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Being Able to Exist in the City In Defiance of Planning: An Examination on a Woman-Friendly City in İzmir – Konak

Planlamaya Rağmen Kentte Var Olabilmek: İzmir Konak'ta Bir Kadın Dostu Kent İncelemesi

🆔 **Mercan Efe Güney,** 🆔 **Senem Tezcan,** 🆔 **Ceren Ağın**

Department of City and Regional Planning, Dokuz Eylül University Faculty of Architecture, İzmir, Turkey

ABSTRACT

Today, the world is discussing gender mainstreaming. Solutions to ensure women's equality are being sought to address male social, economic, cultural, and spatial sovereignty. However, although primary texts including treatises and legislation advocating the equal rights and freedoms of men and women have recently been composed by experts around in the world in fields such as criminal and civil law and occupational safety, or something to this effect (e.g., the European Convention on Human Rights and the United Nations Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women), sufficient provision for gender mainstreaming in the context of transformations arising from socio-cultural structure have not yet been made. This is also the situation in Turkey, where women cannot experience gender mainstreaming due to social gender roles. However, since urban planning literally builds the future drawing upon social values, it has been unable to modify cities according to women's needs and priorities. Accordingly, this paper discusses how urban planning ignores women and explains how this issue can be addressed utilizing the Women-friendly Cities Program, which is a type of objection to this patriarchal structure. This paper then analyzes whether Konak, the central town in İzmir (known to be a "women-friendly" city), is truly women-friendly by performing a field study in one of Konak's most-used areas. In other words, this paper reveals the fact that urban spaces ignore women while explaining the spatial provisions of the "women-friendly" city as well as ways in which urban planning negatively affects women.

Keywords: City; women; women friendly city; planning.

ÖZ

Bugün Dünya toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliği tartışmaları yapmaktadır. Bu tartışmalarda erkeğin sosyal, ekonomik, kültürel, mekânsal vb. egemenliği yerine kadının da erkekle eşitlenebilmesini sağlayacak çözüm yolları aranmaktadır. Ancak Avrupa İnsan Hakları Bildirgesi, Birleşmiş Milletler Kadınlara Karşı Her Türlü Ayrımcılığın Önlenmesi Sözleşmesi (CEDAW) gibi kadın ve erkeğe eşit hak ve özgürlükleri sağlamaya yönelik temel metinler dahi ülkelerin ceza hukuku, medeni hukuk ve iş güvenliği gibi alanlarında görülmeye başlansa da sosyo-kültürel yapıdan kaynaklı dönüşümler konusunda doğrudan toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliğini sağlamak için henüz yeterli karşılık bulunamamıştır. Durum Türkiye için de geçerlidir. Çünkü Türkiye'de de kadın toplumsal cinsiyet rolleri gereği toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliğini yaşayamamaktadır. Planlama ise toplumsal değerlerden beslenerek gelecek kurgusu yaptığından kentleri kadının gerek ve önceliklerine göre mekansallaştıramamaktadır. Metin öncelikle planlamanın kadınla kurduğu ilişkiyi açıklayabilmek için planlamanın kadını görmezden geldiği noktaları tartışacak, ardından bu yapıya bir tür karşı çıkış olan kadın dostu kentler programı üzerinden bir kadın dostu kent olan İzmir kentinin merkez ilçesi sayılan Konak'ın en çok kullanılan alanlarından birinde yaptığı alan araştırmasıyla alanın kadın dostu olup olmadığını analiz edecektir. Bir başka deyişle metin, planlamanın kadın için sorun yarattığı konuları ve kadın dostu bir kentin mekânsal karşılıklarının ne olduğunu aktarırken kentin kadını görmezden geldiğini ortaya koyacaktır.

Anahtar sözcükler: Kent; kadın; kadın dostu kent; planlama.

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Introduction

Geography, like other scientific disciplines, has experienced the influences and effects social justice since the end of the 1960s (Shakooee, 2007). Urban planning also immediately absorbed influences from social justice movements and began to analyze how these concepts related to urban spaces. As a result, investigations of gender inequality with a goal to eliminate it in modern geography have discussed different perspectives on public life and urban space (Blunt & Wills, 2006). In this context, when considering the establishment of a new city, women's relationships with that city in light of justice and urban rights becomes an important part of urban planners' research.

In today's society, women produce, nourish, and educate (manage) multiple generations of their families by performing domestic activities and caring for elderly and sick relatives (Kirk, 2010; Larsson & Schlyter, 1994; Tummers, 2013). If a woman is employed, she must fulfill all these familial duties in addition to her job due to the nature of the patriarchal structure. Thus, while women must be considered, not only as consumers but also as producers factor while justice, woman and city issues are discussed (Ziari, 2011). Instead of being appreciated, women are disadvantaged in the urban landscape because of social gender inequality.

Planning all of the elements in a city with women's concerns in mind and ensuring that women circulate among these elements is only one means of removing this disadvantage; other approaches must be created and applied within the bounds of safe urban planning. Because women's rights also fall within the scope of urban rights, women should be able to be present in every area of a city without worrying about their safety no matter their perceived characteristics or roles (e.g., citizen, voter, employee, mother, elder, person with a disability, etc.); in other words, they should be able to exist in the city without experiencing "urban deprivation." Thus, a city must be "woman-friendly" and planned not just for men but also for women. This statement is more than a recommendation, it is an obligation; as many studies have shown, women's happiness is a criterion for society's overall wealth and happiness levels (Kirk, 2010).

In addition, if public spaces, parks, streets, and shopping centers are not safe for one minority, they are not safe for others. In cities and urban areas where violence related to gender apartheid is occurring, it is a common and ordinary experience to see intolerant behaviors that affect a much wider population. A city that can protect the security of its all minorities can protect all of its citizens (Doan, 2007, p. 70). Therefore, women's lack of security stems from inter-

connected factors that can be resolved by approaching the city as a single social unit: namely, by taking all social groups into account (Moser, 2012, p. 439).[1] Therefore, there are two parallel problems that need to be solved together. The first is to ensure gender equality while the second is to eliminate the urban deprivation that prevents women from existing in the city due to their identified roles. First, ideologies related to the patriarchal structure are fed by cultural structure and politics. While the elimination of urban deprivation and the right to exist in urban spaces are issues that fall within the scope of the struggle against the patriarchal structure, city planning has the ability to solve these problems. For this reason, this paper will first examine the relationship between urban planning and women. Then, suggestions will be made according to the field of study examined in Konak within the "women-friendly city" framework.

Urban Planning and Women

To explore how to resolve the disadvantaged experience of women in the city, this paper will first determine the factors causing this problem. Defective points in urban planning will be examined in this sub-sections.

Gender Blindness in Planning: Urban planning functions as "a conscious effort to achieve the goals of social processes" (S. S. Fainstein & N. I. Fainstein, 1996). In other words, city planning is a social project. Yiftachel (1998) emphasizes "mind" in this process and considers planning to be a process of social control, arguing that planning has "the dark side of pressure," which applies to people across class, race, gender, and sexual orientation. In this context, planning moves toward its aim fed by the current situation by means of adjustments, regulations and laws.

The current situation is based on the male-centered division of labor because the male is the owner of "rational mental abilities." This idea demonstrates how widespread male domination is (Bourdieu, 2014). City-centered urban planning is gender-blind when it comes to women (Fenster, 2005): it is male-oriented. Consequently, cities are constructed by adjusting uses of space and time for men and women in a similar way, rather than gender-sensitive (Bondi, 1991/1998; Çakır, 2009; Çamur & Özuduru, 2017). Hence, planning is biased toward a particular gender-oriented order (Greed, 1994; Van Der Berg, 2013, p. 531) and ignores women (Kurtarır & Ökten, 2014; Soltani et al., 2013). While urban planners are responsible for the good and efficient use of successful developments that benefit all citizens (Ziari, 2011), they generally do not respect women's perspectives and tendencies. In comprehensive plans, it has become the norm to consult with different segments of society. However, if the results of the studies contradict

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[1] For example, the UN-sponsored Change for Partnership project aims to change the patriarchal and "macho" attitudes of men (UN-Habitat, 2008).

women's interests, actors ignore women's social and spatial requirements rather than working toward a mutually beneficial resolution of the conflict (Woodsworth, 2005).

As has already been stated, planning denotes a spatial provision of the patriarchal social structure. The spatial organization of the city is a reflection of the ideals of the sovereign gender (Efe, Güney, & Tezcan, 2017; Şentürk, 2009; Zengin, 2009). Spatial organization confirms and establishes the dominant gender norms and makes certain gendered practices possible.[2] According to this understanding, nature is also an area that has to be "tamed," civilized, and managed by men (Dümpelmann, 2015; Hooper, 1998/2002). When socio-economic resources are controlled by a particular group or gender, a social stratum or hierarchy is created. This increases the power of groups in control as well as the social gaps between the genders (Bakhtiarnejhad, 2003). Gender influences the structure of the urban area with all its sub-elements (Shurmer-Smith, 2002); consequently, urban areas do not attract as many women as men because they are viewed by the former as "foreign" and "scary." This situation can generally be observed in the behavior and movement patterns of women in the city (Madanipour, 1996; Soltani et al, 2014), including in Turkey. In its recommendations for the Turkish government, the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) committee has underlined concerns about women's policy due to the increase in the power of the patriarchal structure (Tokman, 2017). A woman cannot exist in a city without being protected (i.e., she may be sexually assaulted or attacked), receiving assistance (e.g., she cannot carry her stroller up and down stairs or get on the bus alone), and embodying the characteristics of "being a woman" (e.g., pavement heights and floors are not designed for high-heeled shoes).

Therefore, in the planning stage, urban planners should bear in mind the following concerns (Sam, Oh, et al., 2016):

- Who can provide appropriate information to ensure gender equality?
- Where and when certain can information be created for women's rights?
- During actors' (e.g. feminist) policy-making process, strategies should be considered according to whether they effectively generate knowledge.

