PUBLIC İSTANBUL

SPACES AND SPHERES OF THE CITY

19. – 20. January 2007

PUBLIC ISTANBUL

SPACES AND SPHERES OF THE CITY

19. – 20. January 2007

URBAN PLANNING IN CONTEMPORARY ISTANBUL

PUBLIC PANEL, Friday, January 19th 2007, 8:30 p.m.

Hüseyin Kaptan, Architect
Director of Istanbul Metropolitan Planning
and Urban Design Center, Istanbul

Aykut Karaman, Architect
Professor at Department of City and Regional
Planning, Mimar Sinan University, Istanbul

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SPACES AND SPHERES OF THE CITY

19. – 20. January 2007

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SPACES AND SPHERES OF THE CITY /

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CONFERENCE PROGRAM

FRIDAY, JANUARY 19th 2007

9:00	Introduction Kathrin Wildner (Universität Hamburg) Frank Eckardt (Bauhaus-Universität)
9:30	Ihsan Bilgin (Bilgi University, Istanbul)
	Coffee Break
10:15 - 13.15	Divided Istanbul Keynote: Murat Güvenc (Bilgi University, Istanbul) Chair: Max Welch Guerra
	Ebru Ustundag »Governing Citizens in Istanbul«
	Eda Ünlü Yücesoy / Nil Uzun »Contested Public Spaces vs. Conquered Public Places. Gentrification and its reflections on urban public space in Beyoglu, Istanbul«
	Constanze Letsch »Privacy and public space. The islamic headscarf and urban tension«
	Derya Özkan »The *masses* flooded the beaches, the *citizens* could not swim. The *misuses* of the Caddebostan beach and the politics of public culture in Istanbul«
	Lunch break
14:30 - 18:30	Experiencing Public Istanbul Keynote: Asu Aksoy (Bilgi University, Istanbul) Chair: Kathrin Wildner
	Florian Riedler »Public people: Seasonal Work Migrants in Nineteenth Century Istanbul«
	Koray Özdil »Claiming Space and Forging Community: Emerging Public Spaces of African Immigrants in Tarlabası«
(16:30 – 17:00)	Coffee Break

	Susanne Bosch »*Human Traffic* in/from Istanbul«
	Anna Grabolle-Çeliker » The Public and the Private: Discourses and Identifications among Vanlı Women in Istanbul«
	Ayhan Aytes »ID Cover – Streetvendors«
	Dinner
20:30 - 22:00	Public Panel: Urban Planning in Contemporary Istanbul
	Murat Diren, City Planner Istanbul Metropolitan Planning and Urban Design Center, Istanbul

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SATURDAY, JANUARY 20th 2007

9:00 - 13:00	Planning Public Istanbul Chair: Frank Eckardt
	Tolga Levent »Threats for Public Spaces: The Istanbul Case.«
	Funda Bas Butuner »Old City Walls as Public Spaces in Istanbul.«
	Ela Alanyali Aral »Peripheral Public Spaces – Types in progress«
(11:00 - 11:30)	Coffee break
	Eylem Gülcemal »Intervention to Public Space and Displacement of *the Others*«
	Ebru Erdönmez / Selim Ökem »Public Transformation of Bosphorus. Facts and Opportunities.«
	Tim Rieniets / Orhan Esen » Göktürk – Strategies of Denial, Exchange and Adaptation in a Segregated Urban Environmnent «
	Lunch Break
14:00 - 18:00	Representing Istanbul Keynote: Pelin Tan (Istanbul Technical University) Chair: Susanne Bosch
	Senem Doyduk »Evaluation of Urban Archeological Data in Public Spaces Locate in Istanbul Historic Peninsula«
	Britta Trostorff »Public with Tea. The Traditional Çayhane (Teahouse) in Modern Istanbul's Everyday Life«

(16:00 – 16:30)	Coffee Break

Senem Zeybekoglu / Kivanç Kilinç
»Regeneration of Public Istanbul: Changing Meanings and Manifestations of Public Space in Haliç (Golden Horn)«

Feride Çiçekoglu
»Sabiha in Public Istanbul«

Christoph K. Neumann
»The Photographic Memory Or How in Beyoglu Pictures Turn into Public Memory of Space«

18:30 - 19:30	Final comments Orhan Esen (Istanbul)

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The conference fee of 50€ is to pay at the venue. Students are free.
Please register via email (Name, Institution, Email) until 15th of January to publicistanbul@archit.uni-weimar.de.

More Information: http://www.public-istanbul.com

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CONTACT

Prof. Dr. Frank Eckardt / Dr. Kathrin Wildner
Europäische Urbanistik
Bauhaus Universität Weimar
Bauhaus-Str. 7b
99421 Weimar
Tel. 03643-582646

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CONFERENCE VENUE

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The conference *Public Istanbul* is supported by the German Scientific Foundation (DFG) and archplus.

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ABSTRACTS OF PAPERS

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Friday, January 19th 2007: Divided Istanbul
Keynote: Murat Güvenc, Bilgi University, Istanbul, muratg@bilgi.edu
Chair: Max Welch Guerra, Bauhaus-Universität Weimar

Ebru Ustundag
Brock University Ontario-Canada, Department of Geography, eustundag@brocku.ca

Governing Citizens in Istanbul

Historically, Istanbul has always been an important space for governing citizens. Within this perspective I use the term 'governance' to denote how public spaces in the city became a space that needs to be monitored, controlled, sanitized and ordered in order to realize any political project. I argue that with the attempts to 'modernize' and 'Europeanize', Istanbul has always been a privileged site for governance for Ottoman Empire as well as Turkish Republic. It was with the nineteenth century that city administration appeared as a strategy of governance for the Empire in its attempts to modernize. During this period the disciplining bodies and sanitizing public spaces became an important policy for the authorities of the Empire. In its efforts to constitute an ideal Republican citizen, public spaces in Istanbul has been a contested space for Turkish Republic for realization of its political projects. The governance of public spaces in Istanbul could be read as an exercise of power in which both the Ottoman Empire and the Turkish Republic strategize to become 'European' and 'modern'. By giving several examples, this paper argues how the spaces in the city not only make these various political projects possible, but the city also reveals the instabilities and paradoxes of modernity.

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Eda Ünlü Yücesoy / Nil Uzun
Utrecht University, Department of Human Geography / Middle East Technical University, Ankara Department of City and Regional Planning, edayucesoy@gmail.com / duruoz@metu.edu.tr

Contested public spaces vs. conquered public places. Gentrification and its reflections on urban public space in Beyoglu, Istanbul

Urban public spaces are important parts of the city for framing a vision of social life in the city; a vision both for those who live in the city and interact in urban public spaces every day; a meeting place and social staging ground. Diversity and difference are represented in the urban public spaces with variety of rhythms and patterns of use, being occupied at different times by different groups. In that sense, public spaces are the only arenas in the city where conflicted groups and even counter-publics, who compete with each other in the urban environment, are co-present at the same time. This co-presence is not a passive, even it seems like that, there is a constant struggle for use and appropriation, whereby different actors and interests are at stake and boundaries of exclusion and inclusion are continuously constructed, negotiated, re-constructed, and enacted.
On the other hand, gentrification is a process which ends up in creation of exclusive urban spaces. As a process of spatial and social transformation occurring especially in the historic city centers, gentrification brings a series of dualities in urban structure. There is a growing interest in distressed residential areas among affluent population, who make their investments either for their own housing

needs or commercial purposes. A manifold struggle of claiming the public space is observed in articulations of different actors and corporate agents' practices.
In this paper, we examine the social construction and production of urban public space in a late 19th century foreigners-neighborhoods of Cihangir and Galata where a hefty gentrification process is underway and its implications on the surrounding areas in Beyoglu district. Lefebvre's triad of spatial relations is adopted as tools of analysis, hence dynamics of spatial constellations of which these peculiar public spaces are constructed and produced, are explored. The contested nature of public space is exposed in these conflicted constructions of public spaces and spatially reflected in different formation of public places.

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Constanze Letsch
Kulturwissenschaftlerin (Medien); Istanbul, constanmze_letsch@yahoo.de
Privacy and public space. The islamic headscarf and urban tension

With the foundation of the Turkish Republic in 1923, Atatürk had banned the headscarf from public space. The « headscarf movement » started in 1983 and turned it into a political symbol. The movement itself started as a struggle for gaining public space : It was, and still is not allowed to wear the headscarf in university (or any other public building) in seculiar Turkey.
At the same time, « Body and sexuality of women became a political arena » (N.Göle) and what was private became public matter – symbolically as well as spatially : headscarfs seem to define what is considered «modern » and «traditional » in Istanbul, also deviding the city into parcels in which «public » and «private » are conceived differently: the «modern» quarters like Beyoglu or Nisantasi and the districts of Fatih, Eyüp or Eminönü, where the headscarf is widely worn.
Headscarfs are ambiguous : On one hand, they are a strong symbol for what has to be hidden and what has to stay private. On the other hand, by the visibility of this privacy in public, it also seems to shift the borders between both conceptions, creating both tension and closure as well as possibilities of new urban definitions of space.
This paper tries to evaluate how the headscarf is an agent of intrusion, exclusion and definition of public space in Istanbul today. How does it defy, re-arange and re-define the notions of «private space » and « public space » ? In what ways alters the headscarf the image of Istanbul from outside and inside ? How does the struggle for space influence the city's development, both sociologically and spatially ? Is a modern «European city » possible in this field of tension between modernity and religious struggle for visibility ?

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Derya Özkan
University of Rochester, Visual and Cultural Studies, ozkn@mail.rochester.edu
The *masses* flooded into the beaches, the *citizens* could not swim. The *misuses* of the Caddebostan beach and the politics of public culture in Istanbul

Out of use since the 1960s due to pollution in the Sea of Marmara, Istanbul's Caddebostan Beach reopened in July 2005. Towards the end of the same month, Mine G. Kirikkanat, a columnist in the newspaper Radikal, wrote about the beach that "hairy men in their underwear are ruminating, women wearing headscarves are fanning the barbecue… our dark people cooking meat by the sea that they turn their behinds toward." (Radikal 27 July 2005; The Washington Post 21 September 2005).
During the lively public debate that followed, some criticized Kirikkanat for being a racist, others supported her defense of Istanbul's secular urbane culture and the Istanbulites' delicate sensibilities (e.g. eating fish instead of meat), while the cartoonists of the comics magazine Leman organized a satirical beach rally under the banner "Hold on to your underwear," defending Istanbul's low-income inhabitants' rights to go swimming as they will. This controversial event has implications along the lines of social classes, and it also raises questions about the public culture of Istanbul long marked by the divisions between the so-called local traditions and modernity. In fact, this fierce controversy had

its precedents in the earlier debates on the uses of city parks by low-income people for barbecuing and picnicking on the weekends, uses that are largely associated with Istanbul's immigrants, their peasant backgrounds and non-urbane behavior.
This paper focuses on the "misuse value of space" which I coin with reference to Henri Lefebvre's conception of the production of space and put into use as a concept for the critical analysis of the politics of "public Istanbul." I discuss the politics of the ways in which the use of a public beach becomes a "misuse" in the particular social and cultural context of Istanbul, and what the public debate on the "misuses" of the Caddebostan Beach reveal in terms of Istanbul's urban cultural geography.

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Friday, January 19th 2007: **Experiencing Public Istanbul**
Keynote: Asu Aksoy, Bilgi University, Istanbul, asu.aksoy@gmail.com
Chair: Kathrin Wildner

Florian Riedler
Zentrum Moderner Orient, Berlin, florianriedler@gmx.net
Public people: Seasonal Work Migrants in Nineteenth Century Istanbul

An important part of the population of Ottoman Istanbul always have been seasonal work migrants (*bekar*) who came from the provinces to the city working as manual labour and in the service sector. During the nineteenth century their number roughly amounted to 30% of the male population and they were responsible to no small degree for the growth of the city.
A marginal group like seasonal work migrants can offer a vantage point from which to understand the concrete historical meaning of 'public space' in late Ottoman Istanbul and how it was shaped by the social practice of this particular group often in contradiction to the local authorities.
For once, a differentiated distinction between public and private space did not seem to have existed in the lives of these people. Because of their remaining roots in their villages and their dire material conditions most seasonal migrants never established a home in the city. Their lifestyle did not have place for family and privacy; they lived on the streets and in *han*s – places where everything is done everywhere.
The legal status of the seasonal migrants was that of strangers in the city and the authorities where trying to guard a spatial separation from the regular city population by containing them in the market area of the capital. This separation could never be total. Especially in times of crisis, however, these rules were enforced, often resulting with the eviction of migrants from the city and the destruction of their apartments.

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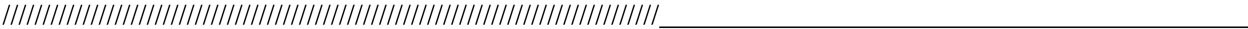
Koray Ozdil
Maastricht University, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, Analyzing Europe Program, korayozdil@sabanciuniv.edu
Claiming Space and Founding Community: Emerging Public Spheres of Undocumented African Immigrants in Tarlabası

This article focuses on the emerging immigrant social spaces in Istanbul as public spheres where cultural and political transformation processes become manifest. Based my ongoing field research on the West African (particularly Nigerian) immigrants' social spaces in the crime ridden lower class neighbourhood Tarlabası, I will examine the linkages between global dynamics, culture, space, and strong informalization. By questioning the current modes of pluralism and ways of exclusion, I will argue that it is the West African public spaces (pseudo restaurants, hair salons) in which the members of this racially and socially marginalized groups are free to express themselves. Furthermore, I will focus on how the knowledge and news on the host society, home country, and immigrant community is shared and reproduced. Whereas the immigrants attempt to be invisible on Istanbul's widely open, public spaces because of their illegal status and thus fear of deportation, they do, however, construct

their public spheres as to secure free spaces for cultural identity constructions, group survival, and community organization.
Although the immigration law in Turkey attempts to restrict the settlement of “non-Turkish” immigrants in Turkey, Turkey has in the last two decades encountered a “historically atypical” irregular immigration flow: consisting mainly of rejected asylum-seekers and transit migrants who intend a temporary stay and cross to Europe from the Middle East, Asia, and Africa. However, those who cannot achieve to go to Europe continue to live in Turkey.

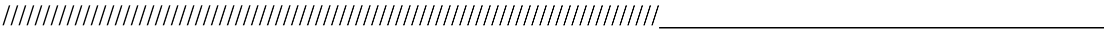


Susanne Bosch
University of Ulster, School of Art and Design, subosch@web.de

»Human Traffic« in/from Istanbul

Migration and a Sense of Place: The Impact of Immigration and Emigration on Place Identities in Tuer-key. Migration profoundly affects the sense of place of local communities. Projects will typically involve a local case study, or set of case studies, of inward migration (in the past and within living memory) and/or outward migration, examining impacts on localities and place identities in Istanbul, and comparing local and migrant perspectives.
Trafficking in human beings is one of the most pressing and complex issues in the OSCE region. Every year, hundreds of thousands of women, children and men are trafficked to or from OSCE states into conditions amounting to slavery. Among these, many are young women and girls lured, abducted, or sold into sexual servitude. Available evidence suggests that the problem is expanding rapidly in the OSCE region.
Presentation of art projects which deal with migration and human traffic. For example:

- Gülsun Karamustafa “Unawarded Performances”", 2005 The specific political conditions of migration and its motivations are depicted by the artist and film maker Gülsün Karamustafa by the example of a group of migrants in Istanbul: for “Unawarded Performances”, she has interviewed Moldavians about their working conditions. Without any documents, these women have to earn a living with the care of elderly women in wealthy middle-class households. This enables them to support their families in Moldavia and try to finance their children’s education.
- .Ersa Ersen ‘Brothers and Sisters’, 2003 Central to the works of Esra Ersen are the themes of identity, migration and aspiration. Whether using film, photography, installation or situational activity, Ersen consistently explores the relationship between the individual and society, with an eye to how the various factors involved in this (such as ethnicity, education, and culture) can bind or divide communities. ‘Brothers and Sisters’ (2003) takes the plight of illegal African immigrants stranded in Turkey as a microcosm of her themes. Assuming the role of social anthropologist, Ersen spent six months working with such a group; suspended in limbo between Europe and Africa, unwanted by either, the film documents how these displaced people clung to one identity in search of another, only to assume a new, unintended identity through the common experience of their struggles, hopes and despairs.



Ayhan Aytes
UC San Diego, Communication, aaytes@ucsd.edu

ID Cover

On the streets of Istanbul one could hardly walk two blocks without seeing the garish, makeshift, noisy mobile carts marked in orange with the letters PVC, designating the acronym of the plastic used to protect and seal the personal identity documents that have become important to the subjects of Turkey. These carts appear in the busiest quarters, near train stations and around clogged ferry turnstiles. They come out from hiding after the working hours of the city officers who are determined to banish all unlicensed street vendors from the streets. The sealers may not have credentials; they may not even

have personal identity papers themselves. But this is how they earn their money: sealing identity cards, drivers' licenses, vendor licenses with shiny transparent PVC covers.
Throughout the years of terror during the 1990s in the southeastern part of Turkey the Kurdish locals intensified the immigration flow to the metropolitan cities. Istanbul has been the most favored destination among the metropolitan regions due to its unregulated informal economy in which newcomers might within a few days cobble together both a job and a makeshift gecekondu (built-overnight) home.
Street vending is one of those jobs that require less initial capital and skilled labor but more stamina than a regular job. Stamina and patience are needed for pushing the wheeled carts while running away from city officers all through the day. Fortunately there are always informal networks of undocumented workers that operate on the principle of countryman solidarity. This informal market network enables newcomers to diffuse fluidly into the inner workings of the city.
ID sealers are constitutive of a new sort of subject, produced through their products/services. Although the appearance of the subject constituted might look like an improvisational bricolage, it indeed aims at the identity construction within their imagined community. Since the conception of the future plays a great role in imagination of communities, the political, social and economical transformation process of Turkey during its "accession" to European Union with its promise of a better life has been one of the formative factors in the reconstitution of the subjectivities of individuals in relation to their expectations from that future.
In one of the remote edges of the flux of transforming scapes that follows the global currents created by the tensions and alliances of the European Union, ID sealers appear as the voluntary performers of improvised subjectivities that embody the mode of existence that is apprehended between today and the future, current nation state and promised future state of Europe. While the current performance of identity sealers legitimizes the power of the state through their enactment of state bureaucracy, that performance also helps this domain of state power to be extended to "cover" themselves too in return of the emergence of their subjectivity within their imagined community of the future. This economy based interaction when combined with ID selaers' utilization of various media also causes slight modifications or distortions in the portrayal of the state from a feudal patriarch into a merchant matriarch.

