

**EVERYDAY SPATIAL TACTICS OF WOMEN
LIVING IN DEPRIVED NEIGHBORHOODS:
A CASE WITH REFUGEE AND NON-REFUGEE
WOMEN IN İZMİR**

**A Thesis Submitted to
the Graduate School of Engineering and Sciences of
İzmir Institute of Technology
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of**

**MASTER OF SCIENCE
in City Planning**

**by
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December 2022

İZMİR

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I would like to start with my sincere gratitude to my precious advisor Assoc. Prof. Fatma Şenol to light my way with her immense experiences and knowledge throughout my thesis story. I would not have completed this thesis without her patience and support. I would also like to express my appreciation to my committee members Assoc. Prof. Adile Arslan Avar and Assoc. Prof. Emel Karakaya Ayalp for their valuable contributions.

Besides, I would like to thank the Arabic and Kurdish translator Emel for removing the language barrier between the participants and me during my field research. I would like to thank all the participants who accepted the interview for their contributions. I am incredibly appreciative of the women interviewees who took their time to me. Their sincere answers have enriched this thesis.

The field research process of my thesis was the most mentally challenging part for me. I want to thank all my colleagues for supporting me during these times. However, there are a few names I would like to point out in particular. I would like to thank Özge Sarıkaya, Sezen Türkoğlu, Yağmur Aşçı, Sena Çınar, İsmet Emre Usta, and my lovely the-sis-team, Gülcan Bulut and Tuba Nur Özkan, for their constant mental support. Also, I appreciate Hazal Ertem, whose support I have always felt since the first day I came to the Izmir Institute of Technology, for being involved in my story and her contributions to my thesis.

Last but not least, I would like to thank my dear family, my mother, Ayten Aygün, my father, Suat Aygün, and my lovely sisters, Zeynep, Çiğdem, Kübra, and brother Berat Aziz. They always had faith and support. I would like also to thank Gökay Kandil. They constantly renewed my motivation despite our distance. I am deeply indebted for their presence in my life.

ABSTRACT

EVERYDAY SPATIAL TACTICS OF WOMEN LIVING IN DEPRIVED NEIGHBORHOODS: A CASE WITH REFUGEE AND NON-REFUGEE WOMEN IN İZMİR

This study aims to examine the differing and intersecting daily life experiences of Syrian refugee women and non-refugee women living in deprived neighborhoods as well as their spatial tactics in urban public spaces that develop through these experiences. In deprived neighborhoods, low-income groups live, and ethnic diversity is high. The residents' daily routines become common due to spatial proximity and interaction. In addition to these commonalities, the research questions how the urban daily life tactics of women living in deprived neighborhoods differ through their refugee identities.

The case study of the research, developed with an ethnographic approach, is based on the Sakarya and Yeni neighborhoods in İzmir. In these neighborhoods, refugee population density is relatively high. Research data were gathered through 30 in-depth interviews with refugee and non-refugee women living in the study site, local expert interviews as mukhtars and associations, and field observations. This study reveals the social and physical deprivation characteristics of the neighborhood and explains women's perceptions of the neighborhood through their daily experiences. Deprivation experiences and perceptions of women in the neighborhood affect their use of urban public spaces. This study discusses the spatial tactics of refugee and non-refugee women in urban public spaces as part of their daily routines.

Keywords: *Deprived Neighborhood, Urban Refugee, Everyday Life, Gender, Spatial Tactic*

ÖZET

YOKSUN MAHALLELERDE YAŞAYAN KADINLARIN GÜNDELİK MEKANSAL TAKTİKLERİ: İZMİR'DEKİ MÜLTECİ VE MÜLTECİ OLMAYAN KADINLAR ÖRNEĞİ

Bu araştırma, yoksun mahallelerde yaşayan Suriyeli mülteci kadınlar ile mülteci olmayan kadınların farklılaşan ve kesişen gündelik yaşam deneyimlerini ve bu deneyimler üzerinden gelişen kentsel kamusal alanlardaki mekânsal taktiklerini incelemektedir. Düşük gelir gruplarının yaşadığı ve etnik çeşitliliğin fazla olduğu yoksun mahallelerde mahallelinin, mekânsal yakınlık ve etkileşim dolayısı ile gündelik rutinleri ortaklaşır. Bu ortaklaşmaların ötesinde, araştırma yoksun mahallelerde yaşayan kadınların mültecilik kimlikleri üzerinden kentsel gündelik yaşam taktiklerinin nasıl farklılaştığını sorgulamaktadır.

Etnografik yaklaşımla gelişen araştırmanın saha çalışması, İzmir'de Sakarya ve Yeni mahallelerine dayanmaktadır. Bu mahallelerde, mülteci nüfus yoğunluğu yüksektir. Araştırma verileri, çalışma alanında yaşayan mülteci ve mülteci olmayan kadınlarla 30 derinlemesine mülakat, muhtarlar ve dernekler gibi yerel uzman görüşmeleri ve saha gözlemleri yoluyla toplanmıştır. Bu çalışma, araştırma mahallelerinin sosyal ve fiziksel yoksunluklarını ortaya koyar ve kadınların gündelik deneyimleri üzerinden mahalle algılarını açıklar. Ancak, gündelik deneyimler sadece algısal değildir. Aynı zamanda kadınların kentsel kamusal mekân kullanımlarını da etkiler. Bu çerçevede, araştırma, mülteci ve mülteci olmayan kadınların gündelik rutinlerinde yer alan kentsel kamusal alanlardaki mekânsal taktiklerini tartışır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: *Yoksun Mahalleler, Kent Mülteçisi, Gündelik Yaşam, Toplumsal Cinsiyet, Mekânsal Taktik*

*To all the women who resist oppression with laughter,
especially my mother Ayten Aygün...*

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

“When the world the sun shines on is always new, how could everyday life be forever unchangeable, unchangeable in its boredom, its greyness, its repetition of the same actions?”

(Lefebvre, 1991, p 277)

1.1. Problem Definition

Globally, 89.3 million people were displaced from their home countries by the end of 2021 due to war, violence, fear of persecution, and human rights violations (UNHCR, 2021). This number is more than double the 42.7 million individuals forcibly displaced a decade ago. Over the last decade, forced migration movements have increased in the world. The civil war in Syria that started in 2011 caused a large population to leave their country forcibly. As of this date, Turkey, which has a border with Syria, has welcomed this massive influx. With the “open door” policy, Turkey has emerged as the nation with the highest refugee population in the world, accommodating 3.6 million Syrians (UNHCR, 2020). Only 2% of 3.6 million Syrians in Turkey stay in temporary accommodation centers; the remaining 98% settled in cities (UNHCR, 2020). Deprived areas of cities with low-cost housing are the first place they live in. Within this scope, this research takes “deprived neighborhoods” as the context.

In deprived neighborhoods, basic physical neighborhood features such as green space, local amenities, and transportation accessibility are less and insufficient (Estabrooks et al., 2003; Lucas, 2012; Zhou & Kim, 2013; Schwarz et al., 2015; Mouratidis, 2020). Perceived neighborhood characteristics such as security and neighborhood satisfaction are low (Mouratidis, 2020). Also, they are neighborhoods where low-income groups live, ethnic/racial diversity is high (Madanipour, 2004; Schwarz et al., 2015), unemployment is high, and education is low. All these common features bring together the neighborhood residents' daily life experiences and habits at

certain points. On the other hand, refugees also have challenging areas that differ from citizens in their daily lives. While this research questions the differences and similarities in the daily lives of refugees and citizens living in the same neighborhood, it focuses on women residents. The reason for focusing on women's daily life experiences is the need to approximate their identities as refugees and citizens on a common critical ground of gender identity in everyday life. In line with it, the subject of this research is the urban daily lives of refugee and non-refugee women living in deprived neighborhoods in a general frame.

This research narrows its frame down by using three conceptual tools. First, for the analysis of everyday life, the research takes the tactical/strategy distinction of De Certeau (1984) by bringing it closer to Lefebvre's (1991) theory of space. The second conceptual tool is gender roles and responsibilities. With the second conceptual tool, the research focuses on women's daily gender roles and responsibilities through public/private dichotomy. The third and last focus is on the spatial tactics of women to public space use.

The first concept focuses on the analysis of everyday life. De Certeau (1984) utilized strategies and tactics to analyze everyday life. According to the scholar, while strategies are related with institutions, tactics are actions of individuals counter to strategies. (De Certeau, 1984). According to Lefebvre (1991), spatial practice is an inseparable aspect of space. This is a space where citizens can experience daily life. People have routines and habits in their daily life (Lefebvre, 1991; De Certeau, 1998). Therefore, this thesis considers tactics as spatial actions of individuals embedded in the routines of daily life as opposed to strategies.

Everyday life experiences differ on the basis of gender. With this scope, the second concept focuses on the gender roles of women and the public/private distinction. Attributing socially privacy-related positions to women in the public-private distinction, separates women from the public space and brings them closer to the private space, the home. Also, social roles and responsibilities imposed on women restrict their spatial mobility. Urban mobility of women is less in low-income neighborhoods as deprived neighborhoods (Alkan, 2000)

Finally, the research focuses on women's tactics toward public space within the context of gender identity and the deprivation of neighborhoods. These tactics are behavioral and spatial tactics they develop while using public spaces. Although there are behavioral tactics that are integrated into women's spatial experiences in the research, the main focus is spatial tactics. This study takes these spatial tactics through the differences and similarities between refugee and non-refugee women. As Lefebvre (1991) and de Certeau (1984) pointed out, these tactics can only be uncovered through an in-depth look at the actions of individuals in daily life.

1.2. Aim of the Study

This research aims to examine the differing and intersecting daily life experiences of Syrian refugee women living in the same neighborhood compared to non-refugees, and their spatial tactics through these experiences. Everyday life covers individuals' spatial and social interactions, their routines, and situations where these routines are disrupted. Everyday life reshapes social identities, and everyday life experiences differentiate through identities.

The identities of the women I focused on within the scope of the research overlap, and it is not possible to evaluate them in a hierarchy. While the social identities that guide the daily life routines are sometimes related to being a “mother”, “married woman”, “divorced woman”, or “woman living alone”, which diversifies through the pattern of being a woman in society, sometimes it is about being a "refugee" or a "refugee woman." All these differentiating identities are reproduced through women's daily lives and guide their daily life tactics. The research asks the following questions to systematically examine all these differing everyday lives.

Main research question: How do the everyday life tactics of women living in deprived neighborhoods differ based on their identity as refugees and non-refugee?

The research develops around the main question with the following sub-questions:

SQ1: What are the deprivation conditions of the neighborhood?

SQ2: How do Syrian refugee women and non-refugee women living in the same neighborhood experience neighborhood conditions?

SQ3: How do women use public spaces both in and outside the neighborhood?

SQ4: What are the factors limiting women's use of public space?

I highlight the central identity duality in all these research questions as being a refugee and a citizen. Thus, I aim to emphasize how the identity of refugee women differentiates women's daily lives compared to citizens and, in some cases, how the identity of being a “woman” coincides with refugee women's everyday lives with citizen women.

1.3. Methodology

The research approach of this thesis is ethnographic. The social research approach of ethnography examines what individuals say and do in everyday contexts (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007). It enables investigation into both what people do and why they do it.

This research is based on field studies conducted in Yeni and Sakarya neighborhoods (Konak, İzmir). These neighborhoods are highly populated with refugees due to low-paid housing and central location to the city. Despite being in the center of the city, the neighborhoods exhibit a number of deprivation-related aspects. This thesis is based on the field research in these neighborhoods.

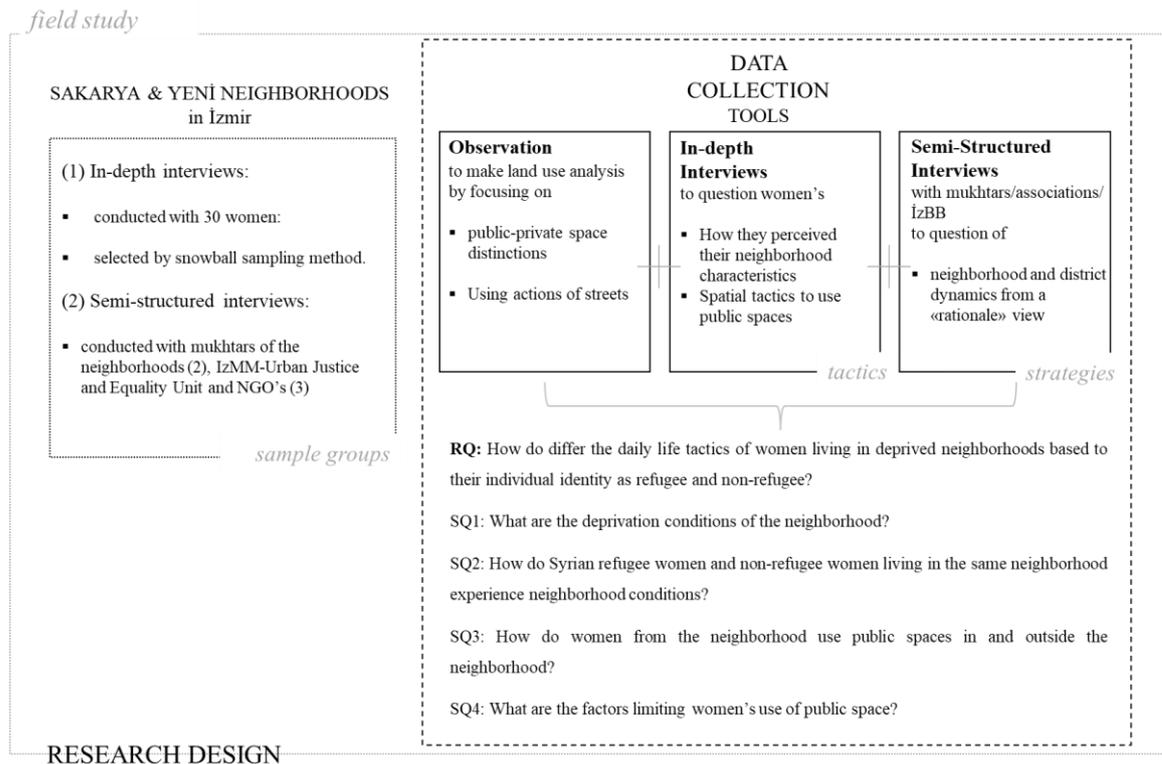


Figure 1. 1 Research Design (Source: Author, 2022)

This research uses qualitative research techniques for data collection. The research data gathered by site observations, in-depth interviews with 30 women, and semi-structured interviews with mukhtars, associations, and municipality (See Fig. 1.1). I started the field research with semi-structured interviews with mukhtars, representatives of associations and İzmir Metropolitan Municipality Urban Justice and Equality Unit. Thanks to the association meetings, I met with an Arabic translator for the interviews with Syrian refugees. In the second phase, I made observations to record the actions of women in public spaces in the neighborhood. For one week, I went to the neighborhood and walked on several routes. During this observation period, I had the opportunity to have informal conversations with residents. These acquaintances facilitated the following phase of my field research, in-depth interviews with women. I interviewed 15 refugee and 15 non-refugee women using an in-depth interviewing technique. The translator helped me reach refugee women. Women's homes and neighborhood life are discussed in interviews. I specifically focused on how they used public spaces in the neighborhood as part of their daily lives. My main aim is to identify the spatial tactics women have created to counter the deprived characteristics of areas.

1.4. Structure of the Thesis

This thesis comprises six main parts. It starts with the introduction chapter, followed by the theoretical framework and study site and methodology. It then presents the results of the case study in two chapters. Finally, it concludes by discussing the main findings.

The next chapter, **Chapter II** is the theoretical framework part. This chapter consists of five main headings. These are the deprived neighborhoods and urban refugees, the concept of everyday life and space, gender in public/private dichotomy, and women's tactics in public space and summary of the chapter. The first part of this chapter deals with the deprived neighborhoods and urban refugees. The second part discusses concepts of everyday life and space. The third part examines gender in public/private dichotomy. The fourth part discusses women's tactics in public spaces. The last part summarizes the theoretical frame.

Chapter III examines the study site and methodology of the thesis. It presents the study site followed by data collection methods such as observation, in-depth and semi-structured interviews. Finally, it introduces an analysis of the gathered data.

Chapter IV is the first part of the results. It gives the neighborhood's deprivation characteristics through field observations, interviews with mukhtars, and associations. It also explains how women perceive deprivation characteristics in their neighborhoods through in-depth interviews with women.

Chapter V is the last part of the results. It introduces how women respondents use public spaces in their daily routines.

Chapter VI is the conclusion chapter. It gives a brief summary of the findings and limitations of the study.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter seeks to define the fundamental concepts of this study and explain how they relate to one another to better comprehend the research questions posed in this thesis. The first part is deprived neighborhoods and urban refugees. Accordingly, it explains the context of the study. The second part focuses on the analysis of everyday life through tactics and strategies. The third part discusses the gender roles of women and the public/private distinction. The fourth part focuses with the women's tactics towards public space within the context of gender identity and the deprivation of neighborhoods. The chapter ends with concluding remarks.

2.1. Deprived Neighborhoods and Urban Refugees

The context of this thesis research is deprived neighborhoods. Such neighborhoods have some deprivations according to their physical, social, and perceived characteristics. There is a need to reveal these deprivations and explain how physical and social deprivation affect the daily experiences of inhabitants. The physical and social characteristics of the neighborhood have the effect of bringing the daily life experiences of its inhabitants closer. Urban refugees, especially refugees who come to the cities by forced migration, mostly find a place in deprived neighborhoods in the city. Because there is a correlation between the location choice criteria of refugees and the characteristics of deprived neighborhoods. This section precisely focuses on the characteristics of deprived neighborhoods. In the following, it explains the location tactics of urban refugees in cities. Also, it discusses the main challenges of urban refugees in cities, which are also related to the places where they live. This section ends with urban refugee studies in the context of Turkey.

2.1.1. Characteristics of Deprived Neighborhoods

Neighborhood as a unit has spatial, social, and administrative aspects. Neighborhood as a spatial unit is a small part of the city relates with the social and

physical infrastructure necessary for daily life routines. As the physical and social infrastructure, they are areas that allow access to common urban facilities such as primary schools, playgrounds, and markets without difficulty in daily life routines (Chaskin, 1997; Schnell & Goldhaber, 2001). Neighborhood is also an administrative unit. It is associated with areas that has a particular population and where this population is managed in a micro-local scale. According to studies emphasizing the social aspect of the neighborhood, as a unit, they are areas with mutual interaction networks where people can identify with their environment and each other to some extent (Schnell & Goldhaber, 2001).

This part examines deprived neighborhood characteristics in three groups as physical, social and perceived ones (see Table 2.1). The physical characteristics of the neighborhood contain certain disadvantages for the deprived neighborhoods. Some studies show that deprived neighborhoods in some cities have fewer green spaces than neighborhoods with higher income and education levels (Zhou and Kim, 2013; Schwarz et al., 2015). Wealthy neighborhoods often have better green spaces, which attracts higher-income residents. Also, neighborhoods with higher education levels tend to have green spaces in better condition (Zhou & Kim, 2013). Schwarz et al. (2015), in their study in American cities, assert a correlation between neighborhoods with high racial and ethnic minorities and low tree canopy cover in some cities. According to Mouratidis (2020), deprived neighborhoods with less environmental quality link to lower subjective and physical well-being in these places. Moreover, deprivation in the neighborhood has been associated with transportation problems (Lucas, 2012), lack of physical activity facilities, and lack of supermarkets (Estabrooks et al., 2003; Zenk et al., 2005). Besides, according to the research conducted by Mouratidis (2020) in Oslo, local amenities such as grocery stores, cafes, and restaurants are more in poorer neighborhoods. However, these possibilities are of lower quality.

Table 2. 1 Key Deprivation Characteristics of Neighborhoods

Deprived Neighborhood Characteristics		Author(s), Year
Physical	Low green space cover+ low quality of green space	Zhou and Kim, 2013 Schwarz et al., 2015
	transport disadvantages (poor public transportation services, no car, etc.)	Lucas, 2012
	few physical activity resources	Estabrooks et al., 2003
	few supermarkets+ higher local markets	Zenk et al., 2005 Mouratidis, 2020
Social	low-income inhabitants	Zhou and Kim, 2013
	high levels of poverty and unemployment	Lucas, 2012 Schwarz et al., 2015
	low education levels	Mouratidis, 2020
	high ethnic/race diversity	Madanipour, 2010 Schwarz et al., 2015
Perceived	low cleanliness, aesthetic quality	Mouratidis, 2020
	low degree of perceived safety	
	social stigmatization, norms	

Socio-economic deprivation is mostly associated with low income, high poverty and unemployment, low education levels, and high race/ethnic diversity (Lucas, 2012; Zhou and Kim, 2013; Schwarz et al., 2015; Mouratidis, 2020). Deprived neighborhoods constitute a more diverse segment of society than high-income neighborhoods. High-income people have a chance to choose a place in the city based on similarities, while low-income people have limited options. Therefore, compared to high-income neighborhoods, residents of low-income neighborhoods tend to be socially, politically, and culturally different from one another. These differences are confined to a limited area. The most important point that connects these people to different profiles is their "weak economic position in society" (Madanipour, 2010).

Perceived neighborhood characteristics relate to neighborhood satisfaction criteria such as perceived safety, aesthetics, quietness, and neighborhood attachment (Mouratidis, 2020). These characteristics tend to be more negative in deprived neighborhoods. Mouratidis' (2020) study shows that high noise levels, low sense of safety, less cleanliness, and low aesthetic quality are associated with neighborhood deprivation. In deprived neighborhoods, both the built environment (urban design, aesthetics, environmental disorder, garbage, etc.) and the social environment (stigmatization, social norms, and behaviors) may also produce deprivation of perceived neighborhood characteristics. Deprived neighborhoods can also be marked by a lack of community cohesion and social support and high social isolation and exclusion levels.

2.1.2. Deprived Neighborhoods as Location Tactics of Urban Refugees

The term urban refugee is used to differentiate between refugee populations that are living into the urban fabric of the host state and those that are housed in camp-based settlements (Hegazy, 2019). There are some criteria that affect the location selection decisions of urban refugees in the city. These criteria that shape the settlement patterns of refugees differ according to the demographic, socioeconomic and professional characteristics of the refugees. Refugees subjected to forced migration develop their own tactics when choosing a place in cities. Their location choice decisions in the city are directed towards deprived neighborhoods that offer low-paid housing.