These three issues are important for eliminating gender blindness in urban planning and should be considered as imperatives for Turkey. Therefore, increasing representation of women in both central and local authorities and including

women in competent groups during the planning stages of a city's development are requirements for creating women-friendly cities in Turkey (Atauz, 2004; Efe, Güney, & Kahraman, 2018; Kaypak, 2014).[3] In this context, elected officials, public officials (bureaucrats), community-based groups (e.g., NGOs), and researchers must work together.[4]

Undoubtedly, the social and spatial requirements of women and men in society are different, and this fact should be considered during city planning (Alkan, 1999; Soltani et al., 2013, p. 161). Gender Impact Assessment (GIA) is also an important stage for transitioning to gender-blind planning (see Tummers, 2013). Other stages include defining current gender relations and the identifying the possible positive and negative effects of planning on social gender relations.

Sense of Non-belonging: The provision of space for individual and group identities and visibility in these spaces are important for women as well as men. Visibility, therefore, can be attributed to "empirical recognition, in or out of spaces"; the basis of this recognition is "knowing that the person is in a place where it should be," and, consequently, making claims about the spaces (Skeggs, 1999, p. 220–221). This relationship can also be seen in Knopp's (1992) study in which he highlights the relationship between spatial design, sexual practices, and sexual identity formation. Places are coded as "masculine" or "feminine" and "hetero-" or "homosexual." Thus, spaces promote a social road map by determining the limits and parameters of certain behaviors; that is, they encourage some movements while deterring or suppressing others (Alkan, 2009; Hammers, 2009). Space is a "process and social product" formed by conditions and social relations (Visser, 2008, p. 1345). The physical formation of space is an extension of pre-existing norms (i.e., social, economic, political, cultural) and social hierarchy (Desai, 2007; Phadke et al., 2011; Zengin; 2009). Traditional social and private space discrimination not only affects the designs of both but also defines the "sense of belonging" for different individuals based on their attributes such as gender, caste, religion, and age (Yon & Nadimpalli, 2017, p. 35). In Turkey, women in public spaces do not feel this sense of belonging. Rather, they use such spaces as mandatory transition areas, nor can they appear in these spaces as their unrestricted selves. The concept of protectionism, which is offered to keep women safe, upholds behavior norms (walk, talk, dress, move, etc.) and influences the way women perceive and access space. Security and accessibility issues make daily life and mobility more complicated for women and other disadvantaged groups (Ökten & Kurtarır, 2014; Yon & Nadimpalli, 2017, p. 35). Cities have been formed according to the

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[2] Living and working areas are separate in modern planning. If childcare facilities are not located near a family's residence or workplace, the woman is often prevented from working and taking care of her children at the same time (Van Der Berg, 2013, p. 531).

[3] This is a good example of the arrangement of street landscapes in North American cities (see Dümpelmann, 2015).

[4] Whitzman et al. (2014) called it "four legs."

effects of the patriarchal structure and continue to be fed by it (Efe, Güney, & Tezcan, 2017; Oğuz, 2016; Zengin, 2009). Under such conditions, women in Turkey cannot experience the three "stages" of space: sense of belonging, binding, and taking responsibility (see Shamai, 1991).

Unsafe Areas: In the cities of the world, citizens' safety and insecurity are related to the processes of exclusion and separation. As a result of the patriarchal structure's power over the city, there has been an increase in the levels of violence in recent years, which has led to the common perception that urban spaces are unsafe and insecure places, especially for women (Efe Güney, et al., 2018; Kılınç, 2016; McIlwaine & Moser, 2004). This perception affects women's daily lives, prevents their personal liberty, and limits their entry into public and private areas including work, health, education, and recreational activities (Alkan, 1999; Altındal, 2007; Atauz, 2004; Çakır, 2009; Efe Güney, etc., 2018; Kayın, 2013; Kaypak, 2014; Mackenzie, 2002; Şentürk, 2009). Women, who have limited use of the city during the daytime, are increasingly avoiding the city at night. Since women are considered "provocative," they avoid the streets at night out of fear of rape (Griffin, 1986). However, women's safety is not a separate "women's issue." The problem arises from the fiction of the city; in other words, the problem has to do with who wants the situation to be this way and why.

The solution concerns the right to the city, which includes everyone's access to urban resources and their equal participation (i.e., taking part fairly) in the city (see Lefebvre, 1991). The right to the city is undermined by violence (Whitzman et al., 2013), poverty (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees [UNCHR], 2003) and structural barriers that affect total participation in urban life as a result of asymmetric power relations (UNCHR, 2003). In general, researchers and practitioners have reached a consensus that, in particular, there is a need to develop interventions to combat the safety and security problems faced by women in cities (Mehrotra, 2010; Moser, 2012). Ultimately, there is a need for initiatives to promote "safer cities," women-friendly cities, "safe community," and "community security." These moves are encouraged by organizations such as the UN-Habitat and World Health Organization (WHO), national governments, international non-governmental organizations (NGOs). A woman with a sense of security is a woman who actively improves her physical environment by taking advantage of all public services and municipal facilities and becoming involved with local public issues (Women in Cities International [WICI], 2008). Women's security thus serves not only to end violence and fear within the scope of the right to the city but also to ensure elements that promote welfare and gender mainstreaming. These include "wandering" in public areas (i.e., loitering; see Phadke et al., 2011), living, making decisions regarding public resources,

access to means of living, and active participation in all areas of public life (Whitzman et al., 2014, p. 445).

The right to the city and women-friendly urban practices should be included in all planning processes to enable the existence of this kind of socially engaged woman. In this context, a sustainable planning process is needed in which women's experiences are evaluated at every stage by providing all the policies, programs, and plans as a focus of women's security with gender mainstreaming as the main objective (United Nations Economic and Social Council [UN ECOSOC], 1997). To facilitate this process, gender mainstreaming should begin in planning education; but even this is not enough.

First, sustainability should be ensured because it participates in equality concerns, enables bottom-up decision making, tries to recognize and respect differences, meets local community needs, and prevents crime (Kelly et al., 2005; Narayanan, 2012).

Second, women's knowledge and experience should be considered. "As a result of their higher levels of fear of crime, women are generally more aware of those aspects of the built environment that can offer opportunities for crime and criminals and more sensitive to risks and insecurity. For this reason, utilizing women's perceptions and experiences in urban design and planning can greatly enhance overall community safety" (United Nations Human Settlements Programme [UN-Habitat], 2007, p. 3). Accordingly, UN-Habitat has developed the concept of "Women's Safety Audits" to understand the public's perception of security in local areas with the Safer Cities Program (SCP): *and is also working with SCP's predecessor to ensure the safety of these spaces for all women* (UN-Habitat, 2007). The safety audit is a powerful tool for change that brings the community together. Urban planners cannot theorize about the causes of crime unless they have a correct understanding of the victims' perceptions and experiences. Nor can politicians prioritize strategic policies (Narayanan, 2012, p. 9).

Third, women's safety should be prioritized in all areas. The concept of women's safety has been defined as strategies, practices, and policies to reduce gender-based violence and women's fear of insecurity and crime (WICI & Jagori, 2010). Both the Montreal Declaration on Women's Safety (2002) and the Bogota Declaration on Women's Safety (2004) stated that international organizations, national governments, local governments, the private sector, researchers NGOs, community-based organizations, and law enforcement should encourage women's security (Moser, 2012, p. 438). For women, the right to live, work, and travel in a city depends on their right to security (Viswanath, Kalpana, & Surabhi Mehrotra, 2008, p. 24). While there is a consensus that women's safety is a "city right," violence prevention depends on local authori-

ties working with women's organizations (Shaw, et al., 2013). Because it cannot be insisted that women should find their own solutions to violence, such as carrying pepper spray or learning to defend themselves, solutions need to be found through consultative processes where all voices, especially those of vulnerable populations, are heard. Only then can women have full access to their right to be urban citizens.

Fourthly, urban setup must be intervened in. Since cities are produced with a modern approach, they prioritize aesthetic appearance, high-rise construction, and free-flow hierarchical vehicle traffic (UN-Habitat, 2007). As one of the leading programs in urban development and gender, the SCP states that this urban concept does not meet the needs of groups such as women; therefore, equality cannot be ensured because a city that is not safe for women is not safe for everyone.

Finally, the urban area should be improved. In order to resolve various forms of violence, including sexual abuse, a strong relationship between violence levels, crime, and inadequate infrastructure should be recognized, and strategies to address these issues should be developed.[5] For instance, if traffic regulation does not exist or seem to exist, if there is no police surveillance and no action is taken without a complaint, if there are no streetlights, if the pavement is broken, if there are billboards in the middle of the sidewalks, it is arguably harder for perpetrators to resist engaging in sexual harassment (Baxi, 2003)—nor does such a scenario lend a general sense of security. Therefore, planning should consider adequate lighting, public telephone systems, internal public transport, safe walkways, and toilets. Rape crisis centers and counseling centers should also be established (Moser, 2012, p. 445–447). Dilapidated or abandoned facades should not be allowed to remain, and socio-cultural equipment should be used to prevent unwanted communication on the street.[6] In this way, natural surveillance (Newman, 1996) can be provided via a constant density of population day and night. In other words, the presence of a permanent population can establish "eyes on the street" (Jacobs, 1961). These kinds of strategies and regulations contribute to the evolution of public spaces and public good by promoting gender mainstreaming in addition to tackling issues that affect women's feelings about their security[7] (Whitzman et al., 2014, p. 454). Therefore, the planning system should be reconstructed to implement such tools (Firidin, 2004).

Intersectional Blindness: Urban planning should respect citizens' right to the city; but identifying that this right exists is just a starting point (Purcell, 2002, p. 99). It is necessary to acknowledge the intersectionality of multiple social identities (see Crenshaw, 1989). In other words, the right to the city fails to redress the multiplicity of disadvantages and discriminations that exist in urban society. Because diverse citizens are displayed together on a single axis (e.g., regardless of their sex, race, age, or ability) rather than multiple axes, the right to the city is hampered. This lack of recognition of the multidimensional features of identity and discrimination not only constitutes a violation of human rights but also undermines a woman's right to the city (Yon & Nadimpalli, 2017).

