THE IMPACTS OF POST-DISASTER SPATIAL STRUCTURE
ON LOW INCOME WOMEN: THE CASE OF DÜZCE

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Approval of the Graduate School of Social Sciences

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ABSTRACT

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Düzce city had almost collapsed due to the two major earthquakes which affected northwestern Turkey in 1999 and afterwards, a rapid spatial process including people's displacement from their pre-earthquake settings and placement of them to the post-earthquake settlements had begun in the city. These processes which affect housing environments are assumed to have severe impacts on especially low-income women's lives in the long run as they are the ones whose daily lives are mostly associated with the housing environment. But neither in the level of theoretical research nor in the level of post-earthquake planning and implementation processes, low-income women were included. This thesis problematizes this gap and proposes an intersection in the fields of gender, space and disaster research. Thus it is aimed to reveal the relation between space and gendered social relations of low-income women living in three different post-earthquake settlements, by further exploring the experiences of them in the levels of household, neighbourhood and work which are represented respectively with private, social and public spheres throughout this thesis. To search for women's daily experiences on the other hand, ethnographic research and feminist standpoint approaches are adopted

and in-depth interviews with 25 women from three different settlements were conducted. As a result, low-income women are found to be affected negatively from the 'man-made' environment especially in the post-disaster context. It is believed that, with the data provided, the social inequalities in post-disaster living environments can be better understood to generate a basis for policy proposals in planning and implementation processes.

Keywords: Disaster research, Space, Gender roles, Low-income women, Düzce

ÖZ

AFET SONRASI MEKANSAL YAPININ
DÜŞÜK GELİRLİ KADINLAR ÜZERİNDEKİ ETKİSİ: DÜZCE ÖRNEĞİ

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Düzce, 1999 yılında Türkiye'nin kuzeybatısını etkileyen iki büyük depreme bağlı olarak neredeyse tamamen yıkılmış, ardından, kentte, depremzedelerin afet öncesi yerlerinden alınarak afet sonrası yerlerine yerleştirilmelerini de içeren hızlı bir mekânsal süreç başlamıştır. Özellikle konut alanlarını ilgilendiren bu süreçlerin, gündelik hayatları büyük ölçüde konut alanlarıyla sınırlı düşük gelirli kadınlar üzerinde, uzun vadede birçok etkisi olmuştur. Ancak, sözkonusu düşük gelirli kadınlar gerek araştırma gerekse de afet sonrası planlama ve uygulama aşamalarına konu edilmemişlerdir. Bu tez, bu alandaki boşluğu sorunsallaştırmakta ve toplumsal cinsiyet, mekan ve afet araştırmaları disiplinlerinde bir kesişim alanı önermektedir. Böylelikle, üç farklı afet-sonrası yerleşim alanında yaşayan düşük gelirli kadınlar açısından mekan ile toplumsal cinsiyete dayalı ilişkiler arasındaki bağlantının ortaya çıkarılması amaçlanmakta, bu amaçla kadınların hane, komşuluk ve ücretli iş ölçeklerindeki deneyimleri –ki tez boyunca sırasıyla özel, sosyal ve kamusal alan kavramlarıyla birbirinin yerine kullanılacaktır- araştırılmaktadır. Kadınların gündelik deneyimlerinin araştırılmasında etnoğrafik araştırma ve feminist duruş yaklaşımı benimsenmiş, üç farklı alanda 25 kadınla derinlemesine görüşmeler yapılmıştır. Araştırma

sonucunda, düşük gelirli kadınların, 'erkek-yapımı' çevreden, özellikle de afet sonrası koşullarda, olumsuz etkilendikleri görülmüştür. Bu araştırmadan elde edilen verilerin, afet-sonrası yaşam çevrelerindeki toplumsal eşitsizliğin daha iyi kavranmasıyla, planlama ve uygulama alanında siyasa üretimi için bir altlık oluşturabileceği düşünülmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Afet araştırmaları, Mekan, Toplumsal cinsiyet rolleri, Düşük gelirli kadınlar, Düzce

To My Parents

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Aim and Scope of the Research

In 1999, two major earthquakes of 7.4 and 7.2 Richter magnitudes hit northwestern Turkey. The first earthquake occured in Gölcük on August 17th and 85 days later, Düzce earthquake occured on November 12th. Both earthquakes dramatically affected the cities in the Marmara region and Bolu province. Among them, Düzce was one of the particular cities which almost collapsed entirely with these two disasters. Yet, the second earthquake did the most damage in the area and as indicated by Johnson (2007) 980 people were killed and over 29,000 houses were destroyed or badly damaged in Düzce. As a result, a long-lasting dramatic breakdown occurred in all the spheres of spatial and social patterns in the city and the society and those have not been reconstructed even after thirteen years. As Turkey did not have mitigation plans and risk management policies before these catastrophic events as Balamir (2001) mentions, neither the central and local governments nor the society were on the alert for such disasters. Along with this, we observed that the people who were affected by the disasters were treated as a 'universal category of victims' in the emergency, recovery and reconstruction phases in the post-disaster planning and implementation processes. After all, the social research on this subject mostly focused on the social consequences of the earthquake by problematizing the generalization of the so-called concept of victims.

This generalization of the concept of the 'victims' and centering on the lower middle-class men both in the policy implications and in theoretical research are problematized in this study. As Balamir puts forward (2001), even the legal framework on post-disaster planning is defined by the concept of 'stakeholders' and the primary act of the state has been to supply the stakeholders with housing; whereas the tenants and lower class were excluded in the mainstream policies. On the other hand, the earthquake caused dramatic losses of housing environment but as Laska (2008) mention, "despite the importance of home and place in the experience of most women, little disaster research

specifically addresses the impact of housing loss on women" and the experience of women is ignored on the policy implementation level in the case of Düzce as well. Moreover it is not only the dwelling but also --and even more-- the neighbourhood which the women are strongly tied to. In other words, 'housing is both home and community' (Laska et al., 2008) and a space for paid-work for most of the low-income women living in the research site. Lacking such particular knowledge causes a gap in the overall research of social sciences on disasters.

Therefore, in this study we aim to fill this gap by further exploring the experiences of the low-income women living in three different post-disaster settlements thirteen years after the earthquakes. Following the breakdown of the city due to the earthquakes; the spatial processes of displacement, temporary and permanent placements are assumed to have impacts on women, especially on low-income women on the levels of household, neighbourhood and waged work relations. In other words, we believe that space in physical and representational means as well as lived experience (Lefebvre, 1974) affects the gendered social relations of the women. This can be observed more tragically from the breakdown of social and spatial patterns and from the struggle to rebuild them in a post-disaster living environment. Among these processes, the loss of private sphere --associated mostly with the house and the near environment-- as a result of the displacement from the previous socio-spatial patterns causes a breakdown in the lives of low-income women.

In this study, low-income women are determined as the focus of the research for two reasons: Firstly these women are subjected to a two-fold exclusion in the society, and gendered social inequality causes them to be located within the private domain of the house by excluding them from the public domain of any formal waged work. Additionally, being low-income reduces their mobility in terms of their choices related to both of the spheres mentioned. Spatial processes and social policies are admitted to cause this a deeper seperation in these spheres. In the post-disaster context, moreover, the so called two-fold exclusion is deepened as well, and the low-income women are one of those groups who are ignored in the planning and implication processes. The relationship between gender and space also refers to the feminist critique of the seperate spheres of the public and private (Rendell at al., 2000). While a classification of the experience of women in household, community and work is obvious throughout this study, this kind of

spatial division of labour is not necessarily an acceptance. It is more like an exploration of women's flowing from one sphere to another within their daily lives, which marks them as different from men. Moreover, with reference to Arendt (1958, cited in Hansen, 1987), this study aims to propose a third dimension of the 'social', as in between public and private peculiar to women, which is believed to provide a basis for understanding women's socio-spatial experiences in post-disaster context from their own perspectives.

The three different sites differ in terms of their location in the city, the physical characteristics of the settlements and the houses, and also in terms of the approach within each site to the problem of providing housing for the low-income and the disadvantaged. The first site consists of Kiremitocağı, Çay, Fevzi Çakmak temporary settlements which still occupy space in the city center thirteen years after the earthquake. The second site is Gümüşpınar Umcor Self-Help Social Housing which is in the peri-urban village of the city. The last site is Beyciler Blue Crescent Participatory Social Housing which is in the housing development region of the city near the center. In this study, the different spatial characteristics of these sites are compared in terms of their location, physical characteristics of both the settlements and the houses. On the other hand, majority of the interviewees are the ones who used to live in the central districts of the city as tenants in very low standard houses before the earthquake. So while comparing women's experiences living in three different post-disaster settlements, subsidiary comparison of their pre-earthquake socio-spatial patterns are referred to as well.

Concerning all these, the main question is related to how different spatial characteristics of these three sites affect low-income women's family, comunity and work relations. These are represented respectively with private, social and public spheres throughout this thesis. To explore 'how', on the other hand, requires further explanation of the three scaled socio-spatial relations of women. In this framework; inhouse and family relations refer to domestic labour of women and the degree of privacy provided within the house; community refer to neighbour relations and voluntary organizations of women within the neighbourhood, and lastly, work relations refer to the access to waged work as well as opening up a space for paid work patterns.

It is believed that, by this framework, the social inequalities in post-disaster living environments can be better understood to generate a basis for policy proposals which take

into consideration the experiences of low-income women in pre-disaster planning and post-disaster implication processes.

1.2. The Significance of the Research

This study proposes a relational understanding of disaster research, gender and space. Though studies on the interface of women and disaster, women and space exist, the intersection of the three issues has not been paid much attention. Also, cases being chosen from Düzce, which is a middle-sized city that is not subjected much research in the above mentioned topics, will provide the basis for the comparison between the situations in similar cities.

We determined the agent of the study as low-income women with the expectation to make their experiences be included in the disaster theory and practice as they are excluded from both. Furthermore, focusing on the daily lives of these women, and making use of in-depth interviews parallel with a feminist standpoint and ethnographic research, will help the recognition of the differences that cannot be identified at first glance. Finally, such a research which is grounded on the narrations of the agents is thought to provide significant data while decisions and implementations are made in post-disaster process.

1.3. Basic Questions of the Research

The main questions are how different spatial characteristics of the three post-disaster sites affect low-income women's family, community and work relations' and if 'they face with an accumulation of their gender roles and relation in private, social and public spheres respectively, and yet there are other questions to be explored within this thesis:
- 'How did the socio-spatial patterns of the low-income women change after the earthquake?'
- 'How was the decision-making and implementation process established in Düzce by the authorities and how were the low-income groups and women affected by it?'
- 'In post-disaster socio-spatial context, through which spaces/spheres are the women more active?'
- 'At first, right after the earthquake, with the loss of the private sphere, can we talk about a flow to the public sphere?'

- 'With the crisis, can we encounter an increase in the waged work patterns of low-income women who did not work before?'
- 'How did the use and meaning of home differ from the pre-earthquake patterns?'
- 'Could the social relations be sustained by the low-income women in post-disaster conditions?'
- 'Did social housing projects of international NGO's which emphasize community participation in making the space, succeed in terms of internalizing the new spaces and build an authenticity?'
- 'Did long-tem temporary housing provide a solution for the low income or did it make it worse?'
- 'After the earthquake, to what extent the stay in temporary settlements can be perceived as 'normal'?'
- 'What are the effects of displacement, does it differ from urban transformation processes or not?'
- 'Does the spatial relation of the houses with each other affect the social relations between the neighbours and vice versa?'
- 'Apart from the waged work patterns, what are the patterns of women that can lead them to go beyond the boundaries of the private sphere in post-disaster settlements?'
- 'What is the most dramatic change for these women compared to their pre-disaster patterns?'
- 'Can women challenge the given boundaries or go beyond them, if so, to what extent?'
- 'How does it differ in the city, if the particular needs of this group are considered in planning and implementation?'

Throughout the thesis these questions will be investigated in order to propose an overall understanding of the subject matter.

1.4. Research Methods

In this study there are mainly two research approaches interrelataed with each other. Ethnographic research approach in relation with feminist research is used in order to understand the particular voices of the low-income women. As for feminist research, the

intersecting of feminist geography and feminist standpoint theory is used consistently as a way to acquire knowledge throughout the thesis.

1.4.1. Field Research and Data Collection

The field study was conducted in between December 2011 and June 2012 in four neighbourhoods and one village in Düzce. These settlements were determined by preliminary survey including the search for documents, interviewing with key people and the observations of the author herself. Within the boundaries of the Central Municipality the three neighbourhoods of Kiremitocağı, Çay and Fevzi Çakmak were chosen because the temporary prefabricated settlements built after the 1999 earthquakes still existed in these neighbouhoods. Beyciler neighbourhood, which is also within the boundaries of the Central Municipality, is important for this study as Blue Crescent Houses[1] were built in there. Gümüşpınar village, on the other hand, out of the boundaries of the Municipality, being subject to the Special Provincial Directorate of Administration, accommodates Umcor Houses[2].

Within the borders of central district of Düzce, these three specific sites are the spaces produced in the post-disaster context and accommodate the low-income groups of the city. The Kiremitocağı, Çay and Fevzi Çakmak temporary settlements were among the ones built right after the 1999 earthquakes. Most of the temporary settlements in the city center were removed in various times whereas these three areas were left untouched[3] till June 2012[4], for nearly thirteen years after the earthquake. The characteristics of

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[1] Beyciler Blue Crescent (Mavi Hilal) Housing, is built by International Blue Crescent Relief and Development Foundation (IBC) as a model of assisted self-help housing project.

[2] Gümüşpınar UMCOR Housing is built by United Methodist Commitee on Relief (UMCOR) as a model of assisted self-help housing project.

[3] In fact, pointly interventions were being made in these Prefabricated Areas also. As the prefabrics are made up of two units juxtaposed to eachother, whenever a unit is emptied by the settlers, then the settler in the juxtaposed unit is displaced to an other prefabric if an adequate one exists. Then the prefabric is removed completely.

[4] The interviews of the women living in Kiremitocağı, Çay and Fevzi Çakmak temporary prefabricated housing were conducted in February 2012. After five months in June 2012, these prefabrics were removed. And the people living in there had to leave there. According to the latter interviews with some of the women after this removal, they were paid approximately 2000-2500 liras by the Government's Office. But it seems that this amount of money is far from being enough for them to

Kiremitocağı, Çay and Fevzi Çakmak temporary settlements, Gümüşpınar Umcor Houses, Beyciler Blue Crescent Houses and their relations to their near environments will be discussed further in detail in the chapter of field research.

In this study, to understand the changing patterns -namely household, neighbourhood, work- of displaced women in these post-disaster spaces, different data collection techniques were used. These four main techniques are as follows:

Semi-structered in-depth interviews: Consistent with the scope of this study, low-income women living in post-disaster spaces of poverty was in the center of the survey. In addition, interviews with key local agents (ie. Municipality Officers, represantatives of various institutions-NGOs, mukhtars, the most operative political party's women's arms and various units of the Government's Office) were also conducted so as to be capable of correlating different spheres with the main subject. A total of 36 interviews -25 women in the post-disaster spaces of poverty and eleven key local agents- were held. The time interval varied from 60 to 150 minutes in the interviews with women whereas they varied from 30 to 90 minutes with key local agents. Throughout the interviews, I rarely intervened to the narratives as I wanted to understand what patterns were coming to the fore for the lower class women in various positions (ie. age, education, work, space). In the first place, I had prepared some questions on pre-specified topics, but after the some of the first interviews, I overviewed the questions and turned them into topics[5] only to talk around. In most of the interviews the women were unwilling to speak when a recorder was on. Therefore I took notes as I interviewed, than after that, I organized those notes so as to make meaningful whole. On the oher hand when one woman directed me to another, it became easier for them to accept their voices to be recorded. Moreover 'trust' was easily constructed between us. Also the interviews with key local agents were done with the voice recorder. But the foundings will not be shared totally via this study, because especially for the women the interviews touch upon private narratives that they do not want to be open to the public. Throughout the text, names of the interviewees have been changed as well, to respect their privacy. Yet, brief description of the interviewees

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pay their rents till the Social Houses are completed. On the other hand these Social Houses are too far from meeting the number of people in charge of an adequate shelter/house.

[5] The topics of the interviews are provided in the Appendix A.

including their ages, education status, places of settlement, work patterns will be given in 1.4.2.

Correlating statistical data and official documents: Statistical data from TÜİK was helpful to understand main transformations on different spheres. The data of TÜIK taking place in the official documents of the local government of Düzce was a means of an interpreted data and it presented the relation to the local processes. Documents such as protocols between international organizations and Munipality, Government's Office; descriptive documents, brochures from Women's Shelter, Women's Arms of the Ruling Party (AKP); plans and development reports from Municipality, Government's Office and Special Provincial Directorate of Administration; documents, court records, documents related with the housing cooperative from the Society of Earthquake Victims (Dep-Der); news from national and mostly from local newspapers and magazines were collected and used in order to correlate and compare the findings in the interviews with civic and official knowledge.

Participant observation: Participant observation is defined as the researcher's entrance to a community; living/working among the people there and travelling back to academy to interpret the data collected (Cook & Crang, 2007). This technique could not be used as referred by Anthropological Research in full respect. But as I had pre-relations with the city-Düzce, I was relatively capable of relating the narratives in the historical context of Düzce thanks to my inherited knowledge of the City coming from childhood. For instance I was prepared for some patterns of conservatism and dominant character of religion in women's lives. But the contemporary research made me question my pre-existing knowledge as I encountered patterns which were in contrast to what I expected. Also the site I chose for the research was not a familiar one for me. Being from the same place, Düzce, as my interviewees I had a rather limited knowledge.

My relation to Düzce was broken in about 1997. And this research can be said to have re-introduced me to the city of Düzce, also with its new context. So the first entrance to the communities was not that easy for me. But after the first entrance, I was excited and very willing to continue. After all, our interaction with the women continued for some other informal talks, by telephone –especially after the removal of the prefabrics and so on.

Besides, I joined the local meetings and organizations, one of them being a General Assembly of the Dep-Der society. Through this participation I have had ideas about the functioning of the society as well as the general characteristics of the members of the society. So by these partial participations I had the chance to take a closer look at the communities.

Visual documentation: Apart from analyzing maps, plans, I used photographing tecniques, video records and drawing. In exploring the relations of housing units with each other, inner-outer spaces of the houses and women's way of using, relating themselves with the built environment, drawings and conceptual schemes as well as photographs have been helpful. I used visual documentations done by others, old photographs of Düzce, or photographs from the websites of local news as well.

1.4.2. Sample

The sample of the research is composed of 25 low-income women living in three post-disaster settlements who used to live in the central neighbourhoods of Düzce in low-standard housing conditions just before the earthquake. The ages are between 30 and 54 for 23 interviewees and 20, 24 for the two. This means that, except the two, the 23 interviewees were aged between 17 and 41 at the time the earthquakes occurred. The sample was chosen intentionally in this range so that they were adults when they experienced earthquakes. Also, except the two younger interviewees the rest was married right before the earthquake. As it is assumed that marriage and having children are the milestones in a women's life-time as the gender roles go into dramatic change by, at least the factor of marriage is tried to be fixed for the interviewees, as because the main focus was to understand the changes in gender roles in changing spatial patterns due to the disaster. The two younger interviewees on the other hand, were related with the post-disaster spatial policies by moving to 'temporary housing districts' as their new houses after the marriage.

Educational background of almost all interviewees is similar in that they had primary education or quit primary school. Yet, few of them are illiterate. But most of them had attended in Kouran courses and/or handcraft courses before. Furthermore in post-disaster period more than half of them had attended such courses as well including literacy courses. Almost half of the interviewees do not have a formal work experience before the

earthquake and so the same pattern is observed in post-disaster conditions as well for them. Less than half, though they had formal work experience before the earthquake, it is observed that they quit it after they got married and/or had children. Few of them had continuous formal work patterns before and after the earthquake. But apparently, in post-disaster conditions it is seen that more than formal waged work patterns outside the house, piece-working from home is true for the interviewees. Waged work patterns are mostly related with the composition within the household for most of the interviewes. Relationally, all of the interviewees have children. Most of them are married except four women who had divorced or lost their husbands and manage their household as single parents. The basic information of the interviewees can be followed in Table 1-1 below.

Table 1-1 Brief Description of the Interviewees (Valid at the time of the interview)

Interviewees	Age	Settlement	Paid Work
Zeynep	24	Kiremitocağı Temporary Housing	None
Aysel	41	Kiremitocağı Temporary Housing	None
Vediha	44	Kiremitocağı Temporary Housing	Babysitting
Seher	45	Çay Temporary Housing	None
Şengül	32	Çay Temporary Housing	None
Neriman	20	Çay Temporary Housing	None
Behiye	43	Fevzi Çakmak Temporary Housing	Piece-working
Feriha	42	Fevzi Çakmak Temporary Housing	Piece-working
Feyza	32	Fevzi Çakmak Temporary Housing	None
Sevgi	33	Gümüşpınar Umcor Housing	None
Sebahat	47	Gümüşpınar Umcor Housing	None
Nazan	38	Gümüşpınar Umcor Housing	Security
Yaren	35	Gümüşpınar Umcor Housing	Textile atelier
Afife	30	Gümüşpınar Umcor Housing	None
Saime	34	Gümüşpınar Umcor Housing	None
Melahat	34	Gümüşpınar Umcor Housing	Parquet atelier
Nuray	47	Gümüşpınar Umcor Housing	Parquet atelier
Naciye	47	Gümüşpınar Umcor Housing	None
Neziha	37	Gümüşpınar Umcor Housing	Textile atelier

Table 1-1 Continued

Leman	47	Beyciler Blue Crescent Housing	Babysitting
Nebahat	45	Beyciler Blue Crescent Housing	None
Ebru	40	Beyciler Blue Crescent Housing	Cook
Elmas	54	Beyciler Blue Crescent Housing	Piece-working
Macide	40	Beyciler Blue Crescent Housing	None
Hanife	48	Beyciler Blue Crescent Housing	None

Thus, different backgrounds of these 25 women, living in post-disaster spaces of poverty 13 years after the earthquake, assumed to have different effects on their experiences of the socio-spatial process, still ongoing in Düzce, which should be taken into account throughout the discussion in this thesis.

1.5. Structure of the Thesis

In this first chapter, the line of the thesis is presented together with the research questions and the methods to search for these questions. In the following second chapter, theoretical framework of the thesis will be drawn in the interface of the issues on space, gender and disaster research. In the third chapter, a closer look at Düzce and the background of the city in pre and post-disaster context will be provided. In chapter four, the findings of the field research conducted in three different post-disaster settlements of Düzce will be presented. In chapter five, research questions in relation to the findings of the field research will be discussed in order to reveal the gendered patterns of low-income women in post-disaster spaces. In the last concluding chapter, the expected contribution of the discussion of this thesis on policy proposals and future research will take place.

CHAPTER II

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN GENDER, SPACE AND DISASTER STUDIES

In this study, the main focus is to analyze the gendered social inequality through socio-spatial processes of the low-income women in post-disaster context. The peculiar circumstances in and around the changing living environments of the women are to be understood in terms of changing spaces of women.

The concept of space on the one hand refers to the understanding of socio-spatial reality that spatial process is not seperated from the social process, so any social formation establishes its own spatial formation and once produced and it affects the social relationships of production and reproduction (Lefebvre, 1974). However, within the framework of this thesis, various conceptions of space are used together with that of Lefebvre's in order to reveal the spatiality of low-income women in deprivation who live in the temporary prefabricated houses in the city center and in social aid houses in the periphery.

Following the brief discussion on space and after defining the framework of the term as used in this thesis, feminist critiques on the various conceptions of space in the second topic will take place. In a similar line with that of feminist geographers, the distinction between the public and the private is questioned under this topic, and a social sphere is proposed while searching for spaces of women. The spatial formations of home, community and city and their strong ties with private, social and public spheres are criticized along with the discussions on the spaces of women.

In the third and last topic under this part, we try to draw a frame for the intersection of space, women and post-disaster studies. Here, the change of gender roles of women which are spatially associated will be discussed. It is thought that blurred patterns of social inequality for women is inscribed in the spaces of women, in specific in post-disaster living environments of low-income women on the level of household, neighbourhood and waged work relations.

Along with these discussions on space, gender and post-disaster research, we expect to reveal and transform the underlying mechanisms in socio-spatial processes on behalf of low-income women.

2.1. Conceptualizations on Space

This house is better than the one at the Kültür District, but we couldn't find the peace and the life before the disaster. [6]

(Saime, Umcor Houses)

My children want to move back to our previous district, but how can we afford the rent. I was living in a rent for 15 years; I am fed up with rents... Would I prefer to move out from my own house? I do not like my village but I like here. This is my place; I tell my children that I will not leave here if they do not want to stay here in future. They do not like the neighborhood. But since we worked hard to build this place I will not leave it.[7]

(Leman, Blue Crescent Houses)

Here we have a house but it is quite far, and the transport fee is high. We are also far to the downtown and so we have no social life. It is harder to find a job. Since I know no one here I can not ask anyone for baby sitting. There is no way to do a part time job.[8]

(Nazan, Umcor Houses)

Space, considered as the living environment of a person, plays a central part in our thoughts, feelings, behaviours, decisions, memories, so it is inevitably a part of our daily lives. It is true that we have our own conceptions of space on various levels whether intentionally or not as it can be traced in the narratives of the woman living in different post-earthquake settlements quoted above. Even though we have a lot to tell about spaces

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[6] Bu ev, Kültür Mahallesi'ndeki evden güzel ama o anki yaşantı, depremden önceki hayatı bulamadık biz. (Saime, Umcor Evleri)

[7] Çocuklar eski mahallemize(Aziziye Mahllesi) taşınalım diyor ama nasıl kira verecez, ben de 15 sene kirada oturdum. Kiradan bıktığım için artık... Evimi bırakıp çıkmak ister miyim? Kendi köyümü sevmem ama burayı seviyorum, burası benim mekanım, burayı bırakmam diyom çocuklara ilerde burada durmak istemezlerse. Onlar çevreden dolayı istemiyorlar. Ama burası kendi alınterimizle olduğu için, bırakmam. (Leman, Mavi Hilal Evleri)

[8] Burada ev var ama yol çok uzak, yol parası da çok. Burada çok uzak kaldık çarşıya, hiçbir sosyal faaliyet yok. İş bulmak çok zorlaştı. Bir de benim burda çevrem olmadığı için, işte çocuğu bırakayım, ara ara çalışayım diyebileceğim bir durum yok. (Nazan, Umcor Evleri)

of our experience, it is not apperent in our perception and conception of the social phenomena. This problem of unseen/secret spatiality within social reality is explained through the comparison of the concepts of family and house/home. Whenever family is mentioned, the physical space of the family, the house/home, or an imagination of it comes to mind undoubtedly; but as a sociological concept, the definition of the term focuses on the relationship between family members. Thus, house/home within the definition of family, is unseen or there only as hidden underneath (Çetin, 2012).

Similar to the relationship between family and house/home, moving through various levels, we could follow the patterns of neighbourhood, workplace, town, city, region, country and so on in the socio-spatial reality of the individual and collective agents. Social relations are taking place and come into being inevitably within space; yet, it is not our intention to handle space as a passive container that houses social relations. The so-called agents both influence these spatial formations and are influenced by them in time. Having noted that, within the framework of this study, space is not seen as an object in itself either, rather it is thought to be a dimension of being, just as time and the social is, as Lefebvre puts it in his triology of being (1974). On the other hand, space is a phenomenon that the society builts, together with itself in time (Çetin, 2012). In other words "(social) space, is a (social) product" (Lefebvre, 1974), which is what we will try to explain further in the forthcoming chapters of this work.

Reminding once more, from the narratives of the women living in post-earthquake settlements quoted in the beginning of this part, it is easily seen that their belonging to their new settlements is strongly related to the extent of their appropriation, transformation of these spaces and relatedly the influence of these spaces on their daily lives. Saime, living in the Umcor Houses, recalls her old neighbourhood, her peace, therefore her social relations within that neighbourhood although she finds her present house better than the one before the-earthquake. On the other hand, Leman, living in the Blue Crescent Houses, puts her present house, her space as she calls it, to the fore of any other level such as neighbourhood or the distance to the city centre, mainly because it is the end product of her own great effort and indicates that she is not willing to leave behind her house and move to any other place no matter what the conditions are. In the case of Nazan, living in Umcor Houses, however, totally different spatial constraints are emphasized unlike those of Saime and Leman. She remarks on the very concept of the

distinction between public and private spheres as she is complaining about her lack of close social relationships within her neighbourhood which is very distant from the city centre. The distance prevents her from leaving the responsibilities of care behind and looking for a job outside the physical boundaries of home and the near environment. All these narratives are pointing out the relationship between these women and their spaces in a dialectical way; they experience the space they live as they appropriate it, so once formed the space affects their social relations on various levels.

Thus, throughout this thesis work, we attempt to reveal the relationality between the social and the spatial to which the women referred above draw our attention in their narratives and daily experiences. Searching for the interface of the social and the spatial, we will investigate the post-earthquake experience of the re-settled low-income women, partly because the event of earthquake is taken as the breakdown of the existing socio-spatial patterns and relations, thus accomodates the re-establisment of theseboth by the structural processes and by these women themselves. Another point is that space and socio-spatial perspective is seen as a useful methodological tool to reveal the blurred mechanisms of power relations, of social inequality that lies somehow beneath the space. That is inscribed especially in the spaces of the so called women.

In his pioneering book, *Social Justice and the City*, Harvey (1973) discusses the debate between socio-historical processes and spatial formations. Throughout the text, the dichotomy between these so called imaginations is problematized and a socio-spatial perspective is proposed to be able to analyze the inequalities in the society (Harvey, 1973). In a close line with Harvey's arguments, throughout this thesis we argue that it is not possible to understand unequal power relations, social inequalities, cultural codes and identity issues without understanding various meanings and conceptualizations of space. So, to be able to analyze and transform the existing patterns of inequality in the society, both on theoretical and practical levels, one should look at space and spatial processes more closely.

The way we discuess and understand space in the framework of this thesis on theoretical level, however is very new. The discussions on space that suggest a dialectical conceptualization of the term had not been really on the agenda of the social theory up until 1960's, known as the 'spatial turn'. Space was mainly seen natural, as merely a phsyical object till then. There are two ends of the thoughts on space: first, taking space as

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a passive container in which human act take place and determine it; second on the other hand, seeking space independent from human act, moreover determining it, and built upon the binary oppositions of Western Enlightenment thought such as natural–social, structure-agency and so forth. Going beyond such dichotomies and to relate space dialectically with human practice and social processes has been made possible after 1960's mainly by Neo-Marxists like Lefebvre (1974), Harvey (1973) and Castells (1972) within the discipline of New Urban Sociology.

2.1.1. Changing Paradigms of the 'Spatial' Historically

Though space was always there to be re-discovered, the discussion on space started to be visible, whether in a background scene or not, when a new form of life, an urban way of life, started to emerge in the 19th Century within the capitalist mode of production. Cities as the location of unhealty conditions, especially for the working class, were the subjects of the writings of social theorists like Engels, Weber, Simmel, Wirth (Katznelson, 1992; Merrifield, 2002). Therefore, they questioned the social life and city space (including housing and sanitary conditions) seperately, each with different emphasis. Urban studies gained interest from different approaches from then on. In the Marxist wing, Engels wrote severel texts that can be considered 'urban', including *Great Towns* and *Housing Question* (Merrifield, 2002, p.7). Gramsci also pointed out the antagonisms between urban and rural (Merrifield, 2002, p.3). It was Weber, on the other hand, who told about the US cities in his notes by means of interpretive thought in around the very beginnings of the 20th century. He was defining the US cities as unequal, characterized by work, disintegrated and highly differentiated in terms of unequal social structure of the rich and the poor. He was also making remarks on the geographical divisions between work and home. He observed that city life was composed of those who go to work in the morning and they had to travel for hours to get their homes after five o' clock. To him, the modern city was new and terrifying (Katznelson, 1992, p.10). Such dramatic changes of growing inequality were expressed in fundamental reorganization of the urban form via accelerating the seperation of wage work from home and residential community. This division is said to be consisting of three interrelated historical processes: "household ceased to be main location of production, whole areas of towns and cities devoted either to residential use or factory production, the residential areas of the city became

homogenous in terms of class". (Katznelson, 1992, p.14) This break up with the early integrated and orderly city made theorists develop new principles of social order. The paradigm of differentiation became centrepiece of the social theory in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

Differentiation theories of space were approaching the city in a manner of anti-urbanism (Merrifield, 2002, p.4). Chicago School's human ecology perspective, for instance, was taking its roots from Weberian sociology as conceptualizing 'the city as a cancer, a place of breakdown' (Merrifield, 2002, p.4). George Simmel's spatial position was that of a more interrelated one with urban processes and social processes; his theory was moving fluidly between urbanism and industrial capitalism. Lois Wirth seperated the two in order to develop an autonomous field of urban studies based on the human ecology perspective of the Chicago School (Katznelson, 1992, p.21).

With the rise of logical positivism starting from 1950's, on the other hand, quantitative approach proposing to deal with measurements of the existing space by maps, models blind to underlying processes and social relations was on the stage. This shift in paradigm was hand in hand with the effort to establish the science of space within the discipline of geography. It was kind of a seperation between social science and spatial science. Geography, urban planning and architecture were located within the sphere of influence of this quantitative approach to space or the science of space, and after that specific historical context, we can say that this kind of approach is still valid within some branches of these disciplines today. The effort to understand the mechanisms of the merely spatial objectifies it, furthermore, legitimizes its commodification. This refers in fact to the concept of cognitive or mental space conceptualized by Lefebvre in a body of works which we shall further explain in the following parts. This measurable, technically planned space is the space that can be bought and sold, therefore, is linked with exchange rather than use value. And this characteristic of the technical space becomes speculative by means of power relations. To remind, this crtique was clear in Lefebvre's and Harvey's work, namely in the neo-marxist approach to socio-spatial reality in the 1970s , but it was a total critique on seeking space independent from power relations in the society, directed to all previous approaches on space.

On the other hand, direct reaction to this quantitative aproach came from humanistic geography after the 1960s. Humanistic approach to space, influenced by social

psychology and phenomenology, focused on individual behaviour and consciousness. This may be called a shift from quantitative, positivist paradigm to a humane, agency-based, voluntarist paradigm but this approach was also blind to structural constraints, namely political and economic institutions and forces that can delimit individual action (Merrifield, 2002, p.5). Within humanistic geography, behaviouralists searched on mental maps of human by tracing the perception of the human and within the quantitative tradition. Unlike behaviouralists, humanists searched for the social establishment of reality in an interpretive way. Within humanism we can observe two branches of phenomenolgy: first group influenced by phenomenology and the other by symbolic interactionism (Öztürk & Karabağ, 2013). According to the advocators of phenomenological approach in humanistic geography space is shaped by the experience of human agency. Therefore they distinguish between space and place, as place is the locus of experience, memories, emotions, thus a lived space. Looking into space through the perspective of phenomenology, they take space as an object that is perceived by the subject that is, human agency. Especially the studies on home in this perspective and conception of home as locus for love, passion, experience remind us Lefebvre's conception of perceived and lived spaces. The link between French phenomenology and Lefebvre's conception of space is highlighted already in various studies (Schmid, 2008; Arslan Avar, 2009; Merrifield, 2002; Katznelson, 1992). But to differentiate between the two, it would be appropriate to point out the unitary character of Lefebvre's theory of space. When it comes to Lefebvre's conception of lived space on the other hand, it is apparent that it-is not seen just as the perception and experience of the human but also as the locus of the revolutionary praxis and imagination of the agents. However, just to keep in mind, the humanistic approach in spatial studies still influences the researchers from various disciplines and its critique is developed by neo-marxist and feminist geographers.

The radical challenge to such conceptions of space theorized as independent from social processes and power relations in the society came from neo-marxists in urban studies in the late 1960's. After that, certain areas of geography, sociology and city planning became radicalized (Katznelson, 1992, p.21). Among the pioneers are Lefebvre, Harvey and Castells. The main concern of neo-marxists, though the three are not in the same line and criticize each other, is to explain space in relation to power relations in the

society and the mode of production of the society. Further, it is claimed that the spatial organization of a given society in a given time sustain the inequalities in the society.

Among these various paradigms, neo-marxist approach to space, emphasizing the dialectical relationship between social and spatial processes in the society, posited 'space' within a very significant place in various disciplines of the social sciences. It's named as 'spatial turn', thus social reality could not be theorized independent from its spatial reality after 1960's. And, this kind of a relational and radical approach to space inspires this study in which socio-spatial practices of women in poverty is expected to be revealed.

However, neo-marxist approach to space and in general structuralism was criticized strongly after the 1980s mainly by feminists, realists (critical realists), post-structuralists (Öztürk & Karabağ, 2013). Among these, socialist-feminist critique both raises from and strongly criticizes within the feminist geography. Feminist geographers (see Rendell et al., 2000; MacKenzie, 1989; Mcdowell, 1993; Alkan, 1999) still keep the relational and dialectical approach in between social and spatial processes, yet they blame the neo-marxists for missing the patterns of gender inequality inscribed in socio-spatial processes throughout the history. Feminist geographers question the seperation of public and private spheres just as the previous researchers did, but through a totally different lens. They question urban and publicity as being theorized as male domains of socio-spatial reality. The unequal power relations and gender roles of women, historically related with the seperation of home and work, waged and non-waged work, exclude women directly from public (and from the urban scale according to the conceptualization of the previous theorists). Moreover, the whole social system is built upon the exploitation of women's non-paid work, emotional labour, responsibility of care sustained by the socio-spatial processes. And also, the humanistic approach to space is also criticized by the feminists because of their conceptualization of house/home as a locus for love and protection, which feminists see as a locus for opression, exploitation and violence in contrast. There are different approaches within feminism as well as feminist geography and feminist geography was challanged by other feminisms such as black feminism in time in relation to post-colonial studies through which the western conceptionalization of home as the place of exploitation was criticized and rather reconceptualizing home as the place of liberation and freedom in the case of black women where there was the racist oppression outside the

home, was proposed. But still, within the framework of this study, the secondary position of women as feminist geography makes consensus on is criticized.

Space, being the first part of this chapter will be investigated in more detail before passing on to discussions in the intersection of 'gender and space' and 'gender and disasters' in the following parts.

2.1.2. 'Social Space'

Since the Cartesian dualism of Western philosophical thought, space was conceptualized within the limits of the binary oppositions of the absolute (*res extensa*) and the abstract (*res cogitas*) mainly. It was Henri Lefebvre who radically questioned this traditional dualism within his search for the onthology of space. He pointed out the strong contrast between the perception of the physical space and conception of it by the human agency. He proposed a third dimension of the 'social' for place space in its social context. He dealt with space not as 'space in itself' or 'things in space'. Indeed, he suggested a unitary theory of space, criticizing the seperation of different fields of space by philosophers (physical, nature, cosmos), mathematicians (mental, logical and formal abstractions) and social scientists (the space of social practice and conflict). By doing so, his effort was to reveal the reality of space and spatial processes. All these theoretical and intellectual effort to develop a unitary theory of space was not only for understanding its functioning but also for radically transforming space on behalf of the exploited; thus it pointed out its ideological character.

On the other hand, different from the previous discussions on space like the urban space, it was Lefebvre, among his contemporaries, who returned to the question of ontology of space from the theories of urbanization and the city form. He explained the new urban era was established by the transformation of industrial capitalist society into an urban society. He claimed that the city was an arrangement of objects in space whereas urbanization was a way of life. And afterall his work was original in that he introduced a theory of space going beyond a theory of urban. (Katznelson, 1992) He saw the city as one among the various forms of space (Gottdiener, 1993). So he took space as the unit of his analysis of the urban. Here in this study, in a similar line, we choose to follow Lefebvre in order to look into the mechanisms of a settlement that ares not exactly seen as urban or rural, but in between these ways of lives. So it was our intent to handle space in a broader

sense. As Aronowitz (2007) mentions Lefebre was ignored by the academic left as he was writing on rural space too, not only the urban space. Urban was perceived to be the concentration of exploitation, therefore potential for revolutionary praxis, but rural was despised. Here, in a similar line with Lefebvre's going beyond the dualities, we propose to reveal the unseen relations of domination and potential of resistence within all aspects and levels of space, in other words, in between public and private, urban and rural, physical and mental. Investigating the overlapping spheres of these binary oppositions, we see the blurred mechanisms of daily life and social reality and try to transform the social inequalities inscribed in there.

According to Lefebvre's theory of space, production of space is a triple dialectic process, composed of three inseperable moments: the perceived, concieved and the lived. According to Gottdiener (1993), "this triple is meant to convey that space has a complex character and enters social relations at all levels. It is at once a physical environment that can be perceived; a semiotic abstraction that informs both how ordinary people negotiate space (the mental maps studied by geographers) and the space of corporations, planners, politicians and finally a medium through which the body lives out its life in interaction with other bodies." And he continues as to point out to the inseperable character of the social and the spatial in Lefebvre's work: "Social relations also are spatial relations; we can not talk about the one without the other."

