friends, however they do not understand their good intentions to protect them criminal act. And families, especially mothers, spend too much effort to integrate them into school life and sending them away from the dangerous peer group. He said that especially some particular people’s mothers, like Furkan’s one, always come here to visit Ali Abi to make him speak with them about what their children’s main concern. However, as Ali Abi says, neither his efforts nor families’ good intentions have worked yet.

When I asked him I found something very interesting information about their relations with their father. He told me that not some of them but all of them hate their fathers. Then, I repeated “why”, and he answered that if the man would be the man of their home, families do not suffer hat much. For him, children of those fragmented families suffer more than what their mothers face because of their fathers’ maltreatment.

In order to improve the effectiveness of state institutions, the state officers were exposed to new obligations. Accordingly, each state officer, whether medical doctor or police, they will gain benefit for each case that they seek. Interestingly, almost all of young people know this information. In other words, young people below 18 ages are abused by police. Since the neighborhood is labeled as under crime risk, the police can easily abuse this new regulation. In Turkey, public policy regulations offer that social risk inevitably bring about criminal risk. (Wacquant, 2004). Moreover, young people are not aware of their own right such as how to resist or how to compete with those kind of violation of their rights.

A photo taken by Kadir's Facebook account:

“We may not have lovers who run after us, yet there are some people who ran after us. Thanks for Public Security Branch Office.”



Indifa has such a story that illustrates how being punished is based on:

M: I was at Ata Primary School. Friends smoking baly, thinner, and lighter fluid. We took money from one of friend's grocery store, and went to Üsküdar, no went to Kayışdağı. They enter into an outlet store, and they bought five lighter fluid for five people. We entered into a car. There was a rattletrap, and we entered in it. Then they began to smoke lighter fluid. Only one rested. I was smoking cigarette.

A: How do they smoke it?

M: He squeezes it between his mouths. He squeezes the sharp side of it and then he pushes. When you push it inside, the gas flows. He empsons himself. That day, I

was smoking cigarette, and they were taking lighter fluid, then they smoke cigarette. They felt dizzy. I guessed that the police would arrive.

A: How did you know that?

M: Because everyone was looking at us. Then 1 said that I will go.... I will go and you could follow me later. I had a cigarette in my hand and I was walking. The police called me away. I got scared and immediately sat down. I sat down where I was staying. Then I went to near them. He asked that what did you do here. We do not do anything, just smoking cigarette. One of them came to me and asked that what do they do. They do not do anything, they are smoking cigarettes, I said. He said do you know them. I said I know. Then he tell me to stand up, and asked what do they do. I said they are smoking cigarette. He said do not lie, and sworn and slapped in my face... He said that son of a bitch do not lie. Then he slapped. I got dizzy.

A: Did he slap hard?

M: He slapped very hard. He brought them near to me. He told me to turn back. I turned. He adhered me and kicked on inside on my leg.

A: Did these happen on the street?

M: Yes, that is street as you know. Then, he kicked on inside of my leg, and my leg immediately... when he kicked on inside of my leg, my leg began to aching. He was searching something on my clothes. Then he inclined to the floor, and he standed up. He said what is that. I said what is that, my brother. He said that are you kidding around me. I said no, I do not know what it is. He said that that is marijuana you stupid. Then, I said that I do not use it, you lay blame on me.

A: What kind of thing that from his pocket?

M: That was about 200 gr.I think it has been used. It was rotten. And, he took me to bring to the police station. He tried to push me in the car, but i didn't. Since I thought that he might let me go, I cried. He said just get in the car. While I did not get in, he punched my head. He pushed me into the car. We were 5, and 4 stayed there. The ones who really smoke lighter fluid were them.

A: Why did they rest?

M: While they covered something on them, he left them. He got me in the police car. He put handcuffs on me. And we went to the place where they smoke lighter fluid. Friends made a line with lighter fluids. When the police saw them, he kicked them. Because of the police does not know about smoking lighter fluids. Any of the policy does not know that.

A: How do you know that they do not know?

