



City Snares and Urban Violence Directed at Besieged Neighborhoods¹

Kent Kapanları ve Kuşatılmış Mahallere Yönelen Kentsel Şiddet

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Öz

19. yüzyıldan beri kentleşme makro ve mikro ölçeğe hız kesmeden devam etmektedir. Kentlerin hızla büyümesi ve toplumsal ilişkilerin giderek daha da karmaşıklaşması, mekân ve insan arasındaki ilişkiyi anlamamızı sağlayacak kavramlara olan ihtiyacı da arttırmaktadır. Sıradan insanlar bu değişiklikleri kavramsallaştıracak teorik perspektiften yoksun olsalar bile pratik bilgisine, sezgisine sahiptirler. Bu nedenle mekân ve insan üzerine yapılan alan çalışmaları yeni kavramsallaştırmalar için fırsatlar sunmaktadır. Bu çalışma 2018 yılında gerçekleştirilen bir alan çalışması sırasında sıradan insanların karmaşık toplumsal etkileşimlerle mekânın unsurları arasındaki ilişki sürecinde fark ettikleri kentsel/toplumsal değişimin bir yönünün akademik olarak kavramsallaştırma çabasını içermektedir. Bu kavramsallaştırmalar; 1) kent kapanları ve 2) kuşatılan mahallelere yönelik kentsel şiddettir.

Çalışma kent kapanları ve kuşatılan mahallelere yönelik kentsel şiddet kavramlarının tarihsel süreç içindeki anlamlarını çıkarmaya ve yorumlamaya odaklanmaktadır. Bu nedenle çalışmaya rehberlik eden bakış açısı yapılandırmacıdır. Araştırmanın amacı ise tarihsel süreç içinde kent kapanları ve kuşatılmış mahallelere yönelik kentsel şiddet kavramlarının anlamlı bir tanıma sahip olup olmayacağının betimlenmesi, açıklaması ve keşfedilmesidir. Bu nedenle çalışma nitel bir durum çalışmasıdır. Araştırmanın veri toplama tekniği, süreç analizi yapılacağından dolayı, doküman incelemesidir. Çalışmada öncelikle kentleşme kavram ve kuramları işlenmektedir. Ardından literatür, kent kapanları ve kuşatılan mahallelere yönelik kentsel şiddet kavramlarını bağlamında analiz edilmektedir. Çalışmanın sonunda kent kapanları ve kentsel şiddet kavramlarına ilişkin çalışmanın çerçevesini oluşturan varsayımların kent literatürü içinde anlamlı yere oturabileceği anlaşılmaktadır. Fakat bu bağlamda daha fazla kuramsal ve alan çalışmasına ihtiyaç duyulmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Sosyal Değişim, Kent, Kentleşme, Kentsel Şiddet, Kent Kapanları

ABSTRACT

Since the nineteenth century, urbanization has continued at macro and minor scales without letup. The rapid growth of cities and the increasing complexity of social relations increase the need for concepts that will enable us to understand the relationship between space and people. Even if ordinary people lack the theoretical perspective to conceptualize these changes, they have practical knowledge and intuition. Therefore, field studies offer opportunities for new conceptualizations. This study includes an attempt to academically conceptualize an aspect of urban/social change that ordinary people realized in the process of the relationship between complex social interactions and elements of space during a field study conducted in 2018. These concepts are, 1-) City snares and 2-) Urban violence directed at besieged neighborhoods.

This study focuses on commentate and make sense out of the terms of city snares and urban violence directed at besieged neighborhoods in the historical process. Therefore, the standpoint which guides the study is constructivism. The purpose of this study is to be descriptive, explorative and explanative of whether the terms of city snares and urban violence directed at besieged neighborhoods in the historical process have meaningful definitions or not. Hence, this study is a qualitative case study. Data gathering technique of the study is document analysis because there is analysis of the process. The study primarily covers urbanization concepts and theories. Subsequently, the terms of city snares and urban violence directed at besieged neighborhoods are analyzed with the context of literature. In the end of the study, it is understood that the hypotheses that build up the frame of the study about the terms of city snares and urban violence can make sense in the city literature. However, more theoretical and field studies are needed in this context.

Keywords: Social Change, City, Urbanization, Urban Violence, City Snares

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INTRODUCTION

The cities which were built as privileged residences throughout history used to resemble the islets in a large sea of agriculture according to the statement of Mumford (2007, p.641). The cities where the wealth had been gathered during the civilizations centered agriculture drew the rural population to their core with the Industrial Revolution (Keleş, 1993, p.80). Particularly, when industry technologies got integrated into the commercial core of the cities, it caused them to grow in incredible speed (Martindale, 2000, p.13). All these developments have caused urbanization to impose itself as a dominative concept (Bookchin, 2014, p. 13). When looked at World Bank's data of 2020, %56 of the world population living in the cities is seen. (The World Bank, n.d.). This situation makes the cities residences of social changes. Meanwhile the cities are changed at the hands of economic and political forces, particular residences which form the cities are produced again and again by countless movements carrying the marks of ordinary people's intentions. (Harvey, 1997, p. 32). Spatial transitions in the cities grow into one of the most important contexts in the social transition (Castells & İnce, 2006, p.72). This situation makes the relationship between space and people even more important.

Cities are in an organic integrity where the dozens of variables change one another. The number of variables is great; however, the change is not inexplicable. Even most ordinary people who have experience in the cities can notice the change but can't conceptualize the processes (Jacobs, 2011). Thereby, a context which includes society and urban geography is needed to understand the cities and the citizens. This context should enable us to make a connection between a particular social behavior and particular residences of the cities. These contexts should be the concepts that can help us to understand the connection between complicated social interactions and elements of the residences (Harvey, 2013, p. 32). Therefore, field studies are important to find concepts that will enable understanding of the dynamic relationship between space and people.

During the fieldwork I conducted for my doctoral dissertation, while collecting data on crime and delinquent young adults in the troubled neighborhoods of Izmir, observation, interview, and relational data were obtained about specific situational contexts that the residents noticed but were unable to conceptualize in the way Jacobs referred to above. In the interviews conducted with the residents of these neighborhoods, which seem frightening from the outside, they expressed that they felt trapped and surrounded spatially, socially and psychologically. In the spatial context, it was seen that the neighborhoods were framed by railways, avenues, streets and privileged districts. In the social context, it was seen that the neighborhood residents were framed by the living spaces of people with a socio-economic level that they believed they would never reach. In psychological terms, it was understood that the neighborhood residents believed that they were trapped, marginalized and humiliated. Even people who got interviewed expressed the situation by themselves without being asked. They likened their neighborhoods to 'fish tank' or 'closed box'. Moreover, residents stated that the new generation couldn't move to other parts of the city because they were marginalized, therefore unlicensed floors in the apartments of these neighborhoods got added and these neighborhoods got more crowded as number of humans and apartments every year. Residents of these neighborhoods expressed that they got trapped in these neighborhoods and were ignored by other communities of the city in every sense. It is understood that these neighborhoods aren't included in the city because of urban sprawl, the city has expanded strolling around them, it ignores these neighborhoods, and these residents are deprived of the advantages of being a citizen (Duman, 2023).

