



UNRISD

United Nations Research Institute for Social Development

Women's Changing Assets and the Spatialities of Gender and Poverty from Squatter Settlement into Mass Housing

A Case Study from Turkey

Imren Borsuk Eroglu

Stockholm University Institute for Turkish Studies

Sweden

Draft paper prepared for the UNRISD Conference

**Overcoming Inequalities in a Fractured World:
Between Elite Power and Social Mobilization**

8–9 November 2018, Geneva, Switzerland

The United Nations Research Institute for Social Development (UNRISD) is an autonomous research institute within the UN system that undertakes multidisciplinary research and policy analysis on the social dimensions of contemporary development issues. Through our work we aim to ensure that social equity, inclusion and justice are central to development thinking, policy and practice.

UNRISD ▪ Palais des Nations ▪ 1211 Geneva 10 ▪ Switzerland
info.unrisd@un.org ▪ www.unrisd.org

Copyright © United Nations Research Institute for Social Development

This is not a formal UNRISD publication. The responsibility for opinions expressed in signed studies rests solely with their author(s), and availability on the UNRISD website (www.unrisd.org) does not constitute an endorsement by UNRISD of the opinions expressed in them. No publication or distribution of these papers is permitted without the prior authorization of the author(s), except for personal use.

Abstract

This study will analyze how slum development projects that relocate the residents from inner-city squatter settlements into peripheral mass housing areas impact the spatialities of gender and poverty. It will do so by examining women's changing assets based on the research of Kadifekale Urban Transformation Project (KUTP) in Turkey. The research shows that slum development projects that remain limited to physical upgrading weaken the capacity of low-income women to accumulate assets that allow them to escape from poverty. They also enhance their domesticity inside the home and family, reducing their possibilities to work outside the home and increasing women's care responsibilities. Although the increased expenses of the mass housing estate and the 'modern' apartment life propel low-income women to participate in the labor force and to consume according to the capitalist socio-spatiality, women have become more vulnerable to impoverishment and a rising sense of isolation. As a result, gendered spaces and the feminization of poverty do not only result from the established socio-spatial practices but also from spatial intervention strategies that are top-down and not participatory.

Keywords

Space; poverty; gender; slums; urban transformation

Bio

Imren Borsuk Eroglu is a post-doctoral scholar at Stockholm University Institute for Turkish Studies. Her main research interests are ethnic conflicts, conflict resolution processes and the socio-spatial dimensions of ethnic conflicts. Her most recent publication is "Displacement and Asset Transformation from Squatter Settlement to Mass Housing: A Case Study from Turkey. (Forthcoming). *European Urban and Regional Studies*" with Ensari Eroglu.

Introduction

Gentrification has been a landmark of urban restructuring at global scale, with slum areas in the inner city becoming focal areas of capitalist accumulation due to the gap existing between their actual and potential rent (Smith 1979). Both in the Global North and South, slum development projects are implemented through the conversion, demolition or replacement of the dilapidated housing areas, paving the way of their commodification. Marketed as slum clearance policy (Gilbert 2007), these projects are criticized as a form of ‘class cleansing’ with an aim to erase the undesirables from the city center in order to enhance the city image in dilapidated inner-city areas (Smith 1996; Whitehead and More 2007). This study will analyze the implications of slum development projects that relocate the residents of slum areas into large-scale housing areas located in general at the margins of the city. While there is a growing literature and critique on the impact of these projects, there is little attention given to women’s experiences in these slum developments projects. This study will contribute to close this gap exploring how the relocation from inner-city squatter settlements into peripheral mass housing areas impacts on spatialities of gender and poverty with an examination of women’s changing assets based on a case study from Turkey.

Turkey has a wide experience of slum development projects implemented especially under the acceleration of neoliberal urbanization process since the early 2000s. This study is based on research on the Kadifekale Urban Transformation Project (KUTP) that relocated squatters living in Kadifekale squatter settlement (Izmir, Turkey) into TOKI Uzundere mass housing estate. It will combine the asset accumulation framework developed by Moser (1998, 2007) with the literature on space and gender in order to examine the changing dimensions of spatialities of gender and poverty from squatter settlement into mass housing.

This study is organized as follows: First, it provides the theoretical background of this research. Second, it presents the research field and methodology. Third, it contextualizes the housing and neighborhood change from squatter settlements into mass housing estates presenting the changing housing design and neighborhood space. Fourth, it explores the changing spatialities of gender and poverty based on an examination of women’s changing assets from squatter settlement into mass housing.

Theoretical Framework: The Intersection of Space, Gender and Poverty

Environmental psychology and human geography studies put forth the recursive relationship between space and social identities. While social identities shape the use and appropriation of space, space also shapes the configuration and perception of social identities.¹ Feminist geographers reveal how gender is a significant factor that impacts the appropriation of spaces that influences, in turn, the conceptualization of social roles and identities borne out by people.² Gendered spatial practices evolve in line the changing global and local relations that restructure the socio-economic practices adopted by people.

¹ Soja 1989; Zukin 1991; De Certeau 1984

² Pratt 1990; Domosh and Seager 2001; McDowell 1993; Massey 1994

Urbanization was traditionally considered to be liberating for women acting as a catalyst of women's empowerment and enhancing their participation in the labor force, allowing emancipation from gender oppressive norms. However, feminist studies demonstrate the gendered spatialities that limit the access of women to certain spaces in the city. Public spaces in the city are constructed as the foci of power relations and masculinity while the home and the private space are defined as a women's place (Pateman 1988, 1989). The inclusion of women into public spaces is the result of a "concerted social struggle, demanding the right to be seen, to be heard and to directly influence state and society" (Mitchell 2003, 132). Women do not feel free to use every public space in the city due to their concerns about safety (Valentine 1989; Day 1999). At times certain areas are made male spaces and women's presence is deemed inappropriate. Moreover, women's time and abilities to access urban opportunities are limited compared to men due to their primary role in domestic labor and social reproduction (Kwan 1999). Furthermore, women are expected to conform to the established codes of femininity that make them invisible and marginalized in the public space. As a result, women's claims to urban space and sense of belonging are limited by patriarchal power relations (Fenster 2005).