Opportunities in the labor market influence location tactics of refugees. Locations close to workplaces and with jobs and economic opportunities for refugees are more desirable (Åslund, 2005; Zorlu & Mulder, 2008). Housing expenses significantly affect where one chooses to live (Rebelo, 2012). There are not many options for refugees besides looking for unsanitary and inexpensive (Rebelo, 2012; Carter and Osborne, 2009).

A key factor in the decision-making process is the existence of previously settled co-nationals or any other ethnic community in the neighborhood as well as the prior experiences of co-nationals (Åslund, 2005). Refugee networks serve as migration routes from locations of departure to points of arrival. These networks are formed before to migration through formal or informal links (friendship, kinship, and shared community

origin) (Day & White, 2002). According to this, De Vroome and Van Tubergen (2010) explain that the availability of refugee-specific goods and services, ease of access to the housing and labor markets, and information specific to the host country are the main factors influencing refugees' conscious decision to live in an ethnically clustered area. Therefore, despite the fact that it inhibits integration, the existence of social networks is a big draw for newcomers (Zorlu & Mulder, 2008).

2.1.3. Main Challenges of Urban Refugees

This part examines the problems faced by urban refugees in relation to the criteria that define deprived neighborhoods as low employment rate and social stigmatization. One of the main problems that urban refugees relates with employment. According to Colic-Peisker and Tilbury (2006), refugee groups living in Australia mostly work in jobs such as cleaning services, elderly care, taxi drivers, security guards and construction workers, considered as the “secondary labor market.” Apart from these jobs, there are also many refugees working in the informal sector or unemployed. The most prominent obstacle refugees face in finding a job is the lack of helpful social networks (Colic-Peisker & Tilbury, 2006). On the other hand, working refugees are exposed to unhealthy, insecure, and labor exploitation conditions. Refugees who came to Canada as part of resettlement have similar job-hunting problems. Refugees who use ethnic group networks as a resource to find work can have limited participation in working life. Still, these networks also serve a cycle towards the continuation of low-wage jobs in insecure conditions (Lamba, 2003). Working life is getting worse for asylum seekers living in Canada who have not yet obtained refugee status. Jackson and Bauder (2013) underlined that asylum seekers working in dangerous and harsh conditions in day-to-day jobs have turned into an army of precarious labor in Canada.

Another problem of urban refugees is their difficulty in accessing urban services such as health and education. The difficulties that refugees experience in accessing health services can be grouped under a few primary headings. First of all, one of the first obstacles encountered is not knowing the host country's language (Fang et al., 2015). Language and communication barriers can affect all stages of access to health services. It can lead to the inability to convey the problem to the healthcare professional and not fully

understand the treatment processes. Since not speaking the language and lack of translators can cause problems in communication, the health worker may not be able to understand the patient's situation well, learn about his/her chronic diseases and initiate the wrong or incomplete treatment process due to this. If the disruptions in access to health institutions create alienation and insecurity in refugees, it may create a desire not to apply to health institutions in the following health problems. This situation deepens the disadvantaged position of refugees (Mangrio & Forss, 2017)

Another challenge the process of accessing education services and the continuity of education. Identifying and preventing problems interrupting refugees' education processes in primary, secondary, and higher education transitions is necessary. Access to higher education remains in the background, mostly focusing on the primary education level for the education of refugees (Dryden-Peterson, 2012). On the other hand, the education of refugees who have started higher education in their country is interrupted in the settled countries. They cannot continue their education due to certification and language barriers (Hartog & Zorlu, 2009).

Barriers to social interaction is also a main challenge area of urban refugees. It ultimately lead to social exclusion and the deepening of otherings in the social structure. There are many reasons for social exclusion or being perceived as the "other" in society. These reasons are related to spatial structure. Refugees live in segregated spaces. This leads to social exclusion. Because there is prejudice in the host society towards refugees, who are stigmatized because of the places they live in. Other barriers to social interaction are status differences, language barriers, and xenophobia, which causes discrimination (Taylor, 2004).

One of the reasons that negatively affect social interaction is the attitude of the host society to refugees. There are primary reasons for this attitude. Situations such as increased competition over economic resources and social services to be experienced between refugees and the host society, security concerns, prejudices against the degeneration of the ethnic identity of the country caused by nationalism, and the speeches of the media and the government that feed these prejudices are the primary reasons that pave the way for the "other" position of refugees in society. (Getmansky et al., 2018; Miller, 2018).

Public spaces come first among the encounter places of the host society and refugees. There are studies in the literature that emphasize that public spaces can increase social integration as well as cause social exclusion (Liu, Tan, & Chai, 2019; Ho et al., 2021). According to Allport's (1954) theory of social psychology, inter-group contact reduces prejudices by enabling the majority to have information about minorities (Allport, 1954; as cited by Liu, Tan, & Chai, 2019). This, in turn, reduces anxiety, making it easier for the host society to empathize with refugees (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2008). On the other hand, encounters in public spaces can also strengthen stereotypes in the host society, which is the majority group. This may lead to an increase in pressure on refugees. At the same time, encounters in public places may cause stigmatization of minority groups according to race, class, gender, and other axes of identity (Ho et al., 2021; Liu, Tan, & Chai, 2019). This situation can strengthen the segregation in society.

In migration environments for women, negative factors such as being a risky group in terms of violence, increasing restrictions and decreasing social relations, and inadequacy of job opportunities manifest themselves (Davis & Winter, 2001). This situation becomes more noticeable in forced migration. The fact that social services and activities come to a standstill, lack or absence of income-generating jobs leave women in more challenging conditions.

The main feminist criticism of migration studies is that gender inequalities are pushed into the background (Boyd & Grieco, 2003; Lutz, 2010). Accordingly, the main point of consensus in the feminist literature is that women's daily life experiences progress through more negativities than other social groups in the migration process due to their gender. Anthias (2012) states that women are exposed to triple exclusion in the cities they settled in due to their gender, nationality, and immigration status. Therefore, studies that analyze the actions of immigrant women to exist in cities in their daily lives as a response to this triple social exclusion are worthy. In these studies, the active role of women in the migration process is underlined, in contrast to the studies that treat women as passive followers of migration (Anthias, 2012).

2.1.4. Syrian Urban Refugees in Turkey

During the admission process of Syrians to Turkey, both the politicians and the media portrayed Syrians as 'guests'. Although this concept was initially used by the host society to ensure the acceptance of refugees, the protracted 'guesthood' process led to an increase in tension in the host society. In addition, due to the perception of temporality brought by the concept of guest, it was too late to develop policies on cohesion and integration. The effects of this unplanned and uncertain process brought about by the refugee crisis continue.

The legal status of Syrian refugees in Turkey creates uncertain conditions on the axis of temporality and permanence. The legal status of Syrians in Turkey is not refugee. Because Turkey is a party to the Geneva Convention. The Geneva Convention dated back 1951 includes the most basic principles of international protection. According to the contract, with geographical limitations, refugee status is only granted to people who come from Europe and seek asylum. The geographical constraint in this contract was removed with the 1967 protocol. However, for Turkey, the geographical restriction has not been released. (Nurdoğan & Öztürk, 2018).

Turkey's migration policy has been systematically restructured in the face of mass migrations from Syria. In 2013, Law on Foreigners and International Protection (LFIP) was enacted. LFIP classifies the migration movements coming to Turkey from other countries. Accordingly, Syrian refugees, one of the subjects of this study, are in the status of "temporary protection," which includes mass migration movements. With the temporary protection legal status, the rights and responsibilities of Syrian refugees in Turkey are regulated. Health, education, access to the labor market, social assistance, and similar services are provided to them within the scope of the regulation. However, temporality stands as an obstacle to the enjoyment of rights. Asylum seekers, defined as temporary subjects, have problems in accessing services and benefiting from their rights during their stay in the country. (Çamur, 2017).

One issue that remains unclear for refugees is the responsibilities of local governments towards refugees. Local governments are tasked with providing defined

services to citizens in regions that fall under their responsibility. The services' target audience is considered to be all those in the area of responsibility. In this context, refugees are within the scope of service provision (Çamur, 2017). However, local governments have main obstacles to developing policies for refugees. The first of these obstacles are legal obstacles. Discussions about the legal status of urban refugees are one of the obstacles to producing inclusive plan decisions. This legal status debate also creates a lack of direct legal responsibility for local governments to develop policies for urban refugees. However, in the current legal framework, there are indirect legal grounds for the actions of municipalities. The first of these is the Citizenship Law, which states that everyone is a citizen of the town in which they reside, and that all citizens have the right to participate in municipal decisions and services, to be informed about municipal activities and to benefit from the assistance of the municipality regarding Article 13 of the Municipal Law No. 5392. The other is that, in Article 96 of the LFIP, the General Directorate of Migration Management includes local administrations among its stakeholders with which it will cooperate when necessary. The workshop organized by the Marmara Municipalities Union in 2015 emphasizes that although both Article 96 and the Citizenship Law create a ground for an action for the municipalities, there was no chance of a direct effect for a solution because of the duty, authority and financial shortcomings (Marmara Municipalities Union, 2015).

2.2. Everyday Life and Urban Space

Everyday life is a field of interaction that contains and describes the social world's complexity. It is borderless and multi-dimensional. Even though everyday life is perceived as superficial, it has depth, and many aspects remain hidden. Critical analysis of daily life has an essential role in changing oppressive social conditions (Savran, 2022).

Everyday life encompasses all of a person's actions, habits, and methods as they evolve within the unique relationships, they have engaged in throughout their life (Vaiou & Lykogianni, 2006). Lefebvre's (1991) conceptualization of everyday life encompasses more than daily routines. For him, everyday life is the locus of real experiences through interaction between self, body, and others. These real experiences occur through collisions with various structures of time and space. Such collisions are related to the

contradictory everyday conditions which constitute the base of historical and social consciousness (Vaiou & Lykogianni, 2006). Thus, the concept of everyday life also includes the possibility of individual and collective emancipation in itself. People have the opportunity to overcome the alienation of everyday conditions in everyday life.

Everyday life is not easy to comprehend or conceptualize because it is ubiquitous and seems easily accessible. Lefebvre (1991) mentions, everyday life is deeply related to all activities and surrounds them with all their differences and conflicts. Places where people live, work, consume, interact with others, form identities, cope with routines, habits, and established standards of behavior are all part of everyday life (Vaiou & Lykogianni, 2006). This thesis research approaches the analysis of everyday life from the theoretical framework of de Certeau's (1984) approach through tactics and strategies. Also, this thesis tries to connect it with Lefebvre's (1991) space theory of three-part dialectic of space.

2.2.1. Neighborhood as a Context of Everyday Life

With social aspects, neighborhood emerges as an important exploration area for the analysis of everyday life. According to de Certeau's approach, the neighborhood is the place between the public space and private space. The reason for this is the sociological characteristics of the neighborhood. The neighborhood includes the processes of recognition that are produced by proximity, physical coexistence in the same place, and reciprocal habituation that results from being neighbors (de Certeau, 1998). In the context of the relationship between the conception of the private space (inside), the house, and the conception of the urban space (outside), he defined the neighborhood as "the middle term in an existential dialectic (on a personal level) and a social one (on the level of a group of users), between inside and outside" (de Certeau, 1998, p.11). (See Fig. 2.1.).

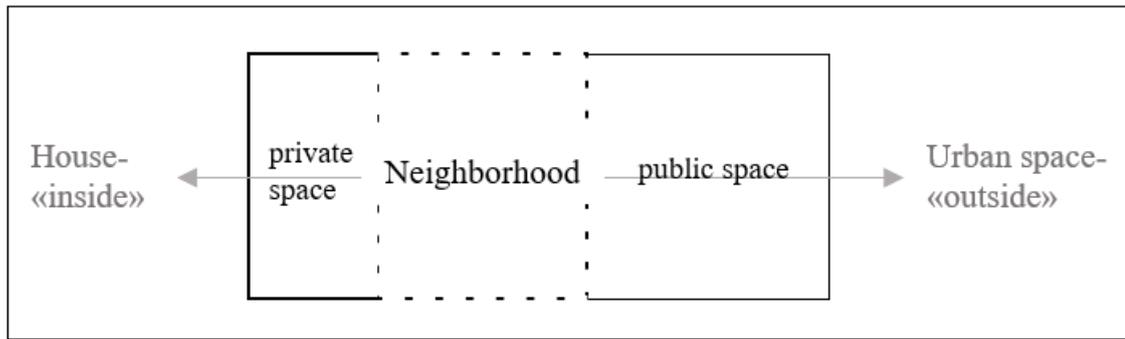


Figure 2. 1 Fluidity of " Neighborhood" between public and private spaces (de Certeau, 1998)
(Source: Author,2022)

There are unwritten rules or norms arising from acquaintance or "knowing" among people who are living in the same neighborhood (de Certeau, 1998). Propriety to these rules turns into a pressure mechanism that manifests itself in multiple ways. This propriety is "the symbolic management of the public facet of each of us as soon as we enter the street." (de Certeau, 1998, p.17). Actions spread over a wide area in the neighborhood, ranging from clothing to shopping habits from shopkeepers (such as being a loyal customer), have a corresponding response within the framework of propriety. Also, internal impulses such as chatting and curiosity in daily neighborhood practices activate a surveillance mechanism through questions such as "where is this new customer from? who is the new tenant?" (de Certeau, 1998, p.19). De Certeau mentions the existence of a generally implicit consent to these norms within the neighborhood. Because this consent brings with it acceptance and appreciation by the neighborhood. These people, who can be accepted in the daily social environment, also get the chance to regulate the norms of the neighborhood from the inside. Thus, the neighborhood is produced as an area of belonging.

2.2.2. Everyday Life Through Tactics and Strategies

De Certeau (1984) examines how everyday practices are carried out and deals with how people negotiate meanings in everyday context, through tactics. According to the approach, strategies are the actions of institutions that can represent spaces in accordance with their purposes. Political, economic and scientific rationality is based on this strategic model (de Certeau, 1984). On the other hand, tactics are that de Certeau defines as the activities of the weak because their actions, unlike strategy, are piecemeal

and momentary. These tactics are ways to resist planned glances. The tactics that emerge as an anti-discipline are fragmentary but are still shaped according to certain rules. That is, everyday habits, attitudes, and practices have a certain logic.

De Certeau's study, *The Practice of Everyday Life* (1984), aims to distinguish the tactics that are added to the details of daily life and, thanks to these tactics, the most insignificant and the most ordinary operations that divert the direction of the operation. Because,

...the goal is not to make clearer how the violence of order is transmuted into a disciplinary technology, but rather to bring to light the clandestine forms taken by the dispersed, tactical, and make-shift creativity of groups or individuals already caught in the nets of discipline.” (de Certeau, 1984, p. 14)

According to his approach, space is practical. The street defined geometrically by urban planning as a strategy is transformed into a space by the walkers as a tactic (de Certeau, 1984). Everyday bodily activities in the city are part of a process of territorialization. What de Certeau is building is a model for how citizens make sense of space through walking practices and how they repeat these practices to overcome alienation (Leach, 2002). De Certeau describes the process by which a sense of belonging is established through the repeated exercise of the right of use. Belonging and attachment are built here on the basis of the knowledge, memory and intimate bodily experiences of daily use, especially walking. The use of public spaces creates informal claims that take place as part of everyday encounters between people or groups (Fenster, 2005). As De Certeau points out, demanding and negotiating of space is a construct of daily walking practices. Lefebvre's understanding of space and de Certeau's approach to the analysis of everyday life are interconnected.

Emphasizing the social dimension of the space, Lefebvre (1991) uses a three-part model to understand it: spatial practice, representations of space, and representational space. The perceived-conceived-lived triad is referred to in this approach. The subject is intertwined with this realm. The perceived space refers to people's everyday social practices in certain locations (Liggett, 1995). Lefebvre (1991) refers to it as "life as perceived." The collective production of urban reality, the rhythms of work, residential,

and leisure activities through which society builds and reproduces its spatiality, is referred to as perceived space (Lefebvre, 1991). On the other hand, representations of space conceptualize space as the space of scientists, planners, urbanists, and others who connect what is experienced and observed with conceptualized (Lefebvre, 1991). Knowledge, signals, and codes are used to create conceived space (Ronneberger, 2008). The discourse of these experts is aimed at evaluating, measuring, and administering space to justify and legitimize the state and capital's modes of operation. The model's last component is representational space, which is the space where people reside. This relates to images and symbols in space. It consists of physical space “making symbolic use of its objects” (Lefebvre, 1991). Lived space is realized through the interplay between images and symbols. Also, it overlays shared experiences and interpretations (Liggett, 1995).

Conceived space, which Lefebvre defines as the representation of space, corresponds to the strategies that de Certeau conveys as the actions of institutions. On the other hand, the tactics of individuals, which de Certeau exemplifies with the simple act of walking, are spatial practices that Lefebvre associates with perceived space. Everyday life, on the other hand, encompasses perceived, conceived, and lived spaces, that is social spaces where there are conflicts and negotiations. The aim of bringing these two approaches closer is to emphasize that space and everyday life precisely cover each other.

Space contains inseparable integrity from the social identity of individuals. Diversifying social identities both vary and differentiate the space and transform through diversified spaces. Massey (2017) underlines that space should also be considered in the context of social relations. Spatial differentiation is not just a result of diverging social identities. It is also part of the reproduction of society and dominant social relations (Massey, 2017). In brief, spatial and social differentiations reflect and reproduce each other. The heterogeneous structure of society, which develops on the axis of class, gender, race, sexuality, generation, ethnicity, and religion, is also valid for the stratification of space. At this point, it is inevitable that unequal social relations are both expressed and constructed through spatial differentiation (Schick, 2016).

2.3. Gender in Public/ Private Dichotomy

In a general sense, the term "gender" refers to the social meaning and expectations attached to the biological sex of an individual (Marshall, 1999). Space as socially constructed concept, there is a dialectical relationship between gender and space. An important aspect of the gendering of space is the private/public distinction. Feminist researchers, argues women's spatial experiences have various limitations compared to men, identify the abstract contrast between public and private space (McDowell, 1983; Day, 2000; Blöbaum and Hunecke, 2005; Gargiulo et al., 2020). According to this contrast, "public" is dedicated to men and "private" to women. Thus, women are pushed into the private sphere of the home by the varying pressures of patriarchal culture (Cantek et al., 2014). Patriarchy finds its spatial expression both in the prohibitions and restrictions and in the tactics developed by women who try to stay away from fear to protect themselves (Alkan, 2011). This part primarily explains gender roles and responsibilities. Then, it underlines how women's use of public space is restricted along with their gender identity.

2.3.1. Gender Roles and Responsibilities

The patriarchal culture, which imposes the female body as a private space that needs to be protected, distances women from publicity. Discussions about the definition of gender are based on a binary thinking. The underlying idea of this is based on the sexual differences between men and women, and expresses the cultural meaning built on this division, corresponding to it (Connell, 2005). The binary idea is to base the sex-gender distinction on the natural-cultural distinction. On the other hand, postmodern feminists argue that the sex and gender distinction is questionable (Armstrong & Squires, 2002). Because according to this distinction, sex is expressed as a natural product and gender as an artificial product of society. However, on the contrary, according to the postmodern understanding, sexual differences are created by the society by giving extreme importance to special anatomical arrangements. This is not the meaning that there is no such thing as sexual difference, but to say that our knowledge of sex passes first (with its own political and economic imperatives) through the institutional filter of science and secondly through further social cycles (Armstrong & Squires, 2002).

The construction of gender is shaped by the fact that individuals, groups and societies ascribe certain characteristics to individuals just because of their biological sex. Although these values vary according to societies, some generally accepted roles are attributed to men and women. Gender stereotypes are oversimplified understandings of men and women and the differences between them. Individuals sometimes base their perceptions of appropriate gender roles on gender stereotypes. For instance, a common gender stereotype about men is that they are not emotional. On the other hand, women are often stereotyped as irrational or overly emotional (Blackstone, 2003). According to traditional, stereotyped gender roles, women are assigned the responsibility of taking care of children, the elderly, and home, while the masculine gender role is assumed to be the head of the household by making the family's livelihood and making important family decisions (Day, 2000; Alkan, 2000; Blackstone, 2003). Vaiou & Lykogianni (2006) mentions that “good mothering” and “proper home” have a significant influence on women's everyday life practices (Vaiou & Lykogianni, 2006). All these roles make women hold a disadvantaged position in society due to several factors, including firstly their economic inequality in the labor market and the ongoing burden of unpaid work that disproportionately affects women, secondly their underrepresentation in various political and leadership positions, and thirdly the persistence of pervasive violence against women (Beebejaun, 2017).

The basis of gender stereotypes and roles is based on masculine thinking. (Alkan, 2000). Alkan (2000) mentions that one of the most basic features of this way of thinking is that it proceeds through a dualistic hierarchy. Like brain/body, mind/emotions, civilization/nature, subject/object. The first of these values is attributed to masculinity, the second to femininity. Thus, women are excluded from concepts associated with masculine values such as authority, public space, power, and political representation. Cantek et al. (2014) mention that in a broad perspective, leaving the “public” area to male dominance as the stronghold of common sense, laws, and politics, while the “private” area is considered to belong to women as the living space of emotions, self-sacrifice, and rules of nature. Fundamentally, the public-private division corresponds to the gender distinction. When considered in terms of public/private division space, distinctions such as outside/inside, economy/family, work/home, distance/intimacy in the binary thinking structure developed over male/female follow each other (Bondi 1998).

2.3.2. Factors Limiting Women's Use of Urban Public Space

The public sphere practices of women are shaped by various restrictions. Alkan (2000) attributes the limitation of women's spatial mobility to the "obligations" imposed on women in the household, such as cleaning, kitchen work, caring for children, patients, and the elderly (Alkan, 2005; as cited in Cantek et al., 2014). In addition, the scholar mentions one of the important constraints of spatial mobility is income level. It is inevitable for women in the middle and lower classes to be withdrawn from the periphery of the home. Because most public urban spaces have turned into consumption-oriented places, their accessibility for low-income groups has decreased (Cantek et al., 2014). On the other hand, these women, unlike high and middle-class women, do not have the opportunity to take paid help for the care of the sick, children, disabled, and housework. As a result, due to poverty combined with the oppressive and restrictive dictates of patriarchal culture, women are pushed to the periphery of the home for socialization and leisure activities.

Day (2000) deals with the care obligations imposed on women, which creates the spatial limitation of women mentioned also by Alkan (2005), with a holistic perspective through "ethics of care". Day (2000) questioned how the "ethics of care" creates constraints on women's use of public spaces and opportunities for extending care to public spaces, by reinforcing women's primary responsibility for caregiving. The scholar categorizes the constraints in women's experience of public space as constrained resources, constrained emotions, constraining responsibilities, and constraining social norms and conditions; and mentions that these restrictions are experienced differently depending on factors including race/ethnicity, class, marital status, sexual orientation, religion, and physical ability of women. (Day 2000).

