Poor Women at the Grip of Neoliberal Urbanism[1]

Burcu Hatiboğlu Eren[*]
Hacettepe University

Abstract

Neoliberal ideology and its profit-driven policies have rapidly gained worldwide popularity in urbanization process since 1970s. Especially in the global south, it is argued that slum renewal projects—as an engine of neoliberal capital accumulation—were constructed through gendered discourses which also relied on women's capacity for the material and social welfare of the family and community. From this point, some feminists warn about the danger of producing neoconservative lifestyle for women via neoliberalism and its liberal gender mainstreaming policies which is called 'new patriarchal reforms'. Turkish urban areas are no exception of this process. Especially after new regulations for urban transformation and decentralisation in 2000s, the rent-seeking slum renewal projects in the city centers based on women participation for developing informal solidarity and sustainability of the development are co-implemented by TOKI (Housing Development Administration) and the municipalities. Thus, I argue that there is a strong connection between the 'gender specific characteristics of decentralization' and the slum renewal projects in which many paradoxes have arised between the policy discourse and the daily life of women within the context of women civil rights. As a matter of fact, daily life experiences of poor women in Ankara-Aktaş district have showed that urbanization process has been shaped by patriarchal assumptions about citizenship, identity and needs which is paradoxically deepening gender inequalities. In this study, the paradoxes between slum renewal policy discourses and transformation of women daily lives which make the process 'impossible' are discussed with respect to feminist ethnographic field study implemented in Ankara-Aktaş district (Altındağ) between January 2012-March 2013. Consequently, statements of poor women provide us significant information about paradoxical nature of neoliberal urbanization and the ideal urban structure based on gender equality.

Keywords: neoliberalism, urbanization, slum renewal, participation, poverty, security, daily life, women experiences, patriarchal relations, gender roles.

---

[*] Dr.Burcu Hatiboğlu Eren, Hacettepe University, Faculty of Economics and Administrative Sciences, Department of Social Work, Ankara-Turkey. E-mail: burcuhatiboglu@gmail.com.

Neoliberal Kentleşme Kıskacında Yoksul Kadınlar

Burcu Hatiboğlu Eren
Hacettepe Üniversitesi

Öz

Neoliberal ideoloji ve içerdiği kâr odaklı politikalar, 1970'lerden bu yana kentleşme süreçlerini belirlemeye başlamıştır. Bu çerçevede küresel güney olarak kabul edilen ülkelerde neoliberal sermaye birikiminin motoru olarak kent içi yoksul alanlara yönelen dönüşüm projeleri, aile ve topluluk refahı için vazgeçilmez olan kadın kapasitesine odaklanarak toplumsal cinsiyete dayalı bir söylemi temele almaktadır. Bu noktadan hareketle, kimi feministler, neoliberalizm ve temele aldığı ana akım toplumsal cinsiyet politikalarının, kadınlar için 'yeni ataerkil reformlar' olarak işleyerek muhafazakâr bir yaşam tarzı üretilebileceğine dikkat çekmektedir. Türkiye kentleri de bu süreçten bağımsız değildir. Özellikle 2000'lerde kentsel dönüşüm ve yerelleşmeyi temele alan yeni yasal düzenlemelerin ortaya çıkmasıyla, kent merkezlerindeki yoksul alanlara yönelen kâr odaklı kentleşme projeleri, TOKİ ve belediyeler işbirliğiyle, sürdürülebilir kalkınma ve informel dayanışmayı sağlamak amacıyla kadın katılımını temele alarak gerçekleştirilmektedir. Bu nedenle, ben 'yerelleşmenin toplumsal cinsiyete dayalı karakteri' ile yoksul alanlara yönelen kentsel dönüşüm projeleri arasında güçlü bir bağlantı olduğunu ancak bu bağlantının politik söylem ve kadınların gündelik yaşamı arasında kadınların yurttaşlık hakları açısından birçok çelişkiye neden olduğunu iddia ediyorum. Nitekim Ankara-Aktaş mahallesindeki yoksul kadınların gündelik yaşam deneyimleri de, kentleşme sürecinin söylemle çelişkili bir şekilde yurttaşlık, kimlik ve ihtiyaçlarla ilgili ataerkil varsayımlarla şekillendiğini ve toplumsal cinsiyet eşitsizliklerini derinleştirdiğini göstermektedir. Bu çalışmada, kent içi yoksul alanların dönüşümüne odaklanan politik söylem ile bu süreci 'imkânsız' kılan kadınların gündelik yaşamındaki dönüşüm arasındaki çelişkiler, Ocak 2012-Mart 2013 tarihleri arasında Ankara'nın Aktaş mahallesinde (Altındağ) feminist etnografiye dayalı alan araştırması sonuçlarına dayanarak tartışılmaktadır. Sonuç olarak, yoksul kadınların anlatımları, bize, neoliberal kentleşme sürecinin çelişkili doğasına ve toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliğini temele alan bir kent yapısının nasıl olması gerektiğine ilişkin önemli bilgiler vermektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: neoliberal kentleşme, kentsel dönüşüm, katılım, yoksulluk, güvenlik, kadın deneyimleri, ataerkil ilişkiler, toplumsal cinsiyet rolleri.

Introduction

Urbanization and its problem of poverty have been dealt in various dimensions of the prevalent ideologies/policies over the course of history. But after 1970's, neoliberal ideology and its profit-driven policies, which had been advocated in 1930s, have rapidly gained popularity with some differences in The Global North and The Global South. While slum renewal projects in The Global Nord have been implemented to make the city more economically attractive, it has aimed to develop 'cities without slum' in The Global South with the developmentalist discourse of UNHCS (2008). Mostly in The Global South, it is argued that slum renewal projects as an engine of neoliberal capital accumulation were constructed through gendered discourses that relied on women's capacity for the material and social welfare of the family and community, as both a development solution and as a benefit to the poor (Taher and Arefeen, 2014; Mukhiva, 2001; Rabenhorsst and Bean, 2011; Rashid, 2009). From this point, some feminists warn about the danger of oppressing poor women in various ways via developmental neoliberalism and its liberal gender mainstreaming policies which is called 'new patriarchal reforms' by Razavi and Hassim (2006: 30-39). In its focus on Mumbai slum-based renewal projects, Doshi (2012: 2)'s work shows how concepts of democratic citizenship and participation which is used in the politics of the neoliberal governance is shaped by class, ethno-religious, and gender inequalities. To further this argument, research on Bangalore, Mumbai and Chennai slums in India (De Wit and Berner, 2009: 943-944) has showed that it is hard to organize or join collective action by the poorest because of being divided by ethnicity, religion and gender in heterogeneous slums. Also in Puerto Rico (Arrigoitia, 2010), Brazil (Pritchett, 2011) and India (Kahuri, 2010 and Roy, 2009), the slum renewal projects are defined as an othering process of invisible and dependent people in slums by homogenizing discourses of gender, criminality and socio-economic deterioration.

