

Tarlabası Community Center - Field Study Report

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1. Introduction

Tarlabaşı is surrounded by the Dolapdere street in the North, by the Tarlabaşı Boulevard in the South, by Talimhane in the east and Kasımpaşa in the west. The region was constructed as a settlement for diplomats after 1535, when the Otoman Empire started to host international representatives in consulates. The main area for consulates was Beyoğlu, hence the diplomats used to reside in the Tarlabaşı region. In addition to these, also Levantens and non-Muslim workers working in the work places of non- Muslims, were also using Tarlabaşı as residential area.

In comparison to the residences on the Istiklal street, Tarlabaşı was rather constructed for lower income level people. Tarlabaşı was heavily populated during the second half of the 19th century. Starting with the foundation of the Turkish Republic in 1923, important events and developments contributed to the changing face of Tarlabaşı. The Wealth Tax (1942), the September 6-7 events against the non-Muslim population in Istanbul (1955), the start of rural-urban migration in the 1960s, the restructuring of the area during the mid 1980s, and the migration of internally displaced people from the East and South east of Turkey during the 1990s, can be listed as the main events that changed the demographic, socio-cultural and economic structure of the region. Throughout the years, due to the replacement of an originally non-Muslim residential area by a Muslim and Turkish population, Tarlabaşı became Turkified and Muslimised. The rural to urban migration in the 1960's caused the occupation of historical buildings. Houses, which were actually built for families, were divided into separate rooms and rented to single males. In 1980, the Tarlabaşı Street was widened and turned into an important artery of the Istanbul traffic. The opening of the Tarlabaşı Boulevard, excellarated the process that seperated Tarlabaşı from the wider Taksim region. The last important change in the structure of Tarlabaşı was caused by the internal displacement of the Kurdish population living in the East and Southeast of the country, during the 1990's.

With its changing socio-cultural and economic structure, contemporary Tarlabaşı is a region, which is populated by internally displaced Kurdish people who are heavily represented in marginal sectors, Romanis, Keldani people from Iraq, illegal migrants or asylum seekers from various African countries, transvestites and sex workers. It counts as one of the most problematic settlements in Istanbul, serving as a center of illegal activities, such as drug dealing, pick-pocketing, mafios formations, prostitution, etc.

Recently, Tarlabaşı is also the object of another process, which can be termed as "gentrification", meaning the emancipation of the region from its contemporary situation by restructuring it, both in demographic and physical sense, through making use of its nostalgic aspects. According to the urban rehabilitation projetcs, old and ruined houses and buildings will be restored and occupied places will be emptied. The intervention of the urban "white" capital to the region, is expected to cause another change in its facade and consequently transforming it into a completely new identity. This identity, however, will entail the reified vision of a nostalgic past, of which every single aspect will turn into an object with an exchange value on the market.

Methodology

For the implementation of the field research in the Tarlabaşı region, the preperative work started in November 2005.

First of all, the *muhtars* of the six *mahalles* were visited and information about the project and the region was exchanged. The information about the region's demographic structure, income level and living standards and the main problems were used as input for the first steps in structuring the questionnaires. Further, focus group meetings and discussions were made with the community leaders of the regions, representing the Kurdish and Romani population in Tarlabaşı. These meetings also provided the research team with valuable information that was used for developing adequate questions and determining relevant starting points for the research. The first contacts with the community leaders were also important to secure a relationship between the researchers and the Tarlabaşı community that was based on mutual trust.

After the first draft questionnaire was prepared, a pilot study was carried out to test the content and the implementation of the questionnaires. The final version of the questionnaire was given after conducting 20 pilot interviews.

The questionnaires were conducted to 200 persons, who were chosen randomly. This amount equals to approximately 1% of the whole population living within the borders of the study area. In order to have a representative data, questionnaires were conducted in every street that were within the research area and the houses to be visited were chosen randomly. In every chosen household, only one person was interviewed.

The questionnaires were conducted within a period of four months with a research team consisting of 2 researchers and five assistants. In certain cases, two native Kurdish speakers among the assistants translated the questions to Kurdish female respondents and their answers into Turkish.

All the numeric results and evaluations shown in the tables below, are based on the research findings.

Results of the Field Study

According to the latest population census numbers given by the State Statistics Institute, the population of the six *mahalles* comprising the Tarlabaşı region where the research (for the methods and steps of implementation of the field research, see the interim report submitted in August, 2006) was made, namely Bostan, Bülbül, Kalyoncukulluk, Kocatepe, Şehitmuhtar and Çukur, are, 2.337, 5.317, 4.359, 4.071, 2.030 and 4.589 respectively. The total population equals to 22.703. The population that lives within the borders of the study area (see Appendix 1), was assumed to be around 20.000. 1% of the whole population, that is 200 persons were selected randomly for conducting the interviews (see Appendix 2 for the questionnaire). In accordance with the census data, the following age and gender quotas were set:

Age groups	Female	Male	Total
13-19	22	28	50
20-34	24	34	58
35-50	24	34	58
51 and above	15	19	34
Total	85	115	200

The interviews were conducted to 80 female and 120 male respondents. The youngest among the respondents is 13, the eldest one is 70 years old. The distribution of age groups is as follows:

Year of Birth	Frequency	Percentage
1935-1939	2	1
1940-1944	4	2
1945-1949	8	4
1950-1954	15	7,5
1955-1959	20	10
1960-1964	19	9,5
1965-1969	14	7
1970-1974	17	8,5
1975-1979	20	10
1980-1984	33	16,5
1985-1989	32	16
1990-1994	16	8
Total	200	100

The difficulty in determining the concrete number of Tarlabası residents lies in the fact that, as it was also previously told by local authorities, a certain amount of the population is not registered at the *muhtarlık*. Among the 200 persons who were interviewed, 25 persons claimed that they do not have a residence record.

	Frequency	Percent
Valid With <i>muhtarlık</i> record	175	87,5
Without <i>muhtarlık</i> record	25	12,5
Total	200	100,0

In addition to those without a residence record at the *muhtarlık*, 6 % of the respondents claimed that there was at least one person in their family who possessed no identity card.

Is there any person in your family without an identity card ?	Frequency	Percent
No	12	6,0
Yes	188	94,0
Total	200	100,0

The Tarlabası region hosts several national, ethnic and socio-cultural groups. The main ethnic identities in the region are the Kurdish and Romani ones. In order to be able to classify the respondents according to their ethnic identities, we used the “mother tongue” criteria. There are five different languages that were identified as mother tongues by the respondents. Almost

half of the population's (49.0%) mother tongue is Turkish. The percentage of those, whose mother tongue is Kurmancî is 47,5, Zazakî speakers' percentage is 1, Arabic speakers' percentage is 1.5, Armenian speakers' percentage is 1. None of the respondents said that his/her mother tongue was Rom, or Dom.