Scholars that work on gender and space also display that the intersectionality of social identities is very relevant in women's everyday life in the city (Ruddick 1996; Pain 2001). Gender interacting with other social categories of exclusion (such as ethnicity, age, socio-economic status or residential environment) shape women's capabilities to appropriate and shape the urban space. On one hand, women can be agents of gentrification in the city with their enhanced role in production and consumption as well as with the changing demographics and gender norms.³ On the other hand, women are overrepresented among the urban poor that bound them to certain spaces, especially to slum areas, limiting not only their possibilities to escape from poverty but also to participate in urban life.⁴ Slum development projects are promoted not only by the gentrification in the global context in the last decade but also by the urban development projects of international organizations including the United Nations. They intend to create a better livelihood for low-income populations sustaining the social and physical upgrading of slum areas. This research will contribute to the housing and urban studies exploring the changing spatialities of gender and poverty from squatter settlement into mass housing based on an examination of women's changing assets.

This study will use the asset accumulation approach developed by Moser (Moser 1998, 2007b) to examine the changing spatialities of gender and poverty from squatter settlement into mass housing. Assets are defined as a 'stock of financial, human, natural or social resources that can be acquired, developed, improved and transferred across generations. It generates flows of consumption, as well as additional stock' (Ford Foundation 2004). They are different from income-centric poverty approaches as assets shape the capabilities that people have for savings and investment (Sherraden 1991). An analysis of asset portfolio includes five most important capital assets that people seek to accumulate in order to escape from poverty and sustain the upward mobility: physical, financial, human, social, and natural capital.

- Natural capital is composed of natural resources such as environmentally provided assets. In rural areas, land is an important asset that gives the capacity to sustain themselves while the land for shelter is 'a critical productive asset' for the urban poor (Moser 2007a:84).

³ See for a discussion Bondi 1999; Warde 1991; Butler and Hamnett 1994.

⁴ Doshi 2012; Chant 2013; Menon-Sen 2006

- Physical capital is the productive resources that people have. Housing is the primary asset that the poor seek to have in urban areas as it does not only provide shelter but also becomes an income generation strategy by renting, setting up a business or home-based production (Moser 2009:45).
- Financial capital are the financial resources that people have such as savings and credit loans. Labor produces monetary income through wage employment, informal work or producing subsistence goods. Financial resources may also come from rental incomes, remittances, government transfers. Consumer durables that produce income such as sewing machines for garment workers or cars for taxi drivers also serve to produce financial resources.
- Human capital is mainly based on investment in nutrition, health and education. The investment in human capital also increases people's productivity in the long term increasing their opportunities to produce a sustainable income in the formal sector.
- Social capital is an intangible asset and stems from the norms of reciprocity, support, trust that people have due to their social relations and the social organization of societies. It depends on not only macro and meso-institutional level (market, political system, civil society) but also from micro-level (households, communities) (Moser 2007a:84). Household relations are an integral part of the social capital that the urban poor have. Household relations do not only protect the household members at risk through the relations of reciprocity and support but also help them to escape from poverty by pooling resources and sharing expenses among household members (Moser 1998).

Research Field and Methodology

Squatter settlements have been a landmark of big cities in Turkey until the 1990s as migrants were able to use public land to build a *gecekondu* (meaning built overnight) in the city in response to the inability of the state to provide social housing for the growing population and the prevailing land tenure patterns based on developmentalism in the pre-1980 period (Buğra 1998). Studies on squatter settlements in Turkey reveal that squatters were able to access social capital, cheap land and job opportunities through the networks of trust and reciprocities embedded in squatter settlements compensating the weak social policies targeted at the urban poor in Turkey.⁵ Composed of close social networks based on ethnic, religious and kin ties and without an established welfare state, squatter settlements were considered as an integral part of the informal welfare regime in Turkey (Buğra and Keyder 2006).

The economic liberalization and the concomitant neoliberal policies after the 1980s paved the way of the commodification and privatization of the public land that weakened the abilities of new migrants to access to cheap land through squatter settlements. Some squatter settlements began to turn into new districts with the regularization while the squatters were converted into apartment buildings (Güvenç and Işık 2002). Urban restructuring was accelerated since the early 2000s through urban development policies. Inner-city squatter settlements were relocated into mass housing estates developed by the state's Mass Housing Administration (*Toplu Konut İdaresi Başkanlığı*, TOKİ). These projects are marketed and various banners such as 'urban development', 'urban renewal', 'urban transformation' were aimed at providing better housing

⁵ Ayata and Güneş-Ayata 1996; Buğra 1998; Buğra and Keyder 2003; Pınarcıoğlu and Işık 2001

for low-income people at low costs. TOKI became one of the main agents for the provision of housing credits at low-rates to low-income populations. These projects also found wide support among the population due to the aspiration for homeownership and the politics of compensation (Çavuşoğlu and Strutz 2014; Karaman 2014). Recent studies reveal the shortcomings in the implementation of these projects such as non-participatory implementation processes, zoning of the urban poor at the margins of the city, difficulties in transportation, as well as dissolution of social networks and income sources.⁶ Concentrating on changing women's assets from squatter settlement into mass housing, this study demonstrates how spatialities of gender and poverty are reconstructed and renegotiated through the new social practices of slum development projects.

The data of this study derive from a qualitative study of the KUTP that concentrated on the changing livelihoods of Kadifekale squatter residents in TOKI Uzundere mass housing estate. The KUTP aimed at rehabilitating Kadifekale as a touristic area since the historical Kadifekale Castle and archeological remains of Hellenic, Roman, and Byzantine Empire were situated in the area with an eye-bird view of Izmir. There was also the danger of sliding in the area but it was neglected until the development of place-marketing strategies by the Municipality (Saraçoğlu and Demirtaş-Milz 2014). Squatter dwellers in Kadifekale did not have formal land titles but property rights known as *tapu-tahsis* documents distributed by the Municipality. Those who agreed on a housing contract with the Municipality were relocated into TOKI Uzundere, a peripheral district of Izmir that is ten kilometers away from the city center.

