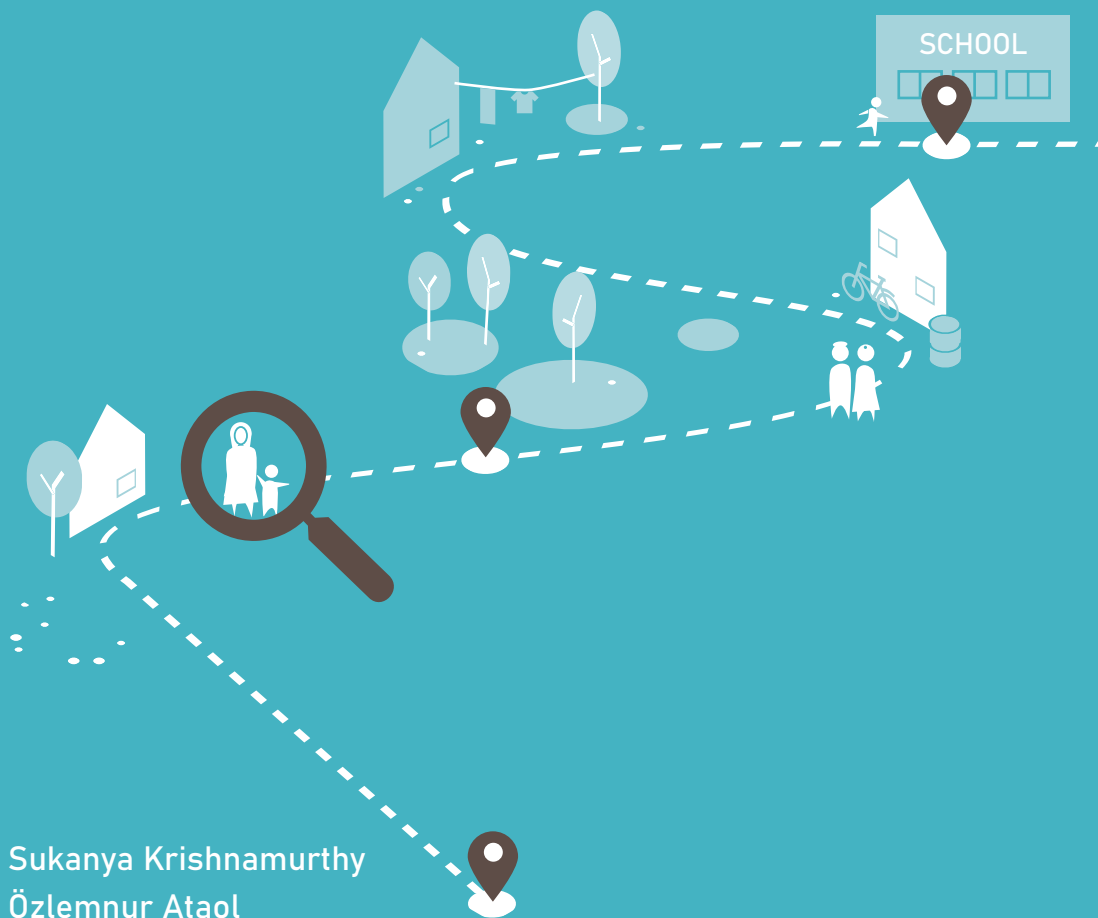
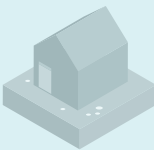
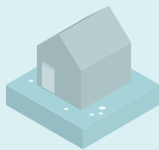


Supporting Urban Childhoods

Observations on caregiver use of public spaces from Pune (IN) and Istanbul (TR)



Sukanya Krishnamurthy
Özlemnur Ataol



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Title

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report examines how caregivers meet the socio-spatial needs of their young children within their neighbourhood. Three daily living domains – public space, mobility in and around the neighbourhood, and quality of the built environment are examined. Empirical findings from selected disadvantaged neighbourhoods in Pune (India) and Istanbul (Turkey) highlight everyday spatial needs of caregivers and young children. By developing comparative work, the report points towards the affordances that space (particularly communal spaces) offers caregivers, and the need to better understand contextual and diverse spatial requirements. Within the two different geographies, we see the multifaceted nature and use of public spaces, issues concerning safety, use of spaces in front of the home, on the one hand, and on the other, we also see the marginalized position of caregivers and children in high-density urban areas. Though in both the locations, various activities/initiatives are taking place to shed light on the needs of young children, the support for early urban childhoods through planning and design is far from optimal.

Acronym	Definition
PMC	Pune Municipal Co-operation
WARD	Administrative boundary
PRABHAG	Administrative boundary that is smaller than a Ward
AGANWADI	Early childhood centre
ISTKA	Istanbul Development Agency
TUIK	Turkish Statistical Institute



Mother carrying her child in Ramnagar (India)

1. INTRODUCTION

Past and current research has shown us that that the built fabric of cities shapes the lives of city dwellers. However, research on the influence of the built environment on early childhood development is still growing. In particular, for disadvantaged locations such as slums, the role that the built environment plays becomes a need-based satisfaction. The spaces are multi-layered and multi-dimensional, for example streets are spaces for play, communal gathering, trade, and so on. For children and caregivers in these locations, public spaces act as extensions of homes. Understanding their daily patterns of use within these locations will help better position interventions related to improvements of public space.

Within this framework, researchers from the School of Geosciences, University of Edinburgh (UK) and the Built Environment at the Eindhoven University of Technology (NL), partnered with the Bernard van Leer Foundation, with aims to identify how caregivers in these locations meet the socio-spatial needs of their young children. Through this process, we aim to identify pathways to improve neighbourhood planning and design through contextual learnings.

Objectives of the report

We aim to identify the affordances that the built environment provides for caregivers by outlining how they move and use public space in their neighbourhood. This will address:

- How caregivers claim, use and perceive public spaces within their neighbourhood;
- Areas and locations (home, work, etc.) that the caregivers identify as important;
- Walking routes and transit options within and around the neighbourhood;
- Suggestions to improve public spaces.

The project addresses this issue by working with caregivers in disadvantaged locations from two different geographies (Pune, India and Istanbul, Turkey) the challenges surrounding:

- Mobility in and around the neighbourhood;
- Lived experiences within the neighbourhood;
- Safety in and around the neighbourhood;
- Services and infrastructural changes they would like to see within the neighbourhood.



A child walking on the steep streets of Beyoglu (Turkey)

Rationale and reading guide

The report is broadly structured in the following way:

The first section develops a brief review that highlights the importance of the built environment within early childhood development. This is followed by the research approach for this study, such as methodology and the data collection process. The third section situates the two case studies and identifies existing initiatives for caregivers within the respective cases. The fourth section provides analyses of data collected on public space, mobility in and around the neighbourhood, and built environment quality through observations, surveys, workshops and interviews in Pune and Istanbul. The last section outlines recommendations and interventions identified by the caregiver participants.



Active use of public space in Aundh Pashan (India)

2. CHILDHOOD DEVELOPMENT AND THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT

Ever since the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) was established in 1989, there has been growing attention on children's rights and well-being. Children, defined here as aged between 0 to 18, are considered as citizens with the right to survive, to develop, to participate, and to have their best interests protected.¹ When the UNCRC was ratified (1990), it prompted attention towards other issues and rights (apart from survival) that were equally important and needed urgent consideration. In many areas, especially in policy-making, there has been a gradual recognition that children are actors/resources for future developmental objectives of a country (UNICEF, 1964), and this has been visible since the ratification. The focus on children in policy-making and consideration of environmental and planning issues related to child development and protection has been instrumental in creating pathways towards child-friendly cities.

¹ Initially, UNICEF primarily focused on children in war-devastated countries in Europe rather than in Asia and Latin America. Gradually, the focus shifted beyond war-affected children towards broader issues affecting children (natural disasters such as earthquake, refugees etc.).

In the last decade, scholars mostly from medicine, health, and child development have been focusing on the role of the built environment on children's health and well-being (Christian et al., 2017; Davison & Lawson, 2006; Audrey & Batista-Ferrer, 2015; Strife & Downey, 2009; Christian et al., 2015; Weir et al., 2006). Scholars on the built environment such as Williams & Williams (2017), Ferguson et al. (2013), Burton (2011), Gill (2008) for example have also highlighted the links between well-being and children's development. Scholars have also agreed that the built environment in conjunction with the socio-demographics of a community have a critical role on the well-being of children (Christian et al., 2015a). The assessed spatial characteristics of the built environment include: the quality and quantity of green space, transportation infrastructure (traffic, walkability, bike-ability, and connectivity), and services (local child-related services). These have been assessed at two levels, (1) as an intervention (the effect of the interventions on space related to the well-being of children) and a situational level (the effect of quality of space to the well-being of children). Social structures within the built environment have also been studied, including the structure of the community, community trust, and perceptions of safety.

The definition of well-being of children is controversial, and increasingly so. Burton (2011) reports that the context of the well-being of children has shifted from health to broader developmental requirements that allow children to lead happy and successful lives. The newly developed context of children's well-being includes physical, emotional and mental health as well as

social competences. For younger children, healthy development and well-being are influenced by individual factors, family factors, and environmental factors (Christian et al., 2017a). These factors have been shown to influence long term developmental outcomes (i.e. into adulthood). Gill (2008), for example, reports that being in a command-and-control environment may affect the child's health and opportunity to learn key life skills, making it challenging for him/her to cope with life as the child grows up.

The relationship between children's well-being and the built environment revolve around three variables (Christian et al., 2015), as demonstrated in Figure 1. These are (1) caregivers' perception about safety and the quality of neighbourhood, (2) community and trust for community, and (3) the quality of spatial components and affordances of the built environment.

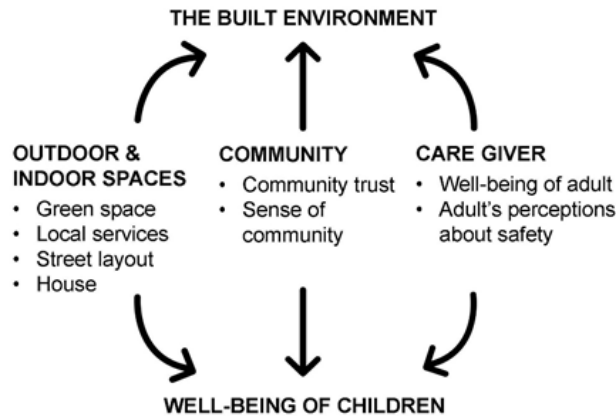


Figure 1
Domains of the built environment regards to children's well-being.

Caregivers' Perceptions about Safety

Caregivers' well-being, as well as their perceptions of the safety and quality of the built environment are intrinsically linked to children's wellbeing and their mobility in/around the neighbourhood. Scholars have stressed that interaction with the built environment is essential for the development of younger children (Strife & Downey, 2009; CEH, 2009; Christian et al., 2015). Exploring, for example helps children create social networks within the neighbourhood, facilitate their self-confidence (Shackell et al., 2008) and increase their visibility in urban environments (the Popsicle Test² as an example). However, Gill (2008) reports from a recent survey in the UK that nearly half of the adults who participated in the survey think that children under the age of 14 should not be allowed to roam unsupervised around the neighbourhood. Young children's interaction with the outside world is more likely to be limited and controlled by their parents (National Research Council, 2000). Gill

2
Popsicle Test: A colloquial expression used to test if a child can safely walk to a store, buy a popsicle and return home before it melts. See recent Guardian article: <https://www.theguardian.com/cities/2015/aug/21/city-good-children-popsicle-test-crime-property-play>

(2008) also finds that the “shrinking freedom of action” of children living in urban environments is due to perceptions of caregivers on safety. Caregivers’ perceptions and fear of crime have a significant influence on the inactivity of children (CEH, 2009) for example. All of this leads to greater control and surveillance over the children, and influences the children’s well-being as a consequence. Parental concerns about neighbourhood safety (Gill, 2008; Christian et al., 2015; National Research Council, 2000 pp.330), danger from traffic (Burton, 2011), crime, and weather (CEH, 2009), therefore can have negative effects on children’s mobility, activity, and overall wellbeing.

Parents’ perceptions about safety are influenced by a combination of socioeconomic and demographic characteristics of the neighbourhood (Weir et al., 2006). The quality of local services is linked to socioeconomic factors that in turn shape demographic characteristics of a neighbourhood (Brooks-Gunn et al., 1993). These services also influence affordance levels of a neighbourhood.

Christian et al., 2015 also report that parents’ perceptions on neighbourhood safety can be positively associated with children’s social-emotional development. This suggests that children’s wellbeing and development are related to the parents’ wellbeing as, the latter of which is also affected by the built environment. CEH (2009) demonstrates that a negative relationship between the built environment and adult’s low well-being level (for example, caused by long commuting hours to work and back home) limits the time parents engage with their children at home or outside. As the literature shows, caregivers’ well-being and perception of the neighbourhood influence the children’s experience and interaction of the urban environment.

Neighbourhoods that encourage parents to walk more, in turn, increase children’s interaction with the local neighbourhood (Christian et al., 2017a). Children, especially older children, should be able to have more opportunities to roam freely outside without an adult guardian (Burton, 2011), which can be facilitated by creating child-friendly urban environments.

Community and Community Trust

Services in the neighbourhood such as schools, parks, and social programs for children affect neighbourhood choice for families with children. Usage of the services in the neighbourhood depends on parents’ willingness and needs, as well as their perceptions around neighbourhood safety. The mutual relationship between needs and perceptions, shapes how caregivers use a particular area, which in turn influences the sense of neighbourhood community and trust.

Research has shown that the community performs the role of the extended family and constitutes a social environment for children to form their sense of self, coping skills, and resilience (Christensen & O'Brien, 2003). Scholars have also noted that the community is a social environment, and trust in the community can affect children's well-being (Eriksson et al., 2011; Lee & Yoo, 2015). In addition, CEH (2009) states that children's well-being can be influenced by many factors, including factors such as social norms of the community. Christian et al. (2017) also found strong evidence that socio-demographic factors within a community can be associated with developmental outcomes of children. Therefore, the distance between children's well-being, socioeconomic factors, the community, and the built and social environment of a neighbourhood is very small.

The social environment of neighbourhoods can influence local attitudes, values, opportunities, and behaviours (Brooks-Gunn et al., 1993). Children's perspectives tend to be influenced by the experiences of adults (Smith & Kotsanas, 2014), and even more so for young children's perspectives. Social relationships can be built if community trust has been constituted. In consideration of this, social relationships with family, peers, and community regardless of cultural differences, plays a strong role in influencing the subjective well-being of children (Lee & Yoo, 2015). Eriksson et al. (2011) attach specific importance to the "social climate" of the community, which is the individual's perception of trust and safety. They discovered a positive association between community trust and children's subjective well-being. This was explored by asking children if people say hello and stop to talk to each other in the street, if playing outside is safer for young children during the day, if they trust people in the neighbourhood, and if children can ask for help from neighbours. This finding highlights the mutual dependency between community trust and social relationships, and perception of neighbourhood safety that are all vital for the development and well-being of children.

The Built Environment and Services

The recognition that the built environment has a significant impact on the physical, social and psychological development of children has pushed the agenda of creating child-focused environments. Various fields have been in the forefront of this discussion (health, psychology etc.), and urban planning and design over the last years has also been responding.

The role of planning and design spans micro to macro spaces (home to neighbourhood), and shapes a child's interactions with the built environment at various scales from the first built environment that a child experiences (its home) to the streets that encourage or dissuade play/ movement. Additionally, the experiences of children in the built environment impact

their socio-emotional and cognitive development, starting from the prenatal period through adulthood (Ferguson et al., 2013). However, positive developmental outcomes that are associated with the well-being and health of children is not only dictated by the size, type, and quality of the indoor/ outdoor environment, but also parenting styles, household size, affordability etc.

Ferguson et al. (2013) report that housing type can directly affect the physical characteristics of children's early development. For example, the effects of living in high rise apartments on children have been well documented. Linear, low-rise houses (closer to street-levels) may be an incentive for children to go out and play more. Besides the type of the house, the outdoor environment with its urban sounds such as street traffic, neighbours, or air traffic can negatively impact children's indoor living experience. Urban sounds tend to be problematic for children and is detrimental to their mental health and their behaviour (Burton, 2011). Ferguson et al. (2013) have also reported that reliable housing is essential for children's stability and security. Living in the same house for a long time can help families establish daily routines, providing stability, familiarity and comfort. However, there is limited evidence on the impact of growing up in disadvantaged or slum areas (UNICEF, 2019).

Scholars have also shown that there is strong empirical evidence between the built environment and levels of physical activity among children (Christian et al., 2015; National Research Council, 2000). Urban environments that encourage children to be physically active have a wide range of health, social, and educational benefits (Williams & Williams, 2017). There are specific places that play important roles in the lives of children such as nursery/ school, school-related places, community centres, shopping centres, and sports fields (Benninger & Savahl, 2016; Oliver et al., 2011). Recreational facilities such as parks and playgrounds; and facilities such as walking and biking paths, public transport, green spaces, and their accessibility are positively associated with children's physical activity. However, high traffic exposure and lack of sidewalks are negatively associated with children's physical activity.

Inactivity caused by low-levels of physical activity have negative physical and mental health consequences for children, such as the risk of obesity, higher anxiety, higher stress, and low physical fitness (Davison & Lawson, 2006). Decreased outdoor physical activity is one of the key causes contributing to the growth in childhood obesity (Gill, 2008). Additionally, the lack of attractive parks and high volume of traffic limit children's play and interaction with others (Christian et al., 2015a).

Children positively benefit from experiencing nature for example (Christian et al., 2015; Strife & Downey, 2009). The benefits on their emotional, physical, and mental development are many. For example Burton (2011) listed

these benefits as: stimulation of creative play and social interaction, encouragement of free play, exploration of nature, the advancement of motor skills, fast recovery from operations, and reduced stress. Several studies such as that by Smith & Kotsanas (2014) note that children tend to prefer random natural objects in the urban environment such as a tree stump or a dirt by the side of a walking path. It can be said that children favour randomness provided by nature that allows them to have adventures. In return, these adventures have benefits for children's well-being. Physical activities such as grasping, balancing, pushing and pulling, twisting, throwing and catching, climbing, and jumping help in the development of motor skills and balance coordination (Williams & Williams, 2017). Elements of nature can provide these physical activities, and positive experiences in nature are likely to also instil a sense of environmental concern within children (Strife & Downey, 2009). Among older children, the presence of street trees has been associated with higher frequency of walking and cycling (Burton, 2011).

The availability and variety of child-relevant local facilities and services (parks, playground, recreation centre, library, school, family support centre, and child health centre) are also positively associated with children's physical health and well-being (Christian et al., 2015a). Davison & Lawson (2006) report that there is a significant positive association between physical activity of children and close proximity of various facilities in the neighbourhood. The opposite, results in reduced physical activity and usage of these facilities (Davison & Lawson, 2006; Audrey & Batista-Ferrer, 2015). CEH (2009) reports that when children are discouraged from being sedentary, they are likely to spend more time outside. Additionally, the more access to urban green in a particular neighbourhood, the higher the physical activity.

Children's level of activity and well-being are also dependent on local transport infrastructure. These include sidewalks, public transportation, controlled intersections to cross, low traffic density, to name a few. Availability of well-maintained sidewalks increases walkability of a neighbourhood for both children and adults. Research has shown that there is a positive association between the condition and presence of sidewalks and children's activity (Davison & Lawson, 2006; Strife & Downey, 2009; Audrey & Batista-Ferrer, 2015).

Besides the proximity and the availability of public transportation and sidewalks, streets devoid of road hazards like high traffic speed, uncontrolled intersections, and lack of road barriers create safe streets to play and walk. Christian et al. (2017) mention that safe spaces with lower levels of road hazards close to home provide places for children to play and low traffic promotes interaction between parents. Along the same lines, Ferguson et al. (2013) acknowledge that being close to street traffic results in parents restricting their children from outdoor physical activities, which

aforementioned, is associated with decreased social and motor skills among pre-schoolers. This restriction is a result of parental fears of traffic (Strife & Downey, 2009) and their perceptions of the safety of the environment. High level of traffic is also one of the sources of air pollution, which is also detrimental to a child's health.

The Built Environment and Affordances

Children favour clean (Racelis & Aguirre, 2005; Yao & Xiaoyan, 2017), green (Chatterjee, 2015; Malone, 2013), flexible (Francis & Lorenzo, 2006; McGlone, 2016) and multi-purpose (Derr & Kovács, 2015; Francis & Lorenzo, 2002) places for play and socialization. Functional possibilities, features, and limitations from the properties of the built environment specify a place's affordance (Gibson, 1979). The affordance of a place stems from an interaction between the characteristics of the built environment, and the individuals' characteristics, such as the physical dimensions and abilities, needs, awareness and intentions (Kyttä, 2006).

Affordances can be physical, such as the warmth from a fire or the tactile climbable feature of a tree. In addition, affordances can be emotional and social (Clark & Uzzell, 2002) that is provided by the presence of people or a community, which might include security, nurturing or the feeling of inclusion in spaces that support social interaction behaviours. There are also different levels of affordances, namely potential, perceived, utilized and shaped. Potential affordance refers to the attributes and quality of the environment that could have an array of functional properties with respect to the characteristics of the individual. Meanwhile, the latter three are affordances that are actualized and experienced by individuals through their movement and perception. For example, the perceived affordance of a tree to a child might be climbing, while the utilized affordance which involves physical contact might be sitting under the tree (by child or the adult). When the child makes markings on the trees, or breaks off leaves and small branches to make a basket, this is an example of a shaped affordance which involves manipulating and shaping a feature in the environment.

Children's activities and behaviours therefore derive from this affordance approach, and are shaped by perspective of form and function. Places influence the way in which children interpret their surroundings, and thus the way they choose to behave. In certain environments, children may be "pressured" to refrain from certain activities or behaviours due to their perceived culture of the place. Thus, not only is the built environment a social construction through the individual's interpretations of forms, but similarly, the built environment also constructs life experiences. As Raittila (2012) notes in her study on childhoods in urban settings, the built environment defines

what it means to be a child in various settings, and what the “appropriate” way of being a child is.

Looking at the affordances of space therefore allows us to understand the psychological resources that the environment offers to the individual, which is fundamental to their well-being and development. Studies on children in outdoor environments reveal that children value a place not for its appearance, but rather by its functional capacity and potential in affording activities, whether it is affordances to play, to socialize with peers and make friends, to retreat from caregivers and the ‘adult gaze’, and so on (Kyttä, 2002; Sherman et al., 2005; Kyttä et al., 2018). Shopping malls for example, may provide positive affordances such as hanging out with friends, relaxing and being independent (Pyyry, 2016). Outdoor environments might provide affordances such as being able to run around, to explore, or to find peace and shelter. A strong sense of community and “neighbourliness” in the neighbourhood creates affordances of safety that promotes a child’s active lifestyle and independent mobility (Broberg, Kyttä, & Fagerholm, 2013). Studies have shown that family, peers and community are important factors towards the child-friendliness of a place (Tranter & Pawson, 2001). Alternatively, places with high traffic, or in bad, dirty condition can arouse negative affordances for children that limit their behaviour and mobility in those settings (Kyttä et al., 2018).

Affordances can also vary between different genders. Several studies reveal that girls find more affordances in environments at or close to home compared to boys due to restrained mobility from social, cultural perceptions about girls’ safety (Kyttä, 2002; Min & Lee, 2006; Aziz & Said, 2015) and parents’ greater excise over their daughters’ freedom (Clark & Uzzell, 2002).

Affordances also vary between rural and urban environments. A study in Finland shows that children in rural environments are able to find greater affordances due to the safety within villages and have greater freedom to move around independently. This suggests a correlation between independent mobility and the number of affordances a place has to offer. The occurrence of shaped affordances is also greater in rural environments, as children observe work done by parents and family, such as animal husbandry or agricultural work, where they learn how to manipulate the environment (Kyttä, 2002). Affordances also vary between places that have more natural versus manmade features. In a study on cul-de-sac’s as play spaces in Malaysian urban neighbourhood, Othman & Said (2012) found that paved settings/ hard spaces were said to have fewer affordances. As the children in these settings were often watching other children and adults or chatting with their peers. Meanwhile, cul-de-sac’s with more natural features (trees, bushes etc.) encouraged children to play-out more often. When comparing the psychological affordances of neighbourhoods and town centres for ado-

lescents, studies show that the neighbourhood is appropriated as a place of retreat, self-regulation and comfort, whereas the town centre was a preferred environment for social interaction (Clark & Uzzell, 2002). A large number of studies emphasize that parks offer positive affordances of social interaction outside of the home, relaxation, retreat, and physical activity (Townshend & Roberts, 2013).

Apart from understanding the significance of affordances for children, it is also important to understand the affordances of the built environment that contribute to the experience and well-being of caregivers. Neighbourhoods that have less traffic and wider pavements may afford relaxed strolling, which might encourage exercise and/or social interaction (Clement & Waitt, 2018). As mentioned earlier in this review, caregivers' well-being as well as their perception of safety and quality of the neighbourhood, all contribute to the well-being of children, and these factors are inextricably linked to the affordances of the built environment.

This review concludes that the interaction of younger children with the built environment is essential for their well-being and development. In this direction, mobility in the neighbourhood, experience in public space, young children-related services, and facilities in the built environment are important issues to consider along with individual, family and communal factors.



3. RESEARCH APPROACH

In our analysis, we considered how (or not) the built environment and public spaces supported the needs of caregivers of young children. We also had to recognize that caregivers had children across a range of ages (0-12) and had to balance requirements for children under 3 and above. While the results understandably vary across location, type, and age of caregiver, and ages of children, we try and present the results as instances that support the need to identify planning recommendations that are sensitive to context, culture, and socio-economic status.

The study examines the relationships between the affordances that the built environment provides for caregivers of young children in Pune (India) and Istanbul (Turkey). The analysis combines data from a qualitative survey, mapping, and workshops conducted over six months in 2019. Across both cities, we followed the same approach:

Research Process

Step 1	Data collection
	Qualitative surveys, participant observation, and mapping to collect data on how caregivers use public spaces, move around and what they like about their respective neighbourhoods
Step 2	Data analysis
	We analysis the collected data to identify specificities of each location including preferences related to locations, play areas, schools, and other services (health, garbage, water)
Step 3	Data analysis
	Based on the preliminary findings we carried out workshops in both cities to identify what they would like to change and the various types of affordances that the neighbourhood offered (built environment and social connections)
Step 4	Data analysis
	The data from the workshop answered the research questions by identifying routes, changes the caregivers would like to see and affordances as related to high-density locations
Step 5	Synthesis
	Identifying planning recommendations that is sensitive to context, culture and socio-economic status

Table 1
Steps of the research

Process of Data Collection

The focus of this research was on caregivers in disadvantaged locations or declared slums. In both cases (Pune and Istanbul), we worked in locations where the BvLF had activities planned with local partners and municipalities. BvLF activities were larger in scope and were with communities across different socio-economic backgrounds in each partner city. We selected locations within this geography that were identified as disadvantaged/ slum.

The locations were identified as:

Pune (India)

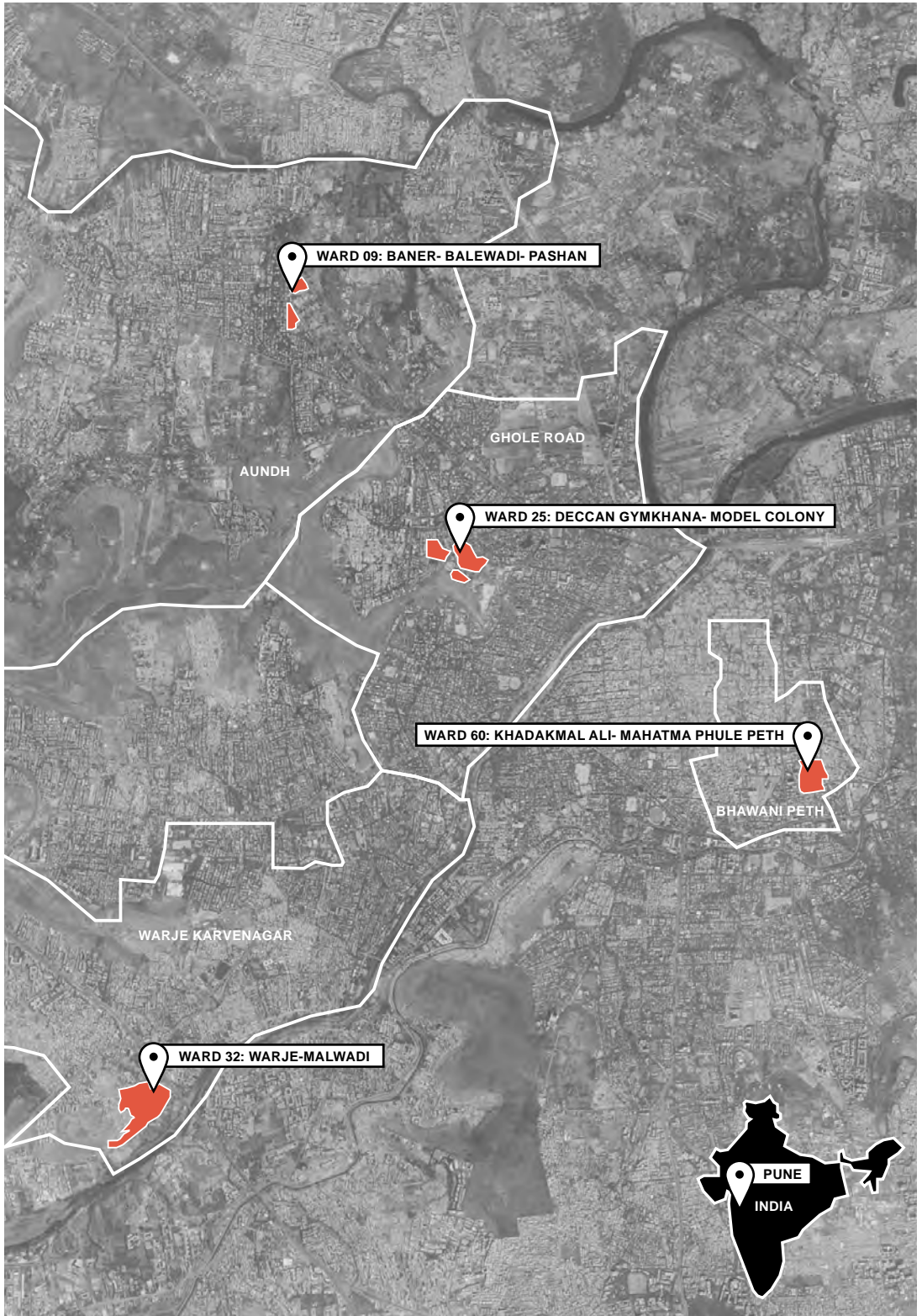
The city of Pune is divided into 15 administrative wards and 76 'prabhags'. As a first step, we overlapped the selection of the wards where BvLF were actively running projects and programs with local partner. These locations coincided with areas identified by PMC as potential options for local area development under its smart cities mission. Within these wards we selected slums by working with partners who had local knowledge of existing slums and their characteristics, and locations have been identified by the PMC as "declared slums".

City of Pune

- (1) Ward 32: Warje-Malwadi
- (2) Ward 60: Khadakmal Ali- Mahatma Phule Peth
- (3) Ward 25: Deccan Gymkhana- Model Colony
- (4) Ward 09: Baner- Balewadi- Pashan

Figure 1
Aundh Pashan, part of
Ward 09 in Pune





2 KM



Figure 2 Location of sites around Pune. Source: Google Earth with additions by the authors

Istanbul (Turkey)

The city of Istanbul located in the Marmara region and has 39 districts. The BvLF has been actively leading Istanbul95 project in collaboration with municipalities of Sultanbeyli, Maltepe, Beyoğlu and Sarıyer Districts. Within these four municipalities, Beyoğlu and Sarıyer were identified as the case of this work in collaboration with BvLF and Urban95 project managers in those municipalities. The neighbourhoods were chosen from these two districts for the focus in terms of having low or intermediate real estate value and high younger children population identified by the recent report BvLF called “Project for Analyzing and Mapping Services for Children and Their Families in Istanbul District Municipalities”. These neighbourhoods are Hacıahmet, Kaptanpaşa, Piripaşa, and Bülbül from Beyoğlu District and Kazımkarabekir, Kocataş, Pınar, Çamlitepe, and Ferahevler from Sarıyer District.