While relating the absolute (physical) and abstract (mental) spaces with one another, Lefebvre adds the social space; he links the latter to the medium of social practice (Arslan Avar, 2009, p.7). As he argues, this mental space becomes the locus of theoretical practice seperated from social practice, and he describes social practice as established between levels such as housing (architecture), towns-cities-urban space (discipline of urbanism), larger territorial spaces-regional/national/continental/worlwide (planners, economists). He suggests that their domains do not overlap in the existing spatial system, thus neither common projects nor theoretical continuity becomes possible (Lefebvre, 1974, p.11-12).

Although Lefebvre does not analyze space as a thing in itself, he seeks a sort of reality in its own right:

> Space has taken on within the present mode of production, a sort of reality of its own, both distinct from and much like, those assumed in the same global process by commodities, Money and capital. … The space thus produced, also serves as a

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tool of thought and of action; taht in addition to being a means of production it is also a means of control, and hence of domination, of power; yet that, it escapes in part from those relationships. (p.26)

Taking space as a product that is produced through social processes, just like commodity, presents the possibility of revealing the the relationship between spatial formations and social processes. Moreover, Lefebvre conceptualizes space not as a finished work but as subjected to the ongoing process of production (1974). For him, there are four main implications of his initial hypothesis that 'social space is a social product'. First, natural space is the origin of the social process as "source and resource, nature obsesses us, as do childhood and spontanity, via the filter of memory" (p.32). Second, every society (therefore every mode of production) produces its own space and to move on to another mode of production requires the production of its new space. (p.46). As Merrifield (2006) mentions, industrial capitalism destructed the feudal space and the late capitalism produced its own urban and industrial forms (Merrifield, p.107 cited in Çetin, 2012). The space of late capitalism is an abstract space that is identical with exchange value, and being a mere commodity that can be bought and sold, it is deconstructed and rebuilt by the dominant ideology. Third, all the social relations become inscribed in space as time leaves its traces, yet this space is always a present space that is not a complete work. So, that's why production process and product are two inseperable aspects. Fourth and last implication is that if space is produced, if there is a productive process, then we are dealing with history (p.46). Along these four implications on the other hand, Lefebvre draws our attention to the Marxist notions of production, reproduction, use-exchange value, commodity fetishism, domination, mode of production, means of production, forces of production and a revolutionary praxis. He appropriates these notions rooted mainly in 'production' in order to uncover the relations of domination that is inscribed in the space and to reveal the dialectical conflict within the homogeneous space of capitalism and to discover the potential of resistance within these spaces (from the buildings, monuments to the streets and the cities) and finally to make it possible to theorize and produce the socialist space and social reality.

While elaborating on his statement that 'social space is a social product', Lefebvre returns the analysis of capitalist society within its history and spatiality. Borrowing Marxist analysis of the society and its dominant mode of production, he puts forward three interrelated levels: biological reproduction of the family, the reproduction of labour power

and the reproduction of the social relations of production. He relates these social relations intrisic to modern capitalist societies to their space:

> …Thus space embraces a multitude of intersections. As for representations of the relations of production, which subsume powerrelations, these too ocur in space: Space contains them in the form of buildings, monuments, works of art. (1974, p.33)

The fact that various disciplines take to the fore the various aspects of social space that belong to various periods and various societies makes us realize the multitude of components of social space. For instance, architects and planners may draw our attention to designed places or grand projects, antropologists may do so in the favour of symbolic meanings of home space for the women of a given time period and a rural society. Or within the discipline of architectural history, some may look into canons of the Renaissance city, and others to daily activities of ordinary people. Here we have Lefevre's re-conception of the triple dialectics of three moments of production of space (perceived, conceived, lived) in relation to a conceptual triad, that is, *spatial practice, representations of space* and finally *spaces of representation*. These three, points out to different aspects of social space as suggested by Lefebvre to go beyond the dualism and to take them all within a unitary theory of space.

Spatial Practice of a society secretes the space of the society; it produces and reproduces its space in time and appropriates it at the same time. Under neocapitalism, it embodies close associations with daily routine and urban reality within perceived space. That is simply the connection between networks, routes and the places set aside for work, private life, leisure. But this association is presented as highly paradoxical as it includes the most extreme seperation between the places brought together by Lefebvre himself[9]. Lefebvre underlines once again the interrelation of various aspects of spatial practice, and therefore he represents an integrated spatial analysis:"the Daily life of a tenant in a government-subsidized high-rise housing project, which should not be taken to mean that motorways or the politics of air transport can be left out of the picture" (1974, p.38). That is how we intend to handle spatial practices of the women in post-disaster context within this study. *Representations of Space* refers to the conceived, mental space of technical

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[9] His remark on this paradox of spatial practice under neocapitalism also reminds us the problematic seperation of public and private, work and home as Feminist geographers would built up their criticisms on conceptions of gender-blind discussions on space will be discussed in the following sections in this chapter.

bodies such as scientists, planners, urbanists, technocrats, social engineers and so on. All these technicians conceptualize the 'real' perceived and lived spaces as mere abstractions sometimes in theory and sometimes in practice as mere spatial forms/maps, drawings and construction of the designed through implementation. This is considered to be the dominant space in any given society as it is produced via dominant ideology and its tools. Such canons in architectural history, ie grand palaces or churches in merchantile city, are these kinds of spaces. We can add to this the relocation projects which move people from their livelihoods to the mass housing areas through urban transformation processes via state policy. Ideology, power and knowledge lies in these representations. As it is the space of capital, state and the bourgeouis, it has specific influence on the production of space. (Merrifield, 2006, p. 109 cited in Çetin, 2012). *Spaces of Representation* is associated with lived space. It is the space in which daily life is established. It is directly experienced through its associated images and symbols of its inhabitants and users associate it with use value of the physical space in conrast to the mental space of the mediators that is associated with exchange value. This is also the space dominated within imagination, therefore within the seeds of change and appropriation for the sake of reasserting space from abstractions of dominant ideology of exploitation. As mentioned by Lefebvre, it is the space that interests ethnologists, antropologists and psychoanalysts, but they often ignore the component of social practice within space when they trace it via childhood memories, dreams, images and symbols. (1974, p.42)

While theorising the conceptual triad, especially that of the lived space, Lefebvre seems to have been influenced by the French Phenomenology. This space of bodily lived experience which lies in the perceived space reminds us the approach of humanistic geographers to the space as a locus of perception, meaning, symbols, memory. But Lefebvre ctiticizes phenomenological approach to space thinking that they merely put the subject in front of the object and that they are stuck in the Cartesian dualism of subject and object. (Schmid, 2008)

In his conceptual triad, spaces of representation are taken beyond the former components of space, which are spatial practice and representations of space, because, for him, the secret or blurred dimension of the social reality is related with this third component of space. As it is linked with physical contact, desire and imagination, the sense of belonging to these spaces are more active and it is hard for the authorities to dominate

bodily lived experience. Therefore Lefebvre seeks lived space as the possible combination of the differences within the society that resist the homogenizing affects of capitalism.

In her study Demirel (2005) conceptualizes the spatial processes in post-disaster Düzce in relation to Lefebvre's conceptual triad. She takes three cases of housing practice: the solidarity houses in Gölyaka, the permanent houses planned and constructed by the state in Gölyaka and finally the struggle within homeless victims' housing cooperative in line with spatial practice, representations of space and spaces of representation). Though in our study we do not prefer to have such one to one correspondence for a possible spatial production, we admit that space has a complex character that gets into relationship within different levels such as the production of places set aside for public, private and social realms. According to Doğan (2007) on the other hand, the dialectical relationship between the perceived, the conceived and the lived make the space be produced both from top to down and down to top processes. He mentions the components of the triad within a dependency to the mode of production and historical period, and gets into the process of production of space via different combinations. And it is this degree of participation of the three moments of this dialectical relationship within production of urban space or parts of it (ie. neighbourhood, street, and region) which functions with respect to the balance between the public (users) and local authorities (p.99-100). Similarly in our study, we will try to reveal spatiality of the women in poverty in the post-disaster living environments on various socio-spatial levels such as home-work-leisure etc., taking into consideration that the women are not only the victims of the process but also productive agencies and technicians and that they are not only the tool of dominant ideology but also they propose a possible medium of production on behalf of use-value.

The aim of Lefebvrian theory of space is, as we mentioned earlier, not only to undertand how capitalism has survived via its own space, but also to propose a strategy of liberation from capitalism and capitalist space. His effort was to reveal the medium through which the socialist space could be produced as the continuum of urbanization as a way of life. But he was criticized for several reasons; Harvey, being one of them, finds him mistaken in treating cities and space as wholly independent entities within the capitalist mode of production (Katznelson, 1992). Castells, on the other hand, argued for his theory of space to be trapped within a spatial fetishism (Katznelson, 1992; Gottdiener, 1993). According to Şengül (2001), while Lefebvre puts his aim as the production of socialist space

via transformation of property relationships and to put an end to private property ownerships, reassertion of use value and lived space and recognition of difference within space, he fails to point out to the struggle for space dependending on class struggle. Yet, Sargın (2008) argues that the cases of appropriation of space, protests against urban gentrification projects, ecological resistances in especially through late 20th and early 21st centuries point out to the place for revolutionary spatial praxis which was not elaborated much by Lefebvre. Sargın proposes a process of consideration for the dynamics of daily life into the process of planning and design; by this it is possible to change the existing relations in favour of the necessities of social agencies that are living in their daily routines. In conclusion, in this thesis a similar approach that seeks to search for various aspects of space is adopted and various paradigms on theory of space have been made used. it is important to make use of various conceptualizations to understand the especially experiences of low-income women living in questionable post-disaster spaces . Following issues on women, space and disaster this research will discuss the following sections of this chapter.

2.2. Conceptualizations on Women and Space

After the discussions on 'space', here in this part, the previous discussions on space will be briefly related to feminist discussions. As there is no universal feminism, there it would be better to look into the subject from different lenses of different feminist perspectives.

2.2.1. Different Feminisms and the Rising Interest on 'Space'

Of all the different definitions of feminism in its journey in time, it is a political practice which embodies both action and theory. The variety of feminisms is rooted in the extent the categories of sex, gender, race, class and sexuality take part in explaining the society. The distinction between the terms sex and gender, for instance, points out to the foundations of specific feminist approaches. Simply, sex –male and female- refers to biological difference while gender –masculine and feminine- refers to socially constructed differences between men and women (Rendell, Penner, & Iain, 2000, p. 15). History of feminism may be positied between equality and difference approaches. That is how the first and second-wave feminisms are distinguished from each other.

In the course of time, the first-wave feminism of the 19ᵗʰ Century emerged against patriarchal inequality between women and men. As a form of liberal politics, women claimed for equal rights in the public sphere. On the other hand, with the emergence of the second-wave feminism in the 1960s and 1970s the emphasis has shifted to why women were different than men and this grounded the radical feminist politics. One of the most prominent contributions of the second-wave feminism was that they ascribed equal significance to discrimination women experience on a personal level, ie within the home, just as the discrimination on political and institutional levels. This led to the motto of the second wave feminism: 'The personal is political' (Rendell, Penner, & Iain, 2000, p. 16).

Simply, despite the fact that women and men were different from one another, equal rights in public sphere and equal acces to public services were claimed by the first-wave. In the second-wave, feminists started questioning the underlying mechanisms on the basis of the difference between two sexes, gendered identities.

However, the emphasis on the difference of women from men and women's solidarity against men were criticised for overemphasizing the similarities among the women and not taking into consideration of other social categories of class, race and sexuality. Black and lesbian feminists as well as socialist feminists focused on these factors as they thought these affected women's experience of oppression (Rendell, Penner, & Iain, 2000). All these different approaches of feminism led to different political struggle lines such as liberal feminism, radical feminism, multi-racial femism, socialist feminism etc. And among them, liberal feminism, which claims equal access to resouces and is associated with first-wave feminism, has still implications on social sciences that dominates women and disaster research along with gender and development theory. This piece of work will be discussed under the following topic of 'Women and Disaster Studies' in this chapter.

The paradigm shift in the social sciences with the emphasis of Marxist geographers on the dialectical relationship between space and society, namely spatial turn in 1960's, affected feminist studies too. Especially Lefebvrian understanding of space as a social process provided important openings in feminist conceptualizations of space. As discussed earlier in this chapter, according to Lefebvre space is socially produced in three different moments (trilectics) of the perceived, conceived and the lived. Human geography and anthropology, on the other hand, emphasized the cultural moment of space. This kind of work investigates all aspects of the built environment by defining the users of buildings as

well as their designers and builders as producers of space. Such a work suggests that space (from homespace, workspace, community space to urbanspace) is continually re-produced through use and everyday life (Rendell, Penner, & Iain, 2000).

These socio-spatial processes, the question of whether space is gendered and if so how it is gendered are important in the intersection of spatial studies and gender and women's studies. As Rendell (2000) exemplifies, for instance, specific places may be sexed as in the case of toilets sexed divided as men and women, or gendered, as in the case of domestic kitchens gendered as feminine. Or the traditional coffehouses are considered to be masculine where the femininity is excluded from. This will also be discussed in following chapters of the field research in this thesis.

The relation between gender and space is handled both by feminist anthropologists and feminist geographers through different axes. The former connect the two through power relations whereas the latter makes connections between the spaces occupied by women and their social status. Work on public and private realms, kinship networks, production and reproduction, domestic labour and waged labour, consumption and everyday life patterns are the interest of these researchers. Rendell (2000) asks then, if from an anthropological and geographical perspective space is socially and culturally produced and gender relations are socially, culturally and spatially constructed, then 'how are gender relations manifest in space?' and 'how are spatial relations manifest in constructions of gender?'

While searching for the question of 'how' space is gendered, representation as it is used by Lefebvre provides a useful instrument as it will be discussed under the following topic.

2.2.2. Questioning Seperate Spheres of 'Public' and 'Private' in Feminist Studies

Dialectical relation of gender and space is presented by geography and anthropology as mentioned in the above topic. But besides being gendered through physical occupation, space is also produced as gendered through representation. The work of Henri Lefebvre provides a useful theoretical framework to consider how representation helps produce and is produced by social space at the same time. He is interested in how space is produced conceptually as well as materially. Lefebvre suggests that the social production of space works through three different, yet interactive processes: spatial

practice (material or functional space), representations of space (space as codified language), and representaional space (the lived everyday experience of space). How can this be related to the issues of gender and space? (Rendell, Penner, & Iain, 2000)

The most prominent representation of gendered space is the paradigm of seperate spheres, a kind of binary opposition going back to the Enlightenment thought: dominant public male realm of production (the city) and a subordinate private female one of reproduction (the home). The origins of this divisive ideology are both patriarchal and capitalist and it explains one part of social reality but does not describe the full range of lived experience of all urban dwellers (Rendell, Penner, & Iain, 2000). So, as McDowell (1993) states, the spatial division between the public and private was the early focus for feminist geographers who problematize women's exclusion from the public arena of life. After all, using the framework of seperate spheres feminist works on gender and space question how space is gendered. Influenced by the post-structural vein, following Derrida, deconstruction of this binary opposition of the public and the private is proposed. Along with the strategic reversal of binary terms and displacement of the negative term from its dependent position, feminists reassert the importance of the female side of the binary, so private domestic sphere and family life (Rendell, Penner, & Iain, 2000).

According to Mackenzie (1989), who discusses the relationship between gender and space with the lens of socialist feminism, woman's space is placed in the intersection of public and private spheres, production and reproduction, home and work. Women, working in both public and private spheres, create a sphere of intersection in between. This double role of women changes the dominant patterns of time and space. By this, women's space includes not only the source for private family life but also the source for waged work and public services. From then on home and community come to be perceived as both the sphere of private life and economic maintenance (Mackenzie, 1989). She continues that it is this contribution of feminist geographers to place analytically women's informal economy which comes from their double role belonging both to spheres of production and reproduction.

The so-called informal economy includes patching services that help women get involved in formal waged labour while working at home. These patching services that form this kind of an informal economy can be seen in child care and health networks, education and information services within the neighbourhood and housing settlements as well as in

the network of piece-working women at home according to the studies of feminist geographers (Mackenzie, 1989). Women in the Western orld, in conflict with the land-use patterns of the divided city, tend to produce new forms and use of spaces which will accomodate the patching services within their existing homes, neighbourhoods and even in cities. So accordingly the question comes to be about the dialectical relation between the change of patterns of gendered social relations and patterns of the living environment (Mackenzie, 1989).

On the other hand, Hansen (1987), with reference to Arendt's trichotomy (1958), offers a third dimension, the dimension of 'the social' in between public and private dichotomy, to understand women's and men's lives in the family as well as in the society. According to her the social encompasses behaviours that are not easily categorized as either public or private; this occurs in both spaces tying individuals to institutions and other individuals. For Hansen"the social realm involves interaction among non-family members, it constitutes the fabric of society. It mediates between public and private activities and serves as the medium of human interaction" (1987, p. 119).

Cited in Hansen (1987), Arendt (1958) explores variation in the relationship between the spheres such that "in the modern world the two realms indeed constantly flow into each other like waves in the never-resting stream of the life process itself" (1987, p. 120)

This framework of the social may give way to see women's role in social sphere as work, which mediates the various forces of society tying the family to community, neighbor to neighbor, the individual to collectivity (Hansen, 1987).

On the other hand, according to Acar Savran (2004) the setting of the concept of the public in Mediterrenean societies is that the neighbourhood itself becomes a public sphere for women. Though the neighbourhood controls women, and excludes them from meeting spaces, it includes them to some extent. Among and in between the households of extensive families, one can talk about a sphere of solidarity in doing home-size production. Cited from Wedel, women in squatter settlements do their works by extending their private spaces, coming together, helping eachother, creating kind of informal network and protecting it. This means that the neighbourhood forms a public space for these women (Acar Savran, 2004). It is this point that differentiates between developed world theories with that of developing ones. Researchers like Kandiyoti, Sirman and Wedel who work in

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the developing world reject the idea women stuck into private sphere as passive victims. For them, women set up various solidarity networks in the private space and get stronger. Also women set up their own publicity in which the man's eye can not perceive it as a form of public sphere. They develop survival strategies under patriarchal oppression and develop a patriarchal negotiation (Acar Savran, 2004).

In this section, the feminist interest on space is mentioned and then the theoretical implications of representations of space, namely seperate spheres and divided city conceptualizations, are presented. In the following section the discussions on women and space will be tied to natural disaster research.

2.3. Conceptualizations on Women and Natural Disasters

In this last section of this chapter, the relation between women and disasters will be overviewed. Primarly feminist critiques on disaster research, feminist approaches to disaster research and finally feminist conceptions of post-disaster living environments of women will be discussed below.

2.3.1. Critiques on the Field of Natural Disaster Research

As Quarantelli (2005) explains, systematic and extensive social science work on disasters started in the very early 1950s. To him, what is needed is more theory and abstract thinking and less mucking around in practical matters and concrete details. That means, social facts should be explained by other social facts. He criticizes this situation; however it is sometimes very difficult to identify the work in disaster research with any disciplinary terms since it lacks any of the assumptions, models, theories, hypotheses, concepts, and linkages to the non-disaster literature

In their article in which they criticize the disaster research in the USA, Bolin (1998) also finds it problematic that disaster research cannot be related to the developments in sociological theory and research. The relation of funding institutions with disaster research is also problematized as they limit research to the level of implication. As a consequence of this approach, for the authors, analysis of social inequalities in disaster research becomes impossible.

According to Fothergill (1998), sociologists who study disasters have made important and extensive contributions to our understanding of the social world. The

disaster setting is considered a "unique laboratory" or a "strategic site" in which one can learn about social phenomenon, examine social relationships, and reveal social problems, as they "strip away the veil" that usually obscures or disguises many social conditions (Barton 1970; Merton, 1970 cited in Fothergill, 1998). But in the sameline with Quarantelli she mentions that despite this recognition that the "non-everyday" qualities of disasters make them important research settings, disaster scholars are not arguing that the disaster process is seperate from the social structures of the "everyday". Indeed, disasters are social and political events that are linked to who we are, how we live, and how we structure and maintain our society (Forthergill, 1998).

Among the problems defined in this thesis, lack of a dialectical perspective is one of the most important problems in the field of disaster research. Yet, it is thought that the rearch in the field should be more interrelated with recent sociological developments and spatial discussions as well as social categories of class, gender, race/ethnicity and so forth. Only by this way, it could be possible to understand disasters as a part of the social reality.

2.3.2. Feminist Approaches to Disaster Research

Though there is not a dominant engagement between feminist theory and disaster research, there is still an important body of work which is not gender-blind in this field. Especially the works of Enarson (1998, 2004, 2007), Morrow (2008), Forthergill (1996), Fordham (1998) are inspiring in theorizing women's position in post-disaster processes in the West. Researchers like Khrishnadas (2007) on the other hand question locations of gender in third world post-disaster processes.

According to Enarson (2007), "no single theoretical lens frames disaster research on gender. Indeed, most researchers use insights freely borrowed from all angles of vision, though most begin with a social vulnerability approach (Blaikie, Cannon, Davis, & Wisner, 2004; Bolin, Jackson, & Crist, 1998; Hewitt, 1997)." According to social vulnerability approach, disasters are fundamentally human constructs and disaster risk is socially distributed in that ways that reflect the social divisions that already exist in society. In other words, "disaster vulnerability cannot be seperated from vulnerability in everyday living and this is seen most clearly through unequal access to resources (Blaikie, 1994) arising from structural inequalities and embedded within national and international socio-economic systems. In this conceptualisation, it follows that those who are socially and

economically disadvantaged in everyday life can be expected to be more vulnerable or more greatly affected by a disaster" (Fordham, 1998). Social vulnerability to disaster is influenced by gender, class, race/ethnicity, culture, nationality, age, disability and other power relationships. Contextual dimensions such as health concerns, household size and composition, citizenship status, political experience with uniformed state authorities, different degrees of ease on the street at night and so forth cut across these lines of social categories. But according to Enarson (2007), used uncritically, this approach can lead to overgeneralizations about women as a social category however; it also inspires to investigate underlying structural sources of vulnerability related to sex and gender, from reproductive health and gender violence to land rights and poverty (Enarson & Morrow, 1998 cited in Enarson et al., 2007).

It is argued that disaster sociology and feminist theories work well together as they use similar concepts; "when disaster scholars posit that disasters disrupt "the social system," feminist theory poses the question 'whose social system?'" (Enarson, Forthergill, & Peek, 2007). As discussed previously in this chapter, various feminisms such as socialist feminism, postmodern feminism, multiracial feminism, and eco-feminism may provide theoretical openings to social studies. But as Enarson (2007) reminds most researchers draw either on liberal feminism or on the gender and development theory.

Liberal feminist theory is based on the equal rights perspective of different genders. More concretely, liberal feminists "attribute social inequality to unfair barriers to education and achievement, focus on the cultural devaluation of women as well as the gendered division of labor, gender violence, and limitations on reproductive choice" (Lorber, 1998 cited in Enarson et al. 2007). It is this perspective in disaster research that tends to explain why some women and girls cannot access equal resources before, during and after the disasters. As it is stated by Enarson et al. (2007), "this approach also leads researchers to investigate how gender stereotypes affect disaster services and emergency operations; the careers of women in the field; and gender bias in the design, funding, implementation, monitoring, and evaluation of emergency shelters, water and sanitation, health care, and other post-disaster initiatives" (p.)

According to Laska (2008) women are more vulnerable than men in times of disaster, and the reasons of long-term vulnerability of women both during and after the disaster differ from those of men. These differences lie in women's role of care, condition

of unequal work and wage. As a result according to Laska (2008), problems in the access to transportation, cash money, safe house and work places as well as exclusion from decision mechanisms and so forth are seen. Therefore, it is hard for women to recover; it is even harder for lonly women, single mothers. And the ones who are disadvantaged economically and socially are more vulnerable to long-term effects of disaster such as displacement and further inability to make home and community: "The immediate and short-term effects of a disaster on a woman's economic status depend in part on the resources available to her before the disaster" (Laska et. Al., 2008).

It is mentioned in Enarson (2007) that along with liberal feminism it is gender and development theory on which most of the international research in the field is grounded. From the perspective of gender and development theorists, disaster vulnerability is understood within patriarchy, global capitalism and colonialism and still shapes the developing world. The effects of free trade policies that increase the pressure on men to migrate for wage work, for example, indirectly leave more women and children impoverished in unsustainable rural environments. Like liberal feminists, gender and development theorists see inadequate child health care and lack of education for girls as important factors in gendered disaster vulnerability. But in addition, they also emphasize the possibilities for women's agency and self-protective action in risky environments based on their reproductive, productive, and community work (Enarson et al., 2007).

This perspective of gender and development theorists invites attention to women's capacity of resilience, their coping strategies in risky environments and brings into view such marginalized groups as female migrants and refugees, women agriculturalists, street vendors, home-based workers, single mothers, widows, and impoverished and low-caste women. As noted by Quarantelli (1998), the focus on gender relations in disaster contexts is one of the contemporary forces for change in thinking and theorizing about hazards and disasters. (Quarantelli, 1998 cited in Enarson et al., 2007)

Disasters are often said to reveal larger societal inequities. Researchers are now recognizing and documenting how disaster vulnerability is rooted in pre-existing patterns of community settlement and development (Morrow, 1999 cited in Enarson et al., 2007). Given this knowledge, disasters may be viewed as opportunities to witness, understand, and thus remedy pre-existing social problems. Many disaster scholars have written on the

possibility of social change as a result of disasters, while others note that the crisis heightens past problems and solidifies the community's inequities (Enarson et al., 2007).

On the other hand Fordham (1999) discusses in her paper the intersection of gender and social class in disasters and problematizes the perspective of homogeneous victim conceptualization as well. She proposes the significance of gender, class, race/ethnicity, age, sexual orientation, physical and mental ability, culture, etc. as differentiating factors among 'victims'. She argues that equality cannot be achieved by ignoring differences in as much as it is consistent with social justice; this simply reinforces the dominance of already dominant groups (Philips 1997, cited in Fordham, 1999). Nevertheless, there remains the danger that an emphasis on difference, rather than a recognition and incorporation of it, will divide not unite (Harvey, 1973), and may lead to a reinforcement of competition over resources (Fordham, 1999).

After overviewing the mainstream feminist discussions on the field of disaster research in this section, we will now look into the possible frameworks of conceptualising the relation between women and representations of space in post-disaster living environments.

2.3.3. Post-disaster Living Environments of Low-Income Women through the Feminist Critique of Seperate Spheres

As Fordham and Ketteridge (1998) writes in their book chapter which focuses on the gender roles of women in the developed world in time of disaster,"women's lives are frequently dominated by what is seen as the ordinary, the unexceptional and the mundane. The spaces they occupy are socially delimited and lie disproportionately" in relation to their dominant location in the private domain (p. 82).

Fordham (1998) in her research on women's experience in two floods in Scotland conceptualizes her theme around public and private space, problematizes the private domain and in line with feminist research tradition she presents it as a legitimate object of research. She argues that "the ordinary and everyday is more opaque and complex than usually imagined and makes recommendations for their recognition and incorporation into disaster management. While there is a specific focus on the private domain of the home, this is not intended to reinforce gender stereotypes but simply to recognise the reality of many of the women interviewed. It concludes that disaster research generally has yet to

advance much beyond the earliest stages of feminist studies which merely sought to make women visible in society" (Fordham, 1998, p.126).

Fordham (1998, cites Walker in the same paper): "For women whose access to the public domain is limited, the loss of private domain of the home is particularly serious (Walker 1994 cited in Fordham 1998).

Fothergill (1999) examines women's family, community and work roles before, during and after the disaster, the1997 Grand Forks flood. Based on field research and sixty in-depth interviews, she found out that women experienced role accumulation which resulted in an expansion of both their roles and their sense of self. As she mentions, research in the area covered women's role in the modern workplace, women's role as homemaker and as mother and family caregiver. Most recently research is concerned with how women handle and negotiate with the distinct roles associated with two designated spheres of life: the family role in the domestic sphere and the work role in the public sphere especially in the developed world. Yet feminist theorists criticize the two-sphere model of public-private domains as this dichotomy is inadequate for understanding women's lives (Lamphere 1993; Rosaldo 1980 cited in Fothergill, 1999). A similar inadequacy is true for the field research of this thesis. To overcome this, several alternative frameworks are proposed to introduce a third sphere in public-private model.

One of the frameworks is the work of Hansen (1987). Hansen, building on Arendt's work, as discussed in previous sections of this chapter, proposes a social sphere (including visiting neighbours, going to church and other types of interaction within a community among non-family members. (Fotergill, 1999) And the other framework belongs to Milroy and Wismer (1994) who define women's community work as the third sphere of work that is done outside of home and work. The author describes community work as follows:

> It can be political or publicly directed, yet often appears to be maintenance work - part of the 'social glue' which holds a community together. While it may include personal or family benefits, it is always intended to provide goods and services to a broader group of people than solely oneself or one's household's members . . . It is also more inclusive than the formally organised voluntary sector, because it includes small and informal neighbourly care-giving actions by individuals or organisations. Although it is not paid work, it is also not 'voluntary' in the sense that it is not discretionary . . . Its spatial location is neither home nor work place, primarily, but community. (1994, p. 72, cited in Fotergill, 1999)

Milroy and Wismer continue that community work by women has long been overlooked and needs to be more visible:

Our working premise is that if domestic work is building homes, families and households, and traded work is building companies and economies, then community work is building communities and should properly be identified as a separate nucleus of productive effort. (1994. p. 82, cited in Fotergill, 1999)

Thus, all three spheres need to be examined in order to understand the scope of women's activities, and how they experience the roles they have in each sphere. One way to understand women's roles in all three spheres of social life-the domestic arena, the workplace, and the community is to examine the disruption of their daily routines and explore the work and roles they take on when the social world is in crisis. One type of social crisis, a natural disaster, has been found to be a "realistic laboratory" for studying social phenomena and relationships, as disasters give social scientists advantages that cannot be matched during stable times (Fritz, 1961 cited in Fotergill, 1999).

As Fordham and Ketteridge (1998) mention, disaster research in developing world is closer to critical social science. Experiences of the women in the developing world differ from the experiences of women in developed world. For instance in her article 'Relocating the Master's Domain: Social and Legal Locations of Gender from Post-Disaster to Everyday Life' Khrishnadas (2007) shares the results of her four years of empirical research about post-earthquake reconstruction process in Maharashtra, India. With a feminist and post-colonial perspective, the author discusses World Bank and state government policies to relocate 52,000 houses and 67 villages. The author draws on Lorde's (1996) analogy of 'the master's house' as it provides a metaphor for the location of women within the patriarchal architecture of the private and public sphere, which she relates to discourses of place and space and the local and global. She challenges the essentialist binary positions of women within public and private domains of rights constructed by the World Bank and state housing policies. The experiences of alternative women's meetings, street protests and gatherings at the village provide the possibility of ultimately becoming the master of the relocation of social and local domains and one's location within.

Khrishnadas (2007) critiques the process of the relocation of women from their rural living environments to World Bank social housing environments. She compares the extended physical and social space of the former with the limited physical and social space and criticizes the process arguing that the latter confined women in private domain. For the women in their former houses mentions a kind of socialization among the other women in the household such that "the rural home domain was itself a social and political

sphere as the women managed the extended joint families and the agricultural and domestic labourers. The home had contained social, political and economic activities in which women were not isolated but worked together in familial, religious and tribal collectives" (Khrishnadas, 2007). However, with the inauthentic new space she argues that women fell into solitude on the level of household. She disscusses the re-location process of these women on the levels of community and nation state. Finally she concludes that the alternative experiences of women in their new spaces reflect the search for new locations, or unique spaces, and this search for an autonomous space may be traced in the feminist critique of existing locations which women have tried to enter, exist in or disrupt. So, in other words she claims that as a defensive act women also challange the social relocation resulting from the physical relocation and they open up a new space for themselves in between public and private domains.

In our case, however, the situation is just the opposite; almost all the women interviewed lived in the urban center of Düzce in rented low-standard houses right before earthquake though more than half of them lived previously ie before marriage in rural environments of Düzce. After the earthquake, of the three groups of women in three different settlements, first group stayed in temporary container settlements in the city center, the second moved to a rural site in the city and finally the third moved to a housing development site not as much distant as the second one from the city center. Thereforeexcept for the first group who stayed in temporary houses for more than ten years, for the other two, the spatial routes may be simplified as rural-urban-rural before marriage, after marriage and after earthquake periods of lifetime of women. So, the process of relocation shows similarity with the relocation process related to urban transformation projects. But similar to the work on the field of women and disaster both in the developed and developing worlds, we will investigate the changing roles of women in family, neighbourhood and waged work; namely the private, social and the public domains. But in this case, we will achieve this through the relation of also the physical spatial environment of post-disaster for the low-income women on the levels of house, neighbourhood and workplace.

CHAPTER III

SPATIAL PROCESSES IN POST-EARTHQUAKE DUZCE

Duzce is a middle-scaled province with a population over 300,000 and located in the Western Black Sea Region, approximately half way between Istanbul and Ankara. It is in the intersecting point of the industrial transportation network in the main arter connecting the East and the West of Turkey. Economically, Duzce is mostly dependent on forestry, hazelnut farming and small manufacturing ie textile. The urban center serves as an economic as well as social centre for the many small villages placed in the surrounding mountains.
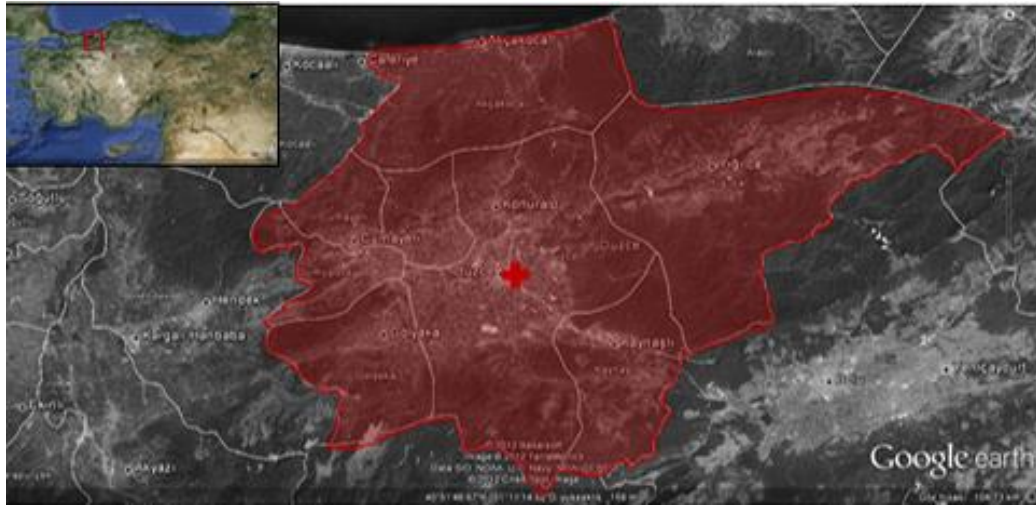
Figure 3-1. Location of Düzce and Districts of the City

3.1. Urbanization of Düzce in Historical Context

Düzce had a city plan dating back to 1987. In between 1987 and 1999 there were revisions made on this plan. But, between 1980 and 1998 unplanned housing developments started to occur to meet the increasing demand of incoming migrants for working. Therefore, it would be ideal to mention the housing stock in Düzce before the earthquake. The old neighbouhoods and housing stock of Düzce in which the interviewees

had been living before the earthquake were not in optimum standarts[10] as can be followed in the photographs provided below.

Figure 3-2 View of Old Housing Stock from Cedidiye Neighbourhood

Figure 3-3. View of Old Housing Stock from Çay Neighbourhood

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[10] This observation is seen in the study of Kümbetoğlu at al. (2005).

Figure 3-4. View of Old Housing Stock from Burhaniye Neighbourhood

As mentioned in the introductory chapter, two devastating earthquakes hit northwestern Turkey. Both earthquakes dramatically affected the cities in the Marmara region and Bolu province. Among them, Düzce was one of the particular cities which almost collapsed entirely with these two disasters. Yet, the second earthquake did the most damage in the area and as indicated by Johnson (2007) 980 people were killed and over 29,000 houses were destroyed or badly damaged in Düzce. As a result, a long-lasting dramatic breakdown occurred in all the spheres of spatial and social patterns in the city and the society, and those have not been reconstructed even after thirteen years.

On the other hand, following the earthquake, Düzce become a province; a new process of urban planning started, the borderlines of the districts and neighbourhoods were re-drawn. From then on, the urban development axis was determined by the central municipality to the North, along where the ground was found to be convenient for building. Furthermore post-earthquake permanent housing district was located 10 kilometers away from the center in the Northeast of the city.
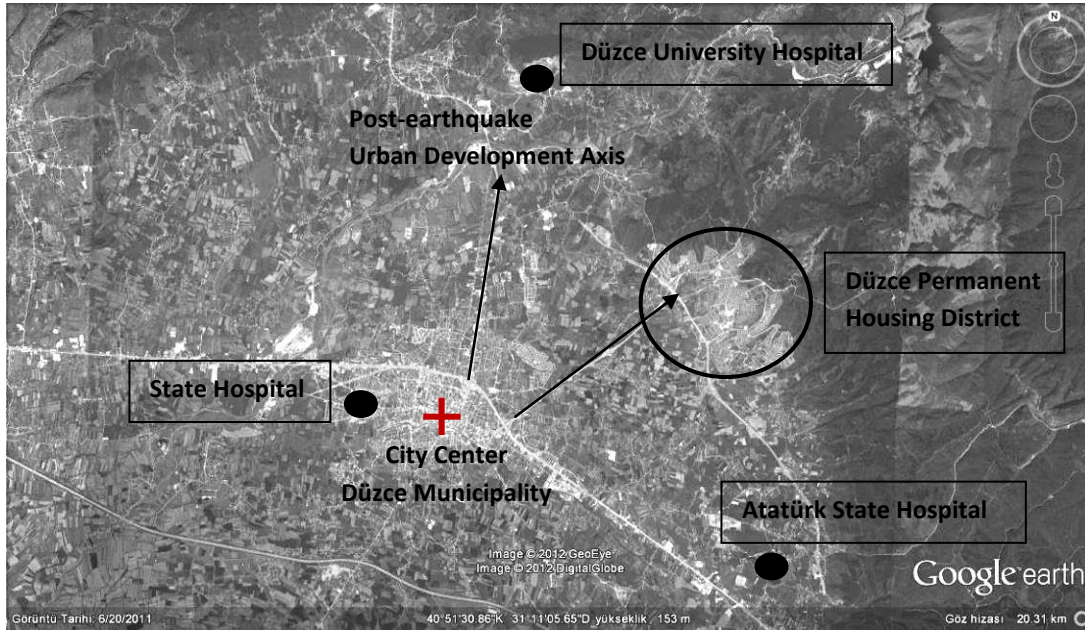
Figure 3-5. Spatial Layout of Post-earthquake Düzce

Though urban spatial development axis was determined as so, the old city center remained as the economic, social and administrative center and that resulted with a disintegrity within the city after the earthquake.

3.2. Post-disaster Housing Implications in Düzce

Since Turkey did not have mitigation plans and risk management policies before these catastrophic events as Balamir (2001) mentions, neither the central and local governments nor the society were on the alert for such disasters. Along with this, we observed that the people who were affected by the disasters were treated as a 'universal category of victims' in the emergency, recovery and reconstruction phases in the post-disaster planning and implementation processes. As Balamir puts forward (2001), even the legal framework on post-disaster planning is defined by the concept of 'stakeholders' and the primary act of the state has been to supply the stakeholders with housing; the tenants and lower class were excluded in the mainstream policies.

With this set of mind, in addition to programmes for reconstruction of infrastructure, education and hospital facilities, the government put forward a three-step housing strategy for those affected by the earthquake, beginning with the provision of temporary shelter, then temporary housing, and later permanent housing (Johnson, 2007).

It was true to some extent for Düzce as well. The city was gradually reconstructed through the execution of fifteen temporary settlements and permanent housing complexes.