The research on the KUTP was conducted in June-July 2012. Several data collection methods were used: interviews, informal conversations, and informal group interviews. The research did not concentrate particularly on gender issues but gender arose as a central dynamic during our research. The questionnaire was divided into eight sections: demographics, accommodation, working conditions of the household members, family welfare, social space and socialization process, social networks, sense of belonging and social exclusion, current problems. Thirty-nine relocated squatters (twenty men and nineteen women) interviewed through random sampling in different apartment blocks of TOKI Uzundere. Interviews lasted between 30 minutes to two hours. Many of the interviews turned into informal groups interviews as people around joined in our conversations including the service providers to relocated squatters such as gatekeepers and street vendors.

The existing scholarship on squatter settlements in Turkey describes women in squatter settlements as low educated, married in early 20s and unable to access high education due to poor living conditions. Their lives are in general limited to the squatter settlement as patriarchal relations define them as homemakers and their husbands as breadwinners (Erman 1996; Kandiyoti 1988). In squatter settlements in Turkey, family-centered lives are common while divorced women and single-headed households led by women are rare or get invisible in order protect the 'honor' of their husband. Families in general live as extended families in which older and married children live together or in different storeys of squatter dwellings. The elder men have the authority over the household including over younger men (Kandiyoti 1988). Newly married women called *gelin* (bride) are expected to bring service to the family, especially to their husband's mother and father as an extension of a son's duty to his family (White 2004). Although female education is also rising among squatter dwellers, low-quality social services

⁶ Zayim 2014; Baysal 2009; Kuyucu and Ünsal 2010; Karaman 2013; Bartu-Candan and Kolluoğlu 2008; Lelandais 2014

impacting the school quality and poor living conditions impede their access to higher education (Erman and Türkyılmaz 2008). Not only due to Islamic beliefs but also to national ideologies and established customs, women's primary role in the community is marriage and childbearing (Toprak 1994; White 2013). While dominant patriarchal norms are undermining women's ability to work outside the home, recent studies reveal that the increased expenses of mass housing estates along with the decreased abilities of men to find a sustainable job push low-income women to participate in the labor market albeit in insecure and exploitative conditions of the informal sector (Erman, Kalaycıoğlu, and Rittersberger-Tılıç 2002; Eroğlu 2009; Dedeoğlu 2010). These women are mostly employed in low-paid and low-skilled jobs such as textile, food-processing industries, domestic and office-cleaning jobs. Although this type of labor market insertion cannot be considered as 'women's empowerment' in its proper term as it does not challenge patriarchal relations (Erman, Kalaycıoğlu, and Rittersberger-Tılıç 2002), it facilitates 'bargaining with patriarchy' in Kandiyoti's (1988) terms, since it bolsters women's self-esteem and voice in the family (Eroğlu 2009).

Changing Human Geography from Squatter Settlements into Mass Housing Estates

Kadifekale was an old squatter settlement that was *ad hoc* constructed at the center of Izmir (Mutluer, 2000: 68). The basic amenities and social services were developed through the relations of patronage between residents and local authorities. Ramshackle shacks turned into one to three storey buildings in time by inhabitants by the help of social networks in the area including relatives, co-locals, co-ethnics and general neighbor relations. Kadifekale was called as well as '*kucuk Mardin*' (little Mardin) as the area was mainly inhabited by Kurdish migrants coming from the city of *Mardin* in Eastern Turkey. While it was inhabited by migrants from the Balkans and Aegean region earlier, Kurdish migrants settled in Kadifekale mainly in the 1990s due to their relative, co-local and co-ethnic ties escaping from the poor conditions and the war between the PKK (Kurdistan Workers' Party) and the state in Southeastern Turkey. While many other forced migrants turned into underclass in Turkish big cities (Göç-Der 2001), Kurdish migrants in Kadifekale found the opportunity to access to employment opportunities, social networks and cheap housing in Kadifekale. The area was also stigmatized by ethnic prejudices (see Saraçoğlu 2010) and avoided by local people in Izmir. Inhabitants of Kadifekale squatter settlement were able to reach central areas in the city by walking or 15 minutes rides of any transport vehicles.

Slum development projects in Turkey that settled inner-city or peri-center squatter settlements into mass housing areas are developed in general in peripheral areas of the cities. TOKI Uzundere is located at ten kilometers away from the city center. There is no metro station but one public bus line that takes the inhabitants of TOKI Uzundere to a transit station. There are also minibuses run by private business. The design and planning of mass housing estates like the TOKI Uzundere are based on vertical planning, middle-class lifestyles and capitalist socio-spatiality incompatible with the previous livelihood of squatter dwellers (Erman and Hatiboğlu 2017; Eranıl-Demirli, Tuna-Ultav, and Demirtaş-Milz 2015). At the entry of Uzundere, there is one mall in which there are facilities for inhabitants such as a supermarket, a coffeehouse, a gaming cafe, a restaurant, a pharmacy and some shopping stores. The social services and basic amenities such as mosque, shopping mall, pharmacy, and health center are also located at the center. TOKI Uzundere is built on a hilly area, thus, while inhabitants living in apartment blocks

close to TOKI Uzundere center are able to walk to these services and the shopping mall, inhabitants living in apartments blocks located at the lower hills need to use transport vehicles to reach any social services and facilities. However, all inhabitants need to use at least two transport vehicles to reach central districts that are in general uncomfortable and costly for residents.

Changing Spatialities of Gender and Poverty from Squatter Settlement into Mass Housing

Natural and Physical Capital

Women's rights to land and housing is limited due to patriarchal property relations in the global context. The informality of land acts as a further limitation on the right to housing and property for women. In Kadifekale, like many other squatter settlements in Turkey, many people had precarious property rights with *tapu-tahsis* documents. Additional right to housing is only given to the squatters if they have separate land titles for their multiple-storey buildings. The KUTP neither had a participatory implementation process nor a social project including the gender perspective like many other slum development projects in Turkey that remain limited to physical and demographic upgrading (Kuyucu and Ünsal 2010). The negotiation process between urban authorities and Kadifekale residents was limited to the compensation amount for expropriation and the new housing(s) that would be allocated as a result of the KUTP. It was mainly led by men, who are traditionally seen as property owners, and municipality officers. Many women heard about the project through their husbands, families or neighbors. Moreover, the transmission of property rights from informal squatter settlement to formal mass housing estate enforces the patriarchal property relations that privilege sons compared to daughters in the right to own and inherit the property.