M: Because they told me when I went to the police station.<sup>77</sup>

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<sup>77</sup> İ: Ata İlköğretim Okulu'ndaydım. Ondan sonra işte arkadaşlar da bali tiner çakmak gazı falan çekiyorlardı. İşte bunlar bir gün arkadaşımın bakkalından para aldık, Ümraniye, şey Kayışdağı'na gittik, ordan sonra işte bunlar bir milyoncuya girdiler çakmak gazı aldılar 5 tane. 5 kişilik. Ondan sonra şeye gittik bi tane arabanın içine girdik. Külüstür bi araba vardı işte onun içine girdik. Ondan sonra işte bunlar çakmak gazı çekmeye başladılar, bir tane kaldı, ben de sigara içiyordum işte.

A: Nasıl içiyorlar onu?

İ: Ağzının arasına sıkıştırıyor işte. O ucu var ya sivri ucu, ağzının ucuna arasına sıkıştırıyor ondan sonra bastırıyor. İçine doğru bastırıldığı zaman gaz çıkıyor. İşte kendini zehirliyor filan. Ondan sonra, neydi, bugün şey yaptık işte, ben de sigara falan içiyordum, ondan çakmak gazı çektiler, sonra sigara içtiler, kafaları filan döndü işte bunların ondan sonra hani ben polis geliceğini biliyordum zaten.

A: Nerden biliyordun?

İ: Çünkü millet bize bakıyordu, etraftaki herkes bize bakıyordu filan. Ondan sonra dedim ki ben ben gidiyorum... Ben gidiyorum, siz arkadan gelirsiniz, ondan sonra arkadaşın telefonu falan vardı gidiyordum, elimde sigara vardı gidiyordum, polisler beni çağırıldı, ondan sonra ben de kortum işte direk oturdum, olduğum yere oturdum, ondan sonra onların yanına gitti. Dedi ki ne yapıyorsunuz burada, bir şey yapmıyoruz abi sigara içiyoruz. Ondan sonra bir tanesi, benim yanıma geldi, bunlar ne yapıyorlar dedi. Bir şey yapmıyorlar abi sigara içiyorlar dedim. Tanıyor musun dedi. Tanıyorum filan dedim işte. Ondan sonra ayağa kalk dedi bana, bunlar ne yapıyorlar dedi. Dedim sigara içiyorlar, yalan söyleme dedi küfürü bastı tokatı vurdu... Orospu çocuğu yalan söyleme falan dedi. Ondan sonra tokatı vurdu, ben de zaten kafa döndü.

A: Çok mu sert vurdu?

İ: Bayağı sert vurdu. Ondan sonra şey onları da benim yanıma kadar getirdi, bana dedi ki arkana dön. Döndüm arkaya beni yapıştırdı, bacağımanın arasına tekmeyle vurdu.

A: Sokakta mı oldu bu?

İ: Sokakta bildiğin. Ondan sonra bacağımanın arasına tekmeyle vurdu, benim bacak birden.. bacağımanın arasına vurdu ondan sonra benim bacağıma acımaya başladı üstümü filan arıyor işte, ondan sonra böyle yaptı, ayak aşağı eğildi, ayağa kalktıktan sonra bu ne dedi. Ne abi dedim. Sen benle dalga mı geçiyosun dedi. Yok abi ne olduğunu

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M: We entered into the law officer's room. The law officer looked and told that what narcotic in that age. I said that my dear officer I cannot do anything, because the police blamed me about that. He offered to talk about it. I told the same story as I told you. Then he said that I do not know what to do. But, he says, you are still young, but there is a statement about a commitment on your GBT. Since you are in a young age, we cannot do anything else. But I could say that if you involve in a theft or fight, you will enter into the jail, he said. I said that no I would not involve, and that happened accidentally. He said okay you go. The law officer had conversation with my dad. We arrived at home with my dad. He told me that take that kid's phone number and call him. In the afternoon, I went to the neighborhood and called that boy. I gave his mobile phone. And I told that do not speak with me anymore. I do not want you to get closer to me. I am not talking to you anymore, I said. That the boy said okay. I was with my brother and a friend.<sup>78</sup>

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bilmiyorum dedim. O da dedi ki bu esrar mal falan dedi. Ondan sonra işte geldi dedim abi ben kullanmıyorum filan dedim, sen üstüme attın dedim.