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Anna Grabolle-Çeliker
University of Tübingen, Social Anthropology; agrabolle@yahoo.co.uk

The Public and the Private: Discourses and Identifications among Vanlı Women in Istanbul

In this paper, public space is viewed not as a bounded physical space, but as the social field in which people are exposed to public discourses. The "public" permeates individuals' lives to different degrees through prescriptive discourses that are perpetuated by state apparati and by other groups. The researcher will present cases of women from Van (Eastern Turkey) in social housing in Istanbul and their identity negotiation in the face of public discourses. These women are, for instance, exposed to official state discourses on Turkish citizenship, Turkish discourses on Kurdishness, Kurdish discourses on Kurdishness, community discourses on their place of origin and on traditions, discourses on womanhood, and religious discourses on appropriate Muslim behaviour. A description of these public discourses is followed by an account of how several women create meaningful narratives of identity by interacting with these public discourses. Thus, public space is diffracted and reshaped in the private sphere.

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Saturday, January 20th 2007: **Planning Public Istanbul**

Chair: Frank Eckardt, Bauhaus-Universität Weimar

Tolga Levent
Middle East Technical University Ankara, Faculty of Architecture, Department of City Planning, tolgalevent@hotmail.com

Threats for Public Spaces: The Istanbul Case

Public spaces are the key elements of the urban phenomena. They are the scenes of the urban life and culture where the people make themselves visible to unknown others. Like melting pots, they bring various individualistic values, priorities and visions together for the sake of freely constructed "public opinions" and "tolerances" to the different others. With these qualities, public spaces refers not only *abstract* social processes, but also *concrete* spatial practices.
From a perspective in-between processes and practices, this study aims to achieve a description about the possible transformations of above-stated qualities of public spaces in Istanbul with reference to major "urban projects" such as Galataport, Dubai Towers, Haydarpa_a Redevelopment Project, etc.
These urban projects are significant because they form a new ideological tendency by (re)producing urban spaces in Istanbul. They appear as the natural results of city marketing strategies for the integration to globalization, but, at the same time, changes urban planning into a "technical collage" made up of these urban projects. They create a new context in which the public spaces are not properly considered within a consistency of planning systemacy and overall urban functioning. They do not even question what the priorities for cities, public spaces and inhabitants ought to be.
This study, therefore, seeks to present why these urban projects should be considered as clear threats for public spaces and in what ways they are threating the public spaces.

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Funda Bas Butuner
Baskent University ,Faculty of Fine Arts, Design and Architecture, basfunda@yahoo.com

Old City Walls as Public Spaces

Throughout the history, defense was a primary determinant in the foundation of early settlements. Creating a territory and living in a land defined by a boundary -either natural or manmade- was a vital requirement of early settlements. In addition to natural boundaries, man also constructed walls around their settlements to guard themselves from external dangers. But, walls do not function only as defensive units; they were also used as important tools for shaping and controlling cities territory in physical, symbolic, governmental and financial terms. In old cities, there was a flow of people, goods, money and even knowledge through the walls. But today, the circumstance is very different. Walled edges have no more such vital and symbolic role in modern cities structure. So, the most dominant/determinant urban element of old cities –walls- became challenging structures of contemporary cities. In this context, it is not adequate to discuss city walls only as an issue of restoration or conservation. Although the term "wall" refers to an architectural element, old city walls are more than architectural monuments in cities. They identify a zone in the urban structure, so they become an important issue of urban planning and design discipline.
Istanbul is an impressive example of this argument. Old city walls of Istanbul manifest themselves in the city context in two ways. First case is Galata; in the mid of 19th century, similar to Vienna and Paris, walls of Galata was destroyed and new streets and buildings were constructed in the place of old city walls. In this case, walls disappeared in city structure; but also reappeared as public spaces. Second one is the Historical Peninsula where old city walls were conserved and enclosed with huge green areas serving for some public uses including several illegal facilities. In that cases too, walls appear as a part of the public space system. So, this paper argues the changing meaning of old city walls as a public space in the contemporary urban structure of Istanbul.
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Ela Alanyali Aral
Cankaya University, Ankara, ela.aral@mask.com.tr

Peripheral Public Spaces – Types in progress

Ottoman cities included public open spaces on the peripheries as a significant type. Multi-centred in character; Istanbul, like other Ottoman cities, developed through groups of districts scattered around at critical locations within the topography, leaving vast areas in between. Public spaces, apart from a number of central squares, emerged in the peripheries and between the dense districts accomplishing various functions like gathering (bayram yerleri), sports and military activities (cirit, ok) and recreation (mesire).

As a general property, Turkish open spaces have been indeterminate and loose in their formal characteristics, being in harmony with the natural properties. Two factors were important in the formation of public open spaces; the natural virtues of places and their location and relationships within the city. Foremost public spaces developed on main arteries (At Meydanı) and in areas around city entrances (Namazgâh in Ankara).

Public space, defined as the space of encounter and self-expression, entails two key properties:

1. coming together of the large numbers of urbanites – depending on accessibility and activities, and
2. *appropriation* presenting the circumstances for revelation of identities.

Peripheral public spaces retain in modern Istanbul with its essential qualities. Numerous informal public spaces with a variety of activities like watching around, playing, eating, retail, etc. can be observed in vast areas in the fringes and among fragments of the city. Innately those along circulation routes offer high accessibility and if equipped / appropriated with adequate activities, they evolve as vivacious urban assets.

A detailed analysis regarding their physical / local characteristics and the appropriation patterns within peripheral public spaces is essential. In that context, a typology of these spaces in Istanbul will lead to an evaluation regarding their values and potentiality for the future of the city.

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Ebru Erdönmez / Selim Ökem
Yildiz Technical University, Istanbul Faculty of Architecture, ebruerdonmez@yahoo.com

Public Transformation of Bosphorus. Facts and Oportunities

Cities are places where societies and individuals come together and socialize. Especially open public spaces, which played a fundamental role in the establishment of cities, are places for gathering for people from every cultural and social backgrounds, different ethnic origins and diverse characteristics.

As the city that connects two continents, Istanbul owes its unique identity to a narrow strip of sea called the “Bosphorus”. Historically the Bosphorus has been used primarily for sea transportation purposes. It did not have a public character. Along the sea shore, the main building type was characterized by the palaces and private dwellings, yalı’s. As the city expanded and the population increased, to meet the changing needs new traffic arteries were built along the seashore which changed this privatized area to a large extend. Although there are complains that this new establishment has damaged the historical characteristics of the Bosphorus and interrupted the relationship of Yalı’s with the sea; on the other hand it created an opportunity to transform this area into a public space.

As for function, public space is the place, where relations are established, going beyond the private sphere and thereby creating community. Public spaces should be seen as one of the most important elements of a modern city in creating the city culture and city consciousness.

This study aims to delineate an alternative domain for intervention by proposing the Bosphorus and the surrounding land strip as a continuous public space that forms the physical basis of the pedestrian perception of the city. Depending on this perception, we should consider the Bosphorus as a binding element between two continents rather than a separating border. Organizing the Bosphorus as a living public space, will be the approach in the study. To create a desired public space along the Bosphorus, the conditions that are necessary for outdoor activities, recreational activities and social activities will be analyzed in this paper.

The research methodology utilized in this study is based on place centered behavioral mapping and sequential site analysis through day and night as well as morphological analysis of the area covering a larger time span.

Eylem Gülcemal
Middle East Technical University Ankara, eylemgulcemal@yahoo.de

Intervention to Public Space and Displacement of "the Others"

Istanbul is a city where spatial repercussion of social polarization is explicitly observed; on the one side decaying residential areas of the poor, on the other side gated communities and privatized public spaces of the well-to-do. The more interesting is that they lie adjacent to each other most time.
Recently, a new '*Urban Redevelopment Law'* is on the agenda of public policy makers which cause extensive public debate in Turkey. What is disputable about this law is that it encourages project based, no-plan urban re-development which most of the time ignores public interest. The underlying motivation behind this endeavour is in fact setting a legal frame of already started several urban redevelopment projects that aim to attract international capital to invest in Istanbul. The need for 'land' cause developers to fix their eyes on areas in the city where the urban poor live, since the expansion of the city to outside is not possible any more. It is declared by local government of Istanbul that it is aimed to turn Istanbul into a 'world city', 'city of culture' and so on. However, the concealed development behind these 'gorgeous' transformations of Istanbul is displacement of the urban poor. Following Henri Lefebvre (1996),'the right to the city' refers to the right to participate in making 'the urban', the right to inhabit and transform urban space. What in practice observed is, on the other hand, deprivation of some groups, that have no political and economic power to compete for their spaces, from this right and destruction of their buildings, everyday life-spaces, parks and streets which reminds us the 'marginal public spaces' of Ali Madanipour (2003).
The aim of the paper is analysing these the social consequences of these urban redevelopment projects in terms of exclusion of some groups from their living and public spaces.

Tim Rieniets / Orhan Esen
ETH Zürich,tim@rieniets.de/ IMP Istanbul, orhanes@superonline.com

Göktürk – Strategies of Denial, Exchange and Adaptation in a Segregated Urban Environment

Since mid 1980s Istanbul witnessed the emergence of an upper class of new money: Its hyper-activity, even its sheer presence blasted some old class positions. However, unable to differentiate itself from the rest of the society through acquired social gesture, a sophisticated 'bourgeois' culture, the new 'uncultivated' class preferred to distance itself through practices of space as well through symbols of status. Equipped with 4x4 jeeps and sunglasses they made their way through the open public space, mostly experienced as an urban jungle. The security infrastructure of the new settlements behind the walls, the so called 'gated communities' made them feel 'untouchable' given the codices of that jungle.
The segregation does not exclusively comprise of physical or spatial mechanisms like walls: Mental mechanisms of denial are important as well. Urban realities beyond the newly built environment are mentally suppressed or denied. Social contacts to the 'other side' comprise mainly of hierarchical employer-employee relations (gardeners, cleaners, au pairs, security staff, chauffeurs...) However, the new form of living and social behavior retroacted on other groups, as the real estate industry began selling the 'new urbanism' of the nouvelle riches to the middle classes as well.
Within the former rural town of Göktürk, at the northwestern peripheries of Istanbul, more than 30 gated communities have been constructed since the early 90s, to accommodate those members of Istanbul's upper and middle classes who were tired of the metropolis and longed for prestige. Paradoxically this migration engendered urban conditions in Göktürk similar to those, which they had originally fled from: urban density, permanent changes of the environment and close proximity to underprivileged classes.

Today two different urban cultures are living side by side, separated mainly but not only by the walls of the Gated Communities. Their relation to the urban environment is diametrical: One group builds their urban environment through small-scale investments and improvisation. Their living in Göktürk is mainly based on job and business opportunities generated by the gated communities. As far as available, family, kinship and other social networks are utilized as a major resource to improve socio-economic status. The other group, however, has its familiar and professional roots in Istanbul and celebrates a "privatized public life" behind walls, in urban environments constructed by investors according to the needs of the upscale real estate market. The exceptional proximity of both groups has prompted different spatial, mental and economic strategies of denial, sublime exchange and mutual adaptation among both groups.
Students from ETH Zürich and diverse Istanbul Universities documented and analysed in the genesis and qualities of this venue in diverse media and formats in the winter semester 2005/06. Photos, Videos and Mappings demonstrate a complex space that keeps on changing. Interviews with different stakeholders reveal extremely different values and perceptions. In individual essays students have tried to describe causes and effects of this particular urban development.
At first the visit of students was most welcomed as the project originated from a renowned Swiss university. However, with their analysis students did not share the values and perceptions of the municipality. Instead, the critical approach towards the recent development of Göktürk they demonstrated has obviously caused suspicion behind the reflexive-glass facades of the city hall and prompted the city fathers to publish their counterstatement…

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Saturday, January 20th 2007: Representing Istanbul

Keynote: Pelin Tan, Istanbul Technical University, peltn@yahoo.com
Chair: Susanne Bosch, University of Ulster

Senem Doyduk
Yıldız Technical University, Dept. of Architecture, senemdoyduk@hotmail.com

Evaluation of Urban Archeological Data in Public Spaces Located in Istanbul Historic Peninsula

In this study, relations between the *ground platform* that constitutes the public spaces within the city and the *objects* made of structures or sub-structures that constitute the physical components of urban fabric are investigated. The concept of "ground of urban space", which is investigated in physical and social terms, is predominantly discussed with the following characteristic: "it is a tool (medium) of cultural coding and transfer".
Streets and squares are among the spaces constituting urban public ground, and they are the *anti-things* describing the things of urban. The public spaces -streets and squares- are discussed as they are the parts in which the transformations intensify, they are physically bounded and each is a part of circulation network. Unless the relation between occupancy and emptiness cannot be established in a balanced manner, the urban integrity created by thing - anti-thing is perceived as separate fragments; and consequently, there comes *lost emptiness*. In order to heal lost emptiness, things should be reconsidered and *grounds should be taken into account instead of forms*.
In this context, under the scope of urban protection approaches that are not thing-oriented, the emphasis is placed on that thing-oriented protection should be based on individual authority. Then, to which extent the protection and public benefit integrates is investigated in historical process. The potential of protection of anti-things in achieving new expansions is discussed around the question: what can be the vision of protection of public spaces in 21st century?
Under the scope of intense historical stratification of Istanbul, data such as location of archeological foundlings in Historical Peninsula and traces on the ground are evaluated as tools of protection of public space. In other words, archeological heritages in Istanbul Historic Peninsula are discussed as symbols of public space in antique ritual paths and squares. While treating Istanbul Historic Peninsula not only with the entities placed on the ground but also with the stratums, utilization of urban archeology is investigated.

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Britta Trostorff
Bauhaus-Universität Weimar, Raumplanung und Raumforschung britta.trostorff@archit.uni-weimar.de

Public with Tea. The Traditional Çayhane (Teahouse) in Modern Istanbul’s Everyday Life

Considering public spaces not only as built structures and forms but likewise as social processes and interactions, this paper focusses on the “Çay-“ and “Kahvehane” – the traditional oriental tea- and coffeehouse – and its special spheres of public.
Dating back to the 16th and 17th century, tea- and coffeehouses soon emerged at nearly every street corner in Istanbul and the oriental world. They rapidly became a meeting point for men. Here, the latest news were exchanged, politics discussed and opinions made while drinking a glass of çay (tea) and playing a match of Havla (Backgammon). A respectable form of going out and leaving the private sphere was established in a society, where urban life was highly dominated by privacy (Wirth 2000). However, the new public sphere created through and in the tea- and coffeehouses was dedicated only to men. Women were not allowed access, a sphere of gendered public was created.
And the Çayhanesi resisted all processes of social change and modernisation. Still today, this institution of Çayhane exists, not only in very small villages, but also in Istanbul. Still today, it is only men who enter, and still today, Çayhane is a place of discussion and public opinion. How can the social institution Çayhane today can be understood in terms of concepts of public? What does the persistance of this social instituion tell us about concepts of public and the public space? By whom is the Çayhane used as public sphere and are there special locations of Çayhanesi within the city? In which relation does the gendered public sphere of Çayhanesi stand to other spheres and spaces of public?
These questions are being discussed on the basis of empirical findings and with regard to theoretical approaches of “public” and “public spaces” as they are dealt with from a (western-european) geographical point of view and with the phenomenological approach of the “everyday”.

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Senem Zeybekoglu / Kivanç Kilinç
Yildiz Technical University, Faculty of Architecture, Senemzeybek@yahoo.com / State University of New York at Binghamton, Art History Department.kkilinc1@binghampton.edu

Regeneration of “Public Istanbul”: Changing Meanings and Manifestations of Public Space in Haliç (Golden Horn)

The image of "public Istanbul" has been determined by different conceptions of "modern Istanbul" during the last century. From Tanzimat's urban changes to Prost Plan and urban operations in the 1950s, the attempts to create modern public spaces similar to European examples transformed the city but were also transformed by local interpretations of “modernity.” Plans to alter _stanbul’s multi-centered urban character from top to bottom created unique instances where “public sphere as a space of political and cultural transformation processes” became visible.
In this paper we examine Haliç (Golden Horn) as an epitome of urban transformation where the meaning and function of public space have dramatically changed. Throughout history, Haliç has been an important center where the economic, cultural, social and military activities of the historical city took place. Carrying the advantage of being a natural port, it has always been a commercial center, not only in means of exchanging goods, but also in means of being a gate opening to the world and exchanging ideas, cultural values, traditions, etc.
Today the functional and spatial transformation of Haliç is explicitly visible. In recent years, many buildings on the shores of the area have been demolished, whereas historic shipyard and the industry businesses moved to outside of the city. Museums, cultural and exhibition centers and university settlements began to be located along the shore, which triggered various restoration and renovation projects. The transformation in Haliç continues to bring a new manifestation of public space and public life for istanbul. Therefore this paper will analyze Haliç as a case study to reveal new meanings of “public Istanbul.” Relocating the ongoing projects in Haliç within an urban regeneration perspective, these transformations will be analysed along with their social, cultural and economic aspects.

