

RIGHT TO THE CITY, TIME AND TEMPORALITY IN NEOLIBERAL CITIES:
WOMAN’S EXPERIENCE IN İSTANBUL

by

Merve Cengiz

Submitted to Graduate School of Natural and Applied Sciences
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of Master of Science in
Architecture

Yeditepe University

2022

RIGHT TO THE CITY, TIME AND TEMPORALITY IN NEOLIBERAL CITIES:
WOMAN’S EXPERIENCE IN İSTANBUL

APPROVED BY:

Assist. Prof. Dr. Burçin Başyazıcı
(Thesis Supervisor)
(Yeditepe University)

Assist. Prof. Dr. Berna Göl
(Yeditepe University)

Assist. Prof. Dr. Dicle Kızıldere Gökyer
(Gebze Technichal University)

DATE OF APPROVAL:/....../2022

I hereby declare that this thesis is my own work and that all information in this thesis has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I have fully cited and referenced all material and results as required by these rules and conduct, and this thesis study does not contain any plagiarism. If any material used in the thesis requires copyright, the necessary permissions have been obtained. No material from this thesis has been used for the award of another degree.

I accept all kinds of legal liability that may arise in case contrary to these situations.

Name, Last name Merve Cengiz

Signature

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank my esteemed teacher and thesis advisor, Burçin Başyazıcı, who supported me first in the lessons and then in the writing process of my thesis. The moral support of my mother, Zeynep Cengiz, and my father, Mustafa Cengiz, was invaluable in this process. I would like to express my endless thanks for the support they gave me from Ankara when my faith was broken. I would also like to thank my precious brothers Ali Mert and Emre, whose mere existence strengthens me. I dedicate this thesis to my dear brothers Ali Mert and Emre, who will do much better than me in the coming years.



ABSTRACT

RIGHT TO THE CITY, TIME AND TEMPORALITY IN NEOLIBERAL CITIES: WOMAN'S EXPERIENCE IN İSTANBUL

This thesis addresses the right to the city, revealing an urgent need to expand the scope of the right to the city in terms of time and temporality in the neoliberal era. In this context, the thesis clarified neoliberalism and the current situation of cities, which have changed all their paradigms in terms of social, economic, political, and social aspects on a global scale, and then examined the right to the city, time, and temporality by making use of the literature in this context. Afterward, the right to the city and time poverty, which are conveyed through women who experience both spatial and temporal disadvantages in neoliberal cities, are conveyed through women, and the urban experience of women is given within the scope of the right to the city and time pressure conditions by making use of the literature. In this context, as a case study, she investigated femininity and the urban experience of femininity in terms of time in the context of the city of İstanbul, which can be regarded as the dominant city in Turkey where neoliberal influences appear directly. In the conclusion part, the findings are presented based on the case study. Based on the findings of the case study, the right to the city in terms of the experience of womanhood and the urban experience of womanhood, and then the boundaries of the right to the city on a larger scale were opened for discussion.

ÖZET

NEOLİBERAL KENTLERDE KENT HAKKI, ZAMAN VE ZAMANSALLIK: İSTANBUL'DA KADINLIK DENEYİMİ

Bu tez, neoliberal dönemde kent hakkına ilişkin kapsamın zaman ve zamansallık bakımından genişletilmesine ilişkin gerekli acil bir ihtiyacı ortaya çıkartarak kent hakkını ele almaktadır. Bu kapsamda tez, neoliberalizmi ve günümüz koşullarında sosyal, ekonomik, politik ve toplumsal açılardan tüm paradigmalarını küresel ölçekte değiştiren kentlerin mevcut durumu ile açıklığa kavuşturmuş, bunu takiben kent hakkı, zaman ve zamansallığı da bu bağlamda literatürden faydalananarak incelemiştir. Devamında ise neoliberal kentlerde hem mekansal hem de zamansal dezavantajlılıkları yaşayan kadınlar üzerinden aktarılmış kent hakkı ve zaman yoksulluğu kadınlar üzerinden aktarılmış, ve kadınların kentsel deneyimi literatürden faydalanılarak kent hakkı ve zaman baskısı koşulları kapsamında verilmiştir. Bu kapsamda vaka çalışması olarak Türkiye’de neoliberal etkilerin doğrudan görüldüğü başat kent olarak kabul edilebilecek İstanbul kenti bağlamında kadınlık ve kadınlığın kentsel deneyimini zaman bakımından araştırmıştır. Sonuç bölümünde ise vaka çalışmasından hareketle bulgular sunulmuştur. Vaka çalışmasının bulgularından hareketle kadınlık deneyimi ve kadınlığın kentsel deneyimi bakımından kent hakkı, devamında ise daha geniş bir ölçekte kent hakkının sınırları tartışmaya açılmıştır.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	iv
ABSTRACT.....	v
ÖZET	vi
TABLE OF CONTENTS	vii
LIST OF TABLES	ix
LIST OF SYMBOLS/ABBREVIATIONS.....	x
1. INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1. AIM OF THE THESIS	7
1.2. SCOPE OF THE THESIS	8
1.3. METHOD OF THE THESIS	9
2. NEOLIBERAL CITY, RIGHT TO THE CITY, TIME AND TEMPORALITY	10
2.1. NEOLIBERAL CITY.....	10
2.1.1. Understanding Neoliberalism: Neoliberalism, Globalization, Postmodernism.	11
2.1.2. Individual, Society and Mechanisms in Neoliberal Cities	19
2.1.3. Physical Conditions of Neoliberal Cities	27
2.2. RIGHT TO THE CITY	35
2.2.1. The Meaning of the Right to the City and Its Historical Development Until the Neoliberal Period	35
2.2.2. Understanding the Right to the City through the Neoliberal Urban Topography	46
2.3. TIME CULTURE AND TIME-TEMPORALITY IN THE NEOLIBERAL PERIOD	52
2.3.1. Time Culture, Time and Temporality	52
2.3.2. Time and Temporality in the Neoliberal Era	56
3. WOMEN, RIGHT TO THE CITY, TIME AND TEMPORALITY	65

3.1. THE ORIGIN OF BEING THE SECOND GENDER AND THE SCOPE OF FEMINISM	65
3.2. WOMEN AND THE RIGHT TO THE CITY IN A FEMINIST CONTEXT	69
3.3. WOMEN'S TEMPORALITY IN NEOLIBERAL CITY	80
4. CASE STUDY	88
4.1. DETERMINING THE SAMPLE GROUP FOR THE CASE STUDY	88
4.2. INTRODUCTION OF DATA COLLECTION METHOD.....	89
4.3. QUESTION FORMATION AND DATA COLLECTION PROCESS	89
4.4. PRESENTATION AND EVALUATION OF FINDINGS	94
5. CONCLUSION.....	120
REFERENCES.....	126
APPENDIX A:	134

LIST OF TABLES

Table 3.1. Woman's Informal Employment.....	74
Table 3.2. Woman's Workforce	75
Table 4.1. Distribution of Participants	94
Table 4.2. Table for Q1, Q2 and Q3.....	97
Table 4.3. Personal Time Part-I	100
Table 4.4. Personal Time Part-II.....	101
Table 4.5. Temporal Distrubution Part-I	103
Table 4.6. Temporal Distrubution Part-II.....	104
Table 4.7. Questions.....	106
Table 4.8. Questions A1 and A2	107
Table 4.9. Question A3.....	109
Table 4.10. Question A4 and A5.....	110
Table 4.11. Question A6.....	111
Table 4.12. Questions A7 and A8	112
Table 4.13. Question A9.....	113
Table 4.14. Question A10.....	114
Table 4.15. Questions A11, A12 and A13.....	115
Table 4.16. Urban Security Part-I	117
Table 4.17. Urban Security Part-II.....	118

LIST OF SYMBOLS/ABBREVIATIONS

Akm	Ataturk Cultural Center
ids	Acquired immune deficiency syndrome
b.c	Before Christ
Ibb	The İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality
lgbt	Lesbian gay bisexual transsexual
lgbti+	Lesbian gay bisexual transsexual intersex plus
si	International system of units
Tl	Turkish lira
unesco	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

1. INTRODUCTION

It can be said that most of the cultural, social, economic, and political praxis talked about in the world today are city-based. As the reason for this, it seems possible to say that the urban environment provides a combination of discourse and space with heterogeneous and dense populations. As Rosi Braidotti points out, the “male” person who is male/white/straight/has a spouse and children/urban/speaking a standard language constitutes an expression of generality [1]. It can be said that the expression of generality, as described by Braidotti, brings both the city and the city subject into existence as cultural, social, economic, and political conditions.

The relation of the adjectives of the "male" person listed by Braidotti, which is the expression of generality, with the subject that has the adjective can be handled individually. This thesis will focus on the individual's relationship, especially with the city. The almost uninterrupted communication between the city and the subject, causes the formation of the four basic types of mentioned above. In addition, it directly or indirectly but uninterruptedly affects what kind of condition the created condition is. However, the relations between the city and the subject have been revealed throughout history under different titles throughout extensive literature. Therefore, it can be thought that exposing these once again will partially contribute to the literature.

Therefore, considering the enormous dimensions and organizational complexity of the relationship between the city and the subject, it should not be forgotten that only a tiny part of it can be dealt with within the scope of the thesis.

Two concepts chosen for this thesis, which will contribute to narrowing the scope, are of particular importance here in terms of the neoliberal city-subject relationship. First, in the city's heterogeneous, dense, and relationship-chaotic environment, it can be said that "urban justice" has a priority position. The need for the existence of urban justice is evident in order to sustain the cities, which have difficulties in staying the balance due to their heterogeneous structure, both physically and relationally. Establishing justice in the city helps compensate for the imbalances caused by class, cultural, economic, geographical, political, and social differences and can prevent them from becoming an element of urban problems. Therefore,

the first of the concepts that will narrow all this scope in one way will be -right to the city- throughout the thesis.

Here, choosing the city right is particularly important. Because the city right offers a narrower framework than the broader rights to the environment and human rights, including the city. With the citation given by Gönüllü from Torunoğlu, human rights, which French lawyer Karel Vasek classifies as historical-evolutionary, are considered important in understanding the right to the environment and the city. Vasek stated that individuals are protected against the state with the rights he calls first-generation rights, including fundamental freedoms, personal and political rights. Second-generation rights, on the other hand, basically expect economic, cultural, and social rights from the state to protect the individual, and economic, cultural, and social rights are generally included in this scope. Finally, third-generation rights are defined as solidarity rights and require cooperation between individuals [2]. Although environmental rights can be defined within the framework of three generations of human rights that Vasek defines, they especially emphasize the right to live in a healthy environment/habitat in every sense. As stated by Gönüllü, the right to the environment, considered within the scope of the right to health before 1970, was separated from human rights after the 1970s and gained its special status, and was secured by agreements at local and international scales [2]. Although the historical development of the right to the environment is outside the thesis, it can be said that the three generations of human rights and the right to the environment are based on the cities where the majority of the population in the world live today, as the city right. Although there are different definitions regarding the city right in this sense, it can be said that the primary purpose is to be the projection of three generations of human rights in cities and to provide a healthy, humane and equal urban habitat for the citizens, and to ensure that this is done in ways that require urban solidarity (third-generation rights).

It can be asked why human and environmental rights are especially taken into the context of the city and why a kind of framework is drawn from the literature with this administrative geographical unit. To answer this question in a time-independent manner would be to deny the "zeitgeist", that is, the emotion, way of thinking, and context of time.

The "city right" phenomenon, which dates back almost to the Paris Commune, has attributed human rights and the right to the environment (perhaps beyond meaning here) specifically

to a particular context. However, the "city right" has been used since the Paris Commune of 1871, and urban demands were expressed for the first time in the Paris Commune with the concept of "solidarity", which can be understood within the framework of third-generation human rights. As Ertan and Ertan also expressed, the Paris Commune is a citizen movement that can be seen as an attempt to transform the city into an autonomy that will inspire the unity of free communities and can be considered a municipal revolution. One of the aims of the Commune is to find a solution to the housing crisis, which is experienced as a result of the rising rent prices due to the migration from rural to urban areas. The declaration dated 19 April 1871 seems to have expressed many topics that can be considered within the scope of the city right today. Among these are titles such as individual and conscientious freedom, securing the freedom to work, citizen participation in social events and decision-making processes, and freedom of expression [3].

The relationship of such a right issue, which can be assumed to have entered the literature since the Paris Commune and later included the city within its scope, with the city, can be said to be a milestone like the Paris Commune, as well as an environment of solidarity and free thought that allows the struggle for the recognition of these rights in urban processes. In this sense, the difference between urban and non-urban in terms of cities may help to understand why these rights are not specifically contextualized for extra-urban. Of course, human rights and the right to the environment do not show any obvious administrative zone type restrictions. However, it does not seem to be configured explicitly for non-city. In the urban and non-urban sources of livelihood, personal common-purpose seems to be quite difficult. Because the economic diversity in cities has transformed those who come and/or those who are here compared to those who are not in cities, from crowded to elementary family, from social to individual, from familiarity to anonymous, from freedom to a clear habitat where all authorities have power. One of these features, which can be counted in many aspects, appears more ontologically as city-specific factors. In Weber's definition of the city, which will be mentioned under the title of neoliberal city in the coming pages, cities have differentiated throughout history, especially in terms of economic diversity. This economic diversity differs considerably from each other on the scale of the micro-environments in which the urban subjects live, depending on their work, their economic income, and these factors. This situation is much less common in non-urban areas. Because of the economic lifestyles of people, their lifestyles seem similar to each other. It is also

difficult to observe the common demands of difference and a prominent authority figure that can be opposed in the non-urban. Although there are such figures, they are generally derived from much more traditional forms of relationship, so the culture of demand and opposition to authority arising from demand in these traditional forms of relationship is less developed than in the city.

The rationality of the concept of a certain kind of right that has taken itself into the context of the city seems to be debatable for extended periods in all these topics. However, at least a certain number of propositions seem acceptable, so it can be agreed that the concept of "city right" serves to fill a significant gap in the literature. Nevertheless, the city right remains a very broad scope.

As mentioned above, it has been stated that the city-subject relationship has been explained in many aspects in the literature, the need for narrowing the scope, and the subsequent narrowing of the scope by choosing two key concepts. Although the first concept in narrowing the scope is the city right, how can this broad scope be narrowed down with a secondary concept?

At this point, time is an important concept both in terms of understanding the historical context, that is the "zeitgeist", and in terms of mediating the urban experience of the person and society. And in this thesis, the concept of time functions in two different layers. The first of these is the historical focus of the city right in temporal terms. Because any approach that rejects the zeitgeist may be incomplete or misplaced in the literature. Therefore, for the primary layer of the concept of time, namely the temporal scope of the city right, the neoliberal period, which is currently under the global influence and is in, has been chosen.

Although neoliberalism is an economic policy in the first sense in the literature, the concept in question is used in scientific contexts such as urban-cultural, sociological, and psychological to explain the current urban and global conditions. Therefore, neoliberalism, as seen in the neoliberal city section, includes not only the enlightenment of certain economic policy literature but also the understanding of today's conditions. Moreover, as will be conveyed in the neoliberal city title, the explanation of today's conditions through the concept of neoliberalism brings with its globalization and postmodernity, which are two lateral concepts that support neoliberalism.

After the layer of the time concept related to the historical-temporal context of the city right is given under the title of the neoliberal city, the secondary layer of the concept in question will gain importance. This secondary layer of the concept of time refers to the words time and temporality used in daily life. Because, in today's (now neoliberal) conditions, although time is a subject that the city right and urban justice touch on in the literature in a relative minority, all existing labor conditions are in harmony with the concept of time. The city deals with labor in the neoliberal economy, and the concept of the city right explores the ways of justice and equality in labor in this context. Here, labor-money, as the exchange-parallel, is attached to labor time in a problematic way, as will be detailed in the following chapters.

In the second layer of the time concept, the time conditions that zeitgeist conditions give (impose and/or hegemony) to urban subjects will also be discussed, besides the presentation of labor-time in neoliberal conditions. Because today's sense of time and our culture stand before us as a recent cultural product, not as an anthropological or biological origin. Neoliberal conditions have changed and are changing the culture of this time in ways that make it difficult for individuals and the masses to be noticed as they are. The premise of the city right, which is based on providing a healthy environment as both physical and spiritual habitat, becomes essential because of how it affects the concept of time and culture, which will have an important place in the psychology of individuals and masses.

The three main concepts that helped determine the scope of the thesis so far, namely the city right, neoliberalism, and temporality, seem to narrow the scope of this thesis. The second part includes explaining these three concepts through examples, especially by using the literature. Treating these concepts separately, will form the basis for combining these concepts in the third chapter.

It can be said that the third part offers a particular focus on the drawn path. This focus is mainly concerned with disadvantaged groups. Many disadvantaged groups can be mentioned in the city and/or using the adjective neoliberal. Among these groups, the elderly, disabled, LGBT+ individuals, children, women, groups under a certain economic or cultural class, certain identities or cultures according to the geography, and religious groups can be given as examples. All these seem to be sample groups that can constitute the majority, not a minority, in almost any city that can be selected, and the urban location of each of these

groups can be a research topic in itself. However, certain groups have common points. While children and the elderly are especially under the influence of urban-physical conditions, the exclusion of certain races, religious groups, and/or identities remains a geographical and social-based problem. However, some groups can live on an equal basis with the rest without making significant changes in the city-physical environment, both physically and spiritually. In this sense, the homeless, different sexual identities (to be positioned as LGBT+ in this thesis), and women are mostly deprived of their city right, only at the center of a certain political stance. The fact that the physical possibilities of the city can also be discussed for these groups constitutes the relatively minor aspects of the problem. Although these groups are generally in different neoliberal geographies, they seem to have similar destinies regarding the city right.

The third chapter aims to analyze the city right and temporality in neoliberal conditions for women.. This analysis will be made especially in the light of the concepts and literature given in the second chapter, as well as the examples of the experiences of these groups from different neoliberal geographies, by making great use of the literature specific to the groups focused in the second chapter. This section, carried out as analysis and sample, tries to understand and convey the existence of women's, especially in current conditions, within the context of neoliberal urban conditions. At the same time, it reinforces the transcending geographies (also called beyond geography) plane of the problems in question with the examples given.

After evaluating the neoliberal urban conditions of disadvantaged groups regarding the city right and the concepts of time, the thesis focused specifically on "women". There are many reasons for the selection of women, especially among disadvantaged groups, in terms of the city right. The first of these is that they are almost co-habitants of a destiny transcending geography in the focus of neoliberal urban conditions, that women's struggle, which is also a struggle beyond geography, can be evaluated in the context of human and environmental rights, therefore has direct relations with the city right. As a second reason, the visibility of women's inequality in the city changes according to women's socio-economic and cultural levels. Although the city right is inclusive among different socio-economic and cultural groups, the struggle of the women of each group is evident as a separate field of struggle in each of these groups. Therefore, the position of women in the context of the city right establishes a direct and/or indirect relationship with all disadvantaged groups in the city. As

mentioned in the relevant section, the invisibility of women in the care of children, the elderly, and the sick are also seen as related to the already disadvantaged children, the elderly, and the sick. In different religious, racial, and cultural groups where equality cannot be achieved, the said inequality becomes debatable again and again.

In the third part, the concepts and related literature of the second part and the literature specific to the second part are discussed in the focus of the disadvantaged groups, followed by the case study in the fourth part. The case study was carried out in the city of İstanbul, where neoliberal conditions are most dominant and visible in Turkey today, and focuses on the sample of women aged 18-65. This sample study progressed with a methodological survey study conducted on 112 women. Through the survey, it was aimed to understand the commonality of women's experiences in the neoliberal city of İstanbul in the context of time and the city right, especially in terms of time use, accessibility, and social pressure, as included in the analysis titles of the previous section.

As a result of all these, the thesis positions the city right and the place of the woman in the neoliberal city in the third chapter by using the literature findings in the second chapter. Then, using case studies, it aims to address women first and then the disadvantaged of the city on a larger scale. Although there are different urban studies conducted for women and different disadvantaged groups, both reading the issue from the perspective of the city right and the presence of time and temporality filters in this perspective carry this issue, which seems to have been discussed extensively in the literature, to a unique position. In particular, it makes the subject unique from the perspective of temporality.

1.1. AIM OF THE THESIS

This thesis aims to put the fundamental problems related to time and time crises in the context of the concept of the right to the city and to expand the concept of the right to the city in this context. However, this general purpose has been placed in a narrower framework to go deeper within the scope of the thesis. First of all, neoliberalism has been preferred as a common base that can characterize the problems related to the city, the right to the city, temporality, and time, which is indicated by the word "today". Within the scope of neoliberalism, these three conceptual frameworks, which were explained especially in the second part of the thesis, were tried to be combined in the third part. This unification was

carried out on women, who are described as one of the most urgent groups in need of the active ground of the right to the city, the reasons for which are explained in the relevant section, and the conceptual framework of the thesis has been completed with the third chapter.

When we go deeper from the general and primary purpose of the thesis, when we reach the more point purpose and the case study section, which constitutes the fourth part of the thesis, the aim, narrows down to the position of women in the neoliberal city, the right to the city of women and women's time and temporality. While it is suggested that the right to the city should also include temporal justice, the subject and discussion were carried out, especially on women. To evaluate the temporal problems of women within the scope of the right to the city, the case study was conducted on women in İstanbul, a neoliberal city in Turkey, and the thesis ended with a case study that deals with the intersection of the right to the city and temporality.

1.2. SCOPE OF THE THESIS

The scope of this thesis is the city right chosen as an area where architecture meets urban studies and urban sociology, and the framework is limited to neoliberalism and time/temporality issues that will help explain the said city right today's conditions. In this context, every aspect of the neoliberal city reflected in daily life practices has been revealed in the literature with perspectives from different disciplines. Afterward, the concepts of city right and time/temporality, which constitute the scope, are explained at the neoliberal urban scale. Finally, in the fourth chapter, which is the case study part of the thesis, the scope covers women between the ages of 18-65 living in İstanbul, and the city right, time/temporality of this femininity experience in the neoliberal context has been tried to be revealed. In the conclusion part, the main factors affecting the experience of womanhood in neoliberal cities were tried to be revealed, and then it was discussed with the literature by showing the findings related to the case through a survey conducted on the internet with the participation of 112 people. By this means, it is planned to open a discussion and path on the scope of the city right in the neoliberal era for future research on women and disadvantaged groups in general.

1.3. METHOD OF THE THESIS

The thesis theme forms a narrowing structure from the second part to the fourth part. The concepts of the neoliberal city, city right, and time/temporality, which will contextualize the analysis of the experience of female experience in İstanbul, which constitutes the case study, are explained with literature research in the second part. In this part, different works of literature are specially synthesized to form the context of the subject. In the third part, the disadvantaged groups in the urban sense were examined first by using the contextual synthesis revealed with the help of the literature in the second part. The experience of female experience was chosen because it found a place among these disadvantaged groups and the direct relationship of the feminist theory with the city. In the continuation of the second chapter, the experience of womanhood has been supported by the feminist literature on the experience of womanhood in the city, as well as the literatures on the city right, time/temporality in the neoliberal urban context. In the fourth chapter, within the scope of the case study, a quantitative survey study was conducted to focus on the experience of womanhood in İstanbul, where neoliberal visibility is the highest in Turkey. Findings in the survey study II. and III. interpreted in the light of the chapters. The conclusion includes a discussion between the literary discourse and the findings. Also, it consists of the potential of how the subject covered can give projections to future studies.

2. NEOLIBERAL CITY, RIGHT TO THE CITY, TIME AND TEMPORALITY

To understand both today's city and what is meant by today's city before moving on to a reading of the city right over time, which is attempted to be researched and understood through today's Neoliberal city; It is important to re-discuss the concepts of the city right, which is the main subject of the thesis, and time in the city. This concern for meaning stems from its aim to make structured research set its issue by framing selected concepts. Therefore, it is essential to construct the context, thus explaining the basic idea, motivation, and functioning of today's city and building a high-scale semantic structure.

2.1. NEOLIBERAL CITY

In order to understand the neoliberal city by the scope of the thesis, neoliberalism will first be explained with the concepts of globalization and Postmodernism, which are seen as supporting concepts. Then neoliberalism will be discussed in terms of its characterizing function in today's city, and its urban projection will be tried to be conveyed. After the concept of neoliberalism is conveyed, all these other concepts and their effects, which originated in the same period as the concept and influenced each other, will be discussed mainly in the second title of the current section, 2.1.1. Here, this title comes from the fact that while conveying the urban projection of neoliberalism, it is not tied to specific geography. Because, as will be conveyed in the future, neoliberalism has also produced different results in different geographies. In this title, a filter regarding the commonality of neoliberal cities has been used as a method, and the literature has been filtered through this standard feature. However, the existence of a large number of studies in the literature on neoliberalism and the urban intersection has revealed the necessity of a secondary filter, and in this context, directly affecting the social projection in daily life in order to eliminate the researched literature has helped narrow the vast literature within the scope of this thesis. As it will be seen in the following parts of the thesis, the city right, time culture, and temporality have also been selected from the literature in terms of their direct and direct relations with daily life and the relationship of the concept as mentioned above with the city-social whole and its clear and visible results in daily life have been questioned. Afterward, under the title

of 2.1.3. the commons and expected values of today's urban-type as a visual, architectural, and public space culture were tried to be conveyed, and the physical context of the urban-social projection was constructed in the previous title was revealed by making use of the literature.

2.1.1. Understanding Neoliberalism: Neoliberalism, Globalization, Postmodernism

Neoliberalism can be said to express a form of capitalism. It marks and affects not only a capitalist economy of production and accumulation but also a socio-political field. Today's neoliberal cities may be cities of third-world countries that have decided to industrialize their capitalist accumulation economy during the Industrial Revolution or post-decolonization oil crises. Crises in the capitalist process are the most apparent repetitions within this continuity. Capitalism survives the crisis it has entered through some structural changes without ever cutting off its cumulative roots and sustaining itself. In this process, it has/evolved from the state to the private, from the regulated market to the free market, from the development economy to neoliberalism, and from large mass production to flexible and dispersed production models.

The great oil crises of the 1970s, which can be called the last crises of capitalism before it evolved into its present form, caused capitalism to undergo a paradigm shift. Especially in the 1950s-1960s, the growth in the capitalist countries, the saturation of the market, and the decrease in profitability due to the resistance of the working class increased the search for foreign markets and, therefore, the competition between capitalist countries. After American imperialist policies got into trouble, the cessation of dependence on gold and the resulting dollar crisis caused a series of crises on a global scale. America responded to its rivals by devaluing the dollar and rising oil prices, then introduced the petro-dollar to contain the uncontrollable rise, and a significant rise in oil prices took place in the 1980s. The significant increase in oil prices is reflected in many industries and, therefore, in the products that meet the consumer, deepening the crisis, especially in countries that do not export oil. In this process, after decolonization, underdeveloped countries also demanded a new international economic order, especially third world countries that wanted to industrialize [4]. This crisis period has brought capitalism to a dead end and even created those who think that socialism will emerge from the crisis of capitalism. Therefore, this whole crisis process has divided

into two fronts, those who think that new collectivism will emerge for the world from the crisis of capitalism, especially at the end of the 1970s, along with the continuation of the cold war period, and the capitalist fronts. In addition to this division, it was divided into middle and less developed countries on the fronts of the United States and the Soviet Union [4].

Although the foundation of a brand new accumulation economy was laid under the name of neoliberalism in the 1980s, Harvey argues that since the 1970s, there has been a strong trend towards neoliberalism with political-economic thoughts and practices, with developments such as the limitation of regulatory measures, the increase in privatization, and the withdrawal of the state from many social services areas [5].

However, Beaud describes the main components of the neoliberal accumulation model, which can be said to have become official in the 1980s, as promising new industries, essential changes in the working process and lifestyle that will bring "new mass consumption" to the agenda, and increasing diversity in worker mobilization methods [4].

In order to make sense of the current practice of neoliberalism, it seems essential to understand the globalization ideology that shined in the 1990s, as well as neoliberalism's entry into the literature in the 1980s. The reason for globalization to shine in these years can be described as the common problems of humanity such as global warming and climate change, the globalization of finance, the fact that both the stock market and monetary shocks have become world issues, and the increase in synchronicity in communication due to the development and spread of the internet. As a result of all these, more and more events are taking place worldwide. Moreover, with the advancement of technology worldwide, interactions and interdependencies are increasing, and new realities are spreading organically on a global scale [4].

Beaud draws attention to the use of the word globalization, which has become the new reality of the whole world, as a result of all these, in three different ways. The first of these means "*a reality becoming valid on a world scale*," implying the spread of human existence and modes of production in the past, and today the consumption of knowledge and some products to all continents. The second one corresponds to an increase in low-level interdependencies, mainly due to technological developments in transportation and communication. Third, contemporary globalization, which has created a strong link with capitalism, refers to

"inclusive organic movements" [4]. Consumption habits, simultaneous situations and movements of specific segments and groups in the world, and the global/transnational transformation of a particular culture can be examples of these inclusive organic movements.

It is particularly important not to confuse the phenomenon of globalization with the phenomenon of universalization. Bauman distinguishes it from the universalism view of early classical modern thought by making an essential reference to the nature of planetary-social existence. Bauman, who conveys that the idea of universalization is the intention and determination to establish a global order, and the idea that modern forces can overcome difficulties, states that globalization is about "things getting out of control." Parallel to this, he states globalization as global effects that are unintended and unexpected rather than initiatives [6].

Çitçi, primarily describing neoliberalization as the ideology of globalization, emphasized the globalization dimension of neoliberalism with a quote from Harvey and described neoliberalism as "*a project of restoring the power of the global capitalist class.*" Again, according to Çitçi's quotation from Saad-Filho and Johnston, he stated that "*power and wealth are increasingly concentrated in the hands of transnational corporations and elite groups*" as the distinguishing feature of the neoliberal age [7].

As Ökmen quotes from Kutlu, there are two main approaches to globalization. One of them deals with globalization as an emerging concept of international corporations and financial institutions, and powerful states to find and create markets and establish hegemony accordingly. Another view considers globalization as a concept representing an order, also known as the "Global Village," where the political, economic, and social barriers standing between national borders are lifted [8]. In the discussions based on these two approaches, the judgments that globalization is good by listing its positive results or, on the contrary, that it is terrible considering its negative consequences, are insufficient to consider globalization as a reality. Instead, it reveals that globalization seems essential in solving many problems in today's world, which is under the influence of globalization.

Therefore, it is essential to remember that neoliberalism has come from the 1980s to the present day by including all the elements of globalization that Beaud has stated, without evaluating the use of the word neoliberalism as an exclusionary position when pointing to today's economic-political and social environment connected to it. The development of new

markets and the movements of new ways of working, which are the most critical elements of neoliberalism, should be read as a global mass movement. It seems evident that neoliberalism cannot externalize globality, remembering that the nature of events and reactions becomes synchronized with the help of technology, the internet, and social media, especially considering that the market, which has become a culture producer, has spread to a global scale. In this context, the words global/globalization has been used from occasionally to refer to the social consequences of three different aspects of neoliberalism, to the three other elements of globalism (and therefore neoliberalism) that Beaud also mentioned, and to the social implications of Beaud's three different aspects of globalization, which Bauman emphasizes.

In addition to neoliberalism and globalism, which includes neoliberalism, briefly discussing Postmodernism, which is considered the ideological ally of neoliberalism, in this context, will contribute to the transmission of neoliberal urban reality and the correct understanding of its dynamics.

Postmodernism, which is positioned as the ideological ally of neoliberalism, has significantly transformed the process cultures, such as the elements that Beaud shows changed with neoliberalism, and the ways of working, production, and consumption, as well as the changing political and social structures, the quality and how of the controlling, regulatory and rule-making elements. Therefore, Postmodernism helps to explain how neoliberalism, which is used as a roof concept in this thesis, manifests with globalization and conceptualizes a whole reality seen with facts. In *The Condition of Postmodernity*, Harvey quotes Lyotard stating that Postmodernism is simply "not believing in metanarratives." [9]. In support of this, Çitçi states that Postmodernism brings to mind a final thought and states that modern society's universal theory and meta/meta-narratives, such as political beliefs, doctrines, and ideologies, carry the means of regulating social life, are disintegrating [7]. Postmodernism is also reflected in the political pillar of neoliberalism, as art rejects spatializations and emphasizes the art of formation such as happening and, more generally, rejects meta-narratives and focuses on becoming and actions with short sections. As Çitçi also states, Postmodernism has finished the macro politics and has included micro politics, which is the politics of short-term policies, instant reactions, singular events, and facts [7].

This situation has changed the search for the city right and the political position of the disadvantaged groups, as will be mentioned in the third parts of the thesis. Micronization of politics has left the field of politics to international companies, organizations, and institutions with the help of globalization, and by depoliticizing certain classes and groups, the current social movements have made the existing social movements both short-lived and temporary.

Neoliberalism seems to have changed the subject of power along with globalization. The increase in the power of international companies and institutions with the effect of globalization, especially the significant effects of the international market and economic institutions on countries, the fact that companies have larger budgets than the gross national income of many nations, have resulted in the shift of economic and political power. According to Çitçi's quote from Lemke, in neoliberalism, the state falls within the scope of the market. The functionalist growth of the market and the production of truth becomes the goal of governmentality. Therefore, since this economic hegemony has developed enough to produce the truth, it complies with the production/profit principle by creating an economy of power. At the same time, it allows the incarnation of power by dominating the gestures, attitudes, behavior patterns, and habits of individuals, as is called biopolitics in Foucaultian terms [7].

It can be said that Postmodernism also helps incarnation of power in a sense. However, according to Harvey's quote from Huyssens, Postmodernism also contains, in a sense, the liberating potential to understand difference and otherness [9]. However, with neoliberalism and globalization (as mentioned in the following sections, especially in the third section), this pluralism transforms all differences into a market diversity, becoming increasingly depoliticized and out of politics. In his book, *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*, Harvey states how Postmodernism, in one aspect, developed with neoliberalism. Criticisms of the welfare state, which was established after the Second World War, increased with the economic recession of the 1970s and resulted in approaches that would warm the public to neoliberalism, especially in the media, from the 1970s on, and the public was greatly affected by this situation. Furthermore, the rise of pop culture in the British youth of the 1960s-1970s, the increase and sharpening of political satires, and the mockery of the traditional society by the new youth movement made Postmodernism an active element as it was in the 1968 movements. In addition, Postmodernism radicalized its disrespectful attitude and political

skepticism towards aristocrats, politicians, and bureaucrats, grounding the postmodern skepticism of metanarratives [5].