Beyoğlu Municipality

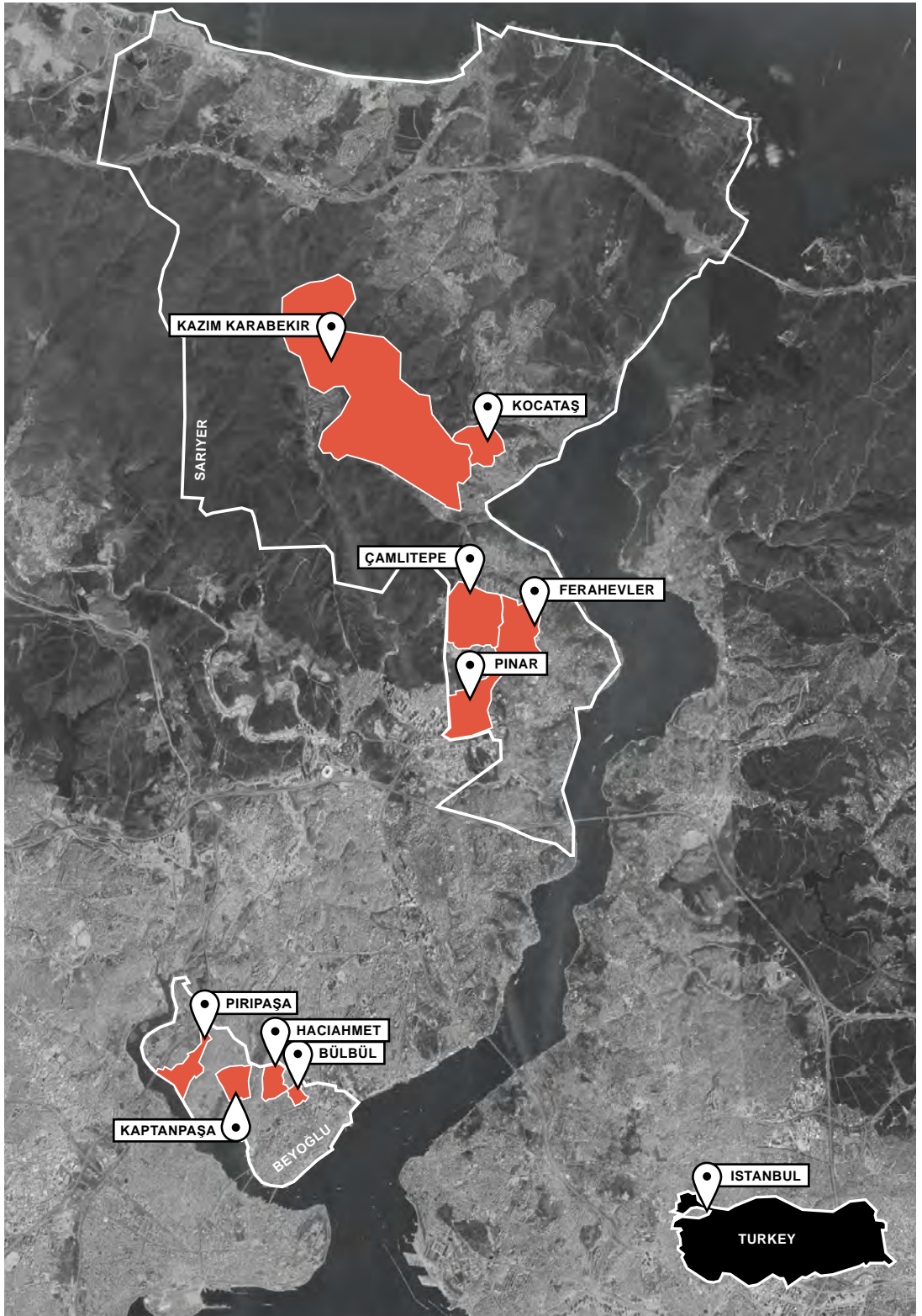
- (1) Piripaşa Neighbourhood
- (2) Kaptanpaşa Neighbourhood
- (3) Hacıahmet Neighbourhood
- (4) Bülbül Neighbourhood

Sarıyer Municipality

- (1) Kazım Karabekir Neighbourhood
- (2) Kocataş Neighbourhood
- (3) Çamlitepe Neighbourhood
- (4) Ferahevler Neighbourhood
- (5) Pınar Neighbourhood

Figure 3
Hacıahmet neighbourhood
in the Beyoğlu municipality
in Istanbul





2 KM



Figure 4: Location of sites around Istanbul. Source: Google Earth with additions by the authors

Research methods

Following location identification, we carried out qualitative surveys in the months of January to April 2019 in Pune and Istanbul with 30 and 60 participants/ caregivers, respectively. The survey was carried out in two parts (1) qualitative questions focused on public space use, mobility, neighbourhood services, and infrastructural quality. This was followed by (2) a mapping exercise where the participant pointed out the routes they frequent and spaces they liked around the neighbourhood.

Following this period of data collection, we held workshops in Pune and Istanbul in June and August 2019. These workshops focused on working with the caregivers to identify mobility chains, affordances within the neighbourhood (spatial, social), and mapping to pin-point locations of possible spatial interventions.

Participant selection

Participants for the study were selected using the following targeted recruitment strategy that was country/ location specific:

Pune (India)

- Similar to Istanbul, the first contact was through the municipality and the coordinator for the BvLF Pune Urban95 program.
- The coordinator connected us with an ICDS worker who helped us identify anganwadi's in the selected wards. As the ward is an administrative unit that encompasses a census and electoral unit, it can cover a large geography. This research focused on slum locations within the selected ward, the focus was further narrowed by selecting declared slum areas by PMC and population around 9,000-10,000 residents.
- Within the slum areas we identified anganwadi centres who could help us contact caregivers in the immediate vicinity. Each location/ slum had between 9-12 anganwadi centres. From each of these anganwadi's we did interviews with 2 caregivers who use the services provided by the anganwadi and live in the immediate vicinity.
- Through this process we identified 4 slum areas, 39 anganwadi centres and 60 caregivers to carry out the qualitative survey.
- Following this, we invited the same pool of caregivers from two of the locations (Warje and Deccan Gymkhana) to the workshops. The workshops were held in the two anganwadi's located centrally within the two locations.



Figure 5
Slum housing in Aundh
Pashan, Pune



Figure 6
Street in Deccan, Pune

Istanbul (Turkey)

- We initiated contact with municipal workers (associated with the two locations) through BvLF who introduced us to neighbourhood coordinators.
- The neighbourhood coordinators sent out consent forms around the neighbourhoods to identify who (in the neighbourhood) would be willing to participate in the study
- Following this consent, we visited the neighbourhood to do preliminary data collection with 30 participants in both the municipalities.
- For the workshop that was held in August 2019, the location was selected based on the interest from the local municipality. In Sarıyer Municipality, they have a vested interest in improving services and the built environment for caregivers. This is driven by a program called “Sarıyer95” that focuses on parental coaching to families with young children by home visits. Through local support we were able to gather 13 caregivers for a morning session that focused on identifying affordances through the built environment and identifying possible interventions to improve the neighbourhood.



Figure 7
Nuran Aydogar, Sarıyer,
Istanbul



Figure 8
Beyoğlu, Istanbul



4. PUNE (IN)

Situating Pune

Located in the state of Maharashtra, the city of Pune has grown to become a prominent location for manufacturing in the last decades. Founded in the 1600's, the city of Pune grew from a vernacular settlement to a British cantonment in the late 19th century. As with many other British cantonments, the city was divided into various quarters (see King (2015) for more details), and the last decades have seen a merging of these quarters to become a city of over 3 million.¹ Spread over an area of nearly 250 sq. km, Pune City is one of the 35 towns that are part of Pune District.² The city represents the boom that the industries brought to city-regions in the mid-1950 all over India (some examples include, Kirloskar Group setting up shop in 1945, creation of Pimri-Chinchwad Industrial Township in the 1950's).

The city municipality was established in 1950, and Pune City was divided into 4 main zones and further sub-divided into 15 administrative wards. These wards are further divided into 76 'prabhags'.³ As a city that is projected to grow to 8.5 million by 2041, Pune City is aiming to implement an integrated urban development (land use-transport-infrastructure) strategy. Recognizing that the city is a magnet for internal migration for jobs (IT and education), the municipality is keen to identify strategies to mitigate sprawl, concentrate residential development around IT corridors, slum redevelopment, and increase liveability for its residents.

These intentions have been aligned with the Smart Cities Missions from the Ministry of Urban Development, Government of India, with Pune being identified as one of the 100 smart cities in India. The objective of this mission is to improve the quality of life in cities through more inclusive and equitable growth.⁴ The strategy to achieve this for the PMC has been through area development (retrofitting, redevelopment and greenfield developments) by providing basic infrastructure, identifying smart solutions including e-governance, smart parking, smart meters, etc.⁵

Over the last few years, PMC has initiated Ward level consultation to identify strategic focus areas within its smart city goals. This has been termed as "Smart Solutions Samvad".⁶ Through these meetings, PMC aims to gather input for specific challenges that can be addressed through its smart city goals. A number of its current programs that align with the focus of this

1
Pune City Census
2011 data: <http://www.census2011.co.in/census/city/375-pune.html>

2
The census information at the Pune District level is available here: http://www.censusindia.gov.in/2011census/dchb/2725_PART_B_DCHB_PUNE.pdf

3
More information on the wards and prabhags are available here: <http://ourpuneurbudget.in/prabhag-wise/>

4
More of their goals can be found here: <https://smartnet.niua.org/sites/default/files/resources/smartcityguidelines.pdf>

5
More of their goals can be found here: <https://pmc.gov.in/en/smart-city-mission>

6
Samvad can be defined as a meetings that links citizens to local government and are held at the ward and sectoral levels.

research (children and care giver services) have been tied in with the city's smart city goals. Some examples include:

- 3.5km of riverfront development (including services for children and caregivers)
- Pocket parks in Aundh (Area Based Development for Aundh- Baner - Balewadi Area Projects)
- Light House Project Warje
- PMC Creche (Deccan Gymkhana- Model Colony)

Housing and services

Through the Household Survey from 2009,⁷ the housing typology in the city was identified as vernacular housing, planned (formal) and un-planned (informal), with over 37% of housing typology identified as slums. While the 2011 census identified that almost 22% of the city's population live in slum areas, findings from MASHAL showed that the number is higher, with almost 32.5% of the population living in slum areas (with PMC identifying around 27% of the city's population living in slums).⁸

With regulated services and tenure provided only to slums that have been identified as declared, undeclared slums in the city suffer from the absence of services, poor quality transient shelter and degradation of the built environment. This study was carried out in declared slum areas within PMC boundaries, so as to align with future planning interventions from PMC. According to findings from PMC (2011), the density in slums (person/sq.km.) is about six times that of the overall density prevailing in the rest of the city while occupying only four percent of the total city area.

Challenges related to mixed ownership and consent have made rehabilitation processes difficult. With occupancy between 6-8 people in predominantly one or two rooms and toilet facilities in only 55% of the slums, PMC is keen to improve liveability and increase its affordable housing stock. One of the schemes introduced by the PMC is the "Common Toilet Scheme for Slum Dwellers" (Sulabh Shauchalayas), where community toilets were introduced in the early 2000s.⁹ These toilet blocks consisted of toilets, bathrooms, and urinals for men, and has a monthly charge per family. Other programs include "Slum Redevelopment Scheme," which focuses on in-site up-gradation and rehabilitation (which involve moving to another location). National programs such as the Swachh Bharat Mission, Atal Mission for Rejuvenation and Urban Transformation (AMRUT), Pradhan Mantri Awas Yojana, the Smart Cities Mission are the other ongoing schemes that impact day-to-day service and infrastructure delivery for slum areas. PMC also actively collaborates with local NGOs including Maharashtra Social Action and Housing League (MASHAL), and Sakal Foundation to raise awareness and build capacity at the local level.

7
Maharashtra Social
Housing and Action
League: Pune Slum Atlas

8
[https://timesofindia.
indiatimes.com/city/
pune/32-5-population-
of-city-lives-in-slums/
articleshow/7315211.cms](https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/pune/32-5-population-of-city-lives-in-slums/articleshow/7315211.cms)

9
Community toilets: [https://
pmc.gov.in/en/communi-
ty-toilets-0](https://pmc.gov.in/en/community-toilets-0)

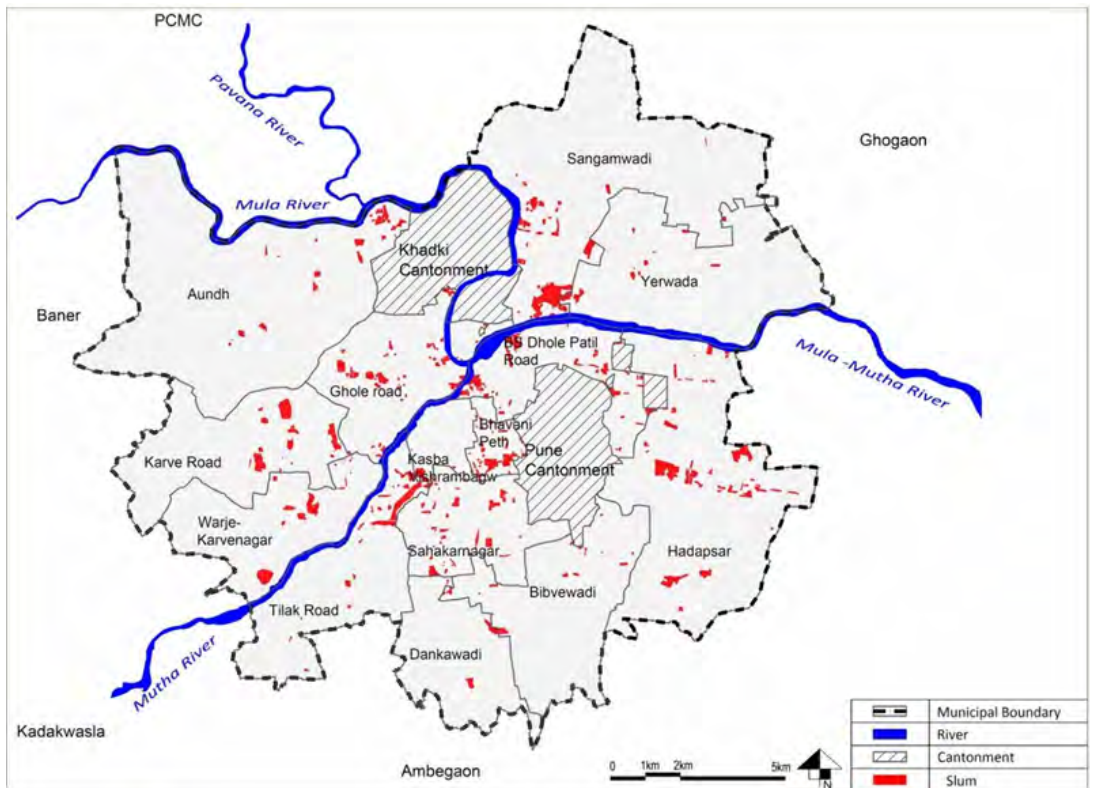


Figure 1
Location of slums in Pune.
Source: PMC, Slum Atlas
Mashal NGO, 2009

Descriptions of the wards

In Pune, according to the 2011 Indian census, children under the age of 6 (0-6) account for around 10% of the city's population (337,062), with the 52% male and 48% female.¹⁰ In slum areas, children under the age of 6 make up for around 85,000 in number.¹¹ Within the four slum areas that were part of this study, identifying the total number of children was difficult due to fluctuating populations. What we were able to gather was the total number of anganwadi's in the ward and get a rough estimate on the number of children under 6 and in some cases pregnant mothers as well.

As discussed in the methodology, the selected wards are focus areas of potential development projects through the PMC. The four locations were distributed around the city centre, and we aimed to select locations both in the core of the city and in the periphery.

Warje-Malwadi: Located about 10 kilometres from the city centre, Ramnagar (within Warje Karvenagar) is located on a hill slope close to the Warje fly-over bridge. Historically, Warje was a farming community close to the

10
Pune City Census
2011 data: <https://www.census2011.co.in/census/city/375-pune.html>

11
Maharashtra Slums
Census 2011: <https://www.census2011.co.in/data/slums/state/27-maharashtra.html>

river that has rapidly urbanised in the last thirty years. Farming land has given way to high rise apartments, high-density slums areas (low rise), and other mixed-use developments. Though the ward population is a little more than 200,000 residents, Ramnagar has a population of around 9,000 residents (based on conversations with anganwadi workers).

Khadakmal Ali- Mahatma Phule Peth: Named after the social activist Mahatma Phule, who in the mid-nineteenth century fought for women's emancipation, education, eradication of untouchability and the caste system. Located close to the historic core of the city, much of this area developed in the mid to late nineteenth century. The housing typology is a mix of traditional Wada's constructed out of stone, brick and wood, and a few traditional Chawls that are multi-storied (4 floors) structures. Chawls are composed of single rooms with kitchenettes and shared bathrooms. Apart from some remnants of its historic fabrics, there are also new builds in the last decades that are a mix of permanent to semi-permanent housing (shacks). Around Mahatma Phule Peth, there are programs of slum redevelopment that include residential and commercial development.¹⁴ With a population of around 200,000 residents, the focus area of this research was around Khadakmal Ali and has a population around 11,000 residents.

14
Maharashtra Slums
Census 2011: <https://www.census2011.co.in/data/slums/state/27-maharashtra.html>

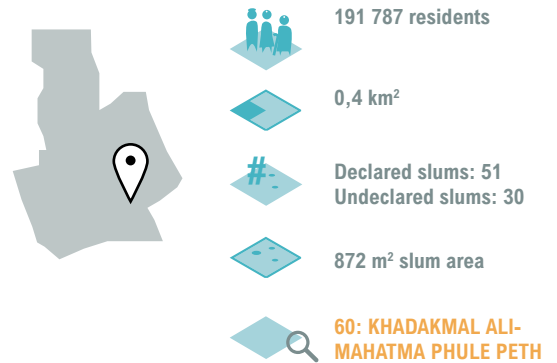
Deccan Gymkhana- Model Colony: Located around 4 kilometres west of the city centre, the location that was identified was on the foothills of Hanuman Tekdi/ Vetal Hill. The highest point in the city, it is a popular spot with the residents. The hill is surrounded by Fergusson College to the east, and Symbiosis to the west. To the north of the hill is the location that we focused on, where the slum has grown in three distinct yet connected pieces that are spatially constrained by Fergusson College and the hill slopes. Housing typology, like in Mahatma Phule Peth is a mix of traditional houses and new builds (low and high rise) from the last few decades. While the population of the ward is around 170,000 residents, the focus area has approximately 10,000 residents.

Baner- Balewadi- Pashan: Located in Aundh, the selected location is north-west of the city centre. The slum has rapidly densified in the last two decades, and close to areas identified as part of the Aundh- Baner - Balewadi development projects. One of the projects developed by the PMC, "Pocket Parks" is in its immediate vicinity (north of the case study area). Though not large in area, the two locations (approximately 30,000 sqm), are surrounded by high-end real-estate, parks and services. The population of the ward (Aundh) is almost 200,000; the location of the research was approximately 9,000 residents.

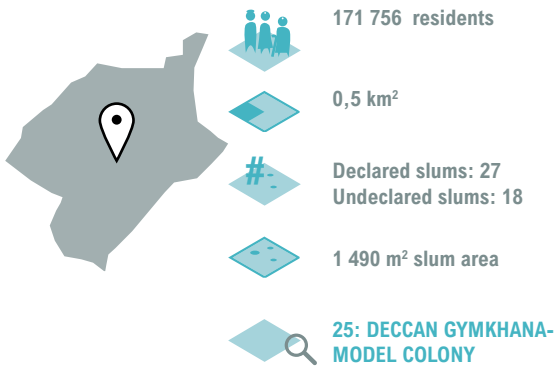
WARJE KARVENAGAR



BHAWANI PETH



GHOLE ROAD



AUNDH

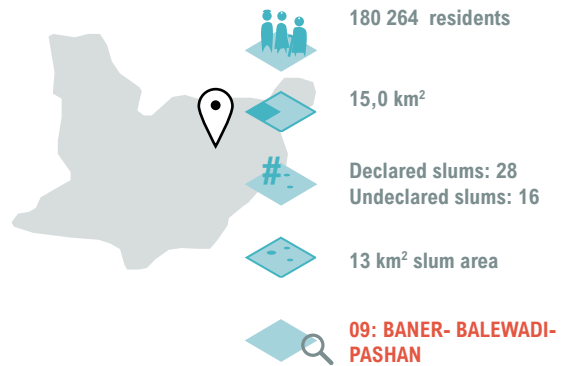


Figure 2
Overview of ward and prabhag population and declared slum numbers.

¹²
Ward population based on 2009 data

¹³
Slum area and slum population: <http://ourpune-ourbudget.in/pune-wise/>

Learning from the analysis: Pune



60: KHADAKMAL ALI



32: RAMNAGAR



25: WADARVADI



09: KASTURBA VASAHAH,
INDIRA GANDHI

Findings Summary

Total participants
60



Number of children captured
106



Age child



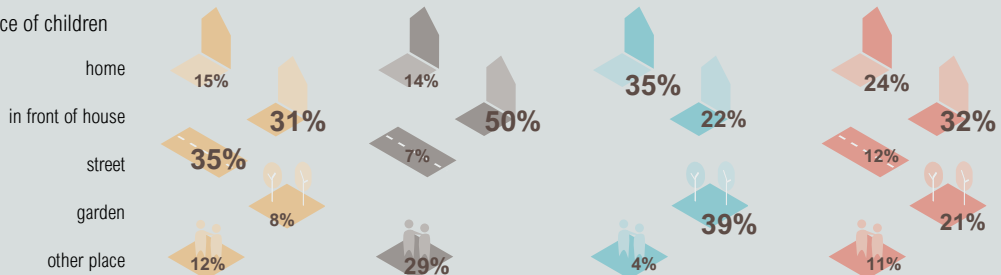
Caregiver spectrum



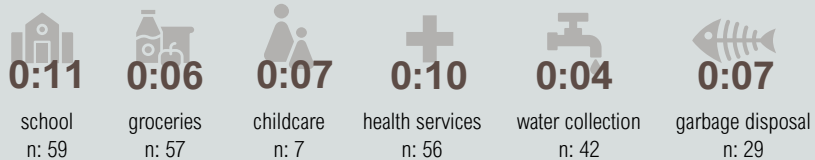
Neighbourhood safety



Play space of children



Average walking time to services in minutes (avg all neighbourhoods)





PRABHAG
KHADAKMAL
ALI-MAHATMA PHULE
PETH



± 10 000 RESIDENTS



0.07 SQ.KM.



11 AGANWADI'S



KHADAKMAL ALI
study location



PRABHAG
WARJE-MALWADI



± 9 000 RESIDENTS



0.17 SQ.KM.



9 AGANWADI'S



RAMNAGAR
study location



PRABHAG
DECCAN GYMKHANA-
MODEL COLONY



± 10 000 RESIDENTS



0.10 SQ.KM.



10 AGANWADI'S



WADARVADI
study location



PRABHAG
BANER-BALEWADI-
PASHAN



± 9 000 RESIDENTS



0.03 SQ.KM.



9 AGANWADI'S



KASTURBA VASAHT,
INDIRA GANDHI
study location



Learning from the analysis: Pune

Who is a child caregiver and their perceptions of safety?

The importance of a child's relationship with its primary caregiver is central to the child's well-being. The early years of a child's life is determined by the caregiver's ability to provide not only affection and warmth, but also satisfy a child's basic needs. The World Health Organization, UNICEF, World Bank and others have identified mechanisms to promote effective caregiver-child interactions to ensure that children can thrive. This has prompted a focus on early childhood development through action for social development. Much of this research that provides these recommendations are based on published work from the United States and Europe. In this research, especially in Pune, the "who is a caregiver?" question came through the collected data.

While the data collection was not focused on demographics of the caregiver, based on the data of 60 in-depth interviews done in four different locations, what was observable was that less than 50% of caregivers were mothers. As the well-being of the child is dependent on the well-being and perceptions of the caregiver, it is important to differentiate between the various caregivers the child interacts with. Most of the families/ caregivers interviewed lived as extended/ non-nuclear families. The primary caregivers were: grandmothers (less than 20%), fathers (less than 20%), aunts (15%), and uncles (less than 5%). The term, primary caregiver, seems insufficient to explain the range of caregivers that the child interacts with. In most cases, though the mother is the primary care giver, in locations where the study was conducted (when parents go to work), it is the extended family that looks after the child. The family (or elders as they are referred to in the interviews) play a key role in child-rearing. These roles include:

- Looking after basic needs of the children, including, feeding, bathing, sleeping;
- Taking children to the anganwadi or childcare and the school (to and back);
- Providing oversight as the older children play in front of the house;
- Taking the (older) children to play close by in parks or visit (1) extended family who live close by, (2) religious institutions.

Caregivers' perception of safety influences the well-being and development of children. It determines the amount of time that children spend indoors and outside, the socialisation of children, the level of children's physical activity as well as nature of play. Interestingly, the perception of safety varied greatly between the respondents (across ages and gender) and location. Safety, as related to play on the streets and feeling safe in the neighbourhood, was identified as two distinct but interrelated questions. In Model Colony for

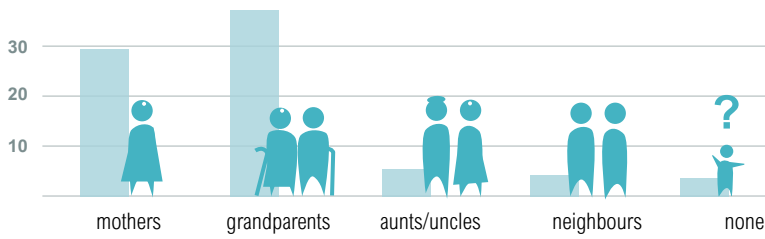


Figure 3a
Who takes care of children when they are outside playing?

MOTHERS AND PERCEIVED SAFETY



GRANDPARENTS AND PERCEIVED SAFETY



OTHER CAREGIVERS AND PERCEIVED SAFETY



Caregiver respondent

Figure 3b
Perceived safety levels according to caregivers

example, a larger percentage of caregivers perceived their streets to be safe in comparison to the neighbourhood. This is unlike in other locations, where most of the respondents felt that the streets were unsafe due to traffic and not optimal for play, though they thought the neighbourhood was relatively safe. Compared to mothers and other caregivers, grandmothers had more reservations about neighbourhood safety. However, all caregivers share the same perception of street safety, with some feeling the streets are safe, and some feeling otherwise.

In Mahatma Phule Peth (Khadakmal Ali), as the neighbourhood is very close to the city core and market areas, a number of residents remarked on traffic heading to the market. One resident told us that the roads are not safe for play: “No, not at all, the roads are always crowded, full (of) market area (business), lot of vehicles ... so not safe”, but said of the neighbourhood, “Yes, all our neighbours are very good, taking care of our children, helping in nature.” In a number of cases, the safety of the neighbourhood was determined by other residents who lived there. There are comments such as, “Yes (it is safe), all our neighbours are very good, taking care of our children, helping in nature,” or “Partially safe. It is safe in our own ‘Wada’ (as we know the people), but outside (the neighbourhood boundaries) it is dangerous.” In Ramnagar, many caregivers mention that neighbours and the surrounding are “familiar and cooperative, so fear and tension is not there”.

However, in Mahatma Phule Peth and Pashan in particular, we also heard that the neighbourhood has undergone a lot of transition, and how (perceived) safety is changing with the neighbourhood getting worse. One resident in Mahatma Phule Peth said, “Earlier it was safe here, (the) current situation is bad.” Another resident said, “One is scared about things getting stolen, robberies, and quarrels between neighbours.” This is echoed by others who said, “Prior, we used to feel safe, [but] not now. Now the lifestyle is changing, (new) people come and argue, fighting for any small and silly reasons.”

Many caregivers across the four areas cite the increasing prevalence of alcoholics and drug addicts on the streets, abuse and fighting, altogether influencing caregivers’ perception of neighbourhood safety. In Mahatma Phule Peth, one caregiver noted there was “always a fear of gundas (thugs) and galli (road-side) boys there [who are] always fighting”. Another in Ramnagar said, “People are not good. Youth gangs are always standing and teasing. We always fear to send our girls out for something”.

Across the four districts, heavy traffic, fear of abuse/kidnapping cases or fighting in the neighbourhood were amongst the reasons why caregivers were afraid of leaving the children alone to play outside. Because of this, children were almost always accompanied. In Mahatma Phule Peth for

example, grandparents “sit on the roads, somewhere in the shadow due to heavy traffic...[as they] have to care more.” Interestingly, it is grandparents followed by mothers who usually take care of the children when they are playing outside. There are also cases where the whole family takes care of the children. One grandfather mentioned, “We have our joint family so a lot of people are available to take care of the children”, which once again highlights that the child interacts not only with one, but a range of caregivers. There were also a few cases where children were left alone or with neighbours. One mother felt the area was unsafe because of “heavy traffic on the road, and fear of falling from the hilly road”, so she would sometimes request her neighbours to keep an eye on her children. Another said while the area felt safe, “if an emergency came, relatives and neighbours are helpful and used to look after [their] children.” It seemed that trust and rapport with the community influences caregivers’ perceptions of safety, which will be further discussed in subsequent sections.



Figure 4
Narrow streets in Pashan

MAHATMA PHULE PETH
KHADAKMAL ALI

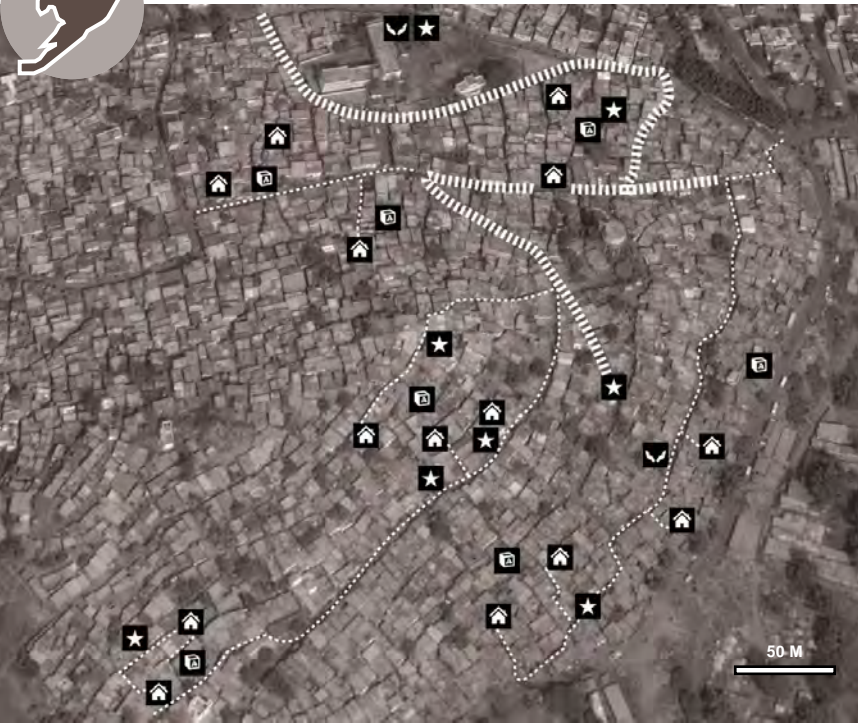


PASHAN
BANER-BALEWADI





RAMNAGAR
WARJE-MALWADI



Figures 5, 6, 7 and 8 (from the top left clockwise) Locations of interviews, places of importance and identified walking routes
Source: Google Earth with additions by the authors

- Walking routes
- Religious institution
- Interview location
- Aganwadi location
- Community toilet
- Bus stop
- Places of importance
- Public spaces (improvements)



MODEL COLONY
DECCAN GYMKHANA



The built environment and services

As mentioned in the literature review, the built environment influences the well-being of caregivers, which subsequently impacts the well-being, development and upbringing of children. For example, inaccessibility to services and long commute hours for caregivers may lead to less time spent with children. Lack of spaces for children to play at and meet others can also lead to decreased physical activity and socialisation, which impacts the child's physical, socio-emotional and cognitive development. This is again correlated with caregivers' perception of the safety and quality of the neighbourhood. As pointed out by Christian et al., 2017, the walkability of the neighbourhood encourages adults to walk, which also influences the exposure of children to the neighbourhood. With this in mind, mobility, availability and proximity of services, perceptions and uses of public space are important factors to consider.

