

CLASS, GENTRIFICATION AND EMOTIONS: AN INVESTIGATION
INTO THE EVERYDAY LIFE EXPERIENCES OF POOR WOMEN LIVING IN
URLA, IZMIR

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ABSTRACT

CLASS, GENTRIFICATION AND EMOTIONS: AN INVESTIGATION INTO THE EVERYDAY EXPERIENCES OF POOR WOMEN LIVING IN URLA, IZMIR

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This thesis examines the everyday life experiences of poor women living in areas undergoing the process of gentrification, and specifically addresses the emotional dimension of these experiences. It explores the emotional dimension of class, sheds light on the way that class encounters are experienced as “hidden injuries” and further alienates the poor in gentrifying neighborhoods. The study assumed a theoretical position aiming to place emotions at the forefront and traced geographies of encounters. For this purpose, an ethnographic study was conducted with women living in various neighborhoods of Urla, Izmir, which involved participant observation, semi-structured in-depth interviews, and cognitive mapping methods. Findings of the research suggest that the everyday encounter of different subjectivities in the area elicits a range of emotions among the poor, such as shame, resentment, loss of dignity and self-esteem, and increases feelings of alienation in the gentrifying neighborhoods. This study suggests that gentrification not only physically dislocates the poor but also

emotionally displaces them. It illustrates the novel form of displacement caused by the current state of the gentrifying spaces of Urla and it illuminates an understanding of emotional displacement to emphasize displacement as a phenomenon that goes beyond physical dislocation. However, it is seen that poor women's experiences in the neighborhood consist of shame, exclusion, non-belonging, and alienation on the one hand, and relative freedom and opportunities on the other.

Keywords: class encounters, poor women, gentrification, emotions, Urla

ÖZ

SINIF, SOYLULAŞTIRMA VE DUYGULAR: URLA, İZMİR’DE YAŞAYAN YOKSUL KADINLARIN GÜNDELİK HAYAT DENEYİMLERİNE İLİŞKİN BİR İNCELEME

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Bu tez, soylulaştırma sürecindeki bölgelerde yaşayan yoksul kadınların gündelik hayat deneyimlerini incelemiş ve özellikle bu deneyimlerin duygusal boyutunu ele almıştır. Sınıfın duygusal boyutunu araştırmış ve sınıf karşılaşmalarının “gizli yaralar” olarak deneyimlenme biçimine ve bunun soylulaştırma sürecindeki mahallelerde yoksulları yabancılaştırmasına ışık tutmuştur. Bu çalışma duyguları ön plana çıkarmayı amaçlayan ve “karşılaşma coğrafyalarının” izini süren teorik bir konum almıştır. Bu amaçla, Urla’nın çeşitli mahallelerinde yaşayan kadınlarla yüz yüze derinlemesine mülakatlar, katılımcı gözlem ve zihinsel harita yöntemleri içeren etnografik bir çalışma yapılmıştır. Çalışmanın sonuçları bölgede farklı öznelliklerin gündelik karşılaşmalarının, yoksullarda utanç, kızgınlık, haysiyet ve özgüven kaybı gibi bir dizi tepkiye yol açtığını ve onları soylulaştırma sürecindeki mahallelerde

yabancılaştırdığını göstermiştir. Bu çalışma, soylulaştırmanın yoksulları yalnızca fiziksel olarak yerinden etmekle kalmayıp, aynı zamanda duygusal olarak da yerinden ettiğini öne sürmüştür. Urla'nın soylulaştırma sürecindeki bölgelerinin mevcut durumunun neden olduğu yeni yerinden edilme biçimini örneklendirmiş ve yerinden edilmeyi fiziksel yerinden olmanın ötesine geçen bir olgu olarak vurgulamak için duygusal yerinden edilme olgusuna ışık tutmuştur. Ancak yoksul kadınların bölgedeki deneyimlerinin bir yandan utanç, dışlanma, ait hissetmeme ve yabancılaşma, diğer yandan görece özgürlük ve fırsatlardan oluştuğu görülmüştür.

Anahtar Kelimeler: sınıf karşılaşmaları, yoksul kadınlar, soylulaştırma, duygular, Urla

To the memory of my beloved grandmother Sadiye...

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This thesis explores the everyday lives of poor women living in or near neighborhoods undergoing a process of gentrification in Urla, İzmir, and attempts to illuminate their experiences and perceptions in emotional terms. It does so by portraying the experiences and struggles of those who continue to maintain their tenuous hold on the rapidly gentrifying area, despite the displacement pressures. The main question of this study is: how do poor women's everyday encounters with the middle and upper class affect poor women's emotions, their perceptions about themselves and their lives in gentrifying neighborhoods? This study argues that these everyday encounters elicit a range of emotions among the poor such as shame, loss of dignity and self-esteem, and further alienate them in the gentrifying neighborhoods.

As an urban ethnography, it deals with questions of how poor women experience their class and gender position in the gentrifying neighborhood, and how these experiences affect their everyday lives in the area. It investigates the micro-scale of everyday encounters and interactions/non-interactions in the gentrifying neighborhood's urban spaces. It is based on the premise that in order to gain a comprehensive understanding of the subjective experience of class, one needs to understand the emotional dimension of class. Therefore, it analyzes this emotional dimension, putting at the forefront the emotions and perceptions of poor women stemming from everyday encounters. Feelings around self-worth, respect, and dignity are questioned in this respect. Subsequently, this work investigates the relationships built and the solidarity or lack thereof among neighbors and the psychological defense mechanisms the poor use to cope with their situation. It also discusses poor women's access to, perception of, and sense of belonging in the neighborhood. It is essential to start from the everyday experiences of those at the greatest risk of displacement in order to investigate the

effects of gentrification. Therefore, it explores how gentrification is lived in and through the everyday experiences of poor residents in Urla and how changes in the gentrifying neighborhoods have been experienced and negotiated on a personal level. These questions help to link individuals' inner emotional worlds with external structural and social mechanisms in order to illustrate some of the ways in which class and gender are implicated in emotional processes. As Reay (2005) argues, “there is a powerful dynamic between emotions, and class inequalities that is as much about the makings of class as it is about its consequences”. Emotions resulting from class inequalities appear to be rooted in individual psychology. However, this study argues that emotions also have a macro sociological presence (Barbalet, 1992). Emotions, for this study, spring from or are inherent in the structural relations of society. Emotions are considered from a macro sociological perspective and are conceptualized at the level of class relations. It is therefore not a study belonging to the field of psychology. This work does not comprehensively reflect the emotions experienced by the working class. It deals with the emotions of the class in a limited way, not in all its aspects, but only in terms of what they experience in class encounters in a gentrifying space.

This study is not based on the problem of defining and measuring poverty as an objective economic category. Rather, it tries to grasp the cultural representations of people who feel or consider themselves poor. Therefore, this research is not limited to a specific income category with strict boundaries. However, it should be noted, the vast majority of interviewees have no earnings, live on public assistance, do not have a regular job and work whenever they find work. Those that have work receive the minimum wage or slightly above it.

Material deprivation and lack of access to basic needs are only one facet of poverty. To create a decent standard of living, one requires not only access to material needs but a sense of pride, self-respect, and dignity as well. In order to understand how poverty is experienced in a space undergoing the gentrification process, the research explores the cultural processes in which the poor are included or excluded, their position in the face of social hierarchies and power relations, particularly where the poor find themselves in these systems, and their representations of themselves and others. In addition to being an economic category, poverty is a social “situation” in which people live, make sense of, and in turn, develop various coping mechanisms

(Erdoğan, 2007b, p. 14). That is to say, poverty is a condition that has various aspects and is experienced in different dimensions, not only economically but also emotionally and culturally. Therefore, a definition of poverty in terms of income level alone excludes significant, non-material aspects of poverty such as social exclusion, humiliation, feelings of shame, stigma, and loss of dignity and self-esteem. Hence, this work covers the cultural field of social class with a specific emphasis on the emotional dimension of class.

In Turkey, the current global process of late capitalism and the neoliberal order have been increasing social exclusion and marginalization. Economic, cultural, and symbolic violence that the poor/subaltern groups are exposed to has gradually increased, and the egalitarian elements of the cultural tradition have been dissolved. As the hegemonic neoliberal discourse strengthened a culture of individualism, the collectivities that mediate and articulate class struggle have been weakened. In today's Turkey, class distinctions and hierarchies have deepened and intensified. In parallel with the development of capitalism, class inequalities create traumatic effects on the poor. Precisely for this reason, it is critical to investigate the traumatizing effects of poverty in different contexts of contemporary Turkey.

While accepting that analysis of gentrification requires a synthesis of cultural and political-economic explanations, this study offers a more cultural examination of the process of gentrification, which is mostly missing in academic accounts. This study adopts the premise that, in a class society, people lose the feeling of secure dignity in the eyes of others and of themselves (Sennett & Cobb, 1972, p. 170). With this in mind, it focuses on two groups of experiences: Firstly, it explores the emotional dimension of class and inquires how class encounters are experienced as hidden injuries. In doing so, it specifically explores emotions, work experiences, children, solidarity, and the coping mechanisms of poor women. Secondly, feelings, emotions, and perceptions associated with displacement that occur in the gentrification process are examined. Specifically, it focuses on the interviewees' experiences of living in close proximity to the middle and upper classes, neighborhood accessibility and belonging, emotional displacement, along with women's gains in the gentrifying neighborhood. Given that the emphasis is placed on emotional displacement rather than physical displacement, these emotions are contextualized and understood as

consequences of economic and social inequalities stemming from material power structures. It investigates how marginalized groups experience their neighborhood upgrading, which allows us to rethink and critically scrutinize our understanding of class and gentrification.

As “social class and its intersections with gender are simultaneously subjective, structural, about social positioning and everyday practices” (Brah & Phoenix, 2004, p. 80) this study takes class and its intersection with gender as a central category of analysis. A fundamental proposition of this research is exploring how poor women's experiences of neighborhood upgrading allow us to critically examine the emotional dimension of class and gender through their lived experiences in the gentrified spaces. Such an orientation is necessary not only to understand the emotional consequences of gentrification and class encounters, but also to build opportunities for collective action and social change.

Perceptions and emotions are essential to gentrification research since “emotions fuel gentrification and gentrification is written on—and read off of—bodies as they move through and inhabit urban landscapes” (F. Kern, 2012, p. 30). Emotions and perceptions can also paint a picture of a person's life story and choices, and they also offer insight into the social collective and its dynamics. However, feelings and emotions associated with gentrification have been largely unexplored. Therefore, this study seeks to understand the micro-scale of everyday public encounters and interactions in gentrified spaces. It contributes to an understanding of gentrification-induced displacement by presenting it from a perspective that places perceptions and emotions at the forefront in order to emphasize displacement as a phenomenon that goes beyond physical dislocation.

This research connects class, gender, and urban space through an ethnographically detailed examination of a gentrifying neighborhood and provides insight into gentrification from the perspective of working-class residents. Through an exploration of the relationship between urban processes and the poor through gentrification, this study uncovers the “hidden injuries” of class. In doing so, it reveals not only how gentrification physically displaces the working class, but also how it culturally and emotionally displaces them.

In most socio-scientific narratives, women who migrated from rural areas to cities are treated as a homogeneous unit. However, this thesis proposes that where they live is an important factor that can differentiate their everyday lives and perceptions. Reflecting on the space where these women live allows us to examine the important variations within the range of experiences that constitute the lives of migrant women and their subsequent encounters with middle-class women (Özyeğin, 2005, p. 15). The locality generates distinctive “grammars of life”; while the women interviewed in this work share a past identity as rural to urban migrants with those living in squatter settlements, the everyday lives of these two groups of women vary greatly (Özyeğin, 2002). Social practices are determined and influenced by the spaces poor women inhabit, which in turn, create different possibilities and constraints. These possibilities and constraints profoundly shape these women's lives by amplifying how they experience work, class, gender, community, patriarchy, and everyday social relations.

Unlike the majority of the poor living in cities, the women who were interviewed for this study live and work in middle and upper class neighborhoods. These women are workers and/or the wives of workers in the area, and therefore have different spatial experiences than rural migrants living in slum areas. The “incomers” interviewed were those residents who were not born in the area but moved there as workers. The space where these women live constitute a starting point from which to conceptualize their everyday life. Since the neighborhood is inhabited mostly by members of the middle and upper class, the everyday lives of the poor are defined by their encounters with the “other”. The layers of experience created by these encounters make this neighborhood a space with different meanings for its inhabitants.

According to Lefebvre (1991) “Space is a social product” (p. 26). Spaces are created in everyday life through socio-spatial practices and the cultural meanings ascribed to them. People's perceptions and lived experiences of space are influenced by their social positions (Lefebvre, 1991) and people's experiences with spaces and their level of attachment to them define those spaces. That is to say, spaces acquire meaning mostly through everyday experience, and through their lived experiences, people give meaning to the space and give a place its distinctive character. Space is one of the areas where power is asserted and symbolic violence is exercised. (Bourdieu et al, 1999, p. 126) Spaces are contested arenas distinguished by power relations characterized by

negotiation, domination, and subordination. Cities today reflect inequalities in ways never seen before. Particularly after the 1980s, cities came under tremendous pressure, were invaded by capital, and have been positioned as new and profitable investment areas with neo-liberal policies. Specifically, in Turkey, cities have been exposed to the pressures of transformation led by gentrification for a long time. A city is a stronghold of capitalism and a “space of encounter” through which the effects of capitalism become visible (Lefebvre, 1991). The encounter is an essential site of understanding since it allows one to investigate nuanced and dynamic layers of meaning rather than focusing solely on the material. Since encounters provide a fruitful lens for investigating the everyday politics of belonging, diversity, and the emotions provoked by them, this study examines everyday encounters as ways in which individuals negotiate a sense of self and belonging in relation to specific spaces. Since encounters of lower-income residents with the middle and upper classes immediately make power relations and social inequalities visible (Valli, 2015), reactions to these encounters require precise attention. Therefore, this study uses encounters and interactions/noninteractions in the neighborhood's urban spaces as privileged moments to explore the emotional dimension of class and perceptions of gentrification.

“Everyday” is used in this work intending to emphasize the importance of repetitive and trivial practices to understand public space, not as a predetermined, fixed, and bounded physical space, but as a space lived through contact and encounters with others. These encounters produce both inclusions and exclusions in that particular space. Everyday public spaces are not merely material entities but also a synthesis of social relations, individual and collective practices, and symbolic meanings. This synthesis establishes the specificity of place in a given context. With this in mind, everyday urban public spaces are considered to be open and provisional rather than bounded, fixed, and static in their use (Massey, 1994). They are subject to contestation and differing interpretations by individuals and groups with varying experiences (Keith & Pile, 1993).

It is critical to investigate the relationship between class, emotions, and urban restructuring through residents' narratives of location. For this purpose, face-to-face in-depth interviews were conducted in addition to participant observation. To address the challenges of documenting everyday life, Kevin Lynch's (1960) method of mental

mapping is also utilized in this study, methodically analyzing the perception and familiarity of the neighborhood in the interviewee's everyday lives. This method helps capture information about how people perceive the neighborhood and offers insights into issues of belonging, spatial use, and accessibility. In-depth interviews, participant observation, and mental mapping as a spatial methodology give important clues about people's emotions, experiences, and perceptions of the neighborhoods undergoing the gentrification process. Using these methods, this study aims to analyze the cultural and emotional formation of urban poverty and the lived experiences of the gentrification process in Turkey.

By drawing on Henri Lefebvre's analysis of the production of urban space, a conceptual framework for analyzing social relations, urban space, and gentrification will be constructed. In addition, through referencing the book, "The Hidden Injuries of Class" (1972) by Richard Sennett and Jonathan Cobb, this study explores the emotional dimension of class in a gentrifying neighborhood in which people from different social classes encounter each other on an everyday basis.

1.1. Data and Methods

This study draws on a qualitative inquiry developed through a qualitative method and was conducted in Urla, İzmir. The field research was carried out in different neighborhoods in Urla affected by the gentrification process. The field research was undertaken between January 2020 and March 2020. Data was gathered using an ethnographic method, including field research consisting of participant observation, semi-structured in-depth interviews, and mental maps with 20 women.

1.2. Qualitative Research Design and Socio-demographic Characteristics of Interviewees

Due to the limitations of quantitative research in presenting the meaning of social processes and emotions of the subjects, qualitative research was used to gain a deeper understanding of the subjects' emotions, meaning-making processes, life stories, and

personal testimonies. Semi-structured in-depth interviews help elicit the emotions and perceptions of the women and the meaning that the women attach to their experiences. In addition to this, participant observation allows one to be a part of their world and to understand their everyday lives. Furthermore, it permits the analysis of the social environment and the transformation of social relations in the area. The questions directed to interviewees aim to understand both structural and subjective processes simultaneously.

The first step of the fieldwork consisted of carrying out 20 in-depth interviews with poor women living in Urla. Interviews were conducted privately with each individual and lasted approximately 1.5 to 2 hours, with some lasting for three hours or more. These sessions were recorded in order to keep and transcribe their experiences in their own words. Furthermore, participant observation and involvement in local events and meetings were critical components of this fieldwork.

Institutional and personal contacts were used to access interviewees. Snowball sampling and purposive sampling were used together as a sampling method in this study since both sampling methods together provide access to individuals with unique experiences (Daly, 2007). Snowball sampling is “a way of having initially sampled individuals lead you to other members of the hidden population, which in turn could lead to further members.” (Frank & Snijders, 1994, p. 53) whereas purposive sampling is when a researcher intentionally recruits certain people relevant to the study (Sarantakos, 2005).

This study draws on interviews with the following individuals: 20 women who are mostly aged between 30 and 45, while two of them are over 50. Three of the interviewees continued their education until high school, while the vast majority of the interviewees were either primary school graduates or never attended school. It is important to note that some of these women learned how to read and write after migrating to Urla. All interviewees are married. Except for one woman, all interviewees have children. The interviewed “incomers” were those residents who were not born in the area but moved there as workers, excluding one interviewee whose parents moved to Urla as domestic workers and later became a worker herself. Therefore, none of the interviewees are locals of Urla but rather were born in the

various rural areas and migrated from different parts of Turkey, mostly from the Central and Eastern Anatolia regions. For a significant number of the interviewees, the first place to migrate after their village was Urla.

The vast majority of the interviewees moved to Urla due to financial difficulties and their migration to Urla stemmed from job prospects for either their husband or father. These women's economic activities differ from conventional employment with its full-time jobs and social security benefits. The majority of these women work in the informal sector, with very few not working at all. Many are employed as domestic workers. In addition, some of them engage in diverse activities such as doing piecework at home including knitting and doing needlework for sale. Some of them work as gatekeepers with their husbands, in the houses or gated communities. They live in accommodation which are designated for gatekeepers in or near the gardens of the houses or gated communities. These houses are characterized by poor living conditions. Some of the duties of gatekeepers include collecting garbage, providing security for the houses, gardening, helping with housework, and/or doing repairs when necessary. In cases where both husband and wife work as gatekeepers, only one of them receives a salary and social security. In other instances, some interviewees who work as gatekeepers do not receive social security at all.

Interviewees in this study live in various housing conditions which are inferior to those of their wealthier neighbors. The majority of the interviewees live in the housing designated for gatekeepers or have lived in this kind of housing in the recent past while they were working as a gatekeeper. Some are tenants in rented buildings while one of the interviewees built their own home and other lives in a plastic trailer. In general, these women live in substandard housing conditions even if the type of the housing is different.

1.3. Mental Mapping

Mental mapping—also referred to as cognitive mapping—is another method used in this study to understand the women's perception, use, and belonging to the space they live in. Mental mapping describes how people experience, perceive and represent the world

around them (Ben-Ze'ev, 2012). It is a method for investigating how people visualize a location based on their own experiences and perceptions. Kevin Lynch (1960), in his work "The Image of the City" describes basic elements of the urban environment. According to him, space is experienced differently by its inhabitants based on their memories and past experiences (Lynch, 1960). This method emerged as part of the 1960s psychological turn in geography, which was concerned with environmental perception and mental configurations of place (Mazer & Rankin, 2011). This simple technique was primarily developed in response to economic determinism and assumptions of rational spatial behavior, by scholars seeking to critically examine the effects of modernist planning on American cities (Ley, 2000).

According to this method, to separate a city's perceived features, participants create a mental map representing what a city contains based on their perceptions. These representations determine the factors that affect the mental perception of the city. Lynch, identified the five core elements of cityscape: *paths*, *edges*, *districts*, *nodes*, and *landmarks*. These basic elements help describe and introduce the factors that determine the cityscape's structure and develop a new approach to considering one's surroundings and identifying them coherently. The *path* factor by which a potential action is carried out. They include streets, pedestrian sidewalks, railroads, and so on. Other elements, according to Lynch, are either dependent on or arranged around *paths*. The *edge* is a linear factor that is different from the *path* from an observer's perspective. *Edges* include coasts, building edges, walls, and neighborhood boundaries. The *districts* are medium or large-sized sections of a city. The *nodes* are sensitive points in the city that the observer can enter. The *landmark* is a factor that can be used to compensate for different parts of a city in which the observer is unable to enter. Typically, they are elements with a specific appearance, such as buildings, landmarks, mountains, and so on.

In the context of individual interviews, the mental maps helped open up topics of belonging and accessibility. They helped explore the emerging research themes: the class stratification of social worlds, belonging and the subsequent use of space, the diminishment of social space, and perceptions of gentrification. This method is explored in this study, and claims that there is a relationship between degrees of "imageability", and feelings of urban alienation (Mazer & Rankin, 2011).

In this study, all 20 interviewees were asked to draw a sketch map of the district they live in, showing the most important features in the district and places they frequent. Sketch maps were evaluated according to the frequency of elements. Their representations were read as literal maps of places participants go and perceived boundaries of their neighborhoods, both individually and collectively, as well as indicators of how urban space mediates such perceptions. Since mental mapping techniques tend to neglect questions about how people feel about their environment and what it actually means to them, in this study mental mapping is supported by semi-structured in-depth interviews and participant observation. Maps were analyzed according to the frequency of the elements and then they were compared with the results of the interviews. The analyses of the interviews show considerable overlap between the sketch maps, indicating a shared perception of the district. However, there are some variations between the maps.

1.4. Limitations

This study focuses on cultural explanations of the gentrification process, since cultural explanations allow room for the exploration of subjective experiences and emotions. Therefore, even though the political-economic explanations for the process in the area are very important, they are not present in this study. However, it is acknowledged that the gentrification processes in the urban space have interacting political-economic, cultural, and social forces.

The analysis in this study is at the perceptive level. Therefore, a lack of perceptions of the middle and upper classes in their encounters with the poor in the area is another limitation of the study. Such an analysis would enable the exploration of the nature of social relations from a broader perspective.

Since the transcription of speech risks missing the meanings concealed in the gestures, mimics, and silences in the subaltern's speech, it is also a limitation of this research. In addition, translation from Turkish to English also results in a loss of meaning. However, to address this limitation, transcriptions of Turkish are also provided in the footnotes.

1.5. On the Specificity of Urla

İzmir, on the west coast of Turkey, is the country's third largest city. Urla is located 38 km west of İzmir, between the districts of Karaburun, Çeşme, and Seferihisar. (See Figure 1). The area of Urla is 728 km² (T.C. Urla Kaymakamlığı, n.d.). Urla has a total land area of 70,400 hectares, of which 12.2% (8,600 hectares) is used for agriculture (T.C. Urla Kaymakamlığı, n.d.). According to the results of the Address-Based Population Registration System Database for 2021, the general population of the district is 72,741 and has an annual population growth rate of %44.9 (44.9 per thousand) (Türkiye İstatistik Kurumu, 2022).

Urla, with mostly agricultural activities in the 1950s, has changed in character with the advent of summer houses and secondary residences beginning in the 1970s (Can et al., 2018). In Turkey, between the 1950s and the 1980s, there was a significant migration movement from rural areas to urban centers. However, with the construction of secondary residences on the Aegean and Mediterranean coasts of Turkey in the 1970s, the urban population spilled out of metropolitan areas. This seasonal migration included areas close to the town centers as an escape from the big cities, with the increase in transportation opportunities (Güçü & Çıkış, 2021). Urla is one of these places that experienced migration. With this development, small coastal settlements in Urla have become spaces with summer houses where city dwellers reside during the summer.

In the late 1980s, a high-speed auto highway was built connecting İzmir to Çeşme, a historic port town in the western part of the İzmir peninsula (Datta, 2014, p. 1370). After the highway was completed in 1993, a large number of high-end villas, summer houses, and gated communities began to emerge around Urla (Datta, 2014, p. 1370). Urla immediately became popular with İzmir's middle and upper classes, with many moving there shortly thereafter. Many secondary houses were converted to primary houses with this phenomenon. With increasing transportation and access opportunities, newly built primary houses started to appear in the inner-city areas of Urla (Can et al., 2018). These houses were largely inhabited by İzmir's urban middle

classes, who moved out of the city. Urla was seen as a “healthy” town with a “natural” lifestyle that offered a much-needed escape from Izmir's pollution (Datta, 2014). In Urla, gated communities were primarily residential, and people maintained their social, cultural, and economic ties to the city (Datta, 2014, p. 1372). This is not common in some other big cities, such as Istanbul and Ankara, where the majority of gated communities are supported by social and cultural infrastructure (Bartu Candan & Kolluoğlu, 2008).

At the center of the district, there was a rural population with traditional lifestyles and values who mostly earned their living from agricultural activities (Emekli, 2004). The houses at the center were mainly one or two-floor houses. Currently, they are mainly second residences for people with better incomes. Additionally, and especially after the 1990’s, the number of gated communities in Urla began to increase to a significant level and are currently considered part of the metropolitan area (Emekli, 2004).



Figure 1: The Location of Urla

Adding to the development of Urla is the increased migration from Turkey’s big cities, mainly from Istanbul to İzmir, which led to an increase in Urla’s population beginning in the 2000s. In addition, employment and the young population have also increased

with the establishment of a university in the area. The migration from big cities and the increasing tourism have been determining factors in the current situation of the area (Güçü & Çıkış, 2021). The primary economic activity has shifted away from agriculture and towards the service sector which resulted in the repurposing of former agricultural fields for residential and commercial purposes. These changes enabled the development of the service sector and non-agricultural industries in the area. These developments have led to the rapid urbanization of the lands of Urla, which formerly had a predominantly agricultural economy, as well as to a rapid increase in land rent (Uştuk, 2019, p. 87).

In the outlying areas of the district, since the 1970s, the areas formerly used for agriculture are now used for different purposes (Emekli, 2004). A variety of industries are located in Urla, such as vineyards, raisins, and olive oil, and soap manufacturing facilities. However, these industries largely excluded locals of Urla both economically and socially (Datta, 2014). Locals lost their land and also became socially isolated. For some, their new life consisted of being employed as cleaners, gardeners, and domestic workers in these gated communities (Datta, 2014). With the explosion of tourism and the gentrification of rural areas, agricultural workers and farmers often find that it is more lucrative to work as domestic workers, gardeners, or gatekeepers rather than rely on agricultural production.

With these developments, a phenomenon occurred called “the differentiated countryside” (Murdoch et al., 2003) which refers to the increasing “consumption” of rural space driven more and more by urban market interests, such as “residential, tourism, recreational, lifestyle or investment opportunities” (Holmes, 2006, p. 144). This was accompanied by various new consumption practices in the rural areas of Urla. Some rural areas still have agricultural production practices; however, they are different from before. For example, according to the research in Urla’s Kuşçular neighborhood in 2021, cultivation of products such as grapes and artichokes, and especially olives, had increased, and new businesses, such as production facilities, restaurants, cafes and workshops began to find a place in the countryside, as consumption of these products increases (Güçü & Çıkış, 2021). According to this study, the main agricultural production that continues in the neighborhood is greenhouse farming, grape/wine, and olive/olive oil, and this production is under the

domination of newcomers, except for greenhouse farming (Güçü & Çıkış, 2021, p. 75). Only twenty percent of the total land in Kuşçular continues to belong to the local people (Güçü & Çıkış, 2021, p. 74). Middle and upper class newcomers also engage in many activities related to management, agriculture, and animal husbandry. Parallel to this, much of the rural population has sold their land, leading to the dispossession of the locals by separating them from the progress of rural production (Güçü & Çıkış, 2021). With these changes, the rural areas of Urla were also transformed. Therefore, there is a notable influence of newcomers in Urla's diversified rural production practices and in the transformation of rural space (Güçü & Çıkış, 2021).

The center of Urla also underwent changes. According to the informal interviews with Urla Municipality employees, at the beginning of 2010, several artist communities started to use Zafer Street, located in the inner-city area of Urla, to hold art exhibits. This led to the local government closing the street to traffic, and allowing art exhibits, shops selling souvenirs, and ceramic workshops to open. The street soon became known as "Art Street." (See Figure 2). With the support of the Urla municipality, various artistic activities began to be held there. The "Urla Art and Antique Market" was set up on the last Sunday of every month, and as of June 2012, this market was held every weekend during the summer. According to interviews with local government officials, the International Artichoke Festival, which was organized first in 2015, considerably increased the appeal of Urla. In 2015, the Urla Municipality started a renovation project on Zafer Street, or "Art Street" which lasted for approximately two years. Today, various festivals such as the Vine Harvest Festival, International Artichoke Festival, Herb Festival, and the Urla Art Festival are organized every year in Urla (T.C. İzmir Urla Belediyesi, n.d.).



Figure 2: Photograph of Zafer Street (Art Street)

Changes in the area, beginning in the 2000s, have abruptly accelerated in the past few years, with the opening of restaurants and bars that appeal to people from the middle and upper class. Urla has become one of the favorite destinations of the higher income classes, especially those who have migrated from Turkey's big cities. To accommodate this population, residential low-rise buildings were renovated, and new villas were built, including some with luxuries such as private amenities, gatekeepers, and gardeners. These changes rapidly affected housing prices.

There has been a noticeable acceleration in the number of new activities and businesses opening in the last few years in Urla. Trendy boutiques, art galleries, organic markets, antique shops, hotels, and, above all, coffee shops and famous gourmet restaurants have been popping up at an incredible pace and with noticeable acceleration. As a result, the center of Urla has become a tourist destination.

In recent years, changes in the economic structure, social relations, and culture in the Urla have become very evident. With the demands of middle and upper class newcomers and the support of local governments, the gentrification process has

accelerated (Uştuk, 2019, p. 87). The demographic structure of the rural settlement in Urla is changing as a result of the pressure created by increasing tourism, urbanization, and gentrification. Urla is today a popular luxury urban area, prices have peaked, with this trend even spreading to the countryside, where the fields, olive groves, and vineyards surrounding Urla have increased in price and changed hands. The center of Urla is widening, and the middle and upper class houses, which were once on the fringes, have now been pulled into the city center. Locals of Urla are slowly moving away from the city. In addition to the villas and gated communities on the outskirts, villas and gated communities have now emerged at the center of the city. Middle and upper class professionals are purchasing and refurbishing properties from local and predominantly working class owners. The renovation of these residences by their new owners resulted in a significant rise in the property values of other parts of Urla as well, culminating in the expansion of the middle and upper classes in much of Urla's housing market. Today, Urla is home to a huge number of gated communities and villas. These gentrification processes continue to develop. As a result of these changes, Urla is undergoing an economic, social, cultural, and spatial transformation. Consequently, the infrastructure and social makeup of Urla are changing day by day. The introduction of new faces, new cultures, and new activities to the neighborhood raises questions about how these changes are experienced by the area's lower-income residents.

Urla has experienced an urbanization process. Today, it is administered as an urban center with a rural and tourist influence. Therefore, the gentrification here has a different character from the gentrification processes in metropolitan areas such as Istanbul and Ankara. The elements of a rural gentrification process are supported by the tourism transformation, and agricultural areas are becoming a part of the gentrification process even though there are still locals who are engaged in agriculture. Rural gentrification is defined as the wealthy importation of urban amenities to rural areas, which refers to a shift in rural consumption habits (Gosnell & Abrams, 2011). With rural gentrification, the preferences of newcomers reshape rural settlement patterns (Ghose, 2004; Grabbatin et al., 2011; Walker & Fortmann, 2003).

In the case of Urla, there is a gentrification of old agricultural lands and also of old buildings in the inner-city areas. As a result of these changes, dilapidated, older

buildings coexist with renovated, new buildings (See Figure 3) and houses that differ greatly can be found side by side. The changes in the spatial layout of Urla are also reflected in the social structure, with the newly-arrived upper class living in close contact with the local or low-income residents. These two coexisting worlds can be seen in the streets as the old residents sell their houses to the newcomers and the new residents then renovate them. The life produced by the tastes of the middle and upper classes in Urla has created an expensive and difficult lifestyle for the locals, especially with regard to the real estate prices. It is getting harder and harder to survive in Urla, which is getting more expensive for the poor and the locals. This trend in the housing market and also the cost of living in Urla lead to everyday displacement pressures, above all for low-income residents of the area.



Figure 3: Street view from Urla

1.6. Overview of the Study

Following the definition of the premise of this study, its methodology and the specifics of the place where the research was carried out, Chapter 2 discusses briefly the related literature and develops a theoretical and conceptual framework related to the production of space, gentrification, class and women's rural to urban migration in Turkey.

Chapter 3 focuses on the emotions and perceptions stemming from everyday encounters in the area from the perspective of poor women. Specifically, this chapter illustrates how such women experience their class position as an injury and how these injuries affect their everyday lives in the neighborhood. Feelings around self-worth, respect, and dignity are discussed, as well as those concerning how the poor experience hidden injuries and how they are further alienated in gentrifying neighborhoods. Subsequently, this chapter investigates the relationships built and the solidarity or lack thereof among neighbors. Chapter 3 concludes with an analysis of

the psychological defense mechanisms the poor use to cope with their situation in the neighborhood.

Having developed an understanding of the emotional effects of class encounters on the poor in gentrifying neighborhoods in Chapter 3, Chapter 4 begins with discussing the accessibility of the neighborhood for the poor women interviewed and their sense of belonging to the neighborhood then discuss an understanding of the emotional aspects of displacement on poor residents and its impacts on their livelihoods as it plays out in a gentrifying neighborhood. In addition, it also argues that these women are conflicted their emotional displacement and alienation on the one hand, but see economic and social opportunities for themselves and their children on the other.

In the conclusion, the arguments in the preceding chapters are synthesized alongside the contributions of this research to the existing literature.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

This study explores the emotional dimensions of class and enquires how poor women live through experiences in a space undergoing the process of gentrification through class encounters in their everyday lives. The theoretical and contextual basis rests on discussions of emotions, everyday encounters, class, and gentrification. The purpose of this chapter is to shed light on the theoretical and conceptual points of the thesis. In this chapter, there will be a brief discussion on the main theoretical engagements and literature of this work, which form a framework for this study. In order to explain how this study defines “space”, this section starts with an introduction of Henri Lefebvre's understanding of the production of space. This will be followed by a discussion of how gentrification literature evolves globally. Since this work focuses on women’s experiences in gentrifying spaces, literature which takes gentrification as it relates to gender will be briefly reviewed. Subsequently, through an investigation of displacement literature, gentrification-led displacement will be opened up. Following this, gentrification literature specific to Turkey will be reviewed, in order to investigate how gentrification is discussed in the context of Turkey.

Since emotions of class is fundamental to this study, after a brief introduction of the emotional dimension of class, Richard Sennett and Jonathan Cobb’s work “The Hidden Injuries of Class” (1972), which is used as a primary theory in this study, will be introduced. This work provides a substantial explanation of the emotions and experiences of the working class in contemporary capitalism.

After that, this study introduces the literature on the working class in Turkey, and specifically focuses on the literature on class encounters. At the end of the literature review, literature on women’s rural to urban migration in Turkey will be briefly explained as this work is based on the narratives of women who have migrated from

rural areas to the city. The chapter concludes by discussing how this study problematizes its subject matter and situates itself.

2.1. On the (Social) Production of Space

In this study, taking class and gender relations into account, it is intended to understand how space is produced and experienced in the area which is in the process of gentrification. Although there is extensive literature on space, this study is focused on Henri Lefebvre's conceptualization of a social interpretation of space. In light of Lefebvre's conceptualization of space, this study explores poor women's positions in urban space in terms of the social production of that space.

Henri Lefebvre's greatest contribution to spatial studies was his interpretation of space in social terms. As a leading figure in urban sociology, Lefebvre re-conceptualized the socio-spatial perspective using Marxian and critical approaches and introduced the concept of *social production of urban space*. He pioneered this new debate on how space and society are inextricably linked in his seminal work titled "The Production of Space" (1991). In this work, he gives a detailed understanding of the space present in the capitalist mode of production, and he asserts that (social) space is a "(social) product" or "a complex social construction" (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 26) which affects spatial perceptions and practices.

Lefebvre encouraged scholars to consider space as more than a physical phenomenon, focusing instead on the ideological systems and various human experiences that act within the context of social space (Arias & Warf, 2009, p. 3). For him, space is not a mere result but the site of ongoing interactions of social relations (Zhang, 2006). To put it another way, according to Lefebvre, the notion of space that contains social relations cannot be regarded separately from the concept of space itself. For Lefebvre, space is inherently unstable and dialectical and is made up of social relations, which are both the product and the producer of space, as well as the foundation of economic and social relations.

Lefebvre's theory on space is founded on the critical notion that space should be viewed as the site of ongoing social interactions rather than as the mere result of such interactions. As Lefebvre explains, it is a process of production rather than a product itself. In accordance with Lefebvre's understanding of space as a social product, space began to be noticed as a collection of social and historical processes that are lived, experienced and perceived. Depending on its use and relations of production, space gains new meanings and usage. Lefebvre (1991) argues, "Social relations, which are concrete abstractions, have no real existence save in and through space. Their underpinning is spatial" (p. 404). He decisively shifts the Marxist praxis to view the city as a *space of encounter* through which repercussions of capitalism become visible. He put strong emphasis on social relations as well as the examination of space as a product. As Zieleniec (2008) argues, "Lefebvre's theory understands the production of space as emphasizing the need to consider space as both a product (a thing) and a determinant (a process) of social relations and actions" (p. 60). For Lefebvre (1991) "any space implies, contains and dissimulates social relationships – and this despite the fact that a space is not a thing but rather a set of relations between things (objects and products)" (pp. 82–83).

Using the dialectic tradition, Lefebvre proposes a spatial triad model; a triad of interconnected concepts as an analytical tool: physical space, mental space, and social space, which are also referred to as perceived space (spatial practice), conceived space (representations of space) and lived space (representational space). Whereas physical space refers to experientially accessible, materialized space can be perceived with the senses. It is a perceived space arising out of daily reality. Mental space is a technical rendering that is produced by bureaucrats, urban professionals, and so on. Finally, the social space refers to the objective representations of space, a space influenced by lived everyday experience. It is a space of inhabitants and "users" and a place of practice that is full of meaning. The production of space is the interplay of perceived, conceived, and lived spaces that are produced and reproduced through social, economic, and political processes. According to Lefebvre (1991), "spatial practice, representations of space and representational spaces contribute in different ways to the production of space according to their qualities and attributes, according to the society or mode of production in question, and according to the historical period" (p. 46). The

triad provides an opportunity to make sense of both the production of space and to examine the experience of space in everyday modes of production and society, as well as to examine the mutual relations and oppositions of mental, social, and physical spaces.^[1]

According to Lefebvre, “space needs to be understood in the context of the mode of production of a particular epoch” (Elden, 2004, p. 184). In particular, he provides a detailed analysis of the space of the capitalist mode of production. In doing so, Lefebvre used Marxian notions such as production, forces of production, and relations of production to inform his examination of these concepts. However, Lefebvre extends the concept of production beyond the classical Marxist interpretation and gives it a broader meaning. According to Lefebvre, “Production, then, is broader than the economic production of things (stressed by Marx) and includes the production of society, knowledge and institutions. The production of things is but a narrow sense of the wider sense of the production of oeuvres. These other aspects—while allowed for in Marx's conception—are less often treated in his work as such. Production in Lefebvre's sense—deriving from Marx, Hegel, and Nietzsche's notion of creation—needs to be grasped as both a material and mental process” (Elden, 2004, p. 184). As interpreted by him, space is more than just a sphere in which production takes place. He argues, “we have passed from the production of things in space... to the production of space itself” (Elden, 2004, p. 184).

Spaces are created in everyday life through socio-spatial practices and the cultural meanings ascribed to them. That is to say, spaces acquire meaning primarily through everyday experiences. Therefore, through their experiences, people give meaning to a particular space. According to Lefebvre (1991), people's perceptions and lived experiences of space are influenced by their social positions. Lefebvre also investigated how different societies have particularized spaces across time in terms of form and meaning, owing to the peculiarity between abstract and social space. Thus, it could be said that capitalism, like all other kinds of social relations, has its own spatial organization that is (re)produced. In this context, the conceptualization of space by Lefebvre emphasizes everyday life and the political nature of space.

He theorizes space in terms of politics, and his statement “there is a politics of space because space is political” encapsulates the politics of society that are instrumental in establishing spatial binaries (Lefebvre, 1991). Lefebvre argues in his work that, just as capitalism conquered everyday life, so its physical location, space, has been colonized as well. According to him, the class struggle exists in urban space as a result of the unequal distribution of space between the rich and the poor. He further argues:

(Social) space is not a thing among other things, nor a product among other products: rather, it subsumes things produced, and encompasses their interrelationships in their coexistence and simultaneity – their (relative) order and /or (relative) disorder. It is the outcome of a sequence and set of operations, and thus cannot be reduced to the rank of a simple object...Itself the outcome of past actions, social space is what permits fresh actions to occur, whilst suggesting others and prohibiting yet others. Among these actions, some serve production, others consumption. (i.e. the enjoyment of the fruits of production) (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 73).

Spaces are characterized by power relations, and they are arenas for politics that consist of relations of negotiation, domination, and subordination. Social relations, which include varied degrees of inequity, domination, and exploitation, are deeply embedded in the production of space. Consequently, the notion of public space is derived from a specific group while simultaneously excluding other groups. Therefore, recognizing that society has been built on a capitalist patriarchal idea, poor women, like many other subordinate groups, are excluded. Therefore, marginalized groups are unable to embody an area, make it their own, and do not have their “right to the city”.

Space can only be understood in the context of a certain society since it is socially produced. It is inherently historical as well as relational. Therefore, to examine social dynamics and power relations, it is important to consider the context of each circumstance. In line with Lefebvre's view, it can be concluded that space is the locus of hegemony, power, and resistance, while spatial relations are also a result of power dynamics.

Exclusion and displacement are among the most devastating consequences of neoliberal urbanization, as they directly affect the everyday lives of the urban poor. This study argues that urban space is the place where inequalities in society come into being as a physical manifestation of the prevalent unequal economic positions, and it

is a physical site that represents one's socioeconomic placement in society (Bourdieu et al, 1999).

The urban space is not a concrete, fixed, and limited area of production. Rather, it consists of living and complex possibilities, like an oeuvre. In order to see it in all this formation, one needs to look at everyday life. Lefebvre connects the city experience to everyday life and uses this term beyond daily routines. He describes it as “the site of authentic experience, of self, of the body, and of engagement with others.”

Tracing everyday life is important for this study because of the potency of the daily. Everyday life serves as a fruitful ground for this thesis since minuscule and seemingly trivial details of everyday have political meaning. Everyday life is connected to power relations, and the significance of the everyday lies behind the ordinary practices and seemingly trivial details. Due to social class becoming visible in people's everyday lives, this study pays particular attention to everyday life.

Henri Lefebvre's conceptualization of space in social terms is particularly important for this study. Based on his conceptualization, this study suggests that spaces gain meaning primarily through everyday experiences, and individuals contribute meaning to space and give a place its specific character through their lived experiences of space. This allows for a comprehensive understanding of the women's experiences in Urla's gentrifying neighborhood spaces.

2.2. On Gentrification

The term *gentrification* was first coined by Ruth Glass in 1964 to describe processes of urban transformation that were affecting central London in her book “London: Aspects of Change”. Since it was first coined, the term has sparked many conceptual arguments and heated debates. In her influential book, Glass described the transformation of London's urban landscape and wrote the famous lines below, which became the most accepted features of gentrification:

One by one, many of the working-class quarters of London have been invaded by the middle-classes – upper and lower. Shabby, modest mews and cottages – two

rooms up and two down – have been taken over, when their leases have expired, and have become elegant, expensive residences. [...] The current social status and value of such dwellings are frequently in inverse relation to their status, and in any case enormously inflated by comparison with previous levels in their neighborhoods. Once this process of "gentrification" starts in a district it goes on rapidly until all or most of the original working-class occupiers are displaced and the social character of the district is changed (Lees et al., 2007, p. 4).

This passage is quickly accepted as the *sine qua non* of gentrification studies. According to this original definition, gentrification is defined as a process of class transformation at the neighborhood level (Glass, 1964) and it refers to the “rehabilitation of working-class residential neighborhoods by middle-class homebuyers, landlords, and professional developers.” (Smith, 1982, as cited in Lees et al., 2008, p. 9). According to Glass's definition, disinvested, working-class neighborhoods are upgraded by pioneer gentrifiers while displacing working-class residents in the process. In other words, according to this definition, gentrification is the transition of working-class areas in the inner city into residential and/or commercial use by the middle classes. However, since the coining of the term, the conceptualization of gentrification has evolved, and there has been a substantial body of literature on gentrification today.

Since the 1970s, various studies have attempted to understand the mechanics of the gentrification process, as well as the changes that occur depending on where gentrification takes place (Badcock, 1995; Beauregard, 1990; Hamnett, 1991; Lees, 1996; Ley, 1996; Palen & London, 1984; Rose, 1984; Smith, 1996; Smith & Williams, 1986; Van Weesep & Musterd, 1991; Zukin, 1987). A decade after the term gentrification was introduced, a vigorous debate developed between Marxist economic and humanistic perspectives on the primary driving factor of gentrification. In general, developed as a result of numerous theoretical and empirical studies on gentrification, fall into two major schools of thought in earlier definitions: “production-supply” versus “consumption-demand” debates.

Hamnett (1991) identified several related dichotomies as follows: structure against agency, output versus consumption, capital versus culture, and supply versus demand. The two main earlier approaches of gentrification emphasize residential, rehabilitative, and inner-city aspects of gentrification (Lees et al., 2007; Smith, 1982) and they also serve as the basis for the two basic theories for gentrification: the rent gap and the

emergence of a new middle class. The first approach explains gentrification as a structural economic process. In this approach, the emphasis is on restructuring the urban economy and creating new spaces suitable for gentrification. The second approach, on the other hand, is concerned with the choices and actions made by those who create or use gentrified spaces.

The fundamental theory in the first approach was developed by Neil Smith (1979), in his article “Toward a Theory of Gentrification: A Back to the City Movement by Capital, not People”. He took a structuralist Marxist perspective and argues that economic pressures, rather than cultural ones, are the driving forces for gentrification. For him, gentrification is “an expected product of the relatively unhampered operation of the land and housing markets” (Smith, 1979, p. 538). Smith argues that gentrification occurs in areas where the difference between current and potential ground rents is the biggest and he uses the concept of a rent gap to explain this situation. The “rent gap” is the disparity between the ground rent for current land use and the prospective rent for a more profitable use. According to Smith, the process begins with a drop in inner-city land values, which happens when excessive investment in the production sector steers capital to the more profitable housing sector, as in the case of suburbanization outside of cities. As Uzun (2003) argues, “in its first stage, suburbanization develops by attracting high-income groups. The concentration of housing investment in suburbia and the neglect of the inner-city results in a revalorization of the inner-city housing stock. As an outcome of the urban restructuring process of the last three decades, interest in the inner-city housing stock increases. This, in turn, creates a rent gap, and redirects housing investment to the inner-city.”

On the other hand, the consumption-demand debates pioneered by Ley (1996) highlight gentrifiers' cultural preferences and demographic features. This approach places gentrification primarily as a result of the availability of amenities that appeal to the gentrifying class. Gentrification, according to Ley, occurs in two stages. During the first stage, pioneers, also referred to as the risk-oblivious group, choose inner-city locations due to the areas' lifestyle, cultural, and historical value. During the second stage, the risk-averse group, those who move to the inner-city for investment opportunities, at times displaces the pioneers.

These binary categories, however, are being called into question by the emerging dynamics. After a lot of ink was spilled, scholars came to the conclusion that both are significant and may be viewed as complementary explanations for the gentrification process.

As mentioned, gentrification was associated with the inner city in its earlier definitions, and therefore it has been discussed in contrast to suburbanization in the periphery. The binary relationship between the inner city and the suburbs, or between the center and periphery, has changed due to the reinvestment of capital in areas that previously posed a barrier, in addition to the concurrent investments in urban sprawl (Lees et al., 2016). In addition to housing, touristy and consumer-oriented complexes, luxury office construction, and waterfront redevelopment are replacing existing public spaces and working-class districts (Lees et al., 2007). Re-development was distinguished from gentrification by its demolition and new-build nature, whereas gentrification was associated with residential upgrading and rehabilitation (Smith, 1982). According to Smith (1996), however, such a distinction is no longer relevant because both rehabilitation and redevelopment are complementary parts of property-led regeneration policies.

The majority of research on gentrification acknowledges that cultural, economic, and social forces interact, and is concerned with describing the context-specific and ever-shifting terrain on which gentrification has evolved into a “global urban strategy” (Smith, 2002). Despite the term's widespread use in research conducted in various countries outside the Global North, its theoretical contribution via place-specific trajectories remains limited in number. Although there were relatively few voices advocating for the importance of local context, in the early 2000s, interest in understanding gentrification experiences in the local context has grown exponentially in recent years. The place-specific trajectory of gentrification is explored by numerous researchers in an attempt to liberate the notion from dominant, generalizing conceptualizations (Janoschka et al., 2014; Jou et al., 2016). In a parallel effort, Lees et al. (2016) conducted case studies from cities in Africa, Asia, Southern Europe, and Latin America. They have urged for greater attention to race and ethnicity (particularly in the Global South) as well as an increased focus on gentrification in the Global South (Lees et al., 2016).