A: Nasıl bir şeydi o çıkardığı cebinden?

İ: Ya işte 200 gramlık filandı işte. İçilmiş sanırım biraz, çürümüş bir şeydi. Ondan sonra beni aldı beni karakola götürülecek, beni arabaya bindirecek, ben binmedim, belki bırakır diye ağladım falan işte, ondan sonra dedi ki bin ulan arabaya dedi. Binmeyince kafaya bir vurdu benim. Arabanın içine soktu. 5 kişiydik, 4ü kaldı. Asıl çakmak gazını çeken onlardı.

A: Onlar niye kaldı?

İ: Onların şeyleri üstüme sarılınca, onları bıraktı, beni polis arabasına bindirdi. Elime kelepçeyi bağladı, öyle gittik, çakmak gazı çektikleri yere gittik. Çakmak gazını arkadaşlar tek tek sıralamışlardı böyle, polis gördü çakmak gazlarını tekme attı. Çünkü hiçbir polis çakmak gazının çekildiğini bilmiyor. Hiçbir polis bilmez onu.

A: Nereden biliyorsun bilmeyeceklerini?

İ: Çünkü kendi, karakola gittiğim zaman onlar kendileri dedi.

<sup>78</sup>İ: Sonra savcının odasına girdik. Savcı böyle yaptı dedi ki bu yaşta ne narkotiği falan dedi. dedim ki sayın savcım benim yapabileceğim bi şey yok. Çünkü polisleriniz üstüme attı polisler üstüme attı falan dedim. Anlat bakıyım dedi. işte sana anlattığım hikayenin aynısını ona da anlattım. Ondan sonra böyle yaptı şu an dedi napıcağını bilmiyorum

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M: What could I do? I already get crumbled. I perceived myself as a street child. He took me inside and let me sit down. I thought that they would take blood for blood test. Then, the police called me and took me inside. The nurse asked whether I there is any incision or a sign of battery. I didn't tell about the scars on my arm. I said that there is no sign of battery. That was beyond my knowledge. I didn't know that it means beating. I didn't know what battery meant. I said there is not. She gave my identity card back. She told me I could go. Without taking any blood, they give a piece of paper to the police. They took me again, and bring to the Child Bureau of Police Office. The lawyer arrived. He interviewed both with me and my dad. He said he could go home.

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A: How did they treat you at home?

M: They were asking why I did such thing. My dad told that he is innocent and the others blame on him. He was just smoking cigarette, he said. I woke up in the morning. I had breakfast. Me and my dad, we went to the police station. Police were also having breakfast. They said they we are going. Me and my dad got into the car and came to court at Kadıköy. The lawyer in Kadıköy also came. They brought me near to a psychologist. We had conversation with that psychologist. She asked me what I am doing in daily life. I told that I am going to a foundation. I am practicing graffiti and writing rap lyrics, I said. I sang a rap for her. That was a rap about street children. Then, she asked that since that song is about street children, whether I feel myself like a street child or not? I said that I do not perceive myself as a street child, and I will not. I have never perceive anyone as a street child, because they are not, I said. They are human

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ama dedi, kararda şöyle bi şey var dedi, yaşın daha küçük ama ilerde dedi yani gbt ne işlenicek bu yapılan şeyler ddi. Şu an yaşın küçük olduğu için fazla bi şey yapamıyoruz dedi. ama şunu söylüyüm dedi, eğer bi hırsızlığa veya bi kavgaya filan girersen dedi büyük bi hapis yersin filan dedi. ben de yok girmem zaten bu da zorla olmuş bi olay filan dedim. Tamam çık dedi, babamla görüştü savcı. Babamla eve geldik, babam dedi ki git çocuğun telefonunu ver dedi, ara görüş. Mahalleye gittim akşam üstü çocuğu çağırdım, telefonunu verdimi dedim ki benle artık görüşme yanıma falan yaklaşma dedim, konuşmuyorum falan dedim. Çocuk tamam dedi. ağbimle yanımda bi arkadaşım vardı