Mobility and Services

Caregivers make equal use of different transportation methods to move around the neighbourhood. This may be attributed to the proximity of walking and cycling routes around the neighbourhood, as well as routes to the transit stops, all of which are between 2 to 10 minutes away from the neighbourhood.

The quality and nature of the roads may also influence the transportation method(s) used. In Model Colony for example, several respondents mentioned that lanes are very small and narrow (Figure 7), which can only fit two-wheelers, such as bicycles and scooters.

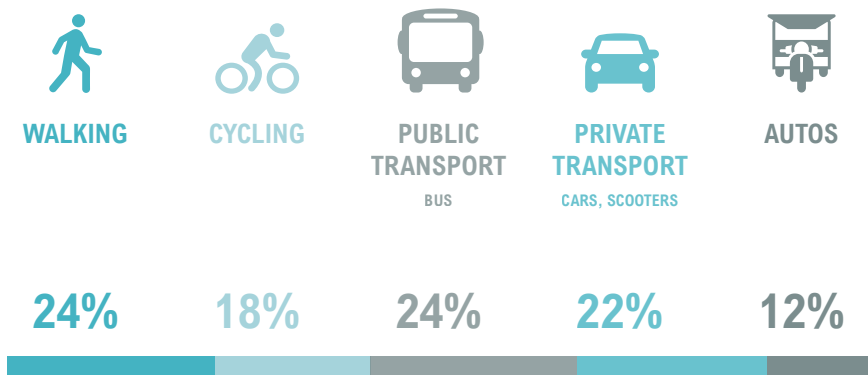


Figure 9
How caregivers move through the neighbourhood: the modal share

Several caregivers express that they only take public transport if they are going out and visiting relatives' or friends' houses. Aside from public transport, walking is the most popular way for caregivers to move around. Choice for this method may be attributed to a range of reasons such as the accessibility and proximity of facilities, where schools, grocery shops, health services and so on are within 10 to 30 minutes away, and/or also convenience. In Figures 5-8, caregivers have located aganwadis and places of importance near their homes, yet even when they travel to other parts of the area outside of their neighbourhood, some of them still choose to walk, as identified by the walking routes (eg. to the playground/ park that is a 30-minute walk from their homes. See Appendix for images). However, it does not seem this choice is related to the safety of walking routes. Respondents across the different areas often mention of “harsh, fast vehicles”, “very narrow roads” and/or “heavy traffic, always rush” which led to their perception that the neighbourhood was unsafe. In fact, the poor road conditions was what a significant number of caregivers were dissatisfied towards. Many hoped the roads could be wider, bigger and of better quality, as the growing population meant there was too much traffic, increasing density and reduced space.

Common places and services which caregivers visit around the neighbourhood are grocery shops and schools, followed by health services and religious institutions. Religious institutions are also another common place that caregivers visit, as temples are scattered around the neighbourhood and easily accessible in general (they are also spaces where children are allowed to play safely). However, compared to mothers and grandmothers, other caregivers

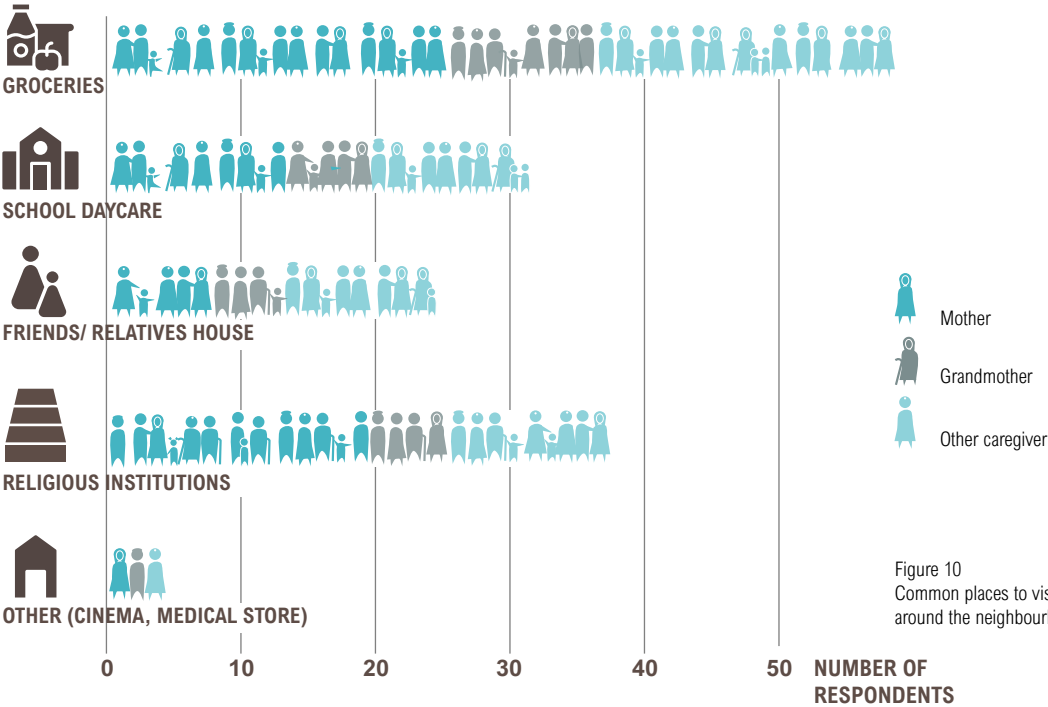


Figure 10
Common places to visit around the neighbourhood



Figure 11a
Caregivers in Ramnagar
discussing local
challenges.



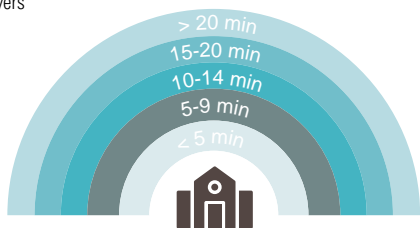
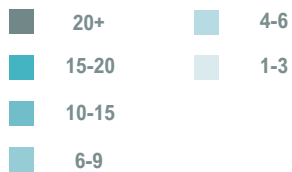


Figure 11b
Caregivers in Deccan
discussing local
challenges.



Figure 12
Proximity of local services
for caregivers

NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS



n=59

TO SCHOOL

0:11 (average time to service)



n=57

TO GROCERY SHOPS

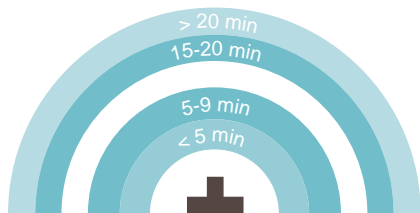
0:06



n=7

TO CHILD CARE

0:07



n=56

TO HEALTH SERVICES

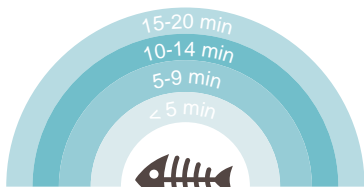
0:10



n=42

TO WATER COLLECTION

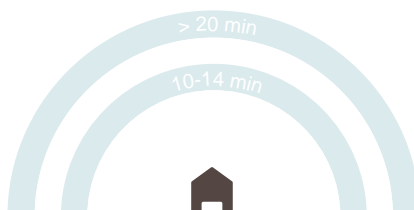
0:04



n=29

TO GARBAGE DISPOSAL POINTS

0:07



n=1

TO OTHER

0:20

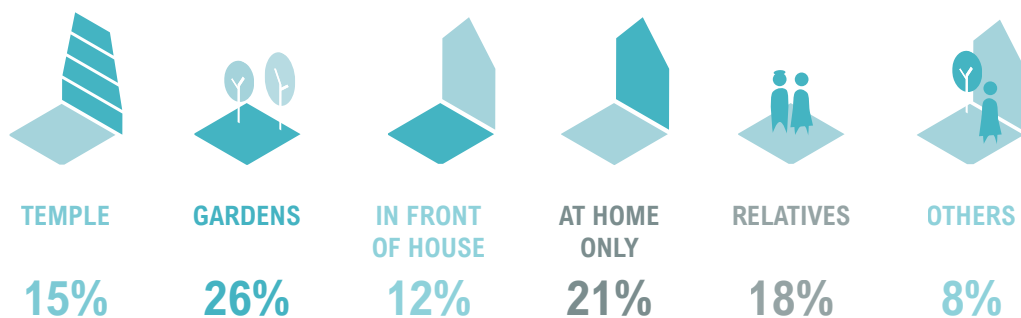


Figure 13
Spaces outside the house
where caregivers spend
the most time with children

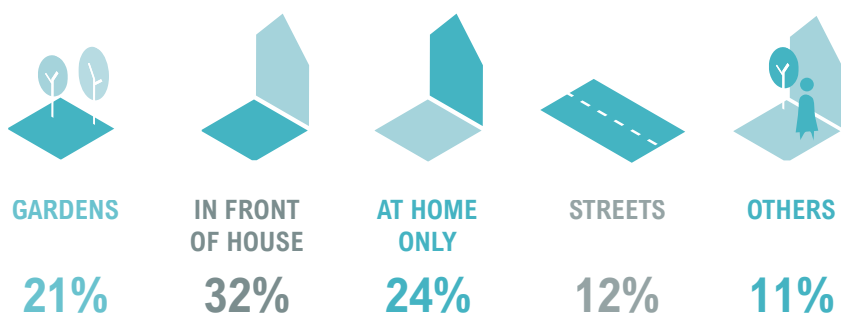


Figure 14
Common spaces where
children play in the
neighbourhood

such as aunts, uncles and fathers also visit water collection and garbage disposal points, and tend to visit friends/relatives' houses more.

Among the reasons for why they like the neighbourhood, good infrastructure and facilities was most frequently mentioned. However, many also expressed their dissatisfaction towards the limited garbage disposal points, stating that there should also be more public toilets as well as improved water facilities. While Model Colony has a number of public toilets scattered around the area (Figure 7), Mahatma Phule Peth (Figure 5), Ramnagar (Figure 6) and Pashan (Figure 8) have very few.

Despite schools being the most common service used in the neighbourhood, compared to other services, the proximity of schools (aganwadi and primary schools) from homes varied from 2 minutes to 30 minutes. This suggests the importance of schools as a service, where its proximity has less of an effect on the frequency of its use. Otherwise, several local services are mainly within 5 to 9 minutes from caregivers' homes. Most notably, grocery stores are very accessible, a frequently used service, and conveniently within 10 minutes from caregivers' homes (they are small shops distributed across the neighbourhood). A few respondents share that they visit the grocery shop two to three times a day.

Figure 15
 What caregivers use the streets for (number of respondents)

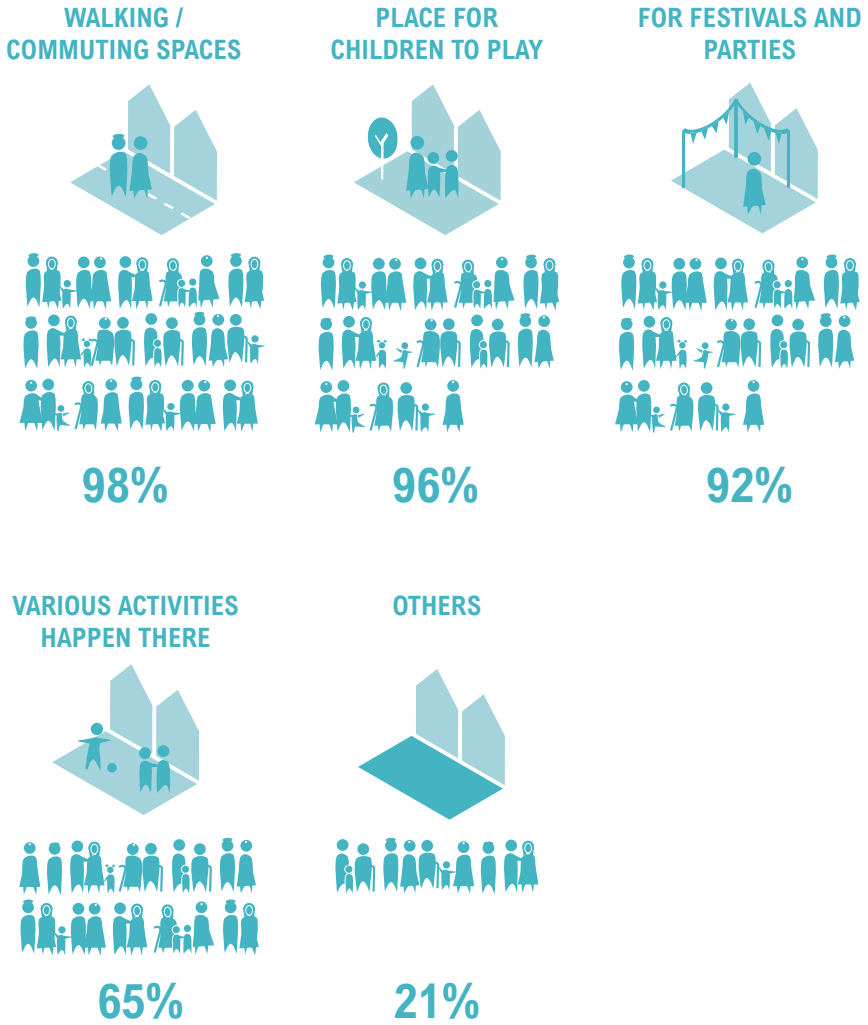
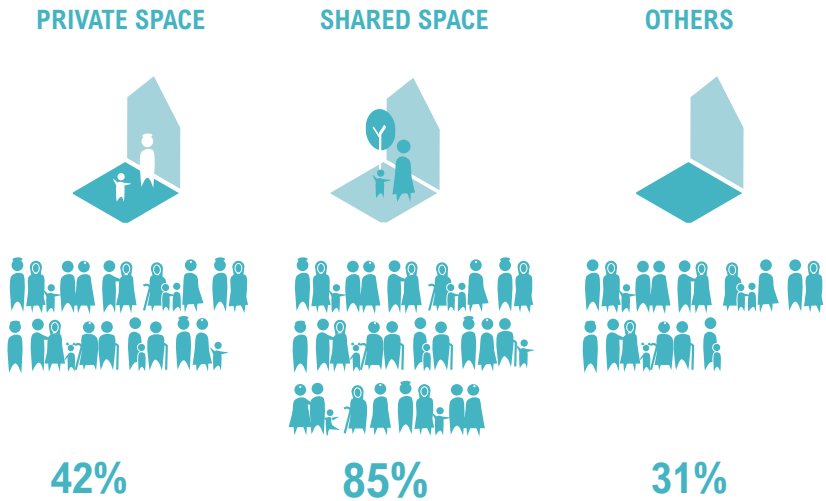


Figure 16
 How the street space in front of their house is used



Public Space

Caregivers make use of public spaces where available, and children use any available space to play. Gardens are a popular space for caregivers to spend time outdoors with children, as well as temples. Apart from schools and health services which they appreciate, a significant number of caregivers identify markets and temples as public spaces they like, which may be one of the reasons why religious institutions are a common place to visit around the neighbourhood. One caregiver in Model Colony expressed that their nearby temple “is a bit like hotels, like Marriott. It is the pride of this area.” As for markets, a caregiver in Mahatma Phule Peth shared that she “always feels fresh after returning from the market... [despite it is] a very dirty area”. Another resident liked this area “because [she] spent her 50 years here only. [She has] an emotional attachment with this area.” This suggests that such public spaces offer emotional affordances such as feelings of pride, familiarity and belonging.

Temples, as well as gardens are where caregivers spend their most time with children, and are also common spaces where children play within the neighbourhood. When children play in the gardens, some caregivers also do their walking and morning exercises too. One caregiver in Model Colony said that “gardens are more attractive, attract[ing] a child’s mind to play in it”, while another in Baner Balewadi Pashan observed that “[their] children are happy and like playing outside.”

Apart from gardens and temples, children spend most of their time playing either in front of the house, or at home. Apart from not having available places for playing, caregivers feel that it is safer for children to play at home or in front of the house, which can be seen in the quotes in Figures 17-18. Caregivers in Mahatma Phule Peth also expressed that “there is always the fear of fighting among children, and traffic tension is there” and “a fear that somebody will kidnap [their] children.” Furthermore, in Warje-Malwadi Ramnagar for example, one caregiver states, “fear is there in our mind to send the children out for playing.” A few others claim that playing on the road is not safe due to rash driving, and that “the number of vehicles [on the streets] have suddenly increased [so they are] all parking their vehicles on the road, [and] no one can play now.” A number of respondents said that having children play in the house or in front of the house gives caregivers peace of mind and space to complete their household work. In the words of a caregiver in Baner Balewadi Pashan, children “play in front of our eyes, and are very safe.” One caregiver in Mahatma Phule Peth said, we “keep watch and sometimes we shout at [the children]. This road is very crowded so we have to take precautions” while another said, “we always keep an eye on them while doing our work [as] not a single bad incident should happen with the children.”



Respondent:
“this is the route we take the children to the park under the flyover... there are no lights, lots of street dogs, and can be very unsafe... we have no other option but to take this route”

Respondent:
“children play here all the time, old and young children”

Respondent:
“...we take the children to the temple here to play...”

Respondent:
“...lots of dogs and drunken people”

Respondent:
“...people go very fast on this road”

Respondent:
“This hilly area has a lot of stones and pits. It is very unsafe for children to play in... also the area has a lot of snakes. When it rains there is a lot of water comes down... making it even more unsafe”

- Walking routes
- Home
- Medical services
- Other services
- Religious institutions
- Places children play
- Places visited with children
- Bus stops (outside map area)
- Public spaces (improvement)



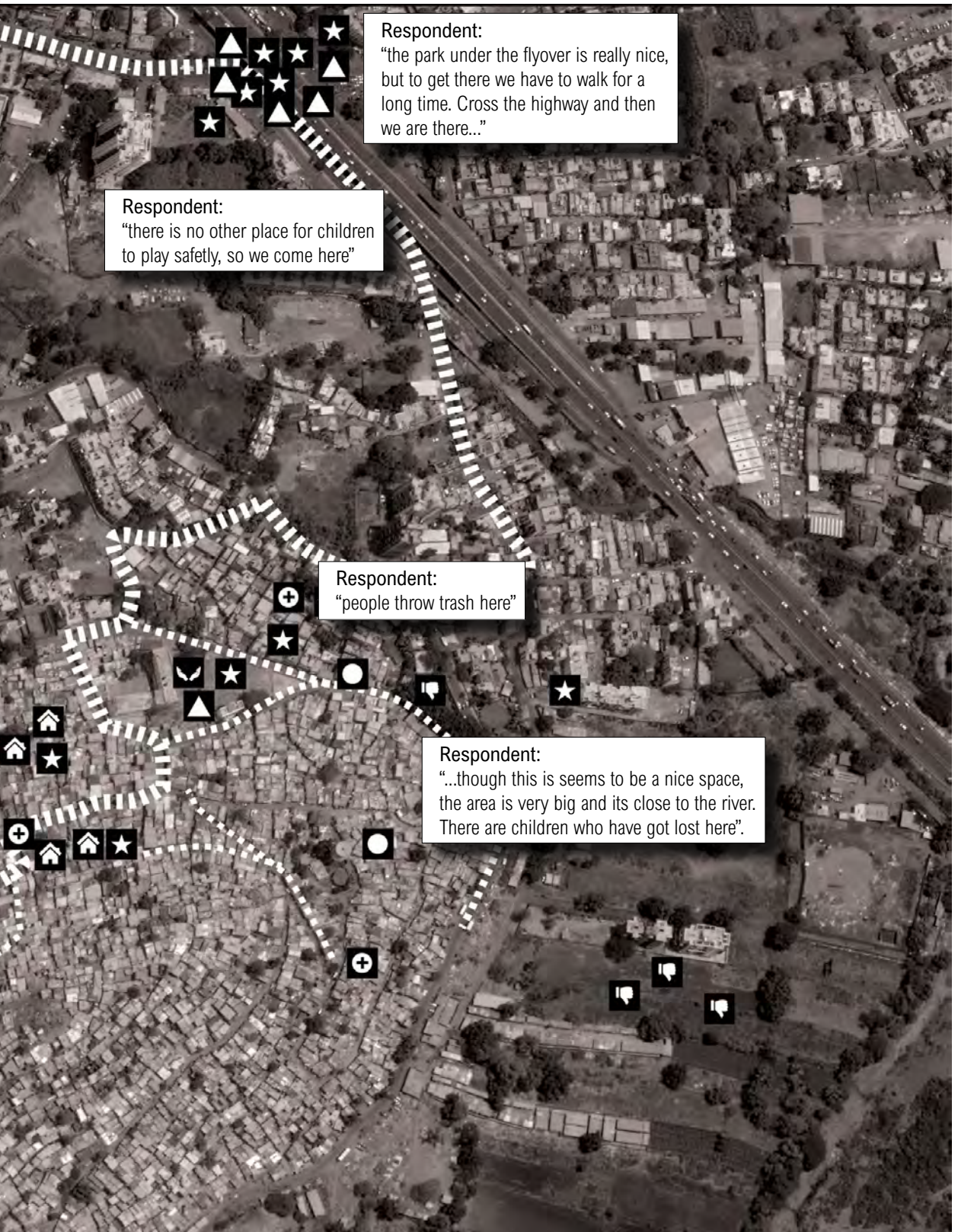
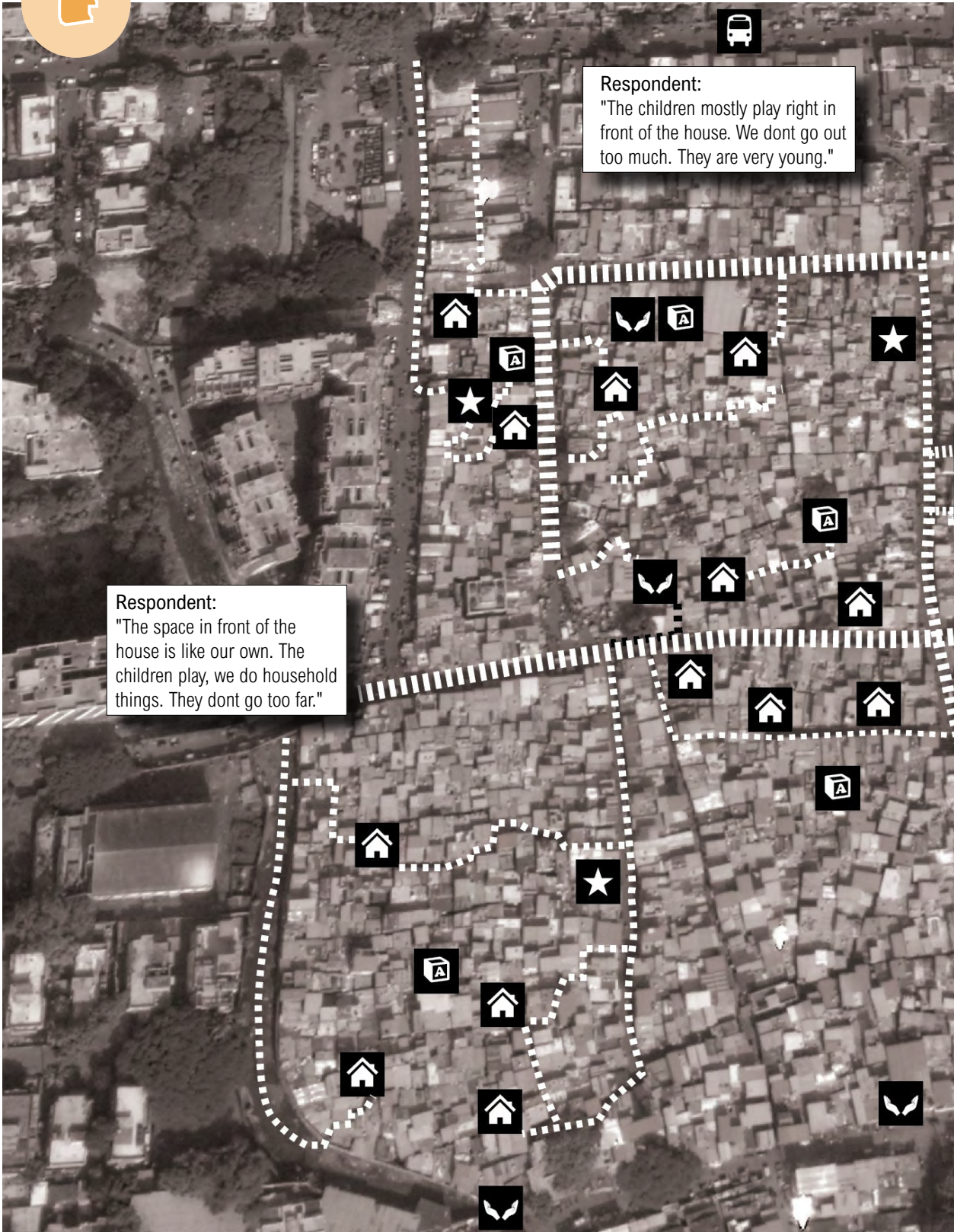


Figure 17 By using maps in different scales participants identified the locations they took their children to play, and the walking routes to get there.



Respondent:
"The children mostly play right in front of the house. We dont go out too much. They are very young."

Respondent:
"The space in front of the house is like our own. The children play, we do household things. They dont go too far."



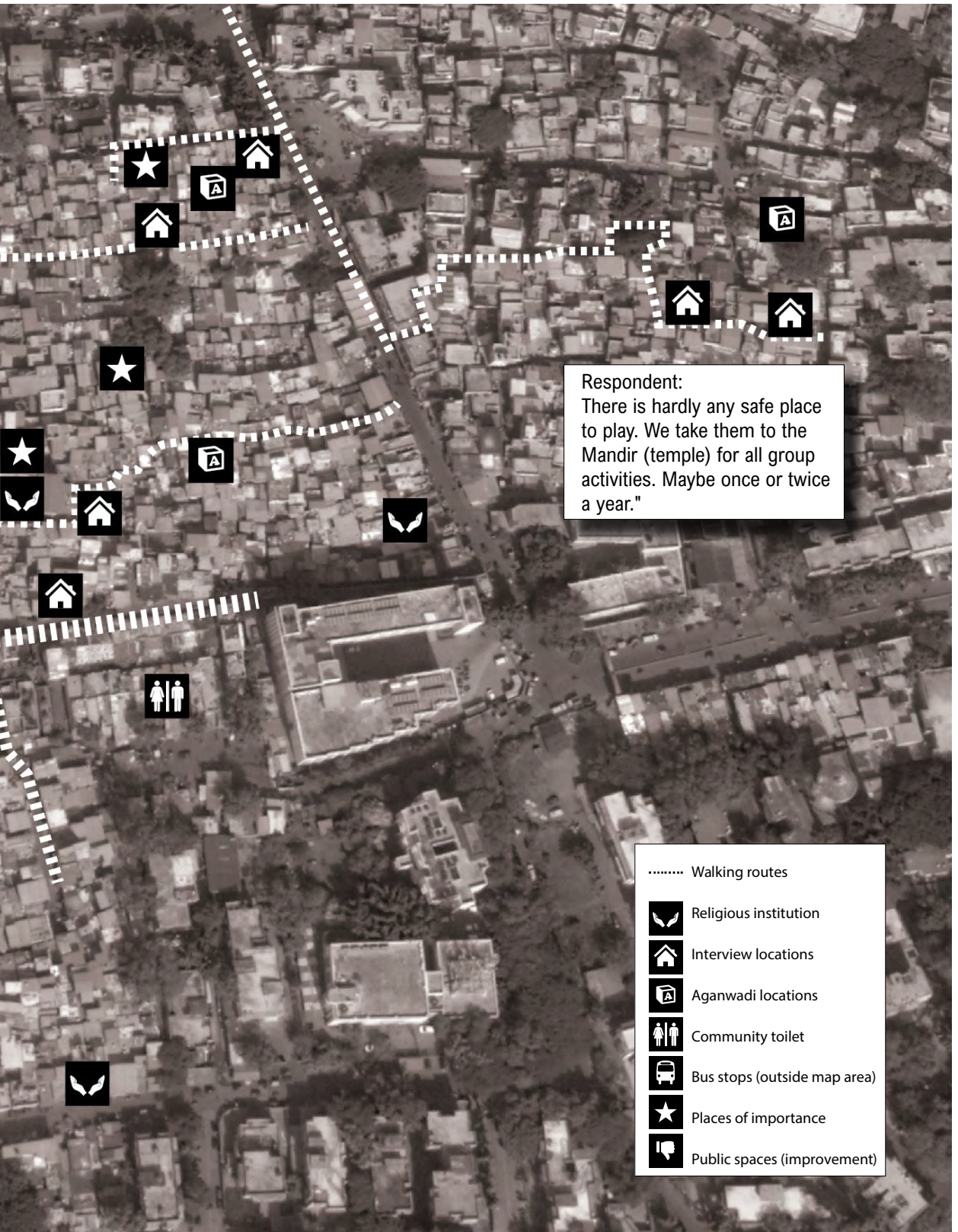


Figure 18 Location of interviews, places of importance and identified walking routes in Mahatma Phule.

Based on the caregivers' statements, narrow roads with heavy traffic create negative affordances of insecurity and danger, which influences caregivers' perception of safety and their subsequent restrictions towards their children's mobility to play around the neighbourhood. Figures 17 and 18 provide further insight into caregivers' perceptions of the public spaces, and the affordances these spaces support.

Figure 17 (Ramnagar) shows the places where children play, and the areas that caregivers visit with children, are often in flat areas with a lot of space and few obstacles where children can run around and play relatively safely. The area is generally contained and not too big, which affords safety and ease of mind as it allows caregivers to keep watch of the children. Meanwhile, the places which caregivers have marked as unsafe tend to have negative affordances that place the child at risk of being injured. This includes hilly areas with lots of stones, presence of snakes and street dogs in the area, dim lighting and proximity to the river. Caregivers also mention the presence of drunk people as a concern too.

However, when a safe, open space for children to play in is identified such as the one furthest north in Figure 17 (in Ramnagar), it seems that caregivers are willing to walk there even if they "have to walk for a long time". As seen on the map, they have to cross the highway to reach there, but a caregiver mentioned, "there is no other place for children to play safely, so we come here." Interestingly, this is a park under the flyover which has a children's play area. This spot is very popular with the residents of the area, though deterrents like traffic, noise, absence of infrastructure have to be overcome to get there. When caregivers are asked about the improvements they would like to see in their neighbourhood, and where they would like their children to play, several of them have expressed the need for parks, gardens and playgrounds where children can safely play. This suggests their views that safe outdoor spaces where children can play, provide positive affordances that are beneficial for the well-being and development of children.

Apart from parks and open spaces, caregivers also identify streets as another communal public space for children to play. Caregivers also use streets of the neighbourhood for festivals and parties. Sometimes, caregivers use the street space in front of their house for birthday parties, events and marriages as well. One caregiver said, "We are celebrating all the festivals here, like Holi, Shivjayanti and Navrati. We play garaba and dandiya (dance during spring festivals) here too." Despite the restrictions on children's independent mobility to play in outdoor spaces, the common use of streets for shared activities allows both children and caregivers to establish social bonds and connections. As can be seen, streets not only afford functional purposes of commuting, but also for play and celebration.

