

**MAKING SENSE OF POST-RELOCATION FOR PUBLIC HOUSING
RESIDENTS IN IZMIR, TURKEY**

By

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MAKING SENSE OF POST-RELOCATION FOR PUBLIC HOUSING RESIDENTS IN IZMIR, TURKEY

Ongoing economic insecurity, political conflicts, and increased terrorism attacks in eastern Turkey has generated massive internal migration into the country's western cities, leading to vast changes in demographic, social, economic, and political structures. For decades, migrants and displaced persons lived in informal, makeshift dwellings in less developed spaces in the older city centers. Since 2000, municipal governments have relocated thousands of migrants to newly constructed, massive public housing developments in suburban "satellite cities."

This dissertation examines the impact of relocation from the viewpoint of low-income women relocated to two neighborhoods, Zubeyde Hanım and Uzundere, in Izmir, Turkey. For this project, residents were asked about their perceptions and experiences with education and employment opportunities in the newly developed urban satellites communities and where relocation has or has not benefited them. Data for this dissertation include extensive fieldwork observations and seventy interviews with female residents and key community informants, such as high school and middle school principals and the director of educational and cultural programs.

The main findings of this dissertation show that access to newly provided educational and employment opportunities upon relocation mattered for particular everyday practices of the women. But their overall participation in these programs was low and relocation did not result in a significant increase in education and employment participation. Furthermore, the involvement of residents in new opportunities was largely influenced by their prior employment and educational experience. Another significant finding of this dissertation was that residents responded to the process of relocation differently based on cultural, religious, and gendered conditions. As a result, issues of resident trust and participation in community life differed for Zubeyde Hanım and Uzundere residents. The larger implications of this dissertation include the need for more inclusive forms of official communication between authorities and resettled residents that appreciates the challenges they experience.

Keywords: urban transformation, public housing, migrants, resettlement, housing development, poverty, Turkey

Chapter 1: Introduction to New Lives in Newly Developed Urban Satellites

Urban renewal is a political, historical, and social process that involves various agents: urban developers, local and national government agencies, and, most importantly, residents. In the urban renewal process, residents have less power than developers and local and national government agencies, even though the process directly affects residents. Consequently, residents are more likely to be passive participants who experience the renewal process rather than initiating and guiding it. Urban developers and community leaders view communities as a growth machine to exchange values for profit, and urban entrepreneurs acquire places to market the communities to increase profits (Logan and Molatch 1987.) Viewing communities as a growth machine generates revenue for the urban developers but does not enhance the life chances of the urban poor. Indeed, the process of urban renewal often fails to align with the interests of residents and produces negative emotions since they can no longer live in the once-familiar environment they called home.

Since the 1950s, informal settlements have emerged in developing countries around the world as a result of increases in migration and urban growth. Since the 1980s, under neoliberal urban policies, shifts toward reduced state control and an expanded capitalist market have caused enormous changes in cities (Keyder 2005). Neoliberal policies resulted in massive urban transformation projects led by large development firms, the construction of high-rise buildings in place of squatter settlements, and the development of social and public housing for the urban poor. Like other developing nations, Turkey has undergone these massive urban transformation projects (Karaman

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2013). Social problems in the eastern zones of Turkey, such as insufficient employment opportunities, land sharing, heritage issues, and increased violence, have caused rural populations to move into urban areas and have led to the development of informal housing (Dundar 2011; Guzey 2009; Karpaz 1976). In response, in the 2000s, Turkey's metropolitan municipalities began a massive relocation program aimed at moving slum-dwelling migrants to newly developed housing projects on the outskirts of cities.

Although the urban transformation process is not specific to Turkey, two features make Turkey's urban transformation unique. First, despite the massive urban mobility programs, there has been an increase in unemployment and a lack of schooling—particularly for women—compared to other developing nations. This means that tenants still experience unemployment and schooling problems in the urban satellites to which they move. I define social mobility as the way in which individuals get ahead during their lifetimes—in other words, how education, employment, and community opportunities change, how living and housing conditions change, and how these changes influence individuals. Second, Turkey's socio-political situations regarding ISIS and the PKK (Kurdish Workers Party) have increased terrorism in eastern Turkey and bolstered migration to western parts of the country, particularly Izmir. Given these circumstances, urban transformation projects become even more significant in the Turkish context because today's migrant populations are not migrating to western Turkish cities for familial reasons, as they did from the 1950s to the 1990s. Turkey has become a country characterized by emigration due to PKK attacks and the Syrian refugee crisis, which began in 2011 (Icduygu 2015). The socio-political conditions in Turkey make urban

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redevelopment and housing even more critical for the future of urban areas (Kirisici 2014) because more people are in need of housing than ever before.

Therefore, this research will contribute to the broader literature on the socio-economic effect of neoliberal policies and urban transformation. Due to labor restructuring, migrants find it more difficult to survive in cities, and thus states have displaced chain migrants to areas outside cities. By focusing on the social mobility of women, I aim to discover how urban transformation projects contribute to women's social conditions. Academic research thus far has focused on the political and economic aspects of the implementation of large-scale urban transformation projects and on the policies and processes related to migrant relocation (Dundar 2011; Islam 2010; Smith 2002; Sonmez 2007). This dissertation, however, is concerned with identifying the ways in which living in urban satellites shapes the social mobility of residents and how urban development projects with different structures have affected women's social mobility.

Research Questions

My research questions are as follows. (a) How have low-income women, who have been historically marginalized and have experienced informal development, responded to changes in education, labor, and community development opportunities after relocation? (b) Does moving from squatter developments to a planned urban satellite affect women's access to employment and education opportunities? (c) How do women engage in employment and education when they move from squatter developments to new urban satellites? (d) How do women in urban satellites make sense of the post-relocation process? (e) What function does the process of relocation serve, from the perspective of the residents? The purposes of my research questions are to address how

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women experience the process of urban transformation and to examine the link between the urban transformation process and education and employment processes from a woman's perspective. Therefore, this dissertation indicates that the process of relocation is theoretical and that residents experience it in different ways. By doing so, the dissertation calls attention to women's narratives regarding education and employment opportunities to analyze the ways in which residents observe the process of relocation in different settings. To answer these questions, I conducted in-depth interviews with women (aged 18–35 years and 48 years or older) from several neighborhoods and recorded observations in the field. The in-depth interviews documented women's experiences regarding the urban transformation process, and the field observations illuminated the social and ethnic dynamics of the neighborhoods.

Research Locations

I compared the differences and similarities regarding women's social mobility in two urban satellites in Izmir, Turkey. I picked these two neighborhoods because of the high segregation and poverty rates and the mix of Kurdish and other groups of rural migrants. While they are similar in terms of class and income distribution, they have significant regional and ethnic differences as well as differences in housing type. However, the primary reason I compared these two neighborhoods was the difference in the composition of the neighborhood and length of residency. The Uzundere neighborhood has a relatively homogeneous ethnic and regional composition. The majority of the residents are Kurdish—first- and second-generation migrants from the eastern territories of Turkey—who lived in the same informal squatter development (Kadifekale) and were relocated to Uzundere in 2010. Conversely, the residents of

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Zubeyde Hanim come from many different regions and have spent various amounts of time in the neighborhood. While some residents moved to Zubeyde Hanim in 2008, others moved in 2013. In addition, some residents moved to Zubeyde Hanim from squatter developments, and some moved because of its affordability. These differences allowed us to investigate whether the heterogeneity or homogeneity of neighborhoods influences women's social mobility.

The research locations for this dissertation are Uzundere and Zubeyde Hanim, which are located in Izmir, Western Turkey. Izmir is important in the urban transformation field for several reasons. Although Izmir is the third largest city in Turkey, cities like Istanbul and Ankara receive more attention for their urban renewal programs from state agencies, urban developers, and the public. However, Izmir has political significance because central and local elections are held separately in Turkey. For instance, while the right-leaning conservative Muslim party may be dominant in central elections, the left-leaning secular social democrat party may be dominant in local elections. While the right-leaning party dominates Ankara and Istanbul's major local territories, Izmir is one of the few cities in which the majority will vote for the left-leaning social democrat party. Given these conditions, national funding for infrastructure projects is very limited in Izmir (Karsiyaka Municipality 2014.)

Uzundere and Zubeyde Hanim are housing projects located in Izmir with different purposes and demographic structures. The Uzundere housing project was developed to relocate residents from a dangerous landslide zone to a safer urban location; at least 85% of the residents came from the Kadifekale neighborhood (Hurriyet Ege 2016). The majority of the residents are first- and second-generation migrants from the eastern

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regions of Turkey, particularly the Mardin region, and most spent years working in the mussel business. In contrast, the Zubeyde Hanim housing project was built to relocate residents from overcrowded, poor housing conditions to safer, more comfortable homes. The residents of Zubeyde Hanim are first- and second-generation rural migrants from various regions, and thus have less in common than the residents of Uzundere. I decided to compare these two neighborhoods because they are the most well known segregated neighborhoods in the Izmir area. The residents of both Uzundere and Zubeyde Hanim experience severe poverty, which financially segregates them from other neighborhoods, as well as cultural segregation. For instance, most of the residents have never been to popular downtown districts in Izmir, including Izmir Bay, causing them to feel alienated from the urban area.

The Zubeyde Hanim Neighborhood

The residents of Zubeyde Hanim originally lived in the Yali neighborhood, which is located between two middle-class neighborhoods. The municipality claims that the residents of the Yali neighborhood were Romani, but the residents of Zubeyde Hanim are rural migrants from central and eastern Turkey. When this neighborhood became overcrowded, blocked passageways to the nearby industrial zone, and was considered too substandard to live in, the Karsiyaka municipality planned the Yali urban transformation project. This project aimed to demolish the Yali neighborhood to build a highway connection to the industrial zone and metro stations to improve public transportation. Most Yali residents were shifted south to the Zubeyde Hanim urban satellite in 2006, but some moved to other squatter developments. The Yali neighborhood was transformed into high-rise apartments targeted towards middle-class individuals. Currently, the

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demographic structure of Zubeyde Hanim is heterogeneous. The neighborhood comprises rural migrants from the central and eastern parts of Turkey who came from the Yali neighborhood; young, working-class married couples; older, retired, working-class residents; and individuals who moved from other squatter developments.

The population of Zubeyde Hanim is approximately 16,000. The nearby area includes a kindergarten, primary and middle school, vocational accounting and business administration high school, municipal community center, mosque, religious and cultural center for Alevi Islamic traditions, hairdresser, local grocery store, outdoor children's playground, outdoor common areas, and several grocery stores that cater to low-income families.



Photo I: Photo of Zubeyde Hanim

The Uzundere Neighborhood

The residents of Uzundere originally lived in Kadifekale in the city of Izmir, which was home to migrants from Mardin, a city in the southeastern region of Turkey. Residents migrated for a variety of reasons. Some did not feel safe because of the conflict over the Kurdish border, while others migrated for better education and employment opportunities (Hurriyet Ege 2016). The migrants settled in Kadifekale because they were unable to afford urban rental properties and preferred to move to neighborhoods where people they knew lived. Thus, Kadifekale became a neighborhood comprised predominantly of Kurds and migrants from the eastern regions of Turkey. The residents

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of Uzundere are mostly first- and second-generation migrants from Mardin. Although rural migrants from central Turkey also live in Uzundere, this urban satellite is not as diverse as the Zubeyde Hanim neighborhood and is mostly comprised of low-income migrant families (Demirtas-Milz 2013).

The population of Uzundere is approximately 8,000. There are public amenities in the neighborhood, most of which are located in an indoor plaza. There is a kindergarten, primary and middle school, vocational technical high school, community center, mosque, and outdoor children's playground. There is also a plaza in the neighborhood called Baris Gross, which contains a chain supermarket, the Salvador Café, a hairdresser, and a sandwich deli. In addition to these amenities, the area contains high-rise apartments, where residents live.



Photo II: “Uzundere neighborhood”, from Devrim Erbil (2014). *Urban Art Exhibition*

Methods

I used a qualitative approach to conduct this research, which included field interviews and participant observations. My aim was to investigate how the everyday lives of female residents changed after they moved to the Uzundere and Zubeyde Hanim neighborhoods. I identified the opportunities that were available to women living in these satellite communities by examining their experiences, stories, and personal interpretations.

I decided to compare these two neighborhoods because of their high segregation and poverty rates and their mix of Kurdish migrants and those from other rural regions. While they are similar in terms of class and income distribution, they have significant regional and ethnic differences, as well as differences in housing. What do the female

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members of these two populations, which have been historically marginalized, think of the employment opportunities in these two satellites? How have women responded to the opportunities in these new communities? I operationalized how urban transformation has changed women's lives by gathering data on education, employment experiences, job search motivations, future career plans, professional aspirations, personal development, literacy rates, adult education, and family lives.

Data Collection

I began collecting data in May 2014 and continued until October 2014. The data collection period included two phases: (a) field interviews and observations and (b) interviews with residents and key informants, such as high school principals, the Director of Education, the director of the cultural center, and the administrators in charge of the housing projects.

It was challenging to earn the trust of members of these communities and recruit them for participation in the study. I applied snowball and purposive sampling techniques. In the Zubeyde Hanim neighborhood, I interviewed 30 female residents who ranged in age from 18 to 35, five female residents who were older than 48, a high school principal, the head of the adult education program, and the local government chair. In the Uzundere neighborhood, I interviewed 30 female residents who ranged in age from 18 to 35, five female residents who were older than 48, the head of the high school and primary school, and the local government chair.

I began by collecting data in the Zubeyde Hanim neighborhood. First, I scheduled an interview with the local government chair. The chair invited me to a neighborhood meeting, which enabled me to meet and speak with some of the residents. By applying

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the snowball method, I was able to conduct home visits with first- and second-generation migrants from the Corum area. Later, because I wanted to speak with residents from different regions, I applied purposive sampling and visited other apartments. Most residents' lives were similar; the majority were high school dropouts and former textile employees who quit working after they married. Generally, participants preferred to meet me at their homes or in the afternoon at the children's playground. Most were willing to contribute to my study. Although I was an outsider from another neighborhood, the participants accepted me. I often sat with them on the floor and participated in their conversations and daily activities.

I followed a similar approach in the Uzundere neighborhood. I connected with the women's education and cultural center and reached a female member who knew the community. After conversing with her, I realized it would not be wise to invite the female residents to Baris Gross, the indoor public plaza. For cultural and economic reasons, most women do not often go out for coffee or tea. Instead, these women preferred to visit with me at their homes or while walking around the neighborhood. As in Zubeyde Hanim, the women in Uzundere were more welcoming during home visits, so this was the main method I used to recruit them. I also interviewed women who worked at Baris Gross and a small public bazaar. The female residents of Uzundere were similar to the female residents of Zubeyde Hanim in that most had not gone to school or had dropped out. Some were former textile workers who stopped working after they married. One major difference was that many of the women were former mussel laborers, but after they moved to Uzundere, they could no longer work in the industry. As in the Zubeyde Hanim neighborhood, even though I was an outsider in Uzundere, the residents accepted me very

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quickly. I often helped the women who worked at the bazaar, grabbed a table and chair, and sat with them. I was also invited to a neighborhood wedding, which allowed me to observe the neighborhood's dynamics.

After examining participant observations, I am in a position to address my central research questions: How does moving to the urban satellites influence the social mobility of female participants? How have these housing developments provided opportunities for female residents? Does living in a heterogeneous or homogeneous environment shape the employment opportunities for female residents? My dissertation will contribute to urban sociology literature by analyzing the effects of urban transformation projects on women's social mobility based on the experiences, stories, and personal interpretations of the residents of Uzundere and Zubeyde Hanim.

The Research Focus

This dissertation extends the understanding of the process of relocation in a larger political scale from the perspectives of residents who have experienced it. The state, urban developers, and urban planners state that the purpose of resettling individuals from squatter developments into urban satellite is to mobilize the urban poor. In reality, the urban bureaucrats are pushing the relocated residents for the middle class lifestyle and visions. Therefore, this dissertation underlines the importance of connection between the lives of the residents and the content of the housing programs to reform in the lives of the residents.

In other words, it is significant to understand the residents' daily lives and past and present struggles in order to make plans for improving the lives of the urban poor. This dissertation focuses on the daily lives of Zubeyde Hanim and Uzundere residents

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and analyzes how their daily struggles shape their education and employment opportunities. The next section will explain the dissertation's focus on housing for the urban poor, the way in which the urban poor are displaced, background information on the displacement of Zubeyde Hanim and Uzundere residents, and the connection between relocation and women's education and employment opportunities.

Housing Issues for the Urban Poor

There is debate regarding the mechanisms that create disadvantageous conditions for the urban poor, such as limited education and employment opportunities, rising crime rates, increasing rates of high school dropout and teen pregnancy, and situations that create anxiety and disorder for residents (Crane 1991; Briggs 1997; Kleinberg 2002; Clampet-Lundquist 2007). Four major schools of thought shape this debate: disadvantaged residents are a disadvantage, advantaged residents are a disadvantage, disadvantaged residents are irrelevant, and the advantage or disadvantage of residents does not matter, but the neighborhood in which live does (Mayer and Jencks 1989). In addition to these four schools of thought, Wilson (1987) introduced the social isolation theory, which states that poor youths socialize with troubled children or children whose mothers are on welfare and that, overall, these youths lack sufficient role models. The social isolation theory highlights the relationship between neighborhoods and individual outcomes. Extreme social isolation can lead to adaptive behaviors (Goetz 2010).

Given this fact, a few scholars have demonstrated the importance of positive role models in low-income neighborhoods (Briggs 1997; Wilson 1987, 1996; Kleinberg 2002). Productive economic opportunities could emulate productive behaviors (Clampet-Lundquist 2007; Goetz 2010). Taking this idea into account, a few scholars have

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suggested that living in the same neighborhood as middle-class individuals might lead to positive consequences for the urban poor, such as the ability to get a job or degree, and improved skills, habits, and lifestyles. Additionally, living in a middle-class neighborhood could inspire the urban poor to attain, for instance, a good education and better employment. In more economically varied neighborhoods, individuals could use networks to access better education and employment opportunities.

The social isolation theory is associated with the social network theory. If the urban poor are segregated in socially and economically disadvantaged neighborhoods, low-income residents might not gain access to the social networks that could lead to employment opportunities (Briggs 1997). Social networks and familial ties are significant resources that the urban poor need to access jobs. Scholars tend to focus on the social network theory, which indicates that an individual's network provides direct and indirect support that can enhance his or her labor market connections and earning potential (Goetz 2010; Kleit et al. 2008; Popkin et al. 2009). Friends, resources, and access to information may lead to jobs (Briggs 1997). Strong ties to family and friends provide direct forms of support and resources. In addition to social networks, individuals build networks between people and resources. In this way, they access the labor market through the people and resources that they know and are available. In other words, people's personal networks might determine the path they choose to take. Consequently, a few urban poverty scholars have stressed the significance of moving into mixed-income neighborhoods to expand social networks and identify ways to get ahead socially, especially for the urban poor (Klinenberg 2002; Clampet-Lundquist 2007; Kleit et al. 2008). Overall, literature on

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the urban poor has demonstrated that moving to neighborhoods with more resources might lead to more opportunities for the urban poor.

How does the Urban Poor Experience Displacement?

Residents vary in terms of families, regions, traditions, religious practices, language, dialects, and ethnicities, all of which influence their experiences with urban renewal. Environmental psychology research has revealed that relocation is both advantageous and disadvantageous (Possick 2004; Mazumdar 2005; Wells 2005). For example, moving from crowded neighborhoods into more spacious ones seems to be a positive experience that leads to improved outcomes for certain residents, but the same move might not be positive for other residents. In other words, a given change will not necessarily be beneficial or harmful for all residents, since each develops different perceptions of and responses to change.

Scholars have suggested that residents' housing decisions and behaviors are shaped by a variety of factors, including age, gender, family, marital status, and the length of time spent in a given neighborhood (Wells and Harris 2007). When residents live in a particular environment for a long period of time, they tend to have a stronger sense of attachment to that location. Therefore, the length of residents' stay, and household history are significant issues for residents. In some cases, residents prefer to live in a safe environment; for example, parents, especially single mothers, value their children's futures and want their children's lives to be better than their own (Fagg et al. 2007). Another important factor affecting residential choices is age. For example, a sense of belonging is very important to elderly individuals. Such personal factors play an important role in determining individuals' decisions regarding housing.

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Studies on housing development behavior indicate that individuals develop relationships not only with each other but also with their house, environment, and/or neighborhood (Dunn and Hayes 2000; Pang et al. 2005; Wells 2005). Moving from one neighborhood to another, or even from one house to another nearby, may lead to different social relationships. As a result, many researchers focus on determining how housing shapes individuals' well-being and quality of life. They also study how people develop relationships in their new environments (Kuo 2001; Evans et al. 2004).

Residents who live in crowded areas experience more stress than those who live in less congested places. This stress may arise because they are not able to live in a safe neighborhood, and living in crowded areas challenges them to build safer lives for themselves and their families. According to Evans, residents associated the concept of "crowded neighborhoods" with unsafe and noisy environments, while non-crowded neighborhoods were associated with the idea of "safety" (2004:84). In other words, residents are more likely to feel safe in less crowded neighborhoods, which affects individuals' perceptions of their own well-being (Evans 2004; Wells 2005).

Evans investigated residents who transitioned from crowded areas to non-crowded areas and the significance of living in crowded neighborhoods (2001; 2004). Evans found similarities between the ways in which crowded areas shape individuals' well-being in neighborhoods and in institutions (2004). For example, compared to prisoners in relatively spacious confinement, those in a crowded facility are more likely to experience social anxiety and develop trust and safety issues along with physical health problems such as hypertension and heart disease. Thus, when people move from

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crowded living arrangements into non-crowded ones, they will experience positive health outcomes.

Researchers have also investigated how a neighborhood's structure can shape parents' involvement with their children (Possick 2004; Green 2005; Fagg et al. 2008). The literature shows that a lack of opportunities and resources in a given neighborhood may have a negative impact on residents' cognitive development in all age groups (Dunn and Hayes 2000; Kuo 2001; Wells and Harris 2007). The lack of access to social and civil services, along with the digital divide (no access to computers or the Internet), also influence children's development. Some parents are less likely to get involved in their children's education and talk with their children to advance their cognitive abilities and shape their development (Young et al. 2004). Furthermore, some parents are less likely to get involved in volunteer or civic activities. In short, the social environment influences parents' relationships and involvement with their children.

In addition to crowding and parenting preferences, gender differences also affect housing. Housing affects men's and women's relationships and socialization (Young et al. 2004; Well 2005). Considering the large number of single mothers, stay-at-home mothers, and unemployed women, housing development issues are more important for women than for men. One study demonstrates that women find it difficult to ensure their family's safety and keep their family from drugs and crime (Wells and Harris 2007). Women who live in crowded neighborhoods associate those areas with drugs, crime, and high homicide rates, all of which make it harder for women with children to survive in crowded neighborhoods. While moving from a dangerous neighborhood to a safer one might not be easy for individuals who have a sense of attachment to their previous

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neighborhood, safety and stability are often more important (Curtis et al. 2008) for women in general and for those with children in particular.

Older people may place higher value on their attachment to a location as they may feel that their neighborhood is part of their identity and may have strong social ties there. Therefore, they view moving away from the neighborhood as a loss of identity (Possick 2004; Mazumdar 2005). In contrast to women with children, older residents may prefer to retain their sense of belonging than move to a less crowded, healthier neighborhood. For some older people, especially those who live alone, moving to another neighborhood may mean that they are unable to connect with other residents or with the neighborhood itself.

Different age groups have different perceptions of and derive different meanings from poverty, which is another important factor in the study of housing development behavior (Wells and Harris 2007). For example, children do not experience poverty in the same ways adults do; adults are generally more aware of resource deficiencies, while children tend to be less informed. Adults recognize and seek to redress poverty because they are aware of and care about their physical environment and its effects on their children. Even though children may play in neighborhoods with toxic conditions, they tend to be less aware and are sometimes completely unaware of these challenges (Young et al. 2004; Wells 2005).

The Experiences of Zubeyde Hanim Residents as They Moved from Crowded Neighborhoods into an Urban Satellite

The residents of Zubeyde Hanim originated from many different neighborhoods. While some residents of Zubeyde Hanim had lived in overcrowded neighborhoods for years, others had lived in more spacious environments. The residents' experiences with their prior neighborhoods shaped their present experiences with Zubeyde Hanim.

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For residents who had lived in overcrowded neighborhoods, Zubeyde Hanim was significantly different, and these residents were frequently amazed by the space and privacy the neighborhood affords. Crowded conditions may create a sense of social openness and ease of access, which in turn lead to a communal feeling that residents are “sharing the same moment.” However, not all residents see this feeling in a positive manner; an open environment may not allow residents to easily establish boundaries or gain a sense of privacy. For some of the residents of Zubeyde Hanim, these conditions led to stress and fear. Some mothers with teenagers, for example, were concerned that other children with unhealthy behaviors might cause their children to use drugs or skip school. For residents who came from crowded neighborhoods, the open environment allowed them to be affected by other people’s behavior and made them unable to control their privacy. Moving from crowded areas into a spacious urban satellite was a challenging process and, for some, a relief.

Depending on where they live in a neighborhood, drug abuse, crime, and violence may pose serious issues for residents. In particular, mothers may be highly concerned for their children and wary of the influence of other children in the neighborhood. According to mothers living in Zubeyde Hanim, moving from crowded neighborhoods to this urban satellite that is isolated from the inner city was a relief, as they perceived less risk of drug use among their children. Living in an urban satellite does not actually eliminate problems associated with illegal drugs, but for many women with children, the idea of an urban satellite is associated with safety.

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The Experiences of Uzundere Residents that Moved from Crowded Neighborhoods into an Urban Satellite

Unlike the residents of Zubeyde Hanim, Uzundere residents share a similar housing history; most moved from the Kadifekale neighborhood. As a result, the residents developed different attachments to their urban satellite compared to the Zubeyde Hanim residents.

Age was a significant factor that determined residents' housing behaviors in response to urban changes. For example, among adults older than 45, the Kadifekale neighborhood was significant since it was the first neighborhood they moved to after migrating to Izmir, the first neighborhood they moved to as a newlywed, or where they had their children. In other words, the neighborhood symbolized new beginnings. Despite the poor conditions and risk of landslides, the inhabitants had a strong attachment to Kadifekale. Thus, the urban satellite did not represent improved safety or a better future for adults older than 45 or for mothers.

While those older than 45 had emotional bonds to Kadifekale, residents aged 18–35 did not. The younger residents believed that the urban satellite allowed them privacy and the ability to establish family boundaries. For these residents, being able to, for instance, close the door and know that no one could break that boundary brought them relief; they felt that they could have personal lives and learn how to be individuals. Younger girls explained that it was hard for them to walk at night in their previous neighborhood because men stared, whistled, or talked to them, which made them feel uncomfortable. Although the girls felt that there was a lot of gossip around the new neighborhood, they felt more comfortable walking in public spaces.

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Age also determined the experiences of Uzundere residents. The younger residents valued their history in Kadifekale; some still visited the neighborhood or preferred going to a hairdresser close to Kadifekale. Many, however, felt more secure and relieved after moving to Uzundere.

Education and Employment Opportunities for Women

This dissertation focuses on connecting urban transformation projects with education and employment mobility for various reasons. First, the Turkish government tends to approach poverty and unemployment by providing housing; however, without education and employment mobility, this may not always be the best solution. Interestingly, urban satellites constructed by the government provide adult education programs in new schools, unlike squatter developments. Second, scholars who have studied women's participation in the labor force stress that limited income pushes women into the labor force and leads conservative men to allow women to work. Instead of focusing on this topic, I examine conservative families' views on employment as well as how the process and experience of relocation might change women's labor involvement. For instance, moving to urban satellites creates more expenses because residents have limited income but must make monthly housing payments. In addition, the career-oriented education classes offered through adult education centers in the neighborhoods may have an effect women's labor involvement.

Overall, the socio-demographic conditions and life circumstances of residents in Zubeyde Hanim and Uzundere are very similar. Most Uzundere residents who moved from Kadifekale received no schooling, dropped out of school, or are illiterate. Women are much more likely than men to have no school experience or to have dropped out, and

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they tend to marry in their late teens and become mothers at early ages. Like the residents of Uzundere, Zubeyde Hanim residents suffer from unemployment and have very limited or no schooling. Similarly, women experience marriage and motherhood at early ages.

Scholars have discovered that there are various reasons why migrant rural women do not participate in the labor force, including housework, the need to take care of children and elders, a lack of education and skills, and husbands' or elder family members' negative views regarding female labor participation. However, income is a significant factor that pushes women to work; most scholars agree that if the husband cannot earn a sufficient income, the wife tends to gain independence by getting a job. However, if the husband can successfully support his family, the wife is expected to take care of the children and household duties (Erman 1999). In other words, once a family's income is insufficient to survive, even traditional values cannot limit women's participation in the labor force.

Although scholars indicate that limited income is a factor that increases women's participation in the labor force after moving to an urban area, female labor force participation and education in Uzundere and Zubeyde Hanim remain low despite the limited income of the residents and their increased expenses. Most scholars who study women's participation in the labor force analyze the daily lives of women in squatter developments, but there is not enough focus on how urban mobility programs influence women's lives. Therefore, by considering the limitations, backgrounds, labor force participation, and education opportunities of women, I aim to determine how women's education and employment involvement change after relocating.

Urban transformation projects in Turkey are designed to mobilize low-income individuals who live in squatter developments and provide them with formal housing and employment opportunities, education opportunities, and adult education programs. However, the state and urban planners and developers believe that the urban poor will be mobilized after urban satellite communities are designed for them. In other words, the state and urban developers define mobilization as improved living conditions, more job opportunities, and access to good education opportunities once individuals move into better housing. In order to understand the process of mobilizing the urban poor, it is significant to recognize and understand the population that undergoes relocation. The next section will outline the chapters in this dissertation.

Historical Analysis of Urban Development in Turkey

The purpose of this chapter is to describe the socio-historical context of urban development in Turkey, which shapes current housing development policies. This chapter will provide a historical explanation of urban transformation projects in Turkey from 1950 to 1990 as well as an explanation of urban transformation projects that were begun after 2000. After a brief explanation of the historical background, the chapter will explain the squatter development problem and why relocation is seen as a way to solve it. The chapter will conclude by using recent cases of urban transformation in Istanbul, Ankara, and Izmir, describing the political climate in these cities and its influence on the urban transformation process, and providing reasons why the Zubeyde Hanım and Uzundere neighborhoods in Izmir are significant places to study the relocation process.

Social Lives in Newly Developed Communities

The chapter on organized social and community activities for adults explains how neighborhood activities in the Zubeyde Hanim and Uzundere neighborhoods have changed. As relocation is not a standardized process, residents experience it in different ways. While the residents of Uzundere feel connected with one another because of the shared experience of relocation, the diverse residents of Zubeyde Hanim feel disconnected from one another. This chapter explores this phenomenon by analyzing the social and collective activities for adults conducted in the neighborhoods.

These neighborhood activities include daily home gatherings; small shopping trips to neighborhood markets or bazaars; neighborhood celebrations, such as engagement, wedding, childbirth, and circumcision ceremonies; and mourning events, such as funerals. In addition to these traditionally structured neighborhood activities, residents may also take part in more informal activities, such as gatherings of women at neighborhood parks while their children play or men's social gatherings at kiraathanes, which are traditional coffee and tea houses where men play backgammon, smoke cigarettes, watch football games or the news, and chat on a regular basis.

The purpose of this chapter is to understand the ways in which the residents' social involvement changed after relocation, how neighbors became bonded to one another, which new neighborhood activities residents engaged in, and how residents modified or transported previous neighborhood activities into their new communities. These neighborhood activities are very important for understanding the residents' connections with one another and with the neighborhood. By explaining the social and

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cultural climates of the neighborhoods, this chapter will explore the relation between the relocation and education and employment involvement.

Education Chapter

The education chapter will analyze how residents' educational opportunities changed after they moved to new, developed neighborhoods and, more importantly, how the residents of Zubeyde Hanim and Uzundere perceived education opportunities after their relocation. Therefore, the chapter seeks to understand the ways in which the Uzundere and Zubeyde Hanim residents' motivation and involvement in education have changed, how the structures of the neighborhoods influence the residents' involvement in education, how interactions with neighbors change the views and educational involvement of the residents, and how parents' school involvement changed after moving to the new neighborhood.

The chapter is divided into two sections: adult education (adult education classes, including those on literacy, language, recreation, and personal interests) and formal education (neighborhood schools, such as primary schools, middle schools, vocational schools, and high schools established at the same time as the resident's relocation). Overall, the chapter will provide in-depth information on the arrangement and organization of adult and formal education. It will also explore the residents' participation and connection in the education programs, interactions between the educators and residents, and residents' involvement in their children's education. The main goals of the chapter are to investigate the ways in which residents' educational involvement changed as a result of free adult education programs, such as through improved literacy rates, computer use, and financial skills, and to determine whether the

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residents benefit from neighborhood schools established at the same time as their relocation.

This chapter aims to understand how employment opportunities and residents' motivation to seek employment changed after moving to newly developed neighborhoods, the ways in which social location influences residents' employment interactions, and the relationship between the structure of the neighborhood and residents' employment involvement. It will provide in-depth information on the social context and environment of the neighborhoods and the available connections to labor markets. Similar to the education chapter, this chapter will analyze how residents view employment opportunities and involvement after relocating.

The chapter will also examine the residents' involvement in formal and informal labor markets and link the residents' prior labor experiences with their current labor statuses after relocating. The residents of Uzundere experienced a major loss of informal labor (labor related to stuffed mussels), while the residents of Zubeyde Hanim experienced various labor transformations.

Conclusion

The last chapter of the dissertation will summarize the key findings of each chapter, demonstrate the residents' diverse experiences and interpretations of the relocation process, and propose ways for the state and urban planners to connect with the relocated communities.

Chapter 2: Historical Analysis of Urban Development in Turkey

Neoliberalism and globalization have created massive changes in urban areas. Privatization, less government control, and unregulated markets generally transform states into market-friendly structures (Smith 2002; Peck and Tickell 2002; Genis 2007; Emini 2009). Neoliberalism becomes a marketing strategy, one that includes tax abatements, enterprise and empowerment zones, urban development corporations, and public-private partnerships that aim for the continuous renovation of cities (Brenner and Theodore 2002; Weber 2002). Today, most scholars who focus on urban transformation projects have pointed out that neoliberalism minimizes the public sector's role and maximizes that of the private sector (Uzun 2003; Keyder 2005; Guzey 2009; Karaman 2013).

The process of urban transformation is seen in developed and developing nations, but the difference in geopolitical contexts produces diverse outcomes and consequences (Dogan 2009; Balaban 2011; Aydinli and Turan 2012; Karaman 2013). Scholars use different terms to describe the urban transformation processes. Researchers who study urban transformation in developing nations use terminologies such as urban redevelopment, urban renewal, or urban upgrade to describe the physical, environmental, and social renovation of spaces (Dundar 2001; Uzun 2003; Islam 2010; Karaman 2013; Demirtas-Milz 2013; Kuyucu 2014). Urban renewal projects in developing nations refer to inner city redevelopment that occurred after WWII (Karaman 2014). Most urban renewal projects in North America and Europe were a response to urban poverty, but they resulted in the eviction and displacement of thousands of residents (Greer 1965; Gotham 2001; Dogan 2009). In fact, public housing in nations such as the United States, Canada,

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Australia, and most European countries began in the 1960s, which is advanced compared to developing nations. Scholars of developing nations argue that urban transformation projects should involve the transformation from squatter developments into housing projects, the social and cultural experiences moving from informality into formality, the lessening or removal of bureaucracy of housing tenure laws and licenses, and increasing awareness and accountability of the governments' ways of dealing and negotiating with dwellers and urban developments (Demirtas-Milz 2013.) This chapter will briefly introduce urban redevelopment processes and major academic arguments concerning developing countries and Turkey; it will include arguments such as the squatter settlement problem (*gecekondulasma*)¹, various government efforts to deal with *gecekondu* problems, and urban resettlement as a recent solution.

Urban Redevelopment in Latin American Countries and Turkey

The United Nations defines a “slum” as a space comprised of “a group of individuals living under the same roof in urban areas who lack one or more of the following: a permanent nature that protects against extreme climate conditions, sufficient living space which means not more than three people sharing the same room, easy access to safe water in sufficient amounts at an affordable price, access to adequate sanitation in

¹ *Gece* means “night” and *kondu* means “placed.” The term *gecekondu* refers to housing that has been built without proper authorization. *Gecekondus* are informal, illegal squatter houses that are similar to favelas in Brazil, villas in Argentina, and bustees in India (Mahmud and Duyar-Kienast 2001). *Gecekondulasma* describes the process by which rural migrants move into the inner city and live in underdeveloped homes in unhealthy conditions, which leads to crooked construction and unsafe developments in urban areas.

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the form of a private or public toilet shared by a reasonable number of people, security of tenure that prevents forced evictions” (UN Habitat 2006; Dogan 2009).

One in three people in the developing world lives in a slum. Slum developments are seen in different regions around the world (UN Habitat 2015): Latin America, Asia, Africa, the Middle East, favela in Brazil, barrios in Mexico, bustees in India, and villas in Argentina (Mahmud and Duyar-Kienast 2001). Slums vary from one country to another because of diversity in economics, politics, and environments, but they follow similar sociopolitical patterns, such as poverty, unemployment, not being able to afford formal housing, and a lack of government support (Dogan 2009).

Latin America is the world’s largest urbanized region (Almandoz 2006; De Souza 2014). Like other developing countries, Latin American countries, such as Brazil, Mexico, and Argentina, experienced rapid urbanization and rural-to-urban chain migration, which, starting in the 1950s, produced slum settlements (Bolay 2004; Keyder 2005). There has been a divide between the state and scholars in terms of how they view slum developments. Scholars view the positive sides of slum developments, including kinship systems, social networks among dwellers, and the social support of ethnic enclaves (Abrams 1964; Peattie 1968; Portes 1972; Perlman 1972; Turner 1972). Several studies indicate that most slum developments are a homogeneous structure (Dogan 2009). Therefore, the kinship networks and organized behaviors of the rural population in cities help the slum dwellers build a good social support system. The state, however, looks at the social, physical, and political problems of slum developments. A major concern is that slum developments may increase deviance, crime, and drug usage (Peattie and

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Aldrete Haas 1981). Urban literature focuses on rural–urban migratory patterns and the establishment of marginal settlements (Abrams 1964; Turner 1972).

Given the potential risks of slum developments, including health and environmental risks, the increase in deviance and drug usage, and social isolation and alienation, the World Bank created low-cost solutions to make housing available. The major discussion is the self-help housing paradigm, which comes from the Turner (1972) school of thought. “Self-help housing” refers to housing in which inhabitants have authority and control over their housing areas. Based on his fieldwork observations of the slums in Peru, Turner argues that there is no need to demolish slums, which he sees as the solution, not the problem. Turner finds that housing conditions in low-income communities might improve over time. Turner’s school of thought influenced other scholars who also think that demolishing slums is not a solution. However, more important agencies, such as the World Bank and the United Nations, suggest a policy to tenure legalization within the self-housing paradigm (Dogan 2009; Karaman 2013). Following the World Bank, some scholars find a positive correlation between tenure legalization and housing investment. A few scholars indicate that tenure legalization might not be the ultimate solution and may hurt the urban poor even more because of possible evictions, increased property and land value, and insufficient financing for the urban poor to capitalize the houses (Mukhija 2003; Karaman 2013).

Another important slum-upgrading method in developing nations is the state-led development of public housing (Almandoz 2006; De Souza 2014). These governments’ major solution is to advocate for the relocation of low-income residents from inner-city slum dwellings to public housing located outside the city. The state establishes public

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housing for the low-income population, moving the squatter developments in inner city areas to suburban regions (Bolay 2004; Kanai 2014). The massive relocation of the urban poor is not a long-term solution, and it reproduces social and structural problems, such as inequality, poverty, and segregation (Perlman 1976). In addition, massive relocation of the urban poor to public houses opens the door for urban renewal and gentrification; that is, the slum developments in inner cities become large-scale housing for the upper class while the low-income population is displaced into public housing (Kanai 2014).

Neoliberal urban policies remodel the urban renewal processes in cities. With neoliberal urban policies, the state is economically inefficient compared to the private sector. Economic restructuring opens more prospects for the private sector, and recently, there has been growth in large-scale housing, which is beneficial for the middle class that can afford private housing (Brenner and Theodore 2002; Weber 2002).

The Case of Brazil and the Social Cost of Neoliberalism

Many urban transformation cases are found in the developing world (Brakarz and Aduan 2004). Brazil witnessed an urban transformation very similar to that of Turkey; therefore, it is important to consider the impacts of major events, such as the World Cup and the Olympics, as well as the spread of the Zika virus on the urban transformation process. The similarities between Brazil and Turkey in terms of urban transformation include the industrialization process, rising birth rates in urban areas, a soaring number of urban poor, increases in informal housing and labor, and the dynamics between the urban poor living in squatter developments and the state.

As with other developing countries, Brazil allows for an observation into the social costs of urban redevelopment. With industrialization, increased migration to urban

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areas has been witnessed worldwide. In the 1950s, urbanization precipitated mass migration from rural to urban areas (Pamuk et al. 1998). The poor and working-class migrants who could not afford living in formal housing moved into informal housing and built informal communities called favelas. A favela is an urban, informal slum development in which low-income residents live (Handzic 2010). Rural dwellers moved to urban areas with the hope of finding jobs in these favelas. With a limited number of jobs in cities, the oil crises between 1970 and 1980, the large public deficit, and the decline of manufacturing investments, the urban poor were pushed into informal jobs and settlements. The fact that the urban poor remained in favelas with limited mobility opportunities made them feel socially excluded from the middle-class population and the state. Therefore, studies of the dynamics between the state and the favelas have stressed that if the state recognizes favelas, their residents will be more likely to integrate into mainstream society (Riley and Fiari-Ramirez 2001).