beings who have been left by others, I said. Then, she asked that why I wrote such thing. I said that We see so many people who are walking outside getting cold. How can I say? I said that they were using each other like a dog. One gets against the other. .the other kills him. These are all null. The state cares about some people, not for everyone, I said. I said that they are concerning about people's life styles. She said that I very much loved your rap lyrics. Then, my dad met with that psychologist. My dad left the room. The lawyer arrived and talked with me. He said that you should look comfortable in front of the prosecutor, and explain everything. While he police just took my arm to bring me to the room, the lawyer told that the only thing you would say in front of the prosecutor is that I do not accept that; the police has blamed on me. I said alright my brother.<sup>79</sup>

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<sup>79</sup> İ: Ben zaten yıkıldım. Kendimi sokak çocuğu gibi bir şey gördüm zaten. Beni içeri aldı oturturdu, ben zannettim ki kan testi alacaklar. Sonra gel dedi polis beni odaya aldı. Hemşire dedi ki bir yerinde kesik var mı darp izi var mı. Ben kolumdaki faça izini söylemedim, yok dedim darp izi. Aklim ermiyordu darpın ne olduğunu filan bilmiyordum, dayak olduğunu bilmiyordum. Dedim yok dedim. Kimliği geri verdi bana tamamrdedi gidebilirsin. Kan filan almadan sonradan eline polisin kağıt tutturdular. Aldılar beni de yeniden şeye götürdüler, Çocuk Şube'ye götürdüler. Avukat filan geldi, benle görüştü babamla filan görüştü. Yarın saat, şimdi eve gitsin dedi.

A: Eve gidince annen filan nasıl davrandılar?

İ: O zaten noldu filan niye böyle bir şey yaptın filan. Babam da dedi ki niye yapacak dedi onun bir suçu yok dedi, üstüne atmışlar bir tek sigara içmiş falan dedi. Sonra sabah kalktım kahvaltımı falan yaptım, babamla polis şubeye gittik. Polisler de kahvaltısını falan yapıyorlardı. Dediler ki gidiyoruz, babamla birlikte bindik arabaya, Kadıköy'deki adliyeye geldik, Kadıköy'deki avukatla filan geldi. Psikoloğun yanına falan soktular beni. Psikologla görüştük dedi gerçek hayatta ne yapıyorsun normal hayatta falan dedi, dedim vakfa filan gidiyorum, graffiti söylüyorum rap yazıyorum falan dedim. Bir tane rap söyledim işte buna. Sokak çocuklarıyla ilgili bir rapti bu. Sonra dedi sen sokak çocuklarıyla ilgili yazmışsın dedi, sen kendin sokak çocuğu musun. Kendini sokak çocuğu olarak görüyor musun kendini dedi. Yok dedim ben sokak çocuğu olarak görmüyorum kendimi, görmem de zaten dedim. Ben kimseyi de sokak çocuğu olarak görmedim, çünkü onlar sokak çocuğu değiller dedim, sadece terk edilmiş insanlar dedim. Sonra dedi ki neden böyle bir şey yazdın o zaman dedi. Ben de dedim ki o kadar insanı görüyoruz dedim, bu soğuklarda dışarıdalar geziyorlar üşüyorlar dedim. Nasıl diyeyim, kendini köpek gibi kullanıyorlar birbirlerini dedim. O ona isyan ediyor, o onu öldürüyor, bunlar dedim boş şeyler. Devlet mesela dedim kimilerine bakıyor kimilerine bakmıyor. İnsanın yani kendi yaşama tarzına göre şey yapıyorlar falan dedim. Dedi ki bu çok sevdim, rap sözlerini filan çok sevdim dedi. Ondan sonra babamla görüştü psikolog. Babam çıktı odadan, avukat falan geldi benle falan görüştü avukat. Savcının karşısında rahat dur filan dedi, her şeyi anlat filan dedi. Polis kolumdan tuttu beni odaya sokacak, sonra dedi ki savcının karşısında tek söyleyeceğin şey sayın savcım ben bunları kabul etmiyorum polisler üstüme attı. Tamam abi dedim.