The post-disaster housing implications in the central districts of Düzce are Temporary Shelter and Housing, World Bank Permanent Houses, Nalbantoğlu TOKİ, Housings of different cooperatives, housing projects for the disadvantaged groups by internatianal NGOs; Beyciler Blue Crescent Houses, Gümüşpınar Umcor Houses and Gümüşpınar Caritas Houses. The location of the post-earthquake permanent houses that were built by the state, can be followed below.
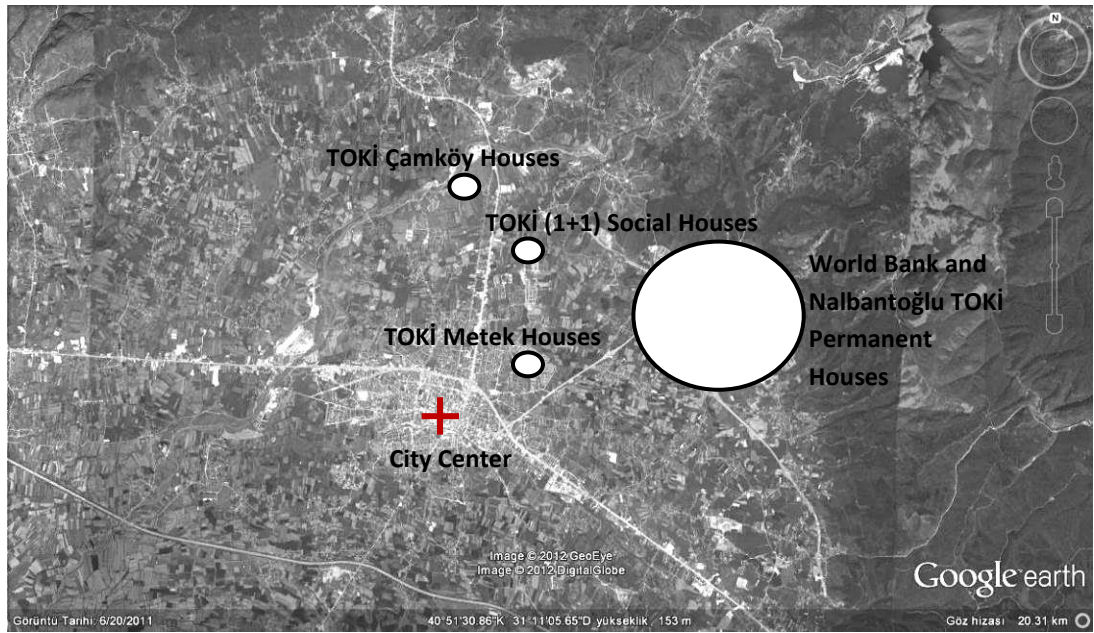
Figure 3-6. Location of Post-earthquake Permanent Houses Produced by the State

Through the phases of emergency response, recovery and reconstruction, post-disaster planning and implementation process took place in the city is as follows:

Temporary Shelter in the Emergency Phase

Emergency response stage of a disaster is characterized as the immediate aftermath of a disaster, including the first hours or days, depending on the event (Enarson at al., 2007). Though this is the ideal time interval of emergency, in the developing regions it may last longer just as it happened in the case of Düzce, and in Turkey in general. In Düzce, the Red Crescent and the military provided tents for earthquake survivors to serve as temporary shelter in camps throughout the affected areas. Many people were also living

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in small self-provided tent camps set up near their destroyed homes or they constructed self-made structures to serve as temporary lodging (Arslan & Johnson, 2010).

With the help of Red Crescent and civil defending directors, national and international aid organizations established tents cities. However, some victims built their own tents. The first precaution by the Governor' Office was to locate some victims in the state buildings in other provinces. Most of the victims refused to leave the city, since they wanted to be in contact with their relatives and friends and to take care of funerals. (Arslan & Ünlü, 2006)

Temporary Housing in the Recovery Phase

In the months following the earthquake, the government and several NGOs built temporary housing. In the following phase, the decision for building a temporary earthquake settlement was taken by the Ministry of Public Works because of the insufficient infrastructure of tent cities, the lack of protection from the climatic conditions and long construction time of permanent houses (Duzce Municipality Chairmanship, 2000 cited in Arslan & Ünlü, 2006). In Duzce province, 6,669 temporary houses were constructed. More than half of the houses were donated by national and international aid organisations. Infrastructure facilities were made by the General Directorate of Construction Affairs (Duzce Governorship Public Relation Director, 2002 cited in Arslan & Ünlü, 2006).

The recovery stage, typically the one-year period following a disaster, has historically implied putting a disaster-stricken community back together (Mileti, 1999 cited in Enarson et al., 2007). This section addresses the socio-economic differences as life resumes being somewhat normal or to an improved level during this time for allocating resources, rebuilding, and lifeline repair. There are considerable differences in this period, especially with regards to housing issues, and those with lower socio-economic status may face more obstacles (Enarson et al., 2007).

Although temporary constructions met the urgent needs of families affected by disaster (i.e. shelters, sense of secure, safety, privacy and daily life requirements) (Bektaş, 2006), they have been widely criticized in the general literature as Johnson's (2007) statement shows: "Temporary housing programmes suffer from excessively high cost, late delivery, poor location, improper unit designs and other inherent issues." She finds the

post-disaster temporary housing rather insufficient, built just to save the day as "a prevalence of ad hoc tactical planning, rather than pre-disaster strategic planning, for reconstruction undertaken by governments and non-governmental organisations (NGOs) in the chaotic postdisaster environment." (Johnson, 2007)

Permanent Settlements in the Reconstruction Phase

Reconstruction is the final stage in the disaster cycle, and hypothetically may occur from one year after the disaster to many years later. This stage includes restoring community services, finding assistance, locating permanent housing, and resuming a more normal life and routine. This final section examines the significance of socio-economic factors during reconstruction. The literature shows that those with lower socio-economic status may be more likely to have trouble during this time, particularly in the areas of housing and relocation (Enarson at al., 2007)

A major challenge after an earthquake is how to establish a new residential area of a similar or even improved standard for the people who have suffered psychological, social and economic impacts and witnessed significant damage to the physical environment (Dikmen, 2011).

Permanent housing, financed by the multi-lateral lenders as well as by government funds began about one year after the earthquake and resulted in the development of apartment blocks on the hills surrounding the affected cities. Beginning about two years after the earthquakes, permanent houses were ready for those families who used to be homeowners before the earthquakes. The World Bank and the MPWS built new settlements of three–five storey apartment blocks on parcels of land on the hills surrounding the cities. Homeowners who were qualified for the programme were given low-interest loans and took up residence in the new settlements, vacating the temporary housing (Johnson, 2007). There are important studies on the permanent settlements in Düzce. (See for instance; Kümbetoğlu et al., 2006)

The Ministry of Public Works and Settlement produced houses only for the home owners through the agency of contractors as well. But the need for housing of the tenants and the low-income were paid almost no attention. This gap was filled by various agents such that Catholic Relief Services (CRS) and International Blue Crescent (IBC) which gave donations for housing for the low income victims. So where the central policies on housing

were neglected and/or delayed, a civil act of the struggle for housing took place (Yarar, 2006) as it will be mentioned in the following topic briefly.

Alternative Models of NGOs and Grassroots

International NGO based self-help houses: According to the interview with Selma Demirelli, the International Blue Crescent, Umcor and Caritas were the organizations from varied geographies with different motivations and were participating in the recovery process in Düzce. The houses of Blue Crescent in Beyciler (BC Houses) and Umcor in Gümüşpınar (UM Houses) were planned to be produced via a model of participatory design and construction. The houses of Caritas in Gümüşpınar –adjacent to UM Houses- on the other hand were planned to be built by the organization and given to the disadvantaged households of low income, single parents and the disabled affected by the earthquake.

Some of the interviewees were selected in a process which Selma Demirelli described: households were investigated to see who meets the requirements of the 'target group' of the 'project'. After the candidates for the houses of IBC in Beyciler and Umcor in Gümüşpınar were selected, representatives of the households started to work in the construction. When the house was drafted to one, he/she or a kin had to participate in the process of construction. Yet, some of the other interviewees claim that selection of 'beneffficiaries' was also operated under injust conditions.

Gölyaka Solidarity Houses: As Yucak (2004) mention and informal interviewees with the inhabitants reveal this was an act of insitu rebuilding of the houses in the outskirt villages of the Gölyaka in Düzce through the self-help loans of NGOs and with an entire participation and solidarity patterns in building.

Housing Cooperative of Association of Earthquake Victims (Dep-Der): The only study for the tenant's housing problem was made by Dep-Der which is an NGO established after the earthquake but it is still active. Their process is a longlasting one characterized by the struggle for housing as Yarar (2006), Demirel (2005) mention.

Housing Cooperative of the Foundation for the Support of Women's Work (KEDV): The housing cooperative for the female-headed families intended to build within the boundaries of Permanent Settlements in Nalbantoğlu district. It is worth exploring as a process putting forward the difference of women.

Among them, long-lasting temporary prefabricated housing in the city center and international NGO based self-help housing settlements in the boundaries of the central province are selected as the field, because by 2011 and 2012 thirteen years after the earthquake, they were still the sites where the low-income were living. Gölyaka Solidarity houses, located in the rural outskirts of the city is not included in this thesis despite that it is a succesful case for participatory planning and building insitu. On the other hand, the inspiring struggle of Dep-Der is not included as well, as the struggle is still going on and there is not a physical space built for the cooperative members for the time being. Though the starting point is an inspiring one, Housing Cooperative of KEDV is left behind the scope of this thesis since it is more for the middle class women.

3.3. Brief Description of the Research Site

The three main sites below were selected to conduct the field research in as they were consistent with the aim, scope and questions of this thesis, in that they provide housing for the low-income and are located in the ten km distance to the central province of Düzce.
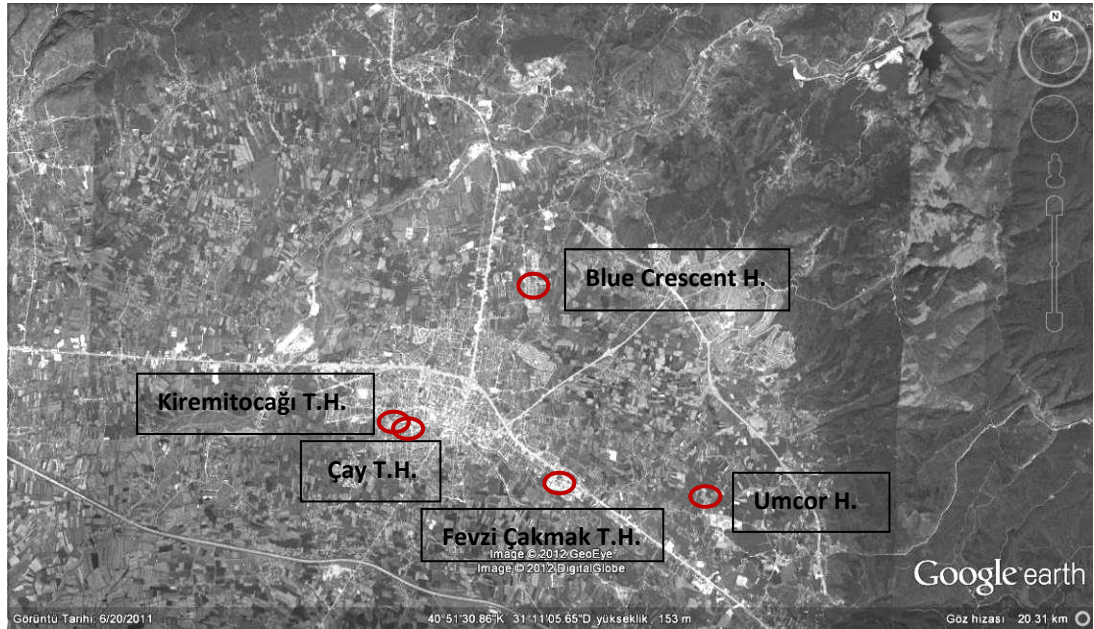
Figure 3-7. Location of Temporary Housing Districts, Umcor and Blue Crescent Houses

3.3.1. Temporary Prefabricated Settlemets of Kiremitocağı, Çay and Fevzi Çakmak Districts

Post-disaster temporary settlemets are produced in order to provide a healthy living environment after the emergency period till people move to their permanent settlements. In the ideal conditions, the expected duration of these settlements is two to three years. The housing units in these temporary settlements therefore do not have the qualities of a conventional house. The a priori acceptance of the short life of the post-disaster temporary houses are questioned in the studies from various disciplines such as architecture, planning, sociology etc.

In various districts of Düzce, after 1999 Earthquakes, fourteen temporary settlements were established, with a total of 5962 temporary units in it (Düzce Valiliği, 2002 cited in Arslan, 2004). As mentioned before, temporary settlements were established for the stakeholders till they repaired or built their houses or moved to permanent houses. After two–three years, the majority of the temporary units were vacant because the ''homeowner'' families moved into permanent housing, leaving mostly the ''renting'' families and new migrants living in the temporary housing since many of the temporary housing units were still in use (Johnson, 2007). Thirteen years after the earthquake the temporary settlements in the central neighbourhoods of Kiremitocağı, Çay and Fevzi Çakmak Districts still stand.

The houses in Kiremitocağı Settlement (approx. 300 units) were 36m2 duplex units built with prefabricated pressed board panels on a concrete slab foundation and included plumbing and electricity. Since the settlement was within walking distance to services in town, no school, medical centre or mosque were provided, but there were such community services as a small market, a cafeteria, laundry facilities, an embroidery workshop and a playground. This settlement has continuously been occupied since it was constructed, and at the time of data collection, all the units were still occupied. Çay settlement (approx. 30 units) is located on the other side of the river and is occupied by the local gypsy population (Johnson, 2007).

3.3.2. Umcor Houses

The United Methodist Committee on Relief (UMCOR) in Turkey was engaged in a housing construction programme which provided 110 vulnerable families with permanent

housing and social infrastructure as Arslan& Johnson (2010) explains. The project aimed at the most vulnerable households within the communities such as female-headed, the elderly and the disabled households, and the families with a large number of dependents. Families who did not have any access to land for constructing their own house were targeted, as well as the households who had access to land but needed only technical assistance and material contributions to construct their house (Arslan& Johnson, 2010).

Through participatory construction, the project sought to build the capacity of beneficiaries to recognize and employ earthquake resistant construction techniques by providing them with on-the-job training traditional housing construction techniques. This technology, in which wood lattice structure that is in-filled with brick is used, has proven to be more resistant to earthquakes and utilizes a relatively cheaper technology that can be easily adopted. There is an enormous advantage in this mode of construction in a region that is situated within a major geographical fault line, and the region remains prone to earthquakes and other tremors (Arslan& Johnson, 2010).

3.3.3. Blue Crescent Houses

Beyciler Assisted Self-Help Housing Program was carried out by International Blue Crescent Relief and Development Foundation (IBC) in coordination with Düzce Governorship and Municipality in between May 2001 and December 2003. The IBC was the leading partner with all financial and operational tasks, while Düzce Municipality was a partner organization. The objective of the project was to provide durable housing solutions to the most vulnerable 168 tenant families resident in Düzce who had bacome homeless after the earthquakes in 1999. The aim was to establish community association to oversee managerial and financial responsibilities and to provide enterprise opportunities and training skills to both the new and existing local communities. The main services provided included design of housing project with the beneficiaries, construction of 168 houses with their participation and establishment of steering committees and associations[11]. As a result

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[11]According to the data of International Blue Crescent Relief and Development Foundation (IBC), 239 people from 168 households participated for 8935,5 working days. Average working day per a household was 53, while the minimum value was 50 working days. Among 239 people 109 were women, they participated a total of 3528,5 working days (2223 working days being participating in construction works). (www.ibc.org)

of the project, the beneficiaries became the owners of houses shaped by their own hands and ideas.

The three settlements that are explained briefly in terms of their origin, building and funding model above are the bases for the field research, in which the interviewees live in. In the forthcoming chapter, both a detailed information on the spatial caharacteristics of these sites and the findings of the field research in terms of women's experiences in the levels of household, neighbourhood and waged work will be given.

CHAPTER IV

FIELD RESEARCH

In this chapter, we will discuss the impacts of changing spatial structure after earthquake on gender roles of low-income women on the level of household, neighbourhood and work. Post-disaster space is produced by various abstract actors. These abstract spaces are used and also challenged by women. They do so by challenging separate spheres in post disaster times by flowing through from one sphere to the other.

In order to shed a light on the relation between physical space, social relations and work patterns of women, I will give a description of physical space of the interviwees in three post-earthquke social housing sites, respectively Kiremitocağı, Çay, Fevzi Çakmak Temporary Prefabricated Housing, Gümüşpınar Umcor Housing and Beyciler Blue Crescent Housing Districts. The physical space will be studied in terms of location of the site in relation to downtown, urban services available, spatial layout of the site, and spatial characteristics of the house.

Following this description, an analysis of women's current position in these spaces and their perception of the space they live in will be provided based on the interviews conducted in each three post-earthquke low-income housing sites. We will question whether we can observe any change in the roles and social relations of the women in domestic space, in the neighbourhood and in the public space in three different post-earthquke models.

4.1. Women's Experiences within Temporary Settlements in the Central Distritcs of Düzce

4.1.1. Spatial Patterns of Women in Kiremitocaği, Çay, Fevzi Çakmak Temporary Prefabricated Housing District

The low-income women who still live in the Temporary Settlements of Kiremitocağı, Çay and Fevzi Çakmak Districts in the city center, , face similar difficulties even thirteen years after the Earthquake. The conditions are far from being standard, but only under the acceptable limits of human rights.

> The difference between temporary housing and housing is that in the former, the duration of tenure is established in advance whereas in the latter tenure is usually for an indeterminate period. In temporary housing, people are only planning to stay there until they can find permanent housing; either the conditions of the temporary house will be found to be less comfortable than the conditions of a permanent house for a given family or the temporary house will only be made available to that family for a predetermined period of time. (Johnson, 2007)

But in the case of Düzce, it did not come to life and people continued to live in these sites. As Johnson (2007) indicates housing was still in short supply after 13 years especially for renters who were left out of the permanent housing programme so that there was still a strong demand for use of good quality temporary housing, which werelocated within the city centre. And it was women and their girls who faced the problems related to the characteristics these sites and units as they spend most of their time in the housing environment.

The Location of the Settlements in Urban Scale

The temporary settlements of Kiremitocağı and Çay Districts are located very close to city center, along the western end of the Melen River. It takes approximately ten minutes to downtown by foot, Governor's Office, State Hospital, Urban Square of Anıtpark and 15 minutes to the Municipality. Temporary settlement of Fevzi Çakmak District on the other hand is a bit further than the previous two, located along the southeastern end of the Melen River, but it is still 30 minutes away from the Municipality by foot. And public transportation facilities are quite well.
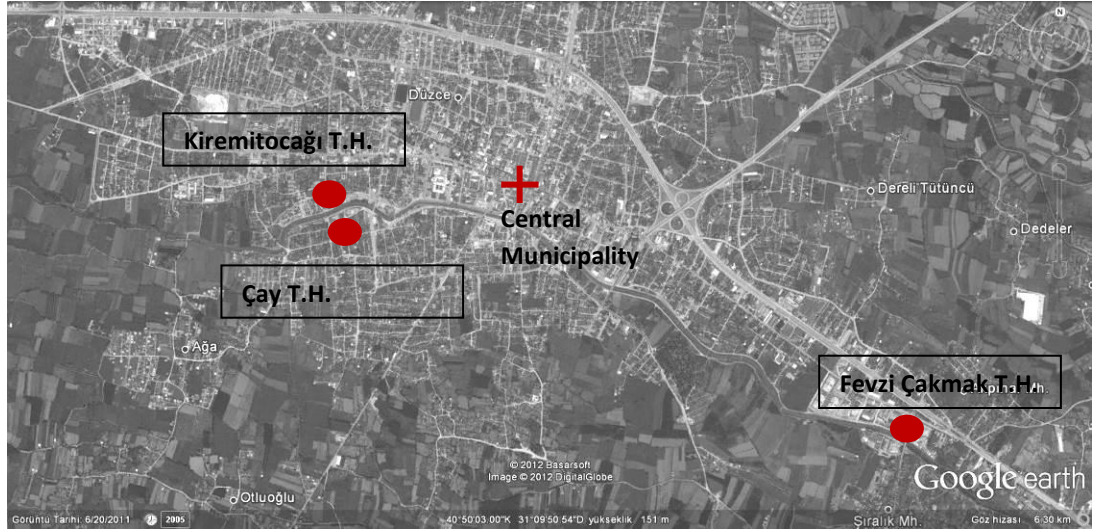
Figure 4-1. Location of the Temporary Settlements

As all three of these temporary settlements are located in the city center, the interviewees are physically close to the urban services. Therefore there is a general satisfaction in terms of physical access among them. Moreover the interviewees mention that at the time they move to these settlements as part of the second circuit (after first stakeholders move from the units), the location of the settlements became a priority in making decision especially for the proximity to state hospital as in the case of Kiremitocağı and Çay districts. In Kiremitocağı, there is also a small health care center and mother-child care center nearby. And especially the women who does not hold a green card for health services prefer these centers. And as mentioned earlier, it is very close to the state hospital but this physical proximity does not always solve the problem of access for the elder as Şengül explains for her mother-in-law:

> My mother-in-law got sick… You have to go to see a doctor, but you do not have a car. My neighbours have one but they would not help me. With a taxicab it is 20 Lira both ways, just for the ride. It is inappropriate to disturb others at midnight. They would help me if I ask, but you just can't.[12] (CY_Şengül)

Near all the three settlements there are primary and high schools but especially for the high school the children may need to go to other schools in the city. Then access to school

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[12]Kayınvalidem hasta oldu… Doktora gidiyorsun ama araban yok, komşuların var ama bana faydası yok. Taksiyle git-gel 20 lira sırf yol parası. Gece yarısı elalemi nasıl rahatsız edeceksin.Yani istesem götürürler ama istenmez ki. (CY_Şengül)

especially for young girls emerges as another problem. Şengül's middle daughter is a freshman at highschool for commerce:

> The school is far, even further than the city hall. There are street dogs here, I arranged a shuttle and convinced my husband. We will save from our grocery budget and manage to pay 65 lira per month for the shuttle.[13] (CY_Şengül)

There are shops and markets nearby for daily necessities but generally shopping from the bazaar is preferrable and its location is easy to access.

> Although once in a while, I would like to go out and get some fresh air when the weather is nice, since my baby is so little I haven't been often outside. But occasionally I visit the downtown; and enjoy the department stores.[14] (KO_Zeynep)

Almost all the women mention the need for going out and getting some fresh air and therefore they say that they generally go to parks nearby to hang out, mostly with their kids, like Behiye: "Well… if you mean hanging out, I go to downtown and parks with my kids."[15] And as Neriman points out when they go out with kids, their routes are restricted: "Apart from that we went to the amusement park behind the sport street, but of course without a car. My child gets sick very quickly, that is why I can not go out often."[16]

Just like their kids, the relatives of the women whom they have to care for restrict the activity patterns of women as in the case of Şengül and Behiye: "I can't leave her and go somewhere. Everyday we visit the doctor, every day, every day we are at the doctor."[17] (CY_Şengül)

> I haven't been in municipality profession courses, there is no one from this neighborhood who attends, or I don't know. Sewing and embroidery could be useful for example. But I have so many things that limit me. I can not go anywhere,

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[13]"Okul uzak, Belediyenin de tee ilersinde. Köpekler var burada, servis tuttum. Eşime dedim artık yemeden içmeden kısıcaz diye, 65 lira ayda servis." (CY_Şengül)

[14]Nadir de olsa hava güzelse dışarı çıkıp temiz hava almak isterim.Parklara giderim.Çocuk çok küçük olduğu için pek çıkamıyorum ama uygun olunca bazen çarşıya da çıkarım.Özellikle mağazaları dolaşmayı çok severim.(KO_Zeynep)

[15]Haa gezmeye dersen, çocuklarımla çarşıya çıkarız, parklara gideriz.(FC_Behiye)

[16]Onun dışında lunaparka gittik, spor sokağın arka tarafına, ama tabi araba yok. Çocuk çabuk hastalanıyor, o yüzden çok dışarı çıkamıyorum. (CY_Neriman)

[17]Ben gidemem, onu bırakıp da bir yere gidemem. Her gün doktordayız, her gün doktordayız, her gün doktordayız (CY_Şengül)

I have a sister-in-law. If she hadn't been with me, I would have attend Kouran reading course. [18] (FC_Behiye)

So, it is clear that for the women living in the temporary settlements in the city center, it is hard to talk about a dense pattern of urban facilities even though they are physically easy to access. Nevertheless, as they live near downtown and they know that if they need something they can go for it relatively easier, it is a positive outcome. But being in lower economic status, their access is still limited. And their roles of caregiving also make it harder for them to go outside the house and integrate with the city services.

Spatial Characteristics within the Settlement

It can be traced in the narratives of the interviewees that there is a very blurred distinction between the house and its neighbourhood environment for the women living in here. As an interviewee living in Kiremitocağı Prefabricated District she explains her feelings she has when she leaves that place to go to the older settlement in Aziziye District in the city center: "I am so relaxed when I go to Aziziye to my sister-in-law. I even do not need my medicine, but when I am back here it is over for me. This place is full with sickness."[19] (KO_Aysel)

As mentioned earlier, the prefabricated districts altered in terms of inhabitants. In addition to this, that fact that the former middle class stakeholders left and tenants settled in their place caused a change in the general view of the housing environment. An interviewee compares the present situation with the early periods of temporary housing:

> This environment is not nice at all. Actually, this neighborhood had accommodated state employees and managers before. It used to have nice people around here, and it was beautiful. But later it had changed a lot, it got worse. Now it is very bad, there is health and sanitary issues, people get sick here.[20] (KO_Zeynep)

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[18] Belediyenin kurslarına gitmedim, bu civardan giden yok, bilmiyom. Dikiş nakış olsa iyi olabilir, ama benim ayağımda bağım çok, hiçbir yere gidemiyorum görümcem var, o olmasa kuran kursuna gitmek istemiştim. (FC_Behiye)

[19] Aziziye' ye yengeme gidince içim ferahlıyor, ilaçlarıma bile gerek kalmıyor, buraya geldim mi tamamen bitti benim için. Bura hastalık artık. (KO_Aysel)

[20] Bu ortam hiç iyi değil. Aslında eskiden buralarda memurlar, müdürler oturuyormuş. Çok düzgün insanlar oturuyormuş, burası çok güzelmiş. Ama sonradan değişmiş, bozulmuş. Şimdi çok kötü, burada insan sağlığını kaybeder. (KO_Zeynep)

Figure 4-2. Deformed, Left and deconstructed containers in the same space, view from Kiremitocağı District

On the other hand, thirteen years after the disaster, it is still possible to make a comparison between two juxtaposed sites of temporary houses, Kiremitocağı and Çay Districts. The process of settlement in the Çay district differs from that of Kiremitocağı District as Seher explains:

> …These temporary houses have been built previously. It was winter after November 12th, cold, people moved in here before the constructions have finished. Houses were without windows and doors and people built them by themselves. This made them eel that they own the houses. Since then most of the residents haven't changed. Whenever there is a leakage or some place need fixation we do repair it ourselves, we even paint the façade…[21] (CY_Seher)

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[21]…Burası daha önce yapıldı, 12 kasım sonrası kıştı, soğuktu, buralar tam bitmeden insanlar prefabriğe girebilmek için geldi, kapısı penceresi yoktu, kendi imkanlarıyla yaptılar. O zaman sahiplenme oldu. O zamandan beri de değişmedi oturanların çoğu, ne zaman bir yer aksa, bozulsa kendimiz tamir ediyoruz, dışını boyuyoruz. (CY_Seher)

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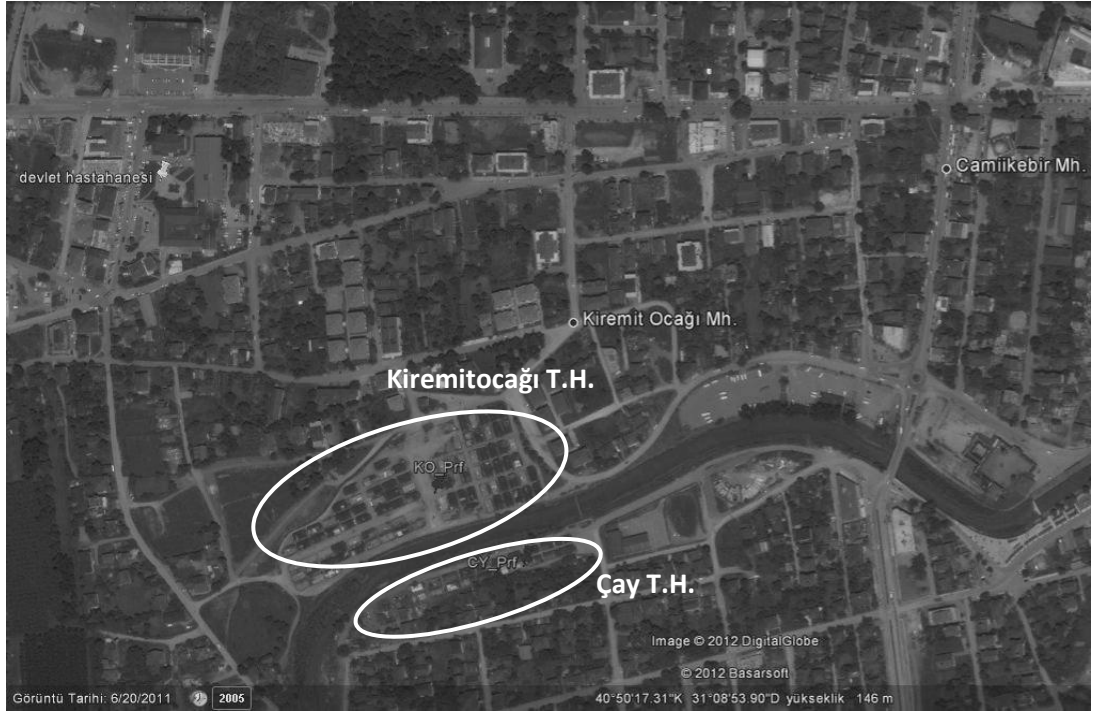
Figure 4-3. Spatial Layout of Kiremitocağı and Çay Temporary Settlements

It can be said that the difference between the neighbourhood relations of a given settlement affects the physical appearance of that site and the physical features affect the perception of inhabitants' own living environment just as a women living in Kiremitocağı District puts it:

> The other side of the creek is much cleaner; there it is occupied by Romans. Why? The residents are the same since the very beginning, nothing changed there. Here if you trash your stove ashes just around no one will say anything. Here, there are people living on collecting recycling metal, criminals, thieves who steal wires or manhole cover. Look over there; there are two missing manhole covers.[22] (KO_Aysel)

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[22]Derenin öbür tarafı daha temiz, ora roman. Neden? Orada değişen yok, başından beri aynılar oturuyor. Bizim burada küllüğü dışarı dök, bir şey demez kimse.Burada hurdacı da var, arsızı da var, hırsızı da var, kablo çalan olur, kanalizasyon kapağı çalan olur.Bak şurada 2 kapak yoktur. (KO_Aysel)

Figure 4-4. General view of Çay Temporary Settlement

For the women living in the temporary settlements in the city center, physical space offers almost nothing within the settlements. And through the narrations of the women, their physical space of the settlement is directly associated with their social environment of the neighbourhood which they are complaining about.

Spatial Organization within the Prefabricated Units

As a temporary unit is designed to be used for a limited period, it can not be compared to a conventional house. It is thought to be cheap, easy to settle, standard etc. by the authorities. But as in the aforementioned case of Düzce, these units have been used far more than the expected time span, for 13 years. Şengül emphasizes this conflict in her own words:

> I pray God for a house so that we move out from here. I wish a house with three rooms, a nice bathroom and restroom, a kitchen... and a small garden, not for planting, just for a table to sit outside. We are so stuck here inside...[23] (CY_Şengül)

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[23]Allah bize ev verse de çıksak buradan. 3 oda yapıp, güzel banyo, tuvalet, mutfak olsa... Bir de biraz bahçesi olsun, ekmek için değil, masa koyar otururuz diyerekten, burada bahçesizlikten... (CY_Şengül)

Inevitably, the women interviewed in these areas evaluate their living environment in terms of both spatial organization, materials of the unit and also of the problems related to its deformation that come with time as if these units were kind of a house. While interviewing with the two women in Fevzi Çakmak Prefabricated Site, I wanted them to compare their present unit with the previous units in Prefabricated Sites of Kervan, Şıralık and Gümüşpınar Districts. Then they came up with the emphasis on the divisions in the units as the previous ones were separated with a curtain in a single space and the present one has a separate room. So it is clear that the issue of the degree of a controlled privacy is highly important criterion while evaluating the living environment inside these 'once' temporary houses.

More than half of the women in temporary settlements who formerly lived in a prefabricated unit pointed out how these inner spaces made them feel in the past:

> Şıralık, it was much spacier, it was made out of wood chipboard, the outside covered with metal plate and inside with wood chipboard, the ceiling was higher, it was spacy, it was comfortable. … These ones are not healthy, both inside and outside is covered with metal plate.[24] (FC_Feriha)

Though building materials of temporary houses are changing from one settlement to another, the problems related to its insulation, maintenance, long-term hygene, long-term deformation continue. For instance, different from a conventional house made up of bricks; prefabricated units have thinner and lighter panels instead of walls, so heat control comes to be one of the main problems as Şengül explains:

> It is cold in the winter and very hot in the summer, you see, there is not any ventilation. We cannot sleep at winter nights, we keep the stove on till morning, I am afraid of smoke poisoning, so I burn wood, not coal. Here, cold is coming from all holes.[25](CY_Şengül)

The lighter panels of the unit restrict also the use of inner surfaces. As the inner space of the unit is limited, women try to make extra space for storage. But as Şengül complains it is not possible to use the wall surface:

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[24]Şıralık, ora daha havadardı, suntaydı, dışı sac içi suntaydı, tavanı daha yüksek, havadardı, rahattı. … Bunların sağlık yönü iyi değil, içi dışı sac. (FC_Feriha)

[25]Kışın çok soğuk, yazın da çok sıcak oluyor, görüyorsun bir hava alacak yer yok. Kışın geceleri uyuyamıyoruz, sabaha kadar yakıyoruz, kömür değil de zehirleniriz diye odun yakıyorum. Tüm deliklerden soğuk hava geliyor burada.(CY_Şengül)

I wanted to build cupboards and shelves in the kitchen. You cannot even put a nail on the walls, it breaks, does not stay stable. Poverty is all around here, we do not like this at all but you cannot change it.[26] (CY_Şengül)

Just like the panels, roofs of the units are not durable, especially after several years. Leakege is seen very often and it needs maintanence otherwise there is the risk that it collapses. With regards to long-term deformation of the units, it became harder to maintain the inner spaces as well. Almost all the interviewees complain about the dirt and bugs. Neriman tells:

…If I had a house I would not stay here. Full of bugs, I spray around against bugs, it bad for my kid. If I had money I would rent an apartment. Couple of days ago, we were here with my neighbor, it was a cat or a mouse I do not know, and it made a hole there. Believe me I took off my bandage from my surgery site and fixed the hole.[27] (CY_Neriman)

All the physical problems of the units mentioned above make the life hard for the inhabitants. And it is among one of the reasons why the women cannot see these units as 'real' houses. In fact, the first transition from tents to prefabrics one to two years after the earthquake was great for many. But in time, as the prefabrics were designed to be temporary houses, they appeared to be inconvenient for the life time of a household. As the family structure of the settlers and the necessities were changing in the course of time, expectations from a house were changing interrelatedly. In the own words of an interviewee;

When we first settled in Kiremitocağı, of course it was like a paradise for us. Paradise, paradise! That such a different unique feeling. It had electricity, running tap water… you cannot imagine! These facilities did not exist in the tent. It had a restroom. I mean it was just like a paradise for us. However, as times goes by… it does not work, kids grow up. The demands are increasing… When kids were little one girl and one boy could stay in the same room, in one bedroom temporary unit. But when they grow up they cannot stay in the same room. It does not work…[28] (KO_Vediha)

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[26] Mutfak için dolap, raf yapayım dedim. Bu prefabriğin duvarlarına bir çivi bile çakamıyorsun, hemen dağılıyor, tutmuyor. Fakirlik var burada, hiç sevmiyoz ama napacan. (CY_Şengül)

[27] …Benim evim olsa burada durmazdım. Böcüklü, sürekli ilaçlıyorum, çocuk için kötü. Param olsa kiraya da çıkarım. Geçen komşu ile burada oturuyorduk, artık tavanda kedi mi fare mi ne vardıysa burası deliniyor. Valla bak, kendi ameliyat bandajlarımı çıkardım oraya yapıştırdım (CY_Neriman)

[28] Kiremitocağı'na ilk geldik. Tabi burası bize cennet gibi geldi. Cennet cennet! O başka bir duygu. İçinde elektrik suyu var böyle inanamıyosun. Çadırda öyle bişey yok. Tuvaleti var. Yani burası böyle inanılmaz bir cennet gibi geldi. Ama sonra yıllar geçtikçe tabi.. Gitmiyo çoluk çocuk büyüyo. İhtiyaçlar

The narration above, which reflects the thoughts of almost all of the women interviewed, can reveal that a temporary housing is a temporary housing at its best. The critical approach to temporary housing which Johnson (2007) points out is valid in here so that this phenomenon made it last longer for the authorities to provide permanent solutions for the tenants. And for the tenants, once paradise like, these houses turned into unhealthy, insufficient living environments filled with illness. Almost in the same line, the type of settlement in the units and the spatial quality of the near environment within the settlement is mentioned to cause illness as time passes and the inhabitants have been displaced.

4.1.2 The Impacts of Temporary Spaces on the the Gendered Lives of Women

In this part the effects of the spatial characteristics of the living environment on the social relations of the women living in these environments will be revealed. Though the clues of these effects were mentioned under the previous topic, here we will present the direct relationship between the two. Just as the physical space was deformed in time, the social relations got worse day by day for almost all of the women interviewed in temporary settlements. Similarly, as the social environment became unsatisfactory, the women lost their attachment to the physical environment. As it was quoted in the previous topic by most of the women, 'this place is full of sickness…'

The Relation between the Physical Space and the Relations of Women at Home

To start with, social relations within the units are inevitably affected by the spatial characteristics of the units. Living under such conditions of insufficiency affected the domestic labour of women and privacy among the individuals sharing the same space. And it was the woman who suffered most from lack of a private space of her own as she spends most of her time in and around the house. And this lack of private space caused lack in boundaries. More than half of the women interviewed are not involved in formal work patterns; they spend most of their time in housework: cleaning, cooking, caring for the little children and other members of the family in daytime. For the women whose

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çoğalıyo. ... bi oda bi salonda çocuklar küçükken biri kız biri oğlan aynı odada yatıyolardı ama çocuklar büyüyünce bi kız bi oğlan aynı odada yatmıyo. Olmuyo yani… (KO_Vediha)

husbands are working outside, or if children are studying or working outside, these add to her role as caregiving in the evening. In the light of this dense daily routine, women need a space for having rest and her own reproduction as she is the one who facilitates reproduction of the family members. But firstly, the extraordinary physical conditions of the container units should be looked upon in relation to women's increased housework load in the temporary houses.

> We as women of the temporary houses are very tired. Life is not that easy there. Men are lucky to be able treat their houses as restaurants and hotel rooms… For example I have read something from a writer who claims that as long as your house is fine, then your duties as a housewife are much easier. Indeed I mean it.[29] (KO_Vediha)

The interviewee continue to explain what she is doing in the house. The space is so small in size that it is even hard to circulate within the house:

> For example, if only I was able to rent a house of three to four rooms and a living room… I will cook; I go inside and outside because there is not enough space. I'm very tired Hande. You already tidy the beds every morning. You should cook every day. As it is hot, the food is not lasting long, you should cook everyday.[30] (KO_Vediha)

As discussed earlier under the topic of spatial quality of the units, after several years the temporary units are deformed. Related to the deformation of the units in long-term, it became harder to maintain the inner spaces because of dirt, dust, bugs, leakage as well. These problems of the house, just as Vediha mentions in her above narration, directly increase the weight of the housework in which women are involved. It also brings emotional weight to care for the family members in such inconvenient places as Zeynep explains:

> My previous temporary unit was nicer, it was clean. Here it does not matter how much you clean, it always looks dirty. Here, there are bugs all around. The ceiling is leaking, it is terrible. This place is not hygienic at all for kids. I clean with bleach all

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[29]Biz prefabrik kadınları çok yorgunuz. O kadar basit değil orda yaşamak .hadi erkekler gene lokanta otel olarak kullanıyolar da.. Ben mesela şey okumuştum bi yazarda. Evin ne kadar rahat olursa ev hanımlığın da o kadar rahat olur. Hakikaten de öyle. (KO_Vediha)

[30]Mesela ben 3 oda 4 oda bi salon bi ev tutabilseydim.ben burda bi yemek yapıcam içeri giriyorum dışarı çıkıyorum çünkü yer yok. Çok yoruldum hande. Zaten sabah 2 saat yatak topluyosun. Her gün yemek yapmak zorundasın.Sıcakta yemek dayanmıyo her gün yapmak zorundasın.

around but the situation is still like this. I am obsessive with cleaning, especially with bleach. But it is never enough for this place.[31] (KO_Zeynep)

On the other hand, plannimetric spatial organization in the units, as man-made geometric volume of minimum standards for living, are similar to each other in size but differ in the degree of privacy inside. The actual size and division of the unit does not fulfill the space needed for the women who are accustomed to live in conventional houses of certain lines of privacy. More than half of the women interviewed living in temporary settlements are living at least with husbands and children; this means that in 30 m2 units, living environment of women is getting smaller. For instance, in the unit where six people live, the use of the space changes in a day time. One of the interviewees tells:"We stay six people in one temporary unit which has one bathroom, one living room and bedroom. Kids and my mother-in-law sleep in living room.[32]" Another interviewee reminds that in the prefabricated units it takes two hours in the morning and two hours at night to make up the beds. Moreover, when kins visit and stay there the order changes: "We also have guests, sister of my mother-in-law comes and stay two-three months a year with us. Then we make a floor bed from blankets in living room and kids sleep there[33]" (CY_Şengül). The patterns of using the single space as living space in day time and sleeping space at night and to live with the family members in such close contact in a limited single space lacks for a private sphere of one's own.