However, events such as military intervention and the state's ignorance of favelas led to increased violence in these communities. In the 1970s, Brazil's military dictatorship evicted thousands of favela residents. Subsequently, the government announced that low-income residents should move to public housing outside the city. In response to the massive eviction, drug trafficking began, and drug gangs became dominant in favelas, posing a danger to both the residents of the favelas and the state (De Souza 1998; 2014). Given the history of favelas and the dynamics between the state and the favelas, the state provided a housing system for the urban poor. Recently, a social housing project called "Minha Casa Minha Vida" (My House My Life) has been launched. This program targets the poor and working class who cannot afford housing

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(Camboriu 2013). It is funded by a federal budget, and residents who have the lowest income receive the highest subsidies.

Brazil's urban transformation cases are made all the more unique by major events such as the Olympics, which led to the eviction of thousands of residents from favelas (Genasci 2012). To prepare for these events, 170,000 people were evicted (Romero 2012). Families were displaced to construct the Olympic Park. The Trans Carioca Expressway was constructed to improve transportation for tourists and visitors, but it resulted in the demolition of favelas. In addition, the government built a wall behind the favelas to stop their growth. In light of the relocation of thousands from their homes, it is necessary to understand the process of urban transformation and relocation (De Souza 2014; Hannan and Sutherland 2015).

One perspective represents and supports the beautification of the country and the contributions to Brazil's economy, and another perspective emphasizes the increase of homelessness, protests, and the suffering of the urban poor, which is the social cost of neoliberalism for the urban poor. Because the state depends on the private sector, this fact does not positively influence the urban poor.

Brazil, in part, mirrors the urban transformation process in Turkey. Turkey is also influenced by historical events, such as a coup d'état (1960, 1971, 1980) industrialization (1950–1980), massive migration to cities (1980–current), and overpopulated cities. In Turkey, industrialization increased the migration from rural areas to urban areas. The transformation to liberal-economy-oriented urban policies could not improve the living standards of the urban poor because of there were still limited jobs, housing shortages, the state's ignorance of *gecekondus* and their residents, and political and social events,

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including military intervention. The residents of gecekondus had to rely on their informal communities, informal jobs, and social ties.

As in Brazil, bureaucrats and politicians made decisions for the urban poor, and municipalities gained power over the urban transformation process and in the decision-making process for the urban poor. With neoliberalism, private and nongovernmental agencies also make housing decisions for the urban poor (Pamuk 1998; Handzic 2010).

Turkey did not host any major events, but constantly made bids to be a host country for the Olympics. The urban poor who lived in gecekondus have been evicted, and those who were not live with the fear of eviction. In other words, the urban transformation process in Brazil shows that the state relies on and negotiates with the private sector to make major decisions affecting the lives of the urban poor, such as eviction, which negatively impacts them. As in Brazil, the state has prioritized massive urban transformation projects rather than attempting to improve the urban poor's living standards. By taking the case of Brazil as a starting point, the following section explores the urban redevelopment process in Turkey from 1950 to 1990 and then after the new millennium by stressing the power dynamics among the state, municipalities, public-private partnerships, and urban poor.

Urban Redevelopment Policies 1950-1990

The urban redevelopment process of Turkey shares many similarities with other developing countries; these similarities include the mass migration from rural areas into urban areas, the hopes of rural migrants for employment opportunities in urban areas, the development of slum areas (gecekondus), military coups, the construction of highways and the demolition of gecekondus. Although Turkey still tends to lag in

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urban redevelopment compared to some nations, it is also experiencing a shift to neoliberalism from a populist regime (Uzun 2003; Karaman 2012; Demirtas-Milz 2013; Kuyucu 2014).

With the increase of migration from rural areas to urban areas, Turkey has been experiencing urban growth, the same as most developing nations (Keyder 2005). Based on information from the Turkish Statistical Institute in 2015 (TUIK), 91.3% of the population live in provincial and district centers, and according to the Turkish Housing Development Administration (TOKI), 8.7% live in towns and villages. Social problems, such as insufficient employment opportunities, land sharing and heritage issues, and increased violence and terrorist attacks in the eastern areas of Turkey, have brought the rural population to urban areas (Karpaz 1991; Dundar 2001; Guzey 2009).

Continuing chain migration from towns and villages to cities produces housing problems (Keyder 2005; Balaban 2011). Rural migrants experience structural and economic changes in urban areas. The development of illegal slum dwellings is an example of such problems. Rural in-migrants prefer to move to urban areas to gain access to better opportunities (Karpaz 1991; Akbulut and Baslik 2011). However, it is difficult to afford housing in cities. Therefore, rural in-migrants tend to construct slum areas. These slum areas keep increasing, and their illegal construction has created problems, such as excessive population density in cities, danger from potential earthquakes and landslides, and unplanned urban structures (Kuyucu and Unsal 2010).

Earlier Turkish urban scholars were criticized for not studying the politics of these slum areas between 1960 and 1980 (Erman 1997; 2001). However, researchers investigated social problems related to social exclusion, ethnic segregation, uneven

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development, lack of employment opportunities, and neighborhood disadvantages for the urban poor (Guzey 2009; Dunder 2001). Most scholars tend to argue that these unplanned low-income settlements encourage class dynamics between the urban poor and the urban middle class (Demirtas and Sen 2007). Although it is true that globalization and the creation of the new service economy are factors that can restore housing and employment in cities (Keyder 2005), most scholars find that the middle class and politicians tend to blame the poor for the creation of unplanned urban development in cities. In fact, the reason there is no public awareness of these studies is because the state tolerates *gecekondu* homes and views the informal settlements as social housing for low-income populations, which is an approach similar to what was used in Latin American countries from 1960 to 1980.

The beginning of the 1980s was a period of privatization and legalization of informal houses. After the elections in 1983, when Turgut Ozal became Turkey's prime minister, the government proposed to legalize the *gecekondu* homes, promising to carry out site planning (Tezcan 2010; Karaman 2012). In 1984, TOKI² (Turkey's mass housing administration) was established. As in other developing nations, the Turkish government proposed tenure legalization (Dogan 2009). Law 2981 was passed in 1984 to support tenure legalization and provide amnesty for *gecekondus* that existed before 1984. *Gecekondu* dwellers were assigned title documents (*tapu tahsis belgesi*)³. However, there

² TOKI is the Turkish Housing and Development Administration. The institution, which was founded in 1984 with the mass housing fund, aims to provide affordable housing for lower-income families (<http://www.toki.gov.tr/en/index.html>.)

³ *Tapu tahsis belgesi* legally means that “the title of this place belongs to the state, but *gecekondu* belongs to the dwellers.” The state promises not to demolish the *gecekondus* and promises to grant a title through the development plan. Meanwhile, if the *gecekondu*

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was no public housing movement, and TOKI's role did not become significant until the 2000s (Demirtas-Milz 2013; Karaman 2013).

Another important planning reform was the decentralization of planning from the central government to the local government. With the Law of Greater Municipalities (law number 3194), the metropolitan municipalities gained power over and responsibility for urban planning. In addition, the municipalities had a new government structure with the power of implementing, governing, and planning urban planning projects. The municipalities gained more power and this led the political bargaining problem. There is an informal agreement between the local politicians and the *gecekondu* residents. If the *gecekondu* residents vote for the politicians' parties, the politicians promise not to demolish their *gecekondus*.

The chain migration and the increase of *gecekondu* homes were the most significant issues in the Turkish urban agenda from the 1950s to 1990s (Icduygu 2004). However, the national state and municipality did not act to solve the problem, instead maintaining informal bonds with the *gecekondu* dwellers. The 1999 earthquake⁴ was the turning point for urban transformation projects; it showed the state, the municipalities, the bureau of urban development, and the public authorities the consequences of keeping the *gecekondus* as they were (Karaman 2013). After the deaths of thousands, public officials and the state recognized a need for more initiative in urban transformation projects. Between 1990 and 2000, the academic world paid more attention to urban renewal and

dwellers demolish their *gecekondus*, they will lose their right to a title through the development plan (Karaman 2013.)

⁴ One of the most severe earthquakes in Turkish history, the 1999 earthquake occurred in Northeastern Turkey at a magnitude of 7.6 in the cities of Izmit, Kocaeli, Yalova, Duzce, and Istanbul, resulting in seventeen thousand deaths and half a million made homeless.

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the redevelopment process; the 1999 earthquake served as a reminder that cities were not safe and were vulnerable to other potential disasters. Therefore, there was a need to reform urban transformation laws (Kuyucu and Unsal 2010).

The Millennium Urban Policies

Prior to 2000, Turkey had not experienced a major change in urban transformation. The transformation of TOKI and the power of the JDP⁵ (AKP Party) altered the urban transformation process. TOKI was transformed from a public housing agency into a for-profit housing firm charged with understanding urban transformation projects (Kuyucu and Unsal 2010; Karaman 2013). Although TOKI acted as a public housing agency, it functioned as a for-profit agency that considered the dwellers as renters or owners of their houses. The state viewed gecekondus as an opportunity; they could market these locations to the middle and upper classes by carrying out public and private partnerships. The state also negotiated with TOKI to relocate the urban poor to the outskirts of cities.

After the Justice and Development Party AKP Party came into power, TOKI became a government institution and gained more power (Demirtas-Milz 2013; Demirtas-Milz and Saracoglu 2014). Scholars viewed TOKI as a market disciplinary tool because of its private partnerships (Islam 2010; Kuyucu and Unsal 2010). Although the Minister of Environment and Housing Development considered TOKI to be a public housing authority, in reality, TOKI was not. TOKI targeted low-income and poor families but

⁵ In 2002, the Justice and Development Party (AKP Party) transformed TOKI into the single most important actor in the urban transformation project. TOKI is in charge of planning, implementing, financing, and constructing public housing. In other words, TOKI is a for-profit housing firm.

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required monthly installation payments from families, which is different from the housing projects in Latin America, North America, and Europe. TOKI is a revenue-sharing model that claims a share of the final revenues from the sale of housing units (Karaman 2012).

Scholars focus more on the power dynamics in urban transformation after the Justice and Development Party (AKP Party) came into power because after the rise of the Justice and Development Party, metropolis municipalities created a massive number of development projects, and private-sector businesses oversaw those projects. The prior urban renewal projects regenerated the neighborhoods, but this did little to aid the urban poor. In fact, the state did not have enough experience in implementing and organizing the urban transformation process and failed at providing adequate housing for its residents. Therefore, the urban renewal projects impacted the residents negatively because the cost of living increased in the areas that residents lived. This is primarily because the middle and upper classes tend to move into an area that has been transformed by urban renewal projects, and as these classes move in, prices rise as well (Uzun 2003; Islam 2009).

Between 2004 and 2007, ⁶the JDP (AKP Party) instituted massive urban transformation laws. One of the major urban transformation laws passed on June 16, 2005. Law 5366 (Preservation by Renovation and Utilization by the Revitalizing of Deteriorated, Immovable, Historical, and Cultural Properties) gives municipalities the power to implement renewal projects in historical neighborhoods, design urban

⁶ The Justice and Development Party (AKP Party) has played an important role in urban transformation projects (UTP) in Turkey. After the JDP came to power, there has been zero tolerance for gecekondü homes. Mayors and municipalities now negotiate with contractor companies and propose rent or profit-seeking UTPs (Kuyucu and Unsal 2010.)

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transformation zones, expropriate private property, execute redevelopment projects, and form private development companies (Karaman 2012; Elicin 2014). Tarlabasi, Ayazma, and Sulukule in Istanbul and Kadifekale in Izmir are examples of urban renewal projects that exist because of this law (Islam 2010; Kuyucu and Unsal 2010; Baysal 2013). Another major law is Law 6306 (Transformation of Areas)⁷, which falls under the category of disaster risk laws. Law 6306 authorizes the Ministry of Environment and Urban Planning to destroy any obstacle standing in the way of a constitutional company that plans a major development project. With this law, the Ministry of Environment and Urban Planning gained the power to transform areas such as parks, cemeteries, museums, residential areas, schools, or hospitals.

Disaster Law 6306, which is more recent than Law 5366, created many urban transformation projects. Istanbul, Ankara, and Izmir are the major places that showcase these projects. Timing also matters when analyzing the massive urban transformation in Turkey. There was an increase in urban transformation in Turkey because of neoliberal urban reforms in the 1990s (when the municipalities negotiated with private firms) and the AKP Party taking power in 2001. The AKP Party authorized the metropolitan municipalities to transform slum areas into healthy, developed, and decent environments for the urban poor. The AKP Party also authorized TOKI to construct for-profit housing on state land through its own supplementary firms or public-private partnerships

⁷ The UTPs and urban renewal laws have received public attention along with the Gezi movement. In the summer of 2013, the state initiated the transformation of the last green space in Istanbul—the equivalent of Central Park in NYC—into a shopping mall. This demolition of Gezi Park spurred protests by Kurds, Turks, the old, the young, the poor, the rich, liberals, moderates, and anyone who was against government dictatorship. The protests resulted in twelve deaths and eight thousand injuries (Karaman 2012).

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(Demirtas 2013; Elicin 2014). The state had no tolerance for legal ambiguity and encouraged forced marketization (Kuyucu and Unsal 2010), which is the main reason behind the massive urban transformation projects since 2001.

When it comes to urban transformation literature, most academics stress the dynamics between the AKP Party and urban transformation (Kuyucu and Unsal 2010; Demirtas-Milz 2013; Karaman 2013). After the AKP Party came into power, urban transformation projects were converted into plans to capitalize on the slum areas by converting them into residential areas, business centers, and shopping malls. Slum areas thus became places that would benefit urban elites or politicians. The AKP Party implemented laws and regulations, and almost every part of the country became a potential area to transform. However, it is extremely important to understand the history of urban transformation before the AKP Party came into the power and how and why the squatter settlements became a problem. The next section will explain the squatter development problem and the government's approach to their development.

The Squatter Settlement Problem (Gecekonduasma)

As in most developed nations, significant historical events, including industrialization and an influx of migrants, prompted changes in the urban structure of Turkey (Ozler 2007; Akbulut and Baslik 2011). After WWII, there was a rapid urbanization push from rural residents because of limited economic and educational opportunities, hardship and poverty, burdensome government regulations, property devaluation, terrorist attacks, and other land issues (such as irrigation problems) in rural areas (Balaban 2011). The beautification of cities, the industrialization of urban areas,

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employment and higher opportunities, education, and cultural opportunities made urban areas more attractive to rural residents.

With the establishment of factories in cities, additional workers were needed, and in Turkey and elsewhere, the industrialization period and urban concentration led to chain migration (Gur and Dostoglu 2011) and produced the *gecekondus*. Some scholars note that the shortage of houses exacerbated the *gecekondus* issue (Gur and Dostoglu 2011). Because the migrants cannot afford housing in cities, living in *gecekondus* becomes their only solution, but some scholars argue that rural migrants establish *gecekondus* to live on their own property rather than be tenants.

Gecekondus are social institutions for the urban poor in which individuals share a common history and values, such as respect and recognition, with their neighbors (Karpat 1976; Senyapali 1983). Scholars focus on how residents from similar villages, towns, and regions establish hometown institutions in their neighborhoods. The idea was to build social networks that could help them survive both the good and bad times while living in an unfamiliar setting (Birkalan 1999). For instance, if the migrants needed assistance in gaining employment, they tended to look to these hometown institutions for help.

Most scholars focus on the daily lives and labor activities of the *gecekondus* residents. The men mostly work in local bazaars, construction businesses, and low-wage service businesses. A few female residents work as cleaners or babysitters in middle-class houses. The rest stay home to take care of children and carry out household chores (Karpat 1976; Senyapali 1983; Ayata 2003). Low wages make it challenging for these families to afford property in the city. For structural and cultural reasons, the residents continue practicing similar, traditional lifestyles and behaviors in *gecekondus* dwellings.

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For instance, most communities include a traditional coffee shop and local grocery stores, and most female residents sit in front of their houses. These behaviors are examples of typical village attitudes and represent norms and behaviors not seen in middle-class, urban neighborhoods.

Various Government Efforts to Deal with Gecekondu Problems

Gecekondus started in urban areas in the 1950s. First-generation migrants tended to move out on their own and send money to their relatives who remained in the villages; therefore, first-generation migrants were mostly unmarried migrants or married male migrants (Senyapili 1983; Birkalan 1999; Erman and Eken 2004). It was rare to see single women migrate without a family, and married female residents typically did not move into urban areas if their families did not come with. In general, migrants searched out relatives who were living in the cities (Karpas 1976). First-generation gecekondu dwellers established their homes. The migrants' relatives who were already in the cities helped the newcomers find jobs, and the recently arrived migrants constructed informal, squatter dwellings near their relatives because they did not know anyone else and could not afford formal housing.

During the 1950s, the government and the private sector took advantage of the establishment of squatter developments (Erman and Eken 2004). As the factories exploited migrants' cheap labor, the government used the migrant population as potential voters. In fact, in 1950, when Turkey was transformed into a multiparty system, the municipalities negotiated with the migrants. If the migrants voted for a certain political party, that party promised to provide free electricity and water to the squatter community (Karpas 1976; Senyapili 1983; Uysal 2012). In other words, the negotiations between

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municipalities and migrants and the need for laborers in the cities maintained the gecekondus.

Starting in the 1960s, gecekondus became neighborhoods. Before this period, gecekondus were seen as independent houses (Erman 1997; 2001), even though a social network and ties to the communities had been developed (Karpat 1976; Senyapili 1982). Although some of the residents were from different regions, the state, municipality, and urban elite viewed gecekondus residents as a homogeneous population. During this period, the state finally acknowledged the presence of the gecekondus. After the first military coup in 1961, the new constitution stated that there should be a way to cope with the gecekondus problem by developing gecekondus communities and providing an infrastructure and services for these settlements (Ayata 1996; Erman 2001). With this act, some gecekondus were transformed into low-density shantytowns without property titles.

In the 1980s, liberal policies allowed gecekondus dwellers to form apartments, and many chose to do so (Erman et al. 2002). Crime and a high fertility rate soon became issues in urban areas (Gur and Sostoglu 2011). Thus, TOKI was established in 1984 to provide social housing for the urban poor (Karaman 2013). However, bureaucracy and sociopolitical issues delayed the development of social housing until the 2000s.

After the coup in 1980, the new constitution took a conservative approach to civil society and organization. The Turgut Ozal⁸ government fought against communism and opened Turkish society to the Western world with the end goal of creating a large middle class. In addition, the Ozal government supported the liberal markets' economy, taking

⁸ Turgut Ozal served as president of Turkey after serving as prime minister. The Ozal government supported neoliberalism, privatization, and urban transformation. The legacy of Ozal is gecekondus amnesty (Erman 1997; 2001).

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the routes of either privatizing the gecekondus or turning them into up to four-story apartments (Erman 1999; 2001; Ozler 2007). This act gave voice to the suffering of gecekondu dwellers.

Between 1980 and 1990, the politics long buried in the ethnic and regional differences between the gecekondu residents surfaced. Before this period, the state and urban elites viewed gecekondu residents as a homogeneous group. After numerous Kurdish residents⁹ moved to urban areas because of continuing terrorist attacks in the southeastern region of Turkey, differences between the Turkish-Sunni¹⁰, Kurdish, and Alevi residents emerged. Kurdish migrants felt isolated and excluded from the other migrant groups, the state, the municipality, and the urban elites. The Alevis¹¹ and Sunnis had different political views, and these differences polarized the migrant groups (Ayata 1996; Erman 1999; 2001).

However, since the beginning of the new millennium, there have been massive demonstrations against the gecekondus, and the residents have been encouraged to move into social houses built by TOKI (Karaman 2013). Scholars focus on how significant factors, such as social capital, social ties, and collective efficiency, differed after the residents' relocation (Sampson 1999; Goetz 2010). Studies on the development of

⁹ Kurds belong to an ethnic group that has a different language, tradition, and cultural norms. Among themselves, as well, the Kurds are diverse in religion and class, for example, there are both Sunni Kurds and Alevi Kurds. While a few Kurds are landowners in villages, some poorer Kurds have migrated to urban areas for better economic opportunities and to escape the PKK, a Kurdish terrorist organization (Ayata 1996; Erman 1997; 2001.)

¹⁰ "Sunni" refers to the orthodox Islamic subgroup in Turkey, and the majority of Turks are Sunnis (Ayata 1996; Erman 1997; 2001).

¹¹ Alevis are a liberal Islamic subgroup in Turkey (Ayata 1996; Erman 1997; 2001.)

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gecekondu emphasize that these kinds of informal relationships provide support for the residents. Erman (1997) claims that the decision to move to social housing is a major one for residents, largely because social housing is less homogeneous than the gecekondu. Erman compares the residents of squatter (gecekondu) housing and apartment housing and explains that Turkish rural-to-urban migrant residents tend to bring their norms and behaviors with them into the gecekondu. For example, women tend to sit with their neighbors in front of their houses, and men play backgammon with other men. In other words, these residents, who enjoyed socializing and close relationships in their villages, bring these traits with them into the gecekondu. For some of the residents, moving into social housing might be risky; they are afraid of losing this social capital, collective efficacy, and mutual trust.

Starting in the 1950s and until the 2000s, the gecekondu emerged in urban areas because of structural, cultural, and economic reasons (Tas and Lightfoot 2007). The houses and living conditions were not reasonable or affordable for rural migrants (Mahmud and Duyar-Kienast 2001). In addition, the rural migrants preferred to live in regional enclaves, where they could share a similar culture and background. Therefore, structural, cultural, and economic reasons produced these new gecekondu settlements. Another important aspect of the gecekondu's development was the government's lack of involvement. The government did not take initiative regarding the gecekondu; instead, these communities grew throughout the country. Resettlement did not begin in Turkey until the 2000s. The following section will explore recent relocation cases from Istanbul, Ankara, and Izmir to explain the dynamics between the government and the urban poor.

Urban Resettlement (Relocation) as a Recent Solution

With new laws on urban transformation, relocation of the urban poor was seen as the solution to informal and illegally built structures. Although urban transformation cases are seen in almost every city, the bigger cities of Istanbul, Ankara, and Izmir were where major urban transformation cases occurred. The process of urban transformation occurred differently in each city (Dogan 2009).

The urban renewal projects in Istanbul may be analyzed in the lens of a class struggle (Uzun 2003; Islam 2009; Karaman 2012; 2013; 2014; Kuyucu 2014). The urban poor were displaced to TOKI homes on the outskirts and forced to pay monthly rent and utilities to TOKI. The municipalities and state negotiated with the private construction companies and transformed the gecekondus into middle and upper class residential or business areas. For these reasons, the urban transformation of Istanbul resulted in the exploitation and displacement of the urban poor, protests for human and housing rights, and distrust in the government. Ankara was the first city that proposed urban development plans, and most urban development plans were carried out by public–private partnerships (Dundar 2001; Guzey 2009; 2014). However, the construction time frame and the politics in the municipalities made for urban renewal projects were inefficient. Izmir lagged behind compared to Istanbul and Ankara in terms of urban transformation. There were few urban renewal projects in Izmir. Urban renewal in Izmir is considered a disaster (Demirtas-Milz 2013; Demirtas-Milz and Saracoglu 2014). The following section will summarize recent relocation cases in Turkey.

The Relocation Cases in Istanbul

The major urban transformation projects began in Istanbul, which received more attention. Most of these renewal projects shared similar patterns, such as the demolition of slum dwellings, the displacement of the residents to TOKI housing, and government cooperation with private construction firms. Law 5366, which authorized the municipalities to conduct urban transformation and relocation, affected the urban renewal cases in Istanbul (Elicin 2014). Because Istanbul is the largest and most cosmopolitan city in Turkey, these projects garnered considerable attention from the public and academics alike (Candan and Kolloglu 2008; Karaman and Islam 2010.) Ayazma, Sulukule, Basibuyuk, and Tarlabasi are the most significant urban transformation projects that have been studied and have received wide public attention.

The Ayazma Urban Transformation Project

The Ayazma urban transformation project was one of the first urban transformation projects in Istanbul (Baysal 2013). Ayazma is a neighborhood located near the Ataturk Olympiad Stadium. Considering Turkey had been a candidate for previous Olympics (2000, 2004, 2008, and 2012), the location of the Ayazma neighborhood is significant. The neighborhood represents a typical, homogeneous gecekondu (Candan and Kolluoglu 2008; Karaman 2008). Most Kurdish residents from Anatolia, the southeastern part of Turkey, live in informal settlements in Ayazma. Similar to the experiences of other informal residents, the residents of Ayazma have high employment rates and low levels of education (Demir and Yilmaz 2012). Given this, the residents feel alienated from mainstream society.

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After Law 5366 passed, the municipality of Kucukcekmece demolished the informal settlements in Ayazma and proposed that residents move to TOKI houses in Bezirganbahce, located at the city's outer areas. Some of the residents moved to TOKI houses in Bezirganbahce but experienced problems, such as being able to produce monthly payments for the houses and utilities, adapting to an apartment lifestyle, the cost of public transportation, long distances to travel to work, resulting in even more segregation and isolation, and a loss of identity (Elicin 2014). The aim of the municipality was to recreate the gecekondu dwellers' lifestyles in high-rise apartments, yet social, economic, and cultural problems made this near impossible (Karaman 2008; Baysal 2013).

A study called "Civilizing the Kurdish Population of Ayazma: Ayazma/Tepeüstü Urban Transformation Project-Kucukcekmece Istanbul" conducted by Baysal (2013) indicates that this urban transformation project markets the gecekondu's location to the middle class and places gecekondu dwellers on the outskirts of the city. Researchers have been finding that the relocation from Ayazma to Bezirganbahce caused residents to lose their jobs. Because of how far away they were from employment opportunities, the unemployment rate in the neighborhood rose to 29%. In addition, the residents are supposed to pay from 200–400 Turkish liras (USD \$77–\$150) a month. One fourth of the neighborhood earns from 300–500 Turkish liras (USD \$116–\$195) per month. Six hundred families out of 1,400 decided to leave because they could not afford to stay. The residents are not content because they could not participate in this urban renewal project, and they were forced to pay rent and utilities. Their old gecekondu homes were

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transformed into luxury residential areas from which the construction company, Agaoglu, earned a significant profit.

The purpose of the Ayazma urban transformation project might have been to provide affordable housing for the urban poor and improve their living standards, but the results of the Ayazma urban renewal project do not benefit the relocated residents. New middle- and upper-class residential areas were built in the Ayazma neighborhood. The residents who moved into Bezirganbahce TOKI homes could not pay their monthly rent and utilities. The private construction company Agaoglu¹² marketed Ayazma to the middle-class population while the former residents of Ayazma suffered from monthly payments and transitioning from informal housing to an apartment style of housing.

The Ayazma urban transformation project was one of the first renewal projects in Istanbul. Following the Ayazma case, Sulukule, Tarlabasi, and Basibuyuk underwent urban transformation. Because of the location and history of the neighborhoods, these cases gained more attention from urban scholars, activists, and nongovernmental organizations (Kuyucu and Unsal 2010; Karaman 2013).

The Sulukule Urban Transformation Project

The Sulukule urban transformation project is another significant case, and Sulukule has cultural significance in the history of urban transformation because of the Romani population and entertainment houses in the neighborhood (Islam 2010). Sulukule (“Water Tower” in Turkish) is a historical settlement in the Fatih district of Istanbul.

¹² Ali Agaoglu is a businessman who owns a private construction firm and urban development company. Agaoglu is a well-known name in relation to the urban transformation projects in Istanbul and is well connected to the JDP party. After the gecekodu homes were demolished in Ayazma, the Agaoglu Corporation built luxury apartments for the middle class and elite and marketed the evacuated space. (Alagoz 2016.)

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Romani residents have occupied the neighborhood since the 15th century. In some literature, Romanis are also known as gypsies. The women are mostly fortune tellers, or they sell flowers, sing, and dance. The men play instruments and sing. Sulukule had a rich culture; although, it has also been a site of illegal activities, such as robbery and drugs. Although Romanis are known to be nomadic, they established a culture in the Sulukule neighborhood, one that remained until the urban transformation of Sulukule took place. Included in this culture are entertainment houses, which are composed of rooms where groups of customers are served food and drink, girls perform traditional gypsy dancing, and men play music and sing. Activists, NGOs, and the residents of Sulukule gathered to fight against not only the demolition of Sulukule houses, but also the displacement of the entertainment culture (Karaman 2008; Kuyucu and Unsal 2010).

Similar to the Ayazma urban transformation project, the gecekondü residents were displaced to TOKI houses in Tasoluk, which is on the outskirts of the neighborhood. The urban transformation agenda of the municipality and state included protecting the living culture, providing economic development, and increasing urban integration and quality of life. However, the gecekondü homes were transformed into high-rise, middle-class residences that the residents of Sulukule could not afford (Islam 2009; Dincer 2011). Thus, some residents moved to TOKI houses in Tasoluk and managed to pay their monthly rent. The residents who could not afford rent moved to the other informal dwellings. Unlike Ayazma, the residents, activists, and NGOs defended their rights and opposed the urban transformation of Sulukule because it is one of the oldest and most historical neighborhoods in Istanbul (Uysal 2012). However, the support of the NGOs could not prevent the transformation.

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The Tarlabasi and Basibuyuk Urban Transformation Projects

Tarlabasi and Basibuyuk are urban transformation projects that have been widely studied (Kuyucu and Unsal 2009; Karaman 2012; 2013; Kuyucu 2014). The neighborhood of Tarlabasi is located in the Beyoglu district, which is a cultural and social hub. The neighborhood has Romani residents and rural migrants. Starting in the 1990s, Kurdish residents began to migrate to Tarlabasi. In 1993, the neighborhood experienced socio-economic and physical decline and a high crime rate. The neighborhood caught the attention of urban developers. The informal settlements were demolished and replaced by luxury residences, shopping malls, cafés, and hotels (Turkun 2011; Aksoy 2012; Sakizlioglu 2014).

The neighborhood of Basibuyuk is in Maltepe. Similar to the neighborhood of Tarlabasi, there was an increase in unplanned informal settlements after mass migration. The impetus for this urban transformation project was environmental. Underneath the land, there is a drum well deemed as dangerous for the residents. The municipality reached a compromise with the residents and TOKI to demolish the gecekondus and build TOKI homes for the residents in the same location (Karaman 2013; Kuyucu 2014). However, there was a scandal; people accused TOKI of building homes above groundwater sources, which could cause landslide problems (Ulusal 2014).

The urban transformation projects of Ayazma, Sulukule, Tarlabasi, and Basibuyuk are well-known urban transformation projects and have been studied by urban scholars. These housing projects are similar in that the AKP Party created massive urban transportation projects, resulting in the urban poor relocating to assigned neighborhoods (Kuyucu and Unsal 2008; Karaman 2012; 2013; Sakizlioglu 2014). The housing and

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environmental reforms favored the urban renewal projects (Elicin 2014). The state and municipalities aimed to provide affordable housing and improve the living standards of the urban poor (Demirtas-Milz 2013). These urban transformation projects created the capitalization of gecekondu homes and the alienation of the urban poor. For instance, the residents of Ayazma and Sulukule were displaced to assigned neighborhoods. Meanwhile, the new middle- and upper-class residential areas were established in Ayazma and Sulukule. These state-led urban transformation projects show that the gecekondu were monetized, and with the relocation of residents, the state and municipalities were playing politics with the urban poor (Islam 2010). All in all, scholars who study these neighborhoods have displayed similar findings: the state took advantage of the lack of education and vulnerability of the gecekondu dwellers (Demirtas-Milz and Saracoglu 2014). Between TOKI and the state, the low-income residents were being displaced to assigned neighborhoods, with the burden of monthly payments and utilities placed on them. Meanwhile, the state found ways to capitalize on the vacated places via cooperation with private urban transformation companies.

Relocation Cases in Ankara

The urban transformation process in Ankara began earlier than projects in other cities. Although the urban transformation projects in Istanbul resulted in massive displacement and gentrification, most of the urban transformation projects in Ankara aimed to keep the local population where they were. These are known as development projects (Dundar 2001; Guzey 2009).

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The Dikmen Valley and Orange Blossom Urban Development Projects

Dikmen Valley and Orange Blossom were the first urban development projects that served as examples for other urban renewal cases in Turkey. These urban development projects valued citizen participation and aimed to keep the residents on site. The municipality is comprised of gecekondü dwellers (Guzey 2009; Turker-Devecigil 2010). Dikmen Valley was the first project in which the municipality took the initiative to upgrade the communities and begin a beautification process. Dikmen Valley is located in the Cankaya district, which is the most prestigious district of Ankara; educational achievement and employment rates are high, and there are prestigious universities around the district (Ucak 2012). Unlike the other renewal projects, the residents did not have to move to TOKI houses or an assigned neighborhood. The municipality established a private urban development company to oversee this renewal project. With the public-private partnership, the residents were informed about the urban transformation project. The major problem was that the gecekondus were in a valley. The urban transformation project aimed to increase the green space and upgrade the apartments by demolishing the gecekondü homes (Dundar 2001; Guzey 2009; 2014).

Similar to the Dikmen Valley homes, Orange Blossom (Portakal Cicegi) was another urban transformation project that aimed to upgrade the area rather than displace residents (Uzun 2003; 2005). There were many gecekondü homes in Orange Blossom. Problems such as unemployment and lack of schooling impeded the community's improvement. The municipality assigned a private firm to develop the neighborhood. The gecekondü homes were demolished, and the municipality planned for the residents to

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move into the new apartments built over the old gecekondü homes. The major goal of the municipality was to make a green neighborhood.

One of the major differences of these projects was citizen participation. In these projects, the municipality informed the residents and negotiated for at least six months before starting the projects (Guzey 2009; 2014). However, timing was the biggest concern. The Dikmen Valley and Orange Blossom projects took longer than planned, mostly because there was a transition between political parties. After the rise of the AKP Party, the projects were interrupted, and project funding was cut. The state and the municipality could not coordinate and maintain the urban development project. For example, the municipality promised to upgrade residents and place them in apartments, creating a greener space in the process (Dundar 2001; Guzey 2009; 2014). After the demolition of the squatter buildings, high-rise apartments emerged, and these apartments attracted middle- and upper-class residents (Uzun 2003). There were some luxury condos, studios, apartments with terraces, and chain restaurants. Meanwhile, the gecekondü dwellers lived in lower quality apartments. The class difference in the neighborhood made it hard for the residents to afford living there. In other words, the urban development projects began with good intentions: to provide affordable housing for the urban poor. The emergence of the middle- and upper-class residential area, as well as restaurants and cafés, overshadowed the major purpose of this development and made it hard for the urban poor to stay in the neighborhood.

The Transformation of Kupe Street and Koza Street

Another well-known urban transformation project is the renewal of Kupe Street and Koza Street, both located in the Cankaya district (Ucak 2012). Mostly rural

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immigrants lived in this area. The unemployment rate was very high, and most of the residents had no schooling. The major reason for this renewal project was because these gecekondu homes were close to upper-class neighborhoods. The developers designed this neighborhood for middle- and upper-class people. Through a public–private partnership, the gecekondu homes were demolished. The gecekondu dwellers were no longer able to afford the cost of living on Kupe Street and Koza Street and soon left the area (Guzey 2009).

The urban transformation projects in Ankara aimed to upgrade the slum areas by keeping the locals on site, and they valued the residents' participation in the urban renewal process. After the gecekondu homes were demolished, the locations attracted middle-class and upper-class residents. The urban poor who moved from gecekondu homes into more stable houses could not afford the new cost of living. Another problem with Ankara was the transition of the local government from a social democrat party to a right wing conservative party. The social democrat party started the projects, but the right wing conservative party did not complete them. The purpose of these urban transformation projects was to provide better housing and increase living standards. However, the lives of the urban poor became a voting bloc for the state, and these renewal projects could not benefit the urban poor as planned. Local municipalities have supported urban poor by the means of free coal during the winter and distribution of food packages, both of which served to sustain basic living standards and keep the urban poor dependent on the state. After new politicians were elected, the lives of the urban poor were not prioritized.

Relocation Cases in Izmir

Most of the relocation cases in Istanbul and Ankara were state-led neighborhood upgrade and gentrification cases where urban developers in coordination with the state proposed upgrading the neighborhoods and relocating the urban poor into the planned housing projects. For most cases, the state and urban planners viewed the urban renewal projects as a vehicle to support and increase the economy. The state and urban planners tried to make the displaced population feel as though the state really cares about them so that the state could remain popular with the urban poor while starting to collect rent.

In addition to making capital out of the urban poor, the political nature of the urban renewal projects is also important to consider in the Istanbul and Ankara cases. The urban renewal projects in Turkey received funding from the state and the municipality. Because the JDP had the majority power at the local levels in Istanbul and Ankara, these cities became prominent in the urban renewal agenda. In most the cases, the urban developers who supported the AKP Party were assigned the projects. Therefore, there has been wide public attention on the relocation cases in Istanbul and Ankara. In reality, cities such as Ankara and Istanbul have the advantages of two institutions such as the state and the urban planners that can benefit from each other needs. For instance, the urban planners, architects, and state can support one another and easily authorize and implement projects for the urban poor. The unequal power dynamics in the politics of urban renewal impacted the sustainability of the urban renewal projects in Ankara and Istanbul.

Although the political nature of urban renewal might harm the urban relocation cases in Izmir as well, what made the Izmir case unique was the political climate; here,

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the local party was the social democrat party, different than the central majority AKP party. For instance, the residents of Izmir tended to support the Republican People's Party (CHP)¹³, which is a social democratic party (Demirtas-Milz 2013), and in local and central elections, the CHP received significantly more votes than the AKP Party. In this political climate,¹⁴ Izmir lagged behind in urban transformation because the AKP Party did not want to collaborate with the CHP for fear of improving the CHP's image. Izmir contributed 10.5% of its budget and received 4.7% from national funding, which is the lowest national funding ratio when compared to Istanbul and Ankara. The AKP Party wanted the CHP to fail in Izmir, hence increasing its own popularity in Izmir.

Although Izmir is the third largest city in Turkey and another significant location that has experienced massive urban transformation projects, in terms of urban transformation projects, Izmir has lagged behind compared to Istanbul and Ankara. However, in recent years, scholars, urban developers, the municipality, the state, and the Izmir Chamber of Commerce have paid more attention to the urban development of Izmir (Demirtas-Milz and Saracoglu 2014). Because Izmir is on the Aegean Sea, there are many rural towns and potential tourism developments. The president of the Izmir Chamber of Commerce stated that Izmir had the potential to be a brand city and had great

¹³ The CHP (Republican People's Party) is the oldest political party in Turkey, founded by Mustafa Kemal Ataturk, the founder of the Republic of Turkey. The ideology of the party is that of social democracy in line with founding principles laisizm, secular state, united nation, equal citizenship, people served by state (<https://www.chp.org.tr/>).

¹⁴ If the metropolitan mayors have different political affiliations from those of the majority, resources may not be distributed evenly. Most metropolitan mayors in Istanbul and Ankara are members of *AKP Party*, which is why it is easier to finance and carry out urban transformation projects. Izmir is the only large city in which the metropolitan mayor is not affiliated with the *AKP* party. This political conflict challenges the urban transformation process (Demirtas-Milz 2013.)

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potential for cruise tourism. Plans were made to have commercial fairs to boost the economy of Izmir. More importantly, the relocation and the politics of the relocation were not specific to Istanbul and Ankara. Izmir is another city that relocations cases can be seen, and public attention is needed in these cases as well. There are disaster-based and state-led development relocation cases will be explored in the next section.

The Kadifekale Urban Transformation Project

A major urban transformation project was the transformation of Kadifekale (“Velvet Castle” in English). Most of the residents migrated to Kadifekale from Mardin, located in the southeastern region of Turkey. These residents migrated for various reasons; some did not feel safe because of the conflict with Iraq, Syria, and the Kurdish, PKK terrorist attacks occurred often, and there was the oppression of feudal ties. However, others migrated to access better education and employment opportunities in Izmir. The migrants then settled in Kadifekale because they were unable to afford rental properties, and they also preferred to move into neighborhoods where they knew people and could share in similar cultures and traditions. In other words, Kadifekale became a neighborhood made up of predominantly Kurds and migrants from Mardin whereas the residents of Uzundere were mostly first- and second-generation migrants from Mardin. Although there were also rural migrants from central Turkey living in Uzundere, this urban satellite was not as diverse as the Zubeyde Hanim neighborhood, and most of the residents were low-income migrant families (Mutlu 2009; Demirtas-Milz 2013; Demirtas-Milz and Saracoglu 2014).

After the gecekondus in Kadifekale were demolished, Izmir appropriated the neighborhood and started excavation work. Archeologists discovered a Roman theater,

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one with the capacity to seat 16,000 people, underneath the neighborhood. Kadifekale was deemed a historical site, and the archeologists continued excavation. The Izmir municipality is currently planning to open Kadifekale to the public once the excavation work is done (Cihan 2013; Oguz 2014).

The informal lifestyle became a problem for gecekondu dwellers during the process of urban transformation (Saracoglu 2010; Demirtas-Milz 2013; Demirtas-Milz and Saracoglu 2014). Gecekondu dwellers, who socialize in an informal culture, had limited control over the formal environment, where the municipality and the officials of the urban transformation projects had more control. For instance, during the urban transformation of Kadifekale, the language that the municipality and urban transformation authorities used was ambiguous. This ambiguity allowed for the exploitation of families that did not understand their rights.

Another major discussion in the urban transformation cases in Izmir concerns the fact that the municipality had been playing politics by using disaster threats (Demirtas-Milz and Saracoglu 2014). The municipality and other officials of the urban transformation projects used earthquake and landslide threats to stress the importance of the urban transformation project and increase awareness. Natural disasters, such as earthquakes or landslides, are seen as ways to make the urban transformations even more marketable.