Obviously, the literature on slum renewal in The Global South demonstrates how the spatial construction and context of such processes are both shaping and be shaped by socio-cultural and economy-political relationships and networks that produce gender identities. To make this connection clear, De Certeau's (1984: 117) term of 'theory of territorialization' that connects between the daily use of urban spaces and a sense of belonging as tactics for citizenship is useful. Secor (2004: 353) has also stated that 'tactics' -in de Certeau's terminology- could be seen as the means of the hegemonic notion of citizenship in which gendered identities, gendered roles and patriarchal powers become markers in negotiations and contestations over rights and formations of belonging in home and the city. For Fenster (2005: 223), Viki Bell (1999)'s definition of 'performativity and belonging' make the connection between 'private' and 'public' more clear for characterizing women everyday practices as an expression of their gendered roles and responsibilities within households. According to this definition, if

women are to fulfill basic social and familial duties in the private sphere, they must negotiate their 'public' citizenship so that they can do their shopping, take their children to the educational and health services, meet their basic survival needs etc. On the basis of these discussions, it is claimed that analyzing daily life of women offers broader understanding about how the boundaries between public and private spheres shape and are shaped by unequal patriarchal relations and gender roles. Within the focus on changing daily life of poor women in the process of slum renewal, the term of patriarchal relations refers to all unequal relations at home and in the urban spaces which prevent poor women from using family and public resources as equal citizens. Likewise, the term of gender roles refers to behavioral patterns of poor women which are culturally and socially expected and seen as exclusive norms at home and in the urban spaces.

Turkish urban areas are no exception of all these discussions, especially after new regulations for neoliberal urban transformation and decentralization process in 2000s. For example, The Law Concerning the Northern Entry to Ankara Urban Renewal Project (No: 5104/2004) and some changes in Mass Housing Law (No: 2985/2004), The Law of Greater City Municipalities (No: 5216/2004), The Law of Municipalities (No: 5272/2005), The law About the Rehabilitation of Historical and Cultural Property (No: 5366/2005) and The Law on the Regeneration of Areas under Disaster Risk (No: 6306/2012). With these regulations, on the one hand the rent-seeking projects for informal squatter settlements in slums in the city center are co-implemented by TOKI (Housing Development Administration) and the municipalities (Erman, 2010). Aktaş district, which is my area of research, is also one of the most popular research areas to understand informal housing and poverty in Ankara-Altındağ hill since the early Turkish Republican period. It is incorporated to the city center especially after the housing policies in 1930s as well as legalization of 'gecekondu' squatting in 1950s and 1960s (Ministry of Public Works and Housing, 1964a, 1964b, 1964c, 1964d, 1968; Kongar, 1974; Şenyapılı, 2004). In that respect, it is argued that Aktaş district has financially, socially and culturally marginalized from urban amenities until now and so it has ghetto features. Kongar (1974)'s research on Altındağ reveals that through the end of 1960s, 20.9% of the population in the district was skilled labor; 4.6% was semi-skilled labor; 12.7% was craftsman and peddler; 11.1% was employed as cleaner, cleaning lady, janitor, housekeeper, garbage man and cook. Studies conducted in the region by Ministry of Public Works and Housing (1964a, 1964b, 1964c, 1964d, 1968) has also showed that many districts in Altındağ hill are deprived of even basic infrastructure and urban facilities, and that, inhabitants of this region live in an unhealthy environment and bereft social security and education. In the light of such information, it is evident that the population in the region is marginalized from accommodation, employment, health, education, social services and social security areas that constitute social policy over the course of history. Hence, they went through a hypocritical integration with the city. Such superficial integration of the

region and city led to an alternation of poverty over housing rent that has been shaped by internal power relations among the poor in 1970s. In 1980s, with the September 12th military coup and the increasing pressure of neoliberal policies, the district was noted for crime and drugs, and was called as 'purlieu' and 'rookery' (i.e. Erman (2007)'s study in Hıdırlıktepe and Ersavaş (2009)'s study in Gültepe District). Today, although, such concepts are highly criticized by a number of urban studies for supporting the perception that the poor is undergoing a moral, structural and physical downfall (Erman, 2007; Uzunçarşılıoğlu-Baysal, 2010), they have constituted the neoliberal rational basis of the slum renewal project in Aktaş district. The negative image of Aktaş district is shaped by the neoliberal understanding of 'being dependent on social aids is being a burden to the state', which is quite common for poor women who is willfully deceiving and lying in order to receive social aids in the neoliberal period of 2000's. That is why the importance of women participation to ensure women civil rights in local government have started to discuss in the context of women capacity for developing informal solidarity and sustainability of the development (Yaraş, 2014: 102) which is also defined as 'gender specific characteristics of decentralization' by Alkan (2005). This emphasize the central role of informal institutions, such as family, religious organizations, community and kin-based relations, and of course, the role of women comes in to the neoliberal argument on assuring the welfare of citizens (Dedeoğlu, 2013: 9). For Buğra (2012), Turkish welfare system has always performed on family centered, paternalist and clientalistic practices, but it has changed in new forms of conservatism through neoliberal reforms. This new form of Turkish welfare system has served to reinforce the position of women as care providers and poverty eradicators. So, the role of women in social aid programs for reducing poverty has long been recognized as vital approach to household welfare and this is almost the same in Aktaş slum renewal project.