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Feride Çiçekoglu
Bilgi University, Program in Film – TV, Istanbul, feridec@bilgi.edu..tr

Sabiha in "Public Istanbul"

This paper focuses on the cinematic representation of women in public spaces of Istanbul, highlighting the character of Sabiha in *Vesikalı Yarim* [My Prostitude Beloved], a film which marks a turning point in the portrayal of "public _stanbul". Being both the center of the cinema industry and the natural background to visual narration in the majority of Turkish films, the cinematic image of Istanbul reflects the modernization adventure of Turkey in the 20th Century. Particularly important from the viewpoint of "public _stanbul" is the transformation of the filmic persona of the woman outside the private spaces of home and family as the metropolis is marked by the coexistence and confrontation of tradition and modernity.

Vesikalı Yarim (Ömer Lütfü Akad, 1968) was recently coined as a "cult film" (Abisel, et al.), since it explores the contradictions of modernity in the context of Istanbul even with the connotations of its title. Prostitution suggests flânerie (Baudlaire, Benjamin) with connotations of women in public spaces (Wolff, Buck-Morss) while belovedness implies the privacy of middleclass domestic interior. Spatial connotations of tradition and modernity such as fringe and center, enclosedness and openness, interior and exterior are further explored as the plot unfolds. The agency of modernity appears as Sabiha since the male protagonist retreats to his extended family, where he lives with his parents, his wife and his children. This film thus marks a turning point in the representation of women in the public spaces of the city since Sabiha is shown in transformation from a cabaret woman of enclosed spaces to "a woman walker" (Mouton) in the city and the film ends with her roaming the streets.

The aim of this paper is to trace the transformation of Sabiha as a character both constructed by and constructing "public Istanbul". I intend to screen fragments from *Vesikalı Yarim* during my presentation at the conference to illustrate my points.

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Christoph K. Neumann
Bilgi-Universität Istanbul, neumann@bilgi.edu.tr

The Photographic Memory Or How in Beyoglu Pictures Turn into Public Memory of Space

It has often been noted that Turkish historical culture is fixated upon the state and the documents emanating from it. Before this backdrop, Beyoglu is an exception: This quarter of Istanbul is constructed as a unique space within the city, a symbolical opposite: not national but cosmopolitan, not Muslim but multi-confessional, not Anatolian but urban, not austere, but festive, not created by the state but the realm of businessmen and artists. However, Beyo_lu is not only remembered as a different realm; the means of remembrance are also exceptional: Photography is not only of the main sources for the history of the quarter; it is used in order to produce images of history.

This has certainly something to do with the fact, that from Abdullah Frères to Ara Güler the history of photography in Istanbul can largely be localised in Beyoglu. The resulting relative wealth of available material, which, however, very much concerns the time past World War I and a limited area around the Grand rue de Péra (Istiklâl Caddesi), allows to make choices that create certain imaginations of Beyoglu. The most prominent of these photographs convey a nostalgic picture that symbolises cosmopolitan sophistication but at the same time suggests stabile, secular, and frequently upper middle class values. This kind of photographic representation is also open to commercial use and then often displayed in public space. The passer-by is then confronted with an advertising panel of sometimes huge dimensions that shows him the same street on which he just crowds with so many others, only some decades ago and patina-like coloured in the brownish tone of an old photography.

Pictures that show a less prosperous Beyoglu or deal with violence, dirt, crime or calamities have a hard time to be displayed. This paper dwells on a number of attempts to deploy such photographs in the space of Beyoglu in order to produce a counter-memory. One such example is the exhibition of photographs showing the anti-Greek (and, in a more general sense, anti-non-Muslim) riots of

September 6th and 7th, 1955. Organised 50 years after this large-scale outbreak of state-induced popular violence in a gallery located on Istiklâl Caddesi, this exhibition itself became the target of violence. On another level, interventions by artists to counter-manipulate the memory of space in Beyoglu are considered. With the upsurge of Istanbul and especially Beyoglu as an artistic centre, such interventions have been frequent during the last few years.

PUBLIC ISTANBUL

SPACES AND SPHERES OF THE CITY

19. – 20. January 2007

URBAN PLANNING IN CONTEMPORARY ISTANBUL

PUBLIC PANEL, Friday, January 19th 2007, 8:30 p.m.

Hüseyin Kaptan, Architect
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Aykut Karaman, Architect
Professor at Department of City and Regional Planning, Mimar Sinan University, Istanbul

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PAPERS (alphabetical order)

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PUBLIC İSTANBUL
SPACES AND SPHERES OF THE CITY
19. – 20. January 2007

Ela Alanyalı ARAL

Peripherial Public Spaces – Types in Progress

Urban public space is in the course of a discussion upon its validity for the masses which live in the urbanised areas. For the fact that no other means of communication has been substantive enough to replace face-to-face contact, public spaces still hold the core of research and contemplation. As technology ever more introduces agents that alter the everyday life, qualities and characteristics of public spaces alter.

Public spaces of the past have extensively been a question of model for the production of contemporary ones. The existence of praised examples of historic public spaces in our lives rarely goes beyond nostalgic images and experiences predominantly used as attractions in tourism. For many city dwellers, living environments are not comprised of such places and some of the population in the urbanised areas do not even experience any urban public space that we would conventionally mention as a plaza or a square. In many cities throughout the world, daily experiences mostly depend on high-speed travelling in vehicular means; aiming to bypass the inevitably experienced public spaces –specifically those along circulation routes– in the shortest possible period of time.

Cities become exposed to most heterogeneous life patterns in cultures and economies under rapid change; this change for the most part being produced by the mobility of populations in both spatial and socio-economic terms. Diversity of dwellers is reflected in public spaces; for every group –or even individuals somehow hold a territory in urban space; expressing themselves to others.

Metropolitan areas, especially in developing countries, present an unsettled social milieu, as they are places where great numbers of people from different origins continually face each other in different contexts and modes. Such cities under great changes due social, political or economic compulsions produce more breaks in the

urban area, where their dwellers find the opportunities to develop their own informal use patterns. Seemingly chaotic, they engender more leftover spaces[1], which signify more uncontrolled and more temporary spaces, and more spontaneous uses. Today Berlin is one example of this type in Europe and _stanbul is another one just on the junction point of Europe and Asia.

While discussing the future of urban public space as a medium for serendipitous encounter of urbanites, a primary concern should be to understand what actually is displayed in urban areas; involving specific current space types and use patterns in cities. Apart from regular and planned types of public spaces, there exist a variety of emergent contexts in contemporary cities, mostly in disregarded urban spaces[2].

Spaces along urban motorways comprise a common space type in contemporary cities, having been evolved and proliferating due to the increase in motorised means of transportation. These spaces challenge closer investigation in the context of Turkish cities for they display some specific public urban space qualities as spaces of encounter and self-expression[3]. Spaces along urban motorways entail the two key properties; bringing together large numbers of urbanites –due to the dense use of the motorways and high accessibility -, and holding *appropriation* -revelation of urbanites' identities through spontaneous use patterns as is frequently observed.

The study mainly attempts to signify the role these spaces may be playing in the public life of the city. There exist several courses of discussion to test their roles, both in the context of contemporary urban culture in developed and developing countries, and in the context of the historical development of the city.

For the case of _stanbul, we may examine the characteristics of its past as an Ottoman city to discover whether there are continuations and reminiscences in use patterns and space types. On the other hand, when we suggest correlating these spaces to the peripheral public spaces of the past, we have to contemplate on the concept of periphery; its relationship with the circulatory network and its public qualities in the previous and contemporary urban formations.

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[1] Leftover space' was defined as space that is not 'possessed' by people; where 'Possession', being different from 'ownership' implies maintenance and keeping control over the object (E. Alanyalı Aral, 2003, "*Leftover Space as A Value and A Potentiality for the Public Realm in the City"* Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, METU, Faculty of Architecture, Ankara).

[2] See *Urban Catalyst: Strategies for Temporary Use –Results of the European Research Project 2001-2003*, 2004, eds. P. Oswalt, K. Overmeyer, P. Missewiltz, for the evaluation of temporary uses in informal spaces in five European cities.

[3] Public space as defined in relation to discussions in H. Arendt, 1958. *The Human Condition*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

A. The Ottoman City and Public Space

1. Open and Fragmented City

Throughout the history, different cultures have produced different public space cultures. Ottomans, with stimulations from various cultures which they have touched upon, have developed their own patterns in terms of formation and use of urban spaces. There also exist motives referred to the nomadic past of Turkish tribes[4] or Turkish cities in Asia[5], but the outcome has been generated as a set of spaces and use patterns with some particularities different than theirs.

Basically Ottoman city was an open city with no definite boundaries between inside and outside, or between the rural area and the city –it was not a city surrounded by walls[6]. This feature gave rise to a loose and fragmented growth pattern which left great vast areas in-between the numerous neighbourhoods in the city. (fig ?)

Ottoman cities developed as multi-centred structures; groups of districts were gathered around centres comprising social buildings like mosque, school, religious buildings (*tekke* and *zaviye*), library and public bath (*hamam*); and these centres were scattered around at critical locations within the topography leaving vast areas in between[7].

These vast areas mainly encompassed four types of activities; 1.supplementary areas like agricultural and breeding land, 2.spaces for sport and military activities (*at meydanı, ok meydanı*), 3.social / meeting activities (*bayram yeri*), and 4.recreational activities (*dere boyu / mesire yerleri*)[8].

Usually public urban spaces emerged just on the peripheries and in-between the fragmented neighbourhoods of the city. A closer investigation shows that

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[4] Evyapan, G. A. 1972. *Eski Türk Bahçeleri ve Özellikle Eski _stanbul Bahçeleri* Ankara: Orta Do_u Teknik Üniversitesi.
[5] Kuban in Cerasi (1999:86) relates Ottoman cities' principle of detachment to the Turkish cities in Asia, which are formed by of three different parts: the city of aristocrats and 'zanaatkâr's –namely '_ehristan', settlement area in the inner castle, and bazaar area –namely 'rabad' or 'birun' which exists outside the walls and far from both.
[6] p. 79 in Cerasi, M. 1999. Osmanlı Kenti –Osmanlı _mparatorlu_u'nda 18. ve 19. Yüzyıllarda Kent Uygarlı_ı ve Mimarisi. _stanbul: YKY. Altan Yayıncılık.
[7] p.379 in Cansever, T. 1996. *Osmanlı _ehri* in V. Akyüz and S. Ünlü (ed.s). _slam Gelene_inden Günümüze _ehir ve Yerel Yönetimler, v I.: 373-388. _stanbul: Bayrak Matbaacılık.
[8] Cansever 1996:382.

predominantly two factors were important in the formation of these public open spaces; the natural virtues of places and their location and relationships within the city.

1. a Informality and Preservation of Natural Assets

Ottoman cities have usually been discussed to produce informal public spaces in physical terms. Public spaces were rather indeterminate and loose in their formal characteristics and in harmony with the natural characteristics of their specific location. They were not designed or orderly urban spaces, but pieces of land left in their natural characteristics.

Cerasi claims that Ottoman interventions absolutely adapted the existing forms in the natural space, both in urbanisation schemes and in open space forms[9]. Love and enjoyment of nature in them was an important attribute. Nature was seen as one of the complementary values in the Ottoman _stanbul; there were always fragments of nature in the city like gardens, graveyards, green courtyards and vacant lots[10]. Regarding the preservation of natural characteristics in most public spaces, the intrinsic qualities themselves seem to have been inspiring –or rather determinant– for city dwellers in verifying them for certain activities.

1. b Public Open Space Locations in the Urban Layout

In Ottoman cities, the relationship of spaces to the inner-city movement arteries and to city entrances were determinant of the public quality of open spaces. Foremost public spaces developed on the main arteries and close to city entrances.

The relationship of these spaces to the inner-city movement arteries and to the peripheries played an important role in qualifying their public character: Those close to the city entrances, like *Namazgâh* in Ankara, on important locations and on the main arteries in the city (*Atmeydanı* in _stanbul –Figure …) emerged as the primary gathering public spaces of cities; whereas those rather remote ones emerged as recreational public spaces[11] (*Ka_ıthane* and *Küçüksu* in _stanbul –Figures..).

Bazaar area outside the walls and far from the city[12] or marketplace just outside the city walls[13] were also seen in other cultures. Yet, one typical location for public spaces in

[9] Cerasi, 1999:229.
[10] Erzen, 1991:94.
[11] Evliya Çelebi, in 17th century mentions ten strolling areas which all social classes use, outside the walls in _stanbul (in Cerasi 1999:203).
[12] in Turkish cities in Asia, Kuban in Cerasi (1999:86).

the Ottoman city was the vast areas in-between fragmented groups of neighbourhoods. Specific public space types; like *çayırlık*s or cemeteries which were used as *gezinti* - strolling areas were located on the exits of these neighbourhood groups; mostly on hills with a panoramic view[14].

2. Main Types and Use Characteristics in Public Open Spaces

As public open space types, Ottoman cities included mainly ‘meydan’, ‘mesire’, ‘çayırlık’ and ‘pazar’.

*Meydan*s (“vacant, unclosed, wide areas”) were not designed or orderly urban spaces, but rather pieces of land left in their natural characteristics. Informal in character, they showed inconceivable use patterns in the context of western plazas –embracing tents and huts, groups of people sitting in circles, eating, playing games, even meditating[15].

The Persian term ‘maidan’ was translated into Turkish as connoting to vacant, unclosed, wide area:

Meydan: “1. Flat, open and wide place, area –like Taksim meydanı [in English: Open space, public square, the open square]
2. Field of game / contest or combat –like sava_ meydanı, at meydanı, ok meydanı [in English: Field, area]
3. One’s immediate surroundings –like in ‘meydanda kimse yok’ [in English: Arena] …”[16]

‘Meydan’ showed basically different characteristics from European ‘square’, in both its formal representative qualities and usage qualities. It could be likened to *campo* in Italian cities, which was rather informal than p*iazza*; an open and undefined empty space where daily activities, like bazaar etc. take place[17]. On the other hand, p*iazza* may be identified piazza with the courtyard of huge mosques –with regard to the ‘formal representative’ qualities of both[18].

In the Ottoman city, such wide open spaces were almost always casual and they lacked specific purposes. These properties are as well valid for *meydan*s in Turkish

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[13] in medieval cities in Europe , p. 54 in Carr, S., Francis, M., Rivlin, L.G. and Stone, A.M. 1995. *Public Space*. Cambridge, New York: Cambridge Univ. Press.
[14] Cerasi, 1999: 201.
[15] Cerasi, 1999.
[16] p. 1931 in *Okyanus Ansiklopedik Sözlük IV*, 1981. _stanbul, Pars Yayınevi.
[17] Yerasimos, S. 1996, *Tanzimat’ın Kent Reformları Üzerine* in P. Dumont and F. Georgeon (ed.s) Modernle_me Sürecinde Osmanlı Kenti (A. Berktay, trans.), _stanbul: Tarih Vakfı: 1-18.

villages (köy meydanı), where the land is not designed or altered for a strict order, but used in its natural character, with a minimum of intervention.

Mesire was a recreational public space, where people could stroll and spend time in nature:

Mesire: "Place to stroll, to enjoy open air and to entertain, walk [in English: Promenade, excursion spot][19]

There was a *çayırlık* with trees in every settlement in the western and eastern Turkey[20]. They were areas left in their natural layout and used publicly as strolling places and they were widely spread in cities in the 18th century. Sports games and public entertainment / festivities on special days were held in these spaces, as in *Cebeci çayırlı_ı*, Ankara.

'Pazar' was another public space in the Ottoman city, and every -big- city had one or more grain or animal bazaar in its peripheral area.

All these types had some common properties in their formal and usage qualities.

2.a Overlapping of Activities in Public Open Spaces

Features like the informality of public spaces in physical terms and the use of cemeteries, *çayır*s, and *bostan*s as the primary public open spaces in the Ottoman city, differentiated it from eastern and western cities[21]. The main public open spaces were experienced in their natural properties; like *meydan*, *mesire*, *çayırlık*… All these types were very close in their use characteristics that even a very well-known *meydan* in _stanbul –*At Meydanı*– could be mentioned as *mesire* in Seyahatname[22].

Likewise, Cerasi[23] calls *çayırlık*s as *mesire*, claiming that they represent the attempts to appropriate or re-appropriate a natural environment for the city; the materiality of a place with its meadows, ambience and panorama. This point signifies that it was possible to view same kind of uses in all public open spaces, with the essential characteristic of enjoyment of nature.

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[18] Tournefort 1717, in Cerasi 1999.
[19] Okyanus Ansiklopedik Sözlük IV, 1981:1916
[20] Hobhouse, 1913 in Cerasi 1999.
[21] Cerasi, 1999.
[22] p.146 in Evliya Çelebi. 1971. *Evliya Çelebi Seyahatnamesi*, _kinci Kitab. _stanbul: Özaydın Matbaası.

[23] Cerasi, 1999.

In Ottoman cities, functions were overlaid in the urban context; thus in open spaces; like cemeteries being used as public open spaces (public gardens where dwellers could stroll, enjoy, sing, eat etc), and fruit gardens along Meriç river in Edirne being used as public stroll areas[24].

2.b Behavioural Patterns in Public Open Spaces: Serenity and Holding Place

The specific use types and preferences in open spaces in Ottoman cities can be considered as a reflection of the overall behaviour patterns of dwellers. Ottoman use - or Balkan and Anatolian *Sociabilité*[25] - was different from those in Europe; it was more static and sometimes leading to contemplation and more multi-functional (the group sits, rests, sings, eats…). Many urban public open spaces appeared like rural picnic areas, and families or groups of friends held a certain location and stayed / enjoyed there for hours and even for days with tents[26].