Having even one separate room in the case of temporary houses means a possibility of escape for the women when she does not want to get involved in the activities in the living room, ie watching television or listening to music:

I can't tolerate the noise; I do not watch TV so much. I have high cholestereol and high blood pressue. I do not like Muge's show, my mother-in-law asks for it and I let the TV to her and go to the bed. I only watch Zerda among the TV dramas, I haven't seen it before. Anyhow after I sent kids to the school I sleep till 12.00pm

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[31]Eski prefabriğim daha güzeldi, temizdi.Burada yapıyorsun yapıyorsun (temizlik) hiç belli etmiyor. Böcekler her yerde burda. Tavan akıtıyor, çok fena. Çocuklar için hiç hijyenik değil burası. Her yeri çamaşır suyuyla yıkıyorum, ama yine de durum bu. Temizlik, özellikle de çamaşır suyu takıntım var benim.Ama buraya yetmiyor. (KO_Zeynep)

[32] Prefabrikte 6 kişi kalıyoruz, prefabrikte 1 tuvalet-banyo, 1 oda ve salon var. Çocuklar ve kayınvalidem salonda yatıyorlar. (CY_Şengül)

[33] Misafirler de geliyor, kayınvalidemin kız kardeşi gelince 2-3 ay kaldığı oluyor. O zaman salonda yere döşek, yorgan seriyoruz, çocuklar yerde yatıyor. (CY_Şengül)

and then I prepare Turkish tea and we have lunch. Here everyone gets home at around 6.00-7.00 pm and at 9.00 pm there is no one on the streets.[34] (CY_Şengül)

Here in this quotation a daily routine of a woman can be seen. In the case of Şengül, even though her children leave home for school, she has to stay with her mother-in-law and she can not be alone at home to do what she wishes. Under such conditions a separate room for resting gains an extra importance. For some of the women watching television is the only way of leisure in the house they do by herself other than reading Kur'an and doing handicraft. Their children have computers and internet but the women have almost no interrelation with computer. For women who have children of primary school age for instance, as the children stay at school for a limited period of the day and in the other half of the day they are at home, limited space prevents them from doing her already limited leisure activities, especially when the children study. On the other hand for the women who work from home, leisure patterns turn into a kind of working pattern also. One of the women mentions in reply to the question of her daily routine: "I already make my day with cutting lace…"[35] (FC_Behiye). Her experience of working from home will be handled in following topic of 'Working Patterns'.

So the lack of a space of her own and becoming obliged to live with others in a single space caused women's position in the house to be blurred and her physical and social needs and her relations with other family members become out of her scope. The need for a free sphere along with a space to break from daily responsibilities is desired but cannot be reached.

Gendered social division of labour, namely the emotional labour of women in the house, is increased in post-disaster spaces due to the lack of adequate space for the other members of the family too. For instance, children's lack of a separate space both causes a disorder for them and for the woman as one of the interviewees' mentions: "The earthquake destroyed my life, my children's lives. They had a well-organized life before the

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[34]"Kafam ses getirmiyor, televizyon izlemiyorum pek. Kolestrol var, tansiyon var. Müge'nin programını sevmiyorum, kayınvalidem istiyor ona açıyorum ben içeri girip yatıyorum. Bir tek Zerda var onu izliyorum, daha önce izlememiştim. Zaten çocukları gönderdikten sonra yatar 12'ye kadar uyurum. Sonra kalkarım çay demleriz, yemeğimizi yeriz. Yani burada belli bir saate kadar, akşam 6-7 oldu mu insanlar çekilir, 9 oldu mu sokakta kimse kalmaz." (CY_Şengül)

[35]Ben zaten küpürle kendimi avunduruyom…"(FC_Behiye)

earthquake. They had separate rooms, they had lives. Now we are all stuck in the same place"[36] (KO_Vediha).

Here, the issue of social order before earthquake and disorder after earthquake correspond to the increase in the gendered roles of women –care in the private sphere of home. For instance for the children in pre-school age it is the space for playing which is necessary whereas for the school age children it is studying according to the accounts of the women with children. And almost all of the women emphasized that while the children grow up, at first the separation of the children from the parents in certain spaces such as bedrooms, wc and bathrooms is required. Second, children of different sexes should be separated physically in certain spaces according to the cultural codes. If not, this causes an extra loan on the women to try to provide separate spheres. The point is that not to have separate spaces, or a kind of a spatial hierarchy in the house, creates conflict in familial relations. Here is an instance where the physical insufficiency resulted in an unwanted distance in relations between the partners:

> … It is not nice… 12 years sleeping on the coach. You cannot settle and make a comfort. You have kids around, your teenage son and you cannot just have your privacy. They may pass through just for a glass of water or something. You cannot lay down relaxed with your husband… Of course it is a sour change. For example you do not have a private room, you live with kids in the same place, how can you have a relation? Both physical and emotional. Also you cannot have a private discussion. It is not only about sleeping together with your partner but also you cannot just stay alone and share things. You are always in front of the eyes of the kids. There are no more couple relations, plus other issues emerged from this situation. There were so many things that bother and make you thoughtful. …These 10 years. It took so many things from us… there is no more the settling you had before.[37] (KO_Vediha)

The interviewees mention the problem of sharing a limited space. Vediha complains about the way that her children were restricted in terms of playing in the house: "Right in the

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[36]"Deprem benim hayatımı altüst etti çocuklarımın hayatını altüst etti çocuklarımın bi düzeni vardı depremden önce. Ayrı odaları vardı bi hayatları vardı şimdi sen geliyosun aynı yerde." (KO_Vediha)

[37]Hiç hoş değil… 12 yıldır koltuk tepelerinde. Bi açılıyım saçılıyım diyemiyosun. Oğlun var bişi var yatamıyosun. Su içmeye gelse çocuklar. E biz eşimle, şöyle bi sere serpe yatamıyorsun… E tabi çok eksi değişiklik oldu. Mesela ayrı odan yok, çocuklarla aynı yerde yaşıyosun. Ne kadar ilişkin olabilir? Maddi manevi. Artı bişey konuşamıyosun. İlla ki yatmak değil ama yalnız kalamıyosun bişey paylaşamıyosun. Hep çocuklarının gözü önündesin. Karı koca ilişkisi kalmadı zaten, başka sorunlar çıktı. O kadar çok şey vardı ki kafanı ambole eden. … Bu 10 yıl. Çok şey götürdü bizden… eski düzen kalmadı… (KO_Vediha)

childhood of my children… You hardly fit into the space… Where will you put the toys, how will you make them play? You sleep, you eat and drink just this much place…"[38] (KO_Vediha)

Figure 4-5. Living space of women in temporary houses, inner view of the container in Fevzi Çakmak District

One of the interviewees expresses her feelings as follows: "If only we just had a house, where everyone had separate room…[39]" (CY_Şengül), just after she told that she put a toilet in the living space of the unit for her mother-in-law when she got sick since she wasn't able to move. So she complains about the tension between cultural codes of need for privacy within the extended family on the one hand and to be obliged to live with all the members of the family in a single small space on the other.

It's known from the narrations of these women that in the tents or tent cities, they have faced with this issue of privacy harder. There the most frequently pointed problems

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[38]Çocuklarımın en oyuncakla oynayacakları çağda… Zaten zor sığıyosun… Oyuncağı nereye koycaksın nasıl oynatacaksın. Şu kadar bi yerde hem yatıyosun hem yiyo hem içiyosun. … (KO_Vediha)

[39] Hani bir insanın evi olsa, herkesin ayrı odası olsa… (CY_Şengül)

were about outside/common facilities of WC and showers. In a reminding fashion almost all of the women interviewed complain about small sized single space of WC and shower together. It becomes more apparent especially when there are growing children, elder relatives or visitors in the house as an interviewee emphasizes:

> The bath and restroom are not seperated, it is difficult to have a shower. Especially when your dauthers are grown it is much tougher. Sometimes we have guests, then it is even more difficult, wish the bath and restroom were separated.[40] (CY_Şengül)

But, in post-disaster times the physical conditions of the house did not dissuade relatives from living with the women interviewed. Despite the interviewees' living in container houses for instance, mother-in law or other relatives who needed care could stay with them. Some had to stay with those relatives in the same space. As mentioned in previous topics, it is oen of the ways privacy is violated for women and also it causes an increase in responsibility within the homespace. Indirectly it increases the housework such as preparing space for the patient: "I live in another house. I bought this one for my sister-in-law. We are four sisters-in-law; it is my turn in every 15 days. I look after her for a week. She wants to be alone; otherwise she barges to my son or to me, whatever…"[41] (FC_Behiye).

So, the familial relations are being affected by the lack of private sphere under the circumstances of post-disaster period and this causes an increase in the gendered role of social relations for the women. And even in temporary shelters we could derive from the discussion above that at least a separate space is desired for almost the entire woman interviewed.

The Relation Between the Physical Space and the Relations of Women in the Neighbourhood

As time passed by, the tenants who found a better place to live left the temporary houses. As the units were emptied some were deconstructed by the authorities and some

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[40] Tuvalet-banyo ayrı değil, yıkanmak zor oluyor. Kızlar da büyük olunca çok zor. Bazen misafir geliyor, iyice zor, tuvalet banyo ayrı olsaymış. (CY_Şengül)

[41] Ben başka evde oturuyorum. Burayı hasta görümcem adına aldım. 4 eltiyiz. 15 günde 1 sıra geliyor. 1 hafta ben buna burda bakıyorum. Yalnız kalmak istiyor, yoksa oğlana dalıyor, bana da dalıyor ya neyse... (FC_Behiye)

were settled by other tenants. So there has been a circulation of population in the site and therefore neighbours did not know each other very well even if they were living physically close. Speculations on the origin of the new comers were common on the other hand. Even if they were living in Düzce before Earthquake, as they did not know each other beforehand, new comers were often perceived as 'invader'. But in fact it was mostly again the low-income people of Düzce who moved gradually to temporary settlements as it was emptied by former residents. But this mobility caused a perception of distance within the settlement and whether it is true or not, it resulted in loose ties and conflict between the residents in the same neighbourhood unit.

Though it can be said that in the early times of disaster, namely within first two years, an involvement into a social sphere were seen among women who belonged to various social classes, it is hard to say that this situation remained the same after thirteen years. At first, the insufficiency of the units encouraged women to get out of their houses. These were especially the first residents of the units. But when the stakeholders left the temporary settlements and moved to permanent settlements it was the tenants who stayed behind and as the emptied units started to be used by new comers gradually these sites changed into socially loose spaces. One other reason for these sites to become sites of conflict is the antipropoganda of the authorities as one of the interviewees explains:

> The state officials, I mean the parliamenters, they run falsified, opposition campaign to empty the temporary houses. They said that there were immorals or whomever living there, just to make them move out.[42] (KO_Vediha)

According to Vediha on the other hand, one of the first residents who came just after the stakeholders left temporary units to move permanent settlements, neighbourhood relations were strong and trust was built. The main conflict was coming from outside, from the authorities who try to make these sites and its residents loose their legitimacy. But in temporary settlement areas a kind of social solidarity was experienced among the neighbours:

> Definitely we had great neighborships. For instance, since this morning neighbors from two sides came for visit. In these temporary houses we enjoyed the neighborships of 30 years ago. All residents of the temporary houses are low class people. If you have sugar you don't have tea or if you have salt you lack oil… You can just easily grab a cup and knock your neighbor's door. We cooperated just like

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[42]Devlet yetkilileri yani milletvekillerimiz prefabrikleri boşaltmak için çok karalama yaptılar. İşte orda ahlaksızlar oturuyo orda bilmemne oturuyo diye. Çıkarmak için. (KO_Vediha)

we were in a small village. We also haven't faced any security issues there.[43] (KO_Vediha)

Vediha's perception, being an activist member of Dep-Der society and positioning herself in a kind of struggle, may naturally differ from other women who look the environment in a more suspicious and anxious way. But a similar perception of solidarity and trust is seen among the first residents of Çay Prefabricated district who knew each other from the very beginning. Seher tells: "Here in these temporary houses, since we are from our old neighborhood we would go out together, we can just walk in to each others' houses."[44](CY_Seher); similarly, Şengül explains: "Here the neighbourship is great, we stand by each other."[45] (CY_Şengül) Different from Şengül on the other hand, Neriman who moved Çay district later on defines the social relations just as the opposite:

> In this place, there is discrimination between the neighbors. Since I am younger, I am seen as the one whom they can manage in all senses… sides of the entrance is closed, I am using the woodshed, this space belongs to me too, it is my right but we share it. I do not want to complain.[46] (CY_Neriman)

Women like Neriman who moved to the temporary settlements later on seem to be left outside the existing neighbourship and the women who live in Kiremitocağı and Çay districts where there are high rates of circulation of inhabitants; they seem to have looser ties with the social environment. Moreover, the places they live become the site of fear, conflict, despair, sickness both socially and spatially. For instance Aysel, who lives in Kiremitocağı district for eight years, tell that "there was not that much gossip when we first came here. Now, even when you go to market, people ask you where you are going."[47] This

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[43]Kesinlikle çok iyi komuşuluklarımız vardı. Mesela sabahtan beri iki taraftan komşumuz geldi. Biz 30 yıl önceki komşulukları yaşadık prefabriklerde. Prefabriklerde yaşayanların hepsi alt gelir gurubundan insanlar. Şekerin varsa çayın varsa tuzun yok tuzun varsa yağın yok… Bardağı alıp komşuna gidebilirsin bunu rahatlıkla yapabilirsin. Birimiz ... İşte köy imecesi gibi yardımlaşma yaptık. Güven açısından da bişey yaşamadık biz orda. (KO_Vediha)

[44]Burada, prefabrikte eski mahallemizden olduğu için beraber çıkarız, çat kapı birbirimize geliriz. (CY_Seher)

[45]Burada komşuluk iyi, sahip çıkarız birbirimize. (CY_Şengül)

[46]Burada komşular arasında ayrımcılık var, ben küçüküm diye bana laf geçirebilirim diye düşünüyor herhalde… Girişin iki yanı kapalı, ben odunluğu kullanıyom, burası da benim yerim, benim hakkım aslında ama bişey demek istemiyorum. (CY_Neriman)

[47]ilk geldiğimizde bu kadar dedikodu yoktu diyor. Şimdi, markete gitsen nereye gitti oluyor (KO_Aysel)

social environment prepares ground also for husbands to restrict women as Aysel continues:

> I am seeing only five-six families here. In this temporary house environment I wouldn't go out even with my own brother! I wouldn't since I am so annoyed by so many gossips. Also there are the restrictions of my husband. He would allow me to go alone to the other side of the world but here... I would go with Zeynep but it is impossible with others."[48] (KO_Aysel)

Behiye on the other hand emphasizes her fear about the social environment and a TV show that adds to her fear:

> I wouldn't visit anyone here. Many different people, you do not know their values. If I am bored I would go to my village, to my people… I watch Müge Anlı Show a lot. I am aware of the consequences and what can happen to a person. Due to the Müge Anlı Show, I am scared. God bless them, they show everything… She gets mad in her show and warns people not to give money to those who they do not know etc. She is right… Well, this is what I am thinking.[49] (FC_Behiye)

More than half of the interviewees tell that they do not find the social environment trustworthy, so they can not leave their kids out of sight. This causes a double burden on the women of worrying both for themselves and for their kids as Feyza explains:

> I know that I restrict my kid too much, but I just can't trust, I can't even allow her to the rear block. Whenever I have the opportunity we go to the park, there is one close to here. She can play only on the front street. Even I do not go to the back streets since I do not talk to ones living there.[50] (FC_Feyza)

The lack of spatial hierarchy within a group of people who has come to live together by chance causes dissatisfaction and restriction for the women in the use of whole space as discussed previously. Below quotation emphasizes this obligatory proximity and its social effects:

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[48]Burada 5-6 haneyle görüşürüm. Dışarı, prefabrik ortamında babamın oğluyla bile gitmem! Çıkmam çünkü dedikodudan rahatsız olduğum için. Eşimin de kısıtı var. Dünyanın bir ucuna tek gitsem bir şey demez ama burada..Zeyneple giderim ama diğerleriyle imkansız. (KO_Aysel)

[49]Ben burada kimseye gitmem. Değişik değişik insanlar, huyunu suyunu bilemezsin. Canım sıkılırsa köye giderim, kendi insanlarıma… 'Müge Anlı' yı çok seyrediyorum, insanın başına neler gelebileceğini bildiğim için gitmem… Müge Anlı' dan beri korkuyorum. Ama allah razı olsun onlardan, gösteriyorlar... Kızıyor programda ben size söylemiyor muyum, neden tanımadığınıza para veriyorsunuz vb... diye, haklı... Yani benim düşüncem bu.(FC_Behiye)

[50]Çocuğu sıktığımın farkındayım, ama güvenemiyorum, tek başına arkalara falan yollayamıyorum. İmkanım olunca parka götürüyorum, yakında var birtane. Ancak benim önümdeki sokakta oynar, arka sokaklara ben de gitmiyorum, görüşmediğim için. (FC_Feyza)

Lives of people are only their business. But I'm scared inevitably in this place, I cannot even sleep at nights in here. Unknown cars, strangers… In the summer we even could not sit in front of our houses… If I had the possibility, I would not stay here for a minute, really. Not that I dislike the house but the environment…[51] (FC_Feyza)

Last words in Feyza's narration put forward the significance of the social environment weighing more for the interviewees even when compared to the house itself.

The lack of privacy within home is also true for the neighbourhood unit and the settlement. The issue of the degree of privacy in between the units is a problem for the women. Moreover more than half of the women express that this proximity results in forced disattachment with other neighbours. Feyza points out how the lack of a spatial hierarchy restricts her use of her own space:

Since the houses are single floor here, once you get out you often come face-to-face with your neighbors… Especially in summer time, it is so hot in the temporary units, so you spend your day outside the house, hence you see everyone… These people are shameless; it is different since they are Roman. I do not discriminate people, but once in a hot summer day, I fall asleep with the window open. Once I woke up, I saw one stearing at me from the window… I cannot handle this. Not because it is a temporary unit, I would settle even in a tent, but the neighborhood…."[52] (FC_Feyza)

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[51]Herkesin hayatı kendine tabii. Ama ister istemez korkuyom bu alanda, geceleri uyuyamıyorum bile burada. Çeşit çeşit arabalar, yabancı adamlar… Yazın kapıda bile oturamıyorduk… Benim imkanım olsun, şu alanda gerçekten bir dakka durmam, evi falan beğenmemezlikten değil, ortam olarak... (FC_Feyza)

[52]Burada hemen tek kat olduğu için, çıkıyorsun, sık sık rastlaşıyorsun, yüz yüze... Hele yazın sıcaktan durulmuyor prefabrikte, gün dışarda geçiriliyor o yüzden, öyle olunca yüz yüze… Şimdi bunlarda utanma yok, roman oldukları için de değişik, ben insan ayırmam ama yazın sıcak, pencere açık uyumuşum, bir kalktımsa, pencereden dik dik bakıyor, böyle bakar… kaldıramıyom, prefabrik olduğu için değil, çadır da olsa normalde otururum, ama ortam… (FC_Feyza)

Figure 4-6. Proximity of the houses and their relation with the inner streets, view from Fevzi Çakmak District

Living in a heterogeneous neighbourhood independent from their decision also makes the spatial patterns of neighbourhood restricted as Feriha mentions:

> Here I am not seeing many from my neighborhood. Most of them are Roman. In fact they do not cause any disturbance, but still we are not in touch, I do not know, may be we are not used to do so. During the summer, we spend time together sitting in front of the houses but never invite each other inside… Especially we do not go any deeper.[53] (FC_Feriha)

When they are asked that if there is a positive outcome of the physical proximity or not, a woman who bought a Temporary Unit in Çay District and living in there for one year reacted as such:

> In this place, if I need anything I can get it from the neighbours, but if there is a fight no one cares or get involved. If there is a fight between couples, no one will ask you whether you are fine, injured or alive… The other day during the night my husband was not at home and someone knocked the door. I asked, who it was, the

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[53]Burada çok kimseyle görüşmüyoruz. Çoğu Roman burada oturan. Gerçi bir zararları yok. Ama git-gel yok aramızda, alışkanlık mı diyim artık. Yazın mesela kapılarda oturuyoz tabii ama evlere gidip gelmiyoz yine de… Özellikle daha dip taraflara hiç gitmiyoruz. (FC_Feriha)

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knocking get stronger without any reply as if on purpose. I was scared a lot. If I had screamed the neighbor across wouldn't hear, so I knocked the wall of the adjusant temporary unit and asked for help. By the time they arrived for help the strangers had gone. If the neighbours were not there I can not imagine what would happen to me."[54] (CY_Neriman)

Even the juxtaposition of and sharing the same wall of the units cannot totally make people develop a relationship. On the opposite, people are trying to make their entrances a semi-controlled one by adding parts to be used also as storages at the same time. And these additions make the units turn inside the household somehow.

There are also the issues of frequent tenant shifts in the temporary houses, pull down of the some empty temporary houses, keeping empty the temporary houses which have residents in the twin compartment. As Neriman explains, the nearby empty units turn into unsafe environments:

During the night there are drug addicts and people drinking alcohol in the empty temporary houses. My neighbour's temporary house was empty, they broke in and damaged inside. There is no one around to warn and stop them. I am on my own, my husband comes late, I feel insecure here…[55] (CY_Neriman)

The problems within the units and within the settlement seem to share a common ground; first it is the physical insufficiency to sustain optimum standards for a living and its deformation as time passes and the neglect of the need for privacy to some extent when it is the case of long-term settlement. Though the first transition from tent cities to temporary houses in the period of deprivation was like a paradise or a palace as it is expressed by almost all of the women interviewed, as time passed by and the necessities for long-term settlement were revealed, these sites turned into site of despair and illness for more than half of the women interviewed.

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[54]Burada, bir şeye ihtiyaç olsa alırım komşulardan, ama bir kavga olsa mesela insanlar hiç bakmıyor, bulaşmıyorlar. Karı-koca kavga etse öldün mü kaldın mı hiç kimse gelip sormaz… Geçen akşam eşim yoktu, birileri kapıya vurdu, kim o dedim ses yok, sanki inadına daha çok vurdu. Çok korktum, bağırsam karşıdaki duymaz, girişi kapalı. Hemen bitişik prefabriğin duvarına vurdum, çabuk gelin kapımda birileri var dedim. Onlar gelesiye zaten diğerleri gitti. Yani onlar olmasa başıma ne gelecekti kimbilir. (CY_Neriman)

[55]Gece, boşalan prefabriklerde, içki içen, bali çekenler oluyor. Komşunun prefabriği boşmuş, dışardan gelmiş, kırmış dökmüşler, niye yapıyorsun böyle yapma oğlum diyen yok. Tek başımayım, kocam geç geliyor, burada sahip çıkanım yok… (CY_Neriman)

The Relation Between the Physical Space and Waged Work Patterns of Women

In this part, women's patterns of work in varying spheres will be explained through their narrations. Almost none of the interviewees living in Temporary Settlements worked in a formal job before earthquake and on an ongoing basis they did not get into a formal job in post-disaster period. But we see a participation in piece-working and paid works such as looking after children at home under post-disaster conditions and the question of the sufficiency of physical and social living environment for working from home arises. On the other hand as it is mentioned in the previous topics of physical characteristics of the units and social relations of women, it is our intention to reveal the impacts of socio-spatial structure on work conditions; piece-working at home and paid work outside the home.

House as a workplace includes many topics within itself such as cleaning, cooking, washing, ironing etc in daily routine. It also includes longer-term work such as preparing conserve food for winter, sewing for the family members and hosting guests. The unpaid work patterns of women are handled in the domestic labour under the topic of women's gendered relations at home. Apart from the discussion of gendered spatial division of labour and why women has to do the housework and not be paid for, when home is a workplace, in the extreme conditions such as living in temporary houses and settlements or in an insufficient house, it is hard for women to handle these issues. For instance, Behiye's case, the solution for the care for her sister in-law, namely renting another container in the same prefabricated district, provides her with a space for working from house. Within the hard economic circumstances women tend to work for money. But as it is hard to work outside because of husbands' oppression, women's role in the housework etc. they look for different solutions. For instance, Feriha and Behiye explain how they started 'cutting lace' for a textile factory. They work in the unit which Behiye bought for the care of her sister-in-law:

> There was a lace factory in Kasapköyü. A neighbor of mine went there, asked about it, brought to us and we did it. After that we quit there and started in here. The worst thing with this work is that it is not continuous. Sometimes there is a lot and sometimes there is none. For example these laces, 300-400 pieces, were brought in the morning, it is urgent, they want it finished till the evening. So we are working. It is good that we can add to the pocket money of the kids.[56] (FC_Feriha)

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[56]Kasapköyü' nde güpür fabrikası vardı. Bir komşu gitti sordu aldı, bize de getirdi, yaptık. Sonra orayı bıraktık buraya başladık. Bu işin kötülüğü, devamlı olmuyor, bazen çok oluyor bazen hiç olmuyor. Mesela şimdi bu küpürler 300-400 tane sabah geldi acil, akşama bitsin istediler. Biz de çalışıyoruz. Çocukların harçlığı, yol parasına bir katkı oluyor.

To understand the spatial necessities of this kind of work one should look upon the women's narrations related to working conditions. For instance, one lace is nine meters, and it includes multiple rows. The two women separate between the rows by cutting through. They are paid seven liras for 100 laces. When they are asked how much they can do in a day, Behiye responds: "I can not do as much as her; she can do even 200 pieces a day. I do less.[57]" Feriha explains their experience of working from the house for textile factories in detail as follows:

> The previous factory gave something like cheque; we were paid monthly so noboy wanted it. Here we are paid in cash weekly as much money as the pieces we finish. There is a man who brings the work; we take the money from him. It is fine. If I leave this place and go to Hampinaz, I will tell the man to bring the work there also.[58] (FC_Feriha)

Feriha and Behiye are preparing embroidery for the factory, working from a temporary house close to their current place that Behiye got for her sister-in-law. Similar patterns of renting secondary containers are seen among the women. Although it is physically hard to handle this kind of production business in the temporary house it is much feasible to have a separated temporary house only for this reason. It allows them to support themselves from homes financially.

This shows that house is not just a house for a woman, it is much more than the physical attributes. Therefore a breakdown of the house and its near environment physically causes not only a social deprivation but also hardship in working patterns, especially within the house.

Working outside the house is often a continuation of the gender roles of women in private sphere such as housework and care. For instance Vediha takes care for her nephew in another woman's house whereas Feyza goes for cleaning to other women's house: "I look after a kid. Saturdays and Sundays are off. It's my nephew, it has been three and a half

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[57]Ben bunun kadar yapamıyorum, 200 tane de yapar bu günde.

[58]Daha önceki fabrika çek gibi birşey veriyordu bir de, aylık alıyorduk, kimsenin işine gelmedi tabii, burada haftalık yaptığımız iş kadar nakit alıyoruz, işi getiren bir adam var, parayı da ondan alıyoruz. İyi oluyor yani, buradan gidersem Hampinaz'a, oraya da getirsin dicem söyleyecem de adama.

years. I am paid 350 TL monthly… I haven't worked previously but if I find this kind of jobs I plan to work. It doesn't work otherwise."[59] (KO_Vediha)

For Feyza, being a single parent, it is much more important to find a job near her primary school kid:

> I was going to housekeeping before, but now I'm ill, I cannot go. I do not care for myself, but the kid… When I moved here, I started to go to housekeeping. The kid was so small that I was picking her up with me. Now she is eight. As she is going to school from 9.00 am to 14.00 pm, I can not work. I don't have the chance to ask for a day care mother. I stand still with the help of my environment…[60] (FC_Feyza)

So, it is hard to say that the central location of the settlements is positively effective in women's working alternatives. Though it is true for their husbands or boys, it is not true for the women themselves. It is observed among the interviewees that the women who did not get involved in formal waged work patterns before do not get into such patterns easily after the crisis. Rather they tend to work at home. But the inadequacy of the containers affects the women's working pattern, especially those women who are piece-working at their homes. Especially textile work, as in the case of Feriha and Behiye, is both unhygenic and requires wider spaces and convenient ventilation, illumunation and so forth which is not possible to find in existing temporary container. This reminds of the basic question of the negative and positive outcomes of building temporary houses after disasters instead of quickly completing the permanent ones.

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[59]Çocuk bakıyorum. cumartesi pazar hariç. Yeğenim zaten, 3,5 yıl oldu. 350 alıyorum ayda… Ondan önce başka bi yerde çalışmadım ama valla bulursam bundan sonra yine düşünüyorum. Başka türlü olmuyo yani. (KO_Vediha)

[60]Daha önceleri temizliğe gidiyordum arasıra, şimdi rahatsızım gidemiyorum. Kendime üzülmüyom ama çocuk... Buraya geçince temizliğe gitmeye başladım. Çocuk küçüktü, yanımda götürüyordum. Şimdi 8 yaşında. Sabah 9.00 öğle 2.00' ye kadar okula gidince çalışamıyorum. Bakıcı tutsam gücüm yok. Az çok çevrenin verdiği destekle ayaktayım… (CY_Feyza)

4.2. Women's Experiences within a Rural Housing Environment

4.2.1. Spatial Patterns of Women in Gümüşpınar Umcor Housing District

> *If I had an opportunity I wouldn't live here today. The time I am happy with home there is an issue with environment, then when the environment is fine then it is the interaction with downtown…* [61] *(UM_Saime)*

Women in Gümüşpınar Umcor Houses seem to be in better physical conditions than those in temporary houses. But having been located in the periphery, in a rural settlement, they find themselves excluded from their early patterns of living in the central districts in the city. As the houses and the settlement do not offer them a socio-spatial richness, the site is not perceived by the interviewees as a permanent one where they want to continue their lives. Moreover, they plan to leave there if there is any chance for them. As Saime puts it in the epigraph, living in UM Houses is directly related with being incapable of moving any other space specifically for socio-economic reasons. Otherwise, 'if they had the possibility', they would not stay in there.

The Location of the Settlements in Urban Scale

Umcor Housing Settlement is located in Gümüşpınar Village to the southeast of Düzce, which is approximately 10 km far from the city center. It takes 10-15 minutes by vehicle while access by foot is not very possible for an average person. Moreover the transportation facilities are very limited, which was a repeatedly mentioned issue during the interviews. Sevgi gives detailed information about the transportation. She tells that there are mini buses running every hour from the village; however they should walk or use another bus after the last stop. There is only one bus in an hour, they are fully packed, and in case of emergency there is no other means of transportartion, not even taxicabs. Besides, Umcor Housing Settlement has limited services within the near environment. Because of this sustaining the relation with the downtown for urban services such as

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[61]İmkanım olsa bugün burda durmam. Evden mutlu olsam çevre, çevreden mutlu olsam çarşıyla iletişim…(UM_Saime)

health (hospital, pharmacy), education of the children, work, shopping and also for social needs and recreation gain importance for the inhabitants. So the inhabitants in Umcor Housing Settlement suffer from a double depriviation: Firstly, they have limited access to urban services in the village, and secondly they face difficulties in reaching the city center in case of need.
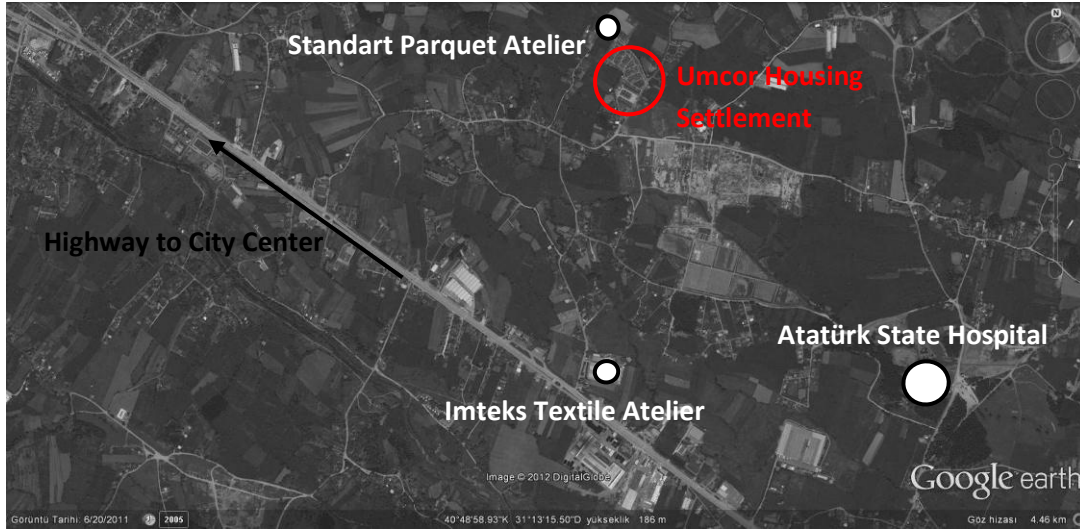
Figure 4-7. Location of Umcor Houses

Although the post-disaster settlement of Umcor is located in a village, the inhabitants feel excluded by the villagers. They feel their space is not integrated to the existing village or in a broader scale, to the city. This space is out of the scope or focus of the local governments according to the interviewees. Predominantly the women and also children feel excluded from socio-political spheres.

Spatial Characteristics witihin the Settlement

The post-disaster settlement of Umcor is excluded from the pre-existing village. As mentioned previously, one of the largest container settlements was located in Gümüşpınar and after two years Umcor Housing Settlement was built; the container city was removed. After that the site turned into a site of deprivation more quickly.

Within the settlement, there is a small-sized shop for daily groceries. But there is no bazaar or bigger market. For this reason, the inhabitants feel the need to travel to city center for supermarkets. There is a school for the kids but they are not happy with it. Almost all the women complain about the school of their children, especially because it is

still confined to a container. They admit that if it were economically possible they would prefer the schools in the city for their children.

> In addition, the school of this place... Actually if the kid is successful the school would be also good. Some families send their kids to Düzce with a shuttle. Financially I couldn't have afforded the shuttle.[62] (UM_Yaren)

Adjacent to the housing district there is a small health center, and also one of the main hospitals of the province is relatively close to the settlement but access is not easy. So, for hospital and pharmacy the interviewees have to go to the city center.

> It is not like the downtown; there you can find everything easily. Here the last bus is at 10.00pm. If you got sick and do not have a car, what are you supposed to do? Also if you do not have four Turkish Liras you cannot go to the downtown. This place is better for people who have grown up their kids, and do not ask for more… But if you have a goal, it is difficult here! You would just take the cleaning brush in the morning and pick your kid in the evening.[63] (UM_ Saime)

Umcor Houses Settlement is composed of 110 single storey houses. The settlement plan of Umcor Houses has a rational logic of pedestrian and vehicular circulation. Though the housing is located in a rural district, and the building materials are chosen from the local, traditional ones, in the logic of settlement plan it does not follow such a pattern. So, though Sevgi interprets her living environment as if it is like a village, it is in fact mainly because the houses are single storey and detached. So, when the conversation gets deeper it is observed that the settlement is perceived by the interviewees just like the temporary settlements of the prefabricated units. Like the prefabricated temporary settlements, it lacks spatial hierarchy in terms of open, semi-open, closed spaces, in other words, of public, semi-public, private spaces. So the spatial relation between houses, house and street, house-street-house etc. seem problematic.

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[62] Bir de buranın okulu... Gerçi çocuk iyi olunca okul da iyi olur. Bazıları servisle Düzce'ye gönderiyor. Bana zor olurdu servis maddi olarak. (UM_Yaren)

[63] Çarşı gibi değil, orada herşey ayağının altında. Burada 10'da araba son. Hastalansan, araban yoksa napacan. Yani senin 4 milyon paran yoksa çarşıya gidemiyosun. Buraya nasıl insan lazım çoluk çocuğu okutmuş, işini gücünü bitirmiş… Ama bir hedefin varsa, burada zor! Burda sadece sabah eline süpürgeyi alacan, akşam çocuğu toplayacan. (UM_Saime)
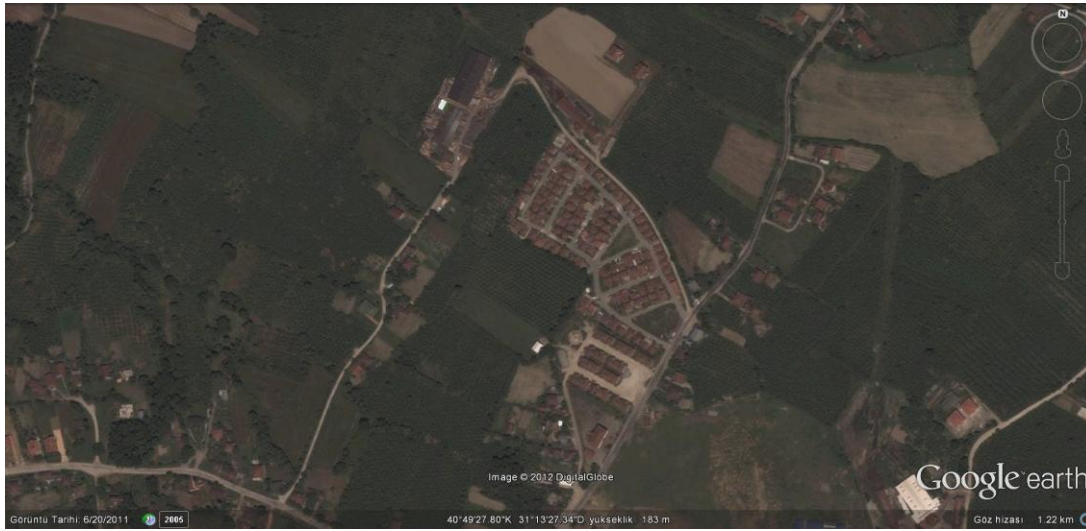
Figure 4-8. Spatial Layout of Umcor Settlement

Figure 4-9. View from the entrance of Umcor Settlement, looking to North

Spatial Organization within the Houses

The sample plan of Umcor Houses is composed of two seperarate rooms, one living room, one small kitchen and WC-bathroom. Entering the house, first the kitchen is seen directlty. At the right is the wet space and at the left is the living room. Passing through the living room, there are two bedrooms. Almost all the houses have an open space, large or narrow, attached to the house. These places can be used for meeting, leisure, production etc.; they can be used as development area for a single house as well. So, this horizontal design decision is seen as a positive outcome for both socializing, producing and reproducing:

Those who live in the block can have only one neighbor, but when we go out we meet at least four-five families. We are not bored here at least, we are all together. Every day we are at one another's place… We have our patios where we can easily enjoy the weather, do barbeque and things like that. We join together same as in a village and prepare conserved food such as tomato paste for winter.[64] (UM_ Sevgi)

Figure 4-10. View from the semi-open space in front of the house that was added after building of the house and where they gather with their close neighbours

The physical difference between Umcor Houses and the prefabricated units is both the number of the seperate bedrooms, the spatial organization within the house and that it was built up of wooden framework and brick. Thanks to the real walls surrounding the house, women perceive the home-space as more likely than they do in temporary units built up of short-term building materials such as wooden and metal panels etc.

Though it is not much bigger than the prefabricated units in size, almost all of the interviewees living in these houses are satisfied with the physical conditions of the house.

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[64]Apartmanda oturanlar hep tek bir aileyle komşuluk yapıyor, biz dışarı çıkınca 4-5 aileyi görüyoruz. Burada en azından canımız sıkılmıyor, içiçeyiz. Bir gün birinde bir gün diğerinde… Kapının önünde otur bir hava al yönünden iyi. Izgaramızı, herşeyimizi rahatlıkla yapıyoz. Salça, kışlık yemek beraber hazırlarız buralarda, köy yeri gibi! (UM_Sevgi)

One of the interviewees emphasize the ease to keep up, the other draw our attention on its positive attributes like heating and its getting daylight both in the morning and evening. In total its comfort in daily use is emphasized by the women.

Saime, on the other hand, says that Umcor Houses are just another form of prefabricated units in physical terms. Saime's complaint about the physical problems of her house again resembles to that of the narratives of the women who were living in prefabrics for thirteen years after the earthquake and continuosly repairing every part of the prefabricated unit:

> This is the cheapest area in Düzce, we build everything ourselves. Houses are wooden, one year the bathroom needs repairing and in the next somewhere else... I see this house as a temporary one. But anyway, I am glad that we have it. God bless the government, they might have not set us here as well. Some people are still homeless! Still, compared to the temporary houses, this place is like a palace![65] (UM_Saime)

In general, they are satisfied with physical qualities of their dwelling. This satisfaction with the conditions in the houses is inevitably related to the women's conditions in housing before the earthquake. More than half of the women reminded that their homes before earthquake had bad living conditions such as poor daylight, humidity, being old and dirty. Sometimes they even lacked a kitchen or a bathroom; mice and insects were everywhere etc. when unlike their new homes.

