

THE POLITICS OF EVERYDAY LIFE IN MALATYA:
CLASS, IDENTITY AND SPACE

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ABSTRACT

The Politics of Everyday Life in Malatya: Class, Identity and Space

This thesis offers a space-centered analysis of Kurdish question by examining the social exclusion of Kurdish migrants in Malatya, concentrating on both the political economy and everyday life. The case of Malatya is a particular story in the sense that there is a transformation of social exclusion to an inclusion story and Kurdish identity is redefined in terms of class in the everyday life. Thus, this research basically explores how class, identity and spatial relations intertwined in the everyday life by focusing on the everyday relations between Kurdish migrants and local people in Malatya. This thesis suggests the concept of social exclusion in order to define the “new poverty” and specifically the poverty of Kurdish migrants in Turkey; however, invites the reader to rethink the concept of social exclusion by adopting a critical approach to the concept. It is argued that social exclusion is not only caused by the entire exclusion of the poor from the economy but their inclusion to the labor market as low-paid workers without insurance. Social exclusion is analyzed within the theoretical framework of everyday life. The case of Malatya offers a particular incorporation story of Kurdish migrants. This thesis argues that both the embourgeoisement story and non-ghettoized characteristics of the city have ensured the transformation of social exclusion to an inclusion story. However, this is also an outcome of everyday resistance of Kurdish migrants to the social exclusion process by forming solidarity among the members of family. Therefore, this thesis claims that in order to observe those various patterns of Kurdish question, a space-centered analysis is necessary.

ÖZET

Malatya’da Gündelik Hayatın Politikası: Sınıf, Kimlik ve Mekân

Bu tez, Malatya’daki Kürt göçmenlerin sosyal dışlanmasını irdeleyerek Kürt sorununun mekânsal bir incelemesini sunmaktadır. Sosyal dışlanma mefhumu, hem meselenin iktisadi boyutu hem de gündelik hayattaki yansımaları ele alınarak değerlendirilmiştir. Malatya örneği, sosyal dışlanmanın bir entegrasyon sürecine dönüşmesi ve Kürt kimliğinin gündelik hayatta etnik boyutunun terk edilerek sınıfsal kodlarla yeniden tanımlanması bakımından hayli dikkat çekicidir. Bu çalışma; Kürt göçmenler ve Malatya’daki yerel halkın gündelik ilişkilerine odaklanarak, sınıf, kimlik ve mekân olgularının gündelik hayatta nasıl birbirine eklemlendiğini sorgulamaktadır ve Türkiye’deki “yeni yoksulluğu” tanımlamak için “sosyal dışlanma” kavramının kullanılmasını önermektedir. Ancak; bu tez okuyucuyu “sosyal dışlanma” mefhumunu yeniden düşünmeye davet ederken; sosyal dışlanmanın, literatürdeki hâkim tanımlamanın aksine, yoksulların emek piyasasından tamamen dışlanması ile değil piyasaya ucuz iş gücü olarak ve güvencesiz işlerde çalıştırılarak dahil edilmesi ile yakından ilişkili olduğu ele alınmaktadır ve kavramı gündelik hayatın teorik çerçevesinde irdelenmektedir. Bu çalışma, Malatya’daki sosyal dışlanmanın alternatif bir kaynaşma hikâyesine evrilmesinde iki önemli olgunun etkinliğine işaret etmektedir: kentteki burjuvalaşma hikâyesi ve kentin gettolaşmamış olması. Bu tez, Kürt sorunun farklı coğrafyalardaki çeşitli modellerini tartışabilmek adına mekân odaklı çalışmaların gerekliliğini savunmaktadır.

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*to my uncle Mehmet, the wise man of our family,
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and
to the excluded peoples of my beloved country...*

CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER 2: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK	10
2.1 Conceptualization of everyday life	10
2.2 Conceptualization of social exclusion.....	14
2.3 Conceptualization of sectarian racism as a form of religious based exclusion	30
CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY AND LIMITATIONS	33
3.1 Observations and ethnography	36
3.2 Elite interviews	38
3.3 In-depth interviews	43
3.4 Limitations and cautions	48
CHAPTER 4: THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF POVERTY AND KURDISH QUESTION IN TURKEY	50
CHAPTER 5: THEORIZING MALATYA: POLITICAL, SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC LANDSCAPE OF MALATYA.....	65
5.1 Malatya as a migrant-receiving and emerging city	65
5.2 Malatya as a multi-ethnic and multi-sectarian city	83
5.3 Malatya as a non-ghettoized city.....	89
CHAPTER 6: EVERYDAY LIFE IN MALATYA: EXCLUSION AND INCLUSION STORIES OF MIGRANTS AND LOCALS	95
6.1 Embourgeoisement story.....	95
6.2 Identity and belonging	107
6.3 Discourses of exclusion and inclusion	113
6.4 The perception of exclusion and inclusion among different generations	119
6.5 Spatial relations and collaboration	122
6.6 Sectarian racism towards Alevis: the limitation for inclusion.....	135
CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSION	142
REFERENCES.....	150

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1. Import and export rates of selected emerging cities in Turkey	70
Figure 2. Import and export rates of the provinces in TRB1	70
Figure 3. The unemployment rate of Malatya 2008-2013	73
Figure 4. The unemployment rate of Malatya 1980-2000	73
Figure 5. Gross value added per capita Turkey & TRB1	75
Figure 6. The proportion of wages among the total wages in Turkey.	75
Figure 7. Apricot production in Malatya	79
Figure 8. Population of Malatya 2007-2014	80
Figure 9. Population of the provinces in TRB1	80
Figure 10. Residents in Malatya	82
Figure 11. Where do migrants come to Malatya in 2014.....	82
Figure 12. Cathedral of the Holy Mother of God (Cathedral of Arapgir).....	84
Figure 13. Parks in the center of Malatya	90
Figure 14. The districts of center of Malatya	94
Figure 15. İsmail's poems in his diary	107
Figure 16. Kernek Square and Kernek Hill	131
Figure 17. The billboard of a drama	133
Figure 18. The billboard of "poem reading" competition	134

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

**“Man must be everyday, or he will not be at all”*

Henri Lefebvre

**“Yerliler Kürt, Kürtler yerli oldu.”¹*

This thesis specifically examines the social exclusion of Kurdish migrants in Malatya. Studies on Kurdish Question in Turkey overwhelmingly focus on time-centered works which consist of the suppression of modernist nation state towards Kurds and their resistance to the state policies. Thus, to shift the dimension in Kurdish studies is crucial since just focusing on the linear time-centered analysis cannot reveal the multidimensional characteristics of the Kurdish issue. Turkey’s Kurds have witnessed different exclusion processes in different geographies of Turkey. To analyze Kurdish Question as a whole impedes to observe the everyday resistance of Kurdish population towards the state and various incorporation stories. That is why, I would like to shift the attention to an alternative approach which focuses on the political economy and everyday life together. Rather than a time-centered analysis this thesis offers a space-centered analysis of Kurdish question.

Malatya constitutes an anomaly in the well-known story of social exclusion of Kurdish migrants in terms of two main dynamics. First of all, there is a transformation of social exclusion to the inclusion story, in the case of Kurdish migrants. Secondly,

¹ “Locals became Kurd, Kurds became local.”

Kurdish identity is redefined and recreated in the social, economic and spatial interrelations of everyday life.

To explain that how Kurdish identity is redefined; I will mention two very interesting examples which are starting points of this research. First, the conversation of two local men in Malatya evoked the social exclusion literature in my mind. The man who was complaining about the migrants who are getting rich said that “*Yerliler Kürt, Kürtler yerli oldu.*” (Locals became Kurd, Kurds became local). He actually means that local people are not as much as rich in the past; however the migrants who first came to the city as seasonal workers and then settled to the city have become rich. At the end of the conversation, he appreciated the migrants by emphasizing their sedulity: “*Helal olsun adamlara, hak ediyorlar.*” (Congratulations, they deserve it). He was indeed congratulating them with his words. Secondly, they use the word of “Kurd” for only migrant population of the city which comes from the Southeastern Anatolia while they define the local Kurds as peasants rather than “Kurds”.

Malatya is located in the east of Turkey and it has the double statuses of emigrant and migrant-receiving town. While the local population of Malatya migrates to larger-metropolitan cities, it receives migrants especially from the east and southeast of Turkey. The proximity of Malatya to the hometown and the economic facilities in the city attracted those migrants. Besides, the city has relatively rich population and the low price in the market; especially in the food sector enables people to live in better conditions, even if their income is low.

Malatya is a particular case in the sense that there is a transformation of social exclusion to the inclusion story. Also, the city has not experienced serious conflicts on

the basis of Kurdish ethnicity. Malatya has local Kurdish population; absolutely we cannot estimate the number of Kurds in Malatya; however when we examined the literature on Kurdish ethnicity in Turkey, Malatya is always counted as one of the cities which has density of Kurdish population. It is important to underline that the dominant migrant wave to Malatya is a voluntary type of migration due to the economic reasons rather than forced migration policies of the state so the Kurdish migrant population in Malatya are not mobilized in the Kurdish movement. By saying mobilized, I refer to the Kurdish population who are complaining about and resisting to the assimilation and suppression process towards Kurdish identity which is led by the state. Pro-Kurdish parties have not got sufficient support in the city. Thus, the conflicts in Malatya have mostly evolved around the class rather than Kurdish identity.

Beginning with those observations this research tries to explore the answers of those following questions: What is the reaction of the local population to the migration wave in Malatya? How is the “othering” towards Kurdish migrants transformed? Are there any differences from generations to generations regarding the social exclusion practices? If the migrant Kurds have a chance of being included to the middle class without experiencing serious restrictions and their recognition by the local occurred; is there any group which constitutes an exception in this story? If there is; why? How do those exclusion practices revealed and fixed in the everyday life? How can we explain the stigmatization of Kurdish migrants as pejorative names while the Kurdishness of locals does not constitute a problem in Malatya?

While exploring answers to those questions, this thesis, by following Lefebvre’s conceptualization of everyday life, assumes that the interrelations of the elements of

everyday life have certain effects on people and their interpretation of the world. Thus, everyday life is considered as a dynamic mechanism rather than a static one and the social exclusion is elaborated within the conceptual framework of everyday life.

The case of Kurdish migrants in Malatya allows the basic concepts to be requisitioned which are used in poverty and Kurdish studies. In this thesis the concept of “social exclusion” is preferred rather than the similar concepts such as poverty, marginality or underclass since the case of Kurdish migrants is a multi-dimensional process and needs a broader concept. Thus, the social exclusion which includes economic, political and spatial exclusion is more useful. However, rather than confirming the classical definitions of social exclusion this thesis invites the reader to rethink the concept of social exclusion. The concept of social exclusion is used in a critical approach which assumes that social exclusion has not emerged due to the total exclusion of the “Other” from the economy but his/her inclusion to the economy as low-paid workers or their employment in precarious jobs.

The sources of social exclusion in Turkey are examined under three categories: 1) the armed conflict between PKK and the state which causes economic disruptions and forced migration of Kurdish community in the East and Southeast region; 2) the neoliberal agricultural policies which severely affected the rural economy and created a new migration wave to the cities, and 3) neoliberal policies which commodify the land and cause the dispossession of the poor.

The literature on social exclusion in Turkey is examined in terms of those three categories. The literature depicts both the migration process and Kurdish question has deepened the social exclusion of Kurds in Turkey. However, in the case of Malatya there

is a transformation of social exclusion to an inclusion story. It is an anomaly. This case was examined by concentrating on both the political economy and everyday life.

Since the exclusion and inclusion practices in Malatya are examined by concentrating on two dimensions: the political economy and the everyday life; the synthesis of different methodologies was used. The economic dimension was examined by using the database of Turkish Statistical Institute (Turkstat). On the other hand, to understand the interrelations of class, identity and space in the everyday life qualitative research had to be designed. Although semi-structured in-depth interviews were used as the main method, participant observations, ethnography and the collection of life stories were also used during the research process. The field research was divided into three parts for methodological and practical reasons. First of all, a pilot study was conducted on January 2014 in order to observe the field and to strengthen the hypotheses and the research process. Secondly, elite interviews were conducted with people who are representatives of the specific communities in the city on March in order to theorize Malatya. In the last stage, semi-structured in-depth interviews were conducted with local people and Kurdish immigrants in order to explore the codes of exclusion and inclusion in the period between June and July. In total, 51 interviews were conducted and informal chats with approximately 30 people were made.

This thesis examines exclusion and inclusion practices in Malatya by concentrating on two dimensions: the political economy and the everyday life. In the first part, the thesis focuses on the economic dimension which is based on the class relations. The migrants who came as seasonal workers for the harvest of apricots settled in the city and they started to serve as informal workers. They have served in

housekeeping, agriculture and construction fields as cheap labor force. Their poverty as well as their cultural and ethnic differences from the local people brought about a social exclusion process. Kurdish migrants are stigmatized with pejorative labels such as “*pis Kürtler*” (dirty Kurds). Nevertheless, this migrant population in the city got rich throughout years and the embourgeoisement story is observed. Embourgeoisement thesis is the theory that posits the involvement of individuals into the bourgeoisie as a result of their own efforts or collective action. Those Kurds who involved in the economy as employers are not labeled as “*pis Kürtler*” any more. The discourse has changed. For instance, the locals said “*şimdi bizden temizler*” (now they are cleaner than us) for those Kurdish migrants who jump to the middle class.

The other part of the thesis focuses on the everyday life and space. Malatya again constitutes an anomaly. While the migrant-receiving cities are mostly divided into ghettos, Malatya is not a ghettoized city so it can be observed that people live in the same neighborhoods without being segregated in terms of their income level or ethnic identity. For instance, Kanalboyu, Valikonağı and Karakavak districts are mostly known as upper class settlements however the streets in these districts also include people who belong to the middle and lower classes. Hence, local people and migrants as well as the rich and the poor live together in the same neighborhood so they have a chance to create networks in the everyday life and their children go to the same schools. Both the collaboration and equal education in the neighborhood schools positively affect the inclusion story.

Thus this thesis argues that the characteristics of the space cause the emergence of different types of vulnerabilities of Turkey’s Kurds. The case of Malatya shows an

economic structure which allows upward mobility and non-ghettoized characteristics which ensures the “solidarity among strangers” transforms from social exclusion to an inclusion story. However, the case of Alevis stands as a limitation for inclusion since Alevis still feel the discrimination and they stayed as relatively poor. In addition, for especially migrant Alevi-Kurds, the spatial segregation and lack of access to the trade continued their exclusion process since they live in the neighborhoods in the outside of the city. Besides, Alevis in Malatya also witnessed the massacre in 1978 due to the Alevi-Sunni conflicts in Turkey. Thus, the conflicts in Malatya revolved around class and the religious affiliation rather than ethnicity.

This thesis offers an alternative incorporation story which is not adequately mentioned in the literature. Specifically, the literature on social exclusion and othering mechanisms emphasize either the economic dimension of exclusion or the discursive practices of discrimination regarding the ethnic minorities. However, this thesis focuses on both economic and social factors which caused to social exclusion. Also, the field researches on migration and exclusion are generally conducted in İstanbul, Ankara, İzmir and Adana which are metropolises and ghettoized cities. However, it is also crucial to examine the other typologies in the field in order to analyze the spatial dynamics of Kurdish Question.

This thesis is organized as 7 chapters:

Chapter 1, the introduction chapter, states the objectives and significance of the research questions and explains the approach to questions.

Chapter 2 includes the theoretical framework of this thesis. The concepts of everyday life, social exclusion, poverty, marginality, embourgeoisement are clarified by presenting different approaches to the concepts. The concept of social exclusion is explained in terms of class, identity and space.

Chapter 3 includes the methodology of the thesis. This chapter explains why certain methodological tools were used for this thesis and how questions were operationalized in order to assess the social exclusion and inclusion practices in the everyday life. Then, it elaborates the limitations, cautions and ethical side of the research.

Chapter 4 explains the political economy of poverty and Kurdish question in Turkey. The “social exclusion” process of Kurdish migrants in Turkey is explained by mentioning the case studies in the relevant literature in order to inform the reader and underline the significance of the case study.

Chapter 5 theorizes Malatya and basically explains the political, social and economic dynamics in the city. In this chapter Malatya is examined as migrant receiving, emerging city, multi-ethnic and multi-sectarian city and non-ghettoized city. This chapter introduces the city and analyzes its certain characteristics in terms of the research questions.

Chapter 6 interprets the data which was collected from the field research in Malatya by concentrating on the discourses of people and ethnographic observations of the researcher. The main purpose of this chapter is to explain how class, identity and space is intertwined in the everyday life and exclusion and inclusion stories emerge in

the everyday life of people in Malatya. This chapter includes 6 subtitles: The embourgeoisement story, identity and belonging, discourses of exclusion and inclusion, the perception of exclusion among different generations, spatial relations and collaborations, and sectarian racism towards Alevis: the limitation for inclusion.

Chapter 7 summarizes the concepts, the field and research agenda in terms of the founding of the study. This thesis highlights the multi-dimensional characteristics of social exclusion and questions the certain categorization which examines the social exclusion of Kurdish migrants by concentrating on just one dimension.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

In this chapter, I introduce the theoretical framework of this thesis under two categories: the conceptualization of everyday life and the conceptualization of social exclusion.

First, I examine the concept of everyday life by analyzing Lefebvre's approach and use of the concept. Then, I elaborate the "social exclusion" within the conceptual framework of everyday life. In this thesis, the concept of "social exclusion" is the main theoretical agenda since it is more useful to analyze the multi-dimensional process of Kurdish question in the space-centered analysis. By analyzing the similar concepts such as poverty, marginality and underclass and comparing them with the "social exclusion" this thesis offers to use the concept of "social exclusion" in order to scrutinize case of Kurdish migrants in Malatya. However, the social exclusion is examined in a critical approach rather than using the classical definition of the term. I will also elaborate the social exclusion of Alevis by conceptualizing that kind of sect-based exclusion as "sectarian racism".

2.1 The conceptualization of everyday life

This thesis basically examines how class, identity and spatial relations intertwined in the everyday life. Thus, first of all, it would be useful to explain the theoretical framework of the "everyday life". The thesis is mainly erected upon Lefebvre's conceptualization of everyday life. Lefebvre argues that everyday life consists of three different but interrelated parts: free time (leisure time), required time (work time), constrained time

(travelling time or time for bureaucratic issues).² He asserts that the unity and totality of those elements determine the concrete individual. Moreover, the interrelations of the elements of everyday life create alterations or differentiations in the sense that the person becomes both the subject and object of his/her becoming.³ For Lefebvre; “man must be everyday, or he will not be at all”.⁴

Everyday life is a crucial concept in the theoretical framework of Lefebvre. Both the alienation and space is examined within the everyday life in Lefebvre’s writings. His work “The Critique of Everyday Life” is the core of his evaluation of the everyday, in other words he seeks the “every day nature of the everyday”. Stuart Elden emphasizes that Lefebvre’s concept of everyday life is the application of Marxist term *alienation* to Heidegger’s *Alltaglichkeit*: “everyday life is such that man is alienated.”⁵ Lefebvre argues that both the existential phenomenology and structuralism neglect the “experience”. For him, the crucial question is that how the structures, signs and codes of the everyday integrate with biographical life.⁶ Lefebvre emphasizes Hegel’s notion of familiarity. For Hegel, “quite generally, the familiar, just because it is familiar, is not cognitively understood.”⁷ According to Lefebvre, everyday life may be familiar to us but it does not mean that it is understood thus analyzing the everyday brings out the

² Henri Lefebvre, *Critique of Everyday Life* Vol. 1 (London&New York: Verso, 2008), p. 31.

³ Henri Lefebvre, *Writings on Cities* (Oxford: BlackwellPublishers, 1996), pp. xx-32.

⁴ Stuart Elden, “*Understanding Henri Lefebvre*”: *Theory and The Possible* (London &New York: Continuum, 2004).

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 113.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 113.

⁷ Quoted in Peter Bratsis, *Everyday Life and the State* (Boulder: Paradigm Publishers, 2006), p. 1.

extraordinary in the ordinary.⁸ As parallel to this argument, Ben Highmore also remarks that although everyday life seems as a reality available for scrutiny, it actually involves some hidden things so to examine an ordinary culture from below transforms the invisible to visible.⁹

Stuart Elden explains how Lefebvre uses the term of everyday life and how he conceptualizes it. Elden remarks that “everyday life is a translation of “*la vie quotidienne*”; however it does not a perfect translation so that Lefebvre makes a separation:

“The word ‘*everyday*’ (*quotidien*) designates the entry of daily life (*vie quotidienne*) into modernity... the concept of ‘*everydayness*’ (*quotidienneté*) stresses the homogeneous, the repetitive, the fragmentary in everyday life”.¹⁰

Hence, as Elden remarks, “everyday” suggests the ordinary more than a repetition of the “every day”.¹¹

For Lefebvre, the study of everyday life is a meeting place for specialized sciences.¹² According to him, to study on everyday life is a tool in order to overcome the fragmentation of social scientific analysis which is divided into various disciplines and specializations.¹³ Both the economic, social and political structure can be observed in

⁸ Elden, “*Understanding Henri Lefebvre*,” p. 111.

⁹ Ben Highmore, *Everyday Life and Cultural Theory: An Introduction* (London&New York: Routledge, 2002), p. 2.

¹⁰ Elden, “*Understanding Henri Lefebvre*,” p. 112.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 112.

¹² Henri Lefebvre, *Everyday life in the modern world*, trans. Sacha Rabinovitch (London : Allen Lane, 1971), p. 23.

¹³ Bratsis, *Everyday Life*, p. 112.

the everyday life so that for this thesis which basically analyses the relations between class, identity and space to use the concept of everyday life will allow a broader analysis.

Lefebvre examines everyday life by considering the time and space. For him, the social space is made up by the networks and channels which are the integral part of the everyday life.¹⁴ Furthermore, Lefebvre argues that capitalism creates and recreates itself in the everyday life. For instance, the planning of leisure activities and the production of new needs are those areas of the alienation. The construction of new towns is very crucial dynamics which increase the life time of capitalist system. Thus, the transformation of everyday life, a revolution in the everyday life is the exact revolution for Lefebvre since he believed that just to change the political persona and institutions would not create a revolution. The real revolution must be made in the everyday life which is colonized by capitalism.¹⁵

By considering Lefebvre's conceptualization of everyday life, this thesis argues that relations between class, identity and space is created and recreated in the everyday life. For instance, in Malatya, while the poor migrants are called as Kurds, migrants who overcome the poverty are not called as Kurd any more. Not only the class, but collaboration in the everyday life and living together of "strangers" in the same neighborhoods ensures this reinterpretation of identity. Therefore, to observe everyday life and take it as an object in the research would ensure that how social exclusion of

¹⁴ Henri Lefebvre, *Critique of Everyday Life* Vol. 2 (London&New York: Verso, 2008), p. 231.

¹⁵ Henri Lefebvre, *Critique of Everyday Life* Vol. 1 (London&New York: Verso, 2008).

Kurdish migrants is shaped within the practices and discourses in the everyday life and how class, identity and space are intertwined in the everyday life.

2.2 The conceptualization of social exclusion

The literature on “social exclusion” strongly emphasizes the vagueness of the concept of “social exclusion” which does not have a certain clarified description; hence, both defining the concept and exclusion mechanisms have some theoretical and methodological difficulties.

The similar situations which are attributed to the social exclusion can be conceptualized in various ways such as marginality, underclass and poverty. Using of those concepts changes in terms of geography. For instance, the concept of marginality is mostly used in the context of Latin America in order to explain the non-integration to the society or marginalized who expect anything from the state. The concept of “underclass” is overwhelmingly used to discuss the workers who lost their jobs and who live in ghettos and even do not find a strata in any social class level in United States. Whereas, the concept of “social exclusion” is used mostly in the context of Europe in order to explain the failures of welfare states by emphasizing the unemployment and integration problems to the society as a consequence of it.¹⁶

Thus in terms of those geographical categorization, within the scope of this thesis, I prefer to use the concept of social exclusion. As Buğra and Keyder point out, the “new poverty” in Turkey can be assessed meaningfully within the European context rather than the “marginality” of Latin America or “underclass” of United States. Also,

¹⁶ Ayşe Buğra and Çağlar Keyder, *New Poverty and the Changing Welfare Regime of Turkey* (Ankara: UNDP, 2003), pp. 20-21.

my research questions necessitate a multidimensional framework and those groups which I specifically categorize as socially excluded have already suffered from the poverty, marginalization as well as economic, cultural and political exclusion. The term social exclusion includes those intersecting realms.¹⁷ In order to clarify my argument, I will explain different perceptions of social exclusion and analyze the concept in terms of class, identity and space. Then, I will examine the social exclusion of Kurdish migrants in Turkey before evaluating my case study in Malatya.

Since there is no certain criteria of being excluded, the concept of “social exclusion” is defined in various ways by different researchers. In terms of basic principles of the concept, Madanipour’s definition would be leading for further discussion of this chapter. He defines social exclusion as follows:

“Social exclusion is defined as a multi-dimensional process, in which various forms of exclusion are combined: participation in decision making and political process, access to employment and material resources, and integration into common cultural processes. When combined, they create acute forms of exclusion that find a spatial manifestation in particular neighborhoods.”¹⁸

Byrne emphasizes the multidimensional characteristics of social exclusion. For him, social exclusion should be assessed in terms of “the complex dynamics of life trajectories, and on the significance of spatial separation within the urban areas of advanced industrial societies” rather than just focusing the economic exclusion.

Ladansyi and Szelenyi indicate the difference between economic and social exclusion:

Whilst economically excluded person suffers from access to the jobs or low-paid work

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 21.

¹⁸ Ali Madanipour, Göran Cars and Judith Allen, ed., *Social Exclusion in European Cities: Processes, Experiences and Responses* (Oxon: Routledge, 2005).

vice versa; the socially excluded person is not only exposed to the economic exclusion but also spatial, cultural or political exclusion in various levels.

The critiques of “social exclusion” also present new theoretical approaches to the concept. For instance, Levitas finds the concept of social exclusion is “intrinsically problematic” since the concept based on the division of society as included majority and excluded minority by ignoring the income and other kinds of differences among the included and mainly offers a minimalist solution as integrating the excluded to the society. Moreover; Levitas argues that the concept is embedded in different discourses in practice.¹⁹ He describes three discourses of social exclusion: a redistributionist discourse (RED) which focuses on poverty; a moral underclass discourse (MUD) which is based on “the moral and behavioral delinquency of the excluded” and social integrationist discourse (SID) which focuses on paid work.²⁰

In their study on “Understanding Social Exclusion”; Burchardt, Le Grand and Piachaud draw a framework of the concept. They define the social exclusion as follows: “an individual is socially excluded if he or she does not participate in key activities of society in which he or she lives.”²¹ They clarified the participation in social life by identifying the “key” activities under the four categories which are consumption, production, political engagement and social interaction. In this sense, they criticize the working definition of social exclusion by arguing that the concept of exclusion is a

¹⁹ Ruth Levitas, *The Inclusive Society: Social Exclusion and New Labour* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), p. 7.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 7-8.

²¹ Tania Burchardt, Julian Le Grand and David Piachaud, “Degrees of Exclusion: Developing a Dynamic, Multidimensional Measure,” in *Understanding Social Exclusion*, ed. John Hill, Julian Le Grand and David Piachaud (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 30.

matter of degree in terms of participation and it carries a relativity by emphasizing the questions of “exclusion relative to whom?”. So, they basically emphasizes the vagueness of the concept, too.²²

Du Toit, in his critical approach to the using of the concept, argues that the discourse of social exclusion have some problems in the context of its link to the poverty. He remarks that social exclusion is almost replaced with the term of poverty, however he claims that this concept is Western based and does not fit the chronic poverty in the South. He asks that if we accept that the real problem is social exclusion, is inclusion necessary for curing of the poverty. According to him, dimensions of chronic poverty are asset poverty and cash dependency, risk and seasonality, social capital and patron- client relationships. Du Toit asserts that “social exclusion” is a political term rather than an economic term and it creates a discourse of normal and tries to exclude abnormal. He claims that poverty does not result from the people’s exclusion but their inclusion to the market.²³ In the case of Malatya, the situation is also similar migrants are involved in economy as low-paid workers and they employ in the sectors in which locals do not prefer to work. However, although there has been exclusion by inclusion there is a story of embourgeoisement in Malatya as I will elaborate further pages.

²² Ibid., pp. 31-32.

²³ AndreasDu Toit, “Social Exclusion Discourse and Chronic Poverty: A South African Case Study,” *Development and Change* 35(5) (2004): p. 1003.

2.1.1 Class, identity and space as means of social exclusion and “otherization” of immigrant

While some researchers finds the “social exclusion” concept as vague by concentrating on poverty, the others emphasizes that the concept of poverty is too narrow.²⁴ Amartya Sen remarks that the new literature on social exclusion provides a broader context of the idea of the poverty as capability deprivation so that it deserves an appreciation.²⁵

Actually, the concepts of social exclusion and poverty intertwined. However, while the former one refers to a multidimensional process, the latter is related with static outcomes. The social exclusion actually includes the poverty and redefine it in a broader way. Moiso explains that “social exclusion is lagging behind the way of living, life resources and living conditions that are customary and approved of in the society in which one lives and ... income poverty, unemployment and lack of education are all indicators for the lack of life resources.”²⁶ Thus, one of the main characteristics of social exclusion is related with the poverty and access to the resources and the term poverty and unemployment mostly lay behind at the heart of the discussion on social exclusion.²⁷ Madanipour remarks that marginalization and long-term exclusion from the labor market

²⁴ Ali Madanipour, “Social Exclusion and Space,” in *Social Exclusion in European Cities: Processes, Experiences and Responses*, ed. Ali Madanipour, Göran Cars and Judith Allen (Oxon: Routledge 2005), p. 77.

²⁵ Amartya Sen, “Social Exclusion: Concept, Application, and Scrutiny,” *Social Development Papers* No: 1, (Published by Office of Environment and Social Development; Asian Development Bank, June 2000), available at: <http://www.adb.org/sites/default/files/publication/29778/social-exclusion.pdf> [16 July 2015], p. 3.

²⁶ Pasi Moiso, “The Nature of Social Exclusion- Spiral of Precariousness or Statistical Category?” in *Social Exclusion in European Welfare States*, ed. Ruud J.A. Muffels, Panos Tsakloglou and David G. Mayes (Massachusetts: Edward Elgar Publishing, 2002), p. 170.

²⁷ Madanipour, “Social Exclusion and Space,” p. 77.

hinders the participation in the production and consumption process which exacerbates the exclusion.²⁸ In this sense a class based analysis of the social exclusion is necessary. I will explore the case of Kurdish migrants in Malatya by concentrating on their experiences in their work life and how their poverty is intimately related with the social exclusion process.

The concepts which is attributed to the similar situations for different geographies need to be explained within the context of this thesis. To mention the literature on “marginality” and “underclass” would be useful to clarify the vagueness of the concept of social exclusion and provides making comparisons while analyzing the case in Malatya.