Cerasi states that *meydan*s were used in ways unimaginable in the context of piazzas: Tents and huts were placed, there were groups of people sitting in circles, others eating, and some playing games on horse; these *meydan*s were multi-functional and they also prepared the milieu for meditating, as a group or person appropriated a location in the space to sit, like a corner in the field[27].

These use patterns, depending mostly on the main properties of the public open spaces in the Ottoman city –namely the enjoyment of nature as it is and multi-functionality–, produced their specific atmosphere; a calm, static / slow and peaceful way of holding a place which brought together singing / eating groups with those meditating within the same space.

3. Legal Layout of Public Open Spaces in the Ottoman City

Ottoman city shared some common principles with the Islamic city in general, but was particular in its open space types (like *çayırlık* and *mesire*) and use characteristics. Yerasimos[28] claims that there is no public space in the Islamic city, for individual and collective properties are determined through the two main principles; positive benefits

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[24] Cerasi, 1999: 201, 203.
[25] Boué in Cerasi, 1999: 199.
[26] Boué in Cerasi, 1999: 205.
[27] Cerasi, 1999: 199.

and negative benefits; which means that anyone who can evaluate a common property without disturbing others has the right to possess it. This principle was in use in many spaces; a significant example is the formation of dead-end streets typical also in the Ottoman city.

For this transience, public spaces in Islamic cities may be mentioned as merely transition or temporary use areas; not institutionalised further than its usage properties[29]. Yet in the Ottoman city, it is difficult to state that public spaces were not institutionalised; for they assessed regular care and maintenance; *meydan*, *çayırlık* and *mesire* were well maintained by responsible groups like '*çayır bekçileri'* and '*fideciler*'[30] and '*bostancılar*'[31].

The Ottoman city had its own legal structure defining public and private spaces.

3.a Land Ownership Patterns

The Ottoman system was based on land owned by the State, except for *mülk arazi* which comprised the privately owned land –that included the land of houses and their use areas in villages and towns[32].

In Ottoman property system, common land ('res publicae' in Roman law) was the category of *metruk arazi*. Land in this category, also belonged to the State and was reserved for the use and utilisation of the public or of the inhabitants of a certain settlement[33]. These comprised routes*, meydans*, *namazgâh*s, *mesire*s, *pazar*s and *panayır* / festival places; and were protected strictly in the sense that they could only be used for the purposes they were reserved for –by laws forbidding any personal utilisation / appropriation[34].

As another category, there was *mevat arazi* or *hali arazi* ('res nullius' in Roman law), which comprised the land that was in nobody's ownership –though its *rakabe* (*kuru mülkiyet*) belonged to the State– and no possession was concerned within. These lands were not preserved for the utilisation of the public, and were not usable in any way –neither available for agriculture nor building–, and they started 1.5 mile from the

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[28] p. 67 in S. Yerasimos, 1997, *_slâm _ehrinde Sınır ve Geçi_* in Sanat ve Çevre, Z. Aktüre(ed.), Ankara: ODTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi Basım __li_i.
[29] Yerasimos, 1997: 67.
[30] Cansever, 1996: 382.
[31] Cerasi, 1999: 199.
[32] p.205 in Sönmez, T. 1998. Osmanlıdan Günümüze Toprak Mülkiyeti –Açıklamalı Sözlük. Ankara: Yayımevi.
[33] Sönmez, 1998: 205.
[34] Sönmez, 1998: 206.

buildings at the peripheries of a settlement[35]. By definition, these lands could not be considered as urban lands in Ottoman period, however in the Republican period, they were converted into public and private property in the urban context, with the enlargement of city areas.

The Ottoman property system brought spontaneity and disorder in ownership patterns, which was also reflected in the physical properties of settlements; in their irregular and compact structure[36].Only by the end of the 19th century, the spontaneous possession based on urban growth of the Ottoman city began to be replaced by planned, ownership based real property[37].

3.b Layout of Movement Network

In the Islamic city streets were either in common property or they were the shared property of neighbourhood dwellers, as in the case of dead-end streets which could be closed to strangers by the decision of these dwellers[38].

The Ottoman city had three types of streets including; main streets which connect the entrances of the city to the centre, streets connecting the centre or the wider streets to the neighbourhoods (*mahalleler*) and streets in the neighbourhoods[39]. The latter two street types formed a '*salkım*' type of neighbourhood developments with dead-ends which were later connected to the main axis, whereas main streets formed a radial-concentric scheme, with public buildings like *keravansaray*s, *zaviye*s, *han*s, *medrese*s, closed bazaars and great mosques on them[40].

Public open spaces are also usually placed in relation with these main streets; like *meydan*s and bazaars on the main entrances of the city, and promenades (*çayırlık*s, cemeteries etc.) on the exits of city fragments –neighbourhood groups.

As an overall evaluation, public urban spaces in the Ottoman city included several types, some of which were peripheral public spaces. Peripheral public spaces were usually natural in their formal characteristics; they suggest a ruralised urban scene. These spaces presented an overlapping of several functions; as either *meydan*, *çayırlık*, *mesire* or cemetery, they were promenades /or sports areas being as well used for gatherings and contemplation at the same time. Appropriation patterns

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[35] Sönmez, 1998: 207.
[36] Kuban, 1968 and Günay, 1999.
[37] Günay 1999: 235.
[38] Yerasimos, 1996: 10.
[39] Yerasimos, 1996: 13.

included serenity and enjoyment of nature; persons / groups holding a place sometimes in much extended time periods with huts or tents.

B. Public Spaces as Defined a propos Urban Movement Networks

The previous discussion has demonstrated that the Ottoman city had some particularities in the formation and use patterns of public open spaces. A second step may be to evaluate their significance for the discussions on public space today and next to see whether these particularities retain or they are forming a basis in the use and formation types of the contemporary city -with positive or negative implications.

1. The Periphery and the Centrality

The duality of centre and periphery was questionable in the Ottoman city. The fragmented open city model produced numerous centres and in-between areas which signified the transitory character of open spaces resembling the rural in the urban.

On the other hand, this distinction was rigorous in the western city until very recently. Cupers and Miessen[41] claim that the divisions in the western culture as rural and urban or centre and periphery, no longer structure the geographical position of the city. Today, in their point of view, the *centre*, or rather the *centres* are spread over the nodes of the network; the peripheries are smeared over the folds of the urban fabric[42]. This layout of the contemporary western city has similarities with what the Ottoman city has traditionally formed.

The role of the periphery with reference to centrality is being discussed in various dimensions today: Nijenhuis[43] states that the distinctive opposition between centre and periphery is secondary and misleading, it is rather the networks of movement which create the city:

> Primarily the city is formed and informed by heterogeneous speeds –by the difference between inertia and traffic. The form of the city is thus, finally, an unstable effect.

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[40] Yerasimos, 1997: 68-9.
[41] p. 31-33 in K. Cupers and M. Miessen, 2002, *Spaces of Uncertainty*, Dortmund: Tuschen.
[42] Cupers and Miessen, 2002:33.
[43] p.14 in W. Nijenhuis, 1994, *City Frontiers and Their Disappearance*, AD Profile No 108, London: VCH Publishers.

The robustness of peripheries was an expression of the power controlling them; the surrounding walls meant a cautious insurance of security for the wealth acquired through the control of goods passing through the city gates –a model which well accounts for the existence of markets just inside or outside the city walls, near the city gates– and this characteristic of cities faded away in the 19th century Europe with the strategies following Saint-Simonian thinking which attempted to liberate the flux of goods, people and information[44].

1.a The 'Ordinary Urban' and 'Supergrid' Defining Centrality

Bruyns and Read's definition of city is also constructed upon the idea of city as an outcome of movement networks; they propose that the superimpositions of space-time frames and speeds produce the 'event' of the place effect[45]; the centrality. The crucial point in this model is the intersection / overlapping of two networks with different speeds and different scale of movement:

> Centrality emerges..., in a developed traditional type urban fabric, out of a relation between *two* distributed infrastructural grids rather than being a simple inverse to the edge condition as it would be in a village… the active principle … (is) a matter of … the focus of one scale of movement or relation *towards* another. The first urban 'revolution'… is one of the addition of another scale of movement and connectivity grid over the first, and a shift in the focus of activity and centrality *towards this new grid*[46].

Public space, when defined as the space of encounter and self-expression, entails two key properties: 1. coming together of the large numbers of urbanites –due to accessibility and activities, and 2. *appropriation* presenting the circumstances for revelation of identities[47]. Concerning these properties, the ordinary urban is a model which accounts for the public realm in urban space emerging through the capability of movement networks to collect / bring together people from different origins.

What emerges at the superimposition areas is defined as the 'ordinary urban' spatial pattern, which supports the sociability by making possible the encounter of people from different origins:

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[44] Nijenhuis, 1994:16.
[45] p. 63, in G. Bruyns and S Read, 2006, *The Urban Machine* in Visualising the Invisible –Towards an Urban Space, S. Read and C. Pinilla (eds.) pp.52-67
[46] p. 75, in S. Read, 2006, *A Brief History of Flights to the Periphery and Other Movement Patterns* in Visualising the Invisible –Towards an Urban Space, S. Read and C. Pinilla (eds.) pp.68-82.
[47] E. Alanyalı Aral, 2003, "*Leftover Space as A Value and A Potentiality for the Public Realm in the City".* Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, METU, Faculty of Architecture, Ankara.

> The shift from a simple centring of one scale on itself to centring as a structured interface between two scales means a shift from an identification of the social unit and its activities and movements with a static internally centred space, to one which founds a social space, or rather the social effect of urban space, in a systematic dynamic exchange between local people and activity and people and activity of a wider surrounding… The spatialities concerned account for on the one hand the immersion of the individual in a world of familiarity and local identification, and on the other for his or her exposure to a world where he or she is confronted on a regular basis with the unfamiliar, with people from other neighbourhood and other walks and ways of life.[48]

Read's definition signifies the complexity of a 'public' milieu where urbanites meet a range of others. Urbanity or rather the centrality (as this quality is basically what makes a real centre) evolves as far as people exist / spend time in these encounter spaces. Then, they have the opportunity to view others, while at the same time expressing themselves to this variety of people.

In Europe throughout history, the marketplace close to city walls sustained this role as the meeting place of locals and strangers. Then with the disappearance of city walls, there emerged an altered centrality more distributed through the main movement axis:

> Urban infrastructure development from the early 19th century was characterised by boulevard and avenue building, creating networks geared to the increasing size of the city and the increasing mobilities of its populations at that time. These primary movement networks …were the 'freeways' of the day cut to the speeds and mobility ranges of their time, and these longer routes through the dense fabric of the European centre reveal themselves as surprisingly coherent grids –we'll call them 'supergrids'…[49]

The centre-periphery relationship was different in that model than the conventional urban models; as the centre of the urban whole was distributed through the grid which integrated it into an already multi-place, multinodal entity[50], and this was continued in European cities until recently.

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[48] Read, 2006:75.
[49] Bruyns and Read, 2006: 61.
[50] Read, 2006:76.

Like Nijenhuis' approach that renders the city as an inhabitable circulation which is formed from the boundary[51], the ordinary urban model regards the edge as a productive frontier rather than a barrier. In the history of European cities, the edge formation were incorporated into the spreading fabric, leaving as their relics, significant crossings and spaces which themselves became centres in the larger-than-local infrastructural network[52] (figure).

We can discuss the existence of peripheral public spaces in the Ottoman city in the context of the ordinary urban model: In the Ottoman city, public spaces were located either as nodes / centres around which neighbourhoods were shaped[53] -with public buildings and public open spaces like *meydan*s and bazaars on main streets[54], or they (especially bazaars, *çayırlık*s, cemeteries etc.) were scattered around through these neighbourhoods, close to their exits on the routes which connected them to other neighbourhoods and other cities.

Centrality in the Ottoman city, since it developed as an open city from the beginning, resembles that of the 19th century European city without walls. The sequence of public spaces through the main circulation arteries included different types ranging from the squares of the mosques which were formal in the overall layout, to a variety of loose informal public open spaces.

Considering the fact that use characteristics were almost the same throughout the types of informal public open spaces, one can see a particular centrality effect in these spaces of encounter; almost producing rural in the urban.

1. b The Dilemma of Centrality in the Contemporary City

A major subject of criticisms directed towards the contemporary city comprises the deficient public role of urban spaces; the isolation of the individual from the public sphere in connection to the regression in means of encounter and expression. This issue is much correlated to the improved means of transportation and accordingly increased speed and vehicular traffic in the city.

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[51] p.15 in W. Nijenhuis, 1994, *City Frontiers and Their Disappearance*, AD Profile No 108, London: VCH Publishers.
[52] Read, 2006:78.
[53] Cansever, 1996.
[54] Yerasimos, 1997: 68-9.

> Taking into consideration that post-fordist needs have mainly been determined by mobility, one might argue that today's loss of street life is mainly connected to the fact that the street's function has been lowered to that of pure infrastructure[55].

This speedy movement system on the circulatory arteries in the city fails to generate the appropriate milieu for urbanity[56]; since mutual relationships necessitate the overlapping of a rather moderate vehicular movement system with one where pedestrian movement is possible and enlivened.

Bruyns and Read[57] state that in the late 20th and early 21st century the primary city development networks are being built at the scale of metropolis and the mega-city region, at which dominant movement takes place[58], and this represents he main problem for the urbanity:

> Our loss of a certain place quality today is substantially due to the fact that we have stopped building particular grids (the supergrid –a grid which today could intervene and mediate between local and metropolitan scale grids) which carried those qualities in the 19th century.[59]

[55] Cupers and Miessen, 2002:18.
[56] As is also discussed by P. Virilio,
[57] Read, 2006: 77.
[58] Bruyns and Read, 2006: 62.
[59] Read, 2006: 80.

2. In Search of Urbanity and *New* Public Spaces

As today, the urbanity of urban space in conventional means has become questionable, new attitudes evolve to find out unrecognised types of urbanities and public spaces in cities. Bearing in mind that public urban space is the space of encounter and self-expression; these attitudes may embrace all urban spaces –including the daily experienced voids and leftover spaces usually disregarded or underestimated– for their probable public qualities:

> When void space is relatively visible to locals or strangers it can turn into a local meeting space…[60]

2.a Public Space as an Outcome of Action

Baird[61] distinguishes two distinct attitudes in the formation of public spaces: One is the consideration that the public realm can only proceed from the individual act cumulatively outward to the *resultant* collectivity; and the other is the attitude of using the iconographic power of architecture to constitute a new public realm.

When exposed on the actual urban spaces, the public realm proceeding from the individual act outward to the *resultant* collectivity is an outcome of action in urban space.

Unless the place is a spiritual, ethnic, national or historical one where indirect experiences form images and meanings that are evoked by the name; repeated direct experience is a requirement for connections to develop. By means of observations of spaces through time, it is possible to find out the patterns of action producing meaning.

Appropriation defined as a self-expressive action, may or may not alter urban space physically. Physical modification of the urban space by spontaneous action may be realised either through intended alterations or unintended alterations – these two may well exist in urban space at the same time:

1. Unintended alterations by spontaneous action in space are acquired by means of appropriation through repetitive use and continuity of appropriative activity in time. These are *activity-based* ways of making space meaningful; altering space through leaving traces of action in space. Examples comprise path formation in vast

[60] Cupers and Miessen, 2002:95.
[61] G. Baird, in *The Space of Appearance* ,1995, Massachusetts, London: The MIT Press: 337-339.

spaces, defining a specific space by sitting on the same part of slope all the time, etc.

2. Intended alterations of inhabitants may embody spontaneity at a different level: appropriation through building / altering within urban space by inhabitants following their own organisation patterns: appropriation through act of self-organised alteratios. These are *building-based* ways of altering space and they do make space meaningful somehow[62].

These two attitudes both produce expressions of individuals or groups shaping these spaces –to be perceived as elements of the public realm– as a *resultant* collectivity of spontaneous action.

Activity-based alterations, as observed through traces of action in the urban space, are more expressive of spontaneous preferences and behaviours, though they usually are ephemeral. In that context, spontaneous actions of inhabitants reveal self-expressive qualities.

There evolve two different groups of appropriation to be examined and evaluated:
- Typical ones –continuous, repeated, which may also have become patterns with the traces they leave in the space,
- Exceptional ones –may be valuable with regards to their contribution to the public realm[63].

Observation of appropriation patterns and traces of action in space, which are formed through continuous and repetitive use, may construct the basis of evolving attitudes for the elaboration of public urban spaces.

Public space and urbanity has always been connected to disorder, functional heterogeneity, and diversity[64]; and our daily experience –though underestimated– includes examples of them; with one extensive type of as spaces along urban motorways.

2.b. Spaces along Urban Motorways as Public Spaces

[62] Alanyalı Aral, 2003: 133.
[63] Alanyalı Aral, 2003: 133.
[64] Cupers and Miessen, 2002, as also discussed in Sennett, R. 1970. *The Uses of Disorder: Personal Identity and City Life*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.

Crawford[65] mentions incoherent landscape of roads among ‘everyday space’s which defeat any conceptual or physical order; as everyday spaces comprise “the connective tissue that binds daily lives together, amorphous and so persuasive that it is difficult even to perceive”; it is the space that we experience everyday through our movements for daily activities like work, home and school.

Spaces along urban motorways are spaces left over beside / along / between / under / within urban motorways. They also include spaces along or under elevated highways passing through urban areas. These spaces are almost always free for everybody’s access and use, so they do present a potentiality for any appropriation.

Spaces along urban motorways exist everywhere around circulation routes in the city. Their sizes and shapes vary; some linear in shape, as related to the route form, usually levelled and sometimes treated for greenery.

Such spaces are among non-places according to Augé[66], for they are spaces experienced through journeys. Lampugnani[67] mentions them as the emblem of globalisation for their dramatisations are interchangeable everywhere; and he groups them as ‘benign’ residual spaces – spaces which may contribute to the city like the spaces left between the carriageways on highways–, and ‘malignant’ residual spaces –spaces like viaducts and underpasses as hopeless cases which should not be allowed to arise in the city.