Brown–Saracino (2016) drew attention to what Lees (2003) called *super-gentrification* and urged researchers to investigate the link between gentrification and an increased concentration of poverty. Simultaneously, several insights from Turkey have also contributed to the place-specific geography of gentrification over the past few years. These include state-led gentrification, resistance, the incorporation of temporality into displacement, reconsideration of the boundaries between gentrifier and gentrified, and the appropriation of assemblage in gentrification (Kayasü & Yetişkul Şenbil, 2014; Lagendijk et al., 2014; Sakızlıoğlu, 2014; İslam & Sakızlıoğlu, 2015; Varlı Görk & Rittersberger-Tılıç, 2016).

Schulman (2012) defines gentrification as a “concrete replacement process. Physically, it is an urban phenomenon: the removal of communities of diverse classes, ethnicities, races, sexualities, languages, and points of view from the central neighborhoods of cities, and their replacement by more homogenized groups.” (p. 14). This definition recognizes the all-encompassing changes that this class transition brings forth. What gentrification represents is not merely a change in the housing market, but rather a hindrance to all other ways of being (Curran, 2017). It is noteworthy to mention Curran's (2017) argument that gentrification is creating highly unequal cities in which the allocation of resources to certain up-and-coming neighborhoods leads to the ossification of poverty in disinvested areas.

It should be noted that approaches that place an emphasis on cultural factors have come the closest to addressing emotions in the context of gentrification and displacement. Cultural perspectives often apply qualitative methodologies and give voice to actors such as gentrifiers, workers, locals, and planners. (T. Butler & Robson, 2003; Caulfield, 1994; Curran, 2007). According to numerous qualitative researches that draw on the feelings and experiences of actors in the gentrification process, people's emotions come into play when they make decisions concerning their lifestyle, housing, family, school, work, and neighborhood. These researches in the literature mostly deal with factors such as attachment to place, seeking financial security through homeownership, and concerns about the children's education (Mills, 1988; D. Rose, 2004; Butler & Robson, 2003; Karsten, 2007; Modan, 2007). On the other hand, few of the research is focused on emotion in and of itself, or on its relationship to other elements such as financial concerns.

Perceptions and emotions are critical sites for understanding gentrification, as “emotions fuel gentrification and gentrification is written on—and read off of—bodies as they move through and inhabit urban landscapes” (F. Kern, 2012, p. 30). Yet, this field remains mostly unexplored in gentrification studies in the literature. Therefore, this study places an emphasis on cultural factors to address perceptions and emotions in a gentrifying context.

2.2.1. Gender and Gentrification

Gender has been central to gentrification's effects in a patriarchal, heteronormative system even though it is not necessarily central to the definition of gentrification (Curran, 2017). As widely argued by feminist researchers, social class and its intersections with gender in gentrification research are required. As a matter of fact, organizing around gentrification provided a lens through which to view urban space as a capitalist and patriarchal issue (Curran, 2017). However, it has not received the attention it deserves in literature. This work explores gentrification in relation to gender by looking at women's everyday experiences in the gentrifying spaces. For this reason, it connects social class with gender in gentrification.

Curran (2017) says “class is gendered, raced, aged, and abled.” In “reclaiming” parts of the city that had previously experienced disinvestment and displacing the populations that lived in those areas, gentrification exposes the fundamental inequalities of modern society and urban planning. Gender is foremost among these, though it is rarely recognized as such in the literature on gentrification. Gender is a significant element that structures urban space. It is one of the lenses through which we see how gentrification maintains urban disparities. However, it has not been given the attention it deserves in literature.

The relationship between gender and gentrification attracted a good deal of attention during the 1980s and early 1990s. However, the gendered nature of inequalities has been too little examined in these works. (e.g., Markusen, 1980; Rose, 1984; Bondi, 1991; Bondi, 1999; Butler & Hamnett, 1994; Lyons, 1996; McDowell, 1997; Rose et al., 1989; Spain, 1992; Warde, 1991).

When gender is considered in gentrification studies, it is more common to associate with women as “gentrifiers”. Indeed, the focus on gender in the gentrification process has tended to be on the role of gentrifiers rather than the effects on individuals who are gentrified. Such is the trend, both in the above-mentioned discussions of the role of women in gentrification in the 1980s and in more recent studies (L. Kern, 2007, 2010a, 2010b, 2013). As one of the exceptions in the recent literature, Winifred Curran (2017) describes how gentrification has further exacerbated deep-rooted gendered stereotypes and gendered divisions of labor.

Gender was at the center of some early discussions about the causes and visible effects of gentrification. Some of these studies theorized that gentrification could be emancipatory. Some researchers—such as Markusen (1980)—have even suggested that gentrification is a result of the dissolution of the patriarchal family unit. To some scholars, gentrification can provide an increase in the flexibility of roles for women and gays. This consequently allows for a reworking of sexist ideas and, in turn, can fundamentally change the nature of cities (e.g., Caulfield, 1989; Rose, 1984). Likewise, in the studies conducted in gentrified districts by Smith (1987) in New York, Rose (1989) in Montreal, and Mills (1988) in Vancouver, it is discovered the following characteristics in each: a female population increasing faster than the male population; a high proportion of young and single women; a high proportion of women in professional jobs; high levels of academic credentials; a high proportion of couples who are dual-earners; but few families; and a postponement of marriage and childbearing (Warde, 1991, as cited in Curran, 2017, p. 3).

Several theorists who include gender in gentrification research (e.g., Beauregard, 1986; Bondi, 1991; Markusen, 1980; Rose, 1984; Wekerle, 1984) suggest that women are not only the potential beneficiaries of gentrification but also proponents of the process. According to this view, the existence of gentrification could be explained as the search for urban neighborhoods that could accommodate women's dual roles at home and work.

Moreover, according to Wekerle (1984), women were a major driving force behind the revitalization of the North American city, as they both needed and benefited more from living in an urban setting, as “women use the city more intensively than men and

for a wider range of functions: work, child rearing, shopping, cultural facilities and neighborhood participation. Women also gain more time since they show the greatest decline in travel-to-work time after a move from the suburbs to the city.” (p. 11) Therefore, women benefited from the advantages in cities despite cities being a place that was designed by and for men.

While gentrification enabled middle-class women to access numerous urban benefits, it can also be said that women were the ones who were most likely to be displaced as a result of the transformation in the neighborhood (Rose, 1984; Bondi, 1991). As Jupp (2014) stated, women are the most disadvantaged members of already disadvantaged communities. It is also important to note that increasing demand along with the gentrification process has actually proven to be the disadvantage of working-class women, people of color, immigrant communities, people with disabilities, the elderly, and other less advantaged urban residents. With this in mind, this study also looks through the lens of gender since “while gender identities may be fluid, diverse and ultimately impossible to generalize, particular modes of gender power may be named and traced with some precision at a relatively general level” (Brown, 2006; as cited in Jupp, 2014, p. 1311).

2.2.2. Displacement

Gentrification-induced displacement is another important conceptualization for this study. Gentrification involves a displacement process in which the poor are displaced by the wealthier, and heterogeneity is replaced by social and cultural homogeneity (Lees et al., 2016; Zukin, 2010). Displacement is central to the experience of gentrification, and the experience of displacement is not always physical (Angelovski, 2015; Davidson, 2008, 2009; Shaw & Hagemans, 2015).

As a result of rising housing and living costs, long-term residents are forced to relocate in search of more affordable accommodations. This disrupts social and familial ties and networks. People who belong to social groupings that have fewer economic resources are particularly vulnerable to being forced to leave their homes (Bondi, 1991). As long-term inhabitants leave the neighborhood in search of more affordable

housing and employment prospects, they are replaced by new, more affluent residents. Eventually, some of the people who comprise the first wave of gentrification face their own displacement (Clay, 1979; Kerstein, 1990), and as gentrification progresses, the neighborhood adapts to accommodate new and more affluent residents. However, as Betancur (2014, p. 3) argues, some other gentrification researchers, such as Freeman (2006), Hamnett (2003), and Vigdor et al. (2002) disregard displacement.

However, given that gentrification can also encompass more subtle forms of cultural appropriation and symbolic violence, displacement processes are not always as clear as these mass evictions suggest (Janoschka & Sequera, 2016). In parallel with this argument, some scholars have argued that displacement goes beyond mere “physical” displacement of residents. According to them, displacement also includes phenomenological displacement that occurs due to the increase in displacement pressures as neighborhoods change their characteristics and the lifestyles of previous residents are threatened with extinction (see, Davidson & Lees, 2010; Lees et al., 2016). Researchers studying gentrification have long interpreted displacement as a multifaceted, nuanced process rather than a single point of physical dislocation (T. Atkinson, 2015; Davidson, 2009; Elliott-Cooper et al., 2020; Marcuse, 1985; Sakizlioglu & Uitermark, 2014; Varlı Görk & Rittersberger Tılıç, 2016; Sakizlioğlu, 2014). As a result, a variety of terms (e.g., direct, indirect, exclusionary, pressure, lived, phenomenological, un-homing) have been coined to describe the complex nature of displacement as a process. This was emphasized by Marcuse (1985), who fleshed out the relationship between gentrification and displacement by arguing that gentrification is responsible not only for the direct eviction of low-income households, but also for forms of indirect displacement in which existing residents may feel out of place in a changing neighborhood as a result of the general decline of working-class culture and identity.

Within the long history of gentrification research, a scholarly debate has recently erupted over the relevance of gentrification-induced displacement, the “eviction” of critical academic positions on it (Slater, 2006), the importance of unpacking this widely accepted concept (Davidson, 2009; Redfern, 2003), and whether or not displacement is a significant sine qua non condition for gentrification to occur (Freeman, 2005; Freeman & Braconi, 2004; Vigdor et al., 2002).

Slater (2006, 2008) has strongly critiqued gentrification literature from the past decade, arguing that the focus has shifted from the negative consequences experienced by the poor, such as displacement, to focusing on the motivations and rationalities of the gentrifying middle and upper classes. This shift has led to a positive perspective which emphasizes social mixing while also paying great attention to the causes of the generation and reproduction of gentrification. As a disservice to those most greatly impacted by gentrification, relatively few studies have addressed displacement and the effects of gentrification on low-income populations (some exceptions are Curran, 2004; Fraser et al., 2004; Slater et al., 2004; Newman & Wyly, 2006; Wyly et al., 2010). Slater (2009) encouraged researchers to reconsider Peter Marcuse's pivotal writings about gentrification and abandonment in order to readdress gentrification back to its critical origins. Marcuse (1985) defined four types of displacement: direct last-resident displacement; direct chain displacement, which includes not only the last tenants, but also previous tenants in the building's history; exclusionary displacement, which is the exclusion of certain types of households from gentrified housing stock; and lastly, displacement pressure. The latter is particularly important for this research. Marcuse refers to “displacement pressure” in the dynamic of gentrification. What Marcuse referred to as “displacement pressure” is a potent and emotionally charged form of displacement which potentially has the same impact on individuals as direct and exclusionary displacement (Valli, 2015). According to his conceptualization, when the places people are accustomed to visiting are no longer welcoming or livable, people “may move as soon as they can, rather than wait for the inevitable” (Marcuse, 1985). Marcuse further argues:

When a family sees the neighborhood around it changing dramatically, when their friends are leaving the neighborhood, when the stores they patronize are liquidating and new stores for other clientele are taking their places, and when changes in public facilities, in transportation patterns, and in support services all clearly are making the area less and less livable, then the pressure of displacement already is severe. Its actuality is only a matter of time. Families living under these circumstances may move as soon as they can, rather than wait for the inevitable; nonetheless they are displaced (Marcuse, 1985, p. 207).

Theorizing displacement in terms of space/place dialectics, Davidson (2009) emphasizes the notion of “place” in displacement as a “lived experience of space.” Notably, Davidson (2009) argues that “people can be displaced—unable to (re)construct place—without spatial dislocation in the same way that they can be

displaced with spatial dislocation” (p. 228). Stabrowski (2014), following Davidson, defines “everyday displacement” as “the lived experience of ongoing loss of the security, agency, and freedom to “make place” (p. 796).

Theorizing about “cultural displacement”, to demonstrate how a sense of security and cultural belonging are developed in relation to an environment, Cahill (2007) draws on theories regarding attachment to a place. According to Cahill, changes in a social and cultural context caused by processes of gentrification undermine personal and cultural security, which leads to a loss of self-identity and sense of self. After all, different authors call for a more qualitative and phenomenological investigation of people's experiences of gentrification from the bottom up while conceptualizing displacement in a variety of ways (Lees, 2000; Cahill, 2006; Shaw & Hagemans, 2015; Mazer & Rankin, 2011; Valli, 2015).

The key discussion in the 2000s was whether gentrification resulted in displacement. For example, according to Freeman's research, gentrifying districts have a little to no increase in the chance of displacement (Freeman, 2005; Freeman & Braconi, 2004). On the other hand, Slater authored a series of op-eds criticizing Freeman and other mostly quantitative scholars for “evicting critical viewpoints from gentrification research.” Scholars investigating gentrification have increasingly asserted, in recent years, that the everyday experiences of those at risk of displacement provide a critical lens through which to view gentrification and the mechanisms of dispossession in cities (e.g., Harvey, 2003, 2006; Blokland, 2009; Freeman, 2006; Fullilove, 2004; Larsen & Hansen, 2008; Purcell, 2008; Uitermark et al, 2007). In this literature, David Harvey (2003) adapted Marx's notion of “primitive accumulation” and presented “accumulation by dispossession.” Primitive accumulation, according to Marx, was a transitory stage that occurred as capitalism overtook feudalism, and he centered his discussion on how it served to build a proletariat class of urban-industrial workers who would overturn capitalism (Glassman, 2006). Harvey (2003) revived primitive accumulation within the framework of accumulation by dispossession for contemporary social analysis under conditions of neoliberalism. In his view, “the features of primitive accumulation that Marx mentions have remained powerfully present within capitalism's historical geography” (Harvey, 2003, p. 145). Harvey (2006) uses the notion of accumulation by dispossession to explain the continuing

phenomenon that occurs when new capitalist modes of production are displacing long-standing indigenous modes of production and consumption that are based on traditional patterns of reciprocity. This arises since capitalism, which seeks new sources of raw materials and new markets for produced goods, creates “new fields for capital accumulation in domains hitherto regarded [as] off-limits to the calculus of profitability” (Harvey, 2006, p. 153). As a result, the poor are progressively robbed of their means of making a living. According to Harvey, the displacement process and dispossession are fundamental to the urbanization process under capitalism. For him, this is the “mirror image” of capital absorption through urban redevelopment, and it is causing a multitude of problems over the acquisition of high-value land from low-income inhabitants who may have lived there for decades (Harvey, 2012).

It also asserted that because of the growing inequality and polarization in gentrified spaces, even those from relatively privileged backgrounds can find themselves in a precarious position. That is to say, early gentrifiers’ displacement is proven to be a part of the typical cycle of the gentrification process (Zukin, 1989). Nonetheless, as demonstrated by this study and many others (e.g., Fried, 1966; Marcuse, 1985; Fullilove, 2004; Mazer & Rankin, 2011; Valli, 2015), the impacts of displacement on low-income inhabitants are considerably more disruptive since they have a profound impact on individual identity perceptions (Valli, 2015).

R. Atkinson (1998) defines displacement as the forced outflow of existing residents as a result of evictions and harassment. On the other hand, indirect forms of displacement occur when residents move out of their neighborhoods as a result of the increase in rent and/or property taxes caused by gentrification (R. Atkinson, 1998), as well as the loss of community as their neighbors and friends move over time, and people leave the area due to a sense of social isolation (R. Atkinson, 2002). In addition to Atkinson's definition, this study put emotional displacement in the category of indirect displacement.

Studies on gentrification often focus on the effects of displacement, such as the number of families that will be displaced or the actual moment of dislocation (e.g., T. Atkinson, 2015; Elliott-Cooper et al., 2020; Hubbard & Lees, 2019). However, the embodiment of displacement takes place as a process of “un-homing”: the physical displacement of

those who have been pushed out of an area and also the emotional displacement, alienation, and detachment of those who remain there (Valli, 2015).

While it can be difficult to conduct empirical research on physically displaced tenants, because of the difficulty in tracking them down after they have left (Shaw, 2004), this work investigates the struggles of those who are still clinging to their homes despite being under pressure to leave. There are very few studies that show that displacement has an emotional dimension, even though an emotional kind of displacement is vital to understand the experiences of the subjects and the results of the gentrification process. With this in mind, this study addresses the emotional form of displacement, albeit on a small scale.

2.2.3. A Selection of Gentrification Literature in Turkey

Despite the extensive literature on gentrification and the contributions of many scholars from all over the world, the contextual literature in these studies is still very limited (see, Janoschka et al., 2014). Likewise, although gentrification studies in Turkey reveal the hallmarks of the process through neighborhood trajectories, some evidence suggests that scholars tend to borrow the conceptualization of Anglo-American urban theory for their work, which limits the critical dialogue with mainstream literature.

The introduction of the term gentrification in the literature of Turkey experienced a time delay. Early studies on the term were tightly adapted to the mainstream conception, limiting understanding of context-specific variations. In the early 2000s, discussions were mostly about the spontaneous gentrification of the inner-city neighborhoods of İstanbul such as Cihangir, Tarlabaşı and Kuzguncuk (e.g., İslam, 2005; Uzun, 2003; Şalgamcıoğlu & Ünlü, 2014; Şen, 2006). These early studies mostly relied on consumption-side theories that arose in the Global North context that examined the gentrification processes.

It was not until the mid-2000s that the concept of state-led urban renewal projects made its way into gentrification literature in Turkey. Likewise, in the mid-2000s, the

government's intervention in the class transformation of inner-city neighborhoods in Turkey began to be discussed significantly in the literature. These contextualizations resulted in original contributions to the gentrification literature in Turkey. The studies of Güzey (2009), Uzun (2003) and Varlı Görk & Rittersberger-Tılıç (2016) on the other hand, discuss state-led gentrification in Ankara, Turkey. The conceptualizations of “relocation of poverty” and “urban captivity” (Bartu Candan & Kolluoğlu, 2008); “property-led resistances” (Kuyucu & Ünsal, 2010; Lovering & Türkmen, 2011); “differentiated citizenship” (Zayim, 2014); “urban renewal as market disciplinary tool” (Karaman, 2013, 2014); “re-informalization of state-subsidized housing” (Erman, 2016) and “constitution of new subjectivities of women through state-subsidized housing” (Erman & Hatiboğlu, 2017).

Marginalization of the urban poor and the aggressive form of displacement are some of the important issues raised by the recent urban transformation literature in Turkey, and they have the significant potential to reveal the phenomenon's contextual embeddedness in the country's historical context (Eken, 2020). Most of the work in Turkey investigates the displacement of the urban poor to the peripheries of the city and draws attention to the legal and institutional arrangements related to this. However, the impact of capitalist urbanization on the everyday lives of low-income groups needs special attention and further investigation.

The works of Karaman & İslam (2012) Ozan Karaman and Tolga İslam (2012) describe the attack on the everyday life of the residents of Sulukule and the spatial configuration resulting from the lifestyles of the inhabitants. The authors emphasize the ethnic dimensions of neighborhood change and displacement in this work while demonstrating how the “differences” of the residents, ranging from authentic everyday life to ethnicity, were used to generate exclusion. The writers conclude by calling for “good boundary” formations that recognize and respect differences, community values, and practices, while “fighting off ‘ghettoization’ through external forces such as racism, social exclusion, and economic marginalization.”

In recent years, there has also been a considerable increase in the number of gentrification studies conducted in Turkey's smaller towns. For example, Yüksel Dincer and İclal Dincer (2005) examined the social and spatial transformation within

the scope of rural gentrification in Mudurnu and Doğanbey in 2005. Doğan Bıçkıcı and Serhat Özgökçeler introduced the perspective of those living in the Tophane district after the renewal in Bursa (Özgökçeler & Bıçkıcı, 2012). Melis Kural examined the transformation process of Alaçatı within the context of rural gentrification (Kural, 2016). The significance of these studies is that they shift the focus from metropolitan cities to the smaller towns of Turkey.

Another theme of gentrification studies in Turkey is resistance to gentrification. These studies occupy an important place in the literature in Turkey. Resistance dynamics, the role of the government, and the impact of Neoliberal-Islamic politics are a few of the topics covered.

Looking at the literature on gentrification debates in Turkey, it can be concluded that there is a need for the integration of theories surrounding the emotional dimension of the low-income population's experiences. These theories are crucial to grasping the experiences surrounding the gentrification process.

2.3. Class and Emotions

Class becomes visible in people's everyday lives and “class differences find expression in status distinctions that rank individuals and groups on scales of social honorability rather than in terms of economic interest alone.” (Swartz, 1997, p. 151). Andrew Sayer (Sayer, 2005b) argues that class is a highly sensitive subject due to its arbitrary relationship to worth, virtues, and status. Skeggs (1997) provides an explanation for this dialogic manner of class as follows:

Class operated in a dialogical manner: in every judgment of themselves [the participants of Skeggs's research] a measurement was made against others. In this process, the designated “other” (based on representations and imaginings of the respectable and judgmental middle class) was constructed as the standard to/from which they measured themselves. The classifying of themselves depended upon the classifying systems of others. (Skeggs, 1997, p. 74)

Class practices never consist of people reflecting or focusing on their own condition, but rather emphasize the construction of their class perspective in relation to those above and below them in the class hierarchy. That is, an individual always forms their

class position by looking at the one “below” and the one “above”, and class differences are symbolically represented during these encounters. Class defines subject positions, and the dialogical other, which is important in the construction of subjectivity. As a result, emotions emerge as subjects are classed.

As Skeggs (1997) argues:

Class is absolutely central to the women's trajectories through subject positions. Their subjectivities come to be produced through the process of misidentification and dissimulation, showing how the dialogic judgmental other is central to their productions and how class operates at an intimate and emotional level. (Skeggs, 1997, p. 13)

With these arguments in mind, this study suggests that class analysis should be done in a way that is not limited to relations of exploitation, and labor processes but also covers the cultural field with its specific and autonomous dynamics. (Erdoğan, 2015). “To understand the subjective experience of class, we need to reconsider the emotional and evaluative aspects of the relations of self to self and self to other” (Sayer, 2005b, p. 22). Therefore, the perceptions and experiences of class are particularly important for this study.

Emotions play a substantial role in the analysis of class in the sense that they significantly shape the experiences of the working-class. As Swartz argues, “class differences find expression in status distinctions that rank individuals and groups on scales of social honorability rather than in terms of economic interest alone. They go unrecognized, however, since they are legitimated through the powerful ideology of individual qualities of talent, merit, and giftedness.” (Swartz, 1997, pp. 151–152). In other words, beyond socioeconomic categorizations and underneath class practices, there exists a “psychic economy of class” which has largely gone unnoticed in academic accounts and commonsense understandings (Reay, 2005, p. 912).

Emotions and psychic reactions to class and class inequalities play a significant role in the formation of class (Rebel, 1989). As Reay (2005, p. 924) argues, “class is deeply embedded in everyday interactions, in institutional processes, in struggles over identity, validity, self-worth, and integrity, even when it is not acknowledged.”

However, since class and emotions are thought to occupy different existential and theoretical domains (Barbalet, 1992, p. 150), emotions have not been included to a large extent in class analysis despite its importance. However, the study of emotions has evolved substantially in recent decades, not just in the discipline of psychology but also more broadly in the humanities and social sciences, where emotions are not simply a subject of investigation but rather the starting point for a new “emotional turn” or the “affective turn” (Lemmings & Brooks, 2014).

Sayer (2005a, pp. 954-955) argues that inequalities of class imply that the “social bases of respect” in terms of access to valued living are distributed unequally in a class society, and thus, shame is likely to be endemic to the class experience. He also points out that the shame experienced refers to feelings of inadequacy, a lack of dignity, integrity, and worth (2005b, p.155). Sayer states that “shame is likely to be endemic to the experience of class” and bases this premise on the unequal opportunities for a dignified life in a class society and adds that these inequalities result in feelings of shame among the most disadvantaged members of society (2005b, p. 212). According to Sayer (2005b), “to experience shame is to feel inadequate, lacking in worth, and perhaps lacking in dignity and integrity” (p. 954). The feeling of shame, which is one of the most hurtful effects of poverty, is a concept that alienates individuals who do not have sufficient resources or cannot meet the living standards of society, thus strengthening the phenomenon of social exclusion (Lister, 2004).

Sayer (2005a) argues that “to understand the subjective experience of class, we need to reconsider the emotional and evaluative aspects of the relations of self to self and self to others.” (p. 22). In parallel with this, Reay (2005) uses case studies from educational life to attempt to provide an account of the affective components and the emotions of class, which she refers to as “the psychic landscape of class.” These conceptualizations are significant in the sense that they demonstrate that a certain set of emotions provide a space in which the experiences of class are embodied in the daily lives of the working-class.

Skeggs (1997) contends that lived relations are the means through which subjects are gendered and classed. That is to say, subjects are continuously being reproduced in social positions. Class, according to her, is “reproduced through constraints on capital

exchange”. She maintains that class is about access and exclusion; that is “what people do not have rather than what they have” (Skeggs, 1997, p. 13). In parallel with this argument, she says, class also “informs access to how subject positions such as respectability and caring can be taken up” (Skeggs, 1997, p. 94). According to Skeggs (2004), it is through emotions that class struggle is expressed, regardless of whether or not these emotional expressions are frequently heard. These expressions or outpourings of emotion are representative of an alternate value system: one that is not easily recognized and certainly cannot be conformed to a concept of self that is focused on an accruing exchange-value to itself (Skeggs, 2004, p. 90). The working-class, according to Skeggs, is endowed with its own set of morals and values. A means for the working-class to think of itself as “respectable” is formulated within this set of values.

On the other hand, this study takes experience as a process that not only defines class and gender but also creates classed and gendered subjects. As Skeggs (1997, p. 38) argues, “Experience is central to the production of subjectivity, to the production of raced, classed, sexed, and gendered woman”.

When considering the term “experience”, as established by E.P. Thompson (1995), feelings play a crucial role. He understood “experience” to include not only ideas but also “feelings” and “moral and emotional consciousness”:

[...] with “experience” and “culture” we are at a junction point of another kind. For people do not only experience their own experience as ideas, within thought and its procedures, or (as some theoretical practitioners suppose) as proletarian instinct, etc. They also experience their own experience as feeling, and they handle their feelings within their culture, as norms, familial and kinship obligations and reciprocities, as values or (through more elaborated forms) within art or religious beliefs. This half of culture (and it is a full one-half) may be described as effective and moral consciousness. (Thompson, 1995, pp. 230–231)

2.3.1. The Hidden Injuries of Class

Richard Sennett and Jonathan Cobb (1972) explore the emotional dimension of class in the book “The Hidden Injuries of Class” which is a basic reference book for this

thesis. In this work, Sennett and Cobb (1972) take class as a matter of emotions, and they uncover the injurious character of class differences. They argue:

The reason the “prejudiced” image exists at all is that it serves a purpose, as does this whole scheme of individuals recognized and respected by virtue of ability. This purpose is to continue the iniquities of the world of nineteenth-century industrial capitalism-on new terrain. And just as the material penalties of the old capitalism fell hardest on the workers, despite the fact that both rich and poor might be alienated by the work, so now the moral burdens and the emotional hardships of class are the thorniest and most concentrated among manual labor-ers. What we hope to do, then, is to illumine a hidden scheme of values that sorts men into different classes; but we hope to demonstrate this burden of class by exploring its impact on those who lose the most by being classified. (Sennett & Cobb, 1972, p. 76)

In their book, Sennett and Cobb (1972) provide numerous examples of the emotional and cultural facets of poverty. They examine intimate feelings within and among the classes. It illustrates that the determinant of class consciousness is not the experiences of workers in the production process but rather social relations outside the workplace, daily life practices, and cultural values. In addition, they also explore the sacrifices, hopes, and defenses of the working-class.

According to Sennett and Cobb (1972) “class society takes away from all the people within it the feeling of secure dignity in the eyes of others and of themselves.” (p. 170). For them, “It does so in two ways: first, by the images it projects of why people belong to high or low classes-class presented as the ultimate outcome of personal ability; second, by the definition society makes of the actions to be taken by people of any class to validate their dignity-legitimations of self which do not, cannot work and so reinforce the original anxiety.” (pp. 170-171).

In this work, Sennett and Cobb (1972) address the working-class experience of their class as an injury in and of itself by taking their class position and subsequent condition personally. They argue that modern capitalist society convinces people to believe that one's abilities are the determining factors of success and value in society. They further argue:

This existential wound becomes a way for people to compare their own social position to other people's. When a janitor in a downtown office building self-disparagingly says, “You don't need no degrees to clean”, he is putting himself in a different position from a master electrician who says, “I know I'm doing good work; I mean, being an electrician is nothing to be ashamed of”. What separates

these two is that while the janitor gets little satisfaction from cleaning, to be sure, he's not ashamed of the act of cleaning; the shame lies elsewhere. He feels if he had been "a better person, like if I made something of myself, then people couldn't push me around ..." It is the kind of self-accusation similarly picked up in the words of a nearly illiterate garbage man: "Look, I know it's nobody's fault but mine that I got stuck here where I am, I mean ... if I wasn't such a dumb shit ... no, it ain't that neither ... if I'd applied myself, I know I got it in me to be different, can't say anyone did it to me." These feelings amount to a sense that the "lower" a man defines himself in society in relation to other people, the more it seems his fault. (Sennett & Cobb, 1972, p. 96)

Sennett and Cobb (1972) explain the specific mechanisms by which emotional experiences of class operate in contemporary capitalist society. Their work reveals the emotional effects of class differences in modern capitalist society, where workers experience a "lack of respect that consists of not being seen, not being accounted as full human beings" (Sennett, 2003, p. 13). As Sennett (2003) states: "No insult is offered to another person, but neither is recognition extended; he or she is not seen as a full human being whose presence matters." (p. 3). Therefore, as Sennett and Cobb (1972) argue, class inequality in modern societies "sets up a contest for dignity" (p. 147).

According to Sennett and Cobb (1972), the moral burdens and emotional hardships of class are most intensely experienced among manual laborers. They argue that social relations are translated into personal worth to the extent that society has convinced people that rewards or punishment are a result of personal abilities. In this context, class positions are taken so personally (1972, p. 29) that it injures the dignity and self-respect of those involved. As Sennett and Cobb (1972) argue, "there is a split between conscious belief and inner conviction-in secret he feels ashamed of who he is. Class is his personal responsibility; despite the fact he never had a chance" (p. 97). They argue that "the badges of inner ability people wear seem, in sum, unfairly awarded-yet hard to repudiate. That is the injury of class, in day-to-day existence, that the people we encountered face; it is a tangled relationship of denied freedom and dignity infinitely more complex than a resentment of 'what other people are doing to me.'" (Sennett & Cobb, 1972, p. 118).

The working-class, in particular, has a sense of "self-accusation", in which they blame themselves for their social position. This feeling, however, has an ambiguous character:

It isn't right society should think him as a “nobody”, isn't right because he never had a chance to be anything else... however, there is a split between conscious belief and inner conviction- in secret he feels ashamed for who he is. Class is his personal responsibility, despite the fact that he never had a chance. (Sennett & Cobb, 1972, p. 97)

Sennett and Cobb (1972) argue that in a class society, people are internalizing the class conflict, “the process by which struggle between men leads to a struggle within each man” (p. 98). They regard the ambivalence as a reaction to authority: “They are not rebellious in the ordinary sense of the word; they are both angry and ambivalent about their right to be angry” (1972, p. 79).

According to Sennett and Cobb (1972) people have defense mechanisms against the injurious nature of class society. They mentioned two categories of defense: the dream of autonomous work and “divide in the self”. The latter is significant for this thesis: “a divide in the self”, refers to the conscious alienation of the “active, performing self, seeking recognition from others as a distinctive individual” from “the passive self that just wants to be, enjoy family and friends, to love them” (Sennett & Cobb, 1972, pp. 192-194). They assert that the worker abandons his real self at home and while at work is the performing self. In this instance, keeping the real self hidden is a worker’s psychological defense. The worker adopts an untouchable persona in order to protect themselves in a class society, in which selves are under the scrutiny and judgment of others (Sennett & Cobb, 1972). The divided self is like most other kinds of conscious defenses that human beings erect still cause pain in the short run, but do not remove the conditions that made the defense necessary in the first place (Sennett & Cobb, 1972, p. 219).

2.3.2. Literature on the Working Class in Turkey

The literature on the working class in Turkey is voluminous. However, these studies concentrate on similar areas, and the studies that give a central role to personal narratives and everyday experiences of the working class are limited in number.

Some of the studies on the working class in Turkey focus primarily on organized workers within the context of the working class movement, as well as the political

organization of the working class and workers' unions. These studies, although very rich in number and volume, did not touch upon cultural analysis nor the experiences of the working class (e.g., Enginsoy, 1968; Sülker, 1969; Güzel, 1993; Yazıcı, 1996; Koç, 1998; Yaraşır, 2006; Koç, 2010). On the other hand, a portion of the studies that focus on some of the very important strikes do touch on the working class experience. These works include: testimonies of workers who took part in these events; materials published in the newspapers; some photographs; and even some materials written by the workers. All of these works provide insight into the experiences of the working class while referencing cultural issues, although lacking an analytical framework.

Class relations through the perspective of social transformation were investigated by another group of scholars. To exemplify, the consequences of post-1980 neoliberal policies on the welfare level of the working class were investigated by Boratav (1995), as well as the effects of the economic, social, and political spheres on class relations. (Boratav, 2005).

Another group of researchers engaged in studies of historical-archival material and attempted to construct a bottom-up history of the late Ottoman and early republican years. Although it is somewhat problematic to investigate the voice of the subalterns, especially through official documents, these publications are significant in Turkey's working class studies. An additional body of work analyzes the different segments of capitalist commodity production while trying to locate these production segments within the global production system. They mostly investigate informality and subcontracting, small-scale production, and the underdeveloped and dependent form of capitalism in Turkey. Although their main concern is the organization of capitalist production, these studies give some insight into the workers' experiences. However, they do not provide an in-depth exploration of the complexity of the working class experience.

A few of the earlier studies on the working class in Turkey are based on field research and workers' narratives. The study by Kahveci et al. (1996) took into account some important changes in Turkey, such as the growth of the informal sector, the emergence of an industrial working class, and the decline in the economic and social status of government employment. Based on a variety of case studies, the book mainly gives

examples of work in the urban sector and includes the experiences of workers. Ayhan Aktar's study of the small-scale weaving industry in Bursa (Aktar, 1990), Güler Müftüoğlu's study of small-scale shoe making workshops in Istanbul (Müftüoğlu, 2005), and Nevra Akdemir's study of the informalization and subcontracting practices in the shipbuilding industry in Tuzla (Akdemir, 2008) are some other contributions to the working class literature in Turkey.

Another group of scholars (e.g., Öngen, 1996; Belek, 2007; Ögütte & Çekin, 2010) offered theoretical explanations of class. These studies, which generally discuss some of the prevailing global approaches to class, were important in introducing theories in Turkey. Although such studies do not make an original contribution to the theory of class, their valuable efforts to bring the theories together must be acknowledged.

In recent years, several important works have attempted to address the gap in the cultural analysis of class and class experiences. Unlike the common texts on class analysis and the working class literature in Turkey, a new tendency to incorporate cultural analysis of class in these works has emerged. Özügürü's (2008) work, *Anadolu'da Küresel Fabrikanın Doğuşu*, addressed concerns over the cultural analysis of class and working class experiences, and placed these relationships in the context of global production. In this study, he presents the narratives of the working class and provides a theoretical framework for examining the recent formation of the working class.

Nichols & Suğur (2005) analyzed the narratives of workers and managers in a field study examining seven large-scale firms. In addition, the narratives of women workers in the textile sector were also examined. In this study, modern industry and its accompanying management techniques and their effects on employees are examined.

Research on the working class in Turkey came to the forefront again with the Tekel protest, which lasted from November 21, 2009 to April 3, 2010. Simultaneously, many studies were conducted directly examining the protest (Şahin, 2010; Bulut, 2010; Kaldıraç, 2010; Akbulak, 2011; Yıkılmaz & Kumlu, 2011).

On the other hand, there are few studies that have explored class in the context of emotions. Especially in the context of Turkey, the number of these studies is quite

limited. Özuğurlu's (2010) work is one of the few examples of class analysis in the context of emotions. He argues that the explanatory code of working class behavior in Turkey is “fear”. Özuğurlu contends that fear operates at two levels: fear of losing one's job and being unable to find another; and fear of failing to fulfill basic duties (such as being a valuable wife, a protective parent) (Özuğurlu, 2010, p. 61). As a result, there is also a fear of losing self-respect. In this study, Özuğurlu states that the most urgent need of today's Turkish society—for those who are drowning in dread of losing self-confidence—is hope, and the Tekel resistance provides that hope (Özuğurlu, 2010, p. 62).

A comprehensive study on urban poverty in Turkey, written by Erdoğan et al. (2007) analyzes the cultural and political formation of urban poverty in Turkey. It discusses how the poor-subordinates experience the changing social hierarchy and class inequality, and subsequently how they make sense of their experiences. The book investigates the poor-subaltern's experiences of social disparities and hierarchies in the form of hidden injuries, and particularly considers the emotions in this context, based on the narratives of the poor themselves. It analyses how social hierarchies are experienced, interpreted, and expressed by the poor in terms of class, gender, ethnicity, religion, ideology, and social space. This work is one of the first to deal with the emotional and evaluative aspects of the poor-subordinates in a class society, which threatens people's honor, dignity, self-worth, and self-respect, and it reveals the cases that inflict symbolic violence on poor-subordinates. This book addresses poverty beyond economic categorizations by examining the poor's subjective experiences and thoughts in conjunction with the social conditions out of which poverty is formed. Erdoğan et al. (2007) discuss how the poor-subordinates experience the changing social hierarchy and class inequality, and subsequently how they make sense of their experiences. Additionally, their relations with the political processes are analyzed. In this book, Erdoğan (2007a) explores the new forms of social exclusion and marginalization within the global process of late capitalism. He argues that the rise of Özalism widens the gap between the rich and the poor with the sharpened inequalities of income distribution, damage to social policies and programs, and the decrease of social insurance and welfare expenditures.

A more recent study on white-collar unemployment (Bora et al., 2011), poses similar questions of worth and self-respect with an emphasis on questions of precarity and precarious work. Other than these, there are some other important studies which involve analysis of the culture and/or emotional dimension of class. These studies are based on the encounters of class and will be introduced in the next section.

2.3.3. Literature on the Class Encounters in Turkey

There are several studies regarding the experiences of class encounters in Turkey that examine these encounters specifically in the context of work relations (e.g., Rittersberger-Tılıç & Kalaycıoğlu, (1998); Erdoğan, (2000a), (2000b), (2010a), (2010b); Kalaycıoğlu & Rittersberger-Tılıç (2000; Özyeğin, (2002); Özyeğin, (2005); Bora (2005)) Even though these works present class encounters in different contexts, they all point to the different forms of inequalities embedded in the society.

The work of Kalaycıoğlu and Rittersberger-Tılıç (2000) examines the relationship between domestic workers and their employer. In this study, Kalaycıoğlu and Rittersberger-Tılıç claim that women who migrated from rural to urban areas of Turkey are pushed to work in the labor market because of the poverty they faced. Because they lack the education capital and qualifications demanded by the market, they are forced into the informal sector, which is precarious and low-paid. On the other hand, because patriarchal relations both in society and in the household remain unchanged in today's world, resulting in a double burden for working women, middle-class women prefer to transfer the domestic work to other women who are seen as uneducated and unqualified. Thus, they can ease their own burden and participate in social life and in the workforce. In this work, Kalaycıoğlu and Rittersberger-Tılıç argue that in Turkey, the relationship between the employer, who is middle-class woman, and domestic workers is a “pseudo-kinship relation”. In this sense, domestic workers want to be treated properly and seen as family members. The study shows that, rather than heavy working conditions, ill-pay and precariousness, they respond more to the humiliation and discrimination they faced. According to Kalaycıoğlu and Rittersberger-Tılıç, this is closely linked to their socio-economic position in society.

In the context of the domestic worker's contradictory position, they conclude that in Turkey, the modernization process is not linear, but rather a contradictory process. The writers argue that even though there are some contradictions between the domestic workers and their employers, this contradiction takes place in the form of latent class conflict. In that sense, although domestic workers see their employers as successful in regard to their high-status jobs and educational capital, they do not accept their lifestyles and moral values.

Özyeğin's work (2005) deals with the women who work in the household cleaning service by focusing on their experience in the space they live in, namely, squatter houses and janitor flats. In this work, Özyeğin states that despite the sociodemographic similarities, women who live in janitor flats and squatter houses represent two different kinds of entrance into modernity and two different urban experiences, depending on their social and geographical position. Just as Kalaycıoğlu and Rittersberger-Tılıç (2000) argue in their work, Özyeğin also agrees that the modernization process is not linear in Turkey and the country's complex process of modernization is also reflected in this study. Because of the assumption that some types of domestic labor—such as cooking and childcare—are done with “love”, middle-class women employers invest their labor in “hygienic” areas of domestic work while the “dirty” work is left to the domestic workers. However, as active agents, domestic workers resist the polarization in the household cleaning service. One of these resistances includes their efforts to be seen as the chamberlain of the house. This resistance could be seen as similar to their demands to establish a pseudo-kinship relationship, as in the work of Kalaycıoğlu and Rittersberger-Tılıç.

The work of Bora (2008) also examines the relationship between the domestic workers and their middle-class employer, and studies the role of household cleaning services in subjectivity formation of these women. She argues that different forms of subjectivity are (re)produced in everyday experience in the household cleaning service and that these experiences reproduce class inequalities, but also involve challenges to those inequalities. Bora observes that both domestic workers and employers deny the class differences. Instead, they claim that the differences between those women come from personality traits. In this work, Bora argues that discourses about hygiene, body politics, and perceptions of morality are some of the boundaries that are set between

these two classes. Domestic workers build their subjectivity through resourcefulness, prudence, and self-sacrifice vis-à-vis parasitic, lazy, wasteful, and unskilled middle-class women. Rather than latent class differences as in the work of Kalaycıoğlu and Rittersberger-Tılıç (2000), Bora argues that there are an underlined class differences between charwomen and employer.

The series of articles written by Erdoğan regarding the class encounters in Turkey is another important contribution to the literature of class encounters. In a series of articles, Erdoğan continues to question the injurious, unequal and contradictory characteristics of class society in various cultural contexts. Erdoğan (2000b) argues that there is a transition in the experience of class encounters in Turkey. He claims that there is an intensification of social hierarchies and class relations are becoming more and more associated with smell relations, i.e., identifying people of a particular class with unpleasant odors. In his article, “The Daughter of the Doorman” (2010a), he shows physical and symbolic violence directed towards members of the working class from members of the middle class regardless of their age. In this article, he emphasizes the sharpening tone of class hierarchies in the form of pressure upon the working classes to speak with “middle-class language”. The Intellectual and (Cleaning) Woman (2010b) article refers to the rising class elitism by showing the humiliation of working classes by intellectuals with the shameless expression of social inequalities. In his article, “Classrooms and Classes in Public Schools” (2012a), he refers to neoliberal logic, which is embedded in Turkey’s educational institutions and commoditized the educational apparatus. This can be seen in the public schools of Turkey, in which class hierarchies are present. The students in these schools are divided based on their family’s income, and thus, education loses its function as a means of moving up the social ladder. Additionally, it reproduces the dangerous image of the working classes even in the public schools of Turkey. In his article “White Man” and “Apaches” (2012b), he shows insulting language towards “Apaches” and micro fascism embedded in that language. This is another example that dramatically shows the sharpened class hierarchies in Turkey.

All of these works involve the experiences of the lower classes based on their own narratives while including a strong cultural analysis of class in Turkey. What is also common in these works is that they do not take the poor as passive objects but rather

as active agents who resist the unequal relations of power. The writers show the routine resistance (Özyeğin, 2005, p. 166), arts of resistance (Bora, 2005, p. 178) and tactics (Erdoğan, 2007b, pp. 39-43) that are used by the subaltern to resist. These could be pretending to obey, betrayal, dividing the self as the real person and as a performing individual, lying and so on. Although this kind of resistance does not lead to structural change to the unequal relations between the dominant and the subordinate, it is still important in the sense that it shows the active agency of the poor.

These recent studies in the literature show that there is an obvious sharpening of class hierarchies in Turkey, especially after the neoliberal transition. As a result of this transition, there is an internal migration from rural to urban spaces of Turkey. With the transformation in the labor market, precarious forms of employment increased, and the unqualified rural migrants were pushed to the informal sector. Furthermore, spatial separation has emerged in the urban space, which divides the social classes in the city. Because urban space has become a site for capital accumulation, the public spaces where people from different classes meet are destroyed. In addition, cultural reflections towards the lower classes have been transformed. Poor become synonymous with bad smell, dirt, and crime. As a result, to protect their respectability, lower classes use their moral weapons. Within this context, the contribution of this thesis is its effort to examine the experiences of poor women living in a middle-class area of Turkey in order to understand the changing forms of social relations and how space as an agency affects these relations.

2.4. Women and Rural to Urban Migration in the Context of Turkey

In this study, following the theory of Judith Butler, gender is used as an analytical and dynamic conceptualization that relates to practice and process. Butler (1990) writes: “Sex is as culturally constructed as gender; indeed, perhaps it was always already gender, with the consequence that the distinction between sex and gender turned out to be no distinction at all” (p. 7). The primary premise of her argument is that gender is not an intrinsic, biologically determined quality or an inherent identity, but rather a performance that is based on and reinforced by societal norms and is played

repeatedly. In addition to being performative, this constant performance of gender generates the notion of gender itself as well as the illusion of two inherent, essential sexes. That is to say, instead of being women or men, individuals perform in the roles of women and men, thus establishing the categories of women and men. She maintained that gender, rather than being an essential attribute derived from biological sex or an inherent identity, is a social act that emerges from, reinforces, and is reinforced by societal norms, creating the appearance of binary sex. This work takes the category of “women” in this context and particularly focuses on their experiences in city space.

In Turkey after the 1950s, in parallel to the political-economic transformation at that time, the process of migration from rural to urban, which has multi-faceted causes and extremely complex consequences, was initiated. As a result of this transition, there has been an internal migration from rural to urban spaces in Turkey. Since then, numerous studies have been published on rural-to-urban migration in Turkey. With the transformation in the labor market, precarious forms of employment are increased, and unqualified rural migrants are pushed to the informal sector.

Recent studies on the consequences of rural-to-urban migration on women's status in Turkey mostly consist of qualitative studies. These studies are very important in the sense that they seek to understand the first-hand experiences, culture, feelings, and narratives of women. In particular, women's rural-to-urban migration is mostly discussed in the framework of the “empowerment” debate in Turkey. These debates generally revolve around the questions of identity and belonging.

According to Stirling (1974) migrant women are “more restricted, housebound, segregated, and socially isolated when they move to town than they were in the village” (p. 213). On the other hand, some other studies emphasize that escaping from the village's hard working and living conditions and the flexible city atmosphere gives women relatively more freedom (e.g., Erman, 1997; İncirlioglu, 1993). Tahire Erman (1997), in her work “The Meaning of City Living for Migrant Women and Their Role in Migration: The Case of Turkey” argues that Turkish peasant women strongly favor city life and links this preference to choices available to them in both the village and the city. However, these women continue to be disadvantaged in the city. Karpat

(1976) writes, “Women, though generally concurring with men's opinions about the reasons for leaving the village, had a much more concrete view of the living difficulties in a rural area where they did most of the work in the fields and homes. They were attracted to the city by the desire to escape the hardship of fieldwork and to find better opportunities for their children.” (p. 75).

Bolak's work argues that male control and authority, which are maintained in the village, have become more amenable to negotiation in the city (Bolak, 1993). Bora's work also indicates that significant changes occur in women's processes of subjectivity construction—especially with their money-earning activities in the city—which can be considered an act of empowerment in and of itself (Bora, 2005). İlbars's (1988) work, on the other hand, asserts that when women and men are separated from community life in the village, they rely on one another more, and their relationship evolves as the couple spends more time together. Another positive change emphasized in the literature regarding women's work outside the home is that change in the spousal relationship. There are a number of studies that emphasize that joint decisions are made, and the husband's engagement in housekeeping increases (Alpar & Yener, 1991; Bolak, 1993; Ecevit, 1991; Gökçe, 1993; İlbars, 1988). Furthermore, the research undertaken by Kalaycıoğlu & Rittersberger Tılıç (2001, pp. 107, 147) highlighted instances in which the employers of domestic workers encouraged their employees to learn new skills—such as teaching them to use a computer—or financially.

Several studies on rural migrants in Turkey have demonstrated that the family, the neighborhood, and the larger migrant community are essential for one's survival and social mobility in urban areas (Gilbert & Gugler, 1992; Gökçe, 1993; Karpat, 1976). In the literature, it is emphasized that the majority of women who migrate from villages to cities have precarious employment in the informal sector, which is mostly domestic work without fixed wages and job security. However, it is also asserted that many of them spend most of their time within the confines of their immediate living environment. Within these studies, women's economic participation has long been recognized as a critical component of empowerment. Women's paid labor, it has been asserted, “provides some financial independence from men, promotes independence and self-esteem, gives women more decision-making power in the home, promotes more sharing of household chores, and prepares the way for ‘class consciousness’ and

collective organizing among women” (Gordon, 1996, p. 72). Nevertheless, a number of studies show that economic engagement does not automatically lead to women's empowerment (e.g., Erman et al., 2002; Afshar, 1998; Das & Gupta 1995; Gordon 1996). For example, according to a study conducted by Erman et al. (2002), in squatter settlements in Ankara, Istanbul, İzmir, and Mersin that included 100 in-depth interviews with rural migrant women about their money-earning activities and their empowerment experiences in the city, despite the fact that their earnings increased their bargaining power somewhat, they still remained subordinate in the household.