The purpose of this academic study is the equivalent of the term 'city snares and urban violence directed at besieged neighborhoods' seen during the field study to be understood, explained and

explored in literature. Hereby, in this study a modest contribution is tried to present in order to understand the relationship between complicated social interactions and elements of the residence just as referenced by Harvey above.

1. Method

This study tries to commentate and make sense out of the terms of city snares and urban violence directed at besieged neighborhoods in the historical process. Therefore, the standpoint which guides the study is Constructivism. The purpose of this study is to be descriptive, explorative and explanative of whether the terms of city snares and urban violence directed at besieged neighborhoods in the historical process have meaningful definitions or not. Hence, this study is a qualitative case study. This study focuses on a situation that is assumed to be in current content and real life, that means it focuses on city snares and urban violence directed at besieged neighborhoods. In the qualitative study just as document analysis is a data collection method itself, it can be used with other data collection methods too (Yıldırım and Şimşek, 2005, p. 187). Because process analysis will be made, the data collection method of this study is document analysis. Conceptual sensitivity needs to have a theoretical perspective (Keleşoğlu and Yıldız, 2019, p. 194). In the study, the terms of city snares and urban violence directed at besieged neighborhoods are analyzed with the context of literature.

2. Conceptual Frame

The study stands at the point which defends that the term ‘urbanization’ gets ahead of the term ‘city’, that’s why with industrialization the term ‘urbanization’ should be accepted as umbrella term instead of the term ‘city’. While ‘city’ is static, ‘urbanization’ is dynamic. In this phase where societies subsist, the term ‘urbanization’ actually involves all the terms about the city.

Urbanization describes the increase of the population living in the cities and the number of the cities in a narrow meaning. On the other hand, urbanization would be comprehended incompletely if it is seen as only a population movement. Therefore, economic and social changes creating population movement should take place too when describing urbanization (Keleş; 1993, p. 19). Urbanization is the transition where urbanization of a rural society determined by face-to-face communication to a society determined by secondary relationships, and it is a process where all these economic, social, cultural activities reflecting on the residence and putting it into a form (Nacak, 2017, p. 102) In today’s world, city model of west is a dominant character upon the cities of the world thanks to its political and economic force (Canatan, 2017, p. 79). This situation seems set to change in the near and medium future.

Social pressure coming from the countryside is negligible because agricultural cities and trading cities are relatively independent from the agricultural labour force. These cities get wealthy with commercial value, but urban cores can’t develop more outwards physically (Mumford, 2007). Because wealth in trading cities doesn’t flow outwards the urban core, but it flows the urban core from outside. However, the obstacle of industrial cities is the necessity of dispatching human capital to industrial enterprises in urban cores. This situation makes leaving the social pressure coming from the countryside out from the urban core impossible by contrast with rural cities. The city grows with geometric acceleration thanks to the attraction which urban core creates with labour demand in industrial cities, the push agricultural economics which is corrupted in the rural area creates and splendid opportunities transferrer forces present (Keleş, 1993, p. 47; Benevolo, 1995, p. 188). As Mübeccel Kiray stated in her one speech, the idea of being later at the point of being in competition with the world and development if many people keep staying in rural areas has been dominant since the Industrial Revolution (Kiray, 2003; Ersin et al 2001, p. 17).

Along with the fact of industrialization becoming the driving force of the urbanization process, cities have become urbanized according to the needs of industrialization. Urban growth and population growth because of immigrations lead to hybridize urban spaces while causing to diversify urban profile (Şan & Akyiğit, 2014, p. 130). On the other hand, rapid growth of cities means a loss of focus, center physically and symbolically (Sennett, 2010, p. 84). As Bookchin states, the main reason for the crisis the cities go through is not the emergence of the cities, but it is urbanization as a phenomenon which threatens humanity's place in natural environment invading the city and rural area (Bookchin, 2014, p. 13,37). Since industry entered the trading core of the cities, growth of the cities has reached an incredible point (Martindale, 2000, p. 13). When the population of London was 150.000 in 1595, 315.000 in 1632, and 700,000 in 1700; this number reached 750.000 in the eighteenth century and in the nineteenth century, London's population increased from 860 thousand to 5 million (Sennett, 2010, p. 77). It is possible to say the same percentages for the other cities which are the centers of trade and industry of England. For instance, the population of an industrial city such as Manchester, which was 12.000 in 1760 increased to 400.000 during the nineteenth century (Benevolo, 1995, p. 88). The growth of industrial cities causes ignorable issues taking place in trading and agricultural cities (harboring, hygiene, safety, education etc.) to grow with a geometric acceleration. The side effects of urbanization should be the subject of scientific research at least as much as urbanization itself.

Engels expressed his observations regarding these side effects at the end of his field work during the period when the first industrial cities were formed.

“There aren't pavements in the streets. They are full of dirty trash and droppings uphill and downhill. There aren't any canalizations or water courses. On the contrary, roads are filled with still and dirty puddles. Moreover, the air flow of the district is blocked because of the bad and complicated structuring. There aren't sewers or personal toilets of homes in this neighborhood of the city. Therefore, at least 50 thousand peoples' excretions and other refuses get thrown into the rainwater courses on the roads during the night and despite street cleaners' all efforts, the dirt spreads, and its foul smell threatens the health tremendously as much as it looks disturbing. We shouldn't be surprised that morals, health and mutual kindness don't take place in these places. Even though these blocks' exterior surfaces look repugnant, I didn't expect to find that much dirt and squalidity inside. We found a crowd of people lying on the floor in some of the bedrooms we visited at night. Men and women who were mostly between 15 and 20 were sleeping, some of them were naked, some were with their clothes. Were their beds moldy straws with rags? There was almost no stuff in the rooms. Fire in the stove was the only thing which gave a homey feeling to these places. These people's main source of income is burglary and prostitution. However, despite all of these, ones who can find a place to live are counted as lucky compared with everyone who is homeless. In London, 50 thousand people wake up without knowing where they can sleep at night every morning” (Engels, 1997, p.73-79-83-85)

It is possible to see the similar scenes of squalidity in the neighborhoods living with the names 'Poverty Zones' (Keleş & Ünsal, 1982, p. 29) such as ghetto in United States, the suburbs in France, quarteri periferici (outer neighborhoods) or quarteri degradati (impoverished neighborhoods) in Italy, problemområde (problematic districts) in Sweden, favale (tin shed neighborhoods) in Brazil, villa miseria (neighborhoods on skid row) in Argentina (Wacquant, 2015, p. 11), barridas in Peru, berraka and noaula in Morocco, ghorbivilles in Tunisia, basti/bustee in India, colonias proletarias in Mexico, rancho in Venezuela, callampa in Chile, kampong in Southeast Asia and bidonville in Northern Africa.