Neighbourhood Quality

In terms of caregivers' perceptions towards the attractiveness of the buildings and the neighbourhood, cleanliness and a desire to live in big buildings (apartments) were among the most commonly stated answers. Caregivers often referred to the surrounding high-rise apartments and neighbourhoods when discussing their aspired living situation. They felt that in high-rise buildings, there would be more amenities and children would have more space to play safely. In addition, it seemed to them that security would be much better with CCTVs and security guards. Another reason for wishing to live in big buildings was because "the old buildings were breaking very easily in rainy seasons, and so, [they] all wanted to be rehabilitated in big buildings having all the facilities." Thus, it seems that high-rise buildings provide positive perceived affordances of play for children, shelter and security for caregivers.

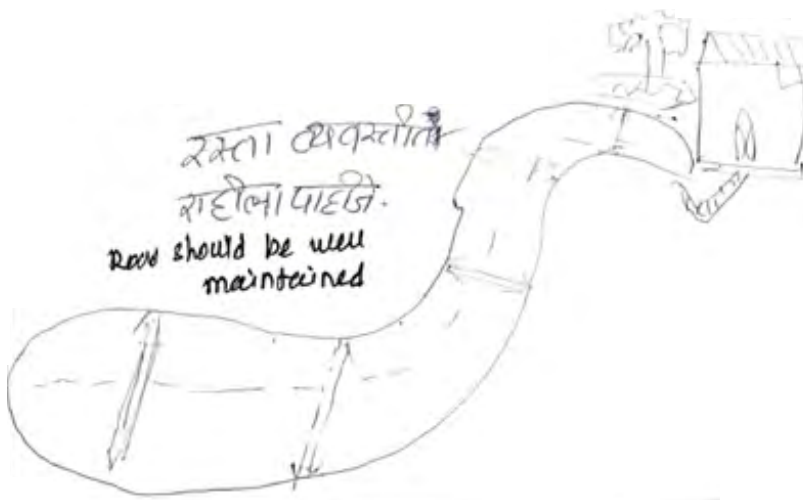


Figure 19
Caregiver's drawing of
desired road improvements
in the neighbourhood

Cleanliness is also another important affordance that a neighbourhood should provide for caregivers. A large number of caregivers complained about the lack of waste management and garbage disposal facilities, as well as poor drainage facilities. They said that after it rains, the area gets very dirty. In Model Colony in particular, the drainage line and drainage chamber were often used as defecation spots, which caregivers were concerned about and hoped to change. In Ramnagar, as the neighbourhood is on a slope, residents in the bottom of the slope complained about drainage of sewage and rain water. In some cases, they had grey water come into their homes.

Apart from garbage and drainage facilities, a number of caregivers also felt that there should be more water facilities, especially nearby their homes, suggesting the importance of convenience as an affordance as well. Lastly, as mentioned earlier, more public toilets and improved cleanliness of these toilets was also another suggestion that was made by a few caregivers. One caregiver in particular emphasised that children needed these public toilets. Another one pointed towards safety of young girls using common facilities at night. Putting together the analysis from the previous sections, the cleanliness of an area creates positive affordances of safety, which can also encourage greater independent mobility of older children.

Figure 20
Caregiver's drawing of plants and gardens that they would like to see in their neighbourhood

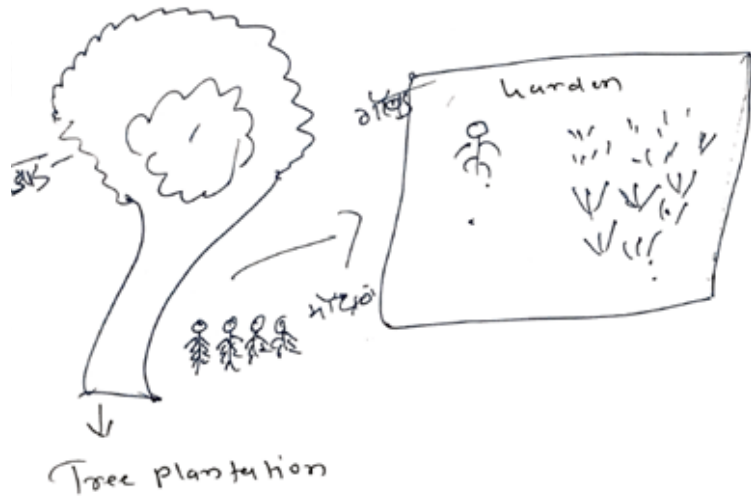
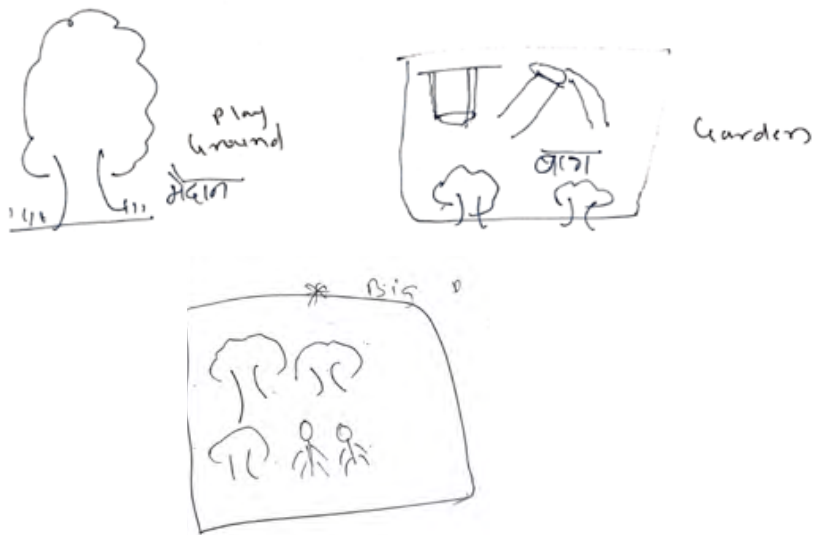


Figure 21
Caregivers' drawings of parks and gardens they would like to see in the neighbourhood



As mentioned earlier, improved road conditions was another change that caregivers hoped to see in their neighbourhood. One caregiver said in reference to roads, “we always carry a fear while coming down from the hillside [as] there is a very bad situation in monsoons.” Caregivers hope that pits and potholes on roads can be fixed, roads could be broader and wider (Figure 19), and that there can also be revised speeds and traffic control. One caregiver in Model Colony said, “There is a lot of traffic in front of my house, and a lot of traffic jam. They should ban traffic in front of my house so that children can play.” Another also said, “[There is] heavy traffic on roads, so need to control. So far, children can’t go out and I can’t send children out to play.” In fact, some caregivers hope to have “open free areas” in front of their houses for children to play, and identify road safety and traffic as a limitation, which is clearly a negative affordance that has restricted the mobility and available outdoor play spaces for children.

Despite the negative affordances in the built environment such as poor road conditions, safety matters and unclean environments, there are also aspects of the neighbourhood which caregivers appreciate. Echoing some of the results in the previous sections, temples/mandirs, markets and gardens were the most popular answers. Even so, caregivers still hoped that there could be more tree planting, as well as more gardens and parks for children to play. To express this further, they drew flowers and trees in their mental map, which suggests the importance of nature and greenery for them (Figure 20). In Figure 21, it is interesting to note the presence of trees in the playground/garden, which indicates caregivers’ perceptions that nature is important in children’s play spaces.

Going to parks and gardens is a very popular weekend activity for caregivers and children. Parks and gardens are not only a place for play and exercise, but also represents a place of fun, relaxation and family bonding. With this being such a common weekend activity for families, it is likely they encounter other community members in these spaces too, which also provides affordances of socialising and meeting others.

As can be seen in Figure 22, one of the changes the caregiver would like to see in the neighbourhood is an open area park where children and people could be at. Not only is the park a large space, but it is also contained, allowing caregivers to watch over children. The caregiver has also drawn people rather than one person in the park. This suggests caregivers’ perception of parks as a place of socialization that is beneficial for both caregivers and children, and that there is a desire for such spaces. There were also similar drawings in other caregivers’ mental maps as well.

Similar sentiments are there for temples as well. One caregiver particularly said, “I have a place to sit with my children there,” which suggests the availa-

bility of places to sit as an important feature that makes temples an attractive public space to frequent. Anganwadi workers have also identified temples as the main place where people go to whenever there is a big function. Altogether, this indicates that temples are not only a place of worship, but more so a place that affords socializing, bonding, meeting and celebrating with others in the community.

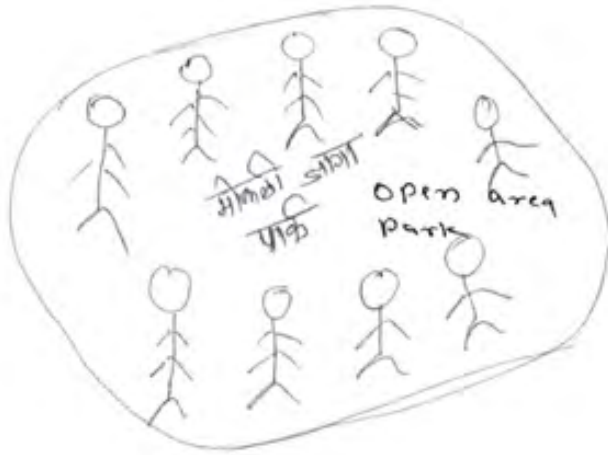


Figure 22
Caregivers' drawing of
an open area park they
would like to see in the
neighbourhood

Role of community

Apart from services and public spaces, another important aspect which caregivers like about their neighbourhood is the community itself. The presence of street youth and drunken men create discomfort for caregivers, but in general, they appreciate how “nice and supportive” people are. One caregiver even said, “I like the neighbourhood because I have a lot of friends here.” In fact, community engagement is an integral part of their daily routine. In addition to visiting parks, markets and temples, during weekends and special days, most caregivers are also often found visiting relatives and friends, and celebrating festivals together. This is also illustrated in the previous section, where caregivers frequently visit parks and temples that afford social gathering. On the streets, caregivers also engage in small functions with the neighbours as well (during festivals for example). For some caregivers, the neighbourhood is also their natal home, and so during the day when children are at school, they would also visit their natal family.

Despite the infrastructural inconveniences that limit the mobility of caregivers and influence the perception of neighbourhood safety, it seems that community trust and support compensate for some of the negative affor-

dances from the physical environment. One caregiver who felt the area was unsafe said it was because [one] “can’t trust anyone”. In contrast, caregivers who felt the local area was safe said it was due to the friendliness and familiarity with their community. One caregiver said “all the neighbours and the surrounding are familiar and co-operative, so fear and tension is not there”, while another shared “all the neighbours are from our own community, so we feel safe here.” In Mahatma Phule Peth for example, a mother felt her own wada (neighbourhood) was safe but outside of it, it was dangerous. When asked why, she explained, “the people near our house are good, [but] all the fighting, gundagardi (trouble makers/ strife) is happening in our neighbouring community, always cursing and all kinds of abuses.” Some caregivers feel that community rapport is mutual. One said, “According to me, if we act and behave good with others, they will respond good with us.” It is also interesting to note that the longer one has lived in the neighbourhood, the safer the caregiver generally feels. Inevitably, such caregivers still note places and aspects of concern, but a number of them say similar statements such as, “The surrounding people are good, and the lifestyle of them is also good. Due to a long time living in this area, we like to live here and it feels safe,” as well as, “We have been here for a long time so everyone is familiar with us.”

Thus, familiarity is a very important aspect that influences perceptions of safety, and to some respect, the quality of living. When there is change or unfamiliarity within the community, it arouses unease within caregivers. One of them said, “Prior, we used to feel safe, but not now. Now, the lifestyle is changing, and people come and argue and fight for any small and silly reasons.” Looking back again at the reasons for why communities are an aspect that they like about neighbourhood, words such as caring, helpful, cooperative and kind are typically used. This shows that harmony and good relationships with the community provides positive affordances that influences the quality of living for caregivers. As seen in previous sections, neighbours are also able to keep an eye on the children when caregivers have something else to do, which allows caregivers more flexibility in their daily routine, and a greater peace of mind knowing responsibilities can be shared.

Wishes

AESTHETICS & COMMON SPACES



Improve awareness and implementation of hygiene and cleanliness

Streets needs to be cleaned as it gets dirty during rainfall

Tree planting

More gardens and common park facilities

More open space and playgrounds within vicinity should be available for children to play

More open area in front of the house where children can play

Large space/hall for celebration purposes

ROADS



Roads are too narrow, and should be larger/broader

Address issues of dangerous driving and heavy traffic by revising speed limits

Ban traffic in front of houses

Main road is far and should be closer

Big parking facility needed

SERVICES & FACILITIES



More garbage disposal points, and more dustbins

More public toilets, and improved maintenance of toilets

No defecation in the drainage chamber
More street lights and electricity poles

Regular water collection points where everyone can drink water from

Improve awareness of water conservation

Wet and dry waste segregation

Improved drainage systems

More vegetable markets
Hotel where women can go
Food facility should be maintained

SOCIAL ISSUES



Stop unfair/irregular practices

Too much fighting and abuse that needs to be addressed

Youth engaged in illegal activities and alcoholism on the streets, makes it unsafe

Presence of street boys and children make women and girls afraid to go out for walks after 8 pm

Address issues of street dogs

Respect to policemen needed

Employment for youth

Counselling facilities

Rent is very high and cheaper housing should be provided

Figure 24
Caregivers' desired changes and improvements in the neighbourhood



PROFILE

STORY STRING #1

Name

REKHA UMESH DESHMUKH

Lives in

Pune, India

Neighbourhood and for how long living there

Ramnagar, Warje Malwadi for 5 years

Children under her care

Mother to 1 (boy) and currently pregnant

The use of public space around their house (including streets)

Rekha lives in a high-density street that has a mix of single and double story houses. The homes are no larger than 20-25 sqm, and the street in front of their house is used as a common space for all the residents of the street. She says that the older children play on the street, it is a place where people aggregate during festivals, a place where water collection happens, and sometimes washing of clothes/ kitchen vessels also take place. The younger children she says plays inside the house or just in front of it.

Their neighbourhoods: likes and dislikes

What Rekha likes about the area are her neighbours, stressing that they are very nice and co-operative. The neighbourhood schools and facilities (market, hospital) are good, though is concerned about the cleanliness of the area. They live in this area because its cheap and close to where her husband works.

What would you like to change about the neighbourhood?

Rekha would like to live in another neighbourhood, in a bigger house where they have running water, electricity all the time, clean, and safe for the children to play. In her neighbourhood she would like to improve toilet facilities and garbage disposal.





PROFILE

STORY STRING #2

Name

ROMALI PRASHANT BHAGAT

Lives in

Pune, India

Neighbourhood and for how long living there

Ramnagar, Warje Malwadi for 20 years

Children under her care

Mother of 3 children, 2 boys (5,1), 1 girl (3)

The use of public space around their house (including streets)

The space in front of their house is used as an extension of their own house. This is the space that the children play in, she does her washing here and during festivals it is used as a shared space with her other neighbours. She considers the area safe as she and her family have lived there for a long time and knows her neighbours.

Their neighbourhoods: likes and dislikes

Romali has lived in the area for almost 20 years as a child and as an adult. She has experienced the area change from a small village like community to now as an extension of Pune. She runs a small tailoring business out of her house to support her family and enjoys living here. Romali tells us about her neighbours and how there is a community in this location who look out for each other. What she dislikes about the location is the poor maintenance of the public toilets, cleanliness, garbage collection, and absence of facilities for children (they have to walk 20-30 mins to a park).

What would you like to change about the neighbourhood?

Having seen the area grow over two decades, Romali would like to work towards increasing safety in the neighbourhood. According to her, the increasing population has contributed to feeling unsafe in some areas.





PROFILE

STORY STRING #3

Name

GIRISHA M. GAIKWAD

Lives in

Pune, India

Neighbourhood and for how long living there

Ganj Peth for 18 years

Children under her care

Grandmother of 2 children, 2 boys (12,4)

The use of public space around their house (including streets)

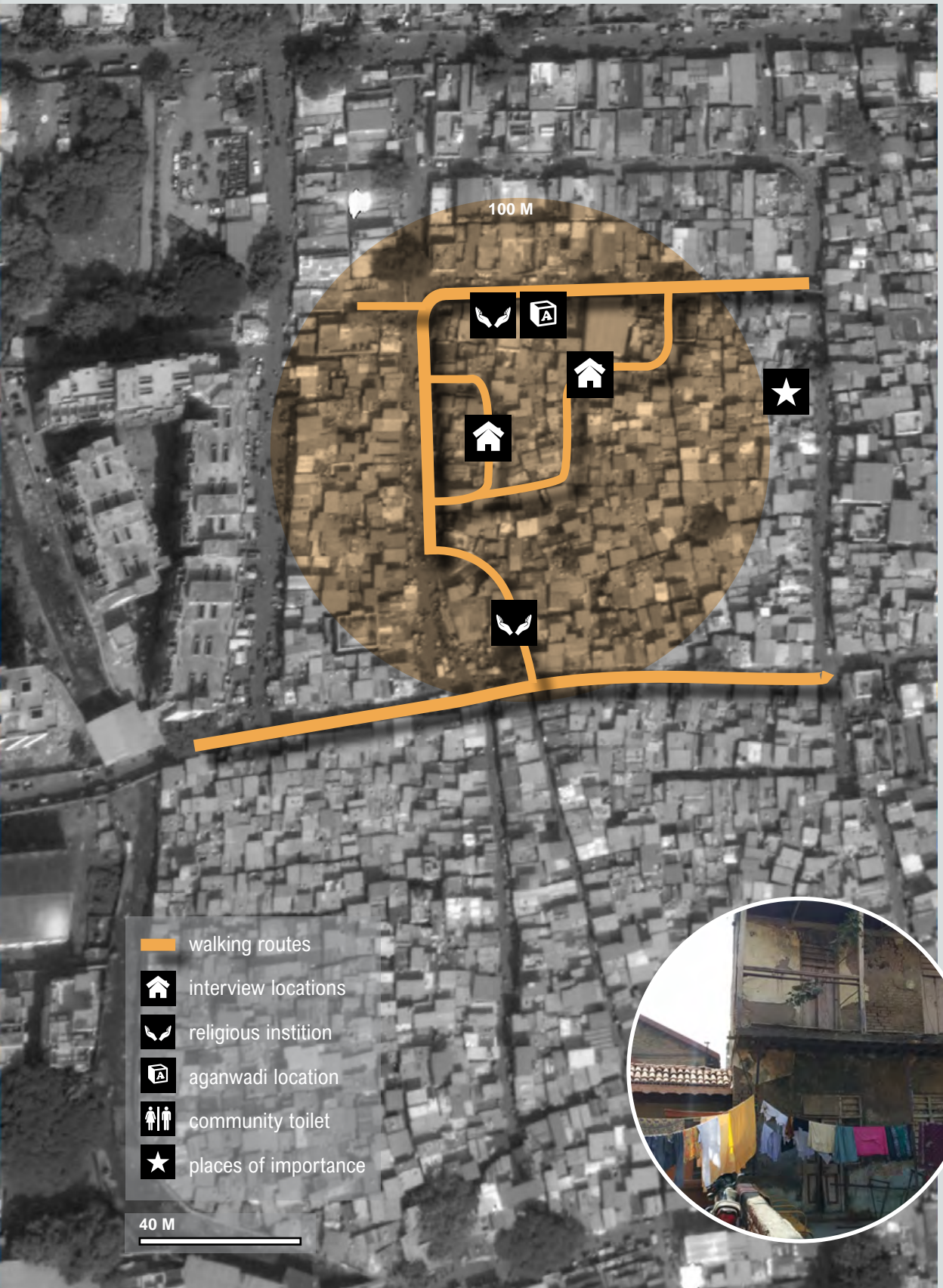
Having lived in the area and house for almost two decades Grisha considers the space in front of her home, hers. The space is used as private space for their family activities, some cooking, cleaning, and children playing. They have also rented out a part of their house to a private nursery to supplement their monthly income.

Their neighbourhoods: likes and dislikes

The two decades of occupying the same locations means that they/ she knows a number of the residents and her neighbours. She also has a number of family members staying close by. She considers them (the neighbours) trustworthy and close-knit. What she dislikes is the very low maintenance for the neighbourhood and how little support they get to improve their surroundings.

What would you like to change about the neighbourhood?

Girisha would like for the neighbourhood to be part some slum rehabilitation program. What she would like is to see people's attitude with regards to maintenance and cleanliness.





PROFILE

STORY STRING #4

Name

REKHA BAPU JADHAV

Lives in

Pune, India

Neighbourhood and for how long living there

Near Samaj Mandir, Ganj Peth for 30 years (in various houses)

Children under her care

Mother of 2 children, 1 boy (7), 1 girl (2.5) and currently pregnant

The use of public space around their house (including streets)

Rekha grew up in this area, got married and continues to live in the same location. The space around her house are used for various purposes, as private space and as a communal space (including marriages).

Their neighbourhoods: likes and dislikes

Her house is on a road with heavy traffic and she does not allow her children to play outside the house. And this is one of her major concerns. Safety in the neighbourhood (only in terms of traffic). What Rekha really enjoys about the neighbourhood is the community and the number of people who she knows (family and friends) who create a strong support framework for her and her children.


What would you like to change about the neighbourhood?


She wants to improve the cleanliness and safety of her area for the children. She says “we might only have two rooms, but they should be neat and clean. Same thing for the area”.





100 M


 walking routes

 interview locations

 religious institution

 aganwadi location

 community toilet

 places of importance

40 M





PROFILE

STORY STRING #5

Name

BAGBAN JIYA JABBAR

Lives in

Pune, India

Neighbourhood and for how long living there

Mahatma Phule Peth for 30 years (in various houses)

Children under her care

Aunt of 1 child, boy (4)

The use of public space around their house (including streets)

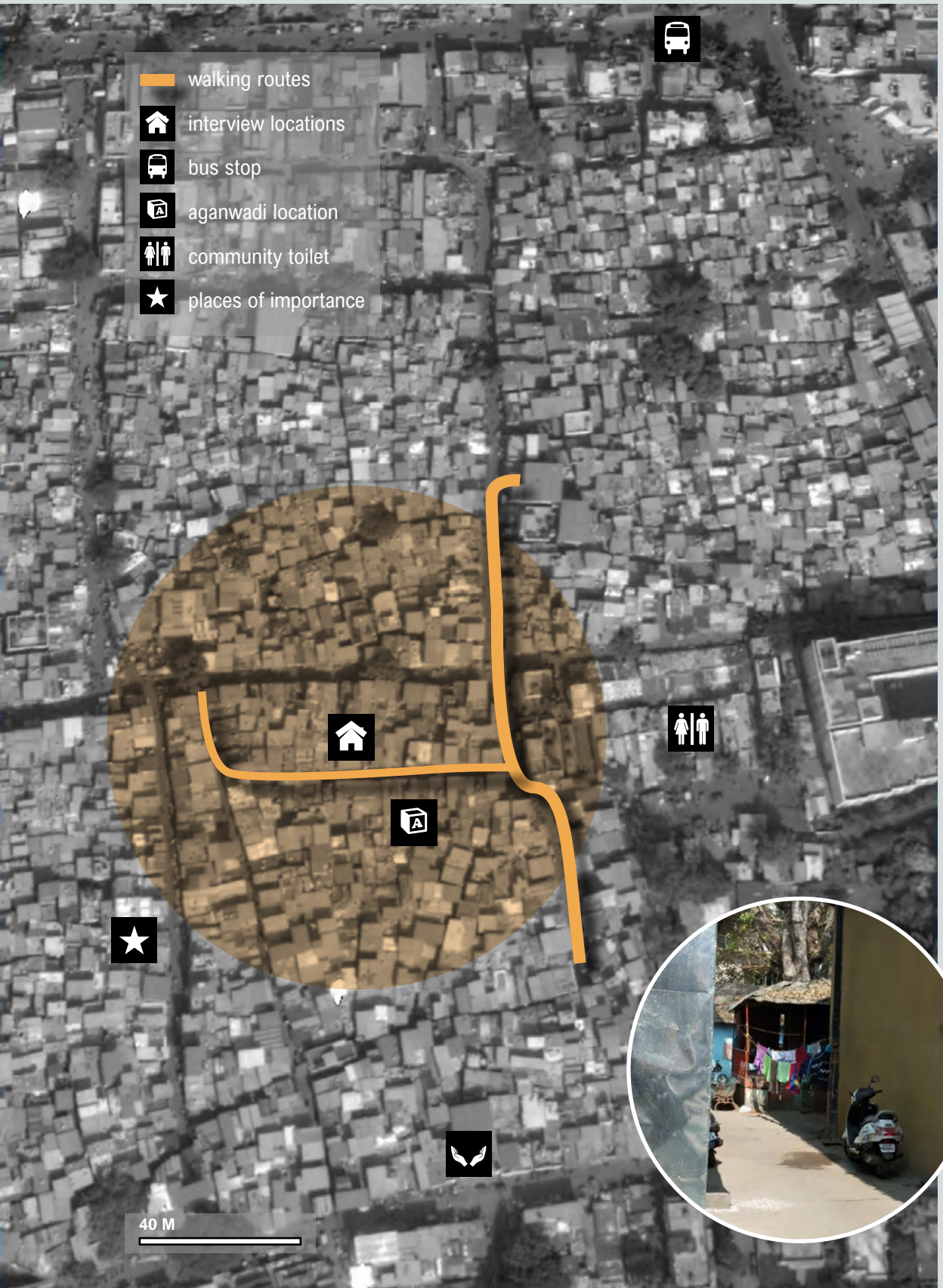
Bagban is 18 years old and her family has lived in the area for 30 years. The space in front of her house has been used as a communal space by all the residents on the streets, especially during religious festivals.

Their neighbourhoods: likes and dislikes

What Bagban likes about the area is that “The place is as it is from my childhood, I grew up in this area only, nothing has changed.” So, she feels safe, but her nephew only plays in the house as the streets are narrow and she is scared he will fall down (hurt himself and she will be held responsible). As the house is close to a busy market area, there is some traffic and quite crowded. However, the community that lives there is close knit and keeps an eye out for each other and the children who play there.

What would you like to change about the neighbourhood?

Bagban would like to change a number of things in her area. “Mainly, the roads, the roads should be broad, there should be some distance between our houses and the roads, we all require a dustbin or garbage disposal point near our community, there should be a garden, where our children can go and play safely.”



walking routes

interview locations

bus stop

aganwadi location

community toilet

places of importance

40 M



PROFILE

STORY STRING #6

Name

AKANKSHA RAMESH

Lives in

Pune, India

Neighbourhood and for how long living there

Ramnagar, Warje Malwadi for 10 years

Children under her care

Two girls, 9 & 3

What does she do?

Home maker and runs a small tailoring business from home

What does s/he like about the neighbourhood?

What she likes about her neighbourhood is the temples and parks close by. She goes on to tell us about her neighbours who are helpful and the community she has here.

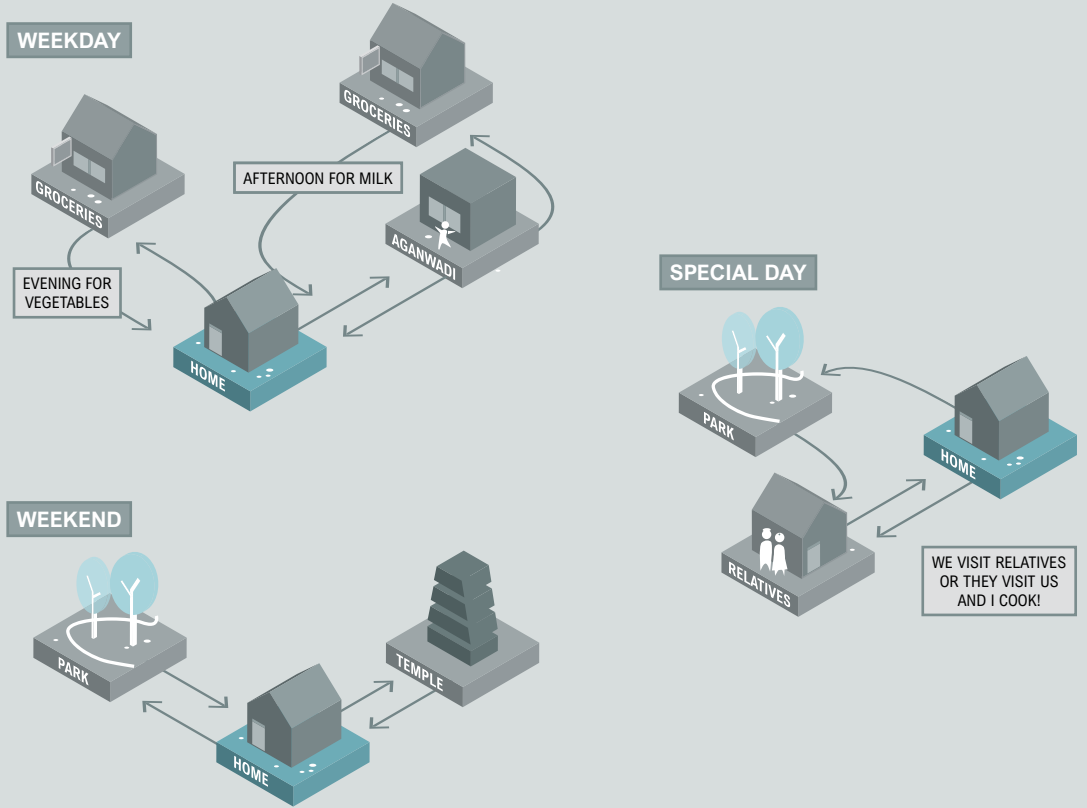
How do they and the children under their care use public spaces like parks, streets etc?

Akanksha tells us how her children mostly play on the street during the week and go to the parks over the weekend. The street she tell us, is where most of the children play almost every day. Going to the park (which is 20-30 mins away), needs more planning!

What would you like to change about the neighbourhood?

When it comes to the quality of her neighbourhood and things she would like to change, there are quite a few things on her mind. Access to more parks/ green areas, increased safety on the streets by reducing the speed of vehicles and managing the number of street dogs in the neighbourhood. In detail she explains the difficulties related to the boys and men who trouble/ cat-call the girls/ women in the area. This she says, reduces the use of common services (toilets particularly) in the night and dissuades against going out late in the evening alone.

Typical mobility around your neighbourhood



What would you like to see in your neighbourhood?

R-3
need to save water

R1 - swimming pool

R2 - Drainage line
* not good
* no garbage disposal points
8-8 days not having

R2 - R4 → bus stop / etc. - street boy & children, those after 2 pm women & girls are scared to go out the waste
the bus lines - 8 mile - from where they are involved in illegal & unethical way in one corner
शुद्धि / अथवा लीमिनिटिड
शुद्धि: कलम 14/15 शुद्धि शुद्ध कलम शुद्धि

R5 - cleanliness (want)

R6 - R2 → after cleaning ^{दवा} ~~दवा~~ शुद्धि शुद्धि

R4 → No electricity poles are available

R5 → water facility / water meter if possible
So nobody can make waste



PROFILE

STORY STRING #7

Name

ALOK ANOKHI

Lives in

Pune, India

Neighbourhood and for how long living there

Ramnagar, Warje Malwadi for 8 years

Children under her care

Two girls, 4 & 2

What does she do?

Home maker

What does s/he like about the neighbourhood?

Alok really likes living in this neighbourhood as there are a number of temples close by for her to visit with her children

How do they and the children under their care use public spaces like parks, streets etc?

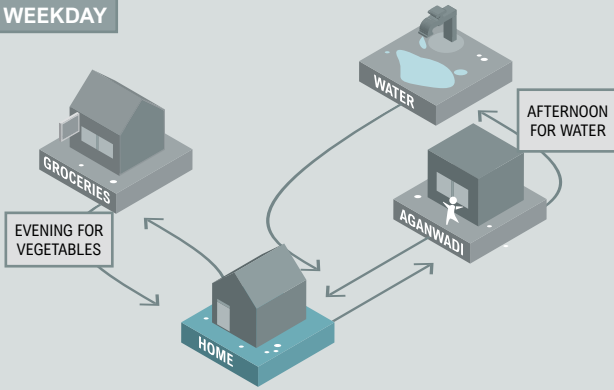
Her children play outside every day, but also visit the playground close to their house. They also have empty land next to their house where the children (theirs and their neighbours) play. She also stresses that the space in front of their house is also a space that the children play in. This is a space that she says she can look out when the children are there. The neighbours she says are very nice and look out for each other's children.