Photo III: “Kadifekale Neighborhood”, from Ozlem Tezcan, Serkan Colak and Sinan Kilic (2013, December 16). *Kadifekale and Urban Tranformation*



Photo IV: The Demolishment of Kadifekale Neighborhood, from Ozlem Tezcan, Serkan Colak and Sinan Kilic (2013, December 16). *Kadifekale and Urban Tranformation*

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The Yali Urban Transformation Project

The Yali urban transformation project was the second urban transformation project in Izmir, though scholars have not studied it as much as the Kadifekale urban transformation project. The residents of the Yali neighborhood were Romani residents who originally came from central and eastern Turkey. Because this neighborhood became overcrowded and the residents lived in poor conditions, the Karsiyaka municipality planned an urban transformation project. The residents of Yali were displaced to Zubeyde Hanim urban satellites, which were located to the south of Yali, in 2006. Although the municipality of Karsiyaka claimed that there was a need for an urban transformation project because of too many Romani residents living in the Yali neighborhood, Romani residents were not able to survive in the Zubeyde Hanim neighborhood. Most of the residents moved to other squatter developments (Karsiyaka Municipality 2014). Currently, the demographic structure of the Zubeyde Hanim neighborhood is heterogeneous. There are rural migrants from central and eastern parts of Turkey who came from the Yali neighborhood, but there are also young, working-class, married couples; old, retired, working-class residents; and a few residents who moved to Zubeyde Hanim from other squatter developments.

Compared to Ankara and Istanbul, Izmir has fewer completed urban transformation projects, but there are more renewal projects in the works. The cases of Izmir share similarities with Istanbul and Ankara in that the cities were overcrowded because of mass rural migration and the gecekondu were problematic. The demolition of the gecekondu is common in Izmir; this has been the most recent urban issue in the country. What has made Izmir different is the political conflict between the socio-

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democratic CHP local municipality and the conservative AKP Party national government, which as noted above, resulted in an uneven allocation of national resources.

Table I: Urban Transformation Cases in Turkey

Name of The Urban Transformation Project	Relocation Time	Responsible Agency	Relocation Type	Cause of Relocation
Ayazma Urban Transformation Project/Istanbul	2004	Kucukcekmece District/Istanbul Municipality	TOKI in Bezirganbahce (a suburb in Istanbul)	State-led neighborhood upgrade
Sulukule Urban Transformation Project/Istanbul	2005	Fatih District/Istanbul Municipality	TOKI in Tasoluk (a suburb in Istanbul)	State-led neighborhood upgrade
Tarlabasi Urban Transformation Project/Istanbul	2006	Beyoglu District/Istanbul Municipality	TOKI on site	State-led neighborhood upgrade
Basibuyuk Urban Transformation Project /Istanbul	2006	Maltepe District/Istanbul Municipality	TOKI on site	<i>Gecekondu</i> transformation/ on-site development
Dikmen Valley Project /Ankara	1989	Cankaya District/Ankara Municipality	On-site development, non-TOKI houses	<i>Gecekondu</i> transformation/ on- site development
Orange Blossom Project /Ankara	1989	Cankaya District/ Ankara Municipality	On-site development, non-TOKI houses	<i>Gecekondu</i> transformation/ on-site development
Transformation of Koza and Kupe Streets/Ankara	1993	Cankaya District/Ankara Municipality	On-site development, non-TOKI houses	<i>Gecekondu</i> transformation/ on- site development
Kadifekale Urban Transformation Project/Izmir	2010	Karabaglar District/Izmir Municipality	TOKI in Uzundere (a suburb in Izmir)	Environmental and disaster factors

Conclusion

The above table lists the types of relocation, causes of relocation, and agencies responsible for the relocation cases. In Turkey, there are three main types of relocation cases: state-led neighborhood upgrades, gecekondu transformation and on-site development, and environmental and disaster protection factors. Ayazma, Sulukule, Tarlabasi, and Basibuyuk are examples of state-led gentrification and neighborhood upgrades; Dikmen, Orange Blossom, Kupe Street, and Koza Street are examples of gecekondu transformation; and the Kadifekale urban transformation is an example of an environmental-disaster-related urban transformation project (Demirtas-Milz 2012; Demirtas-Milz and Saracoglu 2014). It is important to recognize that not all relocation cases are the same. Relocation might be because of overcrowded neighborhoods, the massive and uncontrollable growth of squatter developments, gentrification, or environmental hazards. For instance, a relocated resident who lives in a squatter development and moves to an urban satellite because of gentrification has a different experience than a relocated resident who moves because of landslide risk.

Urban studies previously investigated the dynamics between the urban poor and the state, as well as the transition of the urban poor from an informal to a formal environment (Guzey 2009; Karaman 2010). They discussed where the relocated residents eventually ended up (Uzun 2003; Kuyucu 2010). The transformation from an informal to a formal environment is a significant factor in understanding what the urban poor are experiencing (Demirtas-Milz 2012). The relocated residents socialize in an informal environment, build informal relations with each other, and establish informal networks to

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seek labor opportunities. Because the residents of gecekondu are not used to a formal environment, many scholars indicate that the government and municipal agencies are exploiting some residents who are not aware of their rights (Demirtas-Milz and Saracoglu 2014; Kuyucu 2014). Therefore, the residents do not even ask for their rights to be upheld. Studies that have examined where the residents end up show that the state appears to care for the urban poor and promises projects to benefit their lives. However, the residents report feelings such as social isolation, alienation, loss of belonging, loss of social networks, and stress because of larger financial and economic problems. Generally, studies of relocated residents show that residents report more concerns than contentment (Uzun 2003; Guzey 2009; Islam 2010; Karaman 2010; Kuyucu 2014; Demirtas-Milz and Saracoglu 2014.)

Although urban studies show the dynamics between the state and the urban poor and where the relocated residents end up, it is important to analyze the process of urban transformation through the voices and experiences of the relocated residents. In particular, it is necessary to consider how residents define and articulate relocation and adjustment as being either successful or unsuccessful. The environment or people the relocated residents live with might be different, but when relocated residents move to an urban satellite, they continue their lives. In fact, their prior experiences continue to shape the urban transformation process. For residents who come from a neighborhood demolished because of state-led gentrification, the new homes might be a symbol of how the state has manipulated them; however, for residents who have moved to an urban satellite because of landslide risk, the new homes might symbolize sadness yet safety.

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Given these facts, I analyze two neighborhoods—Zubeyde Hanim and Uzundere—to understand if relocation is an abstract case that depends on the residents' points of view because they are the ones who undergo the process of the relocation. The residents' tenure experiences shape the relocation processes. The former and latter are respectively heterogeneous and homogeneous neighborhoods. However, I have defined heterogeneity and homogeneity not in terms of region, race, or ethnicity, but rather as an urban satellite that has a neighborhood with relocated residents from different neighborhoods, all of whom have different prior experiences. I have defined homogeneity as a neighborhood with relocated residents who have similar prior experiences. When individuals have similar life experiences, their shared life experiences connect them; however, if the individuals have had different prior experiences, it will be harder for them to connect emotionally.

The Zubeyde Hanim urban satellite contains relocated residents from the Yali neighborhood and residents who have moved there on their own. Residents were relocated to Zubeyde Hanim because the Yali neighborhood was between two major middle-class neighborhoods. City planning had to be updated, including a highway connection to an industrial zone and the construction of a metro for public transport. The residents of Yali lived in poor conditions and experienced overcrowding. As a solution, the municipality relocated the residents of Yali to the Zubeyde Hanim urban satellite and constructed high-rise apartments for the middle class and built the highway connection and the metro station; the original residents of Yali did not benefit from these improvements. To summarize, the reason for relocating the Yali residents was to upgrade

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the neighborhood and build road connections to the highway and metro connections for public transport.

The Uzundere neighborhood consists of residents from Kadifekale, located in the inner city of Izmir. The residents of Kadifekale are from Mardin, Konya, Tokat, and other provinces in Turkey. These residents lived in their gecekondu despite the risk of earthquakes and landslides. Although for years the municipality tried to take innovative steps, the residents continued to live in their gecekondu. After negotiations between the municipality and the state occurred, the residents of Kadifekale moved to the Uzundere neighborhood. The residents experienced major challenges, such as social isolation, transportation problems, lack of neighborhood amenities, housing expenses, and stress from financial problems. Academics criticized this urban transformation project because the residents were manipulated by bureaucrats. Residents' reports support this claim. Nonetheless, the prior experience of the residents served to improve the relocation experiences of the residents. In the end, environmental factors spurred the relocation of the Kadifekale residents.

By examining these two neighborhoods in which the residents had different prior experiences but similar population characteristics (e.g., limited schooling, lack of labor participation, former textile workers, and a high percentage of stay-at-home mothers), it is possible to see how the residents' prior experiences and reasons behind their relocations shaped how the residents experienced the relocation process. Therefore, this dissertation aims to focus on the relocation process based on the experiences of the residents and whether the residents consider their relocation successful or unsuccessful. To understand how the residents narrate the relocation process, this dissertation focuses

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on the following factors: social and collective neighborhood activities, how the residents feel social isolation, when and how residents manage to form a social network, how the residents describe education opportunities, what the residents' views on education are, how adult education performance and school placement of children is affecting them, how the residents associate themselves with the employment opportunities, how the residents feel embedded or not, and how residents feel a sense of belonging in a community or not.

Chapter 3: Social Lives of the Residents in Newly Developed Communities

The residents of Zubeyde Hanim (a heterogeneous neighborhood)¹⁵ and the residents of Uzundere (a homogenous neighborhood) have several similarities and differences in terms of their experiences with the urban development process. As individuals have their own ways of responding to the urban renewal process, the individuals within both neighborhoods undergo the process differently. The relocated residents of Zubeyde Hanim and Uzundere are from informal settlements in these new urban satellites. “Relocated residents” refer to residents who were given an option to relocate after their squatter settlement was destroyed, whereas “voluntary” residents refer to those who chose to move to these neighborhoods.

The next section will briefly explain how the residents of Zubeyde Hanim and Uzundere participated in neighborhood activities after they moved to the urban satellites. The main purpose of this chapter is to provide background information on the daily life patterns of residents of Zubeyde Hanim and Uzundere. The effects of relocation on the residents’ lives, particularly on their education and employment, will be explained in the subsequent chapters.

This chapter explores the changes in social and collective organized activities in Zubeyde Hanim and Uzundere and the meaning of these activities in the residents’ lives.

¹⁵ For this dissertation, heterogeneous refers to Zubeyde Hanim neighborhood. Zubeyde Hanim neighborhood has relocated residents from Yali, and non-relocated residents. Homogenous neighborhood refers to Uzundere. The residents of Uzundere are relocated residents from Kadifekale. I define heterogeneous as residents who have different reasons for moving, and I define homogenous as those who have the same reason for moving.

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The adult social and collective organized activities refer to home gatherings among neighbors, women's socialization outside their apartments or on the streets, social interactions at public bazaars or grocery stores, men's social gatherings at traditional coffeehouses called kiraathanes¹⁶, and important social occasions such as weddings, circumcision ceremonies, religious holidays, and funerals. These activities are meaningful for the residents because they ensure that the residents' lives in their new neighborhoods remain social and vibrant. For instance, the residents are familiar to engaging in home gatherings, celebrating religious holidays by gathering at each other's houses, or even sitting in front of their houses.

The residents of both neighborhoods are pleased with the quality of their apartments but differ in how they engage in social and collective neighborhood activities. The neighborhood tenure experiences create differences in how the residents interpret the social and collective neighborhood activities. For example, the Uzundere residents feel that having moved from the same squatter development unifies them as one community. On the other hand, the Zubeyde Hanin residents categorize each other as Easterners vs. Westerners or as public housing residents. These categorizations divide the community of Zubeyde Hanim and prevent residents from unifying in social and collective neighborhood activities. The ways in which the neighborhood tenure shapes the residents' social and collective community activities will be examined throughout the chapter.

¹⁶ Kiraathanes are traditional Turkish coffee houses and mostly serve men. Men who go to kiraathanes drink coffee and tea, watch football games, and play backgammon.

The Meaning of Social and Collective Neighborhood Activities

Most scholars agree that place matters for residents (Popkin et al. 2010). The place where residents grow up and live has a significant impact on their education, employment, resources, and other opportunities for success (Clampet-Linquist 2004). Besides economic mobility factors, such as employment and education, place also matters in how and where residents experience social and collective neighborhood activities; these are daily informal and casual conversations with neighbors, home gatherings and other informal socializations, meetings in public spaces, and other life events, such as weddings, celebrations, graduations, funerals, and cremations. These are informal activities in which residents engage. Neighborhoods and communities matter for economic opportunities, and how individuals are involved in social and collective activities depend on neighborhood and communities as well (Popkin et al. 2005).

Social Networks

Social networks are significant for the residents who settle into the housing projects, as they adapt and transform their new lives in the housing projects. While residents have social connections in their prior neighborhoods, it is a challenge for them to build new connections in the new housing developments in which they are placed. Therefore, the major question is how the residents from informal settlements who settle into urban satellites organize social and collective neighborhood activities (Ruel et al. 2013). To understand and analyze this question, most scholars focus on social ties, which include critical resources, psychological, and material bonds. Social ties mean how many people the residents know and with whom they connect and bond (Clampet-Linquist

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2004; Popkin et al 2010). If the residents have stronger social ties, they can get social and emotional support from one another. Studies support the notion that social ties and the length of residency increase the amount of the social and collective activities. In other words, the more people the residents know, the more frequent their social and collective neighborhood activities.

Studies analyzing the transformation from public housing to HOPE IV housing projects have found that relocation does not enhance social capital for relocated residents (Chaskin and Joseph 2011). Social capital and social ties are important for such residents (Keene and Ruel 2013). Although relocated residents experience structural problems in their initial neighborhoods, such as unemployment, poverty, and lack of resources, somehow they manage to build relationships with one another. For instance, they know whom they should ask to watch their children when they are at work and from whom they should borrow money (Popkin 2005). They need to build these relationships to have stronger bonds and connect as a neighborhood.

In addition to the challenges of building social ties, some relocated residents complain that residents view them differently because they came from public housing projects. Some experience others looking down on them. These negative daily interactions also prevent residents from building a good social network.

Social Isolation

It is critical for residents to feel cohesive and interconnected in the new neighborhoods in which they are placed so they do not feel socially isolated and alienated. The structure of the neighborhood might shape the level of residents' social isolation. For instance, those in a homogenous neighborhood might share similarities that

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may connect them with one another, while those in a heterogeneous neighborhood might have difficulties connecting with one another.

Between 1950 and 1970, there was massive displacement from poor inner city neighborhoods into state-led public housing in North America (Gans 1962; Teaford 2000). However, public housing did not solve the poverty or unemployment problem. The younger population grew up with the lack of poverty, and the middle-aged and older populations experienced unemployment, social isolation, segregation, and alienation. These results demonstrate that public housing does not solve economical structural problems and residents experienced similar social problems as they had in poor inner city neighborhoods.

Following the state-led public housing projects, the recent development of HOPE VI has aimed to demolish public housing and move residents to mixed income developments. In this way, the urban poor might interact with middle-class residents and view the middle class as role models, which might benefit the urban poor. Although the goal of HOPE VI is to increase the social mobility of the urban poor by interaction with middle-class residents, HOPE VI has had mixed results. The lack of social ties is a significant problem for residents. For instance, female residents need help from neighbors for childcare while they are at work. Some residents do not feel they belong to the neighborhood; some feel that they already have a large family and many friends, and they do not feel obliged to talk with other residents. Other residents have very limited conversations with the middle-class residents, such as "hi," and "bye," and some residents build obligatory relationships, such as "you can take my parking spot" (Chaskin and Joseph 2011; Keene and Ruel 2013). In other words, it is not easy to form collective

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neighborhood activities since there are class and prestige factors. Even for residents who manage to build social relationships, their interactions are obligatory or formal.

Studies investigating how residents build social connections after they are placed into housing developments have shown that there might be vulnerability in some populations, such as such as the elderly, large families, and families with a member with a disability. Even if these families relocate, they can experience social isolation and lose their sense of community. A recent study found that the elderly members of communities feel they are the mothers, fathers, grandmothers, or grandfathers of the communities (Keene and Ruel 2013). After they move to different environments, these elderly members miss their former neighborhood attachments and prefer to build the same family type of environments in the new urban satellites they move.

Studies on social capital and isolation of the urban poor in mixed-income neighborhoods or urban satellites have been conducted by academics, and the empirical data show that social ties and social capital help residents to socialize with one another. While heterogeneous neighborhoods increase class, race, regional, religious, and political diversity, residents are the ones who must feel that they belong to the community, can build relationships with each other, and can participate in neighborhood activities (Clampet-Linquist 2004).

Social capital provides social resources, support, and attachment and offers ways to mobilize residents. The major reason is for the state to move the urban poor to mixed-income neighborhoods is so that the urban poor can benefit from the resources of the middle-class residents and achieve economic mobility. However, relocated residents and middle-class population cannot build social ties right away. Although the quality of the

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neighborhoods is good, most studies support the finding that relocated residents experience social isolation in the new urban satellites (Popkin 2005; Chaskin and Joseph 2011; Keene and Ruel 2013).

The relocated residents of Zubeyde Hanim and Uzundere were relocated from informal settlements into these new urban satellites. “Relocated” refers the residents of Uzundere and Zubeyde Hanim who were forced to relocate after their squatter settlement was destroyed, and “voluntary” residents refer to the residents of Zubeyde Hanim who chose to move to these neighborhoods.¹⁷ The residents of both neighborhoods are pleased with the quality of their apartments, but encounter differences in how they engage in social and collective neighborhood activities. Some residents feel more isolated than others, and some experience greater difficulty building social networks and ties than others. Therefore, the next section will briefly explain how the residents of Zubeyde Hanim and Uzundere have participated in neighborhood activities after moving to the urban satellites.

The Structure of Zubeyde Hanim

The residents of Zubeyde Hanim include residents who moved to Zubeyde Hanim from Yali (a squatter development that most of the residents moved from), those who moved from other demolished neighborhoods in Karsiyaka districts, and residents who

¹⁷ The residents of Uzundere are relocated residents from Kadifekale neighborhood. After their neighborhood was demolished because of high risk of landslide, the residents moved to Uzundere neighborhood. The residents of Zubeyde Hanim include the relocated residents and “voluntary” residents. The majority of the residents of Zubeyde Hanim are relocated from Yali neighborhood, and their squatter developments were demolished. In addition, there are “voluntary” residents such as newly married, or newly retired. After the residents of Yali moved to Zubeyde Hanim, Yali neighborhood transformed into high-rise apartments for middle class, and urban elites.

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moved to Zubeyde Hanim voluntarily. Thus, Zubeyde Hanim is not a typical housing project. While there are the residents who moved to Zubeyde Hanim because their neighborhood was demolished, there are also residents who moved Zubeyde Hanim because they found the rent affordable.

The diversity of housing tenures makes Zubeyde Hanim a heterogeneous neighborhood. For instance, the residents who moved to Zubeyde Hanim from Yali moved around 2008, but those who moved to Zubeyde Hanim voluntarily moved later than 2008. In addition, residents' background and housing experiences differ. Some residents moved to Zubeyde as newly married couples, some residents moved after they retired, following a career change, or because of its affordability. On other hand, there are residents who moved to Zubeyde Hanim because their prior neighborhoods were demolished. Residents' housing reasons differ from one another. Those who moved from former informal settlements experienced the transformation of informality into formality, but those who moved to Zubeyde Hanim from formal settlements do not share a similar transformation.

All in all, the housing tenure and residents' reasons for moving make this neighborhood heterogeneous, because the neighborhood includes relocated and voluntarily moved residents, and how the residents experience urban transformation depends on whether they were displaced from Yali or moved voluntarily. Those who moved to Zubeyde Hanim from Yali feel more vulnerable about their moves because the residents experienced displacement from Yali neighborhood. After the residents moved to Zubeyde Hanim neighborhood, Yali developed high-rise apartments for upper-middle class residents and thus Yali neighborhood became more valuable than before. Therefore,

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the residents in Zubeyde Hanim felt as though they were dumped into Zubeyde Hanim neighborhood, and their former neighborhood (Yali) become valuable after they were displaced to Zubeyde Hanim.

The Residents' Journey to Zubeyde Hanim

I arrived at the first meeting after the Karsiyaka municipality president (Huseyin Mutlu Akpinar) was elected. The meeting was at Karsiyaka 100, Anniversary Park, which opened in March 2014, the location of the former farmers' market. On the left side of the entrance, there were rows of plastic chairs. Once the guests (mostly the residents) arrived, they got chairs as needed and found a place to sit. Right next to the chairs, there was free food and drinks, such as Turkish baked goods, tea, fruit juice, ayran and guests could help themselves from the open table, as they liked. The reception was family oriented. Children sat next to some of the adults. There were men, women, young, and old residents who came to the meeting... When residents came to park, they looked for a family member or friend to sit near. The girls who were two rows ahead of me waved and yelled, "Nihal, Nihal, come here." The woman next to me wore traditional, long, loose pants (shalwar), or trousers. Their style of clothing might depend on the gender and conservative, religious, traditional affiliation. Men prefer darker colors, and women prefer dark, floral patterns. In the Turkish context, the shalwar is mostly worn in villages. Most women rural migrants prefer to wear the shalwar casually in cities because it is traditional and cultural. They feel comfortable, conservative and safe in them, no risk of showing legs. Shalwar hides bodylines and feminine appearance. This particular woman had a traditional headscarf and a key in her hand, and she asked me what time it was. Then, she told me that she came to the meeting on her own and added, "We are from

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Konya, and the president is Konyali¹⁸; he is our pride." It was 6:00 PM when the speaker announced: "Dear valuable Zubeyde Hanim residents, welcome to our neighborhood meeting. Our president will be late. Please wait and be patient, and thanks for your understanding." A similar announcement was made every ten minutes until the president came at 7:00 PM.

Meanwhile, there were songs from the local election campaign being sung by the audience... After the one-hour wait, the president and the board arrived and gave a short, ten-minute speech. President Akpinar began his speech by thanking and showing his appreciation for the support of the residents. "As I promised to visit every neighborhood in Karsiyaka, I wanted to start at Zubeyde Hanim to say thanks for your support in this past local election, and I will listen your desires and complaints to make this neighborhood a better place." There were no interruptions during his speech. After the speech was over, the residents raised their hands to express their concerns.

The first person to ask a question inquired about housing debt: "Every month, debts increase. With the increase in rates of interests, our payments are getting even higher; we demand exemption from the interest rate." The president directed the residents with debt concerns to the lawyer who was to the right of the president. The residents mainly raised concerns about transportation, broken children parks, debts, and unemployment.

The meeting described above was the first meeting after the Karsiyaka municipality president was elected and is an example of a formal neighborhood gathering. The residents gather to talk and share their concerns about the neighborhood,

¹⁸ Konya is located in the Central Anatolia Region of Turkey. The term "Konyali" refers to residents who are born in Konya or descend from Konya.

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request updates about the debts, or meet with the president. Despite the stresses and anxieties of the residents related to their inability to pay their housing debts, there is no anger, frustration, or yelling throughout the neighborhood meetings. In fact, the Zubeyde Hanim housing project is not a standard housing project where the residents are placed into public houses and receive welfare benefits because they are below the poverty line. Instead, the residents of Zubeyde Hanim, who are from the various of housing settlements (mostly informal settlements), are obligated to pay monthly rent in Zubeyde Hanim TOKI houses. Those who cannot afford the monthly rent are on payment plans and have housing debts. Therefore, moving from informal houses where the residents did not pay rent into Zubeyde Hanim TOKI houses where they pay monthly rent is a major challenge for the residents of Zubeyde Hanim. Living and moving into formal and stable houses is a good stage in the lives of Zubeyde Hanim residents, yet residents experience debt problems, and the formal neighborhood meetings are important for residents to share their challenges.

The first residents of Zubeyde Hanim were from Yali neighborhood included Romani – Gypsy families. The relocated residents did not pay rent and utilities, when they lived in Yali because they lived in squatter developments. Romani – Gypsy families were the first to leave the apartments because they had no prior experience with payment obligations that come with formal living settings. Many relocated residents faced challenges in paying the rent and utilities in Zubeyde Hanim. The residents of Zubeyde Hanim also include retirees and newly married individuals. However, Zubeyde Hanim became an affordable place for newly married working class people or retirees.

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I observed that the social and collective neighborhood activities depend on the housing background and family and life circumstances of the residents. Most social and collective activities in which the residents participate as a whole neighborhood are necessary ones, such as neighborhood meetings or local elections, but other activities, such as outside gatherings, home gatherings, or grocery shopping, are more likely to be scattered.



Photo V: Karsiyaka 100. Anniversary Park

Roscas and “Money Days” in Zubeyde Hanım

One of the major social and collective neighborhood activities for the residents of Zubeyde Hanım is home gatherings. There are social and economic factors leading them to socialize in home gatherings: most of the residents are low-income earners or unemployed. It is not easy for the residents to socialize in cafes or restaurants. Aside

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from the economic challenges, female residents in particular prefer home gatherings because of their household responsibilities, motherhood responsibilities, or because their husbands do not like them to loiter in inner cities. Therefore, I met most of the residents at home gatherings.

In fact, the home gatherings have cultural meanings for the residents of Zubeyde Hanim. Most of the residents are migrants from villages in the eastern part of Turkey or from other small villages. Although the majority of the relocated residents in Zubeyde Hanim were born and raised in Izmir, traditional values are still dominant. For example, in the villages, women socialize in the environment where they can help elderly family members, take care of children, and engage in household and farm labor. After these females move to the cities, childcare and household labor become women's daily tasks, which make home gatherings a major activity and way to socialize with other women who are in a similar position. Zulfiye is a resident of Zubeyde Hanim and moved with her husband, 21-year-old daughter, and 23-year-old son. Zulfiye has worked at a law office for over 15 years, and she also takes care of the household of this lawyer. Zulfiye summarizes how the residents of Zubeyde Hanim gather as follows:

“Well, not a lot of people ambulate or loiter... So many of the residents [dogulu]¹⁹ are migrants from the eastern part of Turkey; they do not go to the bakery... We usually have money day and gather at homes once a month.” (Female resident, 53 years old)

Zulfiye above stressed that money day is an example of informal home gatherings. Money day and gold day are examples of roscas among low-income women in Turkey, which are informal finance and saving credits for low-income women. Every

¹⁹ "Dogu" means "east" in English, and "dogulu" refers to easterners. Migrants from western villages or those born and raised in Izmir use the term "dogulu." Interestingly, some residents who grew up in the western part of Turkey use "dogulu" to categorize residents who are different or who do not behave like them.

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month, a woman hosts the other women in her home and serves baked goods and tea or coffee. If it is a money day, the guests give the host money. If it is a gold day, they give the host gold. In this way, low-income and unemployed women have an informal way of saving and getting credits. Members of roscas are expected to serve at least one rotation, so that everyone can utilize the funds. Overall, roscas are a very common way of providing informal finance and socializing for low-income women in developing countries. For the residents of Zubeyde Hanim, roscas not only provide finances, but also help them improve social ties and social networks. While women socialize with one another, their children play with each other.

Zelis, who is a resident of Zubeyde Hanim, moved to the neighborhood around 2008, married her husband in 2010 and moved to another home in the neighborhood. Zelis invited me to come over for roscas²⁰ at her home. Zelis and her friends get together twice a month regularly and see each other regularly, so that their children can play together.

Zelis's home was very organized. The curtains were green, and the carpet was green as well. Zelis had wedding photos on the TV stands. There were two sofas across from one another, and two one-person sofas near the window. The guests sat beside me. There were six guests in this roscas: her mother (Zulfiye), her mother's friend (Suzan),

²⁰ Roscas are seen in developing nations, and mostly in low-income communities. Roscas refer to "gold day," "money day" in the Turkish context, and are extremely common for low-income women. A group of women who know one another organize home gatherings. Since most women have children, they also bring their children. The host of the home gathering receives money and gold (depends on the concept). Women mostly hang out, knit, or gossip. In this way, women do not get bored at home and also receive informal finances.

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her three good friends (Satu, Gultaze, Nuris), and her sister-in-law (Petra). Petra's daughter, Zelis's son, and Satu's daughter played together in Yagiz's room. Meanwhile, Zelis turned on a TV cartoon called "Pepe," and mentioned that the kids enjoy watching Pepe, who is the main character of the Turkish cartoon and is full of curiosity to discover new things. Satu's daughter watched Pepe. Zelis served tea for the guests and talked while the kids are playing. Right after tea, Zelis also had Turkish roscas food (kisir, pogaca, mercimek koftesi, borek, and baklava)²¹. Zelis's mother and Suzan sat on sofas in the corner. I sat with Satu and Petra, and Gultaze and Nuris were on the sofa right across from us. Satu wore gray sweat pants, a black t-shirt, and her daughter Irem was dressed in a white dress with a pink ribbon, and there was another ribbon in her hand, which matched her dress. From time to time, Irem danced in the center of the living room, and we clapped after her dances.

Zelis had a picture of Hz.Ali and a symbol of her Alevi dede grandfather²², which symbolizes the religious sect of Alevizm. Zelis mentioned in our gathering that most of

²¹ *Kisir* is a bulgur salad. *Pogaca* is a flaky, savory pastry. *Mercimek koftesi* is lentil balls. *Borek* is another type flaky pastry. *Baklava* is a type of sweet pastry with nuts. These are all traditional food for home gatherings.

²² Alevis are a liberal subgroup of the Islam religion and believe in the love of God-Prophet Muhammad is the last prophet- and Ali (Hakk-Muhammed-Ali askina). Hz. Ali was the cousin and son in law of Hz. Muhammad and father of Muhammad's grandsons Hasan and Husein. Ali was elected as caliph long after Muhammad's death on 656 and killed by assassination on 661. His eldest son Hasan was poisoned to death and Husein was trapped and brutally killed together with his sons and supporters in Kerbala by Yezid and his army of 30000 on the 10th day of Muharrem month which is a day of mourning and end of 10 days fasting to commomarate Husein and his supporters who died without food and water in Kerbela located 100 km of Bagdat in Iraq. Alevi, Shia and Sunni muslim divide started after Muhammad's death as battling for political power still has deep and painful remains in the heart of Alevizm and Shia muslims. Alevis have a liberal interpretation of the Islamic religion. For instance, Alevis do not fast during Ramadan, and men and women stand together in religious ceremonies, which is different than Sunni

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her friends and relatives in the neighborhood are Alevi. The religious sect of Alevi is more liberal than the Sunni sect of Islam. Alevis believe that men and women have equal rights, women can go to religious houses called Cem evi to practice their religion, and women and men can be in the same place during religious gatherings and in funeral ceremonies. Other than Zelis's sister-in-law, all of the female guests are Alevis and migrants from Corum province. These women see and socialize with each other almost every day, but they are less likely to socialize with different populations, such as eastern migrants, because they have very limited face-to-face interactions. This limitation leads to a lack of familiarity among Zelis and her friends for Kurdish or eastern populations, and thus they make judgments about these populations—for example that eastern families tend to have many babies, not all of their children go to school, or do not have anything common with the other families. In other words, the Eastern families are categorized as others. In fact, Zelis summarized her opinions about the Kurdish, eastern residents as follows:

“The eastern families have so many children... I do not understand why they keep making babies. I mean some of them reproduce like cats (laughs). They should think about whether they can afford to have more children before they get pregnant.” (Female resident, 26 years old)

For instance, when I asked Zelis and her friends, who are from the rural western areas, about how often they interact with the eastern residents, they said they did not “hang out” and only say "hi" or "bye." Although their interaction is limited, the western families (basically families who grow up in Izmir, and families who come from western regions) have strong opinions about the eastern families. In addition, the western families

Islamic traditions. Alevi women wear modern clothing and are equally positioned during the rituals and ceremonies in Cemevleri (meeting places for Alevi community). Alevi dedes (grandfathers) are a religious and cultural symbol. Those who came from Anatolia might have a picture of Ali (grandfather figure) in their homes.

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view the eastern residents, as the reason the social environment in the neighborhood is not attractive. As the western residents strengthen their bonds with the other western residents, their relations with the easterners are weakened.

Apartment Gatherings in Zubeyde Hanim

The western residents like Zelis are not the only ones who socialize with one other through roscas or home gatherings. The eastern families also participate in home gatherings in the neighborhood. I encountered many informal, causal home or apartment gatherings. In random home gatherings, the settings are even more casual, and there are some extended bonds. For instance, the Zambak apartment²³ on the third floor was very interesting because in the hallway of the apartment, there was a small television, three chairs, and a small table in the center of the hallway. The doors of the apartments were open. Basically, instead of hanging out or socializing inside of the houses, the individuals decided to put some chairs, a sofa, and a television in the hallway of the apartment and created a causal place to hang out. Three women sat in these chairs in the hallways. I learned later that these women are neighbors. Instead of going to each other homes, they usually gather in the hallway of their apartments. There was tea and Turkish baked goods on the table. Right behind us, there was an elevator. Since we were in the hallway, the women opened the window. The breeze felt perfect. One of the women had a baby on her lap. Suddenly, her phone rang. While she was gone, another woman looked after her baby. Meanwhile, another resident came from work and served tea.

²³ Zambak is the name of the apartment. Zambak means “lily” in English. Zubeyde Hanim neighborhood apartment blocks are all named after flowers especially liked and sold by the Romani – Gypsy street sellers, who could not bear the stress of formal living environment and obligation of regular payments and most of them sold their shares without moving into the apartments.

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This setting in Zambak apartment is more informal than Zelis's rosca setting where the friends and relatives hang out at home. In this type of setting, friends or relatives who live in the same apartment casually gather around. These relocated residents are from different regions, and living in the same apartment building made them build informal and extended bonds. During the time that I was with them, I did not hear any negative remarks about the eastern families, and one of the respondents was from the east. The key factor in this social situation is how the residents incorporate the gecekondulifestyle into urban satellites and practice it on a daily basis. Gecekondulifestyle and slum dwellers prefer to hang around in front of their homes rather than in their homes. In some cases, gecekondulifestyle dwellers might bring a sofa and a chair in front of their homes. The dwellers in Zambak apartment carry on the tradition from their previous housing experiences. If three women brought a chair, a TV, and a table into the hallway of an upper-class residence and gossiped and laughed all day, some residents might call security. However, the nature of the Zambak apartment allows for social and intimate interactions like this one.

While the adults socialize with each other in settings such as that of Zelis's house or Zambak apartment, the children play with one another. Mothers in Zubeyde Hanim prefer their children to play with each other nearby or ask their children to let them know where they are going to play. In particular, the roscas give mothers a break, as their children play with their friends' children at home. Thus, the Zubeyde Hanim residents prefer this kind of home gathering for various reasons. First, the neighborhood does not have a great deal of amenities affordable and nearby, such as restaurants, cafes, or shopping centers. There are only two major grocery stores and one bakery with two

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tables outside. Second, because the residents have young children, the home environment is more comfortable for the mothers and their children. Third, the roscas are easy and flexible ways of creating finances for low-income and unemployed female residents. Although roscas are informal gatherings, they are one of the most structured forms of home gatherings because there is a certain rotation and unwritten rules, such as each member should serve at least once. Another important point about the roscas is that these informal meetings produce scattered social groups.

Overall, home gatherings are significant for the female residents to socialize and strengthen their social bonds, while the men are either at work or outside the neighborhood. Roscas are the formal or more ceremonial home gatherings for women to entertain one another or for kids to play in a home setting, while their mothers can easily watch them. Women who do home based piece work for wedding organizers, accessories or knitting can also bring their work to the house gatherings. Home based manicure, pedicure, hair dressing can be arranged. Organic home made tomato paste, pasta, dried herbs and jams can be traded or exchanged to bring variety to the kitchens with minimal or no cost. In addition to roscas, women in Zubeyde Hanim are also involved in informal gatherings in front of their apartments, or their buildings. However, the residents who grow up in the western regions and are familiar with western residents tend to distance themselves from the eastern and Kurdish residents. The roscas of the western residents might thus estrange the westerners from the easterners. The following section will describe outdoor and open-air casual gatherings in the neighborhood and explore daily routines in the neighborhood.

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5 o'clock Park Gatherings of Women with Children

The residents of Zubeyde Hanim appreciate home gatherings, including the roscas or other types of informal gatherings in the apartments. In addition to the gatherings in the home and apartment settings described above, the residents socialize together out in the neighborhood at the outdoor children park, on the sitting benches, or causally in front of their apartments and on the streets in the neighborhood.

Around 5 o'clock in the afternoon, the neighborhood gets crowded. Although Zubeyde Hanim residents do not check their watches and hang around the neighborhood exactly at 5'o clock in the afternoon, that specific time carries several meanings for the residents. It is when children love playing, when the residents feel as though the weather is less hot and humid, especially in the summer time, when some people get out of work, and time to relax for housewives after a day of house work completed with a cooked dinner ready before their husbands get out of work. For many residents, this is the time when the residents of Zubeyde Hanim walk around. This time in the afternoon gives them the freedom and flexibility to socialize.

The children's park is a very well liked public place for children and adults. While children play, the adults prefer to sit down or gather in the streets. The adults prefer to be near their children, so women go the park with their friends and relatives to socialize when the children are busy playing. The setting of the children's park includes two green swings, a yellow slide, and a dark-colored teeterboard. The swings are very popular, and the children usually play on the swings. The adults make sure the older children do not occupy the swings all the time and share them with the younger ones. The

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children's park has sand, which gives the children an opportunity to play with sand if the swings are occupied.

Children's laughs and screams and the adults' yells to their children are the most appealing things around the park. For instance, Salih's mother Enise ran after Salih, yelling, "Salih, Salih wear your slippers." Enise wanted Salih to wear her black slippers so Salih would not play without them. Since there is sand in the park, Salih's feet could get hurt.

Enise and Hanise were in the corner of children's park. Hanise had an earth-colored pan shalwar and headscarf yemeni on, and Enise had a black-colored pan and headscarf on. Shalwar (salvar) and yemeni are casual clothes that women from rural areas wear. A yemeni is a headscarf that is made from loose cotton material. A shalwar is casual type of pants that women from rural regions wear. Enise's son Salih, who is six years old, and Hanise's son Yusuf, who is ten years old, played together. Salih was running, and Yusuf was catching. Meanwhile, Hanise watched the children and entertained them. Salih is younger than Yusuf. Salih did not run as fast as Yusuf. Once in a while, Hanise entertained Yusuf, saying things such as "catch me..." so that Salih can have a break. While Hanise entertained the children, Enise sat on the bench. Enise's husband and Hanise's husband are brothers. They have been living in Manolya (Magnolia) apartment since 2011. Enise lives on the tenth floor, and Hanise lives on seventh floor. Enise's husband is in jail. Therefore, Hanise's family is being supportive, as Enise is raising Salih on her own. For instance, Hanise's husband thinks about Enise and Salih when he is at the food market. Hanise and Enise gather for religious holidays,

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and because children get really bored at home, Enise and Hanise also make sure to take the children out to the playground inside the park in the late afternoon time.

Like Enise and Halise, Filiz also took her children to the park. Filiz sat across the bench. Unlike Enise and Halise, Filiz was by herself. Filiz's son is three years old, and her daughter is five. While the children were playing, Filiz gave them pistachios. Filiz's daughter sat on the ground near Filiz and drew something on a piece of paper. Filiz, who moved to Zubeyde Hanim two years ago, does not know many people, and tries to take children to the park every afternoon after 5 o'clock.



Photo VI: The Playground in Zubeyde Hanim

The 5 o'clock gatherings are significant for women, particularly women with younger children. Children are bored at home during the day in the summer because they

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are on vacation from school. The younger children get bored during the summer and school year because they are not in school yet. Therefore, the children's park entertains them and gives the adults energy. For the residents of Zubeyde Hanim, men have more flexibility because some work outside the neighborhood, and even unemployed men run the errands around the city. Women do not have the same flexibility. For some women, this is because their husbands do not let them leave the house, and for other women, their household chores keep them busy during the day and they cannot afford to go to the city. Paying for public transport is a cost some women have to ask money from their husbands for and provide a reason. I met a young woman who could not read or write because of that she was not able to read the destination signs and routes on the public busses, she was not comfortable on travelling on her own on public transport. The population of Zubeyde Hanim includes married and unemployed women with children who do not have the flexibility and freedom men have. Motherhood responsibilities and household labor might limit women's socialization with the outside world, and women do not go out of the neighborhood very often. Therefore, these 5 o'clock outdoor settings are gender-based, which means that mostly women take their children to the park to talk with other women, watch children, and sew, men do not participate in the 5 o'clock gatherings.

The Daily Routine of the Residents

The social activities in the neighborhood are limited, particularly for female residents. Considering the fact that most women leave the neighborhood only in rare circumstances, such as for a doctor's appointment, or a family event and these afternoon gatherings become a break from household duties. For instance, Gulsen, who is a resident of Zubeyde Hanim (26 years old), moved with her husband, six-month-old son, and two-

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year-old daughter from Diyarbakir. Gulsen's husband works long hours as a construction worker, and Gulsen takes care of their children during the day and socializes with other neighbors who also take care of their children. When I asked Gulsen about her daily routine in Zubeyde Hanim, she responded:

“We watch our children during the day... In the afternoons, we take our children outside... We mostly sit down outside our building or surroundings, and then we take our children to the park. We sometimes take a walk around the buildings. But we almost never go out [of the neighborhood].” (Female resident, 26 years old)

Many women share a similar pattern. As their husbands are at work, or seeking a job out of the neighborhood, women have the responsibilities of doing most of the household chores and entertaining the children during the day. Overall, 5 o'clock gatherings are very casual and informal ways for women to participate in collective activities in the neighborhood. The afternoon gatherings give women and children a break from their daily routines. Children play with each other; some women focus on their children, and others have a conversation with other women while the children are busy playing.

The setting of outside gatherings is different than the roscas or the informal gatherings inside residents' apartments. While women tend to socialize with familiar people in roscas or in apartment gatherings, the setting of outside gatherings allows women to interact with the outside world. For instance, roscas are more formal because of the schedule and specific number of people. In apartment gatherings, women have limited interaction with the outside world, as they only involve residents who live in that apartment. Therefore, outside gatherings allow women to socialize with people other than their regular peers at roscas and their regular neighbors.

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Regardless of their racial and regional background, the residents tend to socialize with each other. For example, the Kurdish, Turkish, or Alevi children play together, regardless of their regional and ethnic background, but still there are some social preferences. By social preferences, I mean that some residents prefer to interact with their relatives or neighbors from similar regions, rather than with people from different regions. Alevi women tend to socialize with women from the same background. If their children play with Kurdish children, then the mothers do not stop this interaction. If a woman of Kurdish origin approaches a woman of Alevi origin, they interact habitually and voluntarily.