Perlman uses the term “marginality” in the context of Latin America. In her book *“The Myth of Marginality: Urban Poverty and Politics in Rio de Janeiro”*, she defines the “marginality” as a concept which refers to the variety of other, sometimes overlapping groups which includes “the poor in general, the jobless, migrants, members of subcultures, racial and ethnic minorities, and deviants of any sort”.²⁹ In order to clarify the concept she counts five criteria which is attributed to the marginality. 1) location in squatter settlements, 2) underclass in the economic occupational structure, 3)migrants, newcomers, or different subcultures, 4)racial and ethnic minorities, 5)deviants.³⁰ She identifies the marginality as a “myth” in the context of favelas of Rio de Janeiro by claiming that “the favela residents are not economically and politically

²⁸ Ibid., p. 77.

²⁹ J.A Perlman, *The Myth of Marginality: Urban Poverty and Politics in Rio de Janeiro* (Cambridge: University of California Press, 1976), p. 93.

³⁰ Ibid., pp. 94-96.

marginal, but are excluded and repressed; that they are not socially and culturally marginal, but stigmatized and excluded from a closed class system”. She emphasizes that they are actually not marginalized but actively marginalized by the system and public policy. ³¹However, in her article “Marginality: From the Myth to the Reality in the Favelas of Rio de Janeiro 1969-2002”, she remarks that the “myth” turned into a “reality” because of the unemployment process, low incomes, deteriorated working conditions as well as weakened labor security led by the “industrial marginality”.³² In the context of Malatya, we cannot define the case of Kurdish migrants as “marginality” since they are included in the economy and social life and even they have experienced the upward mobility in the class strata. Although the wages are low, the working of whole member of families ensures their wellbeing. Traditional production relations also allows their living in better conditions.

Loic Wacquant defines “advanced marginality” as a concept which describes the new order which is created by the uneven development of the capitalist economies and shrinking of welfare states and revealed as a socio-spatial relegation and exclusionary closure in the post-Fordist city. ³³Wacquant argues that “urban marginality is not everywhere woven of the same cloth”.³⁴ For instance, those practices of socio-spatial relegation and exclusionary closure were operated on the basis of racial segregation in

³¹ Ibid., p. 195.

³² J.A.Pearlman, “Marginality: From Myth to Reality in the Favelas of Rio de Janeiro 1969-2002,” in *Urban Informality: Transnational Perspectives from the Middle East, Latin America and South Asia*, ed. A. Roy and N. Alsayyad (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2004), pp. 1-42.

³³ Loic Wacquant, *Urban Outcasts: A Comparative Sociology of Advanced Marginality* (Malden: Polity Press, 2008), p. 2.

³⁴ Ibid., p. 1.

the United States' "Black Belt" and class position in the France's "Red Belt".³⁵ He defines six distinctive properties of the rising regime of marginality as follows: 1) wage labor as vector of social instability, 2) functional disconnection from macroeconomic trends, 3) territorial fixation and stigmatization, 4) spatial alienation and the dissolution of 'place', 5) loss of hinterland.³⁶ He argues that this advanced marginality, with those distinctive characteristics, differs from the previous forms of urban poverty.³⁷

The other concept which is related with the "social exclusion" is the term of "underclass". János Ladányi and Ivan Szelenyi explains the main characteristic of the group which is identified as underclass as follows:

1. "They are geographically isolated in ethnically homogeneous neighborhoods, separated from mainstream society, including the socially and economically better-off members of ethnic group.
2. They are often seen by members of the mainstream as a "superfluous" or "useless" social category, who do not contribute to the welfare of society and who represent a drain on valuable resources.
3. Their poverty is typically inherited across generations."³⁸

The case of Kurdish migrants in Malatya also does not fit into the concept of "underclass" since first of all they are not located in geographically isolated neighborhoods and coexistence of people who belong to the different ethnic backgrounds and who occupy different positions in the class strata in those neighborhood ensures their communication and actively participation in social life.

³⁵ Ibid., p. 5.

³⁶ Ibid., pp. 233-243.

³⁷ Ibid., p. 244.

³⁸ János Ladányi and Ivan Szelenyi, "Patterns of Exclusion: Constructing Gypsy Ethnicity and the Making of an Underclass," in *Transitional Societies of Europe* (New York: East European Monographs, 2006), p. 8.

Secondly, the migrants in Malatya is not accepted as “useless” but “needed” for the well-being of economy. Their contribution into the economy is appreciated by locals. Finally, although they experienced the poverty in the first years of the migration, they have become rich throughout times; thus the young generation of migrants inherited the prosperity rather than poverty.

In the light of theoretical framework of those concepts and relevant literature, it is obvious that migrants are more vulnerable in the sense that not only their poverty but their differences in terms of race and ethnicity also deepen their exclusion from the society. Byrne, in his book “Social Exclusion” highlights the relationship between ethnicity and exclusion. According to him, in industrial and postindustrial era immigrant status and ethnicity factors are very relevant but not the same.³⁹

Mark Thomas explains the concept of racialization as “the process of attaching social significance of value to perceived biological, phenotypical, or cultural differences between social groups.”⁴⁰ According to Thomas, those racialized groups are developed not only in terms of biological differences but also power and equality by generating a hierarchy and related exclusion.⁴¹ He also indicates that the relationships of race, class and gender is interrelated. Hence, the codes of race is produced and reproduced in the

³⁹ Ibid., p. 2.

⁴⁰ Mark Thomas, “Neoliberalism, Racialization, and the Regulation of Employment Standards,” in *Neoliberalism and Everyday Life*, ed. Susan Braedley and Meg Luxton (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2010), p. 70.

⁴¹ Ibid., p. 70.

relations of everyday life. Furthermore, there is a connection between low-paid work and racialization of poverty.⁴²

The relationship between immigration and exclusion is revealed as the codification of Otherness in the everyday life. Kitty Calavita also mentions the economic and racial bases of the exclusion. She argues that there is a construction of immigrant difference by emphasizing the notion of “stranger” who is feared and marginalized.⁴³ The public opinion towards immigrants is shaped around especially two stereotypes; “the immigrants threaten our culture and identity” and “immigrants are a threat to job security”.⁴⁴

Calavita argues that one of the everyday dynamics of exclusion is related with the economic realm in the sense that the exclusion practices go hand in hand with the unemployment, low-paid jobs and flexible labor.⁴⁵ She focuses on the construction of immigrant difference and underlines that “regardless of the sector of employment or geographic region immigrants are “Others”, the “new untouchables” who do work that locals largely shun”.⁴⁶ Thus, Otherness is exacerbated by the economic position of the immigrants and migrant is treated as “unwanted workers”. In the case of Malatya, Kurdish migrants work especially in the sector in which locals do not prefer to work and locals emphasizes that they need migrants especially in the agricultural sector. In

⁴² Ibid., p. 70.

⁴³ Kitty Calavita, *Immigrants at the Margins: Law, Race, and Exclusion in Southern Europe* (Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 13.

⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 127.

⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 102.

⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 72.

Malatya, the “Otherness” of the migrants is mostly related with their position in the class strata. I will elaborate the economic bases of exclusion in Chapter 6.

In this research, I will use this relationship between ethnicity and exclusion. I will ask how the Kurdishness of migrants from other cities became a problem. While the local Kurds are not stigmatized with pejorative names, the migrants are labeled. In this sense, Calavita’s argument is relevant: Calavita asserts that there is a racialization of migrant flows. She is using Etienne Balibar’s concept called “racism without race”⁴⁷ which implies that race is not just socially constructed but economically and materially constructed. Thus, she explains that “immigrants are racialized, and their cultures is highlighted as problematically distinct, to the extent that they are economically other.”⁴⁸ Heisler’s argument is also relevant to Calavita’s analysis. She remarks that black US citizens gained formal citizenship equality in the 1980s, before that they were exposed to discrimination and racial segregation. Heisler claims that only the middle class or partly worker class benefited from these rights, however the economically weakest part of the black population remained excluded. This is much related with the issue of “racism without race” which implies that if you are not poor your race is not important. Although the whole of society or some local parts of society may adopt the racism which is based on race, the race may turn to the socio-economic categorization in some societies.

⁴⁷ Etienne Balibar, “Racism Without Race,” in *Race and Racialization*, ed. Tania Das Gupta, Carl E. James, Roger J.A. Maaka, Grace- Edward Galabuzi, Chris Andersen (Toronto: Canadian Scholar’s Press, 2007).

⁴⁸ Kitty Calavita, “Law, Citizenship, and the Construction of (Some) Immigrant ‘Others,’ ” *Law and Social Inquiry* 30.2 (2005): p. 414.

Therefore the relationship between race and class is a matter for exclusion studies. Calavita implies that both the class and the racial difference of the immigrant stigmatized as not suitable for the inclusion.⁴⁹ Aihwa Ong also emphasizes that the class and race are largely interdependent constructions.⁵⁰ Thus, overcoming the poverty is a form of inclusion.

Castles and Davidson explain that many immigrants see the process of engagement with trade as a way to get rid of the unpleasant conditions of other jobs which offer low wages. Also, owning a shop or other small business in the neighborhood ensures a dream of autonomy and prestige.⁵¹ According to them, “minority enterprises concentrated in certain locations and in certain economic branches, which come to be seen as ethnic niches.”⁵² Keith Hart also remarks that “the way-out from the poverty” and improve their living standards for urban workers is seen as launching small scale entrepreneurs since some of their fellows had successes it by dealing with the trade.⁵³ Simmel’s definition of stranger is also relevant to these arguments. According to Simmel, “the stranger is by nature no “owner of soil”. He means by soil that not only a physical soil but also “in the figurative sense of a life-substance which is fixed”.⁵⁴ Thus, the embourgeoisement story actually related with being “owner of soil”. By saying

⁴⁹ Kitty Calavita, *Immigrants at the Margins*, p. 164.

⁵⁰ Quoted in Kitty Calavita, *Immigrants at the Margins*, p. 164.

⁵¹ Stephen Castles and Alastair Davidson, *Citizenship and Migration* (New York: Routledge, 2000), p. 133.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 134.

⁵³ Keith Hart, “Informal Income Opportunities and Urban Employment in Ghana,” *The Journal of Modern African Studies* Vol.11 No.1, p. 67.

⁵⁴ Georg Simmel, “The Stranger,” in *Georg Simmel on Individuality and Social Forms*, ed. Donald N. Levine (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1971), pp.144-145.

embourgeoisement I refer to the upward mobility of individuals into the bourgeoisie or middle class as a result of their own efforts or collective action by dealing with the trade.

The “space” actually constitutes one of the bases of the exclusion process. Madanipour remarks that exclusion should be regarded as a socio-spatial phenomenon. He remarks that we need to analyze the intersection between space production and everyday in order to reach a dynamic understanding of space. In this sense space has a major role in the exclusion and inclusion processes. Thus, social exclusion studies cannot be separated from the spatial segregation.⁵⁵

The space is not just a geographical space but it is both political and ideological. In this context, Lefebvre remarks that social space is made by the fabric of networks and channels which is the integral part of the everyday life.⁵⁶ Both Lefebvre and Massey argues that the space is both political and ideological in which power, social networks and capitalist production emerges. Hence, the space should be considered as an agent that affects the practices and the relations of production in the everyday life.⁵⁷ Lefebvre argues that social and political space is produced and is a product but also producer and reproducer in the maintenance of relations of dominations.⁵⁸

Byrne claims that the spatial exclusion is the most visible and evident form of exclusion. He argues that the space where people live actually determines their life; for

⁵⁵ Madanipour, “Social Exclusion and Space,” p. 77.

⁵⁶ Henri Lefebvre, *Critique of Everyday Life* Vol. 2 (London&New York: Verso, 2008), p. 231.

⁵⁷ Gönül İçli, *Statü Sembolü Olarak Konut ve Konut Kullanımı: Denizli Örneği* (Denizli: Pamukkale Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2010), p.15.

⁵⁸ Henri Lefebvre, *State, Space, World: Selected Essays*, ed. Neil Brenner and Stuart Elden (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2009), p. 212.

instance it determines what kind of schooling their children get.⁵⁹ Massey and Denton emphasizes that “the racial residential segregation is the principal structural feature of American society responsible for the perpetuation of urban poverty and represents a primary cause of inequality in US.”⁶⁰

David Sibley mentions the spaces of exclusion as home, locality and nation. He emphasizes that the home is personal space or family space so that the person from the outside of the home can enter only by invitation.⁶¹ This relationship between space and exclusion is also relevant in the case of migrants. While the local try to preserve their “place”, the migrants try to transform the “space” to the “place” in which they will live and socialize as if they were in the hometown. Wacquant emphasizes the difference between “place” and “space”. He argues that, the place consists of identity and shared meanings and emotions however spaces are just areas of surviving; thus, there is a shift from a politics of space to the politics of place.⁶²

Castles and Davidson mention the community formation and ethnic mobilization. They identify ethnic mobilization as a reaction to the social, cultural and political exclusion that is experienced by immigrants, ethnic minorities or indigenous people.⁶³ They also emphasize the issue of community formation which includes several

⁵⁹ David Byrene, *Social Exclusion* (Berkshire: Open University Press, 2005), p. 110.

⁶⁰ Ibid., p. 114.

⁶¹ David Sibley, *Geographies of exclusion: Society and Difference in the West* (New York: Routledge, 1995 (2007 printing)), p. 90.

⁶² Loic J. D. Wacquant, “The Rise of Advanced Marginality: Notes on Its Nature and Implications,” *Acta Sociologica* 39 no. 2 (1996): p. 124.

⁶³ Stephen Castles and Alastair Davidson, *Citizenship and Migration* (New York: Routledge, 2000), p. 129.

processes. Indeed, the first process starts with home building.⁶⁴ Home is a place where someone feels sense of belonging and security. The discourse of home is actually related with the nation and place formation and this discourse enables to define the “other”. Castles and Davidson imply that migration is actually related with the leaving home and settling in someone else’s home. Thus, it creates a clash between the newcomer and the local people on the issue of space and newcomers try to construct their own places which resembles to their own “home”.⁶⁵ Castles and Davidson emphasizes the visible process of the issue of place making through signs on shops and restaurants, ethnic markets and a different use of public spaces.⁶⁶ In Malatya, some of Kurdish migrants stay in tents or tumbledown houses when they first come to the city. However, throughout times they build their own houses and home building is the first step of their inclusion since the locals began to accept their settlement. Architectural designs of some homes as well as signs or names of the shops who belong to the migrants actually imply the migrant background and carry the symbols of hometowns. The notion of “space” actually will be very important issue in my research. Kelly argues that the social and cultural capitals are “toponomical” that is dependent on physical and social location. Because, according to Kelly, people derive their knowledge from the physical spaces where they live, they recognize it as reality as defined in their proximate spheres.⁶⁷

⁶⁴ Ibid., p. 130.

⁶⁵ Ibid., p. 130.

⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 131.

⁶⁷ Patricia Fernandez Kelly, “Social and Cultural Capital in the Urban Ghetto: Implications for the Economic Sociology of Immigration,” in *The Economic Sociology of Immigration*, ed. Alejandro Portes (New York : Russell Sage Foundation, 1995), p. 215.

David Sibley mentions the feelings about others. The codification of “Other” is also related with the space such as identifying certain spaces with the dangerousness, fear, particular smell or noisy.⁶⁸ The use of color and “dirtiness” is always used in the colonial past and continues today. While black is associated with the shame and disease, the white symbolizes the purity, virtue and goodness.⁶⁹ For instance the slogans of public information posters in US in 1920-30s includes the words of “where there’s Dirt, there’s Danger”. Thus the link between hygiene and “Otherization” always stand as prevalent in the public discourse.

Calavita remarks that “adequate shelter is a *sine quo non* of membership” and inadequate housing as well as spatial segregation are both the reason and consequences of the economic and legal marginality of immigrants.⁷⁰ As parallel to this argument, R. Lupton and A. Power argues that the concentration of problems in particular neighborhoods is not coincidental since the characteristics of the neighborhood actually contributes to the social exclusion of the residents.⁷¹ The spatial context has really an important effect in the life of individuals.

Ash Amin’s argument on “collaboration brings inclusion” is relevant. He emphasizes that “the integration of the stranger lies in the act of collective

⁶⁸ David Sibley, *Geographies of exclusion: Society and Difference in the West* (New York: Routledge, 1995 (2007 printing)), p. 3.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 19-22.

⁷⁰ Kitty Calavita, *Immigrants at the Margins*, pp. 114-117.

⁷¹ Ruth Lupton and Anne Power, “Social Exclusion and Neighbourhoods,” in *Understanding Social Exclusion*, ed. John Hill, Julian Le Grand and David Piachaud (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 118.

doing".⁷² Since the spatial integration also brings the collective doing in the city, the spatial relations will be an important indicator for my research.

I used the concept of social exclusion as a main theoretical agenda during the research process. Since I want to examine both the political economy and everyday life together, I prefer to use the social exclusion which is a multi-layered concept and involves political, economic and spatial exclusion rather than using the concepts such as poverty, marginality, underclass or racism which basically elaborate the exclusion in one dimension by just focusing on economic or social exclusion.

2.3 Conceptualization of sectarian racism as a form of religious based exclusion

Racism is mostly known as the discrimination and prejudices which are based on the biological differences and today this kind of racism accepted as one of the big crimes. However, racist acts have been continuing in various forms in the global age.

Article 1 of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination defines racial discrimination as "any distinction, exclusion, restriction or preference based on race, color, descent, or national or ethnic origin which has the purpose or effect of nullifying or impairing the recognition, enjoyment or exercise, on an equal footing, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural or any other field of public life".⁷³ Racism is a social phenomenon which is articulated around the stigmata of otherness. It involves both

⁷²Ash Amin, *Land of Strangers* (Unpublished revised script, 2011).

⁷³ UN Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights. Available [online]: <http://www.ohchr.org/EN/ProfessionalInterest/Pages/CERD.aspx> [4 July 2015].

physical and conceptual violence towards the "other". However, today racism is mostly practiced as conceptual violence and implicit discrimination which includes intolerance, humiliation, and exploitation.⁷⁴

Balibar points out the emergence of new forms of racism called neo-racism which is based on the discrimination towards the immigrants and cultural differences. He defines this neo-racism as "racism without race". This kind of racism refers to racism whose dominant theme is not biological heredity but the cultural differences. In other words, the difference of life-styles and cultures becomes the reason of discrimination and P.A. Taguieff called it as "differentialist racism". Balibar argues that neo-racism shows us the biological or genetic naturalism is not the only source of naturalizing of human behaviour and social affinities by claiming that "culture can also function like a nature". This neo-racism is an implicit form of exclusion and inclusion which was originated during the colonial process. Balibar claims that the discrimination towards immigrants in Europe is based on this differentialist racism whose essence is social aggression since it creates a hierarchy among different cultures and the xenophobia.⁷⁵

By using the theoretical framework of Taguieff's "differentialist racism" and Balibar's neo-racism, I conceptualize the "sectarian racism". By saying sectarian racism I mean the racism towards different sects of the same religion. It involves cultural differences, different life-styles as well as different religious practices. However, it is different from neo-racism and differentialist racism in one crucial sense. The latter two

⁷⁴ Etienne Balibar, "Is there a 'Neo-Racism'?", in *Race, Nation, Class: Ambiguous Identities*, ed. Etienne Balibar and Immanuel Wallerstein (London: Verso, 1990), p.17.

⁷⁵ Ibid., pp.20-24.

forms of racism occur between locals and new-comers of one place. They are stranger and if they have a chance to encounter it is easier to convert exclusion to the inclusion process. In the literature we can find the samples of this kind of inclusion process. However, sectarian racism mostly emerged among people who share the same place for centuries. There are no new-comers but they stay as stranger. This case is more difficult from other types of racism in terms of inclusion.

The case of Alevis in Turkey is a perfect sample of sectarian racism. Alevilik as a Shi'ite origin sect of Islam is a minority sect in Turkey. The racist acts towards Alevis or religious minorities are not a situation particular to Turkey; but within the scope of this thesis I will explain this concept according to the case of Malatya in Chapter 6. The differentialist racism, or “racism without race” basically reveals as sectarian racism in Malatya and the case of Alevis stands as a limitation for inclusion.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY AND LIMITATIONS

“Go and sit in the lounges of the luxury hotels and on the door- steps of the flophouses; sit on the Gold Coast settees and on the slum shakedown; sit in the Orchestra Hall and the Star and Garter Burlesque. In short, gentlemen, go get the seat of your pants dirty in real research.”

Robert Park

This thesis is basically erected upon the synthesis of different methodologies. Although semi-structured in-depth interviews were used as a main method participant observations, ethnography and the collection of life stories were used during the research process.

I divided the field research in three parts for methodological and practical reasons. First of all, I conducted a pilot study on January 2014 in order to observe the field and to strengthen the hypotheses and the research process. The pilot study is erected upon semi-structured qualitative interviews with 15 people; some of them were group interviews. This process is actually a stage of introduction to the field through which I have a chance to construct the methodological framework of the thesis. Based on experiences in the pilot study it is obvious that to study exclusion mechanisms necessitates the synthesis of different methodologies. In the second part of the field research I conducted elite interviews with people who are representatives of the specific communities in the city on March 2015. The last parts constitutes the basic part of the field research. In this stage, semi-structured in-depth interviews with local people and Kurdish immigrants were conducted in order to explore the codes of exclusion and

inclusion on the period between June 2015 and July 2015. In total, I conducted 51 interviews in the city.

I want to clarify the methodological framework of this thesis in detail. I basically examine exclusion and inclusion practices in Malatya by concentrating on two dimensions: the political economy and the everyday life. The political economic dimension is basically examined by using the database of Turkish Statistical Institute (Turkstat). To understand the interrelations of class, identity and space in the everyday life I have to design a qualitative research. Semi-structured interviews and the ethnography are the most suitable methods for this research.

First of all, semi-structured interviews would be beneficial since they allow directing the interviews in terms of the characteristics and life experiences of the person. Besides this, the role of “embourgeoisement”, “face-to-face interactions” and “spatial relation” in the exclusion and inclusion process were extracted by listening to people, by discovering the discursive practices they used. Interviews were mainly worked through “convenience sampling.” It is most suitable for this research to use convenience sampling because; it is fast and effective in accessing diverse groups of subjects. “Convenience sampling is a non-probability sampling technique where subjects are selected because of their convenient accessibility and proximity to the researcher.”⁷⁶ However; I consider that the samples should include people who are representative of

⁷⁶ “Convenience Sampling”: Available [online]: <http://explorable.com/convenience-sampling> [July 1, 2015].

the characteristics of the population. My personal contacts have been utilized to reach the participants through all the stages of the study.

Apart from semi-structured interviews ethnography was necessary for this research. Auyero and Joseph emphasize the importance of ethnography in the politics. They claim that concentrating on the models, charts, regressions and correlations of standard political research actually undermines a certain reality that is called politics. They remark that the shadows which are created by “the unnecessary and deleterious overreliance on quantitative methods” actually ignore the importance of “day-to-day” intricacies and implicit meanings in the everyday life.⁷⁷ Ethnography is also a crucial methodology in ethnicity studies. Brubaker remarks that “the everyday contexts in which ethnic and national categories take on meaning and the processes through which ethnicity actually ‘works’ in everyday life”.⁷⁸ He emphasizes that we have to concentrate on the everyday life in order to understand how ethnicity works and ethnography is the fundamental method for studying on everyday life.⁷⁹ Therefore, ethnography allows to observe the politics on the micro-level by exploring how culture shapes politics and how hegemony and identities are constructed and reconstructed in the everyday life.⁸⁰

⁷⁷ Javier Auyero and Lauren Joseph, “Introduction: Politics under the Ethnographic Microscope,” in *New Perspectives in Political Ethnograph*, ed. Lauren Joseph et al. (New York: Springer, 2007), p. 2.

⁷⁸ quoted in Auyero and Joseph, “Introduction: Politics,” p. 6.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.* p.6.

3.1 Observations and ethnography

Tilly explains that political ethnography includes the collection of evidences in different ways such as in-depth interviews, conversation, participant observation, passive observation of interactions and covert observation of interaction.⁸¹ Thus, I tried to use the synthesis of those methods in the ethnography. Apart from 30 recorded in-depth interviews and 15 interviews in the pilot study, I had a chance to have informal chats with almost 30 people. I stayed in the city in different periods from 3-4 days to 1-3 months during the research period. Thus, I had a chance to conduct ethnography and participant observation in the process in order to comprehend the exclusion mechanisms and everyday interactions among people in the spatial realm as well as the non-ghettoized characteristics of the city.

First of all, sitting on the squares of the city and walking around the parks and streets was the first way to observe the characteristics of the city and its neighborhoods. This observation gave me a chance to acquire everyday interactions among people. Furthermore, I always prefer to use public transportation in the city and listened to people by giving up wearing my earphones because, in Malatya, the bus stops, buses and “dolmuş”s (minibus) are the places of chatting on the politics, economy, and problems of the city as well as personal stories. Anyone who travels in the bus can participate in those conversations without being acquaintance. Also, listening to those conversations

⁸¹ Charles Tilly, “Afterword: Political Ethnography as Art and Science”, in *New Perspectives in Political Ethnograph*, ed. Lauren Joseph et al. (New York: Springer, 2007), p. 248.

make the research process easier in the sense that one finds the chance to acquire their natural perspectives regarding the specific issues in their everyday life.

Parks are always places of interaction in Malatya. Especially, in spring and the summer most of people go to the parks and enjoy with their families. Those parks are the public spaces and people can sit in parks without paying (eg. Sümer Parkı, Korucuk, Mişmiş Park, Gündüzbey Mesire Alanları, Ata Park, Hürriyet Parkı). During my research process, I visited those parks with my own family, participated in conversations and listened to people and have an idea of what they basically talk about. Even though people do not know each other, they easily started to conversations in public spaces. When someone visits the city, it can be easily observed that the city dwellers are always in dialogue in the streets rather than being in a hurry. Actually, both the cultural characteristics and the spatial design in the city allow this kind of interactions. Also, I participated women meetings or family meetings in order to observe everyday interactions of familiar people and acquire information about everyday life of those people. Moreover, I visited some schools and talked to teachers in schools regarding their student profiles.

By walking around the streets I tried to acquire the characteristics of neighborhoods. Even the architectural design of the houses and their appearances give clues about the socioeconomic situation of the residents. Also, I realized that houses of the migrants have some characteristics architectural designs which are different from the local ones.

3.2 Elite interviews

Before explaining the details of the field research, it is very important to clarify that what should be understood from the term “elite” in this study. Since there is no clear-cut definition of the term “elite”; the using of the term differs in terms of the approaches of the social scientists. William S. Harvey argues that many scholars defines the term elites in terms of their social positions compared to the researcher or compared to the average person in the society. To hold a position such as being the figureheads or the leader of organizations is not the sine qua non of being defined as “elite” however; holding “important social networks, social capital and strategic positions within social structures” is a crucial criteria since they have a capacity to influence a certain group of people. In addition, elite status changes in terms of geography; people hold elite status in some locations but not all locations.⁸² Thus, in this research “elite” is defined as parallel to Harvey’s approach. Harvey defines elites in his research as people who occupy senior management or board level positions within organizations.⁸³

Tansey explains the uses of elite interviews as follows: “1. Corroborate what has been established from other sources 2. Establish what a set of people think 3. Make inferences about a larger population’s characteristics/decisions 4. Reconstruct an event or set of events”.⁸⁴ Especially the first three aspects are relevant to the aim of this part of the field research.

⁸² William S. Harvey, “Strategies for Conducting Elite Interviews,” *Qualitative Research* 11(4) (2011): pp. 432-433.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 433.

⁸⁴ Oisín Tansey, “Process Tracing and Elite Interviewing: A Case for Non-probability Sampling,” *PS: Political Science and Politics* 40(4) (2007): p. 5.

Actually, there is almost no case study on Malatya which focuses on political and sociological characteristics of the city so there is a lack of secondary sources which will illuminate the research process. Thus, in order to theorize Malatya the database of TÜİK which gives a detailed statistical information regarding the economic and demographic structure of the city was used. However, this database was not enough to explore the political and sociological structure of the city for a thesis which basically focuses on the politics of everyday life. So it would be beneficial to conduct elite interviews in order to theorize Malatya.

First of all, the interviews were used as a confirmation of data which was collected from other sources. Hence, the elite interviews helped for the confirming of the accuracy of the information. Secondly, elite interviews contributed not only confirmation but also to prove some new information. Tansey remarks that one of the main functions of elite interviews is to establish what people think; what “their attitudes, values and beliefs” are.⁸⁵ In this point, elite interviews gave the researcher the information regarding the attitudes and perspectives of the representatives of certain communities in the city. Furthermore, elite interviews provide making inferences regarding the beliefs, actions and perspectives of the wider group in a society especially elites who were chosen as the representative of certain communities in Malatya. The elite interviewees were chosen among people who occupy a representative position for a particular community as well as the mayor and teachers. The list of interviewees in that part as follows: Deputy Mayor of Battalgazi which is an “immigrant-receiving” area and

⁸⁵ Ibid., p. 6.

huge migrant population are located in Battalgazi; the chair of the Chamber of Merchants and Craftsmen (Battalgazi province), the chair of Education and Science Workers' Union (EĞİTİM-SEN); the Press Secretary of the Equal Citizenship Platform of Alevi of Malatya (he is also owner of Güneş TV which is one of the mainstream media association in the city and the vice chair of the Association of Journalists in Malatya); the Provincial Head of People's Democratic Party (HDP); a teacher from the city. Semi-structured in-depth interviews were conducted and in addition to the in-depth interviews I had a chance to talk to some teachers in Eğitim-Sen, a lawyer and doctors in the city as well as candidates of HDP and the provincial head of the Democratic Provinces Party (DBP), and the chair of Pir Sultan Abdal Association (an Alevi association).

Table 1: The List of Elite Interviewees

Deputy Mayor of Battalgazi District
the Chair of Chamber of Merchants and Craftsmen of Battalgazi District
the Chair of Eğitim-Sen
the Press Secretary of "Malatya Alevileri Eşit Yurttaşlık Platformu"
the Provincial Head of HDP
a teacher

First of all, to talk to a person who rules the city is important since they are really aware of the political, sociological and economic structure of the city. Rather than choosing a "governor" which was appointed from the center it would be beneficial to talk with a mayor who is elected by the people and grown up in Malatya. Thus, the best choice for this research is the mayor of Battalgazi, one of the central districts of the city, which has the largest population as well as largest migrant population of Malatya. However, I

could conduct an interview with the deputy mayor of Battalgazi rather than the mayor. Also, I tried to talk to representatives of Kurdish and Alevi community in the city in order to acquire the information about the characteristics and the problems of those communities in the city. In this sense, HDP was chosen a representative of Kurdish political movement rather than an ordinary political party. Another important realm of this research was education. My hypothesis basically includes that Malatya is a non-ghettoized city and the education is dominated by public schools rather than the private schools so that children of migrants and locals as well as the rich and poor go to the same schools in the same neighborhood. Thus, teachers have a chance to observe all this dynamics in the city. So, the chair of Education and Science Workers' Union (EĞİTİM-SEN), a teacher were selected for interviews. In order to acquire the information about economic structure of the city, I planned to conduct interviews with The Chair of Commerce and Industry (Malatya) and The Chair of the Chamber of Merchants and Craftsmen (Battalgazi) but the first one is cancelled by the interviewee.