In that respect, Aktaş district slum renewal project envisages a brand new life especially for poor women claiming to prioritize civil rights through reducing poverty, providing security and encouraging participation. Based on the protocol between Altındağ Municipality and TOKI dated 14.06.2005, and in line with the 'Altındağ Municipality Strategic Plan for 2006 – 2009' approved with the decision dated 07/08/2006 and numbered 598 (2006: 5); Aktaş district was declared to be a 'transformation site' in order to 'resolve zoning problems of Altındağ, and tackle with illegal and shanty housing to create a livable environment', and to provide 'better' and 'more secure' life to the inhabitants. Accordingly, it is stated that the project will ensure 'infrastructure and superstructure works' (2nd strategic objective), and 'mitigate poverty and provide efficient social protection for the people and groups in need [like poor women who are the majority of welfare recipients]'(7th strategic objective). Additionally, the discourse used by the mayor has also addressed poor women more than men as the most disadvantageous group, claiming to supply 'more civilized Altındağ with its

social facilities on education, health and recreation', 'more secure', 'clean' and 'respectful life' 'without violence' (Haberankara Newspaper Interview with Mayor of Altındağ Municipality dated 20.11.2013).

These national policy discourses on slum renewal and the discourse of mayor require handling poor women, initially, in the frame of unjust patriarchal relationships they are engaged in, or gender roles and responsibilities. As a matter of fact, focusing on daily life experiences of poor women and analyzing policy discourses about slum renewal have a potential to understand how slum renewal projects affects women daily life and what kind of paradoxes about citizenship, identity and needs which are deepening gender inequalities in this transformation process. Because, as stated by Özkaleli (2015: 93-95), women citizenship in Turkey has constructed through the interaction of multiple identities, roles and multidimensional individual experiences which are shaped by the structural and political intersectionality. Thus, this study argues that, in the context of intersectional civil rights of women, there is a strong connection between the 'gender specific characteristics of decentralization' and the slum renewal projects in which many paradoxes have emerged between the policy discourse and the daily life of women.

Objective and Methodology of the Research

This research aims to discover paradoxes of transforming process in daily life of women through slum renewal project in Aktaş district with respect to the links between such an experience and social policy discourse. A qualitative design based on feminist ethnography is employed in this study to understand the experiences of women and the policy discourses about slum renewal within the concepts of participation, poverty reduction and security. In that regard, in-depth interviews, participatory observations and the document analysis are used as research tools. The study has focused on experiences of 32 women who have been living in the Aktaş district and receiving social aids before the implementation of Aktaş slum renewal project and who are beneficiaries for TOKİ housing. All participants have received food and coal/heating aids from the municipality and SASF (Social Assistance and Solidarity Foundation). As well as some have received aids in cash such as Conditioned Education Support and Widow Support which are maximum 250TL[2].

Among the participants, only one woman receives 765 TL as home care aid, for her disabled brother's care. That is, the participants are poor women who cannot survive without social aids and whose husbands are working informally. 14 of these women live in TOKI residences and 17 of them live in 'gecekondu' squats/shanty houses. Besides, a personal experience of a woman who was kicked out from TOKI residences, as to failing to pay debts, is also included. Because of the differences among their experiences, some features of poor women such as being single over the age of 18; having the youngest child

preschooler or at school age; and having grandchildren are taken into account. Detailed information about socio-demographic characteristics of the participants, whose stories have been analyzed in the scope of this study, is provided in Annex 1. Information gathered via in-depth interviews, observations and documents has been analyzed with NVIVO qualitative research analysis program. The findings are discussed within three aims of Aktaş slum renewal project about encouraging participation, reducing poverty, ensuring security with respect to the influence on daily life of poor women.

Intersectional Displacement and Discrimination in the 'Participatory Slum Renewal'

Within the participatory discourses in policy framework on slum renewal in Aktaş district, it was announced that everyone living in the district and owning 150 m² lands are assumed to be right holders for TOKI housing without any further payment. Thus, right holders owning less land has also been placed in TOKI houses, being in debt to Altındağ Municipality for 10-years, with a fixed term enterer's monthly payment of 150TL. According to the 73rd article of Law of Municipality dated 2005 and numbered 5393, expropriated price is calculated for lands over 100 m² and in line with the age of the building on land. In the policy document, it has also been stated that the basic responsibility of the municipality is to sign contracts with right holders to resolve their problems, meeting their needs and developing infrastructure services for them as a necessity of participatory process. From this point, signing a contract has been mostly seen as an important indicator for participatory slum renewal projects in The Global South and in Turkey. But there are also many discussions about its sustainability and effectiveness with respect to ethnographic field studies most of which reveal the opportunity for discrimination and displacement based more on race, ethnicity and social class as the hidden side of participation discourse of urban structuring (i.e. Uzun, 2003; Şen, 2006; Sakızoğlu, 2007; Güzey, 2009; Uzunçarsılıoğlu-Baysal, 2010; Erman, 2010's studies in Turkey and Smith, 1996; Berger, 2006; Rashid, 2009; Gruffydd Jones, 2012; Nyametso, 2012; Taher and Arefeen, 2014's studies in the Global South).

Similar situation is seen in Aktaş district. Because of the land structure of Aktaş district where the land ownerships are irregular, adjacent, sharing and smaller than 100 m², being right holders hasn't been enough to be placed in TOKI houses for the poor who have being survived with social aids until now. Moreover, the majority of them are forced to participate in the slum renewal process without signing a contract and without any housing/rent support which are identified in the final policy documents on slum renewal. Because of the conflicting policy documents, if they benefit housing loan support provided by municipality within the context of the Anti-squat Law dated 1966 and numbered 775, they are not entitled to receive for housing/rent supports identified in the Law of Municipality dated 2005. Without any housing/rent

support, the majority of the poor in Aktaş district are forced to move to any other area they can afford. Therefore many women are identified TOKİ houses as 'impossible homes to stay' and 'homes of unfair indebtedness' in conjunction with their class situation. So, in contrast to the discourse of the policy documents, participation of the poor to the slum renewal project in Aktaş district was experienced within discrimination and displacement just like in any other city of Turkey and in the Global South. When considering poor women experiences, it has been found that poor women experience slum renewal process within some interrelated paradoxes that are consisted of the intersectional pressure and shaped by unequal patriarchal relationships and gender roles. These paradoxes between slum renewal policy discourse and women's daily lives which make the TOKİ houses 'impossible' show us that discourses about participation in slum renewal projects are gender-blinded and unrealistic.