Mother Tongue

		Frequency	Percent
1	Türkîsh	98	49,0
2	Kurmancî	95	47,5
3	Zazakî	2	1,0
4	Arabic	3	1,5
5	Armenian	2	1,0
	Total	200	100

Education

Without considering any other variable, the education level of the respondents is as following:

Level of education	Frequency	Percent
1 Illiterate	23	11,5
2 Literate, but no school visit	8	4,0
3 Primary school leave	32	16,0
4 Primary school graduate	61	30,0
5 Mid-school leave	16	8,0
6 Mid-school graduate	13	6,5
7 Normal secondary school leave	6	3,0
8 Normal secondary school graduate	16	8,0
9 Vocational school leave	2	1,0
10 Vocational school graduate	3	1,5
11 University leave	1	0,5
12 University graduate	3	1,5
13 Still student	16	7,5
Total	200	100,0

The total percentage of illiterate people, literate ones who never had visited school, those who left primary school without any diploma and primary school graduates amounts to 61.8%. People with secondary school graduation are below 10%. The total number of all school absentees is 57, which is more than one quarter of the respondents. The figures about the education level of the Tarlabası residents shows that they constitute the lower strata of the

society, whereby education should be perceived as an important pillar contributing to the cultural capital. Hence, Tarlabaşı residents lack among others, one of the most important prerequisites for being integrated to urban social and economic life.

Analysing the education level by taking the mother tongue and gender variables into consideration, gives the following result:

M.T.	G.	Education													Total
		illiterate	literate, but no school visit	primary school leave	primary school graduate	mid-school leave	Mid-school graduate	normal secondary school leave	normal secondary school graduate	voc. school leave	voc. school graduate	uni. leave	uni. graduate	still student	
Turkish	F	6	3	6	13	5	1	3	3	1	2		1	2	46
	M	2	1	7	25	2	4	2	2	1	1	1	2	2	52
Total		8	4	13	38	7	5	5	5	2	3	1	3	4	98
Kurmançî	F	11	1	4	6	2	3		2					2	31
	M	4	2	14	15	6	4	1	7					10	64
Total		15	3	18	21	8	7	1	9					12	95
Zazakî	M			1					1						2
Total				1					1						2
Arabic	F						1		1						2
	M					1									1
Total						1	1		1						3
Armenian	F				1										1
	M		1												1
Total			1		1										2
Total		23	8	32	61	16	13	6	16	2	3	1	3	15	200

In general, the female respondents' education level is lower than male ones. Compared to Turkish speaking groups, the education level of native Kurmançî speakers is lower. There is no significant difference between the number of Kurdish school absentees, and Turkish school absentees.

Employment, Unemployment and Poverty

Parallel to the educational level, the employment figures of the respondents shows that Tarlabaşı residents are to a great extent employed in the secondary labour market, filling low status, temporary and enformal occupations. Those, who have a regular employment with regular salary constitute only 14.5% of the total population. This percentage increases to 25,4% when we consider only the working population, which amounts to 114 persons. Temporary occupations with irregular salary, or activities such as trade and street selling constitute the majority (70,25%) of all kinds of employment that we have observed among Tarlabaşı residents.

Employment Status	Frequency	Percent
Regular employment with regular salary	29	14,5

Temporary employment with irregular salary	34	17,0
Street seller	12	6,0
Small scale production in own workshop	5	2,5
Trade	34	17,0
Unemployed with social security	1	0,5
Unemployed without social security	22	11,0
Retired, but still working	5	2,5
Retired, not working	1	0,5
Student	16	8,0
Housewife	41	20,5
Total	200	100,0

The number contemporarily unemployed people who were previously employed irregularly and temporarily in low qualified jobs, such as construction worker, artisan or, waiter in restaurants, cafés, or patisseries is considerably high.

The distribution of occupations with respect to the mother tongue is as following:

		Mother tongue					Total
Occupation		Turkish	Kurmancî	Zazakî	Arabic	Armenian	
Shop owner (such as grocery, green grocery, bakery)	1	10	0	0	0		11
Transportation (such as truck or taxi driver)	3	6	1	0	0		10
Domestic production (such as cooking, sewing, etc.)	3	0	0	0	1		4
Trade	7	1	0	0	0		8
Artisnry (such as production of shoes, bags, etc.)	11	6	0	0	0		17
Construction worker	1	2	0	0	0		3
Technician	2	6	0	0	0		8
State employee	1	0	0	0	0		1
Factory worker	1	0	0	0	0		1
House cleaning	4	1	0	0	0		5

	Hair dresser	2	1	0	2	0	5
	Waiter at restaurants, cafeterias, patisseries, etc.	7	13	0	0	0	20
	Formal service sector (such as secretary, sales assistant, cashier, etc.)	6	1	0	0	0	7
	Street seller	6	4	0	0	0	10
	Political party	0	1	0	0	0	1
	Musician	3	0	0	0	0	3
Total		58	52	1	2	1	114

In addition to the fact that Tarlabası residents are underrepresented in the employment structure, it is also important to stress that the kind of occupations done by them are reproducing their low social and economic status. Rather than providing upward mobility chances and opportunities for integration to urban community, these occupations contribute to the discrimination and stigmatisation of these groups at wider societal level.

The average household income of the respondents is 975,76 YTL. Taking the mother tongue criteria into consideration, the average household income figures are as following:

Mother Tongue	Average Income	N	Std. Deviation	Minimum	Maximum
Turkish	1052,55	98	567,249	300	2000
Kurmancî	898,94	95	476,489	300	2000
Zazakî	1250,00	2	353,553	1000	1500
Arabic	916,67	3	144,338	750	1000
Armenian	300,00	2	.	300	300
Total	975,76	200	524,737	300	2000

Besides the dangerous and unstable working conditions and lack of access to social security, which are the main pillars of the informal sector, Tarlabası residents are also facing severe conditions of poverty. One interesting example of informal economic activities was told us by an old single living women. She was winning her livelihood by paying the bills of other people. however, she claimed that her income was getting less and less, due to the fact that nowadays people prefer to pay their bills on their own. The use of child labour is one of the alternative strategies to cope with the difficulties in finding employment in the formal sector, and the resulting poverty. The use of child labour is especially high among the Kurdish families. Even if it can be seen as a short term solution for the survival of the family, the working of children not only prevents them to continue their education, but also paves the way for their physical abuse, socialisation in criminal activity and obtaining mental and physical health problems.

The low level of women's employment, can be traced to the fact that their education level is even lower than the men. In the case of Kurdish women, another factor that prevents their employment is their lack of Turkish language.

16,5% of the respondents said that they were receiving cash or in kind aid from several institutions. The most important aid provider is the Provincial Government (*Kaymakamlık*), which gives the families who are in need coal, and cash Money. The NGO *Deniz Feneri* is distributing food and clothing to selected households. In order to be able to receive the *Kaymakamlık* aid, people have to document their poverty, with a "Poverty Paper" (*Fakirlik Kağıdı*), which is given by the *Muhtarlık*.