Women's economic participation has long been recognized as a critical component of empowerment. It has been asserted that women's paid labor, “provide[s] some financial independence from men, promote[s] independence and self-esteem, give[s] women more decision-making power in the home, promote[s] more sharing of household chores, and prepare[s] the way for ‘class consciousness’ and collective organizing among women” (Gordon, 1996, p. 72). On the other hand, Osmani (1998), in her article on the empowerment of women, concluded by noting that “decades of cultural conditioning cannot be undone by less than a decade's participation [in] income-earning activities.” (p. 80). That is to say, due to the role of culture as a mediating factor, even prolonged exposure to income-generating activities in one generation cannot be expected to completely neutralize centuries of cultural conditioning (Erman et al., 2002). Patriarchal culture may undervalue women's economic contributions and achievements by defining women's work as an extension of women's traditional responsibilities (Erman, 2001; White, 1994).

Erman's (1998) qualitative work with rural migrants in Ankara concludes that city life has opened up new possibilities for bargaining for rural migrant women. She continues by stating that radical disruptions in everyday events and norms, such as migration, have the potential to create chances for women to gain more autonomy and power. However, she adds that their bargaining with the patriarchy remained highly asymmetrical in the context of rural migrant women in Turkey. Erman (1997) also draws attention to the oppression experienced by married women living with their in-laws in village life. Considering the control of extended families and communities in villages over women, the autonomy of women in cities increases since they usually live in independent nuclear units. Erman (1997) and Özyeğin (2005) argue that

women's migration to the city offers them an opportunity to assert themselves, voice their ideas in their household, and, in some cases, change their material conditions.

Eryar et al., (2019) utilized a nationally representative survey to investigate often-overlooked groups of migrants, such as urban-to-urban and better-educated migrants. They conclude in this study that “In the context of Turkey, patriarchal societal structure confines women to the domain of domesticity irrespective of improvements experienced in both educational attainment and labor market outcomes.” They maintain that despite increases in educational attainment and labor-force outcomes, the patriarchal structure restricts women's lives and confines them to the domain of domesticity.

However, numerous studies reveal that women are active agents who seek better positions for themselves and their families. They devise “subtle strategies” in order to deal with the authority of male family members. (e.g., Erman, 1997; Erman et al., 2002).

2.5. Concluding Remarks

This study considers space as a social product and further investigates the lived experiences of gentrification using the cultural explanations of gentrification and emotional displacement literature. An analysis of gentrification provides a perspective through which to understand urban space as a product of capitalism and patriarchy. With this in mind, this study further connects the gentrification process to class and gender experiences, referencing Sennett and Cobb’s work “Hidden Injuries of Class” (1972). In addition, studies on the recent changes in Urla are very limited in number. Therefore, this work aims to investigate the results of the newly accelerating process of gentrification in that particular area.

CHAPTER 3

EVERYDAY CLASS ENCOUNTERS

This chapter focuses on the everyday life experiences of poor women living in or near gentrifying areas inhabited mostly by middle and upper class residents. The experiences of poor women in the neighborhood are shaped greatly by their class position and that of those around them. First to be considered is their encounters with the middle and upper classes, and how they experience their class position as an injury, and furthermore, how these injuries affect their experience of the neighborhood. Secondly, there is an exploration of the relationships built and the solidarity or lack thereof among neighbors in the area. Finally, the chapter concludes with an analysis of their psychological defense mechanisms to cope with their situation in the neighborhood. In doing so, questions regarding self-worth, self-respect, and dignity are dealt with, as well as those concerning how hidden injuries are felt, experienced, and further alienate the poor in gentrifying neighborhoods. Specifically, the emotional dimension of class in the form of hidden injuries in a neoliberal world defined by capitalism is expanded throughout this chapter. Reflecting on the space where these women live allow for the recognition of the range of experiences that constitute the lives of poor women living in gentrifying areas and their encounters with the middle-class (Özyeğin, 2004, p. 15). As Sayer (2005b, p. 22) argues, “to understand the subjective experience of class, we need to reconsider the emotional and evaluative aspects of the relations of self-to-self and self-to-other.” Therefore, to thoroughly understand the subjective experience of class, this chapter focuses primarily on the emotional aspects of the class.

3.1. Hidden Injuries

Class is something beneath your clothes, under your skin, in your reflexes, in your psyche, at the very core of your being. (Kuhn, 1995, p. 98)

As Erdoğan (2007c, p. 65) asserts, in Turkey's social formation, the most significant consequence of social class and cultural hierarchies imposed by the capitalist axiomatic for the poor is the fear of losing dignity and self-respect. In parallel with this argument, poverty, in the interviewees' narratives, is interpreted in terms of the injuries it causes on self, more than the problems it effects like shelter, nutrition, and health. Namely, interviewees were more concerned about cultural-symbolic schemes and social distinctions that classify them rather than the poverty they faced. Sayer (2005b) says that "people experience class in relation to others partly via moral and immoral sentiments or emotions such as benevolence, respect, compassion, pride and envy, contempt and shame." (p. 3). These sentiments and emotions are integral to understanding the interviewees' perspective and how class position is experienced.

In the narratives of the poor, the most distinctive feature is the description of their relationships with the middle and upper classes as humiliating and degrading, which embodies the social differences and social hierarchy present in the area. The interviews reflected that by merely living in the same neighborhood, as soon as these women leave their homes or even inside their homes, they feel the ever-present weight of this injurious relationship. Sennett and Cobb (1972) point out "class society takes away from all the people within it the feeling of secure dignity in the eyes of others and themselves." (p. 170). One of the most dramatic descriptions of this experience can be found in Ünzile's narrative. Through tears, Ünzile, who previously worked as a gatekeeper with her husband and now works as a domestic worker, pointed to the injurious nature of this relationship. She described the injury this circumstance inflicted on her by comparing herself to an "ant that would be squashed if stepped on":

"So sometimes when there is someone humiliating me, I feel like you know... I mean I see myself like an ant 'ant that would be squashed if stepped on.'" ¹

¹ "Yani bazen aşağılayan olduğu zaman işte çok şey hissediyorum yani kendimi. Aynı nasıl desem bir garınca gibi ayak bassa ezilecek şekilde gibi görüyom yani kendimi."

Ünzile's experience precisely identifies the "hidden injury". Her experience involves translating the experience of social relations into a language of self-worth.

Skeggs points out that "the working class is never free from the judgments of imaginary and real others that position them, not just as different, but as inferior, as inadequate" (Skeggs, 1997, p. 90). As detailed by Skeggs, the interviewees shared the same sentiments; feelings of inferiority and inadequacy. Translating social inequalities into self-worth, Zeliha (43) describes that she is excluded from social relations in her neighborhood, which results in her feeling of inadequacy:

"Well God knows I feel very bad, I wonder what's wrong with me, so people can't get close, can't talk, can't warm up. It is hard for sure. For example, if you are to join a crowd, the crowd is laughing and chatting all together but not with you, it is difficult for me. Well God created me, you as well...So why is there discrimination? It is hard." ²

Zeliha's commentary shows that she evaluates herself with self-doubt and arrives at this conclusion not only by herself but also from how she feels others perceive her. In parallel with Skeggs' argument, Aliye (41) also says that "even though people do not say anything" to her, she feels uncomfortable in the neighborhood; her narrative also reflects the constant self-doubt and self-questioning:

"But even if they don't say anything, I wonder if they look down on me now. In their eyes, I am poor. Will they say something, I wonder if they will do... You feel it in your heart." ³

One of the most significant aspects of the poor living in Urla is that unlike most of the poor, who rarely encounter the middle and upper classes on an everyday basis, the interviewees encounter the middle and upper classes daily. Even women who are housewives encounter the middle and upper classes as their neighbors, in addition but

² "Valla çok kendimi kötü hissediyom acaba bende ne var yani insan yaklaşmıyor, konuşmıyor ısınmıyor. Zor oluyor tabii ki. Mesela bir topluma girsen toplum hepsi birbiriyle gülse konuşsa sen de konuşsan, hepsi birbiriyle konuşsa senle konuşmasa, benim için zordur. E Allah beni de yaratmış seni de yaratmış. E ne ayrımcılık oluyor ki. Zor oluyor."

³ "Ama onlar bir şey demeseler de bile diyorum ki acaba bunlar şimdi beni hor görüyorlar mı kendi gözlerinde ben onların fakirim. Acaba bir şey derler mi acaba şeyaparlar mı... Onu kendi içinde yaşıyorsun."

not limited to at their children's school or in grocery stores. These everyday encounters result in interviewees classifying their conditions of existence in relation to others.

Throughout the interviews, interviewees mentioned that they feel excluded by their neighbors' verbal or bodily expressions. This exclusion is reflected in their self-esteem, and as a result, they experience intense shame and unease in social environments. Likewise, Hülya (47) feels excluded when she encounters "the army officers' wives" in her children's school since they do not talk to her:

"For example, in our school, there is also discrimination in school, like, the army officers' wives they do the things when they come, for example, stay away from you. Well, our kids are in the same class. In one way or another, people come to something, come to an environment, and there is a meeting..."⁴

The interviewees' narratives on poverty highlighted the important emotional aspects of poverty. They describe the feeling of exclusion from society and, consequently, feeling worthless and inadequate. As a result, they experience intense shame in social environments. The feeling of shame, which can be seen in these narratives, is one of the most severe effects of poverty. This concept alienates individuals who do not have sufficient resources or cannot reach the living standards of the society they belong to and further strengthens the phenomenon of social exclusion (Lister, 2004). The vast majority of the interviewees stated that they were in a constant state of unease in the neighborhood, that they felt uncomfortable in society, experienced shame, and constantly tried to stay away from society. This "feeling of vulnerability in contrasting oneself to others at a higher social level" haunts the poor living in Urla in their everyday life.

As Sayer (2005a) argues, "to experience shame is to feel inadequate, lacking in worth, and perhaps lacking in dignity and integrity" (p. 155). This experience of shame and the consequent sentiments of inadequacy, triviality, and inferiority are frequently reflected in the interviewees' narratives. The shame alluded to in the testimonies of the interviewees powerfully resonates with Lynd's (1965) description of "wounding of one's own self-ideal" and "disgrace in the eyes of the others." (p. 26). Shame

⁴ "Mesela bizim okulda da bir de şey ayrımı şey yapıyorla okulda da hani mesela subay karıları marılları onlar gelince de kendi şey yapıyo mesela sana uzak duruyola. E tamam da bizim çocuklar aynı sınıfta. İster istemez insan bi şeye geliyola bi ortama geliyo bir toplantı oluyorla..."

experiences are intertwined with one's sense of self-respect and dignity. This feeling, for the women involved in this research, is a feeling, that can be described using Sayer's (2005b) definition of shame as deriving "not from a single episode but from the habitus as a result of years of subtle or unsubtle forms of disrespectful treatment by others." (p. 156).

The narratives of the poor women interviewed show that they are apprehensive about being looked down upon because of their appearance, speech, and clothing. They reveal that not being "well dressed" leads to a shameful experience when encountering the middle and upper classes in the neighborhood. To put it another way, social exclusion in the neighborhood is also present in the discourse on clothing:

"I would look at their clothes, I would feel uhm... I don't know, maybe humiliated... Like, the mothers of these students are like that, some of them have very nice clothes. But if you talk [with them], maybe they will be warmer, even if they dress like that. I was too uneasy." (Şermin, 31) ⁵

"Of course, when we go to a meeting, we can't approach when we dress differently and they dress differently. You know, there ain't no heart-to-heart talk. They are dealing with themselves. Like, we are separate. You know, we are having a talk with our people. Lemme tell you, their world is different, ours is different." (Zeliha, 43) ⁶

In class society, existing inequalities result in the members of an oppressed class questioning their dignity, self-respect, and self-worth. Due to their position in the social hierarchy, these residents find themselves in a position to constantly view themselves through the lens and perspective of the dominant class, and therefore, are always concerned about and question their worth in the eyes of others. These experiences and the internalization of the dominant lens are synonymous with the domination of the lower classes in a capitalist society.

⁵ "Valla giyimlerine bakardım, şeyapardım... Ne biliyim belki de aşağılama... Mesela bu öğrencilerin anneleri de öyle, kiminin giyimleri çok güzel. Hâlbuki konuşsan belki daha sıcaktırlar öyle giyinseler de. Ben çekingenliğim çoktu." (Şermin, 31)

⁶ "E tabi biz bir toplantıya gittiği zaman biz farklı giydiği zaman onlar da farklı giydiği zaman yaşayamıyoz. Hani dertleşemiyoz. Onlar kendi kendini dertleşiyor. Biz de mesela ayrı. Hani bizim insanlarla dertleşiyoz. Diyom ya onların dünyası farklı, bizimki farklı." (Zeliha, 43)

Explaining that she was belittled in her children's school by her children's teacher, Şermin's (31) words reveal the psychological burden of the situation:

“At that moment, I was very upset. I cried a lot, I mean, if they beat me, the pain of the beating can go away, but still, when I look at their faces, their words are still in my head. She talked and left, then I started crying. There ain't no way to keep me from crying, my eyes were bleeding. Got almost blind crying. Nobody said you hungry or thirsty? I mean why... Their words are so painful.”⁷

In the same way, Ünzile (38) refers to her injurious experiences as a domestic worker:

“[...] She said such things to me. I mean, after that, I passed out at night. They said more other things, but I can't remember them all. Both the husband and the wife [came at me.] My husband was at construction... I fainted that night, got no idea. I woke up in the morning, the house was spinning everywhere. I said I can't get up, help me. Anyways, my husband picked me up, straight to the hospital. Uhm, they put something on my head, you know... He was asking what bothered me, said the doctor. Asked me what made me sad. He said that you are upset, he said it is out of stress, nothing important.”⁸

Furthermore, when asked about their experiences living in Urla and inhabiting the same space as middle and upper class residents, the topic of injustice comes to the forefront. Emine (43) expressed that living in that neighborhood made her feel like she was living in an “unfair world”:

“I mean, I feel like I live in an unfair world. We're all the same at birth. You look at one side, one side is rich; one side is constantly struggling for life; another is dying of hunger. I mean, is it fair? No.”⁹

Since the dominated class came to see itself through the eyes of the dominant class, it is worth drawing attention here to the internalization of the gaze of the dominant class. As Erdoğan (2007c, p. 74) states, the traumatizing effect of poverty is not merely

⁷ “O anda çok ben üzuldüm. Çok yani çok ağladım yani dayak atsalardı dayağın acısı kesilirdi de ama halen olsun yüzlerine baktığımda o laf benim içimde... O gonuştı gitti ondan sonra beni bir ağlama aldı kendimi tutmanın imkânı yok gözlerimden gan akıyor. Ağlamaktan gözlerim görmez oldu. Kimse de demedi ki aç mısınız susuz musunuz sen niye yani. Laflar çok acı.”

⁸ “[...] Bana bu tür şeyler konuştu. Öyle deyince yani ben gece bayılmışım. Birkaç şeyler daha söylediler de hepsini hatırlayamıyorum yani. Gocası bir yandan, gendisi bir yandan, eşim inşaatta... Gece bayılmışım hiç haberim yok, sabah bi galktım ev dönüyor her taraf. Dedim ben galkamıyom dedim, beni galdırır. Eşim kaldırdı beni neyse, hastaneye direkt. Şey goydular, baştan bir şeye goyarlar ya... Dedi neye dedi canımı sıktın bu kadar dedi doktor. Neye üzuldün sen dedi. Üzülmüşün dedi, bu sıkıntıdan olan bir şey dedi, önemli bir şeyin yok dedi.”

⁹ “Yani adaletsiz bir dünyada yaşadığımı hissediyorum. Hani herkes 9 aylık, herkes bir taraftan bakıyorsun bir taraf zengin bir taraf hani sürekli hayat mücadelesi veriyor, bir tarafta açlıktan ölüyor hani. Yani adaletli mi, değil.”

because of material deprivation and not even when it is combined with the pejorative gaze of others in relation to this material scarcity; in fact, the trauma is a result of trying to escape from this gaze. Especially in a neighborhood in which escaping from that gaze is almost impossible, the traumatizing effect of poverty is experienced intensely. Stating that she copes with this feeling by never leaving her home, Yıldız (32) said:

“I don’t leave the house. The best thing is not to leave the house. I mean, because you know what happens when you leave the house? There's always something against you.”¹⁰

It is worth noting here that Yıldız was not the only one who felt that “there was always something against her” when they left their houses. Whether directly or indirectly, all of the testimonies mentioned this apprehension and aversion. This sentiment causes the poor to withdraw from society out of fear of being judged by “others,” and, in a sense, they isolate themselves.

Such testimonies point to the fact that social relations are increasingly becoming gaze relations and even acquiring an ocular centric characteristic. To the extent that social relations acquired ocular-centric character, emotional symbolic violence of social hierarchies are visually experienced (Erdoğan, 2007c, p. 52). This study reveals that living in physical proximity results in dramatic examples of this ocular-centric characteristic of social relations and the internalization of the dominant gaze. The manifestation of gaze relations and its internalization was clearly seen in the interviews:

“I mean, as usual, the rich look down on the poor.” (Ünzile, 38)¹¹

“They look sideways at us like this: I say hello, they don't even greet me. They always look sideways at people.” (Elif, 33)¹²

¹⁰ “Evden çıkmıyorum. En güzel evden çıkmamak. Yani çünkü evden çıktığın zaman bu sefer ne oluyor biliyor musun? Hep sana karşı bir şey oluyor”

¹¹ “Zengin fakire her zaman olduğu... Biraz daha depeden bakar yani.” (Ünzile, 38)

¹² “Böyle yan bakıyorlar, selam verdim selam almıyorlar büle hep yan bakıyorlar insanlara” (Elif, 33)

“I think they look at us with pity. They always look at us with such pity as if we were nobody because that's what they think I mean.” (Yıldız, 32)¹³

We can see the shame resulting from “disparaging” looks in Elif’s statement; she says they looked at her dress as if they were “making fun of it”:

“They look in a way, that is, they look down. They didn't... They even look at the clothes of the person, they look as if they were making fun of them. You know, I would have dressed well too, I swear. Look, I've been here for 3 years, but I haven't bought anything for myself yet.”¹⁴

Furthermore, Zeliha (43) says “they won't even look you in the face”. Similarly, Songül (42) “do not even look at them when they don't need them.”. Likewise, Aliye (41) says:

“Well, if the rich need something, they think of the poor. If not, they won't think of you. Let me tell you, if they don't need your help, they won't even look at your face. If they don't need help, they won't even look at you, they only think of what you can do for them. After all, because we are laborers, they see us but that's because they need us.”¹⁵

As Lynd (1965) argue, “it is the very triviality of the cause [...] that helps to give shame its unbearable character” (p. 40). Trivialities like not having dressed “properly” or not speaking “properly” evoke intense emotions such as shame. On the other hand, the most dramatic example of visually experienced symbolic violence while living in the gentrifying neighborhood can be seen in Elif’s (33) narrative:

“It’s so hard being here. Not good at all. They belittle people. You look at their eyes, it's like they question why you live here. It's like someone who looks at you says, they say that you don't have the right to live here. You feel that way. I swear! It feels like you have no right.”¹⁶

¹³ “Bence bize acıyarak bakarlar. Hep böyle bir acıma böyle ne bileyim bir ezikmişiz gibi bakarlar çünkü hani öyle düşünüyor.” (Yıldız, 32)

¹⁴ “O öyle bakar yani aşağıda bakar. Şeyapmadı insanın kıyafetine bile bakıyorlar sanki dalga geçmiş gibi bakıyorlar. Yani olsaydı ben de giyerdim yemin bak ben 3 senedir buraya geldim, daha kendime bir şey almadım.”

¹⁵ “Valla zenginin işi varsa fakiri düşünür, işi yoksa seni düşünmez. İş düşerse seni düşünür, iş düşmese yüzüne bile bakmaz, öyle diyeyim sana. İş yoksa senin yüzüne bile bakmaz, gözü senin işinde. Sonuçta biz çalışan emektar olduğumuz için görüyor tamam hissettirmiyorlar ama ihtiyaçları olduğu için.”

¹⁶ “Çok zor burada. Hiç iyi değil. İnsanı küçük görüyorlar. İnsan onların bakışlarına bakıyorsun ya, sanki sana diyorlar sen niye burada yaşıyorsun. Sanki sana bakan sana diyor senin burada yaşamaya hakkın yok diyorlar. İnsan kendini öyle hissediyor. Yemin! Öyle hissediyor sanki senin hakkın yok.”

By “seeing oneself through the eyes of the dominant class” (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 384), Elif feels that “she does not have the right to live in Urla.” To the extent that social relations are engraved in spatial structures, and social distance materializes in the spatial distance, unequal relations of the social formation materialize in the city (Erdoğan, 2007c, p. 55). Her narrative points to the feeling or state of vulnerability that haunts the poor and affects their lives in their neighborhood. Such ocularcentrism is based on the heightening of spatial separation and the more perceptible symbolic distance (Erdoğan, 2007c).

Interviews revealed that living in the same neighborhood together results in an exclusionary attitude towards each other. Yıldız (32) describes her neighbors’ attitude towards her as follows:

“For example, when my next-door neighbor asks me what I do for work, when I say that I clean houses, she says ‘Will you come to me too?’ I’m saying she’s my neighbor, how can you offer such a thing... You know, something happens to those people, like they start to humiliate: ‘Well, then you can come to me too.’ In a belittling way. It hurts one’s pride a little bit.”¹⁷

In her interactions with her neighbors, she believes that people do not recognize her as worthy of respect and consideration because she “cleans houses”. Modern capitalist society has convinced people that the criterion for success is only the individual and their abilities. That is why Yıldız states that she feels “the burden of a class” in the presence of her neighbors, which is “the feeling of not getting anywhere despite one’s efforts, the feeling of vulnerability in contrasting oneself to others at a higher social level, the buried sense of inadequacy that one resents oneself for feeling” (Sennett & Cobb, 1972, p. 58).

“To be judged in the eyes of their judges” (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 511) results in Şermin (31) and others being apprehensive of being looked down upon. Şermin (31) stated that she worries whether the middle and upper class residents will engage with her when she encounters them in public areas. She adds that they do not talk to her:

¹⁷ “Mesela yan komşum bana diyor ki işte ne iş yapıyorsun diye sorduğu zaman evlere temizliğe gidiyorum dediğimde ‘Bana da gelir misin?’ Ya diyorum ben seni komşum hani böyle bir şeyi nasıl teklif edebiliyorsun... Hani o insanlarda şey oluyor ya işte aşağılayıcı şekilde ‘İyi o zaman bana da gelirsin.’ Dalgacı şekilde. O insanın biraz yani canını acıtıyor.”

“For example, you can't- you know, you can't talk. Wondering if they will answer or not, or say something harsh. We have these thoughts too. Been in such situations. I see children are well-dressed, they talk really fine, we are one level lower for sure. We're all the same at birth. But the thing is, I wasn't doing that... Or they wouldn't do it at all. If they would say hello, I would greet them. I mean, they're not in favor of talking either. It seems that the people I saw didn't want to talk.”¹⁸

Şermin, who sees herself through her encounter with the other and feels that she is “one level below”, similarly emphasized her uneasiness and self-doubt in social environments. Şermin's narrative points to the inequality in the neighborhood. Another example that embodies the inequality in the neighborhood is found in Elif's (33) narrative:

“I don't know how to say. The rich are up high, the poor down low. They're suffering on the ground. It's different. In my opinion, this is the situation. As if the rich are flying. They're immortal. They feel like they won't ever get buried. Like it's said, the shrouds have no pockets.”¹⁹

Şermin's and Elif's narratives prominently contrast the “high” and “low.” This points to hidden injuries materialized in terms of social stratification, with the rich being associated with high qualities and the poor being related to the low aspects of life (Çubukçu, 2012).

Interviewees frequently emphasized moral values and lifestyle differences between themselves and “others” in the conversations. Throughout the interviews, the women also criticized the middle and upper class in the area, referencing incidents that demonstrate how aware they are of the income gap and class injustice:

“I can't eat or wear what they do. That's what I mean. So, the places they go to are different. I cannot live in a house like where they live.” (Ünzile, 38)²⁰

¹⁸ “Mesela şey yapamıyorsun, konuşamıyorsun. Acaba cevap verecek mi vermeyecek mi yani ters diyecek mi? O düşüncelere de sahibiz. O durumlar da oldu. Çocukların bakıyom ki güzel giyimli, konuşması gayet düzgün yani en azından biz bir gade me daha aşağıdayık yani. Aynıyık 9 aylığık ama şey ben şey yapmıyordum... Ya o da hiç yapmazdı yani onlar da. Merhaba deseler merhaba der insan. Yani onlar da konuşma tarafı değil. Gördüğüm kişilerin de öyle konuşma tarafı değil.”

¹⁹ “Nasıl diyim yani zenginler çok yüksekte, fakirler de böyle yer altında. Yerde sürünüyorlar işte. Farklıdır. Bence öyle başka ne olacak. Zenginler hep uçuyolar, sanki hiç ölmüceklermiş gibi, hep hayatta kalacak sanki onlar kendilerini kefen e götürmeyecekler gibi demiş ya kefenin cebi mi var sanki.”

²⁰ “Onların giyduğunu, yeduğunu ben yiyemem de giyemem de yani. O yönden. Gittikleri yerler farklı yani. Oturdukları evde oturamam.” (Ünzile, 38)

Ünzile's concerns are common throughout these testimonies. With only a few exceptions, all the interviewees frequently referenced the income gap. However, when it comes to the image that prevails in participants' narratives about the "rich", in the vast majority of cases it is negative. It can be said that they do not perceive wealth itself as bad, but rather the behavior patterns that wealth produces.

It is asserted that the material conditions of the working class undermine their feelings of self-worth in a capitalist society (Rubin, 1976; Sennett & Cobb, 1972). Beyond the obstacles and stress of poverty, interviewees often complained about the injurious and humiliating nature of the relationship between themselves and the middle and upper classes in the neighborhood. Throughout the interviews, they frequently expressed their disappointment with being belittled and/or ignored. This degrading relationship causes symbolic violence in the self-perception of the poor since social relations are translated into personal value. When considering class experiences from an emotional aspect, it can be concluded that the structures in place result in injuries in the self and lead the working-class members to question their worth. These injuries are internalized, and they feel inadequate in the society of free competition; due to the conflation of worth with material success, their lower-class position results in them calling into question their self-worth and value. These feelings can be described as a wound in one's dignity and self-respect.

The modernity/tradition dichotomy, which emerges as a significant paradigm in Turkey's structuring of social life, is one of the most critical components of how people give meaning to the world, society, and themselves. This element is so important that it generates a conversation where even class disparities are expressed and given meaning (Bora, 2005). Unlike countries where working class struggles and trade union movements have a deep-rooted history, in Turkey, class difference and class identity are expressed within the framework of urbanity-peasantness, traditionalism-modernity (Bora, 2005). Still, in this study, some of the women explain their experiences in the framework of class difference by referring to themselves as "laborer" or "worker" and mention "lower classes" "upper classes" and "discrimination of class":

“You can't do anything because you're a worker. That's the class difference. Let me explain that way.” (Kiraz, 36) ²¹

“Why? Because we're the lower class. They look down on us because they're one class above.” (Yıldız, 32) ²²

“This is nothing but class discrimination. Nothing else. Because he pays you, he'll make you work like an animal. It's all the same with all kinds of jobs, not just cleaning.” (Zeynep,30) ²³

“After all, because we are laborers [...]” (Şermin, 31)²⁴

When considering the injuries that arise in these women’s lives, it is important to note the injuries that come from education or the lack thereof. Education acts as a “cover term”, which “stands for a whole range of experiences and feelings that may in fact have little to do with formal schooling” and that “covers, at the most abstract level, the development of capacities within a human being” (Sennett & Cobb, 1972, p. 24). As Erdoğan (2007a, p. 67) noted, “to the extent that poverty is experienced as a state of lacking educational and cultural capital, ‘hidden injuries’ are intensified by an individual’s position in the cultural hierarchy”. While it is worth mentioning the low level of education that interviewees possess, the intensification of the hidden injuries was a common occurrence among the poor residents of Urla. In that context, Zeliha (43), never formally went to school but learned a little bit of writing and reading in the Community Center when she came to Urla. When Zeliha saw a woman belittling another for being illiterate, she felt bad watching this scene unfold as she is illiterate herself.

“But sometimes people regard you as ignorant because you’re illiterate. So, it’s hard. Maybe not all of us know how to read and write, but you don’t need to say it with such force. For example, you are literate and the other person is not. He doesn’t know if it’s his turn. I don’t know, I feel offended. I mean, they see us as ignorant people.” ²⁵

²¹ “İşçi olduğun için pek şey yapmıyorsun. Yani sınıf farkı öyle söyleyim sana ya.” (Kiraz, 36)

²² “Neden? Biz alt sınıfta kaldığımız için. Onlar bir üst sınıf oldukları için hep böyle aşağılayıcı şekilde görüyorlar.” (Yıldız, 32)

²³ “Bu bir sınıf ayrımıdır başka bir şey değil. Yani çünkü parasını veriyor köpek gibi çalıştıracak seni. Her işte öyledir aslında bir tek temizlik işinde değil yani.” (Zeynep,30)

²⁴ Sonuçta biz çalışan emektar olduğumuz için [...]” (Şermin, 31)

²⁵ “Ama okuma yazmayı olmadığı için bazen yerlere hani insan cahil yerine koyarlar. Zor oluyor. Hani hepimiz belki okumamız yazmamız yok ama o kadar baskıyla şeyle söyleyemezsin. Sen mesela

In addition, women's unfulfilled hopes and dreams regarding education demonstrate the hidden injuries. Some women, in particular, claimed that they dropped out of school, began working, married, and had children at a young age due to financial or/and cultural constraints, while some others could never attend school at all. After stating that she did not go to school, Yıldız (32), conveyed how this made her life difficult and how she felt helpless as a result. For Yıldız, being illiterate not only mean being unable to read or write but also being unable to live life:

“No, I don’t have any educational background. [...] Like, you can’t live your life this way. You can’t live your childhood, your single life, or your marriage. You are so ignorant and life pushes you so hard that it gets hard for you to get out of that spiral. I experienced this. [...] I thought of killing myself. I even tried to commit suicide. My life has been that difficult.”²⁶

Interviewees also mentioned that the low literacy rate among them results in additional difficulties in their lives such as the inability to assist their children with homework and to access certain economic opportunities. Considering the high level of education some of their neighbors have, these women at times compare themselves. However, this comparison does not encompass the full range of emotions and inequality expressed when discussing education. Their socio-economic and spatial mobility is limited due to their low levels of literacy, and this results in them potentially having difficulty interacting within their environment, or not being able to read signage or attend medical appointments on their own. Their literacy rate, compounded with other marginalizing factors, exacerbates their uncomfotability and alienation in the community. All these factors demonstrate how a lack of schooling becomes a source of inferiority and “injury” for these women. Elif (33) says:

“When I got married, my husband didn’t know that I was illiterate. My husband asked how on earth I didn’t know how to read and write. Because everybody does. I felt ashamed! It’s so hard. So hard when a person stays ignorant and doesn’t know anything. It’s so hard. Even with my child, my own child, my daughter comes and asks a question about her homework, I get ashamed. I swear, I do. [...] Being a young girl is a pleasant feeling, but you have to be a good

okumuşsun, o okumamış bilmiyor sırası geçti mi geçmedi bilmiyor ama zoruma gitti, insanın zoruna gider. Yani cahil yerine koyarlar bizi.”

²⁶ “Hayır hiç yani eğitim hayatım yok. [...] Hani böyle şey hiç yaşamıyorsun. Hani bir çocukluk yaşayamıyorsun, bekarlığını yaşayamıyorsun, yeni evliliğini yaşayamıyorsun. O kadar bir cahil oluyorsun ki hayat sana o kadar bir baskı veriyor ki hani bunun içinden çıkamaz hale geliyorsun ve o da ben de çok vardı. [...] Yani kendimi öldürmeyi bile düşündüm. İntihara bile kalkıştım. O derecede çok zor bir hayatım geçti.”

family's daughter. Like I told you, I told my husband that if I could be born again. If I could have a good family so that I could go after my dreams after attending school..."²⁷

"I have troubles with education. When I need to fill a form, I can't. When they ask me to write my name and surname, I can't. Like they give me a paper from my daughter's school to write my name and sign it, but I can't. I wish this kind of thing didn't happen in my life. I wish that it never happened. It gives me great trouble." (Yıldız, 32)²⁸

Most of the women interviewed stated that their dream was to attend school, but they could not achieve this due to the financial, spatial, and cultural conditions of their families. At this time, they stated that if they had gone to school, they would not have felt this much pressure, especially from their husbands in the household:

"For sure, we feel it. We feel the pressure. Sometimes I wonder if men would be like this if we studied and got a job with a salary. They wouldn't, right?"²⁹

"I say that he [my husband] puts me under such pressure because he thinks I depend on him. If I studied further and had my own job, he wouldn't treat me like that. This is the oppression of women. Because I'm not self-reliant, because I am dependent on him. I mean I feel sad. The pain of words doesn't fade away, though the beatings' pain does." (Şermin, 31)³⁰

"In the world, people always look down on women. Because it's always women who get belittled, if they move up to the next level and have a job for themselves,

²⁷ "Ben evlendim kocam bilmiyordu okuma yazmam yok. Kocam dedi eşim dedi ben sandım ki herkes okumuş sen nasıl okumazsın sen nasıl okuma yazma bilmiyorsun. İnsan utanıyor! Çok zor. O kadar zor ki yani insan böyle cahil kalıyor, hiçbir şey bilmiyor. Çok zor yani. Çocuğuma karşı bile yani senin çocuğun sana bir soru soruyor benim kızım geliyor diyor anne bu nedir bana soru soruyor ben utanıyorum. Yeminle ben utanıyorum yani [...] Hani insan bir nasıl kız çocuğu olmak iyi bir duygu ama iyi bir ailenin kızı olması lazım. Ben diyorum ya eşimle geçen gün konuştuk dedim keşke ben tekrar dünyaya gelseydim yemin ederim yani tekrar gelseydim yani iyi bir ailem olsaydı, beni okutsaydılar, ben hayalimin peşinden gitseydim..."

²⁸ "Eğitimle ilgili çok fazla sıkıntı çekiyorum. Hani bu sefer bir yere gidiyorum mesela bir form dolacak, formu dolduramıyorum. İsmim, soy ismim yazılacak, yapamıyorum. Hani kızımın okulundan mesela bir şey veriyorlar, o an elime tutuşturuyor hemen isim soy isim yazın diyorlar imza atın diyorlar, yazamıyorum. Hani diyorum ki keşke hayatımda böyle bir şey çok olmasaydı. Hani bunu hiç yaşamıyordum. O bana çok sıkıntı veriyor." (Yıldız, 32)

²⁹ "İnsan hissediyor baskı altında hissediyor. Yani ben bazen diyom ya biz de okusaydık eğer bir elimizde bir maaşımız olsaydı, bir şeyapsaydık acaba erkekler böyle yaparlar mıydı? Bence böyle yapmazlardı dimi?"

³⁰ "Ben diyorum ki [eşim] mecburiyetlikten bu baskıyı uyguluyor bana. Bir tık daha okusaydım elimde mesleğim olsaydı böyle yapamazdı diyorum ben. Yani kadının ezilmesi bu. Kendi ayaklarının üstünde durmadığım için, ona mecburluktan yani. Yani üzülüyorum. Lafların acısı çıkmıyor dayağın acısı geçse de." (Şermin, 31)

they won't have to depend on men. They won't have anything to do with men. It's the way I've always thought, I don't know." (Aliye, 41) ³¹

It is necessary to emphasize a further point here: although the interviewees experienced feelings of shame, exclusion, and self-doubt in the face of social hierarchies and inequalities, some claim that this situation is not their fault but rather destiny, God's will, or just the result of the cycle of generational poverty. Nevertheless, they do add that they would have been better off if they had gone to school. This shows the contradictions of their internalization of the dominant gaze. On the one hand, they internalize it and feel shame and inferiority as a result, but on the other hand, they say that it is not their fault. Serpil exemplifies this as follows:

"If the family has rich roots, so will the child. Because how the root of a person is... Now I have two sons. I am suffering from poverty, that's the way it goes. [...] I mean if your roots are poor, you will live in poverty." ³²

On the other hand, Yıldız (32) says,

"We're all the same, you know. Everybody's life is the same. Why? Because they leave their houses every morning to earn that money. We also go out every morning to earn that money, to work. In fact, we're all on the same level but our people aren't aware of it. Maybe one is a lawyer, I am a server. But after all, both you and I get paid for the work. Actually, they are both basically the same thing. What do you eat at home? Bread and olives. What do I eat? I also eat bread and olives." ³³

Likewise, Şermin (31) says "We're all the same at birth" ³⁴ and Hülya (47) says:

³¹ "Dünyada hep kadınları hor görüyorlar. Hep aşağılanan hep kadınlar olduğu için, en çok kadınlar biraz üst seviyeye çıktıkları zaman, mesleği elinde olduğu zaman, maaşını kendisi aldığı zaman erkeğin eline muhtaç olmaz. Erkekle alakası olmaz. Ben hep böyle düşündüm, bilmiyom." (Aliye, 41)

³² "Sen aile kökü zengin oldu mu, o da zengin olur. Çünkü insanı kökü nasıl... Benim şu anda ben iki oğlum var. Ben fakirlik çekiyorum ya, o öyle gider. [...] Yani senin kökün fakirse fakirlik çekersin yani"

³³ "Aslında hep aynıyız biliyor musun? Herkesin yaşantısı aynı. Neden? Sabah onlar da evlerinden çıkıp o parayı kazanmak için çalışıyorlar, bizler de sabah evimizden çıkıyoruz gidiyoruz o parayı kazanmak için, çalışmak için. Yani aslında hepimiz aynı seviyedeyiz ama insanların bunun farkında değil. Ha belki o bir avukattır, ben hizmetçiyimdir. Ama sonuçta ben de emeğimin karşılığını alıyorum, sen de emeğinin karşılığını alıyorsun. Aslında o kadar aynı şeyler ki. Sen evinde ne yiyorsun? Ekmek zeytin. Ben ne yiyorum? Ben de ekmek zeytin yiyorum."

³⁴ "Aynıyık 9 aylığık"

“You get exposed to hardship for sure. Because they crush you with their ‘You are poor and I am rich’ attitude. It breaks your heart. What do I lack? We're all the same at birth... To even say it is, you know, [hard].”³⁵

These expressions show that the egalitarian imagination and objection to social inequality is articulated in the narratives of the poor in the face of daily encounters with the dominant class.

3.1.1. Children and the Hidden Injuries

The children of both the lower and upper classes attend the same schools, play in the same parks, walk the same routes to school, and share desks. Despite this spatial proximity, in many cases the interviewee’s children are unable to make friends. Elif says that her daughter cannot be friends with the middle and upper class children; one of the reasons being that her daughter doesn’t have pocket money and therefore can’t partake in certain activities:

“My daughter can't. The boys are younger, they don't know, they hang around, but the girl can't. She withdraws into her shell. Why does she do that, because she has no pocket money, no cash, so she distances herself away from her friends. Her friends walk arm-in-arm, go to the canteen, buy something, order something like this, how can I say, but she just looks at them. She grows apart because she doesn't have money, because I don't give her pocket money. She doesn't go near them.” (Elif, 33)³⁶

A significant number of respondents stated that their children and their friends are all from the same social class. In fact, the majority also stated that their children are only able to make friends with other children who belong to the same social class.

³⁵ “Sen fakirsin ben zenginim diye şey paranla şeyinle seni ezerse tabii ki zorluk şey çekiyorsun. Zoruna gidiyor. Neden benim neyim eksik? Ben de 9 aylığım, o da 9 aylık... Onu demeye de bile şey yapıyorsun yani.”

³⁶ “Ya kızım edemiyor. Oğlanlar daha küçük, bilmiyorlar takılıyorlar ama kız edemiyor. Uzaklaşıyor. Çünkü niye uzaklaşıyor, onun yanında harçlığı yok, parası yok ondan uzaklaşıyor. Arkadaşları bir de kol kola giriyorlar, kantine gidiyorlar bir şeyler alıyorlar böyle ısmarlıyorlar böyle nasıl deyim ama o bakıyor onların yüzüne. Parası olmadığı için, harçlık vermediğim için uzaklaşıyor. Onların yanına gitmiyor.” (Elif, 33)

To emphasize this difference, Yıldız and Kiraz also mentioned that the games played by the other children are very different from those of their own children:

“For example, I have a child... For example, the opportunities [for the ones] in the gated community are so much better, even the computer game they play. When my kid sees them, after a while, he begins to make friends with people of his own level. Because he has the same opportunities, he starts to share things with them. There is common ground where they can chat and play together. It doesn't work with the other. Because he doesn't understand what you're talking about, he doesn't even understand the game you're playing.” (Kiraz, 36)³⁷

“Rich kids have a lot of different things anyway. The digital skateboards, digital scooters, digital bikes... So, what can I tell you? Those are their games. It's very luxurious, not meant for our children.” (Yıldız, 32)³⁸

Similar to these quotes, other interviewees stated that their children not only suffered from their financial inadequacy but also from seeing what the “other” children have. Likewise, they stated that their children get disappointed when they realize that some other children have better opportunities. This inequality causes their children to be excluded and unable to make friends. These mothers emphasized that they were saddened much more by their children's experiences than their own experience. To the extent that families feel sorry for the conditions their children live in, their experiences become “hidden injuries”:

“While you budget for your child in one way, they provide them a different life. And this reflects on the children when they see other children. One way or another, they realize it... And the child experiences it, and tells you.” (Kiraz, 36)³⁹

“Children have an idea of wealth in their minds. They call them ‘rich kids’. They say ‘They bring X, I wish we were rich too’ meaning the food. I mean I hear them say such things. ‘The rich kid has this pencil; we’d buy it if we were rich like

³⁷ “Mesela benim çocuğum var... Mesela sitede imkanları çok çok üstün oynadığı bilgisayar oyunu bile şey. Çocuk onu gördükçe bir süre sonra kendi seviyesinden insanlarla arkadaşlık etmeye başlıyor. Çünkü elindeki imkanlar onda da aynısı olduğu için onu paylaşmaya başlıyor. Ortak sohbet edebilecekleri, ortak oynayabilecekleri bir nokta oluyor. Diğeriyle olmuyor. Çünkü anlattığımı anlamıyor, senin oynadığın oyunu bile anlamıyor.” (Kiraz, 36)

³⁸ “Zaten zengin çocuklarının çok farklı şeyleri var. Bu dijital kaykaylar, dijital scooterlar, dijital bisikletler... Yani ne diyeyim sana. Onların oyunları o. Çok lüks onların oyunu, bizim çocuklarımız için değil.” (Yıldız, 32)

³⁹ “Sen çocuğa farklı bir bütçe ayırırken onlar daha farklı yaşıyorlar. Ve bu çocuklara da yansıyor, onları gördükleri zaman onlara da yansıyor. Hani ister istemez görüyorsun... Her şekilde anlaşılıyor. Ve çocuk bunu yaşıyor zaten, söylüyor da” (Kiraz, 36)

them.’. [...] I know how they wish for things like shoes, clothes, backpacks. They always talk about these things.” (Şermin, 31) ⁴⁰

Many interviewees stated that they gave the last of their money to their children so that the children would feel better able to fit in at school. Zeliha (43) expressed this situation as follows:

“Like I want my kids to study and have a job, that’s all I want. Only my kids to study. Believe me, sometimes I give them the last pennies I have when there is nothing in the house so that my children don’t have to rely on anybody at school.”
41

Ünzile (38) remarks that her child was excluded because he was not a “local”:

“Nah, they humiliated my son a lot. They kept him away, they didn't let him play near them. 'You are from Çorum! You are from Çorum, go away, what are you doing with us?' They always said that.” ⁴²

Moreover, Sema (40) said that her son could not live his childhood because of poverty:

“Especially my older son endured a lot of difficulties. They crushed him so much that I can say he never lived his childhood.” ⁴³

After that, she added that her son was also excluded and called a “temporary neighbor”:

“When we used to live in a rented house, even the neighbors down there below the school all owned their own houses. Even when the kids were arguing among themselves, they would say: ‘They're temporary neighbors, don't get close to them’. I mean, I can say my son, I mean, my son still says, I mean, he didn't play. He didn't play in the street; he says it all the time.” ⁴⁴

⁴⁰ “Çocukların şeyinde aklında zenginlik. ‘Zengin çocuk’ diye hitap ediyorlar. Yiyecek yönünden söylüyorlar ‘şunu getiriyor ne güzel keşke biz de zengin olsaydık’. Yani çocuklar da bunu duyuyorum. ‘Zengin çocuğun şu galemi var, zengin olsaydık biz de onlar gibi bunu alırdık’. [...] Özentilerini biliyorum beslenme konusunda olsun, ayaggabıydı yani giyimdi, çantaları neyi hep onları söylüyorlar çocuklar.” (Şermin, 31)

⁴¹ “Mesela diyom ki inan ki çocuklarım okusun meslek eline geçsin hiçbir şey istemiyom. Sade bu çocuklar okusun inan ki bazen evde bir şey olmadığı için hani o parayı çocukların eline veriyom hani okula gidiyor kimseye muhtaç olmasınlar.”

⁴² “Yo oğlumu çok aşağıladılar. Yaklaştırmadılar, oynatmadılar yanlarında. ‘Sen Çorumlusun Çorumlusun git sen Çorumlu bizim yanımızda ne işi var’. Sürekli öyle söylemişler.”

⁴³ “Hele büyük oğlum çok ezildi. Çok yani hani o kadar ezildi ki yani hani çocukluğunu heç yaşamadığını deye bilirim yani hani”

⁴⁴ “Biz işte kiradayken şu aşağıda okulun aşağısında ordaki gomşular bile hepsinin kendi evleriydi, işte bi çocuklar kendi aralarında bile tartışaydı bile işte diyordu hani ‘Onlar geçici gomşu siz birbirinize

Kader (35) says that she feels “small” “even if they do nothing” since she cannot afford the opportunities the “rich” are able to provide to their children:

“You know, even if they do nothing, people feel that way. Like feel inferior. Because of the children, that is, their children are doing well materially and emotionally. For example, we had neighbors, private teachers are coming, they come, so we don't feel special, neither do our children. Our children say 'Mom, they are taking private lessons, they bought these. We don't have it'. So, one feels bad about it.” (Kader, 35)⁴⁵

Stigmatization is one of the grave factors that affects daily life in the neighborhood and in turn the children of the poor. Yıldız's narrative illustrates the stigmatization and exclusion her children experience. Yıldız mentioned that people do not want to get close to her children and say “*You'll get lice from her, you'll get fleas from her.*”⁴⁶

Another way the children face stigmatization in the neighborhood finds its expression in the narrative of Yıldız (32):

“For example, in a very recent event, our next-door neighbor gave my little girl tights. Her daughter's tights. She told her not to go out like that again. You know, that's really bad. You know this is just a kid... She comes out with torn, muddy or dirty clothes. Well, their well-known guests were coming, but they didn't want to see the children like that outside. I mean, there are so many strange people... You can never know. Their guests were coming from abroad, and important people were coming. Asking if we don't take our children out on those days!”⁴⁷

While expressing their disappointment and hardship of having limited financial and social opportunities, interviewees emphasized they were disheartened because of its impact on their children. It is revealed that not only adults but also children have

şeyapmayın' diye. Yani hani oğlum diyebilirim yani oğlum çoh hala da söylüyo yani çoh oynamamıştır yani hani, çoh sokakta oynamamıştır, söylüyo hep söylüyo.”

⁴⁵ “Hani onlar da şeyapmasa insan kendini öyle hissediyor yani. Küçük hissediyor yani. Çocuklardan dolayı yani onların çocukları maddi manevi güzeldir. Mesela komşularımız vardı özel dersler geliyor ya hocalar var, onları geliyor ya ister istemez insan kendi issetmiyor yani çocuklar da. Çocuklarımız da 'anne onlar özel derslere görüyor, ha buni almışlar biz de almıyoruz'. Yani ondan insan kendini şey kötü hissediyor.” (Kader, 35)

⁴⁶ “Ondan sonra bit bulaşır, ondan sana pire bulaşır”.