Some of these gendered paradoxes are arisen from the paternalist nature of the relationship between the poor women and the state/municipality based on social aids. As stated earlier, Turkish family oriented welfare system serve to the poor women as caregivers of their families and communities. So, most of the social assistances are designed for mothers to meet the needs of their children, elderly, disabled and other members of the family. Because of the dependency on social aids, relationship with the municipality plays a central role in the daily life of poor women living in Aktaş district. They usually go there to find cloths, foods, heating materials, furniture or home equipment, discover new educational opportunities for their children, employment opportunities for their husbands and catch up with any kind of social aids for their family members. Thus, municipality is a space in which they learn how to wear, behave, speak and trust and knowledge of their daily life is constructed. Shaped by the relationship with the municipality on social aids, most of the poor women have stated that they 'have to trust in municipality' to participate in the slum renewal process in which the dominant discourse often led to poor women to decide as a responsible person of their 'wrecked houses' in 'ruins'. The discourse is based on traditional roles of women who are responsible for the home and it is supported by the paternalist dependency on municipality. But in reality, poor women usually don't have any power to decide about their private or public spaces. As stated by Sardunya, inhabiting her shanty house with her school-aged children, the term 'responsibility' is referred only to the responsibility for problems: 'It has been our culture that everything about houses is done by women, pretending to be who couldn't do anything. Because all responsibilities about our home are on our shoulder.' Thus, women often blame themselves and are blamed by their families as to 'trusting in the visiting officials' and 'signing contracts illiterately' in their constrained relationships with municipality or as to the problems faced in settling in TOKI houses. With regard to their statements, it is evident that sudden demolitions, failing to reach reliable information during long re-settling processes, and lack of municipality support places pressure and stress

on poor women because of the patriarchal relations in family and community. Hence, poor women go through several difficulties in their expected gender roles for finding a house, moving to the new house, settling in TOKI houses and also finding supports to survive. Menekşe, living in TOKI house with her school-aged children, clearly explains this process within its difficulties below:

> We didn't have any power to claim our rights materially and morally at that time. We didn't know anything and have anybody who could lead us and give information. So many people had believed in the popular wisdom of 'the sword of the state has no scabbard', so, we didn't do anything ...[]... After the word of Municipality, everybody took alarm to find new house and move. Some of the people who didn't have a job and any income and who were the most disadvantaged, had to give 100-150 liras for rent. We had also been living in a rented house for more than 2,5 years. It was said that we would take delivery of the house in 1,5 years, but we didn't. This process made us more stressful and we were worried about rumors. We hadn't been informed officially about how long it takes and how much we need to pay. This uncertainty caused psychological destruction for us. If I had been informed or signed the contract, it wouldn't have been stressful.

Some other paradoxes are related to patriarchal property ownership that create propertylessness risk for single, widowed, divorced, and elderly women in relation to their ethnicity. It has referred to discussions about structural intersectuality that reflects the experiences of discrimination for women of different legal and social status and political intersectuality that refers to being situated within at least two subordinated groups (Özkaleli, 2015: 94). In this regard, property ownership in Aktaş district has often interrupted the participation of women with inadequate property to slum renewal project from the very beginning. Because, often men being the title holder for property ownership led to a number of poor women become articulated in and participate over their families to the slum renewal. So, one of the most disadvantaged group in the participation to the neoliberal urbanization process are elderly, single, widowed or divorced poor women who do not have a man to deal with property ownership certificate processes. For example, a statement of Lale, who is living in her new TOKI house with her school-aged children, has highlighted that, being 'left without a man', divorced or widowed may be forced to share property ownership by relatives:

> My grandmother was the title holder for our house. Previously she transferred the rights to my mother, showing it as a sale on paper. She was a dialysis patient, which is why my mother is the title holder; she did it to secure my mother in case something happens to her. But my mother has 4 brothers; they claim rights on the house and want to sue us. You know, it was previously a shanty house but now it is a flat. Thanks to my grandmother, on paper she sold the house to my mother. But still we are not sure what may happen; they are on our back.

Additionally, patriarchal ownership relations that led to discrimination and pressure on poor women are also formed by spatial segregation of ethnic groups. For instance, in their own words, the problems faced by Gelincik's mother on the local administration level during their transition to TOKI houses; and the exclusion of and pressure put on Lale by her neighbours while she was living in her shanty house, are presented below:

> Some people living on the front facade asserted that our family was too crowded, therefore we should not get a flat. They said people with 9 kids should not be given a flat …[]… they said Kurdish people should not be given a flat. You know, my father is a quiet person. It is my mother who struggled for everything. We owe her everything we have now (Gelincik, a young women inhabiting TOKI houses).

> They did their best to make us leave here. They do not embrace Turks; my grandmother was semi-Kurdish that is why they embraced my father to a certain extent; but there is no way they embrace us. They wanted all inhabitants be Kurdish, therefore they forced us to leave …[]… They pulled a gun on me and my child; many times they pulled a gun on us on the street because I refused them. Had I showed them my womenhood, they would have treated us well.That is why they badgered us to death. Withal, they pushed our buttons, gossiping and everything etc. (Lale, a divorcee inhabiting TOKI houses).

So, it is hard to say that the discourse about participation gives women their citizenship rights and a sense of belonging at home and in the city, as it is discussed by Fenster (2005), in the slum renewal process of Aktaş district. Clearly, it has just opened the way to enter the slum area and has positioned poor women in the middle of the gendered paradoxes which make TOKİ houses impossible and make their daily life more irrational and oppressive.

Incresing Homelesness and 'Fear of not Feeding Child' when 'Fighting Against Poverty'

Discursively, poverty reduction is the basic aim of the slum renewal projects in the inner city of poor areas, like in Aktaş district. According to the 7th strategic objective of the Altındağ Municipality Strategic Plan (2006), it is stated that the project will ensure 'mitigate poverty and provide efficient social protection for people and groups in need'. But in reality, there hasn't been provided any social support for the poor in this process and many statements of poor women reveal that the 'protected' living conditions suggested by slum renewal project are experienced as a 'increasing poverty'. This identification reflects some gendered paradoxes between policy discourses and changing daily life of poor women in which most of them have lost their sense of belonging and meaningful social relationships for fulfilling their gender responsibilities for caring and fighting against poverty. For example before slum renewal project, poor women living in Aktaş district have faced much more problems in their daily lives because of their gender

roles and responsibilities of cleaning, organizing and caring in their unqualified and unsecured conditions of the shanty houses than the TOKİ houses. That is the gendered reality of poverty and shanty houses also used by the discourses of municipality to rationalize slum renewal as a means for civilization. But after slum renewal project, 'doorstep' as a means of interim space where poor women watch over their children, elderly and disabled household members, do housework and find solutions about their poverty problems together with their neighbors has become obsolete due to 'matter of honour'. With respect to mobilization and solidarity capacity by social division, which is highlighted as an important dimension of civil rights by Young (1998), this situation have led to poor women lose their meaningful social relationships in their fighting against poverty and oppressive patriarchal relations. In that regard, starting with slum renewal project, Aktaş district is perceived as a living space with lessened sense of belonging and increased poverty and insecurity for poor women living either in TOKI houses or in shanty houses. So, most of the poor women have identified their early living environments as an affordable, suitable and fertile spaces for caring, feeding and heating of their children, elderly and disabled household members and their new living environments as the 'fear of homelessness' or the 'fear of not feeding child' in which they have to struggle with the impeding patriarchal relations to employ.