This social and spatial segregation urbanization created is the product of citizens' rivalry and choices. Society consists of individuals who are segregated as spatial and territorial and who have independent mobility (Park & Ernest, 1984, p. 64). First of all, urban segregation exists with spatial division. Urban segregation refers that cities are besieged with inequality contrary to class, status, hierarchy and with division processes. Thereby, rivalry in the cities creates an urban hierarchy which has social and spatial dimensions in a sense.

Actors in the cities win their social and spatial ranks on urban hierarchy as the result of their rivalry about the districts belonging to the city and the wealth belonging to the city. The duo of wealth and district isn't always in conjunction with each other in the city. However, wealth and district want to be together due to the nature of rivalry. It is possible to state the urban patterns this situation created under different terms about urbanization. When arguments are analyzed in literature, it is confirmed that rivalry going on for wealth and district created five types of urban patterns. Four of them are the appearances which urbanization process is planned. Fifth one is the appearance which urbanization process is not planned and can be neglected by the powerful ones.

1- For the ones who have a district but not wealth 'urban transformation (Alptekin, 2014, p. 36), gentrification (Jacobs, 2011, p. 289), ennoblement (Bayhan, 2014, p. 229), creative movement (Şentürk, 2014, p. 94) etc.' are the projects 'make the duo together'.

2- For the ones who have wealth but not a district 'suburbanization (Mumford, 2001, p. 588), counter urbanization (Uğur & Aliğaoğlu, 2019, p. 101), environment/satellite city (Keleş; 1993, p. 37, Uğur & Aliğaoğlu, 2019, p. 92) etc.' are the projects 'make the duo together'.

3- The ones who don't have wealth and a district are the attempts expressed with the terms such as 'unplanned, unorganized, pirate urbanization (Davis, 2006, p. 55), permanent slum areas (Jacobs, 2011, p. 290), poverty zone (Keleş & Ünsal, 1982).

4- The owners of both wealth and a district live secluded and isolated in 'the prohibited residences' of the city (as cited in Steven Flusty's term: Bayhan, 2014;219).

5- Unplanned and neglectable appearances of rivalry of wealth and district constitute urban homogenization which happens in different and temporary locations, urban segregation, slumism, urban vacuums, places of collapse, ghettos etc.

Rivalry is the one which keeps urbanization fresh as usually stated. Even the decrease of rivalry in spatial meaning deforms urbanization. This situation will affect social rivalry, too. Society has become static and closed gradually because landowners have kept their ownerships for long years in agricultural cities. Therefore, loss of rivalry in social and spatial sense will create the same effect as the cease of flows in oceans and winds in lands. The city which is devoid of enough competition movement because of its own or some other reasons will start to decay and collapse (Jacobs, 2011, p. 261). This rivalry attempting to reach the point of the most distinguished 'wealth and district' in the city can have a creative and productive effect when it arrives at the destination of society's mutual compromise and interest. Otherwise, the damage created by a classification which will happen between squalidity and richness in the wealth and district's pallet in the city will give birth to devastating results for the society. Thereby, when governments which complete their industrialization early experience the urban sprawl created (will create), they are convinced about spreading the prosperity accumulated in urban core to around of the city even though they don't want it. This experience shows that social and spatial appearances of the devastating rivalry to reach the wealth and district in the city carry a destructive potential of violence. This rivalry and its consequences take an important place at the heart of theoretical arguments about urbanization

3. Theoretical Framework

Two facts should be evaluated together when referred to the city. These are the physical (construction and objective being) factors and human (life, communes) factors of city stated with different conceptualizations (Tekeli et al, 1976, p.). Ecological approach can be criticized with falling into meaningless empiricism attaching urban studies to the explanations stemmed from ecology of plant and animal (Mellor, 2007, p. 206). Nevertheless, as an ecological community, city evaluation (Saunders, 2013, p. 59) enables construction and process to be analyzed in the same framework. Ecological theories developing based on human and city are classified under three titles which are common core circle theory (common centered circle model), theory of slices (sector radial slices) and multiple nuclei growth theory (Keleş, 1993, p. 84, Uğur & Aliagaoglu, 2019, p. 125-139). It is necessary to briefly touch upon these theories.

According to common core circle theory, the city is comprised of the circles interwoven on the center of a common core. The core which is innermost is the trade and work area. A transition area invaded by workplaces and tending to disappear follows it. The feature of this area is to host light industrial enterprises along with trade. The third core is the area where people who need to be close to the workplaces which are in the first two cores even though they run away from their inadequate conditions reside. The fourth core is comprised of the areas where high income groups reside privately. The last core is the area where suburbs stand at the perimeter of the city, according to theory it spreads when the city grows and gets snuggled into the inside of the next core after itself. This intertwining is determined according to the economic structure of the city (Keleş, 1993, p. 84). In this theoretical approach, economic structures are the priority.

According to the theory of sector radial circles, the growth of the city happens through main lines of communication and in the shape of the sectors or the slices reaching from the center of circle to its surrounding as star. Different functions of the city get carried out in these slices. According to this theory, people with different incomes and status choose different slices as areas to create. High qualified housing spaces determine the direction of urban development. Important transportation axes, high areas which don't have the danger of flood, sides of lake or sea which aren't invaded by industry, housing spaces of society leaders etc. are the main factors which determine the site selection of qualified housing zones. According to the model, complicated use of land in the center of the city was in question at the beginning. As the city has expanded, these lands with different purposes have grown towards the outside in the shape of slices. The model consists of five slices. i) Central business district is present at the center. ii) There are wholesaling and light industry activities in this slice. It is located right across from the housing spaces with high standards in the city. iii) Residences which belong to the people with low incomes are in this slice. iv) Residences for middle class take place in this slice. v) It is a residential area of middle and high classes. Every slice can grow on its merits and can change socially and geographically (Uğur and Aliagaoglu, 2019, p. 137). In this theoretical approach, functional reasons are the priority.

Multiple nuclei growth theory is used because the previous two theories are insufficient when it comes to giving an explanation about the ways of benefiting from the land. According to this theory, urban growth doesn't develop in the center of the only urban core, it develops around more than one core. Although the cores take place in the city historically, they can show up parallel to the process of city's growth. The numbers, the sizes of these cores and their distance to each other can show differences from one city to another. However, it can be said that the number of cores a city has increase according to the magnitude of the city (Keleş, 1993, p. 88). This theoretical approach develops the single-centered city understanding of the previous two approaches.