However, elite interviews could not be conducted as it was planned since especially people who are representatives of some trade organizations or municipalities refused to speak. Those refusals cannot be explained by ignoring the current political conditions in Turkey. The upcoming general elections (June 2015) as well as the increasing oppressions towards the freedom of speech created fear in the society especially on the representatives of some institutions who have links with the government. Thus, it is certain that the left-wing and minority groups were more prone to speak and allowed me to take their voice-recordings. Thus, the lack of right wing perspective in the elite interviews needs to be acknowledged in interpreting results.

For all elite interviews, I used intermediaries in order to gain confidence of those people. Dexter, one of the leading scholars who studies elite interviews, emphasizes the importance of the role of the intermediary in conducting elite interviews.⁸⁶ First of all, he remarks that to use intermediary decreases the risk of being unable to meet anyone. Actually, cancelled interviews were the interviews which I tried to contact without an intermediary. Also, I used different intermediaries to reach different people; as Dexter remarks that this would be well to check out at the beginning of the interview what the interviewee thinks that you are looking for and whether they will inform you eagerly or not.⁸⁷ However, it is very important to be aware of intermediary should not explain the research in order to inhibit his/her misinterpretation.⁸⁸

In this part of the field research semi-structured qualitative interviews were used. As Berry remarks that although open-ended questioning is the riskiest method but it is valuable type of elite interviews in the sense that it gives a chance to formulate follow-up questions to the researcher during the interviews.⁸⁹ Thus, even though open-ended questioning extended the duration of interview, it allows to me to ask broader questions in order to acquire the general profile of the city.

The questionnaire in the elite interviews was designed differently for each interviewee. I basically asked the questions in order to acquire clues about the political,

⁸⁶ Lewis Anthony Dexter, *Elite and Specialized Interviewing* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1970), p. 29.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 35.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 35-36.

⁸⁹ Jeffrey M. Berry, "Validity and Reliability Issues in Elite Interviewing," *PS: Political Science and Politics* Vol. 35 No. 4 (2002): p. 679.

sociological and economic structure of Malatya. Moreover, the everyday interactions among different sectarian and ethnic groups as well as interactions between locals and migrants tried to be extracted by asking specific questions. Rather than extracting the codes of inclusion and exclusion, the questions were designed in order to understand group dynamics, economic and social problems and the ethnic and political structure of the city. The information which is collected from the elite interviews leads for searching specific events (e.g. Hamido events) which shape the political and sociological atmosphere of the city in the lack of secondary sources. Thus, I had a chance to examine those events in the literature.

Therefore, after the interviews the political, sociological and economic map of Malatya had been acquired. Hence, the information which was acquired in the elite interviews made easy the third part of the field work.

3.3 In-depth interviews

The last part of the field research actually constitutes the basic part of the research. In this stage, I conducted 24 in-depth interviews in Malatya. Those interviewees were divided into two groups. 10 of the interviewees were selected among local people; others, 14 people, were Kurdish immigrants. Within the scope of this research, it is important to concentrate on the experiences of migrants in the city so the number of Kurdish migrant interviewees in the research was more than the local ones. Besides this, it was taken into consideration that different age, sex and income groups should be included this small sample groups. To understand that how perception towards “the other” changes generation to generation, some interviewees were selected from the same family. Some interviews were conducted as group interviews, especially with people

who belong to the same family. Migrant group involves people who experienced the embourgeoisement story and people who stayed as poor. Especially, social statuses and sects of the interviewees were taken into consideration. This sample selection is important to understand the embourgeoisement story and perceptions towards the Kurdish migrants in the city.

Questions in the semi-structured interviews with local people were related to the life experiences, economic and social situation, and relations with immigrants. Questions which were asked to immigrants were based on the reason of migration, experiences in migrated city, relations with local people, and their economic activities. The questions which addresses the use of public space and living together in the same neighborhood were asked to the each group. The qualitative research aims to provide a general profile of local and migrants in the city and their life experiences. This general profile will inform us about the “exclusion” and “inclusion” codes and economic activities. To conduct a semi-structured interview makes it easy to deepen the interview in order to explore the codes of “exclusion” and “inclusion”.

I selected some determinants in terms of class, identity and space in order to operationalize questions. Those determinants and relevant questions are as follows:⁹⁰

- 1) **Migration status:** This thesis basically focuses on the social exclusion and inclusion process of Kurdish migrants in Malatya. In this research, there are two groups which are the migrants and the locals. The locals are people who have

⁹⁰ I benefited from Adaman and Ardiç's article for the categorization: Fikret Adaman and Oya Pinar Ardiç, “Social Exclusion in the Slum Areas of Large Cities in Turkey,” *New Perspectives on Turkey* 38, (Spring 2008): pp. 29-60.

local origin; however I defined migrants not in terms of birth place but the place of origin. So that, a person whose family migrated to the city but he/she was born in Malatya is categorized as a migrant, too. Migrants were categorized in terms of two dimensions. One of them is being “old” and “new” migrants. I determined a “median year” in order to define old and new migrants and I selected the year of “1995” as median year since approximately 20 years is enough for being settled to the city and participate in economy as employers. The other categorization of migrants is being an internally displaced person (IDP) or not. I determined their migrant status as being IDP or not; by asking the reasons of migration.

2) Household income / income support: I did not ask the household income directly during the interviews but again both the information which I accepted from my gatekeepers and the observations during the interviews gave some clues about the household income. For instance, the aesthetics of the buildings is one of the indicator for the income. Also, the interviewees were asked whether a migrant accepted any kind of support when they came to the city for the first time such as support for renting a house, finding a job or financial problems.⁹¹

Also, I asked whether they accept social assistance from the state or NGOs.

3) Ethnic identity: In the context of Malatya, as I mentioned in literature review, since Kurds are not mobilized in the Kurdish movement and do not feel belonging to their ethnicity, the language would be an important indicator for

⁹¹ Ibid., p. 54.

being Kurdish. Thus, I defined the concept of ethnic identity in terms of the language/ mother-tongue rather than feeling belonging to the ethnicity.

4) Religion / sect: Rather than asking directly the religious affiliation of people I asked my gatekeepers about the sect and the religiousness of those people. Also, the observations in the houses of people gave clues about their sects. For instance, there were pictures of Caliph Ali which symbolizes being Alevi in the houses of Alevi interviewees.

5) Feeling excluded and having exclusionary attitudes towards others: In order to understand the codes of exclusion, open-ended questions were asked. For instance; the questions regarding their experiences in the city (in schools, neighborhoods etc.) and their certain problems in the everyday life would serve some indicators regarding the exclusion and inclusion processes.

Also, the interviewees were asked whether they are excluded on the basis of their poverty, level of education, dress and finery, ethnicity, accent or religious beliefs.⁹² In order to understand the having exclusionary attitudes towards others, the interviewees were asked whether they would allow their children will be married with someone who is of a different ethnic origin, of a different religious belief, a migrant/local etc. (If they are not married the questions as formulated whether they want to marry with someone who belongs to those groups) The same questions actually were reformulated as follows: Whether they would allow their children to be friends with someone who

⁹² Adaman and Ardiç, "Social Exclusion," p. 51.

belongs to the those groups that I mentioned above or whether they do not want to become neighbors with whom.

6) Integration into urban life: The interviewees were asked about the frequency of visits to the city center for reasons other than work.⁹³ Also, whether they visit their local/migrant neighborhoods and the frequency of visits. This questions would inform us regarding the socialization among local and migrants as well as inclusion and integration into the urban life.

7) Belonging to Malatya: The questions regarding their feeling towards Malatya and whether they define themselves as “Malatyalı” gave me clues of inclusion and spatial solidarity. The interviewees were asked whether they want to go back to their hometown or any other town such as metropolises. Their expressions which reflects their belonging to the city is actually accepted as the codes of inclusion.

8) Spatial segregation / inclusion: Although the spatial realm of the field research mostly based on the observations, I asked some questions regarding space. The questions basically focuses on whether people have a chance to come together and collaborate in the public space. For instance I asked whether they visits their neighborhoods or is there any specific activity which they collaborates with their neighbors (e.g. traditional activities or agricultural work). Also, I asked whether their neighbors are locals or migrants.

⁹³ Ibid., p. 47.

3.4 Limitations and cautions

One of the caution regarding this thesis is that I was born and grown up in Malatya. Throughout my academic learning process, I had a chance to observe all of these mechanisms in their natural environment. These observations constituted the starting point for the design of the study even though I was not involved in the context as a researcher at that time. Although, the direct and personal connections to the field involve risks of bias; I strongly emphasize that to observe the “exclusion” mechanism in the natural environment by knowing all mechanisms and life process in that district and to be aware of all cultural symbols is very important and can give valuable information. Besides, an observer from the outside may not understand all the cultural codes in that environment. Actually, the choice and the position of the researcher is not an unordinary situation in the ethnographic studies. Yanow remarks that the previous experiences of the researcher has a crucial role in the choice of the field. According to Yanow, the researcher chose the field because “they worked or lived there previously, have family ties to that place, speak the local language or a related one, and/or have some personal connection to the activity they are studying. There is no reason to hide this.” He also adds that in this context, the objectivity- to avoid from the “interviewer effects”- is not possible within the epistemological and ontological presuppositions.⁹⁴

The representativeness of this research is actually limited in the sense that it cannot be generalized to all population. However, it depicts a particular story which has

⁹⁴ Dvora Yanow, “Dear Author, Dear Reader: The Third Hermeneutic in Writing and Reviewing Ethnography,” in *Political Ethnography: What Immersion Contributes to the Study of Power*, ed. Edward Shatz (Chicago & London: The University of Chicago Press, 2009), p. 287.

not been mentioned in the relevant literature. In addition, it would be a leading agenda for the peaceful coexistence within a multi-ethnic and multi-sectarian society.

When it comes to the ethical side of the research, giving any physical or emotional harm to the participants during interviews does not seem to have high possibility. Participants were informed regarding the research and it was asked that whether they will give permission for the using of their names or not. In addition, during the pilot study although I planned to take voice-record; I did not take it because of technical problems and also I realized that those people do not want to speak when the voice-record is open. However, I have a chance to take voice-record of most of the interviews. Also, it was preferred to take field notes during the research and all names in the article are of course pseudonyms.

CHAPTER 4

THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF POVERTY AND KURDISH QUESTION IN TURKEY

In order to understand the social exclusion process in Turkey, it is crucial to highlight the social, political and economic dynamics behind that. In this chapter, I will explain the political economy of poverty and Kurdish Question in Turkey by examining the relevant literature. This chapter will be a background for the reader before analyzing the case of Malatya.

The conceptual framework of the term “social exclusion” is useful to explain the dynamic of poverty which is intertwined with the ethnic and spatial dimensions. Scholarly interest in poverty and its consequences in Turkish literature has been flourished in the last two decades. Although, the poverty has always been existed; the social and economic conditions under the neoliberal agenda exacerbates the poverty, also the armed conflict between the state and the Kurdish Workers’ Party (PKK) and its consequences created an environment where the ethnicization of poverty has been the leading problem in the everyday life of the major cities in Turkey.⁹⁵

Deniz Yüksekler categorizes the sources of social exclusion in Turkey under three topics. First of all, he argues that one of the leading factors in the social exclusion in Turkey is the armed conflict between PKK and the state since it created an economic disruption as well as the forced migration process in the Kurdish region of Turkey. Secondly, the neoliberal agricultural process cause to increasing of “voluntary”

⁹⁵ Fikret Adaman and Deniz Yüksekler, “Editor’s Introduction: Special Issue on Poverty and Social Exclusion in Turkey,” *New Perspectives on Turkey* 38 (Spring 2008): p. 19.

migration from rural to the cities. Finally, both the forced and voluntary migrants have experienced the violent circumstances of neoliberal policies which impacts the urban housing and labor markets.⁹⁶ I will try to analyze the literature on social exclusion within the framework of those three categories.

Before deeply evaluating the sources of social exclusion process, it is necessary to explain the internal migration process in Turkey. The scholars who study on Modern Turkey agrees that the internal migration process in Turkey should be examined under three historical categories. 1) the period before 1950s. 2) the period between 1950 and 1985 3) the period after 1985.⁹⁷

The first period is the modernization process of Turkey and there is no significant migration wave to the urban centers in this era. Buğra argues that the new Republic implemented policies to inhibit the transformation of rural poverty to an urban poverty as a result of the possible internal migration.⁹⁸ The characteristic migration stories of the early Republican era is that the rural population were forced to work in the mines, also the Settlement Law of 1934 imposed to the migration and resettlement of targeted populations within the policies of construction of the nation-state.⁹⁹

⁹⁶ Deniz Yüksek, "Neoliberal Restructuring and Social exclusion in Turkey," in *Turkey and the global economy: neo-liberal restructuring and integration in the post-crisis era*, ed. Ziya Öniş and Fikret Şenses (London ; New York: Routledge, 2009), p. 262.

⁹⁷ Ayhan Kaya, ed., *Türkiye'de İç Göçler: Bütünleşme mi Geri Dönüş mü* (İstanbul: Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2009), p. 63.

⁹⁸ Ayşe Buğra, "Devletçi Dönemde Yoksulluğa Bakış ve Sosyal Politika: Zenginlerimiz Nerede?" *Toplum ve Bilim* 99, (Winter 2003/2004): p. 32.

⁹⁹ Kaya, *Türkiye'de İç Göçler*, p. 63.

In 1950s, Turkey has experienced the industrialization process and as a consequence of it the big cities attracted the rural population and there were huge migrant wave from the rural Anatolia to the new emerging industrial cities of the Republic, especially around Marmara region. This migration waves and related urbanization cannot be separated the political economy of that era. Indeed, the import substitution industrialization (ISI) policy shaped the social and economic landscape of that era. ISI is based on the protectionist policies which target the development of domestic production by imposing limits to the foreign trade. The economic program in 1954 which restricted the imports is accepted as the starting point of ISI policies in Turkey.¹⁰⁰ Its legal and institutionalized framework was shaped after 1960s. Although it is not possible to say that the ISI is the only model which shapes the political economy of Turkey before 1980, it was predominantly the leading agenda in the economy.¹⁰¹ Işık and Pınarcıoğlu asserts that ISI is a kind of policy which aims to create a national bourgeois class in the less developed countries.¹⁰² Thus, in the ISI period, the industry was concentrated in the hands of big investors in the major cities. In this economic table, people began to migrate to those industrialized cities which needs labor forces. Both the need for labor as well as the populist agenda of the governments ensure those migrants settlement into the slum areas of the cities and built their *gecekondu* houses by occupying the public land.¹⁰³ İhsan Sezal argues that this voluntary migration wave

¹⁰⁰ Korkut Boratav, *Türkiye İktisat Tarihi 1908-2009* (Ankara: İmge Kitabevi, 2012).

¹⁰¹ Oğuz Işık and Melih Pınarcıoğlu, *Nöbetlese Yoksulluk, Gecekondulaşma ve Kent Yoksulları: Sultanbeyli Örneği* (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2001), p. 99.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, p. 99.

¹⁰³ Fikret Adaman and Oya Pınar Ardıç, "Social Exclusion in the Slum Areas of Large Cities in Turkey," *New Perspectives on Turkey* 38 (Spring 2008): p. 31.

created “villagized cities”¹⁰⁴ (*köyleşen şehirler*) since the migrants continued their rural life style in the cities by settling the same neighborhoods with their “hemşehris” and keeping their traditional linkages. Both the solidarity mechanisms in the city and their linkages to the rural contributed to overcome of the problems which they experienced in the everyday life. Işık and Pınarcıoğlu argues that, those resistance and adaptation mechanisms which is based on the informal relations and traditional networks actually decreased the problems of urbanization in Turkey.¹⁰⁵ In this stage, the newcomers lived under the protective walls of their networks in the city. Işık and Pınarcıoğlu asserts that one of the main characteristics of the migrant wave of 1950s were the solidarity links which had never experienced in the migration wave of post-1980.¹⁰⁶ Kalaycıoğlu also underlines the role of family/ kin solidarities as a means of coping with poverty in Turkey.¹⁰⁷ It is certain that neoliberal policies have distorted the solidarity mechanisms by pushing the spatial segregation and individualism.

The period after 1985 in the internal migration story of Turkey is intertwined with the neoliberal policies. Both the rapid urbanization and increasing demand for housing in the city centers cause to rise of the value of land around large cities. Thus, the *gecekondu*s were transformed apartment buildings and former *gecekondu* owners

¹⁰⁴ İhsan Sezal quoted in Tolga Tezcan. *Gebze: Küçük Türkiye'nin Göç Serüveni* (İstanbul: Bilgi Üniversitesi, 2011). p.35.

¹⁰⁵ Işık and Pınarcıoğlu, *Nöbetlese Yoksulluk*, p. 96.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 117

¹⁰⁷ Sibel Kalaycıoğlu, "Dynamics of Poverty in Turkey: gender, rural/urban poverty, social networks and reciprocal survival strategies," in *Poverty and Social Deprivation in the Mediterranean Area: Trends, Policies and Welfare Prospects* (2006): pp. 226-235.

became the landlords.¹⁰⁸ In this era, there was a density of Kurdish migration because of the “political-cum-economic reasons following the armed conflict between PKK and the Turkish army.”¹⁰⁹ The consequences of internal displacement is very different from the consequences of voluntary type of migration. Bediz Yılmaz explains the reasons of vulnerability of the internally displaced person (IDP) as follows:

“lack of material and psychological preparation for migration and settlement, severe rupture of relation to the village (no subsistence provision from the village), massive migration including the elderly and children (increasing the number of dependent people), spontaneous migration (leaving no time to integrate gradually to the city), and a stigmatizing discourse which labels all conflict induced migrants as Kurdish separatists.”¹¹⁰

Therefore, the forced migration process as well as neoliberal urban restructuring policies changed the dynamics of the migration and urbanization. Especially, state policies towards Kurdish population instigated the discrimination towards them. The ethnic and cultural differences of those migrants are combined with the extreme poverty and their Otherness are folded. However, in the case of Malatya dominant migration wave is mostly related with economic reasons rather than forced migration so that their integration to the society is easier than the integration of internally displaced people. Especially new migrants have networks in the city and they are not exposed to the exclusion by coding as “separatist” since they are not politically mobilized in the

¹⁰⁸ Adaman and Ardiç, “Social Exclusion,” p. 31.

¹⁰⁹ Bediz Yılmaz, “Entrapped in Multidimensional Exclusion: The Perpetuation of Poverty among Conflict-Induced Migrants in an Istanbul Neighborhood,” *New Perspectives on Turkey* 38 (Spring 2008): p. 212.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 212.

Kurdish movement. This characteristics of the migration wave to Malatya will be explained in Chapter 5 and 6 in detailed.

Buğra and Keyder remarks that the conditions which determine the new poverty in Turkey destroy the probability of being integrated into urban society. Those new migrants would not have to integrate in the economy by acquiring permanent jobs, the income they earn from their precarious jobs even is not sufficient for the basic needs such as the nutrition and education of their children. Hence, accumulating money to establish an enterprise is really difficult. ¹¹¹

Buğra and Keyder summarizes the conditions of the new poverty as follows:

“In contrast to the previous migration, which resulted from a desire to be in the city, migration from the Southeast is often caused by push factors, which have forced families out of the villages. Therefore, migrants from the Southeast are not arriving into already existing social networks and the opportunities they provide, but to uncertainty of completely foreign surroundings In this situation we find families who live in neighborhoods far from their relatives, whose chances of owning a *gecekondu* in the future are slim. No one in this families has ever held formal employment.” ¹¹²

The violent circumstances of post-Fordist era lead to the decreasing of the employment opportunities in the formal sector. Both the State Economic Enterprises and private-sector companies manufacturing goods ensure the employment opportunities for the newcomers during the ISI period; however the neoliberal economy pumps the precarious jobs without social protection. Thus changing structure of labor market cause the rise of significance of informal employment in order to survive in the city. Especially home-based works, sub constructing relations as well as employment in the construction sectors overwhelmingly is presented for the newcomers. The wages in those sectors is

¹¹¹Buğra and Keyder, *New Poverty*, pp. 23-24.

¹¹² Ibid., p. 28.

sometimes even lower than the minimum wage, and “the payments are arbitrarily delayed and sometimes never given.”¹¹³

Işık and Pınarcıoğlu, in their case study in Sultanbeyli, explains the dynamics of the urban poverty with the concept of poverty-in-turn (*Nöbetleşe Yoksulluk*). They basically suggests that the poor has a capacity to transform the living conditions and his/her place in the class structure by creating the informal resistance mechanisms and solidarity links. They define the poverty-in turn as concept which is based on the “capabilities of the urban poor”.¹¹⁴By saying capability they mean the informal capability which is “earned not through formal process of education but as the assets accrued by virtue of being part of a network of traditional relations.”¹¹⁵ They remarks that the poor has opportunities in the informal labor market and squatter housing with the help of their solidarity networks which hinges upon the cultural and religious affiliation as well as ethnicity.¹¹⁶ They insists that the poverty-in-turn is only possible in a city where there is a dynamic economy that includes the market of informal employment and a city which receives migrants and creates rent. They argue that without those prerequisites the poor cannot be exists from the circle of poverty by giving example of Mersin.¹¹⁷ However, after writing their book called “Nöbetleşe Yoksulluk:

¹¹³ Ibid., p. 28.

¹¹⁴ Oğuz Işık and Melih Pınarcıoğlu, “Not Only Helpless but Also Hopeless: Changing Dynamics of Urban Poverty in Turkey, the Case of Sultanbeyli, Istanbul,” *European Planning Studies* 16 no. 10 (2008): p. 1355.

¹¹⁵ Ibid., p. 1355.

¹¹⁶ Ibid., p. 1355.

¹¹⁷ Işık and Pınarcıoğlu, *Nöbetleşe Yoksulluk*, p. 96.

Sultanbeyli Örneği”, Turkey has experienced the 2001 crisis. So that they reexamined the case of poverty-in-turn in their following article and remarks that after the crisis, the poverty-in-turn is replaced with the chronic poverty. The poor, in 2000s, is both helpless and hopeless since they have a little chance for mobility. Thus the weakening of the solidarity networks in the city increased the exclusion of the poor and this refers to the emergence of new poverty in Turkey as in the case of Western poverties which is characterized with the “underclass, social exclusion and rise in poverty-induced violence.”¹¹⁸

The urban poverty in Turkey actually fits to the Du Toit’s conceptualization of social exclusion which is mentioned in the previous pages since the migrants in Turkey are included to the market as cheap and informal labour force rather than completely exclusion form the economic realm. Alp Kanzık’s study of Kurdish migrants in Yenibosna also supports Du Toit’s argument. Kanzık concludes that the exclusion of Kurdish migrants is related to their inclusion to the economy.¹¹⁹

As I mentioned before with the end of ISI policies privatization of the state enterprises decreased the opportunity of formal employment of newcomers in the cities. In addition to this privatization policies, the neoliberal agricultural policies which decreased the state subsidies on agriculture severely affected both the economic landscape of urban and the rural in Turkey. One of the major change in this realm is the Tobacco Law of 2002 which is imposed by the recovery package of International

¹¹⁸ Işık and Pınarcıoğlu, “Not Only Helpless but Also Hopeless,” pp. 1365-1367.

¹¹⁹ Alp Kanzık, “The Kurdish Migrants in Yenibosna: ‘Social Exclusion’, Class and Politics” (MA Thesis, Boğaziçi University, 2010).

Monetary Fund (IMF) which imposing quota on tobacco production. This law cause to the closure of state-owned cigarette factories (TEKEL) in various cities of Anatolia. Thus, both the tobacco producers and the works of TEKEL severely affected. In addition, the agricultural neoliberal policies exacerbates the rural poverty and cause to the “dispossession of people form agricultural means of production and rural lifestyle”.¹²⁰ Yüksekser argues that this dispossession process from the rural contributed to the social exclusion of new migrants in the urban life because they are lack of the links with their rural homelands and agriculture which contributes to the survival of the former migrants in the city. Therefore, since both the IDPs and the voluntary¹²¹ migrants of 2000s experienced the dispossession from the land, they are more dependent to the market and they become the sources of cheap labor.¹²² The privatization policies and neoliberal agricultural policies severely affected the economic well-being of Malatya. Both locals and migrants suffer from the decreasing income and rising of the prices in market in the last decades. In Chapter 5, I will explain the impact of neoliberal economic policies in the economy of Malatya and in Chapter 6, I will elaborate how those changes in the political economy have reflected in the everyday life of migrants and locals in the city.

Both the poverty and certain prejudices towards Kurdish migrants deepened their social exclusion. Cenk Saracoğlu suggests the concept of “exclusive recognition” in

¹²⁰ Yüksekser, “Neoliberal Restructuring ,” p. 266.

¹²¹ Although the literature use the word of “voluntary” for the migrations due to the economic problems, I found it problematic in the sense that to identify those type of migration as “voluntary” creates a generalization problem. For instance, Ayhan Kaya argues that more or less all migrations are involuntary. So that maybe we need a new concept in order to identify those types of migration.

¹²² Yüksekser, “Neoliberal Restructuring,” p. 267.

order to explain the redefinition of Kurdishness in the urban social life. Although he conceptualized it in the context of İzmir, the concept represents the crucial dynamics in the Kurdish issue in the everyday life. The certain stereotypes such as “ignorant”, “invaders”, “benefit scroungers”, “separatists” and “disrupters of urban life”, which have already existed in the society as discourses in order to “otherwise” certain groups, began to be used to define the Kurdish identity in İzmir.¹²³ This reinterpretation of the Kurdishness by the middle class İzmirlis creates a negative image of “Kurd”. Saracoğlu’s “exclusive recognition” differs from other types of pejorative labels. He remarks that the pejorative codes such as “Kurd with a tail” (*kuyruklu Kürt*) has existed throughout the history of Turkish society however these kind of stereotypes are mostly related with the invisibility of “Kurd”. Saracoğlu argues that this discursive exclusion resembles to the Orientalist portrayal of the Muslim in the eyes of Western people. However, he insists, the exclusive recognition is based on the experiences in the everyday life. The middle class İzmirlis identify Kurds in terms of their own experiences.¹²⁴

Sema Erder also emphasizes the struggles of Kurdish migrants in the urban life. Erder remarks that the Kurdish migrants of post-1990s are more vulnerable groups due to the lack of solidarity networks in that era. Moreover, they were exposed to the forced migration and they were identified with the PKK so that those migrants are coded as “shady”. Therefore, those new migrants feel lonely and stranger in the city. However, Erder argues that although they cannot exist with their Kurdish identity in the urban

¹²³ Cenk Saraçoğlu, *Kurds of Modern Turkey: Migration, Neoliberalism and Exclusion in Turkish Society* (New York: Tauris Academic Studies, 2011), p. 66.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 66-67.

life, they have a chance to create solidarity links on the basis of their religious sects. Sunni residents in Pendik emphasizes the “Muslim” identity of the Sunni Kurds and define them as a “religious fellows who has been in the difficult situation” and those Sunni Kurds have a chance to integrate in solidarity networks throughout the Mosques and religious orders. On the other hand, Alevi Kurds are helped by the Alevi community in the neighborhood. Erder asserts that Sunni Kurds, in comparison to Alevi Kurds, are more advantageous group in integrating the urban life and overcoming the struggles of post-migration process due to the sectarian based solidarity networks.¹²⁵

The social exclusion of Kurdish migrants in Turkey is not only revealed as the class and identity based exclusion but also spatial exclusion. The spatial exclusion of the poor is not actually a new phenomenon. As I mentioned above, the migrants always create their own places in the outskirts of the cities. However, the neoliberal urbanization projects created ghettoized cities where the poor and the rich live in different ghettos and do not even find a chance to come together in the everyday life. Harvey defines those neoliberal projects as “accumulation by dispossession”. This process of accumulation by dispossession is not only emerges in the rural areas but it is also revealed in the urban as a gentrification process.¹²⁶

Yükseker argues that the urban transformation process constitutes one of the main mechanisms of social exclusion in Turkey. The “commodification of land” process since 1990s created a rent economy in the cities. First of all, the former migrants became

¹²⁵ Sema Erder, *Kentsel Gerilim* (İstanbul: Uğur Mumcu Araştırma Vakfı, 1997), pp. 153-155.

¹²⁶ David Harvey, “Neoliberalism as creative destruction,” *Geografiska Annaler* 88B(2) (2006): pp. 145-158.

landlords by adding floors in their *gecekondu* houses and they rented those houses to new migrants. Secondly, the government and the municipalities try to acquire rent by gentrification projects. Those projects aim to clean the urban neighborhoods from the *gecekondu* houses by dispossession of the poor. Under the scope of the “social housing” projects which have run by The Mass Housing Administration (*Toplu Konut İdaresi*, TOKİ), the apartments were built in the outskirts of the cities where the land is cheaper for the settlement of the residents of those neighborhoods.¹²⁷ Bartu Candan and Kolluoğlu in their research which focuses on two emerging spaces in İstanbul (Göktürk and Bezirganbahçe) argues that “in Bezirganbahçe, the involuntary isolation and insulation, and non-rationality with the city imposed through the reproduction of poverty create a new form of urban marginality marked by social exclusion and ethnic tension”.¹²⁸ Furthermore they remarks that the neoliberalism created both the “concentrated wealth and resources” and “concentrated forms of economic vulnerability and poverty” at the same time in the same city.¹²⁹

Gambetti and Jongerden asserts that displacement and resettlements of Kurds constituted the part of assimilation process throughout the history of Turkish Republic. As parallel to their argument, the gentrification of politically mobilized neighborhoods (especially the neighborhoods which has the density of Kurdish and Alevi population)

¹²⁷ Yüksek, “Neoliberal Restructuring,” p. 268.

¹²⁸ Ayfer Bartu Candan and Biray Kolluoğlu, “Emerging Spaces of Neoliberalism: A Gated Town and Public Housing Project in İstanbul,” *New Perspectives on Turkey* 39 (2008): p. 5.

¹²⁹ Candan and Kolluoğlu, “Emerging Spaces,” p. 9.

can be elaborated as an assimilation policy and as a means of governmentality in order to control the “Other” and to inhibit their collective resistance.¹³⁰

Under the light of relevant literature, it is obvious that the political economy of exclusion is a very crucial dynamics both in the redefinition of identity and the spatial relations in the everyday life. Hence, to ignore the political economy while studying the identity politics and related “Otherization” process would present an inadequate theoretical and empirical framework.