In that regard, after Aktaş slum renewal project, living in shanty houses for many women has started to mean to a low social status equal to 'homelessness', which also implies 'fear' expressed as 'living like a tenant', and so, 'having to get employed at the risk of sexist violence for feeding their child'. For instance, Yasemin and Hanımeli who are still inhabiting in shanty houses with their kids after the slum renewal project have emphasized the importance of getting employed for women and fear of being exposed to violence at home or in the community, in their own words:

> They will tear it down, there is nothing we can do. We are living among dirt, just with a single coat of whitewash. Sometimes we cannot even manage to do it. They may tear it down at any moment. We are right holders but we live like tenants …[]… Except for drug dealers and people who cannot afford, no one would not live here; we are the ones who chose to stay and face difficulties …[]… We have to work to survive and feed our children but I don't know how, it is so risky (Yasemin, who is living in her shanty house with her school-aged children).

> I want to find a job, but there are no vacancies (job openings). I am not sure whether my husband would approve it. Here everything is going down the hill; I don't know what may happen to us unless we find job. We have no peace anymore (Hanımeli, who is still inhabiting in her shanty house with preschoolers).

Further, poor women inhabiting in TOKI houses have linked with the stress & fear for the inability to pay their house loans, and fulfill the needs of encumbrances with regard to their gender roles. For the fear of homelessness,

to pay TOKI debts, women either change their gold coins, therefore becoming propertyless; or they put much effort in borrowing or earning money, willing to work; or tighten their belts, cutting from food etc. As to gender roles, the 'fear' of inability to pay the housing loan leads to stress, disturbed household peace, desperation, and unhealthiness for women, as another dimension of increasing poverty. For instance, depressed of questioning gender based risks for her school-age daughters, since they moved to TOKI houses, Akasya describes her desperation accordingly:

> It's no good. Recently a friend mentioned a Club; told me to visit it, for my psychology is disturbed. I always consider what will happen to us; we are not able to pay; are they going to kick us out for that? I am also worried for the girls, anything may happen to them; poverty may lead to anything. I am more worried for my eldest daughter ...[]... You cannot manage earn a living for your children, you cannot manage to pay your debts... Well, it is much bigger in here, but I would prefer to meet my children's requests.

Also, in line with the increasing poverty in her neighborhood with the ongoing slum renewal project, Sıklamen articulates the necessity for her to get employed to meet her school-age children's needs and to pay TOKI house loans. Thus, she asserts that men have to approve women employment, further highlighting the need to do something about it, in her words:

> Women are not unable to work, however, it is men that claims this inability. For instance, my brother in law was sick, therefore his wife got employed. Now, he wants her to quit her job, but she doesn't want to: she is earning a living. I wish there was something to do about the spouses who don't let their wives work...

Therefore, with the increasing poverty, patriarchal norms put pressure on the responsibilities of women and stand as a barrier along pressure on women employment, which is the 'final resort' to overcome the fear of homelessness. That is, statements of poor women not only point to the requirement to ensure favorable employment conditions for women in the slum renewal process, but also underlines the need to consider gender based risks in 'women employment'. Thus, the majority of poor women have feeling of belonging neither in TOKI houses nor in their shanty houses. They want their houses to be physically in 'good' shape, clean and easy to maintain, as well as being 'affordable' and able to provide the necessary nutrition for their children and household members. A peaceful home and meeting children's needs is everything to them; any house failing to provide peace and abundance is 'inappropriate' for them. Evidently, experiences of poor women have showed that Altındağ Municipality must pay regard to transform patriarchal relationships and gender roles causing inequality to fulfill the purpose of fighting against poverty.

Increasing Conservatism and Patriarchal Pressure on Women When Making The Slum 'More Secure'

Slums have been always seen as an insecure and dangerous place for women because of its drug dealers, violent fights, drug addicts, local gangs and high incidence of violence against women. So, the discourses of slum renewals have mostly focused on making the slum more secure for women, just like in the slum renewal project in Aktaş district. But, when considering daily life experiences of poor women, it has been found that daily living spaces participated by women are defined by restricted activities shaped by more oppressive patriarchal relationships and conservative rules.

For example, most of the poor women living in Aktaş district have stressed that security issues are mostly related to increasing fear of using public spaces in which some paradoxes arisen between the discourses of slum renewal project and invisible interconnection of private-public daily life of poor women. The reasons of the fear is listed in shanty houses as, insecure nature of streets, lack of street lighting; drug use and distribution activities of men; blank and real gunshots; fast running cars; and loss of reliable neighborhood relations. In TOKI houses, the fear stems from possible dangerous people and situations inside the apartment blocks due to dysfunctional front doors, elevators and automated door bells; and unreliable neighborhood relations. In sum, to lose reliable social relationships after the slum renewal project has paved the way for restricting to use public space gained through motherhood and care responsibilities in private space. In that regard, taking the children from and to school and meeting their needs almost become the only public space participation activity for poor women after the slum renewal project. Therefore, restricted public space use of poor women become more linked with a number of religious and conservative solidarity foundations, as to inadequate social services provided in and around schools. Accordingly, Karanfil inhabiting in TOKI houses expresses the changed patriarchal cultural agreement in the neighbourhood is shaped by motherhood and age based hierarchy, in her own words:

> Here, our customs are different. A newly wed women have no rights in her new home. After having a baby, she has a little bit of influence; going to school, handling aids, goes out... But [after the slum renewal], we couldn't go out anymore, even I have three children. I lose my neighbors, I have to go shopping or school alone...I don't have nobody. Even going to the school is not secure if you are alone. So my husband does if it is needed to go to school or do shopping. We are all sitting at home now. Our life is full of fear at home or outside. We are all afraid of people around us ...[but]... Some women could attend camp meetings in their house, I also want to attend. I think my husband can give me his permission to attend. Because they are all women who are praying together.