The Social Environment in Zubeyde Hanim

The residents of Zubeyde Hanim tend to socialize with other residents voluntarily and habitually, and acknowledge that they might feel close to the certain population more than the others. The residents of Alevi descent feel close to the other Alevis. The social atmosphere is the greatest concern for the residents. The residents believe that the setting and atmosphere in the neighborhood is not good enough for them to raise their children. For instance, Satu, the mother of a seven-year-old girl, has been living in Zubeyde Hanim with her husband, daughter Irem, and her father-in-law because her mother-in-law passed away, and there is no one to take care of her father-in-law. Four of them have lived together in Zubeyde Hanim since 2010. Satu has chronic back pain and is a former textile worker. Therefore, Satu is not planning to go back to textile labor because of her back pain, and she has to take care of her daughter and father-in-law. Satu enjoys living in an apartment in Zubeyde Hanim more than living in an informal dwelling, but believes that the social environment is not good enough to raise a family in Zubeyde Hanim, stating:

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“Well, we do not like the environment here... It is very hard to raise children here. The park is broken. The lights are off... It has been forever, and there is no change.” (Female resident, 28 years old.)

Satu stressed that the physical environment is not good enough to ensure the well-being of the children and the adults. The residents experienced living in old, slum, informal dwellings. They were displaced to the urban satellite Zubeyde Hanim, which has a park for children, women and adult social services, and social activities for children. The residents expected these services to maintain during their tenure history in Zubeyde Hanim. Satu's experiences underline that the municipality does not take the concerns of the residents into consideration. There are things that are broken in the park, but still the municipality does not take initiative to maintain the facilities.

There are differences in how the residents socialize and approach one another depending on their family structure and circumstances and their background. Those who take care of their children or elderly family members prefer to arrange their schedules based on their care duties. In these circumstances, afternoon gatherings might become their daily routine, as this is when they take their children to the park. The household chores might be done regularly if there is an elderly family member that needs to be taken care of. In other words, the family structure could shape the daily routines of the residents.

The background of the family is important for building relationships as well. Some residents might be more likely to align with those with whom they share a similar background, but for others the roles of mother or neighbor could lead them to relate to one another more closely. As individuals have different experiences and personalities, they are expected to behave differently in certain situations. It is expected that some women develop generalized beliefs about others, and again it is expected that some

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women are more open to residents with eastern or western backgrounds. The relocated residents have a different bond than those who moved to Zubeyde Hanim by choice. For those who moved to Zubeyde Hanim, there are several subgroups (the resettled residents, the Alevi groups, the Eastern groups, and non-resettled residents.) Alternatively, the relocated residents might mingle with other residents who are not relocated residents, but the social settings are more blended.

The Residents' Dynamics in Grocery Stores: BIM and SOK, Public Bazaars

Zubeyde Hanim has very limited public amenities. These amenities include two main grocery stores (BIM and SOK,) two local bakery stores, and a pharmacy. BIM and SOK are located a little further down than the apartments, and both opened after the relocated residents moved to the neighborhood. Both stores are well-known chains. SOK means, “shock” in English; the name implies "shocking." SOK provides branded food and fast moving domestic goods at a discount. Therefore, working class residents or retirees prefer SOK because of its affordable prices. Similar to SOK, BIM also targets low-income, working class, state employees, or retirees and is a well-known hard-discount chain. One major difference is that BIM sells some discount products in open big bags by the weight.

In addition to BIM and SOK, there are two local bakeries that are operated by the same person. These bakeries are only one street away from each other. One of them has two tables outside, and the other one has five. Generally speaking, the bakeries have few customers sitting at the tables. The customers usually come to buy baked goods for their guests, and children get ice cream during the summer. The residents of Zubeyde Hanim do not meet with other neighbors in the bakery stores, and they do not sit down and hang

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out with their relatives. Instead, the residents of Zubeyde Hanim prefer to spend time at the children's park or sit in front of their apartments.

Overall, there are four major amenities in Zubeyde Hanim: SOK, BIM, and the bakery stores. There is more circulation in the grocery stores. After 5 o'clock, the grocery stores become crowded because some people stop by after work and others before or after their neighborhood park gatherings. During the daytime, women dominate the grocery stores. The bakery stores are more isolated than the grocery stores, and there are no peak hours.

The Structure of the Chain Grocery Stores: BIM and SOK



Photo VII: BIM Grocery Store retrieved from

<http://icube.milliyet.com.tr/YeniAnaResim/2014/07/14/bim-perakendeye-file-ile-geliyor-4574512.Jpeg>

BIM is located across from the children's park. BIM is different than typical grocery chains. In BIM, all products are placed in boxes, rather than in the aisles, as can

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be seen from the photo above. BIM is a grocery store that is well known for its affordable prices compared to the other popular chain grocery stores.

Overall, the biggest concern for the residents of Zubeyde Hanim is the accessibility of a store where they can easily purchase food. In their former dwellings, most of the residents purchased food from local neighborhood markets called “bakkals,” or food markets. The structure of bakkals is very different than that of the chain grocery stores. Bakkals are small markets in the neighborhood where residents can buy dairy products, meat products, some fruits and vegetables, nuts and crackers, cookies and candies, detergent, and cleaning supplies. The owner of a bakkal knows the residents by name. If the residents cannot afford what they want to buy, the owner of the bakkal might let them take the products they need, then make a note in his/her notebook about how much they owe. At the end of the month, the residents are supposed to pay their debt. This structure does not exist in the chain stores like BIM. If the residents cannot afford something, they cannot buy it.



Photo VIII: SOK Grocery Store retrieved from <http://www.sokmarket.com.tr/uploads/20170131115933239.jpg>

SOK is another chain grocery store in Zubeyde Hanim. BIM and SOK are almost the same size, but the prices in BIM are slightly lower than those in SOK. The daily routine in SOK is very similar to BIM. It is common to see women and children during the day. Children and adults are very casual, and the adults mostly wear a shalwar, yemeni, or casual clothes, such as sweat pants and t-shirts. SOK gets more crowded after 5 o'clock. This is when people in dressier clothes, such as formal pants and shirts, stop by SOK after work, and many children in school uniforms stop by around this time as well. As in BIM, customers usually do not buy more than five items, and no one pays with a credit card. The employees in BIM and SOK are on temporary contracts. The employers tend to have a short-term contract, such as three or six months. BIM and SOK do not provide health insurance coverage for their employees. Social Security System in Turkey (SGK) provides full health insurance for workers and their dependents.

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During the day, the residents stop by to make grocery purchases. Usually, the residents make daily purchases. The quantities of their purchases are very small. They tend to buy something small and inexpensive: a small box of juice, chocolate, a piece of gum, a can of coke. For instance, if the residents are out of milk, they stop by BIM or SOK. They do not do weekly shopping because the grocery store is very close and they can only afford day-to-day shopping. Since BIM is very close to the children's park, the residents stop by before they take their children to the park, and get "pop cake/eti cin." which are chocolate cakes that are popular for children. Thus, while children play, they can eat something if they get hungry. From 10:00 AM to 3:00 PM, there are very few customers. Almost every 15 minutes, one customer stops by and picks up something but does not spend more than 10 minutes in the stores.

The convenience of the grocery stores is very important for the residents, as few own a family car and have reliable transportation. Public transport is planned and schedules of busses are determined according to the work hours and peak hours of commuter demand. Therefore, the chain stores BIM and SOK are the only stores that are available for the residents. Not all residents are content with BIM and SOK. In fact, some of the residents feel as though the prices are very high and shop there only because these are only available options. These stores are well known for their reasonable prices, the residents of Zubeyde Hanim find SOK pricy compared to BIM. When I asked the residents how their grocery shopping experience changed after they moved to urban satellites, they found SOK to be very expensive.

Filiz, who is 33 years old moved to Zubeyde Hanim with her husband, their five-year-old daughter, and three-year-old son in 2012. Filiz regularly shops from BIM and

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believes that the prices at SOK are very high. Filiz has a public health technical clerk degree, and one of the few residents with a bachelor's degree in the neighborhood. Filiz has a strong desire to work, but there are no family members to take care of the children. The free kindergarten in Zubeyde Hanim only allows children who are four and older. Therefore, Filiz has at least one more year to take care of the children. Since it has been only two years since Filiz and her family moved to Zubeyde Hanim, she is still trying to adapt to the amenities and neighbors in the neighborhood. In terms of grocery shopping, the biggest concern for Filiz is getting groceries every day. Since Filiz lives in the furthest apartment, she is tired of going uphill and downhill every day. Therefore, she requests a food market or other alternatives to make the food shopping convenient for everyone.

We usually do our grocery shopping at BIM. No one shops at SOK; it is very expensive... I need to go uphill or downhill to do my grocery shopping... KIPA [another chain grocery store] used to have a free shuttle service, but I do not have that service anymore... As a mother of two children, my biggest complaint is the accessibility to the grocery store. Why do I have to walk uphill for groceries? We used to have a public bazaar that was very close, but they built a park there. I do not understand why they have that park. There are so many concerts or theaters at [Republic Center in Karsiyaka],²⁴ but there is nothing here. If you demolish the public bazaar, at least build a theater or something. Last week, Tolga Sayer²⁵ came, but that was it. (Female resident, 33 years old).

As Filiz described, there used to be a public bazaar in the place of the Karsiyaka 100, Anniversary Park. Originally, the public bazaar was located one block away from the apartments, but the municipality built an open park for the residents (this was where the president came and made a speech, as noted previously). After the construction of the neighborhood park, the municipality changed the location of the public bazaar. Filiz believes that this change was inefficient because not a lot of residents enjoy the park, there are not enough concerts or public events in the park, and the location of the new

²⁴ The Republic Center of Karsiyaka is a public park that usually has many concerts, or speeches during the summer.

²⁵ Tolga Sayer is a Turkish singer.

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public bazaar is not convenient for the residents. Public bazaars are very common for residents because of their fresh fruits and vegetables and reasonable prices.

Generally speaking, Zubeyde Hanim residents rely on these two grocery stores, BIM and SOK, and the public bazaar that is available on Saturdays. In addition, there are portable, mobile vegetable and fruit sellers who stop by occasionally. Mobile vegetable or fruit sellers are very common in Zubeyde Hanim. Since the grocery stores are more expensive than the mobile sellers, most residents prefer to shop from street sellers. In addition, the residents have informal ways of communicating with the sellers. For instance, they might complain about the quality of melons or try to bargain with the sellers, which is not seen in the grocery stores. One of the major changes, particularly for the relocated residents, is the chain grocery store. The residents tend to prefer the mobile vegetable and fruit sellers because they were used to the public bazaar or informal street vendors in their original neighborhoods. After moving to Zubeyde Hanim, they had to adapt to grocery stores, such as BIM and SOK.

Mobile fruit and vegetable trucks tend to come in the afternoon between 2:00 and 6:00 PM. Depending on the season, the trucks might have melons, watermelons, peaches, cherries, tomatoes, potatoes, cucumbers, peppers, and onions. The food sellers usually use vans and place the fruits and vegetables on their truck. Mostly in the summer, the food sellers bring the male children in their family such as their son, nephew, or even a neighbor, to earn some money and gain work experience.

Mobile food sellers drive slowly through the neighborhood and try to stop at busy locations, such as nearby bus stops, neighborhood stops, or where there are crowds. For instance, if a seller sees a crowd of women sitting in front of the neighborhood, she/he

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may stop and yell, “Melons, melons!” Then, people who hear the voice of the seller and who are interested in buying melon can come. If the residents are interested in purchasing things like tomatoes, onions, and potatoes, they can bring a basket or bowl from their home to fill it up with what they have bought. It is also possible to have informal relations with the mobile food sellers. For instance, if the watermelon that they have previously purchased is bad, the residents can complain, saying, “Last time, you gave me a bad melon.” Then, the seller can try to convince them by saying, “Sister, I don't have any bad-tasting melons. All of them taste like honey.” Usually, men call women customers as sister, aunt, mother or grandmother depending on the age appearance of the women. If the sellers cannot convince the residents, they can even try to bargain with the sellers by paying them less than they should owe for their current purchase.

The interactions between the mobile food sellers and the residents are different from those in SOK and BIM; bargaining does not work in the formal grocery chains. The residents do not know when the mobile food sellers will come or what products they will bring. This simultaneous structure does not exist in the grocery stores, as there is a specific time when the store is open and closed. More importantly, the residents and the sellers know each other by name and have causal conversations. This informality makes the shopping experience more pleasant for the residents and gives them time to socialize with the other residents who are purchasing fruits and vegetables.

The Bakery Stores

The two bakery stores that are owned by the same person are the only bakeries in Zubeyde Hanim. The bakery products in the stores are made fresh daily. The storeowner does not prefer to have a large quantity of products in the store, as not a lot of people buy

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the baked products. Usually, there are different kinds of pogaca, which is a flaky, savory pastry filled with cheese, spinach, or meat. The structure of a pogaca is very similar to an empanada. There are also various kinds of cookies, such as jam-filled cookies, flour cookies, or chocolate cookies. In addition to these products, there are milk-based desserts, such as sutlac (rice pudding) and muhallebi (milk pudding).

Overall, there is a diversity of products, but the owner of the bakery avoids making large quantities so the bakery products will not spoil. This is because the residents prefer to cook in their homes, as it is less expensive. Thus, the bakery stores do not have many residents who buy products from them. Socializing in places like bakery stores is very rare for the residents of Zubeyde Hanim. Even the residents who stop by the bakery (Güven bakery) usually just purchase something and leave. There are a large percentage of stay-at-home mothers in the neighborhood, and most residents are involved in household labor or socialize with other residents in the neighborhood park or home gatherings. Therefore, there are not many tables outside or inside the bakery stores, as noted previously. There is an ice-cream container outside. The children love having ice cream in the summer. The adults usually take their children to the bakery for ice cream. After the adults buy the ice cream, however, they do not sit down or spend time in the bakery. Because the bakery is not very busy, the store has one employee to help the customers and three people to bake the products. Mainly children stop by for ice cream, and the adults with them do not buy baked goods very often. Although the bakery stores have different facilities, and the facilities are very clean, the bakery stores do not have high a circulation of customers. Occasionally one of the bakery stores caters for wedding, engagement, henna or circumcisions parties held in open space in the neighborhood.

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Compared to the residents' previous experiences in their former neighborhoods, the transformation from informality to formality is the main problem. When the residents lived in informal settlements, there were many people who contributed to the bazaar labor. For example, some of the residents worked in public bazaars, and the bazaar laborers would sell the leftover products at an affordable price to their neighbors. These types of informal exchanges made food shopping more affordable for the residents. In fact, few residents used to go to the chain informal grocery stores. In addition to the informal bonds, most of the residents used to live in neighborhoods that were not as isolated as Zubeyde Hanim. It was easier to access shopping or to run errands in other nearby neighborhoods by walking or with frequently available public reliable transportation.

Informal bonds also helped the residents build social networks and friendships. In their former neighborhoods, the neighborhoods mostly had bakkals. The residents would get food or snacks from the neighborhood's market rather than the chain grocery stores. Later on, the residents would sit in front of their houses with their neighbors. All in all, the greatest shift for the residents is the transition from socializing in informal environments to more formal environments.



Photo IX: “Güven Bakery Store”, Retrieved from www.dunyarehber.com/firmalar/guven-unlu-mamulleri-435.html

Social Isolation

In general, the residents of Zubeyde Hanım experience social isolation in some way. It does not matter whether they relocated from Yalı or moved to Zubeyde Hanım of their own decision. This feeling of loneliness is even more pronounced for residents who have less tenure because they have less familiarity with the neighbors and the residents.

Gulsen, who is 19 years old, was born in Yozgat in the eastern part of Turkey. When Gulsen was four years old, her family decided to move to İzmir. Gulsen got married when she was 17 years old and moved to Zubeyde Hanım with her husband and

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her baby girl and toddler in 2014. Gulsen's husband works as a security guard in a private company. Gulsen's greatest struggle is that the days are very long in Zubeyde Hanım because it has been about eight months since she moved, and she does not feel very close to her neighbors. Gulsen summarized her living conditions in Zubeyde Hanım as follows:

"I moved here as a new bride... I do not like this neighborhood. I want to move out. I have two daughters, and I don't want them grow up here... I really wish we had a boutique here. There is a grocery store, but it's so far. There is nothing. We have a park, but I cannot take my daughters there. It is broken and shabby... I have two close neighbors. They come to my house, and I go to theirs. They also have children." (Female resident, 19 years old)

Particularly for residents who, like Gulsen, moved to the neighborhood recently, who moved to the neighborhood after getting married, and residents with small children, it is harder to develop a sense of belonging in the neighborhood. Being a new bride and being a mom for a first time adds further challenges in their lives. When moving to a new area, it becomes harder to adapt to these changes. Therefore, residents like Gulsen feel lonely and that the neighborhood is not enough good to raise a family.

Medine is another example of a mother of two daughters who is 26 years old. Medine is from Aydın, which is an inland city east of İzmir, and it is an agricultural city. Medine has a degree in agricultural sciences, but after Medine and her husband decided to move to İzmir, she had to give up her job. Like Gulsen, it has been less than a year since she moved to Zubeyde Hanım, and has had difficulty connecting herself with other neighbors.

"I don't like this neighborhood. The environment is bad here. My oldest daughter is five. I cannot let her go to park alone. I only let her go once. A boy pinched her. It is hard to raise children in this environment. If I had an opportunity, I would move somewhere else." (Female resident, 26 years old)

Medine does not feel comfortable raising her daughters in Zubeyde Hanım. For example, the fact that boys pinch her daughter makes her feel as though the neighborhood

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is a bad environment for raising her daughters, and she would prefer moving into a different neighborhood.

Medine and Gulsen both moved to Zubeyde Hanim after they got married. They are examples of non-relocated residents because they did not move to Zubeyde Hanim after their prior homes got demolished and were displaced in Zubeyde Hanim. Residents like Gulsen and Medine moved to Zubeyde Hanim instead because the rent is affordable. The experiences of relocated and non-relocated residents differ, but both groups tend to compare their living conditions in Zubeyde Hanim with the living conditions in their former neighborhoods. Although the relocated residents do not complain about the social environment or the atmosphere of Zubeyde Hanim, living in the urban satellites makes them feel socially isolated. Similar to the non-relocated residents, the relocated residents complained about the limited amenities and activities in the neighborhood and shared their desires to go outside.

Zarife is a relocated resident from Yali who has lived in Zubeyde Hanim with her family since 2008 and is 19 years old. Zarife is studying art history and does not have a job at the time being. Zarife helps her mother with the household duties. When I asked Zarife about the social activities she engages in, she stated the following:

“I cannot go around the neighborhood. I love going to Karsiyaka or Konak (popular districts). I get bored in the neighborhood. I want to go the different places. I walk around the neighborhood with my family at night. I want to go different places. I do not want to be in the same places.”
(Female resident, 19 years old)

Zarife is a college student who wants to explore the city and believes that the neighborhood is not close enough to popular districts like Karsiyaka and Konak. When Zarife lived in Yali, which is the former informal settlement that most of residents were displaced from, it was very easy to travel around the popular districts. Yali had several

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buses that traveled from the neighborhood to the popular districts in the city. In fact, Yali is located in Bostanli, which is another popular district that has restaurants, coffee shops, retail stores, food markets, bazaar, and parks. After experiencing living in Yali, Zarife feels, as there is not much to do in Zubeyde Hanim.

Overall, Yali had mainly informal settlements, but it was very close to the popular districts in the city and entertaining amenities such as food markets, public bazaars, retail stores, and restaurants. Therefore, the residents of Yali liked the flexibility of accessing the city. Gamze is 21 years old and lives in Zubeyde Hanim with her family and works in a textile factory. When I asked Gamze to compare the social activities in Yali with Zubeyde Hanim:

“I cannot describe in words how our lives have changed. We miss Yali so much. We were born and raised there. We mostly miss walking around the streets.” (Female resident, 21 years old)

For Gamze, even being able to walk in the streets something she misses. Like Zarife, Gamze feels as though there is not much to do in Zubeyde Hanim. When they lived in Yali, it was easier to walk around the streets, and they felt less isolated because their neighborhood was accessible and things were close and convenient.

These two relocated residents summarized the major changes in their lives in terms of daily social activities after they moved to Zubeyde Hanim. There are limited places in Zubeyde Hanim to walk around. Female residents who spend all of their time in the neighborhood experience boredom due to the limited neighborhood activities. In addition, the relocated residents relate their prior lives in Yali (squatter development) and think about the major differences in terms of neighborhood socialization. When the residents lived in Yali, their neighborhood activities included socializing with neighbors

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outside or visiting Bostanli or Karsiyaka, which are the popular hotspots in Izmir to tour around or walk around with other residents.

Overall, the residents of Zubeyde Hanim are socially isolated. With the lack of public amenities and challenges with public transportation, some feel alienated in the urban satellites. The feeling of isolation is even stronger for new, non-relocated residents. Because these residents do not know people around them yet, they only rely on their immediate neighbors. On the other hand, the relocated residents might have more luck than non-relocated residents because they have the advantage of knowing residents from Yali. For some residents, this is an advantage because their relationships have become even stronger. However, some of the residents have developed scattered relationships after they moved to Zubeyde Hanim and avoid socializing with certain groups, i.e., western or eastern.

Social Kinship

The relocated residents experienced living in informal dwellings where the houses are very close to one another; some of the houses have outside toilets bathrooms and some are not stable enough to withstand a potential risk of earthquake or flooding. Despite the housing conditions, the residents had a more family type of environment and were attached to one another. Living in a squatter development creates a family type of environment because everyone has access to each other and means of interaction.

Although the residents have ethnic, regional, and cultural differences, when they lived in informal dwellings, the fact that they lived in the same informal communities made them a neighborhood. In fact, when the residents lived in an open, squatter development environment, it was easier for them to see each other on a daily basis. Moving into an

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apartment structure in Zubeyde Hanim changed their social interactions. For instance, Gultaze is 22 years old, married, and her husband works in a textile firm; she has a seven-year-old daughter and a two-year-old son. Gultaze moved from Yali with her family around 2010. Gultaze compares her life in Yali with Zubeyde Hanim as follows:

“Life was so easy when we lived in Yali; we were like a family. The neighbors used to look after each other. Later, we became strangers to each other. You barely recognize your neighbors.”
(Female resident, 22 years old)

The open social environment increased their social attachment, interaction, and closeness with residents. For example, some families used to look after the older members of the community; the residents would have tea or coffee in front of their houses. Moving from squatter developments into high-rise apartments meant significant changes for the relocated residents. The squatter developments provided a social environment in which the residents would interact. Since their social interactions were more frequent, the residents were more likely to become attached to one another. Fatma, who is 38 years old, moved to Zubeyde Hanim with her husband and her son around 2010; she summarized her perception of the neighborhood in Zubeyde Hanim as follows:

“One apartment almost fits an entire neighborhood or a village. There are four apartments on one floor. There is a policeman, and a woman who got divorced. There is no one whom I can hang out with in my apartment. I only have three good friends.” (Female resident, 38 years old)

This respondent stressed that one apartment is like an entire village squashed into one building. The structure is different than the prior experiences of the residents. The environment is challenging for residents who want to connect with one another or build stronger bonds. In other words, the built environment shapes how the residents interact with one another. When the residents lived in open spaces and informal communities, their kinship ties were stronger. Now, they live in close, high-rise apartments, and their kinship ties are not very strong. Most of the residents stress that they know one to three

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neighbors and try to build connections with them, but they do not feel like a family as they used to.

The challenge for residents in Zubeyde Hanim is to integrate an open, family environment into the apartment lifestyle. The residents manage to build an informal, family environment in newly developed communities. For example, when I was sitting on the bench with Naciye, who is a mother of a five-year-old daughter who moved to Zubeyde Hanim around 2010, her daughter came over. Her daughter wore a white dress that looked like a flower girl dress, and she had a shiny crown. Naciye's daughter also wore cat makeup. She said, "Mommy, water. I am so thirsty." Later, Naciye yelled to her neighbor on the basement floor: "Cicek abla, she is thirsty; could you just give her a glass of water? Thank you so much." Then, Naciye went back to her daughter and said, "Just go to Cicek abla, my dear." Abla is a term meaning big sister that women friendly connected people use to call each other. For instance, in this case Naciye called Cicek abla because Naciye is 26 years old and Cicek is around 50 years old. More importantly, Naciye and Cicek have close relations. This situation is an example of a small kinship network. Naciye lives on the ninth floor of the apartment. Instead of going to her apartment, Naciye preferred to ask Cicek if her daughter could get a glass of water. This is an example of informal daily interaction that can be seen in squatter developments. The residents had more open-door relationships in the squatter developments. For instance, when their children played, they would usually go to the nearest home rather than going to their own home.

The history of kinship ties for the non-relocated residents is short because they come from different neighborhoods or regions. The population of non-relocated residents

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moved to Zubeyde without knowing anyone, so their social ties are very limited. Similar to the relocated residents, the non-relocated residents also have two or three close friends and try to maintain connections with them. Most of the mothers prefer to build connections with other mothers so their children can play while the mothers talk.

Generally speaking, the relocated and non-relocated residents have different experiences in Zubeyde Hanim, but they have several commonalities. The relocated residents experienced a major cultural shift. Although they admit that conditions were poor in their prior neighborhood, the relocated residents miss their social connections, social ties, flexibility, and accessibility to hotspots in the city. The backgrounds of non-relocated residents are more diverse than the relocated residents because they moved to Zubeyde Hanim from different places, but they also experience some challenges in forming informal connections in the neighborhood. The residents agree that the living conditions inside the apartments are fair, but the organized and collective neighborhood interactions are missing. Even neighbors who have more structured and organized neighborhood activities do not feel like they are like a family or attached to one another.

Conclusion

The first section of this chapter investigated how the residents of Zubeyde Hanim engage in social and collective neighborhood activities by explaining the causal neighborhood activities such as roscas (money days), afternoon park gatherings, apartment gatherings, shopping from food trucks, and shopping from the chain stores, and neighborhood amenities such as bakery stores. This first section of the chapter highlights several issues: the transformation from informality into a more formal environment, the differences between relocated and residents who moved voluntarily,

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social isolation, the antipathy of the environment, and changes in social kinship. All of these create differences in social and collective neighborhood activities compared to residents' prior experiences.

The transformation from informality into formality is one the most significant changes the residents of Zubeyde Hanim experienced. The housing structure of Yali was informal. This informality strengthened the residents' connections with one another. Because most of the residents lived nearby in their prior neighborhoods, they had the opportunity to see each other almost every day. Women tended to sit and socialize in the streets or in front of their houses. This open and informal environment helped them to socialize more.

After the residents moved to Zubeyde Hanim, the neighborhood's formality changed the relations of the residents, but somehow they managed to continue some of their behaviors from their prior communities. The residents of Zubeyde Hanim felt as though they cannot see each other as regularly as they used to, however. Interestingly, some of the residents transformed the hallways of their apartments into informal dwellings by setting up chairs, a television, and a couch in the hallway. At night, while men go to the nearby kiraathanes, women prefer to congregate in the hallways of their apartments. The example of an informal setting is how the residents carry some of the informality into their new dwellings. Another example is that the residents prefer fruit and vegetable trucks over the chain grocery stores. This preference is not only due to the expensive prices of the grocery stores, but also because the residents prefer a shopping environment where they can bargain and causally interact.

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In addition to the transformation from informality into formality, another important dynamic for the residents of Zubeyde Hanim is the interaction between relocated residents and residents who moved to Zubeyde Hanim voluntarily. The relocated residents are residents from Yali or nearby informal settlements, who were placed into Zubeyde Hanim. The relocated residents are obligated to pay monthly rent, but most are on payment plans due to financial difficulties. The relocated residents experienced living in old and crooked, informal houses for years. Most of the relocated residents are migrants from rural parts of Turkey and lived informal houses because they were not able to afford formal housing. The residents who moved to Zubeyde Hanim voluntarily have different housing stories. For example, there are many residents who moved because they were newly married, newly retired, or the houses are more affordable.

One of the differences between the relocated residents and voluntarily moved residents is that the relocated residents experienced living in deprived conditions, but voluntarily moved residents did not move to Zubeyde Hanim from informal dwellings. However, the relocated residents do not feel as though the environment in the neighborhood is bad. The relocated residents feel socially isolated compared to their prior neighborhood, but they do not feel as though the environment in the neighborhood is not livable. All in all, the housing history and experiences of the residents shape how the residents build their social lives in the neighborhood. The next section will explore the social and collective neighborhood activities in Uzundere, which is an urban satellite where all the residents were relocated from the same informal dwelling (Kadifekale.)

Social and Collective Neighborhood Activities in Uzundere

The residents of Uzundere consist of residents who moved to there from Kadifekale because their initial neighborhood was at risk of landslides. The majority of the residents are descended from people from the Mardin province of Turkey, which is located in the southeastern part of Turkey. Some residents are descended from people in Konya, which is located in the center of Turkey. Residents from different regions lived in Kadifekale for years. The residents of Uzundere include the relocated residents from Kadifekale. This section will explore the social and collective neighborhood activities in Uzundere: informal gatherings such as outside gatherings, afternoon walks around the neighborhood, neighborhood weddings, and neighborhood amenities, such as Baris Gross, which is another market chain.

Informal Neighborhood Home Gatherings

There is diversity in the informal neighborhood activities of the residents of Uzundere. Although meeting at home is very common, some residents view their homes as a place to take care of household duties, such as daily cleaning and cooking, and they prefer to walk outside to socialize with other neighbors. Overall, outside gatherings, walks at 5 o'clock, or daily grocery shopping at Baris Gross are common activities. However, as with the Zubeyde Hanim neighborhood, home gatherings provide flexibility for the residents because of the high percentage of stay-at-home mothers. In addition, the residents already have some connections, and relatives or close friends gather in their homes. Relatives are more likely gather in the homes, cook together, and participate in communal work.

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Suzan, who is a resident of Uzundere and moved around 2010, invited me to a home gathering. Suzan is 18 years old, and she has one older brother. Suzan was born and raised in Izmir, but her family migrated from Mardin. Suzan's sister-in-law, who is also 18, joined us. Suzan is newly married and has a two-month-old baby boy. Suzan explained that she was around 14 when her family resettled from Kadifekale to Uzundere, and it has been more than a year since she got married. Currently, Suzan lives with her husband and her baby boy in a neighborhood nearby Kadifekale. Because the houses in Uzundere are expensive, they could not afford living here. Her sister-in-law lives with Suzan's brother and her parents in Uzundere. Currently, Suzan is not working. During the day, she goes to her parents' house (Uzundere) from her neighborhood, which is a half an hour away by bus; her sister-in-law helps Suzan to take care of the baby, and they cook together. The other members of the family work in different jobs. Suzan's husband is a construction worker, Suzan's mother works in a fish factory, and Suzan's father and brother work as car mechanics. Suzan and her sister-in-law cook, take care of the baby, and hang out during the day.

This is a very common situation in Uzundere. The majority of residents usually have their relatives over. Most of the female residents engage in household or daily labor together. Children play with one another, and the adults are in charge of household business. Although there are no written rules about who is in the charge of what kind of labor, I recognize that the household distribution might be based on age or the family status. For example, there are power dynamics between Suzan and her sister-in-law. Suzan talked most of the time before her sister-in-law spoke. Before Suzan's sister-in-law joined in our conversation, she gave a look as if asking permission. In addition, when I

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first entered the house, Suzan gave an order to her sister-in-law to bring her slippers for the guests. In other words, brides work even harder if they live with their husband's family.

Suzan's household is not the only house where I witnessed the bride and sisters-in-law or the bride and mother-in-law's dynamics. I made another home visit on the 12th floor with Gulseri, who is the host of the house. She lives together with her oldest daughter, grandson, sister-in-law, and other sister-in-law's son who has leukemia. Gulseri has two sisters-in-law, and they both live in Uzundere. Gulseri's oldest daughter got married about two years ago and comes to Uzundere during the day and leaves around 4:00 PM. Like Suzan, Gulseri's older daughter enjoys visiting the house that she grew up in during the day. She tells me that she is often quite bored since her husband is at work and she has a baby boy to take care of, and she enjoys visiting her family and thinks that days go faster when she does. Gulseri's daughter said, "I love the breeze here, my house is hot. I live with my husband and my father-in-law. While my husband is at work, I come here and I stay until 4:00 PM and make sure that dinner is ready." Then, she laughed and added, "I am not gonna lie, I also gossip a lot with these two and get the neighborhood's latest gossip." While we were having this conversation, the baby was whining. Gulseri's oldest daughter brought tea for us.

This is another example of a daily routine in Uzundere. In particular, new brides with babies or small children prefer to go to their parents' home to look after their children. Meanwhile, the new brides stress that the days go faster when they are with their mother and the relatives they know and at the family members' homes. In this case, there are fewer power dynamics when she is in her own mother's home. Her mother and

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her aunt help her to take care of her baby, and they cook together. In other words, these new brides embrace the social environment. Although they are married and live in other neighborhoods, they still expand their family or kinship connections in the neighborhood. While mostly brides come to visit their families in Uzundere, families in Uzundere have typical daily routines of taking care of households and taking care of elderly people in their households. Families with a family member with special needs spend most of the days in their homes and participate in the household labor. For instance, Tulay has a mother with Alzheimer disease. Tulay asked me to come over for morning coffee, but kindly warned me: "We should hang out in the kitchen. My mom is sleeping now. Once she wakes up, she cannot tolerate voices. Believe or not, I cannot turn on the TV; she is extremely sensitive to voices." Tulay also has young niece, whom she takes care of. The little girl was wearing a pink, Betty Boop design dress, and crossed her legs. Tulay kindly patted her head and said, "My lovely Ceren is always calm; my brother asked me to watch her for the day." Ceren lives with Tulay's brother and sister-in-law. Since they both work, Tulay takes care of Ceren, particularly during the summer. Tulay told me that Ceren is always very calm and quiet and does not cause any trouble with her mother's Alzheimer situation.

In fact, Uzundere has a family oriented environment. The daily routines of residents depend on their family circumstances. There are residents who take care of a family member with special needs, and there are brides who enjoy coming to visit their own family because the brides do not have freedom in their own house because of the dynamics between their in-laws. In particular, for brides who live in the same house as their in-laws, coming to visit their families in Uzundere gives them a sense of freedom.

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They can sit, hang around, gossip, cook, and take care of their children together in a comfortable environment. Such caretaking actions become a daily routine for these family members. In general, instead of having structured roscas, the residents seem to have very casual daily home routines. Some residents have their daughters come over; they cook, have conversations, and gossip. New brides bring food to their homes. On the other hand, residents with a family member in a severe condition tend to have a quieter environment, but they also manage the daily household duties. When the residents want to take a walk or socialize with other residents, they prefer to walk around the neighborhood.

Outside Gatherings and 5:00 PM Walks

Uzundere has a lively atmosphere. There are men, women, and children outside; there are some street vendors and residents who walk around the neighborhood. Although there is a children's park in the neighborhood, most of the residents prefer to walk around the neighborhood instead of hanging around the park. The street vendors increase the dynamics in the neighborhood.

Uzundere is mainly comprised of residents relocated from Kadifekale, as noted previously. Thus, the residents are already familiar with one another since they have lived together in Kadifekale. For instance, Arife is well known in the neighborhood. Like most residents, she is also a resettled resident from Kadifekale. Arife is originally from Mardin and moved to Izmir when she was 16 with her husband. After Arife and her husband settled in Izmir, they lived in Kadifekale. Currently, Arife has a counter that is located across from the dolmus, which means a shared vehicle. Arife is well known in the

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neighborhood because she works in counter every day, and she has the opportunity to talk with everyone.

Arife was very close to her neighbors in Kadifekale, and she tries to maintain similar connections in Uzundere. Arife's husband's brothers also migrated to Kadifekale, Izmir. While Arife and her family were in Kadifekale, they became involved in stuffed mussel labor. Basically, men in the family caught the mussels, and the women cleaned and cooked the rice for the stuffed mussels. The men then sold the mussels. The stuffed mussel is the most popular street food in the Izmir area and was a common form of labor in Kadifekale.



Photo X: “The Stuffed Mussels (Midye Dolmasi)”, from Ozlem Tezcan, Serkan Colak and Sinan Kilic (2013, December 16). *Kadifekale and Urban Tranformation*



Photo XI: "The Mussels", from Ozlem Tezcan, Serkan Colak and Sinan Kilic (2013, December 16). *Kadifekale and Urban Tranformation*

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Kadriye is also a resettled resident from Kadifekale and originally from Mardin; she has counter right next to Arife. Kadriye's daughter Dilan usually helps her mother in the vending business. After she gets out from school, she comes to help with the business. Arife and Kadriye were born in Mardin, but came to Izmir 20 years ago, and their children were born in Izmir. Arife and Kadriye speak Turkish and Kurdish, and their children are bilingual. Arife has about 12 boxes in her counter, and she sells cigarettes, tea, lighters, and gum. Kadriye has different varieties, but she does not have cigarettes in her counter. She has about nine boxes and sells candy, gum, and chocolate. The cigarettes and tea have no banderole in Arife's counter. The labels for the cigarettes and tea are not written in Turkish; they are written in Arabic. Women and children who pass by around the corner say "hi" to Arife and Kadriye. Women who come from the dolmus, a small van that runs from Uzundere to Kadifekale, usually engage in brief conversations with them. Men who want to buy cigarettes usually stop at Arife's corner, give her money, and leave. The conversations are usually in Kurdish.

Arife and Kadriye's corner is one of the neighborhood's most dynamic spots. The residents who take a walk stop by and talk to them, particularly with Arife. Some children come to ask for a piece of gum or candy and promise to bring money later on. The residents who get off work usually stop by this corner. Occasionally, Arife makes tea for the residents. The first time she offered me tea, she wondered if I drink smuggled tea²⁶. This is a place where the resettled residents from Kadifekale bring the culture of the

²⁶ Black tea leaves cut with dry and aromatic taste smuggled through the Syrian border. If products (tea and cigarettes) do not have banderoles, it means that they are not legal.

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gecekondu. A group of residents talk, socialize, gossip, borrow from each other, and ask if they can watch their children for 10 minutes while they do their grocery shopping.

This corner is not only a place for the adults to see each other and talk. Arife and Kadriye's spot is in front of Atam and Cennet apartments, and the children also love playing football in that corner. Since there are few cars and traffic is light in the neighborhood, the corners of the apartments have become a safe place for children to play. They usually play football in the afternoon from 4:00 PM to 6:00 PM at the same corner. Although there is a children's park in the neighborhood, children prefer playing football at the intersection of the Cennet and Atam apartments. Some children prefer to ride their bikes. The boys tend to prefer playing football, and the girls prefer riding a bike or throwing a ball to each other. While children socialize by playing ball, the adults socialize and have conversations in the corner. In other words, similar to adults, children also bring the culture of the gecekondu into the urban satellite. It is very common for children to play in streets with plastic bottles in the mud in squatter developments. Instead of going to the park or other formal locations, children play in the streets. Similar to the residents of Zubeyde Hanim, the afternoon gatherings are very significant for residents and the neighborhood.



Photo XII: The Playground

The residents of Uzundere mostly stop by the corner of Arife and Kadriye to engage in small talk, do their daily errands at one of the chain grocery stores Baris Gross, or watch the children while they play. The public bazaar is also important for residents since they can buy fruits and vegetables at cheaper prices. The public bazaars in Turkey have particular schedules for every neighborhood, and the sellers of the public bazaar come every Monday to Uzundere. However, socio-economic factors influence the public bazaars. For example, in the districts near middle-class neighborhoods, the bazaars are very lively; the sellers bring kilos of products because of the potential for buyers. The bazaars in working-class neighborhoods are usually different. Because most of the residents cannot afford much, the sellers bring few items, and in some cases, rotten and

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low-quality products. In fact, if the public bazaar is on Monday, that might also mean that the sellers want to get rid of their products from the previous week, and a working-class low-income neighborhood is a good option for them.

Considering that the residents of Uzundere are far from the city and the products in chain markets are expensive, the public bazaar is very important. The major problem for the residents is the low quality of products. The residents have a strong desire to shop at the bazaar, buy reasonable products, and socialize in the neighborhood. The limited quality and amount of products prevent this. For instance, Fatma is a resident of Uzundere and moved to Uzundere with her husband and eight-year-old daughter. Fatma prefers to be a stay-at-home mother and take care of her household duties. She believes that Uzundere is isolated from the other amenities and the residents rely on the weekly public bazaar and the chain market in the neighborhood for their food shopping.

“I just came from the public bazaar, but believe it or not, there is nothing there. We go there with enthusiasm, but leave with nothing.” (Female resident, 38 years old)

The public bazaars are important for neighborhood dynamics. While the residents can obtain products for affordable prices, the social environment in the public bazaars gives the residents time to get out and interact with their neighborhood. In fact, when the residents lived in Kadifekale, they had access to public bazaars and a few local neighborhood food markets. In this sense, the meaning of the public bazaar for the residents of Uzundere is very important because they might have the opportunity to buy more affordable things. One of the struggles for the residents of Uzundere is the absence of goods in the bazaar. As a result, they become reliant and dependent on Baris Gross, which is the only major chain grocery store in the neighborhood.

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Baris Gross Plaza



Photo XIII: Baris Gross

The First Floor of Baris Gross Plaza

Baris Gross, a market chain in Izmir, has 13 stores in different districts. Although Baris Gross is the name of the chain grocery store, the residents refer to “Baris Gross” as the two-story, closed area in the neighborhood square. Baris Gross chain grocery store is located on the first floor of the plaza. The other half of the first floor consists of a closed playground for children, an Atari video game system, tables and chairs in front of the children's playground, and a café called Salvador. The interesting thing is that the Atari system is in English, and the name of the café is in Latin, but the population of Uzundere does not include Latin- or English-speaking people.

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Children play in the closed area. While some play with Atari, others play in a kind of pool that is filled with colorful balls, and jump around the balls. Meanwhile, the adults sit down and watch the children. Rather than sitting down and drinking coffee or tea in Salvador Café, most adults prefer to sit down right across from the playground. Some adults sew while they wait until the children are done playing. For the children to play, they need a coin.