The "intersection point" offers an analytical tool with great potential for more inclusive and safer women's cities because it extends current thinking about women's safety from a dualistic analysis of gender to a broader framework that considers the simultaneous, multiple, and relational positioning of women in society (Whitzman et al., 2013). At the same time, the intersection point objects to gender inequalities and hierarchies and strengthens the right to the city. Ultimately, the intersection point is an important step for an inclusive approach to local planning (Yon & Nadimpalli, 2017, p. 38) because neither women's safety nor inability to use the city are matters of concern only for women. In other words, intersectionalities exist in different identities, including in various problem areas. For example, in present-day cities, levels of violence and abuse are high, and safe ways for women with disabilities to escape from these events are limited (Healey, 2013; Healey et al., 2013). In other words, women with disabilities are at a double disadvantage because of the intersection of gender and disability. Therefore, it is necessary to recognize the intersections of these differences while noticing social differences; intersections can facilitate an inclusive and integrated approach to identify an urban policy that provides better access and participation (Yon & Nadimpalli, 2017). This issue becomes more pressing in countries with patriarchal structures, such as Turkey. Due to Islam's principles of privacy and honor, gender discrimination is spatialized, and space is reserved for men (Alizadeh, 2007; Oğuz, 2016). Consequently, incidences of violence against women, including murder, are increasing day by day.[8] In this context, political practices and discourse are also important.[9]

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[5] For example, see Moser, 2012: Khayelitsha Township, Cape Town, South Africa. Violence Prevention Through Urban Upgrading Project.

[6] Research has shown that the lack of cultural and recreational areas in addition to lifeless and rough facades in some parts of a city does not allow women to participate in social-civil relations and that the rate of depression and other emotional ailments in women is higher than in men. (Soltani, 2014, p. 43).

[7] In this context, a new cross-sectoral approach to urban renewal and improvement is a good example of Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design (CPTED; Moser, 2012, p. 445).

[8] There should be emergency buttons on the streets as well as in homes, and this protocol should be enacted as a matter of policy. Women can push this button in case of emergency; only a woman who can escape assault can be saved. An article about the topic with the headline "No such brutality is seen: he closed her mouth with socks" was published in the Sözcü Newspaper on January 19, 2018. Accessed from: http://www.sozcu.com.tr/2018/gundem/boyle-vahset-gorulmedi-agzini-corapla-kapatti-2180445/.

[9] The conservative structure that has been in power for the last 15 years in Turkey expresses and even emphasizes the requirement of women to give birth and how many children she should have; the same structure also speaks about how women should behave in the street depending on whether she is pregnant or not.

First, it is essential to address otherized individuals via inclusive planning. However, the space may have been planned rather than repressed (Frisch, 2002, p. 254–255). One approach is to divide work and family responsibilities between women and men equally and live in gender-equal cities, which was considered the ideal at the beginning of the twenty-first century. Instead of separating production and reproduction, there are cities which have "gender-equal" areas such as child care facilities, playgrounds, and bicycle paths. Such areas make cities equal and accessible through a combination of work and care areas (Van Der Berg, 2013). *In this context, to address gender blindness in planning, the women-friendly city is discussed below as a possible solution and a case in point was evaluated through an analysis of the women-friendly city of İzmir.*

Eliminating Blindness in Planning: The Women-Friendly Cities Program

The Women Friendly Cities Programme has become the foremost of the six projects conducted globally in the field of human rights. Its sustainable and human rights-based approach is the result of an assessment made by the UN Population Fund on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of the adoption of the Declaration of Human Rights, and it was the first organization to submit gender equality studies to local governments in Turkey (Şener & Demirdirek, 2014). The program states that women are not considered in urban planning led by men, and that cities are dangerous for women (kadindostukentler.org), agreeing with the work of feminist scientists (e.g., Valentine, 1989; Pain, 1991; Peake, 1993; Day, 1999, cited by Efe Güney and Demircioğlu, 2015). The Women Friendly Cities Programme's recommendations for solutions to the planning problems mentioned above take the form of a guide for a city where women can live.

The spatial recommendations of the Women-friendly City Programme are listed as follows (Baykan, 2015; Kadin Dostu Kentler, 2014):

- Proper illumination of public places (squares, overpasses, bus stops, etc.) and monitoring by paying attention to national and international rules.
- Do not create dead-ends, curved roads, and deaf façades.
- Implementation of emergency call points in public places and identification sheets that are easily perceived or clearly visible.
- Conducting asylum and gathering places.
- Bus service to the farthest points of the city and offering the possibility of alighting at night at one's desired location, even if there is no bus stop.
- Allocation of a affordable haousing quota from the Prime Ministry Housing Development Administration (TOKI) or municipal housing.
- Supporting gathering places (parks, marketplaces, etc.) with public transport and positioning them on pedestrian axles.
- Designing streets in a way that allows activities.
- Designing streets and pedestrian walkways that pay attention to the needs of individuals such as women, children, the elderly, people with disabilities, cyclists, and so forth.

Several additional elements should also be mentioned, such as the establishment of suitable facilities for elderly women (e.g., cultural activity areas, nursing homes, etc.), provision of social communication with the multimedia campaigns on the macro scale and in-family communication on the micro scale, consideration of the differences in working conditions according to gender and the establishment of a business information center, an increase in the number of security patrols as well as the number of means of illumination, creation of shopping areas for women and the elderly, and the provision of signage (see. Sam, Oh, et al., 2016).

A women-friendly city must support all the features of life that women may wish to establish, including living alone[10] and being married with or without children—in other words, family friendly. It should also prevent discrimination against women in terms of race and religious denomination or sect. Residential areas, working areas, public spaces, and roads should be appropriate for use. For example, residences should be constructed for the people who live in them; they should include sports areas, parks, playgrounds, and traffic safety. Workplaces and service areas should be moved closer to living areas; this is the approach of "urbanism of proximity" (see Irschik, 2008), which aims to bring the elderly women, children, and young families to the city.[11]

To establish cities in this way, a design guide is required. Such guides must be different for every city, as the nature and needs of the inhabitants of every city differ.[12] For this reason, strategies should not be developed from top to bottom, but from bottom to top (Berglund, 2007). It has been agreed that the right to the city is a powerful tool for building safer and more inclusive cities through "participation from bottom to top" (i.e., from below) approach (Fenster, 2005; Whitzman et al., 2013). In this context, gathering information is an important step. The transformation of women's experiences into

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[10] TOKI (Housing Development Administration), which builds cheap houses under the direction of the government and reports to the prime ministry, decided not to build any studio apartments.

[11] For a similar application, see Kreditanstalt für Wiederaufbau/ Cape Town City 2002 [Moser, 2012, p. 445] in Khayelitsha County [Khayelitsha Township] in Cape Town, South Africa [Moser, 2012, p. 445]).

[12] For example, in Toronto, Canada, a *Women's Safety Audit Guide* was developed in 1989 by the Metropolitan Toronto Action Committee on Violence Against Women (METRAC), a non-profit organization that is operated by the government (Whitzman, 2014, p. 446).
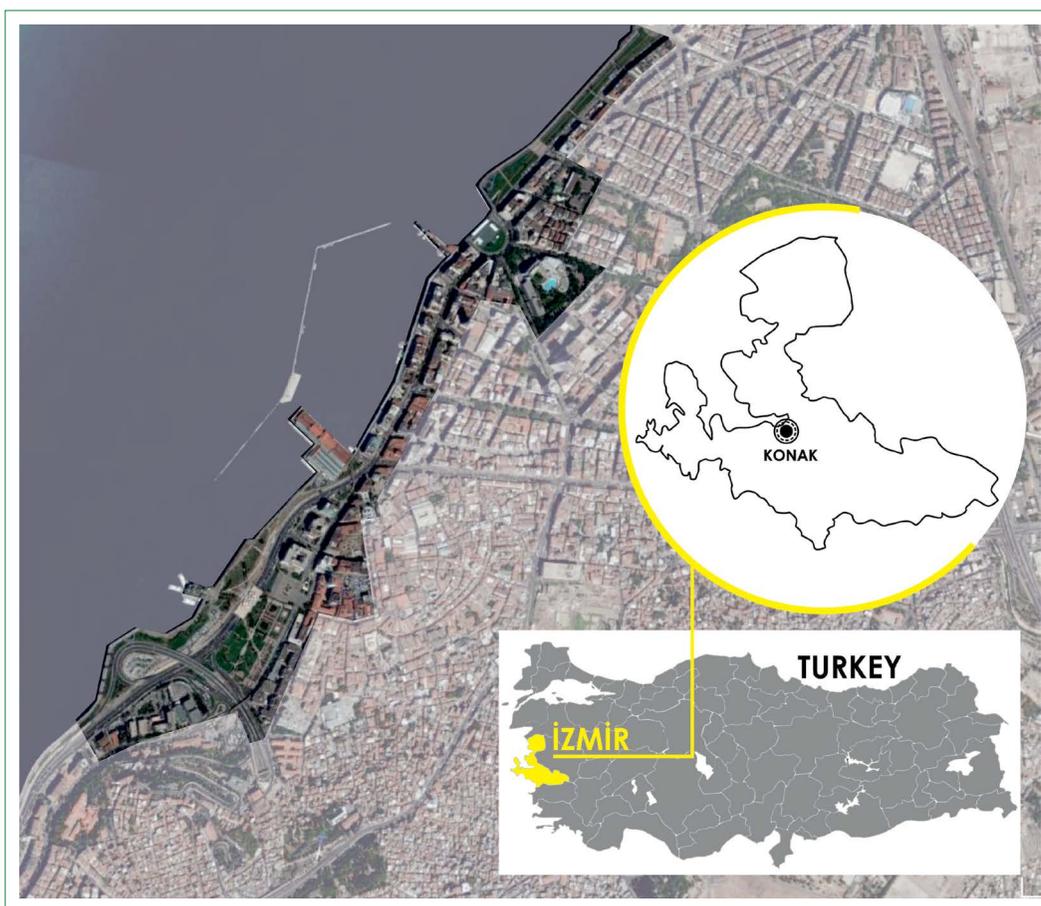
Figure 1. Location of case study (Google Earth, 2018).

advocacy, acknowledging local experiences, public disclosure, creating social learning through sharing experiences, and creating opportunities for interaction should be included among the information gathered as experiential knowledge. Such information should include gender-specific data and analytical information. In other words, the information should include gender-sensitive monitoring and evaluation systems and tools[13] (Whitzman et al., 2014).