What would you like to change about the neighbourhood?

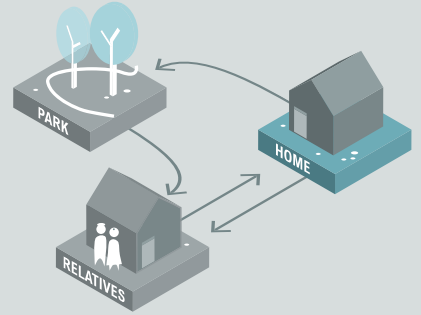
The one point she keeps coming back to is the cleanliness of the area she lives in. Some of the neighbours leave garbage on the streets and wants to create a group that looks out for community cleanliness. She gives us examples of making space for garbage cans, water facilities closer to homes and better road maintenance.

Typical mobility around your neighbourhood

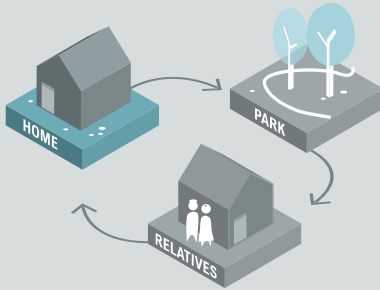
WEEKDAY



SPECIAL DAY

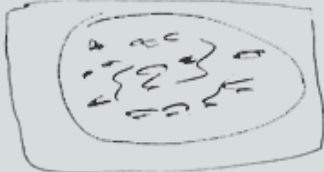


WEEKEND

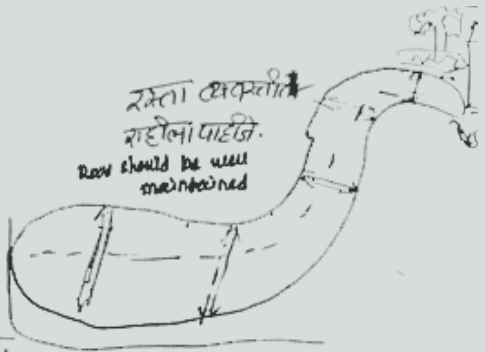


What would you like to see in your neighbourhood?


Facility for dumping garbage (Compost disposal facility).
 कचरा टाकण्याची सुविधा साधणे पाहिजे




रस्ता धरतरीत राहिला पाहिजे.
 Road should be well maintained



पाण्याची सुविधा साधणे पाहिजे.
 Water facility



आनी सब्ज सुविधा वाढली असावी.
 And food facility should be maintain (Good).





PROFILE

STORY STRING #8

Name

SONI GUDI

Lives in

Pune, India

Neighbourhood and for how long living there

Ramnagar, Warje Malwadi for 11 years

Children under her care

Two girls, 3 & 2

What does she do?

Works as domestic help

What does s/he like about the neighbourhood?

In the part of the neighbourhood where Soni lives the streets are well maintained. She also likes that the area has good public toilet facilities and streetlights. This makes the location good for her children, as they can play outside and the people around her house are friendly.

How do they and the children under their care use public spaces like parks, streets etc?

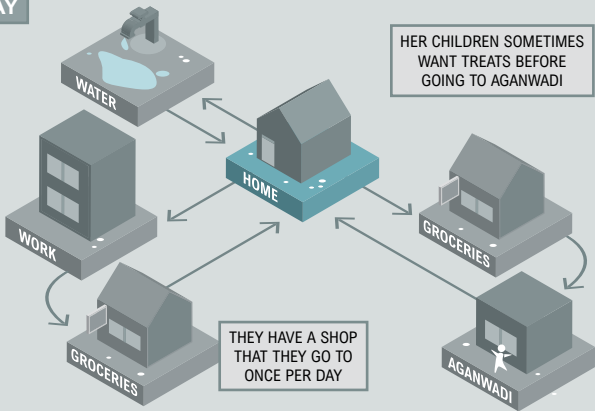
Even though the area is safe, her children don't play outside very often (as they are very young). She takes them to the temple in the area, where they play in the temple grounds with other children. What she would like is that the location is safer for the children and they have easier access to parks.

What would you like to change about the neighbourhood?

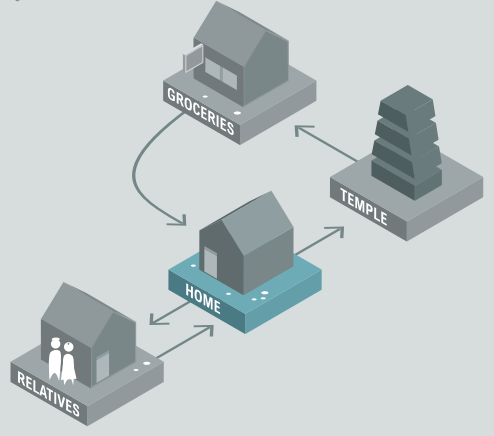
Soni tells us about the many challenges of living there. The first thing she mentions is how expensive the housing is, and the level of services they have access to. The absence of playgrounds close by, and also the distance she travels to drop the children to the anganwadi/ nursery. The safety of children playing on the street is also a concern, and she tells us that no one cares about these things.

Typical mobility around your neighbourhood

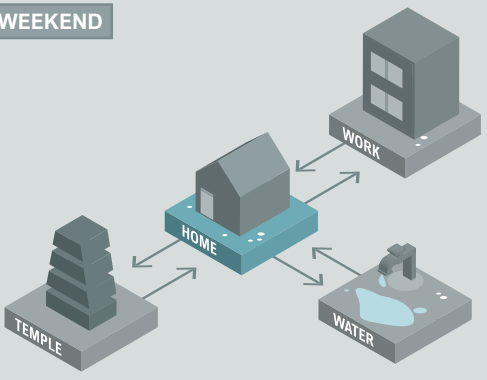
WEEKDAY



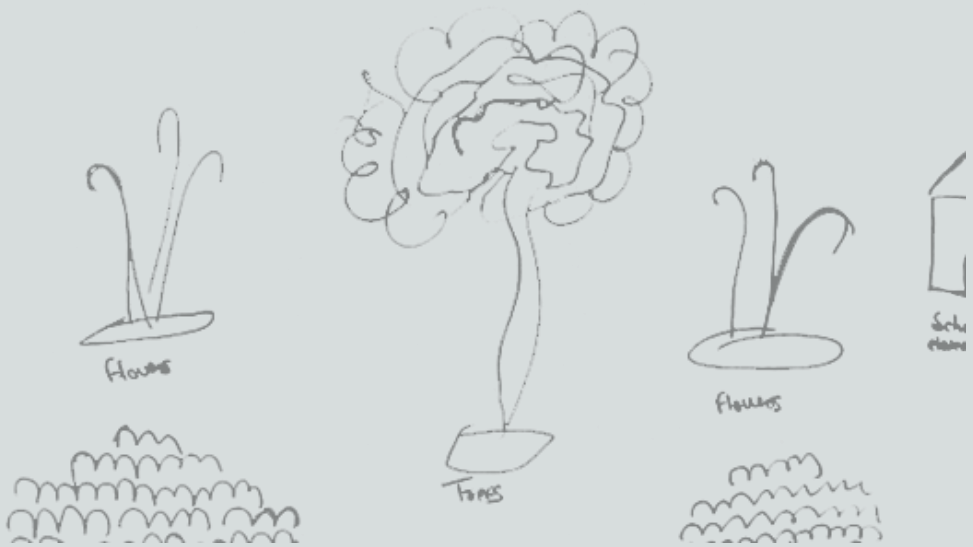
SPECIAL DAY



WEEKEND



What would you like to see in your neighbourhood?





PROFILE

STORY STRING #9

Name

SONIKA SHEKAR

Lives in

Pune, India

Neighbourhood and for how long living there

Deccan, Wadarwadi for 12 years

Children under her care

Two children, Girl who is 6 years and a boy of 3 years

What does she do?

Sonika is employed as an office cleaner

What does s/he like about the neighbourhood?

Sonika likes that the place she goes to work is close by, and the area has a nice temple for her to visit with the family. With the market within walking distance and the agnawadi where her children go, it is a neighbourhood she like. She also adds that the people around her are nice.

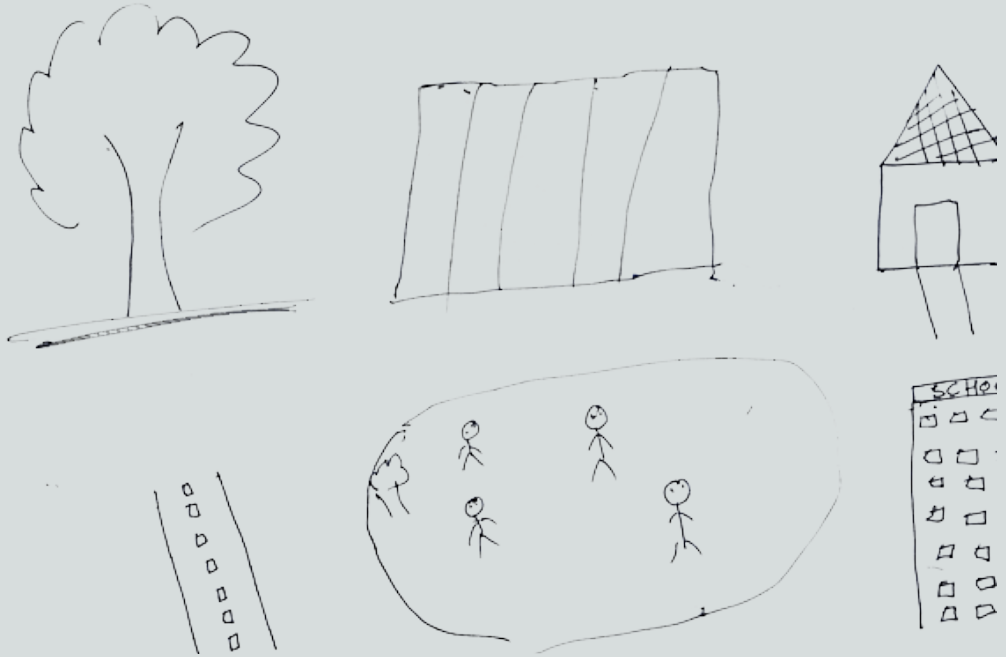
How do they and the children under their care use public spaces like parks, streets etc?

Like a lot of people in the neighbourhood, her children also play on the street though there is a lot of traffic and a history of accidents on the streets. The children she says, she would prefer if they played in front of the house so that people (her family) can keep an eye on them. Most of the days the children also play in an open area next to her house, as she goes about doing her various activities.

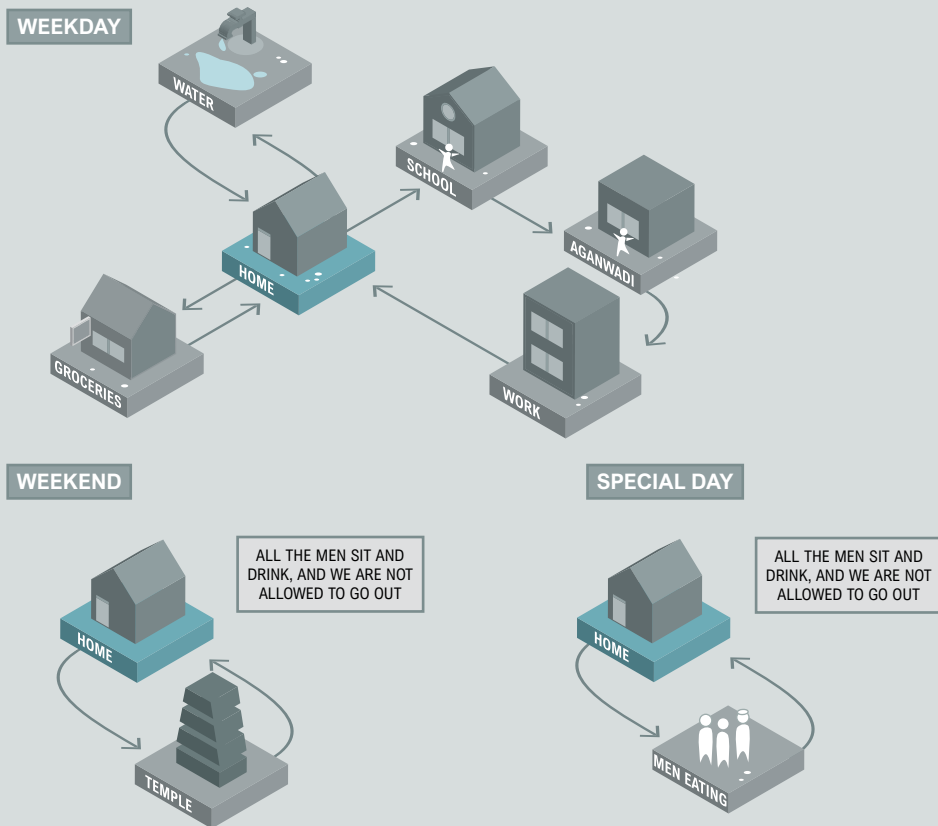
What would you like to change about the neighbourhood?

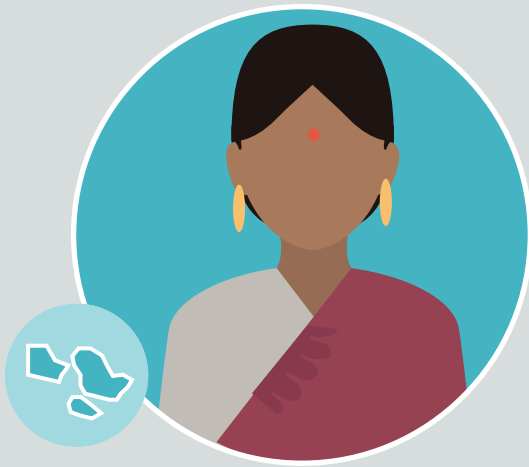
What she would really like is that the area has more parks. As a number of children play on the streets, she wishes for safer streets and spaces in front of their houses to be kept clean.

What would you like to see in your neighbourhood?



Typical mobility around your neighbourhood





PROFILE

STORY STRING #10

Name

GUDDI SHANKAR

Lives in

Pune, India

Neighbourhood and for how long living there

Deccan, Maruti Mandir for 8 years

Children under her care

They live in a big joint family, and she looks after her daughters (4 years and 2 years) and her nieces (5 years and 3 years)

What does she do?

Home maker

What does she like about the neighbourhood?

What she likes about her neighbourhood is that a number of her relatives live close by. Guddi says that the level of community trust is high as there are number of families close by. The temples in the neighbourhood are also nice and places of peace.

Their neighbourhoods: likes and dislikes

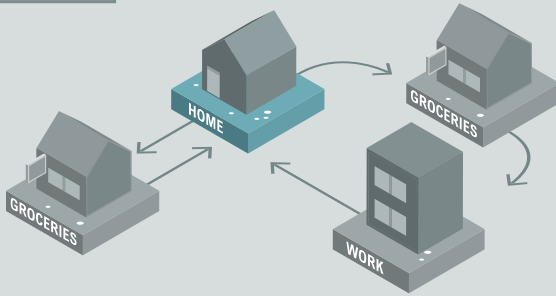
The children that she looks after don't play on the street too much. They have an empty plot of land close to their house, where the children go and play or in front of their house. Between her, her mother-in-law and sister-in-law they always have someone keeping an eye on the girls.

What would you like to change about the neighbourhood?

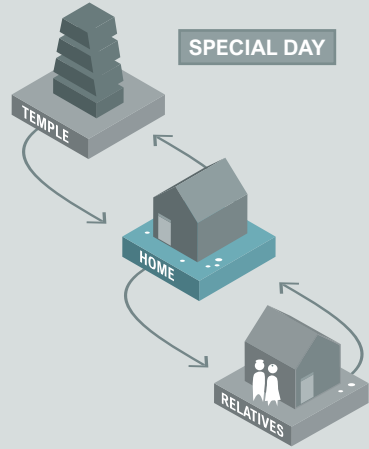
The children aren't allowed to play on the street due to traffic she says. She wishes there were better traffic measures and safe places for children to play. She also thinks that the cleanliness of the neighbourhood can be improved.

Typical mobility around your neighbourhood

WEEKDAY



SPECIAL DAY



WEEKEND



WE DON'T GO ANYWHERE. MOST OF THE MEN IN THE COLONY DRINK, AND WE STAY AT HOME.

What would you like to see in your neighbourhood?



Tree plantation



Dust bin fu



School near home



Beyoglu (Istanbul)

5. ISTANBUL (TR)

Situating Istanbul

The city of Istanbul is located in the north-western part of Turkey within the Marmara region. Istanbul is a transcontinental city which is divided into two parts (European and Anatolian side) by the Bosphorus strait and consists of 39 districts that spreads over a total area of 5,461 km². As Turkey's economic centre, it is the most crowded city in the country, with the population projected to grow up to 16.6 million by 2023 at an annual average population growth rate of 14% (TUIK, 2018).¹ From 2011 to 2015, Istanbul saw its highest growth rate in population due to the influx of Syrian refugees into the city. Household size has also been decreasing in Istanbul, with families having fewer children due to challenging living conditions of a metropolitan city, or families with children who prefer to live in different (smaller) cities.

1
<http://www.tuik.gov.tr>:
Population and annual
average population growth
rate by provinces, 2017,
2023

In recent decades, the city has rapidly become the country's financial hub and an attractive location for multinational corporations. Ever since the 1980s, neoliberal policies have been implemented to establish Istanbul as a world city. However, social and environmental considerations of these policies were ignored (Balaban, 2013), creating "spaces of decay", "distressed areas" (Tok & Oguz, 2013) and increased inequality. In particular, these consequences have drastically affected the well-being of younger citizens of Istanbul, where they and their caregivers face exclusion in public urban space.

It is well known that green spaces, local child-related services, playgrounds, and recreational areas play a critical role for children growing up in cities. According to the World Cities Culture Forum 2015,² the percentage of public green spaces of Istanbul is only 2.2%, with only 1.44 m² of green space per individual (Erginli, 2018). However, the WHO (2012) recommends that there should be at least 9 m² of green space per individual in consideration of health and well-being when planning and designing a city (Russo & Cirella, 2018). With only 1.44 m² of green space per individual, the city of Istanbul fails in providing its citizen with the necessary amount of green spaces and lacks a homogenous distribution of parks in the city. At district level, this average rate drops even further to 0.3 m² per individual. In addition to a lack of green spaces, the number of nurseries is not sufficient in relation to the population of each district. In Bağcılar district, for example, which is the second most populous district of Istanbul, there is only one nursery available that serves only 64 children. Additionally, the available data shows that there

2
<http://www.worldcities-cultureforum.com/cities/istanbul/>

are no day care services in the municipalities that cover the age group of 0 – 3 except in Maltepe District (Erginli, 2018). This local service is usually not free of charge, with the cost reaching 700 TL at its highest. Besides green spaces and daycare services, playgrounds supply is also limited. While data shows that the majority of parks in Istanbul have playgrounds for children, the number of parks and playgrounds is not enough in relation to the population of each district. In addition, the availability of playgrounds for children aged 0 to 4 are minimal apart from one playground in the Sarıyer District which was built in 2019 under the project of Urban 95 of BvLF. Further details of the amenities in Beyoğlu and Sarıyer, the two districts which this research focuses on, can be seen in the table below.

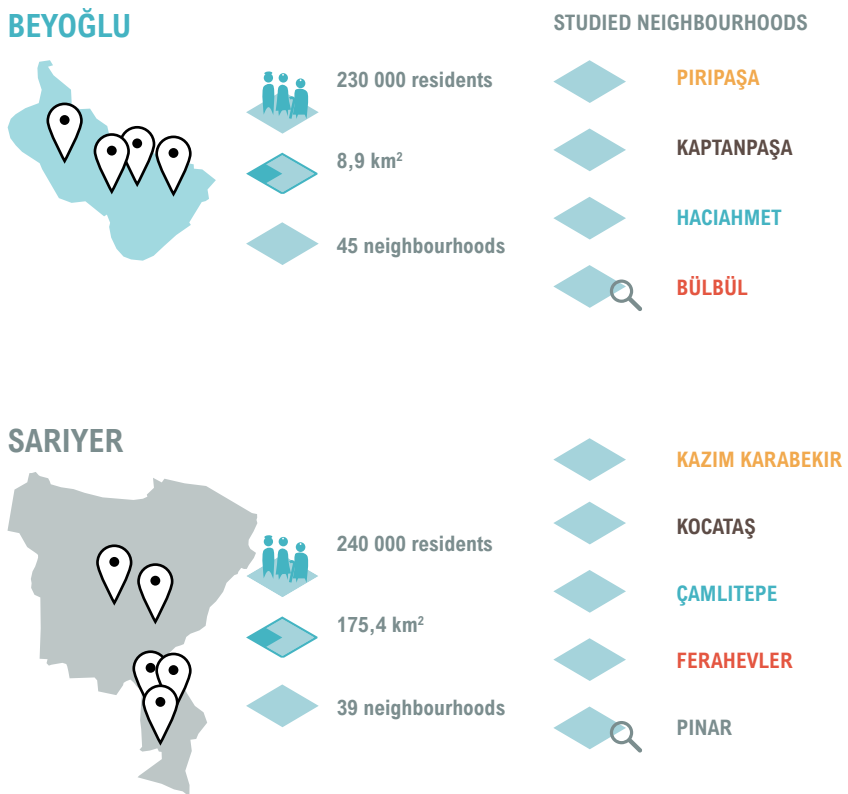


Figure 1
Overview of investigated neighbourhoods
Data: <http://www.tuik.gov.tr>: population of districts of Istanbul, 2018

Descriptions of districts: Beyoğlu and Sarıyer

According to TUIK (2011), children aged 0 to 18 account for around 31% of Istanbul's population. Younger children under the age of 5 account for around 8% of the city's population (1.080.000), with 49% female and 51% male.³ Within the two districts and nine neighbourhoods that were part of this study, identifying the total number of children was difficult. Either data could not be provided by TUIK and the local municipality, or data was only for the total population. However, as seen in the image below, what we were able to gather is data on neighbourhoods which has a majority children and youth population, in combination with real estate values. As discussed in the methodology, the selected neighbourhoods from Beyoğlu and Sarıyer have collaborations with BvLF, with low or intermediate real estate value, and high population of children and youth. These locations have been chosen in collaboration with Istanbul representatives of BvLF and local municipalities. We also tried to select families who participated in the Parents+ program.

3
<http://www.tuik.gov.tr>:
Population by province,
age group and sex, 2011

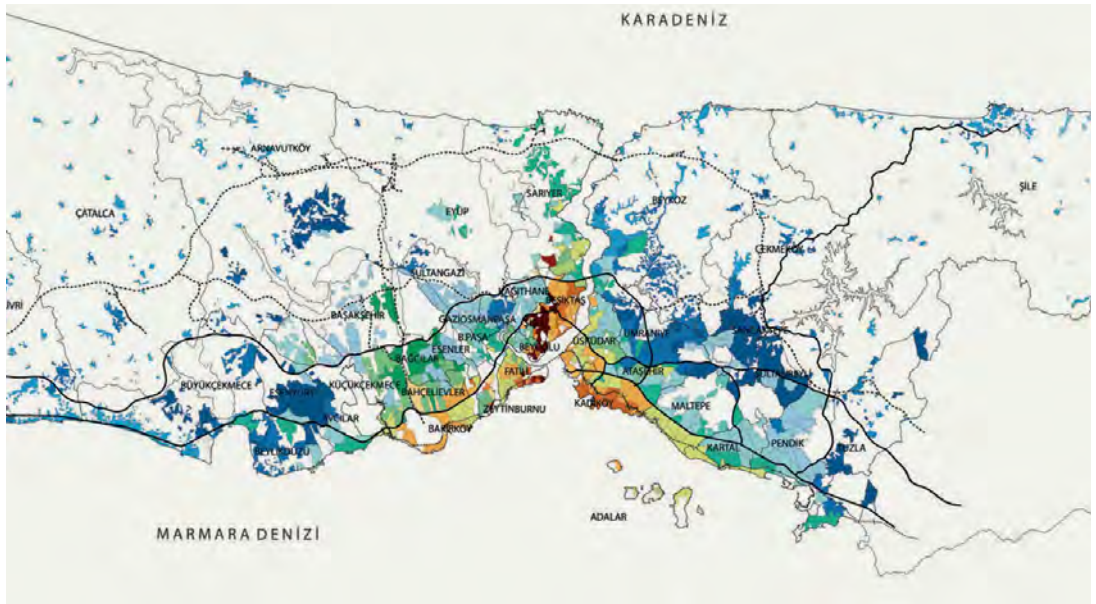


Figure 2
Map of Istanbul showing
the percentage of children
per neighbourhood.
Source: (Güvenç & Tülek,
2018)

Beyoğlu

Beyoğlu is a district on the European side of Istanbul, which is located in between Kasımpaşa valley in the north, and Dolmabahçe valley in the east. It also has borders with Sisli District and Besiktas District. After being the trade centre and the base for European merchants, the area went into gradual decline in the first decades of the 20th century and witnessed widespread political violence between leftist and rightist groups in the late 1970s. The first decade of the 21st century, Beyoğlu has witnessed rapid gentrification, and has become a popular, expensive destination for tourists. Traces of this gentrification wave can be seen in the images below: the centre of the district (Taksim Square and its close environment) has high real estate value except in some areas that were part of slum rehabilitation programs. Beyoğlu has a population of around 231.000 residents according to TUIK (2018).⁴

4
http://www.tuik.gov.tr:
population of districts of
Istanbul, 2018

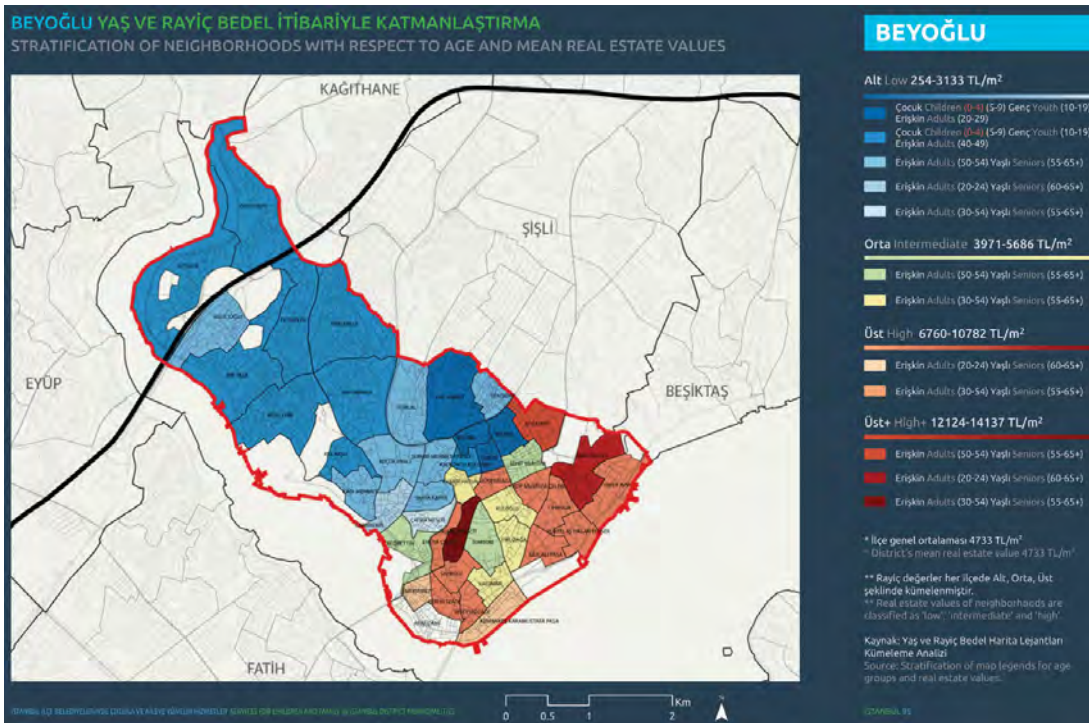


Figure 3 Beyoğlu
Source: (Güvenç & Tülek,
2018)

Sarıyer

Sarıyer is a district on the European side of Istanbul. The district has borders with Eyüp, Beşiktaş, and Kağıthane districts as well as the Black Sea in the north. According to TUIK (2018)⁵, Sarıyer has a population of around 343.000 residents. As it lies on a steep hill, this makes transportation in the district difficult. Despite it being geographically disadvantageous, its long coastline through the Bosphorus strait makes the area a base for the wealthy. The coastline was where summer residences of wealthy foreign traders were located during the 18th and 19th centuries. Sarıyer is in the north part of the city that consists of seven natural parks. It has the biggest forestry (Belgrad Ormanı) in the city, and Istanbul's water resources are mostly delivered from here. There have also been rural communities in and around the forest since the 1990s. Luxury housing is also being built in parts of the forest, and the most expensive residential area of Istanbul is part of the district.