However, there are also those in the literature who see Postmodernism as separate from the ideology alliance of neoliberalism. Especially in his writings, Ian Wright distinguishes the functions Of Postmodernism and neoliberalism under various headings with distinct lines, even though Postmodernism continues its activities with neoliberalism today. Wright argues that neoliberalism is the addition of growth theory and Keynesianism to classical liberalism. Again, Wright associates the origins of neoliberalism rising with Thatcherism with the Fraser government, which was the government of Australia in the 1970s and 1980s. Wright seems to differ from other authors in this determination. It also considers Postmodernism and neoliberalism as triggers of different economic, political, and social conditions. While evaluating the social conditions of Postmodernism as postfordism, Wright draws attention to the fact that unique products for different consumption units are produced in a flexible, small, and mass manner, and niche markets are created in this way. Evaluating the social conditions of neoliberalism as neofordism, he draws attention to the existence of market and social conditions accompanying the provision of services using information technologies, especially to niche markets that began to dominate the declining industrial and manufacturing activities [10]. Here, we witness that the difference in postmodern and neoliberal social conditions made by Wright overlap in the cities defined as neoliberal today. Likewise, the differences listed here seem to be related to the information technology sectors serving the emerging niche market. However, some titles point to entirely different and opposite conditions. For example, while distinguishing the political conditions of Postmodernism and neoliberalism, Wright characterized these conditions in a way that would seem utterly opposed to each other. Pointing to a deliberative democracy understanding by pointing out the existence of deliberative social liberalism in postmodern political conditions, Wright points to an environment where different groups and communities exist as networks, and personal welfare services are offered to indicate differences. On the other hand, by expressing that neoliberal political conditions significantly strengthen the new right, he points out that social communities and groups disappear, individuals come to the fore, and the welfare services offered do not spread to the whole society but are specific and targeted [10].

The literature has discussed neoliberalism with multidisciplinary and interdisciplinary methods in different fields such as urban sociology, psychology, economy, philosophy and so on. Within the scope of master's and doctoral theses written in Turkey, when short research is done using the keyword "neoliberalism" on the "National Thesis Center", neoliberalism's specialization is international relations, political sciences, philosophy, economy, urban and regional planning, communication sciences, sociology, public administration. It has become the subject of academic studies from different disciplines such as journalism, law, architecture, music, fine arts, and anthropology [11]. In this context, it may be said that neoliberalism is a meta-ideology suitable for all aspects to describe today's phenomena and adds to many areas of life. Therefore, throughout the thesis, without straying from the scope, all kinds of academic content that are likely to contribute to the scope have been utilized with the help of both the scope's filter and the "neoliberal urban commons" and "direct impact on neoliberal daily life" filters, as conveyed in the introduction of the neoliberal city title.

In this context, the economic aspect of neoliberalism and the ecosystem it has established with the concepts of globalization and Postmodernism have been conveyed. First of all, it seems helpful to look at the interdisciplinary projections of neoliberalism in this ecosystem that will directly affect the daily life of the neoliberal city.

First, neoliberalism seems to have changed its function in many ways. However, it has not displaced the state with the concepts of globalization and Postmodernism, which will be helpful and reminded throughout the thesis. The function of the state, which has changed in many ways with neoliberalism, has been widely discussed in the literature. These studies have revealed the reflection of the state functions that have changed with neoliberalism in daily life.

In this sense, the transformation in the "judiciary" body of the state has been discussed in the context of criminal culture and mass imprisonment in the neoliberal era. A thesis comparing the views of Garland and Wacquant in the literature review states that mass incarceration is an element of the neoliberal penal state. He mainly draws attention to the functionality of Wacquant's mass incarceration as a preserving element of the new economic order. In addition, he draws attention to the fact that the new right, rising with neoliberalism, has given the state a new perspective, which believes that the situation of the poor in a liberal society

that offers opportunities to everyone is essentially their own choice and therefore does not have the right to access the opportunities of welfare giants and that security policies are shaped on this scale [12]. Birdiřli deals with the security policies changed by neoliberalism on a more national scale. Drawing attention to the fact that neoliberalism has turned the environment into a commodity, Birdiřli gives examples of Coca-Cola company's irresponsible consumption of groundwater in India, leaving the surrounding villages without water, and De Beers company, which holds eighty percent of the world diamond market, dragging Sierra Leone into civil war. Again, Birdiřli considers the security threats created by the neoliberal market environment and the political and economic pressures of underdeveloped states with internationally rich oil and mineral resources as security issues [13]. However, various practices and protocols that neoliberalism does not make the environment a commodity can be given as examples. However, these seem to be flexible protocols regarding free markets, which neoliberalism does not limit in any way. As an example of this, in Denmark, the Netherlands, Norway, Finland, and Sweden, which seem to have made tax applications for the reduction of greenhouse gasses by the Kyoto Protocol, flexibility and convenience are provided in the energy-intensive and internationally competitive industrial sectors, and similarly, specific sectors are exempted from tax [14].

The concept of "managerialism", widely used in the literature to express the changing administrative strategies of the state in the neoliberal era, can be seen in many theses on neoliberalism in this sense. For example, Foucault states how the style of state power has changed by expressing that the state no longer appears as a monolithic institution or device but as a set of diffused practices. This set of practices, which spread mainly in the neoliberal period, has an impact on civil society, which is conceived as an area of freedom, and on public space as an urban response [15]. In this sense, Demir highlights the point where neoliberalism differs in the context of governmentality. The direct power techniques of the previous period and the power policies that connect the citizen to the social order with social security, tax regime, and employment policies became decentralized in the neoliberal period. These policies appear to be autonomous from the state, heterogeneous, divided into many different functions in social life, and different power practices and indirect techniques at the global, regional, and local levels [15].

Understanding what the neoliberal city is by remembering the concepts of globalization and Postmodernism, which helps convey neoliberalism with today's manifestations, remains

quite comprehensive. However, the slightest understanding of the main drivers and movements, leading actors, and paradigms of a neoliberal city will help to understand the expression of the city right within the context of the neoliberal city. This attempt, made by keeping the city on the sidelines, will help to understand neoliberalism in the intersection of neoliberalism, globalization, and Postmodernism and accordance with today's reality and will now be an adjective placed before the city and contribute to the understanding of today's city.

2.1.2. Individual, Society and Mechanisms in Neoliberal Cities

Before approaching the city with its neoliberal meaning, it seems necessary to look only at the purposes of the city without taking the neoliberal adjective. In this way, it will be easier to see what other meanings and situations the adjective neoliberalism adds to the city.

Weber stated the features that make a city a city. According to Weber, cities generally describe a kind of colony consisting of close (almost adjacent) housing clusters, and thus in terms of population and quantity. The density of such a colony is such that it does not allow personal acquaintances. However, this situation is quite vague and insufficient to define the city. Weber adds an economic meaning to the city on top of this definition and states that the city's citizens earn their living from trade and shopping rather than from agriculture. The fact that there are also commercial villages suitable for this two-item definition made this definition insufficient for the city. Therefore, Weber points to economic versatility at this point [16].

When the adjectives attributed to the city by its political and historical context are removed, Weber's definition of the city seems to be observably correct. However, to explain the origin of the neoliberal cities we live in, we may go back to the Ancient Greek Polis and/or the Mercantilist period, which is seen as the predecessor of Capitalism. However, it seems logical to base the origin of the urban environment created by articulating neoliberalism, which can be seen as the current state of capitalism, to the city, to the Industrial Revolution, without experiencing ambiguity and losses in the historical line. At this point, of course, it cannot be said that all the industrial cities of the past have become neoliberal cities today. On the other hand, Lefebvre described early industry not about the city but in connection with the non-urban (non-ville), where urban reality disappeared. Because it is known that

the first examples of the industry came close to energy resources, raw materials, and labor reserves [17]. However, it can be said that there are two important reasons for finding the origins of the neoliberal city here. First, the industrial era laid the foundation for the accumulation economy. Secondly, industry approached the cities after a while and came close to capital, capitalists, markets, and cheap labor power. With its first examples, the formless industrial city increases the exchanges by increasing the commercial growth with the production growth, and as Lefebvre stated in his life spanning the neoliberal city; “..from barter to the world market, from the simple exchange between two individuals to the exchange of products, works, ideas or even people.” [17]. With the industrialization of the cities, it can be observed that a culture of accumulation prevails and develops in every aspect of the city along with this process. Like Lefebvre, who sees the city as a process of accumulation in terms of a continuous unit, Harvey characterizes capital as a process, not a thing [17,18].

Although today's city has its origins in the Industrial Revolution in terms of production style and accumulation culture aspects, this premise alone is not enough to explain the aspects of today's city. Therefore, it seems especially important to understand how the accumulation economy accompanies this process and what structures the new production forms and culture of accumulation gave birth to in this process, as well as the evolution and processes that the production style changed with the Industrial Revolution from the past to the present.

According to Harvey, this process has two fundamental parts and a clear breaking point. According to Harvey, the economic model, which is based on an almost archetypal capital accumulation called "capitalism" with an economic generalization from the Industrial Revolution to the present, and today called neoliberalism, has broken the space of the capitalist archetype. Harvey touched upon this distinction in his book "The Spaces of Capital" and divided the phase of the capitalist archetype into old-style and new-style capital accumulation models. He characterizes the old-style capital accumulation model with mass production on tape, mass political organization, and interventionist welfare state features. On the other hand, Harvey characterizes the new type of capital accumulation model with the search for niche markets, decentralization, spreading of production to different places, abandoning the interventionist policies of the nation-state, liberalization, and privatization [19]. This distinction made by Harvey can also be read as the distinction between fordism and post-fordism.

When the changing production style with the Industrial Revolution went down to the cities and enabled the formation of the industrial city, it also caused the urban morphology to change. Lefebvre expressed this situation as a movement and stated that the industry's coming to the city caused the non-ville and the anti-ville to reveal “*an urban texture that would cover the remains of the pre-industrial city*” [17]. Lefebvre's reference to the “descend” of the industry to the city seems different in port cities. Port cities seem to be one of the first places of the new production revolution and non-ville. The industrialization of the port cities seems to have created the first urban criticisms and demands by changing the population and demographics (as did the industry coming from non-city to the city). This period is interesting as it is when the complaints about the physical and built environment first started, as Tanyeli reports. Although this situation is rare in the premodern world regarding physical comfort and hygiene, it started with the problematization of the poor's industrial spatiality, health, and housing conditions in 19th century Britain. The realization of the unhealthy conditions of working in an industrial environment, considering the social context of the spaces, provided the first laws to exist [20]. The beginning of the first examples of the social thinking of space in urban space with the Industrial Revolution has turned into a belief that sociality can be transformed through architecture, starting from the 20th century, as Tanyeli has stated [20]. Therefore, this period seems to be where the first criticism and urban demands of distinctive sense of community based on production in terms of physical comfort and hygiene were experienced.

The city is now becoming the space of production, demand, consumption, and dialectical relations between them. It can be said that demand has begun to emerge as an urban culture separate from the countryside. The main reasons for this can be shown as the city's continual construction and demolition process based on planning, as well as the suitability of the market, which diversifies with the developing production styles. This dialectical relationship seems to have started to develop within a distinctive urban sociality.

When talking about urban sociability, it is important to be aware of the contradiction of this sociability. Because what is called urban sociability does not imply a kind of collective work like rural and/or village life and/or mere cooperation and development. The contradiction of urban sociability stems from the fact that this sociability has increased the dependence of urban individuals on each other by specializing them in a specific field during the evolutions of capitalism. A similar situation can appear from the inter-individual to the inter-

institutional scale and from the local to the global. The origins of today's society/individual contradiction can be seen in the views of Hobbes, Locke, and de Smith, who built the basic teachings of the political and economic pillars of liberalism. In the successful quotation from Kazgan by Parlak and Öztürk, Adam Smith's views on the positioning of the individual in liberalism are clear. According to Smith, man always takes care of his interests and acts accordingly. People who try their best to realize their interests are gradually becoming "experts" in their field [21]. Therefore, the situation in question continued increasingly until neoliberalism, the last stage of capitalism. In addition, different parameters have been added to the sociability/individuality contradiction.

In the above quote from Harvey, the search for a niche market, decentralization, the spread of production to different places, and the withdrawal of the state from the market, as well as the liberalization and privatization policies, are specified as the features of the new type of capital accumulation model, still seem to be valid today. But the manifestation of these features is interesting. Especially with the spread of production to different places and the developing technology, the digitalization of physical and non-physical production and the service sector seems to have carried the urban working people to a completely different point. New forms of production and service seem to have liberated working life in terms of time and space. However, in Yılmaz and Genel's quote from Brown, neoliberalism's attitude towards the individual is apparent. According to Brown,

The neoliberal mindset turns every person into human capital/venture capital that is self-investing, self-responsible, constantly competing with other capital assets, and dedicated solely to pursuing their value and interest [22].

Neoliberalism expects the individual to be competitive in every field. Therefore, managing the employee in the neoliberal working life becomes the individual's self-management. Although this situation seems to realize the "free individual", which is the most fundamental doctrine of liberalism, the individual turns into a complete production-consumption machine both in the process of specialization and after specialization. So much so that the competition and specialization of the individual seem to have even turned into a worldwide market such as digital (online education). Every day, many people from all over the world want to improve themselves through online training constantly. People who do not currently have a field of expertise participate in many activities such as training, conferences, workshops, and seminars to specialize in a subject, and those who are experts develop themselves in a much

more niche way. Along with all these, the competitive environment has become global rather than local for the individual. The individual mostly feels in a global competition in his field, not in his local society. For this reason, it keeps itself updated by following the global developments in its channel, improving its language skills, and sometimes doing international business.

Naturally, this competitive environment regarding the individual should not be considered an indicator of the lifestyle of all individuals in the neoliberal city. The competitive environment for individuals is manifested in local and global forms in a palimpsest way, one after the other and at the same time. If general employment is analyzed in the context of neoliberal policies, it is seen that these policies strengthen global capital. The competitive environment between individuals also exists for the entire private sector. Therefore, constantly trying to reduce costs, the effort to provide the most efficient production and service, and therefore low wages and informal employment, cause the lowest cost employment form to be preferred [22]. With the advancement of technology, the need for the number of employees in many sectors is gradually narrowing, and the subsequent increase in the world population also lowers the basal point in the consent mechanisms of individuals to work in a particular job. Although there are opposite situations in global companies that try to increase employee productivity by ensuring employee satisfaction, this situation accelerates the poor working conditions in small-scale companies and the process of readily accepting these conditions.

In addition to all these, the meaning of work has evolved since the Industrial Revolution. New channels such as information production, digital production, electronic commerce, and financial markets have emerged in post-industrial societies [23]. Such an environment has led to the development of individual strategies and specializations on working less and earning more and created the leisure economy as a common point where flexible production style and diversified market meet. As a matter of fact, the urban manifestations of the so-called leisure economy are so numerous and evident that the contribution of this economy to the city is taken into account to be examined in the next part of the chapter. At this point, the effects of neoliberalism and its companion Postmodernism on the leisure economy can be seen. As Harvey states, the pluralizing effect of Postmodernism [9] produces niche areas and markets where people can express their individuality in the urban environment, especially within the leisure economy.

Understanding the individual and society of the neoliberal city will give meaning to the physical environment of the individual and society before addressing the more physical conditions of how the city is morphologically structured in neoliberal conditions. Therefore, it seems essential to deal with the individual of the urban environment in terms of his mental life, the working conditions that cover a large part of his life time and the economic conditions surrounding him.

Georg Simmel points out an essential difference between the mode of exchange in the province and the metropolis. According to Simmel, money is concerned with the common things that everyone has, and every individual and attribute is "How much money?" [24] brings it down to the question. This is how metropolitan people treat their sellers, customers, or servants, and almost everyone who needs to have social relations. In more primitive conditions such as rural areas and small economic groups, the contrast between the service/goods sold and paid requires a specific balancing between the seller and the buyer with individual-behavioral subtleties, and mostly the buyer and seller know each other [24]. Such a difference clarifies many aspects of the individual. Although Simmel used the expression metropolitan city for its context while conveying these conditions, today, neoliberal cities are also called metropolises, and the environmental conditions conveyed by Simmel perfectly match the neoliberal urban conditions.

Studies in the literature on social psychology and consumer culture also give essential ideas about the psychology of the micro and macro groups to which the neoliberal urban people belong, at the intersection of social psychology and neoliberalism. For example, McDonald, Wearing, and Gough discussed social psychology and consumer culture in the light of neoliberal economic policy and presented results that could give essential ideas about the psychological face of existing neoliberal cities. The consumption culture caused by neoliberalism makes the consumption products in the market essential and valuable on their own. McDonald et al., who stated that this importance and value is related to the social effect that the buyer wants to create and the self-identity values he wants to reveal, rather than being a value arising from the function of the consumer product, state that economic tendencies are now shaped according to this kind of psychology. They stated that there are three main topics at the intersection of the concepts of neoliberalism, consumer culture, social psychology, and self-identity. McDonald et al. stated these titles as (1) commodification of self-identity, (2) social categories, culture, and power relations, and (3)

self-regulated consumer management. As an example to show that the sustainability of the current structure is only possible with consumption, President George W. Bush's discourse that will stabilize the economy for the American economy, which went into recession after the September 11 World Trade Center and Pentagon bombings, was given as an example by McDonald and others. President George W. Bush has called on the American people to continue consuming for the American economy, which is in recession [25].

With his determinations that contribute to the understanding of the psychological geography of neoliberalism, Beattie defines neoliberalism as a wealth meritocracy and psychological experiment where people develop under conditions of free competition and rewards are given according to everyone's ability and stated that while the economic aspects of neoliberalism are emphasized, less attention is paid to its psychological effects [26]. Indeed, the free market seems to have had quite an enormous impact on the psychogeography of neoliberalism. Especially before neoliberalism, the principle of "basic well-being of its citizens", which the welfare state saw as its responsibility, was abandoned in the neoliberal period, and people were left entirely alone in meeting all their needs. Those who lost the essential services that the state prioritized for individuals in the welfare state had to meet them on their own in the free market. In addition to the competitive pressure of the neoliberal ecosystem, individuals have to provide the socio-economic budget where all these basic needs can be met. Therefore, it can be said that the social burdens that the welfare state had taken from the shoulders of the citizens in the past fell on the shoulders of the people in the neoliberal era.

Beattie also made essential determinations to make sense of the psychogeography of neoliberalism. In this sense, neoliberalism asserts the "desire for freedom" as the defining psychological characteristic of individuals (consumers). Moreover, neoliberalism fulfills this psychological need economically. In practice, as Beattie quotes Anderson, the private property creates positive freedom for the owner. This positive freedom becomes functional and meaningful, especially with the freedom to act voluntarily on one's property and to do what one wants on his property. However, unlike the group in which this freedom is recognized, a decrease in freedom is observed for everyone else. Neoliberalism can sustain itself by using this environment of unequal freedoms and the possibilities of doing and being free unequally. Economic inequality encourages individuals whose freedom is restricted

under neoliberalism to create more productivity, innovation, and wealth. Therefore, these inequalities seem beneficial for the system's sustainability in a sense [26].

Therefore, it is seen that the will for freedom comes to the forefront in the psychogeography of neoliberalism. Cities governed by neoliberal policies are synonymous with the name metropolis. Metropolises are generally seen as a land of opportunities in many different subjects and have created the image of freedom in many subjects. Bu imgeye serbest piyasanın nişleşmesi de katkı sunmuştur. In this way, making economic expenditures to represent one's social capital has caused people with similar social capital to form micro and macro subgroups in metropolises, turning them into target audiences for the market. On the other hand, people felt free by being divided into various subcultures; in this sense, it seems that the feeling of freedom continued to move the market. In line with individual and micro and/or macro group representations of social capital and their contribution to the image of freedom, Beattie stated that markets have the ability to produce outputs related to desires effectively [26]. Considering that the investments that will have the necessary data to produce these desires within the scope of the neoliberal knowledge economy are considered, this finding seems entirely appropriate. Beattie stated that limited goods and services in the market would be distributed according to the total human needs, wants, and desires. Again, Beattie explains this with an extreme example, stating that another benefit of the unequal environment brought by neoliberalism in terms of self-sustainability is that since there is no agglomeration in any social segment, all goods and services can be produced for all socio-economic groups. For example, if children disproportionately owned wealth, the output of the market system would be predominantly toys and sweets. Therefore, other minority groups could not benefit adequately from goods and services. Parallel to this, with a quotation from Foucault, it is stated that inequality means more than justice for neoliberal thinkers and that inequality also has an instrumental value. Therefore, neoliberal governments must let inequality work; there must be salaries large and small, as are those who work and those who do not. Inequality is seen here not as a fault but as a fundamental feature of neoliberalism. Inequality sends irreplaceable signals about what society values and wants more. This pushes market participants to produce more than is valued higher. In addition, starting from Mirowski, it is thought that the inequality of jealousy encourages people to work and produce more and causes economic dynamism [26].

This section it is aimed to clarify the neoliberal individual, society, market, and psychogeography in order to understand the non-physical ecosystem of neoliberal cities. Understanding the conditions that constitute the partnership element in the physical geographies and cartographies of neoliberal cities seems to be very important and helpful in making a holistic sense of neoliberal cities that constitute the spatial scope of the thesis. Therefore, after this section, in which non-physical conditions and structures are explained, neoliberal city's physical and cartographic conditions will be presented.

2.1.3. Physical Conditions of Neoliberal Cities

When it comes to the physical conditions of the neoliberal city, these conditions vary according to the geography where the neoliberal city is located and the political mechanisms on the national and local scale. However, some structural partnerships in these cities, described as neoliberal, also re-establish the commonality of the neoliberal adjective.

First, the praxis of urban planning is broken under the influence of neoliberalism and the postmodernity that came with it. As Ersoy pointed out, there are two main strategies within the scope of urban planning of the welfare state strategies, which started after the Second World War and continued to dominate until the early 1980s. The first of these seems to be the centralist role of the state in the planning processes. The second is that state-sponsored city planning boards are seen as a strategic tool to give direction to the development process [27]. Ersoy's findings seem correct in this sense. Because, especially after the Second World War, many states tried to plan and shape their cities long-term. In particular, comprehensive and long-term planning approaches can also be seen as a product of Modernism.

After the Second World War, especially at the beginning of the 1960s, also seems to be an exciting period in the history of architecture. As Sevinç stated, these dates coincide with the historical interval in which the most imaginary (utopian) projects were seen in the field of architecture. Again, as Sevinç quotes from Buck-Morss, the twentieth century is seen as the century of constructing mass utopias in both capitalist and socialist forms. This intense utopia project period, which manifests as a collective dream, seems to show the collective's audacity to build a new social world [28]. After the Second World War, criticism of Modernism intensified, and the rapid industrialization experienced after the war led to the imagination of the future through utopias. In an environment where the urban population,

brought on by rapid industrialization, is constantly increasing logarithmically, urban planners, sociologists, and society have many concerns, such as that cities will become uninhabitable in a short time destroying agricultural areas and causing famine. The industrialization of cities seems to have emerged not as a planned transformation but as a result of production relations. As Sevinç quotes from Sennett, Sennett stated that in the middle-class suburbs of the 1950s, single-functional planning reached its most extreme example, and planners in other parts of the world imitated this bad style. Sennett draws attention to practices created by articulating garden cities, resembling satellite cities in a way, by abandoning the design of cities as a whole in the early 1960's [28]. Although the modern city, designed from one end to the other at once, seems a bit fragmented in this sense, the garden city model still seems quite modernist since it is both long-term and a part of state strategies. As Ersoy successfully conveys from Deckkler, the long-term, large-scale planning understandings called modernity, including the design of society in itself, have been criticized with the spread of Postmodernism and, as mentioned above, neoliberalism in the 1970s with media organizations on a social scale. In addition to such comprehensive planning, Garden City designs and Le Corbusier's top-down (suddenness/meta-narrative) urban designs have also been the focus of criticism [27].

The reason for this can be read through the partnership of neoliberalism with postmodernity. Long-term urban plans have difficulty adapting to the ever-changing market conditions of neoliberalism in a way that creates added value. However, Postmodernism frees itself from all metanarratives, including the city, by helping neoliberalism. Top-down city plans function as the imagination of a better city face and society for designers and urban planners. However, with the withdrawal of the state, it should also be liberated from the rules of an urban planning that will adapt to the liberated market.

It seems possible to convey the commonalities regarding the physical conditions of neoliberal cities with the methods, strategies, and tactics of urban interventions. The commonality mentioned at this point is not the cartographic similarities in the planning of different neoliberal cities but the similarity of the intervention practices. Spolaor tried to read these similarities, especially through the concept of urban transformation, and moved the urban transformation debates that took place in the light of neoliberal policies from the global north, which was at the center of the English-speaking world to the global south. Spolaor stated that in urban transformations in the light of neoliberal policies made,

especially in the global south, central and local governments determine the conditions by foreseeing the realization of urban renewal and / or creating opportunities for the realization of urban renewal. Starting from this example, Spolaor points out the role played by the relationship between the state and the real estate market in neoliberal politics [29]. As Theodore quotes Peck and Brenner Lipietz, he states that the dynamic of creative destruction never takes place through tabula rasa, in which the old order is suddenly destroyed, and the new order is revealed as a fully matured unity. Instead, they noted that designed spaces constantly interact with inherited regulatory structures in a conflictual way, and as a result, new, unprecedented, and often unstable layers of politico-economic space develop within conflicting institutional spaces. The urban changes that will emerge due to the fusion and interaction of inherited and newly formed institutional arrangements have also led to creative destruction processes that will define the political spaces to be articulated and mobilized by the struggles that will develop regarding the regulation of accumulation and related conflicts. These processes of creative destruction seem to have diminished, almost with the processes that began in the first half of the 1970s and triggered the acceptance of neoliberalism. However, it should also be remembered that the institutionally destructive neoliberalism of the 1980s, which can be called the early stages of neoliberalism, was replaced by the new neoliberal urbanization, which over time has today unequally distributed market shares, maintained the continuous accumulation of competitive wealth, and has now built non-market forms of coordination [30]. Therefore, it can be said that the positive potentials of neoliberalism regarding creative destruction have evolved gradually since the 1980s and that cities that can be considered as the place of neoliberal practices have turned into an autocracy of interests formed as a result of the cooperation of capital with politics. Çitçi stated that cities have almost become an arena for local governments, municipalities, and private entrepreneurs in the neoliberal system and that they are the main subjects of spatial tension in cities. As Çitçi conveys through Harper, the development of new urban governance strategies has started to create postmodern urban landscapes together with economic activities. In this context, there can be many examples where governments and/or bureaucratic representatives destroy or deteriorate the planning rules to implement the projects they develop on the urban plane quickly. What Çitçi conveyed from Hackney on the subject is that the loosening of the planning rules is to set up a deliberate playground for the shareholders. In such developments, it can often be seen that local governments pursue their interests. Thus, the neoliberal city has experienced regression in infrastructure, public

service, green space, beautiful scenery, convenient roads, and public transport systems, which Hackney has entitled this situation as "building boom" [31].

Hendricks uses the concept of post-industrial for the capitalist stage that has developed since the mid-1970's [32]. Within the scope of the thesis, this capitalist stage is described as the stage in which neoliberalism develops, and it is stated that it should be considered not only as an economic policy but also together with concepts such as Postmodernism and globalization that date to similar periods. Hendricks uses the concept of Postmodernism for the cultural aspect of the post-1970 period, which he calls the post-fordist period, using post-Fordism only in an economic sense. He states that, especially in this phase, cities have experienced profound economic, cultural, social, and spatial changes and that exceeding technical limits contributes to this process. Stating that these transformations have turned cities into information cities, Hendricks stated that through Castells, information cities are strategic decision-making centers for production processes that take place elsewhere. Hendricks explained that intense activities in this sense are invested in cities, such as technopoles, science parks, universities, archives, museums, and other facilities that can attract knowledge workers. In this context, an amicable settlement and resting environment has become an essential asset for cities, and it has become necessary to meet the entertainment standards of highly educated and relatively individualistic knowledge workers [32]. Therefore, the ecosystem of today's leisure economy has also developed in relation to the new urban inhabitants of the post-industrial era, knowledge workers (which can also be called white-collar in common sense). It can be said that this situation creates a similar texture in neoliberal cities in different geographies. Because, ultimately, considering that the neoliberal cities, where the knowledge economy exists, are also in a global race, it can be said that the economy is an ecosystem of possibilities, where the economy is almost deregulated through the free market and the boundaries in the field of communication are removed. The six key elements that Parkinson and others argue that competitive cities should deliver seem to represent the international standards of today's city dwellers. Parkinson et al. put forward these six criteria: (a) human capital in high-tech sectors, (b) knowledge-based institutions, (c) cultural and environmental quality of life, (d) diversity of economic base, (e) adequate economic, physical and telecommunications links, and (f) institutional capacity for strategy formulation and implementation [32]. Of course, the policies created by every urban governance do not seem parallel to these criteria. As has been demonstrated before, the direct

relations of (local) governments with capital often seem to reverse the processes that will lead to improvements in these criteria. In addition, the excessive political visibility of cities due to reasons such as population density, increased communication in cities, and the relative political awareness of the citizens causes cities to become places of political performance in many countries. Again, in many neoliberal cities located in different geographies, the physical reflection of the decisions taken at the scale of national politics can be read, and this situation can be fully embodied from time to time through mega projects.

Of course, it only explains a particular common aspect of neoliberal cities by explaining a still more limited aspect of urban evolution that has been conveyed. After all, no neoliberal city consists of people (workers) working only in the knowledge economy and the sectors formed by the knowledge economy. However, the state of being a city of knowledge can still function as a benchmark in explaining another crucial common aspect of neoliberal cities. The state of being an information city can again serve as an origin in explaining and describing the diversity and niche of services and goods seen in many neoliberal cities today.

An important partnership that creates the physical aspects of neoliberal cities can also be seen as gentrification policies. Smith touched upon this issue specifically for neoliberal global cities and stated that the vision of gentrification remained within the general framework defined by Ruth Glass in the 1960s but pointed out that this understanding underwent a kind of paradigm shift after the 1980s. Here is Glass's almost poetic statement that gentrification is an isolated process:

One by one, many of the working-class quarters of London have been invaded by the middle classes – upper and lower. Shabby modest mews and cottages – two rooms up and two down – have been taken over, when their leases have expired, and have become elegant, expensive residences. Larger Victorian houses, downgraded in an earlier or recent period – which were used as lodging houses or were otherwise in multiple occupation – have been upgraded once again... Once this process of “gentrification” starts in a district it goes on rapidly until almost all of the original working-class occupiers are displaced and the whole social character of the district is changed [33].

Glass has described the new process by which the new urban noble class transforms working-class districts. In contrast, Smith cites an updated statement from London 35 years after Glass. Some of the “Urban Renaissance” resolutions published in 1999 by the Urban

Task Force, a particular working group appointed by the UK Department of the Environment, Transport and the Regions (DETR), are as follows:

The Urban Task Force will identify causes of urban decline ... and practical solutions to bring people back into our cities, towns, and urban neighborhoods. It will establish a new vision for urban regeneration.. (Over the next twenty five years) 60% of new dwellings should be built on previously developed land ... We have lost control of our towns and cities, allowing them to become spoilt by poor design, economic dispersal, and social polarisation. The beginning of the 21st century is a moment of change (offering) the opportunity for an urban renaissance [33].

The most striking point Smith sees between these two statements, which are 35 years apart, is the dramatic expansion of the scale of his passion for urban reconstruction. In western cities, state-sponsored post-war urban renewal fostered diffuse private-market gentrification. However, since the 1980s, gentrification has meant intensified privatization of the land and housing market in urban centers, followed by large-scale and multifaceted urban renewal plans. In addition, while the actors of the gentrification described by Glass were the middle and upper-middle class who moved to the neighborhood, 35 years later, the actors of gentrification have become governments and companies with governments and company partnerships [33].

Smith points out the difference between the two types of gentrification. However, as Sönmez points out, Smith seems to have remained very faithful to Ruth Glass's definition while addressing the concept of gentrification. So much so that in his 1982 work, Smith distinguishes between the traditional concepts of gentrification and redevelopment. By revealing this difference, Smith argued that what he meant by gentrification was the middle, middle-upper classes or professional developers take and rehabilitate working-class housing areas and met the concept of redevelopment to build a new building on a previously developed area [34]. Despite this difference put forward by Smith, the demolition and reconstruction of already developed places in urban centers due to rent is generally included in the concept of gentrification in the literature today. One of the reasons for this is the typical result of the concepts of gentrification and redevelopment put forward by Smith (the concept of gentrification is used in a large part of the literature for both today), and "displacement" is encountered in cities.

The phenomenon of displacement seems to have affected the fabric of many neoliberal cities with similar local consequences. However, before coming to what displacement is and its urban consequences, it is helpful to dwell a little more on the concept of gentrification and neoliberal urban planning.

Tasan-Kok states that the concepts of neoliberalization and planning are rarely heard in the same sentence and that many planners see the concept of neoliberal planning as a contradiction (oxymoron) or as an expression of giving up on planning. Despite all these views, Tasan-Kok states that neoliberal urban planning is a reality, just like neoliberal cities are. According to Tasan-Kok, the principal contradiction is the contradictions that emerged in urban administrations as a result of urban planning becoming increasingly neoliberal and entrepreneurial. Although crime is mainly seen by the planners in the criticism of neoliberal urban planning, the increase in globalization creates two large groups in neoliberal cities. The first is large-scale projects developed by large-scale capital investors. This first group was almost mobilized to the cities. The second is seen as small-scale investors and the projects it develops. The first group, large capitalists, took the place of the second group, especially in urban centers. Planners, on the other hand, provide compulsory service to this area [35].

Of course, the aim at this point should not be seen as justifying neoliberal urban planning processes. However, looking for the problem in the planners here may mean ignoring the main actors and relations that cause the current result. As Tasan-Kok stated, the contradictions created by neoliberal urban governance in the land and real estate market, law, urban design, and economy and the actors emerging in this context can be seen as the main reason for this. Again, as Tasan-Kok quotes from Altshuler, he stated that extensive land use was made in the 1950s and that this practice began to be criticized by the Albretchs in the 1960s, and that rapid solutions to social problems could not be created due to the bureaucratic process it involved; means more flexible planning practices are being adopted. Following this, Tasan-Kok, through Healey and Williams, reported that the planning discipline, which was constantly loosened until the 1980s, was convinced that the planning had to be constantly revised to incorporate new information and events into the planning, thanks to the Anglo-American experiences. As a result, flexible, short or medium-term planning; has replaced slow, long-term end-state planning. Many urban planners supported strategic spatial planning in the early 1990s, despite the chaos concerns of new planning

approaches, rapid, random, and fragmented planning. All these developments left the boundaries of urban planning ambiguous in the 2000s. The planning profession seems to lack clear boundaries and an identifiable identity, which is observed both in urban planning and the literature [35].

Although professional planners do not have much to do due to blurred professional boundaries, the blurred relationship of other public actors involved in planning with capital seems to have made the concept of urban planning an oxymoron. The aim of stretching the result-oriented, long-term, and slow planning approach for the first time in the 1960s is seen as a goal to stay up-to-date against new social problems, unexpected events, and new information that arise in the city. The stretching of planning has continued to this day. At the point reached today, planning, with the surrounding local government, legal system, and neoliberal policies from local to national, mainly creates a relaxing effect on the action of significant capital projects in the city.

Now, it seems important to look again at the concept of gentrification and the concept of urban transformation from this perspective.

As Sam points out, the restructuring of the parts of cities that have collapsed physically and socially over time is expressed with concepts such as urban renewal, urban transformation, urban preservation, urban revitalization, and gentrification. Again, as Sam stated, this situation changes the social class and property structure in the settlements, and in this context, it can be called socio-economic renewal [36].