Ayhan Kaya emphasizes the class based dimension of Kurdish question. He remarks that the exclusion which is experienced by Kurdish migrants in Mersin mostly rises as a social and class based problem rather than an ethnic conflict. He expresses that even the Kurdish newcomers in Van and Diyarbakır, which is predominantly Kurdish settlements, are also exposed to the social exclusion. Ayşe Seda Yüksel also shows the social exclusion of the poor Kurdish by the Kurdish well off in Diyarbakır where there is an emergence of spatial segregation in terms of class.¹³¹ Thus, the Kurdish Question is more than an ethnic conflict among Turkish and Kurdish ethnicity. To move beyond this perspective, spatial and class based analysis of the social exclusion of Kurdish people in the everyday life is necessary.

Therefore, the migration story which is intertwined with the ethnic discrimination and urban poverty shows that it is very useful to use the “social

¹³⁰ Zeynep Gambetti and Joost Jongerden, “The Spatial Re(production) of the Kurdish Issue: Multiple and Contradicting Trajectories-Introduction,” *Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies* 13:4 (2011): p. 377.

¹³¹ Ayşe Seda Yüksel, “Rescaled localities and redefined class relations: neoliberal experience in south-east Turkey,” *Journal of Balkan and Near Eastern Studies* 13:4 (2011): pp. 433-455.

exclusion” which is a multidimensional concept in order to define the “new poverty” in Turkey. ¹³² In the light of this time-centered analysis of migration process in Turkey, it would be easier to explain the “social exclusion” process in the everyday life. Within the scope of this thesis, I will examine the social exclusion of Kurdish migrants in the everyday life and how their Kurdishness define and redefine in the everyday life in terms of class based and spatial relations. This kind of approach in the Turkish literature on Kurdish issue is a very recent phenomenon. As Gambetti and Jongerden mention that, Kurdish studies overwhelmingly focus on time-centered work which consists of the trajectory of Turkey’s Kurds, modernist state discourses and their resistance towards the state etc. ¹³³ Thus, to shift the dimension in Kurdish studies is crucial since just focusing on the linear time-centered analysis cannot reveals the multidimensional characteristics of the Kurdish issue. Indeed, since the politics in the everyday life has multidimensional character; to concentrate on just one dimension will be problematic. Candaş (et al) remarks that inequality is not just a matter of level of income or material conditions, but “ascriptive, acquired or chosen identities based on ethnicity, language, religion, sect, disability and age, gender and sexual orientation” may be the cause of exclusion. They imply that established inequality has two spheres, one is related with the socioeconomic inequality and the other is based on discrimination on the basis of identity. ¹³⁴ Thus, I concentrated on both dimensions of the inequality agenda and will try to show how the

¹³² Buğra and Keyder, *New Poverty*, p. 24. & Yüksek, “Neoliberal Restructuring,” p. 262.

¹³³ Gambetti and Jongerden, “The Spatial Re(production),” p. 375.

¹³⁴ Ayşen Candaş and Volkan Yılmaz; Sevda Günseli; Burcu Yakut Çakar, (June 2010), “Extended Summary of the report of Established Inequalities in Turkey,” *Social Policy Forum*. Available [online]: <http://www.spf.boun.edu.tr/index.php/en/established-inequalities-in-turkey-search-for-a-comprehensive-co>, [16 July 2015]. p. 4.

issue of poverty, migration and exclusion intertwine in the everyday life while I am conducting my research.

This chapter summarized the political economy of poverty and Kurdish Question in Turkey. The social exclusion of Kurdish migrants in Turkey analyzed under three category and this categorization allows a multi-dimensional analysis which concentrates on both the political economy and everyday life. Hence, I will examine the case of Malatya in the following chapters within the light of those theoretical framework and historical information regarding the migration process.

CHAPTER 5

THEORIZING MALATYA: POLITICAL, SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC LANDSCAPE OF MALATYA

This chapter aims to theorize Malatya within the contextual framework of class, identity and space. First of all, the economic structure of the city and characteristics of migration-wave to the city will be outlined. Secondly, the social and political structure of the city will be examined by explaining the ethnic and religious characteristics of the population. Finally, the spatial relations and urbanization model in the city will be scrutinized. In this chapter, I will use the existing statistics in order to define the economic and demographic landscape of Malatya as well as political affiliations in the city and I will summarize the narratives which are collected from the elite interviews as a response to my basic questions in order to theorize Malatya.

5.1 Malatya as migrant-receiving and emerging city

The economic development process in Malatya cannot be separated from the history of the political economy of Turkey. After the Great Depression of 1929, Turkey adopted the policy of protectionism in order to control foreign trade and the protectionism was combined with the etatism after 1932. Etatist policies of the state contributed to the industrial development in the lack of private investment to the industry and state-owned business enterprises founded in Anatolia.¹³⁵ Although etatism was replaced by the private sector led industrialization after World War II; industrialization was concentrated

¹³⁵ Korkut Boratav, *Türkiye İktisat Tarihi 1908-2009* (Ankara: İmge Kitabevi, 2012), pp. 63-65.

in Istanbul region and northwest corner of the country.¹³⁶ Thus, Anatolian cities continued to benefit from the state-owned industries. The state investments to Malatya transformed the city to an industrial center of its region. In 1937, Malatya TEKEL Cigarette Company; in 1939 Malatya Sümerbank Cotton Weaving Mill and in 1954 Malatya Sugar Factory were founded. Those three state-owned enterprises created employment opportunities in the city. While 2447 people worked in the manufacturing industry in 1927, there were 5424 registered employees in 1964 which corresponds to increasing at rate % 121.¹³⁷

There were no significant investment in the first ten years of planning period which was adopted in 1960s.¹³⁸ Fortunately, Malatya had been involved to the list of “priority regions for development”, hence the city experienced a recovery period in 1970s. During this period both the public and private investment increased in Malatya. The financial source of private investment basically comes from the local saving in the city and the remittances.¹³⁹

Both the state-owned enterprises and existence of regional agencies of public institutions created employment opportunities and transformed Malatya as migrant-

¹³⁶ Şevket Pamuk, “Globalization, Industrialization and Changing Politics in Turkey,” *New Perspectives on Turkey* 38 (Spring 2008): p. 269.

¹³⁷ Özgür Yücel Yakar et al., *Sosyal Kültürel ve Ekonomik Yönleriyle Malatya* (Malatya: Malatya Valiliği, 2004), p. 184.

¹³⁸ Planning period can be defined as the return to a covered etatism (planning +public enterprises) or development attempt in a closed economy with the state initiative. Available Online: (http://www.todaie.edu.tr/resimler/ekler/8c50b4adc5a3475_ek.pdf?dergi=Turkish%20Public%20Administration%20Annual, [5 June 2015]).

¹³⁹ Yakar, *Sosyal Kültürel*, p. 184.

receiving city during this period. Malatya began to receive migrants from east and southeast of Turkey since 1965.

In 1980s, Turkey moved to liberal economic policies from import substitute industrialization (ISI) policies. This export based economy has changed the economic landscape of Turkey. The medium and small size entrepreneurs that were severely affected from ISI policies had a chance to expand their businesses. The open economy has increased the exports of manufactures and new industrial centers, called Anatolian Tigers, emerged in Anatolia. Şevket Pamuk makes a classification in terms of private sector based manufacturing industry. He categorizes Malatya under the Group III with Denizli, Konya, Kayseri, Gaziantep and Kahramanmaraş as most important of the recently emerging industrial centers.¹⁴⁰

Before evaluating the current economic structure of the city; it is important to underline that Malatya has benefited from the public subsidies after 1980s for privatization.¹⁴¹ The political culture of pork barrel in Turkey is crucial for the development of Malatya. The notion of “hemşehricilik” is very strong in the city. Both my observations in the city and in-depth interviews supported this argument. Being “Malatyalı” stands as a strong solidarity mechanism outside of the Malatya although there are fragmentations among different groups in the city. Thus, a Malatyalı person grows in a culture in which to serve Malatya stands as a priority and is coded as a benevolence for his/her distinctive culture. The important political figures of the Republic of Turkey, İsmet İnönü and Turgut Özal were from Malatya and it is obvious

¹⁴⁰ Pamuk, “Globalization,” p. 269.

¹⁴¹ Yakar, *Sosyal Kültürel*, p. 184.

that in their reign in the government and presidency, Malatya has benefited from the state subsidies. The interviewees strongly emphasized the role of İnönü and Özal in the development of the city. Furthermore, the debates on the local media regarding the lifting of İnönü's and Özal's names from the streets and boulevard shows that people in the city agrees that both leaders supported Malatya and people who rules the city should be aware of that.¹⁴²

Although Malatya has benefited from the state-owned business enterprises of the etatist era and public subsidies of Özal Era in 1980s; the city did not attract the private investment.¹⁴³ Also, the regional agencies of the public institutions had started to be moved from the city. Thus, the city began to lose its economic attractiveness in the last years. Data shows that Malatya fall behind the other emerging industrial cities in Şevket Pamuk's classification when the import and export rates are examined (see Figure 1 and Figure 2). However, Malatya is in the top 20 in terms of export rate in Turkey and the city is the most developed province both in its geographical region and statistical region of TRB1¹⁴⁴. Thus; Malatya still receives migrants from the east and southeast of Turkey.

¹⁴² “İnönü ve Özal'dan Ne İstiyorsunuz?” & “Bunu Yapan Malatyalı Olamaz”, Available Online: <http://www.malatyahaber.com/haber/bunu-yapan-malatyalı-olama>
http://www.malatyadan.com/haber-inonu_ve_ozaldan_ne_istiyorsunuz-15907.html [7 June 2015].

¹⁴³ “Turgut Özal dönemini yaşamış olan Malatyalıların önemli bir kısmı, kıyaslama yapıyorlar ve Özal'ın Malatya'ya yönelik "pozitif" ayrımcılığını ondan sonra hiçbir iktidarın yapmadığını düşünüyorlar. Özal'ın fikirlerine ve icraatlarına kişisel olarak katılmam mümkün değil, ancak Malatya'da Özal konusundaki algı benim düşüncelerimden oldukça farklı. Erdoğan döneminde kapatılan devlet fabrikaları, çevre illere taşınan bölge müdürlükleri gibi konular halkın gündeminde yer alıyor ve Malatya'nın bu dönemde pek çok şeyi kaybettiği yönünde bir algı var. Fakat ilginçtir, yine de seçimlerde oylarını Erdoğan'a veriyorlar.” Available Online: <http://www.bianet.org/bianet/siyaset/129935-malatya-da-secim-oncesi-yaris-bir-milletvekili-icin> [7 June 2015].

¹⁴⁴ Turkey as a candidate country of European Union is included in Nomenclature of Units for Territorial Statistics (NUTS) which is a standard for referencing the subdivision of countries for statistical purposes. TRB1 is one of the subregions of NUTS2-26 which includes Malatya, Elazığ, Bingöl and Tunceli.

During the elite interviews, all respondents were complaining of the economic problems in the city. All of them emphasized that the lack of industrialization in the city as well as economic dependence on apricot production is the major problems of Malatya. It is a remarkable point that 5 of the 6 respondents in the elite interviews use the nearly same words by comparing the city with Gaziantep. “Bir Gaziantep olmadık...” means that the city did not achieve the economic development which is experienced by Gaziantep. Also, Kahramanmaraş and Kayseri were used for comparison.¹⁴⁵ Furthermore, they used the metaphor of “dereliction” (*sahipsizlik*) when they mention the worsening economy in the city. It can be interpreted that Malatya has not benefit from the pork barrel as much as in the reign of Özal and İnönü.

¹⁴⁵ Original quotation: “... Malatya zengin görünüyor ama değil bir Gaziantep bir Kayseri olamamışız. Geçmişte bu illerden daha iyi konumdaydı. Tabii Tunceli, Elazığ, Bingöle kıyasla iyi durumda ama Malatya’da sanayi tesisleri yeterli değil. Fazla sayıda işçi istihdam edecek iş kolları mevcut değil.”

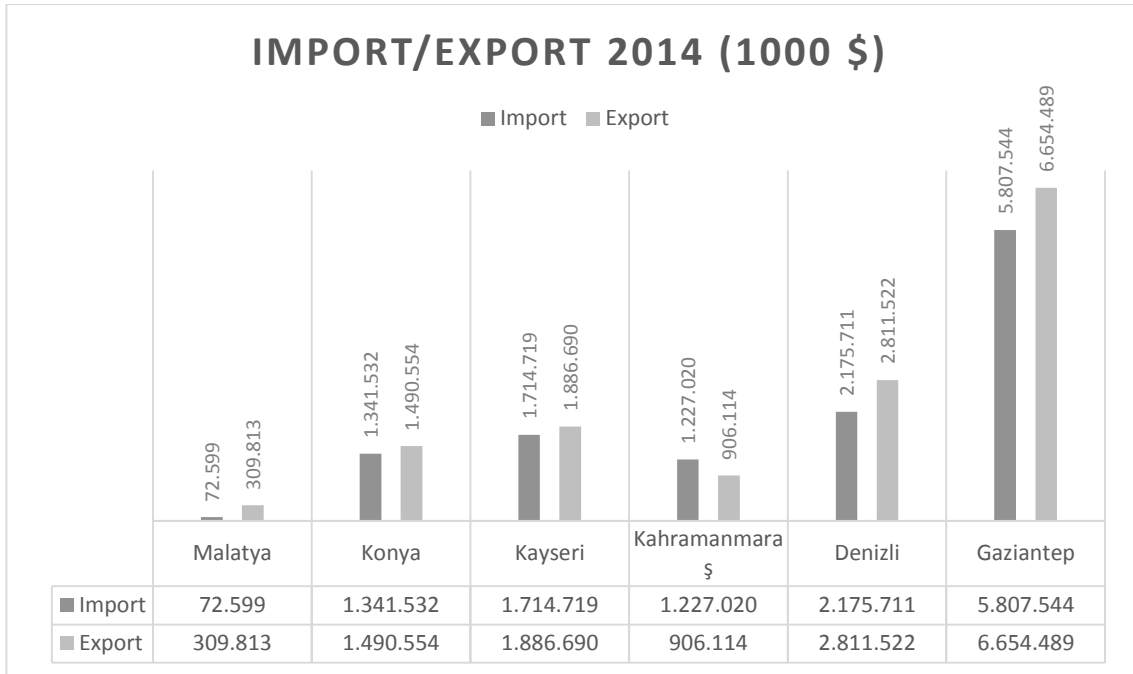


Fig. 1. Import and export rates of selected emerging cities in Turkey, [Turkstat]

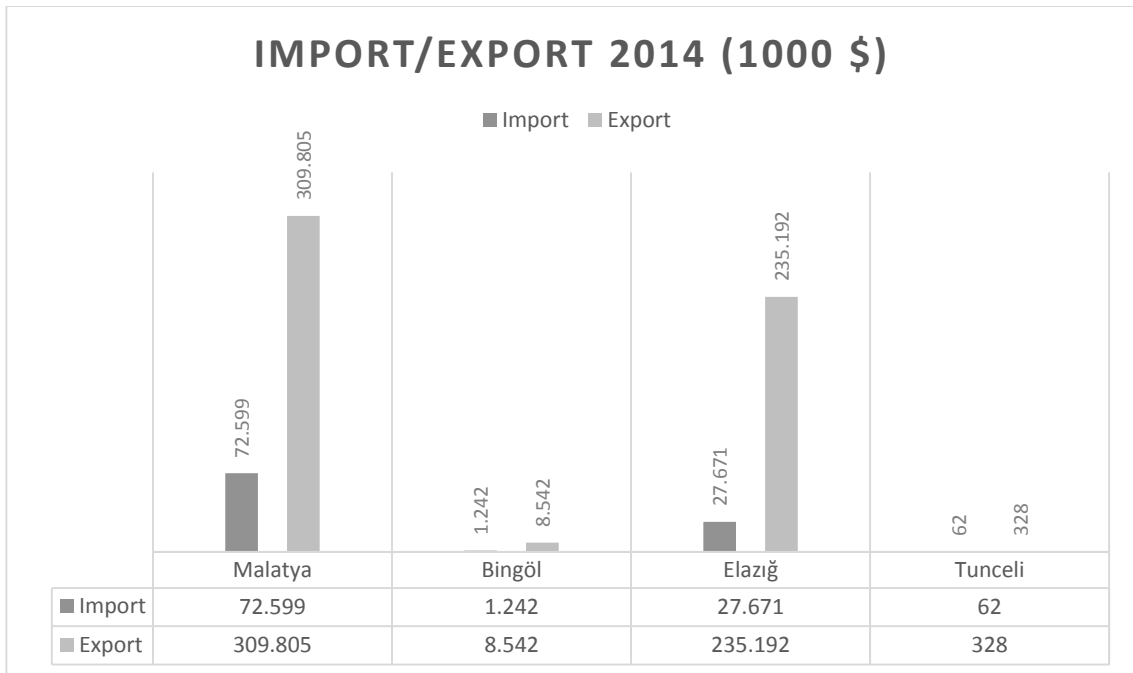


Fig. 2. Import and export rates of the provinces in TRB1, [Turkstat]

The closure of TEKEL Cigarette Factory and Sümerbank Textile Factory also negatively affected the economic development of the city. The land of those two factories were sold in order to construct shopping mall; one of them, MalatyaPark AVM, was built in the land of Sümerbank and the other is under construction in the land of TEKEL. Thus, the production process in the city began to evolve to a consumption based economy for instance the service industry in the city improved and people were employed with low wages in that sector.¹⁴⁶

The city witnessed the first formal strike of the history of Republic of Turkey. In 1965, the workers in Malatya went on strike when their wage increase demand was refused by the authorities. The workers of Malatya Municipality, Sümerbank Textile Factories and TEKEL participated to the strike.¹⁴⁷ However, nowadays the city is deprived of the organized labor. This situation is consequence of the implementation of neoliberal policies in Turkey. Neoliberal policies which distorts especially the metropolitan cities of Turkey now began to be efficient in Malatya. The closing of TEKEL and Sümerbank did not create only economic problems but also affected the social and political life of the city. The construction and service sector which are based on low-wage labor became dominant? as the locomotive of the economy of Malatya.

¹⁴⁶ Original quotation: "...eskiden küçük bir kentti Malatya; kamu teşebbüsleri etkiliyken TEKEL, Sümerbankbank vs varken bu dönemlerde daha belirgin bir kalkınma vardı; şimdi özel sektör küçük iş kolları hakim ama başarılı olamamış, şimdi ekonomi daha çok ekonomi kaysıya bağlı."

¹⁴⁷ "...Grevin yapılacağı gün Malatya'da sanki olağanüstü hal vardı. Dediğim gibi yasayı bilmeyen, hakkını arayamayan insanlar bugün kalkmış grev yapıyorlar hem de kadınlı erkekli." Available Online: <http://bianet.org/biamag/toplum/111571-malatyada-43-yil-once-greve-cikan-kadinlar> [11 June 2015].

There are 950 companies which are enrolled in the Chamber of Commerce of Malatya and approximately 30.000 people are employed in those companies.¹⁴⁸ There are five organized industrial zones in Malatya, one is under construction. The economy of the city based predominantly in food, agriculture and textile industry.¹⁴⁹ Also, top three sectors of employment in the city are food, textile and construction.

54% of total manufacturing employment in Malatya is in the textile sector. The United Nations and ITKIB Joint Programme entitled, “Harnessing Sustainable Linkages for SMEs in Turkey's Textile Sector” is also implemented in the city. There are textile companies with internationally renowned brands in Malatya.¹⁵⁰

While the unemployment is above the Turkey's average during 1980s and 90s, it reached the average in 2000s and in terms of data in 2014, the unemployment rate in Malatya is under Turkey's average (see Figure 3 and Figure 4).

¹⁴⁸ Fırat Development Agency, Available Online: <http://www.fka.org.tr/Bolgemiz-detay.asp?SayfaAltCatId=16> [16 June 2015].

¹⁴⁹ Malatya Organize Sanayi Bölgesi, Available Online: <http://malorsa.org.tr/yazi.asp?id=39> [8 June 2015].

¹⁵⁰ Malatya Organize Sanayi Bölgesi, Available Online: <http://malorsa.org.tr/yazi.asp?id=39> [8 June 2015].

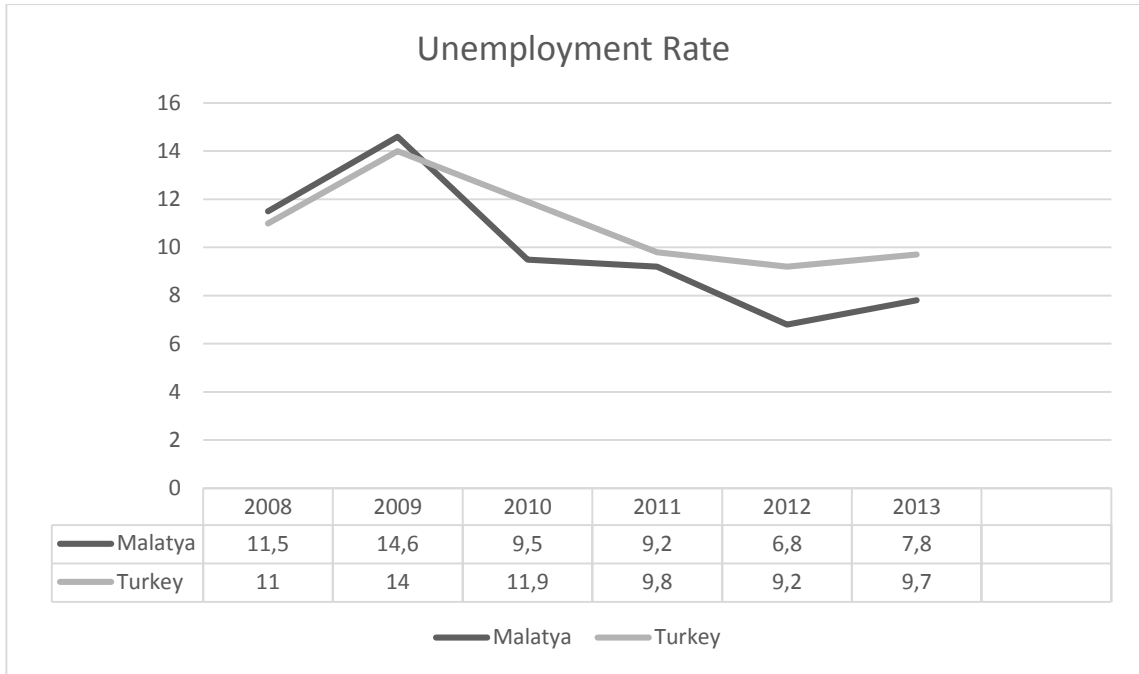


Fig. 3. The unemployment rate of Malatya 2008-2013, [Turkstat]

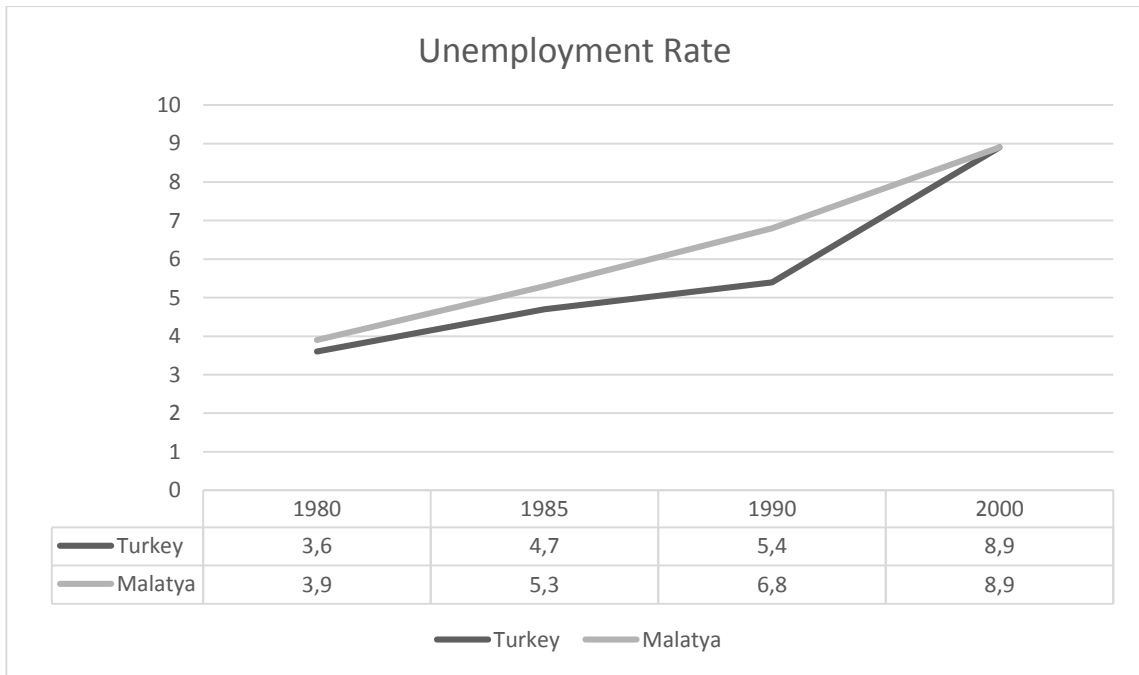


Fig. 4. The unemployment rate of Malatya 1980-2000, [Malatya Valiliği] ¹⁵¹

¹⁵¹ Yakar, *Sosyal Kültürel*, p. 179.

When the data on gross value added per capita and wage rates in Malatya and TRB1 is examined, it is obvious that those rates in the city are not high. Hence, one cannot argue the economy of Malatya is in a good position (see Figure 5 and Figure 6). However, during my ethnographic study I realized that lots of people in Malatya does not experience extreme poverty when it is compared with metropolises such as İstanbul, İzmir and Ankara and also the cities like Diyarbakır and Gaziantep. Actually, this observation is one of the leading point of this thesis. I asked why those people live in welfare and why they are satisfied with their life? I tried to find the answers of those questions that are not revealed in the quantitative data. Both the qualitative interviews in the city as well as the ethnographic observations show that there are three sources of the relative wealth of the dwellers of the city: the sharing culture, traditional production relations and the informal economy which is based on the apricot production. Also, cheap house rents and low prices in the food market ensure that a person have a chance to live in a better condition in Malatya in comparison to İstanbul or Ankara with the same amount of wage.

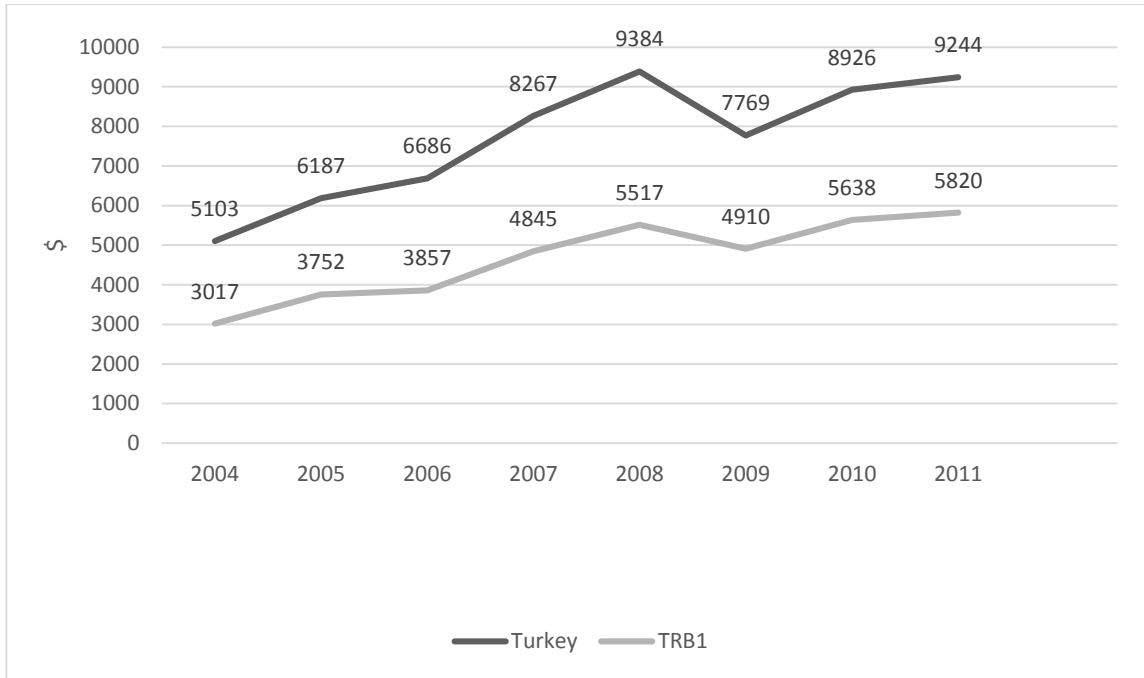


Fig. 5. Gross value added per capita Turkey & TRB1, Turkstat

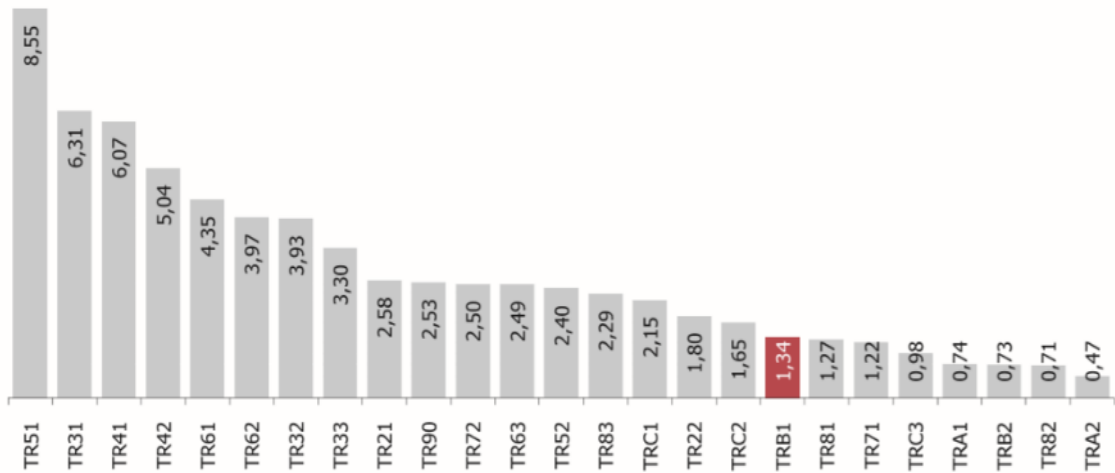


Fig. 6. The proportion of wages among the total wages in Turkey. (TR10 İstanbul is not included in the figure with the proportion of 30,86.), [Turkstat, 2010]

First of all, the city dwellers have link with the cropland. Even though they do not have their own private field they use the land which belongs to their extended family.