The adults usually let their children finish playing, and then later on, they stop by Baris Gross, which is located on the corner of the first floor. Baris Gross is the only formal market that is available for residents in the neighborhood. Because most of the residents do not have cars, and there is limited food in the public bazaar, Baris Gross has become the only available option for the residents. Baris Gross has all kinds of dairy, meat, fruits, vegetables, and baked goods. It is also possible to find household goods, such as carpet, tea and coffee, trays, kitchen and bath towel, or books.

The employees of Baris Gross use professional language call each other Hanim/Bey, or Ms. or Mr. The employees wear uniforms, which is a blue shirt and dressy pants. Most of the employees live in Uzundere, but there are also many employees from elsewhere. Employees work 12 hours every day, have three breaks during the day, and can only take one day off during the week because Baris Gross makes the rules. Some of the employees work in Salvador Café when it gets busier. Salvador Café looks like a Western coffee chain, such as Starbucks, Peet's Coffee, or Gloria Jeans. There are some rectangular tables for four or five people, and there are small tables for one or two people. English songs play in the background. The walls are yellow. Salvador Café has little circulation and does not get very busy. There are coffee products, including coffee,

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Turkish coffee, latte, cappuccino, espresso, and tea. The food includes Turkish milk-based desserts, such as sutlac, (rice pudding), muhallebi (milk pudding), and kazandibi (a milk pudding, slightly burned inside). There are also snacks such as cookies and crackers. The residents usually stop at Baris Gross to buy necessities for their homes. The residents buy few items and pay with cash.



Photo XIV: Salvador Cafe

The Second Floor of Baris Gross Plaza

The second floor of the plaza includes a deli, a Turkish pita place, a hairdresser for women, another hairdresser for men, a pharmacy, a Turkish coffee house (kiraathane), and a restroom. There are seven empty stores, and all of these stores are owned by Baris

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Gross. The women's hairdresser, the pharmacy, and sandwich place have the most public traffic. In general, there are more residents circulating the first floor of the plaza.

The kiraathane is the most crowded area on the second floor. In fact, it is even more crowded than Salvador Café because kiraathanes have a significant place for the residents of Uzundere. When the residents lived in Kadifekale, most of the men gathered and socialized in kiraathanes, while women socialized in their homes or in front of their homes. Every neighborhood has a kirathane (kahvehane). They are significant places for men to socialize or build a social network. For instance, if a man is looking for a job, they are a good place to look. Although smoking is not allowed in closed places, men smoke in the kirathane of Uzundere. Including the waiter, everyone in the kirathane is male. The tablecloths are red and white plaid, which is very traditional. Men play backgammon and watch the TV, which is located on the top of the counter.

The Residents' Reactions to Baris Gross Plaza

Similar to Zubeyde Hanim, Uzundere has many mothers who take care of their children, do the household duties, and run errands during the day. However, few residents hang around the coffee shop in Baris Gross Plaza, although the residents take their children to the indoor playroom in the plaza. The prices of tea and coffee products and other baked goods are affordable, but it is not easy for the residents to have a cup of tea regularly with their relatives in Salvador Café. Most of the residents can barely afford day-to-day shopping in Baris Gross. In addition, it is more spontaneous for residents to have casual conversations around the bus stop or by the street vendors than to meet up at a coffee shop.

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In fact, the existence of Baris Gross Plaza brings flexibility to Uzundere residents for grocery shopping, but the residents of Uzundere are not familiar with chain stores or the plaza concept. After the residents settled from Kadifekale, where there are informal markets, the transformation has been significant. Around 2010, where the residents settled in Uzundere, they did not have any bakery or grocery stores near them. Initially, a few local trucks used to pass through the neighborhood, which was only for residents to purchase bread. Though some of the residents prefer food trucks to formal chains like Baris Gross, Baris Gross does not allow any type of food trucks. The only available vendors include the weekly public bazaar and the women who sell gum, chocolate, tea, or cigarettes. In other words, Baris Gross dominates the neighborhood, but the residents experience problems with this chain market.

Zeynep is an 18-year-old resident in Uzundere who lives with her 14-year-old brother and her parents. Zeynep was born in Izmir, and her family is originally from Mardin. Zeynep's family moved to Uzundere in 2010. Currently, Zeynep misses the informality and casualness in Kadifekale and describes the challenges of settling into Uzundere as follows:

“Life is so rough here. There are so many people who do not have enough money to even get bread. No one can help them. We used to have a bakery in Kale. The bread was so delicious. We used to get five loaves of bread and finish them all. Those who could not afford to get bread used to borrow money from the bakery. But now, there is no possibility of that. They do not know how to bake bread in Baris Gross. The salt is missing, something is missing... There is no taste.”
(Female resident, 18 years old)

Zeynep described the days when they first settled in Uzundere. A bread truck passed around the neighborhood. According to Zeynep, the taste of that bread was significantly better than the taste of the bread in Baris Gross. Bread is very important for the residents of Uzundere; since the families cannot afford vegetables or meat every day,

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bread is the only product that residents consume regularly. There are families who can consume up to seven loaves of bread since they cannot afford to buy meat, vegetables or dairy products.

Kemine is another resident in Uzundere who voiced some complaints about Uzundere. Kemine has a six-month-old baby boy, and her husband works as a construction worker. Kemine lives with her parents, brother, husband, and baby boy in the same household. Like Zeynep, Kemine was born and raised in Kadifekale, Izmir and her family is from Mardin. Kemine dropped out of school in her freshman year of high school. Her parents contributed to stuffed mussel labor when they were in Kadifekale, and Kemine helped her family. As a mother of a six-month-old, and Kemine's greatest challenge is the high prices in Baris Gross:

“We all depend on Baris Gross. We have complaints about Baris Gross. The diapers usually cost around 13 to 14 Turkish liras, but I pay 27.5 Turkish liras in Baris Gross. We do not have a car. If something costs 7.5 Turkish liras, we pay 10 Turkish liras. It is the same with the baby food. Everyone goes there because we are obligated to. It would be ideal if we had other options.”
(Female resident, 21 years old)

Because the residents of Uzundere do not have reliable transportation and are isolated in the urban satellite, Baris Gross is the only place available for the residents' needs. Kemine believes that Baris Gross is aware of this fact, and therefore the prices are very high because Baris Gross knows that no matter what happens, the residents will buy the products that they need.

Another resident who complained about Baris Gross is Kadriye, a 43-year-old stay-at-home mother with an eight-year-old daughter, and eleven-year-old son. Kadriye agreed with the fact that Baris Gross takes advantage of the residents, and Kadriye prefers BIM, another grocery store that is more affordable; BIM the grocery chain store in Zubeyde Hanim.

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“I wish we had BIM. So many people were poisoned from Baris Gross. They sold products that had already expired.” (Female resident 43 years old)

In fact, Kadriye feels comfortable with the chain store idea as in the city, but she prefers prices that are affordable and products that have good quality. When Baris Gross first opened, as Kadriye noted, some residents were poisoned by the expired food products. Therefore, the residents have some mixed feelings toward Baris Gross.

In addition to the residents’ mixed feelings, Baris Gross formalizes the culture of shopping for the residents. As the first respondent explained, it was natural for a resident with financial problems to buy something with an agreement to pay later in Kadifekale and pay after they obtained money. In a chain store, there is no room to buy something with an agreement of paying later. Considering that the residents encounter many financial problems, such as housing and utility debts, Baris Gross creates challenges for the residents. In addition, Baris Gross sells the products at either the same price as a middle-class chain store or more. It also sells expired or low-quality products at higher prices according to some residents. Similar to the case of public bazaars, the chain stores also tend to bring low-quality products into working-class neighborhoods. The residents can only afford day-to-day shopping.

The Regional Dynamics in Uzundere

Depending on their age and stage, children and adults tend to carry the ways in which they socialized in Kadifekale into Uzundere. Although there are available places in Baris Gross grocery store to do so, adults prefer having conversations near Arife's and Kadriye's counters or around the dolmus stop. There is a neighborhood park planned for the adults and a regular children’s park for the children. It is more common for the

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children of Uzundere to play football in the streets or casually play hide and seek, rather than playing in the parks.

Women in Uzundere maintain their relationships from Kadifekale, but also form new ones. When the residents lived in Kadifekale, they felt as though they established friendships based on their regions. People from Mardin tend to socialize with people from Mardin. After the residents moved in Uzundere, their housing tenure and history made them mingle.

Kurdish and Turkish dynamics are significant to understand the neighborhood dynamics in Uzundere. When the residents of Uzundere lived in Kadifekale, a high percentage of them were migrants from Mardin (a southeastern city), Konya (a city located in central Turkey), and other regions. In general, most of the residents came from Mardin and have Kurdish ancestry. Although some admit that they experienced Kurdish and Turkish differences when they were in Kadifekale, after they moved to Uzundere, this separation decreased, and for some, it was gone. In addition, Turkish and Kurdish separation is viewed differently for those born in Izmir. For example, the first generation born and raised in Izmir spoke Turkish outside and Kurdish with their families. Of those born and raised in Izmir, Kurdish migrants socialize with their friends and tend to speak in Turkish.

The principal of the primary school in Uzundere who used to live in Kadifekale and moved to Uzundere after the demolition of the houses believes that the regional differences disappeared after the residents began their new lives in Uzundere. The principal referenced the local flatbread restaurant “Konmar” that is located in the second floor of Baris Gross Plaza. There are many residents who migrated from Mardin in the

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southeast and Konya in the central part of Turkey. The owner of the flatbread restaurant thought about the name “Konmar” to welcome and harmonize residents. The principal believes that examples like Konmar inspire the residents and change the atmosphere:

I think regional problems do not exist here. There are Kurds, Turks, and Laz²⁷ living here. So many children are born and raised in Izmir. You can see the difference in their speech and behavior. I do not see regional boundaries. (Male resident, 53 years old)

For the first-generation rural migrants, their original regions matter. The children of the first-generation migrants feel a sense of belonging to Izmir. The transformation from Kadifekale to Uzundere changed the dynamics, particularly for the first generations. After the residents moved to Uzundere, their experiences made them relate to one another. In fact, the residents felt as though they were from Kadifekale, rather than from Mardin or Konya. The fact that the residents came and resettled in the same neighborhood means they share similar feelings of alienation or belonging. The residents who did not know each other in Kadifekale had a chance to get acquainted with one another in Uzundere; some of the residents shared their sorrow after they moved.

Meryem is a resident of Uzundere from Nigde, which is in the central part of Turkey and moved to Izmir when she was 16 years old with her husband. Currently, her husband is the doorman of Atam apartment. Her son got married and lives in Manisa, which is about a forty-five-minute drive to Izmir. Meryem feels as though her life improved after she moved to Uzundere, but she feels as though Kadifekale has a significant place in her life. For Meryem, Kadifekale is the home that she moved to as a bride, where she became a mother, and where she shared a great deal of happiness and sorrow:

²⁷ Laz is an ethnicity from the Black Sea region at northern part of Turkey.

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“When we first moved to here, we cried a lot. We missed Kale a lot. We used to walk everywhere, going up and down the streets in Kale. We walked everywhere. Once you miss the bus here, it's done. Then, you wait at least half an hour. We had always been together in Kale. Then, we came here. Suddenly, all of us are ladies. So before you go to someone's home, first you ask if the person is home. We do not randomly go to each others' houses anymore.” (Female resident, 63 years old)

Overall, Meryem views her life in Uzundere as isolated compared to her life in Kadifekale, and she is aware that the transformation from Kadifekale to Uzundere changed the relations of the residents. For Meryem, her new life in Uzundere introduced new boundaries in their lives. Previously, the Kale residents had no hesitation on knocking on neighbors' door and going to someone else's home, but after they moved to Uzundere, they formed some boundaries. For example, residents ask one another if they are home before they visit each other.

In fact, the new lives of the residents in Uzundere made them build new connections. There are many residents that they had never spoken to when they lived in Kadifekale. After they moved to Uzundere, they formed new connections. Nuriye, who is 27 years old, is one of the residents who felt as though she managed to build new connections after she moved to Uzundere. Nuriye has a five-year-old daughter, Hazal, and her husband has a retail business in downtown Izmir. Nuriye's family is from Mardin, but she was born and raised in Izmir. Until Hazal was born, Nuriye worked in the retail business with her husband, but currently Nuriye is taking care of Hazal.

“Arife sister [abla] and I are like relatives. We met when we were in Kadifekale, but we became relatives. The neighborliness is not the same here. We used to go to each other's houses very often when were in Kadifekale.” (Female resident, 27 years old)

Nuriye also shares Meryem's sentiment that moving to Uzundere made the residents to establish some boundaries. After they moved to Uzundere, they have realized that their homes should be a place where they keep their relations private. The residents of Uzundere miss important components of Kadifekale, such as transportation,

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accessibility to inner cities, convenience, and close relationships with their neighbors. The process of urban transformation has been challenging for the residents. However, the relocated residents in Uzundere have a strong bond. They view themselves as a family and accommodate to this change by expressing their feelings about Kadifekale or by sharing their problems with the neighborhood. In addition, there is a communal spirit in the neighborhood. When the respondents describe their lives in Uzundere, they use the word "we" to emphasize that this change is not a personal change; this happened to all of them, as they all shared the experience of moving from Kadifekale to Uzundere.

Informal but Significant Life Activities

Overall, the residents of Uzundere have not only experienced a transformation in their causal events, such as home gatherings, daily causal meetings, and afternoon hangouts, but also more formal events like weddings, religious holidays, and circumcisions. When the residents lived in Kadifekale, they had close attachments and celebrated each other's religious holidays and invited each other to weddings or circumcision ceremonies. Circumcisions and wedding ceremonies were open to the public and were occasions where neighbors gathered and celebrated these significant life events. Having such ceremonies in the neighborhood is affordable for residents and makes it easier to invite other residents in these life events. Despite the changes, the residents still participate in these traditional life events. The residents of Uzundere still have street wedding ceremonies as they did in Kadifekale. Many people come outside to the wedding ceremonies, so the neighbors also join in the wedding ceremonies.

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Weddings

Arife invited me to his son Yusuf's wedding. The wedding was in front of the Cagdas apartments where they live. There were plastic chairs that were placed in a semi-circle. The groom's family and guests sat on the left, and the bride's family and guests sat on the right. Arife, her sister-in laws, and her daughter Dicle were all dressed up, had makeup on, and looked very different from how they normally did in their daily lives. Dicle wore a pink, strapless gown, and there were black shiny things on her dress. Dicle looked very fashionable, had a messy bun hairstyle, and black eyeliner with dark eyeshadow. Nurseri had on an earth-colored gown, similar to Dicle, Nurseri also had dark eye makeup and a bun hairstyle. One thing that was interesting was that the girls who were not married wore gowns and girls who were married wore long skirts and usually had yemenis to match their dresses. After I told the girls that they looked stunning. Nurseri told me, "We went to the hairdresser near Kale. They did my hair exactly in the way I wanted."

In the center, everyone was dancing; there was a singer in the back. Two men had microphones and sang songs in Kurdish. Gulseri told me that the singers also came from near Kale. Women danced on the left, and men danced in the right left in halay, which is an Anatolian dance style that people dance based on the rhythm of a drum. Nurseri appeared. "No way! You are not dancing..." I joined in the dancing with them. Usually there was someone to lead the Halay and others followed. In this case, there were two separate halays. A man wearing a red cloth led, and other men followed him based on the rhythm. There was a woman on the left wearing a green skirt, and we all followed her based on the rhythm.

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Every half an hour, the blue dolmus arrived and dropped some people off. Nurseri told me that there were many guests coming from the nearby neighborhoods. Dolmus drivers who were also invited to the wedding gave rides to people who did not have transportation. The last crew who came to the wedding also brought a rectangular-shaped wedding cake. Nurseri explained that the wedding cake also came from Kale. Meanwhile, I kept following people in the halay. Suddenly, I heard a shot, and I unintentionally jumped. Nurseri laughed. "It is just a blank shot." Then, Arife's husband kindly took the man who had shot the gun to the bus stop. A blank shot symbolizes masculinity and dominance. Men shoot a blank shot in weddings to show their emotions. But now the residents live in Uzundere, which is a different settlement, and it makes other residents feel uncomfortable and frightened. In this case, the groom's father interfered in the situation. In general, residents keep their traditions by modifying their behaviors based on the setting.

Street weddings were very common in Kadifekale because residents lived in open environments, making it easier for residents to hold their wedding ceremonies outside and make them open to the entire neighborhood. Although the residents do not live in gecekondus and no longer have an open environment, the residents use the front of their apartments as spaces for weddings or neighborhood celebrations, which is not usual in high-rise middle class apartment neighborhoods. It is very common for the residents of Uzundere to have these kinds of weddings outside.

While there were people who came from other neighborhoods at the wedding, most of the residents were from Uzundere. Almost every half an hour, their relatives came by dolmus. In addition, the residents of Uzundere keep their former networks. For

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example, instead of going to the hairdresser at Baris Gross Plaza or asking Baris Gross to bake a wedding cake, it was more efficient for the residents to go their former hairdresser or ask their former neighbor to bake the cake. This case indicates the continuation of networks from Kadifekale. Although there are a few residents who decided not to move to Uzundere, they still maintain strong relationships with the residents in Uzundere.

Ramadan Holiday

The period of Ramadan has cultural and religious meanings. These meanings are even more powerful for the neighborhoods where most people practice Ramadan, like Uzundere. People tend to be kinder to each other, avoid fighting, make peace, and gather at sahur meal with the family, which is the meal before dawn and start of the day of fasting in Ramadan. I witnessed the residents of Uzundere practice Ramadan. Men gathered and went to the mosque, and women cooked for Ramadan during the day. Compared to the regular seasons, there were fewer people outside during Ramadan. I was told about the shared iftar meals in the neighborhood which people bring food and start eating after a long day of fasting in a picnic setting on the grass overlooking to the view of the Izmir bay and appreciating the cool breeze after a hot summer day of not eating and drinking.

Kemire invited me to her home the day before the fasting period started. Kemire had her daughter at home and was helping her mom to prepare for the period of Ramadan fasting. They both felt the excitement of Ramadan, which was starting the next day. Kemire explained, "We always wash our carpets before Ramadan arrives." Kemire and her daughter washed the carpets and hung them on the balcony. They cleaned the house all day. Ramadan is a holy month. Although they knew that it was going to be

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challenging to fast, especially during the summer, as the days are longer and the weather is very humid, the month of Ramadan is very important for them.

Ramadan preparations and practices were major traditions when the residents lived in Kadifekale, and these traditions continue in Uzundere. I observed that some women intensely cleaned their homes before Ramadan started, and some women got stomach aid medicine to take care of their health. Even women who were breast-feeding participated in Ramadan fasting. In other words, the residents managed to maintain a similar Ramadan cultural practice in Uzundere. However, when I asked the residents about the Ramadan festival (which is the festival after the fasting period where families gather, the younger people visit the older people's homes, children go door to door and ask for chocolate and candy; this is why it is sometimes called the Festival of Sweets, as people eat sweets), the residents stressed that there have been some changes since they moved from Kadifekale.

Ayse is a resident in Uzundere and originally from Mardin. Like the other residents of Uzundere, Ayse moved in 2010. Ayse is not working because she has back problems. Her daughter is a senior in high school, and her son is a freshman in high school. Her husband works in construction. Ayse believes that the Ramadan holidays do not feel the same in Uzundere compared to Kadifekale:

“Festivals are not the same. When we were in Kale, you would hear someone knock on your door at seven in the morning. Only two or three children stop by, but the weddings and circumcision ceremonies are still good.” (Female resident, 38 years old)

Ayse believes that when they lived in Kadifekale, the residents felt that the Ramadan festival was cheerful. Since the residents lived in an open-space environment, their neighbors used to celebrate each other's Ramadan holiday. Living in apartments creates changes in how the residents celebrate Ramadan. The residents still prepare for

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the Ramadan festival and fast in the same way because Ramadan is about personal religious values, and the urban transformation process might not change their personal values.

Circumcision Ceremonies

In addition to wedding ceremonies, it is part of the culture to host circumcision receptions in the streets of the poor and working class neighborhoods. It is hard to afford to host a circumcision ceremony in reception halls inside, and street celebrations are common. Sevim is a resident of Uzundere and originally from Urfa in southeast of Turkey. Sevim moved to Izmir when she was 16 years old as a bride and believes that the circumcision ceremonies have continued in the same manner as in Kadifekale:

“I am just coming from my neighbor. Her son had a [circumcision religious ceremony today. God bless him.” (Female resident 38, years old)

A circumcision ceremony is when the parents of the son who was circumcised invite neighbors and relatives to their home, and an Imam comes to say mevlit, which refers to the poem by Suleyman Celebi celebrating the birth of the Prophet Muhammad. Imam, who is the prayer leader, sings the Mevlut to bless the son who was circumcised. This is a traditional ceremony that most Turkish families practice. Depending on their socio-economic status and financial capabilities, there are different ways in which families practice this tradition. Primarily in working-class, poor neighborhoods, families with a son who was circumcised invite their neighbors over. While the host of the family cooks, the neighbors also bring food. The circumcision celebration is a family occasion, and the residents used to go to each other's son's circumcision ceremony in Kadifekale. This tradition has continued in Uzundere.

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Celebrations, such as Ramadan, circumcisions, or weddings, are important events. Although the residents now live in a different environment, they still manage to carry on these celebrations. The ways in which they celebrate these events are not identical, but the residents manage to continue most of their traditions and find ways to adapt these events to their new setting.

Social Isolation

Over the course of the five years since the residents moved to Uzundere, similar to Zubeyde Hanim, they have experienced major changes in their lives. They used to live in squatter developments, built informal relationships, and had informal amenities, such as a small market. One difference between living in informal communities versus formal communities is that although the residents are spatially isolated, they are not socially isolated from one another.

What makes Uzundere distinct is that the residents managed to go through this change as a family, which does not mean that everyone gets along with one another, but the residents have kept a family environment in their neighborhood. They still engage in small talk with one another and celebrate important life events with each other; the residents who knew each other before have bonds, and those who did not know each other have started talking. More importantly, the residents managed to leave some of their stereotypes behind. Once they moved to Uzundere, they began to call each other Kaleli, which means "we are from Kale." The residents do not identify themselves as Turkish, Kurdish, easterners, or westerners, but instead they feel that they belong to the same community.

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On the other hand, the residents experience social isolation because they live in a community that is far away from the city. Transportation problems and the inability to access public amenities, such as bazaars make feel the residents isolated. They encounter difficulties in adopting a formal chain market, such as Baris Gross. Financial difficulties allow them to buy very few goods and services. The purchasing power in the community is very low because of the housing debts, utilities, and unemployment.

Social Ties

What is remarkable about the residents of Uzundere is how they cried together when they moved to the community. Their emotions and experiences connect them to one another. Therefore, they have strong kinship ties. The residents have conversations in the streets, take walks together, and their children play together. These actions stress that the residents have greater participation in collective activities in the neighborhood. These are the attitudes that bring life to the neighborhood.

Uzundere is an environment in which the residents have social and kinship ties. There are many relatives who cook together and raise their children together. There are even brides who come from other neighborhoods to Uzundere to spend the day with their families and friends in the neighborhood. These connections and ties keep people connected to one another or prevent relationships from falling apart.

Conclusion

After the residents moved to urban satellites (Zubeyde Hanim and Uzundere), they experienced differences in their social and neighborhood activities. Because their prior experiences and prior neighborhoods are different, the overall process of engaging in neighborhood activities has been different. Overall, the residents of Zubeyde Hanim

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have experienced scattered relationships because their housing tenure and backgrounds differ, but the residents of Uzundere have experienced more unity than the residents of Zubeyde Hanim because of their familiarity with one another before. The residents in both neighborhoods have experienced social isolation and alienation, and financial barriers make it harder for them to afford things to ensure a good quality of life.

There are different dynamics for the residents of Zubeyde Hanim. There are residents who were relocated from Yali and others who moved of their own volition. Even the relocated residents might experience regional barriers. For instance, the westerners believe that it is hard to socialize with the easterners because of the differences in their lifestyles. However, the easterners do not have similar thoughts toward the westerners. Lastly, the residents with less tenure have had a harder time adjusting to the neighborhood. Overall, there are scattered groups in the neighborhood, but the residents do not socialize as a whole. The only activities the residents tend to gather for are mandatory events, such as elections.

The residents of Uzundere also experience different dynamics in their neighborhood. However, they are more tightly connected since they moved from the same neighborhood, have known each other for years, and more importantly, moved because their neighborhood was at risk of landslides. The residents have different backgrounds and different family status. Yet, the residents share a prior experience—they lived in a neighborhood that was at risk, and now they are coping with the urban transformation. The residents miss Kadifekale, but they feel like a family in their new neighborhood.

On the other hand, the residents of Zubeyde Hanim moved to their urban satellite because their old neighborhood was overcrowded. Their quality of life was hard when they lived in Yali. Although the former residents of Yali appreciate their new living standards, they are heartbroken because their squatter development was demolished and transformed into high-rise buildings for the middle class. In other words, their land became more valuable and not many were able to stay because of financial difficulties. Overall, residents' experiences and feelings related to urban transformation matter. The residents of Uzundere miss their neighborhood, but they also know they were at risk of landslides. The residents of Zubeyde Hanim know that the urban developers made a profit, while they incurred debts. These feelings have consequences for how they form a neighborhood and how they participate in or organize neighborhood activities. The residents of Uzundere have more casual relationships, share life events, and have become a significant part of each other's lives. The residents of Zubeyde Hanim have more distant relationships. Both populations feel isolated from the outside world, but the residents of Zubeyde Hanim also feel socially isolated from each other.

Chapter 4: Adult Education and the School Placement of Children

Education is a key component of success. It increases the likelihood of job placement and people's opportunities to improve their lives. It provides them with the ability to transfer their assets from one generation to another. The residents of Zubeyde Hanim and Uzundere in Turkey are aware of the value of education because they come from households with limited educational and job opportunities.

This chapter seeks to explain how the residents make sense of the educational opportunities in their new lives in urban satellites. An examination of the residents' experiences in the adult education programs and in the neighborhood schools shows that the residents of Zubeyde Hanim and Uzundere do not feel that the adult education programs make a difference in their lives. The residents prefer investing their time and energy in their children's education. In addition, the residents of Zubeyde Hanim and Uzundere have different views of formal education. While the Uzundere residents view the neighborhood schools as tools for their children to get a good education and for their neighborhood to mobilize, the Zubeyde Hanim residents do not consider the neighborhood schools good enough because these schools are in Zubeyde Hanim.

This chapter will analyze both adult and formal educational opportunities in the Zubeyde Hanim and Uzundere neighborhoods. The adult education opportunities include municipal adult education programs such as literacy, computer literacy (computing), English, childcare, elder care, and office clerk and assistantship classes. In addition to these personal development courses, there are sports as well as arts and crafts classes such as calligraphy, ceramics, sewing, yoga, Pilates, and aerobics. Formal education

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includes primary school, middle school, high school, vocational programs, and university education, which are run by the Ministry of Education.

The first section of this chapter will explore the adult education programs provided by the municipality. It will also examine how the residents of Zubeyde Hanim and Uzundere evaluate the educational activities. It will investigate how the residents of Zubeyde Hanim and Uzundere feel about the role of adult education in their lives and in what ways the adult education programs change their lives compared with their prior dwelling experiences. The second section will explore formal education in the Zubeyde Hanim and Uzundere neighborhoods. It will analyze how the residents interpret their experiences with formal education in their new neighborhoods and how moving into the urban satellites affects their children's school performance and the social support for their children's education.

Background Information on Adult Education

Adult education refers to basic education for economically disadvantaged, low-income, and unemployed populations (U.S. Department of Education, 2001). Adult education is open to a wide variety of students, but the purpose and goal of these programs are to serve students who are out of school or have no prior schooling to provide them with life skills.

Scholars who study adult education tend to focus on how the racial and ethnic, gender and sexuality, and family values of the participants shape their commitment to adult education classes (Boston & Boxley, 2007; Prins et al., 2009; Bridwell, 2012; Tang & Kuo, 2012). Most studies indicate that particularly female, immigrant, or low-income residents who regularly participate in family literacy programs use these classes for

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building social ties and view them as opportunities for socializing with other residents and chances and occasions to get out of the house. In addition to the social aspects, individuals who regularly attend adult education programs find that these programs are beneficial for improving their knowledge, the ways in which they raise their children, and communal relations. Adult education provides lifelong opportunities for residents to develop themselves by building social ties with other residents and fostering trust and sharing similar values with one another. Participants in adult education programs also benefit from building social capital and increasing their knowledge by gaining access to program resources and networks. Particularly, female residents also feel that the more knowledge they build, the more their self-esteem increases in their relationships with their partners and children.

Similar to the literature, adult education is an example of non-formal education that provides people with lifelong opportunities to gain skills that push them to think analytically, improve their societal relations, and enhance their employment prospects. Most educators target immigrants, refugees, and low-income residents so that these individuals can receive the training and skills needed to close the gap with more advantageous populations. As nations have different rules and regulations as well as different populations, adult education varies from nation to another. Therefore, the next section will briefly explain the adult education system in Turkey.

There is diversity in adult education services in the Turkish context. The Ministry of National Education (MONE) serves and controls adult education programs. Municipalities, private and volunteer organizations, and research centers in universities also play a large role in initializing and organizing adult education programs. Basic adult

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education programs include literacy and vocational programs as well as socio-cultural services such as parental and mother-child education services. In particular, literacy programs are more common compared to language, art, family economics, or occupational courses, as the literacy rate is low, especially for migrant women from rural areas.

The History of Adult Education

Education has long been a core value in Turkish society. Scholars, educators, experts, politicians, and individuals carry the belief that education can solve any problem that a nation may face and that lack of education and ignorance are the causes of social problems. Therefore, many believe that education can be beneficial for economic growth, human relations, and the development of nations in general. People with limited schooling carry wide hopes and dreams for their children to complete school.

The history of public education in Turkey begins with the foundation of the Republic years, starting in 1923. Adult education and literacy programs became very valuable under the Republic. Historians (Miser et al., 2013) provide several examples of Republic-era adult education programs: national schools (1928), vocational evening schools for men (1928), vocational schools for women (1929), public reading rooms (1930), People's Houses (1932), Training of Trainers (1936), village courses (1939), Village Institutes (1940), evening schools (1942), public courses and classrooms (1953), and community development studies (1961). These are all types of adult education programs governed by MONE. Therefore, the curricula, standards, and qualifications are based on the rules and regulations of MONE.

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Starting in 1960, there was a push for non-formal literacy programs and vocational programs for people to become literate and to create occupations for those with potential. Vocational Education Law 3308 stressed the importance of all types of vocational adult education programs. In addition, the literacy law for citizens out of compulsory primary school age helped illiterate citizens by providing certificates or licenses. Many different types of public and vocational education are available for adults to improve themselves under MONE. Vocational and career centers are other examples of education programs. Individuals who have completed eight years of primary education and are at least 15 years old can benefit from vocational career programs. Individuals who complete two to three years of training become skilled workers, and individuals who complete 240 hours of training become masters of the vocation.

The National Education Act became effective in 1973. In 1982, the Constitution stated that education is a right for all citizens and that the state is responsible for providing educational opportunities for all adults (Aksakal & Kuzu, 2014). Following the National Education Act, non-formal types of education began to provide opportunities for those who could not complete their formal education or those who wish to further improve themselves. Public education centers became the first providers of non-formal education and opened in all cities and districts in Turkey. People with disabilities, ex-convicts, homeless people, migrants, refugees, and school dropouts can benefit from these education programs. In recent years, most individuals have come to prefer e-learning, which was established by Anadolu University. With video-conferencing, more individuals can utilize distance education programs and complete their education.

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Overall, the majority of adult education programs provide free-of-charge public education centers, which provide literacy programs and language, computing, or occupation related courses; vocational courses; and distance education courses such as e-learning. The purpose of these education programs is to improve the life skills, life management, knowledge, and consciousness of individuals who did not have opportunities to attend school due to the challenges of poverty or for cultural reasons such as family pressure.

The adult education programs in Zubeyde Hanim and Uzundere are organized by the local municipalities under the supervision of MONE. These adult education programs are often new experiences for the residents of Zubeyde Hanim and Uzundere, who did not have access these types of adult education programs in their former neighborhoods. The next section will explore how these residents respond to and participate in local educational programs.

Participation of Residents of Zubeyde Hanim in Adult Education Programs

Besides a primary school and a vocational high school, the Zubeyde Hanim neighborhood has an education and cultural center called the Ismail Cem Culture and Education Center. While school-age residents attend the primary school or the vocational high school, the Ismail Cem Culture and Education Center is a suitable place for adults or former students who dropped out of school. The Ismail Cem Culture and Education Center offers a variety of classes for the personal and career development of the residents. Despite the diversity of these classes and certificate programs, the main problem for residents is inconsistency in their participation, attendance, and motivation to

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complete the programs. Typically, parental and household duties become a large barrier to participation in these courses.

Ismail Cem Culture and Education Center



Photo XV: Ismail Cem Kultur ve Egitim Merkezi: Ismail Cem Culture and Education Center

The Setting

The Ismail Cem Culture and Education Center was established around the same time that residents moved to Zubeyde Hanım neighborhood. This cultural center offers a program free of charge that includes a variety of courses, including literacy, family economics, English, French, computing, secretary and administration training, elder care, yoga, and Pilates. The selection of courses depends on the season and demands of the residents. In addition to these courses, the center also offers free childcare services for

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children older than three years old as well as children's art courses. The Ismail Cem Culture and Education Center offers kindergarten services for children older than four and after-school and summer programs for children in primary school. There is a morning, evening, and weekend schedule.

The Ismail Cem Culture and Education Center is run by women including the female security personnel, who is in the charge of the security of the center and ask for visitors' identification. The center has four teachers, including two kindergarten teachers. All staffs, including the director and teachers, are women. The center has three stories. The first floor of the center has two classrooms for children, and the second floor holds the offices of the director and the teachers. The classes for children take place downstairs, and the names of the two classrooms are written with decorations of sea stars and small dolphins. There are Winnie the Pooh printed curtains in both classrooms, cartoon stickers on the walls, and small red and blue chairs for the children. There is a dining room between the classrooms with small red and blue chairs as well. There are two closets at the entrance of the classrooms with children's books and arts and crafts materials such as crayons, paper, and scissors. There is a dark grey carpet on the floor in the classrooms; however, the municipality requested the carpet's removal due to allergies.

Currently, the center also provides classes in computer administration, computing and accounting, elder care, sick and home care, childcare, and sign language as well as manicure and pedicure services. Besides these occupation-related courses, there are also courses for hobbies including sewing, Pilates and aerobics, interior design, family education and economics, English/German/French/Russian language courses, baglama (a

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stringed musical instrument), literacy, photography, wood painting and decoration, paper sculpture, ebru (paper marbling), and Turkish folk dance.

As can be observed from the setting, childcare facilities are significant for the Zubeyde Hanim neighborhood. When I interviewed the teachers and the director of the education and cultural center, the director showed me a bookmark made by students in art class and also mentioned that she has another student's oil painting at her house. During the interview, the director demonstrated different pieces of art, poems, and even photos of the students. Almost every closet in the director's office has such pieces from students in her classes. The director and the teachers take their jobs seriously and value the efforts of the students.

The teachers and administration in the education center try to create many opportunities from the few resources they receive from the municipality. For example, Melek is a kindergarten teacher who has worked in Zubeyde Hanim since 2012. Currently, Melek is assigned to the morning sections. According to Melek, one of the major struggles is that they have very limited storybooks and coloring books. Melek usually asks for coloring books from volunteers and makes copies for the children, as she believes that even very little things can make children happy.

The Dynamics Between Teachers and Residents

Melek is 28 years old and was born and raised in Izmir in Karsiyaka, which is 15 minutes from Zubeyde Hanim by car. Before working at Ismail Cem Culture and Education Center, Melek worked at a kindergarten mostly made up of middle-class children. Melek believes that not all the parents in Zubeyde Hanim value kindergarten education or the labor of the teachers:

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“There are some parents that view the children’s care center as a place to drop off their kids. Families stop by almost every day and ask me when the childcare service will begin. At the beginning, I thought they were asking because they wanted to work. Then I realized that they only wanted some away-time from their children.”

Zeynep is another teacher at Ismail Cem Culture and Education Center. She is 26 years old and began teaching in Zubeyde Hanim in 2014. According to Zeynep, the population in Zubeyde Hanim is different from her previous experiences at the middle-class kindergarten centers. Zeynep does not experience major challenges with the students but feels that the parents view her and the other kindergarten teachers as babysitters to watch their children:

“I don’t think the families here obey the rules, and they do not really care if their children learn anything or not. Just yesterday someone stopped by and asked me if it would be okay if we could watch her daughter for a few hours. I don’t understand, we are kindergarten teachers and we are here to teach children, not to babysit them.”

The teachers shared certain complaints about the attitudes of the parents, such as major miscommunications. The teachers in the education center are very excited and enthusiastic about practicing their skills, but they also feel that the families do not respect them and may even devalue their occupation. This communication problem influences both the teachers’ performance and the parents’ utilization of the adult education center.

On the other hand, parents are often desperate to find someone to watch their children. Some families need to drop off their children to attend work or for family, health, or emergency reasons—or even to take a break from their children. However, when the families do not obey the rules, or request to drop off their children at any given time, the teachers and the director feel as though the families do not care about the

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education programs or think that their facility serves as a way for parents to take a break from their children.

In particular, the teachers who have previously worked in formal education with primary school age (ages 7–14) middle-class children feel that these parents do not have any interest in their children’s school performance. For instance, the parents do not ask what their children are learning in the education programs. The teachers indicated that the families in the institutions where they have worked previously used to regularly question their teaching plans and also demanded new things they should teach their children. Based on the experiences of the teachers, the class and status of parents appear to shape the relationship between teachers and parents as well as teachers’ attitudes and motivation for advancing the development of the children they teach.

Residents’ Involvement at Ismail Cem Culture and Education Center

The Ismail Cem Culture and Education Center has adult education and personal development classes for adult residents. The major problem for adults is to manage the time to attend the classes, and attendance is even harder for adults with children. This is because the Ismail Cem Culture and Education Center only accepts children who are older than four; parents with younger children cannot participate in classes regularly. The lack of childcare for children under four is a significant problem for residents. Although residents may feel excitement about the classes, they cannot promise consistent attendance and participation.

In one example, a female resident who moved to Zubeyde Hanim in 2010 and lived with her daughter, husband, and in-laws asked if her three-and-a-half-year-old daughter could register for daycare. The director of the kindergarten answered that her

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daughter needs to be at least four. Later on, the director tried to convince the mother to take classes from the adult education center, asking, “How about you? Are you interested in taking any classes?” After this question, there were few seconds of silence. The woman was with her mother in law, and they looked at one another. Then the director broke the silence. “Do you know how to read and write?” The mother said, “Yes, I learned in the primary school,” also the mother in law answered, “I do not know how to read and write.” The director said, “We could teach you how to read and write. You really need to know how to read and write. Without literacy, you are like a half person; you cannot know what is going on in the world, and you cannot go anywhere.”

Later on, the director asked: “So do you work?” The mother laughed and said, “Do you mean at home or working for money?” The director said, “Of course for money.” She explained that there is a course for elder care. She said, “The other day someone from the nursing home called me and asked me if I could refer someone. Maybe you should come to this course.” The two women looked at each other again. “That would be great, but who will take care of the children?”

The director proposed a solution that the mother in law could attend the literacy course in the morning, and the daughter in law could attend the other course at night. In this case, one could watch the children while the other was at the education center. After another look, the two women agreed to join the courses. The director then informed the women about the necessary documentation and identification required for enrollment.

The major problem for the residents is that they do not know what courses are available, are unfamiliar with the registration methods, or do not know how taking these courses will benefit them. In particular, the low literacy rate is a huge problem for

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residents. When residents are illiterate, they cannot read the flyers or follow the schedules for the courses.

While the residents often feel excitement and are willing to take the courses, the administrators and teachers nevertheless feel as though the residents do not have any intrinsic motivation to attend these courses. In fact, there is often a need for educators to explain a course, its purpose, and how the residents could potentially use it. The problem is not that the residents do not want to participate in these courses; rather, the residents do not know how the courses will benefit them or who will take care of their children.

There are also misunderstandings between the residents and the educators. Although the Ismail Cem Culture and Education Center offers a variety of courses, the residents do not know how to utilize these opportunities, because the educators do not approach them. The director and teachers consider the demands and needs of the residents of Zubeyde Hanim and organize and schedule courses accordingly, yet the residents' participation and involvement is often lower than what the center had expected and planned. The major problem is that the residents of Zubeyde Hanim do not know how to communicate with the administration, and the administrators and teachers do not know how to approach the community.

The misunderstandings and communication differences between the residents and the educators have impacts on the productivity of the educators and the involvement of the residents with the education programs. Although the teachers at the Ismail Cem Culture and Education Center are fully committed to their roles and truly care about education and improving the community, the educators are not completely aware of the needs and desires of the community, and the educators may unwittingly be trying to

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impose middle-class values on the residents. For instance, the educators believe that the residents should take literacy courses, or an elder care certification, so that they can work. However, the educators are not familiar with the family dynamics of the residents, their relationships with their partners (husbands) and their kids, their life circumstances and daily struggles, or prior employment experiences.

From the perspective of the residents, they are aware of the fact that the educators are generously offering the courses for them and that the educators are sincerely concerned about their wellbeing. For instance, the residents acknowledge that they should take literacy courses so that they can be aware of the news or can take care of their errands easily. However, when the educators impose middle class values—the ideas and perceptions that the residents should take literacy courses so that they can get ahead—these values and ideas push the residents away from being involved in the education center. The next section will provide examples from illiterate women and their daily life challenges to illustrate the impacts on the community.

The Experiences of Illiterate Women in Zubeyde Hanim

Illiteracy is not an isolated problem in Turkey; there are approximately 800 million illiterate people around the world, and illiteracy is more common in developing nations. According to the latest statistics of TUIK (2015), the literacy rate in Turkey is 96.5%. Based on the latest information from the Library Director at Izmir Economics University Ali Tutan, over one million of the people who are illiterate are between the ages of 7 and 64, and over two million are women.