This social renewal leads to a series of consequences. First, by changing the property relations in the city center, it strengthens the people who already have substantial capital. Because, as Sam stated, the concept of rent difference attributes two different values to land in the city. One of these values is potential rent, and the other is real rent. Potential rent is generated by the highest and most efficient future use of the land, while actual rent depends on the land's current use [36].

Sönmez gives an example of this situation by quoting Lees about the reorganization of the city and the displacement of 1.25 million people during the preparation stage for the Olympic Games in Beijing in 2008. As seen in the Beijing example, gentrification causes both displacements and, thus, a socio-cultural renewal. In addition, as Sönmez points out, he

states that the renewed area causes it to be erased from the urban geography and thus from the urban memory [34].

Therefore, the current “ad hoc” urban planning increases urban inequality, transforms property relations in favor of capital, and the socio-spatial fiction of the city emerges as a product of capital-public relations, not planning. In addition, the endless renewal and transformations make a specific socio-cultural segment almost nomadic and erase and construct the urban memory by turning the local relations in the region upside down.

In the continuation of the essential elements that make up the physical face of neoliberal cities, understanding the city right will help understand the urban nature of the inequalities created by these elements in the next heading.

2.2. RIGHT TO THE CITY

2.2.1. The Meaning of the Right to the City and Its Historical Development Until the Neoliberal Period

In order to understand the concept of the city right, it seems necessary to examine the legal-historical development of this concept and make sense of it in the context of the city from past to present. Although the concepts remain the same, their meanings harmonize with the current cultural, geographical, and political conjunctures. Therefore, throughout the thesis, it is essential to determine what this concept corresponds to in the neoliberal city, accepted as the urban spatial criterion.

Before considering the starting point of the city right, it is essential to understand the meaning of the word right in the legal dimension. As Çalık quotes from Oğuzman,

... a right is an interest that is legally protected and whose owner is authorized to benefit from this protection [37].

The meanings of the concept of right in the philosophical and sociological context are much more comprehensive than its relative legal expression. Philosophically, right appears to be relatively indecisive in deciding what is right or wrong. For example, a personal insult against injustice may be justified and/or unfair in a philosophical sense. In its sociological

context, the right arises from the connection established between the individual and the social organization; therefore, it characterizes a status of interest that gains importance in the formation of the dynamics of the society but must also be protected by law [37].

The rawest form of the concept of right is shaped by the innate rights, that is, the rights given a priori with the birth of the person. Although the thoughts and ideas about birthrights can go back to the 5th century BC, the ideas about birthrights remained in a limited philosophical community for a long time from these centuries and could not find reflection in society. However, starting from Plato until the 17th century, although rights were granted to specific groups, it seems impossible to talk about a fundamental right concept that spread to large masses of people. Although the rights at this stage seem to constitute the basis of "human rights" in the literature within the framework of innate rights, even after the "Magna Carta", which can be said to refer to these rights in the broadest framework, slaves were excluded from the granted rights [37].

Today, when the concept of human rights is used, it refers to the primary texts that determine international rules, such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948, the European Convention of Human Rights of 1950, and the Paris Charter guaranteed by international treaties. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, as a title separate from the territorial nature of other treaties, reveals its validity and legitimacy for all peoples and nations. Considering the content of the declaration, it states that everyone is equal before the law within the scope of the right to life, personal freedom, and security, regardless of language, religion, race, gender, and political discrimination, utterly independent of the sovereignty conditions of the country in which they live. In addition, it argues that no one's private life, fundamental freedoms, freedom of movement and residence, property rights, freedom of thought, religion and conscience, assembly and association, and unconditional access to basic living standards cannot be restricted [38].

Although the rights covered by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which draws the boundaries of the personal nature of living humanely, seem to transcend time and geography, the extent to which the articles of the declaration have been realized in the period from 1948 to the present will be discussed in the next part of the section about the city right.

Although the history of human rights can be traced back to much earlier, the modern understanding of human rights as we understand it today and its expression in positive legal

texts corresponds to a little more than two centuries. The mentioned process is divided into three distinct generations in the literature; the main difference between these generations expresses the fundamental breakdowns in developing the understanding of human rights [8]. While first-generation rights ensure the political rights of individuals and societies, second-generation rights include economic, social, and cultural rights, and third-generation rights include solidarity rights. Especially after the Second World War, social problems were moved from the local scale to the global scale, the common issues of the communities were problematized internationally for the first time, and this problematization was again answered with international treaty texts [2].

It can be observed that universal human rights have assumed a collective character with the third generation rights. As Ökmen quotes from Topçuoğlu,

Human rights and peoples' rights are actually dependent concepts, and one complements the other. Because in order for human rights to be institutionalized, the active participation of all groups, communities, and people as well as individuals is required [8].

These third-generation rights, which have an impact from the global to the local, have affected the more specific expansion of the rights related to the collective. It has been understood that material and spiritual well-being can be reached, and the possibility of a humane life is possible by providing these rights together with the group of the person, without completely denying the concept of human rights and their individuality. Third-generation rights, which developed mainly after the second half of the twentieth century, have been classified under titles such as the right to environment, the right to development, the right to peace, and the right to benefit from the common heritage of humanity [2].

In this classification, the right to the environment is remarkable for the scope of the thesis, with its close relationship with the city right. Furthermore, the right to the environment, stated by Gönüllü as *"an expression of the right to live in a healthy and balanced environment"*, seems to be an advanced extension of the right to life, which is included in the context of fundamental human rights [2]. Again, as a distinctive element that Volunteer mentioned about the right to environment, the right to the environment does cover not only contemporaneous generations but also future generations. At this point, when it is considered that the actions of the past create the present environmental problems, it can be said that the right to the environment includes even the past generations by reaching a sense of

responsibility that also includes the past generations. The fact that being healthy was included in the scope of fundamental rights as a part of equality with the law of the World Health Organization, which came into force in 1946, caused the right to the environment to be considered, especially within the scope of the right to health until 1970. However, as of 1970, with the realization that ecological problems are a problem in the global commons, the right to the environment began to be evaluated as an autonomous area, guaranteed by international treaties [2].

The city right also establishes close compatibility with the right to the environment. Both seem to have undertaken the duty of demanding the rights that determine the health and balance of the habitat and the implementation of these rights. However, the environmental right, mainly the right to life and health, takes the habitat to a different point from the individual scale of human rights and/or the freedom of collectives by problematizing ecological disasters. Although the Right to Environment is still concerned with the provision and enforcement of rights on an individual and collective scale, it seems to have made the sustainability of an ecological planetary existence its subject. Although the city right establishes definite and close ties with the right to the environment, the city completely intersects with the concept of human rights as the place of demand and direct application of all rights. The city right consists of taking all these individual and collective rights together with the urban context.

Identifying a historic milestone on the city right seems helpful to base the current understanding of the city right. The literature (Lefebvre, Harvey, Castells, et al.) generally set the cornerstone of the city right in the Paris Commune. Although it is beyond the scope of the thesis to give the history of the events that gave birth to the Paris Commune, as Harvey stated, the Paris Commune is partially united with the longing for the city life that Haussmann destroyed and the desire of the people who were dispossessed due to these activities to take the city back [39]. As one of the meanings of the Paris Commune, Lefebvre indicates the return of the workers who were thrown into the suburbs and the peripheries to the city center and states that Haussman could not reach his goal in this sense [40]. As Castells stated, Haussman's city planning consists of wide and straight streets that do not allow the control of cavalry, the use of gun bullets, and any barricades [41]. Gönüllü states that Castells handled the Paris Commune at three different levels. The first level is Castells' view of the Commune as an urban revolution [2]. Indeed, Castells presents this phenomenon

with historical facts about the Commune in his book “The City and The Grassroots”. Although the rural population was limited to thousands of weak, unorganized ties, they could be liberated by the cities, and the cities were tied to Paris, which was also the capital of the time. As the first demand of the commune, they wanted the liberation of the municipalities and said, “We are the society” against Louis XIV, who said, “I am the state”. Thus, by responding to the centralism of the French state with local civil society centralism, they provided the opportunity to liberate from the local to the national, with the urban demands of the locals, despite the Parliament's threat to move the capital from Paris [41]. Gönüllü also argued that the second level of Castells' handling of the Paris Commune is the worker demands of the developing urban class [2]. Underlining that this is a municipal revolution, in particular, Castells stated that the decisions of the Commune are the election of the municipality, the complete and absolute establishment of individual freedom, freedom of conscience and freedom of work, and the citizens' interference in social affairs by freely expressing their opinions and defending their interests freely [41]. Gönüllü stated that at the third level, Castells' handling of the Paris Commune, along with industrialization, sees the city as necessary for political culture [2]. This is since the ties in the city are strong enough to establish an organization, in contrast to the weak but more numerous connections of the countryside mentioned above. It can be said that the first spatial demands and criticisms emerged in the ever-changing urban environment with the Industrial Revolution, stemming from the adoption of the city as the most prominent field of action by the governments.

The Marxist philosopher Henri Lefebvre played an essential role in bringing the concept of the city right to the literature instead of another concept such as the right to space, which would include rural space. As one of the first to lay the groundwork for the area covered by the concept of the city right in the established literature, Lefebvre, with Mitchell's transfer, formed the basis of his argumentation about public space and social justice with cities. Lefebvre's insistence on the city right developed especially with his disdainful view of the privacy, isolation, and homogeneity in the essence of rural and village life, and on the other hand, he found cities to be public [42]. The actual projections of Lefebvre's insistence on the city right, not specifically to space, have also been recorded by history. In this context, social movements in history are observed mainly in cities. Examining the urban struggles in the Paris Metropolitan Area between 1968-1973 as an example, Castells conducted a pilot study on 180 urban struggles in this date range alone [43]. One hundred eighty urban struggles in

five years for the city of Paris, which can be accepted as neoliberal today after going through many capitalist processes, can be evaluated numerically as one of the accurate historical projections of this acceptance. Of course, it is not a coincidence that the city right began to enter the literature with the Paris Commune, which is one of the first inclusive examples of the resistance movements regarding the city right and has been mentioned above.

The homogeneous structure of the village and the countryside, the heterogeneous structure of the city, the village/rural life, the different habits of different individuals and groups, their past lives, future projections, and goals; Since it is suitable for areas where the distinct power of the state and different power organs can be felt relatively more, different cultures, lifestyles and economic diversity with them, it causes differences to meet with each other as well as differences with powers, and this causes struggles.

As a result of all these reasons, the city has gained the privilege of being both a place of demand for its rights and a place transformed through the demanded right. Through this means, they have become places where human rights have developed (or will find) priority application areas. While a decision about the city is sometimes about a concrete urban design, it can be about the freedom to take any action in a particular place. At this point, the question of who owns the cities is a multi-layered and complex question that cannot be answered as "yes, they are local governments" and/or "yes, they are the people, they are the public". However, it can be said that the question of "who owns the cities" has a quality that helps determine the demanding, hindering, and decision-making factors. Therefore, the question of who owns the city, which is quite ambiguous, will be investigated, and the tension between the city's actors and the claim of rights and the granting of the right will be revealed.

The question of who owns the cities and/or who is the owner of the cities remains a complex and ambiguous question, however obvious it may seem. Even though the question does not have the characteristic of registering the city's ownership with its answer, it seems to help to understand the urban actors and their position. At this point, it is possible to start thinking about the rights that are owning something gives a person. Because the relationship between the thing and its owner, whatever the thing is, it cannot be read independently of the rights of the person who is claimed to be the owner of the thing.

Therefore, to make an explanation about what it means to have the city, first of all, requires answering who has what rights over the city. Then, the question of who has these rights (which rights) and who does not can be asked to find the city's owner(s).

The recognition/granting and/or taking of rights is implemented by the states/administrations of many countries. The motivation for making these decisions can be divided into two formal and informal. The state can make decisions about granting rights/taking rights/not giving rights together with its organs. On the other hand, "right" as demand and desire is also demanded by communities. Looking at the history of acquired rights, the process of needing and demanding the right can generally be said to have a history that can be read as the history of the struggle for rights. As the place of claiming and demanding rights, the city can create supportive or obstructive elements to express this demand with its existing structure. Especially the public spaces of the cities have been where claims and demands for rights are expressed throughout history.

In this sense, it seems helpful to divide the urban space into two when an evaluation is made about to whom or to whom the city belongs. This partitioning can be done in the form of public spaces, which are expressed with many qualities in the literature and can be seen as the spaces for the expression of the society/masses itself, and (private) property areas, which are prominent expressions of ownership. Therefore, it seems helpful to deal with the problem as mentioned earlier of "who has how much right in the city" from among these two basic space formats in the city through the public sphere.

Although private property is criticized in the literature, especially by Marxist sociologists and planners in the discussions of the city and the city right, the problems, and criticisms of private property are partially excluded within the scope of this thesis, since the origin of the city right is grounded in the literature starting from the human rights on which the concept is based. It has been dealt with, especially with the aspects that permeate the public sphere. Articles 17.1 and 17.2 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights clearly state that everyone has the right to own property, alone or in partnership with others and that no one can be arbitrarily deprived of his property right.

Although the public domain is publicly owned, public ownership and state ownership are used synonymously. However, this synonymous use is based on the assumption that the state represents the whole of society [44]. In neoliberal cities, when it is considered that the private

sector owns most of the public spaces in the urban topography, the publicity the state provides to its citizens is incredibly beneficial. This assumption does not reflect reality in democracies and even in more autocratic states and/or other systems drawn from democracies. Nevertheless, it can be said that this basic assumption forms the basis of the battles for rights and the confrontation between the state and the police force of the state and the public in this area throughout the history of the public sphere. Therefore, it can be said that the battle for ownership of public space continues.

As Parkan quotes from Dworkin, Dworkin distinguishes between the concepts of principle and politics. Dworkin defines politics as "*the criterion that sets a goal to be reached*". This goal is usually based on improving the society's economic, political or social situation. Principle, on the other hand, is the criterion determined not because it will improve the desired economic, political or social situation but maintain compliance with criteria such as justice, righteousness, and morality. As Parkan stated, while increased precautions for security are an example of politics, the right to privacy is an example of the principle [45].

Those who make the politics of the majority and/or the powerful are also legislators and/or have a dominant say in the determination/structuring of laws. The state has the power to legislate, implement and intervene in the fight for rights in the urban space, which corresponds to the expression "public space" in the literature. The statements of Tocqueville on the subject are also interesting. Tocqueville;

As society becomes more civilized and stable over time, the different relationships between people increase in number and become more complex. So the need for civil laws is strongly felt. Then the lawyers appear; They emerge from the dark courtrooms and dusty corners of the court pens to take their place in the prince's palace alongside feudal barons with swords and shields draped in ermine furs [46].

In the light of all this, it is essential to look at the conflict of the state, which makes laws and gives and receives rights by this means, with the society in the urban area, which is expressed as public space. In a sense, this conflict can also be read as a conflict of city ownership. Therefore, cities seem to be able to answer the question of who is right through the dialectic of claiming/claiming/protesting rights and the blocking/permissive – challenging/soft – suppressive/protective position of the current authority against it. In order to give a statistical example of the conflict of the said social struggle with the state, the Human Rights

Foundation of Turkey's report of violations of freedom of assembly and demonstration covering the years 2015-2019 can be consulted.

In this report, 4771 incidents violating the freedom of protest, expressing the public aspect of the state and the public's war of rights, were identified between the years in question, and the majority of these detected cases took place in Ankara, İstanbul, and İzmir, respectively, the three big cities of Turkey where the effects of neoliberalism were directly experienced. An essential element is that while in 4542 of these cases, the violation of the assembly and demonstration occurred for a specific action, 229 notifications are based on the pre-prohibition of all possible gatherings and demonstrations by local governments such as provinces and districts for a particular time. Moreover, according to the report, the subjects and groups that were the violations target were generally from the opposition. In particular, these violations took place in a spectrum ranging from the issuance of decree-laws, the Kurdish issue, the rights of workers and women and LGBTI+, climate and environmental movements, secular education, and corruption [47].

Therefore, the question of whether the public space (which public space) belongs to the state or society seems to be constantly shifting on an axis with two ends, one end being society and the other end is the state under the influence of the current political conjuncture.

There are many critical perspectives on private property in the tense relationship between private property and the city right. In their book *The Communist Manifesto*, Marx and Engels stated that the concept of private property, which takes the immovables of the person in the city under state guarantee, should be abolished. They stated that everyone was horrified by the idea but that there is currently no such thing as private property for nine-tenths of the population [48].

Although the first thing that comes to mind when it comes to private property is personal residences, many public-looking places are also within the scope of private property in terms of the daily life practices of the neoliberal city, in which many people can go. Examples are shopping malls, parking lots, museums, galleries, amusement parks, and sometimes squares. Contrary to the views that the public interest is taken into account here, it can be seen that many actions taken on private property with public counterparts yield benefits to the person, institution, or organization that owns the private property. Besides, it is essential to

remember that it exists with rules that are sometimes invisible as they are taken for granted in daily practice.

Although in many neoliberal cities, zoning planning and implementation decisions are taken by administrators representing the public, as Özen states, these decisions are mainly made for the benefit of the influential people who hold urban land and territory ownership. In addition, the private property creates processes from which private property owners can benefit by causing land speculation, especially in neoliberal urban centers. Although it is contrary to the public and community benefits due to the development rights established on urban lands and terrains, this situation generally seems to be under the owner's control [49].

Looking at the situation in question with a case example from London will help embody the problem of private property. According to a report by Bradley L. Garret from The Guardian newspaper, London's parks and squares are struggling with a private property shortage. According to the news of Garret, the result of the privatizations carried out in Britain so far was seen in the 2011 London Occupy movements. When the protesters were removed from Paternoster Square, which they occupied to protest, by court order, it was understood that the square belonged to the "Mitsubishi" firm. This situation had created one of the most striking examples in the public that the rules imposed by the companies came before the laws and brought this issue to the agenda. However, as Garret also points out, the ownership of such pseudo-public spaces belonging to private companies in these areas is also concealed, and the rules imposed here have not been disclosed to the public. The person understands that the action is prohibited in these areas only when warned or interfered with due to his action. These areas have become oppressive and pseudo-public spaces where protest demonstrations, skaters or bikers, homeless people, and street musicians are not allowed [50].

So far, it is seen that private property and its affiliated individuals, institutions, and private companies, as well as the state alone, have a say in constructing the rules and style of the public sphere. At the same time, it is possible to see that society can win these areas temporarily and/or permanently with the urban struggle. Therefore, the answer to the debate about who owns the public spaces constantly varies according to the temporary/permanent results of the local struggles in these places.

It is essential to look after the Gezi Park process in Turkey, as it sets an example for local struggles' temporary and/or permanent achievements. Despite the 6th Administrative Court and the decisions of the Cultural and Natural Heritage Preservation Board No. 2, which appear under the ownership of the İBB in the Land Registry, the Artillery Barracks were rebuilt within the scope of the Taksim Pedestrianization Project. The actions that started on May 27 and spread throughout the country to protect Gezi Park against the destruction this project would cause temporarily ensured that this region was won. However, in the following process, the AKM, which represented the Gezi Park struggle, was demolished and rebuilt. Taksim Mosque was built in Gezi Park as a reflection of the public cultural policies of the current administration, and then Gezi Park was taken from the İBB and transferred to the Sultan Beyazıt Hanı Veli Holiness Foundation [51].

In this sense, it seems logical to attempt to explain the scope of the phenomenon called the city right, again with Lefebvre's concept of "oeuvre". With the explanation of Mitchell, Lefebvre's "oeuvre" concept of the city is a work formed with the participation of all citizens [42]. Reminding that the concept of "oeuvre" is used for all the works of an artist in art, Sadri mentions that the old city spaces, which are an imaginative and artistic product, are "oeuvre" and that contemporary urban spaces are transformed into a product designed for the cultural consumption of tourists, aestheticism, and the desire for image and illustration [52]. It seems that Özdemir handled the concept of "oeuvre" differently. Özdemir mentions that the logic of the market transforms urban qualities into the subject of exchange and states that the city is considered as a creation (i.e., as an "oeuvre"). Indeed, "oeuvre" appears as an urban creation. Talking about the nature of this creation means being aware of all the actors that contribute to the formation of the city as a set of creations [53].

Considering the actors that make up the "oeuvre" here, it can be said that, being aware of the urban struggles, there is a significant imbalance in the distribution of who these actors are. Emphasizing this imbalance, Mitchell states that the main problem of the oeuvre is alienation. Moreover, he points out that the "oeuvre" is oppressed by a class and a set of economic interests that are not interested in establishing differences as a typical habitat [42].

It seems helpful to examine the possibilities and obstacles of the neoliberal city in daily life to make it easier to draw the boundaries of the oeuvre concept, which Lefebvre used mainly for the city right and the plane of the city right in real projection.

First of all, it would be helpful to consider the city right, remembering that the right to the environment is to live in a healthy habitat. In a sense, the city has to offer people a physically and mentally healthy habitat as a collective construction. From a contrary point of view, every person has the right to live in a habitat that will preserve their physical and mental health. However, it can already be said that the construction of the neoliberal city is mainly under the pressure of the political conjuncture and the policies, political discourse, and economic interests. Therefore, these actors, who make up a very few percentages of the population of many cities, have the most significant share in creating the city's countenance. As Ertan and Ertan quote from Certeau, “*walking is to the city what speech is to language*” [3]. Talking about the significance of the act of walking here, Certeau constitutes an important starting point for the city right. The walking action of the person who will enable the direct movement of the body in the city, namely the citizen, brings to mind the pavements, boulevards, avenues, streets, and highways of the city. Addressing the nature of these urban elements, which can now be seen in every city built with neoliberal motives, will set a tangible example for the city right. Therefore, reading the city right, primarily through public spaces, seems to require a spatial reading of the necessity of establishing urban justice. The problem discussed below is discussed through streets, an essential and recurring pattern in the city's morphology.

2.2.2. Understanding the Right to the City through the Neoliberal Urban Topography

The public space, the most prominent expression of urban sociality, primarily brings streets and squares to mind. The network structure of the streets on a morphological city plane constitutes a general cover for cities. The dense intersections of the linearities that make up the network also create squares on this urban cover. The various functions of the unity of roads and squares form similar but unequal patterns with iterations. The building (occupancy), park, and land (void), as the basic units brought to mind by the expression built environment, seem to be spread in various forms, from very dense to sparse, in the intervals of this network pattern.

A city without streets and alleys is unthinkable. The street is a unique urban typology that is stepped on as soon as one exits the buildings, carries and drives the person from one place

to another, and has an economy and sociology of its own. In addition, it is related and active to the existing period, geography, and historical conditions.

Before moving on to the conditions of the street, it seems important to consider the dominant subject of the street/street/road. The street gains meaning with the texture surrounding it and appeals to its dominant subject. Although almost every street width, length, and surface are walkable for people, physiological walkability alone does not make the dominant subject a city dweller.

The subjects of inter-city connection roads and main urban arteries mostly appear as cars. However, streets and avenues in cities vary in a broader perspective. In distinguished districts, the street can be seen as a design element that transports and organizes between structural units and sometimes includes its landscape. In contrast, essential streets and streets in city centers can be seen as areas where the public voice is heard and the influence of power increases. In urban areas with a lower socio-economic level, a street is where all vital needs are met, and people socialize. Although the streets are a region that is experienced especially during the daytime, it can be said that the economy of the streets in the city center contains functions related to the service sector rather than the functions that meet the daily needs. Therefore, it can be said that urban centers, unlike distinguished and poor urban areas, usually keep their streets alive at night with the help of the street economy and service sector.

Lefebvre places particular emphasis on the spontaneous and irregular character of the street. Lefebvre, who stated that the city would be reduced to a dormitory when the streets were removed, stated that the symbolic function, game function, and informative function of the street, which the citizens claimed to be ignored by Le Corbusier, were vital, and that without these functions, city life would become dull and division and fragmentation would occur in the society [17].

As Weber has successfully quoted, Wilcox presents the street as a symbolic model of the city's problems. According to Wilcox, the street primarily represents the city's most significant financial problems. As the main reason for this, it shows that a free way can be provided in the street, which indicates the cooperation of the whole community.

Everybody on the street cooperates to provide equal opportunity for everybody [16].

In addition, Wilcox states that the control of the streets is the control of the city, emphasizing the restrictions on the rights of people on the streets with the privileges provided to specific individuals and companies [16].

As Özdemir quotes from Senett, while discussing publicity, Senett compared the publicity of the 19th-century city to a theater in that it resembles a foreign audience and contains acts of expression. In this context, Sennett drew attention to the similarities and contrasts between the street and the stage. The theater is not generally related to society but a particular type of society, especially the urban one. By establishing this partnership through the audience, it draws attention to the psychological acts of the public sphere by problematizing the differences between authenticity and sincerity, how to make oneself believable in a community where there are strangers, and whether to express or reveal/disclose oneself [53].

Especially the urban areas, where dense residential and commercial units are concentrated, are partitioned by streets. The location of the street that seeps into the entrances of the residential areas makes it different from other linear urban elements. Considering that the residential areas in the cities are separated mainly by land value, rent, political views, and sometimes even ethnic differences, side-by-side houses often (but not always) seem to hold together the close subjects of a whole urban demographic. The street has a quality that seeps into the entrance of each residential building in the district or neighborhood, bringing the private and the public together. According to the popularity of the region where the residence is located, the frequency of encountering individuals and communities on the street increases. Harvey paid special attention to the street. Sidewalks, the pedestrianized parts of the streets, are especially areas where the body comes into direct contact with the city. The pavement, and therefore the street, which has been mentioned many times in the criticism of security policies regarding the provision of security in the city, seems to provide security to the extent of the variety of social contact it allows. Harvey draws attention to minor pavement touches that are seemingly insignificant on the pavement but so vital to the city in the big picture [18]. Sitting at a bar for a beer, having short conversations with local business owners, petting someone's dog, meeting a neighbor and having a quick chat, greeting children for a drink at the door, and petting someone's baby are examples small sidewalk contacts. Ensuring such contacts in various ways causes both the ownership of the region and, therefore, a sense of belonging and that the individuals living there feel responsible for ensuring the region's security. It also provides spontaneous success in establishing a healthy

habitat in many aspects [18]. However, the instrumentalization of bodies by means of transport and their being secondary cause both the disconnected relationship of very high-rise residential buildings with the population and the ground and the establishment of weak pavement and street connections, which generally fail to carry all this load. This situation also causes the streets to be unaware and/or willingly ignore their functions other than transporting people and vehicles from one place to another. The fact that streets and pavements are unsuitable for the right to live in a healthy habitat seems to be one of the primary experiences of many city dwellers.

Similar considerations exist for sidewalks on major streets. However, streets seem to be one of the important elements of the urban showcase. In particular, avenues, unlike streets, host not only the residents of that region but also the residents of the near or far region according to popularity during the day and/or night. These seem to be locations where the citizens will encounter more others than the street (depending on the region). Therefore, the diversity in which pavements are carriers from street to street varies according to the region and popularity but generally increases.

These elements, which can be said to occupy as much space as the face of a built building in urban cartography, seem very important regarding the city's city right. As one of the most important requirements of being an urbanite in terms of keeping the public space alive, it is essential to ensure tolerance for the other, primarily through the possibilities of the avenue, streets, and the pavements there, as well as to ensure that the economic and social life exists effortlessly as the two major drivers of a living city. However, in many places, the narrowness of the pavement is designed in such a way that it will constantly interrupt the spontaneous and ordinary flow of daily life, although transportation vehicles such as electric scooters, which have become especially widespread in neoliberal cities recently, as well as bicycles, baby strollers, sitting areas overflowing the sidewalks and sidewalk landscapes, are necessary. The parties to this design, local governments, zoning lawmakers, businesses, and companies that establish their relations with the pavement, do not care about the touches that will not disrupt the diversity of the urban population. In addition to all these, cities have been designed in ways that will not allow and/or make this public solidarity difficult throughout the history of the city, for the rights of demonstration, march, and protest, which is one of the important urban rights and an important indicator of urban reality in every period.

Therefore, the city's inhabitants seem to be in a passive position in the general continuity of their relations with this area.

Although there are different approaches to urban streets like the ones mentioned above, as a common point, it can be said that the street is one of the basic spaces of urban sociality. Moreover, the extent to which the functions of the street can be in broad perspectives in the city has been shown by various street studies in the literature.

Hall has examined an important example of these on behalf of city streets. In Hall's work, it is considered important that he chose the Walworth road, located in London, England. Considering the developed cities that find a place in the global economy, the important streets and streets in the city centers are generally considered a research subject. However, the streets and avenues that have remained on the relative outskirts of the city, which are both relatively ordinary and more local (serving the locals), remain in the background in this sense. Hall evaluates such regions and the streets and avenues outside the framework of dominant values in the city and states that these regions combine cultures and economies that are still outside the dominant values [54]. Indeed, when looking at global cities, it can be seen as a common point of view to focus on the economically high-rent regions of these cities, where the generalized culture that develops in the context of the global economy is maintained, which is constantly related to global values and economies. However, in the peripheries of all kinds of global cities, there are quite a lot of regions and roads/streets that work with the local knowledge base, which are ordinary and local, as Hall states, where the widespread and limited political representation of small retailing, which is increasingly killed by globalization. Hall considers that the term "main street", used as an indicator of the vitality of such streets, is rather inadequate. Walworth Street lacks the proper criteria for urban success. Rather, it proposes new accumulated value frameworks. The criteria and values we use for the vitality of these streets cannot be compared with the relatively superior London streets, High Street Kensington or Oxford [54].

Istiklal Street, located in İstanbul, Turkey, can be examined to set an example for the different missions and meanings of streets and streets in the city. Istiklal Street is one of the most visited streets of İstanbul, which reaches millions every year, and it has also been the venue of many demonstrations, marches, social movements, and organizations throughout Turkey's political history. Therefore, it can be said that the current meaning of Istiklal Street

has gone beyond its historical accumulation since the Ottoman Empire and has gained an economic and political meaning. As a result of the regional spatial sequence analysis made by Özbek on the maps of 2016, the most intense street in the region is Istiklal Street. Furthermore, as a result of global space sequence analysis, it is one of the axes with the highest integration value [55]. The diversity of both the type and scale of the retail and service sector in the region appears to be an essential factor in the liveliness of this place, apart from the location of the street. However, the vitality and economy here could not create a value that could resist the changes of the city, like the Walworth street example. The 2000's are read as the period when small businesses could not keep up with the changing economy and left their place to chain retail stores. This transformation experienced in the enterprises was also reflected in the use of the buildings; the facades were enlarged, curtain glass facades were applied to the buildings, and the ground floors were demolished and rearranged to expand the entrances from time to time [56]. The changes brought by the changing economy were also followed by the transformations brought by the political developments, and as Özbek reported, after the military uprising on 15 July 2016, many shops and institutions on the street were closed and moved. All these closures caused a change in the number of visitors and a decrease in the visitor profile. Within the scope of the Taksim Square Pedestrianization Project carried out in 2012-2018, shopping malls were opened on Istiklal Street, so the shopping trends have changed, and the function of the culture-art axis of the street has decreased with the effect of the culture-arts institutions closed in the region. Again, as Özbek reported, it was on the agenda that the characteristic businesses on the street were evicted from the buildings they were tenants in due to the changes made in the Disaster Law or the Law of Obligations [55]. For all these reasons, Istiklal Street does not seem to be as resistant to economic, cultural, and political developments as Hall's Walworth Street, and it seems to be in a structure that can adapt itself (forced or has to adapt) to the constant change of the conditions it is in.

Streets and avenues seem to be critical urban elements for the city right. Because streets and avenues direct or instrumentalize bodies in the city, with features such as being convenient or unsuitable for walking, being dense or sparse, and inclusive or exclusionary of economic and cultural diversity. Third-generation human rights, and in particular the concept of “solidarity”, which can be seen as the basis of a whole city's right, can enable people to

realize this solidarity or put obstacles in front of them, with the quality of streets and avenues in the city.

The Haussmann case is the most obvious example of urban history, and many studies look back. The revolt of the Paris proletariat from 1830 to 1848 seems to have hindered this resistance spatially, with the appointment of Haussmann as the city governor, as Işık and Tosun stated. Haussmann's spatial response to this revolt is that with the urban transformation he initiated with the promise of clean air and water, the resistance, by building boulevards with a width of 120 meters, demolished the streets of Paris with organic morphology, bringing the quality of a military parade or a magnificent parade to the city.. Thus, during the resistance in the city, military intervention was made much more quickly for the barricades to be built between the wide streets. In addition, this flamboyant urban invention made Paris militarily controllable, and while making the city center much healthier for a section of the population, it also displaced a large section of the population [57].

Of course, streets are not the only urban morphological unit where the city right can be addressed in neoliberal cities. However, streets are an urban unit that has been able to contain examples and/or reflections of almost every problem of the city right in neoliberal cities. Therefore, to transfer the concept of the city right from an abstract level to a concrete one, it would be appropriate to express urban sociality through the urban unit in question, which is both indispensable and unavoidable. At the same time, it not only sheds light on the basic concepts of the problems of the city right in neoliberal cities but also helps to embody these problems through the street unit.

2.3. TIME CULTURE AND TIME-TEMPORALITY IN THE NEOLIBERAL PERIOD

2.3.1. Time Culture, Time and Temporality

It can be said that modern world time (although there are different views on the present day, such as network time) is mostly perceived and experienced as linear. However, the linear perception of time manifests itself outside the chronobiological processes of nature, societies, and individuals. It can be said that such a linear perception often goes into the

history of culture as the artificial productions of civilization and people. Sugar and Thrift also stated that the people of the preliterate age did not experience a linear time, and they stated that the present does not sharply separate from the past and the future but rather emerges cyclically with the repetition of seasonal, natural, and social events [58]. There are also anthropological data on the perception of time in the pre-writing period. For example, in Sugarman and Thrift's quote from Hammond, Amondawa in the Amazon Basin has no words or artificial units of measurement for the month, year, or calendar [58]. Instead, the time of preliterate societies was perceived as a cycle in which the future and the past are the continuations of the present, thanks to the narrative of chronobiological cycles.

Although the Egyptians began measuring time around 1500 BC, units of time were not conceived as equal quantities until the invention of the clockwork in the 14th century AD. Although the improvement of the pocket watch, especially in the 16th century, brought the understanding of time that divides daily life into sections, the radical transformation of the time of natural life corresponds to the 18th century, the beginning of the industrial revolution [58].

It can be said that the 18th and 19th centuries, considered the beginning of industrial capitalism, established a dominant setting in the time culture. This period, especially with the introduction of steam engines, made it difficult to perceive chronobiological time cycles in civilizational worlds. Rhythm-time started to come into a similar synchronization with the prevailing mode of production. In this context, in his book "Time Blindness", Birth has extensively addressed the dominant setting of time and its companion anthropology in terms of time, evolution, Marx and labor, homogeneous and heterogeneous time, and the temporal problem of western chronology, and chronobiology [59].