Due to the flexibility of squatter dwellings, many families in Kadifekale were providing a house for their children that would be married adding another house in their plots or another storey in their dwellings. As the patriarchal relations in Turkey thrust upon men the responsibility to provide economic necessities for the family including the housing, the additional houses or storeys of squatter dwellings were in general allocated to sons rather than daughters who were married. In exchange of the additional storeys or houses, elderly parents who hold property rights sought to have another house in the mass housing estate for their sons during the negotiation process. As many elderly parents put, the daughters who were married 'had already gone' during the relocation implying that they were living in their husbands' house and singles ones continued to live with them in TOKI Uzundere. Daughters who had property rights due to inheritance were able to receive compensation or another house in TOKI Uzundere mass housing estate. Thus, the transition from the informal land market to the legal land market served to endorse patriarchal property relations.

Low- income women were able to secure a cheap shelter in squatter settlements. The flexible usage of squatter dwellings and squatting plots were enabling their families to use their housing as an income generating strategy either through adding additional spaces or storeys for their married children, opening a store or running a business in their dwellings. With the relocation from Kadifekale squatter settlements into TOKI mass housing estate, these families have to secure enough income to pay their mortgage payments according to the terms of their contracts. Moreover, living in high-rise apartment zones bring about new expenses in their income such as payments for elevator, gatekeeper, environmental and infrastructural arrangements. Although

low-income women living in squatter settlements have a limited role in income generation due to the low female participation and patriarchal power relations, they have an extensive role in income management and control (Eroğlu 2009). These additional expenses strained their capabilities to make their ends meet for their families, especially in case of single-headed households led by women. A 40-year-old female resident states:

I had a two-room apartment and one renter my husband was taking out mussels but had a stroke. I was cooking in my brother's business (in Kadifekale). Now I rarely go since my husband is sick... If you have money, here is beautiful. Mortgage, Maintenance fee, electricity, water cost almost 600-700 TRY (263-307 EUR)⁷. Husband and wife need to work here.

Turkish modernization discourse describes apartments as 'modern' dwellings that bring a higher status for women with intensive aesthetic and consumption practices (Gürel 2009) while squatters are depicted as backward rural associated with ill-mannered and ignorant manners (Karpas 1976; Erman 2001). This modernization discourse also reinforces the domesticity of women reconstituting domestic space as 'an extension of women's gendered and modern identities and social status' (Gürel 2009, 709). The majority of women including those who are not content with relocation process acknowledge that Kadifekale was a dilapidated area that was slammed as inferior and express that they now have a 'modern' and 'clean' house. Relocated families bought new consumer durables including new furniture and domestic goods to design their new apartments according to the established conceptions 'modern' houses in line with upper-class lifestyles (see Erman and Hatiboğlu 2017). However, they also note that relations have also changed and become more distant due to the transition into middle-class lives. A 33-year-old female respondent explains this as such:

There (Kadifekale) was better in terms of neighbor relations. Everybody knew each other. When we sit down, we were there with all the family. Now if we see somebody sitting, we go to them. There you did not have 'guest', you would just open the door and come in. I come, then, 'welcome'. Here you need to phone. Since it is an apartment, we become elite (sosyetik). It is an apartment, it has a name... We phone each other and we go if she is available. I say to you we became elite (sosyetik). There is a distance. Then there was not such a distance.... We are from the apartment, then we were not. Then when we say 'Kadifekale', they were looking down on you. Maybe one says TOKI now, they look as lady (hanimefendi). I do not know maybe the difference is that... Then when you say Kadifekale, they would stop and think once. Some would not employ you even. I do not tell a lie, I speak the truth. Here has a name but does not exist (kendisi yok). There did not have a name but did not have such a distance, here it happened.

Contrary to the enforced private and public boundaries of houses according to the Western modernity, the squatter dwellings had fuzzy external and internal boundaries as houses were extended with gardens, balconies or courtyards. Women were using these semi-private extensions to gather together with their social networks and do their household chores such as cleaning their rugs, cooking bread, making tomato or pepper paste. These household chores

⁷ All prices and money related numbers which were originally in Turkish Lira (TRY) have been converted into EUR based on month end exchange rates provided by the Central Bank of the Republic of Turkey (available at http://www.tcmb.gov.tr/kurlar/kurlar_tr.html).

were also a means of socialization as they were gathering together with their relatives and neighbors to handle them. Although many women are unburdened with laborious housing chores they were assuming in squatter settlements, they do not see this as a relief but many complain about it. These household chores were not only a household necessity for them but also a mechanism to preserve their cultural practices in the urban context. While the home spatiality has changed from squatter dwellings into apartment buildings, the internal and external boundaries of houses are reinforced with the loss of these extensions. The apartments are associated more with the private space that brings about a change in neighbor relations and an enclosure of communal forms of women's gatherings. Especially elderly women and middle-aged women who were more dependent on these spaces and the ensuing neighbor relations in squatter settlements feel more bounded to their home and more isolated in their new apartment dwellings (see also Erman 1997). In TOKI Uzundere, the sense of captivity experienced by elderly and middle-aged women is heightened by the new codes of behavior and expenses brought by apartment living. A 60-year old female respondent says:

Here we send compulsorily our rugs to washing (company). As if we are obliged. In Kale, we were taking them out in the terrace and wash them. Here we are obliged. Also, there is no place to hang them. It is forbidden. In Kale you had the freedom. Here you cannot hang them. When there is little noise, neighbors in downstairs complain. I have guests. On the morning, complaints arise. Do not do this, do not do that. Is here a prison? ...When we first arrived, I put a shoe cabinet in front of the house. The gatekeepers said this was forbidden. I said 'ok, my son' and removed it. Then he came and said 'you need to take the shoes inside the house'. I yelled because of anger. Is it a prison?...We are torn apart from our friends and neighbors. If we go there (Kale), the evening is setting in. How will we return? Here we have neighbors but we do not visit each other. We need to follow the apartment rules.... Is there anything like a detached house? Jump until the morning...It is expensive, mortgage loans, heating fees...If here has a positive side, it is clean. But we were not looking for that. We wanted it (money) for us. Instead of giving this money, I would pay for electricity and water. What changes if gatekeeper takes my garbage out or not? I can take my garbage out. Here is not for us. It is for doctors who receive 2.500-3.000 TRY (1.096-1.316 EUR), the apartment is good for this rich. It is not for poor fellows (gariban) like us.