Besides, the traditional ties among individuals continue in the city. This relations are strongly emphasized by Memed Duran Özkan and Tarık Kaya when they characterize the economic and social life of Malatya. They describe Malatya as a village-city which tries to preserve its traditional ties against the neoliberal distortion.¹⁵² This resistance towards neoliberalism was one of the common points of whole respondents in the elite interviews. However, their discourse regarding the issue is different. While the right-winger, conservative respondents describe the preservation of traditional ties as “to preserve our traditions and values”; the left winger respondents describe it as “to resist the capitalist modernization or resistance against neoliberal distortion”.¹⁵³

Secondly, the dwellers in the city produce their vegetables and fruits in their gardens. It is obvious that most of the people in the city do not pay for take-home foods instead they prefer to prepare them in the home such as tomato sauce, grape or mulberry molasses, bulgur, dried fruits and vegetables. In relation with this traditional production process, the prices in the market especially in the food sector are low. Thus, people live in better conditions in terms of their wage.

Finally, another factor which affects the non-existence of significant extreme poverty in the city is the culture of sharing. Both my observations in the city and

¹⁵² Original quotation: “...Şehir hala köylü özelliğini taşıyor şehirde hala feodal ilişkiler kuvvetli.”

¹⁵³Original quotation: “...Kentleşme ile yıl boyunca toprağa basmayan insan sayımız yükselmiş, çocukların oyun şekli bile değişti, yaşama bakış açısı değişti. Hâlâ Malatya’nın bir kısmı o toprağa bağlı değerlerini tutuyor, neoliberalizme bir direnç gösteriyor. O feodal ilişkiler korunuyor. Malatya’nın kapitalist modernleşmeye karşı durması, direnç göstermesi bizim için çok değerli.”

comments of the respondents supported this argument. Both inside the family as well as among the city dwellers there is a culture of sharing regarding both the use of the land and material sharing such as lending or financial aid to the poor. However none of the interviewees called this kind of supports as “aid or charity” but they emphasized the word of “sharing”.¹⁵⁴ This sharing refers not only material benefits but also to collaboration. The collaboration in the everyday life is very strong. (I will explain the presence of collaboration in the everyday life in detail, in chapter 6)

One of the most important point in the economy and everyday life in the city is apricot production. Both my observations and the words of respondents support that whatever their professional occupation is, most people in Malatya are dealing with apricot production. Thus, even if their income is low those people have additional income which comes from the apricot production. Not only the economy but the everyday life in the city is mostly dependent on the apricot production. For instance, when I visited Eğitim-Sen office in Malatya, teachers explained that they could not participate in the demonstrations against the compulsory religious education, which is held by Pir Sultan Abdal Association in every weekend, any more, since they have to deal with their apricot trees after March.

Apricot is the most important export product of Malatya. 70 % of the dried apricot production of the world is supplied from Malatya and its export value has risen

¹⁵⁴ Original quotation: “... Tabii Malatya’da yoksul insan da çok ama o geleneksel kent kültür önemli o refah düzeyinde paylaşım çok önemli, gelenek görenekler önemli.”
“... Manevi bağları güçlü insanların, insanlar kanaatkâr paylaşımcı her kesimin birbiri ile ilişki kurduğu fedakârlık yaptığı, paylaşımı seven bir kültür. Bu nedenle Malatya insanı refah içinde yaşıyor”

from 100 million \$ to 300 million \$ in the last years.¹⁵⁵ The city actually is identified with apricot and the economy of the city is dependent on apricot production. The apricot is not their basic means of living. Even though people have certain occupations, i.e., teachers, doctors, workers, craftsmen... they still deal with the agriculture and this informal economy which is based on the apricot production ensures the well-being of the city dwellers. In other words, they do not only depend on their salaries from their main occupations, but they also earn additional income through apricot production.¹⁵⁶

Quota on tobacco and sugar beet production which is imposed in 2002 under the recovery package of IMF negatively affected the agricultural production in Malatya and dependency on apricot in the agricultural sector increased. However, there is an enormous decrease in the apricot production in the last years because of unfavorable weather conditions (see Figure 7).

¹⁵⁵ Malatya Organize Sanayi Bölgesi, Available Online: <http://malorsa.org.tr/yazi.asp?id=39> [8 June 2015].

¹⁵⁶ Original quotation: "... Refah neden? Kayıtdışı ekonomi var, kayısı... Kırsaldan kente hızlı göç ile gelen köylü daha çok okuyarak doktor, mühendis oldu ama çoğunun köyle bağlantısı var. Kayısı ile uğraşıyorlar bu vergilendirilmediği için görünmüyor. Tabii karşı değilim, kayıtdışı hala çatışmadan uzak tutan bir şey Türkiye'yi. Kayıtdışı giderse çatışma olabilir yani kayıtdışından kastım kayısının çekirdeğini satıyor ya da keçinin sütünü satıyor pazarda parasını cebine koyup gidiyor."

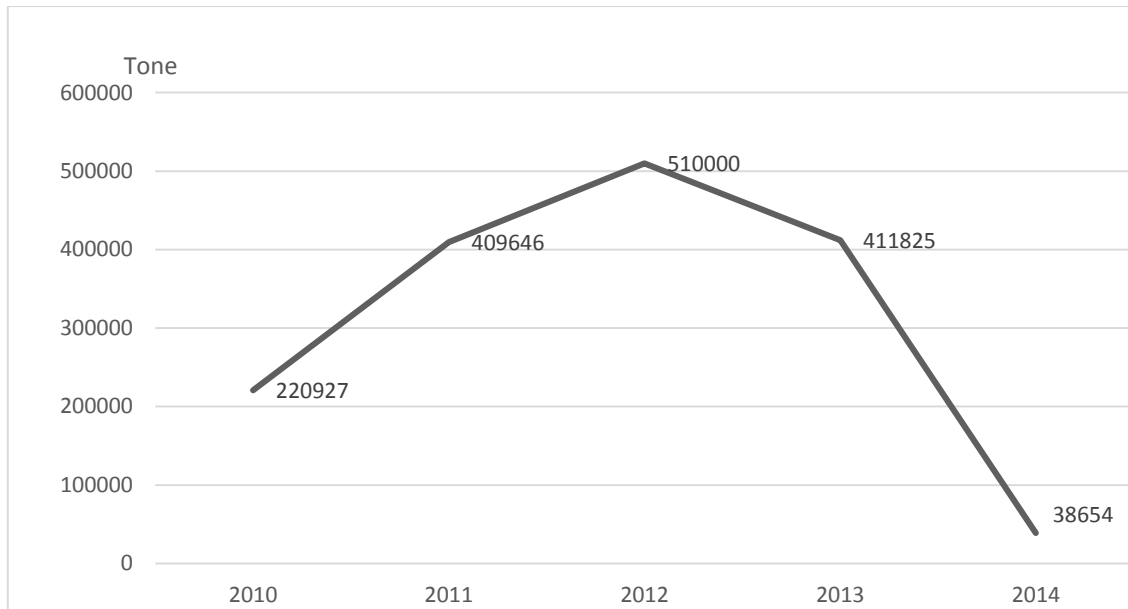


Fig. 7. Apricot production in Malatya

Although there are certain problems in the economy of Malatya, the city continues to receive migrants and it is the most crowded city in TRB1 region (See Figure 8 and Figure 9).

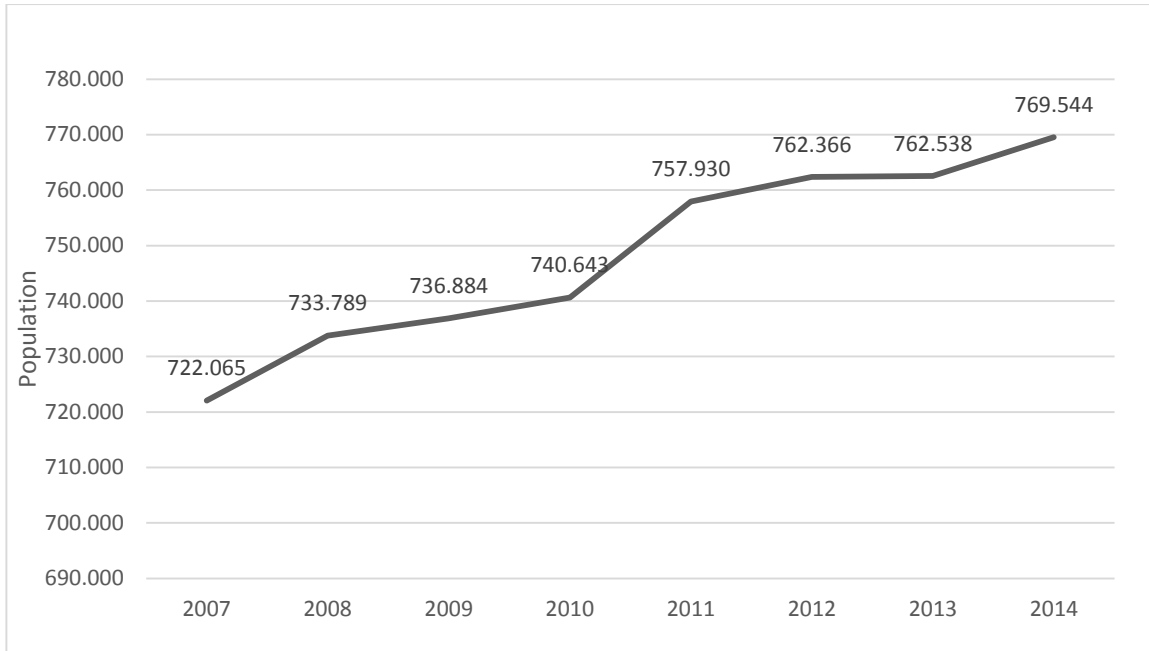


Fig. 8. Population of Malatya 2007-2014, [Turkstat]

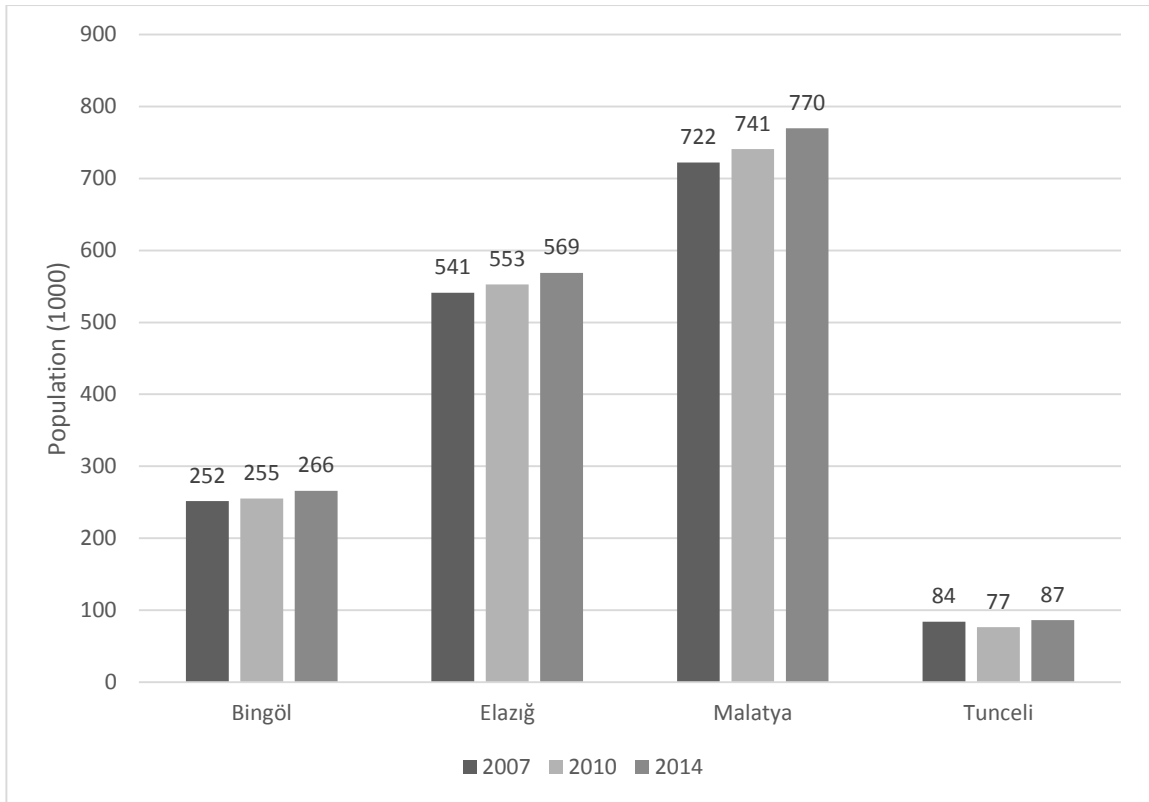


Fig. 9. Population of the provinces in TRB1

Malatya has the double statuses of emigrant and migrant-receiving town and it is one of the cities with highest in migration. Those cities in the top ten are respectively İstanbul, Ankara, İzmir, Adana, Mersin, Bursa, Antalya, Malatya, Manisa and Kocaeli.¹⁵⁷ While the local population of Malatya migrates to larger-metropolitan cities, it receives migrants especially from the east and southeast of Turkey. The proximity of Malatya to the hometown and the economic facilities in the city attracted those migrants.¹⁵⁸ The residents in Malatya respectively registered in Adıyaman, Elazığ, Sivas and Bingöl (see Figure 10). The migration wave to Malatya is predominantly from Adıyaman. The database of Turkstat shows that Adıyaman preserved its place in last ten years. In 2014, 47.423 people migrated to Malatya from Adıyaman. The high percentage of migration wave from İstanbul and Ankara to Malatya can be interpreted as returning to the hometown (see Figure 11).

¹⁵⁷ Turkey, Migration and Internally Displaced Population Survey. HÜNEE (Hacettepe University Population Studies Institute) Report, (2006).

¹⁵⁸ Hakan Özdemir, "Kent ve Göç: Malatya Örneği" (MA Thesis, Inonu University, 2008), p. 134.

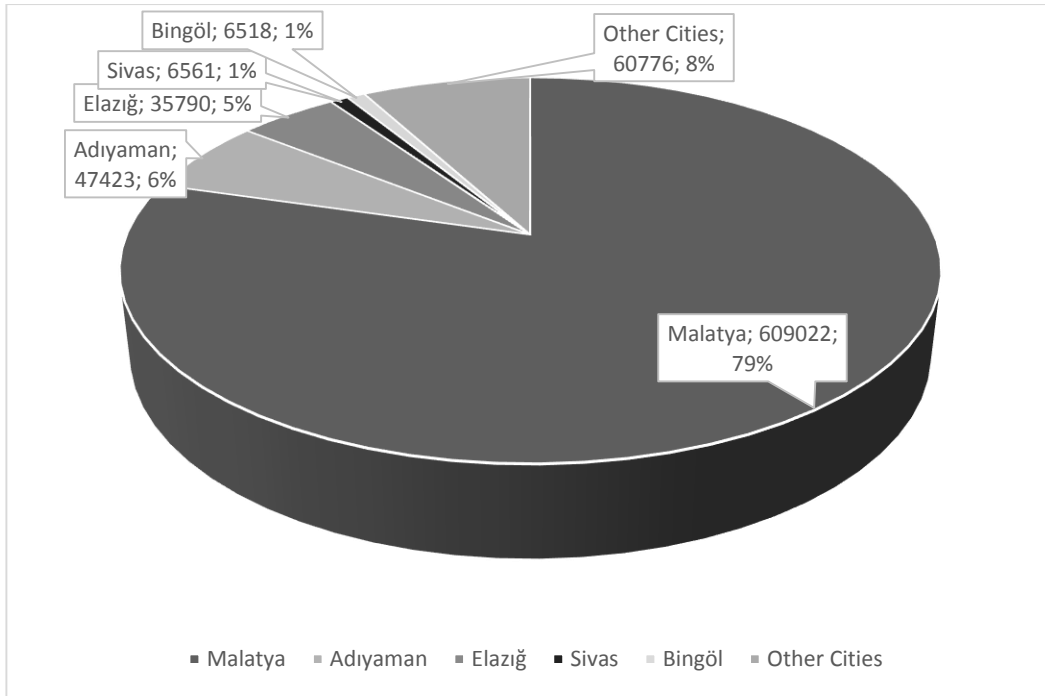


Fig. 10. Residents in Malatya, [Turkstat]

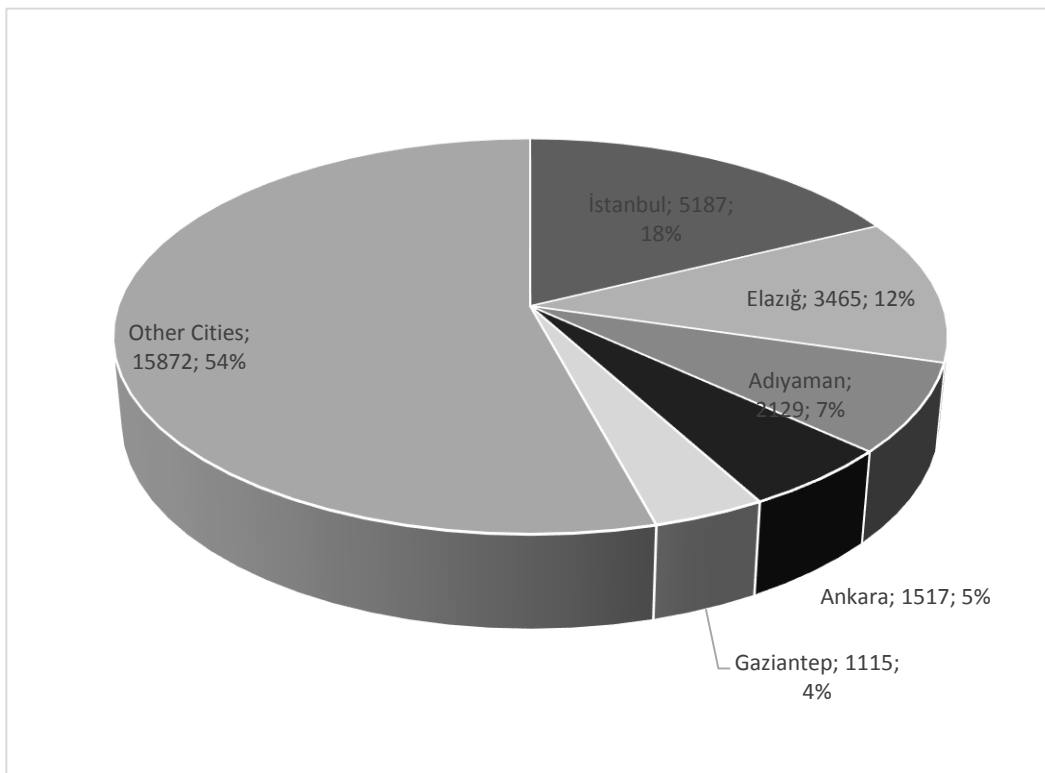


Fig. 11. Where do migrants come to Malatya in 2014, [Turkstat]

5.2 Malatya as multi-ethnic and multi-sectarian city

One of the certain characteristics of Malatya is that it has a heterogeneous population in terms of ethnicity and religious affiliation. Moreover, the migrant-receiving characteristics of the city cause increasing of this heterogeneity of population.

First of all, Malatya is known as one of the Armenian settlement in Ottoman era; however the Armenian population of the city has been decreased over the years because of the state policies towards Armenians in the region beginning from 1895. Both the tragedy of 1915 and later policies of both the Empire and the new Republic towards Armenians cause to the erasing of Armenian population from Anatolia. Especially the oral history studies on Armenian population reveals that there were approximately 27.000 Armenian in Malatya at the beginning of 20th century. There were Armenian churches in the city; such as Cathedral of the Holy Mother of God (*Arapgir Kilisesi*), Surp Yerrortutyun (*Taşhoran Kilisesi*), Surp Asdvadzadzin, Surp Harutyun and one monastery, the Monastery of Surp Lusavoriç (*Venk Manastırı ve Kilisesi*) and four Armenian schools in the city. In terms of narratives, approximately 400 Armenians remained in Malatya in 1930s; after their migration, today there are just 59 Armenians in the city.¹⁵⁹ However, it is also known that there are Islamized Armenians in the city who conceals their Armenian identity.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁹ “Hrant’ın Doğduğu Topraklarda 1915”, Available Online: <http://www.bianet.org/bianet/diger/143638-hrant-in-dogdugu-topraklarda-1915>, [16 June 2015].

¹⁶⁰ “Malatya’daki Yapılar Canlanıyor”, Available Online: <http://www.agos.com.tr/tr/yazi/3272/malatyadaki-tarihi-yapilar-canlaniyor>, [16 June 2015].



Fig. 12. Cathedral of the Holy Mother of God (Cathedral of Arapgir), damaged in 1915 and was destroyed with dynamite in 1957, [wikipedia.org]

There is also a district called Malatia-Sebastia in Yerevan, which is the capital of Armenia. One of the neighborhood of the district is called as Nor-Malatia which means “new Malatya” signing the Armenian existence in Malatya. The Armenian population who migrated from Malatya and Sivas had been settled in that district.

Nowadays Malatya has intensively Kurdish and Turkish population. Malatya has local Kurdish population; we cannot estimate the numbers of Kurds in Malatya fully; however when we examined the literature on Kurdish ethnicity in Turkey, Malatya is

always counted as one of the cities which has a density of Kurdish population.

Moreover, the city receives migrants from east and southeast of Turkey and most of those migrants has Kurdish origin.

It is important to underline that the dominant migrant wave to Malatya is a voluntary type of migration due to the economic reasons rather than forced migration policies of the state so Kurdish migrant population in Malatya are not mobilized in the Kurdish movement. By saying mobilized, I refer to the Kurdish population who are resisting to the assimilation and suppression process towards Kurdish identity which is led by the state. Pro-Kurdish parties have not got sufficient support in the city. When we examined the voting rate of pro-Kurdish parties in the national elections, it can be seen that the highest rate in Malatya is 4.2 % in 2002. Both in the elections of 1995 and 1999 the rates revolved around 2% (1995: 2.3; 1999: 2.9) and the independent candidates who were supported by pro-Kurdish parties also did not gain the strong support. Mustafa Türk received 1.46 % of the votes in 2007 and Gani Rüzgar Şavata received 1.08 % of the votes in 2011. In the election of June 2015, HDP received 8.2 % of the votes however HDP emerged as a party which aims to represent the peoples of Turkey rather than standing as a radical Kurdish party (see Table 2).

Table 2: Kurdish Political Movement in Malatya in terms of Vote Rates¹⁶¹

		Kurdish Political Movement in Malatya, Voting Rates (1995-2011)					
MALATYA		2015	2011	2007	2002	1999	1995
The number of registered voter		531.968	503.323	466.784	449.965	405.744	372.881
The number of voters who go to polls		448.253	438.431	366.896	327.181	339.126	298.061
Participation rate (%)		84.26	87.11	78.6	72.7	83.6	79.9
Valid vote		449.445	431.940				
Number of the deputies		6	6	7	7	7	7
Halkın Demokrasi Partisi (HADEP)	Receiving Votes					7.438	8.283
	Vote Rate					2.3	2.9
	Deputy Number					0	0
Demokratik Halk Partisi (DEHAP)	Receiving Votes				13.344		
	Vote Rate				4.2		
	Deputy Number				0		
Emek Partisi (EMEP), DTP, ESP & SHP Common independent candidate: Mustafa TÜRK	Receiving Vote			5.283			
	Vote Rate			1.46			
	Deputy Number			0			
Barış ve Demokrasi Partisi (BDP) They go to polls with independent candidate: Gani ŞAVATA	Receiving Vote		4.609				
	Vote Rate		1.08				
	Deputy Number		0				
Halkların Demokratik Partisi (HDP)	Receiving Vote	34.765					
	Vote Rate	8.2					
	Deputy Number	0					

¹⁶¹ The original figure is available Online: <http://www.malatyahaber.com/makale/malatya-kurt-siyasal-hareketi-veiii> [16 June 2015], votes of HDP was added later.

The interview with the provincial chairman of HDP, Hasan (55, male, Malatya), draws a framework of Kurdish population in Malatya. Hasan emphasizes that there is a density of Kurdish population in Malatya but most of them are assimilated since they do not speak Kurdish. He adds that even the voters of MHP, Turkish nationalist party, were the Kurds of Malatya in the past.¹⁶² Hasan basically emphasizes that if Kurds are not politically mobilized in the Kurdish movement they can be easily included in this assimilated society as “good Kurds”.¹⁶³ Moreover, the other two respondents Tarık and Duran emphasizes that the city suffers from political passivity in the sense that there is a lack of support to Kurdish movement.¹⁶⁴

Not only ethnic heterogeneity but also sectarian heterogeneity exists in Malatya. The city has both Sunni and Alevi population. Although Alevis constitute the minority, it is known that Malatya has a density of Alevi population. It is important to clarify that there is no kind of quantitative data which informs about the exact numbers of people who belong to a certain sect. Furthermore, there is a lack of literature on the socio-political and demographic characteristics of Malatya. Also, the literature on Alevilik in Turkey is insufficient. Thus, the data can be acquired by participant observations, media scanning as well as qualitative in-depth interviews with the dwellers of the city. In this sense, elite interviews were very useful for this part of the research. The Press Secretary

¹⁶² Original quotation: “... Malatya’da yoğun bir Kürt nüfusu var ama bilincinden edilmiş, kimliğinden aidiyet duygusundan mahrum edilmiş durumdadır. Asimilasyon budur zaten. Bu iyi başarılmış Malatya’da. Ben hatırlıyorum eskiden Malatya’nın MHP’li kesimi Kürt MHP’lilerdi... başı çekenler. Şimdi bu kırıldı.”

¹⁶³ Original quotation: “...Malatya’da iyi Kürt, kötü Kürt kavramı var asimile edilen iyi Kürt oluyor diğeri hala kaba Kürt, kötü Kürt.”

¹⁶⁴ Original quotation: “... Türkiye’de Kürt kimliği üzerine siyaset yapılınc... orada kavramlar yeni, olduğundan daha dinamik Malatya gibi illerde bu Kürt hareketi etkin olmayınca bu siyasi pasiflik yaratıyor.”

of the Equal Citizenship Platform of Alevi of Malatya, Memed Duran Özkan remarks the density of Alevi population in the city allows the formation of pressure groups by Alevi in the city, he asserts that approximately %25 of the population of Malatya belongs to the Alevi sect.¹⁶⁵

In 1970s, Turkey witnessed to the sectarian based conflicts in the cities where the rate of Alevi was high. Çorum, Kahramanmaraş and Malatya. The Alevi- Sunni conflicts in Malatya emerged in 1970s and turned into a massacre after the assassination of the mayor of Malatya, Hamit Fendoğlu (known as Hamido Events or Malatya Events) in 17 April 1978. Hamit Fendoğlu was the member of right-wing Justice Party (*Adalet Partisi*). The assassination created a chaos in the city and triggered the violent attacks towards left-wing groups especially towards Alevi. A lot of people were injured and 8 people killed during the conflicts in the city. Before the conflicts, Alevi were dominant in the commercial life of the city and the left-wing groups were dominant in the politics. However; during the conflicts in the city, the shops and houses of Alevi were burned and they had to leave the city. Thus, as a result of this pogrom; the economic, sociological and political structure of the city has changed.

It is strongly emphasized by four of the respondents that Alevi-Sunni conflict in Malatya which ended with massacres towards Alevi has transformed the political and economic structure of the city. Duran's words actually implies that Malatya Events of

¹⁶⁵ Original quotation: "...Malatya'da şöyle bir artı var Malatya nüfusunun ciddi bir bölümü Alevi onun için inançsal anlamda çok sorun yaşamıyorsunuz yaklaşık 1/4ü... o nedenle yeri geldiğinde baskı grubu oluşturabiliyorsunuz, yeri geldiğinde de tavrınızı da koyabiliyorsunuz. O da ister istemez Malatya'yı diğer kentlerden farklı kılıyor. Daha azınlıkta kalınan yerlerde baskı daha fazla."

1978 stands as a critical juncture in the political, sociological and economic history of Malatya.

“During Hamido events the city was depredated. Alevis and social democrats constitute the bourgeoisie of Malatya until 1970s. After Hamido events the sociological and commercial life in the city has changed. The city which basically lays on the left-wing in the political realm in our childhood moved into a right-wing even radical conservative line. This is mostly because of the cracks in 1970s. A lot of Alevis migrated to İzmir, İstanbul and Mersin after the massacre. For instance, Malatyalı Alevis dealing with the commerce in Mersin and they are very successful...After the events no pro-leftwing mayor has been elected in Malatya and it is really related with the migration of those social democrat bourgeois from the city”¹⁶⁶

5.3 Malatya as a non-ghettoized city

The settlement in Malatya is remarkable within the scope of this thesis. The non-ghettoized characteristics of the city contributes to its uniqueness and creates a collaboration in the everyday life among the dwellers in the city.

My ethnographic study in Malatya contributed to my understanding of the spatial relations in the city. The urban space of Malatya still preserves its characteristics of being a traditional Anatolian city. The commercial life is concentrated in the center of the city and the social life is shaped around this center. The center of Malatya is called as “Çarşı” which is located in the center of two big districts Battalgazi and Yeşilyurt. Although the “Çarşı” enlarges towards the northwest of the city, the commercial and social centers of the city is predominantly concentrated in “traditional çarşı”. Çarşı is

¹⁶⁶ Original quotation: “...Hamido olaylarında kent ciddi anlamda talana uğradı. 70li yıllara kadar kent esnafı, burjuvazisi Alevilerden ve sosyal demokratlardan oluşuyordu ve o olaydan sonra kentin hem sosyolojik yapısı değişti hem ticari yapısı değişti... Çocukluğumuzda sosyal demokrat ve solda olan kent şimdi sağda, hatta radikal muhafazakâr denilebilecek bir kent konumuna geldi. Bunun nedeni o dönemdeki kırılmalar... o dönemdeki kırılmalarla birlikte çok ciddi Alevi nüfus göç etti kentten özellikle Mersin’e İzmir’e ve İstanbul’a... Örneğin Mersin’de ciddi bir Malatyalı nüfusu var ve ticarete hakimler. ...Hamido olaylarından sonra yapılan seçimlerde bir daha sol sosyal demokrat bir belediye başkanı seçim kazanmadı; bu burjuvazinin kaçışıyla doğru orantılı.”

surrounded by the various bazaars, parks and squares as well as the buildings of public institutions. The plenty of parks and squares in which there are water fountains and benches is remarkable (see Figure 13).