Elias reveals the origin of this culture by stating how the globally accepted Gregorian calendar is perceived as a concept of nature data. After several meetings held in France in 1563, in an attempt to establish a coherent calendar that would inform the community of the beginning of the year, King Charl IX of France designated January 1 as New Year's Day. The order, which came into force in 1566, ended the traditional calendar, which lasted eight months and 17 days, and September, which was the seventh month in the old Roman calendar, became the ninth month in the current French calendar. Although this change faced considerable resistance in the said period, today, it is accepted as the measure of a year in nature, which also seems to include seasonal cycles [60].

When we look at the time that originated in Europe and is accepted worldwide today, the International System's (SI) second, that is, the global standard of measuring time, is different from the concept of second by many people, but it is not a fraction of an average solar day or the current year measured by atomic clocks. As Birth quotes, the second (the fraction of year) represented by the cycle of atoms corresponds to one-864,000th of a solar day, as calculated by Simon Newcomb in 1895 for January 1st of 1900. This calculation attempt by Newcomb was made using the data set of the 18th and 19th centuries. However, today's metrics think that Newcomb's calculation with the data set corresponds to a day in the 1820s. Birth then states that the second (hence the whole time) is a significant indicator that the bureaucracy dealing with measurement tries to confine in a single meaning [59].

The suppression of this ambiguity showed itself even in this century when the Newtonian view was passed to Einstein's views and rules. Scientific developments have eroded the sharp views on uniform time. The ideas of time and its relativity brought by Einstein's physics have led to alternative views of the time. However, common culture seems to be influenced by Newtonian physics. As Birth quotes:

Newton argues that science should be built on a genuine time separate from the rhythms and temporalities that humans experience [59].

However, as Birth cites, he defends this with the view that there is probably not a sufficiently regular movement to ensure that time can be measured precisely [59].

... possibile est, ut nullus sit motus aequabilis qu Tempus accurate mensuretur [59].

Such a defense brought by Newton to uniform time points to the high impossibility of attaining common forms of time and the disorder of the processes and cycles associated with it. Of course, Newton is aware of the disorder of the nature of time itself, but he thinks that civilization (like science, technical progress, and organizations) needs a fixed and clear temporality above this temporal disorder.

Such an attempt to establish an immutable order is much more practical for travelers than sundials and requires much less information from the user. However, it contributes to global simultaneity and a uniform temporality with developing technology. In a way, the temporal systems that regulate the complexity increase the nature/biology-civilization conflict and cause a more significant inner turmoil. This kind of artificial regulation of time also bypasses

realities such as menstrual cycles and seasonal affective disorders, which are chronobiological cycles.

It is a situation already accepted by many cultures that Newton accepted the disorder of time but stated that, above all, a fictional method of temporal arrangement and measurement was also needed. Therefore, it is common to think that culture (the culture of a group of people) needs a symbolic and fictional time. The more this “group of people” signifies a population that is spread out in the space, the more people the time fiction will be able to bring together for common intentions and purposes in as many spaces. In the time geography pioneered by Hagerstrand, individuals realize their projects spanning time through their movements in space by intersecting time-space paths with other individuals. Therefore, as Harvey points out, the spatiotemporal biographies of individuals gain importance as the record of spatio-temporal acts spanning a lifetime from the diary.

All transactions usually occur within the framework of a geographical pattern consisting of suitable 'stations' (spaces where activities like work, shopping) and areas where certain social interactions take place [9].

While Hagerstrand's scheme is helpful in this sense, Harvey asks why some social projects and their specific twinning constraints have become hegemonic [9]. This question seems essential. Because of the time policy of the culture that regulates social life, although it seems necessary to ensure coexistence, certain local-global organizations and synchronization in cities, it seems to be an essential opportunity to determine which acts are hegemonic with this time policy and to make new initiatives on the city right.

The only time system accepted in the world today is clock time. In the emergence of this temporal system, Massey stated that time could not begin with its existence unaided, and only interaction can complete it [58]. While time is embodied by elements such as physical displacements, deterioration, decay, and aging, the temporal structure manifests itself as a product of social interaction. However, it would be wrong to make the mistake that the design of the time, which is marked as a product of social interaction, is a collective-democratic design. Here, the actors of the temporal design in question are usually social institutions and temporal power structures.

Therefore, within the scope of today's thesis, it seems essential to understand the mass and sociological time created by the neoliberal and its global and postmodern structure.

Returning to Harvey's question mentioned above, understanding what has become hegemonic in the current neoliberal and thus global and postmodern time bureaucracy and/or what has been made hegemonic through the current temporal bureaucracy, to see the social rifts created by the notion of time today, and to see these massive and thus social and especially in the context of urban justice, it has been tried to be dealt with since it is generally considered as a dimension that the concept of right, and therefore the city right, is overlooked in the literature.

2.3.2. Time and Temporality in the Neoliberal Era

When it comes to the scale of the neoliberal city, it seems essential to think about individual and mass psychological time. In order to comprehend temporality and its relation with neoliberal urban justice, in this context, individual and mass temporal acts, how and why of understanding, and comprehension have an important place in the holistic construction of the structure that encompasses all these subjects.

In this sense, Dirke stated that neoliberalism is a kind of productivity dictatorship and drew attention to the fact that the 24/7 time regime of neoliberalism sharpens the boundaries between work and leisure time [61]. Making use of Sennett's book "Corrosion of Character" in particular, Dirke stated that although the English edition of this book, which criticizes neoliberalism, represents a lonely person working in the dark of the night with a computer light, on the cover of this book, technological developments generally do not play an important role in the criticism of neoliberalism in the literature. Stating that Sennett attributes the time dimension of the new world, especially to technological developments, high-tech data transmission, and global stock markets, he stated that these developments are particularly effective in people's emotional states outside of working time [61].

Indeed, technological developments have an important place in the criticism of the neoliberal time. Kern states that these developments have changed the experience of time and extension. As Kern points out, the sharp shortening of transportation and communication times looks pretty effective in changing the said experience [62].

Along with the developing technological and urban cultural conditions, the concept of "synchronicity", which Kern especially emphasized in his book "The Culture of Time and

Space", seems valid in every sense in today's neoliberal world. Telephone, the internet, and all kinds of electronic and network communication carry an event, idea, news, or image from the other side of the world to the subjects of the global world almost simultaneously. Of course, this simultaneity is experienced not only by the neoliberal urban subject but also by the subjects of rural and/or non-neoliberal non-urban regions. However, technologies that ensure simultaneity are produced in neoliberal cities, and the time-psychological burden of the subject, who has to keep himself up-to-date with the possibility of "receiving news from the whole world", rises at speed brought by the neoliberal urban economy, is constantly increasing. Kern clarifies this simultaneity situation brought about by technology through telecommunication technologies. Kern states that the experience of speaking with someone else, which was previously limited to the communication of people in the same place, also includes instant conversations between people far away, thanks to the telephone, and states that for now, the experience of speaking, which means here and now, has changed by expanding in spatio-temporal terms [62]. Although such a development is not generally seen as a problem, the neoliberal world has now gone far beyond the telephone, making accessibility unlimited in personal relationships, working and doing business, getting news, the spread of remote working, and the developing technologies whereby the subject can do business wherever there is computer and internet. At the same time, it has made the subject constantly accessible without overtime. The up-to-dateness of being able to receive news from anywhere and the urgency of doing business continuously put it under tremendous temporal pressure.

Sennett reveals a distinct difference between social capitalism and neoliberalism, which became more influential, especially after the Second World War [63]. Kern describes the temporalities of the war experience within a rigid bureaucracy. Kern states that the bureaucracy in question destroys the private time of millions of people under the brutal domination of their timetables and war plans [62]. However, Sennett characterizes social/state capitalism as military social capitalism and argues that time is at the center of this system. According to Sennett, this rationalized order, which offers its subjects a long-term, gradual and predictable time from the very beginning, and which is similar to the military time that Kern stated, paved the way for people to see their life as a narrative (where things should happen rather than what will happen). In this context, people could see the stages of a career and cascade the relationship between work and wealth, and many manual

workers were thus able to become homeowners for the first time in their lives. Although the realities of the business world do not progress according to this kind of temporal planning, this temporal bureaucracy, which defines the field of individual action and power and provides the ability to make plans, has even gained a discursive reality by being defined with the German word *Bildung* while entering the 21st century. The word *Bildung*, again in Sennett's words, was described as

... the name given to the personal formation process that prepares a young person for a life-long lifestyle [63],

and with this view, perseverance within the company has become more important than short-term ambitions. Dirke thinks that these views of Sennett emphasize the sharp contrast between the descriptions of the previous stage of capitalism and the neoliberal regime today. Because Dirke states that the impatience and extreme flexibility of the current neoliberal capitalism prevent the routine provided by the rigid bureaucratic time in social/state capitalism from providing a "psychological home" simultaneously [61]. In addition, Birth's military emphasis on uniform temporality draws attention. Birth, who states that the uniformist temporality is not built by capitalism but by military discipline, states that such a temporal understanding, which plays a role in reinforcing the uniformity to ensure the correlation between different groups of soldiers, is internalized by capitalism over time [59].

Although the methods of measuring time instrumentally and quantitatively have not changed for a long time, it can be said that the socio-temporal order has changed in different phases of capitalism. For example, time, which correlates with machines with industrial capitalism, seems to have been inspired by the military order after the Second World War. However, in today's neoliberal city, it takes on a completely different character with globalization and postmodernity, which have been described as accompaniments of neoliberalism in previous chapters.

Prior to the quality of time in postmodernity, the literature so far that each period has its temporality gives us an easily understandable result with Harvey's successful quote from Bourdieu. According to Bourdieu,

The reason for such a strong demand for subordination to collective rhythms is that temporal forms or spatial structures structure not only the way the group represents the world, but also the group that organizes itself according to this representation [9].

The spatiotemporal organization of society and/or certain communities still has social meanings. As Harvey stated, the arrangement of spaces in a house gives important messages about genders and age groups [9]. Similarly, there is a clear hierarchy between the haunted day and the haunted night of the society, there are certain jobs, groups and communities represented by the night, the position of the homeless in the city is uncertain and constantly changing, urban areas whose children cannot be seen in the vicinity of their parents have been determined and designed. Contrary to these, it can be a sign that something is not going well in the general society "looking at that person". A homeless person who stays in the same position every day may adopt or feel uneasy about the neighborhood, it is worrying that a child under a certain age is wandering around without a parent, and certain urban areas are often avoided at night as they belong to certain groups.

When it comes to the neoliberal postmodern era, the era of global simultaneity seems to have left its place in the era of transience. But, of course, concurrency technologies in the news are still on the rise. Transitions from 2G to 3G, 4G, and 5G, respectively, although not widely used yet, have created a global network of space technologies to provide satellite internet access as the technology of the future. In addition, developments such as the rise of social media companies, the use of diversified telecommunication tools not only in social life but also in business life such as WhatsApp, or the meeting of unfamiliar people who intend to receive news on a common subject, such as Telegram, seem to have led to the transformation of quality with the leap made by synchronicity.

Time pressure occurs from many aspects at the same time. First of all, the concept of labor has begun to become temporary. As mentioned above, after the Second World War, social/state capitalism was accepted as a general condition for perseverance in a company and a comfortable life financially by offering an individual-temporal horizon very similar to the military spirit of war. Along with neoliberalism, the three social changes that Sennett identified seemed to overturn the labor-temporal order. As Sennett cites, these three social changes are low corporate loyalty, a decrease in informal trust among employees, and a weakening of corporate knowledge [63]. This aspect, in which the social order has changed, seems to have increased the precarious working conditions and the short working hours. The new working conditions seem to have freed the neoliberal subject, making institutions easily dispensable. The person can work in a corporate or freelance job format. However, under this new image of freedom, there is pressure to be able to secure oneself in the short term

and to keep oneself up-to-date. From the zero point that starts with each new corporate experience, new forms of pressure are with expectations such as shortening the perception time of corporate knowledge and, therefore, easy adaptation to be achieved continuously. In addition, with the possibilities of flexible working, the word overtime remains a discourse, and 24/7 accessibility has become the new motto. Interviewing temporary employees, Sennett saw that those who are successful in their jobs are also highly tolerant of uncertainty and emphasized that they must constantly struggle with an environment of uncertainty, which consists of expecting bosses to know what they want from their employees and what needs to be done. Stating that this is a difficult situation to deal with, Sennett states that it is not a coincidence that companies with flexible working conditions emphasize human relations skills and offer interpersonal training because the psychological content is almost empty [63].

The view that capitalism sharply separates working time and leisure time, which has created a wide area of discussion in the literature, seems to have lost its validity for some groups in today's neoliberal cities. Although some employee groups do not work actively, they remain available 24/7 in emergencies, and they usually have to follow an “urgent” development regarding their work, even outside of active working hours.

In addition to the neoliberal-specific conditions of time, which can be observed individually and specifically through individual influences, there is also a sociological dimension that is relatively difficult to notice immediately, which also affects urban sociability. Azizi draws attention to the undeniable importance of time in the formation of memory and states that the dynamism of social relations in cities, personal and irregular times, bodily rhythms, complexity, and chaos build social memory over time. Azizi points out that some layers of memory are transparent and accessible, while some layers hide each other and refer to the function of time as a public transforming of narratives, claiming that time is not independent of space. Time also dominates the space from which the stories emerge, allowing for the diversification, repetition, progression, and regression of urban experiences. These shared stories and experiences are consciously represented, passively experienced, actively re-imagined, and embedded in countless social practices, as Azizi refers to in Borden's legacy [64].

Today, although the debates on equality are widely discussed in the literature on labor, money, socio-cultural differences, geographies, and different identities, time is not discussed as another necessary dimension outside the space where actions will take place. However, factors such as time, use of time, time richness, and poverty are important and can be examined as the basic root of inequality in many issues. For example, Strazdins et al. argue that the possibility of time influencing health has been neglected in the literature, citing how time scarcity complicates existing health inequalities [65]. The research that discusses the social stereotyping of financial pressures seems to ignore the possibility that time poverty and time pressure are socially stereotyped in this sense.

As Strazdins et al. quote from Shove, actions are central to the experience of time. Based on Shove, Strazdins et al. see the experiences of haste and time pressure as an expression of the proliferation of social practices that demand more time, not the lack of time [65]. These practices develop within the socio-temporal order shaped by collective expectations and rhythms. Examples of these practices are car addiction in cities, the need for access to the city center for certain urban activities, and actions derived from urban growth increasing distances.

Adam handled time in terms of the economic context and its social outputs. Stating that time is considered a scarce resource today, Adam states that nowadays, time is especially associated with speed and efficiency [66]. When neoliberal urban daily life is considered together with Adam's statement, it can be easily felt by many urban dwellers that the pace has increased compared to the past. As Strazdins et al. quoted above from Shove, the determination that the experience of time pressure is not due to lack of time but that all these practices demand more time with the increase in social practices seems very meaningful today, especially for neoliberal cities [65]. Because of the new knowledge worker class created by neoliberalism in cities (different descriptions of these classes can be seen in different sources), both work and leisure contexts constantly create new action areas in the city. The constant search for a niche market, which especially dominates neoliberal cities, seems positive by constantly fueling creativity in this sense, but it creates potential new actions for people without end, leaving people under the pressure of time demanded by endless activities and actions. Although there is extensive literature on the leisure economy, the existence of this leisure economy seems to make a reference to the abundance of time for neoliberal urban subjects. However, the subject contains certain contradictions in Adam's

axis. Adam states that today we are in a period where nothing happens, no action takes place, and the time taken by waiting and resting is seen as missed and wasted opportunities. In an era of efficiency, where breaks in companies, strikes, and even smoking in some companies are included in the cost calculations, the literature referred to as leisure economy at least refers to "leisure time", in this sense, seems to lead to misunderstandings in the neoliberal time bureaucracy. Many practices that can be considered as leisure economy acts also contribute to the social capital of neoliberal subjects. In the neoliberal context, social capital is defined by its function, as Yarcı states. This function includes logical practices based on the cooperation of similars by describing the social practices of groups, especially in which new communication networks are formed [67]. On a plane where time is seen as such a scarce resource, as Adam states, using time as an abstract exchange value seems possible only based on time separated from content and context and isolated from events. Only time as an intangible, standardized unit can become a medium of exchange, a neutral value in calculating productivity and profit. Indicating that Marx points to a similar situation, Adam states that time is seen as an abstract exchange value and can be bought and sold in the labor market, and in Marx's analysis, the clock is an expression of commodified time. However, social relationships are also permeated by the giving of time, and in interactions between spouses, lovers, friends, parents, children, caregivers, and caregivers, time as a gift operates largely outside the time economy of employment relationships [66].

This dominant neoliberal structuring of time does not, of course, destroy social life but permeates it. The other time, overshadowed by the temporal slogan of business life in neoliberal cities, is either used in the development of social capital or functions as a gift time that is entirely outside the clock time and plays a role in the establishment of the most basic human relations. Gift time and the development of relative social capital are overshadowed by work-life time, while the obsession with productivity as the dominant work-life time behavior that seizes most of daily life is also reflected in social-capital times and gift times. Therefore, the dominant practices of clock-time transfer to social-capital time, where clock time is relatively reduced, and to gift times, where it completely disappears.

Shove dealt with time consumption, especially within the framework of daily life practices. He states that temporal arrangements arise from the reproduction of everyday life. Trying to explore the temporal effects of the complex contemporary social practices instead of examining the temporal characteristics of a single practice or the life and/or time of a single

subject, Shove investigates what the reproduction of practice sets that make up daily life demands in terms of expressions such as timing, duration, sequence, coordination. Therefore, it discusses how society's practices and temporal characteristics can be defined and represented, and in this sense, it examines how temporal profiles are born and/or may arise [68].

As a necessity of living together in the time profiles of individuals and groups, common patterns are seen in common geographies. For example, breakfast and dinner include different practices that cannot be confused with each other. In both meals, the action is to eat, but the parameters such as the time allotted to it, the things to be eaten, the presentation and preparation practices, and the place where these meals are eaten from time to time in the same house, differ according to the geography. Shove cites weekends as an example. The weekend is a weekend because the practices that are not done on Monday and / or Tuesday are held on Saturday and / or Sunday. So, the time has its rules. Shove, citing Zarubavel's statement that we have fixed ideas about "what makes up the right time," states that it would be almost mind-blowing, for example, to schedule a dance event in the morning, if not on working days. Similarly, calling someone at 3:00 am is often seen as an emergency signal (although this is normal in some subcultures). For middle-class adults, this can be seen as 09:00 in the morning to 10:00 p.m [68]. While Shove gives various examples using several data sets throughout his text, he has discussed the criteria of the concept of time conception in general without being limited to examples. Looking at a neoliberal city today, can specific time profile patterns be found with such criteria as outlined in Shove's discussion? For a detailed profile, there is a need for data sets that will help the researcher make these profiles of a limited geography and society segment. Although such a data set is not available, the obligatory time profiles of people created by common acts and practices for neoliberal cities can be examined through their own temporal rules.

Nowotny also makes a significant contribution to time politics. Ironically stating that the current temporal order still gives individuals time for life's daily ups and downs, Nowotny states that even in such cases, it is revealed how much time will be spent. How much time is allowed in cases such as death, marriage, birth, or illness is particularly evident in workplaces [69]. Therefore, while the bureaucracy of time misses many chronobiological cycles, it also stands above all the ups and downs of daily life. Our time bureaucracy does not fit into our daily lives. On the contrary, our daily life must comply with the regime, the

market, and the temporal bureaucracy of the production-consumption cycle, which is expected to be highly efficient.

When Nowotny talks about the exchange value of time, he points out that the difference between the quantity and quality of time is a tool in exchange [69]. This seems to mean many things. It can be seen that the concept of overtime is still generally accepted, although the quality or the quantity of time is put in the foreground in the wages received according to the company culture and the work done. Therefore, in the study, especially the quantity of time is evaluated. Considering that some of the limited private time remaining from working will be spent on increasing social capital and some of it will be spent as gift time, efficiency seems particularly important here.

Stating that the state imposes its own time system through the legal system, Nowotny creates temporal biographies for individuals one by one. Laws determine the biological state. Temporal thresholds are predetermined for citizens, such as when one can vote when one is a child, teenager, or adult, when to serve in the military, for the birth and education of children, for withdrawal from working life, or retirement age, and consumption of certain media content [69]. Such biographies determined by the state resemble standardized housing. Because in many places, houses are still built by anticipating the temporal biography of a heterosexual couple with children. With such temporal biographies, the state ensures that individual individuals and, subsequently, the collective are predictable.

Addressing the temporal situation of retirement, Nowonty states that people do not currently spend time on retirement benefits and that the time not used by the system is marked as "wasted time". In this respect, the rest period of old age is also pre-financed time [69].

3. WOMEN, RIGHT TO THE CITY, TIME AND TEMPORALITY

In this chapter, first of all, it will be tried to convey why women are defined as a disadvantaged group, especially in terms of gender roles. Disadvantage is seen as particularly important here. Because it will be claimed that this disadvantage (neoliberal) directly affects the daily life of women on the axis of urban life. While explaining this effect, it will be tried to explain why, as a requirement of the right to the city, time should be articulated as an equal opportunity, by pointing out the temporal problems that women experience in their urban life with the help of literature.

3.1. THE ORIGIN OF BEING THE SECOND GENDER AND THE SCOPE OF FEMINISM

The difference made when women's rights are mentioned as a product of sexual differences built throughout history. Simone de Beauvoir specifically mentioned the construction of this difference in her revolutionary work "The Second Sex (Le Deuxième Sexe)". Considering the "condition of woman" in terms of the subordination of women to men throughout history, Beauvoir states that although social life has been organized in different ways in different ages of history, there has been little change in the situation of women. Furthermore, Beauvoir states that the second gender status of women creates a distinctive temperament or personality in daily life and states that this personality has been produced historically and is a product of inequalities [70]. Beauvoir's famous claim, "You are not born a woman, you become a woman." shows how the second sex is artificially (socially) differentiated.

After accepting the existence and artificial (socially) formation of this difference, it seems important to determine where and how the difference occurs. So, first of all, what is the difference of being a "Second Sex"?

Talking about the concept of Women's Rights apart from the concept of Human Rights seems to indicate the central point where the difference occurs. When Human Rights are mentioned, the subject of these rights is designated as "all people". The first sentence of Article 1 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights states, "All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights." has been determined [38]. However, there is a need for the use of the

concept called "Women's Rights" in both academic and social contexts, and today, "women" is still tried to be prioritized as the subject of specific rights.

Paul Ricoeur deals with the fundamental problem of being the subject of a right with the concepts of vulnerability (*vulnérabilité*) and autonomy (*autonomie*). The concept of autonomy, which has been on the agenda mainly since Kant, describes it as thinking alone, getting rid of being determined by others, independence, and being able to speak one's word independently from authorities. However, Heidegger, on the other hand, substitutes autonomy by emphasizing "being oneself" (*eigentlichkeit*) instead of the concept of autonomy. The concept of "being yourself" is about discovering valuable solitude by separating from the herd and realizing unique possibilities and potentials. Ricoeur, on the other hand, considers autonomy in the context of political philosophy, making it the subject of politics, and, unlike the two thinkers, defines autonomy by including vulnerability. In the words of Direk,

For Ricoeur, vulnerability, vulnerability is caused by not having or losing the subjective forms of expression that we need to have in order to be the subject of the rights realized. [70].

Therefore, fragility here corresponds to what we refer to as vulnerable or disadvantaged groups today, being prevented from fulfilling the conditions of not being a right subject and being prevented from becoming a subject.

Therefore, the struggle for women's rights should be read primarily as a struggle to recognize women as a subject of rights. It should be understood in terms of the ongoing struggle of women to exist as a "woman" and subsequently to have the rights to close the gap of being the second sex.

When we look at the difference of being the Second Sex, it seems pretty tricky to understand where this difference starts. Although democracy can be mentioned in Ancient Greece, which is widely accepted as the origin of the culture and philosophy of Western civilization, women's participation in politics and social life does not seem to exist, with some exceptions. For example, in his book *Politeia* (The Republic), Plato reiterates the view that women are physically and spiritually weaker than men by nature, but he stated that they should benefit from equal educational opportunities in proportion to their abilities/abilities [71]. However, of course, Plato's thoughts on the ideal state should not be read as an indicator of the reality of the Ancient Greek society at that time. As Kia pointed out, in Athens' current democracy,

women's lives were generally confined to the home, and the home was closed to all men and enslaved men of the house, except for the woman's husband and son. In this period, women became the wives, mothers, or daughters of male citizens, characterized by their gender and the men who protected them and their classes and played an active role in political and social processes [72].

As another example, we can examine the Roman civilization, which is widely accepted based on the West's legal system. It is based on Rome, while the necessity of being a citizen, especially in the police, is the problem of the public sphere of all activities, while the family life, which is excluded from all these, is counted as a private sphere [73]. Therefore, the position of a woman determined by male representation makes her entirely outside of social processes; It is located in the house, which is closed to the outside and matched with the private space dominated by a man, and its capacity originates in the realization of housework and maintenance, and those who are outside of this possibility are positioned as "exceptions".

As Uzbaş quotes from Barman:

The patriarchal structure of the Roman society has caused the equality of men and women before the law never to be achieved [74].

Again, as Uzbaş quotes from Gönenç:

Even if Roman women were citizens, they were given limited rights and could not use these rights without the protection of men [74].

This situation is also understood from the family concept brought by farming, which was common in Rome, a predominantly agricultural society at the beginning. The family, which is seen as a necessity of farming life, settled on certain land and house, and each member of the Roman family, who made a living from farming, lived under the rule of the family father called "*pater familias*". The married woman is under the domination of her husband. The married woman's rights and obligations towards her own family and relatives are entirely terminated due to marriage, and the woman joins her husband's family with all its legal consequences. The Roman religion also seems to affect the fact that a married woman cannot be a member of both families. A woman must belong to either her father's or her husband's religion. As a result of marriage, the woman's property and person are now considered her husband's [75]. Therefore, the woman was under constant tutelage, and her tutelage could only pass from her father to her husband.

When it comes to the French Revolution, which is relatively closer and is the origin of many intellectual breakthroughs and conceptual uses adopted by western civilizations, it is seen that the roots of ongoing inequality continue. The impulse of Enlightenment thought led women to question their position in society, and important studies have emerged regarding the history of feminist theory. For example, in the early stages of the French Revolution (1791), Olympe de Gouges published a pamphlet called “Les Droits de la Femme (Women's Rights)”, followed by Mary Wollstonecraft (on January 3, 1792), “A Vindication of the Rights of Women”. She published her work, which will be dominant for the future periods of feminist thought. Even before that, Judith Sargent Murray published her work *On the Equality of the Sexes*, and during the American Revolution, Abigail Adams stated that women should also have a voice or representative in the new laws that would create the nation [76].

Although there were exceptions to the general existence of women in society during the historical process until the French Revolution, it can be said that the active questioning of the position of women in society existed during the French Revolution. Many feminist theories also originate in feminists of the French Revolution period. Here, it seems particularly important to emphasize “feminism” instead of choosing exceptional examples from women who have been positioned within the sociality in which patriarchy has determined the conditions throughout history. As Türkeli quotes, “Feminism is a political thought that rose with women's demands for equality and took its way by questioning and sometimes even trying to destroy many cultural, social and political institutions in society.” [77]. Therefore, it can be said that the French Revolution, in which liberal concepts such as human rights and individuality emerged, were the first steps of women's systematic and methodical thinking about their sociality and organized resistance and solidarity with a distinct awareness. This newly formed systematic political field can also be described as “feminism” in its entirety.

It can be said that this field of systematic thinking and organized struggle, which will now be called feminism, has experienced the biggest of its dichotomy in terms of inside and outside. Although this dichotomy between inside and outside appears to be a problematic of space, it seems to point to much more than space in terms of social representation and practices. The interior refers to the founding of women's home space and again compresses women into social roles such as motherhood, housework, and child and elderly care while

suppressing their other representations and existences in the public sphere. The outside, which forms the other side of the dichotomy, has made the public an area entirely represented by men by referring to the public one and exclusion women both politically and socially. Therefore, feminism, as a general expression of systematic thinking and organization regarding women's rights, will be tried to be understood through the duality of inside and outside with a spatial beginning. In addition, the role of space in the social positioning of women (the effect of space) and/or the situation in which space is brought (the passivity of space) will be tried to be understood as a qualifier of today's cities, especially through neoliberal cities.

3.2. WOMEN AND THE RIGHT TO THE CITY IN A FEMINIST CONTEXT

It can be said that the fact that Women's Rights can be determined as a city right as a whole is because feminism as a whole of systematic thoughts and practices on the subject has an urban-historical origin. Here, it seems possible to say that the first place where discussions on women's rights could take place was produced by industrial society capitalism. In this sense, looking at Habermas's public sphere seems very useful. As Yükselbaba quoted from Çaha, Habermas describes this public space, which emerged from the capitalism of the Industrial Revolution, as a space where many values and actors are made visible, unlike the previous periods are covered and unspoken in traditional societies [78]. Therefore, the French Revolution created a social-mental environment in which the concepts of freedom, equality, and human rights, brought as an accompaniment to Liberal ideas, laid the groundwork for the systematic consideration of women's sociality. This environment was also supported by the public sphere that would contribute to forming social commons such as forming public opinion, gathering, organizing, and expressing opinions created by the Industrial Revolution society. Moreover, in this way, the cities created an environment that allowed women's movements to be formed. In this sense, Yükselbaba stated that there was no possibility for the formation of women's movements in the Middle Ages and before [78].

Cities, where the neoliberal economic, political, and cultural policies are produced and executed, both contain ongoing problems in terms of women's rights, transform the shape of some ongoing problems and create new problems at the same time.

Neoliberalism has risen and become widespread, especially in the 1980s. Özügürü states that this rise came about with the ideological attack of the new right, which targets women, especially single and single mothers who have a “life outside the family”, to attack the welfare state gains [79]. Although this transition from the welfare state to neoliberalism has some different consequences in the future in terms of women's rights, women's sociality, and feminism between states that have completed their modernization early and those that are late modernized and/or still modernizing, it has many common points and problematics.

Although neoliberalism is a concept derived from economics literature, at the point it has reached today, neoliberalism can also be defined as a set of political and practical sets corresponding to human reflections. Yüceşahin and Yazgan state that there are three main points in the progress of the process peculiar to neoliberalism. One of these points stated that neoliberalism has infiltrated “*an ideology that increasingly triggers and legitimizes the difference in gender inequality with its heterosexist and hegemonic approach that ignores gender inequality*” into urban processes such as the design of the city and its political organization [80].

Therefore, the most significant impact of neoliberalism on the inequality in question can be seen as the legitimization of heteronormative, androcentric (heterocentric) practices by mainstreaming and making the inequalities inherent in the socio-spatial plane almost indisputable.

Since the subject will be evaluated especially within the scope of the neoliberal urban context, the distinction between private and public space, frequently encountered in feminist urban readings, can be considered as an origin as a spatial starting point. In this context, identifying women with the private sphere and the politics of the private sphere can constitute a starting point for a broader urban reading.

In this sense, starting with the house, the household as a subject-specific area seems especially important. The household, which corresponds to the family, mostly consists of heteronormative marriages and children born from these marriages. However, as one of the oldest known cultural groups, the family often contains a distinct tradition in the distribution of the division of labor and the division of labor of each household member. The family is also positioned as the carrier and/or transmitter of culture, politics, and tradition. Therefore,

that very familiar understanding of “the family is the smallest unit of society” still maintains its distinct reality, far from being mythical.

First, it is difficult to say that people share a common space in the relationship between home and family. Addressing the "common space" apart from the private and public spaces, Stavrides describes the common space as not given by the authorities but as a space according to the common needs of the people [81]. However, when the city dwellings are considered, a common and distinct pattern is seen both topologically and spatially, which points to the reflection of a distinct power pioneered by household needs and practices. These spatial patterns also carry the family institution forward (to the future/the present) temporally with cultural iterations.

Therefore, the house corresponds not to the common but the private space. In feminist literature, the private/public space dichotomy is another aspect of the inside/outside paradigm. Feminists problematized the issues related to the private sphere, that is, the household, which is seen as non-political, with the slogan of "the private sphere is political" and brought them to the public sphere [78]. In particular, the unequal labor balance of domestic labor, which is the largest share of the informal economy, such as caring for children, the elderly and sick, and doing housework, has been tried to be legitimated through the existence, biology or mother-instinct of women. In this process, the concepts of gender (gender) instead of biological sex (sex) came to the fore. Although women, the biggest carriers of the informal domestic economy and invisible labor, problematize the private sphere, the spatial pattern and topology of the family institution, as the executor of patriarchal power, seem to have not changed in the neoliberal society.

Erdaş and Özmen problematized the gender of the house and examined the gender of the house, especially in terms of the relationship between the plan and the quarters, starting from the traditional Turkish house until the 2000s. In the 1980s, which attracted attention with the introduction of the concept of neoliberalism, many places that were considered private until recently were brought to the public agenda, especially in these periods. Erdaş and Özmen draw attention to the fact that the 1980 military coup destroyed the public space. The concept of decoration, which is stated to have infiltrated especially the new economic policies, is becoming widespread among women. In the housing plans of the period, the entrance halls were narrowed, the kitchen began to expand, and a balcony was also added. In addition, the

kitchens have been brought to a size to include the dining table, and this dining table has been reserved for daily use, as the time spent by women, who have started to take an active role in business life, is limited. It has turned into a place that will be sufficient for them to both do their housework and take care of their family and children [82].

When the current situation of women's labor on an urban scale, which is one of the invisible labor of women is examined, it seems that industrial capitalism lost its dominance that shaped the city's face with the introduction of neoliberalism in the 1980s. It seems to be an essential breaking point that it has withdrawn from the city centers to the periphery and left the city centers to the service sector. Eisenstein specifically points out the international strategies in which the manufacturing sector is relocated to precarious overseas countries (especially like Taiwan, China, Malaysia, and Indonesia) where women's labor is preferred worldwide [83]. The phenomenon of globalization, the effects of which were again experienced as a reflection of neoliberalism in the 1990s, corresponds to the "validation of a reality on a world scale", as Beaud stated [4]. Therefore, the developments in the cities, where all the outputs of neoliberalism and then globalization are seen, and which are also called these adjectives, have produced results based on different types of exploitation in underdeveloped regions regarding women's rights. However, since the issue is handled within the scope of neoliberal cities, it seems that women's employment related to the service sector that came with neoliberalism has increased more than ever before.

Therefore, the increasing employment of women in the cities has filled the most insecure and temporary gaps in employment with women's labor. It has also made it felt that the biological essentialism peculiar to women had been relatively lost because of cities where neoliberalism has undergone a certain process of modernity. However, it has manifested itself both in the distribution of employment and labor force and in the remuneration of labor, as well as in the asymmetrical distribution of women's labor at home, which does not contain any balance and equality from the limited time of the working woman.