Materials and Methods – A Field Study

When discussing whether cities in Turkey are "women-friendly" or not, considering the blindness of planning and in addition to the insensitivity of Turkish planning legislation and the conditions of Islam and its patriarchal nature, it can be concluded that cities in Turkey are not women-friendly. However, since 2010, in 13 out of 81 provinces in Turkey, women-friendly city practices have been carried out.[14] A part of the Konak District in İzmir was studied to discuss the suit-

ability of these practices for the program (Figure 1). İzmir was selected as the location for the field of study, which was also a practical choice because the authors of this article live there. Additionally, since a state of emergency is now in effect in Turkey, field study in İzmir was less complicated since the city is known as the "most comfortable city of Turkey" or the "Aegean Pearl." Since it is the third biggest metropolitan city in Turkey with the third largest population, it was also more straightforward to carry out the study.

Additionally, İzmir is in the first process, which was completed in 2010 in Turkey by the women-friendly city studies carried out within the scope of the "Women Friendly Cities United Nations Joint Program" (United Nations Women Friendly Cities, n.d). To this end, İzmir has prepared a "Local Equality Action Plan." Additionally, the city has ratified Articles 10 and 90 of as the Turkish constitution, the CEDAW treaty in Turkey was signed in 2010, and the European Municipalities and Regions Council's (CEMR) European Charter for

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[13] For example, Sam, Oh et al. (2016) argue and defend actor network theory in order to provide job opportunities to women as well as representing women in terms of "gathering information."

[14] Women-friendly city applications are carried out in 13 provinces of Turkey including Adıyaman, Antalya, Bursa, Gaziantep, Kars, Malatya, Mardin, Nevşehir, Samsun, Şanlıurfa, Trabzon ve Van, in addition to İzmir.
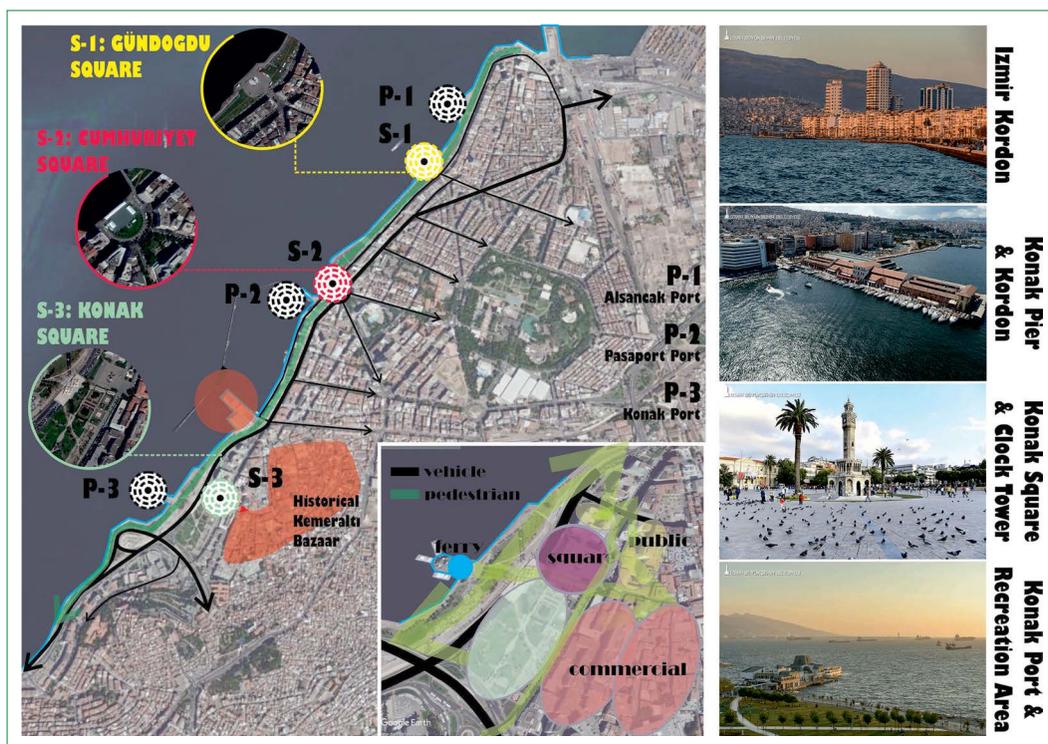
Figure 2. Images from the case study (Google Eart, 2018; IMM, 2018).

Equality of Women and Men in Local Life was signed into law by the İzmir Metropolitan Municipality in 2013 (İzmir Local Equality Strategic Plan, 2013–2017, 2014). According to the plan, there are six intervention areas: Women and Education Services, Women and Health Services, Women's Participation in Economic Life, Combating Violence against Women, Participation of Women in Decision Making Mechanisms, and Women and Urban Services. The target for the area of women and urban services intervention is "to make İzmir a woman-friendly city."

The main reason for locating this study in the Konak District in İzmir was that Konak is the district which has been selected as the pilot region for many of the studies carried out by the İzmir City Council Women's Council, which is part of the İzmir City Council and comprises the following women's "working groups": mother and mother candidates' awareness, natural disasters, entrepreneurship and employment, politics, culture, art, health and environment, and gender equality (İzmir City Council, 2015). Furthermore, Konak is one of five districts (the others are Buca, Çiğli, Güzelbahçe, and Karşıyaka) that have set up the "Commission on Equality Between Woman and Man" in the municipal councils during the preparation of the İzmir Local Equality Action Plan.

İzmir has a population of 4,279,677, according address based population registration system' (in Turkish ADNKS) 2017 data: 51% of the population is female (2,146,129) and 49% is male (2,133,548). Konak is home to 9% of İzmir's population and has the third largest population of all the districts in the city. The district's total population is 363,181: 51% is female (185,642) and 49% (177,539) is male. It is not incorrect to say that this province has the largest population. While İzmir's Karabağlar District was once a suburb of Konak, it was converted into a separate district by the 2008 enactment of "Law No. 5747 on the Establishment of a District within the Borders of the Metropolitan Municipality and Amendment of Certain Laws." This change in district lines did not affect the daily urban practices of Karabağlar's residents carried out within the Konak District.

The boundaries of this study area were determined to be the recreation area of Konak Square and Republic Square (Figure 2). The study area was approximately 60 ha and was chosen because it had a recreational area that served not only Konak but also all of İzmir. In this respect, a recreation area serving both the province and the total population of the district was important for studying the appropriateness of use by women, who comprise half of the population in the province and district. In addition, since Konak is a business and commercial area, this area is also used as a venue for various activities and is also part of many citizens' daily commute. In this context, we will discuss whether this area was created as a specially-designed recreation area within the recommendations of a women-friendly city as well as whether or not it is an appropriate space for urban citizens within the scope of the right to the city.
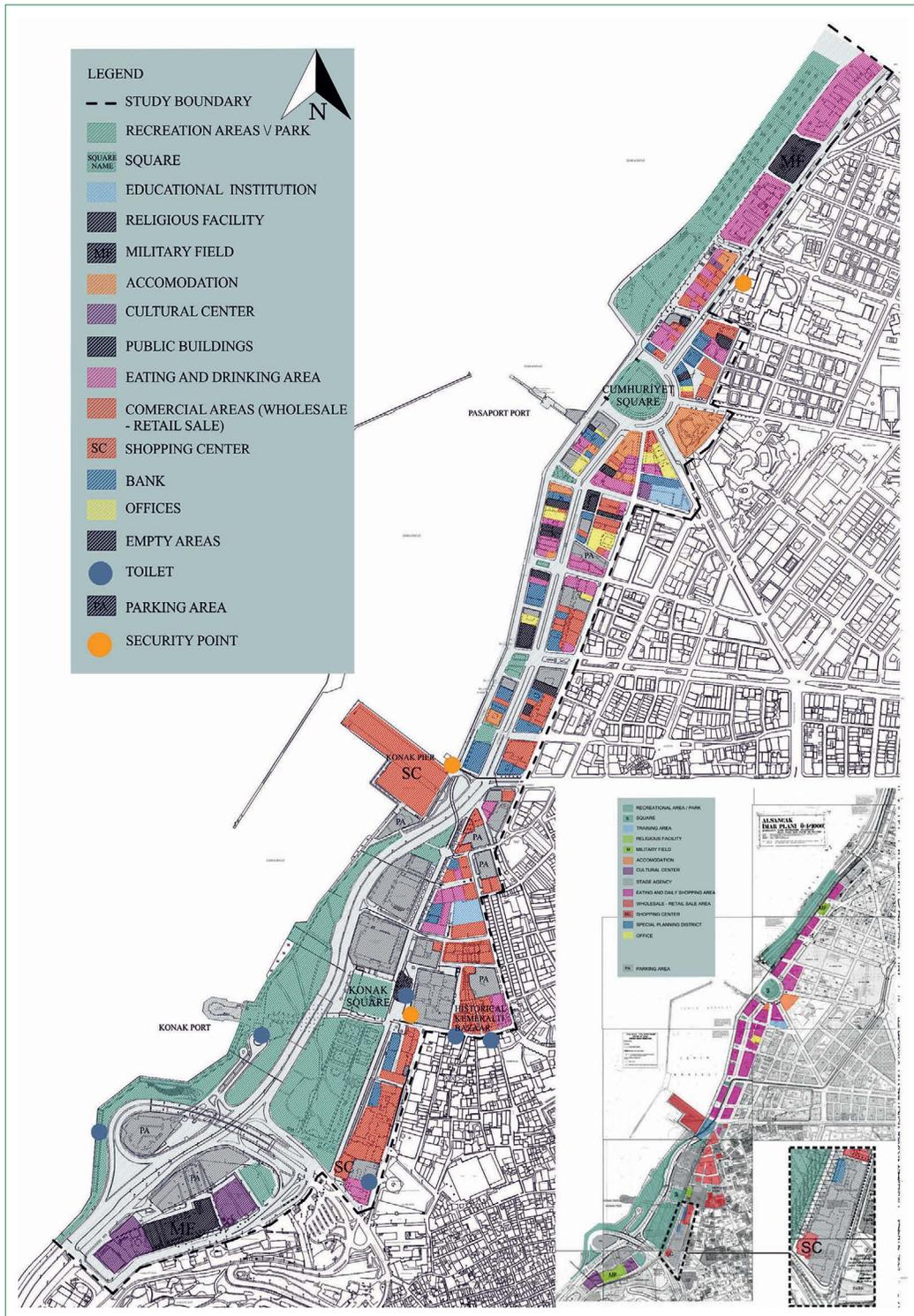
Figure 3. Ground floor land use analysis and development plan.