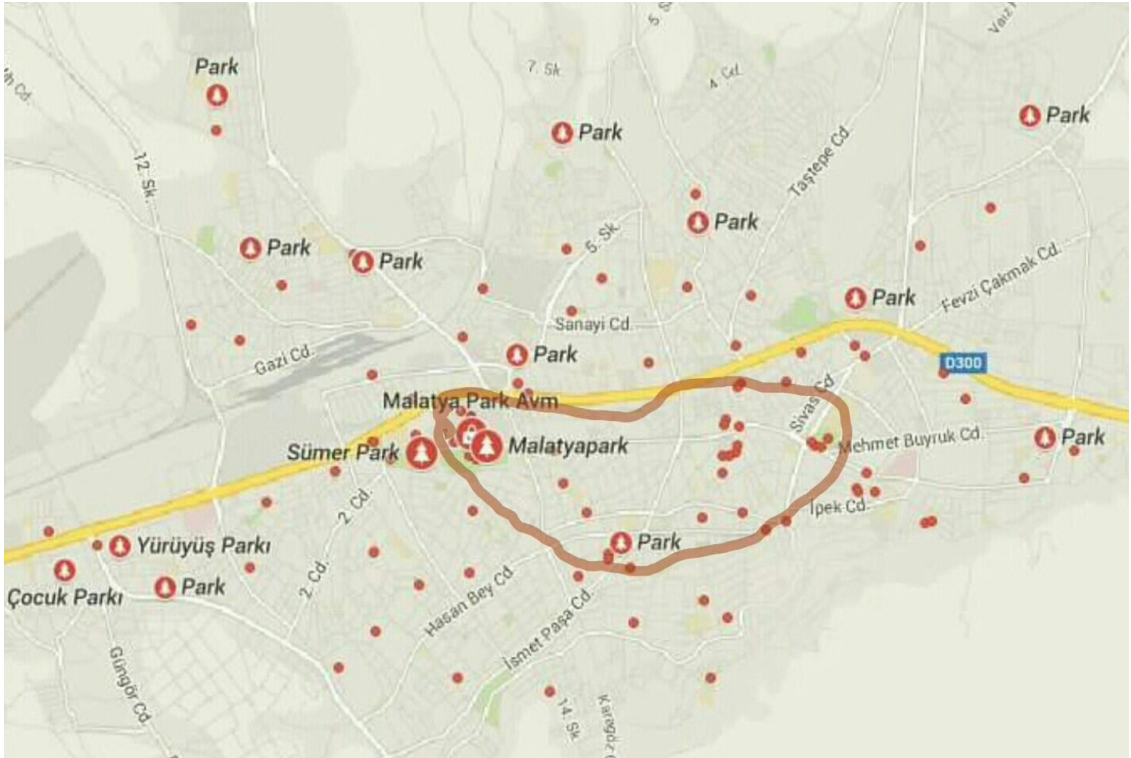


Fig. 13. Parks in the center of Malatya (except MalatyaPark, which is a shopping mall); the circled area shows the “traditional çarşı” [Google Maps]

It is obvious that the spatial design of the “Çarşı” allows everyday interactions among the city dwellers. During my observations in the city, I realized that the “Çarşı” is always crowded throughout the year. People rest and chat on everyday life or political issues while they are sitting in the parks and benches in the squares. Anyone can participate in those conversations since the culture in the city allows this kind of

communication. Even a stranger in the city finds himself/herself in the conversation of those local people. The fountains are everywhere in the city, especially around the parks and squares, not only water but also soup and sherbet (*şerbet*) is served free of charge in some fountains. There are also traditional bazaars in the “Çarşı”(such as the bazaar of jewellers, the bazaar of coppersmith, Şire Bazaar, the bazaar where the apricot and its products are sold). I observed that people from different income groups can enjoy in the “Çarşı” since there are lots of shops which address people from different income levels. The particular case is that all of them are located in the same area. Rather than a separated ghettoized city, the city allows that communication in the everyday life turns into a collaboration.

The neighborhoods which lay around the “Çarşı” also carry its heterogeneous characteristics. For instance, Kanalboyu and Valikonağı have been the upper-class settlements of the city however the streets in those districts also include people who belong to the middle and lower classes. There are no strict lines in terms of class in those neighborhoods. Moreover, Derme neighborhood, which includes Kanalboyu and Yamaç neighborhoods, which includes the “gecekondu” settlements of the city are intertwined¹⁶⁷ (see Figure 14). The data that I collected during the elite interviews also reveals that there is no kind of separation in the urban space of Malatya in terms of class. However, the separation in the settlements is based on sect, which I will explain in a detailed way in Chapter 6.

¹⁶⁷ Yeliz Polat, “Türkiye’de Kentsel Dönüşüm Politikaları: Malatya Örneği’nde Kentsel Mekânin Dönüşümü” (PhD Thesis, Selçuk University, 2014), p. 208.

Beginning from the 2000s, the non-ghettoized characteristics of the city has begun to be damaged, especially increasing of gated communities in last ten years creates a security zones and separates people in terms of their class. These gated communities are mostly located in the western part of the city. When I started to work on this thesis, Fahri Kayahan Boulevard just consists of new high-rise apartments; however especially in 2015 luxury cafes and restaurants which address the upper class emerged and the boulevard started to turn an upper class ghetto. Especially, high amount of dues for apartment services stands as a limitation for low income people. When I visited the city in the summer of 2014, a new café became a trend among the upper-class of the city, called David People in Fahri Kayahan Boulevard, in my later visiting in the January, March and April 2015 I saw that each time a new café is opened in the boulevard and the boulevard turned into a separated space from “the çarşı” and stands as an alternative to Kanalboyu street where there are also lots of cafes and restaurants. The difference between those two settlements is that Kanalboyu involves dwellers who belong to the various income groups however Fahri Kayahan Boulevard emerged as a gated community with security walls.

Actually my observations in the city as well as the words of the interviewees imply that people who belong to the different income groups live in Fahri Kayahan Boulevard; however it seems that some of them quit to live there or their life seems more difficult than their life in the previous neighborhood. When I participated a meeting of women in the city, a woman was talking about her moving to Fahri Kayahan, however in a short time she quit to live there and returned her previous neighborhood, Başharık since she was complaining from the lack of communication among neighbors

in the same apartment. She also remarks that she did not have a chance to find a place in order to prepare his food for winter or she cannot boil the wheat burry in the street.¹⁶⁸ Furthermore, during my interview with Ömer (male, 45, Malatya) he was complaining from his brother-in-law who lives in Fahri Kayahan by emphasizing his low income. The deputy mayor also remarks that he lives in Fahri Kayahan and he has neighbors from various occupation and income groups. Both the words of Ömer and deputy mayor reveals that although Fahri Kayahan seems as an upper-class settlements the lines still are not so strict so that people who have different income level live there.

Therefore, although there are some distortions we can categorize Malatya as a non-ghettoized city. The neighborhoods in the city is not separated along strict lines and there is no certain categorizations among the settlements in terms of class. Thus migrants and locals as well as the poor and rich live together and collaborate in the everyday life. This spatial interaction is one of the main determinants of the incorporation story in the city which ensures the transformation of social exclusion to an inclusion story.

¹⁶⁸ The boiling of wheat berry is a traditional activity in Malatya, generally people do not prefer to buy “bulgur” in market but the wheat berry is boiled in the big cauldrons in the streets and is grinded in the mill. Thus, being deprived of this activity is a disappointment for that woman.

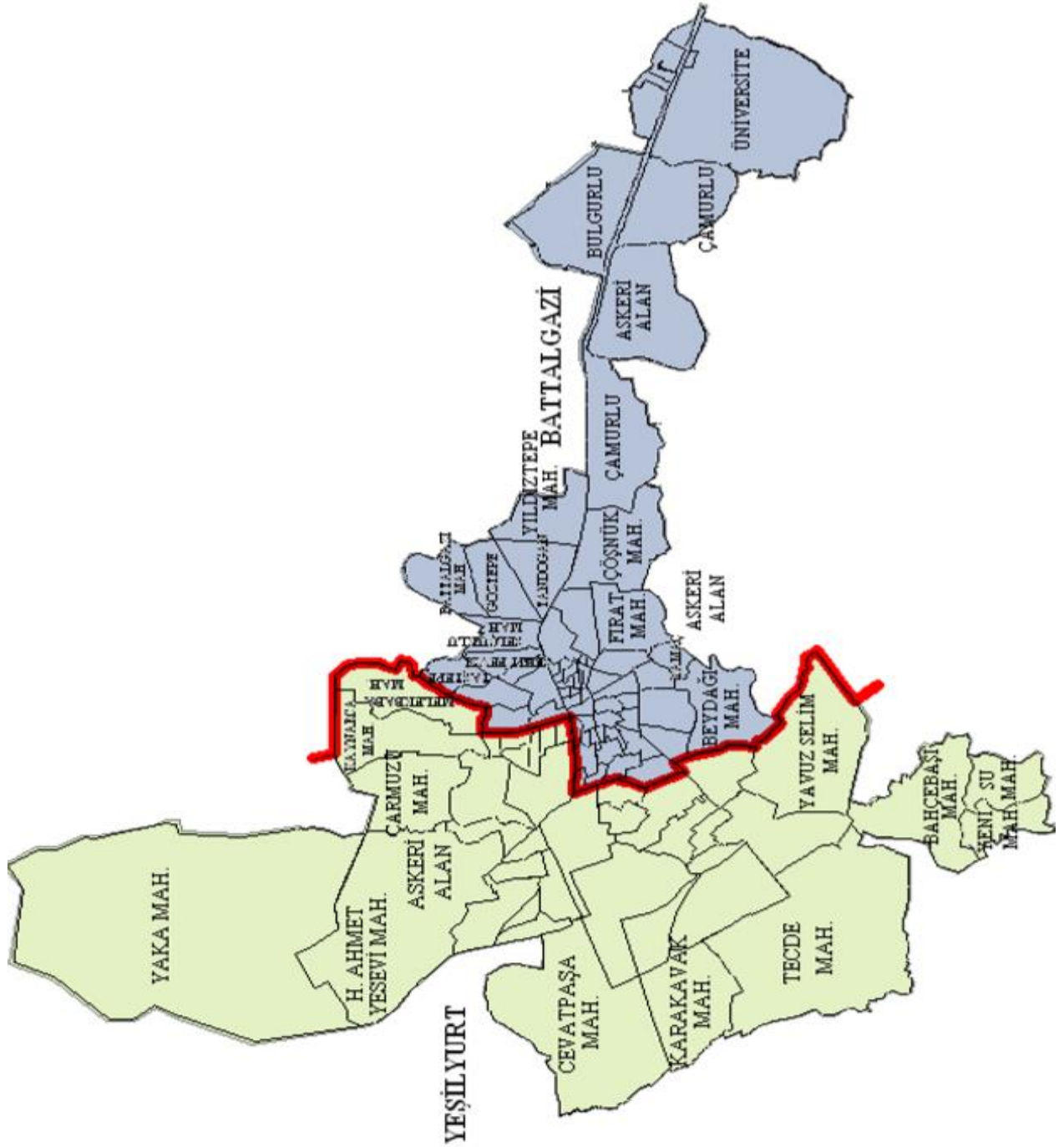


Fig. 14. The districts of center of Malatya, [Polat 2014]

CHAPTER 6

EVERYDAY LIFE IN MALATYA: EXCLUSION AND INCLUSION STORIES OF MIGRANTS AND LOCALS

This chapter is based on the qualitative data which is collected from migrants and locals and ethnographic observations in the city. The data which is acquired from elite interviews was also used in this section. Regardless of the questioning of the "exact" situation of people, this research will scrutinize their expressions towards each other and life experiences of people that possess exclusion and inclusion stories. Throughout the interviews, the answers of the following questions have been tried to be explored. Do migrants really have an embourgeoisement story? How do people experience exclusion and inclusion processes? Is there any emphasis on specific identity in discourses of people? Are there any differences among generations regarding the exclusion process? Is there any spatial exclusion in the city? Answers to those questions were categorized in terms of class, identity and space in this chapter.

6.1 Embourgeoisement story

"Sen paran olmadan buradayım diyemezsin " ¹⁶⁹

The embourgeoisement story is one of the main pillars of this thesis and provides a class based analysis of exclusion process. As noted in Chapter 2, the embourgeoisement thesis refers to the upward mobility of individuals into the middle class or bourgeoisie with

¹⁶⁹ Gülser explains the "recognition" process of migrants with these words: "one cannot prove his/her existence without money".

their own effort. By being owner of soil or dealing with trade, individuals have a chance to be employers and ensure the mobility in the class strata. In the case of Malatya, Kurdish migrants have experienced the embourgeoisement story. Throughout the interviews, this fact is again realized by the researcher. This process of class mobility of migrants is the dominant story in the discourse of migrants and locals. Apart from the interviews, my ethnographic observations in the city allow me to recognize this economic mobility in Malatya.

The class based analysis of the situation of Kurdish migrants in Malatya shows that the case differs from the dominant migration story of Turkey. As I explained in Chapter 5, social exclusion process of Kurdish migrants in Turkey is mostly related to their inclusion to the economic life as low-paid workers rather than their totally exclusion from the labor market. In other words, not only the unemployment but also informal and precarious jobs without social protection and low-paid jobs in the private sector exacerbate the poverty of Kurdish migrants. Thus, this story fits into Du Toit's critical approach to the social exclusion. However, the case of Malatya also allows us to question his critical approach. Although, Kurdish migrants in Malatya are involved in economy as low-paid workers and they have been exposed to the social exclusion due to this type of inclusion, they have experienced the upward mobility in the class strata. Thus, exclusion by inclusion is not concluded with a static exclusion but it can turn into an inclusion story in different geographies. I will explain the embourgeoisement story in detail by mentioning the personal stories of migrants.

The periods in the employment process of migrants are almost same in all stories: The father and mother came to Malatya as seasonal-worker for apricot harvest or as

farmhand (rençper) and then each member, even the children, began to work in farms, factories or construction sector etc.¹⁷⁰ They do not look for a good job, finding a job is enough for them and, as Yüksekler claims, jobs in small workshops might not be a problem for them. Each member of the family works by neglecting the quality of the job.¹⁷¹ Therefore, the migrants began getting rich and they bought land and houses. Today especially second and third generation of migrants are dealing with the trade. On the other hand, I realized that in a local family, just one or two people work for the family and it is almost enough for their economic well-being in the city. Thus, when more than two people work in the same family, it ensures the upward mobility of them throughout years.

The interview with the chair of the chamber of merchants and craftsmen is remarkable. Adil (45, male, Adıyaman) is not only a representative of people who deal with commerce, but he himself experienced the “embourgeoisment” story as a Kurdish immigrant. Adil’s story is similar to the common ones. His father and mother came to the city to work as “rençper” in a farm and Adil began to work in the field and then he sold cigarette paper and simit in the streets and washed dishes in restaurants as well. Nevertheless, they owned their own shop and deal with trade and now he defines himself as “rich” and he became the representative of merchants and craftsmen in the province. Thus, the argument of Castle and Davidson which asserts that “owning a shop or small

¹⁷⁰ The word "rençper" (actually used as rençber) refers person who work in the field of another person, stay a small house in the field with his family and generally all members of the family work in that field.

¹⁷¹ Alp Kançık, “The Kurdish Migrants in Yenibosna: ‘Social Exclusion’, Class and Politics” (MA Thesis, Boğaziçi University, 2010), p.92.

business is a way of gaining autonomy for migrants” is valid for Adil’s story as in the stories of other migrants. His words actually appreciated being migrant in Malatya. Adil defines Malatya as “water, bread and sun” and explains that the meaning of Malatya is similar for whole migrant families in the city since they cannot live without the place which ensures the bringing home to the bacon.¹⁷² Then, he emphasizes his feelings of gratitude to his elder family members for their migration to Malatya. Adil remarks that their family did not succeed anything for centuries in Adıyaman; however they have earned well in Malatya within a half century.¹⁷³ His overall story includes the codes of inclusion and gaining authority in the city

Hüseyin's (41, male, Adıyaman, born in Malatya) story also confirms the embourgeoisement story. His father Haydar (68, male, Adıyaman) and mother came to the city to work as "rençper" in a farm and then they bought their own field in which they build a house. Members of the family began to work in the field and now some of them are still working in the field, in particular the women in the family. On the other hand, the family owned a shop in the city and now Hüseyin and Ulaş deal with trade in the shop. Hüseyin's words depict that they are satisfied with their economic situation: "no one earn by dealing with the agriculture, now our economic situation as well as status in the community is better. If you are poor, no one would knock your door".¹⁷⁴

¹⁷² Original quotation: “Malatya bizim için ekmektir, sudur, güneştir. Hayatın her safhasıdır. Sadece bizim için değil göç eden bütün aileler için böyle... yani susuz hayat olmuyorsa ekmeğini kazandığın yer olmadan da yaşayamazsın”

¹⁷³ Original quotation: “Büyüklerimizden Allah razı olsun; İyi ki de Malatya’ya yerleşmişler. Biz asırlardır Adıyaman’da bir şeye muvaffak olamamış bir aile olarak yarım asırda Malatya’da çok şeye sahip olduk.”

¹⁷⁴ Original quotation: "Tarımdan kim ne kazanmış ki? Şimdi durumumuz da, statümüz de daha iyi, fakirsene kimse kapını açmaz. Bu böyledir."

Hüseyin's words confirm Madanipour's argument which emphasizes that the poverty is in the center of social exclusion although it is a multi-dimensional process.

Most of the local interviewees basically mention the notion of "crowded families". In Turkey, one of the main prejudices towards Kurds is related to their number of children; the large family with lots of children are accepted as characteristics of being from the East as a result of "ignorance" in the discourse of "White-Turk" and emerged as a codification of otherness in the everyday life. However, in Malatya the discourse on "crowdedness" includes the both the codes of exclusion and inclusion. Gülser (31, female, Malatya) explains this well-being story of the migrants by emphasizing that migrants have crowded families and each member of the family works. Thus, the income of the family is relatively high even the wages are low.¹⁷⁵

Mehmet (51, male, Malatya) is the man who said that "*Yerliler Kürt, Kürtler yerli oldu*" (Locals became Kurds, Kurds became locals). Although I realized what he means; I wanted to ask him again. His overall emphasis related to the migrants is actually this embourgeoisement story. He depicts the issue as follows: "Working, working and working...our local people are lazy but those Kurds are hardworking, now they became local. Locals sold their fields, houses and shops and Kurds bought them; now Kurds became locals, our people became Kurds". His ethnic codes are related to the economic situation. His wife Gülnaz (43, female, Malatya) also confirms his words with

¹⁷⁵ Original quotation: "Aileler ciddi kalabalık mesela 7-8 nüfus var ve bunun 6 tanesi asgari ücretle çalışır durumda bu bahsettiğimiz kayısı fabrikalarında. Erkek evlatlar ve baba da inşaat işçisi olarak çalışıyor ciddi bir refah seviyesi hâkim. 6 çarpy asgari ücreti düşünürsek iyi bir para."

almost the same words.¹⁷⁶ Thus, the class constitutes one of the main pillars of both redefinition of identity and social exclusion in the everyday life.

The words of Gülser also imply a clash of "superiority". She claims that migrants try to gain authority over the local population by obtaining the political power in the district and the economic well-being of them is a crucial factor in this process.¹⁷⁷

Nilgün's (59, female, Malatya) speech was overwhelmingly dominated by her references towards the migrants' getting rich. She is very nervous about the gaining authority of migrants in the economic as well as in social realm.¹⁷⁸ However Nilgün accuses locals for this process due to their laziness. Tülay's (53, female, Malatya) accusation of locals is not only related to their laziness but also their luxury consumptions. She appreciates the migrants by emphasizing their thriftiness.¹⁷⁹

When I was writing the proposal of this thesis I assumed that the workers are "unwanted workers" but during the research process I realized that although there is a story of social exclusion, one can observe a "social inclusion" process. Migrant people are important for locals because they need these people for construction, for field works etc. As Hayriye (56, female, Malatya), Gülser's mother, mentioned: "locals cannot

¹⁷⁶ Original quotation: "Her şey çalışmakla... Eskiden hizmet edenlerdi onlar; şimdi bakın hepsi mal, mülk sahibi oldu; yerlilerden farkları kalmadı."

¹⁷⁷ Original quotation: "...Ekonomik gücünü bu şekilde yükselten bu göçmen ailelerin artık bizim üzerimizde söz sahibi olma gayretlerini görebiliyoruz... Şu anda mesela muhtarlık adayları... Adıyaman'dan gelenler şu an muhtar adayı ya da işte belediye başkanı adayı gibi..."

¹⁷⁸ Original quotation: "Yerliler neredeyse onlara amelelik yapacak".

¹⁷⁹ Original quotation: "... ben gidip 100 TL'ye bir penye alıyorum onlar (göçmenler) gidiyor 10 TL'ye alıyor, ... ben sofraya mutlaka fazla bir şey koyuyorum o karpuzla yemek yiyor. Tabii zengin olur ama bizim terbiyesizliğimiz bu, insanların değil."

exclude them because they need them".¹⁸⁰ Nilgün remarks that local women do not work in factories; however migrants work. Nuray emphasizes the reaction of locals for other locals who work in the sectors in which the migrants work.¹⁸¹ The interviewees strongly emphasizes the role of migrants in the agricultural sector; they remark that without migrants it is very difficult to deal with the field work for apricot harvest.¹⁸² This need for migrants actually stems from the fact that migrants work in jobs that locals largely shun as Calavita emphasizes. However, Calavita's categorization of those migrants as "new untouchables" turned into a "touchable and wanted" migrants in Malatya. Although their differences from the locals causes the social exclusion process there is no rigid lines which impede the upward mobility of the poor migrants.¹⁸³ Gülser's words confirm these relations, she says that there is a utilitarian relationship between migrants and locals.

As I mentioned in Chapter 5, quota on tobacco and sugar beet production have certain negative effects on the economy of the city. Indeed, these neoliberal agricultural policies directly affected the everyday life of both the locals and migrants in Malatya. While the locals were complaining of the problems in the apricot production, the migrant respondents mentioned the economic problems which stems from the quota on

¹⁸⁰ Original quotation: "Yerliler onları dışlayamaz ki, niye, çünkü onlara muhtaçlar. Onlar olmasa işlerini kime yaptıracaklar?"

¹⁸¹ Original quotation: "Yerli burada ek iş yapınca çok görülüyor, 'ölmüş müsün sen bu işi yapıyorsun' diyorlar."

¹⁸² Original quotation, Ömer's words: "Bakın burası göç almazsa kayısılar dalında kalır; yerli halka sen günde 100 lira yevmiye versen yine de gelip çalışmaz."

¹⁸³ Original quotation of Nilgün's words: "Burada onları hemen kabullendiler; çünkü işlerine yarayacak sandılar ama onlar aldı yürüdü kendileri geride kaldı."

tobacco and sugar beet. Especially migrants who came from Adıyaman deal with the tobacco production and the 5 of the migrant interviewees explain that they made good money from the tobacco production. For instance, Haydar's speech is mostly dominated by his words on the situation of agriculture. He remarks that, in spite of his old age he tries to work in the field but he cannot earn as much as in old times since the quota, which was imposed on planting of tobacco and sugar beet by the state. Ahmet (76, male, Adıyaman) asserts that when he came to Malatya, they had a chance to produce tobacco and they earned enough money to buy the land and house; however, after the imposition of quota they cannot think to buy a new piece of land or house; not only the tobacco but also the problems in the apricot production hit the economy of their family.¹⁸⁴

All the interviews confirmed the existence of informal agricultural economy in the city. All respondents have link with the soil; even though some of them do not have their own field, they use the field of their relatives. The agricultural production in those lands ensure the well-being of people since they do not spend too much money for the food, they sell the production in market as well. The role of apricot production in the everyday life of people is strictly emphasized by the respondents. The apricot production creates both the income for the producer and also seasonal job for the migrants and people who work in apricot factories. Ahmet emphasizes the importance of apricot for

¹⁸⁴ Original quotation: "... biz ne kazandıysak tütünle kazandık; tarla alırken de ev alırken de tütünle aldık. Tütün gitti biz hiçbir şey kazanmaz olduk. Şimdi bir ekmeğin peşindeyiz... evmiş tarlaymış onu düşünmüyoruz. Ben 10 tona kadar tütün götürürdüm TEKEL'e. Kayısı da yok 2 senedir."

the city as follows: “without apricot both the rich and poor people of Malatya will die, if there is apricot, everything is good.”¹⁸⁵

All interviews actually affirm that the reason behind the migration wave to Malatya is "economic situation" rather than "forced migration".¹⁸⁶ There is obviously particular migration stories; however this thesis focuses on the dominant migration wave. The migrants explain the reasons of migration as “economic problems” in their hometown. The first migrants came to the city during the period between 1965 and 1970. Both Ahmet and Osman (76, male, Adiyaman) explain that they were among the first migrants who came to the city and they do not have any relatives or familiar people in the city. Thus, they suffered from being stranger in the city and the poverty.¹⁸⁷ However, they also remark that the life for people who came to the city after their migration was easier since they have networks in the city. Esmâ (25, female, migrant) defines the migrant wave as a chain. Their overall stories define the characteristics of migration wave of 1960s and 1970s in Turkey. However, this type of migrant wave still continues in Malatya. People who are exposed to the forced migration usually do not have a network in migrant-receiving city, however in Malatya sample; people have networks in the region.

¹⁸⁵ Original quotation: “Malatya iş bakımından kayısıdır. Kayısı olursa her şey iyi. Kayısı olmadığında zengini de ölüyor fakiri de...”

¹⁸⁶ Forced migration in Turkey is mostly related with the state policies towards the Kurdish guerilla movement, PKK. A lot of people who live in the Southeast region of Turkey was exposed to the migration by the state.

¹⁸⁷ Original quotation of Osman’s words: “Çok zorluk çektik. Gün oldu ki ekmek bile bulamadık çünkü biz karadan denize düştük, kendi memleketimizden başka bir yere geldik. Burada hiç tanıdığımız yoktu bize hiç yardım eden olmadı kendi imkânlarımızla kendimizi ayakta tutabildik. Buraya ilk geldiğimizde hiç bizim gibi olan yoktu.”

Malatya as a city which receives migrants is not a “villagized cities” (*köyleşen şehirler*)¹⁸⁸ as in the case of migrant receiving metropolises, but it already carries the characteristics of the “village city”. Thus, harmonizing with the city life in Malatya is not very hard for the migrants and it seems one of the reasons of “inclusion”. Malatya actually, during 2010s has started to be an “urbanizing city” and the neoliberal urbanization began to distort the everyday life and well-being in the city.

The story in Malatya can also be described as poverty-in-turn. Poverty-in-turn, which is conceptualized by Işık and Pınarcıoğlu for the case of Sultanbeyli, refers that the poor can transform their living conditions and positions in the class strata by creating informal resistance mechanisms and solidarity networks. However, they argue that the sine qua non of the poverty-in-turn is the existence of informal employment and rent economy in the city; for instance, they remark that Mersin does not experience the poverty-in-turn because the city does not carry those characteristics. However, although Malatya has not got a dynamic economy as in the case of İstanbul, as opposed to Işık and Pınarcıoğlu’s arguments, the poverty-in-turn exists in the city. This is mostly because of the agricultural production and traditional solidarity networks in the city. People have informal income from the agriculture and the solidarity in the city allows the poverty to be overcome. For instance, people support the initiatives of their relatives by lending money or creating networks in the trade. Also, the culture of sharing in the city stands as an informal resistance mechanism. Again, it is important to emphasize that

¹⁸⁸ İhsan Sezal quoted in Tolga Tezcan. *Gebze: Küçük Türkiye’nin Göç Serüveni* (İstanbul: Bilgi Üniversitesi, 2011). p.35.

migrants in Malatya have experienced the embourgeoisment story throughout the years. Thus, there is not huge economic market in the city, it leads to poverty-in-turn.

Malatya is depicted as “Germany for migrants” in the discourses of Kurdish migrants. Working in Germany is overwhelmingly identified with “getting rich” since Germany invited workers from Turkey in order due to the labor shortage in the country in 1960s and 1970s and Germany became the hope for lots of poor people in Turkey in order to overcome to poverty and save money. While I was travelling by bus, an old man was chatting with another man and his words evoked my mind: "Malatya seems like Germany of people from Adiyaman. I wish I had bought two parts of field in Malatya, I would become rich".¹⁸⁹ This conversation is really meaningful in the sense that it shows the economic dimension of the migration and embourgeoisment story.

Most of the respondents also mention the embourgeoisment stories of specific families in the city. Especially some migrant families which are counted the richest in Malatya are always appreciated due to their effort both by the other migrants and locals. Therefore, Malatya allows for the upward mobility of the poor in the class structure and the embourgeoisment story is one of the main pillars in the transformation of social exclusion into an inclusion story. While poverty stands in the center of social exclusion, to overcome the poverty is one of the layers of inclusion in the city.

İsmail's (66, male, Malatya) diary, includes crucial codes for the migration stories and confirms my findings which I mentioned above. İsmail calls his diary as

¹⁸⁹ Original quotation: "Malatya Adiyamanlıların Almanyası... Keşke ben de zamanında gelip buralarda iki tarla alsaydım, şimdiye zengin olmuşum."

“poem notebook”; however he has written important events in the city as well as in his life to the notebook. İsmail’s inner world actually depicts the exclusion towards migrants and his feeling of bother from the migration wave. As Calavita remarks that there is a construction of immigrant difference by emphasizing the notion of strangers and using some certain stereotypes. The migrants are codified as a threat to both the culture and job security of locals. İsmail’s story confirms Calavita’s argument. He defines the migrants as “strangers” and even, he accepts the tobacco which is brought by the “strangers” as a threat since it is a rival for the wheat berry which is produced by locals. Also, he is complaining from the selling the fields to the strangers. İsmail’s diary also implies the role of class in the exclusion process. He writes that the rich is more respected and anyone do not care about the poor. The decrease in the income of apricot production also reveals in his poems. While he defines the income from the apricot as golden opportunity in the former poem (although there is not date in the poems when I examined the whole notebook, it is understood that the poems were written in different years and numbers of the poem shows their sequence in terms of year), the later one called “Hayırsız Ağaç” (Unfaithful Tree) shows his disappointment from the apricot production. He also emphasizes the financial difficulty due to the non-existence of tobacco and sugar beet (see Figure 15).