⁴⁷ “Hani mesela geçenlerde en basiti çok yakınlarda olan bir olay, yan komşumuz küçük kızıma, tayt vermiş. Kızının taytı. Bir daha demiş böyle dışarı çıkma demiş. Hani o çok kötü oluyor. Hani bu çocuk... Yırtık da çıkar, çamurlu da çıkar, pis de çıkar. Neymiş onların çok böyle bilinen misafirleri geliyorlarmış da çocukları öyle görmek istemiyorlarmış dışarıda. İşte yani diyorum ya o kadar çok değişik insanlar var ki... Hani bilemiyorsun. İşte yurt dışından misafirleri geliyormuş, işte önemli insanlar geliyormuş. O günlerde çocuklarımızı çıkarmazsak olur muymuş!”

injurious experiences. Interviewees repeatedly emphasized the situations when their children feel bad for not having the same opportunities as “other children” in the neighborhood:

“For example, our neighbor's daughter said to our eldest daughter. She asked if she knew the Ayda Vineyards. She said they're very luxurious, beautiful. They went there for a tour or something. My child says: 'Mom, do you know that place?' We don't! I mean, because it's not a place we can afford.” (Yıldız, 32) ⁴⁸

“For example, the thing I am most angry about is a rich woman's rudeness to go and pick up a pine tree, ruthlessly decorate it, and make a show out of it in front of my girl” (Zeynep, 31) ⁴⁹

The participants stated that they are disheartened by their children’s experiences in the neighborhood. Their children do not have the same clothing as their peers, nor do they have the same opportunities. Despite living in the same neighborhood, they cannot participate in the same social activities because they do not have enough pocket money or, worse, they are excluded by the other children. As the study reveals, the poor-subalterns experience hidden injuries not only in their relationships in the public sphere or in their encounters with the powerful, but also in their relationships with their children (Erdoğan, 2007c, p. 68). Since the place of this research enables daily encounters of people from different social classes, the hidden injuries against children are also strongly felt in this place. Referring to this feeling, Zeynep (30) said:

“It makes you rebel after a certain point. You don't actually want anything for yourself. If I were talking to you as a single person right now, I would talk to you in a very different way. There is only one thing I want, and it is to provide a good future for my children.” ⁵⁰

Similarly, Elif (33), who works as a gatekeeper at the gated community with her husband, explained how she felt despair in front of her child with the following words:

⁴⁸ “Mesela geçen komşumuzun kızı söylemiş işte bizim büyük kıza. İşte demiş ‘Biliyor musunuz Ayda Bağları var çok lüks, çok güzel biz oraya gittik gezmeye’ falan. Çocuğum diyor ki ‘Anne orayı biliyor musunuz siz?’ Bilmiyoruz! Yani bizim gideceğimiz yerler değil çünkü.” (Yıldız, 32)

⁴⁹ “Yani mesela en kızdığım nokta bi tane zengin bi kadının görgüsüzce gidip hunharca böyle bir çam ağacımı alıp insafsızca süsleyip onu benim kızımın gözüne sokması” (Zeynep,31)

⁵⁰ “İşyan ettiriyor belli bir noktadan sonra. Hani aslında kendin için bir şey istemiyorsun. Hani şu an seninle bekar olarak konuşsaydım çok farklı bir şekilde konuşurdum. İstedğim tek bir şey var çocuklarım için iyi bir gelecek sürdürmek”

“No one in the gated community helps. They make a barbecue and make it smell like-I swear that my son is going out saying, 'It smells great, mom, why don't we do that too'. It tears my heart out. They don't say, 'Let's put two pieces and send them to those children.' In our gated community, they don't want to do that, and I don't want anything from anyone. Even if I'm hungry, I don't want anything. But it is very difficult for one's child.”⁵¹

Likewise, Kiraz (36) who worked as a gatekeeper in the past, said:

“My children couldn't get into the pool there. Other kids don't get close to them while playing games. When that is the case, my child just stands still and looks at them. You feel the pain of this somehow. The first thing you want is to have their living conditions for your child. You want to live, too. You wonder why they're going through that. What hurts the most is when children get into this. [...] You can forget about yourself, but when you see your child being treated like that, it makes you sad. Like, sometimes you almost rebel.”⁵²

Women who live in the housing designated for gatekeepers mentioned how they and their children were injured since stepping on the grass, playing in the garden, making noise and entering the pool were prohibited for them. While the children of workers are prohibited, the residents' children can do all of these things. Participants expressed this situation as follows:

“My children, for example, are not allowed to step on the grass. They can't walk around the gated community. They can't swim in the pool. These are forbidden for my kids. We're gatekeepers, so we should be looking after the place. My children are always at home. They can't go out and be in the area behind the house or next to the house. They're in that tiny gatekeeper house all day. I put down a carpet on the floor in front of the door, so they always play at the door. People say they are stepping on the grass behind the house... I feel very, very bad, I feel very bad. I wish, I mean, what crime have we committed to deserve this? I don't want to offend God, but I wish I had a house too. I wish my children could run and play comfortably. I wish my children could run as they want, that's

⁵¹ “Sitede hiç kimse yardım etmiyor. Mangal yakıyorlar, yemin bak kokusu öyle geliyor ki benim oğlum dışarı çıkıyor 'Mis gibi mangal kokuyor anne siz de yapınıza'. Ya insan içi parçalanıyor. Ya demiyorlar bak 'İki parça koyayım da o çocuklara göndereyim' demiyorlar. Bizim sitede yani istemiyorlar ben de kimseden bir şey istemiyorum aç kalsam da bir şey istemiyorum. Ama insanın çocuğu için çok zor.”

⁵² “Çocuklarım orada havuza giremiyordu. Onlar evin içinde arkadaşlarıyla oynarken onu yanına almıyorlar, istemiyorlar. Hani bu sefer o orada durup bakıyor onlara. Hani ister istemez onun ezikliğini yaşıyorsun sıkıntısını yaşıyorsun. Yani öncelikle onların yaşam şartlarını istiyorsun. Yaşamak da istiyorsun. Hani diyorsun ki bu bunu yaşıyor neden! Hele ki çocukların da bu işin içine girdikleri zaman asıl canını acıtan nokta o. [...] Seni geçtim ama çocuğuma o şekilde davranılması insanı gerçekten çok üzüyor. Hani bazen böyle hani isyan etmek gibi değil ama ediyorsun.”

what I wish sadly. My children say, my daughter say, 'Mom, I wish I could get in the pool too.'" (Elif, 33) ⁵³

In the same way, Yıldız (32) expressed the hurtfulness of her children being forbidden from entering the pool while other children were entering the pool in the gated community where she worked:

"[...] Then they'll be like, 'Your kids shouldn't get in the pool'. When my kids came, uhh, I mean, they were small and wanted to play, the other children wouldn't go near them. They were on one side, sitting, and the others laughing and having fun by the pool. My kids were heavily affected by this situation. They were like, 'Why can't we get in the pool?', 'Why can't we play with them?' 'What do we lack but they have?' 'Why weren't we born rich?' [...] I mean, the kids always have a sense of poverty. Such psychology comes from childhood. Kids can understand it." ⁵⁴

Such narratives of the women who live in housing designated for gatekeepers show that the hidden injuries in relation to their children are most dramatically experienced by them due to the nature of the place they live and work in.

3.1.2. Space for Work and Living

In Urla, other places where class encounters are experienced as injuries are the houses and/or gated communities in which the middle and upper classes live. The degrading relationship the poor experience is more pronounced in the narratives of the women who work as domestic workers and/or gatekeepers. As mentioned, among the women

⁵³ "Benim çocuklarımın mesela çimlere basması yasak. Siteyi gezmiyorlar. Havuza da girmiyorlar... Benim çocuklarıma yasak. Yani biz bekçi şeyiz buraya bakıyoruz yani. Çocuklarım şey oldu mu hep evdeler. O küçük yerdeler. Yani evin arkasına çıkmıyorlar, evin yanına çıkmıyorlar. Hep küçücük bir bekçi evi yerde yani küçük bir önü var yani kapıda oynuyorlar hep kapıda oynuyorlar bi halı serdim hep kapıda oynuyorlar. Ev arkasına şeye çimleri eziyorlar diyorlar...Çok yani çok kötü hissediyorum kendimi çok kötü hissediyorum yani. Diyom keşke yani biz ne suç işledik ya bazen yarabbim Allahın gücüne gitmesin ben bazen diyom keşke benim de şeyim olsaydı benim de bi evim olsaydı ne olacaktı. Çocuklarım rahat rahat koşsaydı, rahat rahat oynasaydı. İnsan diyor. Diyor üzülüyor yani keşke yani benim çocuklarım istediği gibi koşsaydı. Benim çocuklarım kızım diyor ki 'Anne keşke ben de havuza girseydim.'" (Elif, 33)

⁵⁴ "[...] O zaman şey oluyor 'Çocukların, işte, havuza girmesinler'. Hani çocuklar geldiği zaman e benimkiler küçük, oynamak istiyor, onlar yaklaşmıyorlardı. Hani onlar bir köşede otururken onlar havuzda eğleniyorlardı, gülüyorlardı ediyorlardı. Çocuklarım çok etkileniyordu bundan. Hani 'Biz niye havuza giremiyoruz?', 'Biz niye onlarla oynayamıyoruz?' Hani 'Onların ne fazlalığı var?', 'Biz niye bu hayata zengin olarak gelmedik? [...]' Yani çocuklarda hep bir fakirlik var yani. Bu psikoloji çocuktan gelen bir şey. Çocuk onu anlayabiliyor."

interviewed, almost all the wage earners were in domestic work. Due to the precarious, highly insecure, and temporary nature of gatekeeping and domestic work, which has to be carried out in private areas and through face-to-face relations, it is important to analyze the emotional dimension of these lines of work. Some of the women emphasized the “class difference” they experienced both in the neighborhood they live in and in the houses where they work. The link between self and social class is frequently emphasized in the narratives of the interviewees. Zeynep (30), who herself is a domestic worker, stated that domestic workers are frequently subjected to humiliation with the following words:

“Also, because the women here go to cleaning, there's a lot of humiliation. Because you go to different people's houses. You resign yourself to them. You are inside a house. You don't know what's coming.”⁵⁵

Likewise, Latife (53) says:

“In my experience, they always belittle us. You're just a cleaner, simply the wife of the gatekeeper, or the daughter of the gatekeeper. Things like that always happen [...] In this world, being poor is being crushed. You get crushed, crushed everywhere.”⁵⁶

Sema's narrative details the emotional dimension of domestic work, which she describes as “a huge wound” resulting from humiliation:

“We were like, working and getting belittled so much. Hearing rude words and stuff like that... Can you believe that we would hear belittling words but we would turn a deaf ear? I mean, she would come and step on the place I just cleaned, then ask me to clean it again. Sometimes I'd cry, you know it'd hurt me too much. Such behavior would hurt me a lot. Like separating plates... It's still like a huge wound inside.” (Sema, 40)⁵⁷

⁵⁵ “Bir de buradaki kadınlar temizliğe gittiği için, çok fazla aşağılanma şeyleri var. Çünkü çok farklı insanların evine gidiyorsun. Hani kendini onlara emanet ediyorsun. Bir evin içindesin. Başına ne geleceğini bilmiyorsun.”

⁵⁶ “Bizler yani ben demiyim de bizler yani tabiki küçük görüyorlar. Sen bi basit temizlikçisin, basit bir bekçi hanımısın, bekçi kızıydın. Yani öyle şeyler oluyor yani [...] Bu dünyada fakırlık ezilmeektir. Yani sen eziksin her yerde eziksin.”

⁵⁷ “Çok böyle hani çalışıyor, çok eziliyorduk. Çok laf yiyorduk, çok böyle hani şey yapıyorduk... İnanır mısın yani işte hani öyle aşağılayıcı laflar da duyuyorduk ama hiç duymamızlıktan geliyordu yani hani. Yani burayı siliyorsun geliyordu böyle basıyordu bir daha sana sildiriyordu yani hani. Çok çok hani dokunuyordu bazen ağlayarak... O hareketler beni çok yaralıyordu. İşte tebağımı ayırmak beni çok-hala da bi koca yara gibi.” (Sema, 40)

Kiraz (36) who previously worked as a gatekeeper in the gated community with her husband and quit her job because she could not stand the pressure and restrictions there, commented on workers' experiences in these kinds of jobs as follows:

“Talk to any gatekeeper, you'll find out they'll complain about their gated community. Because there's always a conflict there. People are concerned about keepers not working enough, about their salaries, etc. It's always this way. Let's imagine. You go to a workplace. The way a boss treats you and their workers is always different. They treat their workers in a more authoritarian way. They have rules and principles. But not for people outside the workplace. They treat even the people who are in the same [working] class, but not working for them, in a more humane, warm manner. Because there is no system they need to apply to those people.”⁵⁸

As mentioned before, the women who work as gatekeepers live in small houses in the gardens of the villas or gated communities specifically designated for workers. Interviews revealed that these women do not have a relationship with others the residents of the gated communities or nearby villas. It was stated that they do not feel free nor comfortable in their houses, and the majority of them feel restricted while living there. As mentioned, the humiliating and injurious character of the relationship between the social classes is most strikingly depicted by these women. Despite sharing the same garden with middle and upper class residents of gated communities and nearby villas, the women living in the gatekeeper houses state that they are uncomfortable with the gaze and control around them. The narratives of these women point out the difficulties of living in the space where they work and encounter the wealthy on a daily basis. Kiraz (36) expresses her experience of working and living in such a space as “They gave us a place to stay but they put a bars around it.”⁵⁹. Such living conditions foster a sense of isolation and discomfort, which these women describe as being “left alone at the top of a mountain”. In particular, Elif, who lives in gatekeeper housing, refers to not leaving the house because she was disturbed by the gaze of the residents:

⁵⁸ “Bak hangi sitede bekçiyle konuşursan konuş kendi sitesiyle hep sıkıntılıdır. Çünkü bir çekişme vardır hep oralarda. O onun bekçinin oturup kalkması diğerlerine batar oturuyor kalkıyor maaşını alıyor. Hep bu şekildedir. Yani bak şöyle düşün. Bir iş yerine giriyorsun, o patronun sana davranışı ayrı, kendi işçisine davranışı ayrı. Kendi işçisine davranışı daha otoriter oluyor, kuralları oluyor, prensipleri oluyor. Ama dışardakine karşı öyle değil. Aynı sınıftan da olsa dışardakine daha insancıl, daha yaklaşım tarzı sıcak. Çünkü onun üzerinden kurması gereken bir şey yok sistem yok.”

⁵⁹ “Duracak ev verdiler ama burnumuzdan aldılar yani.”

“I can't sit outside. We're always inside. When they're here, we're inside. I mean, their gaze bothers me.” (Elif, 33) ⁶⁰

Nebahat (55) who works as a gatekeeper and domestic worker of a villa expressed the distress of living this way with the following words:

“I mean, when I could be coming home happily, I come home feeling uneasy... Is this a good thing? But I mean what you gonna do? You have to...” ⁶¹

Ünzile (38), who currently works as a domestic worker and in the past has lived in the house for the gatekeepers, described the days when she felt under pressure in the gatekeeper housing with the following words:

“How can I say I feel like I was left alone at the top of a mountain. Because I can't meet or talk to anyone. There were some acquaintances passing by because my husband used to be here. They'd want to chat, but I couldn't. I'd go inside as soon as I saw them because I was intimidated. There were cameras everywhere. I was afraid of them, I mean. I had to endure a lot there. I was telling my kids like, 'Don't move, be quiet'-all the time under the pressure...” ⁶²

In these words, Ünzile emphasized that her entire family, children included, could not act freely; they were stifled; and they could not talk to or engage with anyone. These experiences were not unique to Ünzile; similar experiences were narrated by many other women who have held this job:

“When we were working in his garden, he'd make us work all day and all night. Can you believe, we used to work without stopping. He didn't keep the promises he gave. Like he was going to pay our insurance, he was going to do this and that. As wife and husband, we used to work so much that he wouldn't let our son play even when he was little. We used to spit blood, I can say.” (Sema, 40) ⁶³

⁶⁰ “Dışına oturamıyorum. Hep içerdeyiz. Onlar olduğu zaman içerdeyiz. Yani nasıl – onların bakışları beni rahatsız ediyor. (Elif, 33)

⁶¹ “Yani mesela bir kendi evime böyle neşeli girmek varken böyle sıkılarak iyi bir şey olur mu? Ama ne yapacan? Mecbursun...”

⁶² “Yani nasıl desem dağ başında tek başıma galmış gibiydim orda. Çünkü hiç kimseyle görüşemiyon, konuşamıyon hiçkimseyle. Yoldan geçen tanıdıklar oluyordu, eşimin tanıdıkları, eşim önceden burada olduğu için. Konuşmak istiyorlardı, konuşamıyordum. Onları gördüm müydü hemen eve geçiyordum gorgumdan. Gamera vardı her taraflarında evin. O gorgudan yani. Çok zorluklar çektim yani orda. Çocuklarıma hiç ‘Gıpırdama, susun’ basğı altında sürekli...”

⁶³ “Bahçasında çalışınca yani gece gündüz bizi çalıştırıyordu yani, inanır mısın yani hani hiç dur durah bilmezdi yani. Bize verdiği sözü tutmadı, yani hani işte bize vaat etti yani sigortanızı öderiz, bunu yaparım, bunu yaparım, hani hiç yani garı goca ikimiz öyle bi çalışıyoduh oğlum küçükken oğlumu bile hani oynamasına bile izin vermiyordu yani hani. Yani gan gustuh yani hani diyebilirim yani.” (Sema, 40)

“In the end, even my mom and dad used to timidly let us know when coming to our place. The worst part is having a swimming pool, actually. You have kids, they can't get in the pool while their kids can, this is discrimination. Because you are a gatekeeper there. There's a rule like that.” (Kiraz, 36) ⁶⁴

What is common in the experiences of women living in the gatekeeper houses is that they felt under pressure, they could not take a day off, they could not invite their families and friends over, and they felt extremely lonely. These women addressed the restriction of their children as the most hurtful thing. They mentioned that their children were restricted, that they could not play freely, that they were forbidden to enter the pool or step on the grass.

As De Certeau, (1984, p. 139) points out, every law is inscribed on bodies. Poverty is embodied and the bodies of the poor are the main objects of domination and exploitation in a capitalist society (Erdoğan, 2007c, p. 61). Erdoğan (2007c) points out, the body being the matrix of poverty is not just a matter of material conditions such as poor nutrition, lack of access to medical care, and poor living conditions; it is also the body of the poor is an overwhelmed, restrained body that seeks self-denial. The metaphorical language on the body of the poor implies that social class hierarchy is experienced as a relationship of disgust and humiliation (Erdoğan, 2007c). In parallel with this, interviewees who work as domestic workers or gatekeepers described the role assigned to them in social classification schemes with the metaphors of animals:

“Of course, it is belittling, a really bad thing. I don't know how to explain. I mean, you think about it like they get married and adopt a dog or cat and feed it. They even prepare special meals for them. When it comes to you, they make a cheese sandwich.” (Zeynep, 31) ⁶⁵

“I don't know, he doesn't treat them well, he always belittles. It feels like he is always above, you wouldn't even treat an animal like that.” (Elif, 33) ⁶⁶

⁶⁴ “Sonuçta benim annem babam bile gelirken haber verip geliyorlardı, çekiniyorlardı. E orada havuz var mesela işin en kötü tarafı da biraz o. Çoluğun çocuğun var mesela, onların çocukları havuza girerken seninki giremiyor, ayrımcılık oluyor. Çünkü bekleşin orada. Öyle bir kural var.” (Kiraz, 36)

⁶⁵ “Tabii ki de onu kırıcı ya çok kötü bir şey ben sana şimdi bunu nasıl tarif edeyim. Yani hani şunu düşünüyorsunuz hani evlenir köpek alıp besliyorlar veya kedi alıp besliyorlar. Onlar için özel yemek bile pişiriyorlar mesela. Hani sana gelince bir tost yapıyorlar.” (Zeynep, 31)

⁶⁶ “Valla hep nasıl diyim iyi davranmıyor, hep onu küçük görüyor. Hep onu yukarda sanki o da insan değil sanki nasıl diyim bi hayvansa bi hayvana da öyle yapılmaz.” (Elif, 33)

This identification also includes the establishment of the poor as "repugnant".

"Like when you drink water, they tell me to use that glass only. They ask me to wash and use it without putting the glass among the others. Do I have tuberculosis or cancer, or AIDS?" (Yıldız, 32) ⁶⁷

"Would you believe me that I noticed it, but I put up with everything because I was in need. There were people giving me different plates and glasses. They would separate which glass or plate I used. Like you know, because I am a cleaner, they would separate my dishes. And I noticed it, I am not that... But I mean, I needed that money, so I couldn't leave. I told myself to let it go, but it really broke my heart. If they were so clean and tidy, I wouldn't have minded that much. They wouldn't put their plate in a dishwasher, yet they mind the plate I was using. They saw me as inferior and belittled me." (Sema, 40) ⁶⁸

Another example that embodies inequality and exclusion is the inability to eat at the same table with the people who employ them to clean their houses:

"At that point, there was one person. She did, uhm, cooked a meal. She told me that the food was ready, I went there and she showed me another place. They ate on one table and I did on another. I felt sorry. She told me mine was in the kitchen. For that reason, I didn't go there again even though she called me. I mean I don't like snobby people. They don't do uhm, I mean, I can't go there even if I am starving." (Hülya, 47) ⁶⁹

Such testimonies represent the interviewees' profound sense of stigmatization. What causes the interviewees to be hurt that much is that "filth", or "disgust" refers to an area where class discrimination and emotional violence are experienced in everyday life. This occurs to the extent that they feel that the wealthy have a fear of being

⁶⁷ "İşte su içiyorsun ya işte bu senin bardağın olsun. Yıka koy her geldiğinde sen bunlan iç, bizimkilere karıştırma. Ya veremli miyim, kanser miyim hani ne var AIDS mi var bende?" (Yıldız, 32)

⁶⁸ "İnanır mısın yani hani ben farkettim hani ama ihtiyacım vardı da göz yumuyordum. Benim tabağımı çanağımı ayırtan insanlar vardı. İşte benim tabağım mesela benim yediğim bardağı benim içtiğim suyu bardağını ayırt ediyorlardı. İşte yani ben şeydeyim ya hani ben temizlikçiyim ya temizlikçiyim diye benim tabağımı da bardağımı da karıştırmıyorlar. Ben de fark etmişim yani da ben de o kadar şey değilim yani ama ihtiyacım var bırak-bırakmıyordum yani hani, boşver diyodum hani. Ama çok da zoruma gidiyordu. Bir de böyle hani çok dört dörtlük böyle temiz insanlar olsaydı da gücüme çoh gitmezdi. Çoh gücüme giderdi, şu tabağı şuradan kaldırmazlardı ama benim tabağımı ayırtıyorlardı yani. Küçük görüyorlardı, hor görüyorlardı." (Sema, 40)

⁶⁹ "Şey konusunda hani bir kişi vardı. O da şey yaptı hani yemek şey yaptı. Ay sofraya hazır dedi ben gittim, dedi seninki orada dedi. Onlar başka masada yedi, ben de başka masada. Ben üzülüm o şey oldu... Ben oraya geçtim dedi seninki mutfaktadır dedi. O yüzden bir daha da gitmedim yani çağırdı da gitmedim. Yani hor gören insanlar benim hoşuma gitmiyor şey yapmıyor yani gidemem yani aç kalsam da gidemem" (Hülya, 47)

“contaminated” by the poor and the unease because of a so-called lack of hygiene becomes a sign of an essentially contemptible existence (Özyeğin, 2002).

Here, it is also noteworthy to mention that the expression of class difference in terms of cleanliness and hygiene is not unique to this study. In multiple studies, (Bora, 2005; Erdoğan et al., 2007; Kalaycıoğlu & Rittersberger Tılıç, 2001; Skeggs, 1997; Davidoff, 2002; Romero, 2002) there are narratives about cleanliness and hygiene, drawing the boundaries between different social classes. The attitude of not eating at the same table and providing them with separate plates was expressed by the interviewees as contemptuous and belittling. The stigma revealed in the narratives results from the day-to-day proximity of the poor to middle and upper class residents, whom they and/or their families serve. This stigma structures the interactions among members of each class, and it permeates the lives of poor women in the neighborhood, extending to both family and work (Özyeğin, 2002). While problems such as job insecurity, being overworked, and receiving low wages were casually described, humiliating behaviors were frequently emphasized. Many of the interviewees talked of how they stopped going to the houses where they were treated this way for these exact reasons.

3.2. Solidarity and Support Mechanisms

The neighborhood or *mahalle* has always had a significant role in the traditional structure of Turkish society. Through small gatherings for communal cooking with other women, casual meetings, and chance encounters, it is a place of socialization and solidarity in the everyday lives of women. Especially for the poor in urban areas, neighborhood relationships play an important role in meeting their emotional and daily needs.

Narratives of the interviews reveal that, with the exception of one young woman who came to Urla when she was a child, all the women stated that they had a neighborhood in which they socialized and felt supported in their hometowns. Participants said that they do not have this kind of neighborhood anymore and described the distant neighborhood relationships in Urla and implied that this made them feel lonely.

Nonetheless, they also point out that before the acceleration of the gentrification process, relationships were more intimate in these neighborhoods. Thus, we can see that the gentrification process aggravates the dissolution of the solidarity ties in the neighborhood.

Nearly all participants stated that in their neighborhood “no one cares” for them or about them. Interviewees mostly described feeling out of place in the neighborhood. Some of them explained this even by saying “if you die here, your dead body rots at home”. These women describe their hometown as a place where everybody is supportive. Their neighborhoods were an integral part of their daily lives, and they have fond memories of coming together in their backyards, and of the front doors and gardens that operated as a place for socialization for these women. This appropriation of outdoor spaces around the houses does not exist in their current neighborhood in Urla:

“If we'd die here, our bodies would rot. Nobody would knock on my door and ask me why I hadn't left the house that day and why I was not around for a few days.” (Yıldız, 32)⁷⁰

While talking about her neighborhood in Urla, Ayşe (53) stated that she could not talk to anyone and could not find solidarity with anyone:

“When I have a problem, there is no one to talk to... I only have my relatives. I've never talked to anybody here yet. Why would I lie? Whenever I was in trouble or had a problem or something was up, I never said a thing here.”⁷¹

In the case of rural migrants, particularly those in Turkey, the family, the neighborhood, and the larger migrant community are crucial to one's survival and social mobility in the city (Gökçe, 1993; Gilbert & Gugler, 1992; Karpat, 1976). In addition, the support of family and friends is a crucial strategy in dealing with poverty. Friends and family can provide emotional support or even tangible activities such as cooking or childcare. In many studies conducted with women who have migrated from

⁷⁰ “Burada ölsek ölümüz evde kokar. Kapımı kimse itip de ya komşu bugün çıkmadın hani hayırdır ne oldu kaç gündür gözüküyorsun kimse demez.” (Yıldız, 32)

⁷¹ “Derdim oldu mu kimse da burda da derleşmiyorum kimse de... Ancak akriba derleşecek. Hayatta bunu ağzını açmadım yani açmadım niye yalan söyleycem. Derdim olsun bir şeyler olsun sıkıntı olsun asla burda bir şey söylemedim yane.”

rural to urban areas today, it has been proven that other women in the family (such as mothers or grandmothers) help them when the burden of working both in the household and the labor market is too much for them. For example, in the study conducted with rural migrant women in the city by Erman et al. (2002) daughters or elderly female relatives help with housekeeping when these women need it. These residents lack the spatial proximity for this kind of support. A small number of those interviewed say they have family and/or friends in the neighborhood, but nevertheless, they feel lonely. However, since the majority of the interviewees do not have family and neighbors to support them in Urla, they have to face many difficulties on their own. At the same time, since they do not have relatives and neighbors to help, they have to do all the housework, childcare, and so on, by themselves. Hülya (47) exemplifies her experience of this kind of hardship and loneliness as follows:

“I am at work physically, but mentally I am with my daughter. With my children. You can’t help but have difficulty. I am tired both physically and mentally. If you had a family elder, you’d relax. For example, my mother-in-law and father-in-law came here and stayed for three months. I was so relaxed. My father-in-law used to take her places. So, it’s really hard. I struggled all by myself, I raised my children all by myself. I didn’t have a mother, father, or sibling. Been through a lot.”⁷²

The study reveals that both material and emotional support is missing in the participants’ neighborhoods. As seen in the narratives, the emphasis is on the lack of solidarity and neighborhood relations. According to the interviewees, solidarity is still seen as an important part of neighborhood life despite it not being present in their current neighborhood. For the interviewees, solidarity is a means to overcome daily problems and to feel supported and safe. However, all of the interviewees stated that they feel alone in Urla and that there is no solidarity. Despite the different social classes living in close proximity, this does not imply strong bonds or solidarity between them. These lower-class women have no community ties in that neighborhood because of this lack of solidarity, which leads to the discontent that is felt by the poor residents of

⁷² “Benim vücudum iştedir, gafam gızdadır. Gafam çocuklardadır. Yani ister istemez insan zorluk çekiyor. Hem kafada yorgunum hem de vücutta yorgunum. Ay sen bir büyüğün olsa bir kimsen olsa gafan rahat olur. Mesela geçen sene benim gayınpeder gaynana geldile, burada uç ay kaldıla gafam çok rahattı. Gayınpeder götürüyordu getiriyordu. O yüzden hani tek başına mu tabii ki zorluk çekiyosun. Ben çektim zorluk yani tek başına, çocuklar büyüttüm tek başına. Ana yokti, baba yokti gimse yokti gardeş yokti. Çektik yani.”

the neighborhood. Interviewees emphasized the hardships and loneliness they faced living in Urla numerous times.

For example, Zeliha (43) emphasized her loneliness and explains that the “rich” do not understand their problems; their lives are different:

“I’m saying if I were wealthy, I’d help everyone. Believe me, I’d help the poor I mean. But the people here are very strange. Everybody deals with their own houses and their own problems. If someone wants to be charitable, they help. If not, they just live their own lives in their own houses. They don’t get our struggle. Their social life is different. They’re not like us. They have luxurious cars, houses and their children are at private schools. [...] Believe me, it’s hard.”⁷³

When asked about the situation in the neighborhood when they first arrived, they mentioned that there was solidarity among neighbors. The narratives of the interviewees reveal that as the gentrification process advances, the solidarity in the neighborhood has steadily decreased. The neighborly bonds that a limited number of these women had begun to disappear as newcomers moved in. Interviewees emphasized that there has been a significant change in the neighborhood and in the relationships therein. The diminished ground for engagement and understanding between social classes in Urla was described by many interviewees. There was also a retrospective nostalgia in some interviews:

“It was better when I first came here. I mean, there was a neighborhood feel. I don’t know, people were warmer. My kid, for instance, would go outside, and I’d asked my neighbor to keep an eye on him. She’d say yes. But now, there is no such thing.” (Yıldız, 32)⁷⁴

“It was better when I first came here. The way people would treat us was different. Like when someone needed something, or when there was a gathering, it was better I mean. There was a different attitude. Now all kinds of people have arrived here. Everything changed, you know. A lot of middle-class and well-off people came here.” (Sema, 40)⁷⁵

⁷³ “Diyom ki maddi durumum çok iyi olsaydı herkese yardım ederdim. İnan ki hani fakir fukurlara çok destek verirdim. Ama burdaki insanlar mesela çok değişik insanlar. Herkes mesela kendi evinde kendi derdinde. Yardım seven olursa olur, olmazsa kendi evinde yaşarlar. Onlar bizim derdimizi anlamıyorlar. Onlar sosyal hayatı farklıdır. Mesla bizim gibi değil. Lüküs var araba onların altında, evleri var mesla çocuklar özel okulda okuyorlar. [...] İnan ki zor oluyor.”

⁷⁴ “İlk geldiğimde daha iyiydi. Hani daha komşuluk vardı. Hani ne bileyim insanlarda daha bir sıcaklık vardı. Çocuğum mesala çıkıyordu dışarı mesela diyordum ki yan komşuya abla sen bakar mısın, tamam. Hani şimdi öyle bir şey yok.” (Yıldız, 32)

⁷⁵ “İlk geldiğimde daha iyiydi. Yani hani böyle insanlarnan böyle hani yahlaşımaları böyle mesela diyelim bir işi olsaydı, bir şeyi olsaydı yani bir ortam olsaydı daha iyiydi yani hani. Daha farklı bir şey

The narratives clearly indicate the loss of networks and support in the neighborhood, as Hülya (47) explains:

“If you compare it to 20 years ago, it has changed. I mean, the neighbors have drawn back. They used to like to gather around and play rummicube and cards. They were in a different house every day. It’s not like that now. It has changed a great deal.”⁷⁶

During the interview, when asked what is missing in her neighborhood Hülya emphasized the lack of neighborhood relations rather than talking about material deficiency:

“There's a lack of neighborhood atmosphere. That is the only thing lacking.”

- How would you want it to be?

“I don't know like happily sitting and doing things together every day. I'd want that.”⁷⁷

Nebahat (55), who works as a gatekeeper in a villa, is also responsible for cleaning the house and doing shopping. She says that she is very lonely in her neighborhood and conveyed her loneliness with the following words:

“Nobody would know if I died there. Even if it was Serpil, she wouldn't know. She wouldn't think about checking on me when you said I didn't arrive. She'd think that I didn't want to come. I mean, I don't know if she'd ever wonder why I didn't come and call me. The neighbors wouldn't know already. How would your neighbors know what you're up to? For example, every day you visit each other and drink some coffee or have breakfast together. One day, they'd wonder when you're absent. But we don't have it. There's no such environment here.”⁷⁸

yaklaşım vardı. Şimdi her çeşit insan geldi. Hani her şey farklılaşdı yani hani. Orta halli insan da buraya çoh geldi yani hani, zengin insan da çoh geldi yani hani” (Sema, 40)

⁷⁶ “Eskiye göre 20 sene bakarsan değişmiş yani komşular çekilmiş yani. Eskide mesela oturiyolardı kadınlar oturiyolardı okey oyniyolardı kart oyniyolardı. E her gün her gün bi evdeylerdi. Şimdi öyle yok yani şimdi değişti baya değişti.”

⁷⁷ “Komşuluk ortamı eksiği var. O eksiği var başka bir şey yok.”

- Nasıl olsun isterdin?

“Ne bileyim hani civil civil hani beraber oturacak şey her gün her gün bir şeyler yapmak. Ben onu isterdim.”

⁷⁸ “Ben orda ölsem kimsenin haberi olmaz. Yani Serpil abla bile olsa bilmez. Gelmedi deyince bakayım neden gelmedi demez ki. Ya canı istedi çıkmadı der. Yani bir bakayım acaba bu niye gelmedi ya telefon açayım niye gelmedi der mi, bilmiyom. Yani kolu komşu zaten bilmez. Her zaman mesela konu komşu

As mentioned in previous chapters, throughout the gentrification process, Urla its inhabitants have changed substantially. Their neighborhoods are now essentially luxury residential areas for the middle and upper class, and the poor families are now few in number. A minimum number of people is required to maintain the traditional neighborhood culture, and since there is such a disparity between the social classes, this culture has not been preserved. Therefore, the women interviewed feel isolated, and it is hard for them to unite and show solidarity. There are many factors that contribute to the difficulty of these women coming together, including but not limited to geographical proximity.

Furthermore, it is understood from the narratives of the participants that it is not only the lack of neighborly relations but also the feeling of being excluded and not belonging to the neighborhood that makes them feel uncomfortable. For example, Yıldız sent a cake to her neighbor, her cake was not accepted and sent back to her:

“I mean, I send a piece of cake with cinnamon and carrot. Some send it back, saying their daughter is allergic to cinnamon. Like, there are so many kinds of strange people. So many that you can't believe it. We grew up with a sense of neighborhood. The culture during my mother's and mother-in-law's time in Kayseri was really nice and important. If they had only tea to serve, they'd invite the neighbor next door. When we first came here, we thought so, and you know, when you cook, the smell is everywhere. We can tell our daughter to bring a plate to them as well, but here there's no such thing.” (Yıldız, 32) ⁷⁹

These experiences are remarkably different from those in their previous neighborhood in their hometown. As Yıldız (32) describes:

“Bad. I mean, not good. Also, like I told you, we're a generation that grew up with neighborhood culture. My mother's place would never be empty. If we'd get hungry playing in the street, we'd go to our neighbor's house to eat, they'd put some tomato paste on bread and feed us. I mean, I can't trust my neighbor when my kid is outside. Imagine. Nobody's opening the door. No one looks at you in the face. Like you say hi but they don't even say it back. We live in such a society.

nasıl bilir her gün gidersin kahveni içersin ya gahvaltıya gidersin her gün ha bugün bu adam çıkmadı ya acaba bir şey mi var bir bakayım dersin. Ama o yok. O ortam yok.”

⁷⁹ “İşte en basiti gönderiyorum tarçınlı havuçlu kek. Kızımın tarçına alerjisi var deyip onun geri gönderenler var. Hani o kadar yani çok değişik insanlar var ki hani böyle bir şey olamaz. Biz komşuyuz şeyiyle büyüdük kültürü ile büyüdük. Benim annemgil kayınvalidemgil döneminde Kayseri'de komşu kültürü çok güzeldir, çok önemlidir. Hani evimizde bir çay olsa bile yan komşuyu çağırın insanlar. E biz de buraya geldiğimiz zaman öyle düşündüğümüz için hani evde yapılan hani kokar, her yer açık sonuçta. Hani kızım kokmuştur şuradan bir tabak ta götür diyebiliyoruz ama burada öyle bir şey yok.” (Yıldız, 32)

There's no society anymore. People, I don't know, they're after their lives struggling with work and money problems. Nobody has any idea about anybody”
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The experiences mentioned above by Yıldız had features that were reflected in the experiences of other interviewees. The emphasis on loneliness in the neighborhood, exclusion and stigmatization, and longing for their own hometown is prevalent in these lines.

Something common in the interviewees' statements is that they miss the solidarity of their hometowns where they had strong neighborly ties and supported each other. Some of the participants even mentioned that they missed the neighborhood that existed prior to the start of the gentrification process. As the gentrification process has advanced, the interviewees have experienced a decline in social interaction, solidarity, and neighborliness in their current neighborhoods. The current state of the neighborhood shapes the experience of urban inequality, eroding social coexistence, solidarity, and recognition. There is a process of “othering” in encounters between social classes in the neighborhood. Interviewees say that since old residents left the neighborhood and “other” people moved into the neighborhood, solidarity has disappeared. The interviewees’ narratives highlight that they wholeheartedly differentiate themselves from others who live in the neighborhood. So, they are “othered” by the middle and upper classes in the area while at the same time they “other” them.

Moreover, the interviews revealed that interviewees have no interaction with the middle and upper classes in the neighborhood, with the poor making friends only within their own social class. When the interviewees were asked who their friends were, they replied as follows:

⁸⁰ “Kötü. Yani iyi değil. Bir de biz dediğim gibi komşu kültürüyle büyümüş insanlarız. Annemgilin evi hiç boş kalmazdı. Biz sokakta oynadığımız zaman acıktığımız zaman komşumuza giderdik, ekmeğimize salça sürer verirdi. Yani şu anda benim çocuğum çıktığı zaman ben ya komşuma güvenemiyorum. Düşün. Kapını kimse açmıyor. Yani çıkıyorsun kimse yüzüne bakmıyor. Yani selam veriyorsun, Allah’ın selamını bile almıyorlar. Yani öyle bir toplum toplumda kaldık artık. Toplum oldu yok. İnsanlar bilmiyorum herkes bir şeyin peşine düşmüş, çalışmanın, uğraşın, geçim sıkıntısının. Kimsenin kimseden haberi yok.”

“Just like me, as I told you. What to talk about with the rich and where to go? You can't go near their house or anything. Like the man passing by, what are you gonna talk with him if you go there?” (Nebahat, 55) ⁸¹

“From their background, of course. Everybody chats and gets along with their equal.”

- Why is that so?

“But that person is close to them. I can tell you like this, the status difference.” (Kiraz, 36) ⁸²

The narratives also illustrate that there are many who still long for the amiability of the village, the ethos of their hometown. However, some of the women interviewed want to escape the limitations that village life places on women, a topic that will be covered in the following chapters of the thesis.

It is possible to see from the interviews that the solidarity in the cultural tradition of the working class has also weakened in the neighborhood. An important fact that this research revealed is that poor women withdrew from social relations and solidarity in those neighborhoods. Thus, interviewees are lonely because they do not have significant support in Urla.

3.3. “Weapons of the Weak”

It has been argued that most of the poor women's narratives point to the degrading and injurious nature of the relationship between the lower and upper classes in the area. However, it does not mean that the poor are entirely passive victims of these unequal power relations. On the contrary, it can be said that they are active agents who resist the unequal relations of power. That is to say, poor-subordinates do not exactly accept the social cultural classification schemes imposed on them. They resort to

⁸¹ “Aynı benim gibi yani deyim. Ben zenginlerle ne konuşacam nereye gidecem? Kapısına gidemen, bacasına gidemen. Karşıda gördüğün adam yanına gidip ne konuşacan, konuşaman yani.” (Nebahat, 55)

⁸² “Kendi kesiminden tabii ki. Herkes kendi dengiyle sohbet eder, kendi dengiyle de anlaşır.”

- Neden böyledir?

“Ama kendine o yakındır. Şöyle söylüyüm sana, statü farkı.” (Kiraz, 36)

psychological mechanisms to avoid being hurt emotionally and protect themselves. In other words, they develop tactics and psychological defense mechanisms that can be described as an “escape without leaving” to protect themselves against injury.

From the interviews, it is obvious that the poor picture themselves as being equipped with moral values against the wealthy. In this respect, inner beauty and dignity become a “weapon of the weak” in the face of difficulties and suffering. While explaining that she was looked down upon by the middle and upper classes a few times, Hülya (47) says that “We grew up in severe poverty but we learned many good things like manners and respect.”⁸³ Hülya’s words represent self-defense against the injurious character of social class hierarchies. Likewise, Yıldız (32) says:

“What we understand from being good is being honest, not stealing. I mean not looking at what's haram, not ruining your honor. This is the way of an honest person. But theirs is money”⁸⁴.

Sema’s and Ayşe’s words also exemplify the moral values used as a defense against humiliation. While explaining that the “rich” humiliate the poor, they add that the most important things are “being humane”, “honor”, and “pride”:

“I think they belittle you. [...] Both the poor and the rich are the servants of God. But it's not so different to me. What matters most is acting humanely as well, I think. I don't know. Honor, pride, and purity. These are very important to me.”⁸⁵

“There's so much discrimination, my girl. They discriminate too much. It's everywhere. Everywhere! There is a discrimination my girl. We feel sad in house so sad. But we don't say a thing, what is to say my girl? Some rich people see the poor and act like this. I mean, this is how it goes. God sometimes gives wealth but not the ability to act humane. Because being human is important, my girl, human.” (Ayşe, 53)⁸⁶

⁸³ “Biz çok yokluğunlan büyüdük ama güzel şeyler öğrendik, terbiyeyi öğrendik, saygıyı öğrendik”

⁸⁴ “Bizim bildiğimiz düzgünlükten anlayış dürüst olması, hırsız olmaması yani harama bakmaması, namusuna helal getirmemesidir. Bizim bildiğimiz dürüst insan anlayışı budur ama onlarınki paradır.”

⁸⁵ “Küçük görür bence, küçük görür. [...] Fakır de Allahın kuludur zengin de Allahın kuludur ama benim için şey fark etmiyor, benim için de en çok insan insanlık önemli yani. Ne bileyim haysiyet namus benim için çok önemli bunlar benim için çok önemli.”

⁸⁶ “Ayrım çok var kızım, çok ayırım yapıyolar. Her yerde her yerde! Ayrım var kızım. [...] Biz üzülüyorun evi içinde biz çok üzülüyorun. Ama bi ses çıkarmıyoz ne deycen kızım. İşte bazı zenginler fakirleri görüyor, böyle yapıyor. Yani mişte eyle. İşte bazı isanlar Allah veriyor ama isanlık vermiyor ona. Çünkü kızım isanlık önemli, isan isan! (Ayşe, 53)

The emphasis the poor place on moral values is not a common way in which social hierarchies and classification schemes to legitimize themselves but rather serve as a way to cope with them and keep their inner self alive in conditions where this role is not accepted or unacceptable (Erdoğan, 2007c). So, the poor subordinates object to the social classification schemes by putting their moral-human values up against the dominant material-economic terms of the social classification schemes.

In the face of the injurious nature of social class hierarchies and cultural classification schemes, another defense mechanism of the poor is “dividing the self”, which is an alienation of the “the active, performing self, seeking recognition from others as a distinctive individual, from the passive self that just wants to be, to enjoy family and friends, to love them” (Sennett & Cobb, 1972, p. 194). Such kind of alienation indicates that the “feeling structures” of the poor have a dual temporality: the time of the real self and the time of the performing self (Erdoğan, 2007c, p. 70). The real self, which is passive and silent in the face of the active, playing self, embodies another world against the time of the phenomenal world. Ünzile (38) says, “We came to this but I am so done, I mean I'm exhausted. I am 38 but people tell me I look 45 or 50.”⁸⁷. The difference between the time of the performing self and the time of the real self also coincides with the difference between the body and the inner self (Erdoğan, 2007c).

As Sennett and Cobb (1972) point out, dividing the self protects a person from the suffering they would otherwise experience; if they had to expose their whole self to a society, they would feel insecure and anxiety-ridden. This internal division makes life slightly more bearable for the poor subordinate. While the performing self obeys orders and remains silent when humiliated, insulted by words or glared at, the real self establishes itself in another world where these conditions don't exist (Erdoğan, 2007c).

As Erdoğan (2007c) states, the time of the real self is also based on wanting to believe in a glimmer of hope in their self-sacrifice for their children's seemingly uncertain and potentially dark future. The language centered around self-sacrifice for the children

⁸⁷ “Bu şeye geldik ama yani ben de bittim artık, yani ben de galmadım. 38 yaşındayım ama görenler 45 yaşında 50 yaşında sanıyor.”

was very common among the interviewees. Almost all interviewees say that they would endure the feelings of loneliness and humiliation in the neighborhood for their children's sake since they believe that their children will get a relatively good education and live in better conditions in this neighborhood. They emphasized that they don't want their children "to be like them", meaning they want their children to have a better life than them.

Şermin's and Ayşe's words illustrate that, as opposed to the "me" who accepts what is imposed, the real "me" bears the difficulties for the children (Erdoğan, 2007c):

"On the other hand, I thought about my kids. I mean, we don't have anybody here, so I had to put up with it all. Even though they insult me, I put up with them, because of that, I let them." (Şermin, 31)⁸⁸

"I really feel so sad. I mean, I feel sad here. What can you do when you've got to feed your children? When there's a mother or father, one bears with everything. They want their children to be healthy, to live in a nice place with good people. Like we had difficulty a lot here, why? Because everywhere, there's always someone saying their opinion. There is always someone interfering, but we put up with everything for our children." (Ayşe, 53)⁸⁹

Emine (43) on the other hand, while talking about the emotional difficulties she has faced, mentioned that all she wants is for her children to have a good life:

"It's impossible for us to get rich; we can't even get close to that. Our only concern is for our kids to study and earn their money. We want them to save their lives. I don't want anything else; God knows. I don't want a house or a car. I mean, I stopped caring about snobbish people. Because I only have two kids, what matters to me is their future. Not anything else." (Emine, 43)⁹⁰

All of the interviewees stated that their hopes and dreams were to provide a good future for their children. Gülcan (31) said that her expectation in life is only a good future for

⁸⁸ "Bir yönden de şey çocukları düşündüm. Yani burada kimsemiz yok yine ondan dolayı yani boyun eğdim her şeye. Hakareti de yesem şeylik yüzünden boyun eğdim." (Şermin, 31)

⁸⁹ "Biz çok uzuldüm valla. Yani burda çok uzuldun. E napcan ekmek parası çocukler için. Mesela isan anne baba çocukler için her şey katlıyor, her şey yapıyolar yani. Hadi çocukler iyi olsun, iyi bi yerde yaşasın, iyi isanlara yaşasın ana baba istiyor. Mesela biz burda zorluk çok çekti neden çektim her bi yerde bi ses çıkıyo mtlak. Bi ses çıkıyo biz çocuklar için her şeye katlandık her şeyi çektik alttan içeri." (Ayşe, 53)

⁹⁰ "Yani bizim zengin olmamız mümkün değil, yanından bile geçemeyiz de. İşte tek derdimiz çocuklarımız okusun, ekmeklerini alsınlar ellerine, hayatlarını kurtarsınlar odur. Başka bir şey istemiyorum valla. Ne evdir ne arabadır yani böyle burnu havada olanlar da artık önemsememeye başladım. Çünkü benim için sadece 2 tane çocuğum var, onların geleceği benim için önemli başka da hiçbir şey değil." (Emine, 43)

her children now. This emphasizes that their children seem to be their strongest link to this world. Given these women's difficult situation, it is their children that give them a reason to live and survive despite their circumstances. They say that even though they cannot protect themselves from their hardships and difficult living conditions, they do their utmost to provide their children with a better life and are willing to sacrifice almost anything for this.

Maintaining a state of melancholy and mourning can also be reframed as a form of resistance to assimilation into an unfair dominant culture. This form of resistance helps people from marginalized groups to retain their sense of self identity and dignity, however painful that may be (Lin-Arlow, 2019). As argued by Erdoğan (2007c) “the silence or cry of the poor-subaltern, the ‘non-verbal cry of the body’ in de Certeau's words, refers to another body that persistently exists despite this bodily habit and beneath its residue, which cannot be written or occupied at all.” (p. 62).

These tactics and psychological defense mechanisms show that the poor are capable of coping with the “injuries” they experience in their everyday life. As far as the findings of this study suggest, the defenses against these injuries do not, however, reduce the effects of alienation and also do not lead to structural changes that challenge the unequal relations between the dominant and the subordinate. Nevertheless, it is still important in the sense that it shows the active agency of subordinates.

3.4. Concluding Remarks

This chapter revealed the psychological burdens of class society by focusing on the emotional and affective reactions of poor inhabitants stemming from their everyday encounters with the middle and upper classes. The functioning of the capitalist patriarchal system results in the endangerment of the dignity and self-respect of poor women, and it generates emotions such as shame, self-doubt, resentment and a loss of self-esteem and dignity. In particular, class encounters in Urla result in interviewees feeling these emotions in its intense form. This chapter revealed that the spatial proximity of social classes leads to feelings of alienation, shame, and self-deprivation in the inner-emotional world of the poor living in Urla. These emotions are the

byproduct of structural and material inequalities manifested in the encounters of social classes, particularly in the gentrifying areas.