Social Capital

The existing scholarship describes squatter settlements as tight-knit communities with intimate relations and close networks that give way to the sense of belonging and identity among residents (Ayata and Güneş-Ayata 1996; Buğra and Keyder 2003; Pınarcıoğlu and Işık 2001). It was common among squatters to associate their neighborhood with their 'village' or 'family'. Thus, women in squatter settlements had large social networks ensuing from kinship, co-local and/or co-ethnic ties and from the broader neighbor relations they formed in their neighborhoods. As families in squatter settlements were large households that have in general two or more children, women were sharing the domestic and reproductive duties although young girls and particularly brides had a primary role in assuming these responsibilities. Women were also the primary agents constituting the neighborhood life in squatter settlements. They gave frequent visits to their neighbors and gathered together in the outdoor spaces of their dwellings and neighborhoods like gardens, balconies, front-doors even sideways, pavements

and streets of their neighborhoods. Contrary to the predominant fear among women during the night, squatter settlements were described as female spaces in which women were able to socialize until the midnight in their neighborhood due to the sense of security given by these close social networks (Erman 1998).

The social life of squatter settlements had many functions in women's everyday life. First of all, it provided emotional support for low-income women breaking apart the sense of isolation that may emerge because of poor living conditions (e.g. Erman and Türkyilmaz 2008). Socialization among neighbors either through chatting, doing household chores together, sharing their problems, having coffee or tea enabled a sense of intimacy and support due to bonding ties. Neighbors were not only a source of emotional support but also that of practical help for domestic and reproductive responsibilities. Especially in case of urgencies such as birth, death or illness; female mutual support was stronger in helping each other through the ties of reciprocities. This moral economy between neighbors enhanced a sense of security in case of any hardship.

The negative side of these close social networks was the social control they enforced enhancing traditional gender oppressive norms among women. Earlier studies show that young women and women aspiring for a more urban lifestyle were particularly disturbed by this social control and desired for more privacy (Erman 1997). Studies show that gossiping about each other's actions such as proper dress or behavioral codes was enforcing the social control exercised by women on other women (Erman 1996). Women who do not conform to the traditional gender roles were a source of tension in the neighborhood.

With relocation into apartments and mass housing estate, there has been a rescaling of household organization and a change in neighborhood relations. Firstly, extended families broke apart with the transition to apartments. Married adult children who do not have right to a house in TOKI Uzundere mass housing estate choose to live in central districts close to employment opportunities. Secondly, there has been a dissipation of neighborhood relations from Kadifekale squatter settlement into TOKI Uzundere. The neighbors who were tenants in Kadifekale were not entitled to a house in TOKI Uzundere and many of them sought to find another house in other squatter settlements. In addition to many neighbors who did not want to live in TOKI Uzundere, many neighbors who settled in TOKI Uzundere ended up in separate apartment blocks. Relocated women seek to reconstitute their social networks in their new environment. However, they are now reticent to visit each other not only due to the privacy associated with apartments but also due to the sense of strangeness in their new neighborhood coming from not knowing their neighbors and unfamiliar neighborhood space. This does not only affect the general neighborhood life but also family lives and men's socialization with their neighbors. To the question 'are you able to visit your neighbors?', many male interviewees responded referring to their wife's socialization as women are the primary agents that form neighborhood relations in Turkey. A 52-year-old male respondent says:

There (Kadifekale) all the neighbors were sitting in front of their doors. I mean, women. Women were always present either in street corners or houses. They were used to this. We were in coffeeshouses. Now, they get bored here. They sit down here (sitting benches). They do not go much to houses. There we were visiting neighbors, having teas and they were coming to us. Now it does not happen much.

Financial Capital

Low-income women in Turkey prefer workplaces close to their neighborhoods since they can find relative and neighbor networks to accompany them; save time and energy for their domestic and reproductive responsibilities and feel insecure in unfamiliar urban spaces (Erman, Kalaycıoğlu, and Rittersberger-Tılıç 2002; Dedeoğlu 2010). In Kadifekale, many women were working in irregular jobs in the labor market in textile or cleaning in central districts. The central place of Kadifekale enabled them to reach more easily to their workplaces. With their peripheralization in TOKI Uzundere, many women lost their jobs in the informal sector along with many men due to several reasons. Firstly, they were already working for low-wages due to the exploitative working conditions of the informal sector. They made a trade-off between time, energy and expenses they would spend in commuting between their workplaces and their new houses and many ended up leaving their jobs. Secondly, the transportation vehicles that are in general uncomfortable and inconvenient increase particularly women's vulnerability to harassment on the way and decrease their ability to work invigorating patriarchal control upon them. In our study, we found fathers and husbands who opposed to their daughters' and wives' working because of difficulties in transportation. A 40-year-old male respondent states:

My income is reduced by 90%. Even those who had excellent jobs became a victim and were dismissed. My wife was working in a supermarket as a store attendant. We were going together in Kale but here I do not let her work because of transportation.

The social capital in squatter settlements was also a catalyst of participation in the labor force for low-income women. They were able to participate in family businesses or become informed about job opportunities through their social networks. Moreover, sharing and/or delegating their domestic and reproductive responsibilities with other women in extended families and/or their neighbors provided the opportunity for low-income women to participate in the labor force. This social capital along with the closeness of Kadifekale squatter settlements to worker districts in the city center was also providing for them information about employment opportunities while their jobs are often precarious in the informal sector. The peripheralization with relocation into TOKI Uzundere undercut even further women's capabilities to work outside home as children and elderly become more dependent upon women for care. Elderly and children need to use several transport vehicles to reach the basic services, particularly health centers and schools, thus, they need someone to accompany them. As a result, women's responsibilities in family care heightened. Furthermore, in Kadifekale, people from *Mardin* were involved in particular niches in the informal economy especially making and selling stuffed-mussels. They were using their houses as workplaces for its production. Women were engaged in this business as unpaid workers with an extensive role in its production. The central position of Kadifekale helped them access to their clients in central districts. While families lost their ability to use their squatter dwelling as a workplace with relocation, women also lost their unpaid jobs. In addition, the peripheral location of TOKI Uzundere mass housing estate detached them from their income sources rendering them even more vulnerable to impoverishment. A female respondent says:

Here even if I do not eat or drink, I need to prepare 500 TRY (219 EUR). There we were making (stuffed) mussels and I was able to make our ends meet.... We were working in Kale... Sometimes we were making 300 TRY (132 EUR), sometimes 700 TRY (307 EUR), sometimes nothing. It depended upon the market.... I was able to make the expenses for the school (of children). We are not able to make (stuffed) mussels due to relocation

...If we were there we would not be so miserable. My husband was working and we were able to look after ourselves. We were making (stuffed) mussels, we were not so much in stress.