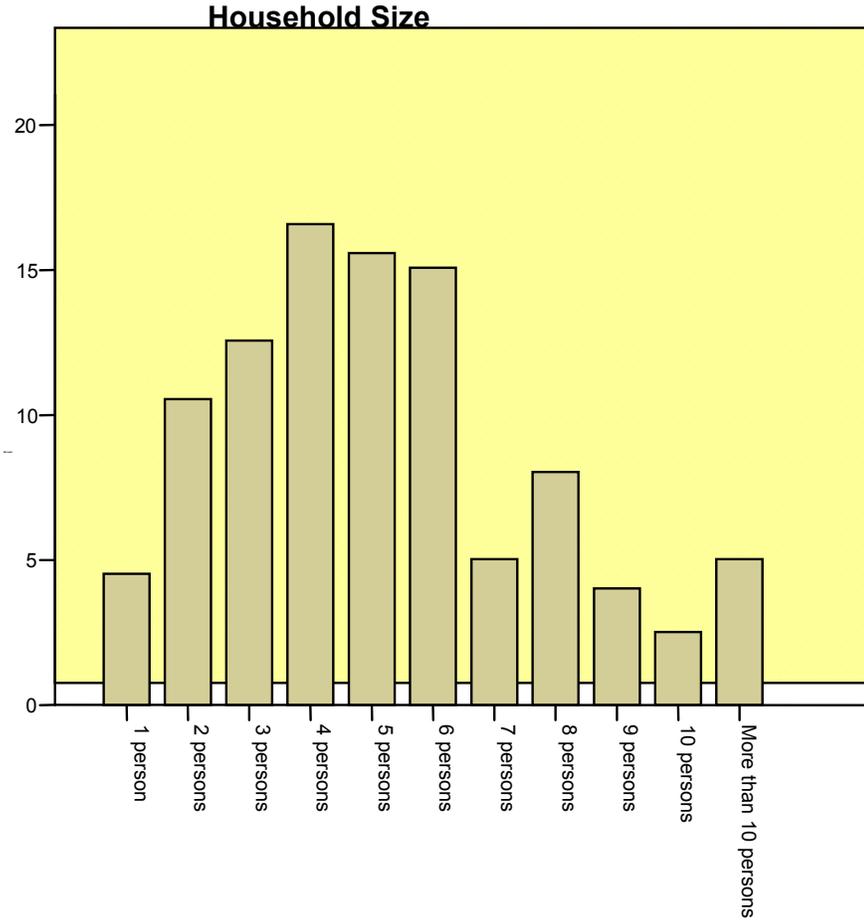
Demographic Figures

Marital status	Frequency	Percent
Valid Married (official)	102	51,0
Married (religious)	12	6,0
Single	69	34,5
Widowed	10	5,0
Divorced	5	2,5
Cohabitation	2	1,0
Total	200	100,0

More than one third (34,5%) of the respondents were single. The number of couples with religious marriage was 12, which equals 10% of all current marriages.

		Is your spouse your relative?		Total
		Yes	No	
Mother tongue	Turkish	11	50	61
	Kurmancî	20	37	57
	Zazakî	0	1	1
	Arabic	0	3	3
	Armenian	0	1	1
Total		31	92	123

Among the 123 persons who replied to the question whether they were married to a relative, 31 people replied positive. There are no Zazakî, Arabic, or Armenian speakers among these 31 persons. 64,5% of the Kurdish people are married to their relatives; this percentage decreases to 35,5% in the Turkish speaking group.



The household size ranges between 1-14 persons. The mean value for household range is 5,24.

Below, the distribution of the number of children is shown:

Number of children	Frequency	Percent
0	80	40,0
1	24	12,0
2	24	12,0
3	24	12,0
4	16	8,0
5	12	6,0
6	6	3,0
7	8	4,0
8	3	1,5
10	1	0,5
11	1	0,5
14	1	0,5
Total	200	100,0

Living together with relatives is a strategy used by many families for coping with irregular employment and low income. Family members who live in the same household contribute to the common budget. Living together with relatives provides shelter for everybody in the household, and reduces the costs of living alone.

The tendency to live together with relatives can especially be observed among Kurdish households. Sharing the same flat, is first of all a strategy for reducing living costs, but in several cases it is also a necessity for Kurdish families who use these close household networks for surviving in urban life.

The table below shows the distribution of income winners within households with different mother tongues. It is interesting to observe that the number of married Kurdish women with children who are working, is less than their Turkish counterparts. In Turkish speaking families, the number of single income winners is 26, the number of households where both spouses are income winners, is 29. In Kurdish families these numbers are 29 and 16, respectively.

		Mother tongue					Total
		Turkish	Kurmancî	Zazakî	Arabic	Armenian	
Income winners within the household	No income at all	1	0	0	0	0	1
	Only me	26	29	1	1	1	58
	My wife/husband	28	16	1	1	0	46
	My children	10	13	0	0	0	23
	My mother	8	1	0	0	0	9
	My father	13	17	0	0	0	30
	Other relatives	0	5	0	0	0	5
	Brother/Sister	10	13	0	1	0	24
	Grandparent	0	1	0	0	0	1
Total	96	95	2	3	1	197	

Migration Background

As it was shown before, one of the main ethnic groups living in Tarlabası are Kurds. This can also be seen at the geographic distribution of the regions where the residents of Tarlabası were born and have migrated from. The percentage of Kurds, who migrated from the Southeast and East Anatolia regions, amounts to 50,5%. A considerably high number of respondents have migrated from Mardin (20%), Siirt (7,5%) and Ağrı (3,5%). Among the 54 persons who claimed to be from the Marmara region, 43 were born in Istanbul. The majority (53,5%) of the residents are from provincial places, whereas 46,5% are from city centers.

Place of birth (geographical regions)	Frequency	Percent
<i>Marmara region</i>	54	27
<i>Ege region</i>	4	2
<i>Mediterranean region</i>	14	7
<i>Central Anatolia region</i>	16	8
<i>Black Sea region</i>	9	4,5
<i>East Anatolian region</i>	27	13,5
<i>South east Anatolian region</i>	74	37
Other	2	1
Total	200	100

Place of birth	Frequency	Percent
City center	93	46,5
Province	107	53,5
Total	200	100

Analysing the respondents's duration of stay in Tarlabası with respect to their mother tongues illustrates the fact, that the majority of Kurds has been living in Tarlabası for less than 10 years. The mid 1990's, is the period when the Kurds living in the eastern and southeastern parts of Turkey, were forced to migrate, due to the conditions which the clash between the PKK and the Turkish security forces caused. For the majority of Tarlabası's Kurdish residents, Tarlabası was the first place to settle, after they migrated from their hometowns and arrived in Istanbul.