5
<http://www.tuik.gov.tr:>
 population of districts of
 Istanbul, 2018

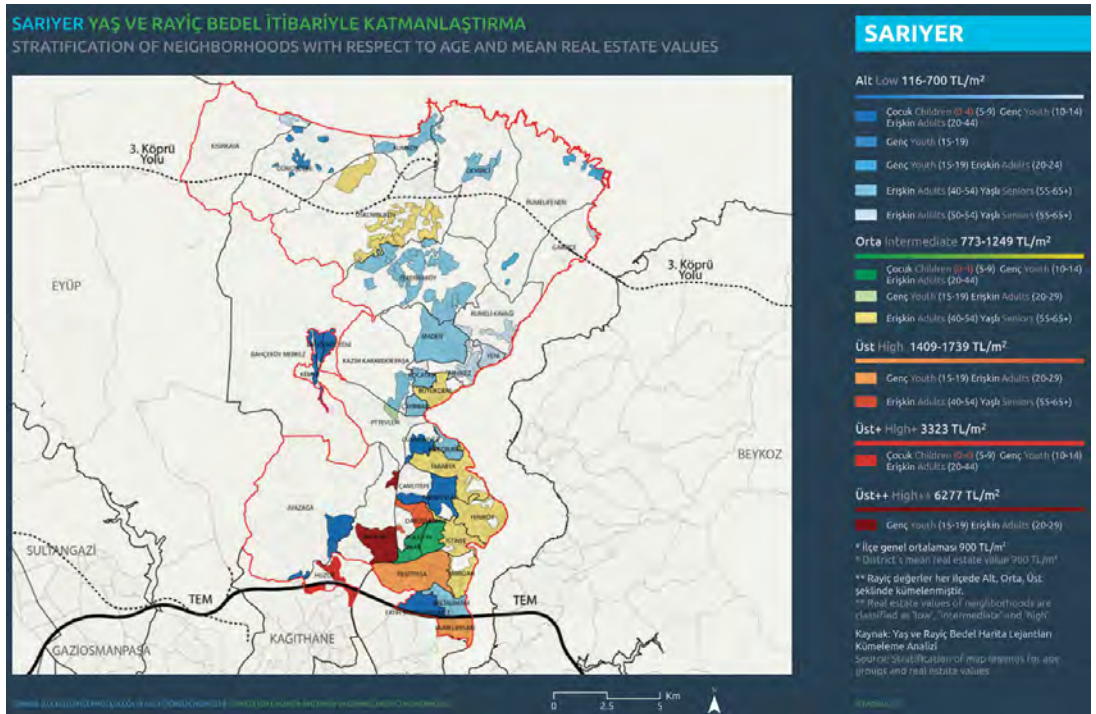


Figure 4 Sarıyer
 Source: (Güvenç & Tülek, 2018)

Beyoğlu District



PIRIPAŞA



15 700 RESIDENTS



0.5 SQ. KM.



KAPTANPAŞA



19 800 RESIDENTS



0.41 SQ. KM.



HACIAHMET



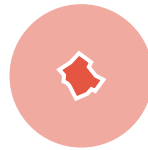
15 400 RESIDENTS



0.34 SQ. KM.



BÜLBÜL



3 883 RESIDENTS



0.009 SQ. KM.

Source: Google Earth with additions by the authors, data from each municipalities website <http://www.beyoglu.bel.tr/> and <http://www.Sarıyer.bel.tr/>

Sarıyer District



KAZIM KARABEKİR



8 200 RESIDENTS



6.6 SQ.KM.



KOCATAŞ



4 500 RESIDENTS



0.64 SQ.KM.



ÇAMLITEPE



6 100 RESIDENTS



1.5 SQ.KM.



FERAHEVLER



15 200 RESIDENTS



1.3 SQ.KM.



PINAR



11 600 RESIDENTS



0.76 SQ.KM.

Learning from the analysis: Istanbul

Beyoğlu District



PIRIPAŞA



KAPTANPAŞA



HACIAHMET



BÜLBÜL

Findings Summary

Total participants

30



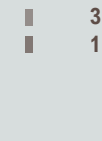
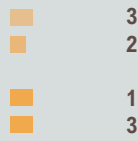
Number of children captured

79



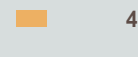
Age range child

- 0-3 yrs:
- 4-6 yrs:
- 7-9 yrs:
- 10-15 yrs:
- 16+ yrs:



Caregiver spectrum

mother
(only mothers)



Neighbourhood safety

streets safe

0%

33%

15%

0%

park safe

50%

67%

85%

100%

neighbourhood safe

100%

67%

73%

0%

front yard safe

--

--

--

--

Play space of children

home



33%

40%

10%

front yard



25%

54%

90%

street



72%

6%

10%

park



3%

6%

10%

relatives



3%

6%

10%

Average walking time to services in minutes



Beyoğlu District

school
n: 8

groceries
n: 12

childcare
n: 2

health services
n: 10

Sarıyer District



KAZIM KARABEKİR



KOCATAŞ



ÇAMLITEPE



FERAHEVLER



PINAR



1



4



5



1



4



3



8



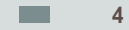
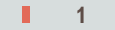
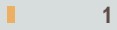
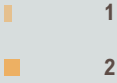
16



1



9



100%

100%

0%

--

0%

25%

100%

100%

39%

39%

79%

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0%

100%

0%

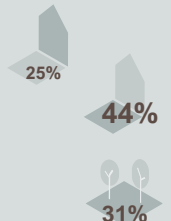
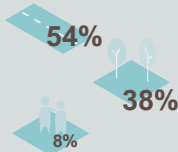
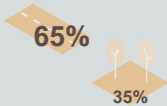
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0%

50%

72%

100%



Average walking time to services in minutes



school
n: 6



groceries
n: 14



childcare
n: 1



health services
n: 8

Sarıyer District

Learning from the analysis: Istanbul

The behaviour of mothers plays a significant role in the development of children's empathy skills (Okman Fişek, 2005; Tezel Şahin & Cevher, 2007). Level of education, participation in parental education courses, and the socio-economic level of mothers have an effect on mother-child relationships (Tezel Şahin & Cevher, 2007). Recent research in Turkey found that compassion, support, loyalty, and request for care are main features in the relationship between mother and the child, whilst the main feature in the relationship between father and the child is hierarchical distance (Okman Fişek, 2005).

Despite increasing research on the role of fathers in children's development, the role of the mother remains central in Turkish society. As most mothers do not have a permanent job, or are housewives, they often take up the role as primary caregiver, especially in low and middle socio-economic communities. Because of this, it is not surprising that we found mothers as the primary caregiver in low socio-economic communities of Turkey. In the Parents+ project, only mothers participated as the caregiver. This shows that their perception of safety, mobility, preferences and requests for the built environment and services, perception of safety, as well as their participation remain critical for interventions to make the built environment more liveable for families with younger children.

Figure 5a
Participants demography

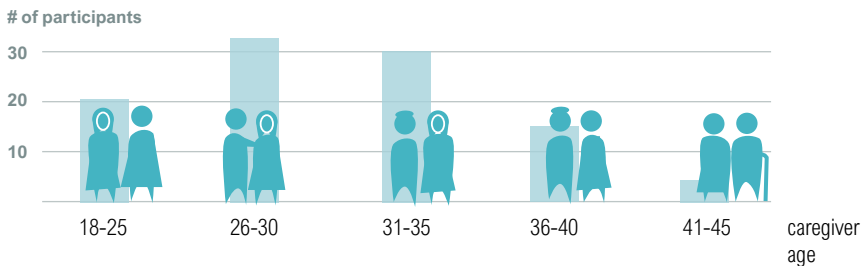
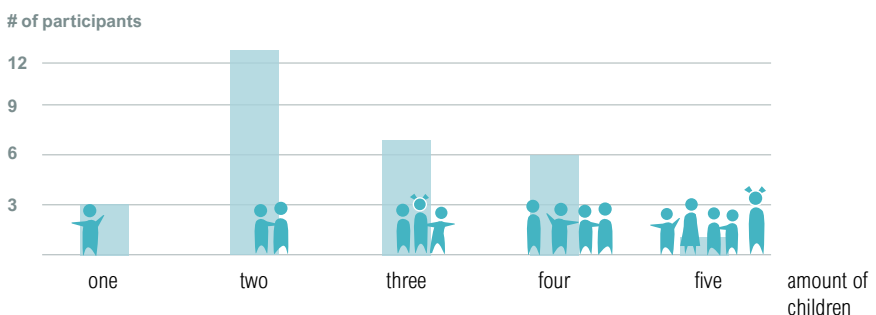


Figure 5b
Family size



It is also evident from the literature that the caregivers perception and mobility determine the child's quality of life. In the case of Istanbul, data gathered from mothers who participated in this research represents an overview of child's mobility and freedom (or limitations) in outdoor play.

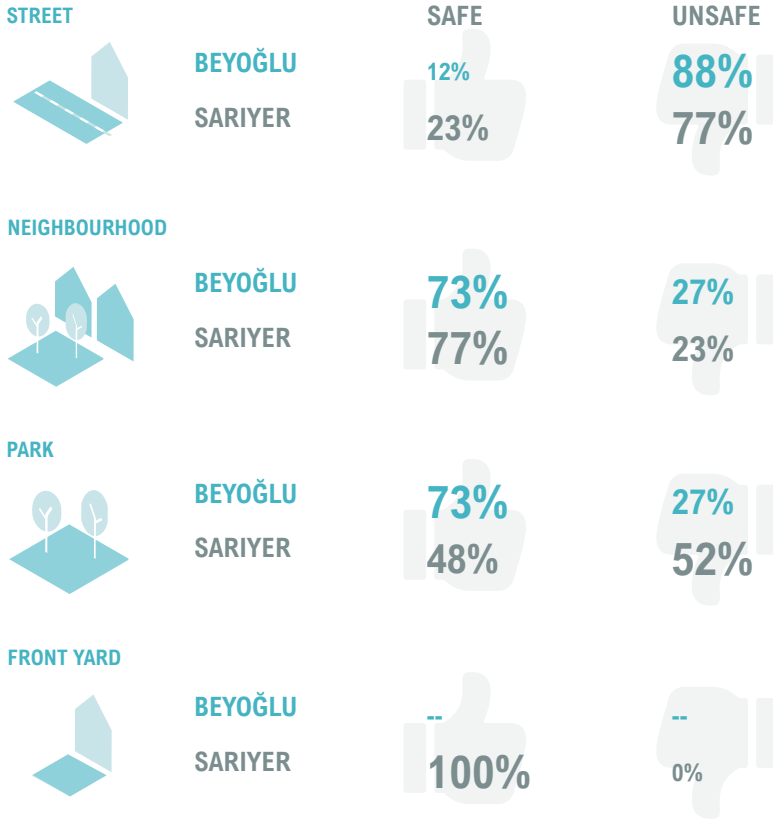
Mothers who participated in this research were between 25 to 34, with the highest birth rate percentage in Istanbul and an average household size of 3.39 people (Figure 5). The majority of families (n:13/30) who participated in the research have two children. In most cases among those families, the children are toddlers and pre-schoolers. In families with three or four children, the older children are teenagers, and they are the main companions of mothers in taking care of younger children. In order to present an overview of the role of caregivers perception and quality of life in child's development through a spatial context, several interrelated questions were asked: (1) What is the mother's perception of street safety, neighbourhood safety and park safety? What is the relationship between the mother's perception of safety and where children are allowed to play? (2) How do mothers move within and around the neighbourhood? How does mobility of mothers affect the mobility of children? (3) What are the most common services and public spaces used or preferred by mothers? What are the preferences of mothers in choosing services and parks? (4) How do mothers perceive the quality of public space and services in neighbourhoods? What/How do they want to change their neighbourhoods?

Perceived Safety and Role of Community

Mothers from Istanbul have been asked about their perceived safety of the street in front of their house, the park they go to, and their neighbourhood. The majority of mothers (n:23) stated that their neighbourhoods are safe due to (1) having relatives close by (2) knowing neighbours and (3) night guards (4) haven't seen any illegal incidences yet, and (5) feeling being part of the community (sense of community). 77% of mothers from Sarıyer and 73% of mothers from Beyoğlu stated that their neighbourhoods are safe (Figure 6).

Sense of community is the core of community trust, as discussed before. When mothers know their neighbours, they are more likely to confidently say that their neighbourhood is safe. One mother from Beyoğlu shared that, "Yes, my neighbourhood is safe. If anything happens to harm any child, everyone from our neighbourhood would be angry and would try to prevent it." Coming from the same socio-economical class is another reason to feel the sense of the community. One mother from Beyoğlu whose husband runs a business in the neighbourhood explains this feeling: "We all know

Figure 6
Perceived Safety of Neighbourhood of Sariyer and Beyoğlu. Do you think your neighbourhood is safe?



each other. I mean my neighbours and people who own business here. This makes us feel safe. My husband runs the carpet cleaning shop right down the apartment.”

However, in some cases, community trust is not always enough to feel safe when it comes to their children’s safety. One mother explained, “Neighbours watch each other. I feel safe because of this, but still, I do not let my children alone outside.” Some mothers are more hesitant to trust other members of the community/neighbourhood.

Community trust is attributed as the reason for minimal illegal incidents in the neighbourhoods. One mother from Beyoğlu said, “Robbery, or this kind of illegal incidences is rare here. I can walk easily at night in the neighbourhood and I know all my neighbours very well. I know that foreigners are not welcome.” Another mother from Sariyer said, “My neighbourhood is safe, and no illegal incidence can happen here because I know my neighbours very well. We have a connection.” Sometimes community trust can be the reason to live in this neighbourhood. One mother from Sariyer mentioned that “[she is] not happy with the quality of [her] neighbourhood, but [she] live[s] here because [she] likes [her] neighbours and [she] likes the location of [her]

house.” Mothers who trust the community tend to talk about the neighbourhood positively. For example, one mother from Sarıyer identified the sense of community as the core of feeling safe even though she and her family is new in that neighbourhood. In other words, knowing the people living around gives most mothers the feelings of trust and security.

However, mothers from both districts still have doubts about the safety of their neighbourhoods. For example, they are unsatisfied with the lack of lights and CCTV in the streets, the number of people whom they do not know well, the number of drug dealing and robbery cases which they hear about, and fast cars on the street.

Figure 7
Streets in Beyoğlu (L) and Sarıyer (R) with narrow or no sidewalks

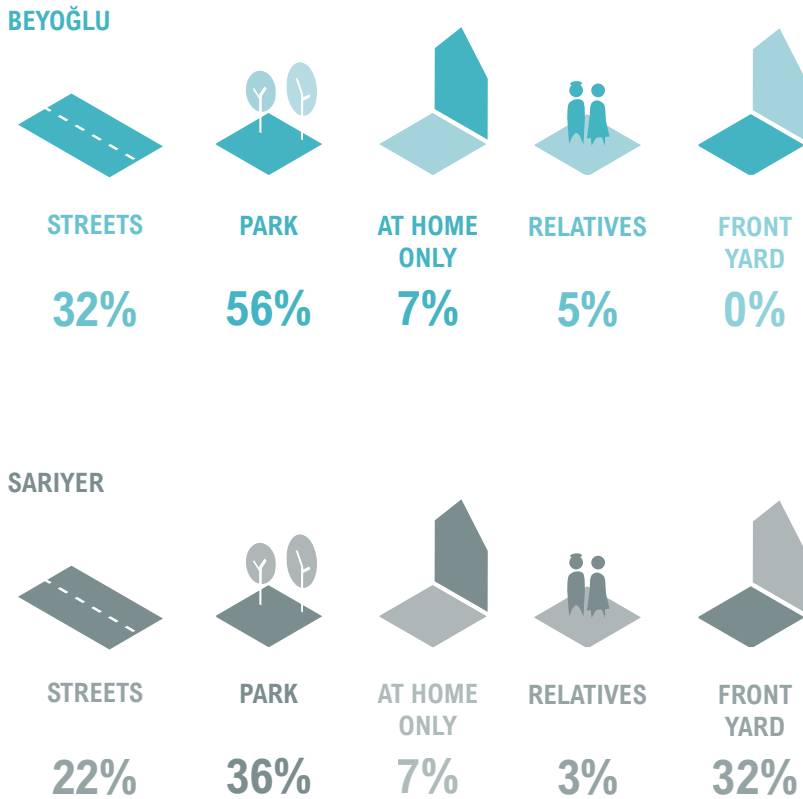


Safety of the street in front of the house

Contrary to perceptions about the safety of the neighbourhood, 88% of mothers from Beyoğlu and 77% of mothers from Sarıyer expressed that the streets in front of their houses are unsafe (Figure 6). However, they let their children play in the street anyway. One mother from Sarıyer explains “the street is easy to watch, and [she] can do [her] household [work] while they are playing.” Nearly half of the mothers (n:12) let their children play on the street except two mothers who don’t let their children play outside, stating that “[her] son is not old enough to play in the street. He needs attention.” (Figure 8). Whenever children want to play with their friends on the street, mothers would keep an eye on them, or ask somebody to accompany their children. As one mother from Beyoğlu said, “They (the children) are usually home. I do not let them outside without me. If they are outside in the street, I accompany them.”

The main problem behind not letting children play on the street alone is the cars on the street. The majority of mothers complain about cars moving too fast, and drivers not being aware of the children playing on the street. Moreover, cars parked illegally on the street and on the sidewalks were criticised for limiting children’s play space. Besides playing on the street, biking on the street is not allowed for children. Children are only allowed to bike at home, in the front yard of the house or in the balcony. One mother explains that “[she] wants to buy a bigger bike for [her] son (now that he has a three-wheeler), but [she] has some doubts about the cars in the street. The place in front of [their] house (the front yard) will not be enough for biking on a bigger bike and he will definitely want to bike on the street.”

Figure 8
The places that children from Sariyer and Beyoğlu allowed to play



BEYOĞLU

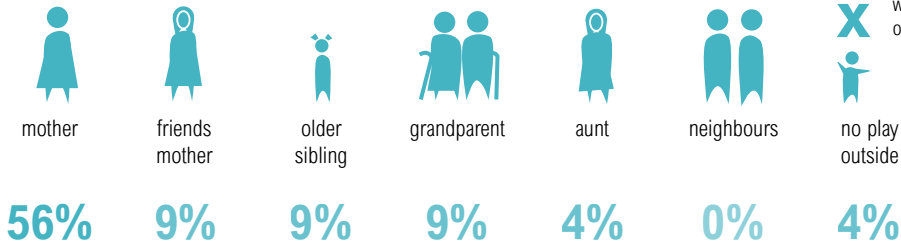
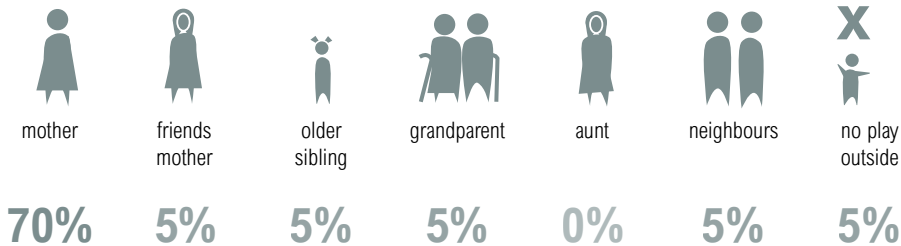


Figure 9
Who watches children
while they are playing
outside

SARIYER



Sometimes, children are allowed to play in specific streets for particular events. For example, children of a mother from Beyoğlu play soccer only in a particular street because it is close to home, and free from fast cars. She explained the situation: “My children play soccer in that street, which is close, safe and convenient for playing soccer because it is flat.” However, in general, playing on the street is the only option for children as they are far away from parks for daily play.

Among the mothers who think that the street is safe (n:4), two mothers felt it was safe as they lived at the end of a cul-de-sac (Figure 6). One mother from Sarıyer explained why she lets her children play in the street: “They usually play in the street in front of the house. It is a cul-de-sac, and it is safe from cars. I let them play there freely because we have a deal: they do not go any further than the beginning of the cul-de-sac when I am not there to watch them.” Despite they feel the street is safe, they still keep an eye on their children while they play. Meanwhile, the other two mothers think that the street is safe for play as they live next to a street where fewer cars pass by.

Apart from one mother from Beyoğlu, who has the help of older children to watch the younger ones, all mothers feel that children should be watched

while they are playing outside on the street or at the park. 16 mothers out of 30 mothers undertake the duty of watching children by themselves. However, sometimes they share the responsibility with mothers of children's friends (n:3), other family members (aunt:1, dad:3, older siblings:3, and grandparents:3) and neighbours (n:1) (Figure 9).

Six mothers from Sariyer (Figure 6) who have the advantage of having a front yard, can let their children play freely there without watching them all the time. These mothers expressed that the “front yard is a spacious space and safe for playing, [but the] street is dangerous for children because of the cars. In the front yard, children are free”.

Figure 10
Semi-public space
example in Sariyer for
playing



Safety of Parks

Nearly all mothers from both districts take their children to indoor and outdoor parks approximately twice a week, depending on the weather (Figure 8). Play in the park is critical for both children and mothers as well, because going to the park is a chance for mothers to socialise while watching children play in the park. As stated in previous parts, mothers from both districts felt that their neighbourhood is safe, but the streets are unsafe. However, when it comes to the safety of parks, 73% of mothers from Beyoğlu, and 48% percent of mothers from Sarıyer think that the park they go to is safe (Figure 6). Mothers from Beyoğlu mentioned that they go to a park which is close by, and they also have options to choose from. However, mothers from Sarıyer complained about the limited availability and diversity of parks close to home. Because of this, their options are limited. In addition, the commuting time to reach a park is longer for mothers in Sarıyer. With a longer commuting time and limited options to choose from, all in all, mothers from Sarıyer think that the parks they go to with their children are unsafe (52 percent - Figure 6).

Mothers in both districts generally think that parks are the best places for children to play in, as they are free from cars, and are secure with the park guards and CCTV. One mother living close to Taksim Square explained that “It (Gezi Park) is safe because there are lots of guards working there, and it is also a police protection corridor area.” However, one mother from Sarıyer was not satisfied with the quality and security level of the park available in her neighbourhood for her twin toddlers. She said, “They (my girls) are too young to play out and my husband and I take the children to indoor parks in shopping malls.” Another mother explained, “At the park, there is a guard, but he does not care his job very well. Older children broke the fences of the soccer field which is so dangerous for our children when they play there.” Mothers agreed that especially for younger children, indoor playgrounds in shopping malls are safer places to play at.

It is clear from the analysis that community trust has a significant influence over mothers' perceived safety of the neighbourhood, its streets and parks. Mothers do not trust people they do not know when they are out with their children and attach the importance of having a family member living close by as the main tenet of feeling safe. Besides this, CCTVs, officers such as night guards and park guards are a sign of safe neighbourhoods and parks. Issues such as ‘broken streetlights’ affect perceived neighbourhood safety and the mobility of mothers. One mother from Beyoğlu said, “I think my neighbourhood is safe, but I am afraid of going out at night. Street lights are always broken.” In addition to mothers' perception of safety, the mobility of mothers is the second domain that needs to be considered in relation to children's development.

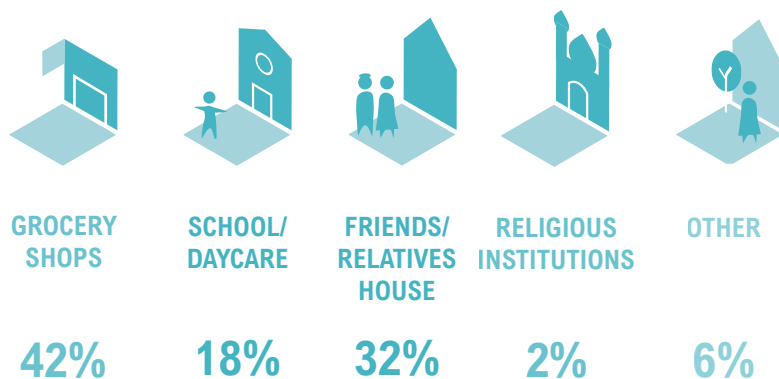
Mobility of Caregivers and Children

The mobility of mothers from both districts is limited by pregnancy first and later, the duty of taking care of the baby. One mother explained this limitation through her changing daily routine: “Before having the baby, I used to take my older children to school. Now, my neighbour walks my son, and my older sister walks my daughter to school.” Being pregnant and taking care of a baby are also obstacles to participating events in the neighbourhood, such as meeting friends or courses given by the community centre. Thus, mothers are glued to the home. When they described their day, they tended to start with the same statement, “I mostly stay at home” and then described their household duties. Sometimes, staying at home is preferred by mothers. One mother from Beyoğlu mentioned, “I do not go out of the house very often. I prefer sitting at home.”

Furthermore, being the only care giver of the child, inability to find a suitable place /park/playground in walking proximity, and weather conditions are other constraints on a mother’s mobility in both districts. One mother from Sarıyer attached this to the fact that there isn’t a place or playground close to home. She said, “We usually spend our time at home. The places that are suitable for my children’s age is far away, and we need a car to reach there.” Apart from spending time at home, they also go to their relatives’ / friends’ homes instead of going out with their children (Figure 11). The balcony sometimes works as an extension of the home to create a playing space for children, and to give some fresh air for mothers.

Except for one mother from Beyoğlu, all mothers are housewives and currently do not have a job, but two mothers out of 30 mothers used to work before having a baby. That is another reason why they are always at home. When the interviews were done, only one mother was working part time (Figure 12), and she was thinking that working when she has a baby is not

Figure 11
The most visited places by mothers. Where do you go most around the neighbourhood (most frequently)?



easy. This demonstrates that mothers are the primary caregiver of children. Meanwhile, fathers are responsible for financial income and rarely take the responsibility of taking children to the park.

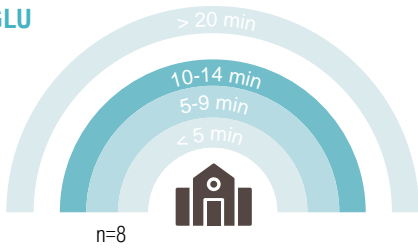
The majority of mothers usually go out for daily chores such as shopping for groceries, followed by walking the children to school or daycare (Figure 11). Sometimes, they also go to friends' and relatives' houses to socialise too. When the older children are taken to school by neighbours or other members of the family, there is only shopping as a reason to go out daily. Mothers also go to the park and open market once a week. There are also creative solutions for daily grocery shopping called basket shopping, which is lifting the basket to the balcony with groceries placed by market workers. Mothers have their solutions to not leave the house because they mentioned that it is not easy to go out of the house and commute with a baby. However, in general, they take advantage of daily chores to go outside the house, and to friends' and relatives' houses as an excuse for leaving home.



Figure 12
Occupation of Mothers.
What do you do most
around the neighbour-
hood?

Figure 13
Commuting style of
mothers. How do you
move around the neigh-
bourhood?

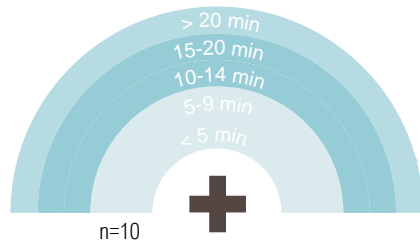
BEYOĞLU



n=8

TO SCHOOL

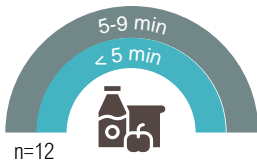
0:10 (average time to service)



n=10

TO HEALTH SERVICES

0:19



n=12

TO GROCERY SHOPS

0:04

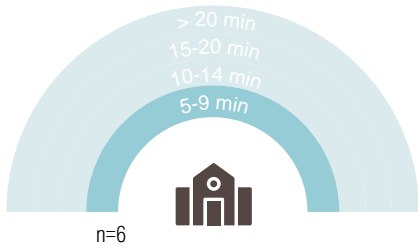


n=2

TO CHILD CARE

0:05

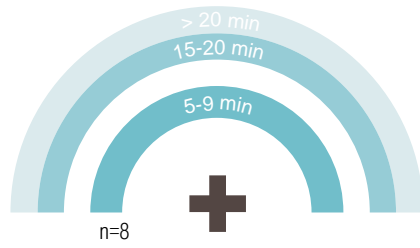
SARIYER



n=6

TO SCHOOL

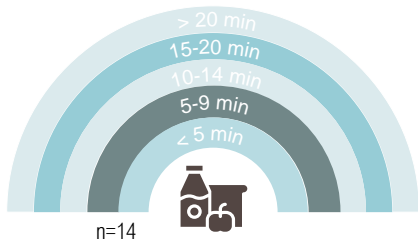
0:13 (average time to service)



n=8

TO HEALTH SERVICES

1:00



n=14

TO GROCERY SHOPS

0:09



n=1

TO CHILD CARE

0:12

Figure 14
Proximity of local services
for caregivers
Number of respondents



Most of the mothers from Beyoğlu prefer walking as a way to move around the neighbourhood for daily activities such as shopping and taking children to school. When it comes to commuting to faraway destinations such as the health centre or open markets in other neighbourhoods, mothers use public transportation. Private transport is only available for mothers when the father is available and when the final destination is mostly an emergency (Figure 13).

Mothers from Sarıyer tend to use public transportation more because of the geographical situation – slopes – of the neighbourhoods. One mother from Sarıyer mentioned that it is not easy to move with a stroller: “I like walking, but the quality of the streets could not help me walk with my son. With the geographical location, and all slopes designed as stairs by the municipality, it does not help me with a stroller.” Other mothers mentioned that mothers with strollers are not welcomed by drivers of semi-public transport as they occupy additional space on the bus. Examples of these semi-public transports are *dolmuş*, which are small buses provided by private initiatives to cover areas which are not covered by public transportation. As a result of the obstacles mothers face against their mobility, the rate of car ownership is higher in Sarıyer than Beyoğlu. Those who own private cars use them to reach faraway places. Meanwhile, cycling was never an option preferred by mothers. This may be due to not having bike paths in both districts, and cultural perceptions of bikes as a child’s toy.

While walking is preferred by mothers from both districts, the average walking time to reach services differ (Figure 14). On one hand, the shortest trip of mothers from both districts is the one to grocery shops. According to 26 mothers (14 mothers from Sarıyer and 12 mothers from Beyoğlu), the average time to reach grocery shops is 6 minutes. On the other hand, the longest trip of the mothers (stated by only three mothers from both districts) is to childcare services. As stated before, walking is a challenge for the mothers from Sarıyer. For one mother from Sarıyer, it takes one hour to reach there. Meanwhile, two mothers from Beyoğlu who are fortunate to be close to the childcare, spend on average 5 minutes to reach these services. In both districts, the average walking time to schools and health centres is about 11 to 15 minutes. Based on the time mothers spend to reach services, the most accessible service is grocery shops, followed by schools, health centres and then childcare services.

Public Space and Services: Outside the Home

Mothers from both districts pointed out that streets are not a safe place for playing and are only for commuting (n:29/30). When it comes to the street in front of the house, half of the mothers use those as shared spaces with neighbours (meeting, greeting, and so on). Meanwhile, 23% who use it in other ways say that it is also a shared space of commuting with random people (Figure 15a). It is not every day that streets in the neighbourhoods are used for festivals and events, but they are places of spontaneous or scheduled gathering with neighbours and friends while children are playing outside. One mother from Sariyer explained “the stairs in front of the apartment is [their] sitting and gathering place with other neighbours.”

In general, mothers use streets in their neighbourhoods for shopping, going to health centres, to school (walking children to school), to parks, to open markets, and for a walk. All activities are done by walking, though sometimes going to the health centre requires public transportation as it tends to be further away. One mother from Beyoğlu sees walking her children as an opportunity to have some fresh air, and to do some exercise on the way back home.

Aforementioned, shopping is one of the most mentioned reasons to leave the house, and they usually take their children with them as they are often the

Figure 15a
Usage of streets in neighbourhoods. How do you use the street space in front of your house currently?

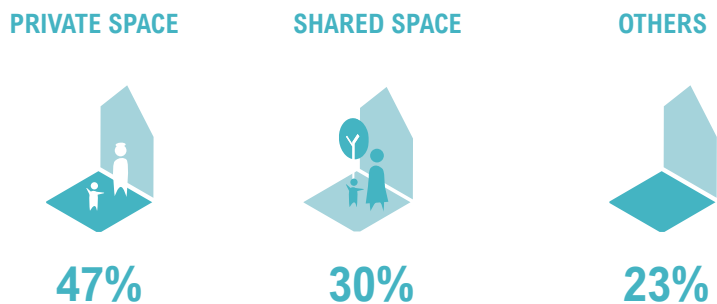


Figure 15b
What do you use the streets in the neighbourhood for?



only caregiver. Unsurprisingly, grocery shops are the most common services mothers use within and around the neighbourhood (Figure 16), followed by health centres (within the community centre or in another neighbourhood), school & daycare, and parks (other section in Figure 16). Mothers generally use the health centre in the neighbourhood for urgent illnesses if they are pleased with the quality of the health centre. When they are not happy with the service of health centres in their neighbourhood, they prefer to visit another health centre in other neighbourhoods.

The community centre is a complex of daycare, education for children and parents, meeting rooms, and health care for the neighbourhood community. Three mothers mentioned positive experiences with courses they or their children from the community centre but added that pregnancy and taking care of their children prevented them from attending these courses. The courses they took are child development and basic courses (reading and writing), while their children took English and guitar lessons. Children also attend kindergarten in the community centre.

Although childcare services (5 in Sariyer and 14 in Beyoğlu) are provided by the municipalities of both districts, they are not the most common services used within the neighbourhoods. As mothers are the primary caregivers and do not have a constant, permanent job, they do not need or prefer any childcare services.