The study area, which was examined between July and November 2017, included both the triangulation point and recreation area of İzmir. As can be seen in the land use map (Figure 3), the study area also included Konak Square, Republic Square, and the areas of both squares where pedestrian interaction occurs. The study area included many types of land use, such as the shopping center, cafés, and official institutions as well as a recreation area. On the one hand, the area serves as a recreation

area for the district and city; on the other hand, it is an urban service area. To discuss the suitability of this service for use by women, who make up the half of the city and district population, during both the day and night, analysis was conducted on the basis of the on-site examination and research detailed below. Some attempts to interview users were made in the field, but no response could be obtained; thus, the researchers abandoned those attempts. Users did not want to participate in the conversation for reasons which appeared to relate directly to the state of emergency in Turkey, even though, during the time of the study, this situation was suspended.

Findings

Use of Land: The Konak District is considered the central district due to its historical characteristics, and the field of study was accessible by bus, metro, and ferry. In addition to these features, the intensification of the service sector, such as recreational use and food and beverage areas, ensured continuity of day- and nightlife. In particular, the presence of the historical Kemeralti bazaar within the boundaries intensifies the daytime use of the space. In the implementary development plan which used a 1/1000 scale model of Izmir and was approved in 1985 the ground floor use in the city block where YKM (it is the name's a shopping center) is included, which is located in the south part of Konak Square, is the official institution; today, planning has transformed the official use of this space into trading. Although some of the trading functions mentioned above remain in the passage (passage here is referring to a physical space, like an alleyway), this change has made the area more secure because these spaces with trade functions remain open late.

In a surrounding area that includes Konak Square, which is included in the field of study, a design project was conceived in 2002 and implemented in 2003 (Gürsel et al., 2004). In the area between Cumhuriyet Square and Konak Pier, which is approximately 700-meters, some of the cafés on the shore that extended toward the pedestrian walkway have been removed to build a permanent access road for pedestrians and cyclists (İzmir Metropolitan Municipality [IMM], 2018). Also, the area between Kordon and Passport (i.e., Kordon, Konak Square, and Cumhuriyet Square, which are also included in the field of study) was registered as a Historical Protected Site in 1994 and 1998. The area of Kemeraltı, which is also located in the study area, was registered as an "Urban + Grade 3 Archeological Site" in 2002 (IMM, 2015). The field of study also contained an area visited by local and foreign tourists.

Considering the three squares together with the recreational areas, Konak Square stands out as the most important location in the field of study. However, the square's connection to the sea is cut off by a fast track lane, and its junction was set up using a single **access**, which has created an access deficiency (Figures 2, 3). Republic and Gündoğdu squares, which are in contact with the shore, are the focus of the pedestrian route; they can thus be deemed as an integral part of the whole plan.

Illumination: When the adequacy and effectiveness of the illumination for night use was examined (Figure 4), it was observed that each illumination pole was designed to illuminate an area with a diameter of 25–30 meters. In this context, it was observed that the lighting was insufficient and not in compliance with the setup for building entrances in the blocks near the Kemeraltı's entrance, the capillary roads serving these blocks, and the illumination of the recreation area between the Konak metro station exit and Konak Square. However, in the area designated as "Area A" in Figure 4, another type of illumination, such as stool illumination, was used. However, since users can easily break this kind of lighting, while these areas can be said to have infrastructure, they cannot guarantee illumination. In other words, it is a bright area but unsafe. Photographs taken at the points numbered 1, 2, 3, and 4 in Figure 4 indicate some examples of bright areas and their appearance.

Access and Transportation to the Area and Transport in the Area: Since it is a coastal district located on the metro route, there are many options for transportation to the area including metro, ferry (two piers), and bus. In addition, it was seen that, with the arrangement of the "Kordonboyu" recreation area of the İzmir Metropolitan Municipality, a bicycle network was added to the area for both entertainment and transport. The Smart Bike Rental System (BİSİM), which allows everyone to use the bicycle network, had many access points within the borders of the study area (Figure 5). Although interrupted in some places, it can be said that the field of study has a strong pedestrian axis connected with focal points such as squares along the coastline in the north-south direction. Sidewalks tried to provide pedestrian **access**, rather than pedestrian roads leading into the area. In other words, in the interior part of the area that parallels the sea, the second-degree vehicle road, which is adjacent to the sea via the first-degree motorway, stands out preminantly. No continuity of the pedestrian path was observed; in some places, these roads were interrupted by vehicle routes. In addition, the stairs in some parts of the area restricted the use of children's strollers (which is also a disadvantage for people with disabilities and the elderly). Since the area is suitable for pedestrian use and is located on sloping terrain, though highway access roads pass around Konak Square, interchange overpasses are used for pedestrian access. Although they have a negative feature in terms of length, they were designed with a slope that does not tire the pedestrian. The overpass, which is approximately 135 meters long, connects Konak Pier and Konak Square
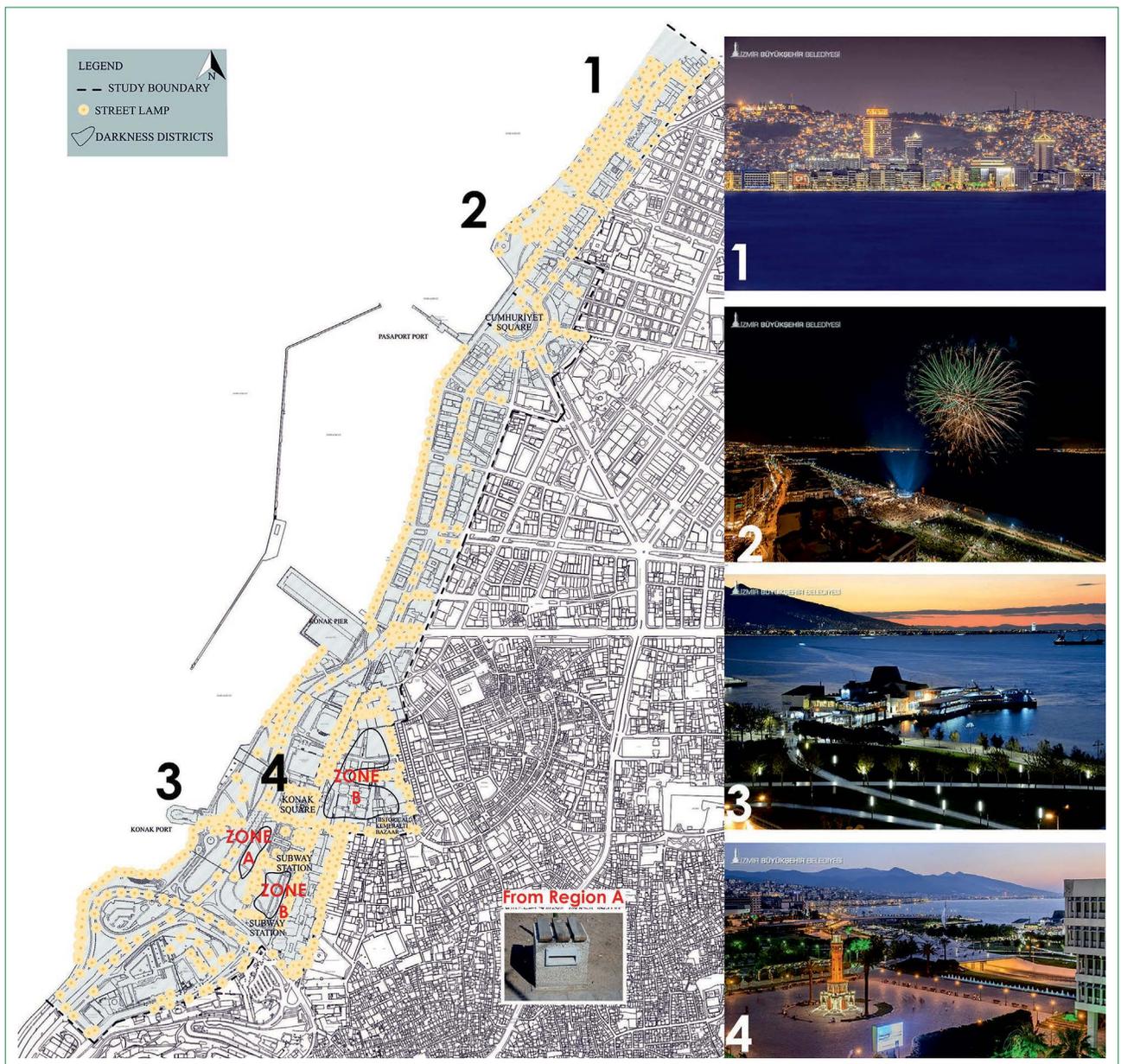
Figure 4. Analysis of illumination elements (IMM, 2018).

and was built in 2003 (Zengel, 2007). Another overpass, which was completed in 2016 and connects Bahri Baba Park and Konak Square, is 160 meters long (Konak pedestrian overpass, 2016).