However, these approaches have resemblance to the instantaneous photographs taken in certain periods of time in the city more than being the approaches which offer universalness. The boundaries of the city aren't steady according to Park. They vary with changes in the nature and

range of the city's functions, and it can be added that these changes in function may occur at relatively minute intervals (Karp et al., 2015, p. 45). Park and Burges describe rivalry as 'the basic and universal form' of interaction between people (Mellor, 2007, p. 207). Therefore, the main processes which constitute the city are rivalry, condensation, centralization, separation, invasion and displacement by the order of importance. Their functioning creates 'natural places' which shape the physical structure of the city (Martindale, 2000, p. 55). Natural places are in a constant state of change through spatial and human interactions.

In this basis, it is possible to summarize the approach of human ecology from 'The City' which is one of the most well-known studies about the topic by Park and Ernest like this. According to the theory, the city is not only a physical mechanism and artificial structure. It takes place in the lives of the people who constitute it. It is the product of nature and especially human nature. However, the city is not just a geographical and ecological unit, it is also an economic unit. The economic organization of the city relies on division of labour. The smallest local unit for the local and political organization of the city is the neighborhood having the themes of intimacy and neighborhood. Neighborhoods aren't merely places to reside in. Local benefits and foundations feed the local emotions and neighborhood becomes the basis of political control under the system which makes residing the basis of the participation to the government. Neighborhoods develop or disperse in parallel with the development of the city. For a citizen, neighborhoods lose their importance and worth with the opportunities of communication and transportation developed in the city. On the other hand, sincerity and solidarity continues in isolated settlements such as immigrant or ethnic colonies, the places which goes through the urban segregation. Meanwhile the city generates occupational groups, social groups continue to be generated in neighborhoods. The city draws vocational lines so strictly that it is possible for the communities within the boundaries of the city to live in complete isolation as nearly as a remote rural community. These spatial relationships of humans are the products of rivalry and choice. New factors which make rivalry relationships easy or difficult perpetuate the change in a positive or negative way. As these spatial relationships change, the physical basis of social relationships changes too. Every change creates communities and places accommodating themselves to them. Humans are separated from nature with their mobility and intentionality. The determinant of this intentionality and mobility is the situation of balance between the population and sources. Even though the balance disrupts, mutual benefit tends to set the balance up again (Park & Ernest, 1984). According to the approaches of Park and Ernest, intentionality and mobility supervising the balance between the population and sources are the dynamic of the city as is seen. This dynamic interaction has geographic/ecological and economic conclusions. Also, the economic organization relies on division of labour.

In this context, the ecology of city which expands with a crooked/ unbalanced purpose and mobility would sprawl in a crooked/unbalanced way. In this situation, urbanization would slow down in the places where division of labour is low, meanwhile urbanization in destination which is more inclined to division of labour would accelerate. This situation would cause the city that needs to expand in a balanced way like a balloon to neglect some of the areas. Because urbanization is perpetual, periphery of the areas where economic cooperation is the lowest come up against social and spatial siege of the fast and crooked urbanization process. This progress of urbanization surrounds the neighborhoods/areas which can't be part of social division of labour because of economy like a snare. When the siege is completed, sieged neighborhoods get neglected while the welfare of the city is scattered. When urbanization expands through outside, it doesn't think that it is productive to make an effort to urbanize these neighborhoods which it left behind anymore. Hereby, sieged neighborhoods become the victims of urban violence targeting human worth and neglecting them.

In the next chapter, the terms 'city snares' and 'urban violence' are tried to be analyzed and interpreted within literature in the context of terminology of the ecological model.

4. The Current Situation of Urbanization in the Context of City Snares or Ecological Models

Today, it is observed that urbanization causes an enormous revolution by ecologic, political, social and economic means around the world, and it evolves to 'hyper urbanization' (Harvey, 2008, p. 66, 87). When data between the years 1960-2020 of World Bank are examined, it is seen that the general population reached from 3.032 billion to 7.753 billion. Besides, it is viewed that population resided in the cities reached from %33,61 to %51,15 (The World Bank, 2020). Urbanization has been increasing in the developing world as rapidly as the industrialized world (Bayhan, 2014, p. 216). This situation is the outcome of western civilization transcending the geographical borders and spreading the city's culture, its lifestyle by imposing it through city model rather than a natural course (Canatan, 2017, p. 79). However, it doesn't mean that urbanization speed of less-developed countries is slower than the developed countries. Despite of the decrease of wages, the increase of prices and exorbitant rise at the rate of urban unemployment; it is viewed that the process of urbanization continued between the years of famine, 1980s and the beginning of 1990s without cutting its dazzling speed (Davis, 2006, p. 28). This situation naturally disrupts the rural-urban balance the most.

The city's trademark is person/km² (Göney, 2017, p. 8). However, urbanization relying on only population density isn't seen healthy. When urbanization of less-developed countries is in question, terms such as 'fast', 'crooked', 'fake', 'unbalanced' and 'one-way' are seen to be used frequently in urbanization terminology (Keleş, 1993, p. 28). Between the years 1920 and 1940, the village population increased about 520 million in the world. This population that villages couldn't feed and accommodate rushed into the cities (Keleş, 1993, p. 22). Meanwhile in the developing countries, the rate of population in the cities is between %75 and %90 today. Moreover, a large part of urbanization process happens in extensive metropolitan regions which spreads through the wide areas including rural places into its metropolitan structure too (Castells & Ince, 2006, p. 72). According to the demographic data, urbanization of less-developed countries surpassed the urbanization of Victorian Europe by means of speed and scale. London's population in 1910 was seven times more than its population in 1800, however each population of Dhaka, Kinshasa and Lagos today are forty times more than their populations in 1950 (Davis, 2006, p. 28). It is understood that the side effects of urbanization, which is currently under control in developed countries, increase exponentially when it comes to underdeveloped countries.

4.1. Factors That Separate Urbanization from Urban Sprawl

Sorting the causes which bring developed countries to representative urbanization and undeveloped/less-developed countries to urban sprawl on England's experience about being the first country which got through the urban sprawl is possible. These factors are extremely significant to show the progress of urbanization which is stated in ecological models.

England which let in immigrants had a capital city with a population of 2.5 million, large manufacture cities, an industry which fed the world and produced almost everything with complex machines; and it had an intense, hardworking, clever population where two of the three worked in a job and trade and all of whom comprised of different classes (Engels, 1997, p. 61). While growth of the cities was directly related to economic growth during and after the Industrial Revolution, this situation went into reverse in the not-too-distant past. Today, most developing cities are located in regions where economic developments have stopped or declined (Reader, 2007, p. 181). There is an industrial mechanism which expects a dense, fast migration and can afford it in England. The Industrial Revolution process of industrializing countries such as England were accompanied by expansionism periods where outside sources used to spread through city such as The Free Trade Colonialism Period (1830-1880) and the New Colonialism Period (1880-1940) (Bilgenoğlu, 2020) which allowed the urban cores to have the raw materials and products they needed.