Human Capital

Women's everyday life in squatter settlements was mainly confined to their neighborhood. However, they were able to frequent local market, open bazaar and groceries to provide the basic needs of their families. In TOKI Uzundere, while families close to the entry of Uzundere are able to access to the supermarket and bazaar that are located in its center, those living in the lower hills need to use the transport vehicles to reach them. Many women living in the lower hills became dependent on their husbands to reach these facilities as they do not want to use transport vehicles alone. Moreover, they find the supermarket and open bazaar in Uzundere expensive compared to what they had in Kadifekale. Furthermore, women were able to contribute to the household's income through their household production. Stocking food via low-cost shopping in the open bazaars, washing their rugs, cooking break even using *soba* (Turkish wood burner used for heating), they were able to save money and contribute to household income. Also, many women were also benefiting from the social aids distributed by the government for their care of elderly and disabled. These women still benefit from these aids and contribute to the household income but the increased expenses in the mass housing estate now strain their ability to provide the basic needs for their family. A 40-year-old female respondent states:

Here, the weather is nice. If you have lots of money in your pocket, here is beautiful...We hardly make our ends meet until the month's end. Believe me it is hard. Pay monthly installment, pay maintenance fee, pay electricity, pay water. It makes almost 600-700 TRY (263-307 EUR), my sister. Where are your food, your telephone, your children? Even to wash your carpet, you need to send it (to washing company) We think of moving out because of expenses.

Many women express the grief they had due to relocation and even some became sick. Deprived of their prior social networks to ask for help in case of emergency, elderly people have major difficulties to reach health centers that are located in central districts because they have to use several transport vehicles. As elderly families do not have the means to pay for taxis to take them to hospitals in central districts with the peripheralization, they become dependent on their children, particular on daughters, to reach the basic social services. A 66-year-old male respondent says:

My wife became sick, she became sick because of the stress, and she had diabetes in her feet. For two months, I went to Buca in rain and mud. The doctor gave oxygen. She was hospitalized for a month...It was snowing, I put nylon bags into my wife's feet. I went by minibus to the bridge. Then I took Buca minibus and went there. It is the same while returning. It was raining and snowy. I put bags into our feet. I can't tell you how difficult it was...We have a car but my son is working in Bozyaka. How can he come and take us there? He works by shifts. How can he come and take me? Is it worth to lose his job? ...My son is working in ore manufacturing. One of my daughters is married. She is a housewife. My other daughter is not working.... She was working there, going to work. How can I let her here? Where can I let my daughter here? There she was

working, going (to the workplace). We came here, we cannot let her. She was working in textile quality control. She lost her job when we came here. We came here, where can I let her, a female child? With which transport vehicles will she work here? The road takes 3 hours. When we came here, her mother became sick. When she became sick, she had to look after her. I am also sick...She left because of us. She was gaining minimum wage now she has to look into our hands. If we give her, she will spend. If we do not, there is none. It has been two years since we came here.

In Turkey, male education attainment is higher than females at all ages. Female's access to higher education is impeded by economic difficulties as families privilege their son's education rather than daughters (Sunar and Okman Fişek 2005). In the mass housing estate, as many men and women were dislocated from the labor market because of difficulties in transportation, some families mobilized their children, especially male children, to work. However, families are more reticent to mobilize their daughters for work not only due to the patriarchal relations but also due to difficulties in transportation. Moreover, the increased expenses strain relocated squatters' abilities to invest in their children's education. Many women complain that they are not able to take their children and elderly out to the city center because of the increased expenses and difficulties in transportation. As many women are not able to pay for private services to take their children or elderly to the city center or to basic social facilities and they have to accompany them in uncomfortable transport vehicles, they feel more spatially excluded. A 37-year-old female respondent explains:

There I was able to take my children to Konak (city center) at least once or twice a week. Even I was able to take my mother because taxi costs less than 10 TRY (4.4 EUR) and my husband was working. But how can you take a taxi to Konak here? It is not possible...Now, they set 4+4+4 (compulsory education for 12 years), I brood over where to send my child. If we send him to other places, he has to use buses...For those who have cars, retired, those who want to rest, it is really a good place but what if you do not have a car? For example, we came here and only we could take out my mother when my aunt died, then we hired a taxi and took her. Otherwise, I only take her out for the hospital.

Conclusion

This study reveals that while the increased expenses of mass housing estate and the 'modern' apartment life propel low-income women to participate in the labor force and to consume according to the capitalist socio-spatiality, they become more vulnerable to impoverishment and rising sense of isolation. The dissipation of intangible assets, household relations and neighbor networks that are considered as catalyst of oppressive gender norms, enabled socio-spatial alienation in case of low-income women and limited their capacity to work outside home. Moreover, the peripheralization and transportation difficulties invigorated the patriarchal control upon them. The changing housing and neighborhood spatiality that does not conform to their prior lifestyles brought about an enclosure of women's sociality. Thus, slum development projects that remain limited to physical upgrading are not able to empower women in their everyday life. To the contrary, they weaken their capacity to accumulate assets that give them the opportunity to escape from poverty and instead increase their domesticity inside the home and family. As a result, gendered spaces and the feminization of poverty do not only result from

the established socio-spatial practices but also from non-participatory top-down spatial intervention strategies. Future studies can delve into the tactics and strategies employed by low-income women to subvert these top-down spatial interventions by reinformalizing the neighborhood space (Erman 2016).