> This house is better than the one in the Kültür District, but we couldn't experience the life that we had there and the life before the disaster. Initially you are motivated to have a house, with two sofas and one bed. But we couldn't find the similar peace and comfort that we had before.[66] (UM_Saime)

When it comes to social environment and the neighbouhood, old housing environments are longed for as it will be discussed in following topic of social relations. Saime mentions that even though her present house is better than her previous house, she misses her previous living environment.

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[65]Düzce'nin en düşük yeri burası, herşeyini kendimiz yaptık. Evler ağaç, bir sene tuvalet yıkılıyor, onu yapıyorsun, öbür sene başka taraf... Bu evi ben prefabrik olarak görüyom. Yine de şükür. Yine de allah razı olsun devletten, hiç vermeyebilirlerdi. İnsanlar hala açıkta!... Gene de prefabriğe göre burası saray!(UM_Saime)

[66] Bu ev, Kültür Mahallesi'ndeki evden güzel ama o anki yaşantı, depremden önceki hayatı bulamadık biz. İlk hevesle evleniyosun, iki divanlı, bir yataklı bir ev. Ama o zamanki huzur, şey, daha rahattı. Biz o ana geri dönemedik. (UM_Saime)

4.2.2. The Impacts of Umcor Housing Environment on the Gendered Lives of Women

The Relation between the Physical Space and the Relations of Women at Home

Unlike the interviewees living in temporary settlements, the interviewees in Umcor houses seem to perceive their houses as 'real'. Therefore in the scale of home, it can be said that the extraordinary circumstances of the post-earthquake period has reached to an ordinary phase. However, this does not necessarily mean that the relations in the household have been better, only that the extraordinary times of tent and container cities are over.

As mentioned earlier, the spatial patterns of the houses before the earthquake were not better than the present houses of the women who live in Umcor housing. It may be considered so for the social relations in the household for them. More than half of the women lived together with their husbands' elder relatives in the old housing stock of the central neighbourhoods of the city before the earthquake. Right after the marriage the young couple moves to the house of the man's parents. After a while if the things go well, they may move to their own houses. So for the women who were just married before the earthquake and moved to their husband's parents' house, social relations within the house seem to be harder than today. For instance Sevgi explains her pre-earthquake and post-earthquake times as such:

> Before the earthquake we were living two families together. My sister-in-law was living with us, it was a terrible period. It was two-bedroom apartment with L shape living room. One of the bedrooms belonged to my sister-in-law. We had had separated the living room with a wardrobe and created a room for my mother-in-law. On the other side there were parents of my father-in-law but after seven months they died. Then my other sister-in-law moved in with her two kids. She had problems with the husband as he had started to live with his mistress. In our previous place we had family issues, but I and my husband never reflect them to each other. At that time we couldn't go out much, we didn't even have the chance to live as we wished. Later, the earthquake, the problems, after the fire... Only recently things got settled.[67] (UM_Sevgi)

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[67]Depremden önce 2 aile birlikte yaşıyorduk, o dönem berbattı, görümcem de bizle kalıyordu.2 oda L salondu, bir oda benim, bir oda eltimindi. Salonu gardropla böldük, kaynanama oda oldu. Diğer bölümde kayınpederimin anne ve babası kalıyordu ama 7 ay sonra öldüler. Görümcemin eşi ona bakmıyordu, görümcem kuma üstüne gitmişti. O yüzden o da 2 çocuğuyla bizde kalmaya başladı hastalar öldükten sonra. Eski evde (depremden önce), ailevi sorunlar oluyordu tabii, ama eşimle birbirimize yansıtmazdık. O zaman birlikte gezmemiz falan yoktu, kendi istediğimize göre yaşayamıyorduk evliliğimizi, sonrası da deprem, sıkıntı, yangından sonrası... Şimdi şimdi rayına oturdu. (UM_Sevgi)

For Sevgi, as quoted above, things just started to find their way after her marriage only now. She feels to be empowered. But to her, the hardship of post-disaster times here in Umcor houses is related to the hardship of looking after her children, therefore it means emotional labour for her:

> After the earthquake I got much stronger, I become an individual on my own right. Since my husband is working (one week from morning to evening, the other week from noon to the night), I manage the house in all aspects (the first time we met she was chopping wood in front of the house)… The hardest thing for me is to raise and educate my kids here, not to incent them. Choosing the friends of my kids is also my task… The girls are problematic, if one is doing inappropriate things the others also want to try. Military police and police are looking for run away girls. In that sense the environment it not so good here, and it is due to the high diversity of people here. Clearly raising kids is very hard here. That is why I do not like here.[68] (UM_Sevgi)

Women in Umcor mention mostly the chaotic environment of their neighbourhood and the hardship in parental roles in the house in their narratives. For Naciye, just like Sevgi, the hardest issue is to 'manage' her sons right in here:

> … All the drug and substance addicted people, everyone is here. Even the military police says one should move out of here if there is a chance. Why it is like that, I don't know… you can't raise kids here; there are all kinds of trouble here. My kids are coming back home around 4.00 - 5.00pm. I can not manage them. Why cannot I manage them? Now I also do not have strength any more. Kids are going along with their friends; the fights are here, the brutality is here.[69] (UM_Naciye)

Care and education of the children as a responsibility of the women becomes hard to decide on and manage through:

> I would like to educate both of them. The little one is still too little, but I would like my older daughter to continue as long as she can. She also wants to go to university but her concern is that all of them are in other provinces. Since she is still very young, I do not allow her to go to the downtown on her own, yet. Anyhow,

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[68]Depremden sonra ben daha güçlendim, kendi başıma birey oldum. Eşim çalıştığı için (bir hafta sabah-akşam, bir hafta öğle-gece vardiyası alır) evi ben çekip çeviririm az önce de gördüğün gibi (ilk karşılaştığımızda evin dibinde odun kesiyordu)… Beni zorlayan, çocuklarımı burada yetiştirmek, eğitmek, onları özendirmemek. Çocuklarımın arkadaşlarını seçmek, o da bana kalıyor… Kızlarımız sorunlu, birisi yoldan çıktıysa diğeri ona özeniyor. Jandarma- polis peşinde, kızlar evden kaçıyor. Çevre o tür bakımdan biraz karışık burası, o da her tür insan olduğu için. Açıkçası çocuk yetiştirmek zor. Burayı o yüzden sevmiyorum. (UM_Sevgi)

[69]…Tinercisi burda, balicisi burda, hersey burda. Jandarma bile imkaniniz varsa gidin burdan diyo. Niye boyle burası, ben bilmiyorum… Çocuk yetismez, burda hersey var. Benim cocuklarım 4de 5de geliyo eve, yonetemiyorum. Neden yönetemiyorum? Artk gücüm de kalmadı. Çocuklar arkadaslar birbirine cok uyuyor, dovuşu burda kavgası burda (UM_Naciye)

once she starts the high school at downtown she will overcome those fears. There should be a shuttle service at the school but she will get used to go on her own; it will be nice if she goes on her own. I have many fears regarding some bad habits... already from now I start to prepare her and explain what those bad habits may cause... also about the run away girls and what would be the consequences of the improper behaviors and habits... I watch the TV shows (Müge Anlı) on missing girls and make my daughter watch them as well during the school breaks and holidays. I am not sure whether I am doing right or not but I think it is right.[70] (UM_Sevgi)

For daily use of a nucleus family, the size and the number of seperate bedrooms are quite sufficient compared to the previous houses of the interviewees as quoted below:

In the first house I had my own room; there were not big issues except that the bathroom was shared. Sometimes we were coming accross. In the tent the private things such as bath, cooking etc were difficult. We had to share the bathroom. In the temporary houses we were more comfortable, we had running tap water and we were able to do everything in the house.[71] (UM_Sevgi)

But still, when guests come over, the space cannot meet their needs. Her narration reminds of Şengül's discomfort with her prefabricated unit; Şengül was complaining about her place being narrow when guests were coming for a visit and staying at night. This was a prominent characteristic of prefabric units. In that case, the only common space of the prefabric, the living room was turned into a guest room with beds on the floor from evening to morning. Sevgi complains about the same issue within her permanent home however. According to her account, the size and spatial organization of the house in terms of the degree of privacy is still thought to be a problem in lifetime of a nucleus family:

This place is quite small but it is fine for us. However, when kids are grown up it will be difficult, our rooms are very close to each other, and sure there will be some

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[70]İkisini de okutayım istiyom. Küçüğü çok küçük daha da büyük kızım gittiği yere kadar okusun istiyorum. O da istiyor ama korkusu, başka illerde üniversitede nasıl yaparım diyor. Şimdi hiç çarşıya yalnız göndermiyorum küçük olduğu için. Zaten kızım da liseye gidince mecbur çarşıya gidecek, o korkusu da kalmayacak. Servis olabilir lisede, bir yandan da kendi gidip gelse alışır ama ortama da güvenemiyorum. Korkularım çok, kötü alışkanlık falan diye... Şimdiden onun eğitimini ben onlara hep veriyorum. Kaçan kızların, kötü alışkanlıkların neye yol açabileceğini... Kızların kaybolması programları (Müge Anlı) izlerim, onu kızıma da izletirim, okul tatillerinde eğitim olsun diye. İyi mi yapıyom kötü mü bilmiyom ama bence iyi!? (UM_Sevgi)

[71]İlk evde odam ayrıydı, sıkıntı yoktu ama banyo ortaktı, o bakımdan zor oluyordu, bazen karşılaşma oluyordu. Çadırda da özel şeyler zordu, duş, yemek... Duş ortaktı mesela, orayı kullanıyorduk. Prefabriklerde biraz daha rahattı, suyumuz vardı, herşey evin içinde oluyordu. (UM_Sevgi)

issues. Once they are teenagers, we should be more careful not to be inappropriate; this will lead some difficulties.[72] (UM_Sevgi)

As Vediha from KO prefabrics mentioned there was no private space her own even in the home, which is considered to be women's private space. A deprivation of a lack of private space for women themselves and also for their partners is seen as a problem.

The Relation between the Physical Space and the Relations of Women in the Neighbourhood

For women in Umcor it is their near environment and neighborhood that disturbs them most. It was mentioned in the previous section of Temporary Housing that women were in deprivation mainly because of their lack of a 'real house'. The most prominent ideal was that of a conventional house. But in Umcor Houses it is more the problems related with the near environment and neighbourhood which is dominant in the narratives of women. This is apparent especially in relation to their neighbourhoods before earthquake. Women refer to their previous neighbourhoods and social relations there positively and complain about not having such patterns in their current spaces.

> When we were living at Kültür-Şerefiye Districts my kids were little, but my neighbors were supportive, they were interested and they were checking if everything was OK with me. But now it looks like everyone is on their own. For instance, if I have three friends, my life is only with them, I do not care about the others… Normally I am seeing three families here, but in case of a medical case or a funeral I would go for a visit even when they are my enemies. For example, if I have to leave urgently for the downtown I believe my neighbor will take care of my child, I trust them. But other neighbors, if my kid falls and injures himself, all of them would just stare and say God save from bad things.[73] (UM_Saime)

As Saime mentions above, women in Umcor are not pleased with the social environment in general, but they have their own closed communities composed of three to five neighbours

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[72]Burası küçük ama bize yetiyor. Ama çocuklar büyüyünce zor olacak, odalarımız dipdibe, bir takım sorunlar olacak. Akılları ermeye başlayınca, kötü örnek olmamak için bir takım sıkıntılara düşecez. (UM_Sevgi)

[73]Kültür-Şerefiye (Mahallesi), buralarda otururken; çocuklar ufaktı, ama komşular kapıma vururdu, merak ederdi. Ama artık sanki herkes kendi kafesine çekilmiş. Mesela herkes şöyle, benim üç arkadaşım varsa, hayatım onlarla geçer, diğerleri umrumda olmaz… Ben burada üç haneyle görüşürüm normalde, ama hastalıkta, ölümde düşmanım da olsa giderim. Önemli olan uyuşmak, olgun olmak en önemlisi. Sonra güzel düşünce. Ben mesela kapı örtüp çarşıya gitmem gerekse, ben inanıyom ki o komşum çocuğumu koruyacak, güveniyom. Ama öbür komşular, çocuğum düşse, hepsi ayakta öyle dururlar, ancak allah korusun derler. (UM_Saime)

as they say. And accordingly, they often use their space with the close neighbours. If a woman has close neighbours whom she can trust, it is a means of helping herself with the daily responsibilities of childcare, such as leaving them for a while to go out. And when we consider their limited environment and the reasons why they are not going out of the house so much, we can understand that if the neighbourhood is a space of displease for the women, then they spend more effort to 'protect' their children and to be in close contact with them. But if there is trust among the community, a caring network can easily operate.

Yaren also, like almost all of the interviewees, complains about the total mix of the social environment. She tells that she is fine with her near social community whereas she does not go 'deeper' both in terms of neighbourhood and neighbourship with the rest of the community as she explains here:

> I have been living here for ten years. People here are nice. Here, we prepare the meals together with Gül's family. That is really great. Grandma Sebahat is there for all of us; she is the grandma of us all. We also do great with Sevgi. We do not push so much, at the first times we pushed and tried to get to know everyone but then it didn't work, we took our lessons. With others, we will visit them only if they invite.[74] (UM_Yaren)

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[74]10 yıldır burdayım. Burdakiler de iyi. Burda Gülle falan sofraları hep ortak kurarız. Çok iyi yani. Sebahat babaanne işte ortak, hepimizin babaannesi. Sevgiyle de aramız güzel. Çok açılmıyoruz, ilk zamanlar çok açıldık ama boyumuzun ölçüsünü aldık. Diğerleriyle artık gel derse girilir. (UM_Yaren)

Figure 4-11. View of the close relationship of the houses and the use of outer space in Umcor Houss

So, despite that women have their own close communities within the settlement, they look for the old social patterns before earthquake. And Saime relates this situation in a wider context, namely in terms of the policies of relocation. Relocation of the people without their consent after earthquake caused a heterogenity which all the interviewees complain about.

> After the earthquake the neighbor relations decreased a lot. The previous visits and meetings disappeared. Also the lifestyle has changed, everyone moved somewhere else. Some went to Beyciler, Gümüşpınar, some to Kirazlı. This is one part of the reason.[75] (UM_Saime)

On the other hand the peripheral location according to the city center effects the social relations of the women with their relatives and previous neighbours negatively because of the distance and the lack of transportation facilities as Yaren mentions:

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[75]Depremden sonra komşuluk falan iyice bitti. Eski oturmalar, eski sohbetler kalmadı. Düzen de bozuldu, herkes bir tarafa yığıldı. Kimi Beyciler, Gümüşpınar, Kirazlı. Biraz ondan da oldu. (UM_Saime)

When I was living at Uzunmustafa I was able to walk everywhere. That was really great. Only with one vehicle I was able to go to my mom's place in Sarayyeri. Here you cannot go everywhere with a mini bus line. For example if I want to go to my Mom, it is like going to Hendek from here. In this respect I struggled a lot.[76] (UM_Yaren)

Other than the location of the settlement in the urban scale, the physical characteristics of the site itself is highly effective in the community relations of the women. As the heterogeneity makes different sorts of people come face to face in a limited socio-spatial environment, this obligatory interface causes conflict within the community. The relation of the physical space of the settlement to these oppressive relationships within the neighbourhood is seen in almost all the narrations. Almost all of the interviewees draw our attention into the practical effects of this spatial organization. By this, especially women's use of the space becomes restricted. For instance the proximity of the houses accross the street and their direction towards each other cause a conflict between two neighbours:

For example, I was very close with my next-door neighbor. But whenever there is a little bit noise it becomes an issue here. I have three children and I am a working mom. Since my kids were playing in front of the house I argued with my neighbor. Why? Because they were asked not to make noise.[77] (UM_Melahat)

Melahat's narration indicates the problem of restricted use of the space for both her and her children as well as her neighbour. For Yaren, on the other hand, it is a version of a different oppression as she complains below:

The first days when we arrived, the neighbor who lived across was enjoying a raki table with a mini skirt. I was annoyed so much because of this and I couldn't have been outside. There were some others who also got annoyed and they stopped it. They still do but inside the house behind the curtains. There was another neighbor who put his chair at the patio and stare for hours. Perhaps he was not looking at me but I still felt annoyed. Then, this also got better.[78] (UM_Yaren)

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[76]Uzunmustafa'da otururken yürüme heryere gidiyordum. O çok çok iyiydi. 1 vasıtayla Sarayyeri'ne anneme gidebiliyordum. Burdan heryere minibüsle gidilemiyor. Hele anneme gitmeye kalksam, burdan Hendeğe gider gibi oluyor. O açıdan çok zorlandım (UM_Yaren)

[77]Ben mesela yandakilerle cok samimiydim. Ama en ufak seste problem oluyo burda. Misal benim 3 tane cocuk var, ben ise giden bi anneyim. Çocuklarim kapıda oynuyor diye ben komsumla kavga ettim. Neymiş ses cıkarmıcaklarmış. (UM_Melahat)

[78]İlk geldiğimiz zamanlarda karşı komşumuzun baldırı çıplak oturup da rakı sofrasında oturduğu olurdu. Ondan çok rahatsız olurdum, dışarı çıkamazdım. Başkaları da rahatsız oldu, onlar da düzeldi. Hala yapıyorlar ama daha perde arkasında. Sonra bir komşum dışarı sandalyesini atardı, saatlerce dikizlerdi. Belki bana bakmıyordu ama çok rahatsız olurdum. Neyse o da düzeldi. (UM_Yaren)

Even in the semi-open spaces that are built by the inhabitants themselves, women do not feel comfortable, so they want to close all the front garden following the conservative patterns of their living environment.

> Just yesterday we had an issue, my parents were visiting, you were also there, and you saw us. Also my sister-in-law was there, she is a very conservative person wearing hijab. We were sitting at Gül's balcony. My mom uncovered her hijab and my sister-in-law loosened it a bit. At that time this guy instantly just came to the balcony, I was not there at that time. All were annoyed and angry. Not all women appreciate the presence of men in their personal environment. In summer time it is hot and we are more open and careless inside the house, we even place a curtain to the balcony. My husband wouldn't come in without giving a notice, so does Gül's husband. They have kind of a password, shouting "heey", they wouldn't come without giving a notice, giving some time to be prepared. This is an issue. Maybe we can build a fence to the front garden. The doors of the people who instantly drop-in are always locked, but they find it OK to come someone else's place without notice. Even in the winter time they would just walk in to the house. This is the only issue that I am complaining right now, nothing else.[79] (UM_Yaren).

Also, the proximity of the houses to walking pathways and the windows being in the eye-level result in a kind of exposure. Nonetheless it is the women or the children who are being watched. For instance Melahat tells about why she does not want her children to be outside as such:

> There are many different things that may happen. She is a girl; one may just pull her to a corner... I was busy and couldn't go but I sent my elder daughter to the neighbor's to prepare dolma, she is doing it perfect. Anyway she left and came back. Her dark skin has turned to snow white. She said 'Mom I have to tell you something but please do not get mad at me', I said 'fine please go ahead.' The elder son of the neighbor is at high school, at their place the window of the bathroom is lower than others. My daughter went to the bathroom and realized that their son was watching her. How would I have complained to his mom, they are not the kind of people who would have admitted what happened. I was scared that they would gossip about my daughter. Since that day I am scared and have

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[79]Daha dün bir olay yaşadık biz, annemler gelmişti, işte sen gördün ya dün bizi. Bizim gelin de vardı, o bayağı kapalı. İşte dün, şurda Gül'ün balkonunda oturuyoruz. Annem falan açılmış, gelin başını gevşetmiş. O abi sen pat diye dal içlerine, balkona. O an da ben yoktum, olsam lafımı söylerdim. Bunlar bir kızmışlar. Her kadın erkeği istemiyor. Yazın da, sıcakta falan açılıyoz evde, Gül'ün balkonda işte perde falan çekiyoruz. Benim eşim şurdan seslenmeden gelmez içeri. Gül'ün kocası da. Bir parola var 'höyt' demeden gelmezler, toparlansın insan diye, Gülle falan otururken. Öyle sıkıntımız var yani. Hani belki komple bahçeyi kapatabilsek... Ama bunu yapanların kendi kapıları her daim kilitlidir. Ama başkasının evine paldır küldür girerler. Kışın bile o abi şu kapıdan pat diye açıp eve girer. Onlardan yani yoksa başka hiç şikayetim olmaz. (UM_Yaren)

never let her go to their place again. "I am also scared" added her daughter.[80] (UM_Melahat)

Figure 4-12. Proximity of the Umcor Houses and their relation with the inner streets

This experience of Melahat and her daughter reminds the complaints of Feyza living in Fevzi Çakmak Container Housing District. Feyza was feeling unsafe by being watched through her livingroom's window. She was also complaining about the strangers visiting some of her neighbours. This is also a similar pattern for the women who live in Umcor Settlement and it is a reason for complaining:

> For example, it is quite annoying that there are many cars coming and staying over night in front of a widow woman's place. Well since this is not happening in our family we do not appreciate such cases, but if you ask them, they say it is normal. Normally I wouldn't believe everything that I have been told, but there are things

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[80]Dünyanın binbir türlü hali var, kız çocuğu, çeker biri kenara… ben bunu (büyük kızını) dolma sarmaya gönderdim komşuya, benim işim vardı ben gidemeyecektim, bu da güzel dolma sarar.Neyse gitti, sonra geldi bu eve.Kapkara kız suratı bembeyaz olmuş. Anne sana bişey dicem ama kızma, yok kızım söyle. Komşumun büyük oğlu liseye gidiyor. Bunların da lavabo penceresi alçak. Lavaboya gitmiş kızım, bir baktıysa bunu gözetliyormuş oğlan pencereden. Annesine de ne söyleyecem, suçunu kabullenecek bi insan değil, kızımın dedikodusunu çıkarır diye korktum. Ogünden beri bi yere göndermiyom, korktum. Kızı söze giriyor; ben de korkuyom. (UM_Melahat)

that I have seen myself. I wouldn't care but they represent inappropriate examples to our kids.[81] (UM_Sevgi)

As Sevgi proceeds, she directly relates the relatively greater impact of this social environment with the physical space she lives in:

> This type of things happen all the time everywhere but since here the houses are very close to each other, everything is clearly in front of the children's eyes and kids take these as an example. In downtown nobody will realize but here everyone is aware.[82] (UM_Sevgi)

On the other hand, this kind of oppression is felt by the women because of men's 'kahvehane':

> When you are looking for the district chief you wouldn't find him at his office, usually he is at the coffee place. If we need him urgently we cannot go alone as women to the coffee place.[83] (UM_Sevgi)

> The thing is that the guys in this neighborhood are very illiterate. Well actually the illiteracy is everywhere. Mostly it all depends on you with this kind of things. If a woman behaves friendly they will misunderstand that. Here, even married men will think different. I have introduced myself well and thereby protected myself in this way. I am not annoyed by men. But I am annoyed when they stare at me when I am at the bus stop in front of the coffee place![84] (UM_Nazan)

Neziha's daughter, for instance stands at the opposite side of this conflict. Being sixteen years old, she complains about oppression, surveillance of her social environment towards herself:

> The people here are very bad. How to say, if you have attended to any type of school, you have a classmate, girl or boy, it doesn't matter. If they see you, then

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[81]Mesela dul bir kadının evine değişik arabaların gelmesi, farklı adamların gelmesi, kalması, huzursuz ediyor. Yani kendi ailemizde olmadığı için bize ters, onlara sorsan normal. Bana anlatılıyorsa da gözümle görmediğime inanmıyorum ama gözümle gördüklerim var. Çoluk çocuğa kötü örnek, yoksa bize ne!(UM_Sevgi)

[82]Her yerde oluyor gerçi böyle şeyler ama burada haneler çok yakın olduğu için, çoluk çocuk herşeyi görüyor, gözümüzün önünde oluyor, örnek alıyorlar. Şehir merkezinde biri bir şey yapsa kimse bilmez ama burda herkes biliyor. (UM_Sevgi)

[83]Muhtar arayınca yerinde bulunmaz, genelde kahvede. Biz de acil lazım olsa kadın halimizle kahvelere gidemiyoruz. (UM_Sevgi)

[84]Şöyle bir şey, buranın erkekleri çok cahil. Gerçi her yerde var. Size çok bağlı böyle şeyler. Kadın yüz verirse tabii ki yanlış anlarlar! Burada var yani, evli adamlar bile bakar, niye yalan söyleyeyim. Ben kendimi tanıttım, korudum.Rahatsız değilim. Ama kahveye oturuyorlar, durak da karşısında, rahatsız oluyorum! (UM_Nazan)

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you are done. People here are looking for anything to make gossips.[85] (UM_Neziha's daughter)

By saying this, in fact, she complains that her wider social environment turns out to be an oppressive second family:

> For example my mom drives car, she recently got her driving license. Couple of days ago we were driving through the Ramadan street at the permanent houses district. 'Where are you going? Why are you going?' You have to explain and tell everyone what you are doing.[86] (UM_Neziha's daughter)

This might show how especially women live in their neighbourhood. It seems as if the neighbourhood is a house in itself, and broader family relationships are lived in there. It also shows that it is harder for these women to struggle with their 'curious' neighbours than with their husbands.

> Here you meet people only at the funerals, memorial ceremonies or during patient visits. Nowadays it is much better in terms of gathering during the wedding parties. Now we are a united village but we have spent ten years. Once people started to know each other we became like a family.[87] (UM_Saime)

On the other hand, as being relocated to their new settlements, they face the problem of exclusion by the previous settlers of the district. As it is told by the women, especially in the first years, the old settlers of the neighbourhood did not accept them. Indeed, they excluded them, and labeled them as if they came out of Düzce to get aid and social houses[88]. Sometimes, as in the case of Umcor neighbourhood, this conflict between the two groups can lead to a physical intervention into the spaces of the new comers. This can

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[85]İnsanları çok kötü buranın, nasıl desem, illa ki okuyan insanın, illa ki, sınıf arkadaşı olabilir, erkek olsun, kız olsun. Birlikte görseler adın çıkar yani. Burdaki insanlar, nebiliyim ya, böyle dedikodu yapacak malzeme arıyorlar. (UM_Neziha's daughter)

[86]Annem mesela araba kullanıyor, yeni aldı ehliyeti. Geçen Kalıcı Konutlardaki ramazan sokağına gidiyorduk arabayla.'Nereye gidiyonuz? Niye gidiyonuz?'Hani nereye gidiyorsun diye herkese hesap verecen öyle gidecen gideceğin yere. (UM_Neziha's daughter)

[87]Burda insanlarla, cenaze, mevlid, hastalık ziyaretinde karşılaşırsın insanlarla. Burda eski zamana göre şimdi düğünde falan biraraya gelme daha çok. Şimdi tam köy olduk ama koca 10 yıl verdik. İnsanlar birbirini tanıyınca aile gibi de olduk. (UM_Saime)

[88] This approach is seen among people of Düzce commonly as Kümbetoğlu and her colleagues mention in their research (Kümbetoğlu, 2005). If one does not know her/his neighbour, s/he directly thinks that s/he is not from Düzce and came here after the earthquake to get aid. Especially emphasis on the new comers' coming from Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia and being Kurdish was apperent. This was also the case for the women in our research. But they were sometimes saying this to others and sometimes other were saying this to them.

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disturb their privacy and make the inhabitants feel insecure in their home-place. According to an interviewee, this happened recently, not in the first years of their settlement. This indicates that integration has not been achieved in Gümüşpınar district, instead patterns of socio-spatial exclusion and oppression is apperent among the old residents and new comers.

> Once we had a psycho. He was knocking at the windows and he came to the gates during the night. It was just like in wild Texas here, there was a gun shooting. Then we understood the reality. One of the village residents found a mentally ill person and gave him some money. He didn't want the families here; he was not against any particular family but to all of them. We had scary moments; our husbands were waiting on the roofs to provide the security. These happened last year. The man who caused this trouble confessed. There were always military-polices here at that time. The guy who initiated this is still here at the village but the psycho has gone.[89] (UM_Sevgi)

In the case of UM houses, the main conflict is oriented around relocation or displacement. Both among the new residents and between the old settlers and the new ones respectively, the problems of integration seem not to have been managed more than 10 years after the settlement. Women are emphasizing the difference in their lives in terms of their visibility and access to public services etc., which are parallel to their narratives in prefabric spaces while struggling for social aids and to produce and resume their home-places there. The phase of permanent houses on the other hand is more like returning to pre-existing patterns of isolation within the home and the near environment. Moreover the pre-disaster socio-spatiality of city center neighbourhoods seems far.

But, as they are excluded from the city and social facilities and though they do not have much to do socio-spatially in their living environment, they still tend to challenge the limits of their space. In this case, though as a continuation of their roles in the domestic and social domains, they participate in school-family union in the only school of the village. Working voluntarily at this school and participating in school-family union is widespread among the women. Almost all of the interviewees had involved in this union both to care for their own children and for other children.

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[89] Bir ara sapığımız vardı. Gece camlara vuruyor, kapılara dayanıyordu. Burası Teksas gibiydi, silahlar konuştu. Sonradan anlaşıldı işin aslı, köy halkından biri, deli bulmuş, vermiş parayı. Bu haneleri burada istemiyormuş, birine değil herkese karşı birşeymiş. Korkulu anlar yaşadık, gece sabahlara kadar eşlerimiz çatıda, kapıda nöbet tuttu. Geçen yıl oldu bunlar. Sonra bunu yaptıran itiraf etti. Jandarma eksik olmazdı burdan o zaman. O kişi (yaptıran) hala burda, köyde, ama sapık gitti. (UM_Sevgi)

I took tasks and participated in the school-family board. I also became class mom many times. There I was the head of the auditing board. Then our class teacher has changed and I lost the motivation. And anyway, this year I am taking care of my daughter. But once Rabia starts the school I may get involved again to the school tasks.[90] (UM_Yaren)

To be in the school means necessarily to be close to their own children as Yaren plans to be and it is a means of socialization too, as Naciye emphasizes as follows:

I was the president of school-family board for six years here. I have circumcised 50 kids. Sure. I have a plaque for my service. I did it, I did it for six years, and they still want me to continue but I said I am done, I am tired. There are many boys waiting for circumscision, I would still help. I have a good network; I worked together with the governor, police commissioner, with all of them. I would still do it. Now at the nearby village there is someone doing circumscision but the school director is not satisfied. We talked yesterday, he said that I have been doing it better. You have to be a little bit entrepreneurial, I earned money from all the stuff that I have done, we did some fundraising events, some charity events some potlucks, and some night events with live music at the soccer field in Altipinar. My brother-in-law was in the historic military band, he told me not to worry about the parade. They came with the band and played for about one hour. There was the governor, president of the municipality… all were there. Then we did the circumcision event for 50 boys separately. I was so much exhausted but it was worth it, it was all for the kids. I even have a CD with the kids. There was no authority left that we didn't get in contact. … Do you see, I have been more active here! Always here and there, before I have never been involved. There is a difference between the educated and non-educated ones. I only have elementary school degree, but working together with teachers I also got influenced. I have experienced many things, together with them every place we go I have learned how things work and how should I behave (UM_Naciye).[91]

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[90]Okul-aile birliğinde görev yaptım. Sınıf anneliği çok yaptım. Orada denetleme kurulu başkanıydım. Sonra öğretmenimiz değişti, okuldan soğudum. Derken bu sene zaten çocuk bakıyom. Ama Rabia okula başlarsa belki yine girerim okul işlerine. (UM_Yaren)

[91]6 yıl okul aile birligi baskanlığı yaptım burda. Sunnet yaptm 50 tane cocuga. Tabi. Plaketim falan var. Ben yaptm, bunlarla beraberdim. 6 sene yaptm, hala da istiyolar ama tmm yeter artk yoruldum. Kesilcek cokmus da. sunnet evet, aman gene yardım ederim. Cunku hepsiyle, valisiyle, emniyet müdürüyle hepsiyle calistigim icin. Yaparım gene yani. Şimdi altköyden birileri yürütüyor ama o memnun değil müdürr, dun konustujk mudurle senn gibi yapamiyo dedi. Tabi heryere grip cikicaksin, heryerden de para toplardim, kermesler yaptık, mantılar yaptık, eglenceli sazlı. Top sahası, altınpınarın, hah orda yaptık, mehtar takımında eniştem vardı. tabi, hepsini yaptm, hatta son anda cayıldı, enistem mehtardaydı, baldız sen sey yapma dedi, geldi, bir saat caldi, belediye baskanlari vardi, vali vardi, emniyet müdürü vardi, hepsi vardilar. Evet, sunneti de ayri yaptk, 50 tane cocuktu. cok koştum ama değdi, cocuklar icin deydi, hatta cd'm var. Deydi cocuklara. Girmedigimiz yer kalmadi. … Acildim burda biliyon mu, yok orda, daha önce hic girmemiştim, burda acildim. Egitimle egitimsizin arasında fark vardır ben mesela ilkokul mezunuydum, ogretmenler ogrtmendi, ama onların yanında haliyle acildim. Herseyi gordum. Girdigin yerlerde de herseyi egitim almis gibi oldum onlarla, gordum yani. Oturmasını kalkmasını da ogreniyosun, nasi oldugunu da biliyosun. (UM_Naciye)

With the positive outcomes for the women working outside such as being with children, socialization, even participation in the courses of craft and reading-writing, we should keep in mind that it causes more than a double bargain for women who has to deal with the care both inside and outside the house without a pay.

> Of course I am tired, there are five guys that I have to take care of, prepare the meals and always keep the house tidy. My husband is very picky about this. Still I have done all these with pleasure. I did the house keeping, ironing and everything, but it was fun, it was worth doing all these for kids.[92] (UM_Naciye)

For the women in Umcor Settlement, the neighbourhood relations are effected by the socio-spatial pattern of the settlement. And women try to challenge the depressive relationships in general with the close neighbor relations as well as the communitarian voluntary work in the neighbourhood in the social domain. This could be because they seem to be and perceive to be excluded from the urban services. In the following part their challenge on work patterns will be put forward.

The Relation between the Physical Space and Waged Work Patterns of Women

As mentioned in the section where the relation of the space of temporary settlements and the work patterns of women is discussed, the pre-earthquake patterns of women's formal work experience lead them to work also in post-disaster periods. For instance, Yaren worked in a textile atelier before the earthquake and she says that before her marriage she was familiar with that just like Melahat who also had worked in an atelier before the earthquake when she was newly married. So it is possible to see a continuous pattern of women's involvement in the formal paid work sphere.

The work patterns in the post-disaster Umcor Housing environment on the other hand are affected by the location of the settlement and the public transportation facilities mostly. In that, the most obvious problem with the Umcor Settlement is its distance to the downtown and limited job openings especially for the women who worked before the earthquake in and around the central districts of the city.

> Here we have a house but it is quite far, and the transport fee is high. We are also far from the downtown, so we have no social life. It is harder to find a job. Since I

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[92]Yorulmuyom ne demek 5 tane adam var basımda, yemegim, bi de beyim titiz, evi duzenli ister. Ama gene de zevkle yaptım. Yaptım ev işini de utusunu de yaptım, ama zevkliydi, cocuklar icin de değerdi. (UM_Naciye)

know no one here I cannot ask anyone for baby sitting. There is no way to do a part time job.[93] (UM_ Nazan)

If kids or I want to work there is no shuttle to and from here. I was working when I was single, after getting married I didn't. After moving here I asked around and they said the shuttles drop-off at around İmteks.[94] (UM_Saime)

There is no other option or a factory plant where people can work apart from that textile industry. Besides the jobs are limited, working from home is also not very feasible since the homes are very small. The major criterion for women to find a job is that it should be in a walking distance. The parquet atelier which enable people living in the neighborhood to contribute to the economy is very close to the houses houses. Being restricted to the one-two companies, the people here have to bear the heavy and bad working conditions. For instance, Nuray has been working at the parquet atelier for seven years, but she explains that she do so as there is no other alternative, or that she can not quit it because of the need for money for the education and insurance of the kids though she is tired. Melahat who started this job with Nuray's help says that she wouldn't work if she really did not need the money as well. Melahat explains her work as follows:

There is no job description, people who work there do all types of tasks, and it is always a very dynamic and chaotic environment. For example we place the long timbers to the machine where they are chopped and cut, and the end product is like parquet. Outside the trucks bring the timber that is five, nine or twelve cm thick and first you unload them and place in grill form. Then those are sent to the ovens where they are cured. This is heavy job, we get very tired. They make the women do men's tasks… Men, different from us, do the gluing. They stick the 5cm thick woods to each other. Their sector is separated from ours. They also do the cutting. But still it is a very tiring job. I was weighing more than right now, since I started in the factory I lost tenkg, this is heavy job. In my department there are 27 women managed by male chiefs. The men are in a different sector separated by a huge curtain. There are some women working there as well but I don't know exactly what they do and how many they are.[95] (UM_Melahat)

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[93] Burada ev var ama yol çok uzak, yol parası da çok. Burada çok uzak kaldık çarşıya, hiçbir sosyal faaliyet yok.İş bulmak çok zorlaştı. Bir de benim burda çevrem olmadığı için, işte çocuğu bırakayım, ara ara çalışayım diyebileceğim bir durum yok. (UM_Nazan)

[94] Çocuklar çalışcak olsa, ben çalışacak olsam servis yok buraya. Bekarken çalıştım, evlenince çalışmadım. Buraya gelince sordum, İmteks'in orda bırakıyor servisler. (UM_Saime)

[95] Orada çalışanların tek bir işi yok, herkes her işi yapıyor, hep koşturmaca orası. Mesela makinaya uzun tahtaları veriyosun, torna gibi, ordan parke olarak çıkıyor. Dışarda ızgara yapıyosun. Koca tır geliyor, tırlarda 5 lik, 9 luk, 12 lik tahtalar var, onları boşaltıyoz, onları paletin üzerine ızgara yaparak yerleştiriyoz. Onlar fırına gidiyor, fırından sonra parke oluyor. Ağır iş ama, çok yoruluyoz. Erkek işini kadına yaptırıyolar yani. … Erkekler bizden farklı yapıştırma yapıyolar.5 cm lik malları birbirine

Nuray complains about the long working hours saying that she feels so tired most of the time and just cannot handle anything. She says:

> During the extra working hours you are more tired. In the winter we do not have extra work a lot. But in the summer since the supplies are more we stay a lot for extra hours, at least twice a week. One night I stayed until 2.30am.[96] (UM_Nuray)

Despite the complaints about the heavy workload and working hours, though not totally, going out from the house the private domain, for the sake of getting into a formal paid work, a kind of a public domain together with their husbands, adds to their well-being as Nuray reminds:

> I was in depression when I was not working. From all senses you do not get satisfied if you are not working. When I work at a job I get all what I want. I can buy whatever I like. I ask only health from God, nothing more.[97] (UM_Nuray)

The most apparent criterion is said to be the proximity of the atelier to the houses as in the case of Melahat and Nuray who come back to their houses at lunch break to look after the kids and keep up the house. Flowing through the paid and unpaid work roles in daytime added to the tiredness of the work in the atelier:

> It is very close to my place, just a couple of minutes; in case of emergency I can always run home. That's why... I get out from home at 8.00am and walk for 10 minutes to my work. The lunch break is between 12.30-1.30pm. I have my lunch at the company and then run home to serve lunch to kids and fire the stove for heating. Then I run back to my job. At 5.30pm I am back at home.[98] (UM_Melahat)

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yapıştırıyolar. Onların bölümüyle bizim bölüm ayrı. Erkekler mal kesiyor, bayanlar ayrı. Çok yorucu ama. Ben daha da şişmandım, fabrikaya girdikten sonra 10 kilo verdim; ağır iş. Benim bölümümde 27 kişi var, kadın, yanımızda erkek ustalar da oluyor tabii. Erkekler ayrı bölümde ama onların çalıştığı yerde de arada koca bir perde var, şerit gibi, orda kadınlar da var. Ama o bölümleri tam bilmiyom, kaç kişi var falan. (UM_Melahat)

[96]Mesai de olunca çok yorgunluk oluyor. Mesai kışın pek olmuyor ama yazın çok mal olduğu için mesai çok oluyor. Haftada iki sefer falan oluyor. Bir akşam 2 buçuğa kadar kaldığım oldu. (UM_Nuray)

[97]Çalışmadığım zaman sıkıntılıydım. Her açıdan, istediğini alamıyorsun. Çalışınca herşeyimi alabiliyorum. Gider alırım bişeyde gözüm kalsın. Allah sağlık versin başka bişey de istemiyom zaten. (UM_Nuray)

[98]5 dk'lık yol, acil bişey olsa koşup gelebilirim. O yüzden... Sabah 8 de çıkıyom, yürüyerek gidiyom, 10 dakka sürüyor. 12.30-13.30 arası öğle tatili. Fabrikada öğle yemeğimi yiyip koştur koştur eve geliyom, çocukların pemeğini veriyom, sobalarını yakıyom, onları tembihliyom, küçük oldukları için. Sonra koştur koştur yine işe gidiyom. Akşam 5 buçukta eve geliyom tekrar. (UM_Melahat)

There are other alternatives of work at the school and in the textile factory plants within the relatively near environment as well. For instance before her job in Standart Parquet, Melahat worked at the school just as her husband did and still does:

> Five years ago I was working as janitor at the school. It was a nice and easy job, going in the morning and coming in the evening. I was serving tea and coffee. I was pregnant to my son at that time. I worked all nine months during the pregnancy, I quit in June and my son was born in July. How did I get the job? They were looking for someone and the president of family-school board asked me whether I was interested. I started and everyone was pleasant with my job I was doing. I am still in contact with the teachers there, we call each other. I quit but thanks God my husband still works there. We have started to work in the school together with my husband, now it is his seventh year.[99] (UM_Melahat)

And finally we need to add the effect of women's role as the caregiver in the family to the variety of her decisions she has to make while entering the public sphere. As the so-called front open/ semi-open spaces provide the children with a space to play with easy control over them by the women, some of the interviewees say that thay can easily look after one another's children as paid work. For instance while Yaren works in textile factory, Gül looks after her child. After that while Melahat works in parquet atelier, Yaren looks after her child. And this solution made it easier for the women to go to work outside the house. But deeper than that, to raise a child seems to be the most striking kind of work in here by all means also as most of the interviewees tell. As Melahat, Sevgi, Naciye, Saime, Neziha etc point out, , the load on the women in terms of emotional labour is increased dramatically. Since trust in wider sense is not built within the neighbourhood, women can not totally leave their children and go for short distance workplaces and come home at noon or in an emergency.