Based on the statement of Karanfil, it has claimed that the slum renewal project in Aktaş district have led the more conservative use of private and public spaces because of the constant fear at home and in the city and this situation initially leads to gender based exclusion of the right to the city. Likewise, Yuval-Davis (2000) highlights 'restrictive rules' that is elderly men and women restraining the spatial activity of people unlike them with respect to appearance or certain customs/behavioral patterns and codes. Therefore, such type of exclusion defined as gender based exclusion by Fenster (2005: 226) may depend on factors such as security problems. As similarly experienced in Aktaş district, this situation reveals that women that fall outside the female identity approved by conservative and patriarchal norms shall be supported more, so as to overcome various restrictions in using public space.

In that respect, many women abstain from using public space except for patriarchal and conservative norms, to preserve the household peace. As stated by Reyhan who is living in her shanty house with a preschooler and her mother-in-law, the link between unjust patriarchal relationships with her fear in public and private spaces are seen easily in her words: 'I should not spend much time outside; people would talk, and our household peace would be disturbed'. This situation has also revealed that the risk of violence against women that is stated as disturbed peace in private space shall be reckoned, in the scope of slum renewal project in Aktaş district. For instance, Sıklamen, having school-aged children and asserting her disturbed household peace with increasing financial restrains with the transition to TOKİ houses, has stated that violence against women, the 'mindset' that overrules women rights, and learned helplessness are normalized:

> No one should know; what may happen if people start saying I haven't been a proper wife... This is the prevalent mindset among women. ...[]... For instance, this is also related to my mother. My father beat the hell out of my mother; broke her bones to the feet. Still, my mother dresses him every day, cuts and files his finger nails ...[]... I took example of my mother; never have I treated my husband wrong, but the payments...

Additionally, unchanging gender responsibilities of poor women in the slum renewal process have also created paradox in their daily lives in which they experience unchanged fear at home because of household members' security. For instance, Nazende and Nergis shares the same fear: Nazende living with a preschooler in her shanty house states her fear as 'she goes to school but I never know whether she is coming back or not; and Nergis living in TOKİ houses with grandchildren goes through the same fear while expecting her son back from work:

> You are inside the house here. Back there many fights happened. Sure there are still fights happening. Recently, I was expecting my son from work, so I was going outside, to the balcony. When I was in the kitchen I heard the gunshots. People start running here and there. I was worried for my son. So, nothing has changed.

That is, the fear that generates insecurity remains the same; and poor women feel a sense of belonging neither in public nor in private spaces. From this point of view, security issues can be dealt as exclusion of women from using public space, participation to political and decision processes, and enjoying social services provided in urban space. That is exactly why security issues experienced by poor women inhabiting Aktaş district is a significant feminist policy issues to resolve the paradoxes between the discourses and the daily life of poor women and to develop of social justice in the scope of neoliberal urbanization projects.

Conclusion

Ultimately, daily life experiences of poor women in Ankara-Aktaş district shows us that urbanization process has been shaped by patriarchal assumptions about citizenship, identity and needs which are paradoxically deepening gender inequalities. In that regard, it should be noted that, unless slum renewal projects in inner city poor areas like Aktaş district pay attention to inequalities experienced by poor women, they would add up to the pressure on poor women. Because poverty and security issues are usually integrated with unjust conservative and patriarchal relationships in the poor areas like Aktaş district. This situation has revealed that liberation potential over secure housing rights of poor women introduced with gender-blind urbanization projects is interrupted. It has also pointed out paradoxical nature of ensuring the link between the aims of the slum renewal about encouraging participation, reducing poverty, ensuring security and daily life of poor women with respect to their civil rights. In conclusion, however these results are based on the characteristics of Aktaş district, it is needed to assume a framework against gendered pressure and class discrimination with highlighting empowerment and advocacy to resolve the paradoxes of slum renewal projects.

Notes

[1]This study is based on the field research of the author's PhD dissertation thesis, dated 2014, and titled "'TOKİ' as 'Imposible Civilisation' for Poor Women with Dreams of 'Warm Home' and 'Free City'; Feminist Social Work and Transformation of Poor Inner City Areas: Sample of Aktaş district in Ankara". The thesis is supported financially by H.Ü. Scientific Research Agency.

[2] All social aids are received by the participants who fit the 'neediness criteria' defined within The Law of Municipality dated 2005 and numbered 5393, and The Law of Encouraging Social Assistance and Solidarity dated 1986 and numbered 3294.

References

Alkan A. (2005). *Yerel Yönetimler ve Cinsiyet: Kadınların Kentte Görünmez Varlığı*. Ankara: Dipnot yayınları.

Altındağ Municipality (2006). Altındağ Municipality 2006 – 2009 Strategic Plan.

Arrigoitia M.F. (2010). Constructing 'the Other', Practicing Resistance: Public Housing and Community Politics in Puerto Rico. Internet adress: http://etheses.lse.ac.uk/335/1/Fern%C3%A1ndez%20Arrigoitia%20Constructing%20the%20other%20(thesis).pdf. Access: 5.4.2015.

Berger T. (2006). Slum Areas and Insecure Tenure in Urban Sub-Saharan Africa: A conceptual Rewiev of African Best Practices. Unpublished Master Thesis Uppsala University, Uppsala.

Buğra A. (2012). The Changing Welfare Regime of Turkey: Neoliberalism, Cultural Conservatism and Social Solidarity Redefined. In Dedeoğlu S. & Elveren A.Y. (Eds.), *Gender and Society in Turkey: The Impact of Neoliberal Policies, Political Islam and EU Accession* (1. Edition). Newyork: I.B. Tauris: 15-31.

De Certeau M. (1984). The Practice of Every Day Life (Trans: Rendall S.) London: University of California Press. Internet adress: http://faculty.georgetown.edu/irvinem/theory/DeCerteau-Practice-Excerpts.pdf. Access: 15.5.2015.

Dedeoğlu S. (2013). Veiled Europeanisation of Welfare State in Turkey: Gender and Social Policy in 2000's. *Women's Studies International Forum*, 41: 7-13.