Furkan, whom I met in a civil society organization, have involved that kind of experience. He got a medical report due to scars on his skin because of torture when he was punished. His family, especially his mother, informed this case against police and they are still following the process.

## **Drugs**

*“When you get a pill, the whole world will become yours. Yet, it is not yours actually. You are lonely, but you are happy. While you are thinking on some certain things, you get so mad. And, you do not have a care even when you kill anyone. But when you recover your conscious, you will be aware of everything. I am using marijuana. I am addicted to marijuana.... I am talking openly my sister. I am addicted to marijuana. I smoke. I feel myself happy when I use it. The worlds become mine. Even my beloved girl was not near me. God rest her soul. She died.”<sup>80</sup>*

- Önder

Using marijuana is very common among youth in the neighborhood. “Even a girl on 13 years old does this.” Indifa says. Their relation with drug is not only for consuming. They also sell drug as their older brothers’ incline. They involve drug trafficking for two reasons. The first one is reaching drug for cheaper price. And the second reason is gaining money in order to contribute family budget. The beginning of

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<sup>80</sup> Ö: Bir ilaç attığın zaman dünya senin olur ama senin değildir. Yalnızsın ama mutlusun. Bazı şeyleri düşündüğün zaman da o kadar deli oluyorsun ki yani git bir insanı öldür umurunda olmaz o an. Ama gözlerini, yani aklın yerine geldiği zaman her şeyin bilincinde olursun. Ben esrar kullanıyorum. Esrar bağımlıyım... Açık konuşuyorum abla. Esrar bağımlıyım, içiyorum, kendimi mutlu hissediyorum onu içtiğim zaman. Yani dünyalar benim oluyor. Sevdiğim kız yanımda olmasa bile, Allah rahmet eylesin o da öldü.



drug usage begins with influence of drug-dealers who are their respectful older brothers with *image* at the same time.

E: I can explain in that way. You can understand from the eyes and the behaviors of someone whether they use or not. Because if someone is staring at you while you are walking on the street or a friend of you comes and slaps on you for no reason, that one is certainly a drug addicted. It might not be a drug but maybe a beer. It may not be a beer, but maybe a thinner. He certainly used something.

A: Did you get a chance to speak in dept?

E: I had a chance to speak.

A: With those who are getting high?

E: Yes, I spoke with someone who was getting high. When he got that drug, I went closer to him and talked to him. I told that from which level you will smoke. What you get from that? That makes you get high, but when it passes what do you think and what do you feel, I asked. Mostly I hear that statement; I smoke because of sorrow, anxiety, or breaking up with my girlfriend. I do not know. They say that I pay just 20 lira and smoke it for pleasure. I do not understand anything from that, I do it occasionally, they say generally

A: Does he do anything in order to handle his problem?

E: The reason behind why they do not attempt to solve their problems is about indolence. He might say that I do not want to get busy with that. He tries to show himself as a big brother. I cannot get busy with such things, they would say. He might say that I could get drug and smoke it.<sup>81</sup>

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<sup>81</sup> E: Şöyle anlatayım ben sana, şimdi bir insanın gözünden, hareketlerinden anlarsın zaten uyuşturucu kullanıp kullanmadıklarını. Çünkü sen yolda gidiyorsan sana tip tip bakıyorsa tanıdığın arkadaşın eğer sana geliyorsa durduk yere eğer tokat mokat atıyorsa bir şey yapıyorsa, o adam kesin bağımlı bir şey kullanmıştır. Uyuşturucu olmasın belki bira içmiştir. Bira olmasın belki tiner çekmiştir. Kesin bir şey kullanmıştır yani.