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[99]5 yıl önce okulda hademelik yaptım. Sabah gidip akşam geliyordum, rahattı yani. Çaycıydım. Orda çalıştığımda oğluma hamileydim.9 ay hamileyken çalıştım. Haziranda bıraktım, temmuzda oğlum doğdu. Bu iş nasıl oldu diyorum; işçi arıyorlardı, okul aile birliği başkanı, Melahat dedi sen müsaitsin, temizsin, okula girer misin dedi. Girdim, çok memnun kaldılar, hala görüşürüz öğretmenlerle de telefonla falan. Ben ayrıldım ama eşimi bırakmadılar allah razı olsun. Eşimle beraber girdik okula, onun 7.Senesi olacak. (UM_Melahat)

4.3. Women's Experiences within a Participatory Social Housing Environment Located in the Housing Development District of the City

4.3.1. Spatial Patterns of Women in Beyciler Blue Crescent Housing District

The Location of the Settlement in Urban Scale

The housing site is located in Beyciler district, positioned to the northern axis of the city, which is determined as the axis of development for housing in the city plan of Düzce. It is three km away from city center by vehicle, but by public transportation it takes a minimum of 20 minutes as the busses drive through nearby villages. The problem with the access to city center is not only the duration of public transportation but also also the rarety of it. Also, although it is a 40-minute walk to the city center, walking is not preferred, because the way to city center is characterized by vehicular traffic, and it discourages pedestrian traffic. Therefore we can certainly mention a difficulty in terms of reaching to the city center, a problem about which the interviewees are also not happy with.
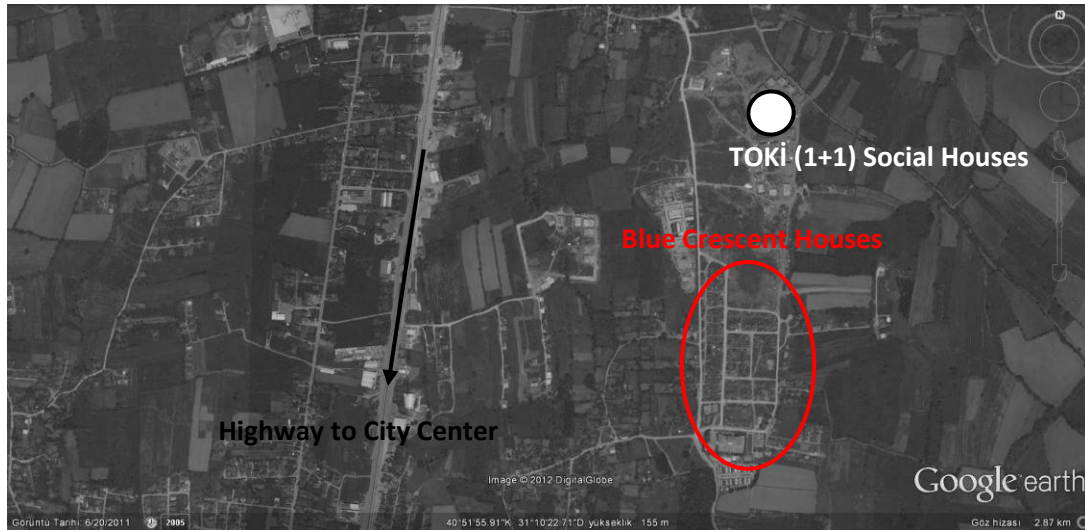
Figure 4-13. Near Environment of Blue Crescent Houses

However, despite the difficulty of commuting, the residents seem more or less hopeful about a better future in public services. As the site is on the urban development axis, many other housing sites are being built both by state organizations and by private sector. They believe that it will cause an improvement in public services, transportation included. Leman indicates both complaints and hopes as follows:

> We want the local government to invest here. There is only one bus service per hour, we have complaints about that. Maybe they will place extra services once the TOKI settlements are completed.[100] (BC_Leman)

Another point to be mentioned is that the physical distance to the city center does not only mean that the inhabitants cannot reach them out, but also that the infrastructure services do not arrive at the post-disaster housing space. Infrastructure services and other public services come to the very close neighborhoods but skip Beyciler. The inhabitants accuse the local authorites and the headmen of negligence. Leman states her thoughts as follows:

> The current district chief was elected with votes from here but he is still working for his previous district. They launched natural gas pipelines until the entrance of Beyciler, the roads were widened, the creek was taken care of but they ignored here. TOKI constructions started after this place, but they have natural gas lines done. We write letters to the local government asking for the natural gas, hope they agree.[101] (BC_Leman)

Interviewees' concerns are not limited to the lack of infrastructure services. Not being able to reach social services for themselves and the kids also constitutes a problem. The city center is far away and and hardly unreachable. Their neighbourhood and they are also out of the sight of the authorities, which ends up being forgotten during service providing. Ebru's husband summarizes the situation as follows:

> The authorities ignored here a lot; they focused more on the center. Youngs are hanging out safely there, they have playgrounds for sport and everything. The suburbs are left behind. This is also the fault of the district chief. Places like here are ruled by the disctric chiefs, they have to ask from the central administration for such things. They have to insist and fight for it![102] (BC_Ebru's Husband)

Spatial Characteristics witihin the Settlement

Within the site there is a primary school, a kindergarden, a pharmacy, small shops, a military police station, a rehabilitation center, a small healthcare center, one playground and a bus line. At first glance, superior to Umcor settlement, all these facilities seem to be

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[100] Biz istiyoruz ki belediye sahip çıksın. Saat başı tek araba var ondan şikayetçiyiz. Şimdi TOKİ biterse belki daha sık araba gelir.

[101]Şimdiki muhtar buranın oyuyla geldi, hala eski mahallesine çalışıyor. Beycilerin girişine doğalgaz geldi, yollar genişledi, dere ıslahı yapıldı ama buradan trans geçti. TOKİ bizden sonra yapıldı, oraya doğalgaz geldi, buraya gelmedi. (BC_Leman)

[102]İdarenin eksikliği çok var burda.Hep merkeze odaklandılar, orada cıvıl cıvıl gençler koşturuyor, spor şeyleri var hep.Kenar mahalleler atılmış mahalleler.. O da muhtarların suçu aslında, buraları muhtarlar idare ediyor, isteyecek merkezden, bağıra çağıra isteyecek! (BC_Ebru's husband)

enough for a settlement of this scale. However the interviews display that they are not as efficient as they are supposed to be on the social life of the inhabitants. For example, there was a foundation building, planned to be the social center of the neighbourhood. In order to fulfill this function, in the beginning some workshops were organized at the foundation. Young girls attended these workshops, but later on those workshops were stopped; now there isn't any workshop going on. After that, there was another intitiative for putting the building in use again for social purposes and Kouran classes were launched in the building. However they also had show lives and were closed after one-two months. Afterwards respectively it became a grocery store, a coffee shop, a charity center, but none survived and now the building is empty.
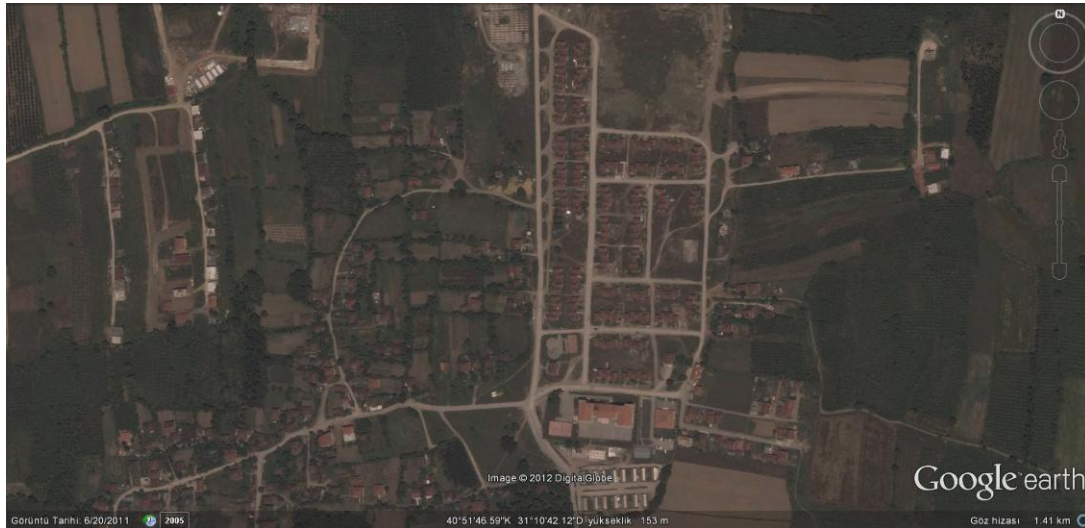
Figure 4-14. Spatial Layout of Blue Crescent Settlement

As for the spatial layout of the site, the whole settlement is composed of 168 houses; 42 housing blocks each including four adjacent two-storey units. At first glance the site gives the impression of a middle-class suburban settlement with each four-unit blocks designed within a surrounding garden in a gridal design layout. This kind of design creates a compulsory and artificial state of being "close". This suburban design implies that a homogenous group of like-minded people would enjoy living that "close" to each other, which is also partially true for the women living in Beyciler. On the one hand they repeatedly say that it is a pleasure to come together in the common garden of the houses with the "preferred" neighbours, especially in the summer time. On the other hand, in the case of Beyciler, the same shared common garden can ironically become a source of

conflict among the community in terms of rules and a means of vialotion of privacy for the women. We argue that the inhabitants gathering on the site by chance without a delibarete decision of where to live have not provided the anticipated outcome of "harmoniously living together" in the community. This issue will be dealt with in details in the next section.

Figure 4-15. View of Blue Crescent Settlement, looking to North

Spatial Organization within the Houses

Blue Crescent Housing Units are four adjacent blocks, two-storey houses with front gardens as mentioned above. Blue Crescent Houses are nearly 90 m2 and two-storey houses. The entrance to the house is through a veranda. By the entrance of the house, on the right is the kitchen then wet space and accross there is the bedroom. On the left is the living room through where one can pass to the other room downstairs and the upper floor by the staircase in this space. On the upper floor the staircase opens up to a hall like living room through where one can reach the seperate room.

Generally, women are pleased with their houses spatially in BC Houses. And this is consistent with the findings of the quantitative survey conducted here by Erinsel and Önder (2010). According to them, among 100 respondents of the questionnaire, the majority is satisfied with spatial qualities of the houses. The criteria are all related with physical attributes of the houses but as the survey does not include a gender dimension, it is not possible to make a broader comparison. As it is mentioned also in their study, with reference to the study of Taş and his colleagues (2007), in the post-disaster houses in Gündoğdu, Kocaeli, residents' rate of satisfaction from the houses were high although the standards were not met by the houses. It is said that high satisfaction rates are due to the residents' low standard of housing before the earthquake.

In our case, we also observe that there is satisfaction with the houses. In the narratives, most of the women said that their homes before earthquake had bad living conditions such as poor daylight, humidity; they were old and dirty, sometimes lacked even a kitchen or bathroom. Mice and insects were everywhere etc. unlike their new homes. Nebahat describes her pre-earthquake house in the city center as follows:

> I got married and moved to Düzce, settled in Aziziye district. The house was horrible and there was dumpness, so I got sick at that place. We lived there for seven years, there was no balcony, nothing. We stayed there because we couldn't afford anything better. In this two storey house my land lord was living upstairs and they had big sewing machine for making clothes, these machines made a lot of noise. My landlords were working as janitor in the hospital, and me and the other tenant were washing their carpets and rugs. The land lord had a bathroom upstairs; the first floor was divided into two. We were two tenants, the apartment of the other tenant was beautiful and sunny; mine wasn't. Of course you are not forced to stay there but we didn't have any money. If I had the income that I have now I wouldn't stay there. The other tenant had a bathroom and three bedrooms. Mine was a two-bedroom apartment and the bathroom was outside, seperated. These houses are still there, they didn't get destroyed, 30-year--old houses. I really do not want to remember these![103] (BC_ Nebahat)

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[103]Evlenip Düzce'ye geldik, Aziziye Mahallesi'ne yerleştik. Ev çok kötüydü, rutubet falan vardı, orada hastalandım. Yedi sene oturdum orda, balkonu falan hiçbirşeyi yoktu, çünkü durumum iyi değildi. İki katlı evde, üstte evsahibi oturuyordu, üstte büyük makinaları vardı dikiş dikiyordu, çok gürültü oluyordu. Ev sahipleri hastanede temizlikçi olarak çalışıyordu, biz diğer kiracıyla birlikte onların kilimlerini falan yıkardık. Evsahibinin üstte tuvaleti falan vardı, alt katı ikiye bölmüşlerdi. İki kiracıydık, diğer kiracının evi güzeldi, güneşalıyordu, benimki almıyordu, seni zorla oturtmuyor tabii ama durumum yoktu. Şimdiki gücüm olsa orada durmazdım. Diğer kiracıda tuvalet vardı, üç odaydı, benim taraf iki oda, güneş almaz, tuvaleti, suyu hep dışardaydı. Bu evler hala duruyor, yıkılmadı, otuz yıllık evler… Onları hiç hatırlamak istemiyom yaa! (BC_Nebahat)

What Nebahat describes is true for more than half of the interviewees. The pre-earthquake houses had almost the same spatial pattern: The owner of the house or married children of them lived on the upper storey and the tenant in the lower. As Düzce has high humidity rates, the ground floor or semi-basement floor was hard to live in. Many of the women say that before the earthquake they were living as extended families. Some were sharing the house with other families as one family taking one room. As landowners divided the floor one part would be lack a kitchen, even a bathroom, as is clear from Nebahat's account.

Apart from these positive outcomes of the Blue Crescent Houses, having balconies opening to the garden adds to the perception of spaciousness by the women. Despite the drawback of violating privacy of row houses in certain situations, women mention the importance of garden-houses for their well-being. Almost all of the interviewees indicate the superiority of their garden-houses to the apartments in terms of the ease to get out to the garden or to the neighbors. For most of the inhabitants having a table in the garden and spending sometime sitting and chatting appear to be good and possible enough to be content with the Blue Crescent houses. Also, dealing with the garden and planting issues is a means of pleasure for them.

Figure 4-16. Spaces of 'breathing' for women in Blue Crescent Houses

Another reason of their satisfaction with their present houses is their own participation in making of the houses. Physical qualities of the houses, participation in the construction and seeing the finished work put Blue Crescent houses into a different position in the perception of the interviewees. Yet, physical qualities of the houses and the interviewees' participation in the construction indirectly results with a negative outcome: they tell that even if they are not satisfied with the social environment they cannot give up their houses, their space, and their labour within (not paying rent is another dimension). There are women who tell 'I wish this house was not mine so that I can move to another place'.

So it follows that it is not enough to be satisfied with the physical conditions of the living environment. We will now discuss that in terms of gender roles and social relations on the levels of home, neighbourhood and waged work, the interviewees' perception of post-earthquake housing sites could change.

4.3.2. The Impacts of Blue Crescent Housing Environment on the Gendered Lives of Women

The Relation between the Physical Space and the Relations of Women at Home

It is observed that with the loss of the house, which means the private domain for women, right after the earthquake the struggle for home became apparent for the women as a continuation of their roles in the private domain. In the case of Blue Crescent Houses, where the beneficiaries worked in construction, the construction phase was difficult, especially for the single women like Leman; they worked going back and forth between their previous homes and future homes.

> I worked for one year in these houses. Together with my kids, I had moved to Gölyaka to my parents' place. I commuted between Gölyaka and here. I was getting out at 6.30am to be here at 8.00am. I had to make one transfer with bus, some times I was walking from the transfer stop. We have carried the bricks and prepared the concrete, also placed the pavements with the vibration device.[104] (BC_Leman)

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[104]Bu evlerde 1 sene çalıştım. Prefabrikten çıkınca ailemin yanına Gölyaka'ya geçmiştim çocuklarla.Gölyaka' dan gidip geldim buraya da. 6 buçukta evden çıkıp 8'de burada olmaya çalışıyordum.2 vasıtayla geliyordum, bazen ilk vasıtadan sonra yürüyordum. Burada biz, tuğla taşıdık, harç kardık, titreşim makinesiyle parapetleri biz yaptık. (BC_Leman)

It is apparent that this process caused an extraordinary workload for these women within the private sphere of home-making. But it also carried the women to a kind of social sphere where they built and worked for the community while they did not know during the construction who would move to which house. After all, when the houses were specified by draw, works to be finished inside the house were left to the beneficiaries with the intention that they could personalize their own living environments. But for the women like Leman, who were single and not supported by the relatives, it was hard to deal with it:

> When my husband died, I was cleaning houses for 25 Lira. I was living in a temporary house and getting charity at religious holidays. I saved them, financially that helped me a lot. I fixed and built the interior of the house myself. There are houses where the walls are still not finished although they have men inside. I cannot live in that way, I do not like it; it should be beautiful. I didn't give up and darken my world, I cannot accept it. If I had done so I probably would have gone mad and now would be institutionalized at Bakırköy. I struggled, my husband died and after 15-20 days I started working as a cleaning lady. Always struggling…[105](BC_Leman)

But as Leman mentions, though it was hard to overcome, it was also a means of struggle in positive terms to hold on to life after such losses. As an expected result, after such a process, the meaning of their post-disaster homes was established in line with this struggle. And after all, the house becomes indispensable for Leman:

> My children want to move back to our old neighborhood (Aziziye), but how can we afford the rent? I had been living in a rental apartment for fifteen years; I am fed up with rents. Would I prefer to move out from my own house? I do not like my village but I like it here. This is my place; I tell my children that I will not leave here even if they do not want to stay here in the future. They do not like the neighborhood. But since we worked hard to build this place, I will not leave it.[106] (BC_Leman)

Similarly, Macide worked alone during the constructions. Macide's husband was alive but went abroad because the company he worked for transferred the business to Ukraine right

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[105]Beyim öldüğünde 25 liraya eve temizliğe gidiyordum. Prefabrikteyken bana fitre falan verirlerdi, biriktirdim, maddi yönden destek çıktı. Bu evin içini ben yaptım, evinde erkek olup da sıvatmayan, öyle oturan var hala, ben sevmem, düzgün, güzel olacak.Kocam yok diye çözülüp de içimi karartıp oturmayı sevmezdim, öyle yapsam kafayı yer, Bakırköy' de olurdum. Mücadele ettim, benim eşim öldü, 15-20 gün sonra temizliğe gittim, hep koşturma… (BC_Leman)

[106]Çocuklar eski mahallemize(Aziziye Mahllesi) taşınalım diyor ama nasıl kira verecez, ben de 15 sene kirada oturdum. Kiradan bıktığım için artık… Evimi bırakıp çıkmak ister miyim?Kendi köyümü sevmem ama burayı seviyorum, burası benim mekanım, burayı bırakmam diyom çocuklara ilerde burada durmak istemezlerse.Onlar çevreden dolayı istemiyorlar.Ama burası kendi alınterimizle olduğu için, bırakmam. (BC_Leman)

after the earthquake. He has been living in Ukraine for the last thirteen years. Macide wants to divorce but as the house is registered to her, her husband does not agree on divorce. She explains further below:

> I would offer the house to him, just to let him out from my life but kids disagreed. I spent two whole years to make this house as it is now. My elder daughter supported me. She said "while he was having fun with other women there, you built this house, never give up on it".[107] (BC_Macide)

Although in her case, it is the kids not her who resisted on keeping the house, it should not go unnoticed that the physical efforts and emotional difficulties of the women during the construction mean a lot. This way the house results in the conflict between the social environment and an identity construction. Sometimes it seems as if the only thing that binds them to their neighbourhoods is their socio-economic condition and their tie with their homes:

> "There is nothing that I enjoy here, I always want to leave. But I can't give up on my house."[108] (BC_Nebahat)

> I have been living here for nine years and haven't liked the environment at all. For example sometimes I wish that I didn't have this house and lived in Burhaniye district. I would agree to pay rent there. [109](BC_Macide)

In addition to this specific condition of the Blue Crescent Houses, an outcome of a self-help and participation based project as described in previous section, the women are satisfied with the physical space of the houses. And different from the temporary settlements and Umcor Houses which were small in size (30-40 m2), Blue Crescent Houses are nearly 90 m2 and moreover they are two-storey houses. So the size and the spatial organization of the house provide the spatial hierarchy in terms of privacy when needed. Almost all of the interviewees living in the prefabric units as well as Umcor houses complain about the lack of privacy in the private space of home whereas here in Blue Crescent houses it seems that

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[107]"Ev senin olsun" diyecektim,"yeter ki çık hayatımdan" diyecektim, çocuklar karşı çıktı. Bu ev iki senede benim emeğimle bu hale geldi. Büyük kızım bana destek çıktı, "o orada kadınlarla cirit atarken, sen evi yaptın, sakın evi verme" dedi. (BC_Macide)

[108]Burada hoşuma giden hiçbir şey yok, hep gitmek istiyorum. Ama bir yandan da evime kıyamıyorum. (BC_Nebahat)

[109]9 yıldır burada oturuyorum, burdaki ortamı hiç beğenmedim; ben mesela keşke bu ev benim olmasaydı da orada (Burhaniye Mahallesi) kalsaydım, kirada kalmaya razı olurdum, dediğim oluyor. (BC_Macide)

all of the interviewees are satisfied both with the size and interior spatial organization of the houses. For instance when talking about her home Hanife from BC Houses emphasizes firstly and mostly its spatial character that makes it easy to host guests and live with the children:

> I really like that there are two rooms upstairs. It is very convenient, once we have guests they stay there. The house is big; three bedrooms are enough for me.[110] (BC_Hanife)

Figure 4-17. View from a living room in Blue Crescent Houses

However, neither the infrastructure nor the level of income is consistent with the extensive size of the houses. In theory, this kind of row houses of two-storey with a small garden could be considered to have the all the main infrastructure such as gas for heating, electiricity etc. In addition, the owner is expected to be able to pay the bills for all these kind of utilities. Nevertheless it is not true for the residents of the Blue Crescent Houses. Leman, for instance, complains about not having natural gas pipe line in the settlement,

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[110]Bu evde üstte iki oda olmasını çok seviyom. Misafir olunca yukarı çıkıyor, rahat oluyor. Ev geniş, üç oda yetiyor bana.Müstakilliğini de seviyorum. (BC_Hanife)

but right after that she admits that even if there was the line, she could not afford it: "We write letters to the local government asking for the natural gas, hope they agree. Well even if they launch natural gas we can not afford it for heating"[111] (BC_Leman). In Leman's house, there is only one firestove in the smallest room and the rest of the house is not heated. This goes all the same around the Blue Crescent Houses. The intervieweesoften put the firestove in the living room, and in winter time they use only some of the rooms.

Despite the lack of infrastructure and high cost of maintenance, almost all interviewees tell that this is their own place, and therefore better. The expected problem of housekeeping is not even mentioned as a problem. On the other hand, when it comes to the issue of 'domestic labour' or 'care' of the children as the most emphasized role of the women in the private sphere, we could observe that just like the previous post-disaster settlements of prefabricated houses and Umcor houses, this settlement is also affected by the characteristics of the social environment. Leman explains her attitude towards her kids and compares it with the others living in the same neighbourhood as follows:

> I didn't let my kids outside even when they were studying at the university. We played all kinds of board games together at home, just not to let them go to the coffee shops… But in here, the kids are outside until midnight, parents do not look for them, they are just very free. Now it is winter, that is why it is quiet. In the summer time every one is outside… Our neighborhood here is nice and clean. In the summer, the streets a couple blocks away are like Sulukule, full of unattended kids.[112] (BC_Leman)

Leman tries to make the home-place in such a wat that she could tie her children to the home and not the outside which she does not think so high of. Ebru, similarly, emphasizes her own role in controlling her kids at home.

> The friendship environment of the children is not so good here. My eyes are always on them until the evening, I do not give them this chance. Most of the parents do

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[111]Dilekçe yazdık verdik doğalgaz için, inşallah gelir, gerçi gelse de karşılayamayız, tabii hepsini yakamayız. (BC_Leman)

[112]Ben çocuklar üniversitedeyken bile dışarı salmazdım. Okey, tavla ne oynanacaksa, kahveye gitmesin evde otursunlar diye, hep birlikte oynardık, eve alıştırmak için… Ama burada 12'ye kadar çocuklar dışarda, aileler çağırmaz çocukları, başıboş. Şimdi kış o yüzden sakin, yazın insanlar hep dışarda… Bizim oturduğumuz bu çevre iyi, temiz. Şu ilerki sokaklar yazın Sulukule gibi oluyor, çoluk çocuk dışarda. (BC_Leman)

not care much; kids easily get alcohol and start smoking. I am strongly against it and do as much as I can not to send them out.[113] (BC_Ebru)

It is seen that the gender roles at home is directly related with the social environment of the neighbourhood as the women try to protect their children from the others outside as mothers. In the following section, the relation between the spatial characteristics and social relations of the neighbourhood will be explained further.

The Relation between the Physical Space and the Relations of Women in the Neighbourhood

The process of construction of their houses contributed much to constructing social relations among the women. As it is told by many, in the construction phase, despite its difficulties, a collectivity was achieved. Although women were in a position which is a continuity of their roles in traditional domestic domain, getting out of the house and participating in production –whether it is paid or not- together with other men and women, prevented women from being isolated in post-disaster environments. But the major problem they all mentioned was the collapse of this collectivity, solidarity patterns within a few months after they moved into the houses. An interviewee's observations:

> In the early days when we came, the friendship at the working place was very good. You would work together and do much different stuff. People were helping each other. We were very happy and thought that it would be the same when we moved to the houses. After moving in, nobody looked after each other anymore. We met with Reyhan at work and became really close. Then we made friends with some others, but they started to gossip, and me and Rüyam quarreled. It all happened within the first three-four months after moving here…[114] (BC_Macide)

We can feel a sense of nostalgia in their comparison of the present socio-spatial patterns with the pre-earthquake ones. . References to the old neighbourhoods are common as reaction to the sudden losses of both the space and social relation in it. Macide and Nebahat are two who have a strong feel of nostalgia for their neighbourship:

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[113]Çocukların arkadaş çevreleri iyi değil, ama akşama kadar üstlerindeyim o fırsatı vermiyorum onlara. İçki, sigara, burda rahatlıkla yapıyolar, aileler ilgilenmiyor hiç. Ben çok karşıyım, elimden geldiğince yollamıyorum diyor. (BC_Ebru)

[114]İlk geldiğimiz zaman, çalışma ortamında arkadaşlık çok iyiydi. Beraber çalışıyorsun, her türlü işi yapıyorsun. İnsanlar birbirine yardımcı oluyordu. Çok sevindik, evlere taşınınca da öyle olacak sandık. Taşınınca kimse kimseyi tanımaz oldu. Reyhan ile mesela çalışırken tanıştık, çok iyiydi aramız. Sonradan aramıza birkaç kişiyi aldık, baktık onlar aramızda laf taşıdılar, biz onunla darıldık. Buraya taşınınca 3-4 ayda oldu bu mevzu… (BC_Macide)

Compared to the previous neighborhood this place is not worth a penny. There we used to have nice neighbors and friendships, but here everyone is looking for any type of simple, little faults. I have been living here for nine years. I do not see anyone except two friends… Elmas (the tailor) and Reyhan. Since the beginning, I haven't made contact with anyone, I didn't need it. There are some that I see from Burhaniye (her previous district); actually most of these people are all spread around… There were no gossips in my old neighborhood, everyone was so direct and would talk to youe face. But here it is complicated, there is no friendship. In the old neighborhood there were love and respect to each other. For example I had financial difficulties and so I moved out from my parents-in-law's place. I needed furniture and my friends never left me in need of anything, here even when you scream "I am dying" no one will come and ask what is going on.[115] (BC_Macide)

When I was living in Aziziye we used to go to each other's places, there was no discrimination. Most of the neighbors were from Düzce but still there were visits. We used to cook together etc. We were all from the same neighborhood; there was no one from somewhere else. I cannot say bad things about here, these aren't bad people. But on TV they say that nowadays everywhere is like this, life is changing and so the visits between neighbors are decreasing.[116] (BC_Nebahat)

Though she wants to keep in touch with her previous neighbours, Nebahat on the other hand says it is not possible to do so under her restrictive conditions:

My old neighbors are still in the previous neighborhood, but I cannot visit them, I have to take two busses. Of course you miss those days. Mostly I miss my youth life; we were very comfortable at that time. For the last two years I have been going to my daughter and taking care of my grandchild, nothing else…[117] (BC_Nebahat)

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[115]Eski mahalleyle kıyaslayınca burası on para etmez. Orada komşuluk, dostluk vardı, burada en ufak bir şeyde açığını arayan var. 9 yıldır burada oturuyorum. Ben burada kimseyle görüşmem, 2 arkadaşım var sadece onlarla… Elmas abla (terzi), Reyhan. Baştan beri kimseyle görüşmedim, gerek duymadım. Burhaniye'den (eski mahallesi) falan görüştüklerim var, gerçi çoğu insanlar dağıldı artık..İşte eski mahallede yoktu dedikodu, ne söyleyeceksen yüzüne söyleniyordu.Ama burası çok karışık ya, dostluk hiç yok.Eski mahallede saygı sevgi çoktu. Mesela benim maddi imkansızlığım çok oldu, haliyle ayrıldım kayınvalidemin yanından, eşya lazım, arkadaş çevrem beni hiçbir şeye muhtaç etmezdi. Burada, sen, ölüyom desen, bir allah'ın kulu gelip ne oldu demez. (BC_Macide)

[116]Aziziye'de iken, Evlere gitme gelme olurdu, ayrım seçim orada yoktu.Komşular genelde Düzceliydi ama görüşülürdü. Beraber kısır yapardık vb. kendi mahallemizden arkadaşlarımızdı hep başka mahalleden yoktu. Burayı da kötülemeyeyim, kötü insan yok. Ama televizyonlarda diyor artık her yer öyle, hayat değişiyor, görüşmeler azalıyor diye… (BC_Nebahat)

[117]Eski komşularım hala eski mahallemde ama ben gidemiyorum, 2 araba değiştirmem lazım.İnsan arıyor tabii o günleri.Asıl kızkenki hayatımı çok arıyorum, o zaman çok rahattık. 2 senedir zaten çocuk bakıyom, kızıma gidiyom, başka bir şey yapamıyom… (BC_Nebahat)

The same is true for Hanife who cannot often go to downtown because of the economic problems. As her physical connection with the downtown and her old neighbourhood in the downtown is restricted, her social relations within the settlement are restricted as well:

> Burhaniye was closer to the downtown; we used to go out a lot. Even when we did not have to buy anything we were hanging out with neighbors just to have a walk. But now, even we have some needs we avoid going there since it has become costly. You know the public bus ticket and so… We stay at home since we do not have the income. My husband and kids are going from time to time if needed, but I usually do not go as long as there is no other option…[118](BC_Hanife)

It is hard to talk about a community formation in the whole settlement of Blue Crescent neighbourhood. But close neighbours form a kind of solidarity in groups so that they can socialize, work collectively in the neighborhood and take care of each other's children to some extent.

> Here we are three-four families that are very good with each other, this is enough. Of course not everyone is good, there are some who fight and quarrel. One of my neighbors is widow, she is older than me but we see each other in every occasion, we are very close.[119] (BC_Leman)

Hanife, for instance, finds two of her neighbours closer than her daughter as they are closer physically:

> I have two close neighbors. I share everything with them, even my fights with my husband. *Do you share things with your daughter?* When I wake up I see my neighbors first, how can I see my daughter, so I share everything with my neighbors first.[120] (BC_Hanife)

Once they can form such small groups, tthe gardens become dynamic as these open spaces provide a convenient environment for such gatherings.

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[118]Burhaniye, merkeze yakındı, çıkıyorduk. Bir şey almasak da komşularla dolaşmaya çıkıyorduk. Şimdi ihtiyaç olsa da çıkamıyoz, masraflı oluyor. Dolmuş parası falan… Çıkmıyoz yani, gelir de olmayınca. Eşim, çocuklar falan yine gider gerektikçe de ben hele hiç gitmem. Anca çok mecbur kalınca… (BC_Hanife)

[119]Bizim burada 3-4 hane çok iyiyiz, o da yetiyor zaten. Tabii iyi olmayanlar, tartışan kavga edenler de var birbiriyle. Eşi olmayan bir komşum var, benden büyük ama ne zaman olsa girer çıkarız birbirimize, eşler olmayınca öyle… çok yakınız birbirimize.(BC_Leman)

[120]İki tane yakın komşum var. Akşam adamla kavga olsun yine onlarla paylaşırım. Kızınla paylaşır mısın diyorum; sabah kalktım mı komşularımı görüyom, kızı nerde göreceksin, önce komşularla paylaşırım. (BC_Hanife)

In the summer time we have tea all together in the garden. We also prepare thin sheet dough together. But of course there are people who don't even say hi to each other.[121] (BC_Leman)

In the summer we see each other almost everyday, we sit together in the garden. Her husband: Summers are very dynamic with preperations for the winter. All together they make thin sheet doughs, roll dolma till midnight.[122] (BC_Ebru and her husband)

Another way of socializing is achieved through religious rituals: gathering to pray and read Kouran in the holy Thursday evenings. This is happening in a wider community as it requires a more general meeting; so the interviewees are happy with it.

We come together to pray and read Yasin. We always visit each other, invite for tea. There is no fight or argument, we get on well with each other. I like that.[123] (BC_Hanife)

Here there is a regular Kouran reading session every week. There are many people attending; I also go every Thursday evening. There are more than 30 people…[124] (BC_Nebahat)

Apart from that, the major conflict within the wider community is almost the same as the problem of the interviewees in the two former cases; it is the problem with the heterogenous group of people coming together by chance in a newly set permanent living environment. And again similar to the former cases, with the exception that the Blue Crescent neighbourhood carries more potential socio-spatially, the obligatory physical proximity of the households is a problem. For instance Leman complains about that people disobey the pre-set settlement design of fencing in the four house units.

They destroy the urban design and the landscape of the neighborhood. Some build a storage shelter in the middle of nowhere. We do not agree that, it should stay as it is planned, everyone should obey that. According to the plan the fence should be around these 4 blocks, but since these 4 blocks can not go along with each other

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[121]Ama yaz gelsin, çay falan içeriz hep bahçede, sonra burda birlikte yufka yapılır. Ama tabii birbirine selam vermeyeni de var. (BC_Leman)

[122]Yazın neredeyse hergün görüşüyoruz, bahçelerde oluyoruz. Kocası söze giriyor; yazın çok cafcaflı geçiyor, kışa hazırlık için yufka falan yaparlar birlikte, dolma sararlar, gece 12'lere kadar ortaklaşa. (BC_Ebru and her husband)

[123]Toplanıyık ya, Yasin için. Gidiş geliş oluyor, çay yapıp birbirimizi çağırırız. Kavga, dövüş yok, iyi geçiniriz. O, hoşuma gidiyor. (BC_Hanife)

[124] Buralarda her hafta kuran okutulur, çok giden olur, ben de gidiyom, Perşembe akşamları, 30 kişiyi geçer katılan… (BC_Nebahat)

they try to surround each block separately with fence. Many people try to put a distance; sure it is important to keep a certain level with everyone.[125] (BC_Leman)

Figure 4-18. View of the adjacent Blue Crescent Houses with the later added fences in the garden

Through the violation of privacy as a kind of surveillance can be related to the position of the houses to each other and that they are on the eye-level of humanscale just as the ones in the former two. Women in these neighbourhoods like mostly the semi-open spaces such as balconies and verandas. If there was nothing like this kind, it would be a version of oppression for women in not getting out of the house.

> It is just next to the pavement. Guys could sit and enjoy there but I couldn't. One place that I used to go for cleaning they gave me the old fences, so I surrounded my balcony.[126] (BC_Leman)

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[125] Evlerimizin şekillerini bozuyorlar, adam tutuyor orta yere kömürlük yapıyor, buraya plan yapıldıysa, uyulmalı, biz bozulmasın istiyoruz. Normalde 4 bloğun etrafından geçecekmiş çit, ama 4 blok iyi anlaşamıyor, herkes tek tek çitlemeye çalışıyor. Çoğu insan mesafe koymaya kalkıyor, tabii herkesle seviye kurmak gerekiyor. (BC_Leman)

[126] Yol kenarı, erkek arkadaşları oturuyor, ben oturamıyordum tabii… Temizliğe gittiğim bir evden bana verdiler de eski çevreliklerini, ben de balkonumu çevirdim. (BC_Leman)

Another conflict within the near socio-spatial environment after being relocated to their new settlements is that the previous settlers of the district ie Beyciler neighbourhood and/or Gümüşpınar village excludes them. Especially in the first years, women report, the old settlers of the neighbourhood did not accepte them. Indeed, they excluded and labeled them as newcomers out of Düzce to get aid and social houses[127]. And it was the space for the free courses organized by BEY-DER where these old and new settlers, specificly women, met. As women mostly are the ones who stay at home, the social facilities within the neighbourhood was a means for them to get out of the house, learn some handicraft and socialize. But sometimes those spaces were turning out to be a space of conflict between the old and new residents.

> There was a sewing workshop at the foundation building. I attended since it was free of charge. We met young girls who lived around. As young girls from here and the ones from other places were often fighting we were like the peacekeepers there. There was always discrimination between the new comers and the locals. Only recently they get used to each other (The ones at the entrance of the Beyciler). Once I also got mad at one of them, we were all from the same place; we didn't come from Russia or the East. Now they construct buildings to Çavuşlar too; this land is for all uf us. There is no such thing that this is mine, this is yours, and the only problem is that the people can't make their livings. [128](BC_Leman)

To conclude, it can easily be seen that physical qualities of the Blue Crescent houses, the neighbourhood and location of the settlement are all superior to Umcor Houses. But despite this superiority of the environment, dissatisfaction with the social environment is very similar – maybe not as much as it is in the social environment of Umcor neighbourhood–. The main conflict in the making of the Blue Crescent houses is centred on relocation or displacement just as it is for Umcor houses. Both among the new residents

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[127] This approach is seen among people of Düzce commonly as Kümbetoğlu and her colleagues mention in their research (Kümbetoğlu, 2005). If one does not know her/his neighbour, s/he directly thinks that s/he is not from Düzce and came here after the earthquake to get aid. Especially emphasis on the new comers' coming from Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia and being Kurdish was apperent. This was also the case fort he women in our research. But they were sometimes saying this to others and sometimes other were saying this to them.

[128]Dernek binasında dikiş kursu vardı, bedava olduğu için gittim. Orada bu civardaki genç kızlarla falan da tanıştık. Biz orada arabulucu gibiydik, genç olanlar tartışıyordu, buradakilerle dışardakiler. Yoksa illa bir ayrımcılık vardı, siz yeni geldiniz falan diye, işte onlar önceden gelip yerleştiği için... Şimdi şimdi alıştılar (Beyciler girişindekiler). Ben de hatta kızdım öyle birine, hepimiz bir çevrenin insanıyız, Rusya' dan, Şark' tan gelmedik ya. Şimdi Çavuşlara da ev yapılıyor, heryer hepimizin. Senin benim diye bir şey yok, insanlar geçinemiyor. (BC_Leman)

and between the old settlers and the new ones, problems of integration do not seem to be solved since more than 10 years after the settlement. Women emphasize the difference in themselves in terms of their visibility and access to public services etc as parallel to their narratives in prefabric spaces while struggling for social aids and to produce and resume their home-places there. The phase of permanent houses on the other hand is more like returning to pre-existing patterns of isolation within the home and the near environment. Moreover the pre-disaster socio-spatiality of city center neighbourhoods seems far.