Illiterate women build their own world without written culture. For instance, it is difficult for these women take a bus and go to work because they cannot read the

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schedules of the buses. These illiterate women prefer to take a literate family member whenever they run errands, such as doctor visits, trips to see family members, daily shopping, or visits to the social security office. Given these social situations, illiterate individuals are likely to depend on others as well as more likely to feel excluded from society. Even to leave the neighborhood, illiterate residents need someone to assist them in order to participate in written culture.

Illiteracy has an impact on both adults and children. For example, illiterate parents cannot help their children with their schooling, make academic decisions, or even shop for school supplies. At every beginning of the academic year, MONE announces the required school supplies, and parents then go to the stores to gather these materials. It is important for parents to purchase supplies; however, school shopping presents challenges for illiterate families. As they cannot read, they are not informed about which supplies their children need.

Kader is a resident of Zubeyde Hanim and an illiterate mother who encounters many challenges when shopping for school supplies for her youngest daughter. Kader moved to Zubeyde Hanim in 2011 from Istanbul, where she was forced into marriage at the age of 12 by her family. After her first husband died, she married again at the age of 19. Kader's husband has chronic back pain and is unemployed. Kader takes care of her husband, her eldest daughter, who is 12 years old, and her six-year-old youngest daughter. The beginning of the school year is hard for Kader's family, because they cannot afford to buy all the school supplies. In addition, Kader never attended school, because her family did not allow her to. As Kader is illiterate, her oldest daughter helps her with school preparation for her youngest daughter.

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Preparing children for school is a challenging process, and this situation demonstrates that even school shopping can be challenging for illiterate mothers. If Kader did not have her oldest daughter with her, the shopping trip would be even more challenging. When I asked Kader if she is aware of the adult education and literacy courses at the Ismail Cem Culture and Education Center, she told me that she cannot find the time to explore these courses and that her husband's schedule can change from day to day. Therefore, it is hard for her to attend any literacy courses.

Kader is not the only woman in Zubeyde Hanim who cannot attend literacy courses because of her daily demands. Behiye, originally from Mardin, married at the age of 16 and moved to Izmir with her husband. Now 53 years old, Behiye had lived in Izmir for over 30 years and moved to Zubeyde Hanim around 2010 with her husband and eight children. Behiye's husband and children encourage her to attend literacy courses. Like Kader, however, Behiye's daily schedule does not allow her to maintain consistent attendance:

“They [my husband and my kids] tried to send me to literacy courses almost four times. I promised them, but could not continue...I have eight kids. Something always comes up when you have eight kids. Housework never ends. When I was a kid, my family did not send me to school in Mardin. My dad said women have nothing to do in school.”

Socialization and the ways in which families raise their children influence how they view education. For example, Behiye's father did not let her to attend school, but Behiye's eldest daughter is currently studying art history. In fact, she is one of the few college students in Zubeyde Hanim. The fact that Behiye is illiterate is not her fault, because she grew up in a culture and a family that believed school is not a place for women.

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Illiterate women value the education for their children, because they are aware of the challenges of non-schooling. These illiterate women understand that getting an education will increase their children's standard of living, bring opportunities, and make them more aware of the news and world. However, their dreams for their children often become more important than their own personal goals, and taking care of their children and the home becomes their major priority.

Besides family responsibilities and these women's desire and hopes for their children, their previous experiences with their families and education also influence their motivation to attend adult education courses. For most illiterate women, opportunities for schooling had been taken away from them; most did not have the chance to attend school and were married at a very early age. Overall, the illiterate women experience many barriers from their pasts that do not help them build education into their future.

Literate Women

Literate women enjoy several advantages compared to illiterate women; since they have reading and writing skills, they can skip straight to the occupation-oriented courses to gain access to employment opportunities. However, while the center offers a good selection of occupation-oriented courses, the residents often prefer personal development courses or aerobics. Not many women in Zubeyde Hanim feel that taking an occupational course will move them ahead in life.

Inconsistency in attendance and participation in courses is a problem for literate women just like for illiterate women. Based on conversations with the residents about the courses at the Ismail Cem Culture and Education Center, it is hard for them to find the

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time to complete the courses. Housework and family responsibilities require a tremendous amount of time to maintain a consistent schedule.

Satu, a resident of Zubeyde Hanim, told us that she is interested in taking courses at the Ismail Cem Culture and Education Center but would prefer to learn how to drive: “I would love to learn to drive. I already know the basics. I have also talked with my husband; once my daughter starts school, I am going to learn how to drive.” Petra, another Zubeyde Hanim resident, agreed with Satu and shared her desires to drive, as did Zeliha, who laughed and joined the conversation: “I tried yoga, Pilates, but stopped going later on, but I would love to learn to drive ... My husband gets scared every time I get into the driver’s seat. I really want to be able to drive, and enjoy the freedom.”

These women from the home gathering shared their desires and goals to learn to drive. Although these residents are literate, and have some years of primary schooling, they would prefer to learn to drive rather than take occupational courses. For these women, driving symbolizes freedom and flexibility. Satu, Zeliha, and Petra were married in their late teens and became mothers in their 20s. Marriage and their children are a priority that takes up a significant part of their life, including their freedom and flexibility. Driving means freedom, self-determination, and serenity for these women as well as a gateway from their neighborhood and household. Overall, Satu, Zeliha, and Petra feel appreciation for the variety of courses at the Ismail Cem Culture and Education Center but shared their desire to learn to drive.

Learning to drive is a very valuable social skill for the female residents in Zubeyde Hanim, because their urban satellite is located off the city center, and the bus schedule to the city center is not very frequent. While the male in the families leave the

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neighborhood to work or run errands, the female residents feel as though they do not have enough flexibility and freedom in their neighborhood. The household labor and childcare make them feel as if they are locked in their neighborhood. Given these life circumstances, even the ability to take driving classes gives them some flexibility and freedom despite the cost of the classes and the financial burden of buying a car.

In addition to the women at the home gathering, residents attending distance education programs also carry the desire to learn to drive in their future. For instance, Gamze is 22 years old and has been a resident of Zubeyde Hanim since 2011, when she moved with her parents and her 26-year-old brother. Gamze has some primary education, and currently she is in a distance education program to complete her primary schooling and earn a high school degree. Gamze works at a textile factory, but she does not enjoy her occupation. She dreams working as a security guard at a shopping center. The textile job is a temporary plan for Gamze, but besides her future career goals, driving is one of her personal development goals:

“I was not able to earn my primary school degree. I am in the distant education program. I will continue and get a high school diploma via the distant education program. I have actually registered for getting my driving license.”

Gamze desires to complete her primary education degree and finish high school, but driving symbolizes personal development. Similarly, Naciye is also in the distance education program. Naciye is a mother of two daughters, aged six and two. Currently, Naciye takes distance education courses to complete her primary education while her younger girl naps. Naciye is also planning to take driving courses:

“Ismail Cem [Culture and Education Center] has been good for us and also offers courses to get jobs. This center gives us a lot. I try to use the benefits of the center. My oldest daughter will start the first grade; I still have a two-year-old. Once the younger one turns four, I will go to the courses. I have already

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participated in some. While my younger daughter takes a nap, I take my distant education courses. But I also really want to take driving courses.”

Gamze and Naciye are taking distant education classes to complete their education and move ahead in life. Driving is an important activity that Gamze and Naciye want to learn to improve their personal development in the future. When the residents lived in their previous neighborhoods, learning to drive was not on their personal agenda. After the residents settled in Zubeyde Hanim, however, driving became one of the major activities that they wish to learn. Despite housing debts and the expenses of the families, these women have strong aspirations to learn to drive.

All in all, the remote location of the town is a major factor that motivates the women in Zubeyde Hanim to learn to drive. When the residents lived in their prior neighborhoods, they were closer to the inner city and had frequent accessibility to public transportation. After the residents moved to Zubeyde Hanim, however, they found themselves far from the city and that public transportation is less frequent. In particular, the female residents tend to stay in their neighborhood due to their daily household activities. The motivation to learn to drive is more important for women who stay home, as they experience social isolation in their neighborhood.

Urban Transformation and Residents' Participation in Adult Education Programs

Overall, adult education courses are new experiences for the residents of Zubeyde Hanim. When they lived in squatter developments, they did not have the opportunity to receive free adult education classes or take advantage of free kindergarten for their children. After the residents moved to Zubeyde Hanim, the municipality planned to structure the education center to provide benefits to the people. However, the ways in

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which this urban transformation has changed the educational aspirations of these women is still in question. Not many residents utilize the adult education classes or drop off their children off at the kindergarten or after-school programs. There is miscommunication between educators and parents in that the educators feel the parents do not value their children's education enough, and the illiterate residents cannot understand the classes and scheduling. These problems do not allow the residents to utilize the classes or educators to approach the residents to promote the classes more effectively.

The residents have also experienced a different sense of belonging after coming to Zubeyde Hanim, therefore the residents do not view the education courses as a way of connecting with the other residents. When the residents lived in their previous communities, they associated with the neighborhoods around them. Before Zubeyde Hanim they shared a feeling of "mahallelik," which means a sense and spirit of belonging to the same community and unity as a neighborhood. After the residents moved to Zubeyde Hanim, however, they began to focus on their households and personal lives and on building relations based on their regional ties. For instance, the Kurdish residents of Zubeyde Hanim have a stronger community attachment with other Kurdish residents. Although they welcome other residents, same-ethnic and regional bonds are strong in the community. Due to the different bonds between groups and everyone having had different experiences, the residents do not feel the total sense of community they had in their previous neighborhoods. Given their life circumstances, regional bonds make the residents socialize in their neighborhood but not through the education courses.

Participation of Uzundere Residents in Adult Education Programs

Like in Zubeyde Hanim, there is an Education and Cultural Center for the residents of Uzundere. The major courses that are being offered include literacy courses, computing, baglama, and aerobics. Besides these four courses, the Education and Cultural Center also has kindergarten services. Compared to Zubeyde Hanim, the education and cultural programs in Uzundere are more recent and still in the development stage. Some adult residents utilize the available courses and programs but most only use the center for the entertainment of their children. The children are excited about the courses and so their parents try to bring them, but adult participation is often lower than that of children because of household and family responsibilities.

However, some adults spend time doing distance education or plan to take courses after their children start primary school. The next section will explore the lives of the illiterate residents of Uzundere, the children's participation in education programs, and adults' plans and motivations for extended education.

Illiterate Women in Uzundere

Illiteracy is a problem for the residents of Uzundere. While there are some literate residents between 25 and 32 years old, there are many illiterate residents older than 45. Literacy classes are offered in Uzundere, but similar to the neighborhood of Zubeyde Hanim, the residents in Uzundere often do not take advantage of these courses. Some residents point out that they have no schooling, as their parents did not let them attend. Instead of focusing on their own education, they feel it is more rational to focus on the education and careers of their children. The residents' prior experiences shape their current decisions about education.

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Similar to the residents of Zubeyde Hanim, many in Uzundere have experienced being unable to attend school or having had very limited schooling. Gulistan is 32 years old and a resident of Uzundere, originally from Mardin. Although Gulistan really wanted to attend school, only her brother was given the advantage, as it was not even an option for her parents to send their girls. Gulistan summarizes how her dreams for school were broken:

“I have three sisters and a brother. Only my brother attended primary school. As four sisters, none of us attended school. This is not my fault. The fault lay in those who did not let us attend school. I took some literacy courses. I learned a little bit, when my kids were younger. There were times that I even took my kids to the center. But I couldn't complete it. The teacher motivated me a lot, as you are so close to learn how to read and write.”

As Gulistan describes, she attempted to take literacy courses a number of times, but she was unable to complete them. Instead, Gulistan took her children to summer and after-school programs at the education center.

The residents of Uzundere include many women who share a similar path with Gulistan in that their families did not let their daughters attend school. For example, Suzan is 35 years old. She grew up in Urfa, a city located in southeastern Turkey, and moved to Izmir at age 17 when she got married. Similar to Gulistan, Suzan's family thought that girls should not attend school and should instead help the family in the household. Once Suzan reached her late teens, she was married through an arranged marriage. Suzan believes that education for her is over, but she has aspirations for her children:

“I grew up in Urfa. I never attended school. I used to help my parents on the farm for years. Then I got married and moved to [Kale] in Izmir. After our house was demolished, we came to [here.] My time has passed now; I only care for the education of my children.”

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Gulistan and Suzan share a similar pattern of beliefs that they should invest their time and energy in their children's education rather than their own education, because they both believe that their children have a long path ahead through which they can achieve success. In addition, their families' restrictions from their past shape their present lack of motivation for their own education. They both grew up in the southeast part of Turkey and moved to Kadifekale after they got married. Their families did not let them attend school, and so Gulistan and Suzan did not have any choice about or opportunities for education.

Educational opportunities disappear for women at a very young age. Young girls tend to participate in family labor in their villages, and they continue to do so when they migrate to cities. Women typically migrate to Uzundere as brides, and although they now live in an urban satellite neighborhood where free adult literacy courses are available, they believe that their time for education has passed. It difficult for them; and even if they do try, their own education often does not become their top priority. This is because they were socialized in an environment where they were forced into family labor at a very young age.

Given the past circumstances, many families in Uzundere are rural migrants with no experience with schooling. When the families lived in small town or village environments, accessing education was difficult for cultural, economic, environmental, or political reasons. Some villages experienced severe terrorism attacks, and others had environmental or transportation problems that barred access to school. In some villages, people did not appreciate the value of educating a girl. Girls are often born into disadvantages compared to boys due to socio-cultural factors. These social and cultural

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beliefs are likely even stronger in a village environment compared to an urban environment.

Moving to urban areas can motivate residents in terms of education. However, while the municipality and educators in Uzundere might think that moving to a satellite neighborhood offers more educational opportunities, few of the residents can actually manage the time for adult classes. Most residents feel that they have been away from school a very long time and that it would be harder for them to learn new things now. In addition, there is no guarantee that literacy courses will bring them employment opportunities.

Nurcan is a resident of Uzundere, whose family migrated from Mardin. Nurcan moved to Uzundere with her parents and two siblings in 2010. Although Nurcan was born and raised in Izmir, she never attended school. When I asked Nurcan if she is planning to take literary classes, she answered: “I am 25 years old. I never attended school. I haven’t read anything in my entire life. Why I should I take literacy courses now?”

Although Nurcan is a young female and without childcare responsibilities, she believes that she grew up fine as someone who is illiterate. While she cannot read and write, she is social and has a decent, enjoyable life. Therefore, Nurcan considers that after all this time, literacy will not mobilize her any further. Many illiterate residents believe that literacy is not a factor that can help them move ahead. Therefore, they prefer to focus on daily activities or other opportunities instead.

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The Education of Children Comes First

The participation and involvement of children at the Education and Cultural Center is considered more significant compared to adults. Parents of children who are around preschool age look for programs suitable for their children. Teenagers seek out sports and aerobics, especially in the summertime. For example, Doga and Yagmur are freshmen in high school who moved to Uzundere with their families when they were 10 years old. This summer, Doga and Yagmur decided to work at a hairdresser's in Baris Gross Plaza. Besides their summer job, Yagmur is planning to take tracking courses at a nearby center in the neighborhood, and Doga is planning to take swimming classes at the center in Uzundere:

“If my parents let me, I really want to go to tracking. There is no tracking here, but some nearby. If I go with few of my friends, then my parents might let me.”

“There is a swimming school here, and they've open a sport center, but it hasn't been completed yet. There are so many activities that have not implemented. If they were open, I would take my kids there.”

Doga and Yagmur demonstrate the demand for courses and lessons for children and teenagers. While children and teenagers are willing to take courses on their own, parents highly encourage their children to do so as well. The education and wellbeing of children is very important for the families in Uzundere. Parents encourage their children to attend training programs, and families seek out cultural activities that offer educational value. Families carry the belief that their children have more time and opportunities to develop themselves compared to their parents.

Gulistan, who could not attend school because of the beliefs of her parents, has high hopes and desires for her daughter and son:

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“I have four siblings. I never attended school. Here is what I think. I have a son and a daughter. I only wanted to have two kids, so that I could provide them with a good future. They can grow up, have a good education, and become good people. It is easier to provide a good future for your kids when you have only two.”

When Gulistan was growing up, most of the families in Mardin had between four to eight siblings, and it was difficult for the parents to make an investment for the education of all their children. Based on the prior experiences of the residents, most parents now believe that having fewer children will help them to raise their children better, because they have more time and money to spend on their family. Gulistan stresses that she has planned for two kids so that she can make sure that their kids will be well educated and can obtain an occupation in their future. Because her family did not value her and her sister’s education because they were girls, without making any preference between her daughter and son, Gulistan pledges that her children will have more opportunities and time for education compared to her childhood circumstances.

Another resident of Uzundere who believes that it is easier to make investments for smaller families is Tulay, who is 43 years old and a working mother. Tulay’s son died because of a work accident at the age of 17, and her daughter is six years old. Currently, Tulay is the owner of the hairdressing salon at Baris Gross Plaza. Although Tulay has family members who could potentially watch her daughter, she prefers to use kindergarten services. Tulay does not utilize the education and culture center for herself but rather for her daughter’s development. When the residents of Uzundere, like Tulay, lived in areas such as Kadifekale, family members and friends were the only available opportunities for them to drop off their children. Now that the residents live in an urban

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satellite neighborhood, most of them want to take advantage of the opportunities provided there, such as childcare.

Overall, parents encourage their children to take education and training programs. Children are the highest priority for their parents. Although adult participation and involvement in education and training programs is not very significant, these adults are willing to provide more opportunities for their children. The main reasons for adults not participating in education and training programs will be explored more fully in the following section.

Participation of Adults in Education and Cultural Programs

Like the residents of Zubeyde Hanim, the residents of Uzundere have low participation in adult and education programs. While household and family duties play a significant role, there are also structural reasons why many residents cannot participate in these training programs.

Household and Family Responsibilities

Although the lives of employed women are different than those of unemployed women, the family and household situations are very similar when it comes to the efficiency of their involvement in adult education. Unemployed residents in Uzundere feel that their family and household responsibilities influence their ability to find additional time for themselves, yet it is even more challenging for working residents to create time for adult education and training.

Arife works every day from eight in the morning until late afternoon at a stand across from Baris Gross Plaza to contribute to her family's expenses. When Arife is done with her daily labor, she cooks, cleans the house, and takes care of her children's daily

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needs. She also makes sure that there is enough food for everyone, especially her husband, who works in heavy labor doing iron casting. Arife works day and night for her family's sake. Given these circumstances, it is not easy for her to take adult education courses.

Although the adult education center is in the neighborhood, many employed women in Uzundere feel it is still challenging to find time to attend classes that are offered by the education center, as the courses are mostly structured for residents who do not work. Similar to Arife, Zahiré is an employed resident in Uzundere. Zahiré is 22 years old and lives with her grandfather, parents, and her younger brother. She works at Baris Gross Plaza and is in a distance education program to complete her vocational degree. Zahiré has only one free day off during the week, and she cannot find the time to participate in adult education or any type of personal development programs. Although Zahiré is willing to improve herself and find better opportunities, her work schedule, the type of labor she performs, and the education system do not let her to develop her prospects.

Residents' Beliefs About Education and Cultural Programs

Although it may seem as though unemployed women's schedules are more flexible compared to those of employed women, family and household duties nevertheless fill their time. According to the residents of Uzundere, they do not participate in education and training programs because they believe that the courses will not help them move ahead, which means the courses do not attract the residents. Hulya is a resident of Uzundere who is 29 years old and has a six-year-old son. She completed high school and worked at a textile factory until she got married. Her husband works at a

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retail company with his brother. When I asked Hulya if she considered participating in adult education courses, she said:

“I am not sure what I would be interested in. I am very bored with arts and crafts. I have a hard time finishing a book after the sixteenth page. I am always very bored. I honestly really get bored with arts and crafts. I would love to learn to drive.”

Although Hulya feels bored when her son is at school, she is not interested in taking classes from the education center. As with the other stay-at-home mothers in Zubeyde Hanim, driving is more appealing to Hulya than any type of arts and crafts classes. These classes are popular in the education center, yet not all residents want to take them.

Suzan’s children are also old enough to go to school, but Suzan is not interested in arts and crafts courses, either:

“I wouldn’t want to attend those classes. I already know arts and crafts very well. I have literacy as well.”

Hulya and Suzan shared their feelings about the education programs and stressed that the arts and crafts lessons in particular do not attract them. Most educators try to attract the residents by offering arts and crafts courses, because they believe that the residents can learn the skills quickly and sell their products at public bazaars to earn money. Hulya and Suzan, however, do not have any interest in arts and crafts, not even to contribute to their households. Instead, Hulya showed far more interest in learning to drive.

Similar to the approach of the educators in Zubeyde Hanim, the educators in Uzundere have the belief that they should structure and plan the courses based on what they think is the best for the Uzundere community. The educators strongly believe that especially the unemployed, illiterate residents would be interested in taking the literacy,

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occupational, or arts and crafts classes, but reality reveals that the residents do not have a strong desire to take these classes. The prior vulnerability of the residents with their families' restrictions for education opportunities make them feel that they should put the education of their children first.

Gender Dynamics and the Residents' Participation in the Education and Cultural Center

The backgrounds of families can shape the decisions adults make about their education, even for personal development classes. While lack of time is the main reason for not taking classes, another significant factor is the family environment and culture.

Sumbul, a resident of Uzundere, is 63 years old and currently helps her husband with cleaning and taking care of their apartment. Now that her children have left home, she has some free time for herself and took aerobic classes provided at the Education and Culture Center. Originally a female instructor led the aerobic classes, but later on a male instructor transferred into the class. Sumbul's husband would not allow her to take an aerobics class from a male instructor. The cultural environment in Uzundere is very family oriented and traditional, especially for the older generation, like that of Sumbul. Not all men felt comfortable with their wives taking a class from a male instructor. These strong family values and traditions can take away opportunities for attending training and education programs from the residents. It is important for the educators or administration to know the community better and be aware of their needs and wants before implementing any adult courses.

Urban Transformation and Resident Participation in Adult Education Programs

Adult education programs provide new opportunities for the residents of Uzundere, as many did not have education or training programs when they lived in Kadifekale. Although these opportunities could potentially increase the social development of the residents, daily routine activities such as household duties and childcare do not let many women in Uzundere become active in adult education programs.

Illiterate women strongly believe that it is difficult for them to focus on literacy courses after a certain age. Therefore, the residents prefer to invest their time, energy, and money into the education of their children. In particular, illiterate women who do not plan to work outside the home perceive that achieving literacy will not bring them any advantages, as they have lived for such a long time without it. Overall, the education of children is seen as more important, and illiterate women want to make sure that their children receive everything they need. Illiterate parents are aware that being illiterate would make their children begin life in disadvantageous conditions.

Similar to illiterate women, literate women also show less interest in adult education and cultural programs. Arts and crafts classes do not attract many residents, and women who do not plan to work believe that these opportunities will not help them move ahead. Meanwhile, employed women do not have time for courses or training because of their work schedule. Most of the adult classes are structured on weekdays during the daytime, which does not fit with employed residents' schedules.

The background and culture of the families is a significant factor that affects the residents' participation in adult programs. It is highly important for women to take charge

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of family and household responsibilities. Both employed and unemployed women want to make sure that they fulfill their family role before they take time for adult education programs. In addition to family and household responsibilities, values and traditions play a role, such as those residents who dropped out because their husbands did not feel comfortable with their wives having a male instructor. This situation demonstrates how traditions and family values shape the minds of individuals.

Similar to the residents in the Zubeyde Hanim neighborhood, the participation in adult and education courses in Uzundere is less than the educators expected. Although the residents belong to the neighborhood and have connections with one another, they do not believe that the education and training courses will benefit them. In general, strict traditions and family values shape the residents' views about education. Most residents grew up in an environment where their families did not let them attend school, and some women experience pressure from their husbands. Given these reasons, women in Uzundere may not believe that the education and training programs will help them move ahead.

The residents of Zubeyde Hanim and Uzundere have little interest in adult education because their families did not provide these opportunities growing up, but they do carry strong hopes and dreams for their children's schooling. Therefore, the next section will briefly explore formal education in Zubeyde Hanim and Uzundere.

Relocation and Education Outcomes

Many urban scholars question how relocation might influence the labor outcomes of individuals (Goetz, 2013; Ruel et al., 2013), but very few studies explore how relocation might influence the education outcomes for residents. The previous sections

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focused on adult education and urban satellites. This section will explore how moving to urban satellite neighborhoods might influence formal education outcomes, such as primary school, high school, or vocational school.

Previous studies exploring how public housing projects or housing mobility programs influence education outcomes for residents have found very little influence of housing programs on children's education (Schwartz et al., 2010). The children did not do worse or better in school after moving to public housing. However, relocation studies state that moving to lower-income neighborhoods might actually raise the quality of education that children receive (Bachieva & Hosier, 2000; Clotfelter et al., 2005; King et al., 2005). Additionally, researchers noted that student success does not only depend on the quality of the school; parents' aspirations, family, and home environment are also significant indicators of success in education. Most scholars have found that public housing or housing mobility programs have little effect on education but do influence the behavior of juvenile residents. These studies stress that there is a decrease in criminal activity after residents move to housing mobility programs (Leventhal & Brooks-Gunn, 2004).

To answer the question of how housing mobility programs influence education activities, most scholars analyze standardized test scores to determine students' academic successes (Schwartz, 2010). Very few of these studies have found any increase in residents' academic success after a move to housing mobility programs. Although academic success can be measured using standardized scores, it is also significant to look at how students and their parents become involved in education and how residents value the schools in their neighborhood. Therefore, this section will provide brief information

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about low-income populations and education in the Turkish context. Later, I will investigate how parents and students get involved in neighborhood schools in Zubeyde Hanim and Uzundere.

Education and Poverty in the Turkish Context

Although there is enough capacity in terms of education for men and women in urban and rural areas, there is a huge gap in women's education, especially in rural areas. Scholars who study rural education have found several problems, including lack of teachers and resources, lack of transportation, and patriarchal beliefs on education (Aksit, 2007; Kayman et al., 2012). Most teachers who serve in rural areas prefer to stay there temporarily, choosing to be in urban areas for longer periods. The fact that teachers are only temporary and do not stay in the area for a longer period can influence children's academic conditions. Lack of transportation is another problem for education in rural areas. There is no transportation system in many small areas, and thus not all children have access to schools.

The most significant problems in terms of education are socio-cultural, such as gender discrimination (Kagiticibasi et al., 2005). For instance, most parents view the education of girls as worth less compared to the education of boys. Poor families prefer to invest their money in the education of their boys, as they believe that girls marry sooner than boys and will not work. In this sense, girls in villages experience socio-cultural discrimination and begin their education far behind the boys. Poverty and lack of resources play a role in this mindset. When families do not have enough money for the education of their children, they may believe it to be more efficient for their children work at a young age and contribute to the family instead.

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Girls have very few opportunities compared to men, especially in rural areas. However, while these circumstances change when rural families move to urban areas, not all children of rural migrants go on to attend school. Socio-cultural and economic factors might dominate the minds of the families as well. Especially in bigger families, resources are very limited, and so families often invest in the education of their boys. Other families have a hard time finding transportation to school. All in all, while a move to urban areas increases educational opportunities for women, there are still many girls without schooling.

Similar to the conditions in poor urban neighborhoods in North America, most poor families in Turkey lived in squatter developments with a highly illiterate population, including those who have never attended school and high early marriage rates, creating chronic poverty. The chronic poverty influences children's aspirations for school, and the lack of role models presents a challenge to children seeking help. The question of this research is whether the parents' involvement or the children's motivation toward education changes when they move to urban areas where the population is still poor but where there are high quality schools and teachers. It is important to examine any differences between Zubeyde Hanim, where there are residents from different regions who have different housing situations, and Uzundere, where the residents were displaced from the same neighborhood and share the same history.

Schools in the Zubeyde Hanim Neighborhood

The choice of school is often the first step that parents take in their children's education. Karsiyaka Zubeyde Hanim Primary School is the only option for the residents in Zubeyde Hanim. Although the school has adequate capacity and resources, parents

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have differing views about it. Some parents feel anxiety about guest students from Imam Hatip schools and the rumors that it will turn into an Imam Hatip school entirely. Other parents do not feel this anxiety and send their children to this school because it is in the neighborhood. Overall, parents have mixed feelings and attachments about the school and do not necessarily view the school as an asset or element of progress in the neighborhood.

The neighborhood schools in Zubeyde Hanim include Karsiyaka Zubeyde Hanim Primary School and Izmir TOKI Karsikaya Municipality Vocational Trade High School. There are also other schools nearby where families can send their children. For instance, Yamanlar Private School, which has a preschool, primary school, and high school, is located across from Zubeyde Hanim and is popular with families. In fact, some private schools formed a plan so that if parents decide to register their children and transfer them to Yamanlar or another private school, the state will give them 6,000 Turkish liras, or about 2,000 US dollars. Some families prefer their children to go to Yamanlar High School because they believe that the neighborhood school is overcrowded or that it is better for their children to socialize with different people. Overall, there are three schools in Zubeyde Hanim, including Yamanlar.

Preschool elementary education is optional in Turkey. While not many parents in Zubeyde Hanim send their children to preschool, some prefer that their children prepare for the school environment. Primary school starts from the first grade and goes until the eighth grade. The first five years count as elementary, and the last three years count as secondary. After students complete their primary education, they take a high school placement exam. Students are placed into high schools based on the results of this exam. There is a vocational trade high school in Zubeyde Hanim that accepts students from

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ninth, tenth, eleventh, and twelfth grades. The vocational trade high school has a few students from Zubeyde Hanim as well as students from across Izmir, as students are placed based on the high school entrance exam results.

The location of the school is very convenient for the residents, since it is located very close behind a block of apartments. For instance, the residents who live on the upper floors of the apartment behind can easily see the students when they are outside. The school was designed within the urban transformation project so that the school was opened specifically for the residents of Zubeyde Hanim five years ago, which was only two years after they had settled in.

Most residents of Zubeyde Hanim are content that there is a public primary school for their children in the neighborhood. However, the residents do have a major concern that the schools are dominated by religiosity. The public primary school has 600 male students from Imam Hatip schools, which educate religious young men and women. There is anxiety in the neighborhood that these guests will remain in the public primary school and that it will transform into an Imam Hatip school. There are similar concerns within the families who are planning to send their children to Yamanlar Private School. Fetullah Gulen, who formed a religious sect and foundation and owns over 120 schools around the world, is the owner of Yamanlar Private School. The parents in Zubeyde Hanim want their children to receive a secular education. When I asked about the conditions of the primary school, the principal shared some of the concerns about education and religion:

“We are having an irregular situation in our school. We have 600 guest male students from [Imam Hatip], which is a religious school. We had to create a separation inside of our school. If you walk around the hallway, the left section of the building is separated for the students of Imam Hatip school. This is a

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temporary situation, but it is hard because we do not have enough places to afford an extra 600 students.”

The circumstances in the school have made it hard for the principal and the other teachers. As the principal states, there are 600 extra male students at the primary school. These students are in the sixth, seventh, and eighth grades. The administration is having a difficult time handling so many students, and some of the parents are worried about sending their children to a primary school in this situation.

The parents are also worried about the type of education that their children will receive. Imam Hatip schools are institutions intended to raise future imams and ministers. The Religion Foundation of Turkey’s Presidency of Religious Affairs controls these schools. After the Justice and Development Party came into power, there was a significant increase in Imam Hatip schools. Many parents are afraid that the education quality in Zubeyde Hanim Primary School will be changed and that their children will receive religion-based education instead. Therefore, parents who have opportunities to send their children to other schools prefer to look elsewhere.

While the main concern is having 600 guest students from Imam Hatip schools, the principal also has concerns about the parental involvement in the education of their children as well as the children’s involvement in school. The principal shared some communication difficulties with the parents of students:

“I recognized a woman who lives in the apartment across [...] Then I heard some voices: ‘I am so happy that schools are opened.’ So many parents view schools as somewhere to drop off their children. They get tired of their children during summer and are very glad that the schools are open. In a way, I am glad that our children are not at home... The families do not care about the school performance of their children.”

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This lack of parental interest is one of the principal's major concerns. Similar to the situation at the adult education centers, educators feel that some parents view the schools as a place to drop off their children during the day. The educators and administration perceive that the parents do not get involved in the education of their children, attend meetings with the teachers, or ask about their children's school performance. The principal and teachers would prefer to have a communication triangle between the teachers, parents, and children, where the parents take charge of the education of their children and come to talk with the teachers when necessary. The teachers do actually meet with parents in some circumstances, and these children have healthy communication between their teachers and parents. Within the perspective of the educators, relocation has little if any influence on educational attainment attitudes.

The major struggle for the residents of Zubeyde Hanim is the high dropout rate, especially for female students. For instance, not many students continue on to high school after completing their primary education. Some of the female students' parents arrange marriages for their daughters, and the families believe that the financial burden and the challenges of the high school education might not benefit their children's future. Although the social and cultural barriers are less strict for male students, the dropout rate is still an issue for the male students. The economic burdens of education challenge both the parents and the students.

In addition to the social and cultural concerns that push families and students toward students dropping out of school, both the high school and university exams and systems seem to break the motivations of the families. High school students have the flexibility of attending various schools around the city if their academic achievement

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from their primary education and their scores from high school are good enough for the school that they wish to attend. After taking the high school entrance exam, students and parents in Turkey decide on which high school is suitable based on their economic situation, the students' capabilities, and the distance of the schools. However, there is only a vocational high school in Zubeyde Hanim. In other words, if the students have other preferences, the high school in Zubeyde Hanim is not an option. Not all residents in Zubeyde Hanim are interested in trade, and not all students have high enough academic performance and scores to get into the trade vocational school. The vocational and trade high school in Zubeyde Hanim is also a TOKI school, which means that it opened about five years ago for local residents as part of the urban renewal project. Given these structural barriers of the education system, as well as the affordability of the families, relocation has very little effect on education. As relocation challenges the budgets of the families with the monthly installation fees, even having schools in the neighborhood does not make the students' and parents' life easier, and choosing a high school outside of the neighborhood costs even more due to transportation issues. In fact, the teachers believe that there is no improvement in the education of students after they move to urban satellite neighborhoods, because their parents are not aware of their main role in their children's education in which teachers want more involvement from the parents. The major struggles for the parents are the struggles concerning the cost of education and the logistic struggles in the overall education system.

Schools in Uzundere

The school structure in Uzundere is very similar to that in Zubeyde Hanim. There is a public primary school and an industrial occupation vocational school for interested

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students. As these are state schools run by MONE, the building structure looks generally the same in both neighborhoods. The Uzundere TOKI primary school was constructed around the same time (2010), shortly after the residents moved into the Uzundere neighborhood. Therefore, the residents in Uzundere prefer to send their children to the public primary school. The industrial occupation vocational school is for any high school students interested in the industrial design and technician field. Given this fact, students from many different neighborhoods attend the high school.

While the educators and administration in Zubeyde Hanim believe that parents do not spend enough time on their children's education, overall the residents in Uzundere respect the teachers and value the schools in the neighborhood. The principal of the public primary school in the neighborhood has close relations with the students, as he is a fellow resident of Uzundere. The principal was born in Mardin and moved to Izmir with his family to escape terrorist attacks and receive a good education. For years, he lived with his family in Kadifekale, and then moved to Uzundere after the urban transformation. As the principal shared a similar journey with that of most of the students, he accepts the residents' problems and finds ways to deal with issues. Even during the summer when the courses are over, the students stop by the principal's office to chat and spend time with him. The principal also plays a mentorship role in the students' high school selection. Eighth graders spend the most time with him in order to learn their high school exam placement results and make decisions about high school.

Besides the students, the parents also have close relations with the principal of Uzundere Primary School, especially because the principal shares similar experiences and daily life patterns with the residents. The principal also experienced resettlement to

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the Uzundere neighborhood and thus has familiarity with the struggles of resettlement. Some parents share their concerns about how their children will get used to the school environment, while others ask his advice regarding why their children do not study enough. The personality of the principal is very approachable for younger students as well as for the parents. He stresses that the first graders often encounter challenges at the beginning, because not many parents send their children to preschool. He guides these parents and helps students get used to the school environment.

The formation of the primary school in Uzundere was not challenging, and there was an adaptation period for teachers, students, and parents alike. The TOKI public primary school was established along with the residents' move to the Uzundere neighborhood in 2010, when the academic performance of the students was lagging. Once the adaptation period calmed down, the students improved their academic performance. Every year, student performance has increased, and teachers pay close attention to their students. The principal and the teachers are aware of the fact that the Uzundere TOKI School is not the best school in Izmir. There is still a long journey ahead for teachers to help the students improve as well as for the school to become the best primary school in the city, but the students and educators have high hopes for progress.

This assertive and constructive attitude is different from that of the primary school in Zubeyde Hanim. The educators in Uzundere are aware of and accept the reality of social and socio-economic problems, and unlike in Zubeyde Hanim, they also try to find ways of dealing with these problems. While encouraging students to succeed, the educators also motivate themselves to achieve more. The teachers believe that if they can build positive relations with the parents as well as the students, the success of the students

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will increase. Thus, in addition to increasing the academic success of their students, they work to build social relations with both children and parents.

As the principal of Zubeyde Hanim mentioned, the dynamics between the teachers, parents, and students is highly significant in terms of keeping children in school and helping students to move ahead. This positive and successful relationship between the teachers, parents, and student is applicable to the Uzundere neighborhood as well. By supporting the children in schools, the educators gain loyal students, and educators and parents can build a trusting relationship. Moreover, the parents gain more respect for the educators.

Although the educators have approachable relations with the students, many still encounter problems, such as violent behavior and drug abuse. The principal shared with me that drugs are a huge problem in the neighborhood and that children begin using drugs at a very young age. Drug addicts in the higher grades usually target younger students to get them into drugs. This cycle destroys students' sense of self; their lives; their relations with teachers, parents, and peers; and their future. The principal is especially aware of the drug problem, because he lives in the same neighborhood as the residents, and he is familiar with the problems the students face in their families and with one another. In fact, the principal believes it is neither parents nor the location why the students get involved with drugs. According to him, the problem is inequality and poverty.

While the principal of the primary school manages to maintain good relations with the parents and students as an insider, the principal of the vocational high school has some communication problems with the students and parents. The social atmosphere of

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the high school is also different, as there are only 10 students from the Uzundere neighborhood, while the other students come from different neighborhoods. This diverse student population occurs because the students choose their high school after taking the entrance exam. The principal also stresses that there are challenges specific to being a vocational school. As is the case in Zubeyde Hanim, the major downside of having a vocational high school is that it eliminates students from the neighborhood due to narrowed tracks, as few students are interested in vocational occupations. If a student wants to be a lawyer, that particular student must seek out other options.

As mentioned, students are placed based on their scores from the high school entrance exam. In addition, few residents choose the industrial vocational high school, because they are not interested in industrial technical education, and their parents cannot guide them because they do not have schooling experience. Given these circumstances, the principal of Uzundere Vocational High School tries to bring new programs to the students to grab the attention of the local residents. The principal believes that if he can bring more students to the school, the neighborhood will progress. However, the lack of support for education from the municipality is a huge problem. If MONE does not support the reforms that the principal is planning to make, the principal's hands are tied regarding making any changes.

To summarize, the situation of the schools and the social environment is somewhat similar to that in the Zubeyde Hanim neighborhood in that the primary school has higher attendance than the industrial and occupational high school. One of the major differences, however, is the fact that the teachers in Uzundere are aware of the problems their students face and manage ways of communicating with both parents and students.

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This next section will explore how parents view education and become involved in the academic performance of their children.

The Reaction of Parents' to Schools in Zubeyde Hanim and Uzundere: Parents' Choices for Their Children's School

Most parents in the Zubeyde Hanim and Uzundere neighborhoods are involved in the decision-making process during the selection of a primary school. Overall, parents play a dominant role in the primary school selection process, but because few parents have experiences with schooling, they are less likely to get involved in helping to prepare for their children's classes and exams, for high school and university exams, or for the selection of high school and university. Given these circumstances, students who have older siblings tend to have family support in their studies and courses, but educational support is very limited for those without older siblings.

The parents in Uzundere support the TOKI public primary school in their neighborhood; these parents have full trust in their neighborhood schools, and want their children to do well because they want the neighborhood to progress. They believe that if the children do well in local schools, the graduation rate in the neighborhood will increase. As a result, the state will send more good teachers to the TOKI primary schools located in the local neighborhood.

The residents of Zubeyde Hanim have different beliefs about the neighborhood schools compared to the residents of Uzundere. They do not believe that the neighborhood will progress if their children attend the TOKI public primary school. In fact, the residents of Zubeyde Hanim feel that their children's education does not influence urban transformation. Younger children mostly rely on the TOKI School, but

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older children are likely to attend schools that are not in the neighborhood. Since the residents of Zubeyde Hanim do not feel as connected with their neighborhood, most of them do not feel any social belonging or attachment to the schools in the neighborhood like that of the Uzundere residents.

In addition to the school selection process, the parents' involvement in their children's education is very low. The teachers have high aspirations for the students but complain that their parents are not interested in their academic performance. Most children have illiterate parents and parents with no schooling, and therefore, the teachers do not know how to approach them. The educators want the parents come to school and ask about their children' performance regularly, which not many parents do due to their limited school experience.

Socio-economic problems and not having someone to ask for help with courses or university preparation are still significant problems for the students in the Uzundere and Zubeyde Hanim neighborhoods. Low-income parents are generally aware that there are limited choices in terms of primary school, and therefore they try to be satisfied with the choices they have. The parents who have resources or connections with schools not in the neighborhood, however, prefer their children to attend these schools instead.

The TOKI Neighborhood Schools

Socio-economic factors definitely shape how many parents value the neighborhood schools and want their children do well in them. Local public primary schools are located in their neighborhoods, meaning they offer the most affordable situation for most parents, because their children do not have to worry about transportation fees. This makes the TOKI schools a convincing option for the families. In

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this sense, many residents feel lucky to have a school in the neighborhood. This socio-economic situation may also force other parents to send their children to the schools in Uzundere and Zubeyde Hanim.