Another one of the most crucial advantages of England urbanization is the opportunity to dispatch and handle human capital. England could use labour power and raw materials in the most profitable way between the cities through canals, bridges, railways, steamships etc. and in the city (Engels, 1997). The use of steam power together with railroads in land transportation provided things to go faster and it could connect coal mines mostly used to energize with domestic markets for raw materials and production (Sert, 2014, p. 32). Besides, population that is problematic or tends to be problematic used to be sent to the new regions with England importing population to its colonies. This situation protected the cities from the population pressure even though it didn't solve their problems (Ertürk & Okan, 2001, p. 54). It is possible to sort the implements which enable developed countries to conduct their urbanization and less developed countries are devoid of as follows. The city core is industrialized. Valuable wealth of humans and mine stolen from the outside colonies and generated from industry flows from inside to the city core. The political and economic forces of the city have the mind, opportunity and capability to add squalid neighborhoods and poor groups of workers that make pressure from around to the city core to the city. Population that might be problematic can be distributed according to the employment policy on a world scale. Thus, it is understood that city core has become the part of economic, social and politic division of labour in a balanced course from the center to around without wandering around any neighborhoods in the urbanization processes of developed countries. Therefore, the welfare of the city can be distributed without neglecting any area of the city. However, collecting and distributing channels of the city can't process perfectly even in developed countries. This situation may cause city snares and urban violence seen even on a small scale.

4.2. Construction and Settlement Policies Which Enable Urbanization to Create City Snares

It is possible to see hierarchy becoming apparent on the district and wealth of the city that is expressed through conceptual framework and five appearances assumed of this hierarchy in both urbanization and urban sprawl examples.

When we synthesize conceptual and theoretical framework in this context, two types of motion are seen. In the first one, urbanization is in motion towards the inside of the city with construction-settlement policies and projects. In the second one, it is in motion towards the outside of the city by means of 'circular, radial, copying the core' just like the ecological urbanization models. The important point is the construction and settlement policies which make the city balanced or unbalanced for both motions. Therefore, factors that enable city snares and that are about social and spatial appearances of construction and settlement policies take place.

The first factor that creates city snares is the 'creative destruction (Şentürk, 2014, p. 94) policies. Until the First World War, governments used to neglect publics' sheltering needs by moving with the principle 'let them do it, let them pass' and their priorities were to heal the health and ethical conditions born of domestic migration (Keleş, 1993, p. 284). Hence, urban transformation started in the first half of twentieth century (Şentürk, 2017, p. 377). However, it wouldn't be wrong to start the first examples of 'creative destruction' policy on the context of urbanization with re-planning of London by Architect Christopher Wren (1632-1723) after the Great Fire of London which started on September 2 in 1666 and lasted for three days. Besides the streets and avenues that intersect each other perpendicularly, new centers where diagonal roads intersect and still preserve today generated new London. Paris follows this example. It has been said that Paris lost its past being at least %60 percent during the rearrangement works of Georges Eugène Haussmann (1809-1891) known as Baron Haussmann in years of 1853-70. Today, Paris that earns the publics' appreciation as a representative city with its wide streets, neat building blocks, extensive green areas, and monumental buildings apparently owes this feature to cultural losses and major destruction made in the past (Genim, 2014, p. 69). With this planning, (Napoleon and) Haussmann tried to give privilege to actions of individuals to limit the actions of urban population (Sennet, 2008, p. 295). Building boulevards, organizing the empty places was not for acquiring nice perspectives, it was for "Combing Paris' hair with machine guns" (Benjamin Péret) (Lefebvre, 2018, p. 33). The purpose was to make

the actions of military units against publics' possible revolts easier as much as to heal the health conditions (Benevolo, 1995, p. 202) It wouldn't be wrong to say that this urbanization strategy based on the creative destruction was an outcome of a snare strategy used to besiege the masses that are assumed they were threatening the city in a meaning.

Besides these examples, creative destruction (urban renaissance) especially started with the activities made about abolishing 'slums' in the process of re-instructing cities which had been demolished after World War II. (Şentürk, 2017, p. 377). Rehabilitation/transformation of "collapse zones" known with their low incomes, education and living habits started in England first, then other countries and cities followed it. In 1964, Ruth Glass used the term 'gentrification' to explain that high and middle classes bought the residences in workers' neighborhoods, they built new and classy residences instead of them and changed the social constitution of these areas. It continues with the terms such as nobilitation or elitism in the different regions of countries or cities at full speed (Şentürk, 2014, p. 95). While works of creative destruction are motivated by the causes and threats such as fire, revolt, war in the west, it is triggered by the earthquakes in Turkey. The first of the deficiencies arising from the history of urbanization in Turkey is related to the transformation of buildings that are not resistant to earthquakes, and the second one is related to the transformation of slum areas (Tekeli, et al 1976) which will be evaluated in the next title.

The second factor which caused city snares to occur is 'volunteered or compulsory settlement' policies.

Most known examples of compulsory settlement are the destruction of slum neighborhoods against the consent of residents. Residents of slums around the world assume that they are filth, or a disease the world doesn't want to see through the eyes of government. Especially, they are aware that they reside in a location apparent and evaluated as center of the city, that's why it is important for appearance of the city. Therefore, these penurious people are afraid of big scale international incidents pushing authorities to clean the city. They are not in the wrong to be scared. Because governments usually choose destructing slum areas and exiling the residents outside of the city to improve the appearance of the city almost everywhere in the world (Davis, 2006, p. 132-138). Primarily, there is no doubt that forcing people to leave their home, streets, neighborhoods they lived for years through expropriation is seen as an obvious injustice. Even though it is in accordance with the law, this type of demographic eviction process is viewed as a clear extortion of rights (Alptekin, 2014, p. 49). When the destruction of slums starts, it doesn't end with destroying wrecked buildings. People are ripped off their roots. Sanctuaries are uprooted. Local business managers disappear. The lawyer in the neighborhood moves into an office in the center of the city. A tight bond consisting of local friendships and group relationships breaks not to be ever fixed. Elderly people are forced to leave their ragged apartments or humble homes and search for new houses to live in. Hundreds, thousands of new faces rush into the neighborhood (Jacobs, 2011, p. 158). These forces cause the formation of new natural places.