Everyday encounters of the different social classes in Urla result in interviewees classifying their own conditions of existence in relation to “others”. The experiences and feelings of these women as “out-of-place” are explored by focusing on the emotional and cultural processes of the interviewees. They see themselves through the eyes of the dominant class, and as a result, they internalize that gaze. Since escaping from the gaze of the dominant class is almost impossible in these neighborhoods, the traumatizing effect of poverty is experienced in its most traumatic form. In such a place, the ocular-centric characteristic of social relations is present in a severe form. As a result, poor women feel the ever-present weight of injurious relationships while living in Urla.

The narratives also illustrate the emotional dimension of the experiences of the domestic workers and gatekeepers, who work in precarious conditions. Stigmatization and humiliation, inability to eat at the same table with employees, and expressions of class difference in terms of cleanliness and hygiene were detailed in the narratives. The most intense form of the degrading relationship between social classes in the neighborhood is reflected in the narratives of the women who live in the housing designated for gatekeepers, who live and work in the same space and feel extreme loneliness and pressure while living there with their families.

Another source of injury for the poor women interviewed in Urla is the experiences of their children in the area. In addition to financial inadequacy, seeing what the “other” children have results in their children feeling left behind. Interviewees' descriptions of their children’s exclusion, stigmatization, and, in some cases, being labeled as “temporary neighbors” result in interviewees feeling hidden injuries through those of their children.

Lack of schooling and women's unfulfilled hopes and dreams regarding education is also a source of injury for these women, especially considering that they encounter “well-educated women” on a daily basis. In fact, they experience their low level of education as “being unable to live life”.

The poor residents lack spatial proximity to their friends and family able to provide support. Furthermore, these poor women are witnessing a degeneration of recognition, social coexistence, and social cohesion in the area. As gentrification accelerates, there is an increasing dissolution of the solidarity ties in the neighborhood.

On the other hand, in the face of these difficulties, poor women have their own “weapons”—tactics and psychological defense mechanisms—such as picturing themselves as being equipped with higher moral values against the wealthy, “dividing the self”, or maintaining a state of melancholy and mourning in the face of inequality in the neighborhood. These defense mechanisms show the active agency of subordinates although they do not lead to structural changes or prevent their injuries.

This chapter revealed important emotional aspects of poverty such as the feeling of exclusion from society, and constant feeling of shame and inadequacy, especially in social environments. This results in the poor isolating themselves from society in the case of Urla. Class experiences of the poor women in gentrifying neighborhoods mostly consist of alienative moments. The emotional symbolic violence which threatens the dignity and self-respect of the interviewees is more pronounced than the material miseries they face. As a result, living in physical proximity to the middle and upper classes result in dramatic examples of the poor residents questioning their self-worth and feeling injuries in the self.

CHAPTER 4

LIVED EXPERIENCES OF GENTRIFICATION

Emotions and perceptions stemming from everyday encounters are essentially illustrations of relationships that are forged in space by people who hold different positions of power in social space. With this in mind, this chapter discusses the emotional aspects of displacement as it plays out in gentrifying neighborhoods through a thorough investigation of what gentrification means in the lived experiences of poor residents and how it impacts their livelihoods. Additionally, it details the emotional aspects of displacement as byproducts of economic and social inequalities. Thus, with emotions as the starting point, this chapter argues that these feelings are the result of material socio-economic inequalities as manifested in contemporary encounters of poor residents with middle and upper class newcomers in the city.

Gentrification is a process that displaces long-term residents, the poor, and local businesses and attracts more affluent populations. Gentrification involves the deliberate construction of commercial and living spaces that attract wealthier populations, who then redefine the space. Despite the fact that gentrification has a significant impact on the emotional and social worlds of poor residents in these areas, it is rarely discussed in academia. As a result, investigating these feelings is an important area of research into gentrification and its consequences for the poor.

Gentrification not only leads to the displacement of locals but, at times, also results in the feeling of exclusion and/or the physical displacement of the poor families who came to that neighborhood to work. Thus, it is important to explore the experiences of the poor “incomers” who do not have pre-existing ties to the area.

While accepting that gentrification requires a synthesis of cultural and economic explanations, this study focuses more on cultural explanations of the gentrification processes, especially the emotional effects of gentrification. This chapter concentrates on the feelings, emotions, and perceptions associated with displacement that occur along with physical expulsion from the gentrifying neighborhood. Given that the emphasis is placed on emotional displacement rather than physical displacement, these emotions are contextualized and understood as consequences of economic and social inequalities stemming from material power structures. The central focus of this chapter is how marginalized individuals experience neighborhood upgrading, which allows us to rethink and critically scrutinize our understanding of class, gender, and gentrification.

This chapter examines the perceptions, feelings, and emotions of poor residents as a primary source through which the impacts of gentrification on their everyday lives are explored. Particularly relevant to this chapter is also the identification of the emotional responses and reactions of lower-income inhabitants that are caused by their encounters with middle-class newcomers. More extensively, this chapter expands upon the argument that feelings of displacement are fundamental to understanding gentrification along with displacement itself because feelings of displacement are the direct expression of intersecting structural power dynamics, of which gentrification is a spatial manifestation (Valli, 2015).

4.1. (Not) Living Together

As mentioned, divisions of space are more than just physical facts; they are socially produced. Despite there being a proximity of physical space between the social classes in the neighborhood, the research reveals that there is an obvious boundary between them. While diverse, the commonality in poor residents' experiences is that they live separate lives from the middle and upper classes in the neighborhood. Significant number of interviewees stated that they do not have any connection with the middle and upper classes in the neighborhood except for labor relations. Zeliha's and

Nebahat's words illustrate the boundary between the social classes. Their words demonstrate how these social classes live different lives in the same neighborhood:

"I mean, for example, you can't get close to rich people or talk to them. You can't share your problems; they live their own lives. Like we, as a family, go to a place, after we sit and talk for a while, we go back home. They wouldn't understand our problems but would live their own social life." (Zeliha, 43) ⁹¹

"Where would I go and talk to them anyways?" (Nebahat, 55) ⁹²

Erdoğan (2007c) claims that the dynamic between the poor and the rich results in a relationship of not wanting to see each other. This research upholds Erdoğan's position and profoundly details this relationship of "not wanting to see each other". To exemplify, Hülya (47), who lives in a small, old building with poor living conditions surrounded by villas and gated communities, described her relationship with her neighbors as follows:

"Well around the gated community [...] There's a gated community full with such people. They don't even say hi to you. I don't know, they are like that. Their behaviors are like that. When they don't say hi, you don't either. Greeting people is actually a way to serve God. Smiling and things... It's worth the whole world to me." ⁹³

Elif (33) who works as a gatekeeper with her husband, lives in housing designated for gatekeepers in this gated community. With the following words, she stated that people living in the gated community do not greet her nor do they look at her:

"You greet them with the greeting of God, but they don't even accept it. Look, I went by her, I mean, I tried to be interested in her, but she didn't talk with me at all. You know, they belittle people." ⁹⁴

Throughout the interviews, nearly all respondents emphasized their differences from the "rich". They also commented on the mannerisms of the wealthier people, who

⁹¹ "Mesela tabi zenginler mesela onların yerine yanına gidemezsin. Mesela oturamazsın, dertleşemezsin onlar hani kendi hayatını yaşarlar. Mesela biz ailece mesela bir yere gidersek otururuz, konuşuruz, geri eve geliriz. Hani onlar da bizim derdimiz anlamaz ki kendi hayatı sosyal hayatını yaşarlar." (Zeliha, 43)

⁹² "Onlarla zaten nerde oturup nerde konuşacağım". (Nebahat, 55)

⁹³ "Valla bizim etraftaki sitede [...] Bir site var doli. Onun insanları hiç sağa selam bile vermezler. Bilmiyorum öyleler zaten huyları öyleler. Onlar sana selam vermeyince de sen vermiyorsun. Halbuki selam Allah'ın selamıdır. Bir güler yüzlü bir şey... O benim için dünya bedeldir"

⁹⁴ "Sen onlara selamı senin selamı Allah'ın selamını bile almıyorlar. Ben bak kadının yanından geçtim daha doğrusu ilgilendim kadın benimle hiç konuşmadı. Hani insanları küçük görüyorlar."

do not share nor help others. They also emphasize the differences regarding lifestyle, clothing, and the places they go. These differences highlight that although there is a physical proximity between them, they live separate lives. Zeliha expressed this by saying that they are “not living together” and “their worlds are different”:

“We don't live all together. Like maybe he has a lot of money in his pocket, maybe he'll eat something very expensive, and I'll say that I'm going to eat just a little. Maybe I don't even have money to get some tea. But they're not like us. If we have only 5 liras, we'll share it. If they were like us, we'd share our problems and have some tea. But they're not like us; their world is different.” (Zeliha, 43) ⁹⁵

The geography literature contains numerous examples of tensions that arise in socially mixed areas over the presence by and of residents and usage of shared spaces (Andersson et al., 2011; Valentine & Waite, 2012). In particular, class encounters can be stressful for minority groups because of their experience of marginalization and discrimination (Valentine, 2008). Such is the case presented in this study. The introduction of the middle and upper class population into Urla and the encounters of social classes in that space highlights and emphasizes social differences. In addition, interviews highlight the polarization in the neighborhood. Nearly all women stressed that they feel out of place in their place of residence. For example, Zeliha (43) says that Urla is not for them:

“For example, in Urla there aren't any jobs. I'm telling you, they have the celebrity life, tourists' life. Not like the life of us poor people. There's nothing. Nothing in Urla.” ⁹⁶

Spatial proximity and the close urban encounter with “others” do not lead to meaningful contact and positive interaction that deepens respect for differences in that area. “Difference” is performed and realized through a diversity of activities, feelings, and consumption patterns. Close proximity often generates or aggravates comparisons between different social groups in terms of perceived or actual access to resources

⁹⁵ “Bir arada yaşamıyoruz. Mesela belki onun cebinde çok para var, belki o çok pahalı şeyler yiyecek, ben dedim hani az şey yiyeceğim. Belki bir çay parası cebimde yoktu ben gidersem bir yere ama ona bizim gibi değiller. Beş guruş da olsa biz paylaşırız seninle o ortama geldiği zaman bizim gibi olsa derdimizi söyleriz mesela bir çay de içeriz ama ona bizim gibi değiller ki. Onların dünyası farklıdır.” (Zeliha, 43)

⁹⁶ “Urla mesela iş yok. Diyom ya sosyete zenginlerin hayatı, turizlerin hayatı. Bizim gibi fakırların hayatı değil. Yok bir şey yok. Urlada bir şey yok.”

(Valentine, 2008, p. 327). As previously detailed, this comparison was quite common in the discourse of the interviewees.

There are no physical boundaries in the neighborhood between these groups, but there appears to be an invisible boundary. In other words, although they are living in close physical proximity, they are disjointed. As Yıldız emphasized, they do not share the same places with the “rich”:

“Today, I can't go to a breakfast place with my children. I mean, I don't have that opportunity. But the others don't have breakfast at home. They go to very luxurious places. The places in Urla that I don't know-like some days ago, our neighbor's daughter told my elder daughter. Do you know what she said? She said, ‘You know there are Ayda Vineyards, they are very luxurious, very nice, we went out there to hang out.’ My child is asking if we know that place. We don't. They are not places that we go. Others go on vacation, but I only go to my hometown, while they go abroad. Think about it. That's the difference between us.” (Yıldız, 32)⁹⁷

The narratives reveal that the interviewees' physical and ontological attachment to place is very low. In addition, the majority of the houses visited for this study have poor living conditions with inadequate rooms. The housing conditions of these women also preclude any sense of shared space with middle and upper class residents in the neighborhood. The accounts demonstrate the limited opportunities for mutual engagement since the rich and poor coexist but frequent different places, belong to different social networks, and have divergent perceptions of their shared neighborhood. That is to say, individuals from different social classes live parallel but separate lives in the neighborhood. In actuality, the poor could be described as “outsiders within,” a term that encapsulates the deeper sense of marginality that arises from their proximity to the rich, being within and around a group that they are isolated and ostracized from (Özyeğin, 2002).

Another prominent effect of gentrification is socio-spatial segregation. Socio-spatial segregation affects the social, economic, and spatial characteristics of neighborhoods.

⁹⁷ “Bugün ben çocuklarımı alıp da bir kahvaltı salonuna gidemem. Yani o imkânım yok benim. Ama onlarsa yani evde kahvaltı yapmazlar, çok lüks yerlere giderler. Benim Urla'nın bilmediğim yerleri mesela geçen komşumuzun kızı söylemiş işte bizim büyük kıza. İşte demiş ‘Biliyor musunuz’ demiş ‘Aile bağları var çok lüks çok güzel biz oraya gittik gezmeye’ falan. Çocuğum diyor ki ‘Anne diyor orayı biliyor musunuz siz?’ Bilmiyoruz! Yani bizim gideceğimiz yerler değil çünkü. Ya adamlar bir tatile gidiyorlar mesela ben memlekete gidiyorum tatile, onlar yurt dışlarına gidiyorlar. Düşün yani. Farkımız bu işte.” (Yıldız, 32)

Segregation is a term used to describe differences in the geographical residential patterns of various social groups (Birman & Franzén, 2007). It is most often associated with social distance. However, segregation can be seen in the spatial, social, economic, and cultural spheres, and it has the potential to lead to alienation from one's living environment and oneself. The process of spatial segregation has many different aspects, and the significance of this process arises from its transformative nature, which not only affects economic and social relations but also transforms the social and living spaces as well as everyday life in the city. In everyday life, this transformation results in spatial segregation, which then affects solidarity and power relations among the residents. Spatial segregation comes about through the creation of material and symbolic boundaries. These barriers, once in place, alienate minority groups and “others” them.

The process of gentrification is an affirmation of the power of making space that the hegemonic group possesses, and that same power creates segregation (Valli, 2015). Interviewees’ words highlighted this kind of segregation in the neighborhood. For example, Kiraz (36) says:

“With the arrival of different cultures and people, cliques started to form. Because at some point, everybody talks to people from their level. Let’s say that you’re going to have dinner out, you invite someone having the same standards as you. I mean, I can’t go outside for dinner every day with you. I can’t afford it.”⁹⁸

The socio-economic differences among the residents of the neighborhood become drastically visible in regard to their consumption patterns and leisure activities. As the interviews illustrate, experience and the use of space differ in accordance with the social class of residents in the neighborhood. Respondents stressed that the neighborhood is mostly for wealthy people with luxury restaurants, high rents, and high costs. As mentioned, they perceive the neighborhood as “a place for the wealthy people and not for themselves.”

“Expensive, life in Urla is so expensive like you can't live here. Food, clothes, etc., they're so expensive that people can't afford them. Everybody lives

⁹⁸ “Ya farklı kültürler, farklı insanlar geldikçe insanlar arasında gruplaşmalar da başladı. Çünkü herkes kendi seviyesindekilerle sohbet etmeye başlıyor. Yani akşam dışarıya çıkacaksın mesela yemeğe kendi seviyedeki insan... Şimdi ben senle her akşam yemeğe gelemem ki. Buna ne gücüm yeter ne param yeter.”

according to their budget but the rich live the real life; the poor like us are live a miserable, isolated life. For example, I don't take kids to the cafeteria. I can't lie, I can't take them to drink coffee or something. I cook everything at home to feed my children.” (Zeliha, 43) ⁹⁹

“Our places are different. They go to nice cafeterias and stuff but we don't. You get sad. They can go, but we can't. They can like go anywhere to travel but we can't. You get sad.” (Kader, 35) ¹⁰⁰

In the neighborhood, the respondent's ties to the city began to deteriorate. Gentrification resulted in people being excluded not only economically and physically but also socially and emotionally, with spatial and social segregation as well as social exclusion restricting the respondents' physical movements.

4.2. Displacement

In gentrifying contexts, middle and upper class newcomers and developers enact their ability to make space, while marginalized groups are limited in their ability to produce space. (Stabrowski, 2014). Parallel to this, the study reveals that even though the poor physically inhabit the neighborhood, they are dislocated from the neighborhood on an everyday basis.

4.2.1. Neighborhood Accessibility and Belonging

The everyday lives of the poor have been greatly affected by the gentrification process in the area. The cost of living and housing are rising in the neighborhood, and the prices of every consumption item, ranging from bread to clothing, affect the everyday lives of the low-income population. Furthermore, respondents see the recent influx of

⁹⁹ “Zengin çok bu Urla hayatı çok zengin mesela yaşanmaz. Yiyecek pahalı, kıyafet çok pahalı insan alamıyor. Hani herkes kendine göre ama zenginler hayat yaşıyorlar, bizim gibi fakirler de garip, uzak yaşıyorlar. Mesela hani toplam bir çocukları kafeteryaya götürmüyom, bir kahve de bir şeyler de içemiyoz ne yalan söyleyeyim yani. Ne varsa hani getiririm evde pişiririm veririm yediririm çocuklarıma” (Zeliha, 43)

¹⁰⁰ “Yerlerimiz farklı. Onlar güzel kafeteryeler falan gidiyorlar ama biz gitmiyoruz... İnsan üzülüyor, onlar gidiyor biz gitmiyoruz. Onlar böyle şeyleri gezmeye gidiyor, her yere gidiyor, biz gitmiyoruz insan üzülüyor.” (Kader, 35)

sophisticated boutiques, hotels, restaurants, and shops as indicators of a new kind of place: one targeted toward the interests and financial capabilities of the middle and upper classes.

While many fancy new shops have opened, the interviewees do not have the means to enjoy these places. Therefore, the poor are excluded from a number of gentrified places, like the multitude of new restaurants, shops, and coffee shops. Urla has been the target of gentrification policies aimed at dislocating poor residents and transforming the area into a high-income residential area as well as a tourist destination. As a result, housing, markets, bazaars, restaurants, and cafes are becoming increasingly inaccessible to poor residents. The places of consumption that were previously owned by locals are now owned for commercial purposes by newcomers, which further divides the communities and pushes locals out.

As a result of the high rental prices, there is an increase in the prices of the products offered in these locations. This leads to poor residents and the local population being excluded from consumption places, in part due to a lack of economic means. In addition, these circumstances put the surrounding neighborhoods under pressure of rent gaps, potentially resulting in the subjugation of the lower classes' housing needs. Narrated below is Yıldız's discontent with the rising cost of housing in their neighborhood due to the gentrification process:

“It's become a pile of stones. For example, the first house I used to live in was terrible. You know how it is, like it was broken, worn out, and damp. I have been through so much... My daughter started to get sick all the time. But now, there aren't houses like that one. They're all luxurious. Of course, as the houses became fancier, the prices went up. This time the prices went up terribly. Our family gets by on the minimum wage... The prices rose at an incredible rate. This neighborhood is especially incredibly expensive. I mean, the neighborhood we live in costs a lot.” (Yıldız, 32)¹⁰¹

Similarly, while talking about the recent changes in Urla, Zeynep (30) described Urla as “more expensive than Paris.”:

¹⁰¹ “Taş yığını oldu. Mesela benim ilk oturduğum ev çok kötüydü. Nasıldı biliyor musun böyle kırık, dökük, rutubet çok. O kadar çok sıkıntı yaşadım ki... Kızım her zaman hasta olmaya başladı. Ama şimdi o evlerden kalmadı. Lüksleşti. Lüksleşince tabii ki fiyatlar da uçtu. Bu sefer fiyatlar çok fena uçtu. Ben bir asgari ücretlen geçinen bir aileyim... Yani fiyatlar aldı başını gitti. Özellikle şu muhit yani inanılmaz pahalı. Yani bizim oturduğumuz muhit çok pahalı.” (Yıldız, 32)

“I think it's worsened. Rents have risen. All prices have doubled in Çeşmealtı. Paris is cheaper, that's for sure.”¹⁰²

The narratives and mental maps obtained from the interviews reveal that the respondents' access to the neighborhood is limited and their sense of belonging is low. Their relationship with their neighborhood is largely needs-based and encompasses essential services such as markets, health centers, their children's schools, places of past and current employment, and residences of family members. The most common types of maps drawn by the interviewees include needs-based access of the neighborhood spaces, which refers to a low level of use and belonging. Kader's and Hülya's mental maps are documented below as examples of these types of maps:

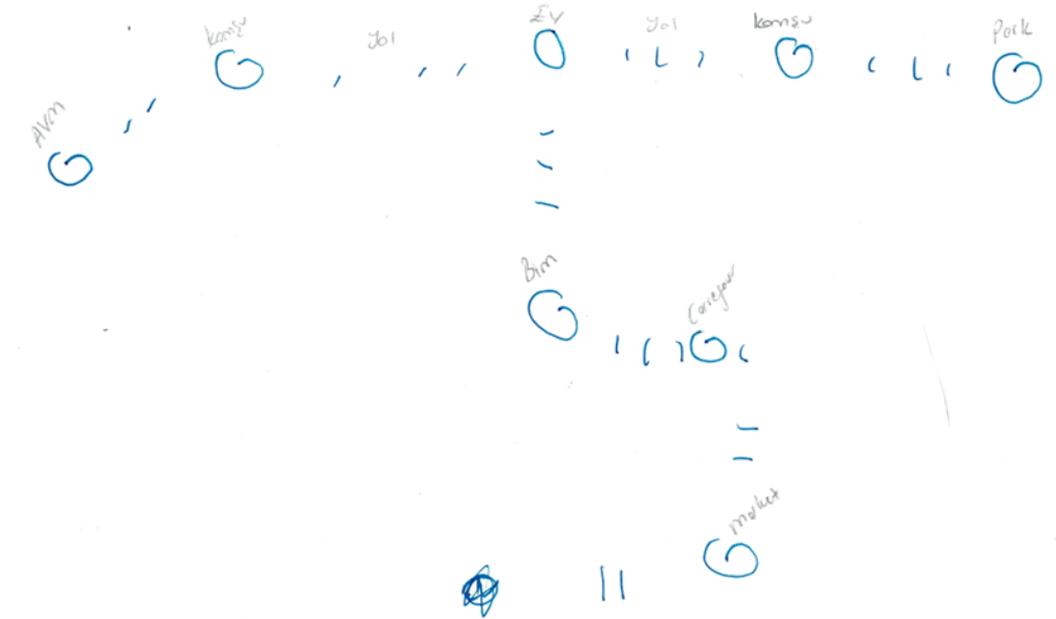


Figure 4: Mental Map Example: Drawn by Kader (35)¹⁰³

¹⁰² “Bence daha kötü oldu. Ev kiralari artti. Her şey ikiye katlandı Çeşmealtı’nda. Ya Paris daha ucuzdur emin olabilirsiniz burdan.”

¹⁰³ The name of the places in this map is written by the interviewer since the interviewee was illiterate.

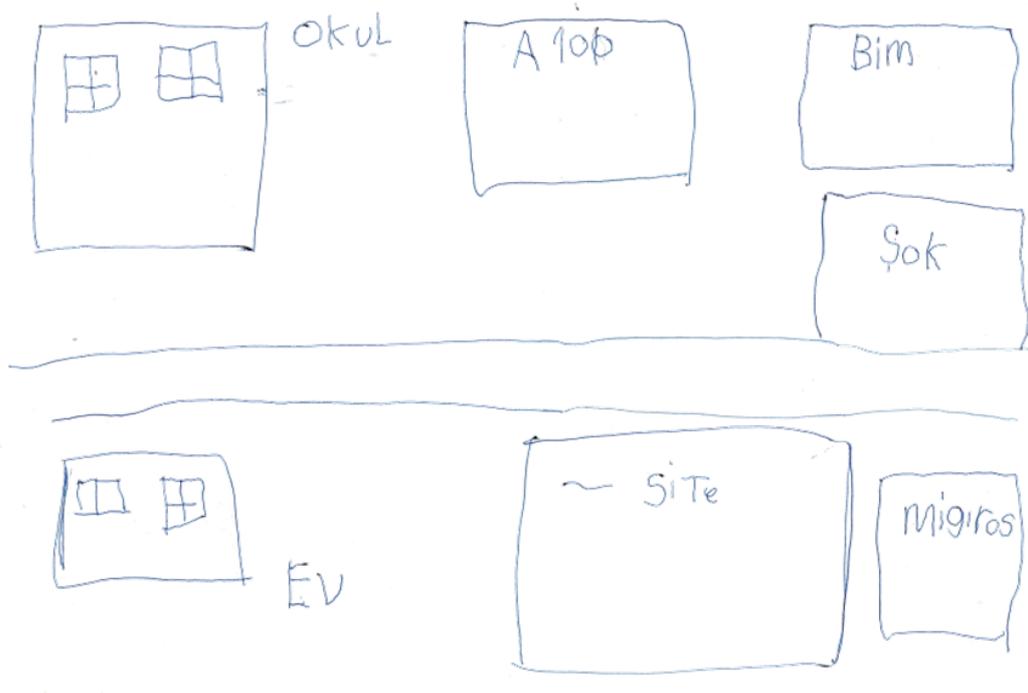


Figure 5: Mental Map Example: Drawn by Hülya (47)

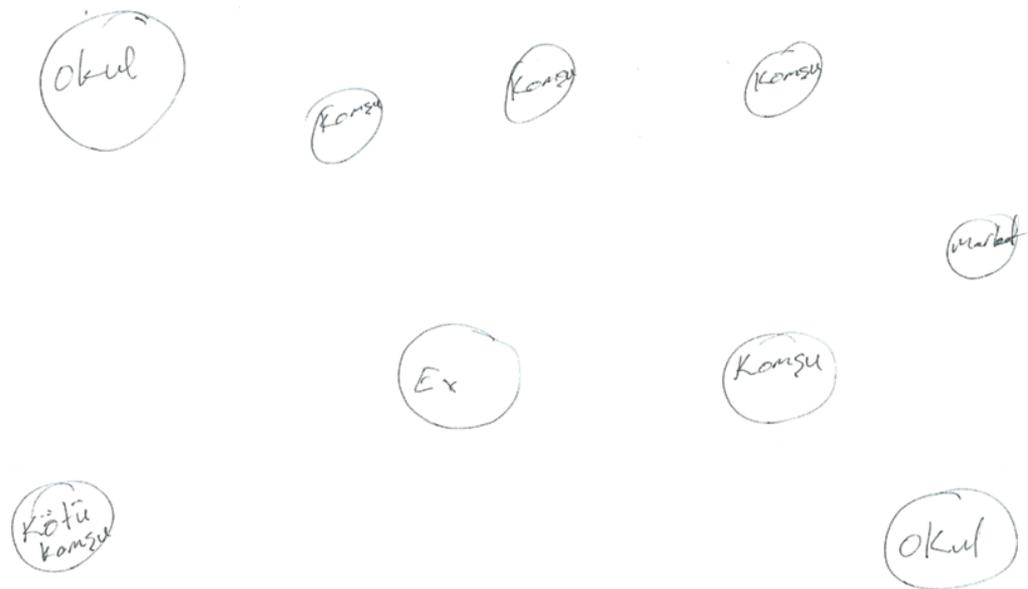


Figure 6: Mental Map Example: Drawn by Emine (43)

The map of Emine, on the other hand, not only consisted of neighbors, schools, and markets, similar to the mental maps drawn by the majority of the respondents, but also included the “bad neighbor” that is, the wealthy neighbor whom she frequently

mentioned in interviews. This alone is an indication of the nature of Emine’s encounter experience in this neighborhood and her disassociation with her neighbors.



Figure 7: Mental Map Example: Drawn by Nebahat (55)

Nebahat’s mental map has significantly different characteristics from those of other interviewees since it only shows her own house and the houses of her neighbors. Her labeling of one house as “the house of the rich” supports her narrative in which she refers to how uncomfortable she feels with her close proximity to the “rich neighbors”. She lives in the housing designated for gatekeepers and states that she “does not know any place in [her] neighborhood”. Her low level of belonging and access to the neighborhood is apparent in the map.

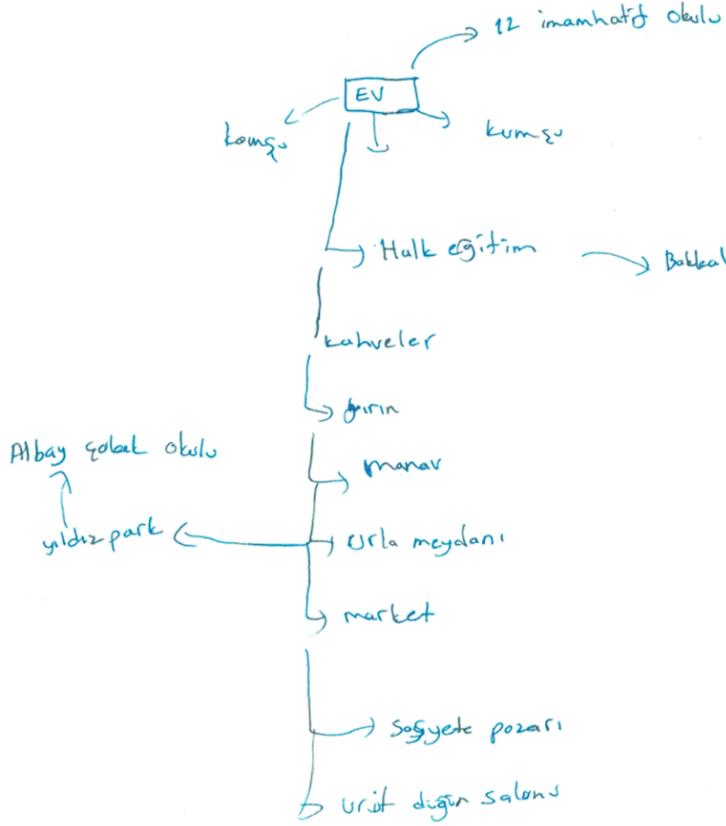


Figure 8: Mental Map Example: Drawn by Şermin (31)

In Şermin’s case, on the other hand, we find a more expansive understanding of the neighborhood than a significant number of the interviewees. However, Şermin was the only one who graduated from high school. In addition, Şermin lives in a rented apartment, which gives her more a sense of freedom compared to her last place of residence, which was housing designated for gatekeepers. However, when asked which places she wants to visit in Urla, Şermin (31) replied “I don’t know about any places, so I don’t know what I want to see”¹⁰⁴ This narrative of Şermin shows that even though the mental map she draws has more details than those of other interviewees, her level of attachment and belonging to the neighborhood is still very low.

¹⁰⁴ “Görmek istediğim... Hiçbir yeri bilmiyorum ki görüyüm”

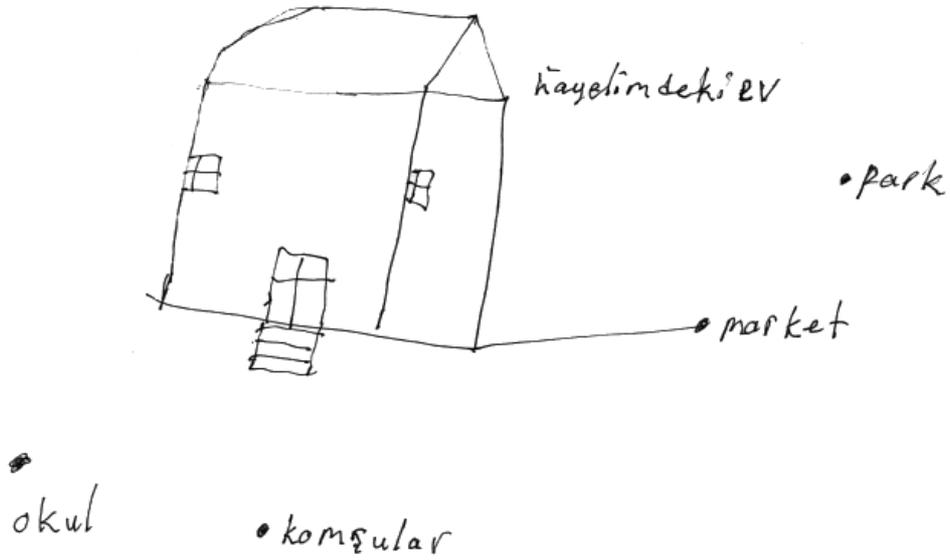


Figure 9: Mental Map Example: Drawn by Aliye (41)

When Aliye was asked to draw her neighborhood, she drew her “dream house”, rather than her current house. Apart from her house, her map of her current neighborhood was limited to neighbors, the market, the park and the school. She was living in a house with poor living conditions in the center of Urla and she indicated that she felt isolated and her dream was to live in a house with good living conditions.

The mental maps reveal the urban alienation of the interviewees. What is common in the maps is that the interviewees' relationship with the neighborhood is limited to fulfilling their most basic needs. Their low levels of belonging and access to their neighborhoods are clearly illustrated. However, the housing types of the interviewees, and their level of education lead to some differences in the maps, which also show the housing types and the social relations or lack thereof in those areas, which significantly affect these women's access and belonging to their neighborhoods. The map also changes according to the level of education. With increased education, the map transforms from an empty space into a “sketch”. These mental maps not only indicate access or belonging to a space, but also reflect the women's relationship with space and their relationship with the middle and upper classes in Urla. In such a gentrified area, the surroundings that were once familiar become unrecognizable, empty spaces

in their mental maps. These maps show not only the places they use and perceive, but also the empty spaces in their minds. Thus, even if these women see the spaces in their neighborhoods, these spaces are not reflected in their minds. Class encounters are also reflected. The representation of the symbolic boundary between the social classes finds its way onto the mental maps. It can be argued that especially the places marked as “the house of the rich” and “bad neighbor” are a reflection of this. In short, these maps also point to the emotional dimensions of the women’s experiences, and how they experience their lives within their neighborhoods.

In addition, interviewees' experiences of urban space, which are generally limited to their own neighborhoods, are encapsulated by the narratives. Their exclusion in both economic, social, and cultural terms is illustrated by the narratives of the interviewees. For example, Zeliha (43), who says that she isn’t familiar with anywhere in Urla, describes the neighborhood as “It’s a more luxurious place, a holiday spot, somewhere for the rich.”¹⁰⁵

To the extent that people’s ability to pay determines their access to social space, gentrification results not only in the loss of affordable facilities but also in the disappearance of safe spaces, meeting places, and neighborhood identities familiar to low-income people (Mazer & Rankin, 2011). The gentrification and new developments that come along with it have created additional forms of exclusions, hence eliminating places of socialization for poor residents and perpetuating inequalities within society. For example, Gülşen (39) spoke of the increasing gentrification in the area by saying that now there is no public space for their children to play because of the changes in the neighborhood:

“There weren’t many houses here in the year we arrived. There were olive groves, and orange and tangerine fields. Then, they all got demolished. All became gated communities. All, I mean every single one became gated communities. There isn’t any place left for kids to play or walk around.”¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁵ “Daha bu bir lüks yer, tatil yeri, zengin yeri.”

¹⁰⁶ “Biz yeni geldiğimiz sene çok ev yoktu buralarda, hep zeytinlik bahçeleri vardı, hep portakal mandalina bahçeleri vardı. Hepsi yıkıldı, hep şey oldu, hep site oldu. Hepsi yani hiç çocukların oynayabileceği bi yer kalmadı, gezebileceği bi yer kalmadı.”

This research reveals that the interviewees have no power to control their physical attachment to the neighborhood. As Mazer and Rankin (2011) describe and which appears very prominently in the narratives, is the importance of control over one's living space, and this control, or lack thereof, is an important indicator of class position.

Capitalism aims to use and reproduce the space for its own interest (Lefebvre, 1991). Under the production of capitalist space, the situation in the area is an attempt to eliminate differences. That is to say, the gentrification project and new developments in the area aim to create a homogeneous space. While this trajectory of change in the neighborhood leads to the reproduction of the space in Urla, it leaves disadvantaged populations facing the very tangible threat of displacement.

In terms of the consequences of these changes, one critical dimension is the way they relate to gentrification, which is defined as a neighborhood transformation characterized by the indirect and direct displacement of previous users by "higher socioeconomic status users", "along with an associated change in the built environment as a result of reinvestment in fixed capital" (Clark, 2005, p. 258). The external material forces that lead to displacement are a series of everyday pressures to leave the neighborhood. In Urla, the extended geography of gentrification signals the securing of the city center for the affluent at the expense of the displacement of the poor.

The most dramatic example of the threat of displacement of the poor is narrated by Hülya (47). Hülya, whose house is surrounded by new villas, explained that her neighbors want her house to be demolished because it is "spoiling the view of the neighborhood" and "lowering the price of their houses". She narrated this situation as follows:

"For instance, our building is old and theirs is new. Besides us, there is a new gated community as I said before. He's talking with the owner of the gated community. He says things like our building is lowering the price of their gated community and they should report it. He tells them to wreck it down. [...] He's trying to push us out, saying your building ruins the view of the neighborhood.

Go away and leave... We can't give any more money, we can't go any further, like the rent here is already 1.5 billion.”¹⁰⁷

As mentioned, interviewees live in a variety of housing conditions, all of which are inferior to that of their wealthier neighbors. In general, these women live in low standard housing conditions regardless of the type of housing. Due to gentrification and the temporary nature of their jobs, the chance of being displaced is higher for renters or for those staying in housing designated for gatekeepers.

The interviewees don't want to return to their hometown yet are unable to afford the rising cost of living and housing in their current neighborhood. This is one of the gentrification mechanisms that excludes the working class residents of the neighborhood. At this point, it is important to note that unlike the locals who lived there and were affected by gentrification, this place was not previously a “home” for the interviewees. However, with the gentrification process, their alienation seems to have increased exponentially, and the danger of displacement seems to have reached a very drastic level.

Whether a location is secure or at risk of being displaced can be a useful predictor for determining class and socio-spatial neighborhood relationships (Mazer & Rankin, 2011). It can be said that increased social, cultural and financial inequalities in the area put the working class residents at risk of displacement. This kind of a displacement of the poor has cultural as well as material dimensions, and these are inextricably linked.

Gentrification leads to physical displacement and has an economic impact on working class families, as well as a profound impact on the culture in the neighborhood. Culture is defined in this study as a system of meaning-making that connects individuals to a collective which can provide individuals with a shared framework for perceiving the

¹⁰⁷ “Mesela bizim bina eski bina ya, onlarınki yeni. Yanımızda da bi ben dedim ya bi site oldu. O sitenin şeyi sahibi ile konuşuyor diyo e bu bina diyo, senin siteni değeri düşüyor diyo. Bu şikâyet et diyo bu binayı yık diyor [...] Bizi çıkartmaya çalışıyordu. Yok sizin bina görüntü boziyo mahallenin görüntü boziyo. Yok çıkın gidin... Fazlasını veremiyoz, fazlasını gidemiyoz mesela şimdi burada kira olmuş bir buçuk milyar.”

world and serve as the foundation for interaction, relatedness, and mutual recognition (Dajani, 2018).

When individuals encounter a new culture, their sense of self is mirrored back to them in unrecognizable, confusing, and alienating ways (Dajani, 2018). In parallel with these changes, poor are unable to access social spaces and they have become more marginalized as a result of shifting cultural norms in the neighborhood. Furthermore, interviewees rarely describe newcomers solely in terms of income and rather associate them with cultural norms and consumption patterns, which makes these poor residents feel alienated and excluded.

With the neighborhood gentrifying, poor residents are experiencing a sense of cultural displacement that leaves them feeling uneasy and out of place with a sense of not belonging in the place they live in. Zukin explains this situation as follows:

With changes that loosen the grip of old industries and their ways of life and expand the space taken up by white-collar men and women and their preoccupation with shopping and other kinds of consumption; bringing new residents, their tastes, and their concerns into the city's mix; and creating not just an economic division but a cultural barrier between rich and poor, young and old. (Zukin, 2009)

There is a cultural form of power over space that exerts pressure on the city's working-class who no longer feel they fit in this place. As explained by Zukin (2010), cultural displacement is the process “when the norms, behaviors, and values of the new resident cohort dominate and prevail over the tastes and preferences of long-term residents” (as cited in Hyra, 2014, p. 1754). As a result, gentrification results in a loss in the culture of a working class and the cultural change resulting from gentrification can represent the loss of an attachment to the neighborhood.

4.2.2. Emotional Displacement

Displacement does not occur solely as a result of a rising cost of living, physical eviction, or cultural change. It is also the result of discomfort experienced in class encounters with the residents of the neighborhood (Mazer & Rankin, 2011). Therefore,

the psychological and emotional components of displacement deserve significant attention.

“As physical spaces are transformed through the place-making capacity of dominant groups, embodied encounters are the sites where feelings of displacement beyond physical relocation emerge.” (Valli, 2015, p. 1195). Encountering individuals who are somehow privileged in one's neighborhood calls into question one's subjectivity since identity is relational and inextricably linked to place. As a result, it can be an especially uncomfortable experience for individuals from lower classes, as it can become loaded with emotions such as shame and frustration.

As mentioned, while new places, and activities are transforming the look of Urla, the poor appear to be feeling left out as a result of this transformation. The poor residents' ability to make a space, however limited it may have been, has passed on to newcomers. A large majority of interviewees describe their exclusion from social life and socialization places in the area. Sayer (2005b) says “one of the most important features of class inequalities is that they present people with unequal bases for respect, not just by being objects of unwarranted respect or disdain, but as having unequal access to the practices and goods that allow them warranted respect or conditional recognition” (p. 959). Precisely for this reason, the gentrification process makes it difficult for the lower classes to access these practices and goods, while causing them to be emotionally injured.

The poor residents in Urla mourn the loss of their familiar neighborhood. Despite the fact that it had not been the best nor the most welcoming, it still provided economic benefits and opportunities. However, due to gentrification, the neighborhood has become even less welcoming and respondents feel lonelier. These melancholic states characterized by passivity, hopelessness, anger, lethargy, and self-loathing all echo the impact of gentrification on their sense of belonging. Gentrification has transformed a once familiar environment into one that is oppressive and exclusionary. In this environment, interviewees are restricted in many ways and feel “othered” by the newcomers in the neighborhood. This feeling includes a shift in one's sense of place and is thus an important aspect of displacement.

As Urla becomes gentrified, poor residents express that they “do not fit in”—they are not only unable to afford goods at renovated local shops, but also perceive that they are “looked down” upon by the middle and upper class newcomers. The structural system in place demonstrates how new residents obtain better positions in society and, in particular, within the local residential market. Therefore, for long-time residents, newcomers are the embodiment of structural inequalities and the unbalanced power relations that disenfranchise them.

The social dynamics between the social classes are considered under the guise of perceived injustice, and judgment and sensitivity to inequality. These become the parameters by which the relationship with middle and upper class residents is assessed, which subsequently creates resentment. These judgments have a shaming effect, preventing some individuals from accessing certain public spaces:

“Whenever I go there, I feel like I don’t know. Like everybody’s looking at me. We aren’t used to it.” (Sema, 40) ¹⁰⁸

The introduction of a new social group to Urla has brought with it a slew of new venues and activities to meet new needs and preferences. People are drawn to new activities, which has resulted in a livelier environment. Prices in the new businesses are unaffordable for interviewees, who believe they are catering to the wealthy who live in the neighborhood or tourists. In spite of this, high prices are not the only barrier preventing poor residents from visiting the new cafés and restaurants. Given the covert and at times overt display of power relations, poor residents feel “othered” by the newcomers and they feel unease in their neighborhoods. The narratives of the interviewees detail what they face as a result of the neighborhood upgrading. For them, their anxiety is heightened significantly because of the power of judgment and its use to control their use of public space. Interviewees mentioned “the look” they could get while “sitting in the diner” or “walking through the streets”. Such looks and judgements often prevent them from frequenting some neighborhood spaces. To put it another way, poor residents tend to feel highly uncomfortable in new businesses, not only because of the services offered and their prices, but also because they feel

¹⁰⁸ “Gittim mi yani kendimi ne biliyim sanki herkes bana bahıyomuş gibi. Alışganlıh yapmadıh biz alışganlıh yapmadığı için.” (Sema, 40)

“othered” by the people who frequent those places. This aspect, while present in various interviews, was most eloquently expressed by Elif (33), a gatekeeper working in a gated community. According to her, prices are not the only thing preventing her from visiting the new restaurants and cafés. She says she cannot go there because there are “judgemental looks”. She plans to move out of the neighborhood because of increasing hostility from the middle and upper class and her feeling of not belonging in the area:

“There’s a diner in front of the school. I mean you drink tea or something in that place. I feel uneasy about sitting there. I swear I feel uneasy. Let’s say I sit there, people will say look at that woman, who’s sitting there drinking tea. That’s how I feel about myself so I can’t sit there. Others go there and drink tea but I never have. Even when I pick up my child from school, I’ll walk around, I mean I’ll sit somewhere but not there. I’m afraid people would get me wrong or do something. I don’t know, like I see people with full makeup and clothing. Then I look at my clothes and stay away from them.”¹⁰⁹

As also seen in her narrative, Elif feels as if she is being continuously judged by the people on the streets, in cafes, and restaurants; this prevents her from spending time in public, regardless of finances. Later in our interview, she added that this sense of being judged might just be a subjective impression or self-persuasion; nonetheless it is still an indicator of the power dynamics at play in those encounters and of a shifted sense of place and belonging (Valli, 2015).

A similar sense of unease about visiting the new restaurants and cafés was also mentioned by other interviewees, saying they felt as if “everybody looks at them” while entering these places. In fact, since her husband was at home, Şermin’s (31) interview was conducted in a small coffee shop in the neighborhood. These feelings of unease were present as she said she was very anxious about coming there and that it was her first time sitting in any cafe in the neighborhood, luxurious or not. She felt like “everyone was looking at her” in this cafe:

¹⁰⁹ “Hani ben bazı şeye okulun karşısında bi tane lokanta nasıl diyorlar orda çay falan içiyorlar yani orda oturmaya çekiniyorum. Yemin çekiniyorum ha. Diyom ki ben orda otursam insanlar diycek bunun tipine şeyine bak oturuyor çay içiyor. Ben kendime hissediyorum yani oturamıyorum da. İnsanlar gidiyolar oturuyolar çay içiyolar orda, ben hiç gitmedim. Bak okulun etrafında çocuğu beklesem bile etrafında gezerim yani bi yerde otururum ama urda oturamıyorum. Yani insanlar yanlış anlar şey yapar diye. Bilmiyom artık yani insanları görüyom böyle makyajlı kadınları böyle giydiklerine, kendi üstüme şeye bakıyom yani uzak duruyom ben.”

“We are not used to this. This right now with you is my first time sitting at a table like this. I would be even more uneasy outside. It stems from poverty and also, I feel the need to hold myself back [...] I feel like everybody will look at me, it makes me uneasy.”¹¹⁰

After saying that, she adds “If everybody were equal, no one would feel uneasy.”¹¹¹

As the interviews revealed, many of the respondents do not feel at ease outside their houses because they experience shame as they feel they do not belong in the neighborhood. Kader’s (35) account also demonstrates this feeling:

“I mean, I don't go outside and stroll around much. I don't visit anybody, so I don't know. I am hesitant about my neighbor who lives across from me because she is rich. She doesn't put on airs. I mean, she's posh but not arrogant. She'd want me to visit her, but I hold myself back.”¹¹²

Interviewees have seen Urla change and become gentrified; dissonance over what is now permissible and impermissible in a once familiar space alters their level of comfortability within the environment and the social elements in it. Ayşe (53) says:

“At that time, there wasn't much change in Urla, now there is. Houses have changed, people have changed for example. [...] They have built new houses in the neighborhood. Different kinds of people moved in there. [...] Like my old neighbors used to know me, my family and manners. But now the neighbors have changed and we don't know them. I don't know their character, how their children are. Both they and I would be nervous.”¹¹³

These passages demonstrate how social space is formed not only through physical access to places but also produced through social relations. When the narratives of

¹¹⁰ “Alışkanlık haline biz getirmemişik. Olur hiç yani böyle ilk defa böyle masada oturuyorum, senle oturuyorum. Dışarda otursak daha bi çekinirdim. Bilmiyorum ki maddiyattan da biraz gaynaklanıyor biraz da çekiniyor insan [...] Oturduğumda herkes bana bakacak gibi oluyor çekiniyor insan.”

¹¹¹ “Herkes eşit olsaydı çekingenlik olmazdı.”

¹¹² “Yani fazla dışarı çıkmıyorum, gezmiyorum, kimseyle kimsenin evlerine gitmiyorum ondan bilmiyorum yani. Mesela ben çekiniyorum karşıdaki komşım yani zengindir ama kadın o kadar havalı da değil yani sosyettir şeydir ama havalı değil. Ona gitsem istiyor da gitsem de ben çekiniyorum yani.”

¹¹³ “O zaman Urla çok değişiklik yoktu, şimdi çok değişti. Evler değişti, insanlar hep değişmişler mesela [...] Yeni evler hepsi yaptırdılar zaten mahallede. Millet hepsi değişik değişik insanlar geldi, oturdu o tarafta [...] Hani mesela eski komşularla yaşadın oturdun mesela bizim huyumu biliyordu o da benim huyumu biliyordu çocuklarımı. Ama değiştiği için artık insan bilmez. Mesela huysu nedir adam nasıldır çocuklar nasıldır insan bilmez. O da korkar mesela ben de korkarım”.

interviewees are considered, the streets or neighborhoods become the space where hierarchies of social class are exemplified.

Experiences of shame and insecurity limit poor residents' neighborhood accessibility. Kader (35) says "I feel nervous. You see, one feels uneasy in front of people with such clothing and everything. I can't dress up or tour the city like them. They have money, and we don't. That's how it makes you feel."¹¹⁴ Her accounts demonstrate the anxiety and shame she feels in front of the newcomers.

Interviewees repeatedly mention that they do not feel comfortable since there are many "rich" and "different kinds of" newcomers in Urla. On the other hand, by disidentifying themselves from the middle and upper class, interviewees take a defensive stance as a reaction to the changes in the neighborhood. The encounter of different subjectivities elicits a range of reactions among the poor. These encounters, as illustrated, embody the power relations in society and therefore elicit feelings such as shame, resentment, and frustration. These feelings, triggered by encounters, are particularly startling due to their spatial component.