Constrained resources that Day (2000) mentions are limited time, money, mobility, isolation and limited social interaction, limited opportunities, and lack of services. These constraints are exemplified through how the ethic of care may generate. Women are limited in what, when, and how long they can spend in public places due to household and childcare duties. Additionally, since they pick part-time or low-paying jobs like caring to satisfy their child-care duties, women may have limited money for

activities in public spaces. Also, they may have limited mobility because, responsibility for housework, and child-care makes women's transportation more stressful, restricted in distance, and time-consuming. Accordingly, preferences may restrict women's personal social engagement in public spaces by giving other people's (such as children's, relatives', etc.) needs a priority (Day 2000).

On the other hand, Fenster (2005), who investigated the relationship between the use of space and belonging to the space through women's daily experiences, revealed that women's public space usage patterns are shaped by the responsibilities and roles imposed on women. According to this research, the changing roles and duties of women in their life cycles, their expressions of belonging change the way they use public spaces. A few of the women who participated in the study stated that they felt much more connected to their environment after becoming a mother. The reason for this is taking children to school and using open spaces near their homes more often than before (Fenster, 2005).

Day (2000), discuss the feelings that restrict women's use of public spaces under two headings: stress and fear. Describing the source of both, again through the ethics of care, the author argues that women have restrictive stress over the conflict between their own public space usage needs and the needs of other people. On the other hand, the scholar handled "fear" differently from the perspective of previously discussed "perceived fear". The way the ethic of care creates fear is shaped by being "nice" to others. Accordingly, women may feel more anxious in public places when they feel pressure to be "nice" to other people through their "perceived responsibility" (Day, 2000).

The physical features of the place are directly related to safety and risk factors. Personal safety is a very important factor influencing behavioral restrictions. The perception of personal safety may not match the actual personal safety. The perceived danger affects behavior in terms of restrictions. As a result, people avoid or limit their use of areas that they identify with personal risk (Blöbaum and Hunecke 2005). Perceived personal risk is defined by Blöbaum and Hunecke (2005) as a generalized fear of becoming a victim. However, the phenomena may be more closely tied to the fear of immediate risk in the context of perceived personal threats in urban public spaces.

Blöbaum and Hunecke (2005), in their study investigating the most relevant factors influencing perceived danger in urban public spaces on the campus of the Ruhr University of Bochum (in Germany), examines the factors in three groups: psychological gender, sociodemographic variables, and physical features of urban public spaces such as lighting and opportunities of escape. The research's findings indicate that possibilities for escape have the greatest impact on perceived. It is even more significant than psychological gender and biological sex (masculinity and femininity) (Blöbaum & Hunecke, 2005).

Gargiulo et al. (2020) examines the environmental factors affecting women's perception of safety in green environments under two headings, physical and social factors. Based on in-depth interviews with 14 women, the scholars create a safety map with the qualitative Geographic Information System tool in an urban stream corridor of the Metropolitan Region of Barcelona. Lighting, vegetation density, and visibility are considered as physical factors of the environment that affect women's perception of security (Gargiulo et al. 2020). According to the results of the research, areas with a bright and clear vision are perceived as safer for women, while areas with dense vegetation density are perceived as dangerous. Mostly, women state that they were afraid of going alone to places with dense vegetation, limited visibility, and insufficient lighting in the evening. The scholars also take the land use effect on perceived safety. While the presence of streets and residential areas has a positive effect on it, the presence of industrial areas, parking areas, and abandoned areas affect it negatively. As social factors, they considered the social profiles and density in the environment. Accordingly, the presence of truck drivers and vandals negatively affects the perception of women, while places with high stream user density are perceived as safer. Although the factors affecting women's perceptions of safety were discussed in detail and relationally, the sociodemographic characteristics of women were not included in the study (Gargiulo et al. 2020). Similarly, Mumcu et al. (2016) summarizes, the physical characteristics of public spaces, which open risk and affect the spatial use of women as an enclosure, entrapment (no possibility to escape), high level of visual protection, low level of visual dominance (openness), lack of surveillance from the environment (visual).

As a result, there are many studies in the literature investigating the limitations and causes of women's use of public spaces (Day, 2000; Alkan, 2000; Blöbaum &

Hunecke, 2005; Mumcu et al., 2016; Gargiulo et al., 2020). Day (2020) explains these limitations through ethics of care. Accordingly, the status of having the primary responsibility for domestic and childcare, which is imposed on women, restricts women's spatial use through time, mobility, and emotions. However, Day (2000) does not include the restrictive physical features of public spaces in the research. On the contrary, as Alkan (2000) defines, there are also external physical factors that affect the limitation. These factors are considered physical factors that affect perceived fear/safety (Blöbaum & Hunecke, 2005; Gargiulo et al., 2020). Accordingly, enclosure, entrapment (no possibility to escape), low level of visual dominance, and lack of surveillance from the environment are increasing factors of perceived fear for women. Finally, it is worth emphasizing that all these factors may change according to women's socio-demographic structures such as race/ethnicity, class, marital status, sexual orientation, and religion.

2.4. Women's Tactics in Urban Public Space

This section discusses women's tactics in public spaces. Against the factors that restrict women's use of public space, women develop various tactics in their daily lives in urban public spaces. This section takes these tactics under two headings: behavioral and spatial tactics of women's use of public spaces. While behavioral tactics are more about feeling safe in public spaces, spatial tactics involve women's tactical arrangement in urban public spaces.

2.4.1. Women's Behavioral Tactics When Using Urban Public Space

Women develop behavioral tactics in response to the limitations of public space usage created by the meanings and discourses that are socially ascribed to the female body due to patriarchal domination. These tactics can be defined as safety tactics. Understanding the "unsafety of femininity"—physical traits associated with a feminine appearance, such as long hair, jewelry, red dresses, and lipstick—is what underpins women's safety tactics, with women positioning these traits as to be avoided either always or in specific contexts, like being alone or at night (Vera- Gray & Kelly, 2020). Scholars take these tactics as women's efforts to create their own private space in the public sphere. According to the data revealed in their study, they consider women's wearing headphones

or glasses while walking on the street at night or choosing a place to sit away from everyone in public transport, as an effort of women to isolate themselves from the outside world and the need to create their own private space within the public space. In fact, all these results can be considered as women's efforts to be invisible in the public sphere. Because the distinction between public and private spheres is shaped on the axis of visibility-invisibility. Being private and confidential, which is socially attributed to women, also imposes invisibility. In this context, when the safety tactics mentioned by Vera-Gray & Kelly (2020) are evaluated, it will be concluded that women instinctively match invisibility and security and seek it in the public sphere. These tactical adaptations, on the other hand, are a tacit submission to the patriarchal doctrine that women must be less vocal, less visible, less free to be safe. This attempt at invisibility is intersectional. For older women, it may imply that invisibility is experienced but not necessarily wanted, whereas it may make it difficult for younger women to disappear (Vera-Gray & Kelly, 2020).

Another tactic developed by women to use the public space is to be with people whom they see as "life vests" while using these spaces (Demirbaş, 2012). Demirbaş (2012), in his study examining the perception and use of space of women living in slum areas, revealed that women experience less problems in the city center when they are with their partners. However, Vera-Gray & Kelly (2020) also emphasize that this does not prevail to women who have homosexual relationships. Also, children, relatives, and women neighbors are whom women define as life vests in their relationship with the city (Demirbaş, 2012). According to the research of Şenol's (2022) that investigates coping strategies of people with perceived fear in Atatürk Meydanı of İzmir, women hold companions when visiting the site. The majority of women, particularly housewives, visit with female friends and neighbors (Şenol, 2022).

2.4.2. Women's Spatial Tactics in Urban Public Space

In patriarchal, conservative culture, privacy is associated with home and body. The pressure of privacy imposed on women brings with it many deprivations. Patriarchal culture constantly inculcates in new ways that a woman's body must be "safe" and "under control". For women to whom this perception has been adopted, the "safe" zone with

spatial boundaries in the cities is the home and home periphery. The home perimeter allows to be both at home and outside. Balconies, doorways, windowsills, and green open spaces close to the house are “safe” living spaces classified as “house perimeter” (Cantek et al., 2014). Although the use of these areas differs according to class, cultural, local, and geographical variables, they are multifunctional and important for women with limited spatial mobility.

Alkan (2000) states that the urban mobility of women is less in low-income neighborhoods. The traces of patriarchal domination are more visible in an area with demarcated borders as a neighborhood. This is especially prevailing in deprived neighborhoods. Because the working rate of women is low. The social responsibility of care imposed on women is dominant. These situations reorganize women's mobility in neighborhoods and cities. According to results of Vaiou and Lykogianni's (2006) study, mothers of young children in Petralona create various tactics to integrate paid labor with family demands in terms of time and space. Because they are the ones who are responsible for childcare and housekeeping. To handle this, the most common tactic is to request the support of their parents (especially their mothers) or other relatives to look after their young children while they are at work or to help with certain domestic duties. The necessity for these support networks also influences their housing choices: it is usual for people to reside near their families. On the other hand, women who have high-level income have more possibilities to handle this time-space questionnaire, depending on their economic condition. They can send their children to private schools with schedules that are more compatible with their working hours; they can employ other women to look after their children while they are at work; and, in certain situations, they can engage paid domestic help (Vaiou & Lykogianni, 2006).

Also, the neighborhood norms shaped by the people living in the neighborhood increase the pressure and surveillance on women. As stated by the participating women in Fenster's study (2005), some women feel freer and more comfortable due to their anonymous identities in the city center compared to the neighborhood. On the other hand, there are also women who define the neighborhood as “almost home safe” because of its proximity to home (Vera-Gray & Kelly, 2020).

If we go back to the discussion of visibility and invisibility in the dichotomy of public and private spaces, there are tactical space creations and uses of women in the neighborhood on the axis of visibility-invisibility. Cantek et al. (2014) conducted in-depth interviews with women, in which they investigated the relationship of women with the public and private spaces and the city. In the study, which has a wide research area spread over Istanbul, Ankara, Denizli, Antalya, and Bursa, the majority of the interviewed women are women who have come to the cities by immigration from rural settlements and are restricted by class necessities and patriarchal culture to house and house periphery. As a result of this study, the usage patterns of the in-between spaces that stand in the division of public and private areas such as the balcony door and the window side have emerged.

According to the related research, the balcony, which is considered as "the street inside the house, the house inside the street", is very functional and important for most women. Because, in fact, the balcony is the extension of the "house", which is considered as a private space, opening to the street, that is, to the public space. At the same time, going out to the balcony is a legitimate behavior, as it has a complementary function for the needs of the house. Cantek et al. (2014) mentions that the balcony is used by women for four functions; to socialize, to carry out household chores (such as drying clothes, and washing carpets-wool), using it as a private extension of the house by being closed, and using it as a warehouse.

Balconies are spatial units where neighborly relations and solidarity are maintained and the closest contact with the street is provided for places where neighborhood culture persists in relatively old settlements and where middle and lower economic class people live. Therefore, blinding the balcony by closing it is not common in such settlements (Cantek et al., 2014). Cantek et al. (2014) mentions that balconies, which provide the opportunity to control human and vehicle traffic for mutual conversation, information exchange, consultation, solidarity, sight-seeing, and security of the neighborhood, are indispensable for women living around the house. For this reason, it has emerged that some women participating in the research are not satisfied with the balconies facing the courtyard or the rear facade.

The windowsills are another intermediate space standing on the border of the public and private spaces. It allows women to be visible while seeing and to see without being seen by hiding behind the curtain. Especially in climates where the spring and summer months are short and mild, the balcony or the door-fronts is replaced by the window side. Women participating in the research of Cantek et al. (2014) state that they prefer to spend time by the window in cold weather and in front of the balcony and door in hot weather. However, according to the research, there is also an “inappropriateness” attributed to the windowsill among these intermediate areas. Window-side use for young, single, and newly married women is perceived as unacceptable behavior in communities with patriarchal moral norms (Cantek et al., 2014). Elderly women, who can go beyond the many patriarchal rules, are more free to use these areas comfortably.

The functions and usage patterns of door-fronts, which are in contact with both the street and the house, are very diverse. Generally, when the children are at school or on the street, and the men are at coffee or work, women gather in the door-fronts for socialization, to do housework, or to produce. Whipping wool, carpet washing, noodle cutting, and winter vegetable sorting are among the things that are done while socializing in door-fronts. On the other hand, Cantek et al. (2014) underline the tactics of women to overcome urban institutional shortcomings by cooperating with each other, especially in slum-type settlements or neighborhoods where immigrant families live. On the other hand, door-fronts can also turn into “factories with uncertain borders” (Cantek et al., 2014). Production activities can also be carried out for a piece-rate fee.

Besides the need for socialization that leads women to meet in door-fronts or in a park near the house, another reason is the physical conditions of their homes. Women, whose homes do not have sufficient comfort and spatial facilities, see the perimeter of their home as an alternative socializing area, as they are hesitant to host their guests at home (Cantek et al., 2014).

Doorways and parks where house periphery often contain homosocial relations in terms of women’s usage settings as it empowers them from their togetherness. They need the presence of another woman so that they can feel safe outside and make the men in their family feel it. Hence, “opening to the outside is possible only by closing more”

(Cantek et al., 2014). Movements in groups with predominantly homosocial relations also make this closure possible.

Spaces that are temporarily gendered by women can be exclusionary for their fellows. Settlements where primary relations are dominant, kinship, long-standing neighborhoods and similar class origins become homogeneous may cause them to be perceived as completely private areas for those outside. Because the use of overhangs, balconies, window fronts, door sills on the axis of visibility-invisibility can create a feeling of being watched outside (Cantek et al., 2014).

Women who spend a long time in in-between places such as balconies or in door-fronts are like the eyes of the street. Therefore, the women are also perceived as “honorary neighborhood headmen” (Cantek et al., 2014). The state of being in control of everything that happens in the neighborhood can sometimes turn into a moral watchdog. On the other hand, Cantek et al. (2014) emphasized that especially women living alone and widowed women with or without children are under more surveillance. In other words, these women, who are the eyes of the street, become one of the actors of the control pressure developed by the patriarchal mentality, which is also described as neighborhood pressure.

2.5. Summary

This chapter defines the conceptual framework associated with the research question (see fig 2.2). The first part of the chapter includes the concept of deprived neighborhoods that constitute the context of the research and the theoretical framework for urban refugees, one of the subjects of this research. Deprived neighborhoods are often defined based on various socio-economic indicators, such as high rates of poverty, unemployment, low levels of education and income, and poor housing conditions. These neighborhoods also lack access to amenities and services, such as supermarkets, healthcare facilities, and public transportation. Deprived neighborhoods are also characterized by a lack of investment, both public and private, which can contribute to a cycle of poverty and social exclusion. The daily life experiences of the people living in these neighborhoods progress through various limitations.

There are many reasons behind the settlement of urban refugees in deprived neighborhoods. Low-cost housing and opportunities in the labor market influence the location choices of people subjected to forced migration into the city. Also, previously settled co-nationals and their prior experiences affect their location choice tactics. In this context, deprived neighborhoods with low-paid housing and high ethnic diversity are compulsory places to settle for urban refugees in the city. The daily life experiences of urban refugees proceed over various challenging areas. Studies defining these challenges point to main issues such as low-paid and informal working conditions, unhealthy housing, difficulties in accessing urban services, and social stigmatization.

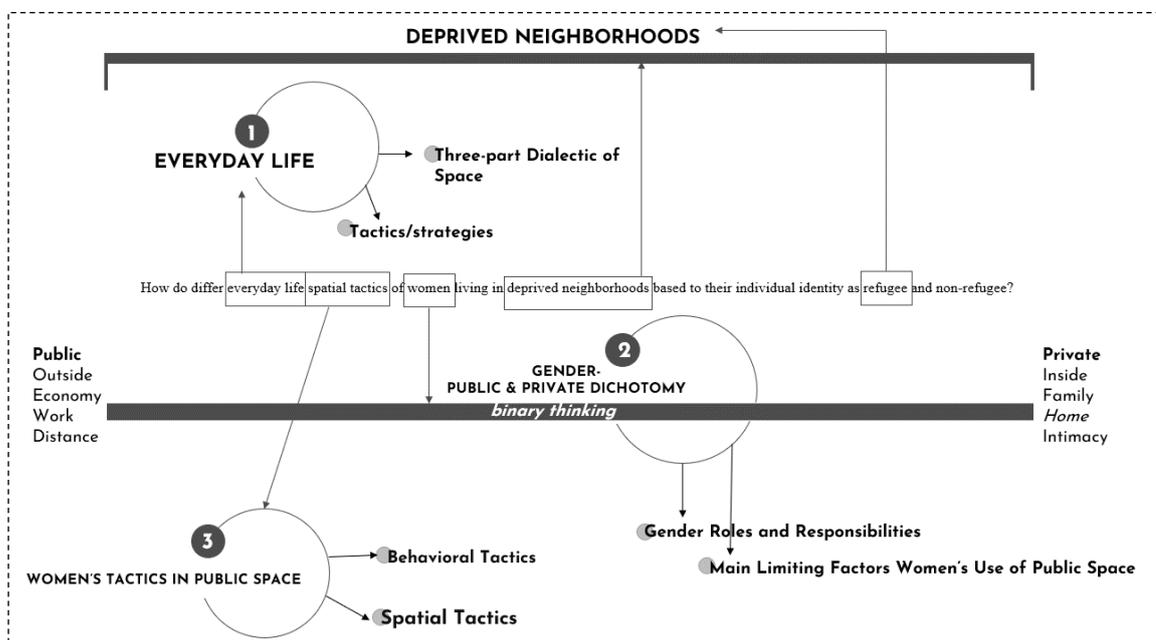


Figure 2. 2 The Connection Between Main Research Question and Theoretical Frameworks (Source: Author, 2022)

The second part of this chapter draws the conceptual framework for analyzing everyday urban life. Everyday life includes all of a person's behaviors, routines, and approaches. De Certeau (1984) deals with everyday life through tactics and strategies. It deals with the piecemeal and momentary actions of individuals in cities as tactics. On the other hand, strategies are institutional actions that depend on a strategic model. Approaching daily life through micro-local actions is valuable because it reveals the richness of everyday life. To change repressive social conditions, critical investigation of daily life is crucial.

Gender roles are an important factor affecting daily urban life of individuals. The "private" attributed to women in the public-private dichotomy removes women from the public sphere. The third part of this chapter discusses the social roles imposed on women in the public-private dichotomy and the factors limiting women's public space use. It is possible to categorize the factors that restrict women's use of public space as gender roles and responsibilities and physical characteristics of space. Constraints related to physical characteristics of space are considered as physical elements that influence how one feels fear. Accordingly, women increasingly interpret enclosure, entrapment (no way out), low visual dominance, and lack of environmental surveillance as sources of perceived fear. Women develop behavioral and spatial tactics for using public space in their daily urban lives. The fourth part of this chapter investigates these tactics. Behavioral tactics include tactics to feel safer in urban public spaces. Spatial tactics, on the other hand, include women's use of space around the house, such as door-fronts and dead-end streets.

CHAPTER 3

STUDY SITE AND METHODOLOGY

3.1. Study Site

As a port city, İzmir is the third most populous city in Turkey, after Istanbul and Ankara, with a population of 4.5 million. Since the 1980s, the city has always been a major destination for both internal migrants and international migrants from Afghanistan, Iraq, as well as Asia, and Africa. (Oner, Durmaz-Drinkwater, and Grant 2021). As a result of the civil war that started in Syria in 2011, which caused the largest refugee flow of this century, İzmir became one of the cities also where Syrian refugees settled heavily. Approximately 150,000 Syrian urban refugees live in Izmir (Presidency of Migration Management, 2022).

Ethnic structure of the population comes first among the reasons why İzmir is preferred by Syrian refugees. Izmir has been one of the main destinations for Kurdish immigrants since the late 1980s and is the third Turkish city with a high Kurdish immigrant population (Saraçoğlu, 2011). The ethnic structure of the population in İzmir played an effective role in attracting Syrians of Kurdish origin to the city, usually through the network of Kurdish relatives and friends (Yıldız & Uzgören, 2016). Another reason is that İzmir was a gateway for refugees to Europe until 2016. It served as an important transit point to reach the Greek islands by crossing the Mediterranean from coastal towns such as Çeşme, Kuşadası and Bodrum. Basmane Train Station also plays a major role in connecting these places to the southeast region of Turkey via İzmir (Yıldız & Uzgören, 2016). The EU-TR agreement, known as the 18 March Agreement in 2016, entered into force on 18 March 2016 after the Turkey-EU summit. With this agreement, every refugee who reaches Greece illegally from Turkey will be returned to Turkey, and in return, a person with temporary protection status living in Turkey will be placed in EU countries. With this claim, presented as a 1 to 1 formula, it is aimed to close irregular migration routes. While İzmir was mostly known for its temporary role until the agreement, after the EU-TR agreement, with most transit refugees stuck in İzmir and their international

travels becoming increasingly dangerous and expensive, İzmir's role as a destination came to the fore. (Oner, Durmaz-drinkwater, and Grant 2021; Yıldız and Uzgören 2016).

Immigrants choose places according to the resources they have. Economically poor groups are concentrated in neglected and low-quality housing areas in the city center. Basmane and Agora neighborhoods in Izmir have become one of the places where Syrian refugees are agglomerated in Izmir, because rental prices are quite low compared to other parts of the city and their proximity to various job opportunities due to its central location. Located in the city's center, Basmane and the area around it serve as a hub for transit migration. It is surrounded by public space, historical sites, affordable housing, and job opportunities in a variety of fields, including the wedding and fashion industries, the textile industry, the leather industry, and the electronics industry (Wissink et al. 2013). With one of the city's boundaries being bounded by the hill Kadifekale, Basmane's main roads and topography both have an enclosing effect. Small-scale ground-floor businesses in the region provide accessibility and a sense of community while increasing the exposure of goods and services from the street. Here, storefronts with Arabic-language signs add to the perception of the region as a "Syrian Enclave" or "Little Syria."(Oner, Durmaz-drinkwater, and Grant 2021). The migration history of these regions goes back much further, and it offers a rich research area with its historical texture and people of different ethnicities.