		<1 year	< 3 years	< 5 years	< 10 years	< 15 years	< 20 years	> 20 years	Total
Mother tongue	Turkish	2	4	6	10	14	19	43	98
	Kurman cî	4	12	11	35	16	10	7	95
	Zazakî	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	2
	Arabic	0	1	0	1	0	0	1	3
	Armenia	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2

Total	n	6	17	17	47	30	29	54	200
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Those who have been living in Tarlabaşı for more than 20 years, are Turkish speaking persons. Among these are persons, who migrated from Central Anatolia and the Black Sea region during the domestic migration process in the 1960's. This is a period, where Turkish society underwent processes of rapid transformation due to developments in terms of industrialisation and urbanisation. Also Romani people who migrated in the 1970's from cities in the Marmara and Eagean regions are included in this group. For this group, the motivation behind their decision to migrate to Istanbul, can be explained through the classic push-pull factors, whereby the economic reasons should be listed at first hand. However, the migration of Kurdish people in the 1990's, has different aspects from the voluntary economic migration of the 1960's.

The table below shows the reasons that were mentioned by 157 respondents who were born not in Istanbul, as having caused them to migrate:

Reasons for migration/leaving hometown	Frequency	Percent
Economic conditions	92	58,6
Evacuation of village	27	17,2
Family reunion	20	12,7
Political reasons	15	9,6
Blood feud (<i>vendetta</i>)	2	1,3
Other	1	0,6
Total	157	100,0

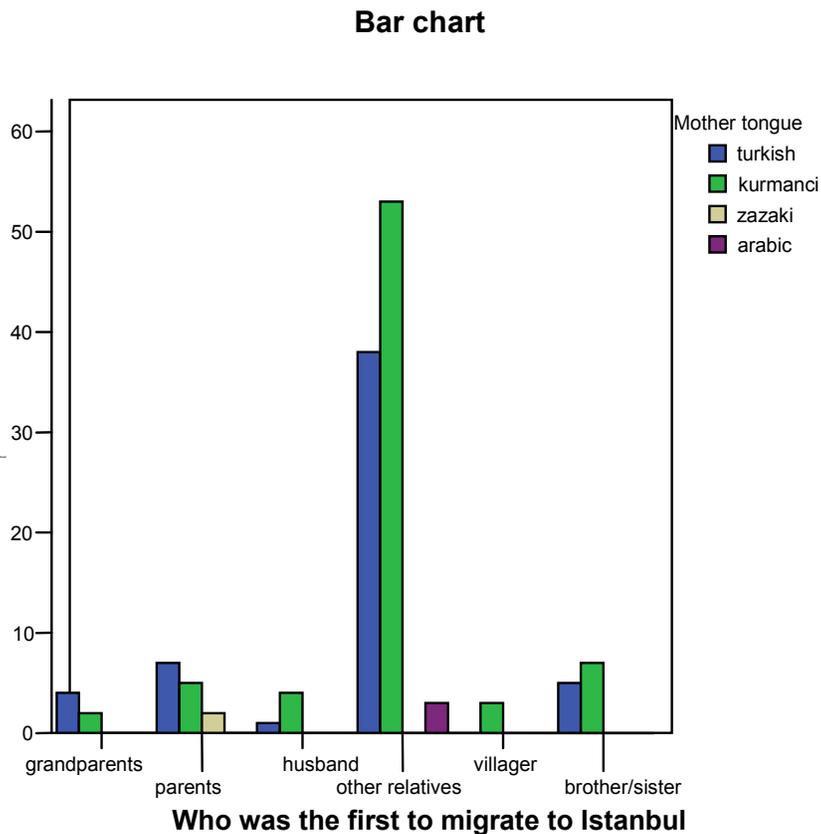
There is a significant difference in the reasons that Kurdish and non-Kurdish respondents listed as their motivation behind having migrated to Istanbul.

Reasons for migration/leaving hometown	Mother tongue				Total
	Turkish	Kurmancî	Zazakî	Arabic	
Economic conditions	41	48	2	1	92
Evacuation of village	0	27	0	0	27
Family reunion	16	4	0	0	20
Political reasons	1	14	0	0	15
Blood feud (<i>vendetta</i>)	2	0	0	0	2
Other	1	0	0	0	1
Total	61	93	2	2	157

When the Kurdish people claimed that they left their villages/ cities, due to economic reasons, they generally pointed to the collapse of animal husbandry and agriculture because of armed clashes and the ban on the use of pastures. Hence, the category of "economic conditions" includes also the impossibilities of agricultural production due to clashes in the region throughout the 1990's which sometimes indirectly let to the evacuation of domestic surroundings. It should also be noted, that the category "political reasons" was also mentioned by the Kurds, as a consequence of state pressure, human rights violations, mysterious killings and the enforcement to get village guards.

One of the most important characteristics of internal displacement, or forced migration of Kurdish people is the fact that migrants arrived in urban settlements without any property. It is important to stress that the process of impoverishment through de-propertisation should not be understood as a solely economic category, but as a fact which has also socio-political aspects. Migration movements prior to the 1990's were generally economically motivated movements and migrants had a certain amount of capital to be used as input for a new beginning in urban centers. However, socio-political conditions that shaped the forced migration process, made the migrations leave their residences without any possessions. Moreover, it is not only the lack of economic capital which puts these people in disadvantaged positions; more than that it is the feeling of complete loss and rootlessness, the inability to rely on any existing social, cultural and economic resource to make a (re)start in the urban centre.

The chart below, illustrates the pioneers of migration of the respondents. The chart has been drawn by taking the mother tongue variable into consideration.



The number of previous generations who migrated first to Istanbul, is higher among the Turkish speaking group, compared to other groups. In the Kurdish case, it is observable that the pioneers were not previous generations, but relatives from the same generation.

The feeling of belonging to Istanbul and return objectives

		Do you feel yourself belonging to Istanbul?			Total
		Yes	No	No response	
Mother tongue	Turkish	69	28	1	98
	Kurmancî	27	68	0	95
	Zazakî	2	0	0	2
	Arabic	2	1	0	3
	Armenian	2	0	0	2
Total		102	97	1	200

The percent of the Kurds among those who feel themselves not a part of Istanbul, is slightly more than 70%. The explanations given by Kurdish respondents for this feeling is, their forced migration to and stay in Istanbul; the fact that they perceive their stay as temporary; that they face acts of discrimination; and that living in a completely strange environment with a way of life, totally different from that of their hometown socialisation, deepens their feelings of alienation.

For those who feel themselves a part of and belonging to Istanbul, the main reasons are, the positive opportunities provided by the city and being born and grown up in Istanbul.

It is often mentioned in various policy proposals, that considering the discriminated and disadvantaged position of Kurdish displaced people in the urban environments, who are currently living in urban ghettos without any sort of capital and property, it would be a solution to integrate them into the political, social and economic life, both at regional and national level, through the realisation of return projects.

Besides taking into account the juridical, political and economic difficulties in realising such projects, it is also important to analyse the intentions of the displaced people. At the example of Kurds in Tarlabası, one can observe that especially the young generations rather prefer to stay in Istanbul. The teenagers worry about whether they will be able “to see there, what they have seen here.” And those whose economic status is above the average claim that they would continue to live in Istanbul, “even if 40 Kurdistans would be established!”

Yet, half of the Kurdish respondents have claimed that they would definitely prefer to return to their villages, instead of living in Istanbul. For 13,7% of the Kurds, the return decision was depending on the improvement of circumstances in their hometowns, specially the economic conditions and security issues.