Goodman also states that due to the increasing polarization at the national and international level caused by neoliberalism, more women are entering the global workforce than ever before. However, on this occasion, the impoverishment of women has increased and hereby clarifies the heated debates between Marxism and feminism. He states that he makes the slogan "labor produces profit" as the fundamental proposition of Marx, which can be used

to explain the existing social relations and power structure, indispensable for explaining the gender distribution and power areas in the current conjuncture. According to Marx, unpaid labor time creates profit in the capitalist system [84]. Considering that women's employment is concentrated in sectors with precarious working conditions in global and national conjunctures created by capitalism, Marx seems to be a helpful ground for problematizing the current situation of women's labor in a neoliberal economy. However, as reported by Goodman, those who think the opposite are also common in the literature. Goodman rightly points out that many feminist critics have criticized the masculinity behind the proletarian subject of Marxism, the gender-blind categories of Marxism. Many feminist critics who criticize the idea that proletarian abstraction only has a neutral and gender-avoiding aspect and that the woman side in the characterization of labor is excluded stand in line with Leopoldina Fortunadi's criticism that women are excluded from any direct relationship with capital at the official level. One reason for this can be cited as the fact that Marx was mainly concerned with the production of objects, especially in *Das Kapital* [84]. This appears to be a focus that ignores the growing dominance of commodity markets, particularly in the service sector, affectivity, and the production of subjects. Therefore, in a feminist critique of neoliberalism's current global context, Marxism hardly emphasizes women's problems in the context of relations of production.

Ergüneş, in his article on the relationship between women's labor and informalization in the neoliberal era, draws attention to the fact that the informalization of the labor market is experienced in two ways. Ergüneş explains these two forms as follows:

The first was in the form of the flexibility of the labor process through the flexibility of production processes in parallel with the technological development. The flexibility of working hours, performance-based remuneration, and temporary contracts became a part of this in factories where industrial production was carried out. Informalization has also become a determining factor in the formal field. The second form of informalization was spreading production into homes, workshops, and streets through the fragmentation of production processes [85].

In the neoliberal era, sectors where labor was informal and women's labor was concentrated coincided. In addition to this, many households have become informal workshops of contract manufacturing in order to contribute to the home economy, as Ergüneş also stated, and women began to do jobs such as sewing buttons, packaging, wrapping, and thread cleaning at home [85].

Along with reducing social expenditures as an extension of neoliberal policies, women began to provide free-of-charge social services such as care for the elderly and child care, which the state had partially undertaken before. Thus, women's labor once again became reinforcing gender roles. Despite the rapid impoverishment of women, alternative development tools such as micro-credits were offered, but generally, such practices remained a mechanism for marketizing women's labor. Below, the informal employment rates, home-based workers, various countries, and years in various countries, which Ergüneş conveyed from Beneria through Charmes, are shown in the tables [85].

Table 3.1. Woman's Informal Employment [85]

	Employment Rates in the Informal Field	Gross National Product of the Informal Area
Benin (1992)	59.7	51.1
Burkina Faso (1992)	41.9	61.4
Chad (1993)	53.4	62.3
Mali (1989)	71.9	68.2
Kenya (1998)	60.3	46.2
Tunisia (1994-1996)	18.1	15.7
India (1993)	22.7	22.1
Indonesia (1998)	43.1	39.5
Philippines (1995)	46.3	44.2

Table 3.2. Woman's Workforce [85]

	Number of home-based workers	Percentage of women in non-agricultural labor force	Percentage of female home-based workers
Benin (1992)	595.544	65.8	74.1
Brasil (1991)	2.141.972	5.0	57.1
Brasil (1995)	2.700.000	5.2	78.5
Chile (1997)	79.740	1.8	82.3
Kenya (1999)	777.100	15.0	34.9
Peru (1993)	128.700	5.2	35.3
Philippines (1993-1996)	2.025.017	13.7	78.8
Thailand (1999)	311.790	2.0	80.0
Tunisia (1994)	88.267	4.8	71.3

The current situation of women's labor in the neoliberal era also seems essential in understanding women's neoliberal urban practices. Because when urban practices are understood, how much and how women use urban geography is understood, and gender-based constructions in urban geography are recognized and help to problematize them.

While dealing with women's rights in the city, Tuncer sheds light on women's urban experiences, especially from the perspective of feminist geography. Because feminism, an area where geography masculinizes and asymmetricalizes by excluding women's spaces and experiences, expands the practices of geography that does not see the home as a social space with the advocacy that the private space is political and reveals the disadvantaged positions of women in their spatial relationships and experiences [86].

In this sense, women's urban activities and movement patterns mostly go through the experience of many different places such as home, home environment, neighborhood, street, city center, and parks. Many practices such as commuting to work, shopping, and taking the child to kindergarten or school show that women's urban life is entirely permeable between the private and public spaces. In this sense, Tuncer also refers to the results of his doctoral research and states that women's public space experiences in Turkey begin with their leaving

the house, unlike men. Because widely patriarchal gender norms seem quite decisive in women's involvement in urban life. In this sense, patriarchal control mechanisms generally seem to have a restrictive effect [86].

While mentioning the city right, Tuncer, through Lefebvre, reveals two aspects, the right to participate and the right to own [86]. Here, the right to participate means to be involved in the administrative and decision-making processes of the city, while the right to own means to use the entire city space and its potential fully and completely. However, Tuncer states that although Lefebvre is one of the most mentioned names in the literature, which brings the concept of the city right to the fore, and Lefebvre talks about the differences of the inhabitants of the city, he does not embody or deepen them. Noting that especially national, cultural, ethnic, racial, or gender-based power relations put obstacles to the realization of the city right, Lefebvre finds the city right lacking in contemporary feminist urban discussions. However, she states that feminist urban geography also deals with these issues [86].

When it comes to the city right, in terms of women being able to use the opportunities of the whole city and benefit from all the existing and possible potentials of all these opportunities, the liberating climate created by today's neoliberal cities seems to be quite restrictive for women.

Aktaş refers to the possible socio-cultural origins of this situation. Through Tuncer, Aktaş points out that negative connotations have framed the duality of women and the street for centuries. However, men started to benefit from the social spaces and activities offered by the cities in earlier periods, while women were very recently acquainted with these places and activities [87]. The origin of this acquaintance can be considered as women's taking over their economic freedom from many studies. Explaining the origin of women's attempt to benefit from the urban space and the socio-cultural activities offered by the city in a disadvantageous position for Turkey, Aktaş specifically mentions the urban cartography in the city of İstanbul. Expressing that the neighborhoods in the cities determined the world of family life in Ottoman life, Aktaş refers to the typical courtyard houses of the period. As Aktaş points out through Aytaç, these houses are designed to separate the indoor life from the outside, and their windows do not look to the street but to the courtyard to protect privacy. Since the neighborhoods were framed by dead-end streets and corridors, the street was not designed as an element to provide urban transportation as in contemporary cities but rather

as an interface between the neighborhood and the household to protect the security and privacy of family life [87]. Therefore, at the point reached today, gender roles in the urban area, which form the basis of the adoption of the slogan "The private is political" by feminists, can be seen as the continuation of the socio-cultural meaning of the family's existence in urban cartography, at least in Turkey. On the other hand, in a broader framework beyond Turkey, Bora seems to convey a phenomenon that indicates that the current gender roles have their closest roots in the 19th century through Davidoff, via Bora, said:

The most striking phenomena encountered in the study of household development in the nineteenth century is the separation of the household from public concerns and its transition to a highly private world, and the careful regulation of home life [87].

Aksu, who states that this separation developed in the 19th century, attributes the beginning of the concept of the housewife to these dates. However, at that date, the house was designed as an innocent and clean place, away from the filth of the world. While women and children were seen as belonging to the house, on the contrary, men were allowed outside the home [88].

While dealing with the situation of women in the public sphere, Tuncer carried out field research by dealing with everyday life, which can mean the "life of the masses" as used by Norbert Elias [89]. In this sense, Tuncer, while examining the public experiences of women, stated that there would be a missing direction in the studies without establishing a relationship with the field they maintained in the private sphere and focused on the public life of ordinary women by conducting semi-structured interviews with women in Ankara. Tuncer's inferences from this study offer noticeable results that women's public life cannot be considered autonomous and separate from the private sphere. Tuncer stated that women especially find it difficult to answer questions about personal issues and family life and that the women she interviewed faced constant obstacles in their youth about going out and spending time outside the home and how they tried to overcome these obstacles. Underlining that many women have painful memories of going out in their youth, Tuncer also stated that the acceptable norms of femininity of patriarchy restrict women and girls in terms of dress, dress, and behavior when going to the public sphere. In this sense, Tuncer states that values such as morality and chastity are associated with the representation of women in the public sphere and states that the main motivation for women's ties with the existing home is the obstacles and pressures from outside in women's public experience. On the other hand,

Tuncer also points out the instant manifestations of the mentioned oppression by stating that the women whose spouses were at home during the interviews were nervous, spoke reluctantly and silently [89].

Kern points out the ambiguous situation that is valid for neoliberal cities today. This ambiguous situation, which he points out with the propositions that "the city is not for women" on one side and "women have a place in the city" on the other, explains the advantages and disadvantages of women in the urban environment. The advantage here is a spatial advantage that can be seen because women are more disadvantaged in rural areas. Kern points out that a city is a place with unheard-of options for women compared to small towns and rural communities. Some advantages include breaking free of narrow-minded gender norms, having economic freedom due to job opportunities, avoiding heterosexual marriage and motherhood, pursuing non-traditional careers, and forming and expressing unique identities. On the other hand, when it is considered easier to establish friendship and kinship networks, to participate in art, culture, and media, rather than the existing apriori kinship relations in cities, cities offer more opportunities, options, and freedom for women compared to rural areas [90].

However, Kern presents common women's experiences that would also validate the opposite proposition and be valid for the global south, although it focused specifically on the global north. Here, especially starting from her personal experiences, Kern brings together her personal experiences with the common experiences of being a woman. Notably, in the title of "Public Body" in the book "Feminist City", he points out that the female body is frequently made public property and that women frequently experience uninvited physical contact and intellectual and bodily violations in different contexts and at other stages of their lives.

For example, in the experience of pregnancy, women are exposed to so many "expert" tips that they have to gleefully accept all unsolicited advice and feel shame if they do not follow it. On the one hand, pointing out that the physical change brought about by pregnancy has changed the behavior and gaze in the city, Kern expresses her surprising shame at being a biological animal in her effort to put a barrier between her and many strangers who do not hesitate to comment on or touch her body. On the other hand, Kern points out that all these situations do not lead to the slightest kindness in the city and conveys the problems of this

situation for a pregnant woman who needs to use public transportation and/or travel in the city by conveying her experiences of public transportation, especially during rush hour. After the birth, Leslie's experiences, especially in the first periods of parenthood, seem to be familiar to many mothers. For example, breastfeeding in public and the places where public permission is given about the place where the child will be fed is very limited, and the dirty aspects of parenting are tried to be removed quickly so that no one will witness the pollution and feel discomfort. In addition, the embarrassment of the young child's uncontrollable shouts, enduring sarcastic comments, jokes, and looks can be given as typical examples of this situation [90].

There are many sources that evaluate women's low level of participation in urban management and urban planning, and thus their disadvantaged position in exercising their right to urban participation.

For example, Greed states that many people think that many situations are better for women, especially in urban planning, compared to the past, but the opposite is the case. Quantitatively, the increase in women's employment in these areas does not mean that local policies for women are carried out qualitatively. Greed states that many female employees (as in many other places) face sexism and discrimination in planning offices. Giving an example from the United Kingdom, in particular, Greed states that Henrietta Barnett was the first woman to be admitted to the RTPI (Royal Town Planning Institute) in 1914, but states that many women who had a significant influence on the planning profession were not members of this planning office. Although the visibility of women in the institute corresponds to a much later period, the professional organization, in general, indicates that male-dominated ideas to marginalize women and their needs in the built environment are dominant [91].

In this sense, it does not seem wrong to say that the current neoliberal city is male. It is possible to misunderstand when "men" is mentioned here as "all men without exception in society". However, as Creed points out, this does not hold to the possibility that all individual men are discriminatory and/or biological essentialists in their treatment of women, nor does it exclude the assumption that all individual women can be anti-women. However, structurally male individuals seem much more likely to benefit from the status quo [91]. Kern also described cities as male and pointed out that the city accepts male experiences as

the norm by supporting and facilitating men's gender roles [90]. Men's cities marginalize women by eliminating women's urban needs, demands, and perspectives in designing, managing, and determining urban policies. In this way, they demonize feminism, and on the contrary, they seem to support women in this sense, adding them to urban governance processes in quantity but blocking active decision-making mechanisms with various mobbings in the context of governance. However, as Creed points out, even if a woman is respected and not discriminated against on a personal level in the entire employment world, she is left alone with the dangers that any woman in the city may face when walking on the street at night [91].

3.3. WOMEN'S TEMPORALITY IN NEOLIBERAL CITY

Understanding women's temporality with its not only economic but also global and postmodern bases in the first part of the thesis, which is called neoliberalism in the context of the right to the city with the necessary help of feminist thought practices, to make sense of the impact of the time crisis, which cannot be ignored today, for women, who are already a disadvantaged group, to understand the right to the city, human experiences in the city. It is especially important to evaluate it as an extension of being able to live and related physical, mental and sociological health.

For women, this time crisis has many aspects. When we look at first-wave feminism, it is possible to see the existence of a more macro-scale temporal crisis for women. The mass awareness of historicity being maintained as a linear narrative practice and staying out of its horizontal linear narrative has given first-wave feminism especially as a battle for participation in social-political history. It can be said that these efforts to be included in the exclusionary temporality, which is called collective, with the generalization of being linear with participation in political and social history, have been achieved today, although still limping in some geographies.

When female temporality is mentioned, some of the relatively limited resources in the literature dealing with female temporality deal with this temporality with female biology and chronobiological temporality. Stoller includes these chronobiological views in his article Gender and Anonymous Temporality. Some of her views point to pregnancy as a reason why women have a different perception of time than men, regarding the chronobiological

temporality of women. With this gender-specific biological time experience, the woman has an experience of waiting nine months for childbirth, and this bodily experience limited to the existence of the woman also determines her thoughts and attitude regarding time. Although this change of attitude applies to any change in physical life, pregnancy is gender specific [92].

In addition, he gives the menstrual cycle that every woman experiences in certain periods of their life as an example of this time experience. Although menstruation includes different experiences among individual women, it can be said that there are commonalities that can be generalized at this point. Many women who experience menstruation as painful have to change or rearrange their schedules. They may need to rest and/or lie down for a while, their bodily movements may not be as comfortable and relaxed as usual, and they may be temporarily disconnected from their social environment due to the pain they suffer from time to time. [92] Of course, the hormonal cycle that causes menstrual cycles can cause cyclical repetition of some emotional states in women. may cause such a situation.

Although Stoller conveys these views, he qualifies the views on the effect of pregnancy on women's experience of time as biological essentialism. Stoller defends this with the view that not all women experience pregnancy, but that women who have not experienced pregnancy can also have enough strength to wait [92].

However, while Stoller attributes the unique nature of female temporality to female biology as a biological essentialist, he refers specifically to the experience of pregnancy at this point. The experience of pregnancy is not a cyclically repetitive process that is regularly articulated chronobiologically to female temporality. However, while observing the differentiating effect of menstrual cycles on women's experience of time, it would be reductive to describe this situation as biological essentialist, just like pregnancy. Because the menstrual cycle appears as a cyclical and unchangeable experience that women have to experience on the linearity of social and cultural time. It can be said that many women who do not follow their menstrual periods regularly have developed sensitivity to this experience, which is repeated approximately every 28 days. It can be noticed that menstruation is experienced early or late, regardless of the calendar time. Even if we ignore the hormonal and other physical effects of menstrual cycles for a short time, we can accept that women are often sensitive to certain periods. However, common experiences such as mood changes and not feeling physically

comfortable are also added to this sensitivity. Stoller, in a way, opposes the view that menstrual cycles create differences in women's experience of time [92].

Although some find the effect of the menstrual cycle discussions on the perception of time biologically fundamentalist, it would be unfair to argue that there are no obvious negative effects of the menstrual cycle on the quality of life. The syndrome, which is referred to as premenstrual syndrome (PMS) in the literature, shows both somatic and psychological effects in women. In studies, 150 or more symptoms such as emotional, physical, behavioral, and cognitive complaints were associated with premenstrual syndrome [93]. Despite all these physiological and psychological/emotional effects, the bureaucracy of working life largely ignores individual factors [94].

Therefore, it can be read from the examples given above that even only biological processes make the daily life of women disadvantageous in terms of time compared to men. However, when the individual lives of women in urban life, especially shaped by the widespread neoliberal urbanism today, are examined, many experience partnerships can be read through disadvantaged temporal practices, especially in the context of gender.

It seems important to make an explanation as to why gender is used in the context of gender, not in the biological sense, in explaining the differences in female temporality. Fisher explains this because gender is a fundamental component of social existence and subjective lived experience. Our experiences are not gendered just by chance. Our biological sex is just a trait, like our other traits. However, on the contrary, gender emerges not only as a feature but also as a conditional feature of lived and future experiences. In a larger cluster, gender seems to belong specifically to this cluster, as it forms a substantial part of our complex cultural existence as a necessary parallel to all our experiences. It is a determinant of how we exist in the physical and socio-political world.

As explained in the time section, in post-Fordist and neoliberal societies at this point, although time has many meanings that can be mentioned, the main thing is the reality that time has turned into a kind of commodity that can be bought and sold. Without forgetting this reality, the individual's "free time" or "leisure time" as it is sometimes referred to in the literature is an important resource for social and democratic participation, health and physical/spiritual self-care, and other important elements that make up the individual's free choice space. seems to be ignored. Despite this situation, time as a resource stands out as a

resource that is getting scarce and the inequality of its distribution is increasing day by day [95].

In the studies on leisure time, it is seen that women's leisure time includes many features determined by gender, race, class, sexuality, and age. Many women share gendered experiences of security, financial restraint, and sexual division of labor (this includes employment opportunities, domestic work, and child and/or elderly care obligations). However, these common restrictive experiences also vary with other characteristics such as age, class, sexuality, and ethnicity. Therefore, these diversifying and restrictive urban experiences lead women to create a network of cooperation/collaboration specific to certain group identities as common pressures and common resistances. For better understanding, examples of these group identities such as "old women", "working mothers", and "housewives" can be given. The heterogeneity of these groups, which experience restrictive experiences in varying diversity, may also be a special topic for more local research in terms of literature. But these differences are central. Therefore, it is important to consider these differences not only as plurality and/or diversity but also as exclusion mechanisms that are constantly reproduced by power relations/spaces and mechanisms [96].

In this sense, daily practices are very important in terms of looking at the temporal disadvantage created by women's urban experiences. It would be unfair not to count the ever-changing patterns of gender relations as successes in claiming more rights as a result of many political struggles and social movements. However, it is seen that the changing gender stereotypes change the physical and already gendered environment of the city, and thus its practices, in a much longer term and rigidity that cannot keep up with the pace of changing gender stereotypes.

When looking at how urban daily practices are gendered, it seems important to look at the urban movement of people living in neoliberal cities, especially those with metropolitan characteristics. Simply, the everyday movement offers people different experiences depending on whether they are men or women. Everyday practices such as moving in public spaces and using public transport can cause women insecurity and fear of physical or sexual violence. This is the main factor limiting women's daily movements. Factors such as the location of the bus stop, how well the streets are lit, and whether the area is secluded depending on the time, can greatly affect the women's movement. Women develop various

forms of struggle against such disadvantages. They can re-route according to the seclusion or safety of the route they will use at certain times of the day, and try not to stay later than certain hours in order not to experience a feeling of insecurity. Apart from this, practices such as sharing live locations or license plates when using individual vehicles (such as taxis, and personal vehicles), and taking care not to travel alone or with one or two people while using public transportation at certain hours are quite common for women. The factors that cause these tactics both force women to think actively about their time-spatial organization and degrade all kinds of experiences with tactics that are necessary/felt to implement. Therefore, instead of concentrating on active spaces in certain urban areas at different times of the day, planning strategies such as increasing these spaces within the city and increasing neighborhoods and regions with high social interaction can reduce these disadvantages.

An urban mobility study conducted in the metropolitan area of Santiago, Chile, is a study that will shed light on how women experience urban movement in neoliberal cities. In the study, gender inequality in the mobility patterns of Santiago residents was tried to be determined. Activity traces extracted from Call Detail Records (CDR) of 418,624 users, 51% of whom were women, were analyzed over 3 months. When we look at the results of this very detailed study, it is observed that women travel to less unique places in the city than men. It was found that women traveled an average of 9 places less than men for three months. Compared to the average, means that men visit an average of 30% more places than women. An important aspect that characterizes human mobility is the average distance traveled by an individual [97].

Apart from this, social policies also indirectly affect women's temporality in the long run. When we look at social policies, these policies can be evaluated in broad frameworks that have very important effects on the time organization of women in business life. Post-natal and parental leave, which have a direct impact on the subject, can be evaluated in this sense.

Leaves given to working and parents with children are applied in three different ways as maternity leave, paternity leave, and parental leave. In the literature, maternity leave is defined as postpartum recovery leave to protect the health of the mother and her newborn baby. Paternity leave usually covers a shorter period of leave than maternity leave, which is given to the father to take care of his wife and child after birth. [98] In Stoller phenomenology, it will be mentioned that fathers also experience the pregnancy process, I

could not find that page here) In this sense, although the roles of mother and father are different within the scope of postpartum leave, they serve a common purpose and the benefit of equal participation in this sense is considered. should not be overlooked. Postpartum leave also appears as the period during which the mother and father gain their first experience of childcare. Primary care practices that can be replicated, such as ways to calm a crying baby, changing diapers, keeping it safe, and making sense of a baby's needs that cannot be put into words, are generally acquired through experiences gained during the postpartum period. Therefore, the limited participation of the father in this stage will create a situation of "ignorance and/or inexperience" that will free him from the care practices in the later stage compared to the woman [98].

When the practices regarding postpartum leave are especially focused on maternity leave, this situation causes the distribution of not only the experience in the leave process, but also the roles of who will take care of the psychological and physical needs of the children in the family in the long run. The fact that the postpartum leave covers the fathers in a very limited way compared to the mothers causes the fathers and their children to not be able to gain communication that can understand the needs of the children and the skills to meet them. Therefore, in the scale that continues until the child's adulthood, the role of the father remains rather to help the mother, not to participate in the child's care role.

Women's care-related responsibilities cause increasing time pressure, especially for working mothers. Many studies conducted within the scope of women's studies have long argued that it takes a lot of time to manage a house and take care of a family and that this is a form of work. Although many household appliances that reduce the burden of housework and save labor, especially for western women, have been relatively beneficial in reducing these time pressures, childcare services are still quite time-consuming. Even when children are older, "good motherhood" remains a time-consuming profession [95].

The intensification of these care responsibilities, especially in the mother, regardless of whether the mother works in a paid job, can be seen as a result of gender roles and social policies that support these roles in the long run. As a result, as mentioned above, the experience of childcare, which begins with the birth of the child, hinders the equal sharing of this responsibility in the long run as an area where fathers gain incomplete experience as

a result of social policies. In addition, the lack of policies to assist working parents in childcare increases the time pressure of mothers.

Bryson also states that women's participation in paid employment does not remove their care and domestic responsibilities. As a result, many working women face the second shift of unpaid work at home as well [95].

Warren draws heavily from the literature on the temporal problems created by the ever-increasing demands of working life. To quote Veblen, concerns about time poverty come with long shifts. On the one hand, studies show that paid work has a positive correlation with all other areas of life. However, it was also found that those with the longest working hours had the most problems integrating all aspects of their lives. In addition, shorter hours are often associated with part-time work, while part-time work is better at causing time poverty than full-time work, but is often associated with lower-paying jobs that provide less reassurance to the employed person. The benefits of short working hours are therefore the subject of debate due to the precarious conditions of jobs with these conditions. In addition, the time allocated for leisure seems critical for the coordination of multiple times involving other types of work and obligations, as time theorist Adam points out [99].

At this point, although there are many debates in the literature about what leisure time is and what it encompasses, there is a danger of over-expanding the scope of the subject. However, in many studies on leisure time, which is about paid employees, leisure time is based on the time left over from paid employment. At this point, such a concept of leisure for women seems quite problematic. Because it blurs the boundaries between leisure and unpaid labor [99].

Of course, women's experiences of time poverty show diversifying differences in socio-cultural, economic and other branches of demography. In this sense, if a generalization is made for all women, the deep analysis of the subject will be reduced. However, this issue can be examined in depth with subgroups such as working mothers and single women who share the common experience. The aim of this thesis is not to make a deep analysis of all these subgroups or one of the existing subgroups, but to establish a coherence between the right to the city and equality of opportunity through women. However, the literature on these subgroups is also important for understanding the time poverty of women in the neoliberal city.

In this sense, when we look at working women, economic income provides important opportunities to create individual time. Therefore, the economy stands out as an important criterion in women's temporality. In particular, the top and bottom segments of paid employment stand out as the group that experiences time poverty the most due to long working hours. However, at this point, an important difference is that while those at the bottom of employment (especially workers who have to work long hours with low wages) cannot create time for themselves by purchasing services such as domestic labor and child care, at the same time, the qualified and high-paid workers at the top of employment suffer from poverty. an opportunity exists. As a result, those who are qualified and at the top of employment with high wages can buy time [99].

However, this is more complicated than it seems. Despite the various attempts of time pioneers to reduce working hours, although there are consumption differences that vary according to demographic characteristics, meeting and maintaining new consumption standards requires longer shifts. As a result, as Boulin relates, leisure rights seem to be realized only when the poorest receive a living wage. The labor theorist Boulin similarly asked what is the benefit of having free time if leisure time cannot be used for economic reasons, and pointed out difficult trade-offs in this sense [99].

It can be said that this exchange plays a very critical role, especially for women. The economic freedom of women has different meanings than the economic freedom of men. While women who have not participated in the employment life work for free with domestic labor and child care, they have relatively less access to opportunities to support their leisure time economically. First of all, urban mobility stays local to meet the needs of the house, and close neighborhood relations. Apart from this, women who do not have economic freedom are more open to domestic economic, physical, and psychological violence. In our world where 1.5 billion poor people live and 70% of them are women, poverty seems to be both the cause and the result of economic violence [100].

4. CASE STUDY

In the third title, the literature was used to evaluate the urban experience of women through the city right and time. Different studies throughout the literature reflect different aspects of the feminine experience in a way that can be accepted by everyday experience with a certain common-sense generality. However, new studies on this experience seem important despite many studies in the literature. Because today, women's movements continue collectively through means such as solidarity networks and as a personal opposition that the person takes as a result of the situation she is in. The urban experience of womanhood progresses and/or regresses according to geography, culture, politics, and temporal conjunctures. Therefore, the repetition of studies on the experience of womanhood contributes to both the revealing of temporal differences (what is the position of womanhood experience in the city according to a previous study) and the emergence of geographical differences (how the experience of womanhood varies in different urban regions or geographies). Therefore, the case study can be viewed as timeless geography of womanhood experience.

4.1. DETERMINING THE SAMPLE GROUP FOR THE CASE STUDY

The sample group of the case study consists of adult women between the ages of 18-65 living in İstanbul. Although such a wide age range seems broad for a case study to be made, in many studies in the literature that refer to different aspects of the experience of femininity, the age difference seems not to be overlooked when addressing the common experiences of women. The unfair conditions many women are exposed to are shaped by parallels regardless of age. Elements of inequality such as unfair domestic labor sharing, unequal parenting conditions, insecurity and unsecured, working in conditions where mobbing may be exposed in the work environment, and pressure mechanisms of different scales spreading from the nuclear family to the society regarding clothing, behavior, and lifestyle are generally experienced independently of age.

This wide range, revealed by the age issue, is a little more limited in terms of geography. Likewise, for a thesis that will be based on all women in Turkey and will focus on the experience of womanhood in the city, geographical differences seem to be factors that deepen the gap between cultural differences and lifestyles. In addition, the thesis focuses on

neoliberal cities, especially the showcase cities of neoliberalism, which invent and spread the dominant elements of today's global culture. In this context, the city of İstanbul was preferred within the borders of Turkey. Another reason İstanbul is an important benchmark is its potential to set an example for Turkey in general with its multicultural structure.

4.2. INTRODUCTION OF DATA COLLECTION METHOD

A digital survey method was used to conduct the case study. There are positive and negative aspects to this method. It is easier to reach a large sample group in the questionnaires made in the digital environment. However, simultaneously, the socio-cultural and/or economic scope of the sample group narrows and/or tends to accumulate in a specific direction. In addition to the telephone or computer equipment required to reach a digital survey, the requirements to use these devices with maximum efficiency and provide internet circulation at a level to reach this survey bring filters to the sample group that is not in the hands of the researcher. However, this method seems helpful in reaching a large sample group within certain temporal constraints.

One hundred twelve women aged between 18 and 65 living in İstanbul completed the questionnaire. Before proceeding to the survey findings and evaluating these findings, the survey will be introduced. The digital questionnaire for the case study consists of seven parts.

4.3. QUESTION FORMATION AND DATA COLLECTION PROCESS

The questions in the first part aim to group the sample regarding socio-cultural and geographical aspects. In this context, in the first part, marital status, residential district, education, and working status, the spatial status of employees (working at work, working from home, self-employed), monthly income, and, if available, the number of children were asked.

In the second part, especially women's domestic labor conditions were tried to be evaluated. Evaluation of these labor conditions can be considered essential both to reveal the differences between working and non-working women and to determine whether and/or in which conditions or situations there is time poverty. In this context, the first sentence tries

to measure whether people are free to plan their time and questions their commitment to external factors such as domestic labor and work to organize their time. In this context, the people who filled out the questionnaire were given the following sentences: "I spend most of my time at home", "I spend most of my time at work", and "I spend most of my time wherever I want". They were asked to rate these sentences from one to five (one point for "strongly disagree" and five for completely agree) according to their degree of closeness to themselves.

The following three questions were given to the people who answered the questionnaire with three different sentences in order to understand the burden of housework and to understand whether the labor is shared or not. Those who were faced with the following sentences: "I do the housework myself", "I get help from my wife/child/family/boyfriend/housemate to do the housework," and "I get paid service to do the housework" were asked to score according to their degree of closeness from one to five.

The question type used to measure labor and sharing in housework was repeated exactly, and the following three questions, if any, were asked for child care. Participants were faced with the following sentences: "I take care of the child myself", "I take care of the child with my wife/other child/family/boyfriend/housemate" and "I get paid childcare services", and scored from one to five according to their degree of closeness.

The following two questions ask whether childcare is a dominant factor for the participant. The participants were asked to evaluate the sentences: "Childcare takes most of my time" and "I organize my daily schedule and what to do and when, according to my child", respectively.

The last question can be considered a preparatory question to move on to the third part. The third part evaluated the burden of patient and elderly care on the person. In this context, the last question of the second part had two options, yes and no, and the participant was given the sentence "I have a sick/old person to take care of at home".

The third and the fourth section that follows it is titled "domestic division of labor", and the questions in the third section are specifically directed to those who answered yes to the question "Is there an old/sick person at home that I need to take care of?" All three questions of the section were asked in three different ways regarding who cares for the elderly/sick

individual at home. Against the question form situation sentences, as in the previous section, one "totally disagree" and five "totally agree" are expected from the participants to make a rating. The three sentences given are respectively: "I take care of the old/sick individual at home", "I take care of the old/sick individual at home with my spouse/child/family/boyfriend/roommate" and "I get paid service for the care of the elderly/sick individual at home."

The fourth chapter aims to measure the domestic burden on women without distinguishing between domestic labor elements such as housework, child, patient and elderly care. Again, in this section, the participants were given situation sentences, and they were expected to be graded as one "strongly disagree" and five "strongly agree". The first sentence given to the participant in this section, which consists of five situation sentences, was: "I have difficulties in carrying out my own work/business together with housework/childcare/elder care/patient care". Following this, the sentence "I find it difficult to spare time for myself after housework/childcare/elder care/patient care" was given. Then, in order to understand whether women have individual time or not, the following sentences were given: "I have time for myself during the week / I can spare time for myself during the week" and "I have time for myself on the weekends / I can spare time for myself on the weekends". Finally, the participants were asked to rate the sentence "housework/childcare/elder care/patient care challenges me" for their evaluation of whether they felt difficult.

The fifth section aims explicitly to measure women's sociality at home and outside of work. In the second part, he tried to measure the participant's situation by evaluating the situation sentences. In particular, the first three sentences are about whether the time devoted to socializing is usually at home or outside. Therefore, the sentences "I take time to socialize with my friends", "I socialize with my friends at home," and "I socialize outside with my friends" were presented to the evaluation of the participants, respectively. Since the survey mentioned above was conducted within the scope of a city with high potential in terms of leisure activities, such as İstanbul, it was tried to understand how accessible the potentials of the context and urban opportunities are for women. In this context, following the first three questions regarding socialization, the status sentence "I attend events such as concerts/cinema/theatre/workshops or go to places such as museums/galleries" was given. The following two situation sentences try to understand the urban scale experienced by the

participating women. In this context, the following sentences were given to the participants to support each other: "I often go to distant districts in İstanbul for visiting/socializing or events" and "I often go to nearby districts in İstanbul for visiting/socializing or events" and "I usually go out in the place/street/neighborhood I live in.". The special geographical situation of İstanbul, which takes the character of two sides through the Bosphorus, has a distinctive feature in İstanbul transportation. This special case was presented to the evaluation of the participants with the sentence, "I often pass from the Anatolian Side to Europe and/or from the European Side to Anatolia for non-business purposes". In this context, women's choices for urban transportation were also considered necessary, and women's preferences for public transportation, walking, and/or private vehicles were also measured with case statements. At the end of the section, the participants were given a multiple-choice fill-in-the-blank sentence that included all districts of İstanbul: "I mostly go to the district for non-work purposes". In addition, the three places they prefer to go to socialize were asked to the participants in a format that could provide a short text answer.

The sixth chapter deals with urban security itself. In this section, statements indicating the situation were given to the participants, and they were expected to give a rating as one "I strongly disagree" and 5 "I completely agree". The first two questions focus on the sense of security inside and outside the district/neighborhood. In order to get an answer to the question, "I think that going to certain areas or places in my neighborhood/neighborhood is unsettling and/or dangerous and I avoid going" and "I think that going to some neighborhoods/towns/regions in İstanbul is unsettling and/or dangerous, and I avoid going." sentences are given. The sentence "going to certain kinds of places is unsettling, and I avoid it" was given as to whether the participants felt safe in the city and whether they had a reaction to it. Considering that urban security creates a day-night dilemma for women, the feeling of security at night was also wanted to be measured, and in this context, the sentence "going out at night is unsettling for me, and I don't feel safe" was given. Anticipating that there may also be masculine pressures on this issue, the sentences "going out at night is unsettling for me, and I do not feel safe", "my wife/lover/boyfriend does not prefer me to go out at night" and "my family does not prefer me to go out at night" were given to the participant. Subsequently, it was also tried to measure whether the women reacted to feeling safe at night. In this sense, "I would like to return home at a time when

I feel safe while returning home in the evening/night”, “I prefer certain routes where I will feel safe when returning home in the evening/night”, “There are certain places I go when I go out of the house in the evening/night” and “There are certain places I go when I go out of the house in the evening/night.” sentences given to the participants. As for whether the participants avoid going to distant districts when they want to go out at night, the sentences "I usually stay in my neighborhood/neighborhood when I go out in the evening/night" and "I usually stay in other districts/neighborhoods when I go out in the evening/night" were given for their evaluation. At the end of the chapter, an urban reaction related to the night was tried to be measured, and the sentence "I change my route/path because I don't feel safe on the route/road I use during the day when returning home at night/night" is given.