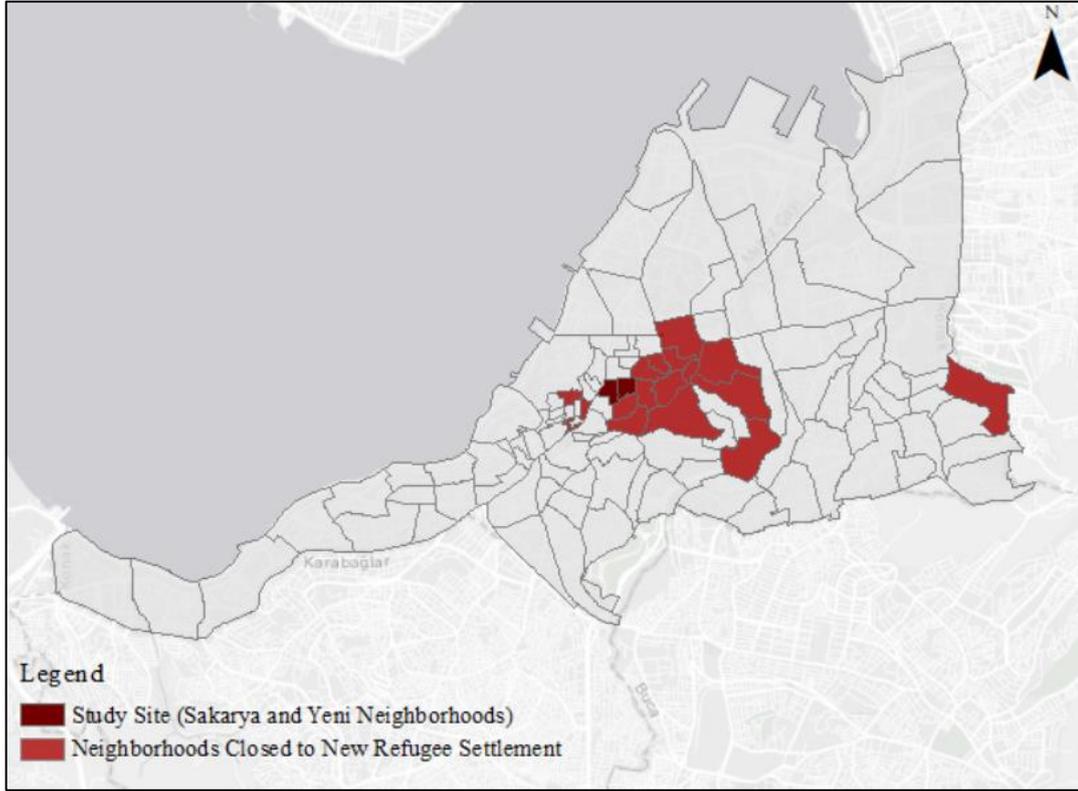


Figure 3. 1 Neighborhoods that closed to new refugee settlements in Konak

(Source: PMM, 2022)

Due to the high density of foreign population in some neighborhoods as of 1 July 2022 were closed to new refugee settlements by the Presidency of Migration Management (PMM, 2022). Figure 3.1 shows the neighborhoods closed to the new refugee settlement in Konak district.

Ayalp and Kiremit (2021) compare the ten neighborhoods with the highest refugee population density in Konak according to the ratio of the refugee population to the total population of the neighborhood (see Fig 3.2). Accordingly, Kadifekale is the neighborhood with the highest refugee density. Among these ten neighborhoods with the highest refugee density, I limited the study area to Eşrefpaşa street in the west and Patlıcanlı Yokuşu in the east. In this manner, I determined Sakarya and Yeni neighborhoods as study areas. Sakarya and Yeni neighborhoods have borders with Kemeraltı historical bazaar in the west and Agora excavation area in the north.

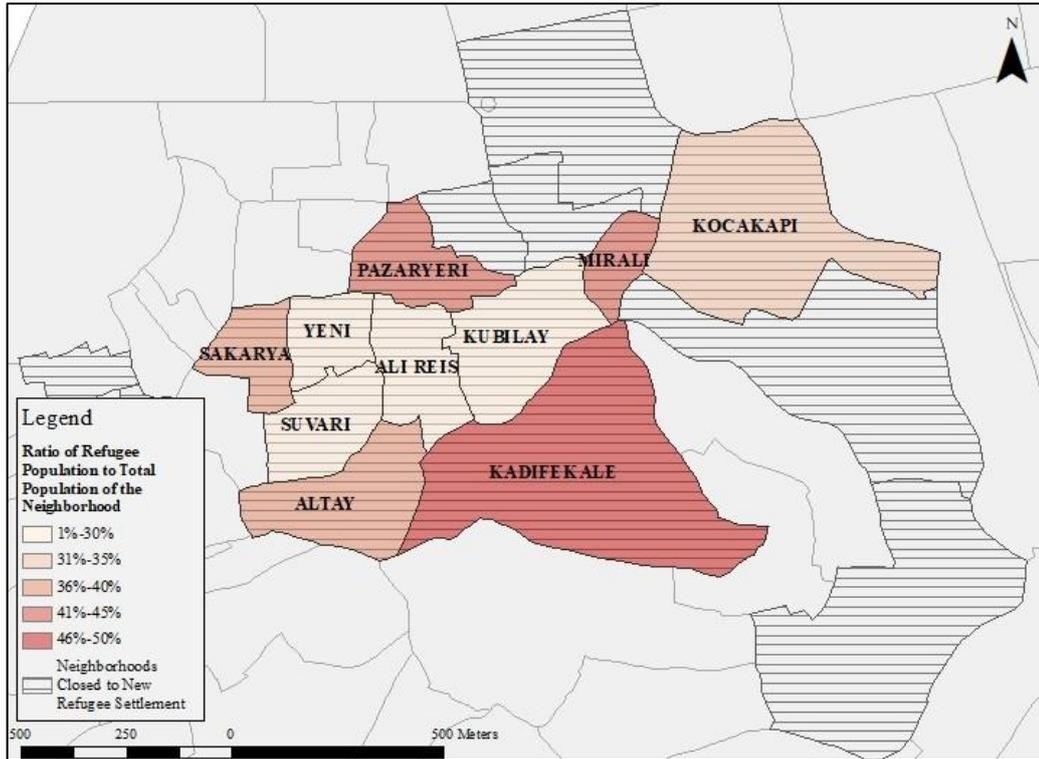


Figure 3. 2 Refugee Population Rates in the 10 Neighborhoods with the Highest Refugee Population Density

The research area is in the center of the city, on the border of Kemeraltı bazaar and Agora Archeological Site. Also, it is close to urban public spaces such as Konak Square and Kültürpark (see Fig. 3.3).

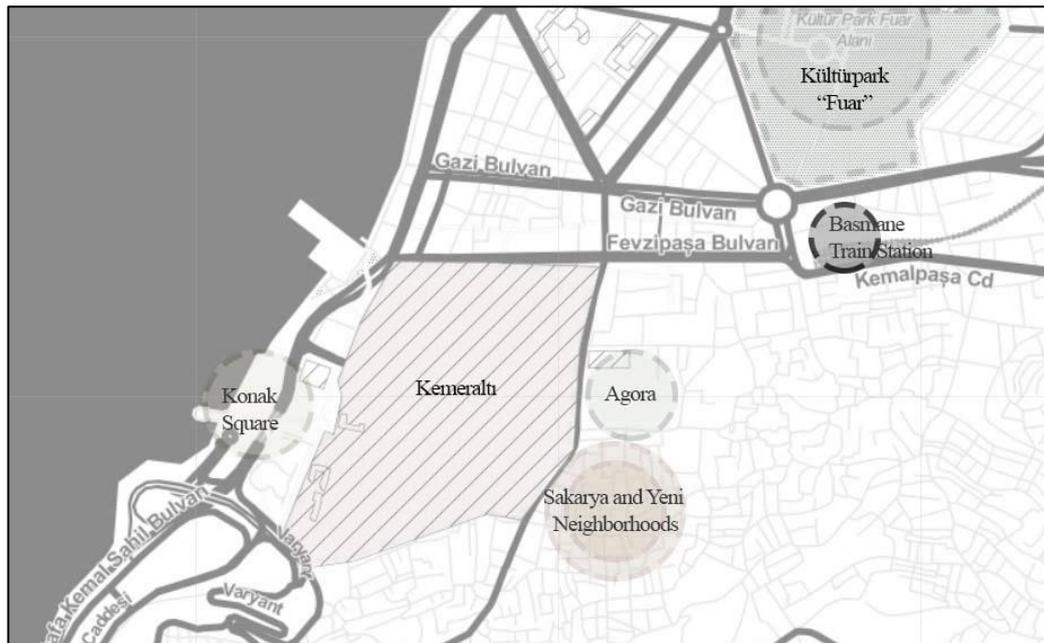


Figure 3. 3 Research area and its surroundings (Source: Author,2022)

Figure 3.4 shows the land use of the research neighborhoods. There are many dead-end streets in the neighborhood pattern. There are three educational buildings in the neighborhood, namely Hürriyet Anatolian High School, Kemal Atatürk Secondary School and İsmetpaşa Primary School. There is only Agora Park as an open green area in the city. In the research area, there are the Foundation for the Supports of Women's Work and the Social Space and Solidarity Association, which work on refugees.



Figure 3. 4 Land-Use of the Neighborhoods (Source: Author,2022)

There are commercial uses on the sides of the research area facing Eşrefpaşa street, which is located as the border of the neighborhood. These commercial uses mostly consist of secondhand furniture stores.

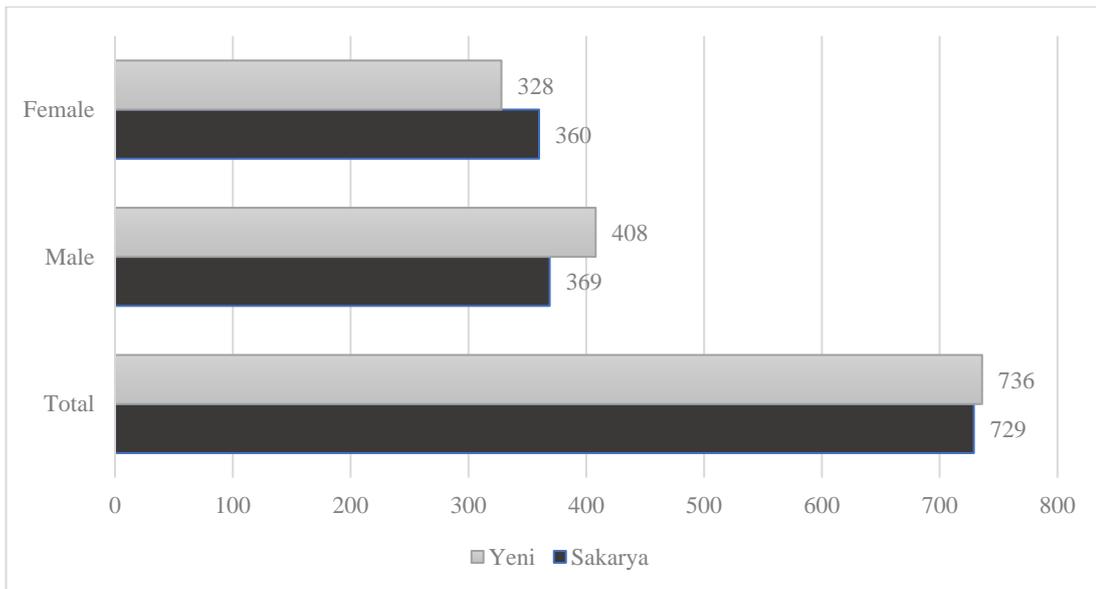


Figure 3. 5 Population of Sakarya and Yeni Neighborhoods (TUIK, 2022)

Figure 3.5 shows the population of Sakarya and Yeni districts. The total registered population living in Sakarya and Yeni neighborhoods is approximately 1450 people. The female/male population distribution is balanced. With the results of the mukhtar interviews, the social structure of the neighborhood are investigated in detail in Chapter 5.

3.2. Study Methods for Data Collection

In the field research, I used qualitative research techniques as observation, in-depth interviews, and semi-structured interviews (Figure 3.6).

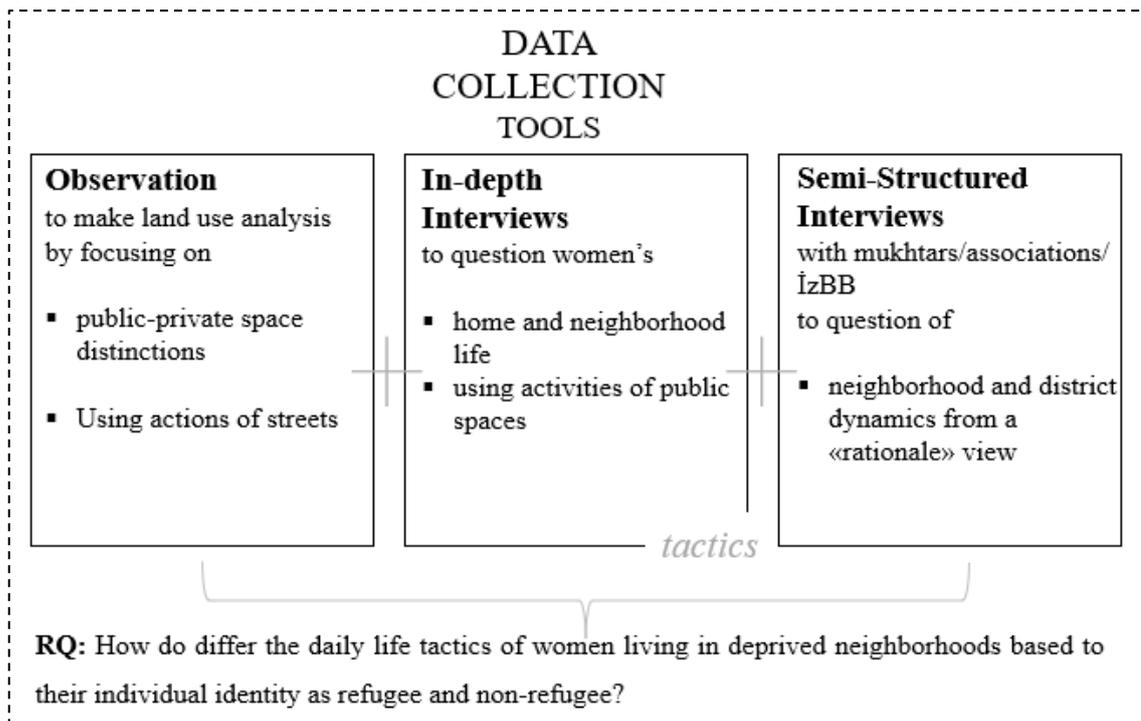


Figure 3. 6 Data Collection Techniques in the Research

Semi-structured Interviews

In semi-structured interviews, the frame of the interview is more specific compared to the in-depth interview (Denzin & Lincoln, 2018). I used semi-structured interview technique during interviews with mukhtars, who are local experts to gain understanding of the characteristics of the neighborhoods. Also, I conducted with representatives of Foundation for the Supports of Women's Work, Association for Solidarity with Syrian Refugees, Association for Solidarity with Refugees. Finally, I conducted semi-structured interview with representatives of İzmir Metropolitan Municipality Urban Justice and Equality Unit that have works refugees. I aimed with all these interviews to take an understanding of the study district.

Table 3. 1 Agency/Institutions That Conducted with Semi-Structured Interviews

Agency/Institutes	Date of Interview
Association for Solidarity with Syrian Refugees	23-Aug-22
Association for Solidarity with Refugees	26-Aug-22
Foundation for the Supports of Women's Work	12-Sep-22

(Cont. on the next page)

(Cont. of the Table 3.1)

İzBB Urban Justice and Equality Unit	27-Sep-22
Mukhtar of Sakarya Neighborhood	9-Sep-22
Mukhtar of Yeni Neighborhood	9-Sep-22

Observation of Physical Environment

Field observation was based on to determine the land use of Sakarya and Yeni neighborhoods. While generating the land use map, the focus was on the distinction between public and private spaces in the neighborhoods. I recorded how women used the streets and door-fronts on ArcGIS Collector Environment.

In-depth Interviews

The in-depth interview technique is a qualitative research method used to gain information on a topic and to understand the participant's thoughts on this topic. In this interview technique, the researcher is both the directing of the questions and an active listener. It is a method used to reveal suppressed thoughts in studies of marginalized groups in society (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2006). I used in-depth interview technique in women interview. Interview topics are women's home and neighborhood life. Precisely I focused on their everyday routines and use of the streets and door-fronts in the neighborhoods. Thus, I aim to determine the tactics developed by women to deprivation characteristics of neighborhoods.

I made interviews with non-refugee women living in the neighborhood for at least 10 years and with refugee women living in the neighborhood for less than 10 years. I aimed distribute the participants equally as refugees and non-refugee women. In this context, I interviewed 15 non-refugee women (see Table 3.2). I conducted the interviews with the women I met through informal conversations during the observations. Two of these interviews took place in the women's house. During one of the interviews held at home, three neighbors of the interviewee came to the home and participated in the interview. Since this interview was recorded as a focus group, it was coded as a single person during the analysis phase. Therefore, non-refugee interviews were calculated over 12 people in the research results.

Table 3. 2. Profile Information of Non-refugee Women Interviewee

Code Name	Age	Education Status	Employment Status	Marital Status	Number of children/ (ages of)	Living Years in the Neighborhood
Hacer	58	literacy	No	married	4 / (40,38,36,34)	40 years
Ayşe	52	literacy	No	married	3 / (27, 17, 14)	35 years
Emine	23	secondary school	No	married	2 / (3, 2)	10 years
Fatma	57	no literacy	No	married	2	33 years
Meryem*	39	literacy	No	married	4 / (17, 12, 10, 4)	15 years
Zeynep**	39	literacy	No	married	3 / (21, 16, 1)	20 years
Güler**	44	literacy	No	married	2 / (21, 12)	25 years
Suzan**	41	literacy	No	married	3 / (25, 23, 5)	15 years
Nuran	29	secondary school	Yes	married	2 / (6, 11)	14 years
Elif	36	literacy	Yes	married	3 / (14, 11, 5)	36 years
Maya	33	literacy	Yes	married	3 / (17, 12, 10)	10 years
Zuhal	47	University	Yes	single	2 / (23, 20)	15 years
Nuray	30	secondary school	No	single	1 / (5)	12-13 years
Berfin	38	literacy	Yes	married	5 / (17, 15, 11, 9, 6)	16 years
Dilan	39	literacy	No	married	1 / (15)	20 years

*: Conducted also with her neighbors (** shows her neighbors)

Translator accompanied the interviews with the refugees. The translator helped me reach the refugee interviewees through her connections in the neighborhood. I interviewed with 15 refugee women (see Table 3.3). Three of the interviewees can speak Turkish. I made these interviews without the support of a translator.

Table 3. 3 Profile Information of Refugee Women Interviewee

Code Name	Age	Education Status	Employment Status	Marital Status	Number of children/ (ages of)	Living Years in the Neighborhood	Living Years in Turkey
Delal	38	no literacy	No	married	9 / (btw 15-3)	4 years	4 years
Ebrar	23	secondary school	No	married	2 / (5, 1)	5 years	9 years
Efnan	28	University	No	married	3 / (8, 7, 1,5)	2 years	2 years
Belkis	29	secondary school	No	married	4 / (13, 12, 6, 6)	8 years	8 years
Esra	37	secondary school	No	married	6 / (btw 18-3)	8 years	9 years
Fehime	38	High school	No	married	4 / (17, 15, 14, 8)	6 years	6 years
Yasemin	50	literacy	Yes	married	7 / (btw 33-17)	9 years	9 years
Hatice	33	University	Yes	single	0	9 years	9 years
Alaa	30	University	No	married	1 / (7)	5 years	5 years
Cevher*	33	secondary school	No	married	3 / (15, 12, 4)	8 years	8 years
Raghad*	26	secondary school	No	married	3 / (7, 4, 2)	8 years	10 years
Akife*	38	secondary school	Yes	married	4 / (17, 16, 12, 9)	7 years	7 years
Fusun	41	High school	No	married	6 / (btw 22-6)	7 years	7 years
Hafza	40	secondary school	Yes	married	5 / (19-10)	7 years	7 years
Havva	32	secondary school	Yes	single	2 / (16, 12)	3 years	9 years

*: Conducted in Turkish without Translator

The interviews with refugee women took place mostly at the refugees' homes. Figure 3.7. shows a photograph during an interview with refugees. I met with the interviewees in a refugee woman's house.



Figure 3. 7 While Interviewing with Refugee Women (Source: Author's Personal Archive)

3.3. Data Analysis

3.3.1. Analysis of Observation Data

During the fieldwork, I observed the neighborhood with ArcGIS Collector over various walking routes for 7 days. I combined data in the ArcGIS Desktop environment. I spatialized data on how streets, cul-de-sacs, and doorways are used. Also, I conducted some interviews with women in three cul-de-sacs within the field area. I analyzed the data and photographs collected in the dead-end streets related to these interviews by matching.

3.3.2. Interview Coding with Content Analysis

The crucial link between gathering data and developing an emergent theory to interpret those data is coding. There are at least two primary stages to coding: an initial phase in which each word, line, or chunk of data is named (1), and a targeted, selected phase that employs the most significant or frequent initial codes to sort, synthesize, integrate, and organize massive volumes of data (2) (Charmaz, 2006). Charmaz (2006) mentions initial coding, focused coding, axial coding and theoretical coding.

The data are divided into smaller pieces in the initial phase, which involves extensive analysis. Initial coding should be strictly followed throughout the data to understand each component's fundamental notion and create a code to explain it (Charmaz, 2006; Vollstedt & Rezat, 2019). Instead of just assigning preexisting categories to the data, researchers need to see actions in each section of the data. Also, initial codes should be short, simple, active, and analytic (Charmaz, 2006). The further step is focused coding. With focused coding, the number of codes made in initial coding is reduced by analytical sifting.

In the process of axial coding, linkages are established between a category and its sub-categories, reassembling the data in a different form after it has been split up during initial coding. The focus of axial coding is to create a category or concept in relation to the causal conditions and context of actions and situations. Finally, theoretical coding refers to the incorporation into a comprehensive theory of the various categories that have been created, elaborated, and connected to one another throughout axial coding (Charmaz, 2006; Vollstedt & Rezat, 2019). The coding procedures from initial codes to axial codes are not separate or unrelated procedures. The whole kinds of coding take place simultaneously (Hernandez 2009).

For the analysis of interviews in this research, I followed initial, focused and axial coding steps. I handled initial coding after the transcribed the interviews. In this step, coding was done jointly on the predetermined question categories of home and neighborhood life of women. Secondly, I made concept coding over the codes whose number was reduced with focused coding. The aim of this step, which is called axial

coding, is to be able to read the tactics developed by women in different conditions and contexts. In the last stage, these tactics were compared. I coded interviews with refugee and non-refugee women simultaneously. I made all the coding steps in the MaxQDA environment, one of the qualitative data analysis software. For codings, I attended Assoc. Prof. Burcu Şentürk Yıldız's MaxQDA training within the scope of Assoc. Prof. Fatma Şenol's TUBITAK project (2022). Also, I used the software license of this TUBITAK project.