		Do you have any return objectives?				Total
		Yes	No	Depends on circumstances	No comment	
Mother tongue	Turkish	21	29	10	3	63
	Kurmancî	48	30	13	4	95
	Zazakî	1	0	1	0	2
	Arabic	0	2	1	0	3
Total		70	60	25	7	163

Property figures, physical structure and conditions of the buildings

It was mentioned before, that Tarlabası is one of the regions where urban regeneration projects are expected to be started soon. Figures about the property conditions of the houses and physical structure of the buildings in the region are shown below:

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Own property	66	33,0
	Rent	115	57,5
	Property of relatives, pays no rent	7	3,5
	Property of a foundation, pays rent	10	5,0
	Property of a foundation, pays no rent	1	,5
	No answer	1	,5
	Total	200	100,0

Out of the 66 persons, who claimed to be the owner of their property, 64 had a title deed (*tapu*).

Size of the houses (in m2)		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Less than 20	3	1,5
	20-29	8	4,0
	30-39	13	6,5
	40-49	30	15,0
	50-59	38	19,0
	60-69	38	19,0
	70-79	31	15,5
	80 and above	39	19,5
Total	200	100,0	

Size of the houses (in rooms)		Frequency	Percent
Valid	1 room	20	10,0
	2 rooms	113	56,5
	3 rooms	45	22,5
	4 rooms	19	9,5
	5 rooms and more	3	1,5
Total	200	100,0	

		How many rooms?					
		1 room	2 rooms	3 rooms	4 rooms	5 rooms and more	TOTAL
How	many 1 person	4	2	1	2	0	9

persons are living in the house?							
2 persons	2	12	6	2	0		22
3 persons	4	16	5	0	0		25
4 persons	4	23	2	3	2		34
5 persons	3	15	8	5	0		31
6 persons	2	15	10	3	0		30
7 persons	0	6	4	0	0		10
8 persons	0	11	5	0	0		16
9 persons	0	7	0	1	0		8
10 persons	0	3	0	2	0		5
more than 10 persons	1	3	4	1	1		10
Total		20	113	45	19	3	200

Heating system		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Natural gas stove	6	3,0
	Wood stove	55	27,5
	Coal stove	81	40,5
	Electrical stove	50	25,0
	Central heating	4	2,0
	No heating at all	4	2,0
Total		200	100,0

Utensils in the households

In the majority of the households, the respondents had refrigerators, washing mashines, TV's and water heaters. However, as it is shown in the tables below, the number of respondents who had dish washing mashines, telephones, ovens and PC's is less than those who possess these utensils.

Refrigrator		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Yes	179	89,5
	No	16	8,0
	No answer	5	97,5
Total		200	100,0

Washing mashine		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Yes	157	78,5
	No	38	19,0
	No answer	5	97,5
Total		200	100,0

TV		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Yes	191	95,5
	No	4	2,0
	No answer	5	97,5
Total		200	100,0

Dish washing mashine		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Yes	23	11,5
	No	172	86,0
	No answer	5	97,5
Total		200	100,0

Telephone		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Yes	103	51,5
	No	92	46,0
	No answer	195	97,5
Total		200	100,0

Oven		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Yes	91	45,5
	No	104	52,0
	No answer	195	97,5
Total		200	100,0

PC		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Yes	18	9,0
	No	177	88,5
	No answer	5	97,5
Total		200	100,0

Water heater		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Yes	152	76,0
	No	43	21,5
	No answer	195	97,5
Total		200	100,0

Possession of credit cards and green cards

The number of persons who possess a credit card, is relatively small. However, the percentage of those card holders who are indebted amounts to 38,2%, which is a quite high proportion.

Do you have a credit card?	Frequency	Percent
Yes	34	17,0
No	166	83,0
Total	200	100,0

Do you have a credit card debt?	Frequency	Percent
Yes	13	38,2
No	21	61,8
Total	34	100,0

The number of green card holders, which is one of the symbols for occupying the lowest economic social strata, is considerably higher. 36,5 % of the respondents claimed that at least one person in their household is a green card holder, which enables the poorest sections of society to be given free health service.

Does anybody in your household possess the green card?	Frequency	Percent
Yes	73	36,5
No	127	63,5
Total	200	100,0

The 73 persons who claimed to have at least one person in their household who possesses the green card, mentioned the following household members:

Who is possessing the green card?	Frequency (multiple answers)
Wife/ husband	44
Mother	40
Father	26
Children	47
Sister/ brother	32
Other relatives	5
Total	194

Perceptions of prejudice and discrimination

The general tendency of the society about poor regions and poor people is firstly to be afraid of those places and people and to blame them for the increase of criminal behaviour and violence in urban spaces and laziness, ignorance, dependency, etc.

To the question whether our respondents felt any act of prejudice or discrimination from the wider society, 103 replied positive.

		Do you perceive any prejudice or act of discrimination from the society		Total
		Yes	No	
Mother tongue	Turkish	57	41	98
	Kurmancî	45	50	95
	Zazakî	1	1	2
	Arabic	2	1	3
	Armenian	0	2	2
Total		103	95	200

The center identifies the peripheral places and their residents as marginal, dangerous and dirty. Places such as Tarlabası are in a sense the “other” of a “pure” center and become the center of degeneration, crime and anti-rationality. It is very important to focus on this anti-rationality aspect that is associated with “marginal” places, because when we asked the respondents to exemplify the discriminatory acts they faced in the society, the most mentioned sentence was the following:

“When we say that we are living in Tarlabası, people get shocked. They cannot understand how people can live in such a place. They ask: who can someone who has a brain live in Tarlabası?”.

Another respondent identified Tarlabası as “150 meters away from the civilisation”. This reflects how the residents of Tarlabası perceive their perception by the society and their surrounding, i.e, how they are placed as the “marginal”, “dangerous” and the “other” of a “civilised center”. It should also be noted that being a Kurd, or a Gypsy are other attributes that people perceive as reasons for being discriminated or denigrated.

		How are you perceived by the society?							Total
		People have prejudices because I am living in Tarlabası	People denigrate me because I am living in Tarlabası	People discriminate me because I am living in Tarlabası	People have prejudices because I am a Kurd	People denigrate me because I am a Kurd	People denigrate me because I am a Gypsy	Other	
Mother tongue	Turkish	30	22	1	0	0	2	1	56
	Kurmancî	27	8	0	3	3	0	2	43
	Zazakî	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
	Arabic	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Total		58	31	1	3	3	2	3	101

Health profile

33% of all respondents have a health problem that has to be kept under regular medical control.