Parks are the most preferred public space in the neighbourhood by mothers as a play area for their children. When there is no park close by or if the park is perceived unsafe, mothers search for other spaces where their children can play. One mother from Beyoğlu explained, “There is no park close to

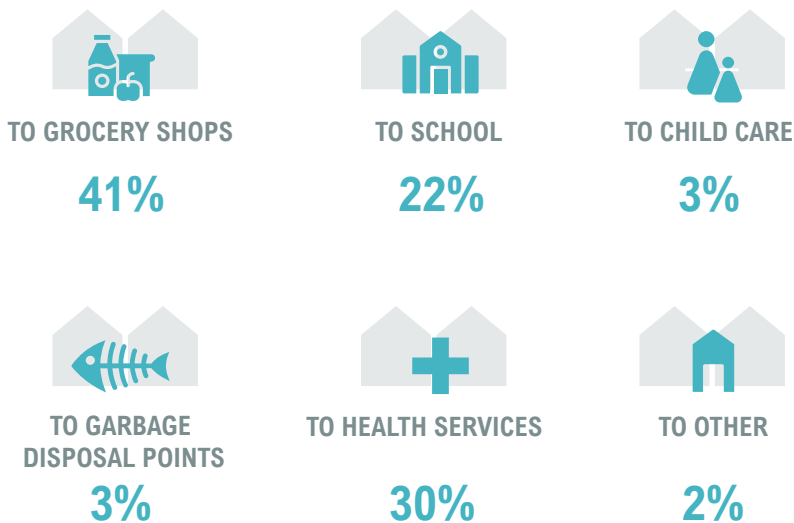
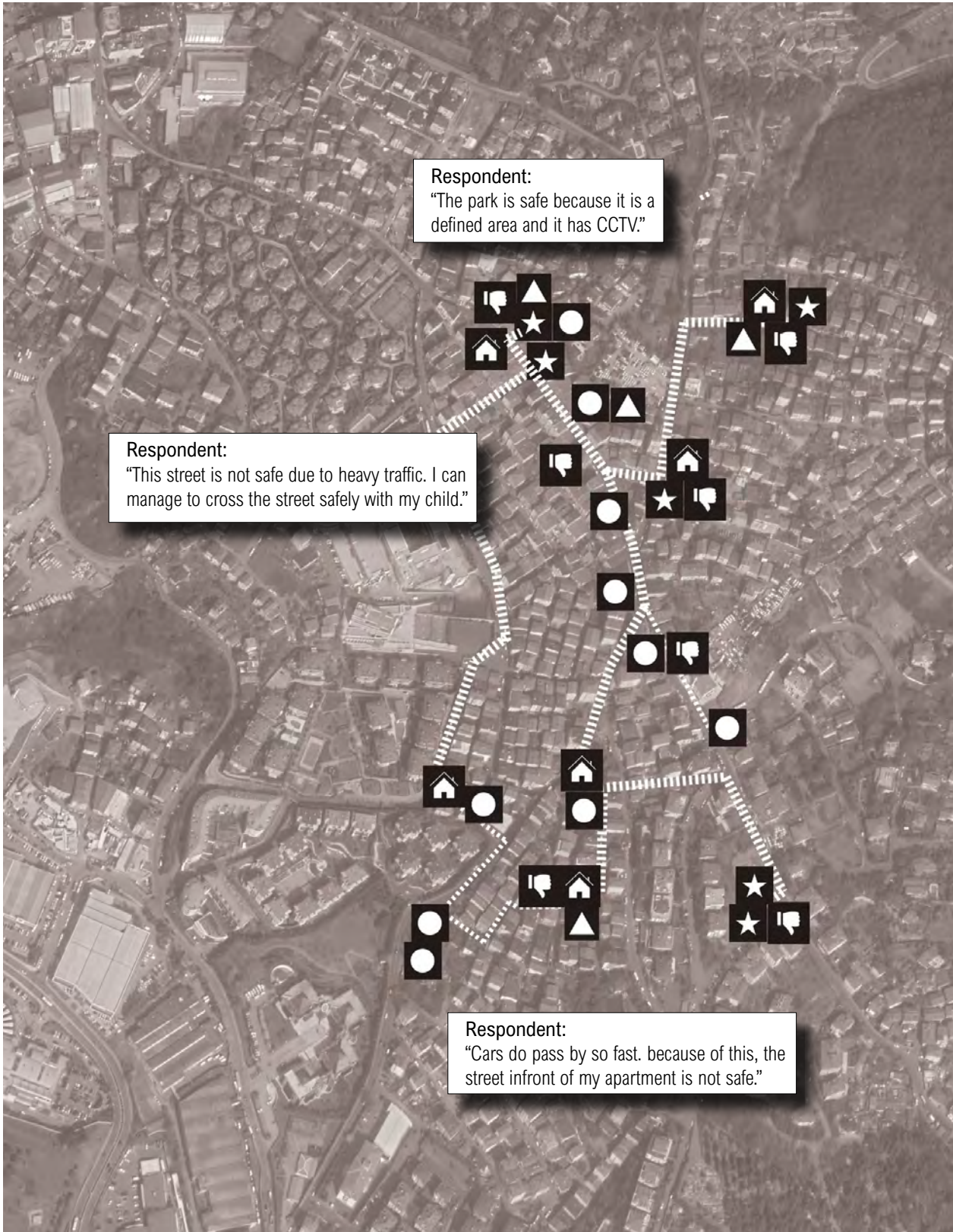


Figure 16
Most visited services
within and around the
neighbourhood



Respondent:
"The park is safe because it is a defined area and it has CCTV."

Respondent:
"This street is not safe due to heavy traffic. I can manage to cross the street safely with my child."









Respondent:
"Cars do pass by so fast. because of this, the street in front of my apartment is not safe."

Figure 17
By using maps, participants in Saryer identified the locations they take their children to play, and the walking routes to get there.



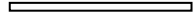
Respondent:
"I would like no parking cars in the street or in the sidewalks, so my children can play freely."

Respondent:
"I would like more swings at the park."

- Walking routes
-  Home
-  Medical services
-  Other services
-  Religious institutions
-  Places children play
-  Places visited with children
-  Bus stops (outside map area)
-  Public spaces (improvement)



50 M



our home. Sometimes, I take my children to the front yard of the mosque. My children ride their bikes there.” Another mother from Beyoğlu enthusiastically looks for different parks her children can play at. She explained her journeys to different kinds of park:

“We go to parks in the shopping malls mostly, but I like to be outside and usually we go to Ayhan Kocaman Park (3 times a week). I try to find different parks around the neighbourhood or outside the neighbourhood, but in winter-time, we go to parks in the shopping malls. Once, I discovered a great park in Emirgan Korusu which has a swing is a double-seated for one child and one parent.” Another mother from Sarıyer explained her preferences for parks: “We sometimes go to the playgrounds in the shopping malls and if we want to be outdoors, we usually go to Buyukdere Sarıyer Park in the coastline. It takes 10 minutes by public transportation (dolmuş). It is close, but I prefer a park closer that can be reachable by walking.”

Surprisingly, two mothers from Beyoğlu were aware of special parks for different age groups, and they wish they had that kind of parks in their neighbourhoods. Mothers favour a park and prefer to take their children there if the park is close to home, safe, free from cars, clean, provides urban furniture, and if one of their friends recommends that park or their children favour that park. When there is only one park available in the neighbourhood which does not provide all needs from a park, mothers let their children play in the street and always keep an eye on them. A variety of playgrounds in a park makes a park attractive for children, and if the child wants

Figure 18
Community centre and its
front yard in Beyoğlu



to go there, the mothers follow their children's request. The safety of the park, as well as clean and well-designed parks are appreciated by mothers when it comes to choosing a place for their children to play. For example, one mother from Beyoğlu shared, "My children go to Cinderesi Park to play when they get bored at home. This park used to be a demolishing area. The municipality did a great job here. I used to take my children to Sururi Park but now I prefer Cinderesi Park because it is well-designed and close."



Figure 19
Mothers from Beyoğlu
spending time with
neighbours and friends
while their children are
playing in the street

Parks are also places for family activities like having a picnic during the weekends when fathers are free from work. When there are parks, they favour those providing distinctive playgrounds, those located in the coastline, and those which are unaffected by weather conditions, such as indoor parks in shopping malls. The whole family visits those parks as a weekend activity, and generally reach those parks by public transportation or by private car if it is available. Going to a park (indoor and outdoor) is an event for the whole family that allows mothers to combine other activities with childcare. One mother from Sarıyer explains: "I like indoor parks such as the one in İstinye Park Mall. We can combine shopping, entertainment, and play. My children like to play there as well." According to mothers, children favour swings, playing soccer and basketball (if there is a field in the park), biking, playing with a ball, and playing with other children.



ÇALIŞTAY

ÇOCUK DOSTU MAHALLE NASIL OLMALI !?

BERABER TASARLAYALIM !
 28.08.2019 Çarşamba
 11:00 - 13:00
 Yeniköy Bağlar Yaşam Evi, Sarıyer / İSTANBUL

Düzenleme Komitesi:
 Dr. Bukayya Korkmazmertliy, TMMOB
 Özyentekçi Akınç TUNÇ
 Beymen Çiğdem Çelmeoğlu / Sarıyer İktisadi ve
 Sosyal Araştırmalar, Sarıyer Belediyesi

TU/e **SARIYER BELEDİYESİ**



Figure 20a The call for the workshop in Sarıyer and Caregivers filling the forms before mapping activity

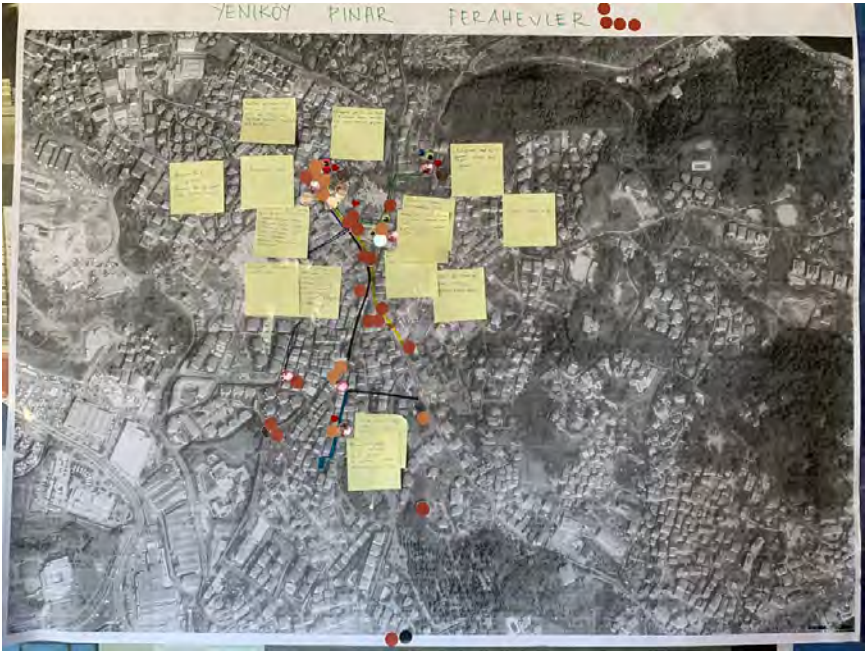


Figure 20b
Caregivers in Sanyer
mapping and discussing
local challenges.



Furthermore, one mother from Beyoğlu explained how she chooses where to go to make her child happy: “To make my children happy, I take them to the Taksim Square. We go to McDonald’s. We walk there. We usually stay there approximately 1 hour. My children like the playground inside of McDonald’s. When we are there, I like window-shopping.” Mothers in both Beyoğlu and Sarıyer combine their daily chores with their children’s recreational activities. A mother in Sarıyer shared: “Once in every week we (she and her sisters with their children) go to the open market in Dereiçi Street and there is a park (Mevlana Park) there. When we are busy doing the groceries, we let our older children watch the younger ones while they are all playing at the park.”

Furthermore, while children play at a park, mothers prefer to use this chance to gather with their friends, and mothers of their children’s friends, to have picnics, to sit under a tree, to have some fresh air, and alleviate daily stress. One mother from Beyoğlu explained her combined activity: “I go there (to the park) with my friends and relatives and their children as well. We sometimes have food with us. Sitting on the grass or the banks, we have picnics. I have a chance to have a chat with my friends.” Most of the mothers stated that they are also their children’s playmate. When they are at the park, the mothers play with them. One mother defined her role as a playmate by stating that “We (she and her child) usually play with a ball at the park. [She is] the playmate of [her] child.”

Perceived Quality of Public Space & Services and Participation

Family’s perception of their environment plays a critical role in ensuring the child-friendliness of an area. In order to understand how families with younger children perceive their environment, they have been asked what they like about their neighbourhood. When they talked about challenges they face in daily life, these challenges transformed into wishes for change in their environment. In general, mothers are satisfied with the services provided by the health centre, school, and public transportation, but have challenges while using them or reaching to them (Figure 21). For example, one mother from Sarıyer explained her satisfaction and challenge at the same time with the health centre by saying that “The community health centre is successful at taking care of everyone, but not easy to reach because of the geography of the land.”

Beyoğlu district has a relatively higher real estate value than Sarıyer as it is in the centre of Istanbul. Mothers from Beyoğlu tend to like their neighbourhood as they can afford a house in a neighbourhood which is located in the heart of the city (Figure 21). In terms of the attractiveness of the neighbour-

hood, mothers from Beyoğlu are more oriented towards the physical quality of the neighbourhood compared to mothers from Sarıyer. Mothers from Beyoğlu complain about building settlements being too close to each other, having old-looking facades, having intolerable amount of construction sites around, having streets and sidewalks which are not clean and occupied by cars, and having parks and playgrounds which are damaged by teenagers. On the other hand, mothers from Sarıyer are mostly pleased with their neighbourhood as they are surrounded by a nice community, and they have good relationships with neighbours. However, similar to mothers in Beyoğlu, they are dissatisfied with the lack of privacy as a result of buildings being too close to each other, having streets and sidewalks which are occupied by cars, and having buildings which have old looking facades.

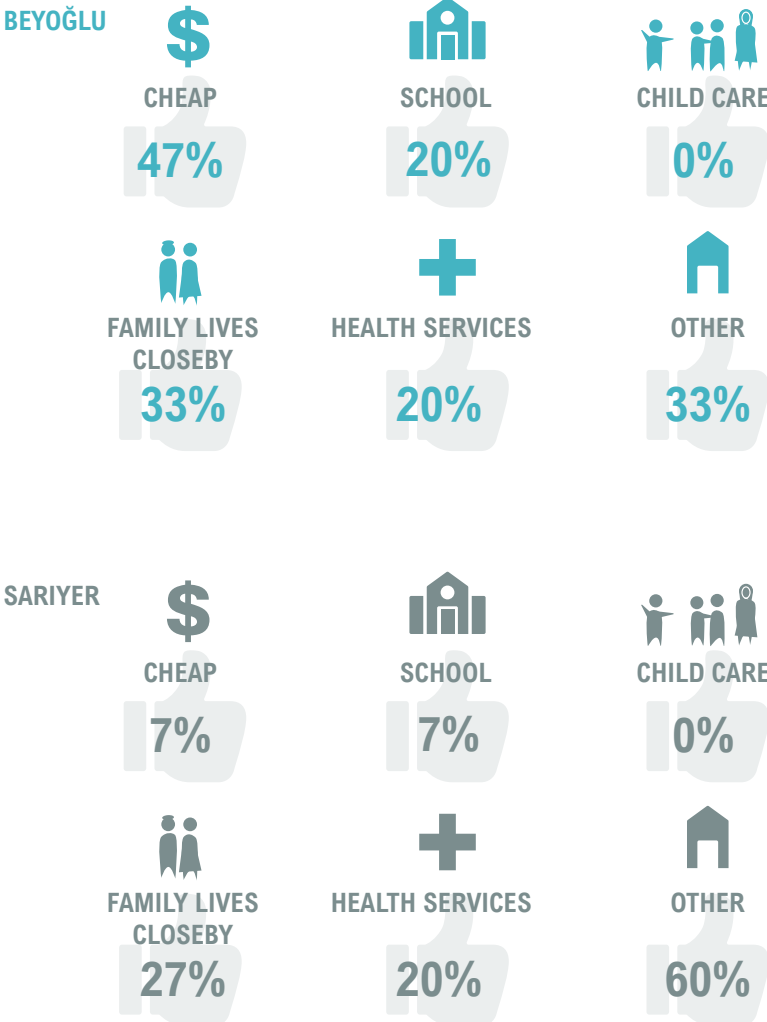


Figure 21
Perceived quality of services in the neighbourhood. What do you like about your neighbourhood?

Wishes

For mothers from Beyoğlu, it seems that happiness depends on the physical quality of neighbourhoods. For mothers from Sarıyer, it depends on the community and their relationship with neighbours, as well as the physical quality of the neighbourhoods. From this point forth, what they wish to have in their neighbourhood can be listed in five groups: (1) Physical Environment, (2) Community Trust, (3) Services, (4) Parks, (5) Street and Sidewalk and can be seen from the table in detail.

In general, common wishes for mothers include having services like schools, daycare, public transportation (bus stop), and parks close to home. Mothers complain about the streets and sidewalks in the neighbourhood as being dirty, narrow, crowded, not suitable for playing and hence unsafe. For streets and sidewalks to be a safe place for families with younger children, mothers request wider and clean streets & sidewalks, with ramps for easy trips for families with strollers, car-free or less car-occupied streets for free play, and regulations to slow down the cars in the streets for safety reasons. One mother from Beyoğlu explained her requests for streets and sidewalks: “The streets are narrow. We use the street in front of our apartment for playing purposes, but it does not only belong to us, to children. We need to share it with cars. The pavements’ width is not enough to walk with a stroller and also, we are forced to share the pavements with cars as well. We and the cars are chasing each other. Pavements should belong to us.”



Figure 23
Street and sidewalk in
Beyoğlu occupied by cars
and garbage

Mothers have many changes they desire to see in parks, which is one of the most used public space in the neighbourhood. In addition to improved proximity of parks from the home, mothers hope that parks are clean and enriched with well-designed playgrounds for different age groups. They also hope there are public toilets, nursery units, and walking & jogging paths in the parks, and that they are secured with park guards and CCTV. One mother from Sariyer explained her wishes for the park in her neighbourhood:

“I would like a park close to our house or the existing park to be re-designed. I would like more urban furniture and enough maintenance. Teenagers are so harmful. The municipality cleans the parks frequently, but not enough. There is a need for public WC at the parks. In both parks I mentioned, if we need to go to the toilet, we use the restaurants’ around. The owners do not always let us use their toilets. I want CCTV also in the parks. Additionally, if you have two young children, nursing is also a big problem.”

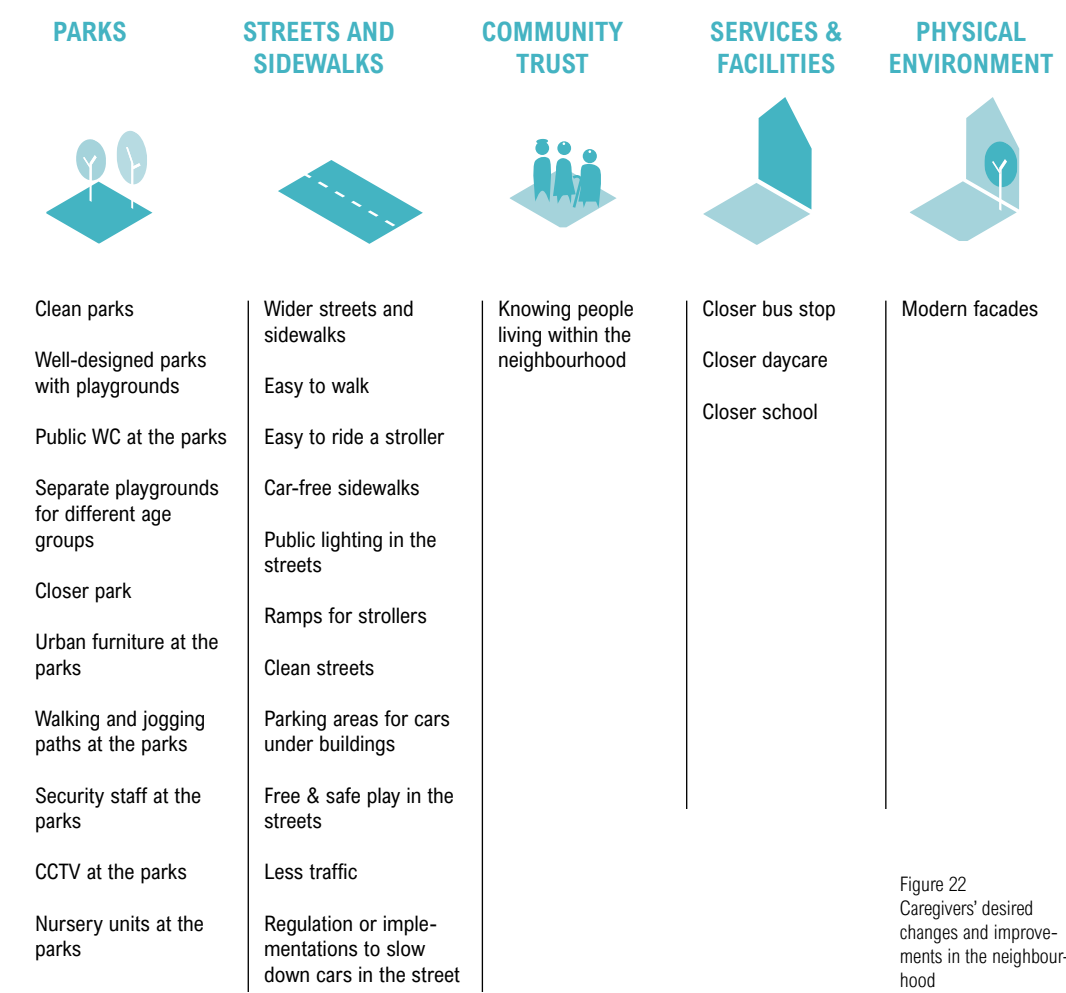


Figure 22
Caregivers' desired changes and improvements in the neighbourhood

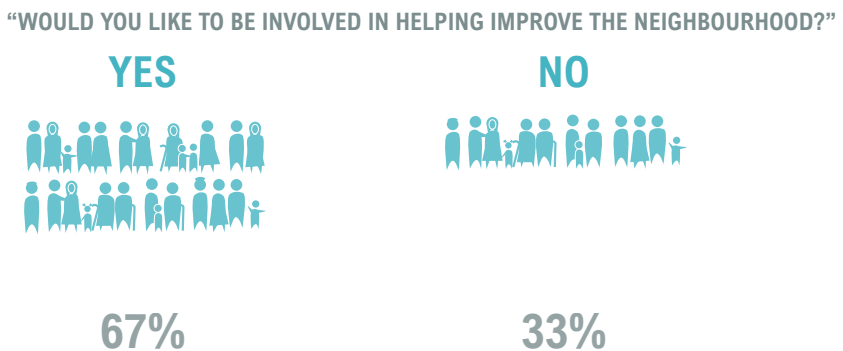
Willing to participate for change

Mothers would like to make changes in their neighbourhoods according to their wishes. While they are aware of the need for collaboration with other people from their neighbourhoods and municipalities, 93% of mothers have not been involved in any neighbourhood initiatives or activities (Figure 24). Mothers either rarely joined or join a few courses provided by the community centres, but after giving birth, they are less able to join or never join. Having a course for child development or joining a parents-meeting in the community centre are considered essential. Mothers in fact state that there should be more of these kinds of courses provided by municipalities in the community centre. 67% of mothers (Figure 25) declared that they would like to be involved in helping to improve the neighbourhood through organising meetings to discuss problems of the neighbourhoods, or organising events to clean the neighbourhoods by themselves.

Figure 24
Participation willingness of mothers. Are you involved in any neighbourhood initiatives or activities?



Figure 25
Would you like to be involved in helping improve the neighbourhood?





Sarıyer (Istanbul)



PROFILE

STORY STRING #11

Name

AYSEL GÜREL

Lives in

Sarıyer, İstanbul

Neighbourhood and for how long living there

Kazim Karabekir Paşa, for 3 years.

Children under her care

Mother of 3 children, 2 boys, 1 girl

The use of public space around their house (including streets)

Her house is at the end of a cul-de-sac, and she thinks that it is a safe place for her children to play. She lets them play freely in the street in front of the house, but they are not allowed to leave this street. When the children play, she watches them and sometimes, while doing household tasks. She mentioned that she has an agreement with her children that if she is not around, the children do not leave the street. This agreement makes her free from staying all day outside, and she can do her work at home. Walking older children to school is a daily routine for her, and sometimes she takes the children to the park in PTT Houses. She thinks that this park is the best option in terms of proximity and safety. Her children sometimes want to go to the amusement park in the shopping mall, but these kind of parks are far away and not easy to reach.

Their neighbourhoods: likes and dislikes

She is not pleased with the health centre in the neighbourhood, and because of this, she prefers to go to the public hospital. She mentions she prefers to live in another house in another neighbourhood for the health of her children, but they cannot afford it. She complains about the cars parked on the sidewalks, which makes walking and riding a stroller in the neighbourhood too tricky. She states that one day she was stuck in between two cars: one of them was trying to park on the pavement and the other was trying to pass by.

What would you like to change about the neighbourhood?

She does not want cars parked on the sidewalks. She states that sidewalks are people's places and added that drivers are rude if they are asked not to park on the sidewalk. She wants the sense of community among people around her. She wants to know them.

-  interview locations
-  space improvements
-  health centre
-  bus stop
-  places of importance



our house is at the end of a cul-de-sac. it is safe here to let my children play



streets and sidewalks are occupied by cars. it is not easy to ride with a stroller





PROFILE

STORY STRING #12

Name

BERİL OKAY

Lives in

Beyoğlu, Istanbul

Neighbourhood and for how long living there

Hacıahmet, Beyoğlu for 11 years.

Children under her care

Mother of 4 children, 3 girls, 1 boy

The use of public space around their house (including streets)

Beril is very enthusiastic about improving the quality of public spaces and playgrounds, especially for the age group of toddlers. She is a very active mom, although she has four children. She uses the streets in front of the house and the neighbourhood for only commuting purposes. She thinks that the street in front of the house is dangerous for playing because of road hazard. She takes the children to Cinderesi Park, which she thinks is the only safe place for children to play. She takes them to the park if the children want to go out or they go to her friends' houses, and her children play there with other children. The park is also a gathering place for her and her friends. They usually drink tea together and have a chat. In summertime especially, the whole family visits the grandparent's house in a different city for some time. She walks her older children to school every morning and uses the route in the park. She thinks that walking through the park is safer than in the sidewalk next to the park. After walking the children to school, she takes a walk back home and in the park for half hour. She likes walking. She sometimes walks to Taksim Square for shopping.

Their neighbourhoods: likes and dislikes

She thinks that her neighbourhood used to be safe, but now it is known for the robberies happening in and close to the park. She likes her neighbourhood because it is affordable to live in. She is pleased with the health services in the neighbourhood, but prefers to go to Okmeydani public hospital for serious illnesses. The health centre is in the community centre which is a 10 mins walking distance. She likes this centre very much because of its design. She finds the community centre convenient for walking with a stroller. She is happy with the variety of the courses offered by the community centre. She took a course about child development there four years ago. Now, she is thinking to take other courses too.

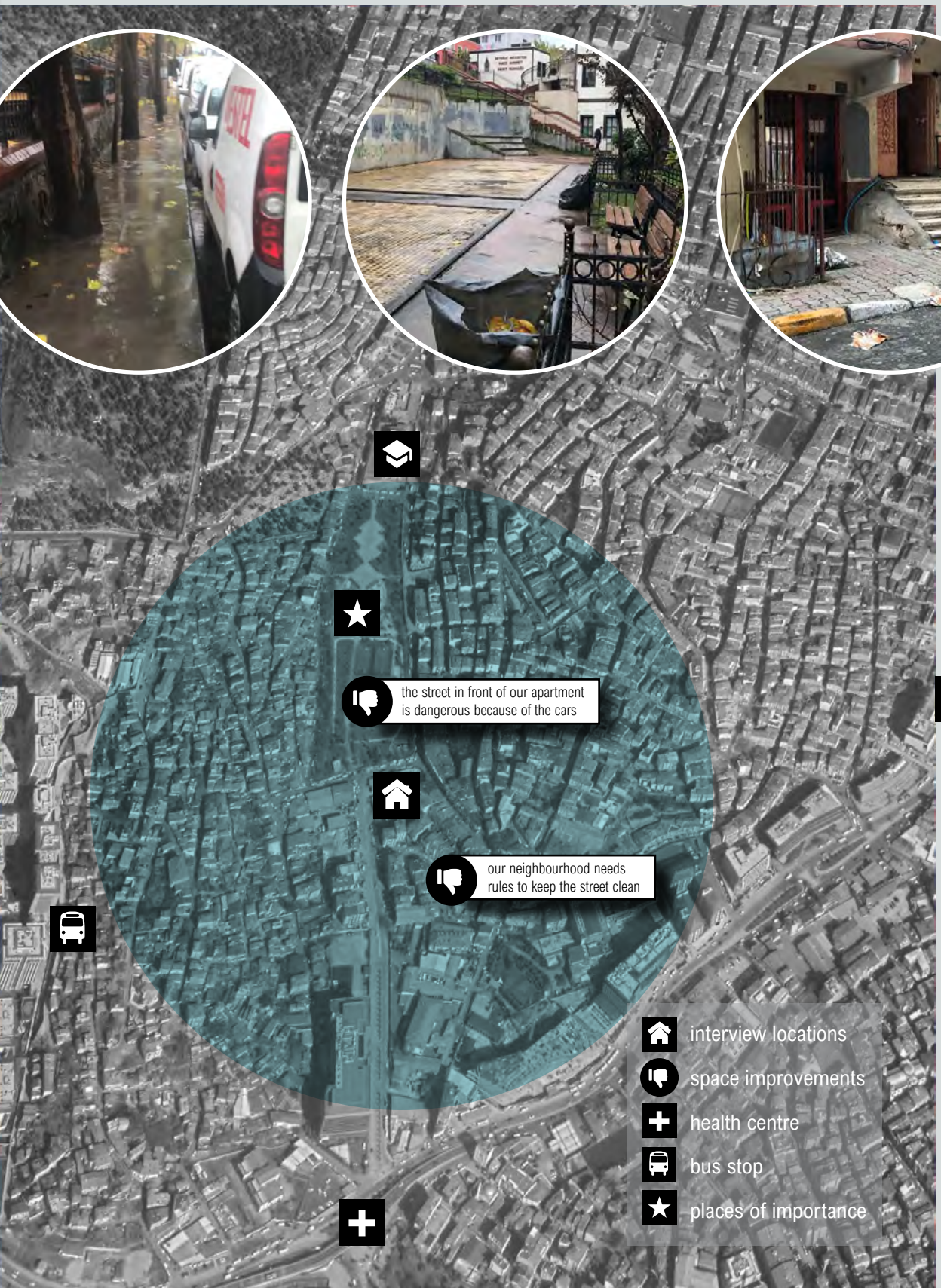
What would you like to change about the neighbourhood?

She thinks that her neighbourhood needs to set new regulations. For example, old facades should be renewed, and streets need to be cleaned. She blames the people living there for the dirtiness of the streets. She wants a playground for toddlers in her neighbourhood.

The sidewalk next to the park which she thinks it is not easy and safe to walk

Public space of the community centre

The street in front of Beril's house



the street in front of our apartment is dangerous because of the cars



our neighbourhood needs rules to keep the street clean



interview locations



space improvements



health centre



bus stop



places of importance



PROFILE

STORY STRING #13

Name

GÜLAY YIĞİT

Lives in

Sarıyer, İstanbul

Neighbourhood and for how long living there

Kocataş, for 3 years.

Children under her care

Mother of 2 children, 2 girls

The use of public space around their house (including streets)

She usually uses the street in front of her house as a private space for gathering with neighbours and friends. She uses the other streets in the neighbourhood for commuting. Her children usually play in the front yard, and sometimes she takes them to Kazim Koyuncu Park. She prefers to go there because it is close to her home. Usually if she is out with her children and they pass by a park, they stop there to spend time so she has played in many parks and playgrounds with her children. However, she thinks that none of them are safe. She prefers her children to play only in the front yard where she can watch over them. She likes playing with them, and she sees herself as her children's playmate.

Their neighbourhoods: likes and dislikes


She thinks that her neighbourhood is not stroller-friendly. Because of this, she has to ask her husband to drive around the neighbourhood. She does not like her neighbourhood in terms of mobility. For example, she mentions that the community health centre is close but not easy to reach due to the geography of the land. She thinks that her neighbourhood is safe because there is a sense of community between her and her neighbours. Knowing the neighbours very well makes living there enjoyable.


What would you like to change about the neighbourhood?

She would like a park close to her house and easy to reach with her children. She always feels nervous when her children are playing in the street because the cars pass by so fast. She would like a solution to this problem.