The Relation between the Physical Space and Waged Work Patterns of Women

Similar to the former two cases, pre-earthquake patterns of women's work experience lead them to work also in post-disaster periods. Like Yaren and Melahat, Ebru in Blue Crescent continues to work whatever the conditions are as she has had various experiences before. She explains her previous work patterns as such: working in the farmer's bazaar with her husband, working in a textile company, working as a care worker for an elder woman. Moreover after the earthquake, while living in the tents, she worked together with a travel organization company and organized tours for women. And also, like Feriha and Behiye in Fevzi Çakmak District or maybe even more than them, she hired a second container while she was living in Gümüşpınar temporary prefabricated settlement.

> I had a sewing machine in the container at Gümüşpınar, after moving here I sold it. One or two of my neighbors were working for me. Her husband continues; I was cutting the fabric and she was sewing. The next morning I was selling the entire work to the distributors at the local market, and sometimes we were selling the product ourselves. After the earthquake, we haven't stopped working or expected support from the government, we always worked. She just mentioned one or two people but in fact there were around 5-10 people who benefited from our business in Gümüşpınar.[129] (BC_Ebru and her husband)

Ebru, for the time being, is at her current position at an arcitectural office where she has been working as a cook for seven years. She got this position through a friend of hers; it is clear that she is satisfied with her job. Throughout her work experiences she seems to have had the control over the household issues as well; that can be followed through her

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[129]Gümüşpınar'da konteynırda dikiş makinalarım vardı, buraya geçince sattım. Komşulardan bir-iki kişi çalışıyordu yanımda. Kocası sözü alıyor; ben kumaş kesiyordum bu dikiyordu, ertesi sabah ben çuvalı pazara esnaflara toptan veriyordum, bazen de perakende satıyorduk. Depremde oturup da devletten beklemedik herşeyi, kendimiz çalıştık hep. Bu 1-2 dedi ama en az 5-10 kişi istifade etti Gümüşpınar'da bunun işinden. (BC_Ebru and her husband)

narrations. Of course, the Blue Crescent Settlement is closer to the city center than Umcor Settlement so tit is easier for the women who look for alternative work places. It is true for Ebru too but, she gives the impression that whatever the conditions are, , she would get involved in a formal work pattern from now on as she is used to and she has the media to challenge the conditions.

But, apart from her individual story, for Leman for instance the distance makes difference, though maybe not as much as in the case of Umcor. Leman explains that she is tired of going to other women's houses which are located in different central neighbourhoods of the city and she says she wants to work from her own house from now on.

> I have started to take care of a baby. But I have asthma and hyper tension; I can't handle the stressful situations so easily. The house where I was working is around the Yimpaş at Kültür Housing Site. I have babysat the kid of a teacher from this school, they were nice to me. Now she has recommended me to the current family. Before that I used to clean houses and stairs of the appartments. When my kids were little we only had the pension as salary, I also used to clean houses of some of the people I knew. For many years I have been working. It is not easy, now I can't take it anymore. I still would like to take care of children but I prefer to do it at my house. If you work in someone's place, they also try to make you do the housekeeping.[130] (BC_Leman)

Though she is tired and sick, she tells that as a single mother, she has to stand still and work for her children both to provide them with a good future just like Nuray in Umcor Houses who is a role-model for them.

> My husband used to have a shop. It was a rental place and he was always at the edge of the bankruptcy. I bought all my furniture myself by working, going to housecleaning, I had nothing. Now I have an illness and get tired easily. It is not easy for me anymore. Sometimes they ask why I still go for cleaning, they do not understand me. I have to be a good role-model for my children so they will see the good.[131] (BC_Leman)

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[130]Bir eve bebek bakmaya başladım. Ama astım hastasıyım, tansiyon var, sinir strese gelemiyom. Gittiğim ev Yimpaş' ın orda, Kültür Evleri' nde. Bu okuldaki öğretmenin çocuğuna bakmıştım daha önce, bana bırakıyorlardı, bakıyordum. O önermiş, şimdi gittiğim yere. Daha önceleri temizliğe, merdivene gittim. Çocuklar ufakken maaşla (emekli) geçindik, tanıdıkların evine bir iki temizliğe gittim. Senelerdir çalış, çalış… Kolay değil, artık kaldıramıyorum. çocuk yine bakarım da kendi evimde olsa benim için daha iyi, elin evine gidince temizliği falan da sana yıkmaya kalkıyor. (BC_Leman)

[131]Esnaftı beyim, durduğu dükkan kiraydı, hep iflasın eşiğindeydi.Ben bütün eşyamı kendim temizliğe giderek, çalışarak aldım, hiçbir şeyim yoktu benim.Şimdi rahatsızım, artık çok yoruldum.Kolay kolay yapamıyorum.Bazen derler, ay niye gidiyorsun temizliğe diye, anlamıyorlar çevredekiler.Ben çocuklarıma iyiyi gösterecem de görecekler. (BC_Leman)

As Leman wants to babysit at her house, in terms of the physial characteristics of the Blue Crescent houses, working at home can be considered convenient even if the women had children unlike the temporary container houses and Umcor houses. For instance Elmas reserved a room for her sewing machine and the textile materials in her house. Elmas' husband got sick after the earthquake, became unemployed and couldn't do anything to support the family. She explains her situation as follows:

> That is what happens when you marry an irresponsible man, drinking alcohol and gambling. I raised my kids with this job that I have. I started to do handicraft at elementary school… I was able to do even without any course but after school I attended one which was not that much useful. When we moved to Germany, I worked there one month illegally and bought a sewing machine for myself. It was not like these new ones, old style. Now I have two machines and one is for straight sewing and the other is for the embroidery.[132] (BC_Elmas)

She buys the sewing supplies from small shops in downtown as there is no big distributer in Düzce. She goes to the downtown for the lines and the fabric two to three times a week. For the design, on the other hand, she says that she started to make use of the computer of her son. Besides producing at home, the circulation of the goods is another issue, and in this case, it is the nephew of Elmas who arranges this network within Düzce and among the nearby towns as she explains:

> Now I work for customers from Akçakoca. (She talks about the bedding and bed clothing days); there is one in Tokuşlar villagein Akçakoca and one in Karaca district. My nephew is arranging some people in Akçakoca. I buy everything (the fabric and fibers) I am just telling them the price, she is arranging. Usually I do not go to these bedding days; I just ship the products from here, my nephew sells them at the bedding days. … She is just helping, I have helped her a lot at her wedding, she does not earn money, sometimes I give her some beddings.[133] (BC_Elmas)

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[132]Sorumsuz adamla evlenince böyle oldu, içki-kumar, ben bu işimle büyüttüm çocuklarımı diyor. İlkokula giderken başladım işe; dantel, oya, kaneviçe… Kursa gitmeden de yapıyordum ama okul bitince kursa gittim de öyle çok bir şey göstermediler, makine falan yoktu zaten. Almanya'ya gidince de kaçak 1 ay çalıştım, o parayla kendime makine aldım. Bunlar gibi değildi tabii o, eski tip.Şu anda 2 makinası var, bunla düz dikiş, diğeriyle nakışları yapıyom. (BC_Elmas)

[133]Akçakoca'ya çalışıyom şu anda daha çok (Nevresim gününden bahsediyor); Tokuşlar Köyü'nde var burada, Akçakoca'da, Karaca Mahallesinde… Yeğenim Akçakoca'da insanları ayarlıyor. Herşey (kumaş, iplik vb.) benden, ben parasını söylüyorum, o ayarlıyor. Ben gitmiyorum genelde, nevresimleri arabayla gönderiyorum, buradan arabaya veriyorum, ya da geldiğinde yeğenime veriyorum, o günde satıyor. O sadece yardımcı oluyor, ben ona düğününde çok yardımcı olmuştum, para almıyor, ama nevresim dikip veriyorum ben. (BC_Elmas)

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Like Leman, Elmas also complains that she has worked since the very beginning and felt the responsibilities of the household mostly on her shoulders. She also thinks that her labour is exploited within her community in the Blue Crescent:

> I am the one who works here, everyone sees this. They know that I need that. For instance Ebru has some debt but she is still bringing some new job, and I can't say no. My house has not been finished yet, everyone else has completed the work with their houses. I am really stressed a lot and worried because of that. I am tired of working hard; I always have to wear my glasses. I also know how to enjoy my life, to travel, to taste good food, why should I work?[134] (BC_Elmas)

She regrets that she has never worked outside but always from home. She says if she had had the mindset she has now she would have had a retirement plan and pay her dues. But still she does not give up and says that she will work as long as she can.

To conclude, the Blue Crescent Houses are characterized by the houses convenient for working at home. Though working outside the home is preferred in some cases and it is a sort of formal work pattern in the public sphere, it is still hard for most of the women who say that they are tired of working in both spheres. So the spatial characteristics of the house may be considered as a factor of enabling the production at home and making living for especially the single mothers.

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[134]Burada ben uğraşıyom, herkes beni görüyor, ihtiyacım var, Ebru mesela borcu var, hala iş getiriyor, yapmam da diyemiyorum. Benim evim yarım duruyor, millet evini yaptı komple. En çok bu yönden rahatsızım buradan. Yoruldum artık çalışmaktan kaç senedir, gözlüksüz zaten oturamıyom hiç. Başka yönden birşeyi yok. Ben de millet gibi gezmesini yemesini bilirim, niye çalışayım? (BC_Elmas)

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION OF THE FINDINGS

In this chapter, the impacts of post-disaster spaces on the gendered relations of the interviewees will be summarized and the findings of the previous chapter will be discussed comparatively in terms of the three different sites of settlements in the three main levels of the household, neighbourhood and waged work relations.

5.1. The Impact of Post-disaster Space on the Familial Relations in the Household

The space of women is mostly identified with the house and the housing environment (McKenzie, 1989). In parallel, prior to the earthquake, the interviewees were located mainly within the so-called private sphere of the house and its environment, and their mobility to the public sphere was limited. Therefore, with the loss of the private sphere both physically and socially as a result of the earthquake, these women experienced a dramatic disengagement with their previous lives. The interviewees are low-income women who live now in different living environments thirteen years after the eathquake. These women struggle to refashion their private spheres within the new post-disaster settlements. Though this struggle is achieved through the domestic roles of women which are carried on in the same pattern as it was before the eathquake, in the extraordinary circumstances of re-constructing, it is less a continuity than a dramatic increase in domestic labour. This being the case, it is necessary to take a closer look at the lively experiences of the women in the private domain as well as their relation to the physical space of home and the near environment. It is admitted that the physical conditions of the house affect the domestic roles of women; Vediha also mentions this as follows: 'The more comfortable your house is the more comfortable you are as a housewife'. Though the house is associated with the private, the invisible and therefore is known to be the space of conflict in terms of opression, violence, abuse and exploitation, here in this study, the focus is on the loss of even the 'given' privacy of women in the private sphere. This loss comes to be a major problem as the domestic roles of the women

are increasing but the physical space of the private sphere is becoming inconvenient in the long run. So, in this part I will discuss how this conflict between the domestic roles in the household and the physical space of low-income women living in three different post-disaster settlements is established through various levels of home and neigbourhood.

As one of the three post-disaster housing cases, the post-disaster temporary settlements which have been far from being 'temporary' are built as an emergent response whereas permanent self-help houses are planned as a participatory model of building for the 'disadvantaged'. Keeping this in mind, in the scale of home-place, it is not hard to guess the inflexibility and inadequacy of the temporary ones. As previously mentioned, the main physical problem with the temporary containers on the home-place level is that their small size and short lifetime. The short lifetime of the materials used in temporary container houses results in greater effort ofmaintaining the house and doing daily housework on behalf of women who have been living in these places for more than the expected 'temporary' timespan. The small size of the containers, their material limitations together with the spatial organization within the container could relatively be tolerated in times of emergency, but when it comes to live in these sites longer, then, the spatial inadequacy causes a conflict in the relations in the household for one more time. Some containers are made up of a single space which in case can be divided by a curtain whereas others are made up of a one single space plus a seperate room. Although the latter is relatively better, in each case, women living together with more than one person suffer from lack of privacy both spatially and socially. This spatial lack of privacy affects especially the women who spent most of their time in or around the home trying to organize family members, build a balance among them and respond to their necessities, both materially and emotionally. Women are stressed, for instance, while shifting between the living and sleeping spaces in the same single area every night and day, trying to create space for their children to play or study while an older member of the family is in need of silence and care. Moreover it is very hard for the woman most of the time to create a space both physically and socially for herself whether it is for leisure, for socializing with neighbours, for doing some handcraft or sometimes even for piece-working at home. However, even under these restrictive conditions of the home-place, there are also women who still challenge the boundaries of such a physical space and open up new spaces for their roles in the private domain. For instance, among the interviewees there is the practice of renting a secondary container

apart from home for care or piece-working. But it should also be noted that for those who cannot extend their spaces this way, the conflict between the necessity and the reality makes women stressed under these conditions.

Umcor houses, a self-help housing model intended to provide permanent settlement for the low-income, are not very different from the temporary container houses in terms of its size and physical limitations. Although very similar to the containers in size, the inner spatial organization of these houses with the conventional plan of two bedrooms and a living room provides a relatively convenient living environment for the women. Despite that some of the interviewees' perception of these houses is not very different from their perception of temporary houses, it is observed that on the level of home place, the sense of home is apparent for the women living in Umcor, with the effect of spatial privacy provided in the inner organization of the house, building materials used and the way they built it. Yet still as the social necessities of a household, but mostly of a woman, are changing in time, (as she is ageing, giving birth, raising her children, and so on) the spatial necessities are changing as well. But Umcor houses cannot respond to these changing necessities as they are spatially inflexiable. Saime describes the site as this place is for the ones who completed lively issues and who are stable. This description emphasizes the inflexible characteristics of the space, both in the levels of house and neighborhood. So, it is hard to say that the interwiewees seek a potential of improvement physically and socially in there. No matter what the conditions are, just like the women of temporary settlements, women in Umcor more or less try to extend their living environments. And this effort reveals itself as physical additions to the house such as room-like balconies or second storeys. By doing so, they at least extend their spaces to prepare food, to do handicraft, to host guests, to open space for the children to play, to do handcraft, to rest etc., more easily than the women in temporary settlements.

Blue Crescent houses, a similar participatory self-help housing model for the low-income, on the other hand, is perceived by its inhabitants as satisfactory in terms of its spatial characteristics. These houses are far better than the former examples of temporary houses and Umcor houses. The so-called problem of limited physical space and lack of spatial hierarchy of the former examples seem to be solved by the two-storey house with additional rooms. Especially for women living together with more than two people, the house seems to ease daily organization of the household. Even the expected complaints

about housework due to extensive size of the house are not seen among women living in extended families as well as among those living only with children, husband or a relative. But the pleasure of living in a house of this size and organization brings about the hardship of affording these houses. For most of the interviewees but especially for the female-headed households the cost of heating in the winter is a problem. Though the spatial organization of the house provides the desired spatial privacy for the family members within the house, in cold, for instance, all family members live in a single space where they have the stove. Nevertheless, the house is convenient for varying necessities of the women who live mostly within a nucleus family or in female-headed families with children or relatives. In such circumstances it is seen that the house can be organized in various forms so as to let the women do handicraft, host guests, create space for the children to play, share the second storey with the married children, do handcraft, rest and even do piece-working as different from the previous examples of temporary houses and Umcor houses. So, the size and inner spatial organization of the house has an important effect on daily routine and relations, especially on the domestic labour of women in the household. The physical space of the house affects more or less everything including the maintenance of the house, daily housework and the way women care for the family members materially and emotionally.

On the other hand housing is not just about the house, it also means community for those women who have very limited relations with public sphere. So, one should keep in mind that almost all the interviewees living in temporary container houses, Umcor houses, Blue Crescent houses mention the negative effect of social displeasure in the scale of neighbourhood caused by the displacement in the aftermath of the earthquake. Displacement of women from their previous neighbourhoods to a post-disaster settlement in which they have no social relations on the level of community caused a dilemma in the social environment. And in relation to this, the outer space of the houses, the physical proximity of the houses in the settlement added to this social conflict by enforcing them come face to face with each other unintentionally. And it is observed that after living in these neighbourhoods for almost ten years, the problem of trust does not seem to be overcome. Apparently, the participatory housing models of Umcor and Blue Crecent does not solve this issue either. This lack of trust in the near environment increased especially the emotional labour of women for their children in the private domain. And it is observed

that the women tend to defend their private domains in reaction; they try to tie their children to the house, to the family.

In the following part community roles of the women will be discussed in relation to the physical environment of three post-disaster sites.

5.2. The Impact of Post-disaster Space on the Community Relations in the Neighbourhood

Although the space of women is identified with the house, namely with the private sphere, following Arendt (1958, cited in Hansen 1987), a third 'social' sphere is posited between the public and the private domains in this study. The 'social' encompasses the community roles of women which can be associated mostly with the physicality of the neighbourhood. House is defined, in especially underdeveloped sites, as a total of social and physical substructure, and it is hard to separate between the house and its near environment in the neighbourhood. Wedel (2001, cited in Acar Savran, 2004), for instance, conceptualizes the squatter neighbourhood as a public space for the women who do their tasks in a collective manner by extending their private domains. But here, neighbourhood is handled as the space of community relations which cannot be classified easily either in the public or private as well as waged and unpaid domains. Moreover, the neighbourhood is of crucial importance as it is the part of women's physically limited living environment besides the house. Destruction of women's houses destroys also the neighbourhoods and networks, which affects social relations especially on the level of the community. Almost all of the interviewees express that with the earthquake everyone has spread away within the city. In fact, this is true for all the social classes, but for the high-income in contrast to the low-income, the rate of mobility of the women among these scattered settlements is higher. On the other hand, it is stated by the low-income women in this study that due to the displacements in the city after the earthquake, it became harder to sustain their previous neighbourhood networks. So, similar to urban transformation process, outcomes of displacement affected mostly the low-income women. But more than that, as the earthquake occurred very suddenly and affected almost the whole city at the same time, this post-disaster process had an impact on the interviewees in the emergent loss of the community. Moreover for the women living in their post-disaster settlements, formation of a new community did not come to life either, because they live with other people whom

they did not know before and did not share a common ground, but they had to live in close contact spatially in the new neighbouthoods. Therefore inauthenticity of space caused a kind of a conflict in the neighbourhood and added to the exclusion of these new spaces from the existing spaces as well. While this is the case, the nostalgia for the previous neighbourhoods and communities in the narratives of the interviewees come to the fore in contrast to the conflict in their present settlements. As a socio-spatial policy, the decision of displacement affects the post-disaster experience of the interviewees in such a dramatic sense that the physical conditions of the new settlement as well as the social conditions of it become very important for the displaced low-income women. They are the ones whose lives are associated mostly with the house and the neighbourhood, and neighbourhood has a potential to reveal their social roles which make them aware of their capacities. So, here in the following paragraphs, I will discuss the relation of the spatial conditions of the low-income women in temporary settlements, Umcor houses and Blue Crescent houses with the community roles of women as it defines as both the neighbourhood relations and charity work within the settlement.

To start with, the social environment of the temporary settlements is described by the interviewees as a space of collectivity and solidarity right after the earthquake. But as the first stakeholders left the settlement in order to move to the permanent settlements within the two-three years following the earthquake, the circulation of the population increased and these places have gradually turned into a site of despair and conflict in terms of community relations. As it is true for the situation in Kiremitocağı and FevziÇakmak districts, different process was experienced in the Çay district which was adjacent to Kiremitocağı and shared the same spatial organization with it. In Çay district inhabitants internalized the settlement and as well as the social environment as the inhabitants were mostly the firstcomers who lived in the same tent city before they moved to the containers. But even this internalization cannot overcome the spatial restrictions of temporary container settlements which affect the social relations of the women on the level of community. In other words, the physical space of the women living in temporary container settlements is still characterized by the type of the settlement which shows the characteristics of a military camp order on the level of settlement plan. Research on the spatial analysis of these kinds of temporary post-disaster settlements put forward the criticism of unitary design and lack of spatial diversity in terms of the spatial organization of

close, semi-open and open spaces as well as private, semi-private and public spaces which could enrich the physical space and encourage diversity of socio-spatial experience. This is true for our case because open and semi-open spaces in the houses such as balconies, verandas, gardens provide the desired controlled privacy. The position of the house to the other houses in the neighbourhood as well as its position to the inner street creates problems due to the lack of transitional spaces. Lacking a spatial hierarchy in-between causes the lack of the control of privacy just like in the case of the problem with the spatial inner organization of the post-disaster houses. Feyza living in FevziÇakmak district, for example, complains about being watched in her house through her window by her neighbours which she takes as a scary interruption to her privacy and her perception of safety. So it can be said that the physical limitations of the container houses continue to be a problem in the spatial patterns of the settlements of the temporary containers; this in turn affects the way social relations with the others are built for the interviewees. The lack of adequate space also influences negatively women's collective production within the neighbourhood. Low-income women prefer doing conserve food for winter and they generally do it collectively if there is a convenient place for that. Though more or less the interviewees tend to build small additions to the container it does not fulfill the necessary requirements. Balconies, verandas, gardens on the other hand provide the media of gathering for the women who spend most of their time in the neighbourhood. As part of their community roles they need spaces for gathering with their neighbours. Generally home-place is preferred for the gatherings habitually, and the lack of adequate space in the house makes these gatherings less possible. But in warmer seasons they prefer to spend time in the balconies; they cannot find private gardens they used to have in post-disaster temporary settlements. They complain mostly by saying 'you see there is no place to go out and just to take fresh air'. On the other hand, despite the fact that temporary settlements are located in the very center of the city, as movement is limited by their familial roles, especially the duty to care for children and relatives in the household, women suffer from the lack of social and spatial facilities within the neighbourhood such as meeting spaces, social centers. One could argue that as they are located in the center, socio-spatial facilities are not needed within the settlement. Yet it is not true especially for long term 'temporary' settlements since the loss of legitimacy of the site along with the

inhabitants causes disintegration so that they cannot access to urban services in as much as it is expected.

As for Umcor settlement however, the most prominent physical characteristics among the three cases, its location is in the periphery of the city. As the field is built within a village, its inhabitants are outside the scope of the central municipality, besides, their access to urban services is limited because of the physical distance and lack of public transportation facilities. This distance characterizes the deprivation of the low-income women living in here. Though it is a self-help participatory social housing project for the low-income, it is observed that many of the inhabitants who had involved in building process sold their houses. Accordingly, half the interviewees were the chosen disadvantaged ones who participated in the process while the other half bought the house from the first inhabitants though it was forbidden to sell these houses. So at first glance this community gives the impression of a site of deprivation as a whole. It has repeatedly been expressed by the interviewees that the ones who had the possibilty to leave had left. Therefore, though not as much as in the case of temporary container settlements, Umcor settlement can still be seen as a continuation of the pattern in terms of circulation of inhabitants. So both the physical and social distance to basic urban services and the degree of circulation of the inhabitants complicates building a desired community. The community roles of women in Umcor settlement is affected by these negative outcomes. In such circumstances as the distance to urban services and displeasure with the social environment which is composed of heterogeneous people that have come to live together by chance, the spatial organization of the site gains importance as in the case of temporary settlements. Even though the temporary settlements were not unified with the city, they were in close physical distance and the women knew they could go to down town if need be. But in Umcor settlement, knowing that access is not easy even in the case of emergency just makes a difference. So the women mostly feel excluded here in Umcor settlement. In addition to that, the distance causes a barrier for the interviewees to sustain their neighbourship or kinship relations as the transportation from the village to anywhere is an issue.

In Umcor settlement which proposes a replica of a village, living with 'the others' in a restricted site is becoming hard for almost all of the interviewees. The traditional rural pattern assumes internal solidarity among the residents, especially among the women who

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gather in common spaces to socialize, produce goods for the household collectively and raise their children in a trustworthy environment where everyone knows each other. Of course it is not our intention to idealize such environments as they include invisible patterns of exploitation or oppression as well, yet the residents in such settlements share a minimum of a common ground at least. The point that we want to emphasize in the case of Umcor houses is the conflict between the spatial model that presupposes a community and the social reality of the group of different people who can hardly share any common ground. Just as in the case of temporary container settlements of military order, traditionally built single storey rural houses are aligned one by one in this settlement where the spatial hierarchy is dismissed. Similar to Feyza in Fevzi Çakmak district, Melahat and Yaren also experience the problem of being watched through the windows or balconies. The proximity of houses results in the interruptions to privacy of women most of the time. But different from the temporary settlements, however, though the houses initially do not have balconies, almost all the interviewees built balconies, verandas etc. to make space for gatherings. It is said that the model of traditional rural type settlement allows collective production of food or handicraft among women to some extent. It also eases the way of caring for the kids playing outside in front of the houses. But more than that, the same typology causes conflict among neighbours who complain about the voices of the kids playing outside in this obligatory way of living together with 'other', 'different' people.

However, in Umcor settlement, which is a kind of site of exclusion from urban social facilities, women tend to extend their social spheres within the neighbourhood by charity work. As a continuation of their roles in the private domain, they are attached to the school of their children through the family unions. Almost all the women interviewed had involved in the voluntary work of the union of which they spoke proudly. Some women like Naciye among them define herself with her experience in this social work. Moreover some of the women were also involved in literacy courses at the school, which added to their well-being.

Blue Crescent settlement, similar to Umcor model, included the dimension of participation in the building process and therefore, it consisted of a community of the chosen disadvantaged inhabitants who did not know each other before. Both Umcor and Blue Crescent models are worth paying attention in that the project holders are aware of

the problem of bringing together a heterogeneous group of people. And it can be observed that Blue Crescent model is a bit more successful than Umcor model. The reason behind the success could be both the spatial quality of the houses and also the location of the site within the boundaries of the central municipality, in a housing development region. Though it is not very close to the center, it presupposes a possibility to integrate with its environment where the social houses funded by the state are also on the way. But currently, as mentioned earlier, the user satisfaction of Blue Crescent is on the level of home-place. Additionally, the spatial relation of the houses to the street is not as problematic as the former cases since a meaningful distance is left in between the entrance and the street through a front garden and a small veranda in the entrance. But the relation between the houses is problematic due to the attached design of row houses in a single garden. So even if the houses have transitional spaces in the entrances, women still complain about that they have to live in close contact with the neighbours of the same row in the single garden, and the majority tends to fence their front gardens against the rules. If not the garden, they fence their balconies to isolate themselves from the 'unwanted looks' of the others. Still the majority is satisfied with their physical environment but unsatisfied with the social environment. The reason behind the displeasure of the interviewees with the social environment is similar to that of the interviewees in Umcor. Furthermore, though they are fed up with the social environment within the neighbourhood, women in Blue Crescent settlement are satisfied with the houses and continue to stay there. Similar to the Çay Temporary Container District, despite all the negative physical characteristics of the houses and the settlement, inhabitants were said to be in a kind of common ground as they knew each other beforehand. Here in Blue Crescent, in contrast, despite the spatial quality of the houses, e-gaining a desired privacy does not seem enough for a total reconstruction of the self and the community. In fact, as Macide tells, in the collective construction process no one knew which house would be theirs, the social relations were very good and she says that she thought it would always be like that. But just as the houses were allocated to the stakeholders and everyone got into their houses the collectivity ended up. So the question in such models is the sustainability of the community, which is hard to find in such funded projects other than grassroots organizations.

As the interviewees are the ones who used to live in low-standard rental houses in the central neighbourhoods of the city before the earthquake, no matter if they now live in the temporary container settlements or in the self-help housing districts, they inevitably evaluate their present houses and housing environments in comparison to their previous spaces. No matter if their previous houses were better than their present ones; the emphasis on the previous neighbourhoods and the social relations in there remain the same among almost all the interviewees. This comparison reveals that the social relations in the neighbourhood in the social domain seem to be lost and could not be replaced with the previous relations. Therefore the community role also seems to be hard for these women in relation to their inauthentic replica of a living environment in post-disaster context. And it is claimed that instead of such funded projects for the chosen disadvantaged people, grassroots movements like Dep-Der Housing Cooperative or 'in situ' reconstruction of the living environment and the community as in the case of Gölyaka Solidarity Houses, which are out of the scope of this thesis, could be a means of building participatory spaces and collective communities in a sustainable manner.

5.3. The Impact of Post-disaster Space on the Work Roles in Waged Work Patterns

Work patterns of women are various but the main problem is the separation between the paid and unpaid labour of the women, namely the spatial division of labour at home and work. Throughout this thesis this separation of the spheres has been reserved formally to some extent in understanding the experience of the interviewees. That does not necessarily mean that the legitimacy of this separation is accepted; rather the aim is to understand the gender relations through the eyes of the interviewees and to provide a means to challenge these 'given realities'. In that, the unpaid labour of women is handled mostly within the private domain of home and to some extent within the social domains. The conceptualization of public sphere on the other hand is regarded in line with the participation to waged labour force as the invisible labour of women in private and social domains are not paid and even made subject to policy implications. Though it includes various forms of double exploitation as well for the interviewees to get involved in waged labour, whether it is formal or informal, at home, in the neighbourhood or at work, without being exempt from the load of their domestic labour, it is still a means of challenging the invisible borders for these women. Just as Vediha reminds (the more comfortable the

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home is the more comfortable is the woman) as her domestic labour is closely related to the physical characteristics of the house and housing environment, it is also true that the spatial conditions of the living environment determines the way that the woman participates in formal or informal networks of paid work. This is also because of the accepted initial familial roles of the women; without completing the tasks in the private domain it is hard for them to get involved in the public domain of waged work. In fact as the mobility of the low-income women is low as well, and they spend most of their time with the domestic responsibilities, informal patterns -despite the need for informal sector in the capitalist economies as a form of cheap labour- are created also among the social networks of women themselves. In times of disaster, just as women's domestic responsibilities are increasing, the economic burdens and uncertainties are likely to increase as well (Laska at al., 2008). Accordingly, women face a twofold problem; first they experience this situation indirectly with the migration of the husbands to get a job and they stay alone. They have to decide where to live taking into consideration the location of the husband's workplace. Lastly they struggle to minimize the necessities within the sphere of reproduction, household. Second, they experience it directly by participating the networks of waged labour. Here, almost all the interviewees who participate directly to paid labour force, whether in formal or informal sectors, are the ones who used to be paid workers before the earthquake, too.

It is observed that the women who had worked before and had to quit it after marriage or birth of the children started working again in the post-disaster context. So, in other words, it can be said that they tend to re-use or transform their previous capitalsin times of crisis. On the one hand they re-use their previous experiences such as stitching and social networks, on the other hand they look for a kind of self-development which can increase their capacities to participate in paid work patterns such as joining literacy courses, handcraft courses, getting driving license, and form new social networks in order to be able to sell what they produce as well. So, here the question comes to be to what extent their new spatiality of house and the housing environment encourages or discourages the way that they participate in public sphere of paid work. It is obvious that their pre-earthquake location in the city center provides them with physical closure to urban services as well as various job alternatives in small shops or ateliers while in post-disaster context they are deprived of such alternatives. So, in addition to the previously

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mentioned gender roles of women, this change in spatial conditions made women prefer to intersect the private and the social domains with the public domain; most of the interviewees got involved in paid labour in their houses or neighbourhoods. Some patterns of paid labour among the interviewees in the home-place consist of looking after other women's children, handcraft, stitching, piece working at home for the ateliers or factories whereas some other patterns outside the home-place include working in the ateliers or factories of textile, wood, food, working in shops or offices as a cook, cleaner and so forth. And here, for most of the interviewees, if the work-place is not in the home-place, it is in the nearby neighbourhood at least so that they can sustain their roles in both spheres. Most of them prefer to intersect the home or neighbourhood with work.

The women living in the temporary settlements in the central districts are expected to get involved in paid work network easier but the depressive character of these settlements, conflicts in the neighbourhood and exclusion from the city due to the loss of legitimacy make it hard for women. As it is mentioned before, those who did not work before the earthquake, hardly work after the earthquake also. But if convenient circumstances occur, they can at least do piece-working at home, just as in the case of Behiye and Feriha living in FevziÇakmak district. For instance, Behiye has to care for her sick sister-in-law and she rents a second container besides the one in which she lives in. She cannot care for her in her own container because she cannot get on well with Behiye's children. Feriha on the other hand is involved in piece-working at home for several textile ateliers. She convinces Behiye to do piece-working as well. And as a container of small size does not allow piece-working which requires an open space for the textile and turns the environment to dust, they start to do it in the container that Behiye has rented for her sister-in-law. This pattern of obtaining a secondary container is seen in the narratives of the women who now livie in Umcor and Blue Crescent houses but once lived in temporary settlements. So despite the restrictions of the containers, strategies can be proposed by the women to some degree. But this causes a major problem: given that within the temporary settlements the primary necessity is shelter, adequate space for working as well as socializing is not planned although women need such facilities within the near environment.

For the women living in Umcor settlement on the other hand the determining factor is the physical distance to the city and the scarcity of alternatives of paid work. For

instance Saime tells that she has been looking for a job, complains about lack of transportation facilities for the factories in Gümüşpınar village. As women prefer to intersect the home and/or neighbourhood with workplace, the nearby factories of textile and ateliers of timber is centre of attraction for the women though working conditions are hard in terms of long working hours and the physical strength they demand. Through these work-places women can enter the public sphere of the formal sector but at the same time they become obliged to be part of these limited alternatives as the most prominent factor of decision seems to be the distance of the work-place to their homes. For instance Melahat can go to work at the timber atelier as it is very close to her house, she can go by walk and is in touch with her house to take care of her kids in the break. She says she eats lunch at the work place at noon and after she comes to home running and prepares food for her kids and goes back to work. But still she leaves her kids to her neighbourYaren. The care for each other's children for money exists in the neighbourhood, which is on the one hand a form of a paid work for the caregiver and on the other, enables the women with children to go to work and leave home. Though almost all the interviewees say that they cannot leave for distant places for a long time as they do not trust, they can go to workplaces nearby their houses with the help of the possibility of caregiving. Caregiving is charged, Melahat says, otherwise no one looks after. And just as alternative workplaces are limited in number, the houses are also not very convenient for piece-working because of the size and spatial organization inside if the women are living with her children. But as more than half of the interviewees built additional semi-close spaces in front of their houses, they can use these places especially when the wheather is good for various forms of production for the house and also to sell as well as to look after children for money.

Blue Crescent Settlement is closer to the city center than Umcor Settlement is, so it is easier for the women who look for alternative work places. It is true for Ebru, for instance, who works as a cook in an office in the downtown whereas it is not for Leman who got tired of going to other women's houses which are located in different central neighbourhoods of the city. When Leman goes to other women's houses to look after children, she is also asked to clean, cook or to do other houseworks as well. That's why also Leman prefers to look after the children in her own house. And in terms of the physical characteristics of the Blue Crescent houses, it can be considered convenient for working at home compared to the temporary container houses and Umcor houses even if the women

have children. For instance Elmas reserved a room in her house for her sewing machine and the textile materials. In her case her husband is sick, she looks after him and she is the one in the family who has to earn money. Her kids are grown up except one of her sons; they are married and do not live with her. So the conditions are convenient for her to use the space for her sake. But the houses of Blue Crescent can be considered a potential for productive space. Or at least it is not just a blocking house as Dandekar (1996) mentions.

So as the pattern of piece-working at home is seen among the women living in Temporary Settlements, Umcor Settlement, Blue Crescent Settlement, if the house is convenient for such productive activities, it is a means of positive outcome for these women. The alternatives for working in the near environment of the houses as well as the distance to city center or transportation facilities to reach work places are the most prominent factors of working preferences of the women living in post-disaster settlements. But we need to emphasize for one more time, it should not be forgotten that it is a double bargain for the women whose domestic responsibilities in the home-place do not discrease as she should earn money in the public sphere. At the same time, the restrictions of the house and housing environment add to this hardship, which should be overcome on the level of post-disaster policies.

Finally, in all spheres of private, social and public, it can be said that low-income women are effected by the spatial processes associated with their gendered roles and relations. As the main questions are 'how different spatial characteristics of the three post-disaster sites affect low-income women's family, community and work relations' and if they face an accumulation of their gender roles and relation in private, social and public spheres respectively, throughout this thesis we found out that the spaces that do not take differences into account are far from meeting the needs of low-income women. Moreover, they add to their gendered work load in the post-disaster context. But still, though they are mostly restricted by these spaces, it is observed that they also challange the boundaries by their characteristic daily patterns. Fothergill (1999), mentions, despite that women's roles are increasing in time of a crisis, the increase in work load –physically and emotionally- also result in individual enrichment, autonomy, sense of selfhood etc as they occupy multidimensional life spaces. It is argued that roles can be stable and learned through socialization but they can also be negotiated and changed in a given case (Fothergill, 1999). As Fothergill (1999) explains related to women in Grandforks "the women both enacted old

established roles, such as family caregiver, as well as took part in role making, a more creative endeavor to adapt to the particular situation. The disaster provided the opportunity for women to experience extreme role accumulation, taking on both bounded and creative roles, and as result experience some profound changes in themselves (p. 142)." Similarly, we saw an increase in women's roles and that relations got harder in long-run post-disaster context. At the same time, though not as much as Fothergill's (1999) study on early post-disaster context and not as much as our interviewees' early experiences right after the earthquake as well, women still challange to enforce their positions in the spheres, spaces.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

Conclusions for Policy Proposals and Lines of Future Research

In this thesis, as stated in the inroductory chapters, we problematized the gap between the disaster research and planning in terms of the lack of relation with the categories of gender. Space is put into question as low-income women are believed to be affected more by the destruction of their physical and social spaces than men due to their gendered relations in the long-run in post-disaster environment. Moreover, we also questioned the relationship between the spaces of these women and roles and relations in the private, social and public spheres. To explore the mechanisms underneath, after the introductory chapter, in the second chapter, the studies on space, gender and disaster research are put forward and a framework is proposed to show the intersection of these subjects. In the third chapter, we took a closer look at Düzce and the background of the city in pre and post-disaster context. In chapter four, the findings of the field research conducted in three different post-disaster settlements of Düzce are presented. In chapter five, research questions in relation to the findings of the field research are discussed and it is found out that the spaces that do not take differences into account are far from meeting the needs of low-income women. Moreover, they add to their gendered work load in the post-disaster context. In this last concluding chapter, after this brief summary on the structure of the thesis, last words on policy proposals and potential for future research will be mentioned.

Although private, social and public spheres are analyzed as different aspects of post-disaster housing environments of women; within this study, they are claimed to have a reciprocal relation. Hence, these spheres should be considered as inherent; in terms of space production and planning processes, and in terms of a cotemporary discourse on post-disaster housing. For this reason, there can be various interchangable and two-way relations in between these aspects.

If post-disaster hosing is considered in terms of its private-social role; first of all, it can be said that a post-disaster house of the inhabitants should include references to the previous –pre-disaster—house. Yet, when there is no visual and psychological link to the past --which represents inhabitants' sense of belonging--, it creates a negative effect on the process of adoption of the space as a place. Hence, it takes too much time for the inhabitant to feel it as a safe and secure place, most importatly as a home.

Besides the importance of the private space, a healthy post-disaster planning needs a socialization process. The socialization of the women is very common in the firstplace, when the inhabitant becomes face to face to the loss of the private, namely the house. After the private is taken back, it is easy to leave the social sphere. However, it is also a threat for these women to imprisoned into her private space more than before. At this point, generation of a healthy and sufficient neighbourhood is very important for the survivor women. Hence, the neighbourhood means the only open space, which helps these women feel comfortable, socialize and –metaphorically-- breathe. Another necessity of a sufficient solution --which should be considered as a post-disaster neighbourhood policy— is the creation of a neighbourhood which is akin to the women's previous social environments. This means, the spaces should have authenticity, which is important to prevent furher trauma and help to fasten the process of mental recovery. In that sense, the post-disaster settlements that are located and organized on the peripheral areas and outer city should be one of the primary cases to be discussed as a post-disaster policy, since it does not cure, but deepen the trauma of the inhabitants, and especially the women, who are more excluded from the social and public patterns of life.

On the other hand, the isolation between the private and the public spheres is an important matter for the women. While most of the women prefer a strong relation of private and social environments within their life patterns, they avoid a total physical merge, and prefer strong physical boundaries which prevent their private space –the house— to be easily seen or intervened by the social space –the neighbourhood--. In that sense, the planning process of the housing units together as a neighbourhood site becomes very critical. It should stay at an optimum in between inspection and fellow feeling.