Besides, volunteer settlement policies were attempted, too. 'Kuştepe' which is founded in the years 1953-1954 in Istanbul, and which is much close to a central settlement like Mecidiyeköy today is an example of this. In 1950, slum residents from different areas of Istanbul destroyed the places they had lived on their own and came to the area shown in Kuştepe to acquire social housing. Even though they found tents with no water and electricity instead of 'social housing' when they came, it can be seen that they managed to make it as a living space (Kazgan, 2001, p. 116). It is understood that space and human interaction have the potential to provide harmony that can sustain daily life even under difficult conditions.

The third and last factor which caused city snares to occur is 'peripheral city' (Uğur & Aliagaoglu; 2019, p. 95) policy happening in the result of splinter of city core. 'Suburbanization and satellite city' policies are the leading ones. Because trader and businessman attempt to get themselves and their families firstly out of the city core where they are stuck.

Even though the term 'suburb' is used for the slum neighborhoods in France (Wacquant, 2015, p. 11), its reason to come out is as old as the city itself. Because of the unhealthy conditions of ancient cities and medieval castles, living spaces such as villas and romantic cottages where people with money could live without losing their connection with the city were built. The thing only kings could demand back in the day became the thing every person who had land could demand. The demand of retiring from the city became more unavoidable when the crowd of major metropolises and sprawling of industrialized cities became chronic in eighteenth century. Soame Jenyns stated that in 1975, wives of traders who got sick of the smoke in London had to build their villas in Clapham. Thus, as the crowd reacted to the disadvantages of the city, the suburb itself became a highly specialized community increasingly dependent on rest and play which became the ends themselves, too. Nowadays, suburbs become more evident as places that are as close to the countryside as transportation facilities allow and that try to keep the neighborhood environment of the city alive (Mumford, 2007, p. 589-607). Thus, the elite with the means are breaking through the spatial, social and psychological encirclement of the urban sprawl.

The most popular example on this context in Türkiye is the project of Kemer Country. People who developed the project persistently emphasize on the differences of this place from such likes in Turkey and suburban houses in North America. According to them, it is not just a 'bedroom community', it is an effort of creating a neighborhood. Entrepreneurs suggest that Kemer Country that is situated inside of a forest and whose targeted population is about 2000, fits into these ideal standards. However, there is another point entrepreneurs come up with: even though this location seems ideal, it also can be a problem for Kemer Country. One of these promotion brochures explains:

'Being so close to Istanbul is a crucial problem for Kemer Country. Whereas it can be an advantage in a way, it might become a dangerous situation in another way. We should do everything we can to protect Kemer Country against the possibility of any invasion that may come from the city. It is not enough to create a civilized neighborhood. The real skill is to protect it.'
(Bartu, 2001, p. 145-146).

Another example of the splinter of city core is satellite settlements. These are actually the suburbs of the middle class. One of the most well-known satellite settlements is 'Başakşehir' established in 1994. One of the indicators of this separation is the increasing number of satellite settlements on the periphery of the city that appeal to the urban middle and upper classes. Among the significant causes for the spread of satellite settlements are that they offer a serious solution about the housing problem of urban middle class, especially new middle class with high education working in service sector and respond to the demand of separating themselves from the rest of the city socially and spatially (Danış, 2001, p. 151-153). The areas where high and middle classes vacate in the city center don't remain empty. Sometimes (in United States) these areas are abandoned to the poor and they become ghettos for the disadvantaged. Sometimes, instead, wealthy people protect their powerful positions in the heart of the city (Central Park in New York, Marais in Paris) (Lefebvre, 2018, p. 28).

Besides the suburbs and satellite settlements, there are other urbanization processes that can be evaluated in the context of peripheral city. It is possible to summarize these settlement places as industrial and commercial peripheral cities where merchandise, education and retail trade are made; industrial dormitory peripheral cities where workers in workplaces house as well as industrial enterprises; educational peripheral cities where various but especially higher education institutions exist (Uğur & Aliğaoğlu, 2019, p. 95). As the difference degrees in spatial distribution of groups in the urban area increases, their levels of social disconnection according to one another increases, too (Altıntaş, 2003; Şan & Akyiğit, 2014;139). This situation causes physical fragmentations and separations, islets and creations of protected areas in the city's space (Şan ve Akyiğit, 2014, p. 137). But it should not be forgotten that protection has two aspects. Sometimes a castle wall may be needed for protection, and sometimes elements considered as 'other' can be 'isolated'.

While urbanization develops in this way in the last analysis, the periphery which can't be articulated into the urban texture splinters and shrinks. This time, neighborhoods besieged all around by the urban texture are trapped in a city snare. Poor and immigrant neighborhoods besieging not fully grown city all around in the past are in the city snare because of rapid urbanization now. They don't have the grandness that besieged the city anymore. Therefore, these neighborhoods and their residents who are poor and immigrant don't have any privilege and urgency for the city. They are in a neglectable situation just as the first step in urbanization. These neighborhoods with their squalidity besieging the city are the problems to solve in the first step of urbanization. However, they can be evaluated as neglectable after being trapped in a snare by the city.

While the city revives the urban texture with its urban prosperity through sheltering, security, education, work, health, fair wage etc., neighborhoods trapped in the city snare are devoid of the prosperity because they can't be articulated into the texture. Whereas the city revives the neighborhoods it is in economic cooperation with, the neighborhoods which can't be articulated into economic cooperation are besieged and neglected. This situation gives birth to urban violence, a violence the city commits through negligence towards the neighborhoods it traps.

It adds value to people by providing urban privileges to the person with the prosperity urbanization revives. However, the violence urbanization treats with negligence devalues people. Therefore, urban violence is directed on the value of people above all.

5. Urban Violence Directed at Besieged Neighborhoods

As can be understood from the discussion thus far, there are two faces of urbanization. One of them revives, but the other one neglects. Urbanization tends to spread with its two faces. It has the opportunity to spread while reviving. However, with neglecting, it wants to weaken the poor and immigrant areas and add them to itself in the end. Because urbanization policies lined up at the former title which are directed at besieged neighborhoods don't seem profitable in the point of 'commercial rationality' dominating urban mind. Maintaining urbanization toward outside is more profitable than reviving these neighborhoods. The city surrounds these neighborhoods all around. Thus, rationality of planned urbanization seems to expect the residents in these neighborhoods which it besieges to 'surrender unconditionally' as if they are castle people resisting in the besieged walls. Meanwhile, institutions and people in the urban texture are in an unspoken agreement (social exclusion) at the point of perceiving besieged neighborhoods as the others. Until besieged neighborhoods are taken over by the 'fundholders', these neighborhoods and their residents are 'degenerated'. Thus, besieged neighborhoods are exposed to urban violence physically and abstractly.