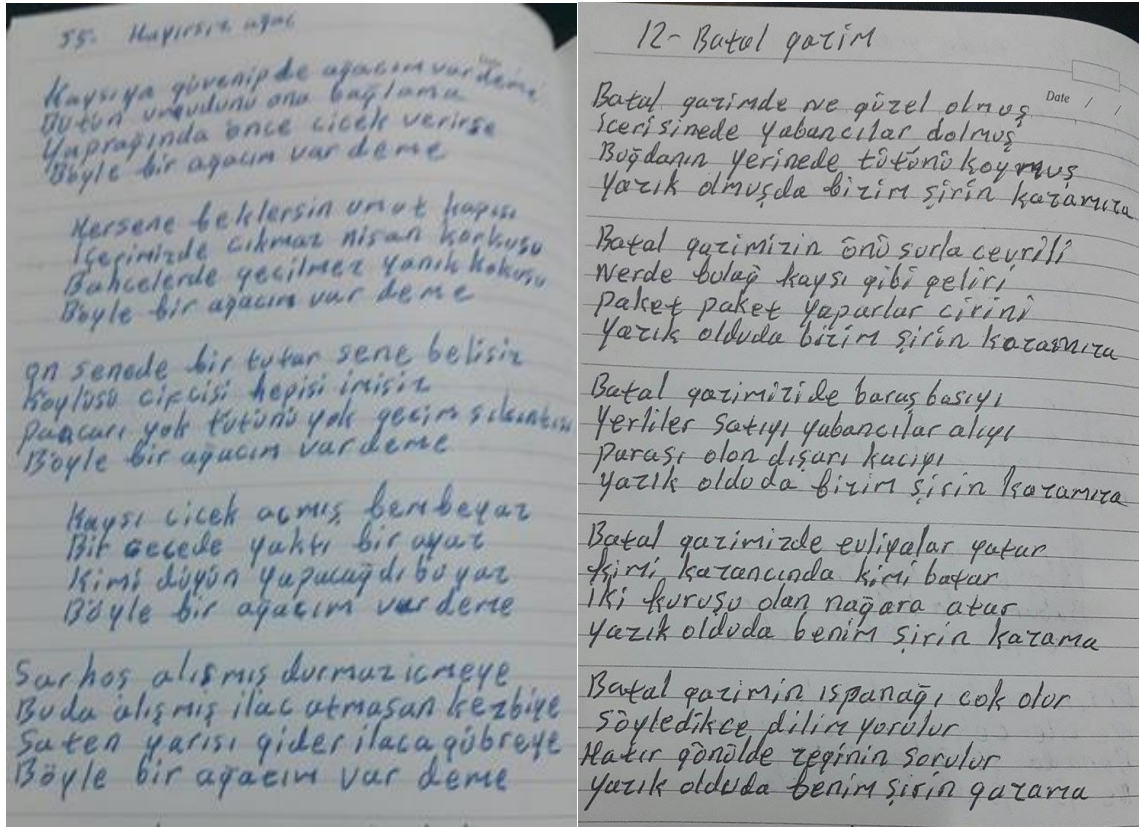


Fig. 15. İsmail's poems in his diary, [photo taken by the researcher on June 2015]

6.2 Identity and belonging

Identity is another layer of this research. This thesis aims to discover the codes of identity in the discourses of locals and migrants and how identity is defined and redefined in the everyday life rather than making a certain categorization. As I mentioned in Chapter 5, Malatya has multi-ethnic and multi-sectarian population. Thus, people belong to various ethnic, religious and political identity in the city. However, especially ethnic identity is not a static term in the city but it is volatile and ambiguous. Kurdish identity is redefined in terms of the class position of migrants and local Kurds are not called as "Kurds" in Malatya. Both the interviews with migrants and locals

include emphasis on this volatile identities and the case of Malatya shows that class and identity is intertwined in the everyday life.

Within the scope of this thesis, I define the concept of ethnic identity in terms of the language/ mother-tongue rather than ethnicity. Martin van Bruinessen emphasizes that the assimilation policies of Turkish state led Kurds to forget their ethnic identity. Because of this assimilation policy many Kurds define themselves as Turks but speak both Kurdish and Turkish.¹⁹⁰ In the context of Malatya, Kurds are not mobilized in the Kurdish movement and do not feel belonging to their ethnicity. Thus, the language would be an important indicator for being Kurdish.

The interviewees were chosen among Kurdish speaking migrants and there are Kurdish speaking locals, too. In this case, I try to discover which identity is attributed Kurdish migrants by the local and how Kurdish migrants identify themselves.

Local people in Malatya overwhelmingly use the word of “Kurd” as an exclusionary discourse. As I mentioned above, Mehmet’s words “*Yerliler Kürt, Kürtler yerli oldu*” (locals became Kurds and Kurds became local) are not specific to him. It depicts the “exclusive recognition” of Kurdish migrants by redefining the Kurdishness in the everyday life.¹⁹¹ As noted in Chapter 4, exclusive recognition is used to explain the redefinition of Kurdish identity in the urban life. Cenk Saracoglu argues that “exclusive recognition” is shaped with the experiences in the everyday life rather than a being an

¹⁹⁰Martin van Bruinessen, “Kurdish Society, Ethnicity, Nationalism and Refugee Problems,” in *The Kurds: A Contemporary Overview*, Ed. Philip G. Kreyenbroek and Stefan Speri, London: Routledge, 1992, pp. 33-67.

¹⁹¹ Cenk Saraçoğlu, *Kurds of Modern Turkey: Migration, Neoliberalism and Exclusion in Turkish Society* (New York: Tauris Academic Studies, 2011), p. 66.

Orientalist portrayal of “the Others” due to their invisibility. In the case of Malatya, Kurdishness is defined in terms of the encounters of locals and migrants in the everyday life. However, Kurdish identity is basically defined in terms of class position and everyday relations. When the economic inclusion of the migrants occurred, the “Otherization” in the discourse also diminish. Nuray’s (37, female, Malatya) story depicts that the word of “Kurds” are not used any more in her village when the migrants included in the economic and social life. They began to call those migrants as “Karşıyakalılar” due to the location of their houses in village.¹⁹² The provincial chairman of HDP emphasizes that there is a density of Kurdish population in Malatya but most of them are “assimilated”, he adds that even the voters of MHP, Turkish nationalist party, were the Kurds of Malatya in the past. He also mentions the redefinition of the identity in the everyday life by emphasizing that people use the word of “Kurd” for only migrant population of the city which comes from the Southeastern Anatolia while they define the local Kurds as peasants rather than “Kurds”, similarly in the past they were not called Alevi as “Alevi” but as “aşiret” (*tribe*).¹⁹³ Moreover, he basically explains that if Kurds are not politically mobilized in the Kurdish movement they can be easily included in this “assimilated society” (in his words) as “good Kurds”.

Redefinition of Kurdish identity does not only emerge as “exclusive recognition” but also “racism without race”. Etienne Balibar used “racism without race” in order to explain that race is not just a sociologically constructed term but it is also economically

¹⁹² Original quotation:” Mesela bizim köyde eskiden onlara Kürtler derlerdi. Şimdi Karşıyakalılar diyorlar; çünkü köprünün diğer tarafında oturuyorlar. Şimdi Kürtler demiyorlar, Kürtler kelimesini kaldırmışız.”

¹⁹³ Original Quotation: “Malatya’da iyi Kürt, kötü Kürt kavramı var asimile edilen iyi Kürt oluyor diğeri hala kaba Kürt, kötü Kürt. Zaten yerli Kürtlere “Kürt” demezler. Hatta bir ara Malatya’da Alevilere “Alevi” denmezdi; “aşiret” denirdi.”

and materially constructed. Calavita uses this term in order to describe the “otherization” of immigrants. She remarks that immigrants are coded as “Others” if they are economically other. In the case of Malatya the ethnicity is redefined in terms of the position of migrants in the class structure. The identity of those people who experience the upward mobility into the middle class or bourgeoisie does not constitute a problem for the locals any more.

While the locals define Kurdishness of migrants in terms of their economic position, the migrants overwhelmingly identify themselves as Kurdish and Muslim. However, belonging to an identity differs in terms of the religious affiliation. There is not certain emphasis on the identity issue in the discourse of Sunni Kurds, whereas Alevi Kurds first emphasize their Alevi identity and secondly their Kurdishness.

The question “Do you feel belonging to any specific identity?” is remarkable. Both Sunni-Kurds and Sunni-Turks need further explanation in order to acquire the meaning of the question. The term “identity” is revived in their mind after my explanations. However, Alevi respondents, both Turks and Kurds, immediately answered the question by emphasizing their Alevi identity. The Sunni group emphasizes their “Muslim” identity when they acquired the meaning of identity. Some Sunni Kurds define their identity as both Muslim and Turkish. There is emphasis of “racist Kurds” in their discourse and they try to distinguish themselves from those groups when they define their identity, even they define themselves as “Turk”. For instance, Hacer (32, female, Adiyaman) underlines that there are both racist Kurds and the other Kurds by emphasizing her Muslim identity. She defines “being Muslim” as a solidarity mechanisms as opposed to the other “separatist” forms of identity. Deniz (33, male,

Adıyaman) defines himself as “citizen of Turkish Republic”. He explained his choice in detailed by expressing that since his father is Kurd and his mother is Turk, the most suitable identity for him is being Turkish citizen. However, his mother Nihal (55, female, Malatya), whom I have already made an interview, is not Turk but a local Kurd. Thus, Deniz also defines the ethnic identity in terms of being migrant or local.

Language is also an important indicator for belonging to the identity. Whole Kurdish respondents explain that their mother tongue is Kurdish but they speak Turkish at home. Indeed, their stories over language depict that the internalization of the incorporation process. Yıldız (36, female, Urfa), for instance, mentions her father’s aggressiveness towards Kurdish speaking at home because he strictly tried to impede any act which harm his children’s using Turkish language.¹⁹⁴

The codes of identity is dominant in the discourses of Alevi respondents. Their all exclusion stories are based on discrimination towards Alevis; rather than being migrant or Kurd. Even politically mobilized ones in the Kurdish political movement first emphasized their Alevi identity rather than their ethnic identity. While Sunni respondents did not mention the stories of discrimination for the current period, Alevis strongly emphasize they are exposed to the discrimination in everyday life as well as in the systematic level. Hüseyin explains his exclusion as follows: "Other craftsmen do not want our existence, we do not participate to the Friday prayer, most of the shops in the district are closed but our shop is open. They smile to us, but we know that they do not

¹⁹⁴ Original quotation: “Benim babam çok sert tepki gösterirdi, özellikle evde çocukların yanında Kürtçe konuşmaya... Derdi ki çocuklarımla Türkçesi bozulur; biz Kürtçe konuştuğumuzda uyarırdı. Evde yaşlılar Kürtçe konuşurdu.”

like us"¹⁹⁵ The stories of Hüseyin's brother Ulaş (32, male, Adıyaman) and sister Hatice (26, female, Adıyaman) are based on the exclusion towards Alevis. Especially during the high school, both of them were exposed to the discrimination because of their Alevi identity such as they were humiliated by their teachers during their compulsory religious education.

Those all expressions and stories of the migrants show that people feel belonging to the suppressed identity. Alevis are exposed to the exclusion due to their religious affiliation. As I noted in Chapter 5, Malatya has witnessed the violent conflicts between Alevis and Sunnis in 1970s and Alevis were injured and killed during *Hamido* events, their houses and shops were severely damaged and most of them had to leave the city. Thus, this historical background have affected the everyday relations in the city. I will explain the social exclusion of Alevis in detail as a limitation for inclusion at the end of this chapter.

It is also crucial to mention that questioning their identity creates doubts in the respondents. This doubt is very significant for some of them and they try to end the interview. The debate among Ahmet and his wife during the interview is remarkable. While Ahmet insists that he had never experiences any type of discrimination due to his Alevi-Kurd identity; her wife interrupted his words by accusing him with hiding the reality.

¹⁹⁵ Original quotation: "Alevi olduğumuz için esnaf bizi pek kabullenmez. Cuma namazında bir bizim dükkân açıktır. Yüzümüze bir şey demezler ama aramızdan durum çok nettir."

Therefore, the identity in Malatya is shaped around the religious identity rather than ethnic identity. Mainly, there are Sunni group who emphasizes their “Muslim” identity by expressing that “being Muslim” is a unifying identity which includes people who belong to the different race, ethnicity or nations and there are Alevi group who expresses their identity as “Alevi” by overwhelmingly emphasizes discrimination towards Alevi in the city. The ethnic identities in the city is not strictly defined, however they are volatile and ambiguous since they are defined and redefined in the everyday life. While local Kurds are not accepted as Kurds and categorizes as “peasant or local”, the ethnicity of Kurdish migrants is redefined in terms of their position in the class structure by ignoring the ethnic origin. The migrants who overcome the poverty and integrated to the social life of the city are not called as Kurd any more. “Being local” (refers to being Turk) and “being Kurd” are the main categories in terms of ethnicity.

6.3 Discourses of exclusion and inclusion

"Şimdi bizden temizler"¹⁹⁶

In this section I will elaborate the codes of exclusion and inclusion in the discourses of locals and migrants. In the case of Malatya, both the exclusion and inclusion stories are intertwined in the everyday life.

As David Sibley argues that the codification of “Others” by using the color or dirtiness is prevalent in the public discourse. In the case of Malatya, this argument is remarkable. The feeling about others reflects the discourses of locals. However, it is

¹⁹⁶ Nezaket actually implies "recognition" by emphasizing these words, “now they are cleaner than us” even though she seems as if she hates migrants.

important to underline that there is also codes of inclusion both in the discourses of migrants and locals. While the others are labeled as “dirty”, “dangerous” and “stranger” vice versa; expressions such as “now, they are clean”, “now, they became local”, “they have learned good manners”, “they learned to behave like us” imply the codes of inclusion.

First of all, it can easily be recognized that if there is "exclusion" process, the issue of "hygiene" is always matter. While the words of “pis Kürtler” (*dirty Kurds*) is often used for migrants, they do not use it for the local Kurds. Nezaket's (60, female, Malatya) perception towards migrants is too rigid. She emphasizes that migrants (she used the word of Kurds) were dirty but now they are clean; however all kinds of evil is expected from them. She used the words "çaggal çuggal" for migrants. This words used as a humiliating expression in the local language.¹⁹⁷ On the other hand her discourse, in spite of his rigid expressions, carries the codes of inclusion, too: "My mother always said that 'Kürtten evliya, koyma avluya'¹⁹⁸; it is indeed just like she says but now they are clean and their houses is better than our houses."¹⁹⁹ My observations in the city also confirm that the issue of “hygiene” is used as a very strong mechanisms of exclusion and inclusion.

The notion of “being stranger” is overwhelmingly used by the local interviewees. They define migrants as “stranger”. As Calavita argues that using of the word

¹⁹⁷ Original quotation: "Hepsi pisti bu Kürtlerin bak şimdi temiz de oldular, evleri de var ama ne pislik gelirse bu Kürtlerden gelir, hepsi çaggal çuggal".

¹⁹⁸ It is an expression which means that “Don’t trust a Kurd without looking his status or wisdom”.

¹⁹⁹ Original quotation: "Ne dersiniz deyin Kürtten evliya koyma avluya derdi hep anam, işin aslı öyle, ama şimdi görsen tertemizler, evleri bizimkinden güzel".

“stranger” actually constructs the immigrant difference.²⁰⁰ Also, being stranger is related being dangerous. The respondents specifically mention the notion of “distrust towards the migrants”. Ömer (39, male, Malatya) codes the migrants as “stranger” rather than Kurds and he overtly explains that even though the migrants are good people, he is always suspicious towards them; he cannot trust them as much as he trust a local person.²⁰¹ He also attributes the problem of migrants as their being “nationalist” (he means Kurdish nationalism); however he identifies himself as Turkish nationalist. Thus, not only “being strangers” of Kurdish migrants but also their political affiliation exacerbates the exclusion of them. Nebile’s story (32, migrant, Urfa) also implies the problem of “distrust”. She explains that when her family came to Malatya, their neighbors did not trust them due to the ethnic differences. However, she emphasizes the role of her grandmother to construct and maintain good relations with her neighbors which ensure the transformation of exclusion to inclusion.²⁰² Yıldız’s story is also similar: Although his grandfather has enough money, anyone did not sell land to her grandfather because they did not trust him.²⁰³ Hence, both the discourses of locals and

²⁰⁰ Kitty Calavita. *Immigrants at the Margins: Law, Race, and Exclusion in Southern Europe*. Cambridge ; New York : Cambridge University Press. 2005. P.13

²⁰¹ Original quotation: “Mesela arka mahallenin %90’ı Urfalı Adıyamanlı saygı dersin adamlarda var, seni kapıda karşılar ama sonuçta sıkıntılılar hem milliyetçiler... yani bir de ben mesela U.’ya (yanındaki adamı işaret ediyor), kendi özümdeki insana güvendiğim kadar onlara güvenemem, işin açıkçası bu ...Hep kafamızda bir “acaba” var. Ben mesela U.’nun bahçesine gittiğimde U.’nun orada olmasına gerek yok, o da aynı şekilde bize gelebiliyor, o güven birbirimizde var... ama onlar için acabalar var mutlaka kafamızın içinde.”

²⁰² Original quotation: “... babaannemler buraya geldiğinde kimse onlara güvenmiyormuş, çünkü hani bir de Kürtçe konuşuyorlar buradaki halkın da çoğu Türk... kabullenmekte biraz zorlanmışlar yavaş yavaş ısınmışlar ama sonra babaannemler sacda ekmek yapıp götürüyorlarmış komşulara”.

²⁰³ Original quotation: “Benim dedemden duyduğum şu tabii 40 sene önce... dedem çok varlıklıymış, ama buraya geldiğinde kimse arsasını satmamış onlara o nedenle çok zorluk çekmişler.”

stories of migrants validate that there have been an exclusion process which is based on the ethnic differences and “being stranger” in the city.

Both the statistics and the ethnographic research show that the dominant migration wave to Malatya comes from Adıyaman. Thus, in the public discourse “being Adıyamanlı” and “being migrant” is often equal. However, the word “Adıyamanlı” is used as a pejorative name. Murat (20, male, Malatya) depicts the issue as follows: "My best friends always call me "Adıyamanlı", when they want to be kidding with me. Even though Esmâ herself comes from Adıyaman she attributes a negative meaning to “being Adıyamanlı” since she identifies it as a label while she mention the story of her neighbors.²⁰⁴

These inclusion and exclusion stories of migrants are also explained by deputy mayor (57, male, Malatya), by referencing to similarity of traditions. He implies that migrants who adopt the culture of Malatya became “Malatyalı” but the others cannot be included to the society.²⁰⁵ As explained in Chapter 2, Calavita argues that one of the certain stenotype which attributes to the migrants is that “they are threat to our culture and identity”. This stereotype is significant in the discourses of deputy mayor. While he defines Adıyamanlı migrants as people who have similar traditions with Malatya, migrants who come from Muş are more dangerous for him. However, his definition of tradition is mostly related to being Kurdish as politically mobilized in the Kurdish

²⁰⁴ Original quotation: “... bizim mahallede birkaç ev var genelde buraya göçle gelen insanlar oluyor bunu etiketlemek için söylemiyorum ama Adıyaman’dan gelenler oluyor”

movement.²⁰⁶ In addition, according to him, the inclusion is not only related to the adaptation to the culture but also the economic life of the city.

While Gülnaz was expressing the inclusion story of migrants she mentioned the word of "görgü" (good manners) by saying that they learned good manners in Malatya.²⁰⁷ Actually these speeches carry the codes of "inclusion". As Wacquant mentions resembling of the appearance of the migrants to the local people throughout time is crucial in the recognition.²⁰⁸ For instance, the differences of dressing habits or accent of migrants also contributes to their exclusion. Whereas, when they began to adopt the life style of locals their recognition became easy. In this research, the discourses of the local people actually confirm this statement. "Görgü" is not mentioned as general criteria but as "the mode of dress, behavior or speech of the locals". If you resemble the locals in terms of appearance, you accepted as having good manners (*görgülü*).

The intermarriage is also an important criteria for inclusion. Especially local people expressed that they are against the intermarriage among migrants and locals. However, this discursive exclusion does not work too rigid in practice. There are intermarriages in the families of respondents. They strongly emphasize that intermarriages have increased throughout the years. Mustafa (32, migrant, Adıyaman)

²⁰⁶ Original quotation: "Özellikle Adıyaman'dan gelenler örf ve adetleri bakımından Malatya'ya daha yakınlar o nedenle daha çabuk entegre oluyorlar; Malatyalı oluyorlar yani..." Ama bakın işte bir Muş'tan gelen o kadar değil... Onların örf ve adetleri daha farklı. Malatya'ya gelip kendi örf ve adetlerini bırakan burasının sosyal ve ticari hayatına ayak uyduranlar Malatyalı oluyor. Bunlara karşı burada ayırım yok hiç."

²⁰⁷ Original quotation: "Görgü, görgü, görgü... Bu çok önemli, buraya gelip görgü gördüler, şimdi iyiler. İlk gelenler hep pismiş."

²⁰⁸ Loic J. D. Wacquant, "The Rise of Advanced Marginality: Notes on Its Nature and Implications," *Acta Sociologica* 39 no. 2 (1996): p. 124.

remarks that although his family gave permission to marriage of his sisters with the locals; the locals always oppose this kind of intermarriages.²⁰⁹ The subordination of women is crucial in both the intermarriage among people who belong to the different ethnic or religious groups. It is acceptable to give permission of marriage the man in the family with the women from the excluded groups, however the marriage of their daughters with a man from the excluded groups is totally opposed. This is much related with the patriarchal structure of the society where the woman is seen as an object of “assimilation”.

Mustafa’s words are also remarkable for the exclusion towards migrants in Malatya. He directly explains the exclusion process by emphasizing the superiority of locals over the migrants in the everyday life. He remarks that whilst they visit the houses of the locals, the locals do not visit the migrants in their home.²¹⁰

The discourses of exclusion and inclusion is again revealed around the class, identity and space. Overcoming the poverty is actually related with “being clean” and inclusion comes together with the perception of “cleanness” in the minds of people. Furthermore, the resemblance in the appearance of migrants to locals is important for inclusion and their identity is redefined throughout times in terms of those changes in both the appearances and economic situation. Also, the collaboration in the space which I will elaborate in further pages contributes to the inclusion process and all of those practices is reflected in the discourses of both locals and migrants in Malatya.

²⁰⁹ Original quotation: “Benim öz dayımın kızı V.K’nın gelini... V.K’nın oğluna biz kızımızı verdik; benim bacım da onlarda evli ama biz V. K.’dan kız istesek bize vermezdi”.

²¹⁰ Original quotation: “Yerlilerle bizim iletişimimiz var biz yerliye gideriz ama yerli bize gelmez... Ben dedim ki ‘siz kendinizi bizden üstün tutuyorsunuz, bizim sizden neyiz eksik’...”

6.4 The Perception of inclusion among different generations

The social exclusion of Kurdish migrants in Malatya is actually paradoxical in the sense that there are also inclusion process which is intertwined with the exclusion. In order to explore the perception of exclusion and inclusion from generation to generation, I conducted interviews from different generations also I designed group interviews with the members of same family. The interviews includes both the exclusion and inclusion stories.

Before conducting the interviews, I thought that the expressions of old generation would mostly include exclusion stories; however I am really surprised that when young generation expresses the exclusion stories with clear statements. For instance, Mahmut (66, male, Adıyaman), Mustafa's father, says that anyone harms him and his family in Malatya. Haydar similarly expresses that "the God bless the people who live here, anyone harm us."²¹¹ However, his children Hüseyin, Ulaş and Hatice remark that they were exposed to discrimination, especially because of their Alevi identity. Also, Mustafa clearly explains that the locals always try to establish superiority over migrants.

The differences on perception of exclusion and inclusion among different generations also follow the same pattern for locals as in the case of migrants. While, the local older people mention the well communication between migrants and locals, young generation of locals expresses the exclusion towards migrants in the city. For instance, Rıza (73, male, Malatya) remarks that "anyone did not impede their (migrants' enterprises, we lived together". Hayriye (56, female, Malatya) says that

²¹¹ Original quotation: "Allah buradakilerden razı olsun... Kimseden bir kötülük görmedik"

"locals were wondering that the reasons of the migration from Adıyaman in the past. They ask that why those people come here, they may commit a crime etc. However, anyone harm the migrants, they even move up to the mayorship". Local younger generation is actually aware of the exclusion process towards migrants. Murat, Gülser and Fatih emphasize that there is definitely an exclusion process towards migrants. They said that although people live together and the discrimination decreases; migrants witnessed the exclusion stories in the past.

Gülser strongly emphasizes that there is a strong discrimination towards migrants; she relates this discrimination to the statuses (economic situation) and Kurdish identity of the migrants. Besides, she implies that this discrimination is decreased across time.²¹² Her overall emphasis on exclusion process is related with the economic side of the issue as claimed in this article. Her interview includes very crucial statements towards the "exclusion" and "inclusion" process. The interview with Fatih also has similar expressions. He insists the relationship between poverty and exclusion rather than exclusion which is based on the ethnic discrimination. His words again reminds arguments of Calavita and Balibar on "racism without race" which implies that race is not a criteria of "Otherness" unless the poverty is combined with the race.

Murat also claims that there is a strong exclusion towards migrants from Adıyaman. He remarks that locals cannot say humiliating words to the migrants directly,

²¹² Original quotation: "...kesinlikle bir ayrımcılık oldu ve ben hala da var olduğunu düşünüyorum tabii şu an daha da bir törpülenmişliği var, elbette ki insanların zihninde artık iş oturdu. Karşılıklı bir menfaat ilişkisi de söz konusu şu an."

or they do not express their exact feelings but they always talk behind migrants' backs.²¹³

While the young generation of locals expresses the decreasing of exclusionary practices towards migrants, the discourse of migrant origin young who was born in Malatya includes the codes of inclusion. They specifically appreciate the “peaceful coexistence” in Malatya and emphasizes the notion of “being Malatyalı”. The solidarity in the city as well as economic well-being creates a positive image of Malatya for the migrant origin young. However, they have experienced the discrimination due to their ethnicity or identity when they left the city for their education or to work. Thus, their experiences show that there is also an inclusion process of Kurdish migrants in the city.

The perception of inclusion of young generation of migrants might be related with strong interactions between those migrants and locals in schools, in neighborhoods etc. The second and third generation of migrants was born in Malatya; thus their appearances resemble to the locals and they have actually strong relations with the locals rather than their relatives in Adıyaman. Therefore, the stigmatization as “strangers” of those young generations by the locals is not significant.

Another crucial point is that the young generations of both migrants and locals are more willing to respond the questions about the identity. Especially young Alevi-Kurds emphasize their belonging to both Kurdish and Alevi identity. They explain their own experiences of discrimination. The interview with Arin (24, female, Adıyaman) is

²¹³ Original quotation: "Yüzlerine bir şey demezler ama... hep arkalarından konuşurlar...Zaten bir Malatyalı, Adıyamanlı ve Elazığlı bir araya gelse birbirlerine iyi davranırlar ama arkalarından atıp tutarlar sırf memleket meselesi bu."

one of the most nervous one. Although it seems that she got suspicious about the interview she insists the discrimination towards Kurdish identity and she wants to live in Diyarbakır due to the “assimilation” process (in her words) in Malatya.

Thus exclusion and inclusion stories exist together as a paradox. While the old generation of migrants and locals express “the harmony” in the city by overemphasizing the “peaceful coexistence” in Malatya. The young generation overtly explains the exclusion stories both experienced by their families or themselves. However, young generation also highlights the inclusion story in the city by mentioning their satisfaction of living in Malatya.

6.5 Spatial relations and collaboration

The role of spatial relations is remarkable in the everyday life. As Lefebvre emphasizes, the state is not only a geographical space but it is shaped by everyday relations, the space is both political and ideological.²¹⁴ In the case of Malatya, it is obvious that the non-ghettoized characteristics of the city has a crucial effect in the inclusion process of Kurdish migrants.

First of all, as I explained in Chapter 5, there is not significant residential segregation in Malatya. Spatial segregations in terms of class and migrant background is in the level of streets rather than neighborhood; thus, the city dwellers have a chance to communicate and collaborate in the everyday life. The codes of inclusion in the personal

²¹⁴ Henri Lefebvre, *State, Space, World: Selected Essays*, ed. Neil Brenner and Stuart Elden (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2009), p. 212.

stories of migrants and locals include living together in the same neighborhood. The space, as an agent in the construction of identities as well as political and social dynamics, has a crucial role in the inclusion and exclusion in the urban life.

By following Lefevbre's conceptualization of space as a producer and a product in the everyday life; this thesis analyses the space as both the consequence and reason of the dynamic relations in the everyday life. Since there is no spatial segregation in Malatya, social and economic problems do not concentrate in specific neighborhoods. This non-segregation also allows for the upward mobility of Kurdish migrants into the middle class.

As Castles and Davidson claim that the spatial integration starts with the home building of migrants. Some migrants settled in tents when they first come to the city. Since the tent symbolizes the temporary settlement, their inclusion starts with the home building. The tent also is identified with gypsies. Actually, exclusionary practices towards gypsies are more dominant in the society; they are labeled as unreliable. Moreover, dangerous people and the certain prejudice towards them codes Gypsies as "thieves". Nuray's speech implies that the first step in the inclusion start with the process that when locals realized that the migrants are not Gypsies and they came to the city because of economic problems.²¹⁵ Furthermore, the hegemonic discourse in the city which is related to the spatial background of the migrants is that they are accepted as people who come from "mountain" and "desert". These two metaphors are used as in the Orientalist discourse of Westerns towards the Eastern cultures. Even though locals never

²¹⁵ Original quotation: "Bunlar tabii eskiden çadırla geldiği için çingene sanırdık sonra baktık dağdan geliyorlar orada geçim yok diye buraya yerleşiyorlar..."

seen Adiyaman or Urfa or any other South-Eeastern cities, they attributes those two characteristics to those cities in order to create a spatial superiority. Moreover, “coming from mountains” is always used as a pejorative discourse and signifies “being stranger in the city”. At the same time, “coming from mountain” is used as a term in order to define being active in the Kurdish political movement.

The coding of spatial backgrounds of the newcomers began to be disappeared with their home building process. Thus, Calavita’s argument which is “adequate shelter is a *sine quo non* of membership” is remarkable in Malatya.²¹⁶ It is also crucial to underline that some migrants have enough capital to buy a house or land when they first came to the city. However, the houses they first bought are mostly tumbledown. While the tent or those tumbledown houses constitute “spaces” as areas of surviving, the home building process is a process of transformation of “space” to the “place” in which they live and socialize as if they were in the hometown and also include to the urban life.

The home building refers to the “belonging” and “security and it is the first process of community formation as discussed in Chapter 2. The argument of Castles and Davidson is remarkable in Malatya. Migrants construct their community by building their home in the proximate spaces and they buy shops, restaurants or markets into the city and throughout time they involve in political, social and economic life in the city. The community links create a solidarity among those migrants, too. Both in the political and economic life, migrants support people who have been originally migrants. Those

²¹⁶ Kitty Calavita, *Immigrants at the Margins: Law, Race, and Exclusion in Southern Europe* (Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp.114-117.

community formation is very important especially in the local elections. The candidates of municipalities where the migrant population is high, specifically two candidates compete: one is the candidate of locals, the other is the candidate of migrants (or the candidates of “Kurds” in the discourse of locals). Crucially, the migrant candidates had found chance to be a mayor of certain districts. Therefore, the spatial inclusion creates the community formation and subsequently ensures the political inclusion.

The stories of respondents expresses the coexistence of migrants and locals in the same neighborhood. As noted in Chapter 2, David Sibley claims that the codification of “Other” and the codification of space where they live as dangerous comes together. This argument is relevant in the case of Malatya. The non-concentration of poverty and excluded groups in certain neighborhoods impedes the codification of spaces as dangerous and the notion of “living together” brings the inclusion in Malatya. The personal relations and “touching” to life of “Other” actually stand as an important factor which affects the inclusion process. Therefore, non-ghettoized characteristics of the city allows the inclusion of “the stranger” and “the poor” into the urban life.