A: Derinlemesine konuştun mu dedim ben. Konuşma imkanın oldu mu veya?

E: Konuşma imkanım oldu.

A: Kafası iyi olanlarla?

However, drug trafficking is in the hands of older brothers:

Ö: How it comes here, no one knows about that. It is said not ask about it, just enjoy it.

A: Do not you ask?

Ö: No, we had no business with that. If we do, we will get into trouble.<sup>82</sup>

The way to begin using drugs is with friend environment. All of them told that the first time they try marijuana is with the suggestion of their close friends. And for girls, as Indifa says, boyfriends are important figures:

M: How can I say that? Here even the girls are using drugs.

A: What is the amount?

M: I mean that while her boyfriend uses it, she also uses it. That is perforce.

A: How come that is perforce?

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E: Evet gerçek kafası iyi olanla konuştum. O uyuşturucuyu kullanıp da yanına gidip o arkadaşımınla sohbet ettim. Hani dedim böyle içiyorsun da nereye kadar içeceksin, anladığın şey ne. Tamam kafanı güzel yapıyor da geçtikten sonra ne gibi duygulara düşüyorsun neler hissediyorsun diye sordum. Hani kesinlikle en çok duyduğum laftır, ya dertten içerim, tasadan içerim, ne bileyim sevgilimden ayrıldım diye içerim. Hani ne bileyim, belki de 20 lirayı veriyorum, alıyorum gidiyorum zevkten içiyorum derler. Bir şey anlamıyorum öylesine içiyorum derler genellikle. Hani bir şey anlamıyor ama...

A: Dertini aşmak için bir şey yapıyor mu sorununu aşmak için?

E: Bence niye yapmamak istediklerinin sebebi hani ne bileyim şimdi onların belki biraz üşengeçlik de olabilir. Ne bileyim. Der ben şimdi onunla mı uğraşacağım der, hani ağır abi göstermeye çalışırlar, hani ben bunlarla uğraşamam ya yeter derler. Hani der ki ben alırım bir tane şey uyuşturucu, giderim içerim.

göstermeye çalışırlar, hani ben bunlarla uğraşamam yaa yeter derler. Hani der ki ben alırım bi tane şey uyuşturucu, giderim içerim.

<sup>82</sup> Ö: Buraya nasıl geliyor... Hiç kimse bilmez. Yani üzümünü ye bağına sorma derler ya.

A: Sormuyor musunuz?

Ö: Yok hiçbir zaman da üstüne de düşmedik. Düşersek de başımız belaya girer.

M: Because her boyfriend says that just take it, and nothing will happen for only once. And there is one thing; her boyfriend says that just get it, nothing will happen. Do not be afraid, because I am near you, he says. But what he exactly does is getting the girl drunk. And how can I say... how it can be said... It means that while she is defenseless, he rapes her somehow. For example they write on Facebook. A girl on 13 who does not know how to cook an egg, she knows very well how to do this. It is very widespread. There are olders while they are doing this. There is no need to show off with smoking cigarette, since children with 7-8 ages having it in their hands. They get it from their friends. The other one is older ones' business. Once her boyfriend smokes, then she smokes. She smokes marijuana.<sup>83</sup>

As Anderson argues that the use of violence is mostly related to 'being to the know', "who they are, and how they stand in relation to whom" (Anderson, 22). In that sense respect is the most valuable thing for a youngster. In our cases, respect goes hand in hand with gender identity. Being male is a state of being which requires to a constant struggle to prove one's manhood. Being man requires a good job, successful career, good money, and being appreciated by the others. Therefore, as opposed to the womanhood, manhood refers to an unending competition in daily life.

Before sustaining interviews, I supposed to hear them to admire the luxury buildings and CEO life which exists within Atasehir. However, they do not dream on being rich. Their dreams and plans are not separated from their current life and the

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<sup>83</sup> İ: Burada nasıl diyeyim uyuşturucu kullanımı kızlarda da var.

A: Ne kadar var mesela?