Since three of the ten stations, two of which are ferry waiting points, are not enclosed areas, they are not useful for anyone in rainy or very sunny weather, nor are they useful for women (especially women with children). Other stations are protected from the rain but cannot be protected from the sun. However, in terms of buses, women can alight at any time at any location (outside the station) between the hours of 22.00–06.00.

Pavement plays an important role in preventing vehicles from driving at a speed exceeding the legal limit. Accordingly, a large part of the study area was covered with cobblestones, preventing vehicles from speeding and providing a safer environment for pedestrians. In the field of study, we observed that other service roads, except the main road, used stone paving. These roads often allow pedestrians to cross the street using pedestrian crossings.

In the field of study, differentiated floor coverings were used to prevent design uniformity and resolve the unattractive appearance of the old channel grids. However, this pavement used on the roads is not suitable for women who wear high
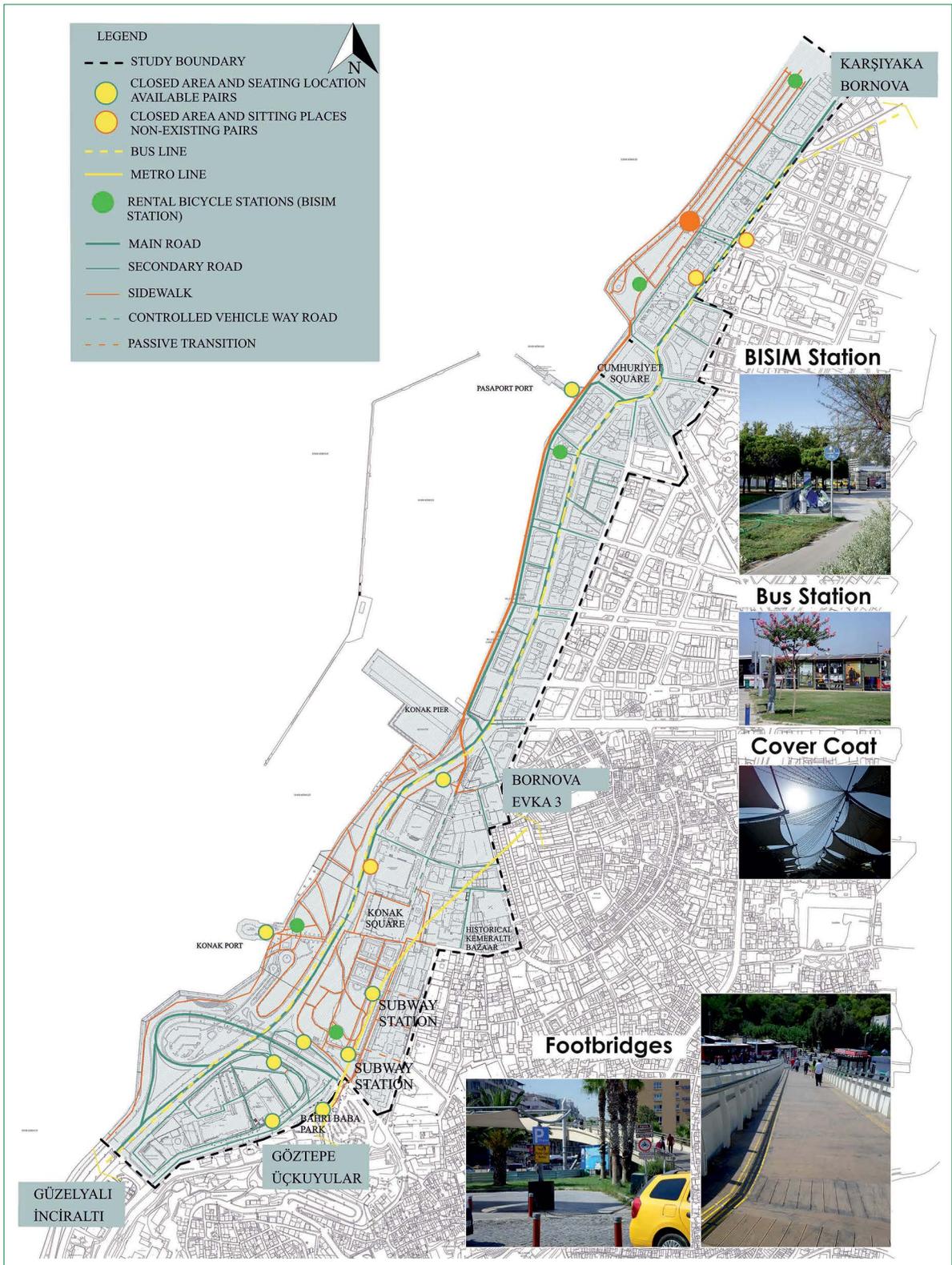
Figure 5. State of transportation.

heels or use baby strollers, two features of the condition of being a woman (Figure 6).

Routers (Signs) and Other Security Elements: Routers (signs) and security elements are important components
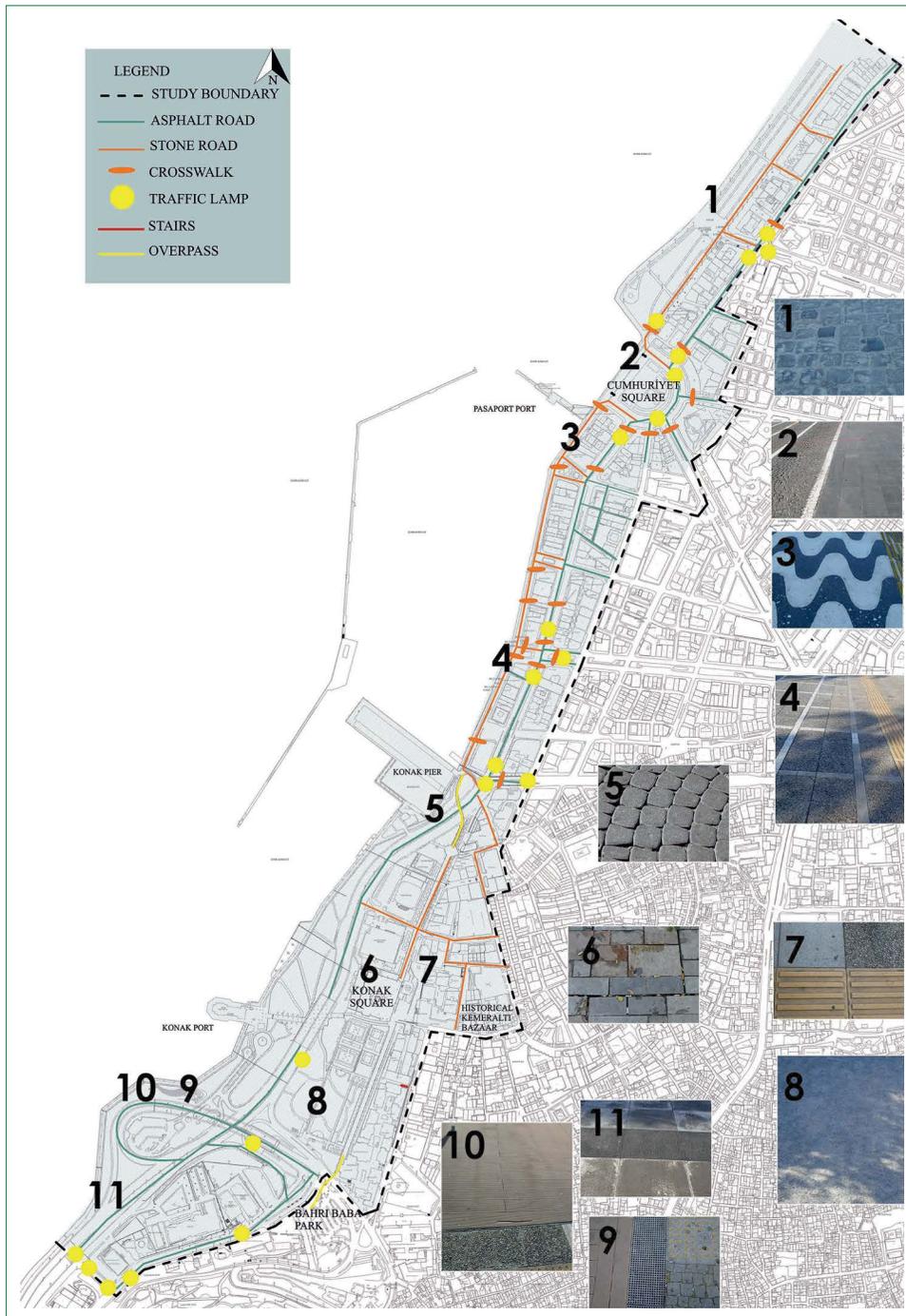
Figure 6. Crossing the street.

of the women-friendly city. Cameras on the street offer one way for residents to feel safe. Accordingly, when the distribution of security cameras was examined, MOBESE (like a camera in traffic) cameras were determined to be located around the area as well as other cameras belonging to private individuals or private or official institutions. MOBESE cameras were found mostly in squares and open common areas or on the main road, while other cameras (i.e., military,

police, offices, educational institutions, public institutions, cafés, banks, stores, etc.) were seen to be distributed more widely across the inner parts of the area. A few dead-end streets were observed in the area located in Kemeralti, the traditional shopping center.