It can be extracted from the interviews that local and migrants do not often visit each other’s home. Esma identifies this situation as the existence of personal distance between the migrants and locals.²¹⁷ However, it is important to highlight that both migrants and locals show ultimate attention to participate in funeral and marriage ceremonies of their neighbors. Sharing the happiness or sadness of the dwellers of

²¹⁷ Original quotation: “Yerlilerle sürekli birbirimize gidip gelmeyiz, bir düğün cenaze olduğunda evet ama hep bir mesafe var.”

neighborhood stand as a virtue in the city. Residents in the neighborhood share the financial and physical burden of those ceremonies.

The questions which assess the frequency of visits to the city center were asked in order to evaluate the integration into the urban life. Whole respondents even the older ones remark that they often visit the city center especially in order to do shopping or to spend their leisure time. People who do not often visit the city center explained the reason as they can supply their needs such as shopping without going to the city center and as personal preferences such as do not like being in crowded areas.²¹⁸ They do not mention any kind of financial problem regarding the visiting. Only, Deniz and his family mention the problems in the transportation in the last years, they are condemning about the decreasing in the bus service in their neighborhoods so that the crowded buses stand as a deterrent factor for their visiting the city center as much as in the old times.

Another important dynamic of the spatial relation in the non-ghettoized city is collaboration. Ash Amin's argument which claims that collaboration brings inclusion is validated in the case of Malatya. The communication and collaboration in the neighborhoods among migrants and locals have ensured a remarkable decrease in the exclusionary practices. For instance, women collaborate in order to prepare foods for winter or making bread and those kind of traditional works can only be managed by more than one person. Hence, they work together and do the each other's work in turn. Thus, dwellers in the neighborhood help each other and they strictly emphasize that those processes are important for "recognizing each other".

²¹⁸ Indeed, the city center of Malatya is really crowded, dynamic and there is often traffic jam.

This non-ghettoized characteristics of the city has also a positive effect on education in the city. The education in the city is mostly dominated by state schools and the spreading of private schools in the city is very new issue. Hence, students go to the schools in their own neighborhoods. As Byrne argues that space where people live is a determinant factor for their overall life, for instance the space determines the quality of schooling the children get. Since there is no kind of segregation in terms of class in space; the poor and the rich as well as the local and the migrants go to the same school and benefit from the equal education.²¹⁹ In addition, one of the teacher respondents underlines the solidarity in the city on the basis of “Malatyalılık”. He identified teachers in Malatya as self-sacrificing for the sake of the children of Malatya which is the future of Malatya.²²⁰

The notion of “Malatyalılık” is revealed in the various areas and most of the respondents identified themselves as “Malatyalı”. “Hemşehri” ties are very important in the outside of the city and during the elite interview, when I asked “if people in Malatya agree in one topic; what is that?”; most of them replied is as “Malatyalılık”. They means that without looking their ethnic or sectarian background “Malatyalılık” becomes an upper identity by creating solidarity among “Malatyalı” people.

²¹⁹ Original quotation: “Şimdi şöyle bir şey söyleyeyim hala Malatya’da özel okulların etkinliği yok, örneğin son dersanelerin kapatılması ile birlikte eğitimdeki özelleştirmeyi hızlandıran politikalarla birlikte %3ten %10-12’ye çıkarıldı Türkiye genelinde özelleştirme... bu oran hala Malatya’da %4leri %5leri bulmadı.”

²²⁰ Original quotation: “Çocuklar aynı okullarda eğitim görebiliyorlar. Burada şunun da altını çizmek lazım aslında Malatya’da hala feodal yaşam var... yani Malatyalı öğretmenlerin bireysel özverisi... çok zaman harcıyor çok emek veriyor öğrenci yetiştirmek için.”

The interviews with the migrants also supports those information. They define themselves as Malatyalı and call it as “our hometown” (*memleketimiz*) by emphasizing its beauties. Only 5 out of 51 respondents want to live another city and just 2 of them are migrants. Migrants also do not want to return to their hometowns. Their discourse overwhelmingly includes the words of “we do not search for a life in other places”.²²¹ Furthermore, “being Malatyalı” is the upper identity in the outside of the city and creates strong solidarity networks. Thus, rather than ethnic or religious identity the spatial identity creates a solidarity among strangers in the city.

Non-ghettoized characteristics of Malatya and solidarity mechanisms around the spatial identity are important dynamics which affect the transformation of exclusion to the inclusion story. However, neoliberal urban transformation began to distort this characteristics of the city. Thus, this particular characteristics of the city which allows the incorporation story have been damaged by the newly emerging neoliberal urbanization in the city. While the upper class of the city began to live in Fahri Kayıhan Boulevard which can be characterized as gated community. The luxury cafes and restaurants are increases especially in last two years. Moreover, urban transformation projects have started to be implemented in Yamaç and Kernek neighborhoods. Kernek Hill as one of the crucial symbol of Malatya nowadays is occupied by TOKİ residents (see Figure 16).

The question of whether they want to live in new urban residents in Fahri Kayıhan district were asked respondents in order to assess their willing to live in gated communities which emerges in the last decade. Most of them replied that they do not

²²¹ Original quotation: “...başka yerleri aramaz olduk /köy hiç aklıma gelmiyor bile”.

want to live there since they cannot adapt to the luxury life style there. The respondents who want to live there explain the reason as to live in cleaner and neat homes. However, for instance Esma remarks that although she wants to live in more beautiful house, if she had enough money she prefer to build a new home in her district rather than moving to Fahri Kayıhan because she explains that her priority is good relations with neighbors in the apartment building.²²² On the other hand, three respondents who live in Fahri Kayıhan district also mention the good neighborhood relations but they do not mention any collaboration or stories of neighborhood. Thus, it can be interpreted that the new residencies in the city distort the characteristics of the city as “village city”.

During the elite interviews I also asked some questions which basically point out the spatial relations in the city. However, I realized that one of the common perspective of interviewees, regardless of their political or ideological affiliation, is that their strong emphasizing on the notion of “living together and culture of sharing” in the city. It is important to clarify that all of them were complaining about the decreasing of those practices in the everyday life however they emphasizes the continuity.²²³

The “concentrated wealth and resources” and “concentrated forms of economic vulnerability and poverty” which are emphasized by Candan and Kolluoğlu are not

²²² Original quotation: “ Belki orada yaşayabilirim, evim daha güzel olacaksa...ama komşuluk ilişkileri benim için daha ön planda olduğu için istemem herhalde, bir kere daha düşünürüm yani elimde varsa imkanım o parayı değerlendirerek burada o konforu sağlarım; uzaklaşmam buradan.”

²²³ Original quotations: “Çocukluğumuzda ilişkiler çok kuvvetliydi, kapılar hiç kilitlenmiyordu. Ben oturduğum semtte herkesi tanıyordum.”
"Bütün komşular bir yere gideceğinde anahtarını birisine verirdi; şimdi özel güvenlikler, kameralar demirler var her yerde.”

Eskiden tahta kapılar vardı, çelik kapı yoktu, kapılar açıktı. Neoliberalizm geliştikçe güvensizlik arttı ve insanlar birbirine olan değer yargılarını kaybettiler insanlaşma sürecimizi bireyciliğe götürdük yine de yaşadığımız şehirde bu konuda olumluluk sürüyor.”

observed significantly in the case of Malatya; however, as in the well-known story of neoliberal urbanization, the city began to be witnessed the urban transformation and spatial segregation. Respondents were complaining about the creating of “security” walls in the urban life and they emphasize that there is a strong resistance of the city to the neoliberal urban transformation policies. Even, the deputy mayor who is a member of AKP, complained about the commodification of nature by emphasizing TOKİ’s activities. (But, I realized that he changed the topic urgently as if he said something he shouldn’t have). When I asked their hope regarding Malatya after 10 years, 5 of the “elite” respondents mentioned the “green Malatya”; they wish to see Malatya as a green land. It can be interpreted as their resistance to the neoliberal urban planning which began to distort the green fields of the city.



Fig. 16. Kernek Square and Kernek Hill which began to be distorted with the new construction projects, [photo taken by the researcher on March 2015]

Both elite interviews and my ethnographic observations depicts that there is an “Islamization of social life” in Malatya as in the case of mostly Anatolian cities in the last decade. The social life in the city evolved around the activities of Islamic NGOs. The role of Islamic NGOs in social life is significantly increased during AKP era. NGOs which are financed by pro-AKP groups actively participate in economy and everyday life in the sense that they act as redistribution mechanisms by adopting the “charity” notion of Islam and they organize cultural activities. Those NGOs cooperate with state institutions and municipalities in their activities. Both the pro-AKP municipalities and Islamic NGOs organizes events which have Islamic references. When I visit the city in March and June 2015, the billboards in the city were almost covered with the

advertisements of those events such as theatres, exhibitions of Islamic arts and competitions (see Figure 17 and Figure 18). The content of competitions are based on the Sunni-Islam such as the “reading Quran (The Holy book of Muslims)” or “competition on writing letter to Prophet Muhammed”. In addition, Panels on Islamic issues have spreaded all parts of Turkey with the support of municipalities and people are encouraged to participate in those panels. On the other hand, both the interviews and my ethnographic observation in Quran Courses depict that especially women were socializing in those Quran Courses which is opened by the various religious affairs and the General Directorate of Religious Services (Diyanet). Binnaz Toprak’s research “Being Different in Turkey: Religion, Conservatism and Otherization” has similar observations.²²⁴ She mentions the exclusion in the business cycle and argues that people who attend the community gain a chance of success in the business life because of the "solidarity" mechanisms but people who do not participate in the movement face to face bankruptcy especially in the cities that Gülen movement is dominant in the social and economic life. Toprak’s analysis is mostly related to the activities of Gülen movement; however, during the AKP era the increasing of Islamist NGOs and their dominance in the social life recreated this type of “exclusion” in the city which deepens the conflict around the religious matters.

²²⁴ Binnaz Toprak, “Being Different in Turkey Religion, Conservatism and Otherization”, Research Report on Neighbourhood Pressure, 2009. Available [online]: http://www.aciktoplumvakfi.org.tr/pdf/tr_farkli_olmak.pdf [16 July 2015].



Fig. 17. The billboard of the drama which is organized by the Malatya Metropolitan Municipality. The content of the drama is related to “Mavi Marmara” which has used as symbol for Islamic solidarity after the Israil’s attacks towards the ship called Mavi Marmara which was carrying humanitarian aid and construction materials to Gaza Strip, [photo taken by the researcher on March 2015].



Fig. 18. The billboard of “poem reading” competition which is held by the Malatya Metropolitan Municipality and Provincial Directorate of National Education. The Content of the Poems were related with the Prophet Muhammed, [photo taken by the researcher on March 2015].

To sum up, the non-ghettoized characteristics of the city contributes to the inclusion of migrants and created an incorporation story in the city. However, the neoliberal urban policies began to be distorted this spatial characteristics of the city by creating gated communities and damaging the social structure of neighborhoods with urban transformation projects. In addition to the emerging neoliberal distortion, the Islamization of urban space has deepened the segregation of space in terms of religious affiliation or life style.

6.6 Sectarian racism: the limitation for inclusion

*"Gelen Kürtler Sünnilik üzerinden yerlilerle mutabakatı buldu, ama Aleviler yine eziliyor."*²²⁵

The transformation of social exclusion of Kurdish migrants to an inclusion and incorporation story is reflected in discourses of interviewees and realized through observations in the city. However, the case of Alevis is remarkable. The exclusionary practices in the everyday life in Malatya mostly reveal as discrimination towards Alevis or people who adopt secular life style. Stories of Alevi respondents and discourse of some Sunni respondents distorted my hypothesis at the beginning of my studies, which I claimed there is a “peaceful coexistence” in Malatya. Alevis are exposed to the discrimination in the city and I will conceptualize the case of Alevis as “sectarian racism” which is elaborated in Chapter 2.

Sectarian racism refers to racism towards different sects of same religion. As noted in Chapter 2, sectarian racism is different from the neo-racism or differentialist racism in the sense that the former one refers to the racism among people who live together for centuries, however the other two concepts emerged in the case of migration among the locals and new-comers and have a capacity to turn an inclusion process throughout times. Although there is not notion of “stranger” to overcome the prejudices stands more difficult in the case of sectarian racism.

²²⁵ The words of an old man whom I asked the situation of migrants in Malatya: “Those migrant Kurds created a solidarity with locals on Sunni identity; but Alevis have been suppressed here”

The story of “racism without race” in Malatya is mostly related to the economic and religious situation rather than ethnic origin. Both the class and religious affiliation are crucial factors in the inclusion. Under these conditions, migrant Alevi-Kurds are more vulnerable group in the city since their exclusion is multilayered; they are economically, ethnically and religiously “Other”. Nevertheless, since Alevis constitute the major part of the population of Malatya, they have a capacity to resist and they act in “solidarity”.

As I explained in Chapter 5, the massacres towards Alevis during 1970s in Turkey and specifically “Hamido events” stand as a critical juncture for the transformation of political, economic and social history of Malatya. After the events the left-wing hegemony in the city replaced with conservative right. Therefore, both the economic and political power of Alevis in the city is decreased. Moreover, exclusion towards Alevis is increased with the rising of political Islam in the city. Both the Islamization of urban space and social life in the city created uneasiness for Alevi community. Alevis in the city remarks that they were exposed to the suppression towards their “secular” life style.

Exclusion towards Alevis reveals again in terms of class, identity and space. Alevis are the vulnerable group in Malatya. They cannot be included in the solidarity networks of religious groups (*cemaatler*) in the city. The dominance of pro-Islamist trade unions or associations in the economy of Malatya cause to the exclusion of Alevis from the solidarity links in trade. Thus, upward mobility of Alevis into the middle class mostly stems from university education and acquiring professional jobs rather than the embourgeoisement story which is resulted from dealing with trade. Furthermore, Alevis

is more disadvantageous groups since they are deprived of patronage links which ensure the job acquirement especially in Anatolian cities where there is not plenty of job opportunities. Being excluded of Alevis from the patronage links in the city is also emphasized by Alevis. They are condemning of their exclusion from the service sector jobs which are provided by municipalities. Also, they were exposed to the discrimination in the working life. For instance, Deniz expresses that he was dismissed when his boss learned his religious affiliation.

Alevis are also exposed to the exclusion in the everyday life because of their identity. They were stigmatized with pejorative labels. For instance, Nebile who identifies herself as religious-Muslim and emphasizes exclusion towards her elder family due to their migrant background remarks that there is peaceful coexistence in their neighborhoods which includes people who have different ethnic and religious identities. However, she explains that they never eat anything from the hands of their Alevi neighbors since they are “dirty” and “impure” (*abdestsiz*) but she also adds that they had never refuse the food but always throw away it because they do not want to exclude anyone.²²⁶ Deniz’s story is also similar. He explains that the cook woman in the printing house where he had worked said that she won’t cook for him any more when she learned that he is Alevi.²²⁷

²²⁶ Original quotation: “Biz mahallede hep bir aradayız mesela Aleviler var tabii Alevilerin yemeklerini yemesek bile alıyoruz yemeklerini. Temiz yapmadıkları için abdestsiz oldukları için, yemiyoruz. Kırmamak maksadıyla alıyoruz; ama yemiyoruz.”

²²⁷ Original quotation: “Ben matbaada çalışıyordum, bizim aşçımız vardı. O Sünni ben Alevi birkaç ay çalıştık sonra dikkat etmiş ki ben Cuma günleri Cumaya gitmiyorum. Bana dedi ki Serkan sen neden Cumaya gitmiyorsun. Usta da dedi ki bunlar Cumaya gitmez. O da neden dedi. Usta dedi ki bunlar Alevi. Aşçı bana dedi ki ben sana daha yemek de çay da vermem dedi.”

In the spatial realm exclusion reveals as spatial segregation. Although the city is non-ghettoized, Alevis and Sunnis of the city mostly live separate neighborhoods. Başharık, Cemal Gürsel, Çavuşoğlu, Özalper, Çilesiz, Fırat, Küçük Mustafapaşa, Samanlı, Ata, Aşağıbağlar neighborhoods are mostly known as Alevi settlements. Duran remarks that Alevis always constitute their own ghettos and even the apartment buildings are segregated in terms of sect in Malatya. He also implies that the threat of ISIS (The Islamic State of Iraq and ash-Sham), which is Salafi-jihadi extremist militant group, strictly creates fear for Alevi population, thus Alevis and secular Sunnis try to come together in certain neighborhoods.²²⁸ Kurdish-Alevi migrants live in the outskirts of the city and they also feel spatial exclusion in comparison to other groups.

Sema Erder, in her book “*Kentsel Gerilim*” mentions the similar story in Pendik. She explains that Sunni groups are more advantageous to start dialogue with the supra-local agents in comparison to Alevis and the inclusion of migrant Sunni-Kurds into the networks of solidarity in the neighborhood is easier. Erder argues that the exclusion of Alevis from the solidarity networks recreates “Alevi question” by creating the discriminatory practices and new kind of inequalities in the urban life.²²⁹

Teacher respondents specifically highlight the discrimination which is based on the religious affiliation. One of them remarks that his Alevi students generally conceal

²²⁸ Original quotation: “Kim ne derse desin Aleviler hep kendi gettolarını oluşturuyorlar örneğin Fahri Kayahan’ın alt başlarında az Alevi var... üste doğru Alevilerin oturduğu yerlere yaklaştıkça daha çok Alevi var. Binaların bile ayrıştığını görüyorsunuz. Eğer bir Alevi tek kalmışsa orada Sünniler içinde orayı en kısa sürede terk ettiğini görüyorsunuz bu bugünle ilgili bir şey değil... Bugün biraz daha öne çıktı Türkiye çok normalleşmiyor; kendi gettolarını o anlamda oluşturuyorlar sonuçta bölge belli İŞİD olayı belli... Aleviler, hızlı bir şekilde Yeşilyurt ilçesinde yoğunlaşıyorlar. Sünni sekülerler de o bölgede yaşıyorlar.”

²²⁹ Sema Erder, *Kentsel Gerilim* (İstanbul: Uğur Mumcu Araştırma Vakfı, 1997), pp. 153-155.

their Alevi identity and they never talk about their religious affiliation. Families also conceal their identity until they learn that the teacher is social democrat.²³⁰ According to him, Kurds are braver to express their identity.

I talked Dilek who is a teacher of psychological counseling and guidance in a high school in Malatya with the one of my gatekeeper's recommendation. Dilek worked in Diyarbakır and Adıyaman before she came to Malatya. Her speech is dominated by her narratives on problems of her students. According to Dilek, her job is easier in Malatya since the problems of students in Adıyaman and Diyarbakır were more serious. Especially, in Diyarbakır students were exposed to the sexual harassment or rape of their relatives and even their father. However, in Malatya the problems revolved around the choice of profession or lectures. Thus, she emphasizes that people who migrate to Malatya live in a better way both psychologically and economically. On the other hand, her students in Adıyaman accused Adıyamanlı migrants in Malatya as of being "assimilated". Nevertheless, Dilek's speech indicates practices of sectarian racism. Although she emphasizes that there is no certain conflicts in school which is based on the religious or ethnic identity, she explains that dating of an Alevi and Sunni students and their trouble with opposition of their families to relation due to the sectarian difference.

All those statements imply that Alevi community has been exposed to the exclusionary practices in the city. As I mentioned above, and strongly emphasized by 4

²³⁰ Original quotation: "Alevi çocuklar da var; onlar azınlıkta inançlarını söylemiyorlar. Biz onları Malatya'daki tanınmışlık ilişkisi üzerinden çözüyoruz. Aileler tabii belli bir süre sonra bizim kimliğimizi yani sosyal demokrat olduğumuzu öğrenince gelip söylüyorlar Alevi olduklarını... Tabii bu çocukları okuttuğumuz ilk yıl olmuyor ikinci ya da üçüncü yılda ancak oluyor. Kürtler bu konuda biraz daha cesur."

of the respondents, Alevi-Sunni conflict in Malatya which is concluded with massacres towards Alevis has transformed the political and economic structure of the city. Before the conflicts, Alevis were dominant in the commercial life of the city and the left-wing groups were dominant in the politics. However; during the conflicts in the city, the shops and houses of Alevis were burned and they had to left to the city. Thus, the economic, sociological and political structure of the city has changed.

Therefore, it seems that the sectarian racism towards Alevis stands as a limitation for inclusion in Malatya. The discrimination practices are created and recreated in the everyday life and it seems more difficult to solve this problem in contrast to the conflicts between locals and migrants since new-comers can be integrated into the society over years by exceeding the notion of "stranger". However, Alevis and Sunnis live together for centuries and the discrimination cannot cross the line of "being strangers". Especially, the rising of political Islam in Turkey recreates the conflict between Sunnis and Alevis. In the vigorous political environment of Turkey, Sunnis become more Muslim and Alevis become more secular.

Throughout this chapter, I explained the codes of exclusion in the everyday life of Malatya in terms of class, identity and space. This research shows that the relations among class, identity and space is intertwined in the everyday life. Particular characteristics of Malatya ensures the transformation of exclusion of Kurdish migrants to an inclusion story. While the embourgeoisement story allows migrants to overcome the poverty; the non-ghettoized characteristics of the city ensures the collaboration which accelerates the inclusion process. Kurdish identity is not a static but it is a volatile identity which is defined and redefined in the everyday life in terms of class. However,

the main limitation of inclusion in Malatya is the case of Alevis. Alevis in the city are exposed to the discrimination in the everyday life and Kurdish Alevi population also has experienced the spatial segregation.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

This study has examined the social exclusion of Kurdish migrants in Malatya. The relations of class, identity and space in the everyday life have been analyzed within the theoretical framework of social exclusion. This study offers an alternative approach to the social exclusion studies by concentrating both on the political economy and everyday life together and provides a space-centered analysis of Kurdish question rather than a time-centered analysis. Through ethnographic observations and qualitative in-depth interviews; the codes of exclusion and inclusion in the everyday life of the city dwellers were scrutinized.

By starting with a general summary of the relevant concepts in order to explain the theoretical framework of the research, this study has followed Henri Lefebvre's conceptualization of everyday life which argues that everyday life is a dynamic and revolutionary mechanism and has certain effects on people and their interpretation of the world. Then, classical definitions of social exclusion and critical approaches to the concepts were examined. This thesis offered the concept of social exclusion in order to define the "new poverty" in Turkey. Rather than using the concepts such as poverty, marginality and underclass, the concept of social exclusion, which includes economic, political and spatial exclusion, is more useful to explain the multidimensional characteristics of the poverty in Turkey. However, this study has elaborated the concept of social exclusion in a critical approach which assumes that social exclusion is not only caused by the entire exclusion of the poor from the economy but their inclusion to the

labor market as low-paid workers without insurance. Social exclusion was examined in terms of class, identity and space within the framework of everyday life.

Then, the political economy of poverty and Kurdish question were examined under the light of relevant literature. The dispossession of Kurdish population due to the armed conflict between PKK and the state created an economic vulnerability and ethnicization of poverty in the major cities of Turkey. Not only the forced migration process but also neoliberal economic policies which distort the rural economy cause the huge migration wave to the cities. Furthermore, the commodification of land process also created a dispossession story within the major cities where the poor forced to live in the outskirts of the city.

After reviewing the literature, this thesis has examined the political, social and economic structure of Malatya. The distinctive characteristics of the city are remarkable. Basically Malatya is a migrant receiving, emerging city. The economic facilities in Malatya ensure well-being of the city dwellers and allow the embourgeoisement story of the poor. Not only the formal employment but also the informal income which is earned from the agriculture contribute to the relative wealth and absence of severe deprivation in the city. In terms of the identity, Malatya was characterized as multi-ethnic and multi-sectarian city due to its heterogeneous population. In the spatial realm, since the city has not yet experienced a neoliberal distortion and there is no spatial segregation in the city it was characterized as a non-gehotized city.

Social exclusion of Kurdish migrants in Malatya does not follow a linear path but it is paradoxical in itself since both the exclusion and inclusion are intertwined in the

everyday life. However, both the embourgeoisement story and non-ghettoized characteristics of the city strongly affected the inclusion process.

One of the main themes of this thesis was the class based analysis which focuses on the embourgeoisement story. The data which was collected in the field research showed that Kurdish migrants in Malatya had a chance to jump to the middle class without experiencing serious restrictions. Their participation in economy as employers actually decreases their being coded as “strangers”. Their economic well-being story was emphasized and appreciated by the locals however upward mobility of Kurdish migrants was also interpreted as a threat for the superiority of locals in the city. This embourgeoisement story is not only revealed as economic inclusion but also as social and political inclusion. The migrants who came to the city as seasonal-workers or a farmhand (rençber) settled in the city and each member of the family began to work on land, in factories or service sector without caring the quality or payment of the job. Although their wages are low, total income of the family is high. Hence, the migrants had a chance to overcome the poverty and participate in business life in the city.

The traditional production relations still continue in Malatya. Most of the families in the city have link with the soil and produce their own food and they prepare their food for winter, too. Malatya is not a “villagized city” as in the case of migrant-receiving cities but a “village city” which has already included the intertwined rural and urban life style in the everyday life of city dwellers. Apart from production process, there is a culture of sharing in the city and there are strong ties among both the family members and acquaintances. These characteristics of the city as “village-city” also ensure the poverty-in-turn in the city thus the poor can transform their position in the

class strata by creating solidarity networks. These characteristics of village city are explained in a different way in discourses of right and left wing respondents in the research. While the right-winger, conservative respondents describe the preservation of traditional ties as “to preserve our traditions and values”; the left winger respondents describe it as “to resist the capitalist modernization or resistance against neoliberal distortion”.

However, there are clues of “neoliberal urbanization” in the city which began to distort these traditional ties and economic well-being in the city. One of the major founding of this research is that neoliberal policies have severely affected the everyday life of people who live in Malatya, as in the case of other agricultural cities. Both migrants and locals were damaged by the quotas on tobacco and sugar beets and low prices in the apricot market. Not the producer but middleman and big companies benefited from the profit of the agricultural productions. Moreover, the closure of state-owned business enterprises such as TEKEL cigarette factory and Sümerbank Textile Factory have decreased the job opportunities in the city. Low-paid jobs in the service sector without security become the major source of employment in Malatya.

This research depicts that the identity and class are intertwined in the case of Malatya and the ethnic identity is defined and redefined in the everyday life in terms of class. Certainly, the case of Malatya stands as a sample for “racism without race” towards Kurdish migrants. While the poor migrants are coded as “Kurd”, the migrants who overcome the poverty are not called as Kurd any more. Being Kurdish corresponds to being poor in the city. On the other hand, even though Malatya has a significant local

Kurdish population, they are called “peasants” rather than Kurds. Furthermore, Kurdish political movement has not got significant support in Malatya.

The other crucial outcome of the research is that both Sunni-Kurds and Sunni-Turks did not have a strong emphasis on their ethnic identity. Even some Sunni-Kurds defined themselves as Turks. Being Muslim constitutes the dominant identity in both groups. On the other hand, both Alevi-Kurds and Alevi-Turks strongly explained their identity as “Alevi”. Most Alevi-Kurds also stress their Kurdish identity by expressing that first of all they are Alevis and secondly Kurds. Alevis in the city is the main group who are exposed to the social exclusion and the case of Alevis are conceptualized as the sectarian racism as a limitation for inclusion within the scope of this thesis. Especially Alevi-Kurds are more vulnerable groups in the city.

Both the appearances and similarity of values and traditions of migrants make the inclusion process easy. Also, it depicts that migrants are easily included in the society when they forget their own lifestyle and adopt the lifestyles of locals. However, it is also crucial to emphasize that the economic well-being story of migrants has priority in the inclusion process in Malatya. Also, the discourses on “hygiene” and codification of the “Other” as dirty are dominant signs of exclusion and inclusion in the city.

On the contrary to my expectation, there was no strong reference towards the exclusion process in the discourses of older respondents. Rather, the young generation of migrants strongly expressed the exclusion process. In addition, local youth also bravely explained the exclusion practices in the city towards different groups as well as Kurdish migrants. Especially people in their twenties eagerly replied questions concerning

exclusion process. Thus, there is a paradoxical story of exclusion and inclusion in Malatya.

The spatial context of Malatya is a crucial dynamic which identifies the political, economic and social landscape of the city. Non-ghettoized characteristics of the city allow everyday interactions of migrants and locals as well as the rich and the poor. The dominance of state owned schools in this non-ghettoized city ensures the equality at the level of education. The children of those families who have different backgrounds, identities and different positions in the class strata have a chance to be educated in the same schools in their neighborhoods. A considerable amount of the interviewees are satisfied to live in Malatya and do not want to live in any other place.

Although Malatya has experienced a transformation of social exclusion of Kurdish migrants to an inclusion process, the dynamics behind it began to be distorted. Especially the neoliberal agricultural policies and commodification of space start to affect the political, economic and social life in the city gradually. Respondents strongly emphasized the economic problems of the city which stem from the new agricultural policies and privatization and closure of state owned enterprises in the city. Moreover, they were strongly against the construction boom which threatens the notion of “green Malatya”. On the other hand, they were avoiding to live in gated communities and want to preserve their traditional neighborhoods.

As a spatial identity, belonging to Malatya stands as a supra-identity and especially in the outside of the city being Malatyalı creates a solidarity network without looking at ethnic or sectarian identities.

As a result, overall the findings of this research show that social exclusion of Kurdish migrants has a particular pattern in Malatya, both the economic and spatial characteristics of the city allow the inclusion process and upward mobility. However, it is certain that these characteristics of the city began to be distorted under neoliberal policies and due to the sectarianist racism towards Alevis we cannot talk about a “peaceful coexistence” in the city, rather there is an incorporation story.

For further researches, it should be taken into consideration that two important dynamics may change this table in the upcoming years: the Islamization of urban space and commodification of land. Both of them will distort the spatial characteristics of the city which ensure the inclusion story. Not only poor and Alevis but also people who adopt a secular lifestyle in Malatya face an exclusion in the everyday life. Moreover, overcoming the poverty and embourgeoisement story may be decreased because of the increasing competition due to the involvement of big companies in market of city and severe problems of agricultural sector.

As a last remark, for further research the case of Syrian migrants also need to be examined and this case may change the coexistence story in the city. The field research in Malatya depicts that the Syrian migrants are really "unwanted workers". I specifically asked questions regarding Syrian refugees in Malatya during the elite interviews, however even though I did not mentioned the refugees in other interviews, the respondents mentioned the case of Syrian refugees. The common view in the city is that “the state supports the refugees and they use the sources of the state; however the state does not take care of its own poor citizens” and their discourse on Syrian refugees are mainly exclusive. Thus, the case of Syrian migrants and neoliberal market conditions

have a capacity to create new kind of exclusion stories which will exacerbate the poverty in Malatya.

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