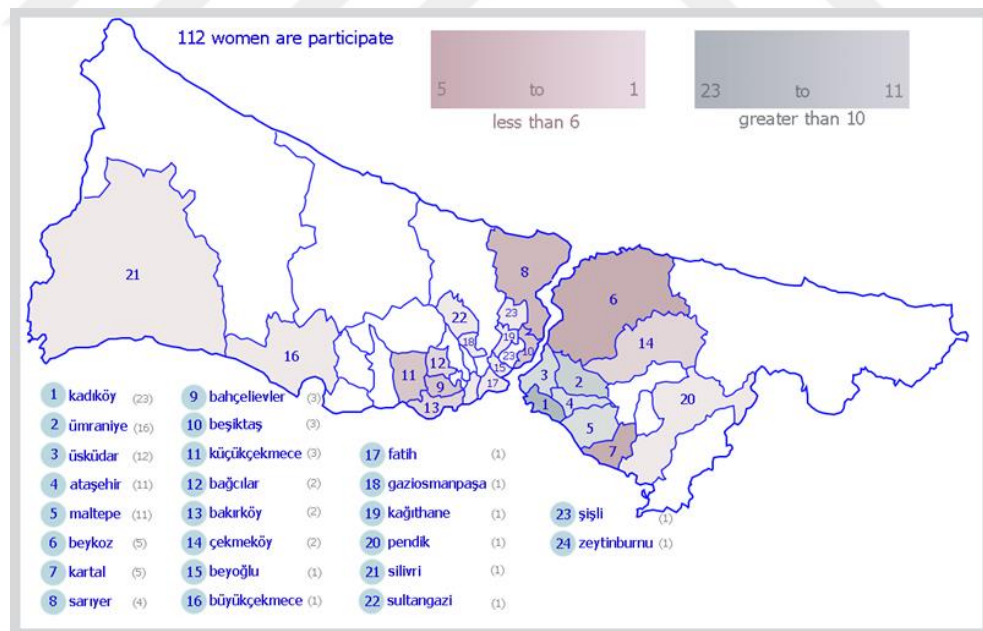
In the last section, the urban emotion section, the experiences of the participants have left aside, and the urban emotion formed as a result of these experiences was tried to be measured. In this context, a total of fifteen situation sentences were given to the participating women for their evaluation. The chapter begins with the sentences “I feel I have equal rights with men in the city” and “I feel I have equal rights with men in my district/neighborhood” in order to understand whether women feel they have equal rights with men at urban and district/neighborhood scales. The following two questions aim to measure the participants' feelings about accessing urban opportunities and the sense of freedom and independence that living in a metropolitan area gives to women. For this purpose, the sentences "I feel that I have access to all urban facilities" and "Living in the city makes me feel free" were given. Subsequently, whether the elements of pressure that can potentially continue even in the city life have a place in women's life experience and are thus affected by it, "my wife/lover/boyfriend puts pressure on my decisions", "my family puts pressure on making my decisions" and "I feel pressure from society/neighborhood/neighbors" was tried to be measured by giving the sentences. In the following, the sentences “I think that I get the same salary as a man who does the same job/qualification as me” and “I am exposed to mobbing in the workplace” are given regarding whether gender equality is possible in their workplaces. Afterwards, the sentences "I always feel comfortable and safe in public transportation" and "I always feel comfortable and safe in a taxi and private vehicle services" were given for their evaluation to understand how safe the participants felt on different urban transportation routes.

Finally, by trying to measure the effect of calmness, seclusion or crowds on the sense of security, in addition to this, in order to determine how free they are in their choice of clothes, respectively: "I feel comfortable and safe in crowded places", "I feel comfortable and safe in quiet / relatively secluded places" , "The district/neighborhood I am in will be effective in my clothing choices" and "The district/neighborhood I will go to will be effective in my clothing choices”.

4.4. PRESENTATION AND EVALUATION OF FINDINGS

In order to evaluate the findings of the survey, the results of the sample study survey of the urban location of the women, to which 112 women living in İstanbul participated, should be considered. In this context, when the first part of the survey is evaluated, the distribution of participation in the survey within the province of İstanbul can be seen in the table below.

Table 4.1. Distribution of participants



Participation seems to be particularly intense in the districts of İstanbul, which are also listed in the first four figures on the chart. Since the participation rates among the districts are either greater than 10 or less than 6, the tones of two different colors are used to show the districts with more than ten participation numbers and the districts with less than six on the

map. A total of 39 people from other counties (that is, less than six people participated in the survey) participated in the survey, which included 73 participants from Kadıköy, Ümraniye, Üsküdar, Ataşehir, Maltepe districts, which are dense in terms of the number of participants and have more than 10 participants. Districts with more than ten participants in the survey were named group A, and the group of districts with less than six participants in the survey was named group B for ease of expression. Group A districts are adjacent to each other, especially on the Anatolian side of İstanbul, and except for Ümraniye and Ataşehir, an important part of the Anatolian side, especially the half of the Bosphorus part, forms the coast of the Marmara Sea. For the A group districts, the districts forming the center of the Anatolian side can also be mentioned. Considering the populations, while the population of the A group districts of the Anatolian Side is 2,690,169, this population seems to be very close to the total population of 2,946,036, which is the total population of all the other districts on the Anatolian side except for the A group. (<https://www.nufusu.com/ilceleri/İstanbul-ilceleri-nufusu>) When the population of Group A districts and Group B districts on the Anatolian Side is compared, Group A has a population of 2,690,169 as stated above, while B group has a population of 2,690,169. Beykoz, Kartal, Çekmeköy, and Pendik districts of the Anatolian side of the group seem to have a total population of 1,759,813. (<https://www.nufusu.com/ilceleri/İstanbul-ilceleri-nufusu>) 86 participants from the 112-participant group are located on the Anatolian Side, and among these, 73 participants from the five districts with the high number of participants we refer to as group A; 13 people from the remaining Beykoz, Kartal, Çekmeköy and Pendik districts participated.

In general, A group districts and B group districts differ in terms of their distribution on the cartography of İstanbul. While the A group districts appear as a cluster and/or center in terms of being adjacent to each other on the Anatolian side, the B group districts covered all the districts of İstanbul along the Bosphorus line stretching from the Black Sea to the Marmara Sea, as well as the Bosphorus such as Büyükçekmece, Silivri, Çekmeköy, Pendik. It has reached one or two people in the districts behind the city center and thus the center.

A total of 39 participants from the European Side participated in the survey, and all of them appear as B group districts in the survey. There were a total of five people and/or fewer participants from each European Side district.

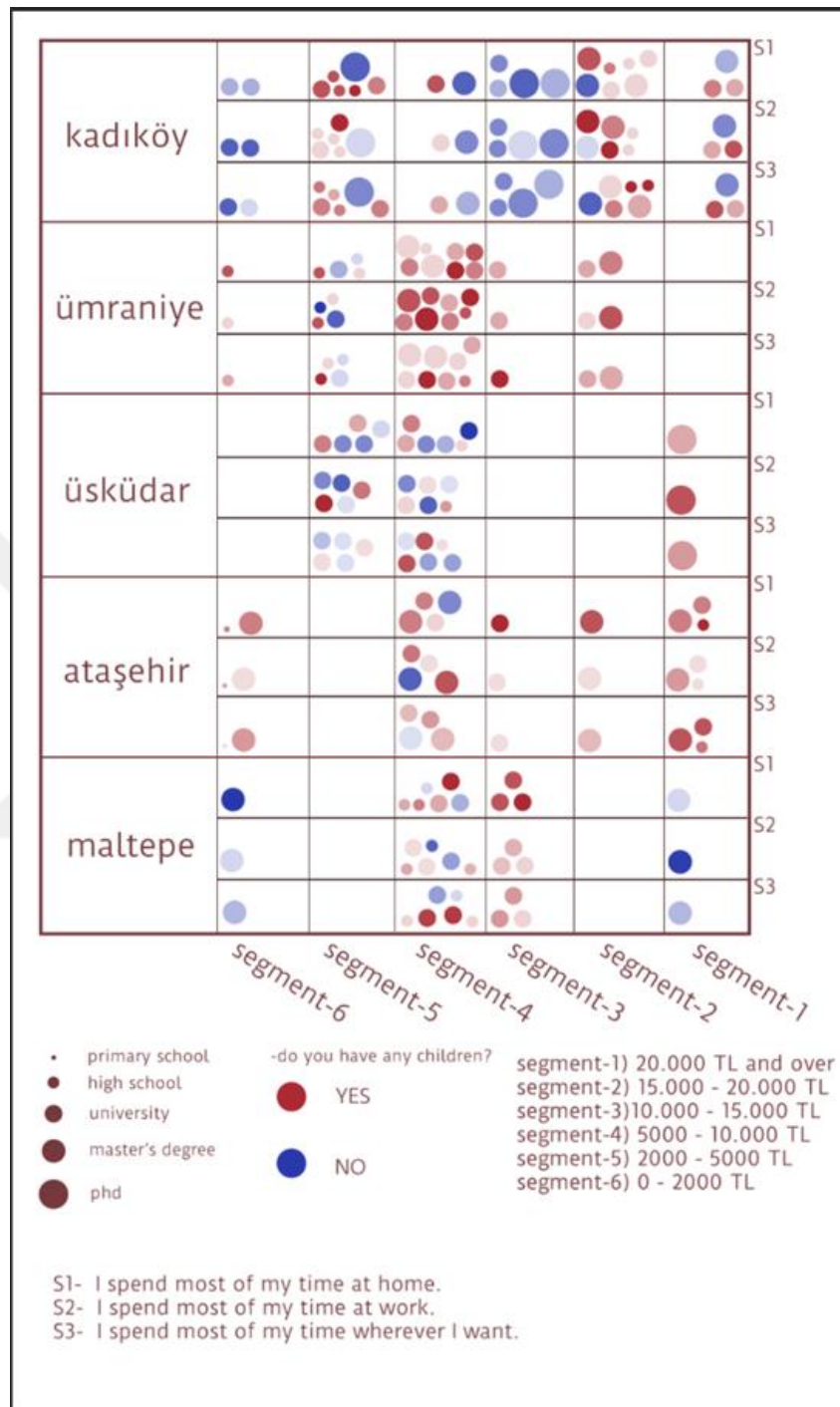
Districts where the number of participants are higher than 10 are on the Anatolian side and neighboring to each other, but differ in socio-economic context. Although there are various studies that evaluate these socio-economic differences in detail, they are not included here because they would broaden the scope of the subject. While evaluating the survey findings in the table below, it has been tried to measure how much women living in different districts can be found at home, at the workplace and in the places they choose, and their balance.

Looking at the table below, the relationship between many variables can be read at the same time. In this table, it is aimed to see whether there is a difference between the socio-economic level of the respondents according to the districts, and if there is, the effect of this difference on the evaluation of the sentences in the questionnaire. Therefore, only the districts where the participation rate is higher than 10 people are included in this table. Districts are listed down on the left, with each district's row split for the first, second, and third sentences given in the questionnaire. The whole table is divided vertically into six income groups that were asked to be selected from the participants in the survey. In this way, the distribution of income groups according to the districts can be read. The size of the circles representing each participant indicates the level of education, as in the legend. The color of the circles indicates whether the participants have children or not, the lightness of this color indicates that they agree less with the given sentence, and the darkness of the color indicates that the participant agrees more with the given sentence.

Looking at the table, the economic distributions of different districts differ. In Ümraniye and Üsküdar districts, people in the low-middle income group are more concentrated, in the Maltepe district the middle-income group and in the Kadıköy district, women in the high-income group are more concentrated. In Ataşehir district, the middle and upper income groups show an equal distribution.

Some participants gave contradictory answers in the survey. Some participants stated that they do not work, but they agree with the statement "I spend most of my time at my workplace". Therefore, there are margins of error in the findings due to inconsistent answers, although they are proportionally small.

Table 4.2. Table for Q1, Q2 and Q3



When we look at the women who have no children in Kadıköy district, it is seen that single women who say that they spend time at home in a dominant way and who can be considered to continue their education life are more common than in other districts. In Kadıköy, single women who do not seem to have participated in paid employment spend more time at home than outside. As a reason for this, it can be said that these women are at lower and middle-

income levels. It can also be said that the women of the lowest income group in Kadıköy have a dominant working life. When we look at the women with children residing in Kadıköy, it is seen that especially the lower-income group has a dominant home life. On the other hand, it seems more limited when the mobility of a low-income participant, who has a business life, is left to his own will after first working and then home life, in the city. It can also be deduced from the chart that women with children from the high-income group residing in Kadıköy have a less dominant home life than women with children from the lower-income groups.

When we look at the Ümraniye district, it is striking the density of women with children and that these women generally belong to the low-middle income group. It is read that especially women with incomes in the 5000-10.000 TL band have a predominantly busy business life. The busy work life of two childless and low-income women living in Ümraniye is also noticeable. The dominant household time of a childless woman, a high school graduate from the lowest income group, suggests that her home time is generally spent with domestic labor. The time of two childless women residing in the Ümraniye district, belonging to the lower income group, which can be defined as the social life and urban mobility, which can be described as home and outside, seems to be quite partial compared to the time allocated to business life. In addition to these, the freedom to determine the time of the woman with three children, one of whom is a high school graduate and the other two university graduates, residing in the Ümraniye district, has dominated her work and care times. Apart from this, the temporal freedom of the participants is shown in the faintest colors, and it can be said that it is almost non-existent.

When it comes to Ataşehir, it is seen that women with children, who receive a salary of 5000-10,000 TL, spend most of their time at home and work places. It is observed that a woman with a master's degree from the lowest income group does not have a working life, and a similar situation is observed for women belonging to segments 1, 2 and 3 in terms of income group.

When we look at Maltepe district, two childless women with postgraduate degrees, who are at the two ends of the income scale, stand out. In contrast to the dominant domestic life of the woman from the lowest income group, the dominant business life of the woman from the

highest income group draws attention, suggesting that the woman belonging to the income group of 0-2000 TL is temporarily unemployed.

On the other hand, the home life of women with children in Segment 3 seems to be quite dominant compared to work and other places. When we look at segment 4, it is observed that the work life of childless women is more dominant, and their home and outside lives seem balanced, while it is noticed that women with children spend more time either at home or in the place of their choice.

In this table prepared on the basis of districts, it is seen that in general, childless women choose the districts of Ümraniye and Ataşehir the least, and Kadıköy, Maltepe, Üsküdar the most, respectively, Kadıköy. In addition, it is seen that especially women with children prefer Ümraniye and Ataşehir districts.

Again, Kadıköy seems to be a region where business life is dominated by people with university and higher education. On the other hand, it is seen that high school graduate women living in Kadıköy do not have a working life. Maltepe district stands out as the region where women with children are least involved in business life, and it is seen that many women, independent of the districts, spend time at home, work and in the places they choose themselves.

In another graphic below, how the women who participated in the survey evaluated the sentences "I can spare time for myself during the weekdays" and "I can spare time for myself on the weekends", based on whether they have children or not, and their income and education status. Line thicknesses from thin to thick show the educational status of women from primary education to doctoral education level. While the red lines represent women with children, the blue lines characterize the childless participants, and the lightness and darkness of these colors represent the income level increasing from light to dark. In the survey given, the participants were asked whether they work, and if they do, whether they work at home, at their workplace or at the place of their choice, and then the time they spend at work. were asked to evaluate their experience. However, after the statement "I don't work, I spend most of my time at work", graphic evaluations were exempted from the yes-good answer to the question "Do you work in survey evaluations," due to many inconsistent answers. However, it is necessary to remember that 42 women declared that they were not working. Because in the chart above, many women who think that they can spare a lot of

time for themselves both on weekdays and on weekends stand out even though they have children. One reason for this may be the statement that many women do not work, as well as a changed or distorted perception of taking time for themselves. The bond of women who have become the subject of unpaid labor at home is internalized, and an internalization that may lead to the idea of "what is for me is for me" may have played a role in the development of the idea that children who spend domestic labor spare time for themselves, especially during the weekdays when they go to school. At this point, the questionnaire made did not measure what is understood from the concept of "taking time for yourself". The chart is given in two parts due to its dimensions.

Table 4.3. Personal time part-I

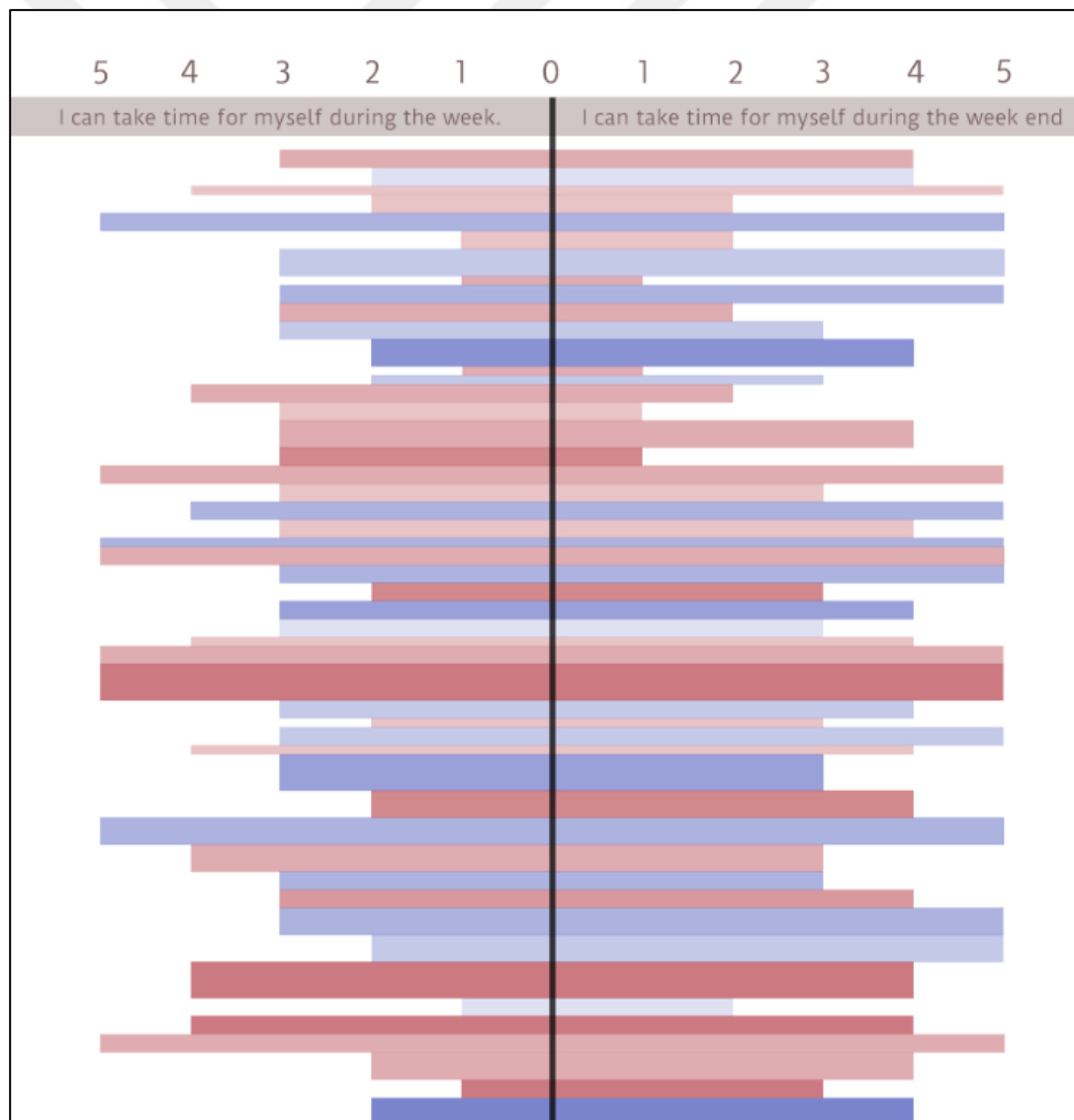
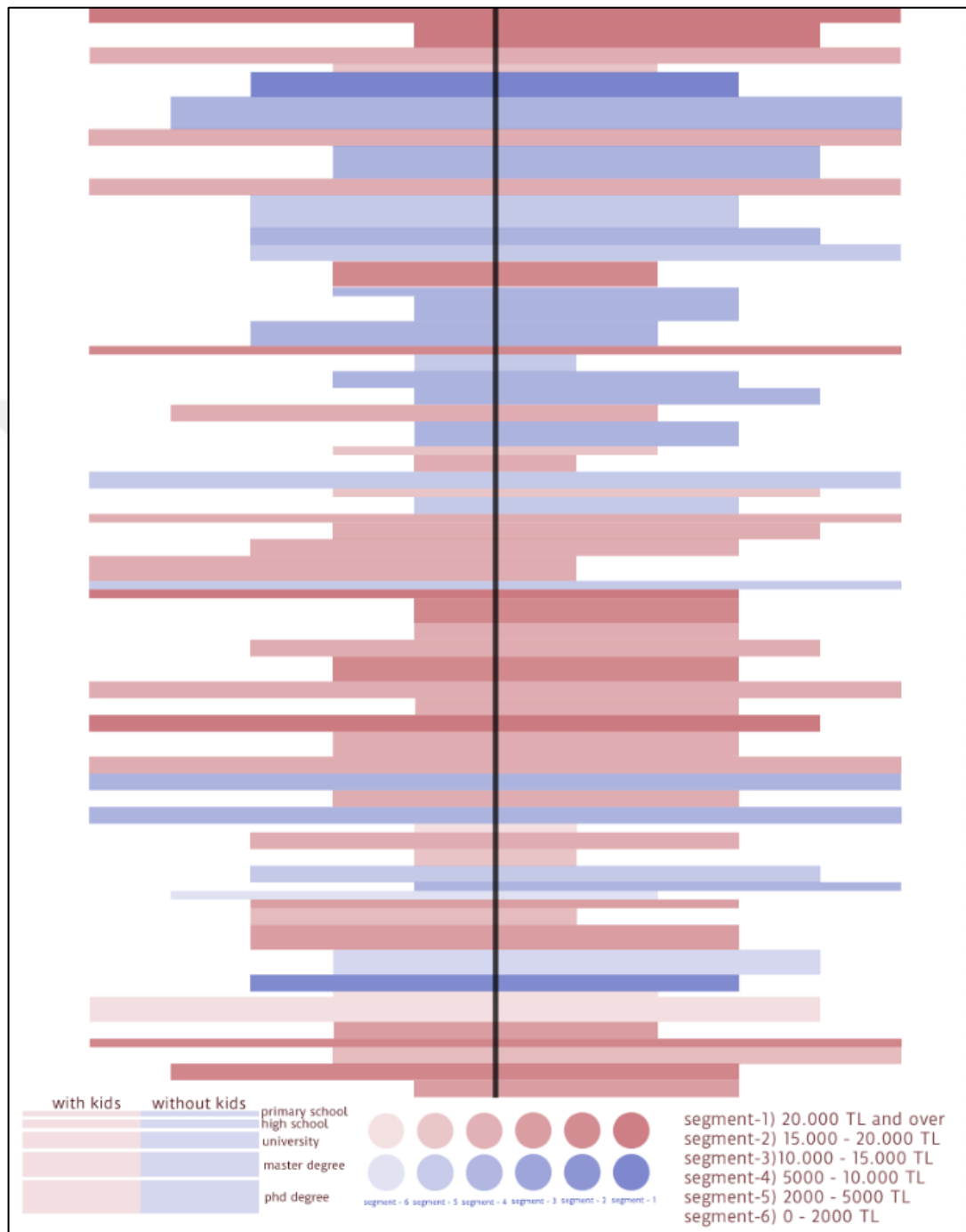


Table 4.4. Personal time part-II



As a result of this graph, the differences that are thought to clearly separate women with and without children were not observed as expected. In the literature, there are many studies stating that women with children are under time pressure as a result of domestic labor and care services, and this situation is experienced more severely, especially among women who participate in paid employment. It was stated in the questionnaire that there were conflicting

answers as stated above. For this reason, one of the two statements that can answer the same question is based on. For example, some of those who answered that I spend most of my time at my workplace declared that they do not work. Therefore, in the previous table, only the answers given to the sentence "I spend most of my time at home/workplace/where I want" are based. However, it seems important to remember that 31 of 69 women with children who participated in the survey declared that they were not working, as an issue that may become important when evaluating this picture.

When we look at the childless women as given in the table, the popular answers seem to come from those who think that they can spare time for themselves on weekdays and weekends, and those who think that they can spare more time for themselves at the weekend. When we look at women with children, the result shows us that women can spare enough time for themselves, except for 27 people who stated that they could spare more time for themselves on the weekends and less time for themselves (at the rate of 1 or 2 out of 5) on both weekdays and weekends. However, as we have mentioned, a substantial portion of women with children have not participated in paid employment. At this point, the following question comes to mind. Could the boundaries of unpaid labor time and personal time be blurred for women who do not participate in paid employment and have to deal with domestic labor and child care? Unfortunately, the answer to this question cannot be understood within the scope of this survey. However, it seems important to measure whether this blurriness exists and to what extent, if any, in the survey to be conducted for future studies.

Table 4.5. Temporal distrubution part-I

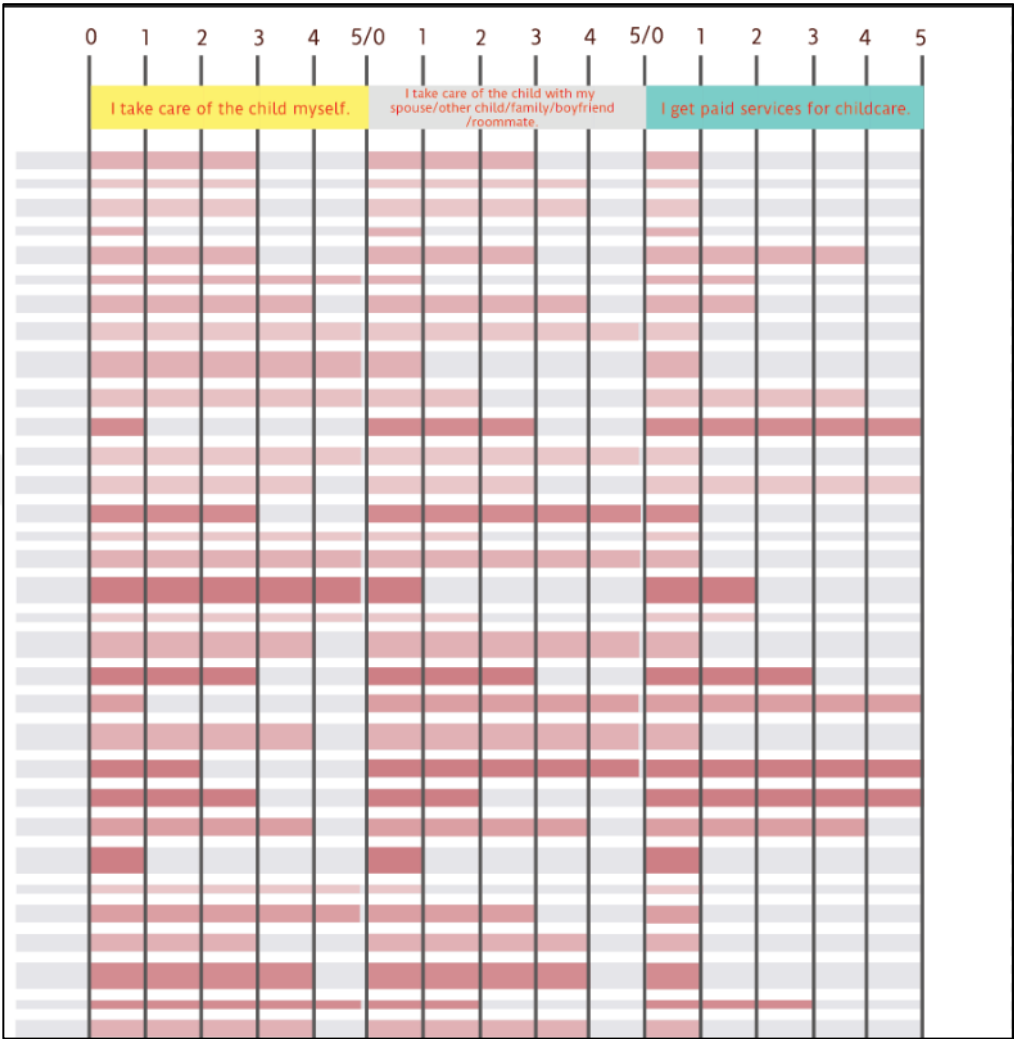
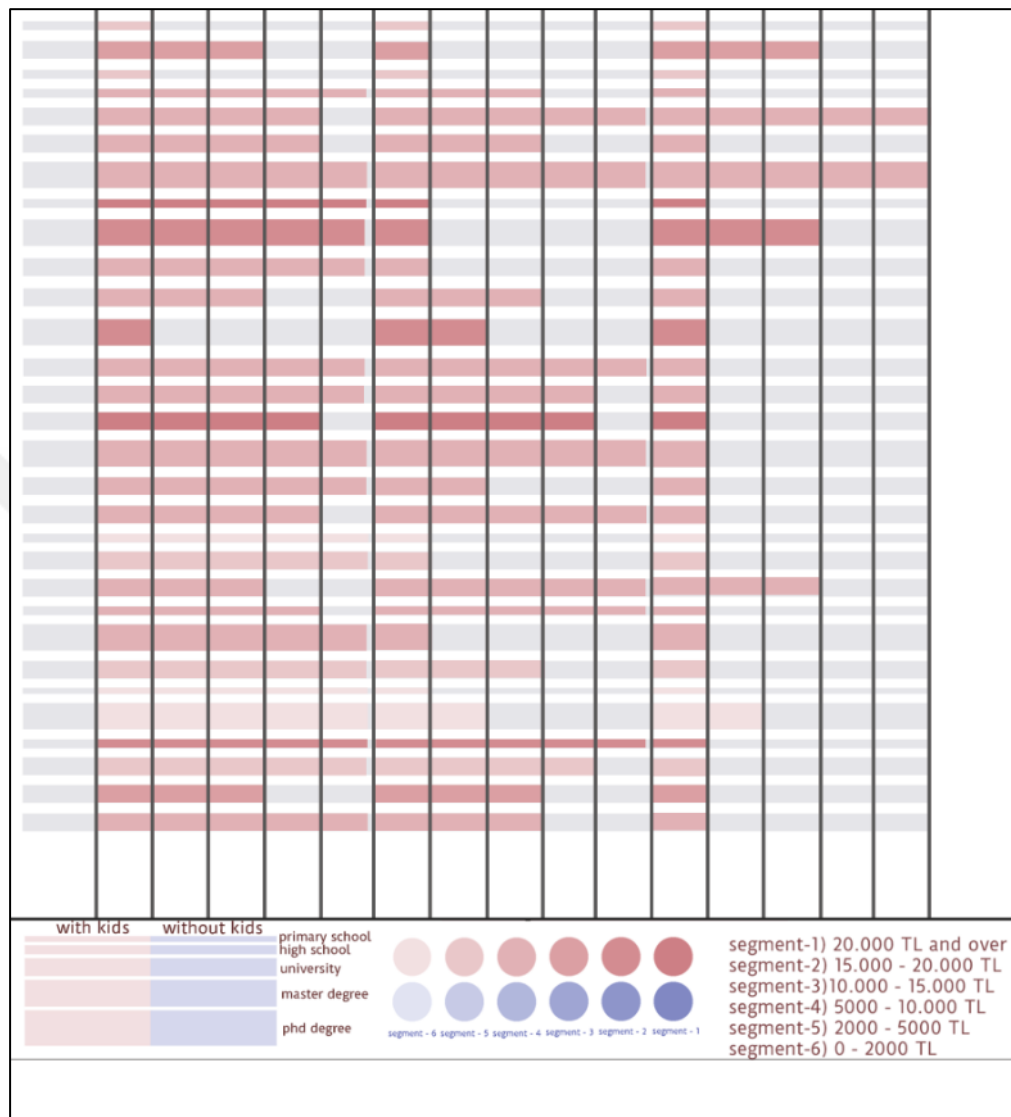


Table 4.6. Temporal distrubution part-II



In the table given above in two parts due to its dimensions, the burden of childcare service on women has been tried to be measured. Here, with three different sentences given to the participants, it was tried to measure whether the burden of childcare on them could be shared or not.

If we start with very clear results, it can be said that the lowest economic level that can receive child care services is the women belonging to segment 3, which is the middle-upper income group. It can be said that the economic accessibility of parents to buy time through child care services is quite low. Only 6 of the 17 participants receiving care services receive full-time care. The remaining participants seem to receive this service partially or as an

auxiliary. All participants belonging to the lower income group receive no full-time or partial care services.

The question of whether child care is shared among the stakeholders is not limited to the wife of the woman, since the generality of the family institution consisting of mother, father and child is considered in the survey, since the existence of women belonging to family structures is also considered. Therefore, the sentence given to the participants is "I take care of the child with my wife/other child/family/boyfriend/roommate". It is a fact that in our country, parents of parents are also stakeholders in childcare whenever possible. Nevertheless, it is obvious that the prevalence of dominance is known to be the nuclear family, which can be taken as a presupposition. Therefore, it can be said that the gender role of childcare has been partially measured here.

When we look at women with children, 12 participants with a master's degree and above stand out. 5 of these participants stated that they take more responsibility for child care than their stakeholders. We are not 100% sure that the other 7 people who stated that they share the responsibility of care with their stakeholders are their spouses. 3 out of 5 women with higher education who think that they have more work in childcare receive partial care services. Women who state that childcare services are equal to their stakeholders or that their stakeholders have more time than they do in childcare, generally do not receive care. At this point, it can be said that sharing the care service has an economic contribution.

When we look at the women with children who are high school graduates, it is seen that there are 14 participating mothers. First of all, only 3 of 14 high school graduate mothers receive paid care services. Only 2 of 14 high school graduate mothers state that their stakeholders participate in childcare as much as they do. However, 4 of these 14 mothers state that their stakeholders are never involved in child care services, and 3 of them state that they do not spend care hours even though they or their stakeholders have children. It can be considered that the children of this group are over the age of care. Here, for comparison, although the number of participants is small, it can be thought that the increase in the level of education encourages them to take an active role in child care by increasing the cooperation between the stakeholders. Of course, more comprehensive studies can be done to determine this also.

The mobility of women in the city and the quality of this mobility are also important for women's temporality in the neoliberal city. While the localization of women's mobility can be seen as the pattern of women stuck in care and domestic labor, the delocalization of urban mobility is also an indication that women can use their specific time as much as they want. Of course, the qualities of urban mobility are not limited to this. How safe women feel during their mobility in the city is also an important factor in this regard. The perceived urban security may vary according to urban areas and/or day-night axis. How much women can benefit from urban opportunities, which are thought to liberate women relatively more, within the framework of this mobility, stands out as a separate question. To measure whether women's temporality in the city and their potential in using urban facilities could be evaluated, we gave a series of sentences in that we asked participants to rate whether they agreed or not. We tabulated these questions on economic classes, which is an important criterion in ensuring equality of opportunity among women.