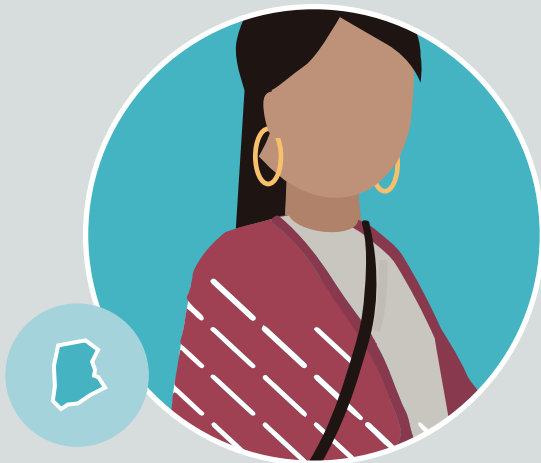


-  interview locations
-  space improvements
-  health centre
-  bus stop
-  places of importance

 park is not close, but the only available one because of this I take my children there

 not enough ramps on the pavements which is important for mothers with strollers





PROFILE

STORY STRING #14

Name

HATİCE AYDIN

Lives in

Beyoğlu, Istanbul

Neighbourhood and for how long living there

Hacıahmet, Beyoğlu for 5 years.

Children under her care

Mother of 2 children, 2 boys

The use of public space around their house (including streets)

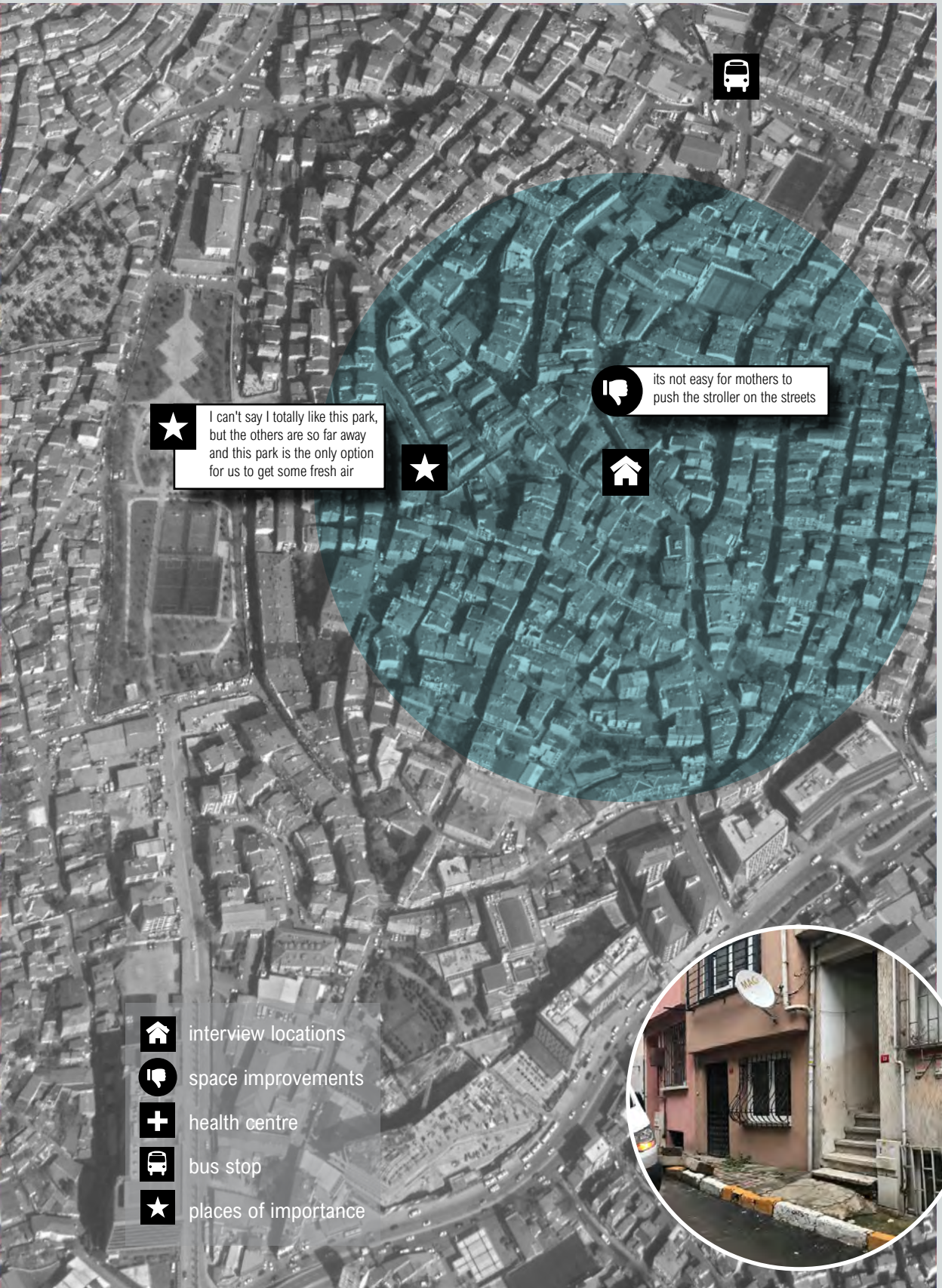
Hatice uses the streets in her neighbourhood only for commuting. She takes her children to Cinderesi Park because her older son likes to play at the park. They go there once a week. She prefers to take her son to the playgrounds in shopping malls. Her favourite is the one in Cevahir Mall. Usually, her husband drives them to places whenever a car is needed. She states that there is only one park (Cinderesi) close to her home and that is the reason for her to use that park, in order to have some fresh air. She lets her children play only at the park because she thinks that streets are not safe due to road hazard.

Their neighbourhoods: likes and dislikes

She thinks that her neighbourhood is not safe at all. Once, she was on the way to Cinderesi Park in the evening, and they heard gun shots. Upon hearing that, they returned home. However, she likes to live there because her parents live there as well, and grandparents walk the older child to kindergarten every morning. She does not prefer to live in this neighbourhood if her parents did not live there.

What would you like to change about the neighbourhood?

Older children damage the parks and playgrounds in the neighbourhood. She mentioned that there used to be a playground in the front yard of the community centre. But it was later removed due to the damage which older children had caused. She would like more parks and playgrounds where good maintenance can be provided.



its not easy for mothers to push the stroller on the streets



I can't say I totally like this park, but the others are so far away and this park is the only option for us to get some fresh air



interview locations



space improvements



health centre



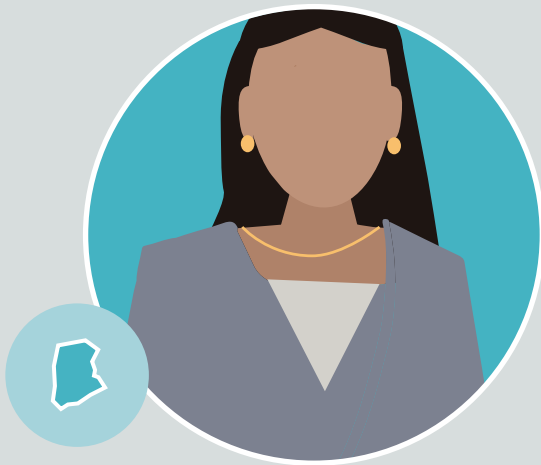
bus stop



places of importance



Street in front of Hatices house



PROFILE

STORY STRING #15

Name

MELİKE TEKEL

Lives in

Beyoğlu, Istanbul

Neighbourhood and for how long living there

Hacıahmet, Beyoğlu for 7 years.

Children under her care

Mother of 3 children, 2 boys and 1 girl.

The use of public space around their house (including streets)

Melike uses the street in the neighbourhood for only commuting. She uses the streets to go shopping and to walk her children to school. She does not go out very often except shopping and walking with her children. She prefers to stay at home. She thinks the street in front of the house is too dangerous for children to play. Cars move fast and the drivers do not pay attention to the children playing in the street. Because of these reasons, she does not let her children to play there. She used to take her children to Sururi Park, but after the renewal of Cinderesi Park, she started to use this park. She is pleased with what the municipality has done to improve the park. The renewed park (Cinderesi) is close to her home. Because of this, she prefers to take her children there. She likes the variety of different activities in the park such as soccer and basketball fields, as well as playgrounds. She takes her children to Cinderesi Park for biking. Children are only allowed to bike there.

Their neighbourhoods: likes and dislikes

She is generally happy with her neighbourhood, but she finds the pavements too narrow to walk on with a child. She does not use a stroller for her baby and carries her baby in her arm. She heard from her friends that they have problems with the narrowness of the pavements and find it difficult to walk with a stroller too. She likes her neighbourhood and finds it an affordable place to live. She thinks that the neighbourhood is safe because of the night-watchmen. She mentions that she has not encountered any dangerous incidents in the neighbourhood and believes that if something dangerous happened to her, her neighbours would have helped her. She trusts her neighbours to let them watch her children while they play around the building or at the park.

What would you like to change about the neighbourhood?

She would not change anything except slowing the cars passing by her apartment. She thinks that something should be done to slow the cars down.



I take my children to this park to play when they are bored at home. this park used to be a demolishing area. the municipality did a great job here



something needs to be done to slow down the cars



Sururi Park



PROFILE

STORY STRING #16

Name

TURKAN YALIM

Lives in

Beyoğlu, Istanbul

Neighbourhood and for how long living there

Kocatas Neighbourhood, Sarıyer

Children under her care

Two girls, 6 years & 9 months

What does she do?

Housewife

What does she like about the neighbourhood?

She only likes her house; its location is good, and it has a spacious front yard. She thinks that having these advantages is good for her children's development.

Their neighbourhoods: likes and dislikes

She takes her children to the park at least once a week. The children have the opportunity to play in the front yard every day and they are not allowed to play in the street. Turkan uses streets only for commuting.

What would you like to change about the neighbourhood?

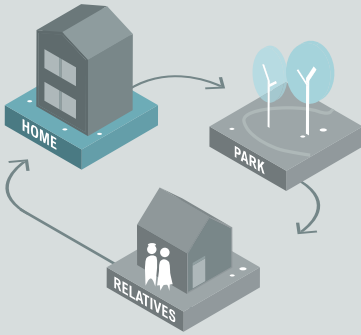
She does not like the cafes in the street that she uses every day for shopping or going to the health centre. These cafes are only for men. She would like these kind of cafes to be relocated.

Wishes for the neighbourhood:

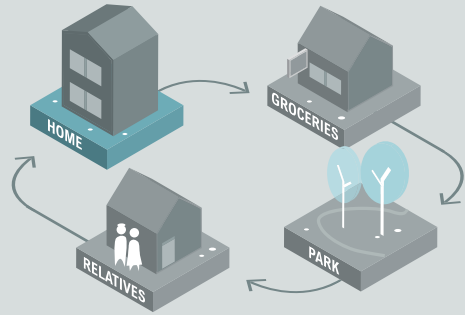
- Indoor play areas where my children can find playmates
- Public WC in the parks
- Community events and meeting in the neighbourhood
- Extended hours of use of community centre in the neighbourhood

Typical mobility around your neighbourhood

WEEKDAY



WEEKEND



What would you like to see in your neighbourhood?

- Çocuklara eğlencecek bir oyun alanı.
- Tuvalet sorunu.
- Etkinlikler
- Yaşam evinin saatleri uzatılması,

- "A playmate for the children"
- "Solution for lack of public toilets"
- "Events"
- "Extended working hours of community centre"



PROFILE

STORY STRING #17

Name

SEVIM BAY

Lives in

Sarıyer, Istanbul

Neighbourhood and for how long living there

Yenikoy Neighbourhood, Sarıyer

Children under her care

One boy and one girl, 9 & 1,5 years

What does she do?

Housewife

What does she like about the neighbourhood?

Sevim likes the location of her neighbourhood which is close to the coast line. Everything she wishes for, such as the market, health unit, and school are close together in the neighbourhood.

Their neighbourhoods: likes and dislikes

Her children play outside every day, and they go to the park to spend time. Her children prefer to play in the front yard of the school that her older child goes to. She uses the street to walk her older child to school and to go shopping.

What would you like to change about the neighbourhood?

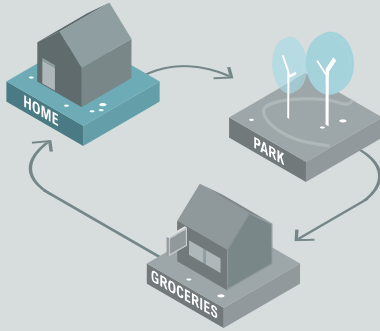
She would like to have more parks and playgrounds available in the neighbourhood. In the parks, she wants more tools so that her children can have fun. She also requests a solution to the problem of parking cars in the sidewalks.

Wishes for the neighbourhood:

- A neighbourhood in which every detail has children in its consideration
- Wider streets and sidewalks which are not occupied by cars
- Safety signs in the streets where more security is needed for children
- Clean and well-designed parks where children would be happy to play
- Renovation of old parks as the number of parks are lacking in both quality and quantity

Typical mobility around your neighbourhood

WEEKDAY



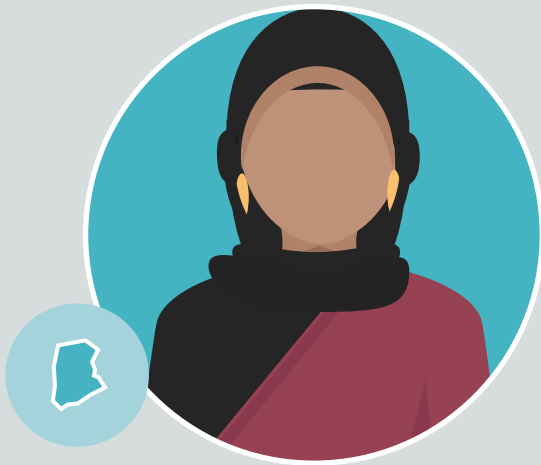
WEEKEND



What would you like to see in your neighbourhood?

Evimin kapısından dışarı adım attığım an hoşlayan çocuklar için düşünülmesi bir mahallede oturmak istiyordum. Genç mahalle arabaları tabii arabalarla doldurulmamış. Yolların gerekli olan yerlerde güvenlik ışıklarının olması. Parklar da da daha temiz çocuklarımızın daha mutlu olabileceği düzeyde alanlar. Ve tabii yeterli gelen parklara yenilerinin eklenmesi-

"I would like to live in a neighbourhood where everything and every detail in design is devoted to children and in a neighbourhood, which is not occupied by cars. In the streets there are traffic lights to order the relation passengers and cars and doing it by especially children in mind. I would like more clean parks and playgrounds for children where they play."



PROFILE

STORY STRING #18

Name

DIDEM HAYTA

Lives in

Sarıyer, Istanbul

Neighbourhood and for how long living there

Yenikoy Neighbourhood, Sarıyer

Children under her care

One boy and one girl, 8 & 4 years

What does she do?

Housewife

What does she like about the neighbourhood?

She likes her neighbourhood because there are quite a few parks around the area. The parks and playgrounds are generally green. The transportation in the neighbourhood is easy to access.

Their neighbourhoods: likes and dislikes

Every day she takes her children to the park next to the community centre. She uses the streets in the neighbourhood for commuting. She prefers her children to play in the park, but sometimes it is more convenient for her children to play in the streets so she could easily watch over them.

What would you like to change about the neighbourhood?

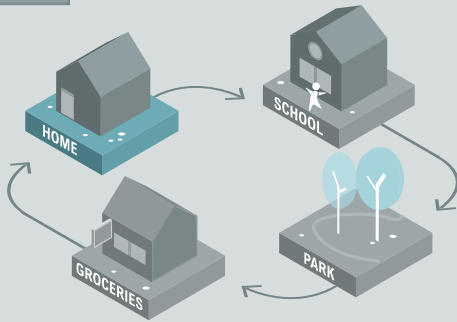
Didem would like a neighbourhood in which there are wider streets and sidewalks. She has a solution for this problem, which involves demolishing some buildings, widening the streets and combining the additional area with mixed uses.

Wishes for the neighbourhood:

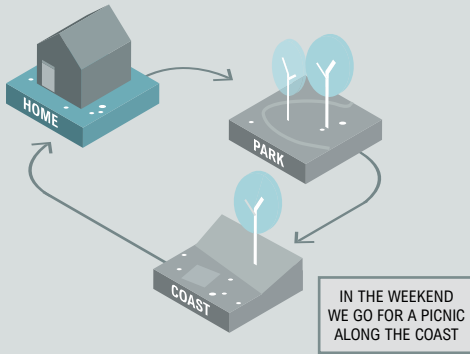
- Reduced rents in the neighbourhood
- More green environment

Typical mobility around your neighbourhood

WEEKDAY



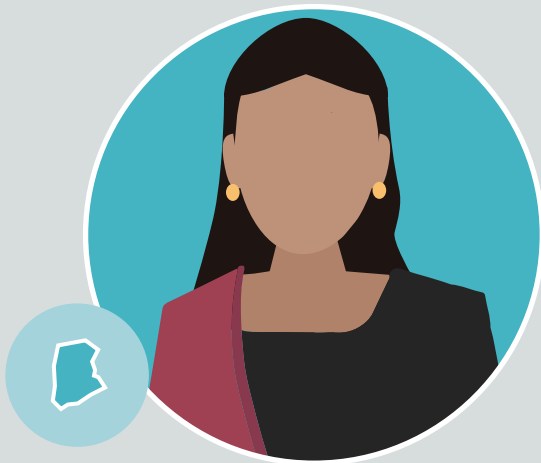
WEEKEND



What would you like to see in your neighbourhood?



"Regulations to control rent prices for the benefit of tenants"



PROFILE

STORY STRING #19

Name

GULIZ DEEDE

Lives in

Sarıyer, Istanbul

Neighbourhood and for how long living there

Yenikoy Neighbourhood, Sarıyer

Children under her care

One boy and two girls, 11, 7 & 4 years

What does she do?

Housewife

What does she like about the neighbourhood?

She likes her neighbours because they all migrated from the same city to Istanbul. Because of this, she highlights that there is no security problem in the neighbourhood. She mentions that children can play freely in the streets with their peers because people in the neighbourhood watch over their children.

Their neighbourhoods: likes and dislikes

Her children play outside every day in the street and they all go together to the park next to the community centre in summer time. Her elder child takes a summer course there. When he is in the course, she sits in the café and watches her younger children while they play at the park. She uses the streets mostly for commuting and to gather with neighbours occasionally.

What would you like to change about the neighbourhood?

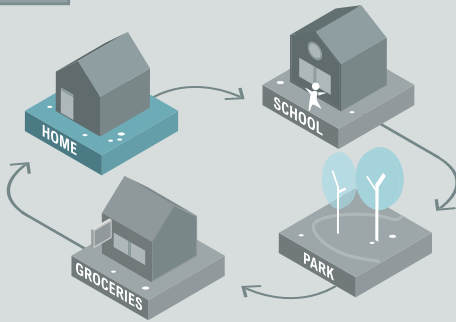
Guliz would like a neighbourhood which has sidewalks and streets free from cars. She mentions that cars pass by so fast in the street. She requests a regulation to slow the speed of cars. Additionally, she highlights a bug problem because of stray animals. .

Wishes for the neighbourhood:

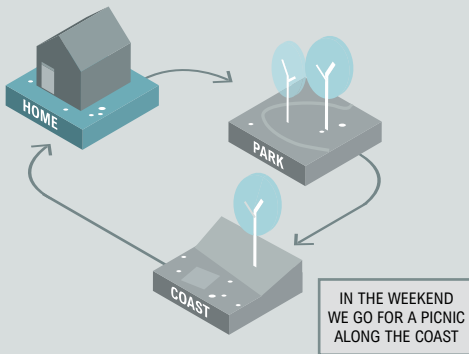
- Greener environment
- Solving the problem of bugs
- Additional CCTV in the neighbourhood and at the parks
- Bumps in the street to reduce the speed of cars

Typical mobility around your neighbourhood

WEEKDAY



WEEKEND



What would you like to see in your neighbourhood?



- "More nature"
- "Solution for bugs"
- "Less stray animals"
- "More CCTV"
- "Regulation to slower the cars down"



- Bol gijillil ^{Kelopak} (Atap-Fare)
- Hegerat sarung sialines
- Kedilerin daha az duvar
- Güvenlik kameraları
- Yolu boyunca arabaların hızını keserek rampalar



PROFILE

STORY STRING #20

Name

UMMU YETIS

Lives in

Sarıyer, Istanbul

Neighbourhood and for how long living there

Kocatas Neighbourhood, Sarıyer

Children under her care

One boy and one girl, 5 & 1 years

What does she do?

Housewife

What does she like about the neighbourhood?

She likes her neighbourhood because it is quiet and green.

Their neighbourhoods: likes and dislikes

She takes her children to the park twice a week when they want to go. Her children usually play in the front yard of the house or sometimes in the street. She uses the streets for commuting.

What would you like to change about the neighbourhood?

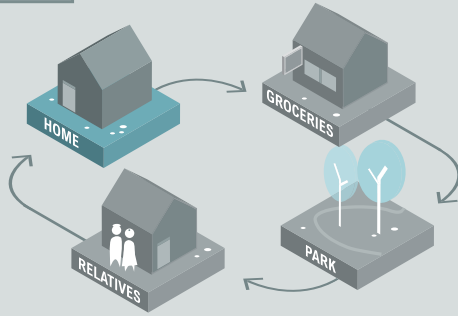
Ummu would like a park close to her house. In that park, she would like park guards to watch and monitor. She does not like her children to play in a park that is occupied by youth.

Wishes for the neighbourhood:

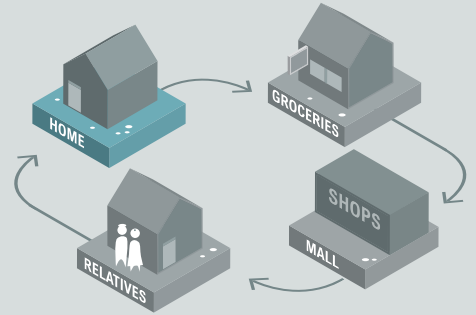
- Closer parks and a school
- Easy transportation and being able to walk with stroller
- Frequent public transportation to specific destinations such as to hospital

Typical mobility around your neighbourhood

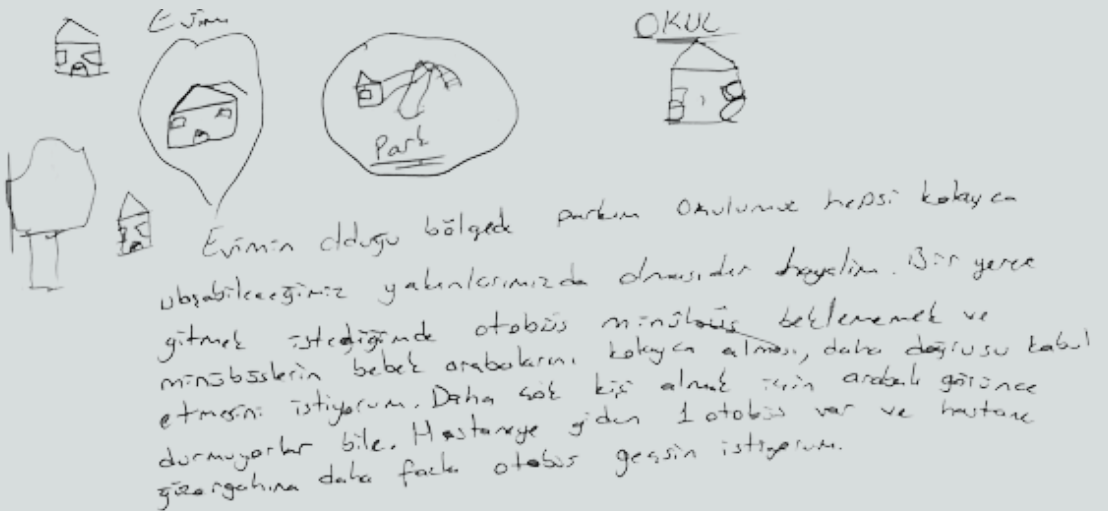
WEEKDAY



WEEKEND



What would you like to see in your neighbourhood?



"I want to have playground, school, and parks are easily accessible in walking distance. I would like to use public transportation that is punctual and easy to reach and use. I would like dolmus (mini local bus) drivers are nice to mothers who have to use stroller. Dolmus drivers are benefit-oriented not people-oriented and they prefer to transport more people than a mother with a stroller. There would be more buses that go to the hospital."



Workshop held in Sariyer (Turkey)

6. LEARNINGS FROM PUNE (IN) AND ISTANBUL (TR)

Comparative learnings

Developing spatial and contextual knowledge on how children and caregivers use public space and services in disadvantaged areas in a city provides input for planning better spatial interventions and redevelopment schemes. By identifying daily routines and discussing the multifaceted nature and use of public spaces in different geographies, we aim to contribute towards identifying resources that play an important role in supporting early urban childhoods. While the cultures of Istanbul and Pune are very different from each other, it is evident in both places that the concerns of caregivers, complexity of their daily lives, levels of access and poverty, cultures of child rearing etc. determine the experience of urban childhoods.

Pune as a growing city of 3 million is rapidly transforming from a small manufacturing hub into a metropolis. The city's intentions to develop and align itself with national programs such as India's Smart City aims is visible through various projects around the city. The city's Urban 95 project, is shifting the conversation towards the visibility of and planning with children in mind. The locations that were part of this study are in proximity to some of the projects planned within the mandate of the Urban95 project in Pune. Caregivers in these locations expressed a wide range of everyday challenges associated with living with absence of or limited services, distances traversed for access to these services, the importance of their community and neighbours, use of the space around their homes, and the need for activities for the caregivers.

On the other hand, the transcontinental historic city of Istanbul is home to almost 31% to the city's under 18 (0-18) population. This density puts pressure on the city's infrastructure of green areas/ parks, playgrounds, nurseries, day-care and schools. The selection of the neighbourhoods that were part of this study was linked to the Parents+ program that was currently running. Caregivers in these locations expressed interest in creating spaces for everyone in the family (children on different ages), improving access to services, addressing limited mobility with young children and adding activities for parents.

What is interesting about learning from Pune and Istanbul together, is the evidence it generates about the culture of having children and living in the

city. The contextual knowledge about the importance of community (and communal trust), the commonalities as related to mothers staying at home (mothers with very young children), difficulty of navigating the city/ neighbourhoods with young children and the importance of access to public green spaces (parks, playgrounds etc.).

Learnings from Istanbul (TR) and Pune (IN)



PUNE



ISTANBUL

CAREGIVER SPECTRUM	Caregivers were almost everyone who lived in one house. This included, grandparents, fathers, aunts, uncles and older siblings.	Caregivers were only mothers. Dads are secondary caregivers when they are free from work. Older children are the main companion in taking care of the younger ones.
SAFETY AND COMMUNITY	<p>Positives:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • High levels of neighbourhood trust and familiarity • Community looks out for each other's children • Presence of family members around the neighbourhood created a social network <p>Negatives:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Elements of discord by the presence of youth gangs and drunkards • Need to have lived in the neighbourhood for a while to establish links 	<p>Positives:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Good communication between neighbours • High level of community trust • Having relatives and friends around neighbourhood • None illegal incidence in neighbourhood <p>Negatives:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Insufficient urban lighting and CCTV in the streets • Presence of youth gangs and their illegal actions
WHAT DO CAREGIVERS DO WHEN THE CHILDREN PLAY/ WERE OCCUPIED	<p>A mix of caregivers meant that the child was generally always surrounded by people (living in the house).</p> <p>Most caregivers completed daily chores around the house.</p>	<p>Mixed events are planned due to interest of children.</p> <p>Usually mothers watch younger child when they play outside.</p> <p>Daily combined events such as going to open market and stop by at the park before or after shopping are planned due to children's interest. At the weekends, mixed event for everyone in the family are planned and all together spend time with younger children..</p> <p>Most of mothers do their households around the house when younger child plays in the street.</p> <p>When younger child plays at the park, mothers gather with friends and mothers of their child's friends and have picnics in nice weathers.</p>

<p>ENVIRONMENT AND SERVICES</p>	<p>Caregivers travel quiet some distance (~25 mins) for play options for their children in some locations.</p> <p>Use of the space in front of their homes as extensions of their homes The streets in front of their homes are used for multiple activities.</p> <p>The presence of traffic deterred some amount of use (but older children played on the street regardless).</p> <p>The presence of shared toilet facilities, but unsafe routes (absence of street lights) deters use in the evenings, water and garbage collection were mentioned as important services that were not as frequent as desired Cleanliness of the locations, street lights as immediate concerns that needed to be addressed.</p>	<p>The street in front of the house are accepted unsafe but used as a play space by children under the watch of mothers.</p> <p>Urban furniture is important and life saver for the time spent at the park with children.</p> <p>Parks are the best places for children to play because the parks are free from cars and secure because of the park guards and CCTV.</p> <p>The streets in the neighbourhoods are spaces for commuting and when it comes to the street in front of the house half of the mothers use those as shared space with neighbours (meeting, greeting, and so on).</p> <p>Mothers prefer to use the service in walking proximity (health unit, park, market etc.) If mothers are not satisfied with ant service that is the closest one, they go to other option regardless to walking distance.</p>
<p>LEAVING THE HOUSE WITH YOUNG CHILDREN</p>	<p>For mothers with very young children (under 1), they did not the leave the house. They infrequently take the children to temples and their parents/ relatives house.</p> <p>Caregivers with children of different ages, older children were taken to play facilities by other caregivers (not the mother for example)</p>	<p>Mothers remain at home during and after childbirth for a few months.</p> <p>Being the only care giver of the child and couldn't find a suitable place / park / playground in walking proximity, and weather conditions are the other limitations of mobility on mothers' life</p>
<p>DAILY MOBILITY CHAINS</p>	<p>Caregivers with very young children did not leave the house.</p> <p>Caregivers whose children went to the anganwadi (around 2 and half years old), had complex mobility chains. A number of tasks were completed once the child was dropped off (some caregivers stopped at a corner store to buy something for their child before s/he was dropped off). This included shopping, visiting friends in the neighbourhood, back home to make lunch. Heading back around 1300 to pick up their children from the anganwadi, some caregivers took their children to a store (to buy them candy in most cases), before heading back home. Some days there is a trip to the park in the evening.</p>	<p>Mothers with young children do not leave the house very often.</p> <p>Being pregnant and taking care of a baby are also obstacles to involving events in the neighbourhood.</p> <p>Mothers leave the house for grocery shopping daily after walking older children to school. On the way back from school, mothers use this opportunity to have a walk as exercise. When the older children are taken to school by neighbours or other members of the family, only shopping remains as a reason to go out daily except going friends' and relatives' houses for the purpose of socializing for children and mothers as well.</p>



WISHES AND WANTS

What almost all caregivers wanted for their location was better cleanliness and maintenance. Better services for their children (play equipment, safer streets) and in some cases support for the caregivers (especially the young mothers)

Mothers in common would like to have closer parks, bus stops and schools.

Parks are important places to play when they are clean, well-designed with playgrounds for different age groups, secure from illegal people by having CCTV and security.

Secondary place for playing is street and mothers would like streets which is free from parking cars and traffic. Side-walks should have ramps for strollers and disabled people.



Ramnagar (India)

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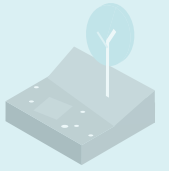
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Developing spatial and contextual knowledge on how children and caregivers use public space and services in disadvantaged areas in a city provides input for planning better spatial interventions and redevelopment schemes. By identifying daily routines and discussing the multifaceted nature and use of public spaces in different geographies we aim to contribute towards identifying resources that play an important role in supporting early urban childhoods. Unsurprisingly, the cultures of Istanbul and Pune, while very different from each other, the concerns of caregivers, complexity of their daily lives, levels of access and poverty, cultures of child rearing etc. determine the experience of urban childhoods. Evidence from Pune (IN) and Istanbul (TR) provides contextual knowledge about the importance of community and communal trust, the commonalities as related to mothers staying at home with young children, wide range of caregivers, difficulty of navigating the urban environment with young children and the importance of access to local public green spaces (parks, playgrounds etc.).



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