Contemporary city continuously produces its own structures and systems in relation to the evolving / changing life patterns within. Spaces along urban motorways are anyhow among evolving public spaces in the contemporary city; for they present public qualities due to their inherent characteristics as spaces visually and physically accessible to inhabitants[68].

> As a result of their transparency, these spaces obtain a certain *stage* character: no matter how ephemeral or small-scale, the space attracts theatrical behaviour[69].

[65] Crawford, M. 1999. *Introduction* in J. Chase, M. Crawford and J. Kalinski (ed.s) Everyday Urbanism: 1-27. New York: The Monacelli Press.
[66] Augé, M.
[67] p. 304 in V.M. Lampugnani, 2006, *The City of Tolerant Normality* in Crossover, Architecture, Urbanism, Technology, A. Graafland and L.J. Kavanagh (ed.s), Rotterdam: 010 Publishers: 295-307.
[68] Ela Alanyalı Aral, 2005. Spaces Along Urban Motorways –An Opportunity for the Public Realm in the City, Poster presentation in UIA 2005, Abstracts: 324.
[69] Cupers and Miessen, 2002:95.

In western cities, surfaces in these spaces–mostly beneath elevated motorways– are usually used as boards of grafitti exposed to passers-by either as pedestrians or travelling in cars or on bicycles.

Perception of these spaces is related to the physical qualities and speed of movement through the circulation axis. Motorway travellers in passing vehicles usually grasp a short scene from the life in these spaces –seeing the action itself as appropriation patterns, or traces of action. The expression of life within these spaces is what makes a one typical experience of public realm in the contemporary city:

> They do not carry strong stories…, but are charged with meaning in a different way. The minor traces that remain in this kind of space are its little *'signifiants'*…: Cigarette ends, empty cans, broken toys, rubbish or paper tissues. These traces point to the fact that meaning in these spaces is constituted through ephemeral use rather than built matter[70].

The isolation of the driver from the surrounding space, increasing as the speed of the vehicle increases signifies the hindrance for the encounter in this widespread urban space type of contemporary city. On the other hand, these spaces signify another type of experience for pedestrian users which includes the actual enjoyment of space.

In Turkey, spaces along urban motorways are extensively used. Appropriation in these spaces evolves as either traceless appropriation or appropriation leaving traces on space.

Traceless appropriation comprises recreational activities; indicating many typical appropriation patterns in open spaces; like standing, sitting, leaning / sleeping, eating and drinking, making picnic, playing, etc., which are performed by single persons or groups. These activities leave almost no trace in space –except for some litter sometimes. Recreational activities may take place easily in any adapted space, like in spaces along vehicle routes.

On the other hand, appropriation leaving traces on space comprises mainly path formation, activities like vending in temporary or permanent additions to space, and minor traces left in the spaces after any actual enjoyment of it.

Path formation is usually related to tress-passing, which is typical in many spaces in which public access is not blockaded, as in spaces along urban motorways. Path

[70] Cupers and Miessen, 2002:95.

formation emerges due to repetitive and continuous use, and is expressive in the sense that it presents the route preferences of users. Sometimes spontaneously formed paths are converted into permanent hard-surface pedestrian routes by the intervention of the municipalities.

Vending is also typical as temporary selling cars and counters usually in spaces along urban motorways, and sometimes as trucks and cars appropriating an area by the vehicular routes to sell goods. A rather atypical pattern in this category is the appropriation of old ruined cars as vending huts. This kind of appropriation is relatively permanent in space, usually on some well-used spot / on route, so as to be seen; and bringing liveliness and a chance to encounter for users. Vending may introduce a richness in immediate experience (sounds, smells, etc.), together with increased number of users –bringing together many and diverse people (Figure).

C. _stanbul –The Contemporary City

_stanbul was the capital and the greatest city of Ottoman Empire, and it developed specific characteristics with its heritage of from Byzantine period. We can see the continuation of much of its particular attributes until the Republican period, yet after the rapid urbanisation period of 1960's the city was much altered.

1. The Development of the City…

_stanbul, as an Ottoman city, preserved its typical and specific characteristics almost until the Republican period. First of all, unlike typical Ottoman cities, _stanbul, until very recently, was, a city not only symbolically but also physically circumscribed by walls at least on one side: Except for some neighbourhoods outside Yedikule and Mevlevihane gate, the city was city surrounded by walls at the western edge, and the outer area comprised cemeteries, *bahçe*s and *bostan*s[71].

Until the Republican period, in the walled area, there were big gardens and voids used as urban *mesire*s like the valley of Bayrampa_a Deresi, Langa and the area between Yedikule and Topkapı[72].

_stanbul presented much of the public open space qualities of the Ottoman city. The city was comprised of the inner-wall area and fragments of neighbourhood groups in

[71] p. 36 and 41 in D. Kuban, 1998, *Kent ve Mimarlık Üzerine _stanbul Yazıları*, _stanbul: YEM Yayın.
[72] Kuban, 1998: 36.

Üsküdar, Galata and as villages in many spots along Bo_aziçi (Figure). The urban pattern in the city was like a disorderly network with knots; with its dead-end streets and public buildings like *mahalle mescitleri*, *çe_meler*, *sıbyan mektepleri* on knots; and *külliye*s on bigger knots[73]. The enjoyment of nature in the city was observable in the extensive green areas all through as *bahçe*s, *bostan*s or *mesire*s within the fragmental growth pattern of the city.

The city began to get more connected with the Tanzimat –with the construction of suburban railways and increase in marine transportation -, yet it did not become an 'integrated' city: As the circulation network was adapted to the motorcar and trams, unification of the centre was partly realised, Bo_aziçi villages became larger and unified to the city centre –coast settlements became inhabited all through the year. Still _stanbul was not completely integrated; the city developed as belts along railway axis and the coastlines that the ferries served. These belts were connected to the various parts of the city centre, but they had no connection to each other. Connections were only pertained through the centre, so they were only partly integrated in this state of circulation network and services[74].

Much of the overall layout of the city pertained in the first decades of the Republic. After 1950's the city began to develop more rapidly due to high rates of immigration and increase in construction activities. Bridges over Haliç and Bo_aziçi, and perimeter ways connected the fragments of the city to each other. Yet a study on the three phases of _stanbul –on the plans of the city in 1840, 1960's and 1990s – demonstrates that though connectivity was increased in time by means of improvements in circulation structure and the means of transportation, the city lost its *integrity*[75]:

> Although the 20th century's structures give higher value of connectivity than the 1840's, the integration value gets less… This means that being well-connected does not necessarily mean well integration …the city parts are more integrated in themselves without bridges that connect them to each other[76].

The city, with these alterations in circulatory networks and squatter zones in addition, changed into a collection of regular and irregular settlements dispersed on a wide area.

2. Resemblances of Ottoman Istanbul

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[73] Kuban, 1998: 27.

[74] _. Tekeli, 1999, *19.Yüzyılda _stanbul Metropolitan Alanının Dönü_ümü* in P. Dumont and F. Georgeon (ed.s) Modernle_me Sürecinde Osmanlı Kenti (A. Berktay, trans.), _stanbul: Tarih Vakfı:19-30.

[75] Considering urbanity as related with intelligibility –'the more intelligible the more urban', an intelligible system was defined as the one in which well-connected streets and squares tended to be well-integrated in S. A. Tokol, 2002, *Is It Bridging an Urban Matrix or ? Focusing on Spatial Transformations in _stanbul*, in Rendez-Vous _stanbul, _stanbul: 598-610.

The settlement areas in _stanbul are no more groups of neighbourhoods scattered in a fragmental pattern with *mesire*s in-between, but there are still peripheries in the city. When observed from the air, spaces along urban perimeter ways evolve as huge green areas with their surrounding, which break the congested settlement areas into pieces: These speed routes in fact themselves draw peripheries within the city (figure). Thus, they are anyway peripheral spaces, in varying sizes, mostly as linear green bands. They sometimes hold considerably huge areas in the urban fabric, so huge green areas that their size validates their use as public open spaces.

It is interesting that many spots within the spaces along the urban motorways emerge as informal public spaces with a variety of activities: A continuation of the type of public open space on peripheries seems to retain as modern urban spaces, used for watching around –and the road, picnic / eating, retail / bazaar areas (figures). Like the Ottoman city, there is still the enjoyment of the surrounding as it is –even though the area; as mainly comprised of vehicular routes seems too unexpected and polluted for the public use. These spaces mostly offer high accessibility for users from the neighbourhoods and from other parts of the city, and this is a primary factor in their use as public spaces.

The spontaneous use and appropriation by urbanites in such spaces transpire as actions or traces of actions, and they present patterns when observed through time.

Expressions and use / appropriation patterns contributing to the public realm, in public or private lands, very rarely lead to a permanent alteration in urban space: e.g. cases where a pedestrian path formed through repetitive use is fixed as a concrete path by the local authority.

Most of the actions and traces of action in these spaces inevitably disappear in the contemporary city whereby in the traditional Ottoman city, public opens spaces were well maintained by responsible groups[77]. The appropriation patterns in these informal public spaces, do present valuable features of contemporary urban space use culture, also reflecting a certain part of open space culture of the Ottoman city [78](figure). Ways to tolerate their existence and learning from them should be searched.

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[76] Tokol, 2002: 608.
[77] ‘Çayır bekçileri’ and ‘fideciler’ in Cansever, 1996:382, ‘bostancılar’ in Cerasi, 1999:199.
[78] Ela Alanyalı Aral, 2005. Spaces Along Urban Motorways –An Opportunity for the Public Realm in the City, Poster presentation in UIA 2005, Abstracts: 324.

Users of spaces along urban motorways are mostly of lower and middle classes. Observations show that people usually prefer to be in locations where they can watch others, movement –of other people or vehicles–, or the city view. Thus they usually stand, sit or lean on higher parts of inclined areas, or in any location where the view of the surrounding is not blockaded. Natural-looking, spacious locations or green areas along and between fast urban perimeter ways are used as recreational spaces, for users do not demand neat and treated spaces[79] (figures).

3. Contemporary Peripheral Public Space?

There are certain questions about the validity of spaces along urban motorways as peripheral public spaces. The crucial question lies on the public quality of these spaces depending on whether they really function as spaces of encounter in the city: that is if they can bring together numerous and diverse urbanites.

The two main problems of encounter in these spaces are both related to high speed vehicular traffic on motorways: One is the fact that speedy motorways anyhow detach the two sides generating to a dangerous and polluted edge for parts of the city. As the spaces on sides gets huger, these negative effects are lessened and they evolve as more usable pedestrian spaces.

The other problem is related to the isolating character of speed and vehicles as capsules, for travellers may only perceive what and who exists in outer spaces to a certain extent. Spaces along urban motorways are valuable for they are urban spaces with most diverse urbanites as spaces physically and visually accessible to all groups in the city[80]. Drivers and travellers do see pedestrians enjoying these spaces, and pedestrians watch the flow of cars; but the degree of the mutual relationship gives way to a distinct sociability.

The contemporary problem in producing a network scaled to generate social space[81] is valid for our cities; as observed in _stanbul. Spaces along urban motorways may not necessarily be considered as centres in the city, but they may retain the culture of peripheral public spaces moderately; if appropriation patterns they present are tolerated and iproved with precautions upgrading their specific experience –that of ruralised urban public spaces of the Ottoman city.

[79] Alanyalı Aral, 2003.
[80] For _stanbul, 94% of passanger transport, that is about 10 million travels per day, is held on urban motorways, in A. Akay, *_stanbul: Bir E_lence Megapolü* in Cogito-Yeni _stanbul, no:35, Spring 2003, _stanbul: YKY: 181-184.
[81] Read, 2006: 80.

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Ayhan Aytes

ID Cover

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On the streets of Istanbul I can hardly walk two blocks without seeing the garish, makeshift, noisy mobile carts marked in orange with the letters PVC, designating the acronym of the plastic used to protect and laminate the personal identity documents that have become important to the subjects of Turkey. These carts appear in the busiest quarters, near crowded train stations and the clogged ferry turnstiles. I realized that they come out from hiding after the working hours of the city officers who are determined to banish all unlicensed street vendors from the streets. The ID card laminaters may not have credentials; they may not even have personal identity papers themselves. But this is how they earn their money: laminating identity cards, drivers' licenses, vendor licenses with shiny transparent PVC covers.

Throughout the years of terror during the 1990s in the southeastern part of Turkey the Kurdish locals who were caught between the fire of the state-supported militia and the separatist PKK (Kurdistan Worker's Party) supporters intensified the immigration flow to the metropolitan cities. Istanbul has been the most favored destination among the metropolitan regions due to its unregulated informal economy in which newcomers might within a few days cobble together both a job and a makeshift gecekondu (built-overnight)

home. Street vending is one of those jobs that require less initial capital and skilled labor but more stamina than a regular job. Stamina and patience are needed for pushing the wheeled carts while running away from city officers all through the day. Fortunately there are always informal networks of undocumented workers that operate on the principle of countryman solidarity. This informal market network enables newcomers to diffuse fluidly into the inner workings of the city.

The ID laminaters who I met on the busy streets of Istanbul rely on exactly this sort of organizational network. The network originates either from Malatya or Diyarbakir, rural cities from which many of the vendors have come. Local distinction is made visible by the vendors' choice in the color of their carts; while ID card laminaters from Malatya use blue carts, those from Diyarbakir prefer black. No matter where they come from, the vendors all prefer Yashino PVC pouches and Hewlett Packard copy machines. To publicize their wares, some vendors rely on their own tired and heavily accented voices. But the better-established ones use e a tape cassette that is recorded by a young female speaker with a proper Istanbul accent. The tape can be purchased from Pekin Plakcilik(Records) operating in a small shop in Aksaray, whose owner Zeki claims that he is the original inventor of the product. But at one point during our interview Zeki admitted that the idea was originated from one of the earliest ID card laminaters he met in 1997. He liked to tell his story about how he managed to convince a young office assistant in a big music recording company to be the speaker in the tape recording and by this way he was able to use the studio for a short "pirate" recording session. However he was very protective when I asked about the information about her whereabouts: "She is happily married with children and I can not give you her contact information"

Zeki still duplicates those tapes according to demand but he also observes a continuous decline in customers as a result of City Municipality's recent decision on fighting with street vendors in order to establish "a better city aesthetics" that would eventually help the tourism economy. The content of the tape can be translated as follows:

"Attention dear citizens, your worn, torn, old ID's are laminated by PVC method; student, worker and retirement cards; police and soldier ID's; blood group, vending permission documents and valuable photographs are laminated by PVC method."

The Formation of Subjectivities in the Global Flux

As Michael Foucault conceives, heterotopias are "real places which are something like counter-sites, a kind of effectively enacted utopia in which the real sites, all the other real sites that can be found within the culture, are simultaneously represented, contested, and inverted."(Foucault, 1973) The mobile carts are, in a similar way, sites of inverted representations. They provide a platform of public ritual for the hailing of state granted identity as a self-representation medium. One needs to assume the role of a good citizen upon entering the virtual borders of this site. On the other hand the definition of its borders by ID card laminaters requires constant negotiations with the flowing mass of the cosmopolitan city and the formal and informal orders represented on that public space. This interactive definition of space is implicit in ID laminating because the economic value of this service is enhanced mostly by being available at trivial times and at unexpected nodes of the cosmopolitan turbulence. ID sealers need to reappropriate the intersections of times and places where the chaos of the cosmopolitan city is making sense thus money for the ones whose survival is dependent on that very chaos. When the

city as a giant system of orders and rules attempts to limit this movement it is instantly tweaked and twisted in order to fulfill the needs of a living, biological entity that is the nomad ID laminater of the metropolis. This makes the site of ID covering a system of continuous "opening and closing," (Foucault, 1973) depending on the conditions of the global cosmopolitan order. When this system opens itself, its effect becomes a creation of a hetero-chronic time, a liminal mode of transformation in the ritual of ID laminating. In this abrupt cut from the daily rush into the fetish show of identity, it is possible to get a quick dose of assurance of belonging to your imagined community. (Anderson, 1983)

However the positioning of subjects within that imagined community first requires their separation, examination and classification as a disciplinary process of the state. Through this "political technology of the body" the state establishes an overarching control over its subjects, aiming at "automatic docility." (Foucault 1975) Thus the individual becomes both the economic and the political subject as "discipline increases the forces of the body (in economic terms of utility) and diminishes these same forces (in political terms of obedience)."

On the other hand globalization expands this political technology of body to a new level. The global cultural economy "as a complex, overlapping, disjunctive order" (Appadurai, 1990) superimposes the hierarchy and power structures of the world-system onto this relationship between the local state and individual subjects. Furthermore, another important aspect of the globalization, the deterritorialization (Deleuze&Guattari, 1977) transforms the cultural process of the production of locality partly independent from the geographical confines of the nation state. Within that plane of disjunctures the forms of cultural representation becomes devoid of the local references as a result of the proliferation of the sense of locality wherever the culture is performed, reproduced and

consumed through the use of formal or informal media networks. This expansion of locality on the global plane renders the isomorphic space of the nation-state open to contestations even by an individual subject when the means of cultural representation are available. Besides, this representation of self as a social practice also correlates with the constructed territory of collective ambitions of that society within that global frame. Therefore when considered in relation with Benedict Anderson's idea of the "imagined communities", it appears that the conception of the future plays a great role in the imagination of the community. (Anderson, 1983) This anachronistic nature of the formation of identity within the imaginary of the individual subject as its realization is postponed to an unknown future, when combined with the deterritorialized cultural attachment, opens up a vast plane of possibilities that could only be filled with endless improvisations in the making of an identity.