In addition to the cameras, in the field of study, three security points, including the police department and a taxi button,
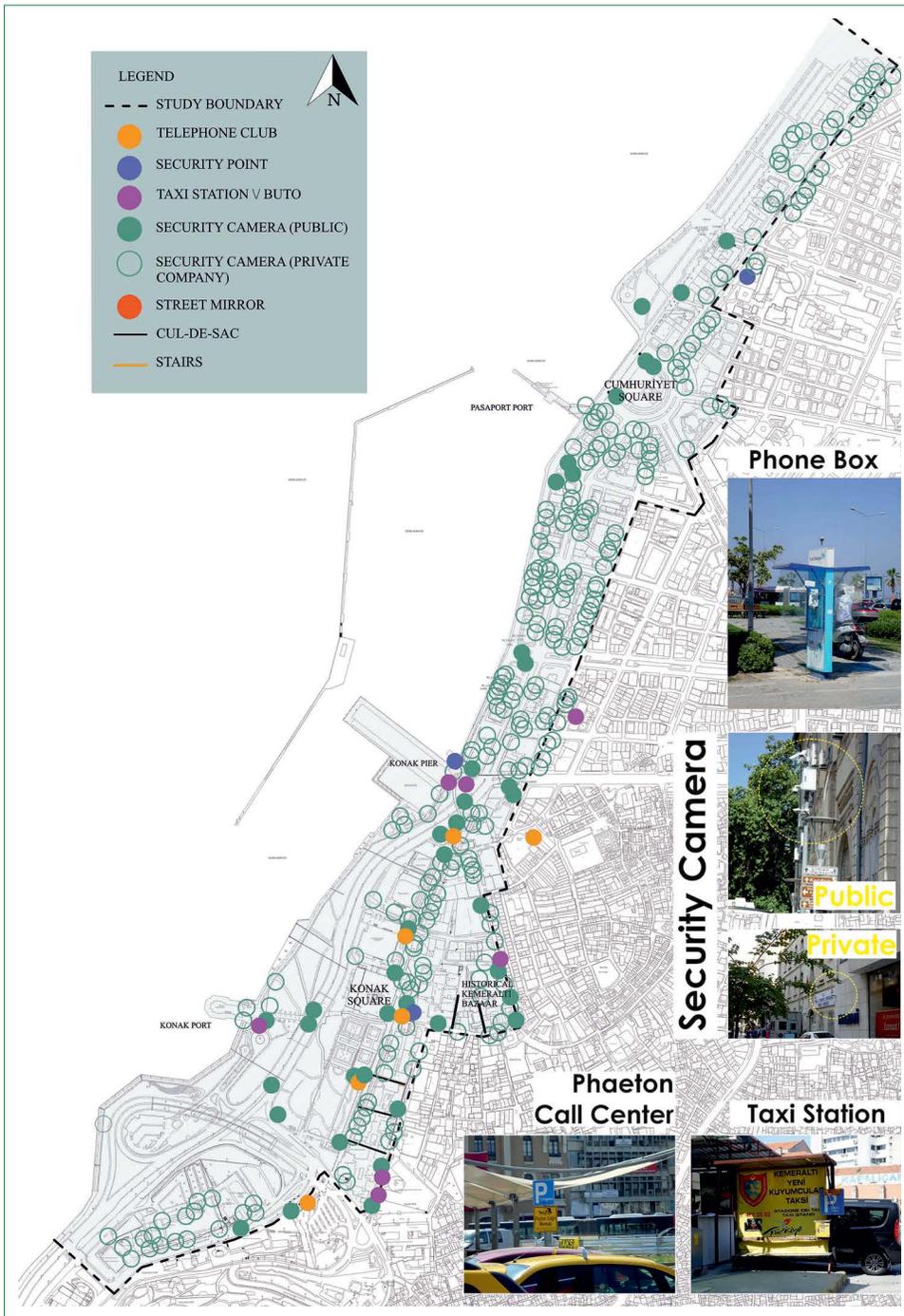
Figure 7. Situations that ensure and threaten safety.

were observed. While these features allow women in the area to feel more secure, the lack of an emergency button stood out as an important deficiency for an area which has just been completed with an aim towards realizing a woman-friendly city (Figure 7).

More routers were observed in the northern side of the area than in the southern side, and these routers show the parking points in the north. These parking lots are located near the Alsancak region, which is full of cafés, and provide a partial solution to the problems of people who come to this area for recreational purposes.

No public toilets were observed in the northern area. In the southern area, there were six toilets; however, since they did not have a specific, systematic design and concentrated in one
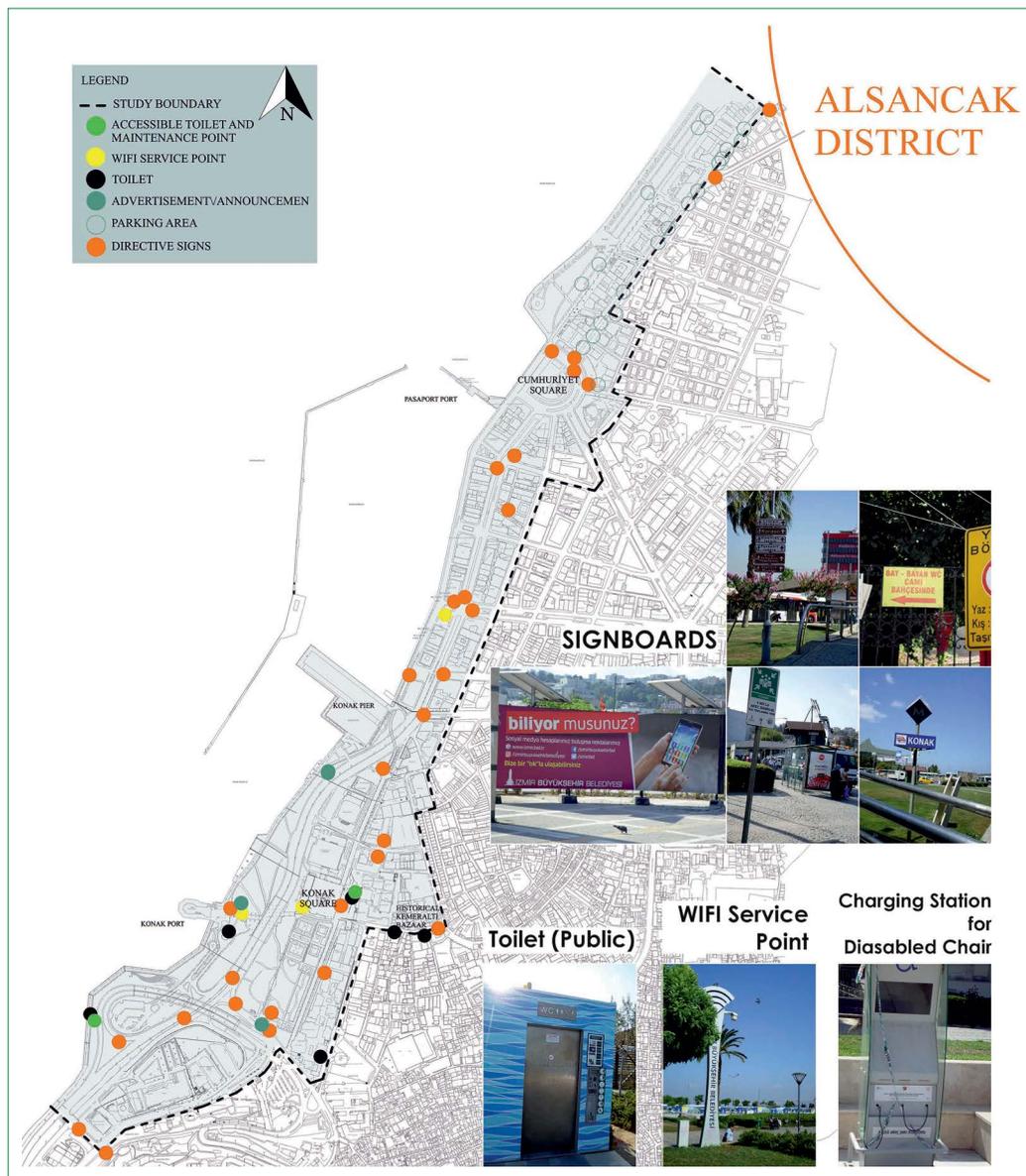
Figure 8. Routing adequacy and some uses.

place, the absence of toilets in the northern area stood out. Furthermore, no discriminations were made within these toilets, such as breastfeeding or child care rooms. In the southern region of the study area, only one **unisex** handicapped bathroom facility was observed, which brought to mind questions concerning women with disabilities. This oversight demonstrated that the spatial requirements were ignored. In other words, this facility was not constructed specifically for women with disabilities but for people with disabilities more generally, regardless of gender (Figure 8).

The field of study comprised an area whose design had just been completed and which was created through planning interventions. While security in Gündoğdu and Cumhuriyet squares, which are part of Kordonboyu, can be partially provided in a manner that is in line with the measurements mentioned above, it is not possible to confirm total success in Konak Square. While a considerable number of residential buildings were observed in this area, due to the large number of public buildings that occupy a significant portion of the space which are not used outside working hours, they were "dead" at night and unable to provide natural surveillance.

While the placement of the plants used in landscaping the area enhances its aesthetic appearance during the day, it also creates blind spots at night. Some of the lighting units have been designed using a similar aesthetic approach, but since

Figure 9. State of the landscape.