The headings in the results chapter emerged from the categories that I created during the coding process. The contents of these titles combined with observation data such as maps, photographs, field notes, etc.

CHAPTER 4

NEIGHBORHOOD “ABANDONED TO ITS FATE”

This chapter explains the deprivation characteristics of the neighborhood through field observations, and the interviews with mukhtars, associations, and how women perceived their neighborhoods through the interviews with women residents. This chapter first discusses the social characteristics of the neighborhood through who lives in the neighborhood, their ethnic origins and economic opportunities. Then it explains the reasons for settling in the neighborhood. Secondly, the chapter discusses the physical characteristics of the neighborhood. This discussion proceeds over the physical inadequacies of women's homes in the neighborhood and urban public service deprivations. Finally, it discusses how women perceive their neighborhoods.

4.1. Social Characteristics of the Neighborhood

Deprived neighborhoods are places where low-income groups live and where poverty and unemployment are high (Zhou and Kim 2013; Lucas 2012; Schwarz et al. 2015; Mouratidis 2020). Also, ethnic/race diversity is high in deprived neighborhoods (Madanipour 2010). Sakarya and Yeni neighborhoods are also similar to the literature in terms of their social structure.

4.1.1. Who lives in the neighborhood?

Neighborhood mukhtars stated that the poverty level and unemployment are high in the neighborhood as follows:

“People are poor, hungry. In other words, most women sit in door-fronts or look after their children. Men can't find jobs either. There's no job. Unemployment is high. So, this is our reality here.” (Mukhtar of Sakarya Neighborhood)

Ethnic/racial diversity is high in the neighborhood, according to the mukhtars, women interviewees, and associations. Some women -in the case of Nuray and Hatice-

and the mukhtar of Yeni Mahallesi described the neighborhood as a "mixed" place as follows:

“All countries have come. For example, it is a mixed place, both Turkish and Syrian, Afghan and Iranian. So, there are from every country” (Hatice)

“Our neighborhood is already a neighborhood with immigrant people. For example, there are many Syrians here right now. Many are from Afghanistan. Turkish citizens came from the east. For example, some came from Mardin, and some came from Diyarbakir. I mean, Eastern people. Our neighborhood is mixed.” (Mukhtar of Yeni Neighborhood)

Mukhtar of the Yeni Mahallesi stated the people living in the neighborhood are primarily immigrants. Internal immigrants mostly came from eastern cities of Turkey, such as Mardin and Diyarbakır. Most of the non-refugee women (8 out of 12) interviewees stated that they came from Mardin or Diyarbakır. Representative of The Foundation for the Support of Women's Work (KEDV) in the neighborhood also used a similar expression when explaining the neighborhood's social structure.

“All of the women we call local women here are Kurds. Almost all of them are from Mardin. Some of them from Urfa, Diyarbakır.” (KEDV)

Representative of Izmir Metropolitan Municipality Urban Justice and Equality unit, described the poverty and the population living in the region from Basmane Train Station to Agora and its surrounding neighborhoods, including the research districts, as follows:

“There is constant population flow here. There is an understanding of migration based on places people usually leave. Therefore, the district getting more and more rundown. This area has becoming more insecure and poorer. People with a certain socioeconomic level in İzmir started to go to other places due to this deprivation. It gets poorer and poorer, and it becomes a place where immigrants and the poor live more and more.” (İzBB, Urban Justice and Equality Unit)

There is a population flow in the neighborhood except for the settlement of urban refugees. One of the main reasons for this is the low-paid housing in the neighborhood. The deprivation areas of the neighborhood deepen in the cycle based on the settlement of low-income groups and the moving of those above a certain socio-economic level from the neighborhood. Madanipour (2010) states the most critical point connecting people living in deprived neighborhoods to each other is the “weak economic position in the society.” This is similar in the study neighborhoods. Similarly, some non-refugee women mentioned that their acquaintances had moved from the neighborhood during informal conversations. For instance:

“I had a sister-in-law before. She was also my neighbor. She moved. Her economic condition has improved somewhat. She has bought a house and gone. She lives in Bozyaka now.” (Maya)

According to the interviews with the mukhtar, the men living in the neighborhood primarily work in clothing workshops, shoe-bag workshops, and as construction workers. The Association for Solidarity with Syrian Refugees confirmed that refugees also work in similar business areas as follows:

“The majority are in textiles. Then the shoe industry. Then construction and back services...It's like dishwashing, waitressing, cleaning.” (Association for Solidarity with Syrian Refugees)

The number of women working full-time in the neighborhood is low. Five (out of 12 non-refugee) women stated that they work in an income-generating job. However, only one person works full-time in the garment workshop. Two people said that they work part-time as cleaning staff. A woman stated that they earn income by caring for the elderly in their own home. Similarly, among the non-refugee women, only five (out of 15) stated that they work in an income-generating job, but only one person works full-time. The remainder works part-time in the soup kitchen, laundromat, and associations.

Hatice (refugee woman), Elif, and Maya (non-refugee women) work in the same place. While Elif and Maya work part-time with insurance, Hatice stated that she was working without insurance. According to the literature, refugees primarily work

unregistered in informal sectors, as in the case of Hatice. However, the exciting point is that Hatice stated that her uninsured work was of her own accord. Because she wants to go to Europe within the scope of legal resettlement. She said that having a work registration in Turkey would complicate the process.

4.1.2. Reasons for Settling in the Neighborhood

Women respondents cited the reasons for settling in the neighborhood as proximity to the city center and job opportunities, affordable houses in the neighborhood, ethnically clustered, and formal/informal ties. However, there are differences in the distribution of responses given by refugee and non-refugee women. Figure 4.1 shows the distribution of answers given by women according to the distinction between refugees and non-refugees in percentages. The percentage is calculated according to the total number of answers.

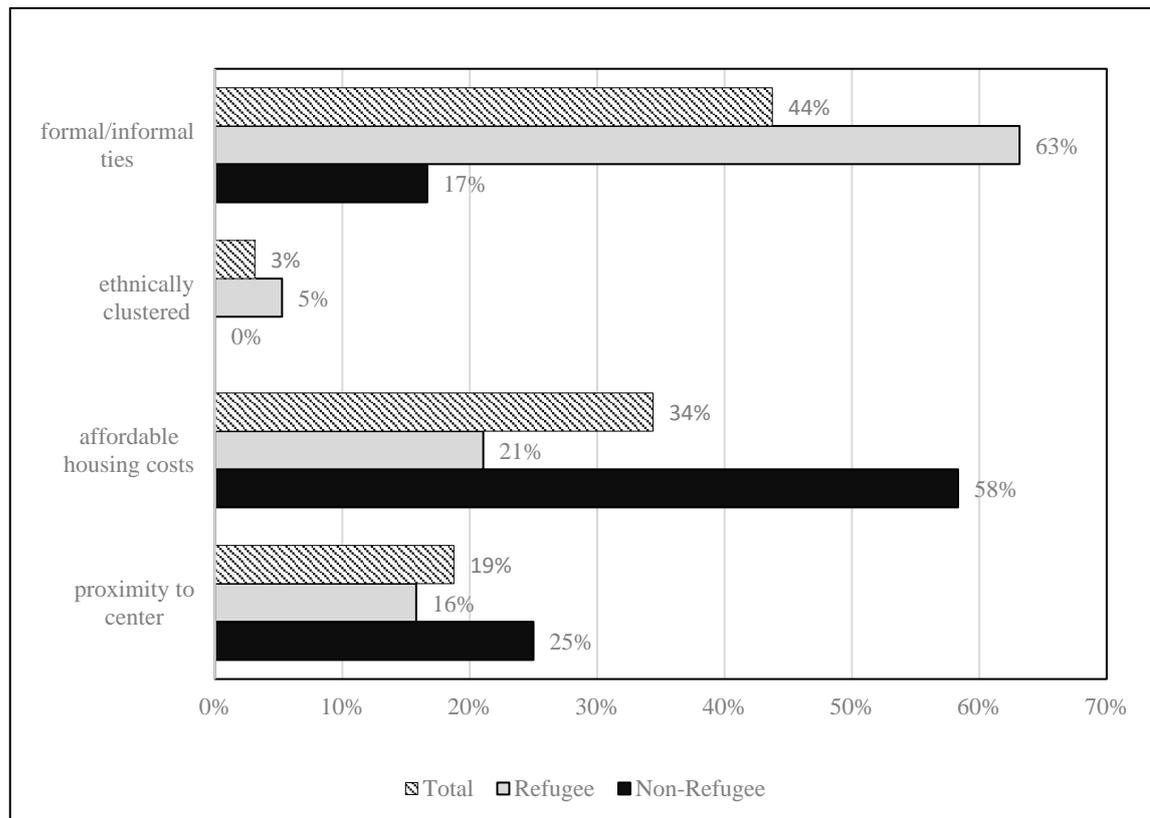


Figure 4. 1 Reasons for settling in the neighborhood

4.1.2.1. Formal/Informal Ties

The primary reason for refugee women (14 out of 15 women) to settle in the neighborhood is their networks, such as relatives or acquaintances who have settled in the neighborhood before. For instance, Hatice, who immigrated to Turkey from Syria 9 years ago with her mother and sister, explained the reason for settling in the neighborhood when they first came to Turkey, expressed as;

"We had relatives here. They both said there were job opportunities here, and they were. That's why we came here directly from Syria." (Hatice).

Day and White (2002) state informal ties are served as migration routes from points of departure to points of arrival. In this way, Hatice and her family lived with their relatives until they rented a house. Similarly, the founder of the Association for Solidarity with Syrian Refugees, who is Syrian, stated that the refugees came because of their connections.

"After the Syrians came as refugees, some of them know me, so if they don't, their friends know me. So, they came through their networks. Some came because of acquaintances." (Association for Solidarity with Syrian Refugees)

Some of the non-refugee women (2 out of 12 women) stated that they had acquaintances as the reason for settling in the neighborhood. In the case of Elif, the issue of informal ties goes back a generation. Elif, who defined the neighborhood as "little Mardin, " stated that her mother first settled in this neighborhood from Mardin years ago because of relatives.

4.1.2.2. Ethnically Clustered Area

One of the features of the social structure of deprived neighborhoods has been expressed in the literature as high ethnic/race diversity (see Madanipour 2010; Schwarz et al. 2015). However, with the people who come to the neighborhood with informal ties, the neighborhood also turns into an ethnically clustered area. In other words, this situation is the outcome of informal connections.

In the case, Füsün stated that she and her family settled in the neighborhood due to the dense population of Syrians in the neighborhood, and conveyed this situation as follows:

“Because there are the most Syrians in the neighborhood. So, they speak the same language.” (Füsün)

Also, the mukhtar of the Sakarya neighborhood stated that the presence of people of eastern origin in the neighborhood is among the reasons for settling in the neighborhood for refugees who came for long-standing in the neighborhood as follows:

“Because most of the residents know Kurdish and Arabic. It is one of the reasons why refugees prefer this place. They are here because they are also from eastern origin. But of course, those who come to stay not go abroad. Those who come to stay are usually like that.” (Mukhtar of Sakarya Neighborhood)

The language is one of the reasons why the neighborhood is preferred by refugees. Some of the people who migrated from the east in the neighborhood speak Arabic. Some of the refugees speak Kurdish. For example, one of the interviewees, Fatma, who is a non-refugee woman, stated that she knows Arabic and therefore she can communicate easily with her refugee neighbor.

4.1.2.3. Affordable Housing Costs

The low rent housing cost in the neighborhood is one of the fundamental reasons for settling in the neighborhood. The low-rent housing stock in the neighborhood is the most common answer given by non-refugee women for determining the neighborhood. Some women who decided the neighborhood due to the low-paid housing when they first settled also stated this as one of the reasons why they could not move to another neighborhood. For instance, Dilan conveyed her situation as follows.

“We first came here, we stayed here. I couldn't get out of here. It was affordable at the time. I want to go; don't I want to go?” (Dilan)

The presence of low-paid housing in the neighborhood is the most common reason refugee women after informal ties among the reasons for settling in the neighborhood.

Also, the Association for Solidarity with Syrian Refugees stated that the refugees chose the neighborhoods with cheap rents while describing their settlement tactics as follows:

“Why did they choose Basmane? Why did they choose the Konak? I'm not just saying they chose the Konak. They also chose Bornova. But always cheap rental neighborhoods. So, like Basmane Kadifekale, Çimentepe, Sakarya neighborhood. *Neighborhoods of wretch* such as Doğanlar and Mevlana in Bornova... They chose cheap rents, unhealthy homes.” (Association for Solidarity with Syrian Refugees)

According to the Association for Solidarity with Refugees, some places rented to refugees were not used as houses before the refugees. Areas used as warehouses or bunkers were started to be rented out with refugees. Places that were not a source of income for the landlord have turned into places with rental income with the refugees. This is the basis of low-paid housing in the neighborhood for refugees. Ebrar, one of the refugee interviewees, stated that the house she lived in was a store before as follows:

“The house I live in now used to be a grocery store. Then they turned it into a house with only 1 room. There is also dampness in it, but we have to live there.”
(Ebrar)

4.1.2.4. Proximity to City Center

The fact that the neighborhood is close to the center and close to job opportunities is among the reasons for some refugee (3 out of 15 refugee women) and some non-refugee women (3 out of 12 non-refugee women) settled in the neighborhood. According to the Association for Solidarity with Syrian Refugees, where refugees work the most, the textile and footwear industry is located in areas close to the neighborhood. For instance, stating that her husband works in textiles in Kemeraltı, Esra (refugee) mentioned that they settled in this neighborhood because it is close to her husband's work.

Some of the non-refugee women who migrated from the eastern part of Turkey stated that the neighborhood is close to job opportunities as one of the reasons for settling in the neighborhood. Maya, who immigrated to İzmir with her husband ten years ago for job opportunities, explained the reason for settling in the neighborhood as follows:

“There were no job opportunities in Mardin. Actually, it's still the same. They do not insure. They do not give full salary. That's why we came to Izmir. And this place is close to work, to the center. You can go anywhere easily from here. You should change at least 2 buses if you move elsewhere now.” (Maya)

4.2. Physical Characteristics of the Neighborhood

Deprivation in deprived neighborhoods is not limited to the poverty of the population living in the neighborhood. These neighborhoods also lack various urban public services. In the literature, these deprivations are defined through lower green space cover, low quality of green space, low cleanliness, low aesthetic quality, poor quality of buildings, poor transportation services, several technical infrastructure problems (see Zhou and Kim 2013; Schwarz et al. 2015; Lucas 2012; Estabrooks, Lee, and Gyurcsik 2003; Mouratidis 2020). Similar deficiencies exist in the research area.

4.2.1. Poor Quality of Buildings

The quality of the buildings in the neighborhood is relatively low. Apart from old structures, some buildings are in danger of collapse. Some of these buildings that create a public danger have been identified by the Konak Municipality and a demolition danger sign has been hung. Figure 4.2 and Figure 4.3 show examples of ruined buildings in the neighborhood.



Figure 4. 2 A Poor-Quality Building in the Study Site (Author's Personal Archive)



Figure 4. 3 A Building with Protected Mesh in the Study Site (Author's Personal Archive)

The mukhtar of Sakarya neighborhood expressed the inadequacy of public services in the neighborhood as follows:

“Two buildings were destroyed (see Fig 4.4). Right next to the school. There is this one. I mean the elementary school. The school was closed, thank God. If local governments really show an interest in this area, this region will be the most beautiful place in İzmir. But no interest...No care... All they do is protect with mesh. Collapsed ones also had protected mesh. The building collapsed, and the mesh went down. Thank God schools were closed. What if it was open? We couldn't handle it. This is a region that has been *abandoned to its fate*.” (Mukhtar of Sakarya Neighborhood)



Figure 4. 4 The Destroyed Building Mentioned by the Mukhtar (Author's Personal Archive)

Interviewees also conveyed the physical problems of the buildings in the neighborhood through the houses they lived in. Figure 4.5 shows the problems experienced by women regarding the physical conditions of their homes according to the number of people. Accordingly, the issues stated by the women regarding the physical conditions of the house they live in are leaking roofs and old structures, lack of light and

dampness, heating problems, and having neither a balcony nor a garden. Refugee women reported more problems than non-refugee women. Apart from these problems, 13 women stated that their houses are too small, and the number of rooms is insufficient. 9 of these women are refugees, and the remaining 4 are non-refugee women. Since this problem is also related to the number of people staying at home, it is not included in Figure 4.5.

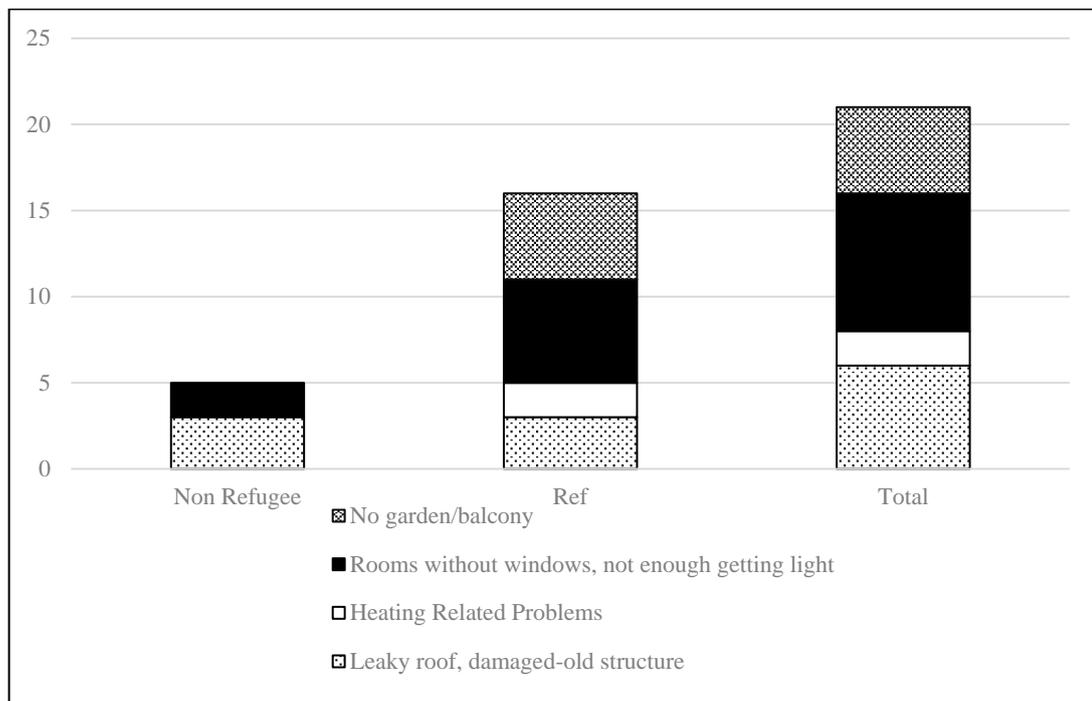


Figure 4. 5 Problems of Women Interviewers Regarding the Physical Conditions of their "Home"

One of the refugee interviewees Delal who has 9 children, explained the problems regarding her home as follows:

“When it rains in winter, water comes in from a room, the whole family stays in the living room only. There are only two windows in the house. I even hang my clothes from there.” (Delal)

Similarly, Maya, one of the woman non-refugee interviewees, expressed her complaint about her house being a small and old building as follows:

“By God, I have nothing. I can't invite a guest, it's too small. It's a very old building. Fifty-year-old building... It is already destroyed. Well, the rooms are

tiny. If you add them all up, that makes two rooms. There is no separate room for the children. So small. I'm trying to manage. We are on rent, after all.” (Maya)

As a result, according to the interviews and field observations, it is challenging to mention healthy living conditions in the neighborhood. Apart from this, the existence of buildings in danger of collapse in the neighborhood creates a public risk. As the neighborhood mukhtar stated, identifying the structures and taking them under protection with protected mesh is not a solution. Despite being protected by mesh, the demolition of the building close to the primary school is an example of this.

4.2.2. Urban Public Service Deprivations of the Neighborhood

Urban public services are insufficient in deprived neighborhoods. This title evaluates urban public service deficiencies through technical infrastructure problems and open public spaces in the neighborhoods.

4.2.2.1. Technical Infrastructure Problems in the Neighborhood

There are problems regarding the technical infrastructure in the neighborhood, as stated by the Sakarya neighborhood mukhtar and some of the interviewed women (4 out of 27 women). The mukhtar of Sakarya neighborhood conveyed the sewerage problem and the distress they experienced in the neighborhood as follows:

“Infrastructure is not even mentioned. When we say infrastructure, sewerage, and water flow from the streets every day. So, you repair it here, and three meters down it explodes. I repaired it; it explodes after five meters. So, the infrastructure is zero here.” (Mukhtar of Sakarya Neighborhood)

Of the woman interviewees, only non-refugee women mentioned the infrastructure problems of the neighborhood (4 out of 12 non-refugee women). Women who talked about the lack of natural gas infrastructure and sewerage problems in the neighborhood also complained about the neglect of the neighborhood. For example, Berfin described the infrastructure problems as follows:

“This is such a garbage place. There is a constant smell of garbage. The water is constantly bursting, for example, the inside of the building becomes mud. There is no sewer. Look here comes the dirt. Here comes the water.” (Berfin)

4.2.2.2. Public Open and Green Spaces

In the settlement pattern of the neighborhood, there are many dead-end streets. Figure 4.6 shows the settlement pattern of the neighborhood in the solid-void analysis. There are school gardens and Agora Park as open public space in the neighborhood.



Figure 4. 6 Public Spaces in the Study Site (Source:Author, 2022)

The high walls of Hürriyet Anatolian High School (number 1 in Figure 4.6) create a border between the neighborhood and the school (see Figure 4.7). In this sense, it is not an open space for the use of the residents. On the other hand, the garden of Kemal Atatürk Secondary School (number 3 in Figure 4.6) is more integrated with the neighborhood. However, the front garden of the school does not offer a usable area. İsmetpaşa Primary School (number 2 in Figure 4.6) is located more within the neighborhood texture compared to the other two schools. Entries and exits are under control to these schools.

According to my field observations, the gardens of these three schools do not offer a usage area to the neighborhood except of school hours.