In addition to being exposed to all these regular disruptive forces of global economy the Turkish cultural context has been charged with the transformative impacts of European Union integration process. Particularly the peculiar set of conditions that define European Union's varying relationships with the member and the candidate states result in different kinds of identity perceptions among the Europeans and prospective Europeans. Similarly in the case of Turkey this difference creates a separate layer of belonging which is primarily characterized by the process of democratization. As Nilufer Gole argues;

> *Europeanism appears as an identity defined by shared history and common cultural values rather than as a project for rethinking the political bond. Paradoxically, it is in contexts outside the core of Europe that Europe appears as a political project that has the power to foster democratization. In Turkey, where Europeanness has not traditionally been accepted as part of the national identity, it has been*

> *appropriated voluntarily as a political project that promises a democratic frame. (Göle, 2006)*

This political project eventually points toward the reconstitution of a new set of relationships between the state and its individual subjects via the set of political criteria of the European Union that covers many aspects of individual and cultural rights. Moreover European Union as a wealthy modern liberal capitalist project with its promise of a better future mediates the reconstitution of the subjectivities of individuals in relation to its promised economic benefits. ID laminaters of Istanbul appear as the voluntary performers of these promised subjectivities in one of the remote microcosmic edges of the flux of transforming forces that follows the global currents partly created by the tensions and alliances of the European Union.

As Judith Butler asserts, individual subjects embody social conventions, through the act of performing them and this performative embodiment essentially becomes a manifestation of an approval. (Butler, 1990) As a result, these social conventions appear to be natural and necessary in everyday life. Thus Butler suggests that our sense of independent subjectivity is indeed a retroactive construction which is constituted through the enactment of social conventions. In a similar way the performance of ID card laminaters first appear to legitimize the authority of the state through the enactment of the state bureaucracy. Because issuing, authenticating, renewing, and checking ID's are the primary rituals of the state bureaucracy as an enactment of its myth. This crucial aspect of the ID cards therefore makes it an *objet petit a* in the imaginations of the Kurdish immigrants where the ultimate desire of autonomy is articulated. However this desire is unique in the sense that ID laminaters perform an informal demand for autonomy not founded upon an organized political act but mainly driven by necessity to survive the

day. Thus this particular atomic form of capitalism inherently becomes ID laminaters' platform to built resistance against the state power. As Asef Bayat argues:

> *Beyond the economic dimension, the poor people's drive for autonomy in everyday life creates a big crack in the domination of the modern state. A fully autonomous life renders states irrelevant. Popular control over contracts, regulation of time, space, cultural activities, working life- in short, self-regulation- reclaims significant political space from the state. Herein lies the inevitability of conflict. `Street politics' exemplifies the most salient aspect of this conflict, accounting for a key feature in the social life of the disenfranchised.* (Bayat, 1997)

Asad establishes the concept of "street politics" in relation to two main factors that transforms the street into a political arena. The first one is the Foucauldian relationship between space and power. The urban public space as it is primarily administered by the legislative power of the state is the main arena of contestation of autonomy for he individuals on the streets. Istanbul urban sphere has been a very fertile ground for such politics with its endless potential in the convenient cracks of its pavements for an emergence of instantaneous resistance against the imposed municipal order during its elongated transformation to an "orderly" cosmopolitan city.

Asad's second key element that feeds into his conception of street politics is the idea of "passive network." This passivity refers to the nature of collective political action on the streets in terms of the potentiality of the action rather than being based upon an already up and running and closely knitted organizational structure. Similarly ID laminaters' passive network is mainly facilitated by the mobile nature of street vending and the clearly identifiable colors of the mobile carts that indicate the town of origins of the vendors. Although the most ID laminaters that I met with live in the same squad apartment building thus, share the same conditions of dwelling-among other things, their solidarity is challenged by the commercial competition as soon as they start streaming on the city streets. Nevertheless they answer that paradoxical relationship by scattering

around the busy quarters by granting each other temporary autonomous commercial zones in order not to hurt each others' business while still staying close enough to be able to communicate with each other about an imminent danger of a dutiful city officer roaming the streets in search for a vulnerable prey. Thus the dialectic of the individual and collective action among the ID laminaters becomes the main source of their fortitude in maintaining these temporary autonomous zones.

According to de Certeau "tactics" are the ordinary practices that enable disenfranchised and oppressed people to survive, make their lives livable, articulate the multiplicity of their voices, maintain communities, and achieve practical kinds of power. (de Certau, 1984) ID laminaters of Istanbul apply their tactics embedded within the mimicry of their performance as it mimics the conventions of the state's political technology of the body. On the other hand for ID laminaters coming from the terror-ridden southeastern towns, state-granted identity is a vital possession. Especially during the times of high security alerts due to terror threats, checking identity cards by security forces becomes almost a ubiquitous exercise in the everyday life of a society. Their past experience of showing identity cards in every check-point that might involve substantial amount of waiting time for a comparison of faces with the pictures on their ID cards has an imminent connection with their current occupation. Now their "old, torn and broken IDs" are fixed through the mimicry of ID laminating as a performative approval of the state authority.

It should also be noted that the extended meaning of identity cards in passports and visas that are required for immigration to affluent destinations such as Europe is linked in another layer with an immigrants' conception of the state power within the larger global context. Their mimicry of the state obscures a projection of a desire to seek

a state-like autonomy while lending a hand to the state power in its effort to construct artificially homogenous citizen identities. Thus, this mimicry of the state at this point is, to use Bhaba's term, a “representation of a difference, a disavowal.” (Bhabha, 1994)

This ambivalent existence of belonging and difference expressed by the performance of mimicry fixes their subjectivity within a partial presence. Their current approval of the state authority in the condition of their future autonomy renders their identity as incomplete and virtual. Completion of that identity is postponed until the expected emergence of a new social regime within the process of democratization. Therefore the self-representation of their identity exists partially both in the present and the imagined future. In the present, ID laminating through its act of mimicry, with its attention to detail in the identification device and obsession with its material protection leaves a trace of menace in the resemblance of the state. The double articulation in this mimicry in one way situates ID laminaters’ current subjectivity as “the Other” to the determinant forces of the political regime. But in some other way their mimicry is a performance of the state power as an articulation of their desire to reconstitute their identity in relation to the ethnic and cultural difference. Since Kurdish subjects’ position of partial presence is a deeper and perplexed version of the rest of the Turkish society’s partial presence during the same European Union “accession” process, this otherness as a member of a minority partly shares the otherness of the members of the majority in their common relationship to Europeanness and their postponed completion of self-representation in that utopian realm. However the shared part of this representation is not in the state granted identity cards that currently exist but in the part that lacks, the part that awaits the completion of itself into a whole in an unknown future. And this is the very lack that is fetishisized in

the transparency of the glossy layer of identity cards. In this materially dense void of transparency there exist all the opportunities of improvisation. Thus the ID laminaters' improvised self-representation is a proposal, an offer to the whole Turkish society for a new kind of subjectivity. This proposal is enacted within the permissible forms of entrepreneurship which also works to conceal the currently unrepresentable elements of that imagined future.

Mimicking the state is extended on to a new level by the voice performance in the tape recording which functions as a presentable voice for ID laminaters by replacing their accented expression. However when wearing a proper voice in order to call consumers of the cosmopolitan city the immigrant subject also reproduces the authoritative form of communication of the state. This is particularly reminiscent of the public announcement style of the Anatolian little town and village administrations which can demand the immediate attention of the citizens any time for any important subject matter-at least for anyone who carries the heavy load of "statesmanship responsibility" on their shoulders. But in the case of ID laminaters' statesman ventriloquism it is possible to observe a slight manipulation to the assumed personality of the mimicked state; the owner of the attention calling voice is performed by a female. Now the state is devoid of its patriarchal and oppressive power, instead imagined as a capitalist entity with a sole aim of economic development through persuasion of global capital investment into its advertised goods. Nevertheless the ventriloquism of the state still carries the remnants of its oppressive discourse in the text of the message as it calls the attention of its citizens with an expectation of immediate attention to the call.

The gender-bending of the state could also be perceived as a witty response to the recent aim of the current government which stated an interest in transforming the conventional attitude of the state in its relationship with its citizens. This aim was bluntly articulated once by the current prime minister when he redefined their ideal state as a “merchant state” not the “father state” which would refer to the social state idea. However when the merchant state ideal is finally realized he was probably assuming that, the state would still be continued to be imagined at least as a male entity by “dear citizens.”

Concluding Remarks

The political, social and economical transformation process of Turkey during its “accession” to European Union has been one of the formative factors in the imagination of the self-representation of individuals within the realms of that future society. Thus immigrant ID laminaters are constitutive of a new sort of subject, produced through their products/services. Although the appearance of the constituted subject might look like an improvisational bricolage, it indeed aims at the identity construction within their imagined community of the future while still carrying the traces of the past experiences in the performance of that alternative subjectivity. Thus the ID laminating is the dislocated immigrant’s detemporalized expression of desire for autonomy. This atomic form of state with its continuously expanding and contracting borders creates a molecular change in the flow of daily life in an interaction with the immigrant’s continuous search for presentation of self in the cosmopolitan sphere of Istanbul. This economy based interaction covers their tactics of imaginative performances which, primarily relies on the utilization of various self-made media, with the facade of docility. However, as a result of this creative media use, noticeable transformation emerges in the portrayal of the state from a feudal patriarch into a merchant matriarch.

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Funda Bas Bunter

Old City Walls as Public Spaces in Istanbul

(figures and pictures in this version are removed to scalling down the document, K.W.)

Introduction

The main purpose of this study is to identify existing old city walls as public spaces in contemporary cities and evaluate the argument in the case of Istanbul. Although the term "wall" refers to an architectural element, old city wall is more than architectural monument in the city. By covering a vast amount of land without having a contemporary use and also tracing a continuous zone that interact with various urban districts; walls are differing from other historical heritages. It is complicated to identify the existence of walls in the contemporary urban context. Although walls have no more a dominance and power in cities, there is still an apparent interaction between walls and their surrounding urban structures. They exist in contemporary cities by generating some socio-spatial processes. So, this study criticize the determination of old city walls only as an issue of conservation or restoration and aims to discuss the issue in the context of urban planning and design disciplines.

Throughout the history, city wall had been always an important component of the city, moreover the proof of the city's power and existence. As defense was a primary determinant in the foundation of early settlements, sites that have natural advantages in terms of defense became favorable sites to settle. Creating a territory and living in a land defined by a boundary -either natural or manmade- was a vital requirement in early settlements. In addition to natural boundaries, man also constructed walls around their settlements to guard themselves from external dangers. "*Location, city wall and gate are the result not of mythic but of military thinking… .*" (Nijenhuis 1994, 15) But, the wall does not function only as a defensive unit; it was also used as an important tool for shaping and controlling city's territory in physical, symbolic, governmental and financial terms. In old cities, wall define a community and form two conflicting milieu; inside the wall and outside the wall. There was a flow of people, goods, money and even knowledge between those two environments through the walls. But today, the circumstance is very different. Walled edges have no more such vital and symbolic role in modern city structure. Especially, in cities where the traditional urban pattern was mostly destroyed, old city walls became totally obsolete without referring to the existing urban structure. The obsolescence turned the walled edges into demolished and problematic urban elements. As walls -including ditches, water defenses and glacis slopes- are not thin lines as shown in city plans, they cover a large area of land. Therefore, reshaping and reusing these structures have become an important issue for urban planning. As a result of modernization attempts, some cities transformed their walled edges into boulevards and urban parks in the nineteenth century. In those cases, walls disappeared in city structure; but also reappeared as public spaces. As argued by Nijenhuis;

> From its emergence at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the discipline of urban planning has been founded on the disappearance of the urban frontier. …urban planning has legitimized its existence with

> the promising search for the lost form. It is the discipline of the lost frontier which is both its obsession and its motive. (Nijenhuis 1994, 13)

Although the city wall in most cities were demolished, their traces in the city context always continue to exist as in the case of Vienna Ring Strasse, Paris Boulevards, New Orleans Rampart Street or Amsterdam's urban waterways (old ditches). Kostof argues that there is a Wall Street or Linienstrasse almost in every city. Like the many other western cities, Ottoman cities in the nineteenth century did also experience a transformation process of the walled edges. As there was a great network between Mediterranean Settlements, almost every Mediterranean City abandoned their walls in the same period. Besides Barcelona (1854), Madrid (1868) and Bologna 1902, most Spanish and Italian cities demolished their walls in early nineteenth century. (Ashworth 1991)

Besides transformed walled edges, walls that still remain in the center of cities, without being isolated from the existing urban structure, and that function with the ongoing urban life and its problems –circulation, housing, illegal economy, etc.- are also challenging. Istanbul is an impressive example that reflects both cases. Old city walls of Istanbul manifest themselves in the city context in two ways. First case is Galata; in the mid of nineteenth century, similar to Vienna and Paris, walls of Galata was destroyed and new streets and buildings were constructed in the place of old city walls. Second one is the Historical Peninsula where old city walls were conserved and enclosed with huge green areas serving for some public uses including several illegal facilities.

Based on these arguments, this study is composed of four parts. The first part focuses on the determination of some concepts that refer to wall in order to understand the meaning of wall in urban structure. In the second part, significance of the wall for cities is clarified in an historical framework. Although this study is not dealing with the archaeological significance of the wall and its conservation problems, an historical evaluation is still needed to interpret today's condition. In the third part, two opposing cases in Istanbul -Historical Peninsula and Galata- are studied to represent the main statement of the study. Finally, last part discusses these two cases and aim to reveal some

Various Concepts That Refers To *"Wall"*

In order to discuss the problematic condition of walled edges in contemporary cities, first, it is necessary to deal with the characteristics of city walls. There are some challenging and controversial points in the formation of old city walls. What are the characteristics of a wall? Is it a barrier for cities or a line of exchange and interaction? Does it creates problems for cities or brings opportunities in the construction of modern cities? So, this part of the study focuses on the conceptual characteristics of city walls through various definitions and concepts.

As mentioned before, walls were constructed around cities to control, sometimes to block, every kind of circulation –people, money, goods. Based on this explanation, in a very general term, the wall can be described as an urban edge as defined by Lynch;

> Edges…are the boundaries between two phases, linear breaks in continuity: shores, railroad cuts, walls. …Such edges may be barriers…which close one region off from another; or they may be seams, lines along which two regions are related and joined together. (Lynch 2000, 47)

Moreover, various terms –border, boundary, territory, interface- can be used to identify city walls. Each of these terms defines a different relation between the city and its surrounding. Being a border or borderline, city wall separate two different territories that are totally opposite to each other and bring a functional zoning; city center-countryside, old town-new town, urban-rural. Generally, in most of the walled cities, non conforming groups or functions were situated outside the city walls. As mentioned by Ashworth; *"Outside the walls of medieval cities could generally be found those trades too dangerous*

or noxious to be permitted within" (Ashworth 1991, 130) So, wall, being a borderline, separate and connect some opposite conditions like controlled-uncontrolled, closed-open, defensive – non-defensive.

On the other hand, the city wall can be defined as a boundary as well. The term boundary is defined by Bonta and Protevi as "*the line between an interior and exterior, or between two states of being, that is in some way fixed rather than fluctuating or in free play".* (Bonta & Protevi 2004, 65) This definition emphasizes the hard edge quality of the wall; not being a flexible and permeable line.
In contrast to these two explanations, there is also the concept of interface that emphasizes other characteristics of the wall. Interface is a line of continuous compromise between two different medium. So, the term interface refers to a more flexible and transparent edge that is more convenient for the definition of a city wall. As mentioned before, besides being a border or boundary, walls are most vital urban elements of old cities as being line of exchange where cities connect to the external world and interact with other cultures.

Last concept that will be emphasized in this part is territory. Although this term does not refer directly to wall, it identifies the area defined by wall. Bonta and Protevi explain this term as;

> …the becoming or emergence of the interaction of functions and expressive markers producing the feeling of being at home. Territories are fashioned from parts of milieus, and composed only of those milieu materials that have meaning and function for the territorial assemblages. (Bonta & Protevi 2004, 158)

Based on this statement, wall defines a territory –city- that contains various physical, social and economic elements that function together to create the city. For Deleuze and Guattari, (Deleuze & Guattari 1987) On people, like animals, need to define a territory and also mark their territory in some way. So, it can be stated that wall is the mark of the human territory. For example, in most Ottoman cities like Salonica and Galata, various ethnic groups lived in the same city; but each defined their own territory to identify their culture and traditions.

All these conceptual arguments reflect the dynamic and also challenging structure of city walls. In order to emphasize the unique characteristic of walls in the city structure, the significance of the wall for cities will be analyzed in an historical framework in the following part of the study.

Significance of Walls in the Foundation and Development of Cities

The need for the protection and defense was the most vital necessity for early settlers. Even in the Paleolithic time, men aimed to guard the entrance of their caves against the external dangers of the wild word. With the development of a more settled way of life, primitive and temporary defense methods of the Paleolithic time shifted to more systematic structures and, early fortifications began to be constructed. These permanent defense structures became one of the most important determinants of the size, shape and form of early cities. Although stages of development in the technology of weaponry caused modifications in the system of fortifications, the need to protect cities with walls remained until the modern era.