De Wit J. & Berner E. (2009). Progressive Patronage? Municipalities, NGOs, CBOs and the Limits to Slum Dwellers' Empowerment. *Development and Change,* 40(5): 927–947.

Doshi S. (2012). Politics of Persuation: Gendered Slum Citizenship in Neoliberal Mumbai. In Desai R. & Sanyal R. (Eds.), *Urbanizing Citizenship: Contested Places in Indian Cities*. India: SAGE Publications: 83-108.

Erman T. (2007). Çandarlı-Hıdırlıktepe (Altındağ, Ankara) Örneği Üzerin den Suç ve Mekân İlişkisi ve Mahalleli Deneyimleri: Dosya 06. *TMMOB Mimarlar Odası Ankara Şubesi Bülteni*, 55: 30-34.

Erman T. (2010). Kent ve Gecekondu. In Uğurlu Ö., Pınarcıoğlu N.Ş., Kanbak A. & Şiriner M. (Eds.), *Türkiye Perspektifinden Kent Sosyolojisi Çalışmaları*. İstanbul: Örgün Yayınevi: 227-266.

Ersavaş Ö. (2009). Gecekondu Alanlarının Dönüşümü: Ankara Gültepe Mahallesi Örneği. Unpublished Master Thesis. Ankara: Ankara University.

Fenster T. (2005). The Right to the Gendered City: Different Formations of Belonging in Everyday Life. *Journal of Gendered Studies*, 14(3): 217-231.

Gruffydd Jones, B. (2012). "Bankable Slums": The Global Politics of Slum Upgrading. *Third World Quarterly*, 33 (5): 769-789.

Güzey Ö. (2009). Urban Regeneration and Increased Competitive Power: Ankara in an Era of Globalisation. *Cities*, 26: 27-37.

Haberankara Newspaper (2013). Interview with Mayor of Altındağ Municipality (2013, 20 November). Internet adress: http://www.haber-ankara.com/haber /2193/veysel-tiryaki-altindagin-tamami-en-buyuk-projem.html. Access: 2.5. 2015.

Kahuri S.K. (2010). Engendered Land Administration System–Mysore Slum Upgrading. Unpublished Master Thesis, International Institute for Geo-Information Science and Earth Observation Enschede, The Netherlands.

Kongar E. (1974). Altındağ'da Kentle Bütünleşme. *Amme İdaresi Dergisi*, 6(3): 59-84.

Ministry of Public Works and Housing (İmar ve İskân Bakanlığı) (1964a). Ankara-Gülveren Gecekondu Araştırması. Gecekondu Ön Çalışmaları 2, Ankara: Mesken Genel Müdürlüğü Araştırma Dairesi.

Ministry of Public Works and Housing (İmar ve İskân Bakanlığı) (1964b). Ankara-Çinçin Bağları Gecekondu Araştırması. Gecekondu Ön Çalışmaları 3, Ankara: Mesken Genel Müdürlüğü Araştırma Dairesi.

Ministry of Public Works and Housing (İmar ve İskân Bakanlığı) (1964c). Ankara-Topraklık Gecekondu Araştırması. Gecekondu Ön Çalışmaları 4, Ankara: Mesken Genel Müdürlüğü Araştırma Dairesi.

Ministry of Public Works and Housing (İmar ve İskân Bakanlığı) (1964d). Ankara-Gülveren- Çinçin Bağları ve Topraklık Gecekonduları. Gecekondu Ön Çalışmaları 5, Ankara: Mesken Genel Müdürlüğü Araştırma Dairesi.

Ministry of Public Works and Housing (İmar ve İskân Bakanlığı) (1968). Gecekondular ve Gecekondu Bölgelerinin Sosyo-Kültürel Özellikleri. Ankara: Mesken Genel Müdürlüğü Araştırma Dairesi.

Mukhiva V. (2001). Enabling Slum Redevelopment in Mumbai: Policy Paradox in Practice. *Housing Studies*, 16(6): 791-806.

Nyametso K. (2012). Resetlement of Slum Dwellers, Land Tenure Security and Improved Housing, Living and Environmental Conditions at Madina Estate: Accra, Ghana. *Urban Forum*, 23: 343-365.

Özkaleli U. (2015). State of the State in their Minds: Intersectional Framework for Women's Citizenship in Turkey. *Women's Studies International Forum*, 48: 93-102.

Pritchett R. (2011). Land Titling as Women's Empowerment: Critical Observations from Recife Brazil. Unpublished Master Thesis of Urban Planning in Urban Planning in the Graduate College of the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, Illinois.

Rabenhorsst C.S. & Bean A. (2011). Gender and Property Rights: A Critical Issue in Urban Economic Development. Washington: The International Housing Coalition and the Urban Institute Report. Internet adress: http://www.urban.org/uploadedpdf/412387-gender-and-property-ights.pdf. Access: 1.5.2015.

Rashid S.F. (2009). Strategies to Reduce Exclusion Among Populations Living in Urban Slum Settlements in Bangladesh. *Journal of Health, Population and Nutrition*, 27(4): 574-586.

Razavii S. & Hassim S. (2006). Gender and Social Policy in a Global Context Uncovering the Gendered Structure of 'the Social'. In Razavii S. & Hassim S. (Eds.), *Gender and Social Policy in a Global Context Uncovering the Gendered Structure of 'the Social'*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan: 1-43.

Roy A. (2009). Civic governmentality: the politics of inclusion in Beirut and Mumbai. *Antipode*, 41(1): 159-179.

Sakızlıoğlu N.B. (2007). Impacts of Urban Renewal Policies: The Case of Tarlabaşı-İstanbul. Unpublished Master Thesis, Ankara: METU.

Secor A. (2004). 'There is an İstanbul that Belongs to Me': Citizenship, Space, and Identity in the City. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 94(2): 352–368.

Smith N. (1996). *The New Urban Frontier: Gentrification and The Revanchist City*. London: Routledge.

Şen B. (2006). Kentsel Gerilemeyi Aşmada Çelişkili Bir Süreç Olarak Soylulaştırma: Galata Örneği. Unpublished PhD Thesis, Mimar Sinan Fine Arts University, İstanbul.

Şenyapılı T. (2004). *"Baraka"dan "Gecekondu"ya - Ankara'da Kentsel Mekânın Dönüşümü: 1923-1960*. İstanbul: İletişim yayınları.