Figure 4. 7 Garden Walls of Hürriyet Anatolian High School (Authors Personal Archive)

There is only Agora Park (see Figure 4.8) as an open green space in the neighborhood. The arrangement of the Agora Park, near the Smyrna Agora excavation area, was renewed within the scope of the "İzmir History Project" carried out by the Izmir Metropolitan Municipality. According to the project description, the residents' demands and expectations are considered in the design process. Also, a part of the playground in the park was designed in line with the wishes of the children within the scope of the "Agora My Park" workshop (İzmir History Project).



Figure 4. 8 Agora Park (Author's Personal Archive)

Some women respondents (6 out of 27 women) stated there is a lack of open green spaces and playgrounds in the neighborhood. Figure 4.9 shows the distribution of women who noted the lack of open green space to the total number of interviewees. Accordingly, only two interviewees (out of 15) among refugee women stated this deficiency. These women (in the case of Efnan and Cevher) expressed the lack of open green space through the lack of enough space for their children to play. Cevher, who has three children aged 15, 10, and 4, described the inadequacy of the playground as follows:

“Of course, there is no park. For example, the children will play outside. Well, “enough, my head hurts, ” they are shouting, "I am sick.” Well, after all, children should play. My child is playing in the street. He will play. There is no park either. Our houses are small. So where will this kid drain his energy? The streets are very narrow, there are many houses, and there are many people. No park, nothing.”
(Cevher)

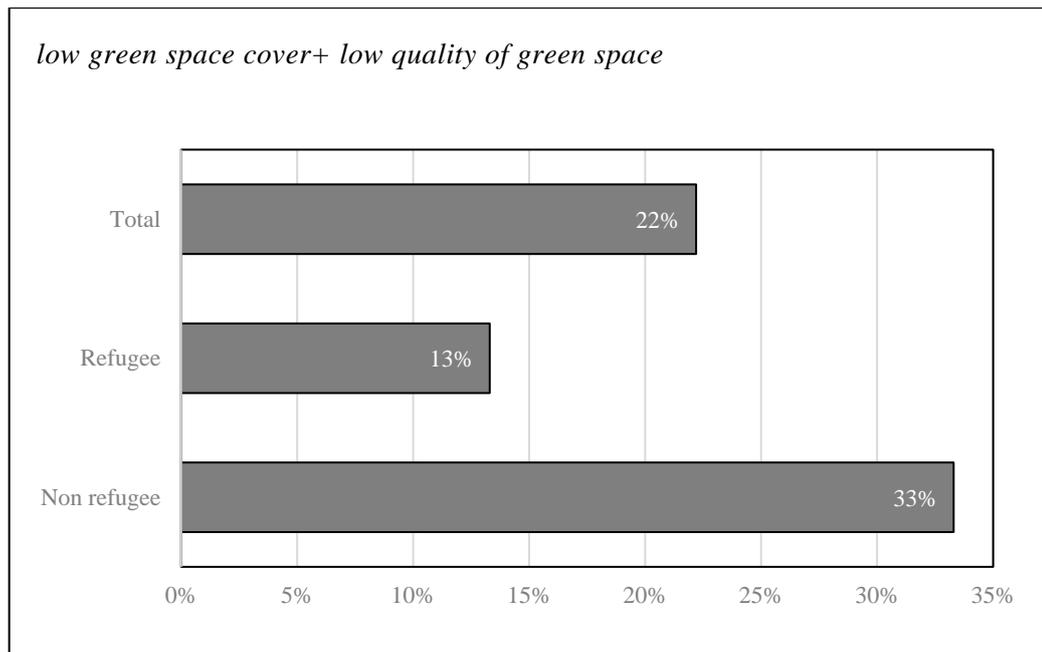


Figure 4. 9 Distribution of Women Stated that Lack of Green Space in the Neighborhood

Among the non-refugee women, 4 interviewees (out of 12) stated the lack of open green space in the neighborhood. These women also said they could not use Agora Park for various reasons. In the case of Fatma, she explained the reason for not being able to use Agora Park as follows:

“There is an Agora Park, but we cannot use due to foreigners; there is a lack of parks. It's more like a residential area than a playground. People are sleeping.”
(Fatma)

KEDV explained the situation that Fatma described as "people are sleeping" as follows:

“For example, if you come early in the morning, you can see the people in bed. And like this after five o'clock in the evening. African origins come out a lot after five. Once or twice, there was such a thing as a late-night meeting or event in the neighborhood. Indeed, many refugees are sleeping there as long as the weather is ok.” (KEDV)

Among the reasons why some of the interviewees did not use Agora Park was defective playground equipment. In the case Elif, stating that she did not use Agora Park, which is the only playground in the neighborhood, she explained her reasons as follows:

“Because there are many refugees out there and they react to our children, just the opposite. So, it's like they own it. You know, there is no such thing as it's your turn.” (Elif)

On the other hand, a refugee woman Cevher explained the reason for not using Agora Park as follows:

“So, for example, my daughter is playing something. I'm talking to him in Arabic. They know that we are Syrian. “Get up from here,” they say “it's our turn.” (Cevher)

Regardless of whether they are refugees, both women who have children complain of lack of playground or its insufficiency in the neighborhood. However, the inadequacy of services in the neighborhood was reflected differently in women's discourse. The neighborhood's lack of open green space has turned into an element that triggers social stigmatization among the residents. Scholars in the literature who argue that encounters in public spaces can reinforce stereotypes in the host society mention that these encounters may cause stigmatization of minority groups based on race, class, gender, and other identity axes (see Liu, Tan, & Chai, 2019). It can be said that encounters in Agora Park may also lead to the stigmatization of refugees according to women's narratives.

Low Cleanliness of Open Spaces

According to the field observations, open areas such as streets and green spaces in the neighborhood are neglected. The neglect of the neighborhood is mostly interpreted through the garbage heaps in the dead-end streets (see Fig. 4.10). Some interviewees also complained that the streets were neglected (5 out of 27).



Figure 4. 10 A View of Back Side of a cul-de-sac in the neighborhood
(Author's Personal Archive)

Figure 4.11 shows the distribution percentage of the interviewees who stated that the streets were dirty. Accordingly, 13% of refugee women (2 out of 15 refugee women) indicated that they were uncomfortable with the pollution of the streets. These women (in the case of Belkıs and Esra) attributed the source of the pollution to the people in the

neighborhood. For instance, Belkıs stated that she was constantly cleaning the door-front but could not cope with the garbage due to the high density of the people living there.

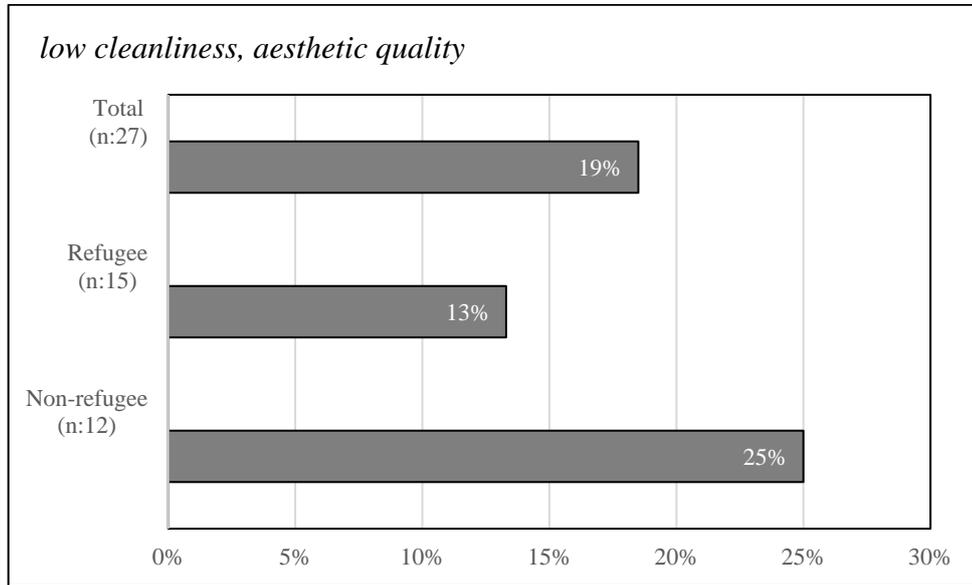


Figure 4. 11 Distribution of Women Stated Low Cleanliness in the Neighborhood

Among the non-refugee women, three people (out of 12) stated that the pollution in the neighborhood was a problem. Nuray, who lives on a dead-end street, stated that the municipality employees did not enter “Patlıcanlı Yokuşu” and dead-end streets; explained the situation as follows:

“This neighborhood is very dirty. I’m the one who sweeps and washes. Nobody gets a bowl of water or a broom and sweeps it here. I am the only one. It would be better if the municipality officially made me work here.” (Nuray)

Fatma (a non-refugee woman), who expresses the neglect of the streets through the lights, described her situation as follows:

“For example, the municipality does not look at these places; the streetlights go out and explode. We handle it ourselves.” (Fatma)

The caring responsibility attributed to women through gender roles and responsibilities includes through home, child, and elderly care in the literature. For women living in this research neighborhood, these care responsibilities also include the streets.

4.3. Perceived Characteristics of the Neighborhood

Perceived neighborhood characteristics include perceived safety, neighborhood attachment, and social and territorial stigmatization. These characteristics are more negative in deprived neighborhoods. This section investigates how women perceived their neighborhood through their perceived safety, stigmatization, and their sense of belonging to the neighborhood.

4.3.1. Low Degree of Perceived Safety

In the literature, the sense of safety is lower in deprived neighborhoods. The majority of women (16 out of 27) in this thesis research also expressed opinions supporting the literature. Figure 4.12 shows the distribution of women who describe the neighborhood as unsafe compared to the total interviewees. Among the interviewees, non-refugees have a much lower perceived safety than refugees.

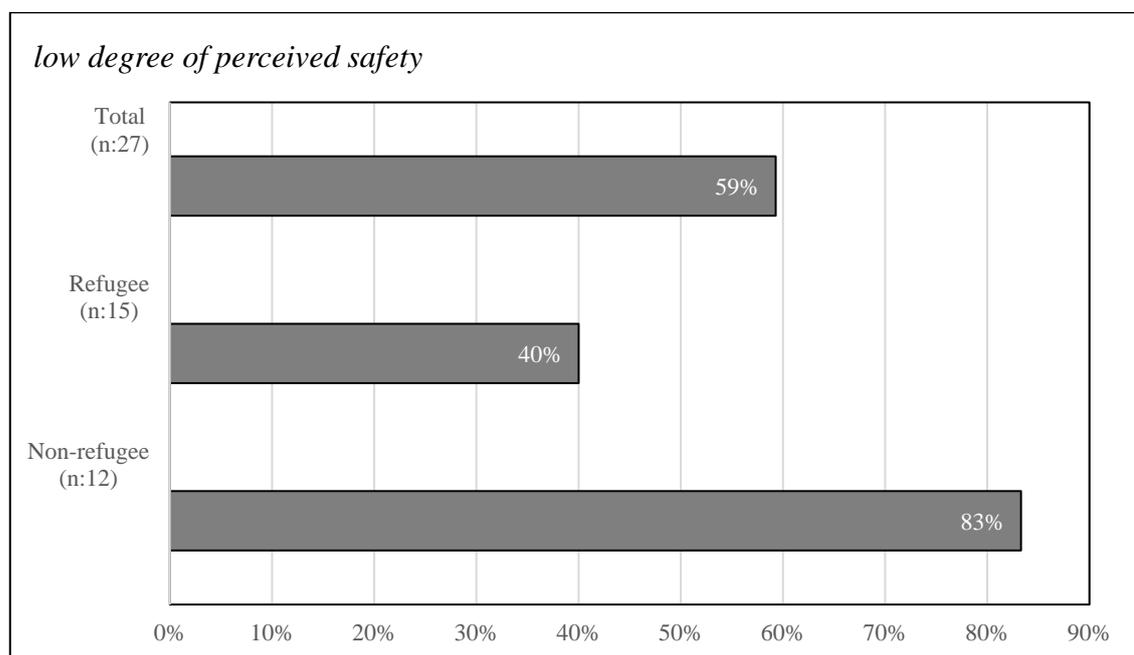


Figure 4. 12 Distribution of Women Perceiving the Neighborhood as Unsafe

It is a common trend of the interviewed women to associate the ethnic and racial diversity in the neighborhood with the insecurity of the neighborhood. A refugee woman Hatice, who described the neighborhood as a "complex/mixed place" because there were

people from all nationalities, stated that she was afraid because the neighborhood was "complex." As in the case of Hatice, there are refugee women who think that the ethnic diversity in the neighborhood makes the neighborhood unsafe. In this context, they point out the refugees who came after the Syrian refugees as the reason why the neighborhood is mixed and unsafe. However, a non-refugee woman Nuray, who refers to non-Turkish people as "foreigners," stated that she didn't feel safe with the neighborhood due to the high number of "foreign" populations.

Some non-refugee women (2 out of 12) discussed the reason for feeling unsafe in the neighborhood through the lack of security forces. Nuray, stated that there were no police in the neighborhood or that it was very rare. Saying that there is illegal drug pushing in the neighborhood, Elif explained the security gap in the neighborhood as follows:

“The neighborhood I live in has been getting really bad lately. How can I say? For example, I cannot easily leave my children in the door-front. There are lots of drug pushing. Especially in the summer, we complain a lot about them. We have also called the police many times, but they do nothing.” (Elif)

Against the lack of security forces in the neighborhood, Elif stated that she stayed awake until morning, watching the street, especially in summer evenings. Against the insecurity of the neighborhood, she has taken the role of honorary guard.

4.3.2. Social and Territorial Stigmatization in the Neighborhood

Social stigmatization to minority groups is a perceived characteristic of deprived neighborhoods. According to the results of the interviews, a similar situation is also current in the study area. Social stigmatization is two-dimensional in the neighborhood. First, there is a territorial stigmatization of the neighborhood by non-residents of the neighborhood. Berfin (non-refugee woman) summarized this situation as follows:

“Taxi drivers don't come here easily. Five years ago, I got very sick. I barely had to go up that street when I was sick. This area is called the red zone. So it's called the danger zone.” (Berfin)

Another dimension of social stigmatization is towards refugees in the neighborhood as one of the social problems. The majority of refugee women (11 out of 15) stated this problem in the neighborhood. Cevher (refugee woman), who has been living in the same neighborhood for eight years, noted that the tension between the local and refugee population in the neighborhood has increased in the last 2-3 years. She represented her recent experience in this regard as follows:

“For example, I went to the grocery store with my neighbor a week ago. The time was half past eight. My neighbor has three children. I have one too. We went with four children. They'll buy ice cream. Children started to shout as Mom from this! Mom from this! Mom from this! Then a man shouted, "Enough is enough; we are tired of you; go away, don't make a sound, be quiet.” We didn't even buy ice cream for the kids, and we went home. It happens everywhere. I didn't answer. I was going to say, “Bro, what did we do to you? We passed here. We did not sit. No one knocked on your door. We didn't bother you. We'll buy ice cream for two minutes, and we'll leave. After all, it will take five minutes.” They know we speak Arabic. That's why, for example, when I go out, I speak Turkish with my children. As long as they don't know that I am Syrian. Think now. ” (Cevher)

The behavioral tactics developed individually by Cevher, who always feels like a "guest" when she is outside of her house due to the social stigmatization in the neighborhood as exemplified above, are aimed at being as invisible as possible when she is in the open public spaces. Not speaking her mother tongue while communicating with her children outside her home is just one example of these tactics.

The Association of Solidarity with Refugees, which stated that the anger towards refugees in the host society had increased recently, conveyed this situation as follows:

“The language of policymakers goes to the street very quickly. In the early periods, a certain segment was more inclusive, embracing, or tolerant because the government supported it. But now, since the government also has statements at the point of repatriation, the situation of "They have to go now. The hospitality was enough" is common throughout the host society. Of course, this is also related

to the economic crisis. At that point, these statements are very influential as a trigger of serious anger.” (Association for Solidarity with Refugees)

Discourses of policymakers and the media about refugees are reflected on the streets very quickly. The discriminatory discourses used as election propaganda towards refugees in the last few years have also increased the negative thoughts towards refugees in the neighborhood. Yasemin (a refugee woman), who stated that they would not be able to live without help from the local people when they first settled in Turkey 8 years ago, stated that there is an increasing hatred towards refugees in the neighborhood after 8 years.

4.3.3. Sense of Belonging to the Neighborhood

Residents living in deprived neighborhoods find it difficult to develop a sense of belonging to the neighborhood. I asked women interviewees, “Do you feel you belong to the neighborhood?” Figure 4.13 shows the distribution of the answers given by the interviewees in the details of refugee and non-refugee women. Accordingly, refugee women mostly do not feel belonging to the neighborhood, while non-refugee women mostly feel.

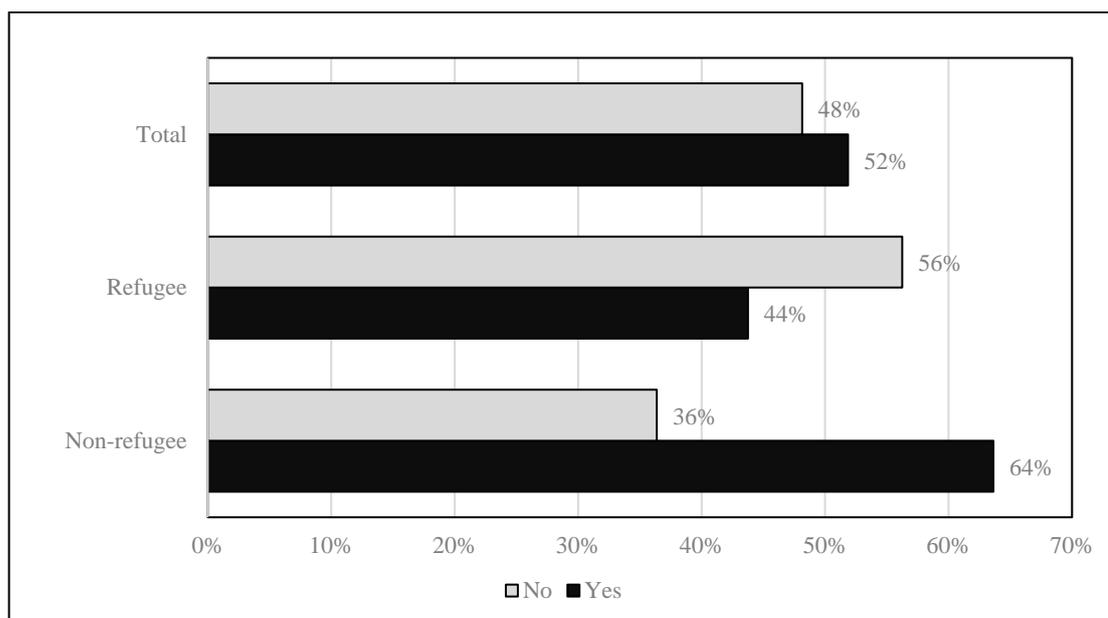


Figure 4. 13 “Do you feel belong to the neighborhood?”

Women who feel belonging to the neighborhood mostly defined their sense of belonging through “I got used to it.” For instance, Akife (refugee woman), who has been living in the same neighborhood for seven years, conveyed her belonging as follows:

“Because I'm used to it now. I also have some Turkish. There are also Arabics. I'm comfortable. So it's like I live in Syria.” (Akife)

On the other hand, refugee women who do not feel belonging to the neighborhood mostly used the phrases "we are foreigners" and "we are like guests". For example, Havva (refugee women) conveyed her feelings as follows:

“Because I always feel like a stranger. We are refugees, we are refugees.” (Havva)

The Association of Solidarity with Syrian Refugees representatives conveyed the refugees' perceptions of temporariness as follows:

“Everything gets harder with these new rules. A family is half in Antep, half in Izmir. If they want a merge, it's very difficult. It doesn't happen anymore. They work without insurance because there is no hope in insurance. In other words, you will work for that money and then you will return to Syria, what will happen to that insurance? So everything is to go back. Refugees always see themselves as temporary. In other words, some of them do not want to send their children to school. Why? They will read Turkish tomorrow when I leave, they say I need Arabic. It's a very difficult situation.” (Association of Solidarity with Syrian Refugees)

I asked, “Do you want women to move from the neighborhood?” to women regarding their belonging to the neighborhood. Figure 4.14 shows the distribution of the number of the answers. Accordingly, when we compare the results with Figure 4.13, while non-refugee women mostly feel belonging to the neighborhood, they also want to move to other neighborhoods in İzmir. For example, Ayşe explain this situation as follows:

“Despite all the negativities, I feel like I belong here. But I would like to move to any other place in Izmir” (Nuray)

Ayşe, who has lived in the same neighborhood for 35 years, stated that she could not move to another neighborhood due to her economic conditions, but she would move if she could:

“God damn it's hard. I'll tell you that. It's very difficult, girl. I wish we had such an opportunity. It would be amazing. I say it to my daughters from time to time. There is nothing to save us except death” (Ayşe)

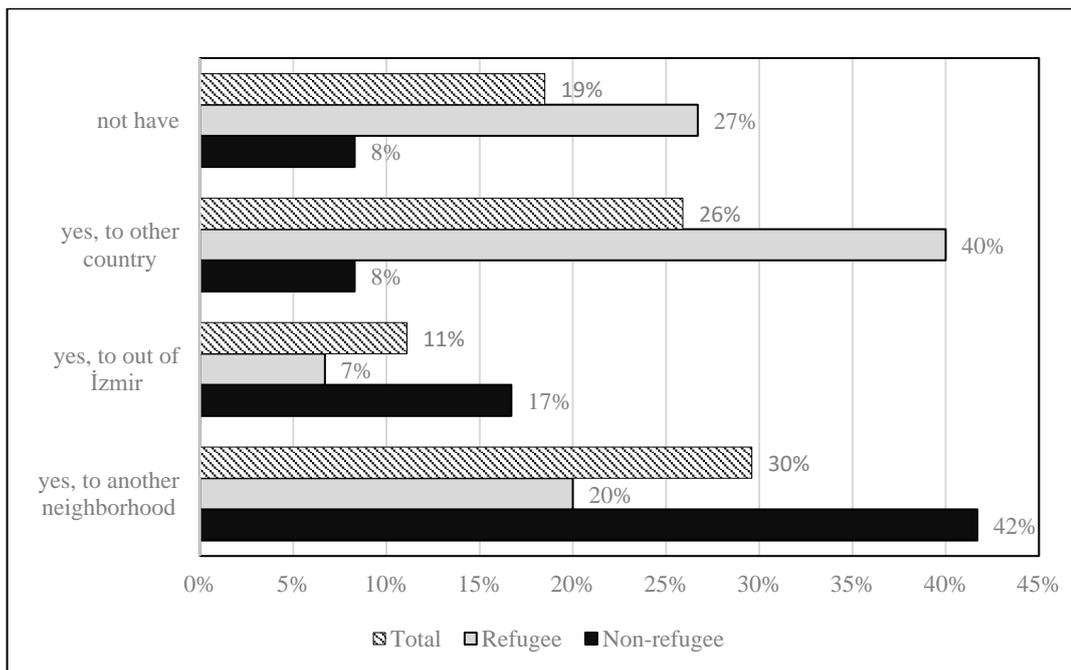


Figure 4. 14 Do you want to move out of the neighborhood?”