	Frequency	Percent
Valid Yes	66	33,0
No	134	67,0
Total	200	100,0

The distribution of the health problems listed by the respondents are shown below:

	Frequency	Percent
Valid Paralysis	1	1,5
Psychological problems	11	16
Rheumatism	5	7,5
Heart diseases	8	12
Drug addiction	4	6
Internal diseases	7	10
Asthma	4	6
Goiter	3	4,5
Urologic diseases	1	1,5
Gynecological diseases	1	1,5
Cancer	2	3
Diabetics	1	1,5
Orthopedic problems	2	3
Anemy	2	3
Skin diseases	3	4,5
Ophthalmological problems	2	3
Respiratory diseases	3	4,5
Others	2	3
No answer	4	6
Total	66	100,0

Values and tendencies

Tarlabaşı is a region, where many different socio-cultural and ethnic groups with diverse migration backgrounds come together. However, the coexistence of these different groups is far from being always peaceful. Mostly groups tend to avoid getting in touch with each other. The distanced relation is to a great extent related with prejudices and reflects itself as discriminatory, sometimes even violent behaviour against other groups.

The most unwanted group among Tarlabaşı residents are the Transvestites. Only 10% of the respondents said, that they would let their children be friends with Transvestites. The percentage of those who would keep neighbourhood relations with them is 8. Only 79 persons said that they would talk to Transvestites, and 63 persons would not hesitate to do their shopping by Transvestites.

Kurds and Romanis are not only the main groups that constitute the population of Tarlabası, they are also those groups who are in continuous conflict with each other. For both groups, the existence of the other in Tarlabası is the main cause of problems. The most important indicator of the prejudices of the groups of each other and their attitudes of avoiding close relationships with each other is their tendency to refuse inter-group marriages. Neither the Kurds, nor the Romanis want their daughters to marry with a man from the other group.

The persons who have a Black Sea origin are the most liked group among all respondents. More than 95% of all respondents claimed that they would like to talk to, do their shopping from and establish family relations with Black Sea people. The African migrants, are less welcome than the Iraqi ones. The attitudes towards the Armenians, can be compared to that of the Iraqis. More than 75% of all respondents do not refuse to have contact and do their shopping from both the Armenians and Iraqis, but only one third of the respondents would let their daughter marry with an Armenian or Iraqi man.

Below, important figures of values, attitudes and perceptions about Tarlabası and its residents, and violence and security issues are summarised:

I prefer to do my shopping at places whose owner is an “insider” to me		Frequency	Percent
Valid	I strongly agree	70	35,0
	I partly agree	20	10,0
	I disagree	107	53,5
	No comment	3	1,0
Total		200	100,0

I use to keep in contact with everybody who lives in Tarlabası		Frequency	Percent
Valid	I strongly agree	62	31,0
	I partly agree	33	16,5
	I disagree	102	51,0
	No comment	3	1,5
Total		200	100,0

Security is an important issue in our region		Frequency	Percent
Valid	I strongly agree	189	94,5
	I partly agree	5	2,5
	I disagree	4	2,0
	No comment	2	1,0
Total		200	100,0

I prefer to be in relation with people from the same religion		Frequency	Percent
Valid	I strongly agree	104	52,0
	I partly agree	15	7,5
	I disagree	79	39,5

	No comment	2	1,0
Total		200	100,0

If necessary, a man can beat his wife		Frequency	Percent
Valid	I strongly agree	36	18,0
	I partly agree	32	16,0
	I disagree	130	65,0
	No comment	2	1,0
Total		200	100,0

We are not benefitting from municipality services		Frequency	Percent
Valid	I strongly agree	150	75,0
	I partly agree	23	11,5
	I disagree	25	12,5
	No comment	2	1,0
Total		200	100,0

Children can be beaten for the sake of discipline		Frequency	Percent
Valid	I strongly agree	34	17,0
	I partly agree	31	15,5
	I disagree	135	67,5
Total		200	100,0

Women can work in order to contribute to the household income		Frequency	Percent
Valid	I strongly agree	147	73,5
	I partly agree	19	9,5
	I disagree	32	16,0
	No comment	2	1,0
Total		200	100,0

When I make a job application, I do hide that I live in Tarlabası		Frequency	Percent
Valid	I strongly agree	62	31,0
	I partly agree	13	6,5
	I disagree	103	51,5
	No comment	22	11,0
Total		200	100,0

I don't know where to apply when I have legal problems		Frequency	Percent
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Valid	I strongly agree	98	49,0
	I partly agree	23	11,5
	I disagree	76	38,0
	No comment	3	1,5
Total		200	100,0

The coexistence of multilingual groups in the same region is a problem		Frequency	Percent
Valid	I strongly agree	57	28,5
	I partly agree	31	15,5
	I disagree	111	55,5
	No comment	1	,5
Total		200	100,0

Activities

The distribution of activities of the respondents shows that they are moving within a very limited physical and social space. Watching television is the most popular activity among the respondents; only 2 persons said that they are never watching TV. The next popular activity is visiting neighbours and relatives who live in the immediate surrounding. Even though the number of respondents who said that they go to the Istiklal street very often (83) and occasionally (90) can be evaluated as very high, the visit of the culture-art- and entertainment centrum of Istanbul, does not indicate that Tarlabası residents benefit from the diversity of services there. Walking on the Istiklal street, literally means, that people just walk over the street, without entering places like theatres, movies, bookstores, galleries, entertainment centers, etc.

The list also shows, that a very small number of the residents of Tarlabası do participate in vocational training courses (21 persons), or hobby courses (11).

Almost one third (35 persons) of the male respondents said that they are spending their time very often in coffee houses (*Kahve*). Another 34 persons go to coffee houses occasionally. Only 7 of the male respondents said that they never go these places, which serves for the men as the primary socialisation and entertainment center. In the case of the Roman musicians, these coffee houses also serve as a place where they gather before going to work and inform each other about possible working opportunities.

Activities	Very Often	Occasionally	Never
Going to movies, concerts, theatres, etc.	9	89	100
Walking on the Istiklal Street	83	90	25
Visiting vocational training courses	6	15	175
Visiting Kur'an courses	7	50	140
Watching football games	22	41	133
Going to <i>Kahve</i>	35	34	127

Visiting shopping malls	32	88	76
Going to internet cafès	19	36	141
Going to <i>Meyhane</i>	7	11	178
Visiting relatives, neighbours, etc.	146	47	3
Mosque visit	45	92	58
Visiting hobby courses	2	9	185
Watching TV	153	41	2
Having vacations	13	53	130
Picnic	21	126	49
Being involved in membership activities	8	22	166
Sport	36	45	115
Going to Turkish music bars	11	33	152
Reading newspapers, magazines	86	70	38
Reading books	36	73	87

53% of the respondents claimed that they use to read daily newspapers at least once a week. Among the Kurdish speaking group, the mostly read paper is *Gündem*. Besides *Posta* (29,2%) and *Sabah* (33%), *Gündem* is the third mostly read paper among all respondents (26%).

The most popular national TV channels among the respondents are Show TV (94), ATV (77) and Kanal D (67). 61% of all Kurdish speaking people claimed that they are watching Roj TV at most. News (129), Turkish TV films and series (84), sport programs (44), magazine programs (37), and women's morning programs (23) were listed as the mostly watched TV programs.