In fact, defense was not the only function of the city walls. Their existence in the city context exposed various meanings such as political and symbolic. The size and design of walls were strictly related with the wealth and power of the city. *"Once a defensible site has been adequately fortified, it assured its occupants not only safety from enemies but also dominance over the surrounding territory."* (De La Croix 1972, 19) Some cities were constructed with double or triple wall circuits. Walls were also symbols and pride of cities. They were functioning as significant monuments of cities to impress visitors. As stated by De La Croix, in pre-classical antiquity *"The great importance which Mesopotamians attached to the walls of their cities is reflected in the long and propitious names they gave to them and the fact that they were placed under the protection of deities."* (De La

Croix 1972, 15) Moreover, in ancient times, wall was also the symbol of cities and communities. It was the confidence and proud of citizens. For example, people living in Constantinople worked in the construction and repair of the II. Teodosios walls (_stanbul-Historical Peninsula). Therefore, wall had a significant meaning in the life of citizens and also emperors. Emperors who won a war enter the city through the gates with ceremonies.
Besides their symbolic, political and defensive value, walls were one of the essential determinants in the development of urban structure as well. *"The traditional Chinese words for city and the wall are identical… The English word town comes from a Teutonic word that means hedge or enclosure".* (Kostof 1992, 11) As stated by Ashworth, *"…the wall becomes in many cultures essential to the definition of a city and the very symbol of urbanism itself".* (Ashworth 1991, 13) There were two main processes in the formation of city and its wall. First, the city was constructed and the wall was built later. Second, the wall was built first and the city was constructed into it. In both cases, walls were limiting and marking the boundaries of cities. They were emphasizing and affecting the urban form. By some means, they were unifying and monumentalizing the urban structure.

All these values of the wall – defensive, political, symbolic and physical- remained until the modern era. With the development of new military technologies in modern era, walls and towers lost their significance first in the defense of cities and later in all the other fields. At that point, the challenging meaning of walls for cities began to emerge. Especially in the nineteenth century, changing physical, social and economic structure of cities turned walled edges into obsolete borders.

> The wall is no longer surrounding but conductive and shifting. …the idea of a fixed, delimited city form was abandoned,….The city is no longer seen as an uncontested and inert form, but as a labile and mobile whole that changes over time and develops itself endlessly. (Nijenhuis 1994, 16)

At that point, two main conditions can be determined in the evolution of old city walls: (1) Cities that were demolished their walls as a part of the modernization attempt in the nineteenth century and developed new plans and new urban structures in the place of walls; (2) Cities that preserved their walls in their contemporary urban context. In this context, answering the questions of "how old city walls function and integrate / disintegrate in the contemporary city context" became an important argument of the study. As the city of Istanbul is a unique case that represents both conditions, the following part of the study evaluates old city walls of Istanbul.

figure 1. Section of various defense structures. (Morris 1979,28)
Land covered by walls in the city varies depending on defense system.

Evaluation of Istanbul's City Walls
As mentioned before, in contemporary cities, old city walls lost their functional significance and gain different meanings. So, besides being historical heritages, this study aims to represent old city wall as public space in contemporary cities. _stanbul is an impressive case where walls define public uses in the urban space network. In Galata, old city walls of the settlement destroyed and redesigned as urban streets. In that case, emergence of walls in the city context as public space is very apparent. On the other hand, in the case of Historical Peninsula the condition is totally different than the Galata case; old city walls still exist in the urban context. But in that case too, walls define a zone and this urban zone serves various public activities. So, in the following part of the study, these two opposing cases will be analyzed to clarify the main argument of the study.

figure 2. Outline plan of walls in the Istanbul Historical Peninsula in different time periods.(Morris 1979, 64)

From Wall to Urban Street: The Case of Galata

"Modernity was characterized by the systematic demolition of strongholds and increasing dysfunctionality of fortresses, city walls and city gates". (Nijenhuis 1994, 13)

In the nineteenth century, as a result of the modern planning approach, some of the western cities decided to release their hard edges. At that time, limited form of old cities became an undesirable issue for newly emerging modern state of mind. So, new plans were developed for the transformation of walled edges. Reusing old cities edge offered great potentials for the modernization attempts. During this process, some new concepts, such as boulevard[1] and esplanade[2], were introduced in urban life.

> The boulevard started as a boundary between city and country. Its structure rests on the defensive wall. ….In 1670, with the destruction of the medieval walls of Paris and filling of the old moats, these sites were transformed into broad elevated promenades, planted with double rows of trees and accessible to carriages and pedestrian. These tree-lined ramparts eventually became a system of connected public promenades, "a recreational zone at the edge of the city". (Kostof 1991, 249)

Vienna, being a city developed in a ring of roman walls, is one of the most remarkable example of the transformed walled edges. In the 18th century, the city began to enlarge and expanded outside of the old city walls. So, in 1858, to connect the old city with newly developing suburbs, a competition was organized for redesigning the walled edge of the city without walls. *"The key to the physical reorganization of the city was clearly the removal of the fortifications."* (Sutcliffe 1980, 35) The main idea of the winning project was to construct Ring Strasse aligned with theatres, museums, concert hall, law courts, university, parliament building, dwellings and parks in the place of old city walls. Ring Strasse was a unique case that became a model for other world cities.

Similar to the Vienna case, nineteenth century Ottoman cities also transformed their walls. At that period, there was a great desire to restructure Ottoman Cities similar to Western models. Ottoman Ambassadors, who lived in Europe, described boulevards, parks, squares and grid plans of European Cities when they returned to Istanbul. As mentioned by Yerasimos, the existing conditions of cities were totally rejected by the statement of this first official document (Tanzimat Decree) in 17 May 1939. With the declaration of Tanzimat Decree the term "modern" became a key word almost for all attempts of the Empire and demolition of walled edges became a vital issue in the modernization of cities.

Galata is the first settlement in the Empire that experienced this modernization process. Throughout the history, Galata, being situated at the opposite site of the Golden Horn, had been always a significant settlement and port in the history of Istanbul. Like the other port cities, various ethnic and religious groups were settled in Galata. In fifteenth century, Italians, Jews, Rum, Armenians and Turks were living in Galata, each having their own neighborhood separated by walls. So, Galata had always an active commercial and social life with its cosmopolitan structure. Nineteenth century was the most critical period in the settlement's history. Many new urban standards and principles were firstly implemented in Galata. Foundation of the *"Altıncı Daire"*[3] in 1857 was the most crucial

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[1] The term boulevard " *derived trough a French corruption of the Dutch word bolwerk, or artillery bastion"*. (Ashworth 1991, 170)

[2] Esplanade refers to a " *military-engineering term for the open space in front of fortification"* . (Ashworth 1991, 170)

[3] *Altıncı Daire* was the first modern municipality in the city of _stanbul similar to the *Sixieme Arrondissement* in Paris. As such kind of institution was an unusual unit for the traditional structure of the Empire, non-Moslems and foreigners who had been living in Galata and Pera for 10 years

development in the evolution of the district. *"Altıncı Daire"* had many attempts for the improvement of the urban infrastructures in Galata and Pera district; but the most remarkable of them were the demolishment of walls and construction of new streets. By the beginning of the nineteenth century, Pera began to enlarge as an important neighborhood at the north side of Galata. By the development of embassies, Pera became the most modern and western neighborhood with its urban structure, social life and demographic pattern. Contrary to this, Galata had an enclosed and restricted structure that created obstacles in the relation with Pera. Therefore, *"Altıncı Daire"* decided to destroy the walls of Galata in order to construct wide streets and to facilitate the access between Galata and Pera.

Besides surrounding walls, there were also walls inside the settlement that divided Galata in five parts. In the eighteenth century, these walls still existed, but most of them were in a poor condition due to the housing units constructed along the walls. As mentioned by Akın, Galata's walls were in 2m width and 2,8km length enclosing and area of 37 ha. and also there were a ditch in 15m width at the north side of the wall. (Akin 1998) In this term, walls of Galata were offering great potentials in the formation of a new street network.

M. de Launay, who was working in *"Altıncı Daire",* declared in *Journal Constantinopole* that demolishment of walls would bring many advantages for Galata and Pera districts; especially in improving the condition of the existing narrow streets, in preventing the fire that cause many damages in urban structure and in facilitating the access between port district and upper land. (Akın 1998) So, in 1864 and 1865 a great amount of walls were destroyed and ditches at the north side were filled. This process caused major changes in Galata's urban pattern. Lands that became available by the demolition of walls were sold by the government. Many new buildings were constructed along new streets. Although for most of the citizens and authorities demolition of walls was a significant practice in the development of a modern and well organized city, there was also a group of people who were opposed to this attempt. They argued that with the demolition of walls a great amount of historical values would be disappeared in the urban context and also criticized the sale of lands that became available after the destruction of walls. But, at the end of the nineteenth century, all the walls of Galata turned into streets and the settlement became open and transparent neighborhoods that connect the Historical Peninsula and Pera.

figure 3. Walls of Galata (Çelik 1998, 10)

figure 4. Plan of Galata that show renewed streets.

figure 5. Büyük Hendek Street that was constructed after the demolition of walls in late 19th century. (Akın 1998, 122)

From Walled Edge to Green Zone: The Case of Historical Peninsula

During the historical evolution of the city various walls were constructed in the Historical Peninsula; Byzantion Walls, Septemius Walls, Constantin Walls and Theodosius Walls. Walls that exist today in the Historical Peninsula are Theodosius Walls that have a 22 km. length. Land walls are the most important part of this system. Land walls of Historical Peninsula have a great significance in terms of their size, strength and construction technique. This defense system was composed of three parts; it covers a large area of land in the city. Throughout the history, land walls of historical peninsula have been the most dominant and significant elements of urban landscape. They were defining an inner city isolated from outer land where rejected, unattractive and unsafe uses existed. So,

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were selected for the council of *Altıncı Daire*. By this way, foreigners living in the Ottoman Empire gained rights in the management of the city for the first time. The foreign members of the council had the opportunity to get financial support from European countries; so high-cost projects that were planned for Galata and Pera could be implemented.

wall had been one of the most determinant urban structures of the city and conservation of walls became the main criteria in all plans developed for the district.

Although Historical Peninsula and Galata situates on the two side of Golden Horn, close to each other, their urban development is differing. Land walls of Historical peninsula are experienced a different evolution than the walls of Galata. At the end of nineteenth century, authorities planned to destroy the walls of Historical Peninsula and to sell the lands that would be obtained by the demolition, similar to Galata case. But, this attempt was highly criticized. So, walls were not destroyed on that side of Golden Horn and land walls of Historical Peninsula remain in the contemporary urban pattern of _stanbul by experiencing various planning approaches.

figure 6. Section of Constantinopole land walls. (Morris 1979, 63)

figure 7. Plan of Istanbul in 1840. The city did not extend outside the walls at that time. Walls were still identifying the city's territory. (Morris 1979, 65)

The first significant planning attempt for the district was Henri Prost's plan in 1939. This plan aimed to modernize the city without destroying archeological and architectural values. So, construction of new buildings was restricted in an area of 500m width along the outer line of land walls. Menderes' Period is another significant phase in the evolution of the district. At that time, transportation was the main concern of all attempts. In order to facilitate the access in the traditional structure of Historical Peninsula, existing narrow streets were widen and new transportation axes were constructed by destroying many historical structures. Those implementations were also effected the condition of walls. Some gates that exist on the walls were enlarged. At that period, walls became an important determinant in the transportation network of the district. Moreover, In 1950's and 1960's, due to rapid urbanization caused by migration, walled zone of Historical Peninsula turned into a deteriorated urban area with illegal housing units, warehouses and small scale manufacturers. In order to prevent such illegal developments, some regulations similar Prost's Plan was also proposed in 1964's Historical Peninsula inner wall plan; to protect and isolate the walls by leaving a green zone in 500m. width along the walls and create a continuous green line –including cemeteries and *bostan*[4]- in Historical Peninsula. But, the undesirable condition of the area did not changed. Altan and Gürel describe the condition of walled zone in 1970's as the most ruined, unsafe and corrupted district of _stanbul (figure 8).

Another planning approach that emphasized the potentials of walls as urban space is Conservation Plan that was developed for Historical Peninsula in 1990. The main object of the plan was to develop Historical Peninsula as a tourism, culture and recreation area. In this scope, various recreational activities were proposed on land walls and its surrounding. Consequently, in all the plans developed for the district, city walls defined in a protected green zone. Today land walls were aligned with several recreational activities – *bostan*, sport fields, parks- placed in a green line. Walls serve for totally different activities in the urban structure than their ancient meaning. People leaving in a neighborhood close to land walls or children playing football on a sport field near to walls are not aware of the existence of walls. Walled zone became a usual urban space in the city.

figure 8. (Altan & Güler 1999,20)

figure 9. Contemporary condition of land walls in Historical Peninsula

[4] *Bostan* is a Turkish word that means vegetable garden. Throughout the history *bostan* has been always an important element of the city. Due to the rapid urbanization in 1960's most of them were destroyed and new buildings were constructed in the place of *Bostan*.

(Atlas Dergisi 2006, 28)

figure 10. There is a sport field near the Belgrat Gate. (Atlas Dergisi 2006, 72)

figure 11. *"Bostan"* Vegetable gardens exist along the walls. (Atlas Dergisi 2006, 70)

To Conclude

"Cities are a product of time. …In the city time becomes visible." (Mumford 1961, 28)

Based on Mumford's argument it can be stated that the historical development of a city can be observed throughout the changes in its urban elements. In time, some concepts changes and this creates the need of transformation of some urban elements. As being priceless zones in the center of cities, old city walls and their surrounding zones are the most significant cases of this condition.

In contemporary cities, meaning of the wall is entirely changed. By defining two different environments -inside and outside-, city walls were the places of exchanges between those two diverse milieus in ancient times. Walls marked the periphery of the city so they define the edge, boundary, border or territory of the city. But, in nineteenth century the main characteristics of walls changed. Being situated at the center of cities, they became obstacles between the center and newly developed districts. After that period, the development of walls in the city context emerged in two ways; some city walls were destroyed in the result of modernization attempts and others were conserved. In both cases they experienced some transformations such as; from being edges to paths, from being symbols of cities to unremarkable urban spaces, from being hard edges to loose historical monuments. So, besides their historical value, evaluation of city walls as public spaces in urban landscape is important in the analysis of contemporary cities.

In this context, the main aim of this study is not to state some proposals for the development of walled zones; but to emphasize the existence of walls or line of walls (as seen in the case of Galata) in the city context in a different manner -as public spaces. So, the city of _stanbul is a remarkable case of such development. Although Galata and Historical Peninsula experienced totally different evolution periods, walls or traces of walls reappeared as public spaces in both cases. But, main characteristics of public spaces are differing in each case. Galata situated on a slope terrain and had a dense urban pattern. In late eighteenth century, new districts outside the walls on the north side of Galata were developed. So, accessibility from waterfront to upper neighborhoods became an important problem and walls of Galata were destroyed to facilitate circulation and also to redevelop the settlement similar to western cities. Although, old city walls of Galata do not exist in the contemporary city, their traces can be distinguished in the street pattern of the district. In Galata case, walls were transformed into urban spaces including both public and private uses –streets and buildings that define streets. Moreover, as Galata was divided into several districts by walls, after the demolition, streets that were constructed in the place of walls formed a street network.

On the other hand, the condition in the Historical Peninsula is totally different than Galata. Land walls of Historical Peninsula were defining a strict edge between the inner and outer city zones. Although settlement began to enlarge in twentieth century, the control of walls on the urban formation continued. Today, the linear and continuous character of land walls is still remarkable in the urban context. So, land walls of Historical

Peninsula are forming a different type of urban space. They are not forming a network; they exist in the city as one singular urban element by defining an urban zone. This zone serves only some public activities including sport fields, parks. Moreover, they also initiated some illegal developments such as illegal houses or guards who control the vehicular traffic on the gate of walls.

In both cases, Galata and Historical Peninsula, walls form an urban space. In Galata, public space exist in the place of walls (on walls), on the other hand, in Historical Peninsula urban space exist along the walls. In addition, both in Galata and Historical Peninsula, walls dominate the circulation of the district. In Galata, walls became an element of circulation, in Historical Peninsula walls are the determinant of circulation.

Based on these cases, it can be stated that besides their historical significance, old city walls are also dominant in the physical, social and economic life of the city. So, determination and analysis of old city walls in the city is an important issue of urban planning and design disciplines.

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SUSANNE BOSCH

Mehringdamm 65 10961 **Berlin** Germany
Tel. ++49 +30 62735291/-088 (Fax)
Mobile: ++49 +177 8858530

53 Windsor Road **Belfast** BT9 7FP Northern Ireland
Tel. ++44 +2890 664187
Mobile: ++44 +79 612 744 68

E-MAIL susbosch@web.de

www.susannebosch.de www.interface.ulster.ac.uk

»Human Traffic« in/from Istanbul"

In 2003, I was in Istanbul for 6 months on a cultural exchange grant from the Berlin Senate of Research, Science and Culture.
Initially, I had a completely different project in my mind, but some incidents drew my attention to the subject of migration in the city.
These incidents started in public space.

1. My German way of looking gave me the pleasure to listen to migration biographies on a daily basis, because people approached me on the street directly.
[images]
2. The queues in front of most European embassies attracted my attention.
[images]
3. Through 2 colleagues, I was introduce to the world of people with indifferent heritage in Istanbul.
[images]
Especially through Mehmet, a Kurd from the Syrian border with a refuses asylum application history in Germany, I was introduced to the phenomenon of human trafficking in Istanbul via illegal cross bordering, where it takes place, what is costs, who it does…
4. The other form of net migration visible in Istanbul, is the world of mobile economies, mainly run by Kurdish migration. I do not have an image of the phenomena of the running street seller dragging their products behind them, as soon as the police appears around the corner.
[images]

My 20 minutes presentation concentrated on the phenomena of immigration in Istanbul. I am an artist, so I chose to introduce some artistic approaches to put this phenomenon more in the centre of our attention.