Many parents in Uzundere and Zubeyde Hanim feel that the public schools in the neighborhoods are the most cost-effective option. In fact, some parents do not even think about another option. For example, Behive is a resident of Zubeyde Hanim who moved to Izmir from Mardin with her family when she was 14 years old. Behive never attended school and worked at a fig factory until she got married. Following the urban transformation project, Behive moved from the Yali neighborhood to Zubeyde Hanim with her husband and three children. Behive has aspirations for her children and believes that the public school in the neighborhood is the best decision for them:

“I have three kids: three-and-a-half, nine, and eleven. Two of them are in primary school, the school in [TOKI]. The school is good enough for the [kenar mahalle] slum. [Then she laughs.] So far we are happy with the school. The kids are good at their courses.”

As a young woman in her 30s, Behive supports the education of her three children. She believes that the public neighborhood TOKI school is affordable and suitable for her children. However, Behive also believes that the social environment in the neighborhood shapes the education environment. Behive believes that the school is good enough for “kenar mahalle,” which means the slum area but that schools outside of the neighborhood might be better.

Cemile is another mother in Zubeyde Hanim. Cemile migrated from Mardin and never attended school. Cemile moved to Zubeyde Hanim with her daughter, son, and husband. Cemile prefers the primary school in Zubeyde Hanim, because it is the best

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option for her but also wonders about the educational opportunities in other neighborhoods:

“My oldest is eight years old. She goes to TOKI school. I have some concerns about the school. There is no security at the entrance. The school is not clean. My kids keep getting sick and bring germs home...I am happy with our teachers...I will send her somewhere else for high school. I needed a neighborhood school for the primary education. I want her to get a good education for high school, so outside schools are better.”

Behive and Cemile are both rural migrants from Mardin, and because their families did not send them to primary school, they have no schooling. For primary education they prefer Zubeyde Hanim TOKI Primary School because it is in the neighborhood, which makes it very easy for their children to attend school. Behive believes that the school is good enough by average slum-outskirts neighborhood standards. Ideally, however, Behive and Cemile would prefer to have more options for their children.

The residents of Zubeyde Hanim fear that the neighborhood schools will be transformed into religious schools, called Imam Hatip, while the residents of Uzundere do not share this fear. As a result, many parents in Zubeyde Hanim want their children to attend schools in other neighborhoods. Satu, a resident of Zubeyde Hanim, has a daughter who will start to kindergarten in the coming fall. She would prefer that her daughter attend a different school than the TOKI School in her neighborhood, as Satu does not want her daughter to start at a place that has the potential of transforming into a religious school.

“I am not planning to send my daughter to TOKI School. Imam Hatip School rumors concern me. I want my daughter to learn social things, music, English, Turkish, after then she can learn religion. All of the courses have different purposes.”

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There are other parents in Zubeyde Hanim who have doubts about the opportunities in the neighborhood school as well. For some families, the number of guest students from Imam Hatip schools attending the TOKI public primary school is a big concern. These parents are also concerned about what happens if their children do not learn Turkish, math, social sciences, natural sciences, or music, and thus fall behind.

In addition, many parents in Zubeyde Hanim prefer their children to attend schools in other neighborhoods so that they can learn different things and have more connections. The residents do not support the TOKI public primary school, because they are not pleased with the neighbors, believing that people in other neighborhoods might behave differently. For instance, the residents who were raised in the eastern part of Turkey are viewed differently from those who grew up in Izmir or the western villages. These parents in particular want their children to attend different schools and prefer them to interact with students outside of Zubeyde Hanim. Fatma is a resident of Zubeyde Hanim with a daughter who is a freshman in a vocational school in another district in Izmir. Fatma encouraged her daughter to attend a different vocational school than the one in Zubeyde Hanim:

“My daughter went to the TOKI primary school, but she continues high school [outside], at a different school than Zubeyde Hanim. There is a vocational high school here, but we did not want her to continue here. The social environment is different in the outside world. We prefer high schools [outside.]”

Fatma preferred that her daughter attend another school, believing that there are more opportunities, resources, and connections to the outside world, a term she uses to refer to anywhere outside of Zubeyde Hanim. Residents like Fatma do not feel they belong to the neighborhood, therefore it does not matter to them that their children attend the local schools there. For these residents, it is more meaningful to send their children to

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schools outside of Zubeyde Hanim so that they will have better chances to access more opportunities.

Based on the parents' and children' perception, relocation and parental school choice have no direct relation. The parents carry mixed opinions about the TOKI schools, some thinking that they might not be satisfactory, since the schools are still in the development stage, and that the schools outside of Zubeyde Hanim might be better, since those schools are not located in the Zubeyde Hanim neighborhood. Therefore, not all parents have full trust in the schools that are in neighborhood. Besides the effects of relocation, parents struggle with socio-economic factors, which affect most parents' school choices. Those who can afford to send their children to other schools tend to utilize such options, while those who cannot afford other schools are likely to utilize the options in Zubeyde Hanim. However, when it comes time for high school, most parents prefer that their children attend schools that are not in the neighborhood regardless. After the children reach high school age, their parents tend to encourage them toward outside options.

Parents' Aspirations for Their Children

The residents with no school experience really want their children to do well in school. These families do their best to create opportunities that they were not able to have growing up. Although the families might not be able to get involved in their children's courses, they want to make sure that their children do not miss classes and that they do their homework. For example, Arife, who has two sons and two daughters, feels proud of her youngest son, who received an honor certificate called "Tesekkur" for his success

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over the year in the third grade. Arife expressed her happiness with the neighborhood school:

“I am happy with the school. My son got an honor certificate [Tesekkur] this year. The education all depends on the teachers. My son is the same level of those private high schools, because our teacher is perfect. I cannot say the same for my daughter. Whenever I went to the school at lunch time, the children were playing flute. Her teacher could not teach math very well. My daughter does not know math. She cannot do dual division. I really pray my youngest, who will begin this year, will not get that teacher. But I am still pleased with the school. The teacher assigns homework for my daughter. She begins to do her homework. Homework for 90 days... I pressure her to complete her homework.”

Arife is a migrant from Mardin whose parents did not let her to attend primary school, because they believed that schooling is not a right for girls. Although Arife is illiterate and does not have schooling experience, she manages the arithmetic for exchanging money at her street stall business. Nonetheless, she tries her best to be involved in the education of her children. For example, Arife asks them if they have completed their homework assignments and even goes to the school to make sure her children are attending regularly. Parents like Arife use all of their emotional resources and energy for their children’s education. Monitoring their children is one of the most significant strategies for these parents; they are aware that if they stop monitoring, it is possible that their children might skip classes.

The reason parents pressure and monitor their children is because they were not able to attend school themselves, and so they want to make sure their children take schooling seriously. If the children do not feel any supervision or pressure from their parents, they have more of a chance of skipping classes or becoming negatively influenced by the children around them. Most parents trust their children, but there are many students who fool their parents and pretend that they are going to classes, so the

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parents worry their children might skip classes as well. Therefore, the parents try to get involved in their children's courses as much as possible.

In addition to parents' social investment such as monitoring their children, economic investment is extremely challenging for the parents when they cannot afford the expenses of education. Economic challenges result in a dropout problem for many children. Therefore, parents or even older siblings who had to drop out of school at a very young age often begin saving money for the education of their children or younger siblings.

The story of Necmire, a 22-year-old resident of Uzundere who currently works at a textile factory, demonstrates how older siblings plan to save money for the education of their younger siblings. She moved to Uzundere with her family at the age of 18. Necmire graduated from primary school and continued on to a vocational high school, studying furniture and woodwork management. Although Necmire enjoyed her field very much, she could not find a placement for her internship. As an internship is required to complete vocational school, she was not able to graduate. Despite these challenges, Necmire sees her textile job as a temporary step in her life while she works to contribute to her household and looks to find an internship in order to graduate. Meanwhile, Necmire saves money for her 9-year-old sister's education, because believes that her family might value her 11-year-old brother's education more than her sister's:

“I am saving money, and I want my little sister to get a good education...If I make 1,500 Liras (\$555.00), I tell my parents that I made 1,200 Liras (\$444.00). I keep 300 Liras every month for my sister. I was not able to complete high school. I cannot let the same thing happen to her. She has to get a degree.”

These economic barriers are a major reason why Necmire could not graduate. After she and her family moved to Uzundere, they had more expenses, and Necmire had

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to get a textile job immediately. There are many residents like Necmire who are unable to complete their schooling. These families in Uzundere and Zubeyde Hanim are already struggling against poverty, and schooling adds more expenses. Some families believe that if the older children drop out of high school and start working at a young age, this will alleviate the family's expense burden.

Generally speaking, the residents in both neighborhoods make an emotional and economic investment in the education of their children but struggle because of the expenses required. In particular, women tend to support the education of their daughters or sisters, because families tend to value the education of their sons more than that of their daughters. Once girls start skipping classes or doing badly in their courses, they become a target for dropping out of school. This is largely because of the belief that if girls cannot succeed in school, they can still get married at a younger age. Given these cultural conditions, women tend to encourage their daughters to do well in school so that they can get a good education in the future. While the residents in the Zubeyde Hanim and Uzundere neighborhoods value the education of their children, some still have doubts about their children's future.

Conclusion

The residents of Zubeyde Hanim and Uzundere feel that the relocation process creates changes in regard to formal and informal education in their personal lives as well as in the lives of their children. However, the residents experience the effects of relocation very little compared to the larger struggles in their lives such as the bureaucracy of the education system; economic difficulties; and cultural restrictions based on gender norms, traditions, and socialization differences.

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The residents evaluate the meaning of the neighborhood schools in their lives, because the neighborhood schools, including the primary and vocational schools, are structured for the residents within the urban satellite projects. The residents of Zubeyde Hanim and Uzundere have different perspectives and experiences in regard to the effects of the neighborhood schools in their lives. Interestingly, the idea of neighborhood schools has different meanings for the residents of Uzundere than for the residents of Zubeyde Hanim. For the residents of Zubeyde Hanim, because the neighborhood schools are in the Zubeyde Hanim neighborhood, the schools are believed to be “lesser.” The residents also harbor some concerns and anxiety over the fact that the schools are still in the development stage and also feel that the neighborhood schools might not be good enough for their children. On the other hand, the residents of Uzundere feel enthusiasm about the schools in that if their children are successful, the state will continue to maintain good resources for the schools, and their neighborhoods will be able to develop even more. The primary schools symbolize neighborhood solidarity for the residents of Uzundere, and the parents motivate one another to prioritize sending their children to the neighborhood school.

Overall, the neighborhood schools have different connotations for the residents of Zubeyde Hanim. Since not all residents embrace one another, they do not embrace their schools and teachers in the neighborhood and do not consider the neighborhood school as a tool of improvement for the community. Many residents are unable to connect very well, because they come from different neighborhoods, have had very different prior experiences, and have also had different types of experiences with the schools in their prior neighborhoods. While the Uzundere neighborhood has the advantage of a primary

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school principal grew up in the community and experienced the relocation system with the other residents, the Zubeyde Hanim residents do not have the same advantage impacting their education system.

Besides the differences between the residents in Zubeyde Hanim, the fact that the school might transform into a religious Imam Hatip school challenges their trust in the institution. Within this fear and anxiety, the parents view the neighborhood school as a chaotic institution that is not good enough for the future of their children and look for schools that are not in Zubeyde Hanim.

The residents' and students' experiences of high school and higher education are very similar in both neighborhoods. Both parents and students experience the burden of the high school examinations, high school preference following that the university entrance examination, and university preferences. The parents and students perceive that the vocational schools are specialized and based on occupational skills. Therefore, the parents and students prefer a high school with a general education system, after which the students can pick their specialization. The vocational schools are viewed as very limited and thus cause the parents and students to look for other high school options. Yet the residents still face economic challenges, such as monthly housing payments. Moreover, there is significant unemployment in the neighborhood. These economic barriers make it harder for the families to seek other high school options.

The experiences of the residents are very diverse when it comes to informal education. The role of the relocation is profound in regard to informal education, because the residents had no experience with informal education in their prior neighborhoods. The notion of getting ahead challenges the residents' involvement in the informal education

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opportunities and also challenges the relationship between the educators and the residents. The educators act like caring parents, encouraging the residents to take advantage of the free literacy, occupational, or self-development classes because these classes can help them get ahead. The reality, however, is that the residents feel the desire to get ahead for their children, not themselves. Particularly the residents who experienced restrictions from their parents' belief that women have no place in school feel very vulnerable. These vulnerabilities make the residents question how the literacy courses could benefit them. Therefore, the residents transfer their hopes and dreams about education to their children and encourage them in making plans so that they can get ahead.

Chapter 5: The Reactions of Zubeyde Hanim and Uzundere Residents to Employment Opportunities

Women's labor force participation is a significant problem in Turkey that has become more visible as rural-to-urban migration has increased. One-third of women in Turkey are employed, while the rest are officially unemployed (Gunduz Hosgor 2008). In addition, women tend to be unpaid family workers, such as farm workers and housewives. In other words, despite the increase in rural-to-urban migration and the increased opportunities in the urban areas, women's labor force participation remains the same.

Therefore, this chapter seeks to determine how relocation matters for women's responses to the employment opportunities because it is important to understand whether the women's reactions to employment opportunities are changed after moving to urban satellites. The chapter provides brief background information about women's labor force participation and the social, cultural, and economic struggles, including rural-to-urban migration, family and patriarchal bonds, regional barriers, and religious beliefs, which prevent women from entering the labor market. Following the background information regarding women's labor force participation in the Turkish context, this chapter will analyze the reactions of women in Zubeyde Hanim and Uzundere to potential employment opportunities. I discuss the fact that women's prior interactions with employment play a significant role in determining how women respond to employment opportunities in their new communities. The first section of the chapter will explain how the prior employment situation in Zubeyde Hanim affects the present employment situation and then connect heterogenous community relationships with labor market

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experiences. The second section of the chapter will explain the responses of the residents of Uzundere to the loss of mussel labor, which is an informal but a very structured and cultural form of labor that is associated with the community identity of the residents in the squatter development. The chapter will explain how the residents of Uzundere engage in labor force participation after their resettlement. I find that social locations can sometime create labor opportunities, but in other situations, social locations can limit labor opportunities, depending on the experiences and social ties of a given resident.

Factors Influencing Women's Labor Force Participation

One cause of the low level of labor force participation among women is migration from rural to urban areas (Gunduz and Hosgor 2008). In rural areas, women are likely to be family workers and farmworkers and contribute to the family farm. Generally, they do not have the opportunity to attend school and, instead, engage in farm labor at very young ages. After getting married, women then contribute labor to their husbands' family farms (Ilkcaracan 2012) and have household responsibilities. In short, they perform intense²⁸ unpaid labor, including farm labor and household labor.

When women migrate from rural areas to urban areas, the largest labor differences are the absence of farm labor (Dayioglu and Kirdar 2010) and the different social conditions. In rural areas, the expectation is that women will contribute to family labor, get married, have children, and continue to perform family and household labor

²⁸ Intense refers to long hours of unpaid labor. Once female children reach the age of 5, they are expected to help their mothers with major household chores, as well as farm labor. Female children are socialized into unpaid labor culture at a very young age. If female children do not go to school and, instead, get married in their early teens, they continue in their unpaid house labor as brides. If brides live with their in-laws, they are expected to be in charge of the major household chores.

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(Baslevent and Onaran 2003). Consequently, rural women face many difficulties in obtaining educational opportunities. The social conditions in urban areas offer more employment and education opportunities, but rural migrant women face challenges such as a lack of education and employment experience (Bespinar 2010). Consequently, rural women migrants to urban areas tend to participate in household labor, such as taking care of family obligations and children.

While rural migrants' limited education and employment opportunities influence their labor force participation, the competition between urban and rural women is another challenge for rural women in urban areas (Yetim 2006). For example, women born and raised in urban areas tend to have more ability to access labor opportunities because they likely have more education and employment experiences. Given this gap in education and employment opportunities, it is difficult for rural women to take advantage of the employment opportunities in urban areas (Gunduz and Hosgor 2008).

Migration from rural to urban areas changes the labor dynamics in cities and decreases labor force participation. Most women who engage in farm labor in rural areas become housewives, which decrease labor-force participation among women (Benlin 2006). Some rural migrants enter the cleaning, services, and textiles industries. These low-paying jobs do not allow rural migrants to improve their mobility but rather enable exploitation.

Family and Patriarchal Bonds

Family bonds and values are significant in the Turkish context. The opinions of parents and husbands matter in major decisions, such as employment and school choices. Family bonds remain highly important in relatives' interactions after moving to urban

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areas, but family values are even more salient in rural areas (Hemmasi and Prorok 2002). The residents of a village act like a large family, relying and depending on one another. Although family bonds and close relationships helps rural migrants in daily life, patriarchy also limits women's education and employment opportunities (Erman et al 2002).

Studies on girls' school attendance in eastern Turkey have explained that the perceptions of others can affect parents' views on their children's education (Gunduz-Hosgor and Smits 2008). For example, if the majority of parents in a village decide that schooling is not appropriate for girls, then parents who send their daughters to school may be viewed unfavorably (Bespinar 2010). Patriarchy and the collective values of families and villages can influence parents' thinking, even about their children's education. After individuals move to urban areas, the influence of the patriarchy remains similar to what they experienced in their villages. For instance, Erman (2002) finds that if most women in a neighborhood do not work, they may stigmatize women who do work as bad wives and mothers. In Erman's (2002) study, women who worked faced neighborhood stereotypes and rumors, such as that they took the bus not to work but to cheat on their husbands. Despite these rumors, women work with honor, but these rumors show how patriarchy can brainwash people who already possess a bias against women and employment.

The link between patriarchy and marriage limits women's opportunities. For example, single women have higher labor-force participation rates than married women (Gunduz-Hosgor 2008). Although the cost or lack of childcare can limit women's employment, as in most countries, the major obstacle for most Turkish women is that

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their husbands do not permit them to work (Baslevent and Onaran 2003). Most women want to work, and these plans become even more important after moving to urban areas (Akpinar 2003). However, their husbands may not approve of labor by women. Some view the workplace as unsuitable for women and believe that women should raise children and take care of the household. Even if married women want to work, the restrictions imposed by their husbands may put an end to their goals and plans (Erman et al 2002). In other words, patriarchy mediates employment opportunities and constraints regardless of relocation.

Another study found that women's labor force participation may depend on the employment status of men. If a man is unemployed, then patriarchal restrictions and beliefs become secondary concerns. The researchers reported several examples of husbands who persisted in refusing to let their wives work for years but, after losing their jobs, no longer saw those restrictions as mattering. In fact, there are many families in which the husbands and wives both work, and these families have strong bonds and connections and do not care about how others view or stigmatize their employment status. In most families, however, the males are dominant, and their perceptions and decisions direct the family (Erman et al 2002). Thus, patriarchy contributes to the low labor force participation among women.

Regional Barriers

The eastern and western regions of Turkey have differences that may influence individuals' perceptions of education and employment opportunities (Benli 2006; Yetim 2006). Studies indicate that women's education and labor force participation rates are higher in the western regions than the eastern regions (Gunduz Hosgor 2006). The tribal

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and clan culture and terrorism in eastern Turkey may help cause the wide gap between the eastern and western regions (Simsek 2006).

A tribe or clan (*asiret*) refers to a group of people from a shared family and ancestry who also have a similar religion and social class and have marital bonds. Most tribes live in the southeastern and eastern regions of Turkey (Simsek 2006). Each clan or tribe is led by a chief, or *agha*, who determines the rules of the clan. Each tribe has rules and regulations of varying severity. For instance, a married woman may not be permitted to go grocery shopping without permission from her husband or another elder family member, or a married woman may not be required to have anyone's permission to grocery shop. Another common example is that a married woman who loses her husband may be forced to marry his brother. If members of the tribe do not obey these unwritten rules, called "*tore*", they may be subjected to punishments, which can be violent and even include death.

These potential punishments and penalties make the rules and traditions of the tribes difficult to resist. These conditions make life in these regions difficult, especially for women (Hemmasi and Prorok 2002). Their labor force participation and education rates are even lower in these regions. In some areas and tribes, it is not even possible for women to attend school or work outside the home. Women who grow up in such tribes in rural regions are less likely to attend school or join the paid labor force.

These influences on the part of the feudal "*asiret*" culture on the labor force participation of women in eastern Turkey contribute to the gap between eastern and western Turkey. Tribes' strict rules limit women's opportunities to develop themselves and contribute to their families financially and provide them with few opportunities to

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leave their homes (Benli 2006; Yetim 2006). Although such pressures may decrease after rural families move to urban areas, first-generation migrants tend to continue to feel obligated to fulfill their regional and family bonds. First-generation migrants also generally have less schooling and are less likely to be in the labor market than second-generation rural migrants.

Religion

Religion is another important norm in the Turkish context that can shape individuals' interactions and perceptions. Even though religion is effective in uniting individuals, it can also narrow their minds and perceptions. The effect of religion depends on how individuals interpret and apply their religion in their own daily interactions. Scholars who study the effects of religion on women's mobilization have reported that religion can limit women's labor force participation and potential labor opportunities (Erman et al 2002). Muslim traditions may value the education and employment of men and boys more highly than the education and employment of women and girls. Males and elder family members tend to make decisions for girls, and many families do not even consider allowing their daughters to attend to school or work outside the home due to their religious beliefs.

Researchers have found that religion can also influence marital stages and family decisions about children's lives (Gunduz Hosgor 2008). For instance, young girls are likely to be married in their teen years and, in some cases, are given to older men as brides. Girls who marry as teenagers often do not complete their education or participate in the labor market, because their education and employment opportunities are taken away (Dayioglu and Kirdar 2010). In short, religion can act as another factor contributing

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to the gap between men and women, primarily due to how people interpret and apply religion in daily life. Families who strongly believe in religion and follow traditions without question are less likely to push their daughters forward in life and to encourage and motivate their children.

Overall, women have lower labor-force participation rates than men, and the labor force participation of women in Turkey is lower than in some other Middle Eastern countries (Gunduz Hosgor 2008; Gunduz Hosgor and Smits 2008; Dayioglu and Kirdar 2010). Internal migration, religion, regional barriers, family values, and patriarchy eliminate potential employment opportunities for women. As internal migration to urban areas increases, labor force participation decreases (Bespinar 2010), and rural migrants experience a transformation from farm labor to household labor (Basilevent and Onaran 2003). Limited educational and employment experiences make it difficult for women to participate in the labor market, and religion, patriarchy, and family restrictions can pose additional barriers.

All in all, the literature on women's labor force participation in the Turkish context seeks to determine why labor force participation is low among Turkish women. As the literature explores, internal migration, religion, regional characteristics, and family values are significant barriers. Even if women aspire to work, if their families believe that the workplace is not safe for women or their husbands believe that women's economic contributions could be a threat to their manhood and dominance in the household, these social, cultural, and traditional barriers can prevent women from entering the labor market. With this socio-cultural context established, this section will seek to determine

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how women in Zubeyde Hanim narrate and describe their labor opportunities, despite the social, cultural, and traditional barriers they face.

Prior Employment among Residents of Zubeyde Hanim

Since moving to Zubeyde Hanim, residents have experienced social, cultural, and economic changes in their daily lives. How the change in neighborhood location has affected the residents depends on their prior experiences in the labor market and care work in their households. The residents who worked before moving to Zubeyde Hanim tend to continue in their previous employment or seek other types of employment, and the residents who did not work before their move tend to not work after moving to Zubeyde Hanim. Almost the half of the respondents (13 of the 35 respondents) specifically state that they have strong feelings that care work, such as the household labors of mothers or taking care of elderly or ill family members, does not allow them to seek employment outside the home. All in all, women's household and care labor and prior labor experiences are significant explanations of women's labor. The residents of Zubeyde Hanim also feel that the social environment affects their reactions to labor opportunities. The next section analyzes the ways in which the neighborhood structure shapes women's experiences of employment and how the social environment and women's interactions with one another can influence their employment experiences.

Importance of the Social Environment for Residents

It is difficult to overcome the structural factors that prevent residents from working, which include a lack of education and credentials, strict family values and traditions, and expectations of household labor and care work. These structural factors may not change during a move from a squatter development to an urban satellite, but the

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social environment, which includes the neighborhood location, the atmosphere, the residents, their interactions with one another, and the dynamics of their behavior, can affect residents' interpretations of their employment opportunities. For most of the respondents (13 out of 35), family and household responsibilities are meaningful in their lives, and female residents in particular attempt to put their families first. Therefore, the neighborhood structure and location do not necessarily influence the residents' interpretations and perceptions of the employment situation after moving from a squatter development to an urban satellite. However, for residents who are employed or seek employment, the social environment and neighborhood location affect their access to employment opportunities.

Especially for residents who worked in their previous neighborhoods and are seeking employment, the absence of employment opportunities in the neighborhood is a significant problem. For residents with a prior employment experience, working is very meaningful because it allows them to contribute to their families, to be good role models for their children, and to provide a good future for their children. The major struggle among residents with prior work experiences are not knowing where and how they can find work after moving to the Zubeyde Hanim neighborhood. It is important for residents to have employment opportunities near their neighborhood because public transportation in Zubeyde Hanim is not regular or reliable and residents are concerned about the cost of transport. Therefore, not seeing employment opportunities around the neighborhood makes residents believe that there are no opportunities.

Although they all live in the same social environment, the residents of Zubeyde Hanim react to labor opportunities in various ways. Some residents initiate informal labor

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opportunities on their own, while others prefer to participate in informal labor opportunities collectively with their relatives or neighbors. Arts-and-crafts labor is common because residents can perform it in their homes, typically on an individual basis. In the neighborhood, it is rare to observe a group of women who collectively participate in arts-and-crafts labor, whether in the home or a public bazaar. Consequently, few residents develop such labor networks because they tend to perform informal labor on their own.

In certain settings, the residents of Zubeyde Hanim may act collectively and engage in collective behaviors throughout the day. For instance, the women tend to take their children to outside playground, visit one another's homes to socialize and spend time together, cook for their families in their homes, and take care of older family members. The family-oriented social environment makes women feel that their priority should be their family and the daily household chores. The Zubeyde Hanim neighborhood has a family-friendly atmosphere because most of the women take care of their children and perform errands during the day.

The location of and the social atmosphere in the neighborhood are important for the residents in terms of building employment opportunities. The residents commonly comment, 'Look around you. Do you see anyone who is working?' In other words, the residents feel that there are no opportunities for them in or around the neighborhood. They believe this because the neighborhood does not have a vibrant social atmosphere in which they can create employment opportunities.

The social atmosphere of the neighborhood is stagnant and not integrated to the city dynamics. The major struggle for the residents is high unemployment rate and not

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being able to see an atmosphere in which they can create businesses. For instance, if residents participated in collective labor to produce arts and crafts they will not be able to find a market for those products easily.

Given the atmosphere in the neighborhood, the absence of this type of collective labor and living in isolated locations discourage women from creating or seeking any type of paid employment opportunities. In addition, women's interactions with other women shape their motivation to become employed or become entrepreneurs. For instance, stay-at-home mothers socialize with one another, and their children play and socialize with one another on the slides and swings at the playground.

Especially for residents who move from squatter developments into formal housing, relocation is a factor in their interactions with labor. The residents of Zubeyde Hanim come from different neighborhoods and have diverse neighborhood tenures and histories, but the move from an informal squatter neighborhood to a formal, urban satellite has been a huge change for all the residents. Living in informal communities enabled residents to participate in informal labor.

Once again, the residents feel as even if they have created some type of informal labor opportunities, living in an isolated community remains a barrier. For instance, if the residents sewed baby clothes, they could easily sell their products at public bazaars. The Zubeyde Hanim neighborhood, however, is not close to the inner city, where there are abundant labor opportunities. Additionally, moving to a formal environment from an informal environment has shaped how residents respond to employment opportunities. Residents feel that living in a formal neighborhood makes it harder to create informal labor opportunities. For example, even if residents do sew clothes, they do not know

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whom they can sell their products to. Living in a new environment has thus changed the residents' labor motivation.

Residents' Prior Employment Experiences

Marriage and childrearing shape labor practices, especially for women. Their employment experiences depend not only on the neighborhood but also on their family structure and status, working conditions, and prior employment experiences. In particular, women working in textile factories experience exploitation, are not paid regularly, and do not have social security insurance or job security. Women's prior employment experiences influence their subsequent employment decisions and motivations.

The Zubeyde Hanim neighborhood exhibits a pattern in which women drop out of school and begin working in textile factories at very young ages. Experiences such as not being paid; not being able to obtain insurance; suffering workplace accidents; being under male authority; and being subjected to harassment, exploitation, and oppression in the work environment, as well as a lack of labor unions, prevent women from continuing to be employed. In addition, marriage and having children are considered to be the climax of their lives. Many women who work in textiles factories quit after they marry or become pregnant. When asked about their primary reasons for quitting their jobs, residents indicate that their previous experiences of exploitation dampened their enthusiasm to work or make future employment plans. For instance, in their prior work experiences and conditions, many residents of Zubeyde Hanim worked for long hours and without insurance, conditions that did not necessarily benefit them or their families. Anxiety about not getting paid and the fact that the textile factories still owe money to the

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residents discourage women from returning to employment after marriage and having children. Not feeling secure in their employment also shapes their future decisions.

For most residents, the role of the urban transformation is insignificant because they state they maintained a similar employment status after moving from the squatter developments to Zubeyde Hanim. Mistreatment and exploitation in the workplace, however, make the residents feel hopeless. Because residents begin working as young teens, their youth and lack of experience increase their vulnerability to exploitation. Feeling exploited makes residents think that working will not improve their life conditions but only create additional issues in their lives, such as the need for childcare and insurance. Consequently, most residents do not work. In addition to these prior experiences, the pattern of early marriage and motherhood among Zubeyde Hanim residents makes it more difficult for residents to work.

The Victims of Vocational High Schools

Because Zubeyde Hanim residents marry and become mothers at early ages, they encounter a cost-benefit dilemma between the cost of childcare and the benefits of working to support their families. One major change after residents moved to Zubeyde Hanim is free childcare for children older than 4 years, offered by the Ismail Cem Culture and Education Center. Families who cannot afford childcare outside of the neighborhood can utilize this service, which includes daycare for working families during the regular school year and the summer. However, the fact that the childcare service does not accept children before the age of four becomes a struggle for families. Families who have children younger than 4 years believe that the cost of childcare exceeds the benefits of

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employment. Women who work to contribute to the family finances have to devote almost all of their paychecks to pay for childcare.

Tulay, a resident who has lived in Zubeyde Hanım for three years, has a 2-year-old son and a 5-year-old daughter. Her husband is a technician, and she has a college degree as a health secretary. However, she does not work, because she believes that if she does, she will pay too much for childcare, and her employment will not improve her family's financial status overall. Tulay experiences not working as a burden and fears that she will have difficulty obtaining a job in the health secretary field once her children grow old enough to attend school. Tulay has decided to become a civil servant because she believes that it will provide job security and benefits, such as social security, longer vacations, and protection from termination. Tulay is studying for the KPSS, or the civil servant personal selection exam. The KPSS exam is offered to select civil personnel from the education, administration, and health fields, as well as other citizens who want to work for government ministries.

The KPSS symbolizes hope for residents who desire long-term social security and lifetime benefits because jobs in the government sector offer long-term social security and benefits. Residents such as Tulay, who have education and skills, believe that it is very challenging for mothers to work, especially in the private and non-government sectors. Tulay fears that after taking a break of five to seven years to raise her children, other employees who have been in the job market will be more marketable. However, the KPSS encourages Tulay to believe that the government sector offers social and healthcare benefits, longer vacations, and job security.

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The residents fear that the private and non-government sectors are more likely to exploit employees, such as not providing them with health insurance, job guarantees, childcare benefits, or vacations. Like Tulay, Emine believes that having children at a young age has created problems for her in terms of continuing her career. Although Tulay and Emine state that marriage and children have limited their pursuit of careers, the problem goes deeper than marriage and family. For instance, Emine grew up in Izmir and then lived in Istanbul with her husband for two years. After having two children, Emine and her husband decided that it was very difficult to live in Istanbul, where they did not have any family members to help with childcare. In 2013, they decided to move to Zubeyde Hanim to provide a better future for their children. Emine is a graduate of a vocational school specializing in a business trade. Like Tulay, she plans to take the KPSS exam to work as a civil servant because she prefers job security and benefits. However, with two children, she finds it is almost impossible to study for the KPSS.

Studying for the KPSS examination is a long process. Most of the residents need to invest their money and time to go to KPSS preparation centers, obtain resources, and study for the exams, but the KPSS exam does encourage the residents. In the cases of Tulay and Emine, the inflexibility of the workforce and education is also a huge obstacle. Amid the duties of motherhood and daily routines, Emine and Tulay have difficulty finding time to study for the KPSS exam, which is offered only once a year. Residents feel the need to commit themselves to taking the exam and paying the exam fees. Some even save money for test preparation centers called “dersanes” or schools that prepare students for the KPSS exam. The KPSS exam thus becomes a social and economic burden for residents because the process of taking the exam requires time and money.

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Overall, respondents such as Tulay and Emine demonstrate that the problem is not a lack of desire to work on the part of residents. In both cases, these women are interested in working and financially contributing to their families but feel hopeless and desperate because their conditions do not permit them to do so.

In addition to the residents' view of the KPSS as limiting employment opportunities, the lack of prior employment experiences prevents residents from accessing employment opportunities. For instance, Gulsen, who graduated from a vocational school and received a degree in pre-accounting, is also preparing for the KPSS. Gulsen moved to Zubeyde Hanim with her husband and 4-year-old daughter to be close to her in-laws, who can provide childcare while she works. However, she states that she has found that employers require work experience for pre-accounting positions. Although she likes her field, she is not qualified for any of the available positions. Consequently, Gulsen, like Tulay and Emine, plans to take the KPSS so that she can be a civil servant. Many residents display a similar pattern: they are graduates of vocational high schools but cannot work, because they are not considered to be qualified. Although residents preferred vocational high schools because they were believed to allow graduates to obtain jobs easily, the graduates cannot actually obtain jobs, because they are less qualified than those with college degrees. Thus, working in the service sector or factories becomes the only option for vocational high school graduates. However, working long hours without insurance pushes these employees into the government and non-private sectors, where they can enjoy social benefits and job guarantees.

While the middle class, elites, politicians, and educators believe that low-income and working-class women do not want to work, the reality is that the education system

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forces these women, who desire to work, not to work. Childcare and household duties become a burden for these women, as they have been a burden for women throughout the world. Most women are graduates of vocational high schools, where they specialized in fields in which they had no interest. The women had examination scores that qualified them for only these schools, so they had to attend them. Most female graduates of vocational high schools cannot build future plans, because they cannot quickly obtain job placements through the public examination. Consequently, the residents of Zubeyde Hanim who want to work but are graduates of vocational high schools are unable to enter the job market.

The vocational high school education system, poor choices, and a lack of guidance have not equipped these individuals with the tools to be successful in their life paths. For instance, Sevilay, a 26-year-old mother of a 4-year-old daughter who has lived in the neighborhood since 2013, was accepted into a foreign trade school based on her high school entrance exam results, but that was not the outcome she wanted. Instead, she decided to take the KPSS to become a civil servant and receive life-long benefits, but she could not pass the exam. Consequently, she is working at a bakery in Zubeyde Hanim and looking for a factory job because these are the only options available in her situation.

According to Sevilay, the problem is not that she does not want to work but that the education and labor systems have forced her into occupations for which she is underqualified. The education and labor systems have not let her work in her field or improve herself. Women in Sevilay's situation believe that getting an education may not be enough to access employment opportunities and structural problems do not allow them to work. These women do not feel pressure from their husbands about employment, but

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many experience exploitation in the workplace or struggle on the KPSS exam. The inability to unable to pass the exam, along with marrying and having children at a young age, pushes these residents out of the labor market.

Although vocational school graduates have access to employment opportunities, the education system and the strict bureaucracy of the labor market have transformed them into individuals with no agency in terms of their futures. Similar to Sevilay, Filiz, a 32-year-old mother of two young children who moved to Zubeyde Hanim in 2014, stresses that she wants to work but she cannot. Filiz worked as a health clerk until the birth of her first child. While she raised her first child, she had her second child, which was planned. Filiz cannot return to her former employment, because she does not have a family member to take care of her children (2 and 6 years old) while she is at work and the kindergarten service in the neighborhood does not accept children younger than 4 years. Filiz believes that she wasted many years during which she could have been productive and advanced her career.

For residents such as Filiz and Sevilay, the failure to pass the KPSS exam is a huge obstacle to entering the labor market. Graduates of vocational schools must pass the KPSS to work. Not passing the exam eliminates most job options, and the only employment opportunities available to these women are temporary positions, which do not offer insurance or job security. This bureaucracy and strict education system significantly restrict the labor market for these women. Consequently, residents who struggle with the KPSS have no ability to change their situations. According to Sevilay, simply being called for a job interview and having a positive conversation with an employer can be considered success, as evidenced in the following statement:

“I just came from a job interview. I have put so many doubts in my mind. There is a factory that produces plastic materials for toys. [They] asked six of us to try the machine that [they] are using. You are supposed to lift the start handle of cock up the machine, then lower the machine in order to assemble the plastics. After doing it three times in a row, I had pain. I was not able to do it. I feel like I failed. The hours were great; it was from 8 in the morning until 6 in the afternoon. The human resources lady was very helpful and advised me that you cannot just get the job and try it for a temporary period; it doesn't work that way. Just in case, I left my CV. If there are openings for clerical jobs, they will call me. I hope I [made] the right decision.”

Sevilay is willing to work but struggles in her limited employment market. Similar to other respondents, Sevilay is a graduate of vocational school who has not gone through the KPSS exam. She struggles with the availability of factory, temporary service, and clerical jobs. The diminished labor market makes her feel as though she has no agency in her life.

Marrying and having a child have presented additional obstacles for her to continue in her field. Although Sevilay wanted a career, she could not be accepted into a university and obtain a job in her desired field. There are limited placements for students from vocational school at universities, and employers prefer students with university degrees, so this respondent is a stay-at-home mother with a vocational degree. Structural problems and the bureaucracy of the education system have not allowed her to obtain a job or pursue a career.

The lack of opportunities experienced by the female residents of Zubeyde Hanim are related to a lack of education, childcare, relatives to provide childcare, and family support in managing the household. Structural conditions also push the residents not to work, even some who want to work and whose families support them in working. Another example is the case of Cemre, is who is 26 years old and has a 5-year-old daughter. Cemre moved to Zubeyde Hanim about four years ago, and her husband's

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family owns the property they live on. Cemre feels lucky that her in-laws live close by and that she has a good support system. As a graduate of a vocational school, which was not her first choice, Cemre has experienced that education really matters and believes that it is important to find a job in a field she enjoys. Cemre's struggles result from not passing the KPSS exam.

The education system plays a significant role in the challenges of residents such as Tulay, Emine, Sevilay, and Cemre. Inspectors, civil servants, officers, teachers, directors of public agencies, and employees of public corporations take this examination for public personnel selection, and limited placements are granted to graduates of vocational high schools. Also, the KPSS exam is administered only once a year, the exam fees are expensive, and few people are placed in their desired fields. Given these conditions, the strict bureaucracy of the education system forces the residents in Zubeyde Hanim who are graduates of vocational school into dead-ends. Although the residents have motivations and aspirations to work, the challenge of being placed in their fields discourages them from pursuing their desires and plans. Even if the residents leave Zubeyde Hanim, their career struggles will continue.

In summary, the residents of Zubeyde Hanim truly believe that education matters and attempt to provide the best possible education for their children. However, the lack of educational guidance and opportunities experienced by the residents has made them focus on their families and children and to be content with less-skilled jobs in fields other than their desired fields.

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Background of Informal Market Laborers

Informal laborers are mostly women whose husbands do not let them work outside the home and who have little schooling, having never attended schooling or dropped out of middle or high school. Informal laborers are mostly employed in the textile industry, with some experience in sales and service. Most of these women went to work at a very young age and have thus been vulnerable to exploitation, such as working without insurance and not being paid on time or at all. Most also married at a very young age, and some quit their jobs after marriage or their first pregnancy. For various reasons, the women believe that informal labor is convenient, flexible, and the best option for their families.

The stories of residents working in the informal market are different than those of women who work in the formal market. Women who are informal laborers appreciate the opportunities that they create. While some informal laborers had informal networks before moving to Zubeyde Hanim, others did not have any type of informal labor network or engagement. Both groups believe that the informal labor opportunities are a great fit for them because they have children and could not complete school and because working at a formal job can be difficult given their family situations. Unlike those residents who are graduates of vocational high schools, those residents who engage in informal labor are less likely to complain and more likely to have ties to the opportunities that create.

In general, the respondents have their own ways of seeking and accessing labor opportunities, but they do not collectively or mutually seek labor. According to Zulfiye, a 53-year-old mother of four whose husband struggles with alcohol and who moved to

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Zubeyde Hanim in 2009, residents find informal labor connections to be very important because building trust and a relationship between employees and employers takes a great deal of time and effort. Before moving to Zubeyde Hanim, Zulfiye lived in the Yali neighborhood for 20 years, and there, she once told her neighbor that she was seeking a job. Her neighbor, who did cleaning work in the middle-class neighborhood of Atakent a block away, found Zulfiye a job. The job was to clean and help with household duties in that neighborhood. Even after moving to Zubeyde Hanim, Zulfiye continued to work in the Atakent neighborhood to contribute to her family. Zulfiye feels like she is a part of her employer's family. Once residents build a good relationship with an employer, they prefer to maintain this relationship. Despite moving to the urban satellite, residents such as Zulfiye want to maintain their previous employment. The financial difficulties in the neighborhood do not allow residents to quit their current jobs, and they feel that it is more difficult to find such informal labor in their new neighborhood.

In addition to informal domestic work, home-based informal labor opportunities are highly important for the residents of Zubeyde Hanim and, indeed, the only option for women whose husbands do not want them to work outside the home. Petra, a 28-year-old mother of a 1 year old, is married to a man who works for the municipality and moved to the Zubeyde Hanim neighborhood in 2011, after their marriage. Petra comes from Adana in southern Turkey and has eight siblings. Although she moved to Izmir to work for a textiles company and save money for college, her dreams changed after she met her husband. After they had their daughter, it became hard to live on a single income. Petra earns an income through her connections in the textiles industry and sews ribbons to contribute financially to her family, as she explains:

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“I came to Izmir to work in a factory over the summer to save money for university entrance-exam preparation. Then, I met my husband. My husband told me that if you go to university, everything will be over between us. I gave up university and got married. I really wanted to work somewhere, but my husband does not let me to work, so I can only work from home. I sew ribbons for baby clothes or wedding decorations. Some days, I make 1,000 ribbons, and some days, 1,500. It [varies from] day to day. I have a 1-year-old daughter. This job is good enough to afford her expenses.”