Furthermore, the fact that most of the respondents mentioned that they do not feel like they belong to the neighborhood also has another dimension. To the extent that belonging can imply ontological security and attachment to place (Mazer & Rankin, 2011), interviewees experience material and ontological insecurity in the neighborhood. The feelings of shame and that of not belonging are due to residents experiencing a lack of representation in the neighborhood, as well as receiving disparaging looks from better-off residents. The neighborhood does not reflect nor accept who they are. These factors all perpetuate and exacerbate the feelings of shame the poor have in this environment, which leads to reduced level of wellbeing and attachment to the environment.

For those who are impacted by gentrification, it is very common for them to experience despondency and dejection. These depressive states are byproducts of the

¹¹⁴ "İnsan tedirginlidir yani onların karşısında yani her şeylen kıyafetlerinle, her şeyinle insan çekiniyor ya... Onlar gibi giyemiyorum yani ben onlar gibi şey gezmiyorum ben. Yani onları parası var, bizimki yoktur. Yani insan öyle hissediyor kendini".

internalization of the dominating majority's gaze and its prevailing culture. That is to say, struggles are internalized as personal failings and not as consequences of a power structure that serves to maintain oppression and privilege. The privileges that empower certain groups to take over and dominate physical spaces in the neighborhood are the same sentiments that cause the emotional loss of physical space for disadvantaged groups (Valli, 2015). Gentrification undermines the sense of attachment and belonging poor residents have living in this place, especially considering they have struggled to build a sense of home as workers. Interviewees' feeling of insecurity as a result of being "outsiders" in the city is deepened by the changes in the neighborhood. They feel that gentrification is robbing them of their sense of place, in addition to the overwhelming threat of material displacement.

It is important to note that social space is not limited to the physical accessibility of a place but, additionally, refers to the relationships that are formed there, which embody social relations. In addition to the financial constraints, feelings of shame and insecurity pose significant barriers to the accessibility of the neighborhood. Respondents' anxiety centers on the power of judgment and humiliation. That is to say, not just physical access but also social relations in the neighborhood affect women's access to the neighborhood. As a result, the narratives represent the displacement pressure and emotional displacement experienced by the poor in the face of gentrification.

As mentioned, interviewees are reluctant to sit in cafes or restaurants in the neighborhood as they believe that the people there might be judgmental towards them. Most respondents experienced this subtle form of abandonment rooted in the dynamics of humiliation and they feel uneasy in the neighborhood. To put it another way, in addition to the material barriers caused by gentrification, there are also barriers to accessibility to the neighborhood due to experiences of insecurity, nonbelonging, and shame. The narratives and mental maps, taken together, demonstrate the high stakes of displacement and displacement pressure for poor women whose urban experience is primarily homologous. At that point, it is important to note that displacement is not only linked to rising property values but also causes the potential disintegration of community networks, a reduction in services, feelings of insecurity, public shaming, or any combination of these factors (Mazer & Rankin, 2011). This demonstrates that

the resulting displacement is due to the discomfort experienced in class encounters with the residents of the neighborhood. Shame and feelings of nonbelonging are partially a result of residents not seeing themselves reflected in symbolic representation in the neighborhood's trendy places. It also emerges from the shame they feel in their encounter with the upper class inhabitants who have appropriated social space in their neighborhoods. The accounts of gentrification provided by poor residents show that, as a result of their interactions with people from higher and, at times, relatively privileged socioeconomic positions, poor residents in gentrifying areas experience feelings of displacement. In other words, the encounter with the “other” generates feelings of displacement among the poor.

4.3. City Living: “This is where I first opened my eyes”

Juxtaposed with the interviewees' feeling of inferiority and constant reminders of their class position is the desire to stay in Urla because it gives them a level of relative freedom and opportunities that would be unattainable in their villages.

While the main reason for migration from villages to cities in Turkey is primarily economic, such as seeking employment, many women also view this physical move as advantageous for other reasons. For example, moving to the city would allow them to escape the village's hard working and living conditions (Erman, 1997; İncirlioglu, 1993). Karpat (1976) writes, “women, though generally concurring with men's opinion about the reasons for leaving the village, had a much more concrete view of the living difficulties in a rural area where they did most of the work in the fields and homes [...] They were attracted to the city by the desire to escape the hardship of fieldwork and to find better opportunities for their children” (p. 75). Women in the village do work both at home and in the fields, which they refer to as “hard [and] filthy work” (Erman, 1997). In parallel with this argument, throughout the interviews, it was hinted that many interviewees prefer to stay in Urla, rather than return to their villages because of the social and economic opportunities available to them. In Urla, these women have the opportunity to work and experience a bit more freedom. The interviewees' narratives show that women were significantly subjected to patriarchal social control

mechanisms and oppression in their villages. They said that living in Urla, this pressure and control had decreased, and in some aspects, they have relatively more freedom. Several interviewees, while stating their preference to stay in Urla, refer to the “filthy” nature of work in their hometown. For example, Ünzile (38) says:

“I went there to harvest carrots in the winter. It was much cooler there. There used to be snow and ice everywhere. In such weather, we would harvest carrots by breaking the ice. It was... The living conditions were harsher there. It wasn't like this. [...] Living in Urla is to our advantage.”¹¹⁵

Furthermore, several women stated that women could not go out by themselves in their hometown. Instead, if they have to go out, they are accompanied by their male relatives. Songül and Gülşen narrate these experiences as follows:

“We came from the East. In the East, we can't go outside whenever we want to. Even if we go outside during the daytime, an acquaintance would see us, let's be honest. An acquaintance would wonder where we were going or where we came from. They'd question why we were outside. Because of that, I feel more comfortable here. Because I came from there, I feel more comfortable in that way. Everybody minds their own business. Nobody asks where we go or what we do. I have no problems in this respect.” (Songül, 42)¹¹⁶

“Well, we couldn't go outside alone when we were in our hometown. We'd always go to places with our husbands or with 2-3 people. For example, I was never able to go shopping by myself. Here it's not like that. You can go outside whenever you want. There's no such a thing like 'X's wife is outside, has gone out.’ (Gülşen, 39)¹¹⁷

Women can gain access to a broader range of educational and employment opportunities by migrating to the city. Interviewees stated that in their hometown, they could not work anywhere but the home and fields; however, in Urla, despite expressing

¹¹⁵ “Havuca gittim kışın bu mevsim bundan daha şey oluyordu orası, kar yağıyordu buz çatır çatır buz olurdu bu mevsimlerde o buzdan buzı gırıp altından havuç topluyorduk. Çok... Orda hayat şartları daha zorudu. Burası gibi değilidi yani. [...] Yani buradaki avantaj daha fazla oldu.”

¹¹⁶ “Burda şimdi biz Doğudan geldik, Doğu'da böyle istediğimiz zaman, istediğimiz saatte çıkamayız. Gündüz bile çıksak bi tanıdık görür doğruya doğru açık konuşalım. Bir tanıdık çıkar aman şu geziyor, buray mı gidiyor, nerden geliyor. Ondan dolayı burda ben kendimi daha rahat hissediyorum. Ordan geldiğim için ben burda kendimi o açıdan daha rahat hissediyorum. Kimse kimseye karışmıyor, kimse nereye gittin, ne yaptın demiyo. O açıdan rahatım, sıkıntım yok.” (Songül, 42)

¹¹⁷ “Ya memleketteyken biz zaten hiç tek çıkamıyoduk yani nere gidersek eşlerimizle, yani 2-3 kişi gidiyoduk yani ben hiç tek başıma diyelim çarşıya gidemiyodum. Bura öyle değil mesela, istediğin zaman çıkıp gidebilirsin, gelebilirsin. Hani bilmem kimin eşi dışarı çıhdı da bilmem nereye gitti de yoh öyle bir şey burada.” (Gülşen, 39)

many grievances regarding their working conditions, women were happy to work outside of the home and earn money:

“In my hometown, I never saw a working woman. They don’t work. Because there are many job opportunities, women are free here. Because women here are one step ahead. When it comes to getting divorced, they can get divorced without any suffering. Because they are people that can stand on their own feet. With confidence.” (Şermin, 31) ¹¹⁸

“No, in our hometown we didn’t work. We were housewives. Doing our own tasks [at home]. When I came here, I started working.” (Hülya, 47) ¹¹⁹

Most respondents stated that now they have more freedom as women than in their hometown in many senses. They mentioned that “their eyes have opened”:

“I’d like to live here. Because this is where I first opened my eyes. I came from a place like the East. There, we wouldn’t go outside. We used to be at home all the time. I could see and find the real me here. I’d like to live here. Because we’re freer here I could say. Here, at least you can be yourself and go anywhere you want. I believe I am-I will be happier here.” (Sevim, 42) ¹²⁰

“I’ll say, my eyes were opened when we came here. I started to stand on my own feet more, started to work. It gave me confidence. When we were there, our husbands would work and we’d stay home. We wouldn’t go anywhere, not even a cafe. We weren’t comfortable. You’d always have to go to a place with your husband or brother. You can’t do it alone. Here it isn’t like that... I go out without telling my husband.” (Gülşen, 39) ¹²¹

Interviewees note how their lives have changed in some ways for the better since they have moved. Now, as working women, there has been a change in the social dynamic in their households. They have more say in household affairs as income contributors,

¹¹⁸ “Kendi memleketimde kadınlar hiç çalışanı görmedim, çalışmaz. Yani burada iş olanağı çok olduğundan kadınlar özgür burada. Çünkü bir adım kadınlar burada önde yani. Yani boşanma yönünden de kimi o çileyi çekmez boşanırlar çünkü kendi ayakları üstünde duran insanlar, güvencesi olan insanlar.” (Şermin, 31)

¹¹⁹ “Yok yok memlekette çalışmak yok. Ev gızısın ev hanımısın. Öyle. Gendi işlerini yapıyosun. Burada geldim çalıştım yani” (Hülya, 47)

¹²⁰ “Burda yaşamak isterdim. Çünkü gözümü burdan açtım. Doğu gibi bi yerden geldim, orda evin içinden çıkmazdık, evdeydik. Ben burda kendimi gördüm, burda kendimi buldum, burda yaşamak isterdim. Çünkü burda daha özgürüz öyle diyeyim. Burda hiç olmazsa istediğin gibi davranıyosun, istediğin gibi gidip geliyon, burdan daha çok mutlu olduğ-u-olacağımı düşünüyorum” (Sevim, 42)

¹²¹ “Daha mesela buraya gelince daha çok gözüm açıldı deyim, daha çok ayaklarımın üstünde durmaya başladım, çalışmaya başladım, hani kendime güvenim geldi. Ordayken hani hep eşlerimiz çalışıyodu, biz evde oturuyoduk. Hiçbi yere gidemiyoduk. Böyle bi kafeye gidemiyoduk. Rahat değildik mesela, her zaman eşinle gidecen, kardeşinle gidecen, tek başına gidemezsin. Burda öyle bi şey yoh... Eşime haber vermeden çıhıp geliyorum.” (Gülşen, 39)

and some women even remarked that their husbands view them differently. Their migration to the city provides these women with a chance to assert themselves, voice their opinions in their households and potentially change their material conditions. (Özyeğin, 2005). For example, Şermin (31) explained that her husband's social control has decreased since she started working and bringing home money:

“Our curtains would be drawn even in the daytime. At night it was drawn and he wouldn't let me open the curtain even in the day time. He was so jealous. He used to follow me everywhere. He'd go through my phone. Then he got used to it, I guess. Now he doesn't intervene with anything. The moment I started to contribute to the household by working, he shut up. Otherwise, he was terrible before. He was very jealous; he wouldn't let me visit neighbors or take the kids out of school. The kids would come and go by themselves. He has, uhm, changed a lot in these two years. I mean he started letting me be free, he used to be so bothersome.”¹²²

Despite precarious and challenging working conditions, many respondents feel more capable due to their work experiences. Songül (42) says that she and her husband have started working since they moved to Urla, which results in them having more confidence in themselves. She expresses her feelings on this issue as follows:

“We make decisions together and so on but as long as I don't agree, my husband doesn't do it. Because he cares for my decisions more. He wouldn't do anything without my agreement [...] Before coming here, we were at home only. He wouldn't listen to my words at all. Now we're here, we work and do things together. We decide things together because we earn the money together. It gave me confidence. Keeping food on the table for ourselves brought confidence to us.” (Songül,42)¹²³

Some of the interviewees mentioned that their husbands restricted their lives more when they were in their hometown and stated that they have changed in the city's more flexible atmosphere:

¹²² “Bizim güneşliğimiz gündüz bile hiç açılmazdı. Akşamları örtüktü, gündüz bile açtırmazdı. Çok gısganlığı vardı. Beni takip ederdi. Ondan sonra telefonlarımı kurdalardı. Sonradan sonradan alıştı herhalde. Şimdi karışmıyo hiçbir şeye. Biraz daha ben çalışmaya başlayınca, eve gatkım olunca daha bir sesini kesti. Sustu. Yoksa önceden çok felaketti. Yani çok kıskanıyordu gomşuya göndermezdi, çocukları almaya yollamazdı. Çocuklar kendi gider kendi gelirdi. Şu 2 sene içinde daha çok şey yaptı, değişti. Yani özgür bıraktı beni, çok sıkıyodu.”

¹²³ “Kararları beraber konuşuruz, beraber şey yaparız ama ben izin vermedik sürece eşim şey yapmaz. Çünkü benim kararlarım daha önem veriyor. Ben karar vermeden yapmaz [...] Gelmeden evin içindeydik, sözümüz geçmiyo, lafımız geçmiyodu. Buraya geldik beraber çalışıyoruz, beraber yapıyoruz, beraber çalışıp kazandığımız için o yüzden beraber kararları veriyoruz. Güven geldi. Kendi ekmeğini kendi kazanmak, güven geldi, kendimize güven.” (Songül, 42)

“He used to intervene a lot, didn’t let me go me anywhere. I wouldn’t go outside the door, before I was under a lot of pressure. But now he never does that, doesn’t intervene. [...] He got more social since we came here. I mean he doesn’t mind, like he even tells me to go wherever I want. Tells me I can work or not. I mean, he says I can give you money if you want.” (Ünzile, 38) ¹²⁴

“He used to intervene a lot. I wasn’t allowed to go outside; I wasn’t even allowed to stick my head out the window. It was that bad. Right now, he doesn’t say anything. He tells me he respects my decisions.” (Yıldız, 32) ¹²⁵

“Nah my husband doesn’t do anything, you know. He used to do that in Kars telling me not to go to places or not to do something. But here we don’t have it. He changed here”.

- What changed here?

“I guess he changed because of the environment, probably because of that.” (Aliye, 41) ¹²⁶

“I wouldn’t wear trousers when I was in the village. But since I came here, my husband doesn’t mind” (Nebahat, 55) ¹²⁷

The study reveals that traditional gender roles in these families persist ideologically, but, in actuality, there is a flexibility of traditional gender roles. As opposed to their hometowns, in Urla interviewees partake more in public activities such as shopping for their families and attending school meetings. The most important asset is the comparatively better education their children can receive. The availability of better educational opportunities in Urla compared to their hometown plays a significant role in interviewees' preferences. Except for one woman who does not have any children, all other interviewees emphasize that living in Urla is good for their children with its opportunities. These women, who have low levels of education, view education as

¹²⁴ “Önceden çok garişirdi hiç gondermezdi hiçbir yere. Gapı dışarı çıkamazdım önceden basğı altındaydım yani. Ama şimdi hiç yapmaz, garişmaz yani [...] Buraya geleli yani sosyalleşti herhalde eşim biraz. Hani hiç şeyapmıyo garişmıyo yani üstüne bile olmuyo git diyo nereye istersen git diyo. İster çalıř ister çalıřma diyo. İstersen para veriyim diyo yani.” (Ünzile, 38)

¹²⁵ “Hani eskiden çok karıřtırdı. Hani böyle dışarı bile çıkamazdım, kafamı böyle camdan bile çıkaramazdım o dereceydi. řu anda hiçbir řekilde hani hiç karıřmıyo. Hani sen ne yaparsan yap ben saygı duyuyorum diyo. (Yıldız, 32)

¹²⁶ “Yo eşim çok şey değıl öyle şeyapmaz. Önceden Karstayken şey yapardı yok gitme yok şeyetme ama burada yok [...] Burda değıřti”.

- Ne değıřti?

“Herhalde burda çevreye göre mi...Herhalde çevreye göre galiba.” (Aliye, 41)

¹²⁷ “Ben mesela köydeyken pantolon giymiyordum. Ama buraya geldim, yani eşim de bir şey demiyor.” (Nebahat, 55)

essential to their children escaping oppression. Education as the key is a common thread in all interviews in the study. Some interviewees emphasized that it was even more important for girls to be educated. In their opinion, the only way for girls to live a better life than them is to go to school. For example, Aliye (41) said she would like her children to study even if she had to make sacrifices for it. She then emphasized that her sons could work, if necessary, and fend for themselves; however, it is vital for her daughter to study:

“I want my kids to have a job and family. Like I want my daughter to have her own profession more. [...] It's more important to me since she is a girl.”

- Why do you want that more?

“Around the world, people always look down on women. Because it's always women who get belittled, if they move up to the next level having a profession for themselves, when they have a profession and earn their own wages they won't have to depend on men. They won't have anything to do with men. It's the way I've always thought, I don't know.”¹²⁸

Likewise, Elif (33) says, “I always want little girls to attend school, every single one of them. I don't want anyone to go through the things I have.”¹²⁹

Here it is critical to note that some of the interviewees mentioned that their children could receive a relatively good education in Urla, unlike in their villages, where classes were infrequent, with only a few qualified teachers, and with few supplementary courses. A common issue they face in both their villages and Urla is the lack of adequate learning materials. They also stated that they could not provide their children with the opportunities that other families provided, such as private tutoring, sending them to private schools, or purchasing learning materials like books, laptops, etc. All these factors put these children's school life at a disadvantage, and poverty remains one of the most obstinate barriers in the school life. Even though they have relatively

¹²⁸ “Önce çocuklarım meslek sahibi olsun yuvalarını kursunlar. Mesela kızımın daha çok meslek sahibi olmasını isterim [...] kız çocuğu olduğu için daha çok isterim.”

- Neden kız çocuğu olduğu için daha çok istersin?

“Dünyada hep kadınları hor görüyorlar. Hep aşağılanan hep kadınlar olduğu için, en çok kadınlar biraz üst seviyeye çıktıkları zaman, mesleği elinde olduğu zaman, maaşını kendisi aldığı zaman erkeğin eline muhtaç olmaz. Erkekle alakası olmaz. Ben hep böyle düşündüm bilmiyom.”

¹²⁹ “Zaten ben hep yani istiyorum dünyada bütün kız çocukları okusun, bütün kız çocukları. Benim çektiğimi kimse çekmesini istemiyorum.”

better opportunities for education in the city, it is evident that these disadvantaged children do not benefit from education in the same way as the children of middle and upper class families who live in the same area, and may not have the same job opportunities in the future. An example of this is Ayşe (53), whose son has graduated from university and has been unemployed for a long time. She says:

“Such living conditions in such a life are so hard. Studying has become so difficult, too. They graduate from universities but get nothing in return. They study for 25 years, but they can’t find a job. I wish they weren’t unemployed after all that work; I wish they could earn some money for food. You know, I wish the government could do something for them.”¹³⁰

Likewise, Elif (33) says that they cannot afford the opportunities that “other children” have in the area:

“I want to send her to a center for private classes but it is too expensive. What can I give to the center? We have a hard time buying bread. How are we going to find you know, the money for a private center? My son’s teacher asked everyone for four books and we haven’t been able to buy them yet. They asked for books, because in February they were going to go somewhere, to Çeşme, and we haven’t gotten the books yet. I said at the beginning of the month his father will get his wage and he can get his books. It’s been a month and we haven’t got it yet. It’s really difficult what can I say?”¹³¹

Situations similar to what Elif and Ayşe described in these quotes are also common experiences for other interviewees. That is to say, although the interviewees talked about the educational benefits of living in Urla, there are still the above-mentioned obstacles and barriers in front of them.

On the other hand, these women still miss their hometowns and fondly remember some aspects of village life, despite many women preferring to live in Urla than in their villages. Since the village is a more familiar social environment, they miss the community and sincerity they found there. Nevertheless, life in the villages means

¹³⁰ “Valla böyle hani bu hayatta bu hayat şartları çok zor mesela. Yani okuma da çok zor olmuş, eğitim de çok zor olmuş mesela okuyorlar eline bir şey de geçmiyor. O kadar üniversite 25 sene okuyorlar, işsiz kalıyorlar. Hani işsiz kalmasınlar, o kadar hani emek harcıyorlar bari bi emek eline geçsin. Hani bu devlet çocuklara böyle bi şey yapsınlar.”

¹³¹ “Şimdi onu bi dershaneye yazdırmak istiyorum ama dershane çok pahalı. Ne vercem ki dershaneye! Hani biz evde zar zor ekmek buluyoruz yani. Biz nasıl şey bulcaz, biz nasıl dershaneye para bulcaz. Bak oğlumu öğretmeni 4 kitap herkes kitap almış biz daha alamadık. Kitap istedi okula dedi şeyapçaklar Şubat ayında dedi bi yere Çeşme’ye gitcekler herkes aldı biz alamadık kitap. Ay başında babası dedim maaşı alsın kitabı alsın. Bi ay oldu öğretmen istedi biz alamadık. Çok zor işte yani ne diyim”

social control and submission, limited opportunities, and challenging living conditions. For example, Sema (40) stated that although she wanted to live in her hometown because she missed the neighborhood and culture, she preferred to stay in Urla because of the opportunities:

“No, in my hometown, I’d really like to, you know, to work. But there’s no chance of working there, in my hometown. It is limited in education. You are like falling behind the times. In living conditions for example, you always got to depend on men. Here, you try to do your best, it’s a big city after all. At least you can try to do something. I wouldn’t like to live in my hometown because of that. But there are better things there too; like neighborhood, family culture, like the way one grows up. We have such values, many of them. Here we don’t have them.”¹³²

Similarly, Ayşe’s (53) words show that she missed her hometown, but because of the living conditions and limited opportunities there, she lives in Urla:

“The place one is born is the best for them. I wanted to visit my hometown for ten years but I couldn’t. I feel longing. For the place they were born in, I mean even if everything is made of gold here, it’s not like my hometown. But it was hard to live there, because we didn’t have a job. Having a big family, I had to come here. One’s hometown is different. Of course, I’d like to be able to have an income, a job where my spouse and children could work in my hometown. But there isn’t any.”¹³³

Empowerment is defined in this study as women beginning to recognize their worth and contributions to their families, which potentially leads to women demanding authority and taking action to change the structural gender inequality in society (Erman et al., 2002). This study reveals that women’s earnings slightly increase their bargaining power. However, they remain subordinate in the household, and these women have no direct empowerment of these women. Considering women's social

¹³² “Yok kendi memle-yani hani memleketimde çok isterdim ama memleketimde çalışma imkânı, verimli imkân yohdur yani hani. Eğitim konusunda kısıklı. Mesela çoh böyle hani geri yaşıyosun yani hani. Hayat şartlarında diyelim mesela hep erkeğin eline bakmak zorunda galyosun. Mesela burda sen bir şey çabalıyosun, yani büyük bir şehir de ne de olsa mesela sen çalışıyosun çabalıyosun bi şeyler en azından yapabiliyosun mesela. Şey yani hani nasıl deyim yani hani o konuda memleketimde istemem ama o başga şey sorsan kendi memleketimde tabii ki isterdim yani hani yaşamak, daha komşuluk, aile kültürü, yani yetişme tarzı. Yani tabii ki böyle değerler vardır bizde, çok değerler vardır. Şindi burda o yok.”

¹³³ “İsan hani nerde doğarsa orda güzel. İsterim kaç sendir 10 seney girecektir memlekete gitmedim. İnsan hasret çeker. Hani nerede doğmuşsan hani ona mesela burada hani yani hepsi altın da olsa memleket gibi olmuyor. Ama iş olmadığı için zor oldu. Çocuklar da çok kalabalık olduğu için ondan sonra mecburen buraya geldim. İnsan memleketi başkadır. İsan istemez mi hani memleketi içinde bir geliri olsun bir işi olsun eşi çocuklar çalışsın bir şey hani ister çok isterim ama yok bir şey yok.”

position in their families in terms of who makes decisions, who performs the housekeeping, and who controls the money, it becomes clear that the fact that women earn money does not have a significant impact on their position in the family. In other words, the household dynamic consists of domestic and financial duties falling on women and men, respectively. Working, something many of these women could not do in their villages, gives them a sense of freedom. However, this does not extend to their home, where their husbands are still in charge. In other words, their migration does not bring about a complete transformation in intra-household power relations. Despite these women moving to the city and often working and contributing to their family's finances, their social position within the family structure does not change. Men continue to dominate in many circumstances despite the women's economic contributions. These women have a restricted role in family decision-making. That is to say, the major decisions in the family are usually made by the man. Women working outside the home and bringing home money only slightly affects the situation, giving them some bargaining power but not enough to challenge their husbands' decisions openly. In another way, the traditional perception of women still applies, and women being seen as responsible for the upkeep of their own homes does not change.

Numerous examples from the interviews illustrate this situation. Even though they work outside their houses, the intrahousehold division of labor remains the same. Zeynep (30) expressed this as follows:

“Uhm, like for 3 years, I worked like a dog, as the rich say. Seriously I worked like a dog. For two years, I worked as a gardener with my husband. Leaving the house at 9 and getting back home at 12 at night. I would leave work at 7, leave the place I was cleaning, and my husband would come and get me and we would work in the garden together. When there was a mess, he would ask me ‘Why didn’t you pick it up?’ When there was no food, he would ask ‘Why aren’t you cooking?’ I work too. Just like you! You’re not the only one! He’s like ‘It’s a woman’s duty’. No, no my friend, a woman doesn’t do that by herself. She does not. Only you and the douchebags like you think like this.” (Zeynep, 30)¹³⁴

¹³⁴ “Ya 3 sene kadar şöyle söyliyim zenginlerin tabiriyle köpek gibi çalıştım. Gerçekten köpek gibi çalıştım. İki sene de eşimle beraber bahçivanlık iş yaptım. Saat 9'da evden çıkıp, gece 12'de eve geldiğini biliyorum. 7'de işten çıkıyorum temizlik içinden çıkıyodum eşim beni gelip alıyordu biz bahçe işine gidiyorduk eşimle beraber... Yani ev kaldığı zaman ‘Niye toplamadın?’ Yemek olmadığı zaman ‘niye yemek yapmıyorsun?’ Ulan ben de çalışıyorum! Ben de senin gibi çalışıyorum yani bir tek sen mi çalışıyorsun hani! ‘Yok o kadının görevi’. Değil arkadaşım ya evde tek başına kadın toplamaz! Toplamaz yani. Bunu sen ve senin gibi hödükler düşünüyor.” (Zeynep, 30)

Nebahat (55), who takes care of her sick child and works outside of the home but does all of the domestic work at home, explained how frustrating and exhausting this situation was for her. She complained that even after she came home exhausted from the hospital with her son, her husband still wanted her to cook for him:

“I used to come from the hospital, dying from exhaustion. He’d always ask what I was going to cook, what he was going to eat. I’d tell him I wasn’t enjoying myself all day; I was at the hospital. Act accordingly, I’d say. No, he’d insist on food. At last, I told him to stay out of my sight after coming back from hospital. [...] I get depressed because I see the situation at the hospital, the patients there, I see everything. Of course, I’m going to get down. But it blows your stack when you come back and hear one complain about food. He never helps me. There’s Serpil upstairs. I work at her place and mine, plus the hospital. I clean both her house and our own. And there’s also the hospital. I mean, buying groceries, cleaning, etc. all depend on me.”¹³⁵

On the other hand, the interview process itself showed the oppression of women by their husbands. For example, one of the interviewees, Şermin, was late for the interview and didn’t come until after she called me. When Şermin came to the interview, she said that her husband would not let her go out and that he did not believe her when she told him what the meeting was about. When she phoned the interviewer, her husband listened in and then allowed her to come to the interview. This experience, in and of itself, is an example of the oppression and spatial constraints experienced by the interviewees. This instance is one of many that shows the totality of oppression:

“He told me to talk to you at our place. When you called, [after I didn’t answer] I told my husband to search for your name in my phone [and called you] also I turned on the speakers so he can hear your voice, so he can know who I’m going to go talk to. Thanks to God, he didn’t say anything. If it were in the past, he would follow me.”¹³⁶

When questioned about the decision-making, there was a tendency of some of these women to say that decisions were made jointly. A statement that was later contradicted

¹³⁵ “Şeyden gelirdim hastaneden işte acımdan ölüyüm ‘Ne pişircen, ne yiyeceğim’. Ya diyom ben gezmeden gelmiyom yani hastaneden geliyorum. Yani ona göre şeyet diyom. Yok illa yemek illa yemek. En sonunda dedim ben hastaneden gelince mümkünse dedim gözüme gözükmeye dedim. Moralim bozuk, oradaki durumu görüyom, oradaki hastaları görüyom, her şeyi görüyom. Illaki moralim bozuk olacak. Ama eve de gelip de işte vay yemekti şuydu buydu deyince tepen atıyor [...] Hiç yardım etmez. Bir de yukarı var, Serpil abla var. Hem orayı temizliyorum hem evi temizliyorum. Hem hastane. Yani çarşıyı pazar ne var ve yok hepsi bende.”

¹³⁶ “Burada konuşsaydın dedi. Sonradan da sen arayınca şey yaptım adını diye yaz dedim bi de mikrofon hoparlörü açtım sesini duysun diye kimilen gidiyor konuşmaya filan. Şükür bir şey demedi. Önceki şey olsaydı takip ederdi.”

when they described how decisions were made. This highlights these women's "desired" relationship with spouses rather than their "real" one (Erman et al., 2002). For example, when Ünzile (38) was asked who made the decision in the family, she answered that her husband made the decisions before, but they were made jointly now. Nevertheless, when asked what has changed in the family, she answered as follows:

"I changed myself as well. Not only my husband. In the past, I'd confront my husband when he'd say no to me. We'd have a rumble in the house. Then, I learned to say okay and be quiet whenever my husband says no. Now things are easier since we're here."¹³⁷

The testimonies show the injurious nature of gender relations present in both their household and in public spaces. The women are overburdened by their paid and unpaid duties. Despite this, the majority of their work remains invisible. Zeynep (30), who is a domestic worker says "For that I tell myself that I go to a house to clean and then do your own housework after everything. I feel fed up with everything in life, I want it all to stop."¹³⁸

The village is also synonymous with oppression, particularly for married women who live with their in-laws. Living with their family, the couple is often under scrutiny, with the husband obstinately upholding patriarchal ideals. Upon considering the control extended families and the village community have over women, in the city, women's autonomy increases, given that they usually live in independent nuclear units and are responsible for organizing domestic life (Erman, 1997). In Urla and away from their families, some of the husbands of the interviewees allow their wives relatively more freedom. A young woman, Yıldız (32), described this as follows:

¹³⁷ "Yani kendim de değiştim tabi. Sadece eşim değil yani. Önceden hani eşim yok dediği zaman üstüne oluyodum ben. Bu sefer ister istemez gürültü oluyodu evin içinde. Ama şimdi eşim yok dediği anca tamam deyip susmasını öğrendim, ondan sonra yani daha rahat olduk yani buraya gelince."

¹³⁸ "Onun için insan bazen diyom başka eve gidiyosun temizlik yapıyosun bi de geliyorsun kendi evinin işini yapıyosun. Bu sefer insan daha ne bileyim böyle bıkkınlık diyom ay şu hayattan bıktım ben diyom yani yeter artık"

“Men have a thing they can’t get over. When they live with parents, they’re like ‘I am the man, bring me some water.’ You know that kind of mindset, it went away after we left the house. His family was affecting us a lot.”¹³⁹

It is necessary to emphasize a further point: women are not entirely submissive in their interactions with their husbands' authority. As “their eyes opened”, they may act without their husband's consent while keeping it a secret from him. In other words, they create “subtle strategies” to deal with male family members' authority (Erman et al., 2002). For example, Şermin, whose husband does not let her wear trousers, started to wear them when he is not around:

“I can defend myself here, though a bit. He told me not to wear trousers once, twice. Then I started wearing them when he’s gone.”¹⁴⁰

Decisions considering where to live are crucial for women and impact them significantly due to the fact that women spend more time in their neighborhood than their husbands and even more time at home. Because of this reason, with the difficulties they faced in Urla such as loneliness, feelings of inferiority, and the cost of living, it was these women who were determined to stay in the city while their husbands wished to return to their hometown:

“I got used to it, but my husband couldn’t. Because he can’t get the idea of leaving out of his head, his family is over there, his parents are asking him what he is doing here, telling him to come home...” (Songül, 42)¹⁴¹

In the context of Turkey, as “entrenched patriarchal barriers are very difficult to overcome” (Gordon, 1996, p. 157) “especially in those societies where women’s subordination is so deeply rooted in socio-cultural norms that men’s control over women is taken for granted even by women themselves” (Osmani, 1998, p. 68), despite gains in educational attainment and labor market outcomes, the patriarchal societal framework limits women to the domain of domesticity (Eryar et al., 2019). In spite of the fact that these women are earning money, traveling outside of their neighborhood

¹³⁹ “Erkeklerin bir şey vardır kendine yediremedikleri, anne babayla beraber oturdukları zaman ‘Ben erkeğim suyum bile sen getireceksin’. Hani bu psikoloji oluyor ya, yani evi ayırdıktan sonra adamda hiçbir şey kalmadı. Çok etkiliyordu aile.”

¹⁴⁰ “Yine burada ben kendimi biraz da olsun savunuyorum. Mesela giyme dedi pantolon 1 giyme dedi 2 giyme dedi. O yokken giymeye başladım.”

¹⁴¹ “Alıştım, eşim alışamadı...Hep gitme lafı aklından çıkartmadığı için, ailesi orda, ailesi napyosun oralarda gel diye...” (Songül, 42)

to work, and regularly engaging with individuals outside of their immediate circle, patriarchal norms are still in place, and there is no direct empowerment. However, significant changes take place during the construction of their own subjectivity, and it can be said that this, in itself, is a process of empowerment (Bora, 2005). Even though traditional gender roles in these families remain, the practical reality brings about alterations in the household that might be advantageous to women. For example, as opposed to their hometowns, in Urla, interviewees can work and partake more in public activities, although quite limited, such as shopping for their families and attending school meetings. As a result, male dominance and authority, which are maintained in the village, begin to open up to bargaining in the city's more flexible environment (Bolak, 1993). Away from communal life in the village, wives and husbands rely more on each other, and their relationship changes with the couple spending more time together (İlbars, 1988). Another reason that accounts for this change in the spousal relationship is that these women work outside of the home. There are also a number of instances in which joint decisions are made, and the husband's involvement in housekeeping increases (Alpar & Yener, 1991; Bolak, 1993; Ecevit, 1991; Gökçe, 1993; İlbars, 1988).

The research conducted by Sibel Kalaycıoğlu and Helga Rittersberger-Tılıç (2001) highlighted instances in which the employers of domestic workers encouraged their employees to improve their situation. In this study, women also received encouragement from their employers and even teachers, who occasionally offered them free courses to teach them how to read and write. They also introduced them to new activities such as moviegoing and entrepreneurship. While the interactions between women from different social classes contain relations of power and inequality, as exemplified previously, the interviewed women also mention the advantage they gain through these relationships. Their employers directed them and their children to various free courses that they could attend. In addition, the literacy courses, which some of the interviewees attend in Urla, led to changes in their life. They not only learned to read and write, but also learned to sew, bake, make pottery, and about entrepreneurship. Şermin (31) explains how this is beneficial to her life:

“I feel like a stranger here. Until this course, we were just strangers. Because I got to know people there. They referred me to others for cleaning. We have different types of courses. Us mothers are all close to each other. We made a

circle of friends, and I got more used to it. I used to be scared of going places. Now I can go wherever I want to, all by myself.”¹⁴²

These changes, however minor they may be, have emancipated these women in some ways, and the thought of returning to their village would not be preferable for a significant number of them as it would mean a life of limited freedoms. Interviewees stated that they became much more confident after moving to Urla mainly because they could work and have a voice in their household. However, it is important to note that this sense of freedom and voice does not extend to the free use of public space. Despite most of them, as women, having more freedom outside of the home, they often do not leave their homes. In spite of the confidence they have gained, their relation to and with their neighborhood is still marred by feelings of inferiority. In other words, even though most of them feel freer as a woman when they go outside of the home, they do not go out often both because of the feeling of unease and non-belonging in the neighborhood in addition to financial hardships, illiteracy, family control, and feeling of insecurity as a woman outside the home.

Despite working outside the home, many women spend their time within the confines of their homes. In addition to a feeling of non-belonging and shame in the neighborhood, their illiteracy is another reason for their limited spatial mobility. As mentioned previously, the vast majority of the women interviewed either are illiterate or have just learned to read and write through the courses they attend. For this reason, they stated that they were hesitant to go to the distant neighborhoods in the city and that they could not trust themselves. Therefore, job opportunities and the places they go are limited to areas close to their homes.

Women’s use of space also goes together with security concerns. In addition to not feeling like they belong to the neighborhood, many of them stated that they do not feel safe as a woman outside even though they consider their neighborhood safer than many other big cities. In addition to this, since there are no close community ties in the neighborhood, they stated that they feel alone.

¹⁴² “Burada yabancı gibi hissediyorum. Şu kurs başlayana kadar sade yabancıydık. Çünkü orada çevre edindim, temizliklere yönlendirdiler. Farklı farklı gurularımız oluyor, anneler iç içe. Daha bir çevre edindik, alıştım daha bir. O gadan da artık her yere de önceden gidemiyordum, çekiniyordum, gorkuyordum. Şimdi kendi başıma istediğim yere gidebiliyorum.”

“Fear. I mean the biggest one is fear. Wondering if something would happen to you... Let alone myself, would they kidnap my daughter? Kill and leave her somewhere. Such fears. They exist. Now I carry something with me, you know a tear gas spray and a pocket knife. They’re always in my bag. Because we’re in such a situation.” (Yıldız, 32) ¹⁴³

“Because the homicides of women have risen lately, I swear even going out really makes you... I mean anyone saying they don’t fear going outside would be lying. Anyone saying they can go out without being nervous would be lying.” (Zeynep, 30) ¹⁴⁴

Although most of the women stressed their attachment to the homes, the way they expressed this attachment shows its complexity. While some women explained how they enjoy being at home, at the same time they mentioned the expectations of their husbands.

“No, I am domestic. Maybe a little too much, I can say. I enjoy spending time at home more. [...] Nah, my husband is a very disciplined person. He just prefers it this way. [He says] ‘You can go out at any time, you can come home at any time. Just don’t wait for it to get dark’” (Yıldız, 32) ¹⁴⁵

From the narratives of all the women interviewed, it can be understood that marriage has a significant role in the formation of women’s everyday lives. It also has a very significant role in women’s relationship with public space and the neighborhood they live in. Hence, women’s access to and experience of public space is also affected by marriage. All respondents stated that if they have to go out, they arrange themselves according to their children’s school hours, and they come back home before their children and husband come so they can have their lunch or dinner ready.

A significant number of the interviewees emphasized that despite their loneliness and feeling of inadequacy in their neighborhoods, they want to live in that neighborhood

¹⁴³ “Korku. Yani en büyük şey korku. Acaba ne olur, bir şey yaparlar mı bir şey ederler mi... Beni bırak kızımı kaçırlar mı? Hani ya da öldürüp bırakırlar mı? Bu korkular. Bunlar var. Yani şu anda ben yanımda şey taşıyorum mesela nasıl diyeyim sana gaz spreyi, bir tane çakı... Bunlar kesin çantamda var benim. Çünkü artık o durumdayız.” (Yıldız, 32)

¹⁴⁴ “Şu son dönemlerde kadın cinayetleri arttı ya, hani gerçekten dışarı çıkmaya insan hakaten hani ben korkmuyorum diyen yalan söylüyordur. Yani ben korkmuyorum yalan söylüyordur! Tedirgin olmadan ben dışarıya çok rahat bir şekilde çıkıyorum diyen yalan söylüyor” (Zeynep, 30)

¹⁴⁵ “Yok bir de ben evcilim. Biraz daha fazla evcilim diyebilirim sana. Hani evde vakit geçirmeyi daha çok seviyorum [...] Yok eşim disiplini bir insandır. Sadece şunu tercih eder, ‘Karanlık olmadığı sürece hiç sıkıntı değil. Kaçta istersen çıkabilirsin, kaçta istersen gelebilirsin. Yalnızca havanın kararmasını bekleme’” (Yıldız, 32)

in the future. Indeed, when asked where they would live if they had the choice to live anywhere, many of them stated that they want to live in Urla for several reasons, such as job opportunities, relative freedom as a woman, opportunities for their children, and quality of education. Despite all its disadvantages, living in Urla provides them with advantages that they could not have obtained otherwise. They argue that it gives them relatively more economic freedom, makes them, as women, feel less pressure, and can enable them to get a better education for their children. Since all interviewees build their future around their children, opportunities for their children in Urla is an important reason for their desire to stay in this neighborhood. They say that such opportunities can provide their children with a better future. Zeliha (43) says:

“I want to live here. For example, there is good education for the children. Also, it would be good to have a house and a job. In our hometown, people have [their own lives] ... There is no future in our hometown.”¹⁴⁶

Similarly, when asked if she wants to go back to her village, Aliye (41) says:

“Nah, I wouldn't. Why wouldn't I? I would because my hometown, the hometown is very beautiful. The people are so hospitable. We have relatives there. Why wouldn't I want it? Because of my children. For their future. I believe they can get somewhere if they live here. I came here for them.”¹⁴⁷

However, as previously mentioned, it is also important to note that the interviewees themselves emphasized that even if they prefer to stay, there is a possibility that they will experience displacement in the future.

4.4. Concluding Remarks

This chapter consider gentrification and displacement as neighborhood expressions of inequality. In the case of Urla, interviewees experience additional forms of exclusion within the gentrification process. Living in Urla results in a deep sense of marginality

¹⁴⁶ “Valla burada yaşamak isterim. Mesela burada eğitim güzel çocuklar için. Ondan sonra insanın bir evi, bir işi olsa o daha çok güzel olur. İsterim. Artık memlekette herkes kendi hayatı... Gelecek yok memlekette.”

¹⁴⁷ “İ h. İstemem. Niçin istemem... İsterim memleketim, memleket çok güzel, çok insanları misafirperver. Orada akrabalarımız var... Ne için istemem çocuklarım için istemem. Onları geleceği için. Onlar burada daha güzel yerlere varır ona inanyorum. Zaten onlar için geldim buraya.”

and low levels of physical and ontological attachment to place. Owing to the gentrification process, a familiar environment is turned into one that is exclusionary for the poor women interviewed.

As rural to urban migrants, these women have struggled to create a sense of “home” in Urla. Additionally, interviewees' feelings of insecurity, as a result of being “outsiders,” is deepened with the gentrification process. In addition to the rising cost of living and housing in their current neighborhood, there is a disappearance of safe spaces, meeting places, and neighborhood identities familiar to low-income people. Furthermore, many women feel insecure outside their homes not only as an “outsider” or “other” but also as a woman.

Judging looks from better off residents have a shaming effect which prevents poor women from accessing certain public spaces in Urla. The encounter of different subjectivities in Urla results in feelings of shame, resentment, and non-belonging which in turn cause the emotional loss of a space. These feelings shift their sense of place, which is an important aspect of displacement. That is to say, as a result of poor residents not seeing themselves reflected in symbolic representation in the neighborhood's spaces, and the shame they feel in their encounter with the middle and upper class inhabitants who have appropriated social space in the area, they experience feelings of displacement. These women's access to neighborhood public spaces are affected by a multiplicity of factors. As a result, feeling of shame, unease and non-belonging in the neighborhood, in addition to financial hardships, illiteracy, family control, and feeling of insecurity as a woman outside the home, also prevents them accessing neighborhood spaces.

The gentrification process transforms Urla into a place with distinct meanings for the poor. Amongst the poor women in Urla there is a shared experience, a sense of loss, economic hardship, and ontological insecurity. Due to the power dynamics at play in the area, the feelings of displacement experienced include a shifted sense of place, economic and cultural displacement, displacement pressure, socio-spatial segregation, polarization, exclusion and non-belonging.

Displacement of poor and marginalized residents is one of the most significant consequences of gentrification since the displacement mechanism comes at the expense of lived social practices and the exclusion of certain groups from public space. In Urla, the lived experiences of displacement are exacerbated by the material limitations and psychological burdens that are placed on poor women. This sentiment and ostracization lead to a reduced level of wellbeing and attachment to the environment.

The process in this neighborhood meets Hackworth's (2002) definition of shaping urban space for the more affluent user. Gentrification results in people losing their stability and permanence in physical, social, and cultural terms. In this regard, gentrification brings new injuries.

Interviewees' accounts show the complexity of power relations and inequality within neighborhood spaces. Narratives contain contradictions and show mixed feelings about living in Urla. Living in Urla provides interviewees relatively more freedom and increased bargaining power in the household compared to their home villages, where they were greatly subjected to patriarchal social control mechanisms. Their migration to Urla leads to significant changes during the construction of their own subjectivity and have emancipated these women in some ways. As a result, although traditional gender roles in these families persist and despite their feelings of exclusion, insecurity, loneliness and displacement pressure in the area, women describe advantages they have in Urla which result in their wanting to remain. Therefore, even though they miss the sincerity and equality in their villages, they prefer to stay in Urla because of their relative freedom as a woman in the city; job opportunities in the city for themselves and for their family; and most importantly, better opportunities for their children. However, their chances of being displaced increase each day with the acceleration of the gentrification process in the neighborhood.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

This study explored the experiences and perceptions of poor women residing in or near gentrifying neighborhoods in emotional terms, based on their own narratives. It revealed the “burdens of class” by focusing on the emotional dimensions of class. It investigated how neighborhood changes have been perceived and negotiated on a personal level by examining class and gender experiences based on subjective class encounters in spaces undergoing gentrification. This study used the perceptions, feelings, and emotions of poor residents as a primary source through which the impacts of gentrification on their everyday lives are explored. In particular, the feelings and emotions of poor women that arose from their encounters with the middle and upper classes are investigated.

Through an ethnographically detailed analysis of a gentrifying area, this study explored the relationship between urban restructuring, class, gender, and emotions, using residents' narratives of location. The interaction between urban processes and the urban poor through gentrification illustrates how gentrification not only physically evicts the working class, but also culturally and emotionally displaces them. It also illustrated how marginalized groups experience neighborhood upgrading, allowing a critical examination and a reconsideration of how class and gentrification are understood in this context.

Using in-depth, face-to-face interviews, participant observation, and mental mapping, this study aimed to explore a micro scale of the cultural and emotional formation of urban poverty and the lived experiences of the poor affected by the gentrification process in Urla, İzmir. While acknowledging the importance of a synthesis of both cultural and political-economic explanations, this study concentrated solely on the

cultural explanations of the gentrification process and class, which are often overlooked in academic accounts.

Existing inequities in class society result in members of an oppressed class questioning their dignity, self-respect, and self-worth. Because of their position in the social hierarchy, they are continuously viewing themselves through the lens of the dominant class, and, as a result, they are constantly questioning their worth. This was clearly evident in the interviews presented in this study. In the case of Urla, the pejorative gaze of the dominant class in the area is internalized by the poor, which results in exacerbating the traumatic effects of poverty in the area. Since the various social classes live in such close proximity in Urla, where escaping from that gaze is almost impossible, this internalization was evident in all interviews and was felt in its most intense form. In such a place, encounters on an everyday basis result in the poor intensely classifying their conditions of existence in relation to others. In the narratives, more than expressing distress about the material miseries they face, the interviewees frequently voiced their concerns about the degrading and humiliating attitudes of the middle and upper classes they encounter, which results in emotional-symbolic violence to their self-perception. This, in itself, embodies the economic and social disparities and hierarchies that exist in the area.

To the extent that modern capitalist society has convinced people that the criterion for success is only the individual and their abilities, the poor feel “the burden of a class”, which is “the feeling of not getting anywhere despite one's efforts, the feeling of vulnerability in contrasting oneself to others at a higher social level, the buried sense of inadequacy that one resents oneself for feeling” (Sennett & Cobb, 1972, p. 58). These injuries are internalized, and as a result, people call into question their self-worth and value due to the conflation of worth with material success in a society of free competition. However, unlike in Sennet and Cobb’s research, in Urla, some interviewees also blamed their families, fate, or poverty itself for their situation. As a result, on the one hand, they felt worthless because of their experiences, while on the other hand, there were statements that contradicted this. These contradictory feelings appear prominently side-by-side in the narratives.

The experiences of the poor women interviewed in Urla have distinct “grammars of life” since their everyday life is greatly influenced by the spaces they inhabit. Similar to what Sennett and Cobb (1972) describe in the context of the American working class, namely, that the poor live their class position as a “hidden injury”, poor women in Urla live their class position as profoundly injurious, significantly affecting their everyday experiences of the neighborhood. It was revealed that these injuries are felt and experienced by the poor, which further alienates them within Urla’s gentrifying neighborhood spaces. This being said, it is important to note that Sennett and Cobb’s (1972) research was conducted in the US of 1969 and 1970, which represents a significantly different political and cultural environment. Additionally, their work focuses on the perceptions and experiences of male workers, excluding the experiences of women. This research, on the contrary, was conducted in the 2020’s in Turkey, where inequalities and class hierarchy are exacerbated, and the interviews and cognitive mappings were done exclusively with women. Nevertheless, this research maintains that the term hidden injuries is still valid and significant in contemporary Turkey and is also central to the women’s experiences. Indeed, this study shows that hidden injuries have become more significant and painful although it is experienced differently in contemporary Turkey. As the hegemonic neoliberal discourse strengthened individualistic culture and popularized the discourse of personal failure and success more and more, the collectivities that mediate and articulate class struggle were weakened. It can also be asserted that women's experiences of hidden injuries can have different facets than that of a man’s due to the patriarchal relations in society, in particular in Turkish society where traditional patriarchal norms are deeply rooted.