İ: Ne kadar var derken yani sevgilisi kullanıyorsa kendisi de kullanıyor... Yani mecburen. Çünkü sevgilisi diyor al diyor bir şey olmaz diyor. Artık şöyle bir şey var sevgilisi al diyor bi şey olmaz diyor, ben varım korkma diyor. Ama yaptığı şey şu, kızı sarhoş edecek veya kızı nasıl diyim, nasıl denir... Yani zayıfken şekle getiriyor kıza tecavüz ediyor. Mesela Facebook'a yazıyorlar. 13 yaşında kız yumurta yapmayı bilmiyor ama o işe gelince çok iyi biliyor. Artık çok yaygın çünkü, o iş yapılırken de çok büyük var. Sigara içmeye gerek kalmadı, artık küçücük çocuğun elinde 7-8 yaşındaki çocuğun elinde sigara var. Ya arkadaşından alıyor. Öteki büyük işi, sevgilisi içiyor o da içiyor, esrar içiyor.

people around them. They always complain about family live and peer groups, however they do not totally escape the idea of family or their neighborhood.

They are punished, examined, beaten, and humiliated by the police, however they are not against their existence. Even if some of them have been punished in a way which will affect their entire life for the future, they desire to become a police. For Osman, it is an easy way to get a stable job and a good salary in addition to a sign of power. Because police has the gun, he said. The rest who give police as the ideal job in their dreams stated the same reason to become a police.

## CHAPTER 6

### CONCLUSION: WHAT SHALL WE DO, DIE? (Napak, Ölek mi?)



There is graffiti on the wall of Hasan Leyli Elementary School which has been a very famous expression among young people. It says “Napak, Ölek Mi?” which means “what shall we do, die?” And, someone else wrote with a chalk “geber” (crap out) just near to the question. When I saw this on the wall, I whispered to myself; I think I do not need to write any word after this expression. This graffiti express everything in three words that I want to explain in my thesis. This reflects their constant, unending resistance for survival in daily lives. They try to every way in order to get involve to the life. They are disadvantaged regarding to family dynamics, school, and neighborhood

within which they were born. In addition to being disadvantaged in terms of material, they are also abused and aggravated by their older brothers and the police.

In this thesis, I analyzed the everyday experiences of young males in İçerenköy neighborhood. The reason why I chose male young in the inner city is the belief that they are underrepresented on poverty, youth, and gender studies in contemporary Turkey's academia. Implying an ethnographic research, this study aims to show a larger picture in which the male youth subjectivity is constituted. In this respect, this will contribute to studies on youth which is not trans-cultural or trans-historical, but particularly defined through space, time, and place. Additionally, this study also aims to contribute any policy implication or civil society initiation targeting inner-city poverty or youth empowerment.

Inner-city social suffering goes hand in hand with structural deprivation. However, what I investigate in this thesis is the agency of the inner city youth in relation with structural constrains, gender roles, age hierarchy, disorganized violence, and some policy implications. Inner city male young people are vulnerable position mainly for two reasons: first, their limited access of citizenship rights due to age and structural deprivation, secondly, the requirements of the street, socialization process, and the way to achieve respect requires a constant and infinite struggle which both destroys their society and they themselves.

In the first chapter, I explain the importance of the space and face to face relationships. First, I explain the history and transformation of İçerenköy neighborhood, whose inhabitants are overwhelmingly migrated from the rural areas of Turkey. I argued that family's way of attachment to the city economy brought about dramatic changes in gender roles and family relationships in the neighborhood. Another important discussion point raised in this part is about the impact of structural changes in the neighborhood and the way how inhabitants responded. With the establishment of high buildings and highways in the close environment, the use of space by the youth has changed. As it is seen, people have adapted structural and social changes according to the way they know.

In the second chapter, I discussed the 'everyday forms of resistance' in the neighborhood. Based on Michel Foucault's approach on 'resistance', I evaluated the families' and young people's respond to the dominant power for the purpose of their

survival. As it is seen in the narratives and rhetoric of my interviewees, while they resist the dominant power, their means and language is the same during this process. In this daily-based and individualistic way of resistance, young males have active role in sustaining their families and themselves material benefits. They involve temporary jobs, or they become a tool to get money from the state due to recent policies implied for the benefit of family empowerment.