Membership

The number of respondents who are formal members of any organisation is very small. Only 16 percent (32 persons) of all respondents claimed that they are registered members of an organisation, however, only 8 persons are regularly participating in the activities and meetings of the organisation.

	Frequency	Percent
Valid Yes	32	16,0
No	168	84,0
Total	200	100,0

The most popular organisation among the Tarlabaşı residents are the neighbourhood and townsmen associations.

Problems of and in Tarlabaşı

What are the most serious problems of Tarlabaşı and its residents? (first replies)	Frequency	Percent
Migration	4	2,0
Discrimination	1	0,5
Low education level	7	3,5
Police	1	0,5

Prostitution	3	1,5
Security	22	11,0
Robbery, pick-pocketing	80	40,0
Gangs	3	1,5
Unemployment	5	2,5
Drugs	18	9,0
Poverty	2	1,0
Kurds	1	0,5
Infrastructure, lack of municipality services	37	18,5
Transvestites	1	0,5
State	2	1,0
Foreigners	4	2,0
Other	4	2,0
No answer	5	2,5
Total	200	100,0

Parellel to the media coverage about Tarlabası and the information given by local authorities during the preperation period of the field study, the respondents perceive the lack of security, the high rates of criminal and illegal activities, such as robbery, pick-pocketing, the use and dealing of drugs as the most important problems of Tarlabası. In addition to the security issues, the respondents listed the lack of municipality services as another important problem of their neighbourhood. It was told that garbage was not collected regularly, streets and buildings were “left to their fate”, and in general people living in Tarlabası were treated as “step children” by the municipality as well as other local state institutions.

Why do you think that these problems can not be solved?	Frequency	Percent
Valid No solution is possible, without the solution of the Kurdish issue	10	14,7
State and police have advantage in the continuation of these problems	34	50,0
Violence is a widespread issue and juridical measures are not dissuasive	5	7,35
Unemployment and economic difficulties are global issues	14	20,6
Other	5	7,35
Total	68	100,0

Half of the people who thought that there was no possibility to solve the problems of and in Tarlabası, based their answer on the fact that the illegal and criminal activities in the region were reproduced by state institutions, and especially the ignorance of the police because these institutions were thought to have material advantage in the existence of enformal and illegal structure.

To the question, why they continue to live in Tarlabası despite the existence of above listed issues, 39 % of the respondents replied, that they perceive no single positive aspect of the region, but they were “forced” to stay there, due to the lack of material resources that would

enable them a better living standard in a more “appropriate” surrounding. Especially for the Kurds, living in Tarlabası was a “punishment” given by the state. The centrality of the region, the fact that rents were low and the existence of friends and relatives were listed as the most important aspects of Tarlabası, that could be counted as positive.

Positive aspects of Tarlabası

	Frequency	Percent
Valid		
There is no single positive aspect	78	39,0
I have relatives here	25	12,5
I have friends here	7	3,5
Rents are low	19	9,5
Co-existence of different cultures	2	1,0
It's central	52	26,0
It's close to my workplace	17	8,5
Total	200	100,0

Political Party Affiliation

Which political party do you feel yourself associated to?		Frequency	Percent
Valid	AKP	41	22,7
	ANAP	1	0,5
	CHP	5	2,7
	DEHAP/DTP	55	30,5
	DSP	7	3,9
	DYP	2	1,1
	GP	2	1,1
	MHP	8	4,4
	SP	1	,5
	TKP	3	1,7
	Other	1	,5
	None of them	45	25,0
	No answer	9	5,0
	Number of respondents below 18	20	11,1
Total		200	100,0

The question “to which political party do you feel yourself close” was asked to all respondents who were older than 18 years old. A quarter of all respondents who were above 18 years, said that they feel no association to any one of the contemporary existing political parties. Only 5 % of the respondents refused to answer this question. 22,7 % of the respondents felt themselves close to the AKP, the Justice and Development Party which is currently at power. 30,5 % of the respondents, who were all Kurdish, felt themselves close to the DTP, the pro-Kurdish political party, which was found as the successor of the Democratic People's Party (DEHAP).

The number of people who voted in the last general elections is 114. This decreases to 95 in the last local elections. It can be concluded from the voting figures that the voting behaviour, reflected the general feelings of affiliation and was in accordance with the distribution of the population with respect to their ethnic group, as it is shown below:

Voting behaviour in general elections	Frequency	Percentage
AKP	42	36,8
CHP	3	2,6
DEHAP	33	28,9
DSP	6	5,3
DYP	3	2,6
GP	5	4,4
MHP	5	4,4
SP	1	0,8
None of them	2	1,75
No answer	10	8,8
Other	4	3,5
Total	114	100,00

Voting behaviour in local elections	Frequency	Percentage
AKP	42	44,2
CHP	5	5,2
DSP	2	2,1
DYP	2	2,1
MHP	2	2,1
SHP-Güçbirliği	30	31,5
SP	3	3,15
Other	3	3,15
None of them	1	1,05
No answer	5	5,2
Total	95	100,00

The distrust in political parties, or the political system and its institutions can also be seen at the figures that illustrate the institutions that Tarlabası residents trust at most and least. The number of persons who listed political parties as the institution which they trust at most (12), is obviously less than those who trust them at least (28). Political parties as the most distrusted institutions, are followed by the Police (23), the Army (17), the State (10) and the Government (11). Newspapers and TV's were also mentioned as the least trusted institutions. It is interesting, that the number of persons who trust in religious institutions (15) and Army (18) is higher than the number of those who trust in the Presidency (12), the Municipality (7), the State (7), and the Police (6).

Institutions that people trust most	Frequency	Percent
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Valid	Government	26	13,0
	Religious institutions	15	7,5
	Municipality	7	3,5
	Presidency	12	6,0
	Trade unions	6	3,0
	Courts	3	1,5
	State	7	3,5
	Political parties	12	6,0
	Educational institutions	9	4,5
	Army	18	9,0
	Social security institutions	8	4,0
	<i>Muhtarlık</i> (neighbourhood administration)	3	1,5
	<i>Hemşehri</i> (solidarity) Associations	1	,5
	Police	6	3,0
	TV	5	2,5
	<i>Kaymakamlık</i> (provincial government)	5	2,5
	NGO's	5	2,5
	None of them	52	26,0
Total		200	100,0

Institutions that people trust least		Frequency	Percent
Valid	Government	11	5,5
	Religious institutions	5	2,5
	Municipality	5	2,5
	Trade unions	3	1,5
	Courts	9	4,5
	Radios	4	2,0
	State	10	5,0
	Political parties	28	14,0
	Educational institutions	4	2,0
	Army	17	8,5
	Social security institutions	3	1,5
	Newspapers	17	8,5
	Parliament	3	1,5
	<i>Muhtarlık</i>	4	2,0
	<i>Hemşehri</i> (solidarity) associations	1	,5
	Police	23	11,5
	TV	14	7,0
	<i>Kaymakamlık</i>	1	,5
	No answer	38	19,0
Total		200	100,0

Identity and Self definition

The respondents were given two choices to determine the identity that was closest to theirs, or their self definition. Turkish citizen (103) was the most popular first choice of the respondents, whereas national or ethnic identifications, such as Turkish (21), or Kurdish (5) were obviously less popular. “Kurdish”, however, was mentioned as the second choice by 72 persons. Being a Muslim, was in both choices, the self definition for almost a quarter of the respondents. Only 3 persons in each choice claimed that they would define themselves as Romani. Being a fellow townsmen was for 21 persons the closest identity, whereas 15 people said that they would define themselves as an Istanbuler.