According to Figure 4.14, the majority of refugee women want to leave Turkey. The Association for Solidarity with Refugees representatives stated that the desire of refugees to go has increased recently.

“Since the election propaganda of the government and the opposition is the return of refugees to Syria, the uncertainties and feelings of insecurity here have increased. They do not share their movements with us. Because of they are using irregular transition ways. But we can hear the thing. We know that during this period, there are guests in their home. Here are the people coming from outside of İzmir. It's about to pass. They can pass through İzmir. Or here, too, we hear people say "should we go earlier" or something. Because people who love İzmir

have started to think that it would be more reasonable to cross to Europe now”
(Association for Solidarity with Refugees)

The discriminatory language of policy makers increased the conditions of uncertainty for refugees and increased their desire to leave Turkey. The issue of refugees, which has recently turned into election propaganda, has increased the uncertainty conditions of refugees and strengthened the negative perception towards refugees.

4.4. Summary

This chapter uses field observations, interviews with mukhtars, associations, and interviews with women to explain the neighborhood's deprivation features and women's perceptions of their settings. The first subject covered in this chapter is the neighborhood's social characteristics, including its residents' racial and cultural backgrounds and employment status. Accordingly, the neighborhood has a high rate of unemployment and poverty. Also, the neighborhood is highly ethnically and racially diverse. Immigrants make up the majority of the residents in the area. Internal immigrants are primarily from eastern Turkey cities, such as Mardin and Diyarbakır. Besides, many Syrian urban refugees are also living in the study site.

The second section of the chapter investigates the neighborhood's physical features. It focuses on the poor quality of buildings and the lack of urban public services. The neighborhood's buildings are in relatively poor condition. In addition to older buildings, some others are in danger of collapsing. Refugee and non-refugee women listed leaking roofs and old constructions, a lack of light and high moisture levels, heating concerns, and not having a balcony or garden as problems with the physical status of their home. However, compared to non-refugees, the housing conditions for refugee women in the area are much worse. Besides, there are several technical infrastructure problems, such as sewerage problems and a lack of urban public services as inadequate open green spaces.

Finally, the chapter discusses how women perceive their neighborhoods. Non-refugee women are perceived as substantially less safe than refugees among the interviewees. Most non-refugee women interviewees tended to link the neighborhood's

ethnic and racial diversity to its unsafety. Besides, the majority of refugee women stated social stigmatization towards refugees in the neighborhood as one of the social problems. Additionally, there is territorial stigmatization of the community by non-residents of the neighborhood. The final perceived characteristic investigated is the sense of belonging of women residents in the neighborhood. Unlike non-refugee women, most refugee women do not feel like they belong in the community. These perceptions of the neighborhood do not remain only on the perceived ground. Their perceptions and experiences with deprivation in the neighborhood impact their use of public space as tactics. Accordingly, the next chapter, discusses women's spatial tactics in urban public spaces.

CHAPTER 5

WOMEN'S PUBLIC SPACE USING TACTICS

This chapter explains how women use public spaces in their daily routines. I asked the women to describe their daily routines. I categorized the public spaces they use as out of the neighborhood, in the neighborhood, and door-fronts. Figure 5.1 shows the distribution of public spaces used by women in their daily lives regarding refugee and non-refugee women. According to the total value, the open space that is the primarily placed in the daily lives of the women in the neighborhood is the door-fronts. If we examine the refugee and non-refugee women in detail, there are more non-refugee women who use their door-fronts than refugee women. Refugee women use public spaces out of the neighborhood more than non-refugee women. On the other hand, the public spaces in the neighborhood do not take much place in the daily life of both groups of women.

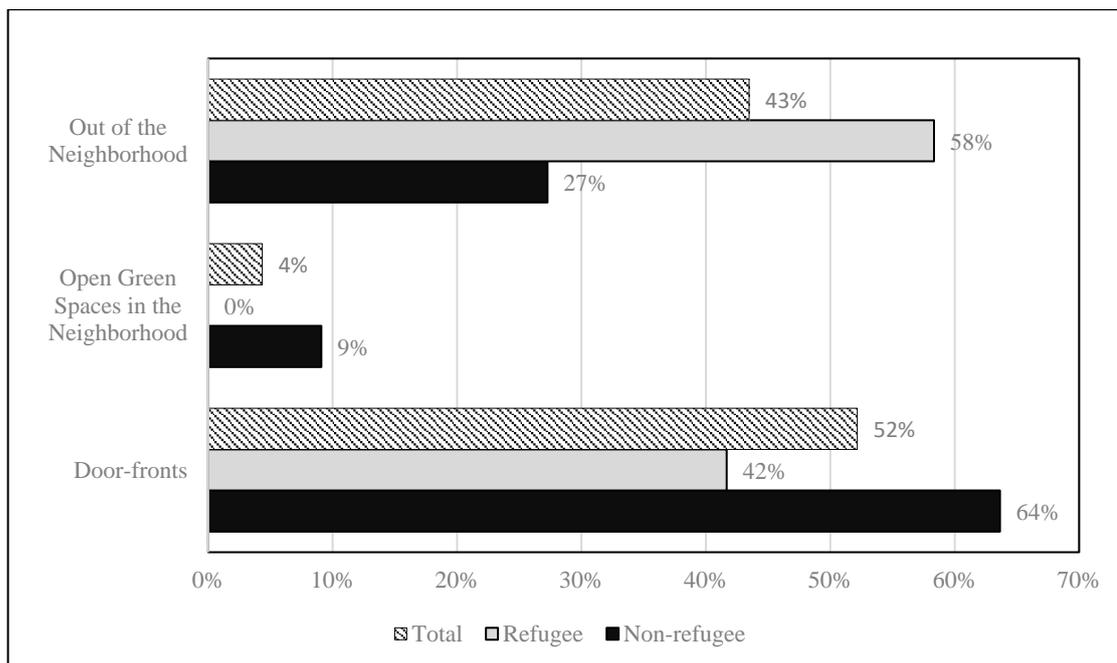


Figure 5. 1 Public Spaces in Women's Routines of the Neighborhood

5.1. Public Spaces Out of the Neighborhood

Among the places where women go outside the neighborhood in their daily lives, the open areas I hear most often are Kemeraltı, Fuar, and Konak seaside. I categorized

the answers about what they do outside the neighborhood and what they go for, according to Gehl's (2011) distinction between optional and necessary activities. Optional activities mainly cover recreational activities, while necessary activities include activities that perform daily necessary tasks. Figure 5.2 shows the distribution of these activities. Accordingly, women mostly use public spaces outside the neighborhood for optional activities. There is no significant difference in the activity distinctions of refugee and non-refugee women.

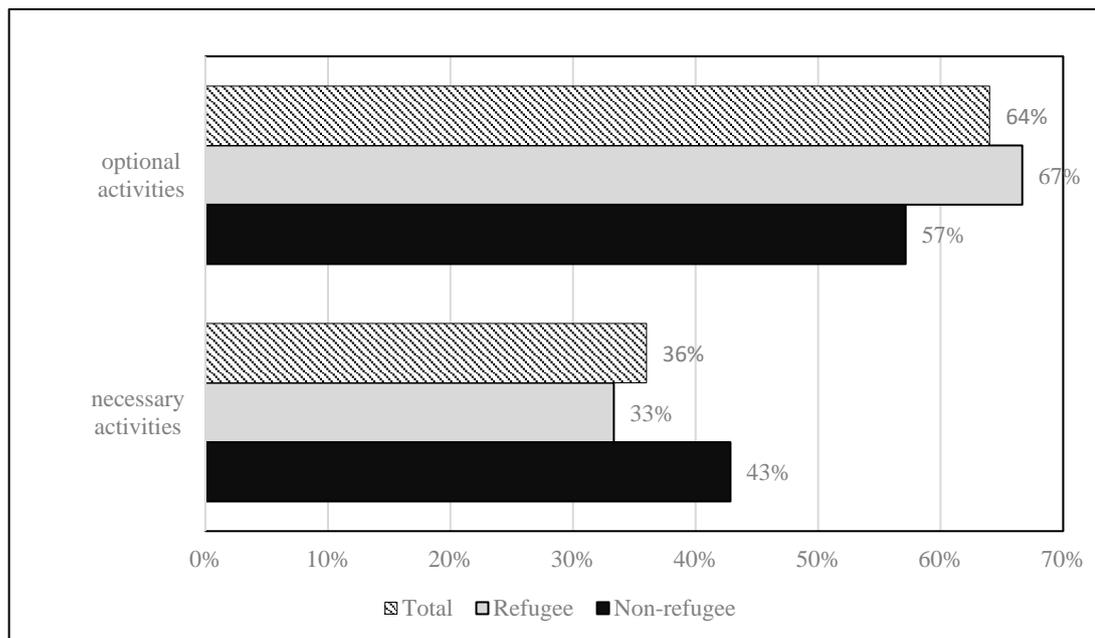


Figure 5. 2 Public Space Activities of Women Outside the Neighborhood

Elif (non-refugee woman), one of the women who went out of the neighborhood for necessary activities, described the times she went out of the neighborhood as follows:

"So, how should I say? You know, if I need to go shopping, I go to Kemeraltı. Paying bills or something, I handle them. Because of my husband's job, he doesn't have enough time to do these. For example, he is working today. He needs some medicine. I will go and get them. So, what to do outside is my responsibility." f

Women mostly prefer Fuar and Konak seaside, open spaces close to the neighborhood, for their and their children's recreational needs. Hafza (refugee) described what she did at the Fuar as follows:

"We make sandwiches with friends and go to the Fuar. We open such a table and eat. Sometimes we don't have money, we just go like that. Sometimes we just take water. We rest while the children play." (Hafza)

Public spaces outside the neighborhood take up more space in refugee women's daily lives than non-refugees. The reasons for this can be explained through the analysis of the two additional questions I asked during the interview. I asked the women where they felt safer and better compared to the neighborhood and outside the neighborhood and why. Accordingly, refugee women feel safer outside the neighborhood. On the other hand, non-refugee women feel safer in the neighborhood. Figure 5.3 shows the distribution of women's answers regarding refugee and non-refugee women.

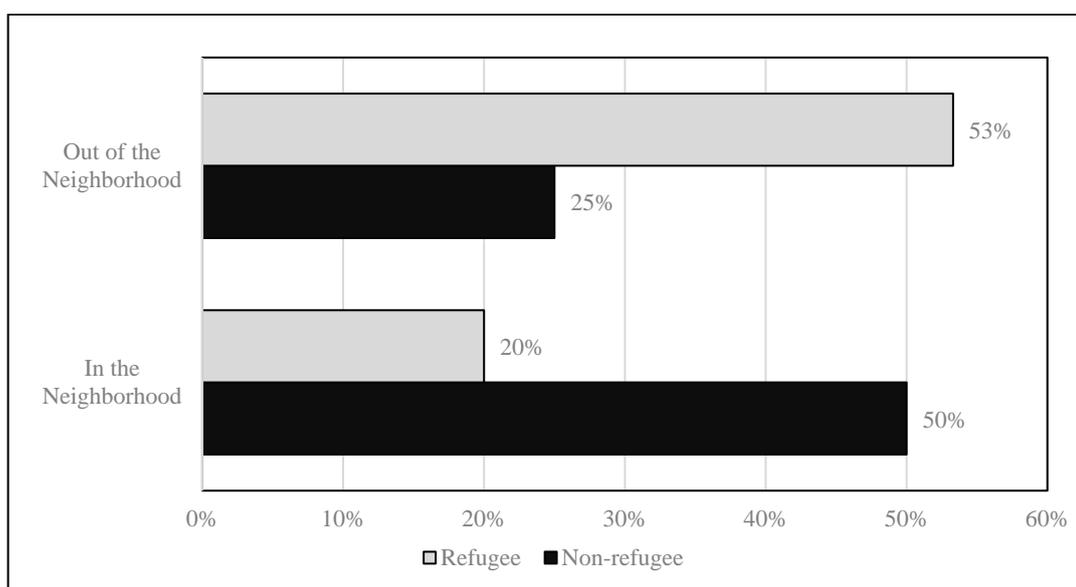


Figure 5. 3 "Where do you feel safer and better? (Out or in the neighborhood)."

Refugee women (8 out of 15), who felt better outside the neighborhood compared to the neighborhood, stated that the reasons being that there are more opportunities for children outside the neighborhood and the outside of the neighborhood is quieter and less crowded compared to the neighborhood. Cevher (refugee) stated that the reason why she felt better outside the neighborhood (at Fuar) was that there were more people she did not know at the Fuar :

"Because there are more people who I don't know in Fuar. It is wider. You are less likely to run into someone familiar." (Cevher)

It becomes more meaningful when we discuss Cevher's feeling better where people it does not know are in the axis of public-private space and visibility-invisibility. In the literature, the behavioral tactics developed by women while using public spaces are aimed at being more invisible in the public space (see Vera-Gray-Killy, 2020). This invisibility is more about concealing the gender-oriented "woman" identity. However, in the case of Cevher, this invisibility is also shaped by hiding the refugee identity. This invisibility is possible among people she does not know.

5 out of 15 refugee women stated that they go out more in Turkey than in Syria. They stated that the reason for this is that there is a lot of paperwork in Turkey. Another reason explaining the fact that refugee women take up more space outside the neighborhood in their daily lives compared to non-refugee women is related to the fact that they have more daily compulsory work. For example, Cevher explained this situation as follows.

"For example, I will go to Istanbul, I need to get my registration. Or the paperwork to enroll the child in school. This place is tiring. I go out a lot more because I have a lot of paperwork here." (Cevher)

5.2. The Only Green Space in the Neighborhood

The public spaces that take the least place in the daily routines of the interviewed women are the places in the neighborhood. Agora Park, the only open green area in the neighborhood, is a place for women to take a breath, wait for someone or pass by during necessary activities such as daily shopping in their daily routines. Gehl (2011) claims that mostly necessary activities take place in public places where physical conditions are not "good", and optional activities are few. In Agora Park, mostly necessary activities take place in parallel with the physical deprivations such as the few playgrounds equipment.

Most women stated that they do not use Agora Park in their daily routine for various reasons. Figure 5.4 shows why women do not use Agora Park. In the literature, spatial factors that restrict women's use of public spaces are examined in two categories as physical and social features of the space that limits women's spatial mobility (see Blöbaum and Hunecke 2005; Gargiulo et al. 2020). These factors are factors that affect

women's perception of safety. Factors such as the physical constraints of the space, insufficient level of lighting, low level of visual dominance, and entrapment (no possibility to escape) are listed. Only 3 of the interviewees (2 out of 12 non-refugees and 1 of 15 refugee women) stated only the insufficient lighting among these factors for Agora Park. For instance, Hatice (refugee) said that she was afraid to cross Agora Park on her way home from work in the evening because the street was dark.

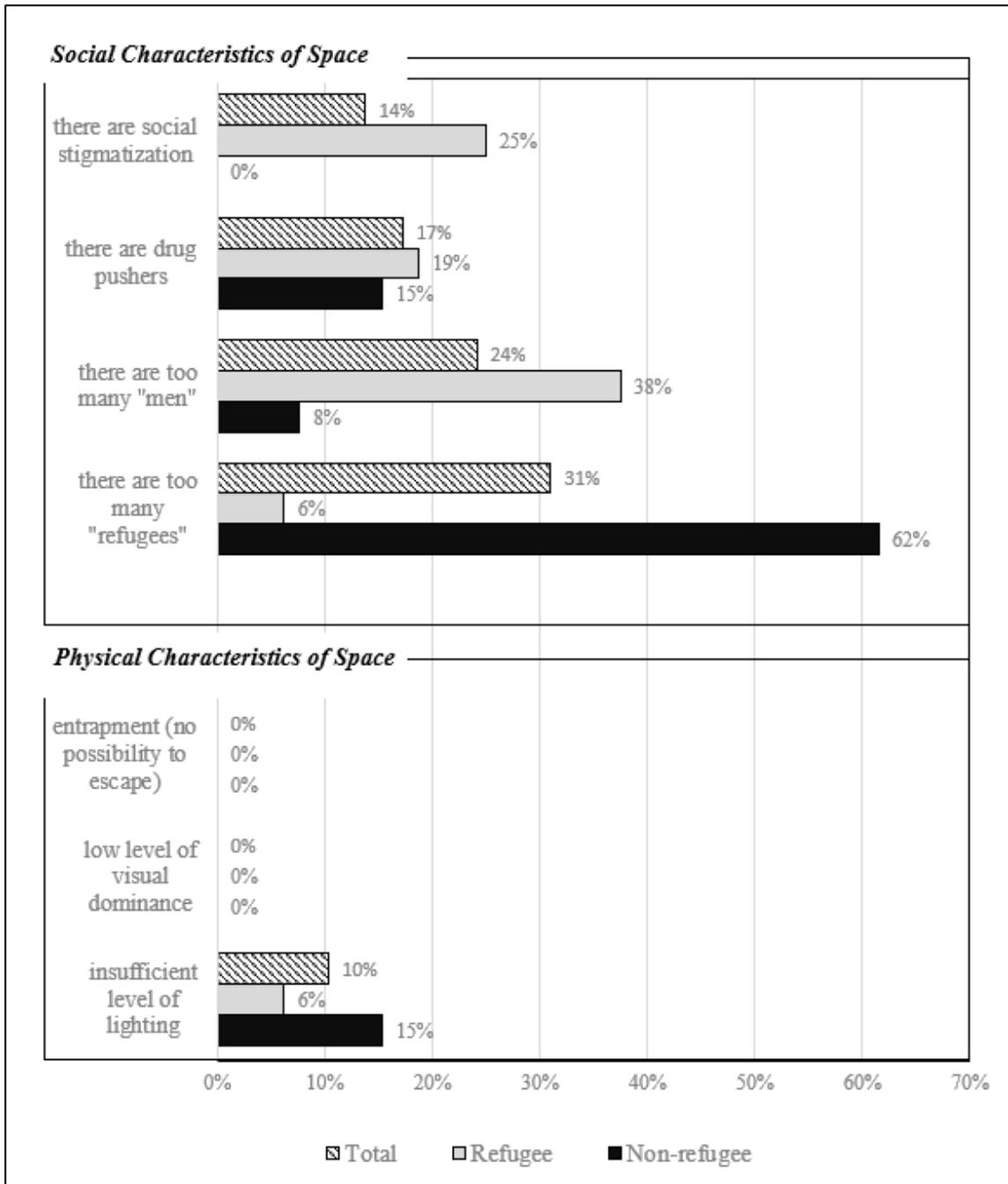


Figure 5. 4 Limitations Factors to Women's Use of Agora Park

Women generally stated that they do not prefer to use Agora Park because of its user profiles. The most common reason for non-refugee women is the high number of refugees in Agora Park. On the other hand, the major constraint for refugee women is that they are stigmatized by non-refugee in Agora Park. The most restrictive factor for refugee women is the dense male population in Agora Park. In addition, for both groups of women who stated that drug sales around Agora Park emerged as a limiting factor for their mobility in the neighborhood.

5.3. Door-Fronts and Dead-end Streets in the Neighborhood

Door-fronts are critical open space in the daily life of women in deprived neighborhoods. The door-front is the area where the house connects the street, that is, the area where the private space intersects with the public space. According to the literature, women used door-fronts for domestic work, socialization with neighbors, and production activities for a piece rate of fee (see Cantek et al., 2014). Especially, women's usage activities are diversified in door-fronts in dead-end streets. The women in the research neighborhood stated that they use their door-fronts for domestic work and socialization purposes, similar to the literature. However, there are no women who state use it for production activities with a piece-rate of a fee.

I asked the women for what purposes they used their door-fronts. Figure 5.5 shows the distribution of answers in detail of refugee and non-refugee women for what purposes women use their door-fronts. Accordingly, refugee women mostly use their door-fronts for domestic work. According to the answers of non-refugee women, there is no significant difference between the percentages of socialization and domestic work. Refugee women who state that they do not use their door-fronts are more than non-refugees.

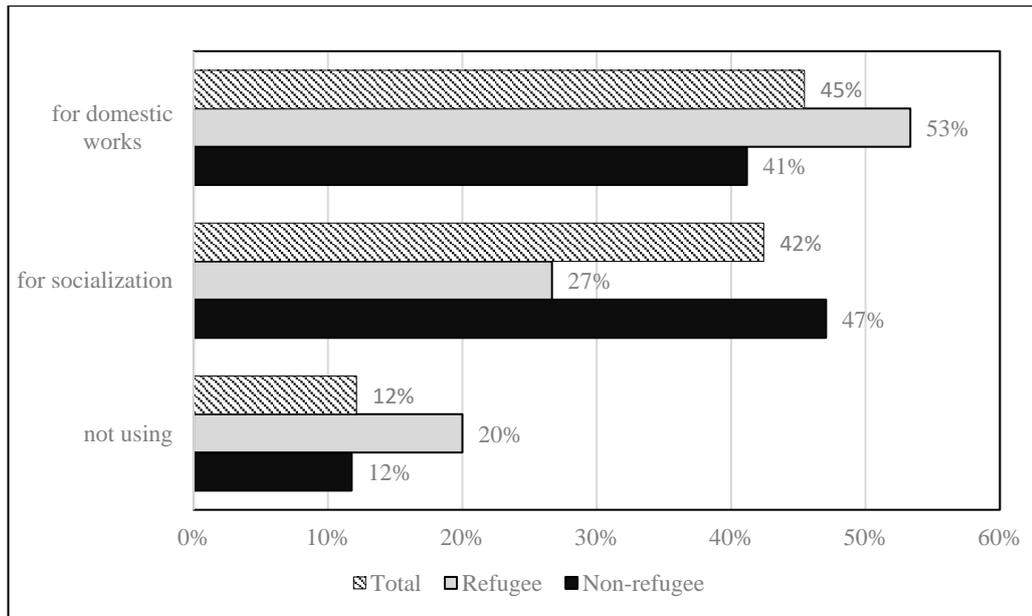


Figure 5. 5 Purposes of Using Door-fronts

5.3.1. Door-fronts as Extension of Houses

Domestic works spread out on the neighborhood streets include drying clothes, washing carpets, cooking with neighbors, and roasting eggplants by lighting a fire. I observed that drying clothes on the street is common throughout the neighborhood. It is possible to see these clothes sometimes hung on a protected mesh and sometimes on a rope stretched across the street. Figure 5.6 and Figure 5.7 show laundry overflowing into the street.