In this context, the definitions of violence and victim of violence outlined in the law numbered 6284 are enlightening in the terms of the study. According to the law, 'violence: acts of a person that result or likely to result because of getting hurt or damaged in the aspects of physical, psychological, sexual or economic; for this reason, all kinds of physical, sexual, psychological, verbal or economic attitude and behaviors ensuing in social, public and private places, including threats and pressure or arbitrary denial of freedom.'; 'victim of violence: people who are in danger of or directly or indirectly exposed to the attitudes and behaviors defined as violence in the law and people affected or likely to be affected by the violence.' state (Law To Protect Family And Prevent Violence Against Women, 2012).

The city spreads the prosperity accumulated in its core to the urban texture through the economic cooperation ties. This spreading revives the urban texture through the services in areas such as security, health, education, sheltering, substructure dependent on the wealth accumulated in the city. Locations and people that can be part of the urban core get nobilitated and gain value in every meaning. However, neighborhoods trapped in the city snare are deprived of the prosperity that values people and location, social rights of the city. As the number of people living in the city increases, it gets more difficult for the services that can't be already provided adequately with

limited resources of municipalities to reach the citizens (Keleş & Ünsal, 1982, p. 50). As Park and Ernest (1984) stated, the city draws its professional boundaries with such sharp lines that it is possible for the communities in the boundaries of the same city to live in full isolation just as a remote rural community. In this context, Wacquant (2015, p. 46) refers that there are areas 'isolated' or paying the cost of this isolation where Black and Latin people live even in the hearts of American cities.

Social rights about the reduction of ongoing economic and social injustices throughout communal life and elimination of injustices between the classes that exist in the society have a wide scope. These rights are the rights that provide to live in a life standard worthy of human dignity. It is possible to classify these social rights that protect the worth of human as the right to work, the right to fair wage, the right to housing, the right to health, the right to social security, the right to education (Aslan, 2019, p. 128) and security under the six headings. Social rights are not a luxury, they are human rights that give people the opportunity to live free and honorable before all (Bulut, 2009, p. 39-59).

Urban violence, which is the violence directed at human's worth damages 'urban harmony', trivialize and degenerate people and places. Concern about this tendency is clearly expressed in European Urban Charter 2 (2008) document.

"We observe that there is a disturbing tendency towards increasing poverty. Serious social and spatial disparities continue to affect large segments of our populations. In addition to the deep social gaps between the different urban neighborhoods, there are also environmental disparities, meaning that the most vulnerable among us are concentrated in areas where the environment is most degraded, a dramatic integration of inequalities."

Therefore, the motivation behind Lefebvre's (2019; 2018, p.132) broad formulation of the right to the city as a right to urban life, or Harvey's desire to expand the right to the city beyond the right to housing, work and public space and the right to participate in electoral democracy to include the right to transform the city, to make it the city we want to live in (Lipman, 2011, p. 5) needs to be sought here. Europe Council seemed to keep these criticisms in their mind in 'Urban Charter 1' they prepared. Urban Charter 1 (1992) defines the ideal city like this

"It is a living place which house a lot of sectors and activities (traffic, life, work, resting needs) in a harmony by protecting urban rights, by providing the best living conditions to the public, by taking its worth from people who live, visit, work, trade and seek the fun, culture, information and receive education there."

City life can be considered as places where the basic needs such as socializing, education, working, housing, security and resting are met collectively and organized for people to maintain their lives. In this socio-spatial organization; central management, local management, civil society and private enterprises provide urban services collectively. Urbanites show up as the ones who work for a fee, pay taxes, consume and get services. When they don't benefit equally from urban services and resources, urban injustices emerge. Urban services such as transportation, education, housing, security differentiating as to the social factors like ethnicity, income, age, gender, immigration end up with the services distributing unequally in the urban place. This unequal distribution creates inequalities between both urbanities and the areas of the city. Urban inequalities in the question become urban problems such as poverty, slumism, socio-spatial segregation. Urban inequalities are a global phenomenon with this aspect of them (Taş, 2017, p. 401). The worst part is that the global institutions don't have enough scales even to determine this phenomenon. Present standards and

practices to evaluate inequality are not enough for informing social discussions and supporting to decide (U.N. Human Development Report, 2019, p. 14).

Even though they can be reduced to six basic headings as stated above, opening a discussion on urban violence within the context of all headings will push the limits of both the article and the chapter. Therefore, urban violence will be exemplified through the examples from certain areas.

However, the power and reality of regional label and social exclusion shouldn't be underestimated. First, this label stuck on the residents of neighborhoods is the determiner of the relationships between people in daily life. Residents of besieged neighborhoods are deprived of the opportunities provided equally in public places, schools, labor markets to everyone. Secondly, there is a powerful connection between urban neighborhoods getting denigrated in a symbolic plane and the squalidity of the places besieged. These neighborhoods are perceived as a dumpster where poor people, sexual predators, misfits are thrown, so the ordinary urbanites try to get away from these neighborhoods. Banks and real estate investors exclude these places outside the red lines. All of these accelerate the decay, abandonment of neighborhoods in the question. Politicians pay a very small price when they ignore it. Only when these neighborhoods become the places where visible disturbances, street conflicts occur; they pay a real price. Third, regional labeling encourages isolation strategies of these settlements about the residents being away from each other. These strategies flame the process of social disintegration, feed the distrust interpersonal, damage the sense of togetherness which is needed for building communities and collective actions (Wacquant, 2015, p. 43). Social exclusion shows itself in four aspects in this frame. These are economic exclusion, spatial exclusion, cultural exclusion and political exclusion (Tartanoğlu, 2014, p. 271).

From the beginning of the urban peripheries, harboring rights take a crucial place based on physical appearances of urban violence. One of the most basic services of the city is meeting harboring needs. Therefore, harboring conditions of besieged neighborhoods show the physical damage of urban violence. With Davis's (2006, p. 151) statement, 'unnatural disasters' are the views of urban violence directed at the areas besieged by the city snares.

The first condition of the slum area is bad geology. Geomorphologic studies made in 1990 show that one quarter of favelas in São Paulo are in the areas where landslides occur, the others are built on riversides inclined to the ground slips or in steep hills. Sixteen percent of squatters are face to face with the risk of dying at low or high rate and/or losing their properties (Davis, 2006, p. 152). Sudden floods and landslips which occurred in Caracas (especially along the Caribbean coast facing the other side of the Avila mountains.) caused the death of approximately 32.000 people, left 140.000 people homeless and left 200.000 people jobless. Against a catholic prelate who explained this situation as wrath of God, minister of foreign affairs Vincente Rangel implied urban violence with his words 'He must be a relentless God if he took his revenge on the poorest in the society'. However, such neighborhoods are more concerned about fire than floods and earthquakes (Davis, 2006, p. 153, 157). The physical security of the venue is a priority.