Table 4.7. Questions

QUESTIONS	
A1:	I have my own time during the week / I can spare time for myself during the week.
A2:	I have my own time during the weekend / I can spare time for myself during the weekend.
A3:	I take time to socialize with my friends.
A4:	I socialize with my friends at home
A5:	I socialize with my friends at outside
A6:	I attend events such as concerts/cinema/theater/workshops or go to museums/galleries etc.
A7:	I often go to distant districts in Istanbul to visit/socialize or for events.
A8:	I often go to nearby districts in Istanbul to visit/socialize or for events.
A9:	I usually go out in the place/neighborhood I live in.
A10:	I frequently cross from the Asian Side to Europe and/or from the European Side to Anatolia for non-business purposes.
A11:	I usually use public transport
A12:	I usually provide my transportation by walking
A13:	I usually provide my transportation by private vehicle.

Table 4.8. Questions A1 and A2.

INCOME GROUPS	PARTICIPANTS NUMBER	A1		A2	
		SCORE	PERSON	SCORE	PERSON
0-2000 TL	8	1	2	1	1
		2	3	2	3
		3	1	3	1
		4	1	4	3
		5	1	5	0
2000-5000 TL	26	1	4	1	4
		2	5	2	3
		3	11	3	5
		4	3	4	4
		5	3	5	10
5000-10000 TL	47	1	8	1	3
		2	9	2	3
		3	14	3	16
		4	4	4	8
		5	12	5	17
10000-15000 TL	10	1	1	1	1
		2	0	2	0
		3	4	3	3
		4	2	4	2
		5	3	5	4
15000-20000 TL	9	1	2	1	1
		2	4	2	4
		3	1	3	1
		4	0	4	2
		5	2	5	2
20000 TL AND OVER	11	1	2	1	0
		2	2	2	0
		3	1	3	3
		4	2	4	5
		5	4	5	3

If we reduce the scale of 1 strongly disagree, 5 strongly agree from 1 to 5 given in the questions for better understanding; Taking 1 and 2 as disagree, 3 as neutral, 4 and 5 as agree. It is seen that 5 of the women in the 0-2000 TL income group cannot spare time for themselves on weekdays, and the remaining two can spare time for themselves during the week. On the other hand, this figure includes 4 women who can't spare time for themselves on the weekend, 3 women who can spare time for themselves, and one woman who responds neutrally. Since the number of participants in this income group is very low between weekdays and weekends, it is not very accurate to make an inference, but a common weekday-weekend contrast can be seen.

While the number of women in the 2000-5000 TL income group who can spare time for themselves on weekdays is 9, on the contrary, 6 people seem to be unable to, it seems remarkable that the number of those who answered the question neutrally is 11 in this group. When neutrals are not included, those who cannot take time for themselves on weekdays seem to be 1 in 5 more. While abstention for the weekend decreases and the number of

neutral responders drops to 5, the number of those who cannot spare time for themselves on the weekend is 7 people as 1 in 3 when the neutral group is excluded, whereas the rate of those who can spare time for themselves appears to be 14 people with a rate of 2/3.

When we look at the income group between 5000-10.000 TL, which is the income group with the largest participation, 14 people abstained, whereas 16 people stated that they took time for themselves on weekdays, while 16 people stated that they could not spare time for themselves during the week. On the weekends, it was observed that the number of those who could not spare time for themselves decreased considerably, while the neutral side increased to 16 people and those who could spare time for themselves increased to 25 people.

In the 10.000 – 15.000 TL band, the number of those who cannot spare time for themselves on weekdays is 1, while the neutral group consists of 4 people and those who can spare time for themselves are 5. For the weekend, these numbers seem to have changed as a person who abstains from weekdays can spare time for herself.

When we look at the 15.000 – 20.000 TL range, it is seen that 6 people can not spare time for themselves on weekdays, 2 people who can, and only 1 person who gives a neutral answer to the related question is encountered. At the weekend, these numbers have evolved to 5 people who can't spare time for themselves, and 4 people who can.

In the income group of 20.000 TL and above, 3 people who can spare time for themselves on weekdays, 3 people who can spare time for themselves, and 9 people who can spare time for themselves appear. For the first time in this group, there is no one who cannot spare time for herself on the weekend, 3 people who are neutral and 9 people who can spare time for themselves are seen.

In addition to these, a regular increase or decrease cannot be observed in the case of spending time for oneself with the increase in income regarding whether income groups can spare time for themselves.

Table 4.9. Question A3.

INCOME GROUPS	PARTICIPANTS	A3	
		SCORE	PERSON
0-2000 TL	8	1	2
		2	0
		3	1
		4	2
		5	3
2000-5000 TL	26	1	1
		2	3
		3	14
		4	1
		5	7
5000-10000 TL	47	1	1
		2	5
		3	17
		4	10
		5	14
10000-15000 TL	10	1	1
		2	0
		3	2
		4	1
		5	6
15000-20000 TL	9	1	2
		2	2
		3	2
		4	1
		5	3
20000 TL AND OVER	11	1	0
		2	0
		3	5
		4	2
		5	4

The rating of the sentence "I can spare time for socializing with my friends" is seen as "I can't spare time for 2 people in the group with monthly income between 0-2000 TL, 1 person is undecided and 5 people can allocate it". Considering that it is marked that I cannot spare time for myself, especially during the busy weekdays, it may be due to the fact that not being able to spare time for oneself is high, but following this, it is stated that there is time for friends, the scope of the question differs in terms of being able to allocate time to close relationships such as workplace friendships and neighborhoods.

Looking at the 2000-5000 and 5000-10.000 monthly income groups, it can be seen that the concentration in these groups is especially in the undecided and/or neutral group. Again, the possibility of the close spatial relations mentioned above to be included in this scope seems

to meet the intensely undecided answer given to this question. In the income group of 15,000-20,000 TL, the ability to spare time for friends appears to be half, while in the income group of 20,000 TL and above, it is generally seen that time is spared for socialization or is undecided.

To shed light on future studies, it can be said that socialization criteria should be detailed as a result of the high rate of undecided participants. When it is desired to measure socialization as a part of urban mobility, it should not be forgotten that there are forms of socialization that will almost not require mobility, and such socialization forms should be distinguished with additional questions that can be distinguished from such socialization derivatives. To partially realize this distinction, other questions were asked of the participants in the questionnaire.

Table 4.10. Question A4 and A5.

INCOME GROUPS	PARTICIPANTS	A4		A5	
		SCORE	PERSON	SCORE	PERSON
0-2000 TL	8	1	1	1	1
		2	0	2	1
		3	4	3	2
		4	2	4	0
		5	1	5	4
2000-5000 TL	26	1	4	1	2
		2	5	2	3
		3	5	3	8
		4	9	4	7
		5	3	5	6
5000-10000 TL	47	1	3	1	3
		2	14	2	6
		3	14	3	12
		4	8	4	10
		5	8	5	16
10000-15000 TL	10	1	1	1	1
		2	1	2	1
		3	3	3	2
		4	3	4	6
		5	2	5	0
15000-20000 TL	9	1	2	1	0
		2	1	2	1
		3	3	3	4
		4	2	4	2
		5	2	5	3
20000 TL AND OVER	11	1	2	1	1
		2	1	2	1
		3	4	3	3
		4	2	4	4
		5	2	5	2

Questions A4 and A5 aim to show whether socializing with friends occurs intensively at home or outside. When we look at the question A4 at all income levels, the participation in the sentence "I socialize with my friends at home" seems to be less in each income group than the total rate of those who do not agree with the sentence and are undecided. In question A5, the sentence "I socialize outside with my friends" was given. In general, all income groups are undecided on this question as well, and there is no big difference between those who disagree and those who agree.

Table 4.11. Question A6.

INCOME GROUPS	PARTICIPANTS	A6	
		SCORE	PERSON
0-2000 TL	8	1	2
		2	1
		3	1
		4	1
		5	3
2000-5000 TL	26	1	5
		2	4
		3	7
		4	5
		5	5
5000-10000 TL	47	1	7
		2	15
		3	8
		4	7
		5	10
10000-15000 TL	10	1	2
		2	1
		3	1
		4	3
		5	1
15000-20000 TL	9	1	2
		2	1
		3	2
		4	1
		5	4
20000 TL AND OVER	11	1	1
		2	2
		3	1
		4	3
		5	4

Question A6 measures whether the participants benefit from the socio-cultural activities in the city. In all groups except those with an income of 20,000 TL or more, the groups that declared that they could not benefit and were undecided seem to have a higher rate than the

group that stated that they could benefit. In addition, the participants who stated that they could and could not benefit from the socio-cultural activities in the city in the 0-2000 TL and 2000-5000 TL income groups seem to be close in number. As a reason for this, it can be thought that especially these income groups also represent students. While between 5000-10,000 TL can be considered a high income for a student, it is a relatively low level for a woman in paid employment and/or having children. The ratio of those who think that they cannot benefit from urban opportunities in the 5000-10.000 TL band, and therefore the difference between those who agree with the sentences and those who do not, has increased compared to the previous income groups. As another reason, it can be said that the high number of participants in the 5000-10.000 TL income group provides a more accurate reflection of the women's experience on this subject. As a result, 43 participants stated that they could not benefit from these opportunities at all or very little, and 34 of them were in the 5000-10.000 TL income group and below.

Table 4.12. Questions A7 and A8.

INCOME GROUPS	PARTICIPANTS	A7		A8	
		SCORE	PERSON	SCORE	PERSON
0-2000 TL	8	1	3	1	2
		2	1	2	0
		3	0	3	1
		4	0	4	2
		5	4	5	3
2000-5000 TL	26	1	9	1	5
		2	8	2	6
		3	5	3	7
		4	0	4	1
		5	4	5	7
5000-10000 TL	47	1	12	1	7
		2	17	2	8
		3	12	3	8
		4	3	4	15
		5	3	5	9
10000-15000 TL	10	1	1	1	2
		2	6	2	2
		3	2	3	2
		4	0	4	1
		5	0	5	3
15000-20000 TL	9	1	2	1	0
		2	3	2	3
		3	5	3	6
		4	0	4	1
		5	0	5	0
20000 TL AND OVER	11	1	1	1	0
		2	2	2	2
		3	3	3	3
		4	5	4	1
		5	0	5	5

It was evaluated by giving the sentences A7 and A8 whether close neighborhoods or distant neighborhoods were preferred by the participants for socialization in İstanbul. A7 is far away districts and A8 is the sentences that characterize the close districts. Although the preference of far districts is in the minority, excluding all income groups with an income of 0-2000 TL, the number of those who prefer distant districts for socialization seems to be 0 in the income groups of 10.000-15.000 TL, 15.000-20.000 TL. In the sentence A8, which evaluates whether close districts are preferred or not, the results show that only five of the 19 people who do not prefer to go to distant districts in the income groups of 10,000-15,000 TL and 15,000-20,000 TL prefer to go to nearby districts. It can be said that in these income groups, the time allocated to sociality is less. In the income group between 2000-5000 TL, there are 17 people who do not prefer to go to distant districts, and 8 people who prefer to go to nearby districts, and the number of undecided people has increased in close districts. Again, this can be read as an indication of the urban woman who cannot socialize sufficiently outside.

Table 4.13. Question A9.

INCOME GROUPS	PARTICIPANTS	A9	
		SCORE	PERSON
0-2000 TL	8	1	1
		2	1
		3	3
		4	0
		5	3
2000-5000 TL	26	1	6
		2	3
		3	6
		4	2
		5	9
5000-10000 TL	47	1	5
		2	10
		3	4
		4	14
		5	14
10000-15000 TL	10	1	2
		2	1
		3	2
		4	5
		5	0
15000-20000 TL	9	1	2
		2	1
		3	2
		4	1
		5	4
20000 TL AND OVER	11	1	0
		2	2
		3	4
		4	2
		5	3

The A9 sentence measures whether the use of urban facilities and socialization of the participants is generally within or outside the neighborhood they are in. Except for the group with an income level of 5000-10,000 TL and 15,000-20,000, it seems that the act of going out is generally fifty percent or less in their neighborhoods. In the income group of 5000-10,000 TL and 15,000-20,000, this rate exceeds fifty percent. While 5 out of 11 participants in the income group of 20,000 TL and above prefer to go out in their neighborhood, 2 people did not agree and four people seem undecided. The rate of participants who do not agree with the sentence, that is, those who state that they do not go out in close quarters, does not exceed 0.34 in any group. It can be said that 0.66 of the participants experienced the city mostly in and around their residence.

Table 4.14. Question A10.

INCOME GROUPS	PARTICIPANTS	A10	
		SCORE	PERSON
0-2000 TL	8	1	2
		2	2
		3	2
		4	1
		5	1
2000-5000 TL	26	1	10
		2	7
		3	5
		4	0
		5	4
5000-10000 TL	47	1	18
		2	13
		3	5
		4	3
		5	8
10000-15000 TL	10	1	2
		2	4
		3	3
		4	1
		5	0
15000-20000 TL	9	1	2
		2	5
		3	2
		4	1
		5	0
20000 TL AND OVER	11	1	3
		2	4
		3	1
		4	1
		5	2

The sentence A10 indicates whether the Asian and European Sides, which form an important part of the urban experience in İstanbul, are experienced by the participants as a whole. It was measured whether the participants visited the Asian and European Sides for non-business purposes. As can be seen, a small percentage can experience this urban experience for non-work purposes.

Table 4.15. Questions A11, A12 and A13.

INCOME GROUPS	PARTICIPANTS	A11		A12		A13	
		SCORE	PERSON	SCORE	PERSON	SCORE	PERSON
0-2000 TL	8	1	2	1	1	1	3
		2	2	2	2	2	1
		3	0	3	2	3	1
		4	2	4	1	4	2
		5	2	5	2	5	1
2000-5000 TL	26	1	6	1	3	1	8
		2	0	2	5	2	6
		3	1	3	10	3	6
		4	7	4	6	4	2
		5	12	5	2	5	4
5000-10000 TL	47	1	13	1	20	1	11
		2	7	2	9	2	5
		3	13	3	8	3	2
		4	5	4	2	4	6
		5	9	5	8	5	23
10000-15000 TL	10	1	1	1	3	1	1
		2	1	2	2	2	1
		3	3	3	3	3	2
		4	2	4	1	4	4
		5	3	5	0	5	2
15000-20000 TL	9	1	1	1	2	1	3
		2	5	2	1	2	1
		3	2	3	2	3	1
		4	2	4	3	4	2
		5	0	5	2	5	3
20000 TL AND OVER	11	1	7	1	4	1	0
		2	1	2	4	2	2
		3	1	3	2	3	1
		4	1	4	0	4	2
		5	1	5	1	5	6

The table shows the values given by the participants to the sentences A11, A12 and A13. Questions A11, A12 and A13 measure whether the participants prefer public transportation, walking or private vehicle as an urban transportation vehicle, respectively. In the income group between 0-2000 TL, the preference of public transportation and walking corresponds to a ratio of 50%. The preference of using a car is one person in the majority compared to the parties who do not prefer it, but the rate is still close to twenty percent. In the income group between 2000-5000 TL, public transportation is mostly viewed positively, followed by walking and private vehicle transportation. When we look at the income group between 5000-10.000 TL, it is observed that the interest in public transportation has decreased. In this income group, transportation by private vehicle was preferred the most, followed by public

transportation and walking. Unlike the income group between 2000-5000 TL, the rate of the undecided is concentrated on the use of public transportation, not walking. Although it is close to each other in the income group between 10,000-15,000 TL, the highest preference is seen in private vehicles, followed by public transportation. Walking was preferred by only one person. In the income group between 15,000-20,000 TL, on the contrary, it is concentrated on walking and using private vehicles, not public transportation. The reason for this can be thought that the upper income groups live in more walkable places. When we look at the income group above 20.000 TL, although those who prefer walking are one point less than those who prefer public transportation, public transportation has a lower indecision rate and a high percentage of those who do not fully participate. However, as the income level increases, it can be said that there is a transition from using public transportation to a private vehicle.

It has been stated that an important feature of urban mobility is the sense of security. Two important urban criteria regarding women's sense of security were thought to exist in this sense. The first of these is the sense of security that women feel in their neighborhoods and neighborhoods. This feeling can have a significant impact on timing and strategies for returning home. In addition, meeting daily needs is a criterion that can create a series of thought paths regarding whether the pressure of the neighborhood is felt or not, especially for single women. Another criterion is the general sense of security they feel in the city they live in. This measure can provide insight into whether nonlocal mobility is preferable for women around the clock. In the table below, women's sense of security has been tried to be measured on a local and urban scale.

Table 4.16. Urban security part-I.

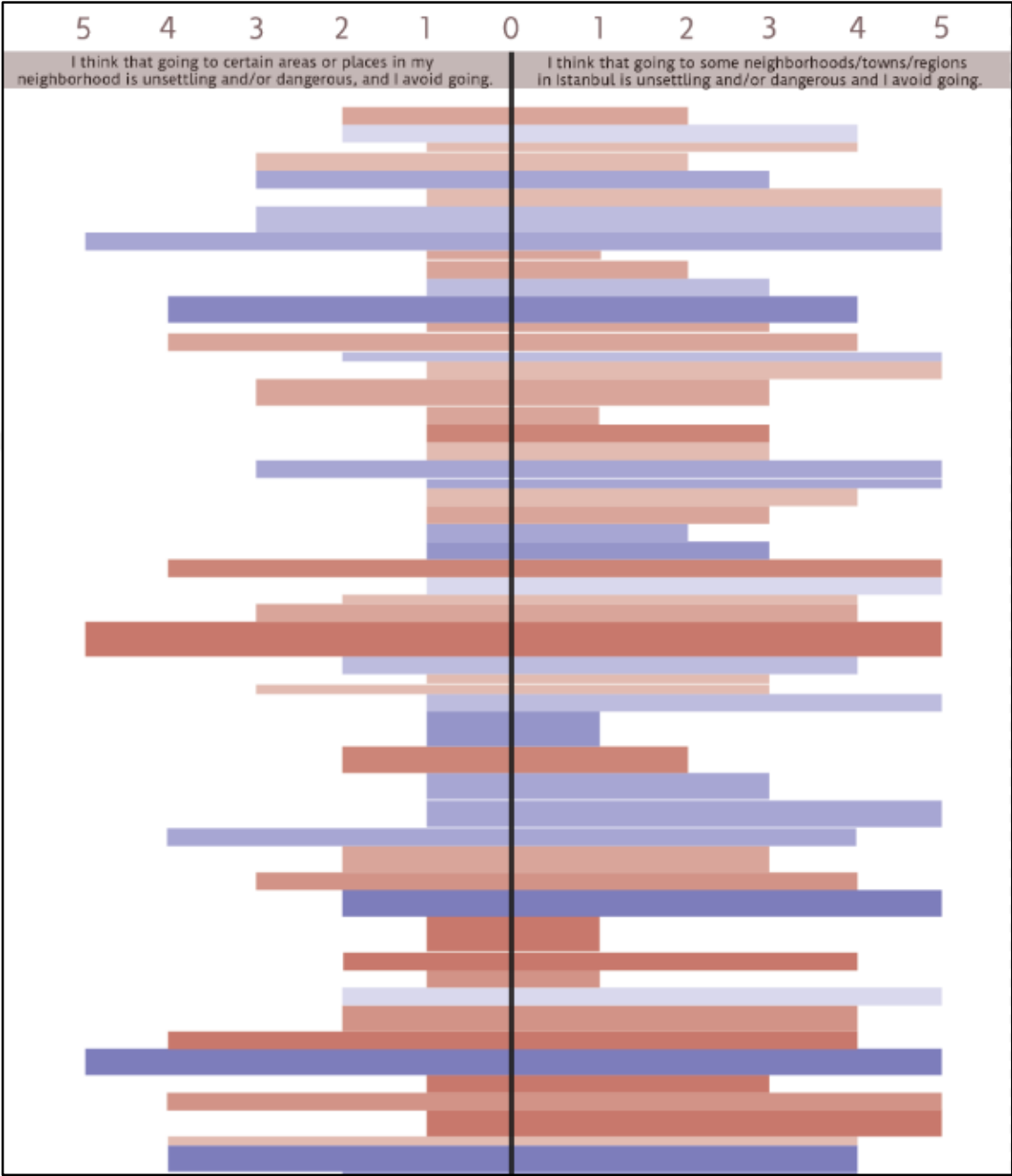
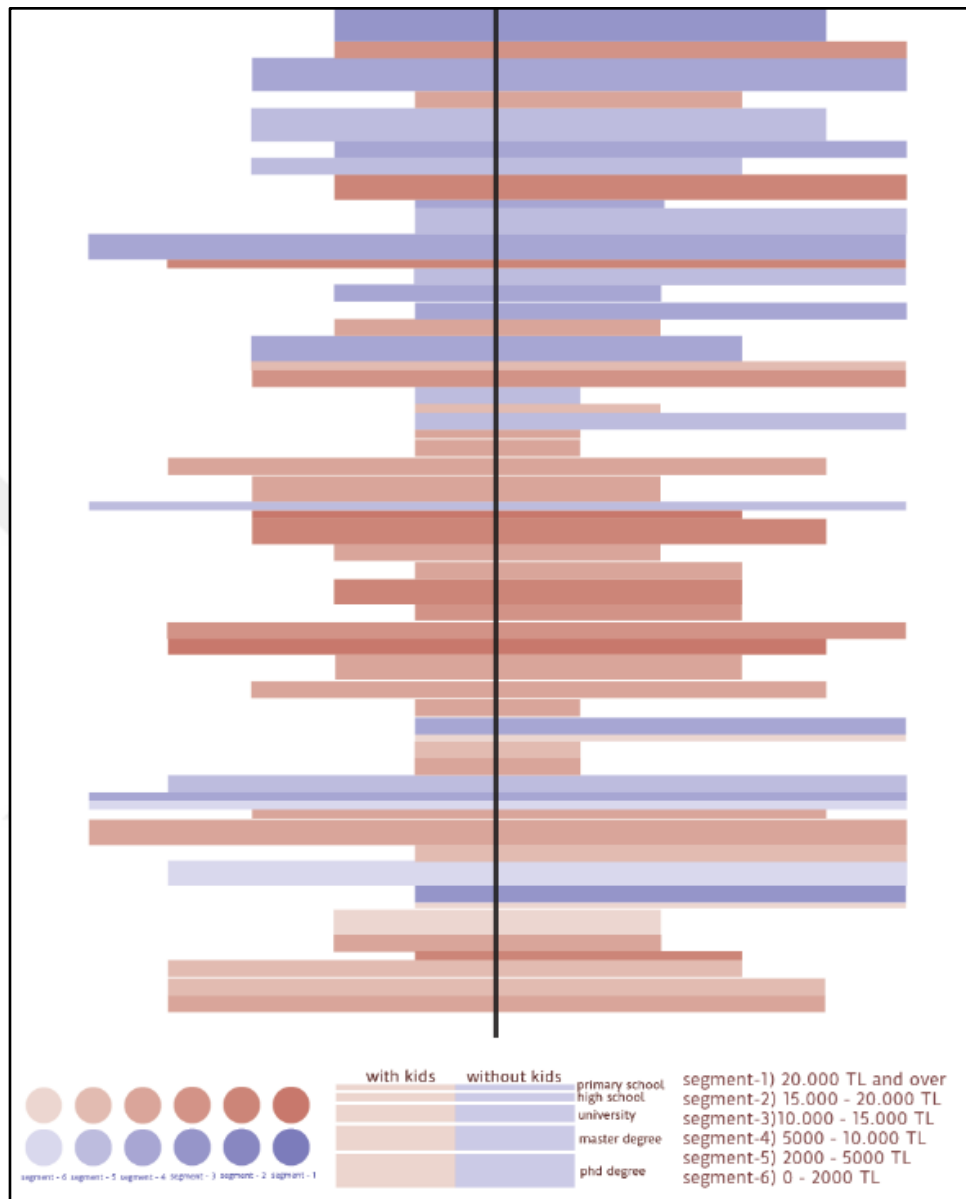


Table 4.17. Urban security part-II



As can be noticed very quickly at the first glance at the table, women feel more uneasy in the city they live in, İstanbul, than in the region they live in. Considering the 19 people who stated that they felt very uneasy in the neighborhoods they lived in (based on 4 and 5 points out of 5), it is seen that they are almost half the number according to whether they are with or without children. 10 childless women and 9 children stated that they were uneasy in their neighborhood with 4 and 5 points out of 5. The fact that these numbers are close to each other is important in terms of showing that single or childless women are not less exposed to this anxiety. Considering the 49 women who stated that they were relatively less anxious from their neighborhoods (based on 3 and 2 points out of 5), it was seen that 14 of these

women were childless. 15 childless women also stated that they feel safe in the neighborhood.



5. CONCLUSION

When we look at the areas under the spotlight in the first chapter of the thesis, neoliberalism, which frames the conceptual scope of the thesis, and today many of its concepts are placed in a certain framework in our daily and social experience, while making itself felt as more than just an economic policy, it has also shaped the social plane of our civilization with the concepts of globalization and postmodernism. First of all, the approach to the issues of right to the city, time, and temporality in the first part should be understood within the entire human order developed within the framework of neoliberalism. Expanding the current meaning of the phenomenon of the right to the city, which started with Lefebvre, is the main aim and proposition of this thesis. Because today, the majority of people live in cities where the effects of neoliberalism are experienced directly, not indirectly. When we look at the current experience of urban life, the concept of time is rarely discussed both in academic and intellectual contexts, but time is becoming a scarce resource at the point reached today. The following can be cited as various reasons why time is scarce as a resource and creates inequality of opportunity in neoliberal cities:

- Promises of flexible working hours occupy an increasingly larger place in an individual's daily life
- The blurring of the sharp line between individual time and business time under the name of flexible working hours
- Increase in time-demanding actions in cities
- Increased urban travel times required to get a job done and/or meet a need
- There is a very limited group of people who can economically access services that will enable them to buy time.
- Inability to share unpaid services such as domestic labor and child care based on gender roles equally
- Certain minorities and/or disadvantaged segments in the city have to develop strategies for their spatial existence (for example, unhindered route strategies for disabled people in the city, and spatial and/or temporal strategies for women in terms of security.)

- Individuals working in paid sectors, such as the service sector, work in city centers, but are pushed to the city periphery due to economic reasons and in this context, increased compulsory travel times
- The problems arising from the uneven distribution of urban potentials all over the city, except for the city centers, and the problems of experiencing the city indirectly by various means of transportation, not directly by walking
- Work time denominations that put pressure on individuals' individual and biological time cycles

These reasons can be increased. Because many different local problems can be encountered in the urban space. For example, when an area that has undergone urban transformation is designed without leaving pedestrian-specific publicity around people's living spaces and the scale is lost, it can be seen that even the most ordinary daily needs of the people living in this area have to be met not by walking but by going from one place to another by car. This will create various lines in the daily temporal programs of the people living in the region. For example, people living in these regions will have to determine their needs in advance, and perhaps they will meet these needs with grocery shopping on the way back from work. So there will be less room for spontaneity. Or, people living in an area with very little economic diversity will have to go to different districts to socialize at night. Considering the correlation between return routes and times will add additional overtime as well as the time required by the journey. Although such local examples are not included in the scope of the thesis, these hypothetical examples can manifest themselves by diversifying in different local points of various neoliberal cities. The main thing is that these hypothetical examples, the presence of which is highly probable, bring a temporal disadvantage to individuals through space. The market logic that cities have assumed within the scope of neoliberal policies has positioned urban qualities in the continuous production and consumption of individuals and shaped urban creation in this sense. However, this shaping brings disadvantages to many sub-titles related to the right to the city and various social groups. There is a wide range of studies in the literature dealing with such disadvantages. However, the fact that urban creation creates the results described above and that this situation turns into a form of a disadvantage even in the scarcest resources of individuals, such as time, is relatively limited in the literature.

When the right to the city is mentioned, social and demographic groups that are quite different from each other are affected by the injustices experienced in different wings of a wide spectrum of right to the city. It can be said that these groups are subject to significant discrimination within the scope of the subject, which is a specific sub-title of the right to the city, and therefore need to be specially protected. Many disadvantaged groups can be mentioned within the scope of the right to the city. Examples of these disadvantaged groups are women, social, cultural or ethnic minorities, children, the elderly, the disabled, workers and laborers, the homeless, and lgbt individuals. In this thesis, the injustice created by the notion of time justice as a hypothetical right to the city has been tried to be discussed in terms of women, one of the disadvantaged groups. Although the injustices experienced by women are actually associated with the cultural gender norms discussed in the literature as gender roles before architecture and the city, we can read the manifestations of these norms first in architecture and then in the physical and non-physical structuring of the city. The needs of women, which are both similar and sometimes different from men in the city, are addressed in urban design as “who are we designing for?” It also stems from the "woman" answer that could not be given to the question. Especially in the third part of the thesis, the way women are treated as the second gender and how the image of ordinary citizenship manifests itself in the form of a white, urban, heterosexual male speaking a standard language is specifically explained in this sense. Therefore, the answer to the question “Who are we designing for? We design for women” remains the exception as long as the rule is a white, heterosexual, urban man who speaks a standard language.

Although there is no need to re-explain the disadvantaged positions of women in the conclusion section, when the urban manifestations of the mentioned disadvantaged positions and the temporal disadvantage created by these manifestations are examined, the following is encountered:

- The state of going out of the house is shaped by family and/or spouse pressure: These pressures create clear time/route/spatial constraints when women go out for social purposes other than out of necessity.

- Night and day hierarchy: The spatial routes of women in the city appear in the dominance of the day. Reasons such as family/spouse pressure and the woman's need for personal security can be cited for this.
- Need for security: For security reasons, women are forced to consider their current or future locations in the city and the safety of alternative routes between these locations. The shortest route, which is the best option for men, is not always the dominant option for women.
- Unpaid labor itself and the lateral local problems it creates: Unpaid labor itself contrasts with the temporal economy of urban life. Unpaid labor is free not only in material terms but also in time. This type of labor, which is a waste of time for women in an economy where time-saving services related to unpaid labor can be exchanged for money, creates economic dependency and makes women's movement in the city local due to its dependent economy. It creates women who are dependent on the local network of relationships and socialization within the neighborhood. Although the opportunities for women's socialization in urban locales are quite limited compared to men, women have been forced to solve these problems with various strategies. There is rarely an established equivalent for women in the facilities where men can spend time locally. In this sense, women cannot benefit from urban potential economically and temporally.
- Child care: Although the current situation regarding the care of children is closely related to social policies, there are urban and spatial counterparts. When there is no environment in the city where children can spend safe time close to home, the child remains dependent on the home and therefore on the mother, and women's private time is occupied more accordingly. Of course, gendered spaces are also very effective in this. For a very simple example, public changing units are located in the women's restrooms rather than in the men's restrooms.
- The density of women in different sectors: Especially with the current state of neoliberalism, the density of women in the service sector has increased considerably. Employees who currently have low-paid working conditions cannot live in the city center economically and spend long hours on the road. When domestic labor is added to this, where women who have a working life

cannot be freed, women's private time is occupied well depending on the sector they work in.

These urban-temporal violations faced by women also lead to other lateral problems that can be considered for each violation. These problems vary at the levels of individual life, family life, community life and from local to city-wide. The frequency of encountering these problems was tried to be evaluated with a questionnaire in the case study section of the thesis. However, there were various reasons to conclude that the 69-question survey could not make an adequate assessment in this sense. If we list these reasons in order to shed light on future studies:

The survey was conducted throughout İstanbul without making any district and/or regional distinctions. However, we know that the socio-economic and cultural levels in different districts and regions of İstanbul differ. It was thought that this difference would not cause a problem in measurement and evaluation. However, as it can be deduced from the contradictory answers given among the respondents, the perception of different questions on different groups may change. This problem is also valid for different age groups. For example, "I take time to socialize with my friends." His sentence can be perceived ambiguously among different groups. Are friends at work, neighbors and people currently in the closest environment preferred for socializing, or is it possible to spare time for old and spatially distant friendships? We are not sure how the management of female sociability evolves with time pressure at this point. Again, with the fact that the survey is an internet survey, a group of women who only had access to the internet, who we were able to send this survey to and who could easily accept to participate, became the participants of this survey. Therefore, trying to make a general assessment by not putting age/region criteria among the participants seems to be pregnant with the risks of falsely showing these common experiences as the same. As another example, the meanings given by different groups to the sentences "I can spare time for myself/I cannot spare time for myself" will be different. We could not distinguish this difference in the survey conducted. We are not sure whether taking time for oneself is the accidental gap between obligations such as domestic labor, care burdens, work life, or a conscious state of saying "this time interval is only mine".

Another possible problem is the correct evaluation of the results of the 69 questions. The main problem here is a prediction error that the evaluation can be made in 69 separate parts

that were considered when the questionnaire was prepared. However, when we look at the response pattern of women from different socio-economic levels, it is understood that many questions should be evaluated in conjunction with each other and correlation. At this point, it should be considered that 69 independent evaluations cannot be realistic and that the responses given to 8-10 evaluations from time to time should be evaluated in correlation with each other. This lack of foresight is again one of the shortcomings of the present case study.

A detailed review of the case study will not be presented here again. However, it is important how well the results of the case study meet the expectations created through the literature. The temporal disadvantages of women in terms of the right to the city, whose help in the literature was mentioned in Chapter 3, can be seen in the case study, but in places, they were below the expected level. Of course, this should not be seen as a negative situation. However, the possibility that this may be due to the weak points of the case study cannot be underestimated. Therefore, we do not recommend taking the results of the case study as a preliminary assumption about the urban temporal current state of women living in İstanbul. This thesis should ultimately be seen as a new attempt to fill a gap that is thought to be missing in the literature on the right to the city. We hope that this study, at the intersection of the right to the city and temporality, will shed light on future studies with both the literature part and the case study itself and its missing aspects.