the illuminance of these units has a length of less than 1 meter and the intertwined seating function was broken, we observed that the area was insecure; this damage made the area dark and unsafe. Since this area is not used at night and is not safe for women, it is not safe for anyone (Figure 9). In addition, the position of the seating areas in the landscape cannot be immediately comprehended; thus, those who need to rest or want to spend time in the recreational area may notice this lack of seating. In addition, since there is a lack of comprehension regarding the issue mentioned above, people who pass through the area can frighten visitors who are sitting there. In other words, those who are unfamiliar with the area, including domestic and foreign tourists, and who are unsure whether these units comprise the public seating areas within the landscape have to ask someone or go into a café.
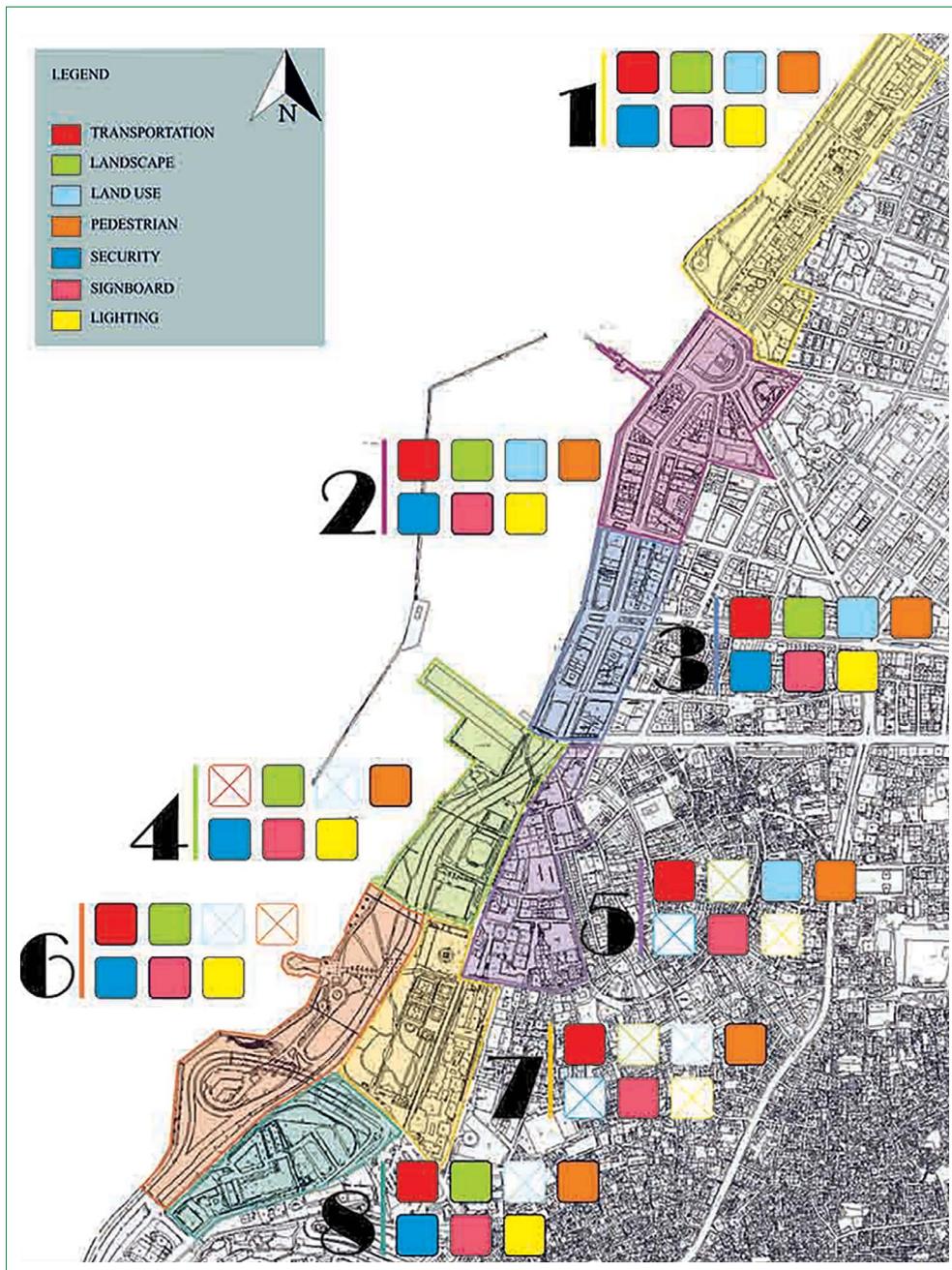
Figure 10. General assessment in the field of study.

Discussion and Conclusions

The analyses that were conducted to investigate whether the field of study was women-friendly or not showed that planning could not solve the design flaws and problems in this newly-designed area in the women-friendly city of İzmir, including gender blindness, feeling of intolerance, creating unsafe areas, and intersection blindness. In other words, planning will continue to construct spaces with the same design flaws unless the perspective of planning as a field of science and occupation changes through norms and laws.

The area under consideration is an important example of the situation. The study area was arranged in the design of Konak Square and its surroundings in 2003; then, it was reconsidered as part of the coastal project [Strengthening the Relationship of Izmirers with the Sea Project (İzmirlilerin Denizle İlişkisini Güçlendirme Projesi)] prepared by Izmir Metropolitan Municipality in 2011. The principles of the first project are historical memory, meeting the needs for the future, not constructing a new building, sustainable and flexible space design, public space definition, peace of the city with the sea, perception of the old trade center and new areas, and connecting

transportation networks (Gürsel et al., 2004). In the studies conducted, this project was found has no principle or concern related to the women-friendly urban planning principles.

In 2011, a questionnaire and a forum were held within the scope of the project carried out. However in the whole process, no sentence was added in the strategy report on women other than "especially the way women establish a relationship in society is different from the women who are closed inward in Central Anatolia. In Izmir, women are not closed to home, and have connection with the society" (IMM, 2012, pp. 16). In addition, in the survey study conducted for the project, only 21% of the participants are women and the survey results were not evaluated based on the distribution of women and men, that is, by gender. Like the project in 2003, this project was also not planned according to the women-friendly urban planning principles.

To emphasize the important points of this analysis and understand these properties more clearly, the land use situation in similar areas in eight different regions were also examined (Figure 10).

While the coastline and the interior areas are separated, the regions are subdivided by taking into account their land use functions and important points. While the first, second, third, fourth, and sixth regions constitute the shoreline, Konak Pier, Cumhuriyet Square, and Konak Pier are thought to be the breaking points on the line that separate the regions from each other. The fifth, seventh, and eighth regions in the interior part of the area are differentiated from the shore and from each other. The fifth region contains the historical Kemeraltı bazaar, while the seventh region represents another region, including Konak Square, supported by a recreational area. Finally, the eighth region differs from the others by a large street, but also by land use.

As can be seen in Figure 10, analyses were evaluated separately for each region and a negative (X) sign was written in the box in case of a negative evaluation.

In this context, the general characteristics of regions 1, 2, and 3 can be said to be women-friendly. These areas have several functions in terms of land use and include residences whose upper floors are in use, thus ensuring a certain amount of activity during the day and night as well as natural surveillance. These regions come close to satisfying the criteria for a women-friendly city in terms of lighting, security, landscape status, transportation, direction, and signs. However, since the two bus stops in the first region do not have enclosed areas, they are not protected against rain and sun.

Regions numbered 1, 2 and 3 are suitable for a woman-friendly design compared to the entire study area; in other words, only some of the sub-regions of a single project area appears to be women-friendly because the whole project is not planned in accordance with female-friendly city criteria. Therefore, due to the positive results of the analyzes (illumination, transportation, routers, security elements, etc.) made within the scope of women friendly city planning principles, some of the study area has been described as women friendly.

Although the fourth and sixth regions are a continuation of the shoreline, they are not as women-friendly as the other three regions. Both areas contain only a recreation area, so they lack safe use at night. In this respect, they are "dead areas" at night. None of the bus stops in the fourth region were found to be suitable for rainy or sunny weather. In the sixth region, a disconnection in pedestrian transportation was observed, largely because of Cumhuriyet Boulevard, which separates the coastline from the interior.

When the regions in the interior part were examined, the fifth region (which contains a part of the historical Kemeraltı market) was found to have a serious security problem at night due to the "dead area" that occurs after a particular time following the close of trade. There are also some dead-end roads in this region, and the lack of illumination indicated additional security problems at night. The lack of landscaping, blind areas, and the presence of dead zones due to the passage of passages in the seventh region, which includes Konak Square, revealed that the landscape, lighting, and security features of the area are insufficient. In addition, the lack of land use properties and the fact that most of the area was designed for recreational purposes demonstrate that this region's design reflects distrust and the inadequacy of daytime usage as well as greater security risks at night.

Finally, we found that the eighth district was women-friendly in many ways. However, the cultural center, which requires a larger area of use and is not used after a certain time at night, can give the impression that the area is unsafe, particularly in the evening and at night, due to its use as a parking lot after hours, or something to this effect.

Per the analysis headings under which the characteristics of women-friendly cities are analyzed we observed that the coastal area in the northern part of the field of study was more women-friendly than the coastal area in the southern part. As the area most widely used by İzmir residents within our field of study, it was determined that the lighting in the areas around the Konak metro station, Konak Square, and Kemeraltı was insufficient.

While examining the transportation situation, no pedestrian axle was found among vehicular traffic, and it was observed that the pavement was not laid with consideration for women

walking with a stroller or in high-heeled shoes. Such pavement is also not suitable for women running away from danger. Pedestrian continuity is provided by the overpass, pedestrian crossings, and traffic lights.

When examining the security personnel present in the area, areas with cameras, telephone booths, or taxi buttons were considered to be "safer areas," while dead-ends were found to be "unsafe." According to the findings, the area where Konak Square and Kemeraltı are located was determined to be unsafe.

Direction elements are important criteria because they enable people to travel in an area while feeling safe. As a result of our analysis, the field of study was found to be poor in comparison with the other regions in the orientation of the shore line. However, since the shoreline was observed visually, we found no need to improve the orientation of the regions in this line of sight; there were also sufficient orientation elements in the interior areas, provided this suitably conveys your intended meaning. When we examined the landscaping situation, we noted that there are areas where the view is blocked. As a result, the area between the Konak metro station and Konak Square was found to be unsafe due to its landscaping elements.

The study area is widely used, however, there are only six toilets in the northern part. The direction signs for these toilets are insufficient, and the mandatory facilities for parents and children, such as childcare and nursing rooms, were not taken into consideration. There are also no emergency help buttons.

As was observed, this region, which was designed as a recreation area with a special plan and is one of the most-used areas of İzmir (a women-friendly city), has not yet fully fulfilled the requirements for women-friendliness. The women-friendly city is a good starting point for addressing problematic areas in planning. However, to emphasize the importance of user intersectionality, first of all, areas that are defective in terms of planning as listed above should be addressed within the scope of the norms and legislation of planning, and such planning should be implemented using women-friendly design guides.

Note: A tram project in the study area, which was only on the agenda at the time of this article's analysis, began around the time when the discussion and conclusion sections were written. Therefore, it is inevitable that the scope of this project will establish new interventions related to roads, traffic signs, flooring, routers, and so forth. In this respect, this article only presents an analysis of the study area until the implementation date of the tram project; on the other hand, it nevertheless offers a data set for studies that want to evaluate post-tram developments.

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