Bibliography

- Ayata, Sencer, and Ayşe Güneş-Ayata. 1996. *Konut, Komşuluk Ve Kent Kültürü*. Ankara: T.C. Başbakanlık Toplu Konut İdaresi Başkanlığı.
- Bartu-Candan, Ayfer, and Biray Kolluoğlu. 2008. "Emerging Spaces of Neoliberalism: A Gated Town and a Public Housing Project in İstanbul." *New Perspectives on Turkey* 39 (July):5–46.
- Baysal, C. 2009. "From Ayazma to Bezirganbahçe: The Aftermath of Relocation." Edited by Tansel Korkmaz, Eda Ünlü-Yücesoy, Yaşar Adanalı, Can Altay, and Philipp Misselwitz. İstanbul: Living in Voluntary and Involuntary Exclusion. 2009.
https://reclaimistanbul.files.wordpress.com/2011/04/diwan_istanbul_living_in_exclusion.pdf.
- Bondi, Liz. 1999. "Gender, Class, and Gentrification: Enriching the Debate." *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 17 (3):261–82.
- Buğra, Ayşe. 1998. "The Immoral Economy of Housing in Turkey." *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 22 (2). Blackwell Publishers Ltd:303–7.
- Buğra, Ayşe, and Çağlar Keyder. 2003. *New Poverty and the Changing Welfare Regime of Turkey*. Ankara: UNDP.
- . 2006. "The Turkish Welfare Regime In Transformation." *Journal of European Social Policy* 16 (3). Sage Publications:211–28.
- Butler, Tim, and Chris Hamnett. 1994. "Gentrification, Class and Gender: Some Comments on Wardens 'Gentrification as Consumption.'" *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 12 (4):477–93.
- Çavuşoğlu, Erbatur, and Julia Strutz. 2014. "Producing Force And Consent: Urban Transformation And Corporatism In Turkey." *City* 18 (2). Routledge:134–48.
- Certeau, Michel De. 1984. *The Practice of Everyday Life*. Edited by Steven Rendall. California: University of California Press.
- Chant, Sylvia. 2013. "Cities through a 'Gender Lens': A Golden 'Urban Age' for Women in the Global South?" *Environment and Urbanization* 25 (1):9–29.
- Day, Kristen. 1999. "Embassies and Sanctuaries: Women's Experiences of Race and Fear in Public Space." *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 17 (3):307–28.
- Dedeoğlu, Saniye. 2010. "Visible Hands - Invisible Women: Garment Production in Turkey." *Feminist Economics* 16 (4):1–32.
- Domosh, Mona, and Joni Seager. 2001. *Putting Women in Place: Feminist Geographers Make Sense of the World*. New York: The Guilford Press.
- Doshi, Sapana. 2012. "Gendered Slum Citizenship in Neoliberal Mumbai." In *Urbanizing Citizenship: Contested Spaces in Indian Cities*, edited by Renu Desai and Romola Sanyal, 83–109. New Delhi & Thousand Oaks & London: Sage Publications.

Eranil-Demirli, Meltem, Zeynep Tuna-Ultav, and Neslihan Demirtaş-Milz. 2015. "A Socio-Spatial Analysis of Urban Transformation at a Neighborhood Scale: The Case of the Relocation of Kadifekale Inhabitants to TOKİ Uzundere in İzmir." *Cities* 48 (November):140–59.

Erman, Tahire. 1996. "Women and the Housing Environment: The Experiences of Turkish Migrant Women in Squatter (Gecekondu) and Apartment Housing." *Environment and Behavior* 28 (6):764–98.

———. 1997. "Squatter (Gecekondu) Housing Versus Apartment Housing: Turkish Rural-to-Urban Migrant Residents' Perspectives." *Habitat International* 21 (1):91–106.

———. 1998. "Semi-public/Semi-Private Spaces in the Experience of Turkish Women in a Squatter Settlement." *Stadtplanung* 22 (Special Issue for "Symposium Migration und Öffentlicher Raum in Bewegung"):40–51.

———. 2001. "The Politics of Squatter (Gecekondu) Studies in Turkey: The Changing Representations of Rural Migrants in the Academic Discourse." *Urban Studies* 38 (7):983–1002.

———. 2016. "Formalization By The State, Re-Informalization By The People: A Gecekondu Transformation Housing Estate As Site Of Multiple Discrepancies." *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 40 (2):425–40. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-2427.12349>.

Erman, Tahire, and Burcu Hatiboğlu. 2017. "Rendering Responsible, Provoking Desire: Women and Home in Squatter/Slum Renewal Projects in the Turkish Context." *Gender, Place & Culture* 24 (9):1283–1302.

Erman, Tahire, Sibel Kalaycıoğlu, and Helga Rittersberger-Tılıç. 2002. "Money-Earning Activities and Empowerment Experiences of Rural Migrant Women in the City: The Case of Turkey." *Women's Studies International Forum* 25 (4):395–410.

Erman, Tahire, and Süheyla Türkyılmaz. 2008. "Neighborhood Effects and Women's Agency Regarding Poverty and Patriarchy in a Turkish Slum." *Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space* 40 (7):1760–76.

Eroğlu, Şebnem. 2009. "Patterns of Income Allocation among Poor 'Gecekondu' Households in Turkey: Overt Mechanisms and Women's Secret Kitties." *The Sociological Review* 57 (1):58–80.

Fenster, Tovi. 2005. "The Right to the Gendered City: Different Formations of Belonging in Everyday Life." *Journal of Gender Studies* 14 (3):217–31.

Ford Foundation. 2004. *Building Assets to Reduce Poverty and Injustice*. New York: Ford Foundation.

Gilbert, Alan. 2007. "The Return of the Slum: Does Language Matter?" *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 31 (4). Blackwell Publishing Ltd:697–713.

Göç-Der. 2001. "The Research and Solution Report on The Socio-Economic and Socio-Cultural Conditions of Kurdish Citizens Living in the Turkish Republic Who Are Forcibly Displaced due to Armed Conflict and Tension Politics." İstanbul.

Gürel, Meltem Ö. 2009. "Defining and Living out the Interior: The 'Modern' Apartment and the 'Urban' Housewife in Turkey during the 1950s and 1960s." *Gender, Place & Culture* 16 (6):703–22.

Güvenç, Murat, and Oğuz Işık. 2002. "A Metropolis at the Crossroads: The Changing Social Geography of Istanbul Under the Impact of Globalization." In *Of States and Cities: The Partitioning of Urban Space*, edited by Peter Marcuse and Ronald Van Kempen, 200–220. New York: Oxford University Press.