In the third chapter, as in the same line with Scott's approach of everyday resistance, I argued Bourgois's explanation of young people's the resistance shape the identity of the subject and a collective culture. That is the culture of violence which both destroys the society in which they live and destroy themselves physically and emotionally. The neighborhood once witnessed brutal political fighting among different political youth groups from 60's up to the end of 90's. However, although there was not a mass migration from the neighborhood to the outside, same population, particularly youth, do not organized around political parties anymore. Although a considerable amount of young people (below 18 or above) still belongs to some political parties' youth branches, the main reasons of the arguments are due to peer rivalry, drug, 'girl issues', and elder brothers. But, violence still continues, and murder and suicide are still options in young people's lives in the search of respect and personal dignity.

In the fourth chapter, I benefit from Anderson's theorization of the "Code of the street" which explains the process of how children regardless their family background adapt street culture. Anderson's emphasis on school as the 'microcosm of the society' is important for İçerenköy's young people as it is seen in Hasan Leyli elementary school and Nuri Cingilli High school experiences. Due to labeling of the schools, the impact of police, and lack of educational opportunities as it is offered to middle and upper class people, the inner-city youth, the surplus of the society, is pushed forward to the further marginalization.

For further research, there raised several topics. One is about generation gap between families and their children; difference between their perceptions of state institutions, expectations of life, and, the transformation of the neighborhood. The other question is about the changing dynamics of İçerenköy once witnessed brutal political and ethnic conflicts, however, the main fights and violence do not derive from politics. More importantly ritualized violent arguments occur among the male youth who are the

member of the same political party's youth branches. In terms of new type of fighting two questions emerge here: how the old generation has become silent, and what creates violent fighting among youth who belong to same youth branch of a political party. And lastly, how society, the state, academia save those young people who are asking "What shall we do, die?" by providing them a safe place, sense of dignity and supply basic human needs.



## Interview Questions

- How would you describe your neighborhood to anyone who does not know about it?
  - How long have you been here? Were you born here?
  - Where did your family come from? Why did it happen?
  - How did they come to Icerenkoy? Do you have any relatives or compatriot?
  - Could you tell me about the relationship between your family and your neighbors?
    - How often do you go to your hometown? What does life look like comparing to Istanbul? Which one would you prefer?
    - Is there anyone who knows any other language in your family?
    - Have you ever had a job before? What kind of labor is that? How is/was your relationship with your boss and the other workers?
    - Could you describe your relationship with your father and other members of your family? How would you describe him/them?
      - Who are your friends? Can you tell me about them?
      - Do you know anything about your parents' lives before they got married?
      - How many siblings do you have? What is their daily routine like?
      - What is your biggest dream about your future?
      - Where would you like to live in the future?
      - Do you think men cry?
      - Is there any difference between your life and your parents', siblings' and grandparents' lives?
        - Do you attend school?
        - Which type of school or department do you attend? Was that your preference?
          - Do you remember the first day of the school? Who took you there?
          - Is there anyone else who goes to school?
          - Would you like to locate in another neighborhood of Istanbul?

- What kind of experience that you could live within Icerenkoy would lead you move out from there?
- How long ago did those big shopping malls like Optimum open?
- How many internet café exist in this area?
- Which people prefer to enjoy parks and green areas?
- Do street children exist in this neighborhood?
- Do each street children use thinner?
- Do you enjoy football games of Icerenkoy Idman Yurdu team?
- Who would impress you most?
- Who is the most respectful person in your life?
- When was the last time you went to a state institution such as hospital, neighborhood unit, or military office?
- How many years do you have before your military obligation?
- What are the most enjoyable things for you?
- Who are your best friends?
- What kind of music you listen to?
- Do you practice rap music? Who are your favorite rappers?
- Do you practice graffiti? Who are your favorite graffiti artists?
- How do you spend your time on the internet?

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