REFERENCES

1. Braidotti R. Eleştirel insanötesi bilimler için kuramsal bir çerçeve. *Pasaj Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi: Posthümanizm*. 2021;3(7):15–48.
2. Gönüllü G. Çevresel-kentsel hakların gelişimi: dünyada ve Türkiye’de kentsel haklar. *İnsan Hakları Yıllığı*. 2014;32(1):31–52.
3. Ertan KA, Ertan B. Kentli hakları: kent ve insan hakları bağlamında kentsel hizmetlere erişim hakkı. *Kentsel Dönüşüm ve İnsan Hakları*. 2005;10(1):45–72.
4. Beaud M. *Kapitalizmin tarihi*. İstanbul: Yordam Kitap; 2021.
5. Harvey D. *Neoliberalizmin kısa tarihi*. İstanbul: Sel Yayıncılık; 2015.
6. Bauman Z. *Küreselleşme: Toplumsal sonuçları*. İstanbul: Ayrıntı Yayınları; 2010.
7. Çitçi O. Yeni siyaset: neoliberalizm ve post modernizimn siyasal projesi. *Yakın Doğu Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*. 2008;1(2):2–32.
8. Ökmen M. Bir insan hakkı olarak kentli haklarının geliştirilmesi ve yerel yönetimler. In: *Kentsel Dönüşüm ve İnsan Hakları*. İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Yayınları; 2005:17–43.
9. Harvey D. *Postmodernliğin durumu*. İstanbul: Metis Yayınları; 1997.
10. Wright I, Geer H. Are we all neoliberals now? urban planning in a neoliberal era. 49th ISOCARP Congr. 2013;1384-1407
11. Ulusal tez merkezi-[cited 2020 December 30]. Available from: <https://tez.yok.gov.tr/UlusalTezMerkezi/>
12. Alpan A. Neoliberal ceza devleti ve kitlesel hapsedme. Master Thesis, İstanbul Bilgi University; 2018.
13. Birdişli F. Neoliberalizmin ulusal güvenlik siyasalları üzerine etkileri ve Türkiye’nin güvenlik siyasası üzerine bir inceleme. *Strat Araştırmalar Dergisi*. 2009;1(13):46–56.
14. Tuğan Şahin K. Doğanın neoliberalleştirilmesi ekseninde karbon piyasaları. Master Thesis, T.C. Ankara University; 2016.

15. Demir G. Post-politik dönemde neoliberal demokrasi ve sivil toplum: TESEV örneği. Doctoral Thesis, Yıldız Teknik University; 2013.
16. Weber M. *Şehir: modern kentin oluşumu*. İstanbul: Yarın Yayınları; 2010.
17. Lefebvre H. *Kentsel devrim*. İstanbul: Sel Yayıncılık; 2017.
18. Jacobs J. *Büyük Amerikan şehirlerinin ölümü ve yaşamı*. İstanbul: Metis Yayıncılık; 2017.
19. Harvey D. *Sermayenin mekanları*. İstanbul: Sel Yayıncılık; 2012.
20. Tanyeli U. *Yıkarak yapmak*. İstanbul: Metis Yayınları; 2020.
21. Parlak İ, Öztürk E. Bireyler ve birey olamayan bireyler : liberalizm ve 19 . yüzyılın çelişkileri. *Mülkiye Dergisi*. 2018;42(4):565–92.
22. Yılmaz M, Genel Z. Neoliberalizm ve çalışma hayatının biyopolitik inşası. *Karamanoğlu Mehmetbey Üniversitesi Sosyal ve Ekonomi Araştırmalar Dergisi*. 2021;23(41):252–65.
23. Tüfekçi E. Post modern süreçte çalışma, değişen anlamı ve içeriği. Master Thesis, Sakarya Üniversitesi; 2011.
24. Simmel G. *Bireysellik ve kültür*. İstanbul: Metis Yayınları; 2015:317–29.
25. McDonald M, Gough B, Wearing S, Deville A. Social Psychology, Consumer Culture and Neoliberal Political Economy. *Journal for the Theory and Social Behaviour*. 2017;47(3):363–79.
26. Beattie P. The road to psychopathology: neoliberalism and the human mind. *Journal of Social Issues*. 2019;75(1):89–112.
27. Ersoy M. *Kentsel Planlama Kuramları*. İstanbul: İmge Kitapevi; 2016.
28. Sevinç A. İkinci dünya savaşı sonrası mimarlık hayalleri: ütopya eskizleri. Doctoral Thesis, İstanbul Technical University; 2005.
29. Spolaor S. Planning tools and policies under neoliberal politics for urban renewal. *U Porto Journal of Engineering*. 2019;5(1):16–33.
30. Geniş Ş, Akkırman DK. Eşitsizlik mekânları olarak mahalleler ve kadınların kent

- hakkı. *Amme İdaresi Dergisi*. 2010;53(1):1–35.
31. Sert AÇ. Planning disasters: impacts of neoliberal restructuring on urban planning practice through urban planners in Turkey. Doctoral Thesis, Middle East Technical University; 2018.
 32. Hendriks F. The post-industrialising city: Political perspectives and cultural biases. *GeoJournal*. 1999;47(3):425–32.
 33. Smith N. New globalism, new urbanism: gentrification as global urban strategy. *Antipode*. 2002;34(3):427–50.
 34. Sönmez B. Soylulaştırmanın Yeni Biçimleriyle Yerinden Edilmeyi Yeniden Düşünmek. *Planlama Dergisi*. 2014;24(1):42–53.
 35. Taşan-Kok T, Baeten G. *Contradictions of neoliberal planning: cities, policies, and politics*. Dordrecht: Springer; 2012.
 36. Sam N. Soylulaştırma Süreçlerine Ekonomik bir Yaklaşım: Rant Farkı. *Marmara Üniversitesi İktisadi ve İdari Bilimler Fakültesi Dergisi*. 2010;29(2):133–52.
 37. Çalık E. İnsan hakları meselesinin gelişimi ve siyasî ve sosyal faktörlerle ilişkisi. *21 Yüzyılda Eğitim ve Toplum Eğitim Bilim ve Sosyal Araştırmalar Dergisi*. 2017;6(16):41–68.
 38. İnsan hakları evrensel bildirgesi; [cited 2020 September 17]. Available from: <https://www.ihd.org.tr/insan-haklari-evrensel-beyannames/>
 39. Harvey D. *Asi şehirler*. İstanbul: Metis Yayınları; 2013.
 40. Lefebvre H. *Şehir hakkı*. İstanbul: Sel Yayıncılık; 2015.
 41. Castells M. *The city and the grassroots*. London: Edward Arnold; 1983.
 42. Mitchell D. *Kent hakkı: Sosyal adalet ve kamusal alan mücadelesi*. İstanbul: Ayrıntı Yayınları; 2020.
 43. Castells M. *Kent, Sınıf, İktidar*. Ankara: Bilim ve Sanat Yayınları; 1997.
 44. Özel mülkiyet, devlet mülkiyeti, kamu mülkiyeti; [cited 2022 Jun 18]. Available from: <https://www.kozarsiv.org/ozel-mulkiyet-devlet-mulkiyeti-kamu-mulkiyeti/>

45. Parkan B. Negatif haklar, pozitif haklar ve mülkiyet hakkı üzerine. *Felsefe Dünyası*. 2006;2(44):159–67.
46. Tocqueville A De. *Çoğunluğun zorbalığı*. İstanbul: Can Sanat Yayınları; 2021.
47. Davas A, Tekin S. Demokratik Yurttaşlık Alanının Daraltılması TİHV Akademi Bilgi Notu 2 - Sokağı Kapatmak: Toplanma ve Gösteri Özgürlüğüne Yönelik İhlaller (2015-2019) İzmir: Türkiye İnsan Hakları Vakfı Akademi; 2021. [cited 2022 January 28]. Available from: https://insanhaklariizleme.org/vt/yayin_view.php?editid1=2235
48. Harvey D. *Umut Mekanları*. İstanbul: Metis Yayınları; 2008.
49. Özen H. Arsa özel mülkiyetin kamu ve toplum yararına düzenlenmesinin yarattığı sorunlar; [cited 2022 June 8]. Available from: https://obs.hkmo.org.tr/show-media/resimler/ekler/7GFP_6352739f5964354_ek.pdf
50. These squares are our squares: be angry about the privatisation of public spac; [cited 2021 April 18]. Available from: <https://www.theguardian.com/cities/2017/jul/25/squares-angry-privatisation-public-space>
51. Gezi Parkı'nın vakfa devri ve Taksim Yarışması; [cited 2020 June 18]. Available from: <https://www.gazeteduvar.com.tr/gezi-parkinin-vakfa-devri-ve-taksim-yarismasi-makale-1517100>
52. Sadri H. Kent hakkından kentte insan hakkına. *Kentsel Dönüşüm ve İnsan Hakları*. 2005;10:73–83.
53. Özdemir E. Kentin tanımlanmasında sosyolojik yaklaşımlar: toplumsal süreç ve/veya mekânın çözümlenmesi. *İdealkent*. 2010;1(1):44–77.
54. Hall S. City , *Street and citizen: the measure of the ordinary*. New York: Routledge; 2012.
55. Özbek MÖ. Tarihsel süreçlerde taksim meydanı ve beyoğlu bölgesinin morfolojik evrimi. *Tasarım Kuram*. 2021;17(32):35–54.
56. Vural C. İstiklal Caddesi'nde kültürel değişim ve mekânsal yansımalar. Master Thesis, Haliç University; 2020.
57. Işık CE, Tosun A. Bulvarların sonu nereye çıkar? Meydanlardaki Paris Komünü

- hayaleti; [cited 2022 April 27]. Available from: <https://sendika.org/2021/03/bulvarlarin-sonu-nereye-cikar-meydanlardaki-paris-komunu-hayaleti-611901/>
58. Sugarman J, Thrift E. Neoliberalism and the Psychology of Time. *Journal of Humanistic Psychology*. 2017;60(11):1–22.
 59. Birth KK. *Zaman körlüğü: öteki zamansallıkları algılama sorunu*. İstanbul: Isık Yayınları; 2020.
 60. Elias N. *Zaman üzerine*. İstanbul: Ayrıntı Yayınları; 2000.
 61. Dirke S Von. Studies in 20th & 21st Century Literature Time ' s Deadly Arrow : Time and Temporality in Narratives of Immaterial Labor. 24/7 Neoliberalism Undoing Time. *Studies in 20th & 21st Century Literature*. 2016;40(2):1–20.
 62. Kern S. *Zaman ve uzam kültürü*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları; 2013.
 63. Sennett R. *Yeni kapitalizmin kültürü*. İstanbul: Ayrıntı Yayınları; 2011.
 64. Azizi Z. Memory: collective vs. individual narratives. In: *Studies in temporal urbanism: the urbantick experiment*. London: Springer; 2011:23-26
 65. Broom DH, Banwell C, Dixon J, Glover J. Time scarcity : another health inequality?. *Environment and Planning*. 2011;43(3):545–59.
 66. Adam B. *Time and social theory*. London: Polity Press; 1990.
 67. Yarcı S. Bourdieu'da sosyal sermaye kavramı. *Akad İncelemeler Dergisi*. 2011;6(1):125–35.
 68. Shove E. Everyday practice and the production and consumption of time. In: *Time, consumption and everyday life: Practice, materiality and culture*. New York: Oxford International Publishers. 2009:17–33.
 69. Nowotny H. *Time: the modern and postmodern experience*. Cambridge: Polity Press; 1996.
 70. Direk Z. *Cinsel farkın inşası*. İstanbul: Metis Yayınları; 2018.
 71. Platon. *Devlet*. İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları; 2020.
 72. Kia RA. Atina'daki demokrasiden Orta Çağ'a kadının dünyası ve kadın filozoflar.

İstanbul Üniversitesi Hukuk Fakültesi Mecmuası. 2015;73(1):7–20.

73. Yüksekbaşı Ü. *Kadın, kamusal alan ve hukuk*. İstanbul: Tekin Yayınevi; 2017.
74. Uzbaşı A. Kadınların roma hukukundaki yeri. *Genç Kalemler Dergisi*. 2020;7(6):10–3.
75. Erişgin ÖS. Roma toplumunda kadının konumu. *İnönü Üniversitesi Hukuk Fakültesi Dergisi*. 2013;4(2):1–31.
76. Donovan J. *Feminist teori*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları; 2014.
77. Türkeli G. Feminizmin üç dalgası ve kamusal mücadele. *Kadın, kamusal alan ve hukuk*. İstanbul: Tekin Yayınevi; 2017.
78. Yüksekbaşı Ü. Kadın ve kamusal alan: kadının, kadın olarak var olma mücadelesi. *Kadın, kamusal alan ve hukuk*. İstanbul: Tekin Yayınevi; 2017.
79. Özügürlü A. 21.yüzyıl feminizmine doğru. İstanbul: Nota Bene yayınları; 2019.
80. Yüceşahin MM, Hepgül PY. Kentler toplumsal cinsiyetsiz değildir: türkiye’de kentsel mekânın üretiminin feminist bir eleştirisi. *Kadın/Woman 2000-Kadın Araştırmaları Dergisi*. 2017;18(1):85–106.
81. Stavrides S. *Müşterek mekan: müşterekler olarak şehir*. İstanbul: Sel Yayıncılık; 2019.
82. Erdaşı G, Özmen EF. Toplumsal cinsiyet kavramının konut mekân organizasyonu ve konut reklamları üzerine etkisi. *Megaron*. 2019;14(1):11–28.
83. Eisenstein H. A dangerous liaison? feminism and corporate globalization. *Science and Society*. 2005;69(3):487–518.
84. Goodman RT. *Gender work: feminism after neoliberalism*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan; 2013.
85. Nuray Ergüneş. Neoliberalizm, Enformelleşme ve Kadın Emegi; [cited 2021 February 1]. Available from: <http://www.sosyalistfeministkolektif.org/web-yazilari/emegimiz /neoliberalizm-enformellesme-ve-kadin-emegi/>
86. Tuncer S. Kadınların kent hakkını yeniden düşünmek. *Beyond İstanbul*. 2021;1(10):14–21.

87. Aktaş G. Kadın açısından kente ilişkin mekan pratikleri. *Pamukkale Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi*. 2017;1(27):136–49.
88. Bora A. *Kadınların sınıfı: ücretli ev emeği ve kadın öznelliğinin inşası*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları; 2010.
89. Tuncer S. Going out: A feminist field story from private to public. *Moment Dergi*. 2015;2(2):30–58.
90. Kern L. *Feminist şehir: bir saha rehberi*. İstanbul: Sel Yayıncılık; 2020.
91. Greed CH. *Women and planning: creating gendered realities*. Newyork: Routledge; 1994.
92. Stoller S. Gender and anonymous temporality. In: *Time in a feminist phenomenology*. Indiana: Indiana University Press; 2011:79–90.
93. Çevik N. Kadın ofis çalışanlarında menstrual siklusun çalışma performansı ve yaşam kalitesine etkisi. Master Thesis. Hacettepe University; 2020.
94. Worley W. The country where all women get a day off because of their period; [cited 2021 June 23]. Available from: <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/africa/zambia-period-day-off-women-menstruation-law-gender-womens-rights-a7509061.html>
95. Bryson V. *Gender and the politics of time: feminist theory and contemporary debates*. Bristol: The Policy Press; 2007.
96. Scraton S, Watson B. Gendered Cities: Women and public leisure space in the ‘postmodern city. *Leisure Studies*. 1998;17(2):123–37.
97. Gauvin L, Tizzoni M, Piaggese S, Young A, Adler N, Verhulst S, et al. Gender Gaps in Urban Mobility. *Humanities and Social Sciences Communications*. 2020;7(1):1–13.
98. Sumbas A. Toplumsal cinsiyet eşitlik politikası olarak ebeveyn izni. *Hacettepe Hukuk Fakültesi Dergisi*. 2019;8(2):167–94.
99. Warren T. Work time. leisure time. on women’s temporal and economic well-being in Europe. *Community, Work & Family*. 2010;13(4):365–92.

100. Gnkan C, Cořar F. Ekonomik řiddetin kadın yařamındaki etkileri. *Maltepe niverisitesi Hemřirelik Bilim ve Sanatı Dergisi*. 2009;2(3):2005–10.



APPENDIX A: SURVEY QUESTIONS:

Yüksek Lisans Tezi - Kadının Kentsel Konumu Örneklem Çalışma Anketi <https://docs.google.com/forms/u/0/d/1mnF2AGRJMlbV31nRKUoU3z...>

Yüksek Lisans Tezi - Kadının Kentsel Konumu Örneklem Çalışma Anketi

Anketi İstanbul'da yaşayan 18-65 yaş arası kadınların doldurması beklenmektedir.

*** Gerekli**

1. Medeni Durum: *

Yalnızca bir şıkkı işaretleyin.

☐ Evli

☐ Bekar

1 / 22 12.07.2022 12:29

2. İkamet edilen Semt *

Yalnızca bir şıkkı işaretleyin.

- ☐ Adalar
- ☐ Arnavutköy
- ☐ Ataşehir
- ☐ Avcılar
- ☐ Bağcılar
- ☐ Bahçelievler
- ☐ Bakırköy
- ☐ Başakşehir
- ☐ Bayrampaşa
- ☐ Beşiktaş
- ☐ Beykoz
- ☐ Beylikdüzü
- ☐ Beyoğlu
- ☐ Büyükçekmece
- ☐ Çatalca
- ☐ Çekmeköy
- ☐ Esenler
- ☐ Esenyurt
- ☐ Eyüpsultan
- ☐ Fatih
- ☐ Gaziosmanpaşa
- ☐ Güngören
- ☐ Kadıköy
- ☐ Kağıthane
- ☐ Kartal
- ☐ Küçükçekmece
- ☐ Maltepe
- ☐ Pendik
- ☐ Sarıyer

- ☐ Silivri
☐ Sultanbeyli
☐ Sultangazi
☐ Şile
☐ Şişli
☐ Tuzla
☐ Ümraniye
☐ Üsküdar
☐ Zeytinburnu

3. Eğitim Durumu *

Yalnızca bir şıkkı işaretleyin.

- ☐ İlkokul
☐ Lise
☐ Üniversite
☐ Yüksek Lisans
☐ Doktora

4. Çalışma Durumu *

Yalnızca bir şıkkı işaretleyin.

- ☐ Çalışıyor
☐ Çalışmıyor

5. Çalışanlar için:

Yalnızca bir şıkkı işaretleyin.

- ☐ Evden çalışıyorum
- ☐ İşyerimde çalışıyorum
- ☐ Kendim seçtiğim mekanlarda serbestçe çalışıyorum

6. Aylık geliriniz *

Yalnızca bir şıkkı işaretleyin.

- ☐ 0-2000 TL
- ☐ 2000-5000 TL
- ☐ 5000-10.000 TL
- ☐ 10.000-15.000 TL
- ☐ 15.000-20.000 TL
- ☐ 20.000 TL ve üzeri

7. Çocuğum *

Yalnızca bir şıkkı işaretleyin.

- ☐ var
- ☐ yok

8. Çocuk var ise:

Yalnızca bir şıkkı işaretleyin.

- ☐ Tek çocuğum var
- ☐ İki çocuğum var
- ☐ Üç çocuğum var
- ☐ Dört çocuğum var
- ☐ Beş çocuğum var
- ☐ Beşten fazla çocuğum var

Ev içi iş
bölümü

Aşağıdaki cümleleri size uygun olup olmamasına göre
derecelendiriniz.
(1 hiç katılmıyorum - 5 tamamen katılıyorum)

9. Zamanımın çoğunu evde geçiririm. *

Yalnızca bir şıkkı işaretleyin.

	1	2	3	4	5	
hiç katılmıyorum	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	tamamen katılıyorum

10. Zamanımın çoğunu işte geçiririm. *

Yalnızca bir şıkkı işaretleyin.

	1	2	3	4	5	
hiç katılmıyorum	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	tamamen katılıyorum

11. Zamanımın çoğunu istediğim yerde geçiririm. *

Yalnızca bir şıkkı işaretleyin.

	1	2	3	4	5	
hiç katılmıyorum	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	tamamen katılıyorum

12. Ev işlerini kendim yaparım. *

Yalnızca bir şıkkı işaretleyin.

	1	2	3	4	5	
hiç katılmıyorum	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	tamamen katılıyorum

13. Ev işlerini yapmak için eşimden/çocuğumdan/ailemden/erkek arkadaşımдан/ev arkadaşımдан yardım alırım. *

Yalnızca bir şıkkı işaretleyin.

	1	2	3	4	5	
hiç katılmıyorum	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	tamamen katılıyorum

14. Ev işlerinin yapılması için ücretli hizmet alırım. *

Yalnızca bir şıkkı işaretleyin.

	1	2	3	4	5	
hiç katılmıyorum	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	tamamen katılıyorum

15. Çocuğun bakımını kendim üstlenirim. (sadece çocuğu olan kadınların cevaplaması beklenmektedir.)

Yalnızca bir şıkkı işaretleyin.

	1	2	3	4	5	
hiç katılmıyorum	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	tamamen katılıyorum

16. Çocuk bakımını eşimle/diğer çocuğumla/ailemle/erkek arkadaşım/ev arkadaşım/ birlikte üstlenirim. (sadece çocuğu olan kadınların cevaplaması beklenmektedir.)

Yalnızca bir şıkkı işaretleyin.

	1	2	3	4	5	
hiç katılmıyorum	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	tamamen katılıyorum

17. Çocuk bakımı için ücretli hizmet alırım.

Yalnızca bir şıkkı işaretleyin.

	1	2	3	4	5	
hiç katılmıyorum	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	tamamen katılıyorum

18. Çocuk bakımı zamanımın büyük çoğunluğunu alır.

Yalnızca bir şıkkı işaretleyin.

	1	2	3	4	5	
hiç katılmıyorum	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	tamamen katılıyorum

19. Günlük programımı ve neyin ne zaman yapılacağını çocuğuma göre düzenlerim.

Yalnızca bir şıkkı işaretleyin.

	1	2	3	4	5	
hiç katılmıyorum	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	tamamen katılıyorum

20. Evde bakmam gereken hasta/yaşlı birey var. *

Yalnızca bir şıkkı işaretleyin.

☐ evet 21. soruya gidin

☐ hayır

Ev içi
iş
bölümü

Aşağıdaki cümleleri size uygun olup olmamasına göre derecelendiriniz.
Sadece evde bakması gereken yaşlı/hasta birey varsa bu alan
doldurulmalıdır.
(1 hiç katılmıyorum - 5 tamamen katılıyorum)

21. Evdeki yaşlı/hasta bireyin bakımını kendim üstlenirim.

Yalnızca bir şıkkı işaretleyin.

	1	2	3	4	5	
hiç katılmıyorum	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	tamamen katılıyorum

22. Evdeki yaşlı/hasta bireyin bakımını eşimle/çocuğumla/ailemle/erkek arkadaşım/ev arkadaşım/la birlikte üstlenirim.

Yalnızca bir şıkkı işaretleyin.

	1	2	3	4	5	
hiç katılmıyorum	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	tamamen katılıyorum

23. Evdeki yaşlı/hasta bireyin bakımı için ücretli hizmet alırım.

Yalnızca bir şıkkı işaretleyin.

	1	2	3	4	5	
hiç katılmıyorum	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	tamamen katılıyorum

Ev içi iş bölümü

Aşağıdaki cümleleri size uygun olup olmamasına göre derecelendiriniz. (1 hiç katılmıyorum 5 tamamen katılıyorum)

24. Ev işleri/ çocuk bakımı/ yaşlı bakımı/ hasta bakımı ile kendi işimi/işlerimi beraber yürütmekte zorlanırım. *

Yalnızca bir şıkkı işaretleyin.

	1	2	3	4	5	
hiç katılmıyorum	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	tamamen katılıyorum

25. Ev işlerinden/çocuk bakımından/ yaşlı bakımından /hasta bakımından sonra kendime zaman ayırmakta zorlanırım. *

Yalnızca bir şıkkı işaretleyin.

	1	2	3	4	5	
hiç katılmıyorum	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	tamamen katılıyorum

26. Hafta içi kendime ait zamanım kalıyor / Hafta içi kendime zaman ayırabiliyorum *

Yalnızca bir şıkkı işaretleyin.

	1	2	3	4	5	
hiç katılmıyorum	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	tamamen katılıyorum

27. Hafta sonu kendime ait zamanım kalıyor / Hafta sonu kendime zaman ayırabiliyorum *

Yalnızca bir şıkkı işaretleyin.

	1	2	3	4	5	
hiç katılmıyorum	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	tamamen katılıyorum

28. Ev işleri/ çocuk bakımı/ yaşlı bakımı/ hasta bakımı beni zorluyor. *

Yalnızca bir şıkkı işaretleyin.

	1	2	3	4	5	
hiç katılmıyorum	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	tamamen katılıyorum

Ev

Aşağıdaki cümleleri size uygun olup olmamasına göre derecelendiriniz. (1

dışı
hayat

hiç katılmıyorum 5 tamamen katılıyorum)

29. Arkadaşlarımla sosyalleşmeye zaman ayırıyorum. *

Yalnızca bir şıkkı işaretleyin.

	1	2	3	4	5	
hiç katılmıyorum	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	tamamen katılıyorum

30. Arkadaşlarımla evde sosyalleşirim. *

Yalnızca bir şıkkı işaretleyin.

	1	2	3	4	5	
hiç katılmıyorum	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	tamamen katılıyorum

31. Arkadaşlarımla dışarıda sosyalleşirim. *

Yalnızca bir şıkkı işaretleyin.

	1	2	3	4	5	
hiç katılmıyorum	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	tamamen katılıyorum

32. Dışarıda konser/sinema/tiyatro/atölye gibi etkinliklere katılır ya da müze/galeri vb. yerlere giderim. *

Yalnızca bir şıkkı işaretleyin.

	1	2	3	4	5	
hiç katılmıyorum	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	tamamen katılıyorum

33. İstanbul içerisinde uzak semtlere sık sık gezmek/sosyalleşmek ya da etkinlikler için giderim. *

Yalnızca bir şıkkı işaretleyin.

	1	2	3	4	5	
hiç katılmıyorum	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	tamamen katılıyorum

34. İstanbul içerisinde yakın semtlere sık sık gezmek/sosyalleşmek ya da etkinlikler için giderim. *

Yalnızca bir şıkkı işaretleyin.

	1	2	3	4	5	
hiç katılmıyorum	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	tamamen katılıyorum

35. Genelde oturduğum yer/mahalle/semte içerisinde dışarı çıkarım. *

Yalnızca bir şıkkı işaretleyin.

	1	2	3	4	5	
hiç katılmıyorum	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	tamamen katılıyorum

36. Anadolu Yakası'ndan Avrupa'ya ve/veya Avrupa Yakası'ndan Anadolu'ya iş dışı amaçlarla sık sık geçerim. *

Yalnızca bir şıkkı işaretleyin.

	1	2	3	4	5	
hiç katılmıyorum	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	tamamen katılıyorum

37. Genelde toplu taşıma kullanırım. *

Yalnızca bir şıkkı işaretleyin.

	1	2	3	4	5	
hiç katılmıyorum	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	tamamen katılıyorum

38. Genelde ulaşımımı yürüyerek sağlarım. *

Yalnızca bir şıkkı işaretleyin.

	1	2	3	4	5	
hiç katılmıyorum	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	tamamen katılıyorum

39. Genelde ulaşımımı özel araçla sağlarım. *

Yalnızca bir şıkkı işaretleyin.

	1	2	3	4	5	
hiç katılmıyorum	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	tamamen katılıyorum

40. İş dışı amaçlarla en çok semtine giderim. *

Yalnızca bir şıkkı işaretleyin.

- ☐ Adalar
- ☐ Arnavutköy
- ☐ Ataşehir
- ☐ Avcılar
- ☐ Bağcılar
- ☐ Bahçelievler
- ☐ Bakırköy
- ☐ Başakşehir
- ☐ Bayrampaşa
- ☐ Beşiktaş
- ☐ Beykoz
- ☐ Beylikdüzü
- ☐ Beyoğlu
- ☐ Büyükçekmece
- ☐ Çatalca
- ☐ Çekmeköy
- ☐ Esenler
- ☐ Esenyurt
- ☐ Eyüpsultan
- ☐ Fatih
- ☐ Gaziosmanpaşa
- ☐ Güngören
- ☐ Kadıköy
- ☐ Kağıthane
- ☐ Kartal
- ☐ Küçükçekmece
- ☐ Maltepe
- ☐ Pendik
- ☐ Sancaktepe

- ☐ Sarıyer
- ☐ Silivri
- ☐ Sultanbeyli
- ☐ Sultangazi
- ☐ Şile
- ☐ Şişli
- ☐ Tuzla
- ☐ Ümraniye
- ☐ Üsküdar
- ☐ Zeytinburnu

41. Sosyalleşme amacıyla gitmeyi en çok tercih ettiğim üç yer; *

Güvenlik

Aşağıdaki cümleleri size uygun olup olmamasına göre derecelendiriniz. (1 hiç katılmıyorum 5 tamamen katılıyorum)

42. Semtim/mahallem içerisinde belirli bölgelere ya da yerlere gitmenin tedirgin edici ve/veya tehlikeli olduğunu düşünür ve gitmekten kaçınırım. *

Yalnızca bir şıkkı işaretleyin.

	1	2	3	4	5	
hiç katılmıyorum	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	tamamen katılıyorum

43. İstanbul içerisinde bazı mahallelere/semtlere/bölgelere gitmenin tedirgin edici ve/veya tehlikeli olduğunu düşünür ve gitmekten kaçınırım. *

Yalnızca bir şıkkı işaretleyin.

	1	2	3	4	5	
hiç katılmıyorum	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	tamamen katılıyorum

44. Bazı tür mekanlara gitmek tedirgin edicidir ve bundan kaçınırım. *

Yalnızca bir şıkkı işaretleyin.

	1	2	3	4	5	
hiç katılmıyorum	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	tamamen katılıyorum

45. Gece dışarı çıkmak benim için tedirgin edicidir ve güvende hissetmem. *

Yalnızca bir şıkkı işaretleyin.

	1	2	3	4	5	
hiç katılmıyorum	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	tamamen katılıyorum

46. Gece dışarı çıkamı eşim/sevgilim/erkek arkadaşım tercih etmez. *

Yalnızca bir şıkkı işaretleyin.

	1	2	3	4	5	
hiç katılmıyorum	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	tamamen katılıyorum

47. Gece dışarı çıkmamı ailem tercih etmez. *

Yalnızca bir şıkkı işaretleyin.

	1	2	3	4	5	
hiç katılmıyorum	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	tamamen katılıyorum

48. Akşam/Gece eve dönerken kendimi güvende hissedeceğim bir saatte dönmek isterim. *

Yalnızca bir şıkkı işaretleyin.

	1	2	3	4	5	
hiç katılmıyorum	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	tamamen katılıyorum

49. Akşam/Gece eve dönerken kendimi güvende hissedeceğim belirli rotaları tercih ederim. *

Yalnızca bir şıkkı işaretleyin.

	1	2	3	4	5	
hiç katılmıyorum	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	tamamen katılıyorum

50. Akşam/Gece evden dışarı çıktığımda gittiğim belirli yerler vardır. *

Yalnızca bir şıkkı işaretleyin.

	1	2	3	4	5	
hiç katılmıyorum	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	tamamen katılıyorum

51. Akşam/Gece evden dışarı çıktığımda gittiğim belirli yerler vardır. *

Yalnızca bir şıkkı işaretleyin.

	1	2	3	4	5	
hiç katılmıyorum	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	tamamen katılıyorum

52. Akşam/Gece dışarı çıktığımda genelde mahallem/semtim içerisinde olurum. *

Yalnızca bir şıkkı işaretleyin.

	1	2	3	4	5	
hiç katılmıyorum	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	tamamen katılıyorum

53. Akşam/Gece dışarı çıktığımda genelde başka semtlerde/mahallelerde olurum. *

Yalnızca bir şıkkı işaretleyin.

	1	2	3	4	5	
hiç katılmıyorum	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	tamamen katılıyorum.

54. Akşam/Gece eve dönerken gündüz kullandığım rotada/yolda emniyette hissetmediğim için rotamı/yolumu değiştiririm. *

Yalnızca bir şıkkı işaretleyin.

	1	2	3	4	5	
hiç katılmıyorum	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	tamamen katılıyorum

Kentsel
Duygu

Aşağıdaki cümleleri size uygun olup olmamasına göre derecelendiriniz. (1 hiç katılmıyorum 5 tamamen katılıyorum)

55. Kendimi kent içerisinde erkeklerle eşit haklara sahip hissedirim. *

Yalnızca bir şıkkı işaretleyin.

	1	2	3	4	5	
hiç katılmıyorum	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	tamamen katılıyorum

56. Kendimi mahallem/semtim içerisinde erkeklerle eşit haklara sahip hissedirim. *

Yalnızca bir şıkkı işaretleyin.

	1	2	3	4	5	
hiç katılmıyorum	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	tamamen katılıyorum

57. Tüm kentsel imkanlara erişimim olduğunu hissediyorum. *

Yalnızca bir şıkkı işaretleyin.

	1	2	3	4	5	
hiç katılmıyorum	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	tamamen katılıyorum

58. Kentte yaşamak beni özgür hissettiriyor.

Yalnızca bir şıkkı işaretleyin.

	1	2	3	4	5	
hiç katılmıyorum	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	tamamen katılıyorum

59. Kararlarımı almada eşim/sevgilim/erkek arkadaşım baskı kurar. *

Yalnızca bir şıkkı işaretleyin.

	1	2	3	4	5	
hiç katılmıyorum	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	tamamen katılıyorum

60. Kararlarımı almada ailem baskı kurar. *

Yalnızca bir şıkkı işaretleyin.

	1	2	3	4	5	
hiç katılmıyorum	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	tamamen katılıyorum

61. Toplum/mahalle/komşu baskısı hissediyorum. *

Yalnızca bir şıkkı işaretleyin.

	1	2	3	4	5	
hiç katılmıyorum	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	tamamen katılıyorum

62. Çalıştığım işte, benimle aynı işi yapan/niteliğe sahip olan bir erkekle aynı maaşı aldığımı düşünüyorum. (lütfen çalışıyorsanız cevaplayınız.)

Yalnızca bir şıkkı işaretleyin.

	1	2	3	4	5	
hiç katılmıyorum	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	tamamen katılıyorum

63. Çalıştığım işyerinde mobbinge maruz kalırım. (lutfen çalışıyorsanız cevaplayınız.)

Yalnızca bir şıkkı işaretleyin.

	1	2	3	4	5	
hiç katılmıyorum	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	tamamen katılıyorum

64. Toplu taşımalarda her zaman rahat ve güvenli hissedirim. *

Yalnızca bir şıkkı işaretleyin.

	1	2	3	4	5	
hiç katılmıyorum	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	tamamen katılıyorum

65. Taksi ve özel araç hizmetlerinde kendimi her zaman rahat ve güvende hissedirim.

Yalnızca bir şıkkı işaretleyin.

	1	2	3	4	5	
hiç katılmıyorum	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	tamamen katılıyorum

66. Kalabalık yerlerde kendimi rahat ve güvende hissedirim. *

Yalnızca bir şıkkı işaretleyin.

	1	2	3	4	5	
hiç katılmıyorum	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	tamamen katılıyorum

67. Sakin/Görece تنها yerlerde kendimi rahat ve güvende hissederim.

Yalnızca bir şıkkı işaretleyin.

	1	2	3	4	5	
hiç katılmıyorum	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	tamamen katılıyorum

68. Kıyafet seçimlerimde içinde bulunduğum semt/mahalle etkili olur.

Yalnızca bir şıkkı işaretleyin.

	1	2	3	4	5	
hiç katılmıyorum	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	tamamen katılıyorum

69. Kıyafet seçimlerimde gideceğim mahalle/semt etkili olur.

Yalnızca bir şıkkı işaretleyin.

	1	2	3	4	5	
hiç katılmıyorum	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	tamamen katılıyorum

Bu içerik Google tarafından oluşturulmamış veya onaylanmamıştır.

Google Formlar