The housework that women perform on the streets is related to the inadequate physical conditions of the house. For women who do not have enough space to dry laundry, a balcony or a garden, the municipality's protected mesh can be turned into a laundry hanger.

"Most women go out in door-fronts because there is no balcony or garden at home. The living room is large, but we put the laundry on the street because there is no balcony. We are washing the carpet. It is done on the street because there is no place." (Fatma)



Figure 5. 6 Laundry Hanging on the Protected Mesh (Author's Personal Archive)



Figure 5. 7 Laundry Hanging on a Rope Stretched Across the Street

(Author's Personal Archive)

Some of the women in the neighborhood stated that they do more difficult housework, such as carpet washing in collaboration with their neighbors (see 5.8). Cevher

(refugee), who lives in a building with five families, Iraqi, Syrian, and Turkish, described the use of the door-fronts as follows:

"We wash the carpets in order. They help me, I help them. For example, mine is today. Theirs will be tomorrow. Like this. After all, we became a family."
(Cevher)



Figure 5. 8 Women Washing Carpets in a Cul-De-Sac (Author's Personal Archive)

The period when I was in the field research was when the women were producing their winter canned goods. A can of eggplant was one of the provisions that non-refugee women said they made to prepare for the winter. They (3 out of 12 non-refugee women) stated that they roasted eggplant by lighting a fire in the street. Figure 5.9 shows a woman roasting eggplant in the door-front.



Figure 5. 9 A Woman Roasting Eggplant in her door-front (Author's Personal Archive)

The streets around the house in the neighborhood are defined as public spaces within the framework of urban planning. However, these areas are like an extension of the houses (private space) with the actions of women. This is a tactical behavior that develops over the inadequacy of home conditions. For these actions, women individually redesign the space.

During the field observations, especially when entering dead-end streets, I felt as if I was entering the private space of the residents. Just as we knock on the door when entering a house, I also needed a permit when entering the street. Especially when I entered dead-end streets, I was met with curious eyes of residents. It is noticed as soon as a stranger enters the street. Due to these features, it becomes impossible to define these spaces as public spaces.

5.3.2. Neighboring on “our street”

Neighboring relations are developed in mostly door-fronts in the neighborhood. Neighboring relations are mostly introverted. The interaction between Syrian refugee women and citizens are develops through just "greeting". However, refugee women also stated that they received help from citizen women for their daily problems such as asking directions to some places. According to my observations, while the neighborhood relations of local women mostly develop through kinship ties, the situation is different for refugee women. Although kinship relations are dominant in the neighborhood relations among refugee women, neighboring relations as solidarity networks develop beyond kinship ties.

Interviewees stated that they use the streets around the house for recreational activities such as breathing and resting. These areas are used with neighbors relatives and children. They are also socializing areas for some women. One of the reasons why women use their door-fronts for socialization is related to the lack of open green space in the neighborhood. Fatma (non-refugee woman) stated that the use of the door-front is related to the fact that there is no other place to go in the neighborhood.

"We can only live our social life on our street. We had a park, and it is full of Syrians and Afghans, they are preventing us from using our park because they are stealing parts of the park." (Fatma)



Figure 5. 10 Two Women Sitting on the Door-front (Author's Personal Archive)

Cevher (refugee woman) explained one of the reasons for socializing activities such as drinking coffee and chatting with neighbors in the door-front as follows:

"For example, my neighbor's husband is at home, not working. He has two or three young boy. So, it's hard for me to get into it. Maybe they are not available. That's why I'm calling her to the door. We are sitting. A couple of hours. We're chatting. (Cevher)

Women socializing in door-fronts in the neighborhood also rearrange door-fronts and the streets around the house. They make the streets more comfortable for relaxing or socializing by laying carpets on their seats or seat cushions. For example, Fatma (non-refugee) expressed this arrangement as follows:

"We sit in front of the door until 1 o'clock, throwing crates and mats to sit. We make tea and coffee after the sun goes down." (Fatma)



Figure 5. 11 Women Sitting in a Door-Front with Neighbors (Author's Personal Archive)

In the neighborhood, door-fronts, especially in dead-end streets (as Figure 5.11), are also used by women in the late hours. Non-refugee women mostly stated that they felt safe in these areas. Since dead-end streets have only one entrance exit, they have a more closed-use feature to outside and “foreigners”.

5.3.3. Watch-wo-men of the Streets

I asked the women what they thought about the widespread use of door-fronts. Figure 5.12 shows the distribution of the answers given by women in the details of refugee and non-refugee women. Accordingly, the majority of women think that the widespread use of door-fronts by women in the neighborhood creates a safe environment in the neighborhood. There is no significant difference between the answers given by refugee and non-refugee women.

"Of course, it's safer. For example, if there is no one on the streets, I don't send my child to the grocery store. If a woman sits on the street, I say look, the woman is sitting, let's go and come." (Maya)

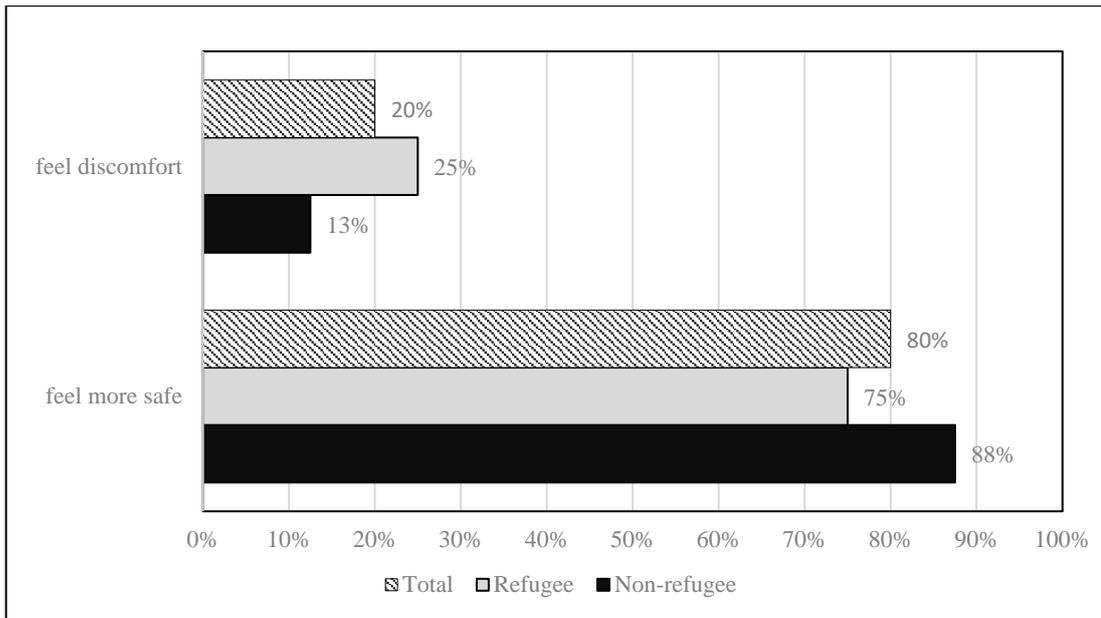


Figure 5. 12 "How does it make you feel to have women sitting in door-fronts?"

Nuray, one of the women interviewed, stated that the intense use of door-fronts by women in the neighborhood works like a surveillance mechanism.

"Everyone knows who is doing what women are like on the MOBESE camera. For example, did you leave the house? Everyone says Look out. Did you come back home? Someone says look how many hours left outside. It's like MOBESE cameras anyway. It doesn't bother me since I live independently. But it can do another. Because sometimes fights break out because of it. Someone says to you what about my dating time. The other says, you left, you didn't come. Who did come? What's going on with you? I mean like a MOBESE camera. You know, there's no need for a traffic officer here anyway. This is the biggest MOBESE (*pointing to her neighbor*). Here, she is looking behind the curtain. Harmless though." (Nuray)

Women who are uncomfortable with women sitting in door-fronts complain of constant surveillance. For this reason, they stated that they do not use the door-fronts. Havva (refugee woman), who was newly divorced from her husband, described her discomfort as follows:

"Because they interfere with everything in our neighborhood. Why did you leave? Why did you divorce? Why don't the kids come? Why are they leaving? Why did

they come? Why? Why? They interfere with everything. So I don't like anything like that. People have secrets after all. Also, psychologically, it makes me bad. I do not like." (Havva)

Hatice (refugee woman), who lives alone, also claimed that she did not like to sit in the door-front due to similar reasons of Havva.

"I don't like it, I don't like it. For example, if they have a balcony, let them sit on the balcony or sit outside in a cafe. I don't like in door-fronts at all. It's like everyone is following. Looking. That's why I don't like it." (Hatice)

Women's use door-fronts can turn into a surveillance mechanism in the neighborhood. This situation should be discussed in the context of de Certeau's definition of "neighborhood" (see. de Certeau, 2009). According to De Certeau, the situation that creates the rules and norms of the neighborhood occurs through the neighborhood's getting to know each other. Propriety to these rules can sometimes turn into a pressure mechanism. In the case of Havva and Hatice, the fact that they are both single makes sense at this point. Because the fact that they are single women has turned into a pressure mechanism with the curious eyes of the women.

5.4. Summary

This chapter details of refugee and non-refugee women's use of public space in their routines. The chapter discusses the urban public spaces women use into three categories: outside the neighborhood, open green spaces in the neighborhood, and door-fronts and dead-end streets in the neighborhood. For both groups of women, the open public spaces that are most prominently used in their everyday lives are the door-fronts. However, non-refugee women use their door-fronts more frequently than refugee women. On the other hand, more than non-refugee women, refugees use public spaces outside of their neighborhoods. Neither group of women spends much time in the neighborhood's public green spaces on a daily basis.

Unlike non-refugees, refugee women spend more time in urban public areas outside their neighborhoods such as Fuar and Konak Seaside. Because, while local

women feel safer in the neighborhood, refugee women feel safer outside the neighborhood. Another reason is that refugee women are required to perform more daily mandatory work as a result of their legal status.

The only open green space in the neighborhood is Agora Park. The majority of women claimed that, for a variety of reasons, they don't regularly use Agora Park. In general, women claimed that Agora Park's user profiles make them less likely to use it. The significant density of Afghan refugees in Agora Park is the primary demotivator for non-refugee women. On the other side, stigmatization by non-refugees in Agora Park is the main barrier for refugee women to their use it.

Door-fronts play a crucial role as open spaces in women's daily lives in deprived areas. For domestic works and neighborly interactions, women use door-fronts. While refugee women use their door-fronts for household tasks, they chose urban public spaces outside their neighborhood to socialize. On the other hand, local women use their door-fronts for both socialization and domestic work. In addition, more refugee women than non-refugee women report not using their door-fronts. The poor physical conditions of the home are a contributing factor in the chores women conduct on the streets. Women utilize their door-fronts when they don't have adequate space, such as balconies or gardens.

Additionally, door-fronts are where relationships between neighbors are formed. According to woman interviewees, door-fronts are used for relaxing activities like breathing and sleeping. These spaces are typically used for socializing with neighbors, relatives, and children. The absence of open green space in the neighborhood is one of the reasons why women use their door-fronts for recreational activities. Finally, there is a need to mention that for some women, using door-fronts by other women might develop into a surveillance mechanism in the neighborhood.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

In this chapter, I return to my initial questions about the tactics of women to deprived neighborhood characteristics. This chapter summarizes the findings presented in the previous chapters. It focuses on how women perceive their neighborhoods and how women's tactics differ based on their identity as refugees and non-refugee.

In deprived areas, low-income communities with high unemployment and poverty rates reside. Additionally, there is a lot of ethnic and racial diversity in those neighborhoods. Similar to the literature, poverty and unemployment in the research area are high in the neighborhood and has a diverse ethnic structure. The majority of residents in the area are immigrants. Most internal immigrants originated in eastern Turkish cities like Mardin and Diyarbakir. Also, there are Syrian, Afghan, and Iranian immigrants. While refugees mostly choose the neighborhood with the guidance of previous experience of their networks, settlement choices for non-refugees-especially for internal immigrants-are related to low-paid housing in the neighborhood.

Lack of and poor quality of green space, bad building quality, number of technical infrastructure issues identify deprived neighborhoods. Although the housing conditions of refugee women living in the neighborhood are unhealthier compared to non-refugees, both groups mostly live in low-quality buildings. Also, Sakarya and Yeni neighborhoods lack urban public services. The lack of green space, especially in the neighborhood, is an area that creates tension among women's groups. Encounters in Agora Park, the only open green space in the neighborhood, result in social stigmatization towards refugee groups.

In the neighborhood, social stigmatization proceeds in two layers. First, there is a stigma towards the neighborhood by those outside the neighborhood. Secondly, there is a stigma applied by non-refugees toward refugees. This situation negatively affects the use of public space by non-refugee women. Not speaking Arabic with her child to hide her refugee identity on the street or in the park is a tactic that a refugee woman has developed in this situation. In addition, the sense of belonging to the neighborhood is

higher among non-refugee women compared to refugees. However, both groups mostly want to move from the neighborhood. Especially recently, the policymakers' use of refugees as election propaganda has increased the desire to go to refugees.

Deprivation experiences and perceptions of women in the neighborhood affect woman's public use. Lack of green space in the neighborhood and poor house conditions push women to use their door-fronts for housework and socialization. In my research area, women use doorways and cul-de-sacs for domestic works such as laundry drying, carpet washing, and canning in partnership with neighbors. As of these actions, the private space identity of the area comes to the fore. On the other hand, these are also areas for women to socialize with neighbors, help and solidarity networks. With these characteristics of door-fronts, the identity of the publicity of the area develops. In this way, these spaces break the distinction between public and private spaces, in terms of women's tactics.

There are differences in the routines of refugee and non-refugee women using their door-fronts. Refugee women mostly use their door-fronts for housework, while non-refugees use it for socialization. Refugee women mostly prefer public spaces close to the neighborhood to socialize. One of the reasons for this was that they felt better with their anonymous identities when they were out of the neighborhood. Women's neighborhood experiences are not just perceptual. Also, their spatial practices are shaped in line with their perceptions. The fact that refugee women feel more insecure in the neighborhood compared to non-refugees prevents them from using their door-fronts for their socialization needs.

Considering the theoretical framework I used for the analysis of everyday life, it is clear that the women participants perceive the space in opposition to the conceived of the space and use in line with their needs through spatial practices. It can be easier to highlight the relation with urban planning when we approach space holistically through the women's perception of the neighborhood and using actions of door-fronts, dead-end streets in line with their daily needs as a spatial tactic. As a conceived space, the door-fronts where the house meets the street are public space. However, women use and customize these areas for domestic work in line with their needs. It is possible to deduce that the neighborhood is an undesigned space based on its lack of various urban public services. However, the fact that these neighborhoods are "abandoned to its fate" is also

related to the uneven distribution of capital in the city. Therefore, it is the product of certain political and economic strategies. With this point of view, it is possible to take deprivations of the neighborhood as a strategy. Besides, the use of door-fronts for the needs of women are lived spaces. In these spaces, the use value is prioritized. There are planning approaches such as tactical urbanism and pop-up urbanism in an effort to rationalize lived spaces. However, it is very important to evaluate these approaches critically and to consider the contradictions that may arise if they are used by capitalist developers.

Finally, this research dealt with women living in deprived neighborhoods from two groups: refugees and non-refugee. However, discussing these distinctions in detail on issues such as age, marital status, and employment status will enrich future research. Due to methodological limitations, this study could not evaluate detailed comparisons. However, in future studies, the framework of the research can be expanded by using qualitative and quantitative research techniques with a mixed method.

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APPENDIX A

IN-DEPTH INTERVIEW QUESTIONNAIRE

İZMİR YÜKSEK TEKNOLOJİ ENSTİTÜSÜ
Mülteci ve Yerel Kadınların Mahalledeki Gündelik Yaşamları
Mülakat Formu

(*“Italic” yazılanlar sadece mülteci kadınlara sorulacak sorulardır.*)

BÖLÜM 1: Bireysel Bilgiler

1. Yaş:
2. Medeni Durum:
3. Çocuğunuz var mı? Varsa yaşları?
4. Eğitim Durumunuz? (Okula gitmemiş/ Okur-Yazar/ İlkokul/ Lise/ Üniversite)
5. Gelir getiren bir işte çalışıyor musunuz?
6. Aileniz kaç kişi?
7. Evde kaç kişi yaşıyorsunuz?
8. Ailede çalışan var mı? Varsa kimler?

BÖLÜM 2: Ev Hayatı

9. Yaşadığınız ev hakkında biraz bilgi verebilir misiniz? (Eviniz ihtiyaçlarınızı karşılıyor mu? Neler eksik?)
10. Sizin ev işlerine yönelik sorumluluklarınız nelerdir? Ev işleri, çocuk yaşlı bakımı gibi işler için size yardımcı olan birileri var mı? (Eş, anne, kız kardeş, komşu ...)

BÖLÜM 3: Çalışma Hayatı (Eğer çalışıyorsa)

11. Çalışma hayatınız hakkında biraz bilgi verebilir misiniz? İş koşullarınız nasıl? (Çalışma yeriniz? İş nasıl buldunuz? Sosyal güvenceniz var mı? Haftanın kaç günü, günde ortalama kaç saat çalışıyorsunuz?)
12. İşinize nasıl gidiyorsunuz? (Yürüyerek/toplu taşıma/ özel araç)
13. İş bulma konusunda yaşadığınız zorluklar nelerdir? (Eğer çalışıyorsa) Ücretli bir işte çalışmak ister miydiniz? Çalışmamanızın önündeki engeller nedir? (Eğer çalışmıyorsa)
14. Çalışma ve ev hayatı arasında denge kurmakta zorlanıyor musunuz? (Evet ise zorlandığınız konuları açıklar mısınız? Bu zorlukları nasıl aşmaya çalışıyorsunuz?)

BÖLÜM 4: Mahalle Hayatı

15. Yaşadığınız mahalle hakkında biraz bilgi verebilir misiniz? (Yaşadığınız mahalle nasıl bir yerdir? Niçin bu mahallede yaşamayı tercih ediyorsunuz? Yaşadığınız mahalleden memnun musunuz?)
16. Mahalle ve kent merkezini kıyaslarsak kendinizi nerde daha güvende, rahat, özgür hissediyorsunuz? Neden?
17. Gelecek planlarınızda taşınmak var mı? (Ülke, şehir ya da mahalle değiştirmek)

4a) Mahalledeki Sosyal Etkileşim

18. Komşuluk ilişkileriniz nasıldır? Biraz bahsedebilir misiniz? (Mülteci/Türkiyeli komşularınız var mı?)
19. Günlük yaşamınızda bir sorunla karşılaştığınızda kimlerden yardım alıyorsunuz? Mahallenizde dayanışma nasıldır? (Sizce mahallede kadınlar arasında gündelik işlere yönelik bir dayanışma var mı?)
20. Komşularınızla beraber nerelerde bir araya geliyorsunuz? Neler yapıyorsunuz?
21. Sosyalleşme ihtiyacınızı nerelerde, nasıl giderirsiniz?

4b) Mekânsal Hareketlilik

22. Sıradan bir gününüzü anlatır mısınız? (Hafta içi- hafta sonu) (Ev dışındaki vakitlerinizde genelde nerede oluyorsunuz? (Gündüz ve akşam vakitlerinde))
23. Gündelik alışverişlerinizi nerelerden yapıyorsunuz?
24. Mahallenizde ev dışında kendinizi en çok nerelerde güvende hissediyorsunuz? Neden?
25. Mahallenizde geçmek istemediğiniz/tercih etmediğiniz sokaklar/yerler var mı? (Varsa nereler? neden?)
26. *Ülkenizde dışarı çıkma alışkanlıklarınız nasıldı? Türkiye'deki yaşamınıza kıyasla farklılıklar neler? Ne yönde değişti? Neden?*
27. *Diğer mültecilerle bir araya geldiğiniz yerler var mı? Özel günlerinizi kutladığınız belli yerler var mı? Varsa nereler?*
28. Balkonunuzu (eğer varsa), evinizin önünü/bahçesini, sokakları hangi işlevlerde kullanıyorsunuz? (Sosyalleşme, imece usulü ev işleri, üretim vb.)
29. Mahallede sizce kapı önlerinin, pencere kenarlarının kadınlar tarafından kullanılması yaygın mıdır? Eğer yaygınsa bu durum size kendinizi nasıl hissettirir? (güvenli / gözetlenme hissinden dolayı tedirgin?)
30. Mahallenizdeki evinize yakın olan park bahçeleri kullanma alışkanlıklarınız nasıldır? (Kullanıyorsanız nereler? Kimle gidiyorsunuz? Hangi amaçlarla kullanıyorsunuz? Hangi saatlerde kullanıyorsunuz?)
31. Sokaktayken ya da parktayken (eviniz dışındayken) kendinizi nasıl hissediyorsunuz? Bu alanları kullanırken nelere dikkat ediyorsunuz?
32. Park gibi açık yeşil alanları daha fazla kullanabilmek ister miydiniz? (Kullanmanızın önündeki engeller neler? Ne değişirse kullanım sıklığınız artar ve/veya kullanım saatleriniz genişler?)
33. İmkânınız olsa boş zamanlarınızda neler yapmak isterdiniz? Neden yapamıyorsunuz?

(36-39 arasındaki sorular yalnızca çocuk sahibi kadınlara sorulacaktır.)

34. Çocuğunuz Türkçeyi hangi seviyede konuşabiliyor? (Eğer iyi seviyedeyseniz sizin Türkiyeliler ile gündelik iletişimlerinize yardımcı oluyor mu?)
35. Çocuğunuzun mülteci/Türkiyeli arkadaşları var mı? Varsa aileleriyle tanışıyor musunuz? İlişkileriniz hangi yönde? (Misafirlik ilişkisi, ortak etkinlikler vs. var mı?)
36. Çocuğunuzla ev dışında nerelerde ne yaparak vakit geçiriyorsunuz?
37. Çocuk sahibi olmak mahalleye kurduğunuz ilişkiyi hangi yönde değiştirdi?

4c) Mahalleye Aidiyet

38. Sizce bir yere (kente) ait olmak ne demektir?
39. Kendinizi bu mahalleye ait hissediyor musunuz? Neden?
40. Kendinizi İzmirli olarak görüyor musunuz? Neden?

Bu çalışmaya katılarak araştırmamıza koyduğunuz katkı için teşekkür ederiz.