Kandiyoti, Deniz. 1988. "Bargaining with Patriarchy." *Gender & Society* 2 (3 / Special Issue to Honor Jessie Bernard):274–90.

Karaman, Ozan. 2013. "Urban Renewal in Istanbul: Reconfigured Spaces, Robotic Lives." *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 37 (2):715–33.

———. 2014. "Resisting Urban Renewal in Istanbul." *Urban Geography* 35 (2):290–310.

Karpat, Kemal H. 1976. *The Gecekondu: Rural Migration And Urbanization*. Cambridge University Press.

https://books.google.com.tr/books/about/The_Gecekondu.html?id=lg49AAAAIAAJ&redir_esc=y.

Kuyucu, Tuna, and Özlem Ünsal. 2010. "Urban Transformation as State-Led Property Transfer: An Analysis of Two Cases of Urban Renewal in Istanbul." *Urban Studies* 47 (7). Sage Publications:1479–99.

Kwan, Mei-Po. 1999. "Gender and Individual Access to Urban Opportunities: A Study Using Space-Time Measures." *The Professional Geographer* 51 (2). Wiley/Blackwell:211–27.

Lelandais, Gülçin Erdi. 2014. "Space and Identity in Resistance against Neoliberal Urban Planning in Turkey." *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 38 (5):1785–1806.

Massey, Doreen B. 1994. *Space, Place and Gender*. Cambridge & Malden: Polity Press.

McDowell, Linda. 1993. "Space, Place and Gender Relations: Part I. Feminist Empiricism and the Geography of Social Relations." *Progress in Human Geography* 17 (2):157–79.

Menon-Sen, Kalyani. 2006. "'Better to Have Died than to Live Like This': Women and Evictions in Delhi." *Economic and Political Weekly* 41 (20). Economic and Political Weekly:1969–74.

Mitchell, Don. 2003. *The Right to the City: Social Justice and the Fight for Public Space*. New York: The Guilford Press.

Moser, Caroline O.N. 1998. "The Asset Vulnerability Framework: Reassessing Urban Poverty Reduction Strategies." *World Development* 26 (1). Pergamon:1–19.

———. 2007a. "Asset Accumulation Policy and Poverty Reduction." In *Reducing Global Poverty: The Case for Asset Accumulation*, edited by Caroline O. N. Moser, 83–103. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press.

———. 2007b. *Reducing Global Poverty: The Case for Asset Accumulation*. Brookings Institution Press.

———. 2009. *Ordinary Families, Extraordinary Lives: Assets and Poverty Reduction in Guayaquil, 1978-2004*. Washington DC: Brookings Institution Press.

Mutluer, Mustafa. 2000. *Kentleşme Sürecinde İzmir'de Toplu Konut Uygulamaları Ve Sorunlar*. Ege Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Yayınları. İzmir: Ege Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi.

Pain, Rachel. 2001. "Gender, Race, Age and Fear in the City." *Urban Studies* 38 (5–6):899–913.

- Pateman, Carole. 1988. *The Sexual Contract*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- . 1989. *The Disorder of Women: Democracy, Feminism and Political Theory*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Pınarcıoğlu, Mehmet Melih, and Oğuz Işık. 2001. "1980 Sonrası Dönemde Kent Yoksulları Arasında Güce Dayalı Ağ İlişkileri: Sultanbeyli Örneği." *Toplum Ve Bilim*, no. 89:31–61.
- Pratt, Geraldine. 1990. "Feminist Analyses of the Restructuring of Urban Life." *Urban Geography* 11 (6):594–605.
- Ruddick, Susan. 1996. "Constructing Difference in Public Spaces: Race, Class and Gender as Interlocking Systems." *Urban Geography* 17 (2):132–51.
- Saraçoğlu, Cenk. 2010. *Kurds of Modern Turkey: Migration, Neoliberalism and Exclusion in Turkish Society*. London & New York: I.B. Tauris Publishers.
- Saraçoğlu, Cenk, and Neslihan Demirtaş-Milz. 2014. "Disasters As An Ideological Strategy For Governing Neoliberal Urban Transformation In Turkey: Insights From Izmir/Kadifekale." *Disasters* 38 (1):178–201.
- Sherraden, Michael Wayne. 1991. *Assets And The Poor: A New American Welfare Policy*. New York: M.E. Sharpe.
- Smith, Neil. 1979. "Toward a Theory of Gentrification a Back to the City Movement by Capital, Not People." *Journal of the American Planning Association* 45 (4). Taylor & Francis Group:538–48.
- . 1996. *The New Urban Frontier: Gentrification And The Revanchist City*. New York: Routledge.
- Soja, Edward W. 1989. *Postmodern Geographies: The Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory*. London & New York: Verso.
- Sunar, Diane, and Güler Okman Fişek. 2005. "Contemporary Turkish Families." In *Families in Global Perspective*, edited by Uwe P. Gielen and Jaipaul L. Roopnarine, 169–83. Allyn&Bacon/Pearson.
- Toprak, B. 1994. "Women and Fundamentalism: The Case of Turkey." In *Identity Politics and Women: Cultural Reassertions and Feminisms in International Perspective*, edited by Valentine M. Moghadam, 293–306. Boulder: Westview Press.
- Valentine, Gill. 1989. "The Geography of Women's Fear." *Area* 21 (4):385–90.
- Warde, A. 1991. "Gentrification as Consumption: Issues of Class and Gender." *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 9 (2):223–32.
- White, Jenny Barbara. 2004. *Money Makes Us Relatives: Women's Labor in Urban Turkey*. 2nded. New York & London: Routledge.
- . 2013. *Muslim Nationalism and the New Turks*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- Whitehead, Judy, and Nitin More. 2007. "Revanchism in Mumbai? Political Economy of Rent Gaps and Urban Restructuring in a Global City." *Economic and Political Weekly* 42 (25):2428–34.

Zayim, Ayca. 2014. "Differentiated Urban Citizenship and Housing Rights: Analysing the Social Impacts of Urban Redevelopment in Globalizing Istanbul." *International Planning Studies* 19 (3-4):268-91.

Zukin, Sharon. 1991. *Landscapes of Power: From Detroit to Disney World*. Berkeley & Los Angeles & London: University of California Press.