Since any working possibility is limited or non-existent for most of the low income women in the first place, or for very long time after the earthquake; social sphere is very critical being as the first collective environment where women could rehabilitate and

socialize. On the other hand, the most negative effect on women during the post-disaster period is the increasing emotional labour. In that sense, the policies on enhancing women's existing gender roles is crucial. To achive this, it is also needed to have men –as husbands-- to be encouraged as care takers of the house and the children.

When post-disaster conditions are regareded in terms of a private-public relation; there should be a consideration of smaller and larger scale of spaces and their physical and social relations alltogether. This needs a well thought city planning procedure for the post-disaster hosing neighbourhoods in the city scale. For the integration of women into working environments, it is important to have related policies and plan the processes to make women able to reach to these places. On the other hand, it is easier for the women who already experienced working to re-consider working quickly as a life strategy after the disaster. Yet, it should be considered that private place is always a valuable sphere for the woman and should be sufficient for her needs. It is not enough for the woman to have unlimited access for public sphere unless she cannot keep her private sphere, especially in the long term. This kind of a loss – of the private sphere— is one of the main reasons of the mental collapse and depression.

It is also very important that, unless the inequality of the working conditions due to the gender role is not eliminated, it will never be enough to libarealize women within the limits of physical and social space of the house. On the other viewpoint, it also should not be the method to rehabilitate and improve private spheres in the firstplace above all the public and social. On the contrary, women have to empower their role and position within public space before withdrawing their role as the ultimate role in the house as care takers of the house and the family. Yet, the major obstacle for this shift --in the role of women— is that, although they may attend in the working environment, their primary and unovaidable role is sitll seen as being responsible for the housework.

When public-social relations are considered for a post-disaster environment, the primary thing is that if the woman is a part of a public sphere as a working and money earning individual, she is less negatively affected from not having a social sphere. On the other hand, social sphere cretaes an intermediary and free sphere for women both in physical and social means: though women have good working conditions in public space, it is good for them to spend time in the neighbourhood and also in the house such as by coming home and feeding the children, and playing with them in the afternoon break.

However, such needs differ in regard to the age of women, and may need different planning procedures for the working environments.

Having mentioned this, it is also a fact that the number of satisfying and secure conditions are not very much for women. Hence, social space becomes of primary importance for the socialization, rehabilitation in the daily-life of low income women. For this reason, in this context, the primary problem is not the working conditions, but lacking vicious conditions in the neighbourhood. Since the previous neighbourhood settlement and life patterns of the women cannot be kept in post-disaster environments, and since it is very hard to re-establish such an authentic condition with the same aura, social spheres generally lack a sense of a sustainable environment for women. In that sense, merely pysical planning becomes is not enough to solve the problems of real life, but should be guided by the social improvement plans and policies in the neighbourhood and in the city.

Lastly, as the private, social, and public spheres are inherently related to each other, any planning should be considered as an overall process for different environments in diffrent physical scales and having different social/psycological input. For this, the inequality regarding gender roles of women and men should be eliminated by policies in the long term. As a result, three of these spheres should be improved to have equal advantages for the women. Accoring to this aim, two main infrastructures should be created for women: first one is the physical and the concrete, the second one ise the social and institutional infrastructre/entities. It should be particularly searched what kind of better policies have been applied in other countries.

Considering all these, government policies could be said to have serious defects on post-disaster planning processes. On the other hand, and more dramatically, by the new disaster law bring futher interference on the woman in the house, the neighbourhoood and the city. Moreover, it creates a bigger problem of creating uniform settlement units which also create neighbourhoods with no identity.

While most of the contemporary policies do not give any right to the user, self-help models seems as an alternative to the idle facilities of the government. Yet, it is crucial to ask how effective these models are: they generally neither set authenticity, nor can preserve the flexibility of the local and/or spontaneous settlement types. They, on the contrary, remain static and spatial organizations that are merely physical, but not social. As an alternative to these approaches, cases like Gölyaka Solidarity Houses provide more

succesful processes and results of post-disaster environments, since they consider in situ construction instead of a replacement-based constrcution. Grassroots movement like Dep-Der on the other hand, also value a process which is more of a natural flow, taking place in a longer development scheme.

To conclude, a sufficient post-disaster planning needs an improvement of private, social and public spheres as a political projection. These projections should be integrated with social sciences and enlargen its perspective into a more interdisciplinary level as proposed by Lefebvre. Only in this way, disaster policies can be established not primarily as a physical sheltering/reconstruction process --which include social improvement as a secondary level of information—but as an oveall organization. Moreover, different feminist approaches, which are highly considering the integration of gender and social issues, could be enlightening for future planning scenarios.

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APPENDICES

A: SEMI-STRUCTURED IN-DEPTH INTERVIEW TOPICS

Adı:

Yaşı:

Nereli Olduğu:

Eğitim Durumu:

Çalışma Durumu:

Medeni Durumu:

Eşinin Adı, Yaşı, Nereli Olduğu, Eğitim Durumu:

Kendi Ebeveynleri ve Kardeşleri ile ilgili Bilgiler (Yaş, Eğitim):

Eşinin Ailesi ile ilgili Bilgiler:

Çocuk Sayısı, Yaşları, Eğitim Durumu:

Mekansal Rotaya ilişkin Bilgiler (Nereli olduğu, Çocukluk Dönemi, Evlilik Sonrası, Deprem Süresince, Deprem Sonrasında, Şimdiki Mekanları):

1. Deprem öncesindeki durumunuzu/ konumunuzu anlatın
2. Depremden sonraki ilk yıllarda ve takip eden zaman içinde bugüne kadar tecrübe ettiğiniz değişiklikleri anlatın
3. Şu anda oturduğunuz yerin (ev-çevre-komşuluk-hizmetler) memnun olduğunuz ve şikayetçi olduğunuz özellikleri nelerdir? Eskiden oturduğunuz yerlerle karşılaştırdığınızda nasıl değerlendiriyorsunuz?
4. Eski oturduğunuz yere göre, şu anda oturduğunuz yerde, şehir merkezi ile ilişkiniz nasıl? Ne sıklıkta gidiyorsunuz? (Çocuklarınız ne sıklıkta gidiyor?) Şehirdeki olanaklara, hizmetlere (ulaşım, sağlık, eğitim) erişiminiz zaman içinde değişti mi, nasıl?
5. Deprem öncesi dönemdeki ekonomik (iş-gelir-sınıfsal), sosyal (ağlar, etnik, komşuluk, hemşehrilik ilişkileri), kültürel, mekansal ilişkiler, depremle birlikte nasıl

dönüşüyor? Depremden önceki ve sonraki yerleşim yerleriniz bu ağları nasıl etkiledi? Mevcut mekansal örüntü, bu ilişkilerin oluşması ve devamlılığında işleri kolaylaştırıyor mu ya da zorlaştırıyor mu?

6. Eski oturduğunuz yerleri ve şimdi oturduğunuz yeri evin fiziksel durumu açısından (kaç katlı, bahçeli, balkonlu, sıcak-soğuk, aydınlık, temiz, çok odalı, dubleks, mutfağın, banyonun durumu) karşılaştırın. Özellikle şimdi oturduğunuz evde memnun olduğunuz özellikler ve şikayetçi olduğunuz özellikler nelerdir? Bahçe içi ve çok katlı yapıları nasıl değerlendiriyorsunuz? Komşuluk ilişkilerini nasıl etkiliyor?

7. Sizinle aynı yerde oturup kendinizden tamamen ayrı, farklı (gelenek, düşünce, davranış şekli, gelir durumu) gördüğünüz kişiler var mı? Bunlar belli bir gruba dahil mi? Hiç iletişiminiz var mı?

8. Depremden sonra toplumsal ilişkiler nasıl değişti? Önceden oturulan yerle, şimdiki arasında etnik, sınıfsal açıdan bir değişim var mı?

9. Depremden önce ve sonra özellikle kadınların yerleşme içindeki komşuluk ilişkileri nasıl değişti?

10. Genel ve çekirdek aile içindeki konumunuzu anlatır mısınız? Ev içindeki sorumluluklarınız nedir?

11. Depremden sonra aile içinde, mahallede ya da ücretli iş alanında üstlendiğiniz rollerde bir değişiklik oldu mu? (Çalışmaya başlamak, yaşlı-hasta bakmaya başlamak, ortamdan ötürü çocukları yalnız bırakmamak için evi beklemek, fatura vs ödemek, evin hizmetini görmek, ev içinde iş yükünün artması, kurslara katılmak, derneklere üye olmak)

12. Depremden sonra eşinizle ilişkinizde bir değişme oldu mu?

13. Hayatlarında tutundukları en önemli şey nedir? (çocuk, aile, iş, arkadaş, din, yardım kuruluşu vb)

14. Depremden sonraki süreçte yaşadığınız sıkıntılar nelerdi? Hangi yollarla bu sıkıntıları aştınız? (Din, Kuran okumak, Psikolojik Destek, Maddi Destek, Çocuklarıma Sarıldım, Sıkıntımı yaşayacak vaktim olmadı, Dernekler, Belediye-Özel Kurslar, Arkadaşlarım, Komşularım, Kendim, Evim olunca, Çalışarak, Ailemle)

15. Boş zaman geçirme alışkanlıklarınızda bir değişiklik oldu mu? (Televizyon, internet, Elişi, Gezme)

16. Toplumun diğer kesimleriyle karşılaştırdığında kendinizi önceden oturduğunuz yerleşim yerinde hangi gelir grubunda (ekonomik), hangi sosyal tabakaya (sosyal) göre konumlandırıyordunuz, depremden sonraki süreçte ve şimdi nasıl konumlandırıyorsunuz?

17. Depremden önce ve sonra yerleşim yeri, işyeri ilişkisi nasıl değişti? (ev-iş rotası nasıl etkilendi)

18. Depremden önce ve depremden sonra politikaya ve politikacılara (yerel, merkezi, ulusötesi) bakışınız değişti mi, nasıl değişti, devletten beklentileriniz neler?

19. Depremden sonra yerel yönetim, merkezi hükümetin mekânsal kararları sizin için ne ifade ediyor? Uygulamalara ilişkin değerlendirmeleriniz neler?

1999 yılında Richter ölçeğine göre 7.4 ve 7.2 büyüklüğündeki iki deprem Türkiye'nin kuzeybatısında büyük yıkıma yol açtı. Gölcük merkezli ilk deprem 17 Ağustosta, Düzce merkezli ikinci deprem ise ilkinden 85 gün sonra 12 Kasımda meydana geldi. Her iki deprem de Marmara Bölgesi ile Bolu ili ve çevresindeki şehirleri etkiledi.

Bu şehirlerden Düzce, iki deprem sonucunda neredeyse tamamen yıkılmıştır. İkinci depremin merkez üssü olması sebebiyle, en büyük yıkımı 12 Kasımdan sonra yaşayan kentte 980 kişihayatını kaybetmiş, 29.000 'in üzerinde konut ise yıkılmış ya da ağır hasar almıştır (Johnson, 2007). Dolayısıyla depremin ardından mekânsal ve sosyal yapıda dramatik bir kırılma yaşanmıştır. Bu durumun depremden onüç yıl sonra dahi, normale döndüğünü söylemek olanaklı görünmemektedir. Ard arda gelen bu iki depremden önce Balamir'in (2001) de belirttiği üzere, Türkiyede afet öncesi planlama alanına ilişkin bir çalışma bulunmaması sebebiyle, gerek merkezi ve yerel yönetimler gerekse de toplum bu büyüklükte bir felakete hazırlıksız yakalanmıştır. Bu hazırlıksız olma durumu depremi takip eden dönemde acil durum, yaraları sarma ve yeniden yapılanma gibi aşamaların, gelişmiş ülkelerdekine nazaran muğlaklaşmasına ve toplumun normal hayatına dönmesinin uzamasına neden olmuştur. Yine de deprem sonrasında, plansız da olsa, hızlı bir mekânsal karar alma ve uygulama sürecine girilmiştir. Bu kapsamda sırasıyla depremzedeler için geçici barınak, geçici konut ve kalıcı konut üretimi aşamalarından geçilmiş, bugün, depremden onüç yıl sonraki durumda haksahipleri kalıcı konutlara yerleşmişlerdir. Ancak, ulusal afet politikasının, haksahiplerinin konutlandırması üzerinden uygulanması, düşük gelir gruplarını, kiracıları bu politikaların dışında bırakmıştır. Ayrıca, gerek afet araştırmalarında gerekse de uygulama alanında evrensel bir 'kurban' tanımı üzerinden ilerlenmesi, toplumdaki farklı grupların gereksinimlerinin göz ardı edilmesini doğurmuştur. Örneğin, afet sonrası mekânsal politikalar, 'yer değiştirme' 'yeniden yerleştirme' politikalarıyla büyük ölçüde konut ve mahalle ölçeklerini içerirken, tarihsel olarak bu alanlarla ilişkilendirilen kadınların, özellikle de düşük gelir grubu kadınların olası ihtiyaçları da ana akım araştırma ve uygulama alanının dışında kalmıştır. Oysaki kadınlar, hayatları 'normal' seyrinde ilerlerken dahi 'erkek-yapımı' fiziksel çevreden olumsuz etkilenmektedir. Zira kadınların, erkeklerden farklı gereksinimleri vardır ve bu nedenle kenti algılamaları ve

kullanmaları da erkeklerden farklıdır. Erkekler tarafından erkeklerin kullanımı düşünülerek oluşturulan fiziki çevre, kadınların hareketini kısıtlamaktadır. Kadın ev –özel alan-, erkek ise işyeri –kamusal alan- ile ilişkilenmektedir. Fiziksel mekan da bu ayrımı pekiştirmektedir. Bu tezde de, kadınların deprem gibi var olan mekânsal ve sosyal örüntülerin bozulduğu durumlarda alınan hızlı ve plansız mekânsal ve sosyal kararlardan daha çok etkilendiği, dolayısıyla halihazırda mevcut olan eşitsiz konumlarının derinleşerek devam ettiği varsayılmaktadır.

Bu tez, gerek afet araştırmaları ve gerekse de afet sonrası uygulama alanlarında, kadın ve mekan ilişkisinin ele alınmamasından kaynaklı boşluğu sorunsallaştırmakta ve toplumsal cinsiyet, mekan ve afet araştırmaları disiplinlerinde bir kesişim alanı önermektedir. Bu araştırma kapsamında, depremden onüç yıl sonra düşük gelirli kadınların farklı yaşam çevrelerindeki gündelik deneyimleri ele alınmaktadır. Böylelikle, düşük gelir gruplarının yaşadığı üç farklı afet-sonrası yerleşim alanı seçilerek, buralarda yaşayan kadınlar açısından mekan ile toplumsal cinsiyete dayalı ilişkiler arasındaki bağlantının ortaya çıkarılması amaçlanmaktadır. Bu amaçla kadınların yaşam çevreleriyle ilişkili olarak hane, komşuluk ve ücretli iş ölçeklerindeki deneyimleri araştırılmaktadır.

Araştırmanın temel varsayımı depremi takiben yaşanan zorunlu yer değiştirmeler sonucunda kadınların farklı ölçeklerdeki toplumsal cinsiyet ilişkilerinin ve rollerinin önemli ölçüde farklılaştığıdır. Söz konusu farklılaşma üç farklı yaşam çevresinde yaşayan kadınlar için haneiçi, komünite ve iş ilişkileri açısından değerlendirilmiştir. Kadınların ev, mahalle ve ücretli iş ilişkileri, özel, sosyal ve kamusal alandaki konumlanışları ile birlikte ele alınmaktadır. Bu çalışmada, MacKenzie'nin (1989), özel ve kamusal alan, ev ile iş, ücretsiz ve ücretli iş arasında tariflediği kadın alanları, Arendt'e (1958) referansla özel ve kamusal ikiliği arasına eklenen sosyal alan ile birlikte kavramsallaştırılmaktadır. Kadının özel alandaki ilişkileri, onun evin idarecisi rolü ve ücretsiz ev içi emeği üzerinden, kamusal alandaki rolü ev içi ücretsiz iş yükünü sürdürürken ücretli işe erişimi üzerinden kurulmaktadır. Sosyal alandaki rolü ise kolaylıkla özel ya da kamusal olarak ayrıştırılamayacak, özellikle komşularıyla ve sosyal ağlarla ilişkilerin yürütülmesi rolü üzerinden kurulmaktadır. Kadınların gündelik deneyimlerini araştırken yararlanılan bu üçleme –özel-sosyal-kamusal-, verili bir ayrımı kabullenmek için değil, aksine verili kabul edilen bu ayrı alanlarda kadınların nasıl bir arayüz oluşturduğu, alanlar arası geçişlerin nasıl sağlandığı, bu alanlarda ne denli çeşitli rollere büründüğü bilgisine ulaşmak için araç olarak benimsenmiştir. Kadınların

özgün rollerinin afet sonrası, farklı fiziksel mekanlardaki farklı koşullarda nasıl değiştiği sorusunun, özellikle mekânsal planlama disiplinlerinin toplumsal olanı ihmalinin ya da sosyal bilimlerin fiziksel mekanın etkilerini ihmalinin ötesine geçmek için uygun bir zemin yaratabileceği düşünülmektedir.

Kadınların gündelik deneyimlerinin araştırılmasında etnoğrafik araştırma ve feminist duruş yaklaşımı benimsenmiş, üç farklı alanda 25 kadınla derinlemesine görüşmeler yapılmıştır. Saha çalışması, Aralık 2011 ve Haziran 2012 arasında, merkez ilçeye bağlı dört mahalle ve bir köyde yürütülmüştür. Görüşülen kadınlar belirlenirken, kadınların afet öncesinde kent merkezinde oturan düşük gelir grubu kadınlar olmalarına dikkat edilmiştir. Ayrıca söz konusu kadınların yine deprem öncesinde yetişkin olmaları tercih edildiği için görüşülen kadınların yaş aralığı 30 ve 60 arasında belirlenmiştir. Görüşmecilerin iki tanesi hariç hepsi bu kritere uymaktadır. Diğer iki görüşmeci de, diğer kadınlara göre genç (20, 24 yaşlarında)olmalarına rağmen, afet sonrası mekânsal süreçleri, evlendikten sonra Geçici Prefabrike Konutlara yerleşerek deneyimlemişlerdir. Benzer şekilde görüşmecilerin deprem öncesinde evli olmaları tercih sebebidir. Zira, kadınlar açısından hayatlarındaki dönüm noktası, toplumsal cinsiyet rollerinin kırılma anları, evlenmek ve çocuk sahibi olmaktır. Dolayısıyla, afet sonrası döneme yoğunlaşan bu çalışma kapsamında sağlıklı bir değerlendirme yapabilmek adına kadının toplumsal cinsiyet rollerini değiştirecek olayların en azından birinin sabitlenmesi hedeflenmiştir. Bu şekilde, afet öncesi benzer konumlardaki kadınların afet sonrası farklı yaşam çevrelerindeki farklı deneyimlerini karşılaştırmak mümkün olmuştur. Öte yandan derinlemesine görüşme yönteminin kullanılması, ilk bakışta farkedilemeyen farklılıkları yakalayabilmek açısından önemli görülmektedir.

Kadınların anlatılarına dayalı böyle bir çalışma, afet planlama, kadın ve mekanın üretimi konularını ilişkilendirmesi açısından önemlidir. Zira afet ve kadın, kadın ve mekan kesişiminde çalışmalar bulunmasına karşın bu üç başlığın kesişiminde yapılmış çalışma sayısı oldukça azdır. Çalışmadan edinilen bilginin, afet planlama alanında, özellikle sosyo-mekansal kararlar verilirken, önemli veri sağlayabileceği düşünülmektedir. Bu çalışmanın, üzerinde fazla çalışılmamış orta büyüklükteki bir şehir olan Düzce'de yapılmış olması da benzer konumdaki şehirler için karşılaştırma imkanı sunabilecektir.

Tezin teorik çerçevesi çizilirken, öncelikle mekanın kavramsallaştırılmasına yoğunlaşılmıştır. Mekan, en yalın anlamıyla, kişinin yaşam çevresi olarak düşünüldüğünde, duygular, düşünceler, davranışlar, kararlar ve belleklerde etkin bir rolü olduğu dolayısıyla

gündelik hayatımızın önemli bir parçası olduğu görülmektedir. Buradan hareketle, herkesin kafasında, bilerek ya da bilmeyerek mekana ilişkin bir takım kavramlar olduğu söylenebilirse de bu kavramlar toplumsal olanın algılanması ve kavramsallaştırılmasında açıkça gözlenememektedir. Sözgelimi, Çetin'in (2012) de aktardığı üzere, ne zaman aileden bahsedilse, ailenin fiziksel mekanı olarak ev zihinde canlanır; sosyolojik bir kavram olarak aile, aile üyeleri arasındaki ilişkilere odaklanır. Dolayısıyla aile tanımı içinde ev mekanı görünmez ya da gizil olarak vardır. Benzer durum komşuluk ilişkileri ya da iş ilişkileri için geçerlidir; mahalle ve işyeri mekanları yine gizil olarak sosyolojik kavramların içinde yer almakta ancak algıda ve kavramsallaştırmalarda kolaylıkla izlenememektedir. Sosyal ilişkiler kaçınılmaz olarak mekan içinde yer alır ancak mekan sadece olaylara ev sahipliği yapan pasif bir sahne değildir. İçinde yaşanan toplumsal ilişkiler bir yandan bu mekânsal formasyonları şekillendirirken, bu mekanlar da söz konusu ilişkileri zaman içinde etkilemektedir. Bu tezde de kadınların aile, komünite, iş ilişkileri ve rollerindeki farklılaşma sorgulanırken bu ilişkilerin mekanları olarak ev, komşuluk birimi, işyeri örüntüleri ve kent fiziksel mekanının etkisi önemli görülmektedir. 1960'lardan sonra sosyal bilimlerde yaşanan mekânsal dönüş ile birlikte farklı teorisyenlerce ele alınan mekan, farklı kavramsallaştırmaları beraberinde getirmişse de Fransız düşünür Lefebvre (1974), toplumsal olan ile mekânsal olanın ilişkisinin kurulumundaki en önemli figürler arasındadır. Ona göre mekan çok boyutlu bir süreçtir ve bu boyutlarından herhangi biri olmaksızın tam anlamıyla anlaşılamaz. Lefebvre'e göre mekanın üç temel sacayağı onun aynı anda fiziksel (algılanan), zihinsel (tasarlanan), toplumsal (yaşanan) momentlerini içerir. Ve bu üçleme içinde, toplumsal pratik ile ilşkilendirilen sosyal mekan kavramına daha ayrıcalıklı bir konum atfeder. Lefebvre'nin kavramsallaştırması, bu tez kapsamında fiziksel ve toplumsal mekanı, bu ikisinin birbiriyle kaçınılmaz ilişkisini dikkate alarak, kadınların afet sonrası kendileri dışındaki erk tarafından üretilen yapılı çevrelerdeki deneyimlerini anlamak için uygun bir çerçeve sunmaktadır. Öte yandan kadınların mekanla ilişkisi bağlamında feminist coğrafyanın sunduğu kavramsal araçlardan, özellikle de özel-kamusal, üretim-yeniden üretim, ev-iş vb. ikiliklerin eleştirisinden yararlanılmaktadır. Kadınlara erkelerden farklı olarak, ataerkil sistemde toplumsal cinsiyete dayalı mekânsal bölünme dolayısıyla atfedilen rollerin onların konumlanışlarını nasıl kısıtladığı, üzerlerinde nasıl görünmez bir işyükü ve baskı oluşturduğu ve buna karşın kadınların kriz dönemlerinde farklı alanlardaki etkinlikleriyle nasıl roller üstlendikleri ve bu eşitsizliğin nasıl dönüştürülebileceği konusunda

önemli bir zemin oluşmaktadır. Fiziksel olarak cinsiyetlendirilmiş görünen mekanlar, belki de daha fazla, temsil düzeyinde de cinsiyetlendirilmişlerdir. Evin mahrem olanla, özel alanla ve yeniden üretimin görünmez kadın emeği ile ilişki içinde olmasına karşılık, kentin ya da işyerinin kamusal olanla ve üretimin erkek emeği ile ilişkilendirilmesi, önceliğin 'üretici' kamusal alandan yana olması suretiyle, farklı toplumsal cinsiyetlerin farklı mekan kullanım örüntülerinin oluşumuna ve sürdürülmesine katkı sağlamaktadır. Diğertaraftan kadın ve mekan ilişkisinin afet araştırmalarında gerek fiziksel gerekse de temsil düzeyinde nasıl ele alınabileceği konusu, Fordham (1998), Fothergill (1999) ve Khrishnadas (2007) gibi az sayıdaki araştırmacının çalışmalarından yola çıkarak, tartışılmıştır. Sonuç olarak fiziksel ve sosyal olanın ilişkisini, mekan ve toplumsal cinsiyet ilişkisi üzerinden, afet sonrası dönem koşullarında inceleyebileceğimiz mekânsal ölçeklerle ilişkili toplumsal cinsiyet rolleri çerçevesi kurulmuştur. Buna göre kadınların toplumsal ilişkilerindeki değişim, ev, komşuluk birimi ve işyeri örüntülerindeki mekânsal değişim ile birlikte ele alınmaktadır.

Düzcedeki afet sonrası mekânsal süreçler temel olarak haksahiplerinin konutlandırılması üzerine inşa edildiği için, ana politikaların dışında kalan düşük gelir grubu ya da kiracılar için afet sonrası acil dönem, yaraların sarılması ve yeniden yapılanma aşamaları haksahiplerinden farklı işlemiş, depremden onüç yıl sonra bu kesim için, haksahiplerinden farklı olarak, yaşamın hala normale dönemediği gözlenmiştir. Devletin sosyal konut projelerinden de faydalanamayan bu gruplara dahil kadınların depremden onüç yıl sonra kent merkezi ve yakın çevresinde yaşadığı alanlar ilk dönem haksahiplerinden sonra boşalan geçici prefabrik alanları ile ilki kent çeperinde ikincisi merkeze daha yakın olan, uluslararası Sivil Toplum Kuruluşlarının desteklediği Gümüşpınar Umcor ve Beyciler Mavi Hilal sosyal konut alanları olmuştur.

Haneiçi, Komşuluk ve Ücretli iş rolleri açısından, kent merkezindeki geçici konut alanlarında yaşayan kadınların en temel sorunu, depremden onüç yıl sonra hala en fazla 2-3 yıl kullanılmak üzere planlanan geçici prefabrike konutlarda yaşamaktır. Zira bu konutlar tek tip, esnek olmayan, eski, bakım zorluğu olan, mevsim koşullarından etkilenen, küçük ve özellikle de çok çocuklu haneler ya da yaşlı/akraba bakılan hanelerdeki kadınlar açısından kısıtlayıcı olmaktadır. Ev içindeki mekânsal kısıt, ev içindeki sosyal ilişkilerin idaresinde, özellikle de alışılageldiği haliyle mahremiyetin sağlanmasında sorun oluşturmaktadır. Deprem sonrası yaraların sarılması döneminde bir çeşit dayanışma mekanı, hatta evden çıkıp sosyalleşme mekanı olan prefabrik alanları, kullanıcıların zaman içinde değişmesiyle

kişlerin birbirlerini tanımadığı, birbirine şüpheyle yaklaştığı çatışma mekanlarına dönüşmüştür. Dolayısıyla bir yandan fiziksel mekan zaman içinde çözünürken, evin dışı güvensizlik teşkil ettiği için, evin içine daha çok hapsolunmuştur. Bu durum prefabriklerde yaşayan kadınlar açısından yaşadıkları yerin ve yakın çevresinin 'hastalıklı' olduğu şeklinde değerlendirilmektedir. Bu durumun istisnası, prefabriklerde yaşadığı süre boyunca kiracıların konut hakkını savunan depremzedeler derneği (Dep-Der) aktivisti olan bir görüşmeci ile, Çay Mahallesi prefabriklerinde yaşayan ve prefabrikler kurulduğundan beri birarada olan görüşmecilerdir. İlki, fiziksel mekanını genişleterek toplumsal mücadele mekanına çıkabildiği ölçüde sözkonusu hastalıklı yaşam çevresiyle başedebilirken, ikinci grup geçmişten gelen ortak tanışıklığın etkisiyle ve zaman içinde yaşadıkları mekana verdikleri emek üzerinden bu alanı sahiplenmişlerdir denebilir. Yine de koşulların olumsuzluğu kadınların ev içi emeğini artırmıştır. Öte yandan bu alanların kent merkezinde bulunmasının kadınların ücretli iş imkanlarına ulaşması açısından hissedilebilir bir farkı gözlenmemiştir. Ancak yine de afet sonrası zorlaşan ekonomik koşullarda ekonomik alana katılma gereksinimi duyan kadınlar, güvensizlik dolayısıyla formal ücretli iş alanına dahil olamasalar da, kadınlar arasında evden parça iş yapma örüntüleri gözlenmiştir. Buradaki temel sorun prefabrike konutların, geçici bir süre için planlanması dolayısıyla hanehalkının çeşitliliğine ve özelde kadınların ev içi üretim yapması için gerekli mekânsal koşullara cevap verememesidir. Ancak 'geçici' süreliğine üretilen bu konutların mekânsal düzenleme anlamında iyileştirilmesi ve değişen gereksinimlerin geçici konut tasarımında göz önüne alınması gerektiği söylenebilirse de, esas meselenin ana mekânsal politikalar dışında kalan kesimlerin, bu geçici mekanları amacının ötesinde kullanmaya itildikleridir. Dolayısıyla farklı kesimlere uygun kalıcı konut alanları üretmek yerine, geçici konut üretimi ile bu sürenin geciktirilmesi farklı araştırmacılarca da (Johnson, 2007) dikkat çekilen bir tartışma konusudur.

Kent merkezine yaklaşık 10 kilometre uzaklıkta kırsal alanda konumlanan Umcor evlerinde yaşayan kadınlar açısından ise ayırt edici sorun, yerleşim yerinin kent merkezine ve kentsel hizmetlere uzaklığıdır. Araştırma kapsamında görüşülen Umcor evlerinde yaşayan kadınların tamamı, deprem öncesinde kent merkezinde yaşadığı için bu ölçüde bir yerdeğiştirme onlar açısından yıkıcı olmuştur. Aslında yarıdan fazlası, istemeden, ekonomik sebeplerle, kocasının zoruyla bu alana geldiğini ifade etmiştir ve neredeyse tamamı imkanı olsa buradan gitmek istediğini ifade etmektedir. Zaten, bu kadınların yarıdan fazlası,

dezavantajlı gruplar için yapılan ve en kırılgan hanelerin belirlenmesiyle katılımcı inşa süreciyle yapılan bu evleri, 10 yıldan önce satılması yasak olmasına rağmen, ilk sahiplerinden satın almışlardır. Buna göre, bir yandan bu tür projelerdeki ihtiyaç sahibi belirleme yöntemlerinin güvenilirliği sorgulanmakta, bir yandan da imkan bulan herkesin günün birinde konutunu satıp gideceği bir yer olarak, geçici prefabrik alanlarından bir farkı olmadığı gözlenmiştir. Yine de görüşülen kadınlar, buradaki evlerini, deprem öncesinde kent merkezinde oturdukları düşük nitelikteki evlerine nazaran çok daha iyi bulduklarını ifade etmektedir. Umcor evleri iki oda bir salondan müteşekkil, prefabrikten biraz daha büyük fakat yine de bu haneler için küçük olmasına karşılık, evlerin tek katlı, düz ayak, küçük de olsa kapı önü mekanı barındıran ve yine kısıtlı da olsa evlerin yarı-açık mekanlarla vb genişletilmesine olanak sağlayan yapısı sebebiyle olumlu bulunmaktadır. Bu mekânsal yapının iyi geçinilen komşularla ortak zaman geçirme, iş üretme hatta evden parça iş yapma konusunda uygun bulunduğu gözlenmiştir. Ama öte yandan aynı mekânsal yapı, prefabriklerdeki kadar keskin olmasa da, dışardakilere karşı ev ve yakın çevresindeki mahremiyetin sağlanamamasını getirmektedir. Tıpkı geçici prefabrike konut alanlarındaki gibi insan sirkülasyonunun yoğun olması, daha önceden tanışıklığı olmayan heterojen bir grubu içinde barındırması mahalle ölçeğindeki çelişkinin esas sebebi olmaktadır. Hoşlanılmayan komşular söz konusu olduğunda evlerin birbirine yakınlığı ve evlerin sokak ile ilişkisi, mahremiyet üzerinden çatışma konusu olabilmektedir. Öte yandan her nekadar planlı bir durum olduğu düşünülmese de, bu alana görece yakın sayılabilecek fabrika ve atölyelerin bulunması kadınların ev çevresinden çok uzaklaşmaksızın ev dışında ücretli iş örüntülerine dahil olmasını kolaylaştırmaktadır. Her ne kadar bakım yükleri üzerinden alınmadan ücretli iş örüntüsüne dahil olmaları ikili bir yük, sömürü getirse de, özel ve sosyal alan dışında bir hareket alanı bulunmayan çoğu kadın için ev dışında çalışma imkanı olumlu olarak değerlendirilebilir. Yine de alanın kent merkezine uzaklığı, olası farklı iş imkanlarını kısıtlamakta, çalışmak isteyen kadınları yakın çevrede bulunan fabrika ve atölyelerdeki ağır çalışma koşullarına mecbur bırakmaktadır.

Doğrudan kent merkezinde bulunmasa da, merkeze görece yakın ve kentin konut gelişme bölgesinde yer alan Mavi Hilal Evlerinde yaşayan kadınların en büyük çelişkileri, fiziksel olarak evlerinden duydukları memnuniyete karşılık, sosyal çevreden duydukları memnuniyetsizliktir. Evler önceki iki örnekten ve kadınların depremden önce kent merkezinde yaşadıkları evlerden farklı olarak mekânsal özellikleri açısından dikkate

değerdir. Yoldan geri çekilmiş, bir veranda ile girilen, içinde ayrı mutfağı salonu ve iki odası ile üst katta da iki odası bulunan bu evler, kadınlarca ferah olarak tanımlanmaktadır. Önceki iki evde eksikliği çekilden mekânsal örgütlenme ve büyüklüğe bağlı olarak ev içinde mahremiyetin sağlanamaması ya da hane içinde farklı gereksinimlere ihtiyaç duyanların özel mekanlarının bulunmaması durumu bu evler için geçerli değildir. İki katlı olması, olası yatılı bir misafir gelmesi durumunda kadınlar açısından büyük kolaylık sağlamaktadır. Aynı şekilde rutin zamanda çocukların yukarda kalıyor olması da kadının yükünü hafifletmektedir. Bu evlerin sorunu 4 lü bloklar halinde sıra ev düzeninde olmasıdır denebilir. Bu şekilde olduğunda ortak bahçe içinde aynı duvarı paylaşan komşular, eğer uyuşmuyorlarsa, bu zorunlu yakınlık yine çatışma sebebi olabilmektedir. Örneğin, planlara göre çitlenmesi gereken ortak bahçe, bu gibi durumlarda evlerin hizasından çitlenmekte, bölünmektedir. Bu da bizi, mekânsal olarak burada yaşayacak kişilerin sosyal ve kültürel alışkanlıkları, gereksinimleri düşünülmeksizin yapılan yerleşimlerin komşuluk ilişkilerinde sorun yaratabileceği fikrine götürmektedir. Aslında Mavi Hilal evleri, Umcor evleri gibi bir seçim süresinden geçmesine karşın, projeyi destekleyen STK, birbirini tanımayan heterojen grubun evlerin yapım aşamasında kaynaştırmak ve komünite içinde dayanışma örüntülerinin oluşumuna katkı sağlamak adına beraber çalışmasını önkoşul olarak koymuştur. Ayrıca, evlerde oturacak kişiler belirlendikten sonra evlerin üst katının yapımı sahiplerine bırakılmış, böylelikle evlerin kullanıcılar tarafından kişiselleştirilmesi, benimsenmesi hedeflenmiştir. Ancak ev düzeyinde benimseme başarılı olduysa da, katılımcı inşa sürecinin, bir komünite oluşturmaya yardımcı olamadığı, evlere girildikten kısa süre sonra herkesin özel alanına çekildiği, dahası, komşuluk ölçeğinde çatışmaların olduğu anlatılagelmiştir. Dolayısıyla kura ile biraraya gelen insanların oluşturdukları yaşam çevresinin, mekânsal özellikleri nasıl olsa da, kadınların komşuluk birimi içindeki ilişkileri açısından zorlayıcı olduğu görülmektedir. Öte yandan konutların mekânsal özellikleri kadınların evden çalışabilmesinin önünü de açabilmektedir. Özellikle parça iş, dikiş ya da çocuk bakımı vb için gerekli uygun mekanlar bu alanda sağlanmış görünmektedir.

Düşük gelirli kadınlar, ev ve yakın çevresi ile görece daha fazla ilişkililerdir. Ve afet sonrası konut ve konut çevresinde mekânsal ve sosyal örüntülerin sekteye uğraması onları bu ölçüde daha yoğun etkilemektedir. Görülen odur ki, afetin kendisi önceki yaşamlarından bir kopuş getirirken, yeni oluşturulan mekanlarının, özellikle de mahalle ve komşuluk birimi düzeyinde, daha önce gözlenmeyen örüntüleri dayatması kadınların normal yaşamlarına

dönmesi açısından sorun teşkil etmektedir. Her ne kadar mesele eskinin bir yeniden inşasını yapmak değilse de, yeni oluşturulan mekanlarda deprem öncesinde olumlu karşılanan mekânsal dokunun izlerinin bulunması önemli görülmektedir. Dolayısıyla özellikle eski mahalle dokusundaki fiziksel ve sosyal ilişkilerin incelenmesi ve belli ölçülerde dikkate alınması kadınların daha çabuk normale dönmelerini sağlayabilir. Öte yandan bu konuyla ilgili olarak en çok üzerinde durulması gereken konu 'yerdeğiştirme' politikalarına karşı, 'yerinde yeniden yapılanma' politikaları ve/veya yeni üretilen mekanlarda 'kura ile kullanıcı belirleme' politikalarına karşı 'ortak geçmişi olan grupları yakın yerlere yerleştirme' politikaları olabilir. Zira, yine kadınların iyileşmeleri açısından etkin konumda bulundukları sosyal alanın, barındırdığı komşuluk ağları vb üzerinden, önemli ve destekleyici olduğu görülmektedir. Bu durum, ilk bakışta, homojen insan topluluklarının, dolayısıyla kapalı komünitelerin oluşturulması gibi görünse de aslında amaç farklıdır. Eskinin ani yıkımı sonrasında yeninin baskın bir kopuş ve dayatma ile 'otantik olmayan' biçimde gelmesi yerine, yeninin eskiden izler barındırması önerisi, yaşam çevresinin kullanıcıların fiziksel ve sosyal örüntüleri kadar anlam dünyasını da etkilediği kabulüyle ilgilidir.

Afet sonrası yaşanan mekânsal süreçlerin düşük gelir grubu açısından kentsel dönüşüm süreçlerine benzediği gözlenmiştir. Özellikle depremden önceki durumda merkezde yaşarken, deprem sonrasında süreç içindeki politikalar ya da seçenek kısıtı dolayısıyla çepere yerleşmek durumunda kalan kadınlar için durum daha yıkıcı olabilmektedir. Zira metin boyunca söylenegeldiği üzere özellikle düşük gelirli kadınların yaşam çevresi ev ve mahalle ile sınırlıdır. Elbette bunun dışına çıkabilenler yok değildir ancak oldukça azdır. Dolayısıyla merkezden ve kentsel hizmetlerden uzaklaşmaları durumunda ev ve çevresi dışında sürdürebilecekleri sosyal ilişkiler ve ücretli iş ilişkileri sekteye uğramaktadır. Halbuki fiziksel yakınlıkla ya da erişimi kolaylaştırıcı politikalarla bu kadınların kentle eskisinden de çok bütünleştirilmeleri afet sonrası yeniden yapılanma politikalarının ana hedeflerinden olmalıdır. Zira tüm bu olumsuz koşulların içinde dahi görüldüğü üzere aslında, rollerinin çokluğu ve kapsamıyla özdeş olarak, kadınların çözüme yönelik bir kapasiteyi de barındırdıklarını söylemek yanıltıcı olmaz. Ücretsiz, gönüllü, ya da sevgi karşılığı yaptıkları işler ya da çok düşük ücretlerle evden yaptıkları işler esasen değerli işlerdir ve bunların kadınların hayatında karşılık bulması gerekmektedir.

Araştırma sonucunda, düşük gelirli kadınların, 'erkek-yapımı' çevreden, özellikle de afet sonrası koşullarda, olumsuz etkilendikleri görülmüştür. Bu araştırmadan elde edilen

verilerin, afet-sonrası yaşam çevrelerindeki toplumsal eşitsizliğin daha iyi kavranmasıyla, planlama ve uygulama alanında siyasa üretimi için bir altlık oluşturabileceği düşünülmektedir. Düşük gelirli kadının koşullarının, afet sonrası dönemde 'iyileşmesi', onun özel, sosyal ve kamusal her üç alanda da güçlendirilmesi ile mümkün olabilecektir.

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