Petra is not the only woman whose husband disapproves of women’s employment. Like Petra, some residents of Zubeyde Hanim state that their husbands do not want them to work anywhere other than in the home. Consequently, informal labor opportunities are important for these residents. Indeed, men’s disapproval of women’s labor and demand for unpaid domestic labor make informal labor opportunities more accessible than formal labor opportunities for women. The culture and structure of the community render the labor market inaccessible to women and motivate them to engage in other money-making activities. Women who experience restrictions imposed by their husbands can only capitalize on home-based labor to financially contribute to their families.

Some residents prefer informal labor over formal labor due to the flexibility and convenience it affords. These residents report that informal labor allows them spend to more time with their families. Zeliha is a 27-year-old mother of a 3-year-old son, and her husband is seeking a job. Zeliha moved to Zubeyde Hanim from Yali in 2010 and then moved to another house in Zubeyde Hanim in 2012. After marrying, Zeliha dropped out of high school and earned a beauty technician certification in manicures, pedicures, and waxing. She prefers to go to homes in Zubeyde Hanim and surrounding neighborhoods rather than work in a beauty salon, as she states:

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“I do the manicures and pedicures of my neighbors. I also bring my son; sometimes, he can get naughty. Sometimes, my mom looks after him. ... When I was pregnant, I started doing this business. That is why I love doing this job: just the other day, I did my neighbor’s pedicure and waxing. I also brought my son; he got tired a little bit, but it is all right. ... I also bring rosehips from the village over the summer. I sell it to the surrounding neighborhoods. Some of them got interested. This summer, I will bring more. My mother-in-law gives me [the rosehips] from her garden.”

Like Zeliha, the residents prefer home-based labor due to its convenience, flexibility, and compatibility with motherhood. Home-based labor allows mothers to include their children in their employment and social lives, and the associated flexibility and convenience offer the freedom to work based on their wants, needs, and capabilities. Although the neighborhood has a free childcare center for children older than 4 years, the lack of childcare for younger children creates a huge struggle for mothers. Considering that motherhood is valued in the neighborhood and many residents have children, this kind of home-based labor is highly important.

The residents of Zubeyde Hanim have pursued informal labor in diverse ways. While some residents, such as Zulfiye, have maintained their previous informal labor connections and activities, others, such as Petra and Zeliha, have established their own types of informal labor. Depending on their previous connections and life experiences, residents have their own ways of negotiating the informal labor market. The experiences of the residents indicate that they are in survival mode and are conscious of their needs and those of their families.

Influence of the Neighborhood Structure on Residents’ Work Experiences

Relocation plays a small but significant role in how the residents of Zubeyde Hanim narrate the employment opportunities in their lives. Thus, the larger representations, including the residents’ prior employment, the emotional and social

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responsibilities of the care work, and the strong commitment to family values and traditions, are very important factors to consider in analyzing the residents' descriptions of labor opportunities after they moved to Zubeyde Hanim.

Residents with prior employment experiences (formal and informal) or vocational education experiences hope for potential employment opportunities. However, factors such as the prior exploitation in the labor market, the challenge of obtaining a placement through the KPSS exam, and the anxiety of not being able to obtain an externship that could lead to a higher position push the residents away from the labor market. Therefore, the residents feel that neighborhood relocation is a very minor factor in their absence from the labor market. The graduates of vocational high schools stress that their move to the new neighborhood has not necessarily changed their working situation and observe with frustration that their education has not advanced but rather limited their careers and future plans. Much like graduates of vocational schools, those residents who have experienced exploitation in their prior employment view workplaces as suspect. Many employers assume that employees will not fight for benefits. This continuous exploitation separates potential employees from job opportunities.

Some of the residents feel that their commitment to care work, family values and traditions, and relocation have had little effect on their employment opportunities. Residents whose husbands do not let them to work experience difficulties engaging in formal labor due to their husbands' opposition. For residents who take care of elderly or ill family members or children, it is not possible to enter the labor market. Informal labor is the only way for these women to work, but the residents of Zubeyde Hanim feel that

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they lack the connections and social ties to create a communal informal labor market. Instead, they prefer to invest their time in their children's and family's well-being.

While the residents feel that the relocation has had little effect on their interaction with employment, the residents still experience the social environment's significant influence on their lives. Not being able to connect with other residents in Zubeyde Hanim or not being able to see a vibrant neighborhood that has potential employment opportunities stifles residents in their search for employment. The residents of Uzundere share similar cultural and structural experiences with the residents of Zubeyde Hanim, but their interactions with the labor market differ, as will be explored in the next section.

Uzundere Neighborhood

In contrast to the residents of Zubeyde Hanim, the residents of Uzundere experienced major labor changes during the urban transformation. When living in the Kadifekale neighborhood, a significant number of residents participated in mussel labor, but they had to give this up after moving to Uzundere. The environment of the squatter development allowed them to clean and cook mussels despite the smell, but the social environment of Uzundere does not allow them to the participation in this type of labor. Uzundere has more employment opportunities than Zubeyde Hanim, but as in Zubeyde Hanim, some residents remain outside the labor market. The following section describes the employment transformation experienced by the residents, the informal labor market of the neighborhood, the employment opportunities in the neighborhood, and residents' responses to these opportunities.

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Residents' Prior Employment Experiences

As stated above, the major change for residents of Uzundere has been the absence of mussel labor. After moving to Uzundere, the residents initially did not know what kinds of informal labor they could engage in. For years, the residents specialized in mussel labor, becoming good at this type of labor over the years. In addition, mussel labor became part of the identity of the residents. The residents who migrated from the Mardin area were people of the high mountains, who had not been to the seaside before they migrated to Izmir. They then entered into the popular seafood preparation business and came to dominate the entire domestic market in Turkey. The first generation of migrants from Mardin began to engage in mussel labor, and the tradition and pattern continued in future generations. In other words, mussel labor is associated with migrants from the Mardin area, as well as the residents of Kadifekale, because the residents have a social environment and community that allow them to engage in mussel labor. Mussel labor also became common in the Kadifekale neighborhood, where migrants from the Mardin area and various others regions engaged in collective mussel labor. Given the cultural meaning and financial value of mussel labor, most residents did not know where to work and how to build connections after moving to Uzundere neighborhood.

Most of the residents in Uzundere are familiar with informal labor because of their experience in mussel labor, but there are residents who engage in other informal labor, such as arts and crafts or working in stalls. There are also residents who work in various sectors of the formal labor market: the service sector (grocery store cashiers and waitresses) and factories (textile and fish factories). In addition to these groups, some women are stay-at-home mothers. However, the question of where they can work is less

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likely to be a concern for the residents of Uzundere. Although the residents are aware that it is not easy for them to find employment, they tend to engage in labor even if it will bring them very little capital. In addition, the ties and bonds among the neighbors allow them to engage in arts-and-crafts labor, especially during home gatherings. In these ways, the role of the social environment is different in Uzundere than in Zubeyde Hanim.

Social Environment

Although Uzundere residents encounter structural obstacles, such as limited employment and a lack of education and experience, the relationships and dynamics between the neighbors are somewhat different than in Zubeyde Hanim. In contrast to the residents of Zubeyde Hanim, Uzundere residents have closer relationships because they already knew one another from Kadifekale and restructured their relationships in their new neighborhood. Residents reunited, and many who were previously only acquaintances bonded more strongly in Uzundere. Overall, the neighborhood dynamics are very lively. In addition, the neighborhood location and atmosphere facilitates developing close relationships. Two examples of these structures include arts-and-crafts labor during home gatherings and the informal labor gatherings around the neighborhood.

The Residents and the Dynamics of Their Behavior

Like the residents of Zubeyde Hanim, the residents of Uzundere have home gatherings throughout the day. Much like in Zubeyde Hanim, the women in Uzundere usually take care of children and run daily household errands, and home gatherings are a significant component of the neighborhood culture. In most cases, neighbors gather while their children play with one another. In other words, such home gatherings have become a daily routine for the residents of Uzundere. Residents also engage in arts-and-crafts

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labor at the home gatherings. For example, a group of women who are friends and relatives or live in the same building may gather in a home and cook together, have tea and coffee, and perform arts-and-crafts labor while the children play. Overall, the neighborhood has a social atmosphere in which residents tend to build relationships and connections.

Location and Social Atmosphere

Location and social atmosphere matters when residents establish business and develop employment. Despite the transition from mussel labor to various other labor fields, Uzundere residents manage to find and create labor opportunities. In addition to performing arts-and-crafts labor in the home, some residents run stalls selling gum and candy in the neighborhood center. Although this labor does not bring in much money, the residents feel the satisfaction of engaging in labor. In addition, the presence of these small businesses brings life and energy to the neighborhood. For instance, unemployed residents stop by the stalls and converse while their children play with one another. The next section investigates the details of the social environment and the experiences of formal and informal laborers in the neighborhood.

Active Laborers in the Uzundere Neighborhood

Changes in the social setting have made the residents of Uzundere seek out alternative labor opportunities. Based on residents' experiences, the social environment has changed the ways in which they labor. When the residents lived in Kadifekale, they participated in stuffed mussel labor due to the open environment of the neighborhood. The residents felt that all family members could be involved in stuffed mussel labor. Women, in particular, tended to participate in mussel labor collectively. Neighbors and

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extended family members gathered, cleaned, and cooked mussels together. The older children helped the women, and the younger children played around the neighborhood. Men caught and sold the mussels. Within this collective informal labor network, the residents could manage their lives. Living in the social environment of Kadifekale allowed the residents to pursue stuffed mussel labor, but after the move to Uzundere, their social environment no longer afforded the same space or tolerance for that work.

Uzundere residents experienced a major labor transformation within the urban environment when they had to give up stuffed mussel labor. The majority of the residents are former mussel laborers. Of the 35 participants interviewed, twelve are former mussel laborers. As a result of losing this business, three of the twelve former mussel laborers created informal stall businesses, six perform home-based arts-and-crafts labor, and three are no longer involved in any specific type of labor. Arife is a 38-year-old migrant from Mardin who lived in Kadifekale for more than 20 years and moved to Uzundere in 2010. She is a former mussel laborer and the mother of two sons and two daughters. Her youngest son, Yusuf, has leukemia, and her oldest daughter, Dicle, has dropped out of high school to take care of him and work at a local bakery. Arife strongly believes that it is not possible to survive in the neighborhood without working. She runs a stall business in the neighborhood, selling products such as gum, candy, lighters, and cigarettes. She stresses that this is the only way she can contribute to her family financially.

Similarly, Kadriye, a 32-year-old mother of daughters aged 9 and 17, is a former mussel laborer from Mardin and has lived in Uzundere since 2010. Her daughter Dila helps while she takes care of the household duties and errands. Kadriye feels blessed to

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engage in informal labor selling candy and gum and appreciates her ability to contribute to her family.

The absence of the mussel labor has influenced the lives of residents who were formerly employed in that work. Whereas Arife and Kadriye transitioned from mussel labor to stall labor, Arife's husband switched to iron casting, and Kadriye's husband became a construction worker. Changes in the neighborhood have also contributed to changes in the labor market. The residents feel economic challenges and believe that they need to work to cover their household and family expenses.

Stuffed mussel labor was considered a collective neighborhood activity when the residents lived in Kadifekale, so they now feel a lack of togetherness, or mahalleli. Zahire, a 38-year-old mother of three from Mardin whose husband works as a construction worker states that if it were possible, she would love to continue in mussel labor:

“If someone calls me for mussel labor, I would go. ... It smells bad. I mean, we did not realize that when we were in [Kale]. ... You also get used [to] that smell. ... Now that we are here [Uzundere], we keep thinking how we got used that smell. ... But I really miss mussel labor. ... My oldest daughter keeps saying, ‘I will work extra hours, but I will never let you do the mussel labor again.’”

Like Zahire, many former mussel laborers state that they did not realize how a home was supposed to smell until they moved to Uzundere and ceased mussel labor. However, without this employment, these residents have experienced difficulty adjusting to the economic demands of their new home. Whereas the residents did not pay rent in the informal squatter development, they must now pay a monthly installment fee. Displaced from their economic activity, the residents feel they cannot afford the living costs in Uzundere. Amire, a 32-year-old mother of two and migrant from Mardin, lived in

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Kadifekale for about 16 years and moved to Uzundere in 2010. She believes that arts-and-crafts labor does not provide the same economic satisfaction as mussel labor, but this home-based labor is the only such activity the residents can become involved in.

Women in the Uzundere neighborhood tend to establish collective home-based labor. For example, Amire and her sister-in-law Kemire participate in home-based labor, in addition to their household labor and childcare. For these women, home-based labor has replaced mussel labor. The former mussel laborers attempt to maintain the traditions of collective labor, including interacting with other laborers and their children. These activities give the residents the time to conduct household labor and a suitable environment in which to do so.

Informal labor opportunities are common among Uzundere residents because they have more experience in informal labor than in formal labor. Twenty of the 23 women interviewed are involved in economic activities, but only eight are involved in formal labor, such as in the service sector, the textile industry, and various factories. Tulay, a 43-year-old whose ancestry is Circassian, never married and takes care of her mother, who has Alzheimer's. She moved to Uzundere in 2010. Tulay believes that some formal labor developments in the neighborhood have allowed the informal economy to grow. For instance, the Baris Gross grocery store chain targets low-income communities but charges the same product prices as grocery stores in middle-class neighborhoods. Although Baris Gross gives residents hope for employment opportunities, it has employed only eight of the 42 potential candidates. Also, residents who pursue informal labor cannot compete with the negotiating power of Baris Gross, which has its own police security force.

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Zeynep, an 18-year-old born in Kadifekale whose family was involved in mussel labor in Mardin, states that bakery vans once operated in the neighborhood, but Baris Gross called the *zabita*, the local authorities who maintain the safety of people and property. As Zeynep relates, the *zabita* can check whether the bakery vans in the neighborhood are legal and whether the sellers have licenses. Based on the experiences described by Tulay and Zeynep, Baris Gross has not only shrunk the informal labor market, but its influence has forced residents to buy its products at prices significantly higher than those in Kadifekale. Most residents do not have private transportation, so Baris Gross is the most accessible store for them.

Baris Gross employees feel that working there offers them employment close to home, but they also experience exploitation. Zahire, a 22-year-old born in Kadifekale, was a student in a food-industry vocational high school. After her family was displaced to Uzundere, she had to stop school and start to work to support her family. She plans to finish school through distance education. Zahire states that the grocery chain prevents residents from developing informal businesses, even though few residents can perform informal labor. Although living in a formal neighborhood may frustrate the establishment of informal labor opportunities, the residents still feel encouraged to establish these informal labor opportunities. Zahire wants to go to a *dershane*, an after-school support program on the weekends, but her work schedule does not allow her the time to do so.

Like Zahire, other women had to drop out of school and work at Baris Gross due to financial difficulties. They want to return to school, but the long hours and weekends at work do not allow them to pursue their goals. In addition, the rough working

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conditions and lack of insurance make the workers feel that it is impossible to continue working in these conditions as a married woman and mothers.

The neighborhood transformation has shaped the labor opportunities of Uzundere residents. The most significant change for the residents was their displacement from mussel labor, but spatial changes also created differences in residents' labor. The residents of Uzundere have undergone these changes as a community, and the active laborers tend to contribute collectively through informal labor and sharing family and kinship ties. The residents accept that the social environment has changed their labor opportunities and involvement.

Non-active Laborers

Although many residents work in informal and formal labor, certain structural barriers and family situations do not allow all residents to do so. Twelve of the 35 residents do not work, and at least four of these residents do not desire to work. Filiz, a 23-year-old mother of a 9-month-old baby, is from Igdır and lived in Kadifekale for eight years before moving to Uzundere in 2010. Filiz was married around 11 years old. In her village, girls were lined up like models and viewed as teenage brides. She had no choice but to accept her marriage, and she and her husband moved to Izmir shortly afterwards. Filiz believes that the labor market is extremely rough for young mothers who dropped out of school and married at young ages:

“Who should give us a job? I did not attend school, and I don't have literacy. There is a shopping mall near us. ... Believe me, they wouldn't even hire us as toilet bathroom cleaners there.”

Like Filiz, at least nine interviewees were married between the ages of 11 and 16 years. Education and formal professional labor were closed off for these women at very

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young ages because they entered adult roles in their teens. Five of these women are involved in the informal market, but the other three prefer to transfer their desires to their children, believing there are no paths open to them in education or employment. Gulistan is a 25-year-old mother of five children whose husband is an employee of a construction company. She married around age 15. She lived in Kadifekale for more than 10 years and moved to Uzundere in 2010. Gulistan plans to go to beauty school and obtain a certificate in hair dressing:

“Well, if I did not have these two youngest [a 6-month-old baby boy and a 2-year-old girl], I would love to be a hairdresser. ... I will go to school and get the certificate, but I want them to be grown up a little. ... I will go for sure.”

Gulistan, who has the most children of the 35 respondents, describes her plans and hopes despite the responsibilities of five children. Despite marrying at a young age and becoming a mother when she was 17 years old, Gulistan defines her plans for the future rather than reflecting on or transferring her dreams.

In addition to their lack of education and formal employment opportunities, the residents feel that their experiences of exploitation and multiple rejections by employers have shattered their hopes and dreams. Tulay, a 33-year-old, lived in Kadifekale almost her entire life before moving to Uzundere in 2010. Her family did not allow her to continue her education after the fifth grade. She worked at a textile factory from age 11 into her mid-20s and has since worked in various daily domestic jobs. Tulay believes that the job market is very competitive and that employers exploit workers due to their lack of experience and education. She explains how people who are desperate for jobs are exploited:

“I dropped [out of] school after the fifth grade; then, I worked for a textile garment making factory, ... but I do not even have insurance. I was young, and

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the employers took advantage of my age. ... It is so hard to find a job. ... I went [to] homes for cleaning. But, once they call you, they do not call you for the second time. I want to get paid 50 liras, but they pay me 20 liras. I stopped going.”

Tulay no longer seeks employment, but not because she does not want to work. Her failure to search for work is due to the poor working conditions, exploitation, and mistreatment by employers she has experienced. The cycle of exploitation and working without insurance deters many residents from entering the labor market, and previous exploitation experiences influence their present labor motivation.

The residents believe that it became more difficult for them to work after moving to a more formal neighborhood, as exemplified by Baris Gross’s dominance in the neighborhood. However, according to Tulin, who aspires to sell the jewelry she makes, the neighborhood requires economic development and growth. Tulin, a 31-year-old who was born in Kadifekale and moved to Uzundere in 2010, stresses that the problem is not a lack of desire to work among residents but the formal laws and rules of the community, which do not allow them to pursue their desired work. The potential economic development from these jobs would not only bring life to the neighborhood but also motivate residents to become more involved in labor.

Conclusion

The residents of Zubeyde Hanim and Uzundere observe that the effects of relocation on their employment involvement are very limited. However, there are differences between the neighborhoods in terms of the residents’ interaction with relocation and their employment experiences. These differences can be summarized in

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two main ideas: housing tenure and a sense of belonging shape the labor involvement of the residents.

How this spatial change influences employment depends on residents' interactions with and participation in labor in their prior neighborhoods, as well as their housing tenure. For instance, the residents of Uzundere collectively experience the absence of mussel labor because the mussel labor became a part of the spatial identity of their prior neighborhood, Kadifekale. After moving to Uzundere, the residents not only experienced the relocation of their settlements but also the challenges involved in the relocation of their labor. Currently, the residents of Uzundere have scattered labor involvements, but they still have an attachment to labor. For instance, some of the residents work at Baris Gross, others work as informal vendors, and still other residents engage in arts and crafts during daily house gatherings.

On the other hand, the residents in Zubeyde Hanim do not have the same spatial identity as the residents of Uzundere due their differences the housing tenure and the fact that the residents moved to Zubeyde Hanim from different locations. In Zubeyde Hanim, diversity in terms of housing and community experiences frustrates residents in their attempts to build a labor network. The major concern for the residents is that because they view Zubeyde Hanim as an isolated place, they cannot picture any type of labor opportunities existing in Zubeyde Hanim. The major deal breaker for most of the residents is negative experiences and exploitation in their prior employment. Therefore, the residents believe that although relocation matters, their challenges in the labor market are not caused by their change in neighborhood but by problems related to vocational

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schools, the limited number of jobs in their fields, restrictions imposed their families, and the demands of household duties.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

This dissertation highlights the voices of relocated residents and how they interpret and live through the relocation process. By examining residents' interpretations of their involvement in education and employment, the dissertation has shown that the process of relocation is an abstract event with varying consequences. It is important to hear and value the voices of the relocated population to understand the relocation process.

Most scholars have focused on how racial, ethnic, religious, regional, and socio-economic class differences cause individuals to experience the relocation process differently. These are valuable factors when analyzing a neighborhood structure. To understand the relocation process, it is worthwhile to understand the relocated communities and their prior and present life struggles. As relocation is a communal process, an understanding of and communication with the relocated communities will benefit urban developers in structuring urban renewal projects based on the needs of the communities.

The perceptions of the residents of Zubeyde Hanim and Uzundere show that understanding the population that experiences the process of urban relocation is important for implementing and managing urban renewal projects. Urban bureaucrats have a tendency to apply middle-class values and lifestyle assumptions to the residents of Zubeyde Hanim and Uzundere when generating their life chances; such values and lifestyles are not what they desire (Logan and Molotch 1987.) To enhance low-income residents' living standards, understanding the population, as well as the needs and desires of the population, is very important as an enabling factor for the urban renewal processes to become efficient. Both the residents of Uzundere and Zubeyde Hanim—men, women,

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children, and elderly—expressed their appreciation of the modern, comfortable, safe housing facilities after moving from squatter developments.

This dissertation also extends our understanding on a broader political and economic scale. The residents of Uzundere and Zubeyde Hanim experience high dropout rates from school, work longer hours in the textile industry without benefits, and get married at an early age. In other words, the problems in the education market and labor market are connected. For example, a significant percentage of the residents are interested in taking the Public Service Personnel Selection Examination, which is scheduled once a year. If they do not pass the exam, the textile industry is the only other option. The residents experience problems that include not being paid on time and working without any insurance, problems that push the residents out of the labor market. Given these conditions, for most families, the most efficient solution is informal labor, which means the residents can engage in arts and crafts labor. In order to increase the life chances of the residents, especially in education and employment, it is worth recognizing the labor and education markets that the residents face. In this case, the projects that are implemented can match with the needs of the population and increase the life chances of the residents.

Key Findings from Zubeyde Hanim

The residents of Zubeyde Hanim are from different regional and ethnic backgrounds and have different housing tenures and occupation histories. The residents appreciate their relocation to Zubeyde Hanim, where they have access to comfortable housing and privacy in an apartment setting. However, the residents feel that being

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relocated to Zubeyde Hanim has a minimal impact on their education and employment involvement.

The major challenge for the residents of Zubeyde Hanim is to be able to bond and connect with each other. After moving to Zubeyde Hanim, the residents require time to build cohesion. Inconsistency and variation in housing tenures lead to clustered and isolated relationships. Some of the residents, who know each other from their prior neighborhoods, have relationships that are over 10 years old, but those who are not from those previous neighborhoods are considered outsiders and need time to build connections with the insiders. By the time the insiders and outsiders have become connected with their neighbors, their neighbors may be moving out because they cannot afford the housing payments. Although diversity in housing tenure is common in any type of neighborhood, the residents of Zubeyde Hanim feel that their housing tenure in the squatter development was more consistent and structured, which kept their relationships stable.

The inconsistency and variation of the housing tenures have an impact on the residents' sense of belonging. The residents feel that Zubeyde Hanim is their home, but observing people moving in and out leads them to question their sense of belonging to Zubeyde Hanim because the neighborhood does not seem stable enough. To generate a sense of belonging, the residents engage in neighborhood activities. Stay-at-home mothers and their children socialize with one other at the playground. However, the only times they socialize are when they take their children outside or walk around the neighborhood.

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The residents' perception of Zubeyde Hanim as not good enough has an impact on how they make sense of the educational opportunities. Overall, the residents' educational involvement can be summarized in three key points: 1) the residents' sense of belonging challenges their trust in the educational opportunities, 2) the residents' past education involvement shapes their present opportunities, and 3) there is a lack of communication between the educators.

Although the residents appreciate and are aware of adult education and formal education opportunities, not all of these opportunities are relevant to the residents. For instance, the residents who have limited education or who are illiterate do not view the courses (e.g., literacy, computer skills, English literacy, career certification, elderly care, arts and crafts, music, and aerobics) as milestones for mobilization. The residents with limited educational involvement observed that these opportunities were not available to them because their families valued their brothers' education more, they had to drop out of school at an early age, or they married at an early age. Given their past vulnerabilities, the residents prefer to invest their time in their children's education.

The residents of Zubeyde Hanim have different perceptions of formal education. Parents without a formal education genuinely want their children to receive high-quality education, but the residents of Zubeyde Hanim are uncertain whether the neighborhood schools are good enough because the schools are located in Zubeyde Hanim. In other words, the residents' sense of belonging shapes their perceptions of the neighborhood schools.

The disconnection between the educators and the residents is a barrier to the educators' effectiveness and the residents' productivity. The educators (e.g., the school

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administrator and the adult education coordinators) approach the residents and their children in an authoritarian way and emphasize what is best for them for the residents to succeed or become socially mobile. Although the educators have goals within their own field, it is essential for them to hear the residents' stories in order to assist them.

The low sense of belonging to Zubeyde Hanim also shapes the residents' labor involvement. Beyond the structural and cultural factors, such as limited education and work experiences, care work responsibilities, and family restrictions; the residents do not view Zubeyde Hanim as a vibrant place that has employment opportunities. When it comes to labor involvement, the residents' first reaction is that the neighborhood has no labor opportunities; they have questions and concerns about where they can work.

Residents who work in the formal labor market, such as the service sector and factories, believe that a change in neighborhood has no effect on their labor involvement. However, they experience difficulties in accessing transportation to their jobs. Overall, the residents of Zubeyde Hanim believe that the poor education system, few opportunities, and lack of childcare—not the relocation process—are the major problems preventing residents from taking jobs.

Key Findings from Uzundere

As relocation is an abstract process, the post-relocation experiences of the Uzundere residents have some similarities and differences with those of the Zubeyde Hanim residents. The Uzundere residents experienced mixed feelings throughout the relocation. While they miss the open-air neighborhood atmosphere, the proximity to the inner city, and the general culture of their former neighborhood, the residents also feel

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that the new homes in Uzundere are very comfortable. Overall, Uzundere residents have an advantage over the Zubeyde Hanim residents: they already know each other from their previous neighborhood and experience the same post-relocation process (i.e., the change from the Kadifekale squatter development to Uzundere). Living through the same experience makes it easier for residents to become bonded and connected, which is not the case for Zubeyde Hanim residents.

Despite sharing similar tenure experiences, the residents still face challenges throughout the post-relocation process. The most significant cultural change for Uzundere residents is the move from a squatter development to an apartment setting. Although the majority of neighbors already know one another, the social environment is new to them, and becoming accustomed to it takes time. The difference in the social environment makes the residents feel socially isolated and excluded. Living in Kadifekale, they felt very close to the inner city; by contrast, their new neighborhood is far from the inner city, contributing to problems of social isolation and alienation.

On the other hand, the residents observed that experiencing the post-relocation process together unites the community. Some residents have grown closer, and new relationships have emerged among the residents since the move to Uzundere. Some residents of Uzundere have attempted to build close relationships, and the newly developed informal labor dynamics have made the neighborhood atmosphere even livelier. For example, some women run stalls in the center of the neighborhood, where neighbors stop by during the day while their children play. Residents also shop at the grocery chain store across from the stalls. Uzundere neighborhood did not have Syrian refugee families during the period in which I conducted interviews. One area of research

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might be to identify the changes in neighborhood solidarity and dynamics should Syrian refugee families move into Uzundere neighborhood.

As they are in Zubeyde Hanim, home gatherings are meaningful neighborhood activities among the Uzundere residents. While the husbands are at work or outside the home, most of the women gather at one another's houses and, while the children play, engage in arts and crafts and cook together. Thus, the women are used to socializing in collective actions; this type of collectivity permeates throughout Uzundere. Although the neighbors have their own lives, their collective actions are important.

The Uzundere residents feel that the biggest change in the post-relocation process is the absence of manual labor, which has forced them to seek other labor opportunities. Although problems such as a lack of education and experience, as well as limited job opportunities, also affect the Uzundere residents, their motivations and aspirations are somewhat stronger, partly because they believe it is almost impossible to live without a job and the old neighborhood had a background of informal manual labor. When the residents lived in Kadifekale, they were used to working together, and work became a collective activity. Their prior communal relations in their neighborhood shape how they engage in work.

Overall, Uzundere residents experience the post-relocation process alongside the labor market changes in the neighborhood. The transition from small-scale neighborhood markets to a chain grocery store is another area that means the residents feel the change of the relocation. For instance, the residents think that a formal grocery store such as Baris Gross is expensive and offers low-quality products, but they have to shop there because it is the only option. Although shopping plazas like Baris Gross have places

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where one can sit down and have drinks, the residents feel that their homes and other public places, such as neighborhood centers, are more comfortable places for socializing. In short, the residents take advantage of the trends in their new neighborhood but maintain their traditions from their previous neighborhood.

The Uzundere residents have encountered problems in accessing the formal labor market because of their limited education and employment experiences, as well as the low availability of jobs. Like the residents of Zubeyde Hanim, the residents of Uzundere feel that the relocation has had a minimal effect on their participation in the formal labor market.

Although the Uzundere residents perceive the relocation as having had little effect, the residents trust in the education system of the neighborhood because of the close relations between the residents and their perception of the Uzundere neighborhood as their home. Unlike the residents of Zubeyde Hanim, the residents of Uzundere prefer that their children attend the neighborhood schools in Uzundere so that the neighborhood can progress. In particular, residents who have limited schooling value their children's education and believe that the neighborhood schools will provide them with a good start. Parents tend to project their desires and dreams onto their children and make sure that their children do their homework and attend school regularly. In other words, parents who have limited school experience tend to focus on their children's education and ensure that they are on the right track.

The responses of the Uzundere residents to the adult education programs are similar to those of the Zubeyde Hanim residents. The Uzundere residents feel as if educational opportunities were taken from them at a younger age because of their social,

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cultural, and family values. Some residents married at an early age, while other residents grew up seeing male family members receive more opportunities. Therefore, their past interactions in relation to educational involvement led them to believe that educational opportunities cannot make the residents socially mobile. Like the Zubeyde Hanim residents, the Uzundere residents feel that it is wiser to invest more time and energy in their children's education and to fulfill their hopes and dreams through their children.

Final Closing Points

Investigating two neighborhoods with different structures—heterogeneous and homogenous—has shown how residents from different neighborhood structures respond to the urban transformation process. The residents' previous life experiences and circumstances shape their future life circumstances. This dissertation found that relocation is a process that the residents interpret differently. Although the two neighborhoods have similar populations, the residents' prior housing experiences and overall behavioral interactions produce diverse responses to the urban transformation process. Therefore, it is crucial to understand and recognize the struggles and desires of the relocated populations. It is important for outreach participation and inclusion to consider what the relocated population desires from the education and employment markets. For instance, if there is a significant population of former textile employees, it is worth planning a program in which the residents can do knitting by machine, and local business developers might provide employment opportunities for residents that they can take up in their neighborhoods. All in all, it is important to analyze the degree to which the relocation is working for the residents and how the residents make sense of the

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opportunities, so that housing, employment, and education opportunities can be developed for the residents.

Appendix I: Sample Table**The Sample of Zubeyde Hanim Neighborhood**

Name (Age)	Highest Grade of Education/ Education Completed	Employment	Marriage	Housing Tenure	Region
Seyda (24)	University Student	Student	Single	2008	Kars
Zulfiye (52)	Primary School Drop-Out	Informal Economy: Babysitter/Cleaning and Housekeeping	Married	2008	Corum
Zeliha (25)	High School Drop-Out	Informal Economy/Daily Labor: Hairdresser	Married	2008	Corum
Gultaze (26)	High School Drop-Out	Stay-Home Mother/Housewife	Married	2008	Corum
Sultan (54)	Primary School Drop-Out	Housewife	Married	2008	Corum
Satu (27)	Primary School Drop-Out	Stay-Home Mother/Housewife	Married	2008	Corum
Petra (26)	High School drop-Out	Informal Labor: Arts and Crafts	Married	2010	Adana
Cemile (24)	High School Completed	Service Labor; Currently Unemployed	Married	2011	Tunceli
Ayse (22)	High School drop-Out	Unemployed	Single	2010	Mardin
Aysenur (54)	No Schooling	Housewife	Married	2010	Mardin
Nuriye (19)	High School Drop-Out	Textile Worker	Single	2011	Sivas
Fadime (20)	High School Drop-Out	Cashier at a Grocery Store	Married	2011	Balikesir
Cicek (19)	High School Drop-Out	Unemployed	Married	2011	Agri
Betul (22)	High School Drop-Out	Stay-Home Mother/Housewife; Unemployed	Married	2011	Kayseri
Gulluhan (37)	No Schooling	Daily Labor	Married	2009	Agri

Name (Age)	Highest Grade of Education/ Education Completed	Employment	Marriage	Housing Tenure	Region
Atiye (80)	No Schooling	Unemployed	Married	2010	Diyarbakir
Gunnur (32)	No Schooling	Stay-Home Mother	Married	2011	Mardin
Ayşe (35)	Primary School Completed	Housewife	Married	2012	Iğdir
Fatma (32)	Primary School Completed	Housewife	Married	2012	Konya
Gül (33)	High School Drop-Out	Housewife	Married	2012	Corum
Behiye (24)	No Schooling	Stay-Home Mother/Housewife	Married	2011	Mardin
Cemile (26)	No Schooling	Stay-Home Mother/Housewife	Married	2011	Mardin
Enise (29)	No schooling	Stay-Home Mother/Housewife	Married	2012	Mardin
Hanise (24)	No Schooling	Stay-Home Mother/Housewife	Married	2012	Mardin
Yeliz (32)	University Degree Completed	Unemployed	Married	2012	Aydın
Zarife (19)	University Degree	Student	Single	2011	Mardin
Semse (49)	No Schooling	Stay-Home Mother	Married	2011	Mardin
Sevilay (26)	University Degree Completed	Employee at a Bakery	Married	2013	Izmir
Medine (25)	University Degree Completed	Unemployed	Married	2013	Mardin
Naciye (27)	High School Drop-Out	Stay-Home Mother/Housewife	Married	2011	Bursa
Pinar (19)	Primary School Drop-Out	Stay-Home Mother/Housewife	Married	2013	Yozgat
Emine (30)	No Schooling	Stay-Home Mother/Housewife	Married	2009	Mardin
Gamze	High School	Student	Single	2011	Mardin

Name (Age)	Highest Grade of Education/ Education Completed	Employment	Marriage	Housing Tenure	Region
(18)	Student				
Melek (18)	High School Student	Student	Single	2011	Mardin
Gulsen (27)	High School Completed	Stay-Home Mother/Housewife	Married	2012	Izmir
Meral (35)	No Schooling	Stay-Home Mother/Housewife	Married	2011	Mardin

The Sample of Uzundere

Name (Age)	Highest Grade of Education/ Education Completed	Employment	Marriage	Housing Tenure	Region
Donem (35)	Primary School Completed	Stay-Home Mother/Housewife	Married	2010	Erzurum
Hulya (29)	Primary School Completed	Stay-Home Mother/Housewife	Married	2010	Kars
Arife (35)	No Schooling	Informal Employee/ Vendor Seller	Married	2010	Mardin
Dila (18)	High School Student	Student	Single	2010	Mardin
Nurcan (32)	Primary Education Completed	Cleaning and Maintenance	Married	2010	Konya
Kubra (19)	University Drop-Out	Waitress	Single	2010	Konya
Hulya (35)	Primary Education Completed	Hairdresser	Married	2010	Girit
Yagmur (18)	High School Student	Hairdresser	Single	2010	Mardin
Doga (18)	High School Student	Hairdresser	Single	2010	Mardin
Sumbul (69)	High School Degree	Stay-Home Mother	Widow	2010	Nigde

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Name (Age)	Highest Grade of Education/ Education Completed	Employment	Marriage	Housing Tenure	Region
Tulay (49)	High School Drop-Out	Taking Care of Her Mother/Unemployed	Widow	2010	Bosnak
Amire (35)	No Schooling	Stay-Home Mother	Married	2010	Mardin
Kemine (21)	High School Drop-Out	Stay-Home Mother/Housewife	Married	2010	Mardin
Emine (49)	Primary School	Housewife	Married	2010	Mardin
Kadriye (35)	No Schooling	Informal Employee/Vendor Seller	Married	2010	Mardin
Suzan (26)	University Completed	Unemployed	Married	2010	Mardin
Meryem (18)	Primary Education Completed	Stay-Home Mother/Housewife	Married	2010	Mardin
Hatice (18)	Primary Education Completed	Housewife	Married	2010	Adana
Sevim (30)	Primary Education Completed	Informal Labor: Arts and Crafts	Married	2010	Urfa
Zekiye (32)	No Schooling	Informal Labor: Arts and Crafts	Married	2010	Mardin
Berkan (31)	No Schooling	Informal Labor: Arts and Crafts	Married	2010	Mardin
Ayşe (18)	High School Drop-Out	Employee at Pharmacy	Single	2010	Mardin
Aysenur (35)	No Schooling	Stay-Home Mother	Married	2010	Mardin
Geydo (52)	No Schooling	Stay-Home Mother	Married	2010	Mardin
Azad (48)	No Schooling	Stay-Home Mother	Married	2010	Mardin
Gulbahar (22)	High School Drop-Out	Unemployed	Single	2010	Mardin
Suzan (30)	Primary Education Completed	Informal Laborer/Vendor Seller	Married	2010	Adana
Bahar	Primary	Stay-Home	Married	2010	Mardin

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Name (Age)	Highest Grade of Education/ Education Completed	Employment	Marriage	Housing Tenure	Region
(28)	Education Completed	Mother/Housewife			
Necbir (27)	No Schooling	Stay-Home Mother/Housewife	Married	2010	Urfa
Fatima (29)	No Schooling	Stay-Home Mother/Housewife	Married	2010	Mardin
Ayse (33)	No Schooling	Stay-Home Mom/Housewife	Married	2010	Mardin
Sevim (21)	High School Drop-Out	Stay-Home Mother/Housewife	Married	2010	Mardin
Guler (19)	High School Drop-Out	Textile Employee	Married	2010	Mardin
Fatma (31)	Primary School Drop-Out	Stay-Home Mother/Housewife	Married	2010	Mardin
Zahire (19)	High School Drop-Out	Waitress	Single	2010	Balikesir

Appendix II: Variables Table

Variables	Kadifekale Urban Transformation Project (Landslide)	Yali Urban Transformation Project (Overcrowding)
Location: Suburbs	Yes	Yes
Relocation Time	2010	2006
Housing Type	TOKI (public housing dwelling)	TOKI (public housing dwelling)
Rural Migrants (Internal Migrants)	Predominantly migrants from Mardin province. There are some migrants from central Turkey.	Initially planned and included Romani residents. There are some migrants from eastern Turkey.
Low-Income Population	Most residents hold low-income jobs. Some have primary education degree. Few residents have high school degree.	Similar to Uzundere, the residents are poor. The level of education is lower compared to the average in urban areas.
Extended Families	Overcrowded families. Parents, children, uncles, aunts, and grandparents tend to live in the same area.	Very few nuclear families. Most of the families are extended and overcrowded.
Maintenance/Cleaning/Service Jobs	Cleaning, babysitting, construction, service labor	The type of labor is very similar. There are no high technology jobs.
Housewife	Some	Some
Heterogenic Buildings	Similar ethnicities in the same buildings: Kurds are in one building.	Romani residents are in the same building.
Homogenous Communities	Most relocated residents are from Kadifekale. Most of them are first- and second-generation migrants from the Mardin area. There are a few migrants from the Konya area, which is in central Turkey.	Initially planned to include Romani residents. Residents are in migrants from central Anatolia, mixed community of Alevi and Sunni in terms of Islamic practices.
Goals of the Projects	Building decent communities	Building decent Communities
Responsible Agency	Izmir Urban Municipality	Izmir Urban Municipality
Cause for the Projects	Landslide	Overcrowding and urbanization

Variables	Kadifekale Urban Transformation Project (Landslide)	Yali Urban Transformation Project (Overcrowding)
Initial Neighborhood Location	Very close to inner city. The distance between the initial neighborhood and the relocated location is 14 km.	The initial neighborhood and the relocated location are in the same district. The distance is 3.6 km.

Appendix III: A Comparison of the Zubeyde Hanim and Uzundere Neighborhoods

	Zubeyde Hanim Neighborhood	Uzundere Neighborhood
Population	16,000	8,000
Ethnic/Regional Structure	Rural migrants from eastern, central, and western regions in Turkey. Mixed ethnic backgrounds; the majority are Turkish, but some are Romani, Kurdish, Sunni, and Alevi Muslims.	Rural migrants from eastern regions of Turkey, particularly the cities of Urfa and Mardin. Most are Kurdish and Sunni Muslims.
Immigration Background	First- and second-generation migrants.	First- and second-generation migrants.
Employment Background	Miscellaneous labor backgrounds; mostly stay-at-home mothers.	Former mussel laborers; miscellaneous careers and stay-at-home mothers
Reasons for Moving	The residents moved to Zubeyde Hanim from various squatter developments as a result of improved urban planning. Some moved from a squatter development, some lived with their extended family members, and some were forced out of a squatter development because it was demolished to build highway connections, metros, and hospitals.	The residents were displaced from Kadifekale to Uzundere because Kadifekale is at high risk for landslides and the archeological site of an ancient Roman theater structure is located under the squatter development.

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