Poor women's experiences of living in neighborhoods under the gentrification process mostly consist of moments of alienation. The capitalist patriarchal system jeopardizes the dignity and self-respect of the oppressed, and it produces emotions such as shame, self-doubt, resentment, and the loss of self-esteem and dignity. Since emotions and perceptions evoked by everyday encounters are fundamentally manifestations of relationships established by individuals who hold different positions of power in social spaces, the “feeling of vulnerability in contrasting oneself to others at a higher social level” haunts the poor of Urla in their everyday lives.

One of the most striking findings from the interviews is that the emotional symbolic violence that undermines the respondents' dignity and self-esteem is more pronounced than the tangible misery they face. The narratives from the interviewees illustrated various forms of injuries that are specific to living in Urla. For example, the process of gentrification, together with the large number of gated communities, villas, and summer houses, resulted in the poor and the upper classes being neighbors and living in close proximity, which makes their everyday encounters immediate and unavoidable. In such a situation, emotions and perceptions evoked by everyday encounters are experienced in its most intense form. Likewise, the middle and upper classes' search for a "natural lifestyle" has led them to take over rural lands and rural production in Urla, which has often excluded locals and poor populations from agricultural production.

In Urla, interviewees also experience hidden injuries intensely through their children. Despite the spatial proximity, in many cases, the children of the poor are unable to make friends with the children of middle and upper class families in the neighborhood, and are stigmatized and excluded. In addition to financial inadequacy, children, encountering the "other" on an everyday basis and seeing what other children have, feel left behind. Families' experiences in the context of their children become "hidden injuries" to the extent that they feel sorry for what their children go through. As a result, hidden injuries are experienced not only in the encounters with the "other", but also in the relationships established with their children in the case of Urla. This study suggests that, due to the fact that the place of research leads to close everyday interactions between people from various social classes, the hidden injuries against children are also strongly felt.

Additionally, due to the precarious nature of gatekeeping and domestic work, injurious experiences and relationships are mostly felt by the women who engage in these types of employment. Since there are many gated communities, summer houses, and villas in Urla, there are also many gatekeepers, domestic workers, and gardeners. Most of the dramatic examples in the interviews are from these cases. For example, Sema, as a domestic worker, describes her experience as "a huge wound". Indeed, the testimonies of these women detail injuries resulting from humiliation and stigmatization, a profound sense of which is clearly highlighted in the narratives

stemming from the poor's day-to-day proximity to the middle and upper class residents. Furthermore, the living conditions of the women, particularly those who live in housing designated for gatekeepers, are highly isolated and uncomfortable. In fact, these women describe living there as feeling as though they are “left alone at the top of a mountain.”

The lack of education and unfulfilled hopes and dreams is another source of injury for the women interviewed. Since they encounter “well educated” women on a daily basis, they are continuously comparing themselves to them. Furthermore, the restrictions caused by their low level of education result in them feeling like they are “unable to live life.” This is particularly frequent in Urla since the poor women interviewed all migrated from small villages far away from urban centers that had very low access to education.

It has been demonstrated in this study that spatial proximity and close urban encounters between people from different social classes do not result in meaningful contact with positive interactions or solidarity. Even though these social classes are living in close physical proximity, they are disjointed. Interviewees lack community ties, solidarity, and neighborly relations. The lack of a support network in terms of family and neighbors, results in interviewees facing many difficulties on their own, which in turn contributes to feelings of discontent among the poor residents of Urla. It is necessary to emphasize a further point here: before the acceleration of the gentrification process, relationships in the neighborhood were described as more intimate. That is to say, the gentrification process exacerbates the dissolution of ties. With the acceleration of the gentrification process, according to the interviews, there is the loss of networks and support in the neighborhood and, as a result, diminished ground for engagement and understanding between social classes in Urla. Subsequently, feeling excluded and non-belonging to the neighborhood makes them feel uncomfortable in the neighborhood spaces. As a result, the current state of the area shapes the experience of urban inequality, eroding social coexistence, solidarity, and recognition in the area.

With the gentrification process in the area, space and social relations have profoundly changed and reproduced. In this area, there is a production of social groups experiencing a deep sense of marginalization, and alienation. In Urla, increasing

tourism and rural gentrification have been determining factors in the transformation, along with the gentrification process of the inner-city area. Tourism, in particular, is experienced intensely. In the case of Urla, the production of space involves not only the city but also the countryside. It demonstrates that the production of space involves economic, social, cultural, emotional, and gendered processes. It suggests that the gentrification process and the social relations formed in Urla between classes occurred in ways that are fundamentally different from the metropolitan areas of Turkey and also do not fit in the global North debates on gentrification. With the gentrification process in Urla, there is a construction of material and symbolic boundaries that alienate minority groups. As the findings of the study demonstrate, in addition to the very tangible outcomes of gentrification such as displacement, socio-spatial segregation, polarization, and exclusion of certain groups, it is the emotional aspects of displacement that also deserve special consideration.

It is illustrated in the narratives that close proximity aggravates comparisons between different social classes in terms of access to resources. Due to a lack of economic means and also feelings of non-belonging and shame in the area, poor residents are unable to access social spaces and, thus, have become excluded. Hence, the gentrification process in Urla results in additional forms of exclusion and eliminates places of socialization for poor residents, which perpetuates inequalities within society.

As Erdoğan (2007c) points out, poverty is related to a feeling structure. In keeping with this argument, this case study reveals that the juxtaposition of the lower class with the middle and upper classes in the neighborhood spaces of Urla brings rise feelings and experiences specific to living in Urla. The encounter of different subjectivities in the neighborhood embodies the power relations and inequality in society, eliciting a range of emotions such as shame, self-doubt, resentment, alienation, sense of not belonging, self-deprivation, loss of dignity and self-respect, and frustration in poor women's inner-emotional worlds. Given the display of power relations manifested in the gentrifying neighborhoods of the area, poor residents feel "othered" by middle and upper class newcomers, which often prevents them from frequenting several neighborhood spaces. These variables perpetuate the poor's sentiments of shame in this environment, resulting in a reduced level of wellbeing and attachment to the place.

The emotions, such as shame and feelings of nonbelonging, stem from the residents' not seeing themselves reflected in the symbolic representation of the neighborhood, and from their encounters with middle and upper class residents who have appropriated social space in their neighborhoods. In short, the lack of representation in the area and being on the receiving end of disparaging looks from “others” exacerbates all these emotions. As a result, despite sharing the same neighborhood, spatial segregation and the symbolic distance in the neighborhood is very evident. Therefore, maintaining self-respect, self-worth, and dignity is an everyday concern for these residents living in Urla.

The evidence gained from the fieldwork also clearly demonstrated that the rising cost of living, physical eviction, or cultural change are not the only reasons for displacement; the discomfort felt during the class encounters with the residents of the neighborhood is another reason. The shared experiences among interviewees, which are a sense of loss, economic hardship, and ontological insecurity, bring about feelings of displacement. Encounters are the sites where emotional displacement occurs in this neighborhood, since the neighborhood spaces are transformed through the place-making capacity of dominant groups. The emotional form of displacement that is caused by the current state of the gentrified spaces of Urla, leaves the poor women feeling uneasy and out of place in their current environment, and they have a sense of not belonging in the place where they live. Therefore, aside from cost barriers, emotions such as shame, non-belonging, and insecurity pose significant barriers to Urla's neighborhood accessibility.

The structural system in place furthermore demonstrates how new residents obtain better positions in society and, in particular, within the local residential market. Therefore, for long-time residents, newcomers are the embodiment of structural inequalities and the unbalanced power relations that exclude them. In addition to the overwhelming displacement pressures, gentrification is depriving them of their sense of place both emotionally and physically. Social, cultural, and financial inequalities create lives for the poor in Urla that is defined by precariousness. Their experience in the neighborhood is characterized by temporariness and insecurity. Changes in the area exacerbate interviewees' feelings of uneasiness as a result of being “outsiders” in the city, while also causing them to be emotionally injured. Living in Urla, which is “a

place for wealthy people and not for the poor”, results in people being excluded not only physically, but also socially and emotionally. As a result, this study showed that gentrification not only causes locals to be physically displaced, but it also leads to a sense of alienation and emotional displacement of poor families who came to the area to work.

The mental maps used in this case study were a powerful tool to illustrate the urban alienation of the interviewees. They revealed how familiar surroundings became unrecognizable and empty spaces became a prominent feature within the respondents’ psyches. Access and a low level of belonging were also evident, and places were limited to solely fulfilling their most basic needs. These maps also give important clues about the women's relationship with space and their interaction with Urla's middle and upper classes, as the representation of emotions resulting from class encounters in the area and the symbolic boundaries between the social classes is clearly apparent.

The narratives and mental maps of the interviewees revealed notably low levels of physical and ontological attachment to their neighborhoods. Gentrification undermines the sense of attachment and belonging those poor residents have to this location. In addition, there are a series of everyday pressures that low-income people experience. The extended geography of gentrification in Urla denotes the securing of the city center for affluent users at the expense of the poor. In that sense, the process of gentrification can be described as an affirmation of the power of making space (Valli, 2015). For the interviewees, this place was not a “home” since they had migrated to Urla from their villages; however, with the gentrification process, interviewees alienation seems to have dramatically increased, and the possibility of displacement seems to have reached a very serious level. Gentrification process in the area put the surrounding neighborhoods under the pressure of rent gaps, potentially resulting in the subjugation of the lower classes' housing needs. The changes pinpoint the reproduction of the space in Urla, while leaving low-income and disadvantaged populations facing the very tangible threat of displacement. Accordingly, the intense inequality in power relations is potentially destined to foster the displacement of the interviewees in Urla, in the following years.

This study shows that since encounters can become loaded with emotions such as shame and frustration, encounters in the neighborhood spaces of Urla are highly uncomfortable experiences for the lower-class residents. Encountering individuals in Urla who are somehow privileged, brings one's subjectivity into question, as identity is relational and inextricably linked with space; and this in turn results in fraught emotions such as shame and frustration among the lower-class. As a result, the poor feel “othered” in the neighborhood spaces of Urla and denounce public places as exclusive. Just as Yıldız says, “there is always something against [her]” when she left her house in her neighborhood. Other interviewees’ testimonies also echo Yıldız’s narratives directly or indirectly. Such experiences cause the poor to withdraw from society out of fear of being judged by “others.”

People from two worlds cross paths in the street but do not enter into each other’s relational worlds in Urla. In this area, we find the manifestation of unequal relations in social formation. The injuries distance individuals from social relations. As a result, despite their resentment toward class disparities, the interviewees believe that they cannot change their situation, and they withdraw into their personal lives. Thus, the poor enclose themselves in their homes, and their houses turn into “shells where the troubles of poverty are accumulated” (Ocak, 2007, p. 171). In addition, since women spend most of their lives at home, where poverty is experienced constantly and in its most intense form, it can be asserted that they also endure the deepest spatial experience of poverty and that the house turns into a place of condemnation of their poverty (Ocak, 2007).

This study demonstrated that the process of gentrification in Urla causes new injuries because of the fact that gentrification results in people losing their stability and permanence in their neighborhoods in physical, social, cultural, and emotional terms. Displacement mechanisms occur at the expense of lived social practices and the exclusion of particular groups from public space. Material limitations and psychological burdens that are placed on an individual exacerbate these lived experiences of displacement in the case of Urla. Taken together, the narratives and mental maps illustrate the high stakes associated with displacement and displacement pressure for poor women whose urban experience is overwhelmingly similar.

The experiences of class and gender lead to certain emotions, feeling structures and injuries in the self. The complex relationship residents have with their neighborhood is clearly illustrated in the residential biographies. There are contradictory perceptions of living in Urla. For many of the interviewees, the neighborhood is both experienced as a place of exclusion, non-belonging, and loneliness and a place of relative freedom and opportunities. With the gentrification process and close urban encounters on a daily basis, injuries are deepened. On the other hand, with the rural to urban migration, poor women in Urla have some advantages compared to their home villages, where they are largely exposed to patriarchal social control mechanisms. Living in Urla increases their bargaining power within the household. Despite the emotional displacement, exclusion, insecurity, and displacement pressure in the area, they prefer to stay in Urla because of their relative freedom as women, the job opportunities, and most importantly, the better opportunities for their children. Although these women still miss their hometown and feel lonely in Urla, they do not want to return since life in the villages means social control, submission and limited opportunities. In addition, the interviewees prefer this location because Urla has both some of the urban opportunities and yet is less crowded than the metropolitan cities. Since all interviewees build their future around their children, they define their dreams and concerns by the future of their children, and the availability of opportunities for their children in Urla is a major factor in their desire to stay. Women have the opportunity to have a little more independence in the city's flexible atmosphere. The male authority becomes negotiable and the fact that they are working provides them with a sense of freedom. However, women's migration to the city does not bring about a complete transformation of traditional patriarchal norms in these families, which persist ideologically. While women are beginning to work outside the home, they are expected to maintain their "traditional" responsibilities, resulting in their being overburdened by their paid and unpaid work. Thus, the benefits of paid labor are insufficient to change or radically challenge their position in the household. In addition, although they have relatively more independence outside the home compared to their villages and have gained confidence, their spatial mobility is very limited. Mainly because a sense of unease and non-belonging in the neighborhood, in addition to financial hardships, illiteracy, family control, and feelings of insecurity as a woman outside the home, prevent them from doing so.

The interviewees are those who remain in their neighborhoods despite displacement pressures. However, they are concerned that they will not be able to afford to stay in the gentrified neighborhood in the future. According to the testimonies given, long before residents are pushed out of a neighborhood, they are subjected to various forms of pressure that disrupt their everyday lives. As a result, although the respondents do not want to return to their hometown, they cannot afford to live in their present neighborhood because of the rising cost of living and housing. Consequently, the respondents' accounts reveal a deep sense of despair and anxiety about the future. Although their dreams were largely centered on their children and their children's futures, the interviewees expressed concern that such dreams could be realized.

On the other hand, poor women do not exactly accept the social cultural classification schemes imposed upon them. They are active agents and resist the difficulties of their everyday lives through tactics and psychological defense mechanisms that are developed to avoid emotional hurt and to protect themselves against "injury". These defense mechanisms, in the case of Urla, include picturing themselves as being equipped with higher moral values than the wealthy, "dividing the self", or maintaining a state of melancholy and mourning in the face of inequality in the neighborhood. Despite the psychological defense mechanisms that poor women have developed to protect themselves, these defense mechanisms do not diminish the injuries, nor do they prevent further injuries, and most importantly, they do not result in a change in the structure that causes the injuries in the first place.

This study argues that an investigation of the experiences and emotions of the lower-class residents enables a deeper understanding of the class relations and lived experiences of gentrification. Despite a significant body of theoretical discussions on gentrification research, the employment of emotional dimension and everyday life for this research in empirical analysis remains rare. In this regard, this study aimed to contribute to the discussion on the emotional dimension of the gentrification process. Within this context, the interviews revealed that the understanding of displacement should go beyond physical dislocation, toward a more sophisticated notion of displacement.

The gap between classes has significantly increased in today's Turkey, which has resulted in increasing inequality and deepening segregation in the cities. In addition, urban transformations have become increasingly destructive, which affects the social relations of inhabitants, which in turn causes these injuries to be experienced much more deeply than in previous studies. As far as the findings of this research suggest, the solidarity in the cultural tradition of the working class has weakened. To the extent that class positions are internalized, defenses against these injuries are aimed at an individual rather than the collective. As a result, the members of the working class cannot find open channels of communication with others who share the same experiences and emotions. This isolates them within their own personal grievances and simultaneously reproduces capitalist relations of production and its hegemonic culture through the mechanisms of domination. However, in the conversations with the interviewees, it is apparent that they have not fully internalized nor have they come to terms with social relations defined by inequality. Social hierarchies and distinctions were often emphasized in the narratives, indicating that they are not being fully internalized. This study argues that such a repetition and concern in the narratives suggest that the social hierarchies and distinctions, and class and gender relations are experienced as traumatic. That is to say, it continues to be a "bleeding wound" in the poor subaltern's political and cultural unconscious (Erdoğan, 2007c, p. 91). However, these bleeding wounds are deeper in today's world. Given that these relations have not been fully internalized, it can be said that there is a hope for developing equality in societal relations.

This study revealed deepening class distinctions and inequalities in today's Turkey. Unequal relations of the social formation materialize in Urla's city space and social distance materializes in the spatial distance. Consequently, relying on the interviews, mental maps and observations conducted, it is possible to assert that social spaces are no longer places where social classes merge and meet on an emotional level.

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APPENDICES

A. SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION OF THE RESPONDENTS

Table 1: Socio-Demographic Information of The Respondents

Name	Age	Education	Occupation	Former Occupation	Place of Birth	Occupation of the Husband	Age of coming to Urla
Ayşe	53	Never attended School	Housewife	Domestic Worker	Diyarbakır	Gatekeeper	31
Gülcan	31	Primary School	Housewife	Domestic Worker, Gatekeeper	Siirt	Carpenter	24
Ünzile	38	Primary School	Domestic Worker	Gatekeeper	Çorum	Construction Worker	35
Latife	53	Never attended School	Domestic Worker	Gatekeeper	Şanlıurfa	Gatekeeper	19
Sema	40	Never attended School	Domestic Worker	Gatekeeper	Ağrı	Driver	21
Yıldız	32	Never attended School	Domestic Worker	Housewife	Kayseri	Security Staff	22
Hülya	47	Never attended School	Domestic Worker	Housewife	Ağrı	Construction Worker	27
Aliye	41	Primary School	Housewife	Housewife	Kars	Construction Worker	35
Zeynep	30	Secondary School	Domestic Worker	Housewife	Bitlis	Unemployed	20
Elif	33	Never attended School	Gatekeeper	Domestic Worker	Ağrı	Gatekeeper	20
Ferhan	44	Primary School	Domestic Worker	Factory Worker	Ağrı	Gatekeeper	25
Songül	42	Never attended School	Domestic Worker	Housewife	Siirt	Gardener	17
Kader	35	Never attended School	Housewife	Housewife	Diyarbakır	Construction Worker	31
Şermin	31	High School	Domestic Worker	Housewife	Sivas	Unemployed	25
Hatice	42	Primary School	Domestic Worker	Housewife	Çorum	Gatekeeper	25
Nebahat	55	Primary School	Gatekeeper	Housewife	Sivas	Gatekeeper	37
Zeliha	43	Housewife	Housewife	Housewife	Muş	Unemployed	28
Kiraz	36	High School	Coffee House Worker	Gatekeeper	Şanlıurfa	Gas Pump Attendant	2
Emine	43	Primary School	Housewife	Housewife	Kars	Officer	31
Gülşen	39	Never attended School	Domestic Worker	Housewife	Batman	Worker in the Bakery	33

B. MENTAL MAPS OF THE RESPONDENTS

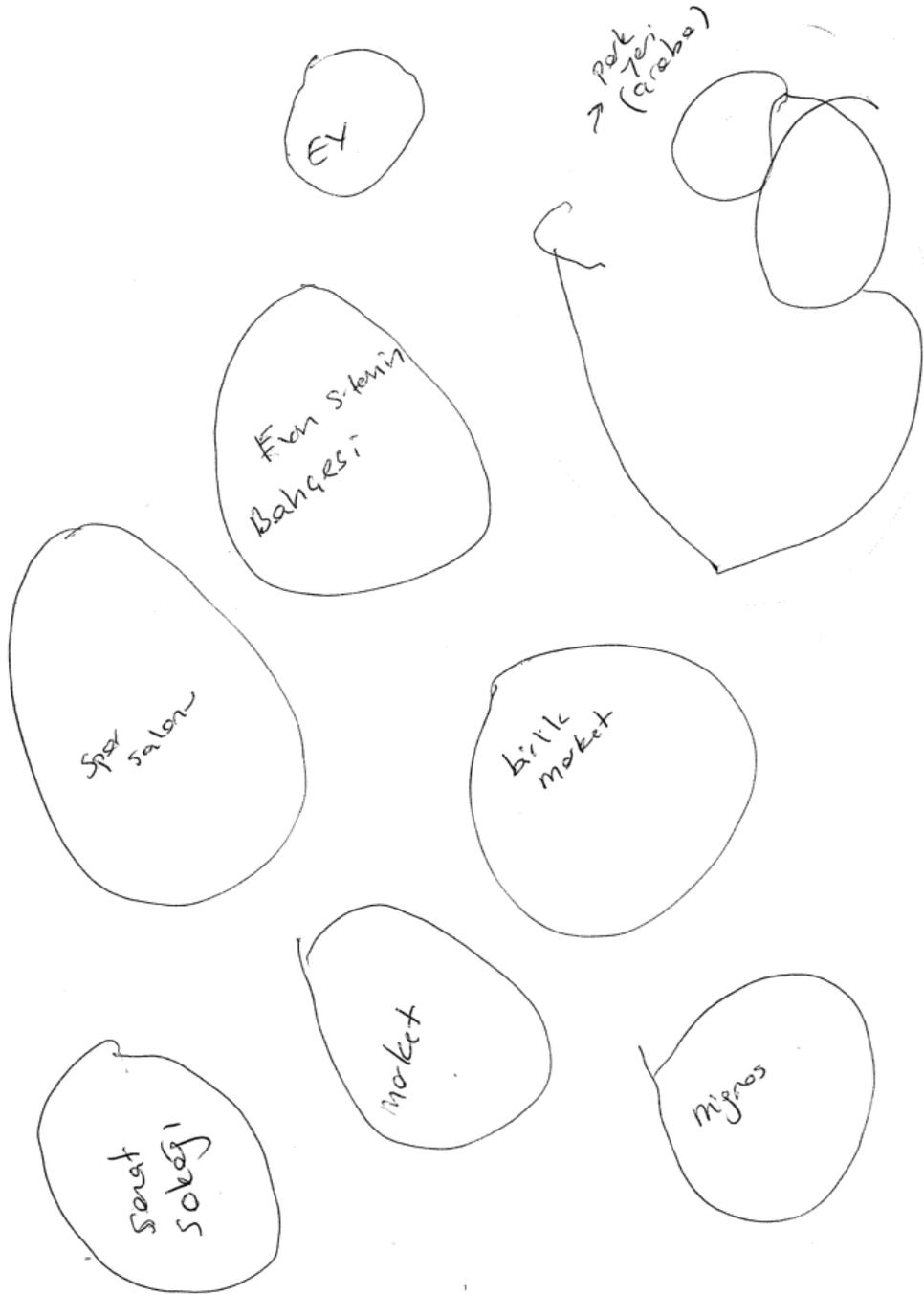


Figure 10: Mental Map 1: Ayşe (53)¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁸ The name of the places in this map is written by the interviewer since the interviewee was illiterate.

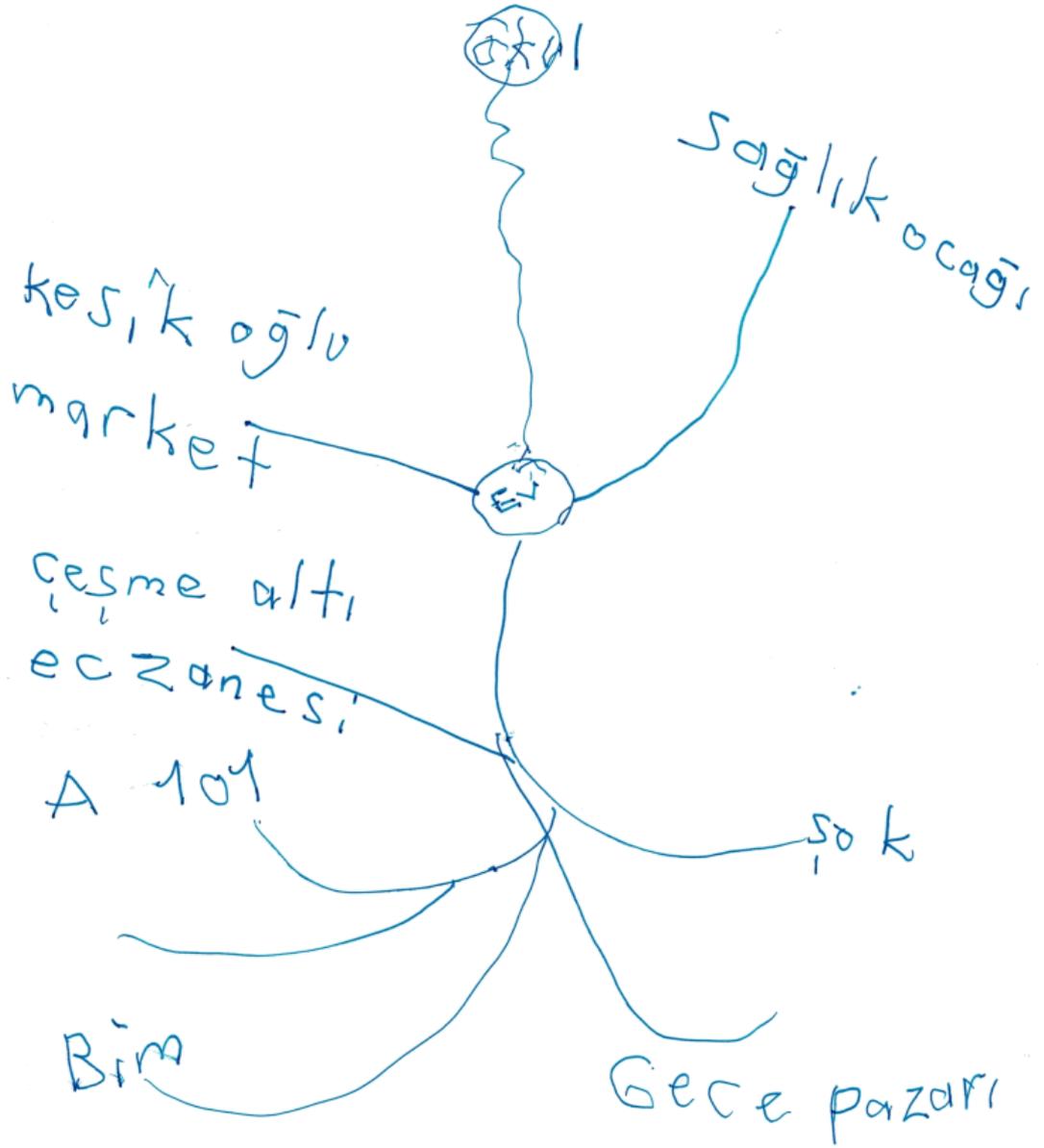


Figure 11: Mental Map 2: Gülcan (31)

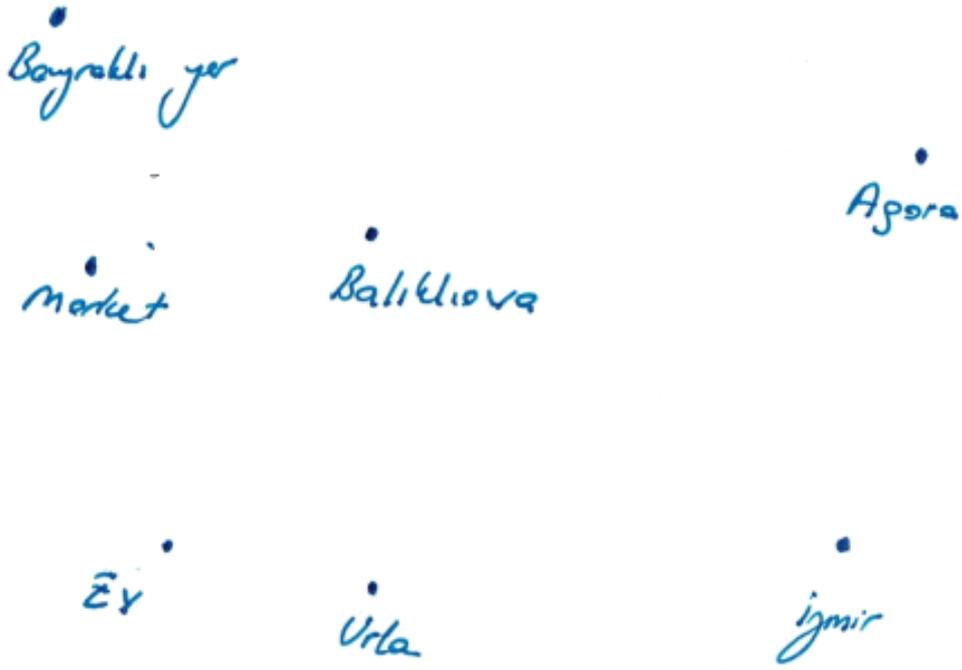


Figure 12: Mental Map 3: Ünzile (38)¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁹ The name of the places in this map is written by the interviewer since the interviewee was illiterate.

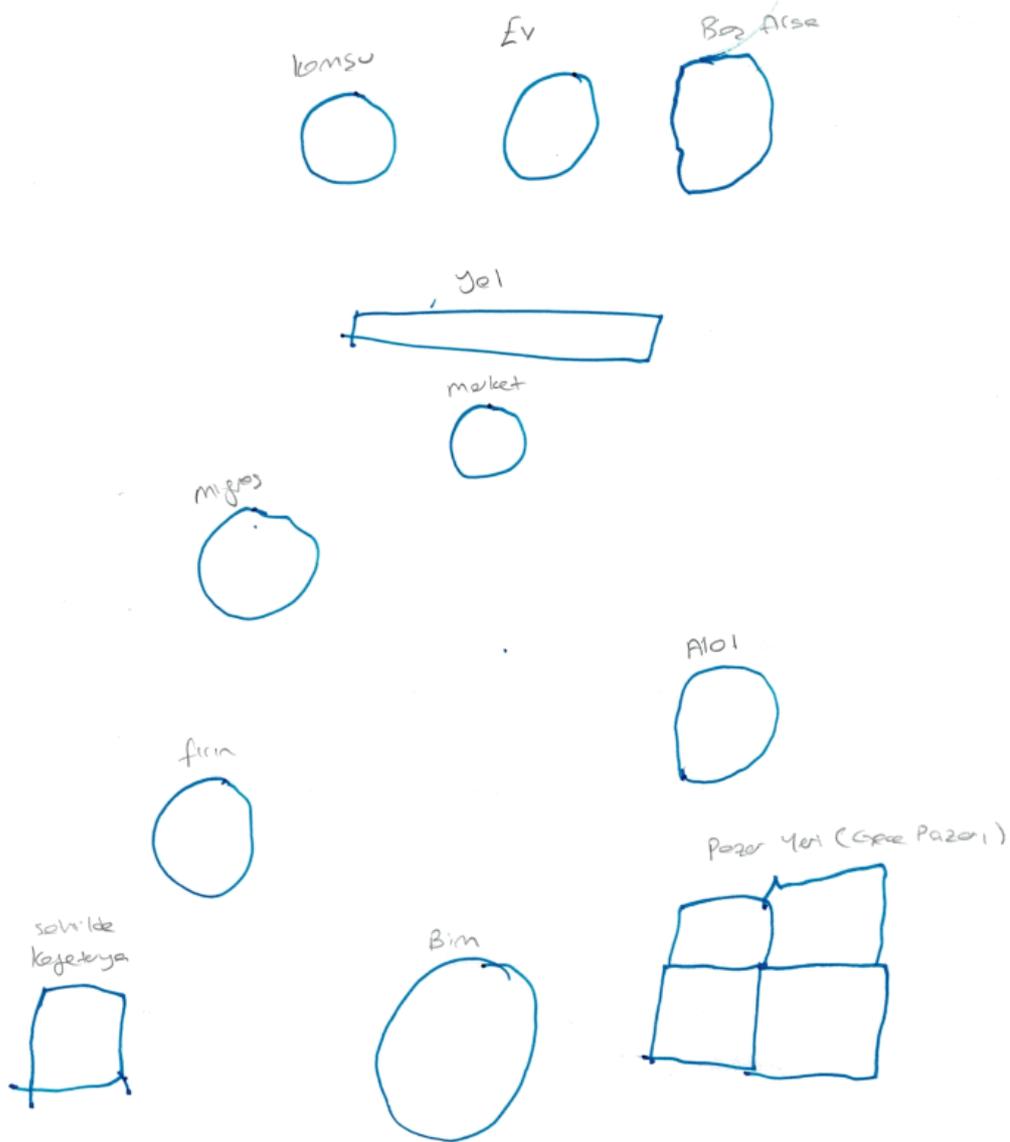


Figure 14: Mental Map 5: Sema (40)¹⁵¹

¹⁵¹ The name of the places in this map is written by the interviewer since the interviewee was illiterate.

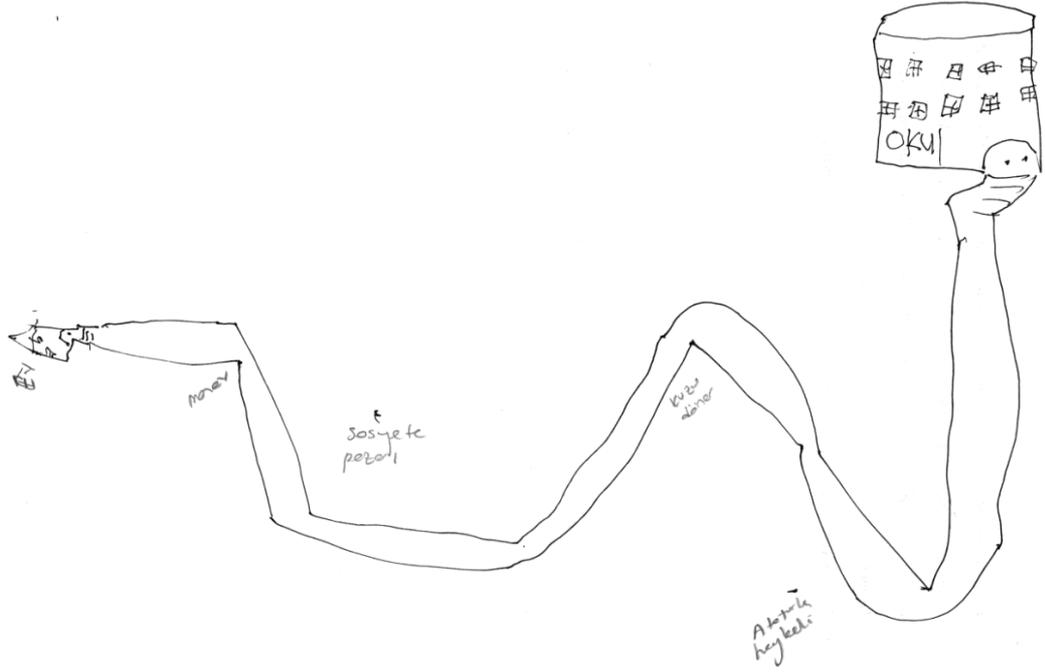


Figure 15: Mental Map 6: Yıldız (32)¹⁵²

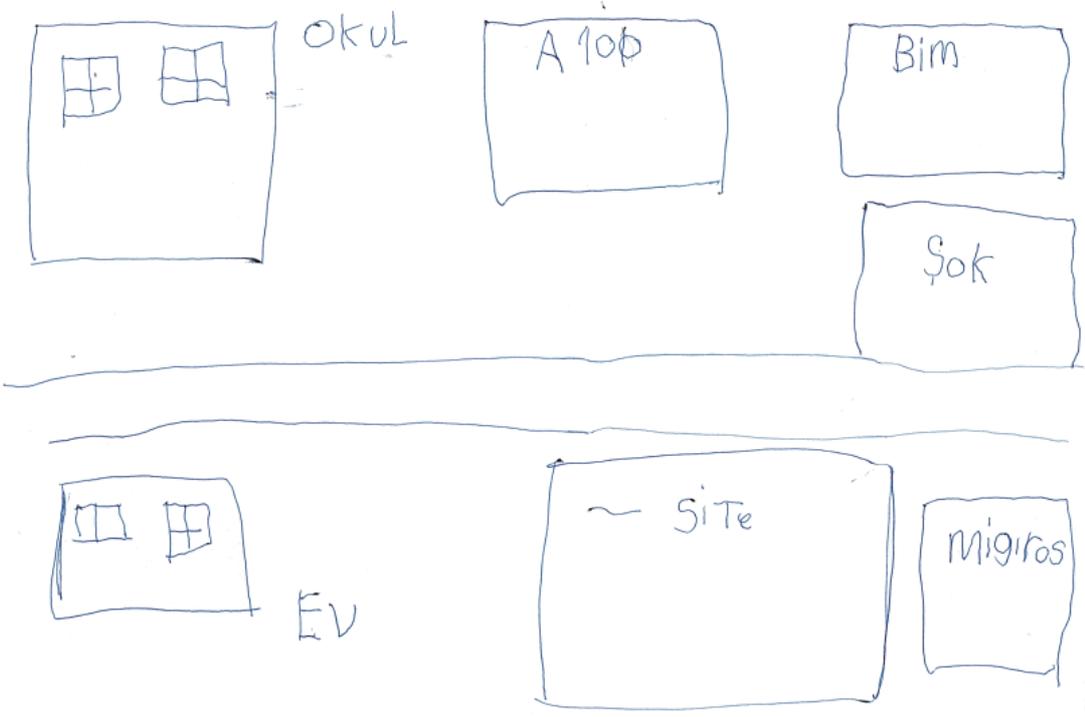


Figure 16: Mental Map 7: Hülya (47)

¹⁵² The name of the places in this map is written by the interviewer since the interviewee was illiterate.
179

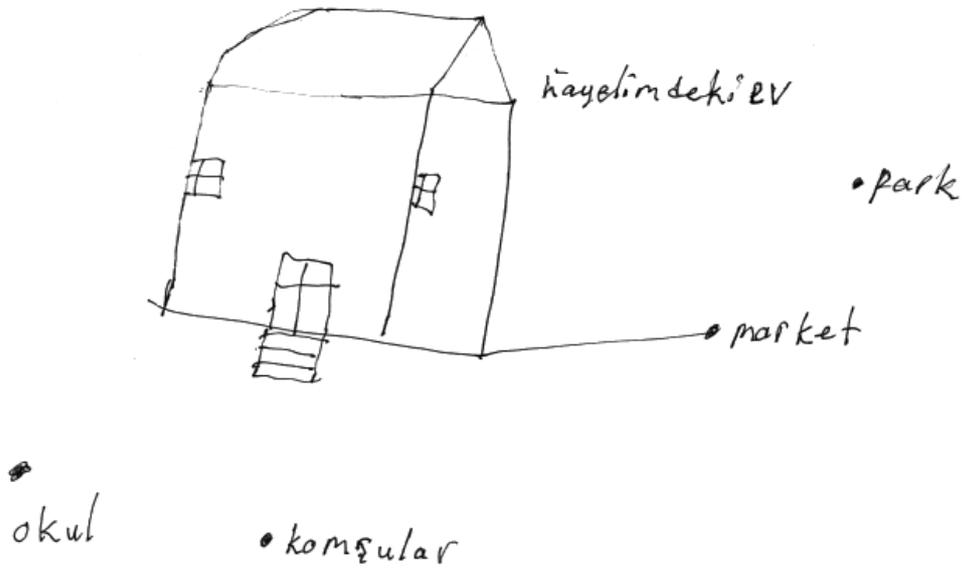


Figure 17: Mental Map 8: Aliye (41)



Figure 18: Mental Map 9: Zeynep (30)



Figure 19: Mental Map 10: Elif (33)¹⁵³

¹⁵³ The name of the places in this map is written by the interviewer since the interviewee was illiterate.

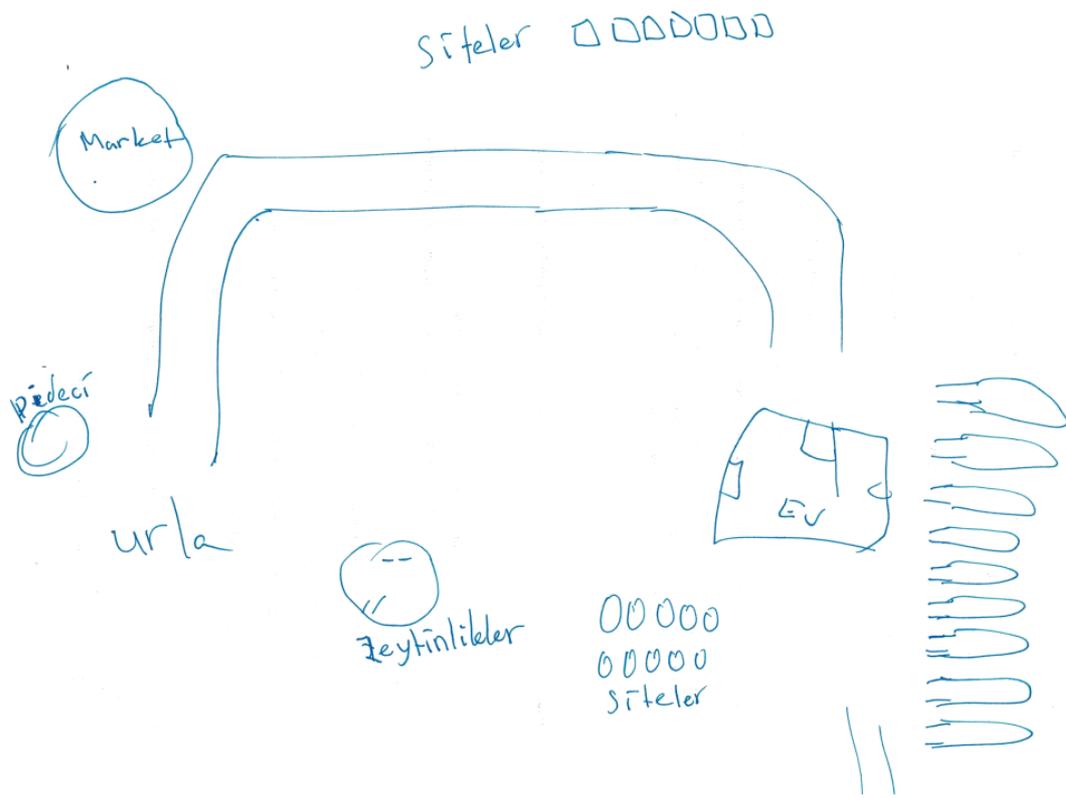


Figure 20: Mental Map 11: Ferhan (44)

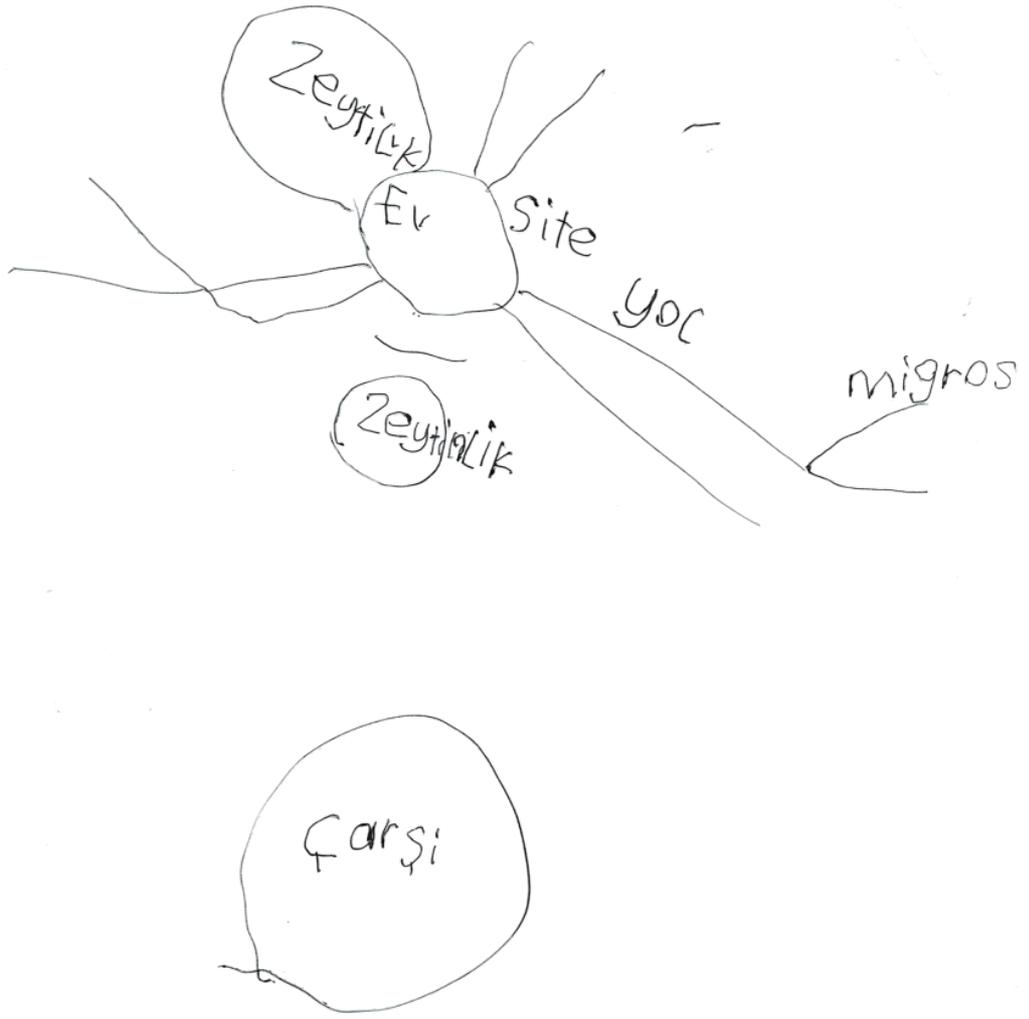


Figure 21: Mental Map 12: Songül (42)

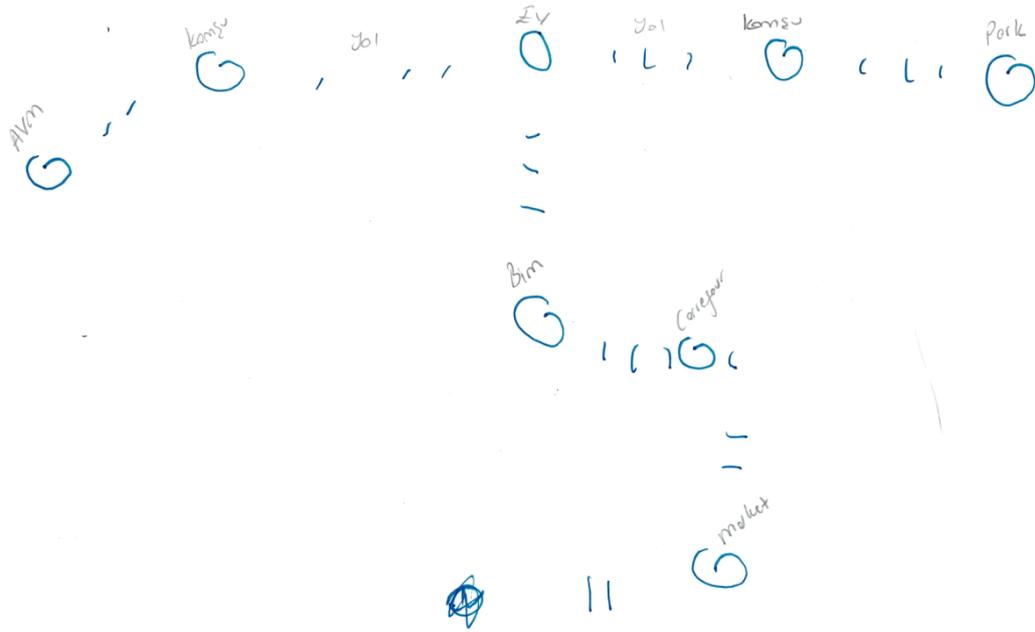


Figure 22: Mental Map 13: Kader (35)¹⁵⁴

¹⁵⁴ The name of the places in this map is written by the interviewer since the interviewee was illiterate.