Taher M.T. & Arefeen İ. (2014). Transformation of Slum and Squatter Settlements: A Way of Sustainable Living in Context of 21st Century Cities. *American Journal of Civil Engineering and Architecture*, 2(2): 70-76.

UNCHS (2008). Local Finans Facilities: What They Are, Why They Are Important and How They Work, Slum Upgrading Facility. Working Paper 8, Nairobi: United Nations Human Settlements.

Uzun N.C. (2003). The Impact of Urban Renewal and Gentrification on Urban Fabric: Three Cases in Turkey. *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie,* 34(3): 363-375.

Uzunçarşılıoğlu-Baysal C. (2010). İstanbul'u Küresel Kent Yapma Aracı Olarak Kentsel Dönüşüm ve Ardındaki Konut İhlalleri: Ayazma(n)'dan Bezirganbahçe'ye Tutunamayanlar. Unpublished Master Thesis. İstanbul: İstanbul Bilgi University.

Yaraş S. (2014). A Historical Synopsis of Over-Feminized Local Governance in Neoliberal Turkey. *Turkish Studies*, 15(1): 100-116.

Young I.M. (1998). Polity and Group Difference: A Critique of the Ideal of Universal Citizenship. In Shafir G. (Ed.) *The Citizenship Debate*. London: University of Minnesota Press: 263-290.

Yuval-Davis, N. (2000). Citizenship, Territoriality and Gendered Construction of Difference. In Isin E. (Ed.), *Democracy, Citizenship and The Global City*. London: Routledge: 171-187.

Anti Squat Law (No: 775/1966).

Mass Housing Law (No: 2985/2004).

The law About the Rehabilitation of Historical and Cultural Property (No: 5366/2005).

The Law Concerning the Northern Entry to Ankara Urban Renewal Project (No: 5104/2004).

The Law of Encouraging Social Assistance and Solidarity (No: 3294/ 1986).

The Law of Greater City Municipalities (No: 5216/2004).

The Law of Municipalities (No: 5272/2005).

The Law on The Regeneration of Areas under Disaster Risk (No: 6306/2012).

The Protocol Between Altındağ Municipality and TOKI (2005).

Table: Information on Research Subjects

	Groups	Nicknames of Women	Marital Status	Education Status	Information on Certificate of Ownership - Debt
Still living in shanty houses, waiting for demolition	+18 age group single women	Gardenya	Single	High school	Title deed registration/ father sole s/h/m² not known
		Kardelen	Single	Primary school	Menderes private-registered land/to mother/90 m²
	Young mothers with children aged 0-6	Leylak	Civil Marriage	Primary school	Menderes private-registered land/to spouse 3 shares/140 m²
		Nazande	Civil Marriage	Primary school	Menderes private-registered land/to spouse 2 shares/60 m²
		Reyhan	Religious Marriage	Primary school	Title deed registration/ to mother-in-law 3 shares/70 m²
		Hanımeli	Civil Marriage	Primary school	Title deed registration/to spouse 2 shares/35 m²
		Begonya	Civil Marriage	High school	Title deed registration/ to mother 7 shares/350 m²
		Lavanta	Civil Marriage	Primary school	Title deed registration/herself 3 shares/60 m²
	Mothers with children aged 7-17	Krizantem	Civil Marriage	None	Not known/ spouse sole s/h /60 m²
		Sardunya	Civil Marriage	Primary school	Title deed registration/ spouse sole s/h/ 50 m²
		Yasemin	Civil Marriage	Primary school	Menderes private-registered land/ spouse sole s/h/90 m²
		Defne	Civil Marriage	Primary school	Title deed registration/ grandfather sole s/h / 70 m²
		Manolya	Divorced	Primary school	Menderes private-registered land/ herself sole s/h /40m²
	Women with grand-children	Açelya	Widowed	None	Menderes private-registered land/ herself sole s/h /90m²
		Kasımpatı	Widowed	None	Title deed registration/ to herself 7 shares/350m²
		Mimoza	Widowed	None	Menderes private-registered land/ herself sole s/h /40 m²
		Yenibahar	Civil Marriage	Primary school	Menderes private-registered land/ herself sole s/h /120 m²
Domiciled in TOKİ houses	+18 single women	Gelincik	Single	High school	Title deed registration/mother s/h120 m²/10 years 550 tl mont debt
		Gül	Single	Primary school	Title deed registration/two shares 156 m²/10 years 265 tl/month debt
		Papatya	Single	High school	Menderes private-registered land/ mother s/h-100 m²/12 years 375tl/month
	Young mothers with children aged 0-6	Orkide	Civil Marriage	Primary school	Menderes private-registered land/ spouse s/h- 90 m²/15 years 250 tl/month
		Lale	Divorced	High school	Menderes private-registered land/ mother sole s/h / 169 m²/ no debt
	Mothers with children aged 7-17	Sıklamen	Civil Marriage	Primary school	Title deed registration/ herself and siblings 7 shares/ 375 m²/ 10 years 750tl/ month
		Menekşe	Civil Marriage	Primary school	Menderes private-regist.land/ spouse s/h / 90 m²/10 years , 230 /month

		Sümbül	Divorced	Primary school	Menderes private-registered land/ to father 5 shares/ 279 m²/ 15 years 450 tl/ month
		Akasya	Civil Marriage	None	Menderes private-registered land/ spouse s/h / 70 m²/13 years 250 tl/ month
		Fulya	Civil Marriage	Primary school.	Menderes private-registered land/spouse s/h / 90 m²/10 years 375tl/ month
	Women with grand-children	Zambak	Civil Marriage	None	Title deed registration/ herself 2 shares/ 120 m²/10 years 550 tl/ month debt
		Nergis	Civil Marriage	None	Title deed registration/ to spouse 6 shares/100m²/13 years 450 tl/ month debt
		Ciğdem	Civil Marriage	None	Menderes private-registered land/ to spouse 3 shares/ 279 m²/15 years 450 tl/ month
		Karanfil	Civil Marriage	High school	Menderes private-registered land/ to spouse 2 shares/ 100 m²/9 years 450 tl/ month
Kicked out	Young mother with children aged 0-6	Kamelya	Civil Marriage	Primary school	Menderes private-registered land/ father sole s/h/ 50 m²/ 10 years kicked out with 750 tl in debt