As much as spatial security of the place, daily life needs to flow safely, that is, the right to security must be ensured. Jacop states that the most basic feature of a successful neighborhood is a person feeling safe walking among all these strangers in the street. A neighborhood which fails in this matter does a bad job in the other matters too and gives birth to tremendous troubles for the city (Jacop, 2011, p. 50). Especially, crimes committed because of drug use escalated at such a point in European cities, it occupies the minds of political, public and professional constitutions in the urban society at first degree. Security is the concern of everyone. A settlement can't acquire its right to be a real settlement without assuring the safety of people who live there and decreasing the fear of crime (Europe Urban Charter 2, 2008). According to Wacquant, death rate in isolated centers of their cities (it is possible to read it as urban besieged neighborhoods) reaches numbers which deserve accuracy shown in areas of natural disasters. At the result of acquiring guns easily, increasing violence entering the inside of social life, new generation expressing themselves with more violence than previous

generations; the chance of Bangladeshi men reaching their age of 35 in the beginning of nineties was higher than their Harem equivalents. In this context, Wacquant underlines an important matter which can be stated as another dimension of urban violence. This is the security dilemma urban besieged neighborhood residents go through. Wacquant states that the places where the most dangerous and hostile relationships with police exist are the isolated places where Black and Latin people live in the heart of American cities. Residents of ghettos are separated into two between the need to protect against a wave of rampant crime and the fear that crime would escalate instead of decreasing because of discriminatory and brutal behavior of police. Security forces in these areas move as if they are in trench warfare and treat the residents as an occupying army would (Wacquant, 2015, p. 46, 70). These security strategies, carried out by law enforcement, stigmatize and alienate neighborhoods that are deemed dangerous to the city as a whole.

Education rights/system doesn't function properly in the neighborhoods trapped in city snares. Responsibilities of city life getting taught by hired people don't seem possible. Because this responsibility develops for free and on its own quintessentially. Even if good schools are important, it has been shown that they can't be relied on for rescuing bad neighborhoods and turning them into good ones. Because a good school building cannot ensure a good education. Schools are a product of their neighborhoods, which can be quickly affected and rapidly change just like parks. Schools are destroyed in the physical social aspects in bad neighborhoods, however successful neighborhoods struggle for their schools to make them better. Children in the cities receive their complete responsibility education playing arbitrary plays on sidewalks (Jacop, 2011, p. 103,134). Considering that almost all the children who live in public housing encounter with the incidents of killing, shooting when they become five (Wacquant, 2015, p. 71) the topic becomes more comprehensible.

Giving an example from Chicago hyperghetto, no institution can symbolize the problems occurred because of weakening of the organizational structure and abandonment of ghettos from politic as much as public schools. Education system of government turns into academic concentration camps where the poor minorities are tucked in. Teacher staff, classes, number of desks and chairs, chalkboard, number of books of most schools in south and west side lack. Even the toilets are not enough. They don't usually have libraries, working photocopy machines, science laboratories, chemicals for experimentation. Textbooks used by those fortunate ones to have enough books in their hands are usually the outdated textbooks the schools in the neighborhoods outside the city don't use anymore. For instance, Richard Nixon was mentioned as a current president in a book which students used for their current history class in Martin Luther King High School in 1991 (Wacquant, 2015, p. 246). Thus, the education system, which is the most important tool for the social integration of the marginalized neighborhood residents with the rest of the city, becomes dysfunctional.

In the context of health rights, most extreme differences are not between cities and villages anymore, they are between urban middle class and urban poor (Davis, 2006, p. 178). Most public health institutions in the South side of America close their doors. Cottage Grove Woodlawn Municipal Hospital went bankrupt too in 1987 like half a dozen similar institutions. Because Medicaid couldn't get its payments, the payments weren't enough for expenses and patients didn't usually have health insurance or it was not enough. After the University of Chicago's hospitals were removed from the city's emergency network in 1990 to increase profits, it became mandatory that cases of severe injury or trauma who could not provide documentary proof of health insurance enrollment be sent by ambulance at least ten miles away to the overburdened Cook County Hospital. In the South side, there wasn't any health institution to provide prenatal health care for uninsured pregnant mothers, to provide treatment program for the drug addicts who couldn't pay their treatment expenses in 1991 (Wacquant, 2015, p. 245). As can be seen, physical proximity does not facilitate access to rights. Residents of marginalized neighborhoods living in the city center may experience deprivation of even their most basic rights.

6. Conclusion

The experiences of the marginalized neighborhood residents encountered during the fieldwork are seen to have a fairly large database in the literature regarding spatial, social and psychological framing. It is understood that one of the intended and/or unintended side effects of the urbanization process is the spatial and social framing of the marginalized neighborhoods. This situation reveals that the sense of siege felt by the residents of the stigmatized neighborhoods in the fieldwork is not unfounded.

Especially in underdeveloped countries that have to urbanize rapidly but do not have enough economic, social and cultural capital accumulation for urban integration, it is understood that the poor classes cannot participate in the urbanization process while the classes with socio-economic opportunities build 'natural places' to meet their own needs (satellite cities, suburbs, etc.). This situation naturally causes urbanization to go around the neighborhoods where the poor classes live. The marginalized neighborhoods are no longer on the periphery of the city, but in the center of the city, in the form of isolated islands. Thus, the marginalized neighborhoods are besieged as an intended and/or unintended result of the urbanization process.

The second most important result of the study is that this state of besieged produces urban violence. It is seen that this violence is carried out in the form of violate/neglect of the six social rights that protect the value of human beings (work, fair wage, housing, health, security, education) (Aslan, 2019), the right to the city (Lefebvre, 2018; urban condition 1, 1992; urban condition 2. 1998) etc .

The European Urban Charter 2 (2008) states that "We are seriously concerned about the processes of spatial inequality that are leading to the 'gentrification' of certain urban areas, the uncontrollable rise in land prices in our city centres, the ghettoisation on the periphery of the city that goes hand in hand with these, and the walled 'gated settlements' that have emerged in some places and are encouraging a spatial segregation that is fragmenting our cities and towns." The concepts of besieged neighbourhoods and urban violence may be useful in the studies and analyses that will be carried out to address this concern.

At the end of the study, it is understood that hypotheses generating the frame of the study about 'city snares' and 'urban violence' terms can take a meaningful place in the city literature. In this context, it is estimated that conceptualizations of city snares and urban violence directed at besieged neighborhoods can offer an explanative point of view on the studies to be carried out about the city. It is understood that much more theoretical and field studies should be carried out on the concepts such as city snares, besieged neighborhoods and urban violence suggested to be used in literature

Compliance with the Ethical Standard

Conflict of Interests: The author(s) declare that they do not have a conflict of interest with themselves and/or other third parties and institutions, or if so, how this conflict of interest arose and will be resolved, and author contribution declaration forms are added to the article process files with wet signatures.

Ethics Committee Permission: In this article, ethics committee approval is not required, and a consent form affirming that a wet-signed ethics committee decision is not necessary has been added to the article process files on the system.

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