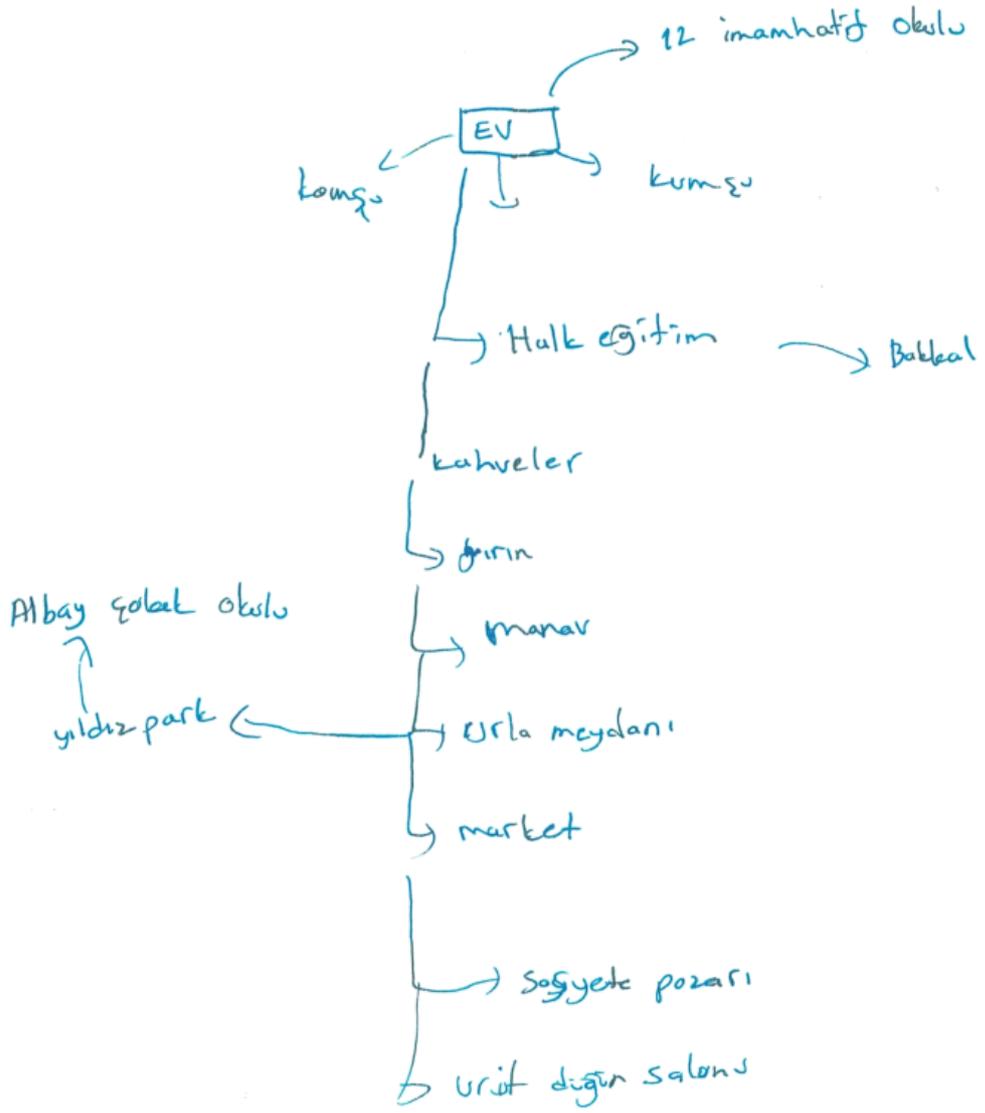


Figure 23: Mental Map 14: Şermin (31)

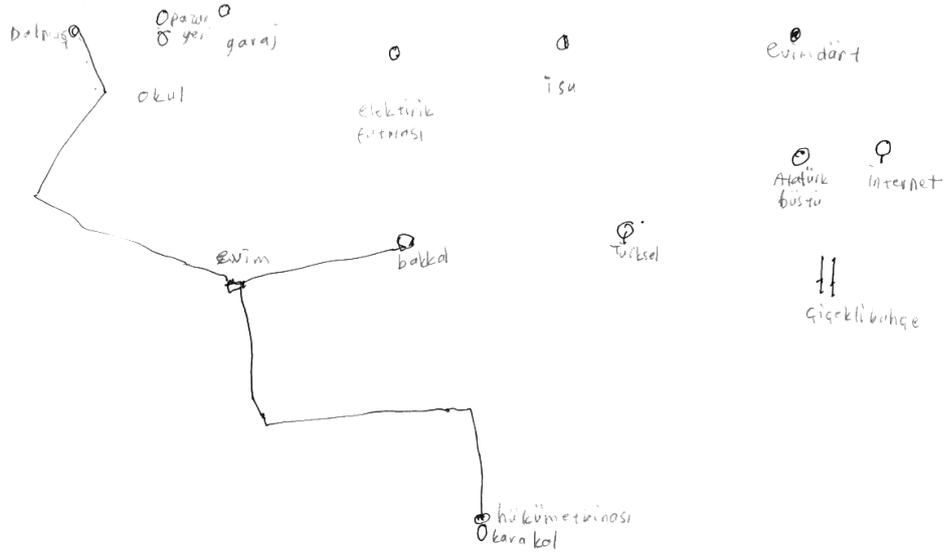


Figure 24: Mental Map 15: Hatice (42)

Zengin
Evi

Evim

EY

EV

EV

Figure 25: Mental Map 16: Nebahat (55)

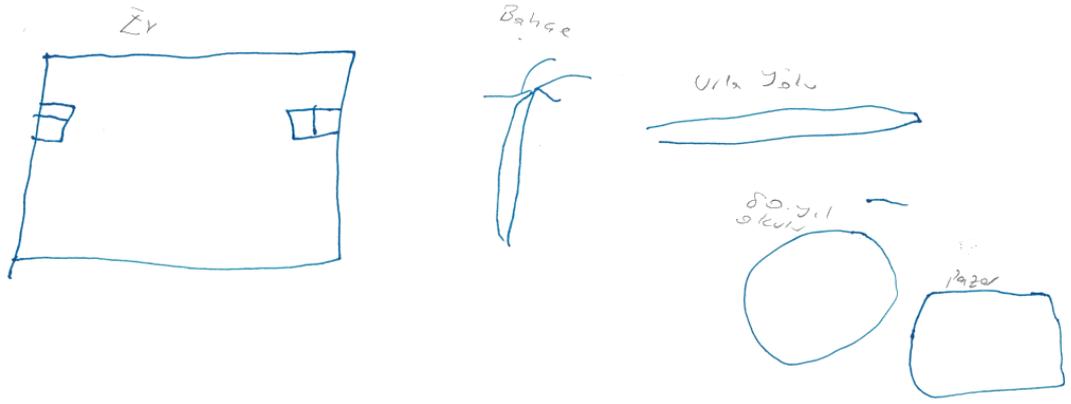


Figure 26: Mental Map 17: Zeliha (43)¹⁵⁵

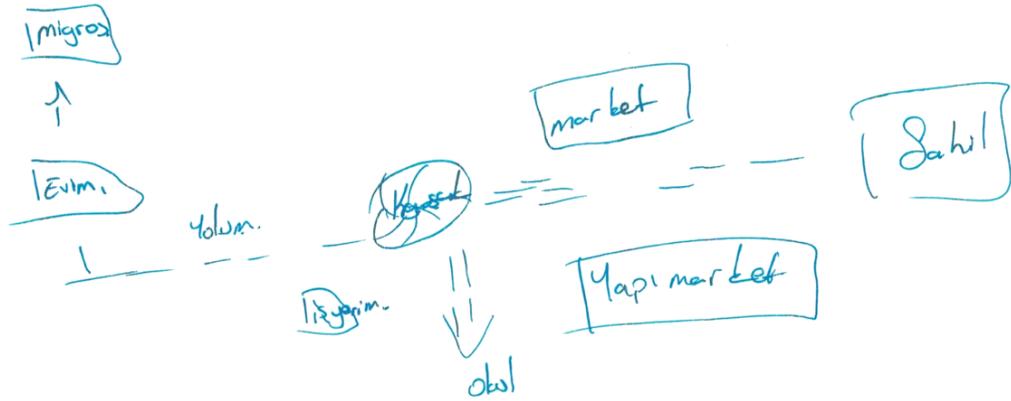


Figure 27: Mental Map 18: Kiraz (36)

¹⁵⁵ The name of the places in this map is written by the interviewer since the interviewee was illiterate.



Figure 28: Mental Map 19: Emine (43)

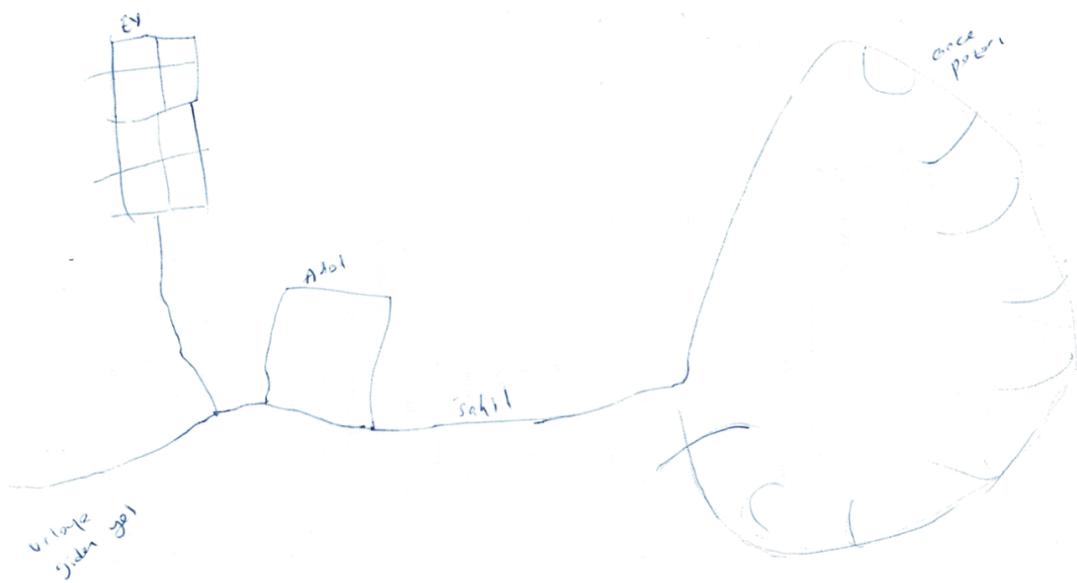


Figure 29: Mental Map 20: Gülşen (39)¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁶ The name of the places in this map is written by the interviewer since the interviewee was illiterate.

C. TURKISH SUMMARY / TÜRKÇE ÖZET

Bu tez, Urla, İzmir’de soylulaştırma sürecindeki mahallelerde veya bu mahallelerin yakınında yaşayan yoksul kadınların gündelik hayat deneyimlerini incelemiştir. Yoksulların anlatılarına dayanan bu çalışma, Urla’da yaşayan yoksul kadınların soylulaştırma sürecindeki bölgelerde sınıf ve toplumsal cinsiyet konumlarını nasıl deneyimledikleri ve bu deneyimlerin gündelik yaşamlarını nasıl etkilediği sorularına odaklanmıştır. Soylulaştırmanın etkilerini araştırmak için, yerinden edilme riski en yüksek olan grupların gündelik hayat deneyimlerinden yola çıkmanın önemine vurgu yapan bu çalışma, bölgedeki sınıf karşılaşmalarının ve soylulaştırmanın nasıl deneyimlendiğini ve kişisel düzeyde nasıl müzakere edildiğini araştırmıştır.

Bu çalışma, sınıfın öznel deneyimine ilişkin kapsamlı bir anlayış kazanmak için, sınıfın duygusal boyutunun ele alınması gerektiği görüşüne dayanmaktadır. Bu nedenle, yoksul kadınların bölgedeki gündelik sınıf karşılaşmaları ve soylulaştırma sürecinden kaynaklanan duygu ve algıları ön plana çıkarılmıştır. Bu tezin temel sorusu: Yoksul kadınların bölgedeki orta ve üst sınıf ile gündelik karşılaşmaları, yoksul kadınların duygularını, kendileri hakkındaki algılarını ve soylulaştırma sürecindeki mahallelerindeki yaşamlarını nasıl etkiler? Bu çalışma, soylulaştırma sürecindeki bölgelerdeki bu gündelik karşılaşmaların, yoksullar arasında utanç, kızgınlık, öz saygı kaybı gibi bir dizi duygu ve deneyime yol açtığını ve onların soylulaştırma sürecindeki mahallelerde yabancılaşmasına neden olduğunu açığa çıkarmıştır.

Şehirlerde yaşayan yoksulların büyük çoğunluğunun aksine, bu çalışmada görüşülen yoksullar orta ve üst sınıfların yoğunlukta olduğu mahallelerde yaşamakta ve çalışmaktadır. Görüşmecilerin yaşadığı bu mekân, gündelik yaşamlarını kavramsallaştırmak için bir başlangıç noktası oluşturmaktadır. Görüşmeciler Urla’ya aileleriyle birlikte, kırsal kesimlerden, çoğunlukla eşlerinin işi nedeni ile göç etmişlerdir; bu nedenle gecekondü bölgelerinde yaşayan kırsal kökenli göçmenlerden farklı mekânsal deneyimlere sahiptirler. Bölge çoğunlukla orta ve üst sınıf sakinlerden

oluştugu için, yoksulların bu bölgedeki gündelik hayatları “öteki” ile karşılaşmaları üzerinden tanımlanmaktadır.

Bu çalışma, yoksulluğun nesnel bir ekonomik kategori olarak tanımlanması ve ölçülmesi sorununa dayanmamaktadır. Daha ziyade, kendilerini yoksul hissedenden veya yoksul olarak tanımlayan insanların kültürel temsillerini kavramaya çalışmaktadır. Bu nedenle, bu araştırma katı sınırları olan belirli bir gelir kategorisiyle sınırlı değildir. Yoksulluk, “ekonomik bir kategori olmanın yanı sıra, kişilerin içinde yaşadığı, anlamlandırdığı, başa çıkmak için çeşitli yöntemler geliştirdiği, toplumsal bir ‘durum’dur” (Erdoğan, 2007b, p.14). Yani yoksulluk, sadece ekonomik olarak değil, duygusal ve kültürel olarak da çeşitli boyutları olan ve farklı boyutlarıyla yaşantılanan bir durumdur. Bu nedenle, yoksulluğun tek başına gelir düzeyi üzerinden tanımı, yoksulluğun sosyal dışlanma, aşağılanma, utanç duygusu, damgalanma ve öz saygı kaybı gibi oldukça önemli deneyimlerini dışlar.

Duygu ve algılar kişilerin yaşam öyküsünün ve seçimlerinin bir resmini çizebilir ve aynı zamanda toplumsal kolektif ve dinamikleri hakkında fikir verebilir. Bununla birlikte, soylulaştırma ile ilişkili duygu ve algılar literatürde büyük ölçüde keşfedilmemiştir. Bu nedenle bu çalışma, soylulaştırma eksenli yerinden edilme sürecini fiziksel yerinden edilmenin ötesinde, duyguları ön plana çıkaran bir bakış açısıyla sunmayı amaçlamıştır. Bu bağlamda, soylulaştırmanın gündelik yaşam üzerindeki etkileri yoksul sakinlerin algıları, deneyimleri ve duyguları üzerinden araştırılmıştır.

Bu tez, soylulaştırma sürecindeki bir mekânda yoksulluğun nasıl yaşandığını anlamak için, yoksulların dahil edildiği veya dışlandığı sosyal, mekânsal ve kültürel süreçleri, bölgedeki toplumsal hiyerarşiler karşısındaki konumlarını, kendilerine ve “öteki” ne dair algılarını araştırmaktadır. Bu amaçla, Urla’nın çeşitli mahallelerinde yaşayan yoksul kadınlarla yarı yapılandırılmış, yüz yüze derinlemesine mülakatlar, katılımcı gözlem ve zihin haritası gibi nitel araştırma yöntemlerini içeren etnografik bir çalışma yapılmıştır. Mülakatlar görüşmecilerin duygularının, yaşam öykülerinin ve kişisel tanıklıklarının daha derinden anlaşılmasına olanak sağlamıştır. Katılımcı gözlem yöntemi, Urla’daki sosyal çevrenin analizine ve soylulaştırma süreci ile gerçekleşen dönüşümün anlaşılmasına olanak tanımıştır. Zihinsel harita yöntemi ise öznelere

Urla'yı nasıl algıladıkları hakkında bilgi vermiş ve özellikle aidiyet, mekânsal kullanım ve erişilebilirlik konularına ilişkin iç görüler sunmuştur. Bu yöntemler, günümüzde kentsel yoksulluğun kültürel ve duygusal formasyonunun analizine ve Urla'daki soylulaştırma sürecinin yoksullar tarafından nasıl algılanıp yaşandığının keşfedilmesine olanak tanımıştır.

Sınıf ve toplumsal cinsiyet ilişkileri dikkate alınarak soylulaştırma sürecindeki mahallelerde mekânın nasıl üretildiğini ve deneyimlendiğini anlamak için bu çalışma, mekânı, Henri Lefebvre'nin *mekânın toplumsal üretimi* kavramsallaştırması ışığında ele almıştır. Lefebvre, Marksist ve eleştirel yaklaşımlar ışığında sosyo-mekânsal perspektifi, yeniden kavramsallaştırmıştır. “Mekânın Üretimi” (1991) isimli çalışmasında, mekânın ve toplumun ayrılmaz bir şekilde bağlantılı olduğuna değinmiştir. Lefebvre'e göre mekân statik olmayan, diyalektik bir yapıdadır. Toplumsal ilişkiler mekânın içinde ve mekân aracılığıyla gerçekleşmektedir.

Lefebvre mekânı algılanan, tasarlanan ve yaşanan mekân üçlemesi ile ele almış ve mekânı yaşanan, deneyimlenen ve algılanan toplumsal ve tarihsel süreçlerin bir toplamı olarak kavramıştır. Buna göre, mekân, kullanımına ve üretim ilişkilerine bağlı olarak yeni anlamlar kazanır. Lefebvre, mekânı içi boş bir kavrama indirgeyen yaklaşımlara karşı çıkmış ve mekânın bunun aksine devingen ve tarihsel olarak sürekli olarak üretilen, canlı bir yapıda olduğunu tartışmıştır. Mekân, toplumsal olarak üretildiği için ancak belirli bir toplum bağlamında anlaşılabilir. Bu kavramsallaştırmaya göre, mekân ilişkisel olduğu kadar de tarihseldir de. Aynı zamanda, her toplum ve her üretim tarzı kendi mekânını üretir. Lefebvre kuramında mekânın dönüşümünü bireysel varoluşun, toplumsal ilişkilerin, iktidarın ve dolayısıyla tüm yaşamın dönüşümü olarak açıklamaktadır.

Richard Sennett ve Jonathan Cobb'un “Sınıfın Gizli Yaraları” (1972) adlı kitabı, bu tezin teorik çerçevesini oluşturan bir diğer kaynaktır. Bu çalışma farklı sosyal sınıflardan öznelerin, gündelik olarak karşılaşmasına imkân tanıyan bir mekânda sınıfın duygusal olarak nasıl yaşantılandığının anlamlandırılmasına olanak sağlamıştır. Sennett ve Cobb bu kitapta günümüz toplumlarında sınıfın duygusal boyutu konusunda önemli ipuçları verir. Bu bağlamda, sınıf bir duygu meselesi olarak ele alınmakta ve sınıf farklılıklarının yara olarak deneyimlendiği birçok örnek

sunulmaktadır. Sennett ve Cobb'a göre, sınıf bilincinin belirleyeni işçilerin yalnızca üretim sürecinde yaşadıkları değil, aynı zamanda, toplumsal ilişkileri, gündelik yaşam pratikleri ve kültürel değerleridir. Sennett ve Cobb'un kavramsallaştırmasına göre sınıf bir özgürlük ve saygınlık sorunudur ve sınıflı toplum, içindeki insanlarda kendilerinin ve başkalarının gözünde onur ve saygınlığa sahip olma hissine gölge düşürmektedir. Bu kavramsallaştırma kullanılarak, Urla'daki yoksullarının bu "yaraları" nasıl deneyimlediği sorusuna odaklanılmıştır.

Dışlanma ve yerinden edilme, kent yoksullarının gündelik yaşamını doğrudan etkilemesi nedeni ile neoliberal kentleşmenin en yıkıcı sonuçları arasındadır. Kentsel mekân, toplumdaki eşitsizliklerin ve hiyerarşilerin fiziksel bir tezahürü olarak ortaya çıktığı yerdir. Tam da bu yüzden, bu çalışma, yoksulların deneyimledikleri eşitsizliklere odaklanırken kentsel mekânı dikkate almıştır. Soylulaştırma analizinin kültürel ve politik-ekonomik açıklamaların bir sentezini gerektirdiğini kabul etmekle birlikte, bu çalışma duygu ve deneyimlerin araştırılmasına olanak tanınması nedeni ile soylulaştırma sürecinin kültürel incelemesine odaklanmaktadır. Bu çalışma, sınıflı toplumun, içinde yaşayan insanların, kendilerinin ve başkalarının gözünde garanti altına alınmış haysiyet duygusuna gölge düşürdüğü önermesini benimser (Sennett & Cobb, 1972, p.170). Buna dayanarak, iki deneyim grubuna odaklanılmıştır: İlk olarak, sınıfın duygusal boyutu araştırılmış ve sınıf karşılaşmalarının "gizli yaralar" olarak nasıl deneyimlendiği sorgulanmıştır. İkinci olarak, mekânsal aidiyet ve kullanım araştırılmış ve soylulaştırma sürecinde meydana gelen yerinden edilme süreci ile ilgili duygular ve algılar detaylandırılmıştır. Fiziksel yerinden edilmeden ziyade duygusal yerinden edilme deneyimleri ele alınırken, bu duygular bölgedeki toplumsal eşitsizliklerin ve hiyerarşilerin bir yansıması olarak ele alınmıştır.

Bölgedeki soylulaştırma süreci ile birlikte mekân ve toplumsal ilişkiler yeniden üretilmiştir. Burada, derin bir marjinalleşme ve yabancılaşma duygusu yaşayan toplumsal grupların üretimi söz konusudur. Urla'daki dönüşüm sürecinde artan turizm ve şehir merkezine ek olarak kırsal mekânın soylulaştırılması belirleyici olmuştur. Bu nedenle Urla'daki soylulaştırma süreci ve orada üretilen toplumsal ilişkilerin kendine has özellikleri vardır. Urla'da, mekân üretimi sadece şehir merkezini değil, aynı zamanda kırsalı da içermektedir. Urla'daki mekân üretiminin ekonomik, sosyal, kültürel, duygusal ve cinsiyete dayalı süreçleri içerdiği görülmektedir. Bu bağlamda,

Urla'daki soylulaştırma sürecinin ve sınıflar arasındaki ilişkilerin, Türkiye'nin metropol alanlardan temelde farklı şekillerde gerçekleştiğini söylemek mümkündür.

Sınıflı toplumlarda var olan eşitsizlikler, ezilen sınıfın üyelerinin öz saygı ve öz değerlerini sorgulamalarına neden olur. Kapitalist ataerkil sistemin işleyişi, ezilenleri onur ve özsaygılarının yıkılması tehdidi ile karşı karşıya getirmekte ve ezilenlerde utanç, kızgınlık, özsaygı ve özgüven kaybı bir dizi duyguya ve deneyime neden olmaktadır. Toplumsal hiyerarşideki konumları nedeniyle, ezilen sınıf, kendilerini egemen sınıfın merceğinden değerlendirebilmekte ve sonuç olarak sürekli olarak başkalarının gözünde kendi değerlerini sorgulamaktadır. Urla'da görüşülen yoksul kadınların deneyimleri, gündelik yaşamları içinde buldukları mekânlardan büyük ölçüde etkilenmektedir. Sennett and Cobb'un (1972) Amerikan işçi sınıfı bağlamında öne sürdüğü yoksulların sınıfsal konumlarını bir yara olarak deneyimlediği argümanına paralel olarak, Urla'daki yoksul kadınlar, sınıfsal konumlarını görüşmecilerden Sema'nın ifadesiyle "koca bir yara" olarak deneyimlemektedirler ve bu da onların mahalleye ilişkin gündelik deneyimlerini önemli ölçüde şekillendirmektedir. Urla örneğinde, bölgede gündelik olarak karşılaşılan egemen sınıfın aşağılayıcı bakışı, yoksullar tarafından içselleştirilmiş ve bu da yoksulluğun travmatize edici etkilerinin artmasına neden olmuştur. Üst ve alt toplumsal sınıfların bu bölgede bir arada yaşaması, yoksullar için bu bakışlardan kaçmanın neredeyse imkânsız olduğu durumlara neden olmuştur. Böyle bir yerde gündelik karşılaşmalar, yoksulların kendi varoluş koşullarını "öteki" üzerinden sınıflandırmasına neden olur. Tam da bu nedenle, bu içselleştirme Urla'daki yoksullarda oldukça yoğun duygulara neden olmaktadır. Buna paralel olarak, soylulaştırma sürecindeki bu bölgedeki üst ve alt sınıflar arasındaki ilişkilerin ve gündelik karşılaşmaların onur kırıcı ve yaralayıcı şekilde deneyimlendiği ortaya çıkmıştır. Görüşmeciler karşılaştıkları maddi yoksunluktan çok, orta ve üst sınıfın kendi algılarında duygusal-sembolik şiddete yol açan tutumlarına ilişkin endişe ve duygularını dile getirmiştir. Gündelik karşılaşmaların uyandırdığı duygular, temel olarak, sosyal mekanlardaki farklı güç konumlarına sahip bireylerin, mekânda kurdukları eşitsiz ve hiyerarşik ilişkilerin dışavurumlarıdır. Sonuç olarak, "sınıfın yükü" Urla'daki yoksul kadınların gündelik hayatlarında çarpıcı bir şekilde deneyimlenmektedir.

Modern kapitalist toplum, başarı ölçütünün sadece birey ve onun yetenekleri olduğuna insanları inandırdığı ölçüde, yoksullar “sınıfın yükünü”, yani “bir insanın çabalarına rağmen hiçbir yere ulaşamadığı, üst toplumsal katmanlara zıt biçimde korunmasız olduğu, kendisini çok kızdıran yetersizlik duygularını” deneyimlerler (Sennett & Cobb, 1972, p. 58). Bu yaralar içselleştirilir ve sonuç olarak, insanlar kendi değerlerini sorgularlar. Bu durum görüşmelerde belirgin bir şekilde ortaya çıkmıştır. Ancak aynı zamanda bazı görüşmeciler yaşadıklarından ailelerini, kaderi ya da ailelerindeki yoksulluğun kendisini sorumlu tuttuklarını da belirttiler. Sonuç olarak görüşmelerde bir taraftan yaşadıklarından dolayı kendilerini değersiz hissettikleri ve kendilerini suçladıkları ifadeler yer alırken, diğer taraftan ise bununla çelişen ifadeler ortaya çıkmıştır. Bu çelişkili duygular ve düşünceler, anlatılarda belirgin bir şekilde yan yanadır durmaktadır.

Bununla birlikte, Sennett ve Cobb'un (1972) araştırmasının, önemli ölçüde farklı bir siyasi ve kültürel ortamı temsil eden 1969 ve 1970 yıllarında ABD'de gerçekleştirildiğini belirtmek önemlidir. Ayrıca Sennett ve Cobb'un araştırması, erkeklerin algılarına ve deneyimlerine odaklanmaktadır. Bu tez ise 2020'li yıllarda eşitsizliklerin ve sınıf hiyerarşilerinin şiddetlendiği Türkiye'de yapılmıştır. Ayrıca bu tez bağlamında kadınların deneyimlerine odaklanmıştır. Bununla birlikte, bu tez, “gizli yaraların” günümüz Türkiye'sinde hala geçerli olduğunu iddia etmektedir. Nitekim bu çalışma, günümüz Türkiye'sinde bu yaraların daha farklı boyutlarda yaşantılandığını ve daha derin hale geldiğini göstermektedir. Özellikle geleneksel ataerkil normların da derinlere kök salmış olduğu günümüz Türkiye toplumunda kadınların bu “yaraları” travmatik bir şekilde deneyimlediği söylenebilir.

Erdoğan'ın (2007a, p. 36) belirttiği gibi yoksulluk, maddi-ekonomik bir gösterge işaret etmenin ötesinde, “hissetme yapısına” işaret etmektedir. Bu argümana paralel olarak, bu çalışma Urla'da alt ve üst sınıfların fiziksel yakınlığından kaynaklanan gündelik karşılaşmaların, yoksul kadınlarda yabancılaşma ve özsaygı kaybına yol açtığı ve utanç duygusuna neden olduğunu ortaya koymuştur. Mülakatlardan elde edilen en çarpıcı bulgulardan biri, yoksul kadınların onurunu ve öz saygısını zedeleyen duygusal sembolik şiddetin, maddi yoksunluktan çok daha belirgin bir şekilde ön plana çıkmasıdır. Urla'da, görüşülen yoksulların anlatıları, bir şekilde Urla'da yaşamakla bağlantılı da olan çeşitli yaralanma biçimlerini resmetmiştir. Bu yaralar, Urla'daki

mevcut sürecin çeşitli sosyal sınıflardan insanlar arasındaki gündelik karşılaşma ve etkileşimleri mümkün kılması nedeniyle, çok çarpıcı bir şekilde deneyimlenmektedir.

Urla'da yaşamakta olan yoksulların gizli yaraları, görüşmecilerin çocukları tarafından da yaşantılanmakta ve görüşmeciler bu yaraları çocukları ile kurdukları ilişkilerde de deneyimlemektedir. Mekânsal yakınlığa rağmen, çoğu durumda görüşmecilerin çocukları mahalledeki orta ve üst sınıf ailelerin çocuklarıyla arkadaş olamamakta ve dışlanmaktadır. Maddi sıkıntıların yanı sıra, her gün “öteki” ile karşılaşan ve “diğer” çocukların sahip oldukları olanaklara yakından tanıklık eden yoksul çocuklar kendilerini geride kalmış hissetmektedirler. Aileler çocuklarının bu deneyimlerine üzüldükleri ve bu konuda kendilerini suçlu hissettikleri ölçüde gizli yaralar çocukları karşısında da deneyimlenmektedir. Dolayısı ile, Urla örneğinde yoksulların yaraları sadece “öteki” ile karşılaşmalarında değil, çocuklarıyla kurdukları ilişkilerde de deneyimlenmektedir.

Düşük eğitim seviyesi ve gerçekleşmemiş umut ve hayaller, görüşülen kadınlar için diğer bir “yara” kaynağıdır. Görüşmecilerin “iyi eğitilmiş” kadınlarla gündelik olarak karşılaşması, kendilerini sürekli olarak karşılaştırmalarına neden olmaktadır. Buna ek olarak, düşük eğitim seviyesinin neden olduğu kısıtlamalar, onların “hayatı hiç yaşayamamalarına” neden olmaktadır.

Bekçilik, ev hizmeti, bahçıvanlık gibi işlerin çalışma koşulları ve güvencesizliği nedeni ile görüşmeciler arasında bu işlerde çalışanlar tarafından yaraların daha derin bir şekilde deneyimlendiği ortaya çıkmıştır. Urla'da çok sayıda kapalı site, yazlık ve villa bulunması; ayrıca bu konutlarda çok sayıda bekçi, ev hizmetlisi ve bahçıvan istihdam edilmesi nedeni ile, görüşmelerde bu işlerde çalışanların deneyimlediği duygusal-sembolik şiddet ön plana çıkmıştır. Görüşmelerde, gizli yaraların en dramatik şekilde deneyimlendiği örnekler bu işlerde çalışan kadınların deneyimlerindedir. Bu deneyimler, çoğunlukla damgalanma ve aşağılanma deneyimlerinden oluşmaktadır. Buna paralel olarak, ev hizmetlisi olarak çalışan Sema, yaşadıklarını “koca bir yara” olarak tanımlamıştır. Özellikle bekçilerin yaşadığı konutlarda yaşayan kadınlar oldukça izole olduklarını ve sürekli baskı altında hissettiklerini belirtmişlerdir. Örneğin, görüşmeciler çocuklarının bu konutlarda yaşıyor olmalarına rağmen, havuza girmelerinin, çimlere basmalarının ve hatta bazı

durumlarda evin önünde oynamalarının yasak olduğunu belirtmişlerdir. Bu konutlarda yaşayan kadınlar, Ünzile'nin belirttiği gibi buradaki yaşamlarını “dağ başında tek başına kalmış gibi” deneyimlemektedirler.

Bu çalışmada, farklı sosyal sınıflardan insanların mekânsal yakınlığı ve gündelik karşılaşmalarının, aralarında anlamlı bir temas veya dayanışma ile sonuçlanmadığı ortaya çıkmıştır. Tam tersi, bu yakınlık sınıflar arasındaki uçurumu çarpıcı bir şekilde gözler önüne sermiştir. Burada, farklı sosyal sınıflar fiziksel olarak birbirine yakın yaşasalar da birbirlerinden oldukça kopukturlar. Görüşülen yoksul kadınlar, mahallelerinde komşuluk ilişkileri ve dayanışmadan yoksundurlar. Bu durum, görüşmecilerin birçok zorlukla tek başına mücadele etmek zorunda olmasına neden olmaktadır. Fakat bölgedeki ilişkiler, soylulaştırma sürecinin hızlanmasından önce, daha samimi olarak tanımlanmıştır. Soylulaştırma süreci, bölgedeki dayanışmanın ve bağların çözülmesini şiddetlendirmiştir. Soylulaştırma sürecinin hızlanmasıyla birlikte, Urla'da dayanışma, komşuluk ilişkileri ve sosyal sınıflar arasındaki etkileşim ve anlayış azalmaktadır. Sonuç olarak, bölgenin mevcut durumu, dayanışma ve anlayış zeminini aşındırmış ve kentsel eşitsizlik deneyimini artırmıştır.

Mekânsal yakınlığın kaynaklara erişim açısından farklı sosyal sınıflar arasındaki karşılaştırmaları yoğunlaştırdığı anlatılarda öne çıkmaktadır. Maddi imkânların kısıtlılığı, ait hissetmeme ve utanç duygusu nedeniyle, yoksul sakinler bölgedeki sosyal mekanlara erişememektedirler. Görüşmecilerin mekânsal erişimi büyük ölçüde yalnızca en temel ihtiyaçlarını karşılamakla sınırlıdır. Yoksullar, bölgedeki dönüşümün bir sonucu olarak kendilerini dışlanmış hissetmekte ve yeni açılan mekanlarda, hatta “dışarı çıktıkları andan itibaren” kendilerini oldukça rahatsız hissetmektedirler. Bu duygu sadece verilen hizmetlerden ve fiyatlarından dolayı değil, aynı zamanda bu mekanlarda kendilerini “öteki” hissetmelerinden kaynaklanmaktadır. Bölgedeki değişiklikler, görüşülen kişilerin şehirde “yabancı” olmanın getirdiği tedirginliklerini şiddetlendirirken, aynı zamanda duygusal olarak incinmelerine neden olmaktadır. Dolayısıyla Urla'daki soylulaştırma süreci, yeni dışlanma biçimlerine neden olmaktadır. Sonuç olarak, Urla'daki soylulaştırma süreci, yoksulların yerinden edilmesi pahasına şehir merkezinin varlıklı kesim için güvence altına alınmasını ifade etmektedir.

Görüşülen kişiler, kırsal kesimlerden Urla'ya göç etmiş olmaları nedeni ile Urla onlar için önceden bir “ev” değildi; ancak soylulaştırma süreciyle birlikte görüşülen kişilerin yabancılaşması çarpıcı biçimde artmış ve yerinden edilme riski çok ciddi bir düzeye ulaşmıştır. Görüşmecilerin anlatıları ve zihinsel haritaları, bölgeye oldukça düşük düzeyde fiziksel ve ontolojik aidiyet duyduklarını ortaya koymaktadır. Urla'da üst sınıflarla karşılaşmak, kimliğin ayrılmaz bir şekilde mekanla bağlantılı olması nedeni ile kişilerin kendilerini sorgulamasına ve bunun sonucunda alt sınıflar arasında utanç ve hayal kırıklığı gibi duygulara yol açmaktadır. Bu tür deneyimler, yoksulların toplumdan uzaklaşmasına neden olmaktadır.

Bu çalışma, soylulaştırma sürecindeki bölgelerde sınıf karşılaşmalarının yoksullar için utanç ve hayal kırıklığı gibi duygularla yüklü olduğunu açığa çıkarmıştır. Bölgedeki sosyal, kültürel ve ekonomik eşitsizlikler, soylulaştırılma sürecindeki mahallelerdeki yoksulların hayatlarının güvencesizlikle tanımlanmasına neden olmaktadır. Sonuç olarak, soylulaştırma, yoksul sakinlerin mekâna aidiyet duygusunu ciddi anlamda zayıflatmaktadır. Araştırmanın bulguları sosyo-mekânsal ayrışma, kutuplaşma, dışlanma ve fiziksel yerinden edilme gibi soylulaştırmanın somut sonuçlarına ek olarak, yerinden edilmenin duygusal boyutuna da işaret etmektedir. Urla'daki yoksul sakinler, bölgeye ait hissetmemenin yanı sıra, utanç duygusuyla ve ontolojik güvenlik sorunu ile karşı karşıyadır. Utanç duygusu ve ait hissetmeme, bölge sakinlerinin kendilerini temsil edilmemiş, dışlanmış ve ötekileşmiş hissetmelerinin sıra, mahallelerindeki orta ve üst sınıf sakinlerle karşılaşmalarının bir sonucudur. Yerinden edilme baskısına ek olarak, utanç, ait hissetmeme, güvensizlik gibi duygular mahalle erişilebilirliğinin önünde önemli engeller oluşturmaktadır. Yoksul sakinlerin soylulaştırma sürecindeki bölgelerde yaşadıkları bu deneyimler ve günlük karşılaşmalar “yerinden edilmeye” işaret eden duygulara yol açmaktadır. Sonuç olarak, soylulaştırma süreci bölgeye iş nedeni ile göç eden yoksul ailelerin yabancılaşma duygusunun artmasına ve onların fiziksel, kültürel ve duygusal olarak yerinden edilmesine yol açmaktadır.

Toplumsal formasyondaki eşitsiz ilişkilerin tezahürü Urla örneğinde açığa çıkmaktadır. Alt ve üst sınıflar aynı bölgede yaşıyor olmalarına rağmen, Urla'da mekânsal ayrışma ve sembolik mesafe çok belirgindir. Sosyal sınıflar arasındaki bu sembolik mesafe ve hiyerarşi, yoksulların benliklerinde yaralara neden olan bir dizi

duyguya neden olmaktadır. Burada, farklı öznelliklerin gündelik karşılaşması, toplumdaki güç ilişkilerini ve eşitsizliği somutlaştırarak, yoksul sakinler arasında utanç, kendinden şüphe, kızgınlık, öz saygı kaybı ve hayal kırıklığı gibi bir dizi duyguya yol açmaktadır. Bu yaralanmalar, bireyleri toplumsal ilişkilerden uzaklaştırmaktadır. Sınıfsal farklılıklara içerlemelerine rağmen, görüşülen kişiler bu durumu değiştiremeyeceklerine inanmakta ve toplumdan çekilmektedir. Böylece yoksullar evlerine kapanmakta ve evleri “yoksulluğun sıkıntılarının biriktirildiği bir kabuğa” dönüşmektedir (Ocak, 2007, p. 171). Ayrıca yoksul kadınlar, yaşamlarının büyük bir bölümünü yoksulluğun kesintisiz ve yoğun biçimde tecrübe edildiği evde geçirdikleri için, yoksulluğun en derin mekânsal tecrübesini yaşadıkları söylenebilir (Ocak, 2007).

Urla'daki soylulaştırma süreci, azınlık grupları yabancılaştıran maddi ve sembolik bir sınırlar inşasıdır. Urla'daki soylulaştırma süreci yoksulların fiziksel, sosyal, kültürel ve duygusal olarak mahallelerindeki kalıcılıklarını kaybetmesi nedeni ile yeni yaralara yol açmaktadır. Görüşülen kişiler arasında kayıp duygusu, ekonomik zorluk ve ontolojik güvensizlik gibi deneyimler, yerinden edilme ile ilişkili duyguları artırmaktadır. Maddi zorluklar ve psikolojik yükler, Urla örneğinde yaşanan yerinden edilme deneyimlerini şiddetlendirmektedir. Anlatılar ve zihinsel haritalar, kentsel deneyimleri ağırlıklı olarak benzer olan görüşmecilerin fiziksel olarak yerinden edilme riskine işaret etmektedir. Saha çalışmasından elde edilen bulgular, artan yaşam maliyetinin, bölgedeki kültürel ve mekânsal değişimin yanında sınıf karşılaşmaları sonucunda hissedilen duyguların da bölgedeki yoksullar için yerinden edilmenin önemli bir nedeni olduğunu göstermiştir. Bu karşılaşmalar, duygusal yerinden edilmenin deneyimlendiği yerlerdir çünkü mahalle mekânları baskın grupların mekân üretme kapasiteleri aracılığıyla dönüştürülür. Bu nedenle, soylulaştırma, bölgedeki yerli halk ve yoksul kesim için yapısal eşitsizliklerin ve onları dışlayan dengesiz güç ilişkilerinin somutlaşmış halidir.

Anlatılara ek olarak, görüşmecilerin çizdikleri zihinsel haritalarda düşük aidiyet düzeyleri ve mahallelerine erişimleri açıkça görülmektedir. Ancak, görüşülen kişilerin yaşadığı konut türleri ve eğitim düzeyleri, haritalarda bazı farklılıklara neden olmaktadır. Zihinsel haritalar, aynı zamanda görüşmecilerin yaşadıkları mekanla ve orta ve üst sınıflarla olan ilişkilerini de yansıtmıştır. Soylulaştırma sürecindeki bir

mekânda, bir zamanlar az da olsa tanıdık olan çevre, artık tanınmaz hale gelmiştir. Bu durumda bu yerler, haritalarda boşluklar haline dönüşmüştür. Dolayısı ile bu haritalar sadece kullanılan ve algılanan yerleri değil, aynı zamanda görüşmecilerin zihinlerindeki boşlukları da göstermektedir. Benzer bir şekilde, toplumsal sınıflar arasındaki sembolik duvarın temsili de zihinsel haritalarda kendine yer bulmuştur. Sonuç olarak, bu haritalar aynı zamanda görüşmecilerin Urla'daki yaşamlarının duygusal boyutlarına da işaret etmektedir.

Urla'daki yoksullar, içinde buldukları ortamda kendilerini huzursuz ve “yabancı” hissettiren duygusal yerinden edilmeyi deneyimlemektedir. Görüşmecilerin bölgedeki deneyimleri, geçicilik ve güvencesizlik ile karakterize olmaktadır. Ayrıca, bölgedeki soylulaştırma süreci, çevredeki mahalleleri kira açığı baskısı altına sokarak, alt sınıfların konut ihtiyaçlarını günden güne karşılayamamasına neden olmaktadır. Urla'daki bu dönüşüm, mekânın yeniden üretimini belirlerken, düşük gelirli ve dezavantajlı grupları yerinden edilme tehdidiyle karşı karşıya bırakmaktadır. Bölgedeki güç ilişkilerindeki yoğun eşitsizlik, önümüzdeki yıllarda Urla'da görüşülen kişilerin fiziksel olarak yerinden edilmelerine yol açma potansiyeline sahiptir.

Görüşmelerde, benlikte belirli duygulara ve yaralanmalara yol açan sınıf ve toplumsal cinsiyet deneyimleri oldukça belirgin olarak ortaya çıkmıştır. Bununla birlikte, sakinlerin mahalle ile olan karmaşık ilişkisi, anlatılarda ve zihinsel haritalarda belirginleşmiştir. Görüşmecilerin çoğu için Urla'daki deneyimleri, bir taraftan dışlanma, ait hissetmeme, yabancılaşma ve yalnızlık, diğer taraftan ise görece özgürlük ve fırsatlardan oluşmaktadır. Urla örneğinde, soylulaştırma süreci ve gündelik kentsel karşılaşmalar ile sınıfsal yaralar derinleşmektedir. Öte yandan, kırdan kente göç ile birlikte Urla'daki yoksul kadınların deneyimleri, ataerki sosyal kontrol mekanizmalarına maruz kaldıkları köylerine göre avantajlara da sahiptir. Görüşmeciler, Urla'da hane içindeki pazarlık güçlerinin arttığından ve memleketlerine göre daha özgür olduklarından bahsetmişlerdir. Görüşmecilerin büyük çoğunluğu, bölgedeki dışlanma, güvencesizlik ve yerinden edilme baskısına rağmen toplumsal cinsiyet bağlamındaki görece özgürlükleri, iş olanakları ve çocukları için daha iyi fırsatlar nedeniyle Urla'da kalmayı tercih ettiklerini belirtmişlerdir. Ayrıca Urla'nın şehrin sunduğu imkanlara sahip olmakla birlikte, metropol kentlerinin karmaşasından uzak olması nedeni ile de görüşmeciler tarafından tercih edildiği ortaya çıkmıştır.

Görüşmeciler geleceklerini çocukları üzerine kurdukları ve hayallerini büyük oranda çocukları üzerinden tanımladıkları için, Urla'daki olanaklarının memleketlerine göre daha fazla olması, onların Urla'da kalma tercihlerinde önemli bir etkidir. Memleketlerine özlemleri ve Urla'daki yalnızlıklarına rağmen, memleketlerindeki yaşam, görüşmeciler için baskı, kontrol ve zorlu yaşam koşulları anlamına geldiği için görüşmecilerin büyük çoğunluğu Urla'da kalmak istemektedirler. Kadınlar, şehirde görece olarak özgür olma fırsatı bulabilmekte, hane içerisindeki ataerkil otorite tartışılabilir hale gelmekte ve çalışmak onlara bir özgürlük duygusu vermektedir. Ancak kadınların kente göçü, hane içinde varlığını ideolojik olarak sürdüren geleneksel ataerkil normlarda tam bir dönüşüm sağlamamaktadır. Kadınlar ev dışında ücretli olarak çalışıyor olmasına rağmen, “geleneksel sorumluluklarını” sürdürmeleri beklenir ve bunun sonucunda da kadınlar ücretli ve ücretsiz işlerinin çoklu yükü altında ezilirler. Bu nedenle, ücretli emeğin getirileri, hanedeki konumlarını değiştirmek veya ona kökten meydan okumak için yetersizdir. Ayrıca, daha önce belirtildiği gibi, görüşmeciler memleketlerine göre ev dışında görece daha özgür olmalarına ve kazandıkları güvene rağmen mekânsal hareketlilikleri oldukça sınırlıdır. Maddi sıkıntılar, okuma yazma bilmemek, aile baskısı, dışarıdayken hissedilen güvensizlik duygusu yanında mahalleye ait hissetmeme ve utanç duygusu mekânsal hareketliliklerini sınırlayan önemli faktörlerdir.

Görüşmeciler, yerinden edilme baskılarına rağmen mahallelerinde yaşamaya devam etmektedirler. Ancak, pahalılık, zor yaşam koşulları ve gitgide artan dışlanma mekanizmaları nedeniyle gelecekte Urla'da kalmayı göze alamayacaklarından endişe etmektedirler. Görüşülen yoksul kadınların anlatılarına göre, bölge sakinleri fiziksel olarak yerinden edilmeden çok önce, gündelik yaşamlarını sekteye uğratan çeşitli baskı mekanizmalarına maruz kalmaktadırlar. Sonuç olarak, memleketlerine dönmek istemiyorlar, ancak artan yaşam ve barınma maliyetleri nedeniyle mevcut mahallelerinde yaşamayı karşılayamıyorlar.

Görüşülen yoksulların ifadeleri, gelecekle ilgili derin bir umutsuzluk ve endişe duygusu ortaya koymaktadır. Hayalleri büyük ölçüde çocukları ve çocuklarının geleceği üzerine kurulu olsa da görüşmeciler bu tür hayallerin gerçekleşmesinden umutlu değillerdi. Öte yandan, yoksul kadınların kendilerine dayatılan toplumsal sınıflandırma şemalarını tam anlamıyla kabul etmediği ortaya çıkmıştır. Yaşadıkları

tahakküm ve sömürü ile baş edebilmek, duygusal olarak incinmekten kaçınmak ve kendilerini “yaralardan” korumak için geliştirdikleri taktikler ve psikolojik savunma mekanizmaları aracılığıyla gündelik yaşamlarının zorluklarına direnmektedirler. Urla örneğinde bu savunma mekanizmalarından en belirginini “zenginlere” karşı kendilerini moral değerlerle donanmış olarak resmetmeleridir. Aynı zamanda, “bölünmüş benlik” ve mahalledeki eşitsizlik ve güç ilişkileri karşısında melankoli ve yas duygularını sürdürerek direnmek bu örneklerden bazılarıdır. Öte yandan, yoksul kadınların kendilerini korumak için geliştirmiş oldukları bu taktikler ve psikolojik savunma mekanizmaları, benliklerinde açılan yaraları engellemekte ve en önemlisi, bu yaralara neden olan sömürü ve tahakküm düzeninde önemli bir değişiklik yaratmamaktadır. Fakat yine de yoksulların aktif özne olarak “terk etmeden kaçma” mekanizmalarını gözler önüne sermektedir.

Günümüz Türkiye’inde derinleşen sınıf ayrımları ve eşitsizlikleri Urla’nın kent mekânında somutlaşmıştır. Araştırmanın bulguları, işçi sınıfının kültürel geleneğindeki dayanışmanın Urla örneğinde zayıfladığını gözler önüne sermiştir. Sınıf konumları içselleştirildiği ölçüde, bu yaralanmalara karşı yapılan savunmalar kolektif mücadeleden çok bireyseldir. Sonuç olarak yoksullar, aynı deneyimleri ve duyguları paylaşan diğerleriyle açık iletişim kanalları bulamamaktadırlar. Ancak anlatılarda toplumsal hiyerarşilerin ve ayrımların sıklıkla vurgulanması, bunların tam olarak içselleştirilmediğini göstermektedir. Anlatılardaki böyle bir tekrar ve kaygı, toplumsal hiyerarşilerin ve ayrımların, travmatik olarak deneyimlendiğini göstermektedir. Bu eşitsiz ilişkiler tam anlamıyla içselleştirilmediği ölçüde, toplumsal ilişkilerde eşitliğin gelişmesi için bir umut olduğu söylenebilir.

D. APPROVAL OF THE METU HUMAN SUBJECTS ETHICS COMMITTEE

UYGULAMALI ETİK ARAŞTIRMA MERKEZİ
APPLIED ETHICS RESEARCH CENTER



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Gönderen: ODTÜ İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu (İAEK)

İlgi : İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu Başvurusu

Sayın Necmi ERDOĞAN

Danışmanlığımı yaptığınız Hazal VAROLU'un "Yoksulluk, Mekan ve Toplumsal Cinsiyet: Urla Örneği" başlıklı araştırmanız İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu tarafından uygun görülmüş ve **025-ODTU-2021** protokol numarası ile onaylanmıştır.

Saygılarımızla bilgilerinize sunarız.

Prof. Dr. Mine MISIRLISOY
İAEK Başkanı

E. THESIS PERMISSION FORM / TEZ İZİN FORMU

ENSTİTÜ / INSTITUTE

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