Self definition - First choice

	Frequency	Percent
Valid Turkish citizen	103	51,5
Turkish	21	10,5
Migrant	3	1,5
Roman	3	1,5
Muslim	45	22,5
Tarlabaşı resident	3	1,5
Fellow countryman (<i>memleketli</i>)	11	5,5
Istanbuler	3	1,5
Kurdish	5	2,5
Other	2	,5
None of them	1	,5
Total	200	100,0

Self definition - Second choice

	Frequency	Percent
Valid Turkish citizen	1	,5
Turkish	21	10,5
Migrant	3	1,5
Roman	9	4,5
Alevi	2	1,0
Muslim	48	24,0
Gypsy	2	1,0
Tarlabaşı resident	3	1,5
Fellow countryman (<i>memleketli</i>)	10	5,0
İstanbuler	12	6,0
Kurdish	72	35,5
Other	3	1,5
None of them	3	1,5
No answer as second choice	11	5,5
Total	200	100,0

The table below illustrates the identification choices of the respondents, by taking the mother tongue criteria into consideration. The figures were analyzed for only the first choices mentioned.

		How would you define yourself?										
		Turkish citizen	Turk	Migrant	Roman	Muslim	Tarlabasi resident	Fellow countryman (<i>memleketli</i>)	Istanbuler	Kurdish	None of them/ other	Total
Mother tongue	Turkish	64	21	3	3	3	2	0	1	0	1	98
	Kurmançî	34	0	0	0	42	1	11	1	5	1	95
	Zazakî	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
	Arabic	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
	Armenian	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	2
Total		103	21	3	3	45	3	11	3	5	3	200

Which services should be provided by the Community Center

Although Tarlabası is very close to the centrum of Istanbul, it is in many aspects the center of deprivation and poverty. In general the populations' access to public services is very limited. One of the respondents' answers to the question "which services should be provided by the Community Center", illustrates the extent of the deprivation in the region: "Where there is nothing, you need everything!".

Besides the expectations which actually have to be met by local official institutions, such as providing security, infrastructure, or even employment opportunities, the rate of answers that point to the needs of children, teenagers and women, is considerably high. For the female respondents the most immediate need of the region, was the creation of places and opportunities for the gathering of women, with or without children.

Places and activities for children were perceived as very necessary by all parents, because such facilities were seen as preventive efforts that could avoid the socialisation of children and youngsters in criminal activities. The answers to this question also showed, that any kind of courses for the improvement of talents and skills was of utmost importance for the respondents.

Expected Services	Frequency (multiple answers)
Social spaces for women	24
Municipality services, infrastructure	35
Play grounds for children	87
Sport facilities	33
Security	12
Employment opportunities	37
Kindergarten	7

Participation in culture-art activities in the city	27
Vocational training	67
School	23
Literacy courses	27
Music-art courses	24
Health services	18
Support for the poor	11
Other	4

Summary and Conclusion

Tarlabaşı is inhabited by disadvantaged social groups of various kind, who occupy marginal positions. The main ethnic groups are Kurds, and Romanis. In addition to these two groups which numerically constitute the biggest part of the population, Tarlabaşı also hosts migrants from the northern and inner parts of Turkey, who arrived as classic economic migrants in the 1970's; illegal migrants from Iraq and several African countries, transvestites and sex workers.

Poverty, unemployment, low level of education, lack of access to basic municipal or state services such as infrastructure, security and health, discrimination and marginalisation are the main features that determine the position of Tarlabaşı residents in the wider society.

Despite the spatial closeness to the center of İstanbul, the exclusion of Tarlabaşı residents from socio cultural and political processes and their inability to get positioned in formal sectors, produces a feeling of alienation to the society and the general social system. This feeling of alienation in turn feeds the search for and establishment of alternative life strategies. The region produces its own employment structures and relations, hierarchies, its own justice and values, obtaining rights and changes of mobility, including the informal sector, mafios networks, illegal, illegitimate and criminal activity.

In addition to the lack of basic services, Tarlabaşı also lacks physical spaces where social and cultural facilities can be provided. Especially children and women have less opportunities to make use of urban services even in the immediate surrounding. It should also be noted that there are continuous tensions among the inhabitants of Tarlabaşı, especially between the Kurds and Romanis, but also among the rather "local" ones and the "outsiders", namely illegal migrants, Iraqis and Africans.

Having illustrated the main demographic, socio-cultural and economic features of the region, it can be concluded that the Tarlabaşı Community Center will be an important provider of basic facilities that would encourage the residents in Tarlabaşı for social and urban integration.

Similar to the national figures, the number of the young population in Tarlabaşı is considerably high. It is of utmost importance to provide the youngsters in Tarlabaşı with basic vocational training courses, language and computer courses which would contribute to the improvement of their individual capacity for formal and secure employment opportunities in well paid sectors, and upward social mobility.

This would not only be a contribution to the struggles against poverty, it would also be a means to prevent the involvement of young people in criminal behaviour. Art, drama and

sports activities are also an important requirement for both youngsters and children. Besides providing the possibility to socialise in a violence-free atmosphere, such activities will also contribute to the development of peaceful intra-group relations.

Similarly, courses and facilities that would enable the women to participate in income generating activities, should also be seen as vital services that should be provided by the Center. Considering the low level of education and the rates of illiteracy among women, literacy courses and manual production activities that do not require high qualifications, would be the services that should be provided at first hand. It was observed that both the women and in the case of married ones, their husbands were thinking positively about female employment.

For all age and gender groups, it is important that the Center does not only serve as a “center in the region”, but as a center that functions as a mediator, or a bridge which connects the residents of Tarlaşaşı to the wider urban and social circles. Keeping in mind that especially women have very limited access to public spaces, or even to the next street behind their houses, the need for activities that should be organised by the Center, outside the Tarlaşaşı center, becomes more significant.

The Center should also be used as a place, where people who actually have very limited access to direct municipal and state services can be given immediate information about relevant steps and procedures and be directed to other related institutions. In addition to counselling services of this kind, an important necessity in the region is the offering of psychological counselling services. Psychological counselling is not only in the case of displaced Kurdish people, who accumulated traumatic experiences during their migration process a need. Since insecurity and violence have become a routine fragment of daily life in Tarlaşaşı and Tarlaşaşı residents face intra-groups tensions as well as discrimination and alienation at wider societal level, counselling in this respect could be a means to cope with this tension.

Appendix 1