A
Immigration has an impact on place identities in Istanbul and everywhere.
Migration profoundly affects the sense of place of local communities.
Belmin Söylemez
The **`The Picture of my Life`** she did with the photographer Orhan Cem Cetin and Oda Projesi in the neighbourhood of Galata.
The Picture of My Life, 2003, is a video documentary (for the artist group Oda Projesi). It is a documentary about and with the people of Sahkulu Sokak in

Galata, picturing themselves in photos of the past and present, during photo sessions of photographer Orhan Cem Çetin. A co-project for the 8th Istanbul Biennale.
“Oda Projesi was given a start in 1997 in Galata, an old neighbourhood in Istanbul, Turkey.
The main aim of the project is to multiply the possibilities of making art by drawing attention to ordinary ways of living. It draws on the plural, complex ways of making in everyday life. It is a social sculpture in process, an unfinished everyday life performance being shaped by the relationships between people and spaces. The project invites artists or people with different backgrounds to realize their projects in Galata. The actual inhabitants of the neighbourhood – mainly immigrants - are often involved in these projects, not only as an audience but also as participants.”
www.odaprojesi.com
Belmin Söylemez was born in Istanbul. She worked as copy writer, editor, director and producer. She made music videos and promotion films.
[map of Galata] [film]

B
Transitmigration
Istanbul is a major transit zone on the wide map of migration that leads Europe, the desired paradise.
Many immigrants nowadays cannot define their final destination nor the duration of the migrating process.
A reality is, that many, many end up in places they never planed to be in and for far longer periods than expected. A lot of them end up staying.

Filmmaker **Berke Bas** introduces in her film **“In Transit”,** directed by Bas, produced by Dorian Lesley-Jones and Berke Bas, 3 transit families in Istanbul. She accompanied them for a long time.
Transit families lead a life devoid of basic rights: no legal documents, no work permission, children with no access to education, limited access to health care, language barrier, constant fear of the police and the threat of deporation, intimidation from the neighbours, subject of discrimination or blamed for drug dealing and robbery. The daily life seems secured by informal jobs or supported from churches. Still, life stops and will only start again if they reach a Western country.
[map of Kurtulus] [film]

C
The invisible immigrants/ where home becomes the political space
“Since the revolutions in Eastern Europe in 1989, the Turkish market of unskilled labour is increasingly being dominated by immigrants. The specific political conditions of migration and its motivations are depicted by the artist and film maker **Gülsün Karamustafa** by the example of a group of migrants in Istanbul: for **"Unawarded Performances" from 2005,** she has interviewed Moldavians about their working conditions. Without any documents, these women have to earn a living with the care of elderly women in wealthy middle-class households. This enables them to support their families in Moldavia and try to finance their children's

education. They are preferably being engaged for the care and household work in Istanbul because of their origin, Gaugasia in Southern Moldavia, since the similarity to the Gaugasian language enables them to speak and understand Turkish with ease. After the breakdown of the economy in Gaugasia respectively Moldavia in 1989, all of a sudden these women were confronted with a situation of poverty. Karamustafa responds to the specific situations. Some of the interviewees in "Unawarded Performances" remain anonymous. Other domestic servants are portrayed together with their employers inside the Istanbul flats in a composition of a photographic souvenir picture and documentation. The camera travels over the interior decoration and the pompous entrances of the houses, showing the completely differing working and class structures as well as the roles of the sexes, with which these women from a post-communist country are now being confronted in Istanbul. None of the interview partners has been working as a domestic servant before. Karamustafa does not only accentuate the different aspects of her interview partners' lives, but also multiplies the media images of migration. Artist, born 1946, lives and works in Istanbul." (source: http://www.projektmigration.de/english/content/kuenstlerliste/karamustafa.html)
[film, to be confirmed jet]

D
"**Esra Ersen** is a Turkish artist born in Ankara in 1970 and currently living and working in Istanbul. Central to her works are the themes of identity, migration and aspiration. Whether using film, photography, installation or situational activity, Ersen consistently explores the relationship between the individual and society, with an eye to how the various factors involved in this (such as ethnicity, education, and culture) can bind or divide communities.
One of the keenest examples of Turkey's psycho-geographical influence upon Ersen can be seen in her piece **'Brothers and Sisters' (2003),** which takes the plight of illegal African immigrants stranded in Turkey as a microcosm of her themes. Assuming the role of social anthropologist, Ersen spent six months working with such a group; suspended in limbo between Europe and Africa, unwanted by either, the film documents how these displaced people clung to one identity in search of another, only to assume a new, unintended identity through the common experience of their struggles, hopes and despairs."
(source: http://www.culturebase.net/artist.php?3769)
[film]

E
Thinking of Turkey from a German perspective, Turkey seems to have more the fame of an emigrating country. From a larger historical perspective, one getsaware of the fact that Turkey has always been a country of migration, due to its empire and due to its geographical location.

What we saw today reflected artistically 2 factors:
Human trafficking and transit migration and they are both considered a crime.

People don’t want to immigrate to Istanbul, people want to pass it to get somewhere else, or people are forced by crime to work in fields like sex and entertainment industry, textile production, agricultural and construction sectors as well as the informal market.

“Traditionally, Turkey has been known as a country of emigration. Starting from the early 1960s and well into the 1970s, large numbers of Turkish nationals migrated to western European countries, particularly West Germany. This emigration continued into recent times through family reunification schemes and the asylum track. Recently, Turkey has also become known as a country of transit to the European Union for irregular migrants from Asian countries such as Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Iraq, Iran, and Pakistan. Turkey, whose population approaches 70 million, has also become a destination for irregular migrants from former Soviet Bloc countries.

What is less well known is that Turkey **has long been a country of immigration and asylum**. From 1923 to 1997, more than 1.6 million people immigrated to Turkey, mostly from Balkan countries. During the Cold War, thousands of asylum seekers fled to Turkey from Communist states in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. The overwhelming majority were recognized as refugees, and were resettled to third countries such as Canada and the United States by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). In the late 1980s, this pattern began to change as increasing numbers of asylum seekers began to arrive from Iran and Iraq, as well as other developing nations. Turkey also experienced a mass influx of almost half a million mostly Kurdish refugees from Iraq in 1988 and 1991, as well as mass influxes of Albanians, Bosnian Muslims, Pomaks (Bulgarian-speaking Muslims), and Turks in 1989, 1992-1995, and 1999. The changing patterns of immigration into Turkey and Turkey's efforts to become a member of the European Union are creating pressures for an overhaul of immigration and asylum policies. …
Today, officially sanctioned immigration into Turkey has for all intent and purposes dropped to a trickle. Turkey allows nationals of Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Iran, Moldova, Ukraine, Russia, and the Central Asian republics to enter the country quite freely either without visas or with visas that can easily be obtained at airports and other entry points….

Historical background of Immigration
In the 1920s, the population stock had been depleted by massive deaths caused by a series of external and internal conflicts, such as the Balkan wars of 1912-1913, World War I and the Greco-Turkish War of 1919-1922. This was aggravated by massive forced migrations and deaths of Armenians, Greeks, and Muslims.
The founders of the modern Turkish state were also concerned about creating a homogenous sense of national identity in an otherwise ethnically and culturally diverse country. Exclusive priority was given to encouraging and accepting immigrants who were either Muslim Turkish speakers to start with, or who were officially considered to belong to ethnic groups that would easily melt into a Turkish identity such as Albanians, Bosnians, Circassians,

Pomaks, and Tatars from the Balkans. From the establishment of Turkey in 1923 to 1997, more than 1.6 million immigrants came and settled in Turkey… In this period, only a small number of immigrants came from outside this geographic area and these ethnic and religious groups.
…
It is very difficult to estimate the numbers of irregular immigrants in Turkey. However, **figures ranging from 150,000 to one million are often cited**. To these groups **must be added trafficked people,** particularly women. These are people who have either been coerced or deceived into travelling to Turkey for commercial sex work, and remain in Turkey against their wishes. There is also an **increasing number of EU member-state nationals** engaged in professional activities who are settling in Turkey, particularly in Istanbul, as well as **European retirees** in some of the Mediterranean resorts. They, too, constitute a **relatively new phenomenon in terms of immigration into Turkey, and their numbers are estimated at 100,000-120,000.**
…
Lastly, since the second half of the 1990s, the number of irregular migrants using Turkey as a transit route to Europe has grown. These people are mostly nationals of neighbouring countries in the Middle East such as Iraq, Iran, and Syria, as well as Afghanistan and Pakistan.

The Turkish government has been under massive pressure from a number of EU member countries **to curb this transit migration**. … **Each year approximately 90,000 irregular migrants have been apprehended by the Turkish authorities**

Turkey is also a country of asylum. …. Currently, the new system handles approximately 4**,000 to 4,500 asylum applications per year.** Turkey grants asylum seekers temporary protection, but continues to expect that those who are recognized as refugees will eventually be resettled outside of Turkey.
….
Legally, Albanians, Bosnians, Circassians, Pomaks, Tatars, and Turks—mostly from the Balkans—will be able to immigrate to Turkey, while others will face a closed door. Minorities claiming a link to Turkey who are not Sunni Muslims, that is, everyone from Armenians and Assyrians to Greeks and Jews, as well as unassimilated Kurds and Alevis, will find it difficult to immigrate. Such a policy will not be in harmony with the emerging European Union "common" immigration policy, which increasingly emphasizes civic connections to host territory, employment prospects, and cultural diversity, rather than a prospective immigrant's ethnic or national origin as grounds for immigration.
…"
By Kemal Kirisci, Center for European Studies, Bogaziçi University
(Source: http://www.migrationinformation.org/Feature/display.cfm?ID=176)

[Maps from http://www.transitmigration.org/migmap/home_overview.html]
[fotos of city]

F
Final remarks

EU Twinning Project **“Strengthening Institutions in the Fight against Trafficking in Human Beings” implemented by the Turkish National Police, the Berlin Criminal Police Agency and the Ludwig Boltzmann Institute of Human Rights.**
The aim of this project is to strengthen the capacities of Turkish institutions in the fight against trafficking in human beings, to improve Turkish anti-trafficking legislation and to develop a sustainable comprehensive anti-trafficking strategy, involving all relevant actors from the Turkish Government and civil society. BIM will contribute to this project, which is being implemented in cooperation with the Berlin Criminal Police Agency and the Turkish Ministry of
Interior, mainly in the field of victim assistance and protection by sending experts to carry out a series of research, training and awareness raising activities.

The overall aim is to contribute to the development of a comprehensive victim assistance and protection system for trafficked persons in Turkey.

Project implementation: Jan. 2006 - June 2007
Trafficking in human beings is one of the most pressing and complex issues in the OSCE region. Every year, hundreds of thousands of women, children and men are trafficked to or from OSCE states into conditions amounting to slavery. Among these, many are young women and girls lured, abducted, or sold into sexual servitude. Available evidence suggests that the problem is expanding rapidly in the OSCE region.

I think what struck me most and what obviously struck all the presented artists is the fact, how many people live in a situation of grey zone. It seemed to me in Istanbul that the lost overview, the few amount of help, put so many children and adults in inhuman conditions for an unpredictable time. Yet, one could also say, what is maybe human about it is al the holes in the net, as the rest of Europe seems to become more and more a castle without entrance door.
I did not want to change with my friend Mehmet in his situation stuck in Aksaray in 2003, then he disappeared for almost a year, I believed him dead, but he one day rung me in Germany to tell me that he lives a happy life somewhere in West Germany. I did not ask how I got there with his history of a refuses German asylum application.
[foto]

PUBLIC ISTANBUL
SPACES AND SPHERES OF THE CITY
19. – 20. January 2007

//

Feride Çiçekoglu

Sabiha in "Public Istanbul"

DRAFT VERSION. Please do not quote.

Sabiha is the protagonist of the film *Vesikali Yarim* (1968), which may be translated as "My Licensed Beloved", the "license" being the one to trace and control the "public women", the prostitutes and the bar girls. I highlight Sabiha in public _stanbul for several reasons. First of all Sabiha is coded as a "public woman" and this gendered cartography is useful in decoding "public _stanbul". Secondly there is a contradiction even in the title of the film since the public tone of the license is confronted with the privacy of the beloved, so Sabiha is a promising character as an agent into the metropolis which is marked by the coexistence and confrontation of the public and the private. Thirdly, Sabiha is vivid in the collective memory built by the representations of the city since the film was revisited by Orhan Pamuk in *Kara Kitap* [The Black Book] in 1990 and by a group of film scholars (Nilgun Abisel, et al.) in 2005, who explored why *Vesikalı Yarim* has become a cult film of Istanbul.

Vesikalı _ehir [The Licensed City] my book which is forthcoming shortly draws on this heritage. I contextualize the film among other films where the image of the city is identified with prostitution, and I argue that Sabiha marks a turning point in the portrayal of women in public _stanbul since she violates the codes. Sabiha is shown in transformation from a cabaret woman of enclosed spaces to "a woman walker" in the city and the film ends with her "strolling around aimlessly", which is akin to *flânerie.* She does not only reverse the

traditional urban spatial identity of the woman from enclosed interiors to the exterior public space of social visibility but she also claims subjectivity by gazing at the spectator.

In this presentation, I am going to scan the narrative of *Vesikalı Yarim* while screening fragments from the film to show the transformation of Sabiha. Inserted between some of these fragments there will be still images to compare Sabiha with her contemporaries such as Mamma Roma or Cléo.

From the Fringe to the Center of _stanbul

Vesikalı Yarim starts at the fringe of the city, at the vegetable gardens that was part of the urban topography in Istanbul even in the 1960s. While men are loading a horse cart, their dialogues reveal romanticized traditional relations based on mutual trust. We understand that the gardens and the horse cart belong to Halil's family. Halil is presented as a charismatic character and a natural leader. Halil will later introduce himself to Sabiha as an authentic _stanbulite, born and brought up in _stanbul. We get to know Halil more closely, as he arrives at his shop where he greets his father, and tends a customer. The father leaves for the mosque, and Halil says he will follow shortly. Throughout this sequence tradition, family and religion are related to the fringe of the city and to the realm of the familiar, predictable and safe. The tunes we hear at the background are also marked by locality.

The change from day to night and from Turkish music to a jazz tune marks the difference of the fringe and the center. Halil and his friends have made plans earlier for a night out and they have decided to go to the centre city rather than the local pub. The division of urban space into fringe and center is further nuanced by the division of the public space into exterior and interior. Once the men make a choice to enter "_en Saz", attracted by a Turkish song, we are led to an inner space where we see a woman for the first time in the film, a "public woman" as we immediately discover. This is not Sabiha yet but her best friend.

After his friends leave to visit prostitutes, Halil stays at the bar by himself, determined to go home in a short while. It is then that Sabiha shows up. Orhan Pamuk has revisited this scene by playfully reproducing it for the main character of *The Black Book*, Galip who is looking for his wife Ruya and who meets a woman named Türkan in a stone building next to the police station at Beyo_lu

> The music died and in the strange silence that ensued, she emerged like a saint from the mist; staring into her huge black long-lashed eyes, Galip thought, for the first time in his life, that he might be able to sleep with a woman other than Rüya." (Pamuk 2006, p.143)

In Turkish, most of our names have meanings, and the same word changes for masculine and feminine. Sabih means beautiful and Sabiha means a beautiful woman. Sabiha's sudden appearance which mesmerizes Halil deserves this meaning. The name Sabiha is old-fashioned however; an Ottoman name from Arabic origin rather than a modern name and this will also come up in the course of the narrative. Halil will ask Sabiha if this is her real name and she will laugh at the question, saying that Sabiha is no choice for a nickname.

After spending time together in another bar, Halil takes Sabiha to her home, in Hamalba_i, which is in Beyoglu, or Pera, "the other side" as it was called in late Ottoman and early Republican period, meaning the non-Muslim part of the city. Halil lives in Koca Mustafa Pa_a, which is in the old part of the city. The two parts are connected with Galata Bridge and this turns out to be a separation rather than a connection since the bridge was raised during the night for ships to enter the Golden Horn. Sabiha asks Halil to stay at her place until the bridge is opened for vehicles and this is how their love affair starts. But they are separated rather than connected by the bridge which becomes a metaphor as a link/division between tradition and modernity. Identification of Halil with the fringe and Sabiha with the center is a main theme in the film. When their relation takes turns Halil sits at a bench looking at the city from a distance when he thinks about Sabiha, both when he realizes he has fallen in love with her

and also when they fall apart. The city becomes accessible for him only with Sabiha. He denotes this by giving her as ring as a gift. They engage in a relationship "as if they are married" and they seal this with a photograph.

From Enclosed Interiors to Open Exteriors

Enclosed interiors and open exteriors form another duality constructing the spatial atmosphere for the transformation of Sabiha. When at home, her persona changes once she takes off her make-up. Halil is first surprised by this change but gradually he will become used to it and will insist that she stays at home. Sabiha gives up working at the bar and acts like a housewife. She waits for Halil to bring food and she enjoys putting grocery in her kitchen cupboards. She emphasizes this feeling, saying that before Halil came, her place was just a shelter, now it became a home.

At this stage we witness another change in Sabiha. She starts covering her hair when she is going out to public spaces and stepping out to social visibility by herself. We see her with a headscarf for the first time when Sabiha is walking in the market, implying that she now has a man and she is no longer allowed to be the object of public gaze. This is emphasized by a street vendor, who suggests her to buy a gift for her husband. They start discovering the city together. The sea and the ships accentuate the sense of discovery. "Whatever we do together, it is first for me" says Halil. But we already get a hint that their union in this new kind of public space is transient.

What separates them is Halil's marriage. Headscarf becomes a sign of their relation once again. When Sabiha learns that Halil is married, she walks at the seaside in distress. She is in public space alone but without a headscarf since this is a scene where she questions the relationship and considers separation. I have to emphasize here that the headscarf used by Sabiha is a sign of tradition and it is different from the type of veiling which has become an

issue as of 1980s. When Sabiha covers her hair she steps into Halil's domain, like his wife and his mother who appear as background figures related to interior spaces towards the end of the film.

When she goes to see Halil once, determined to ask him if he is married, she looks at him from a distance and leaves. Halil follows her, but Sabiha cannot ask if he is married for fear of ending the relationship. Halil is upset as he is trying to find out what has happened to Sabiha. "Going out without telling me, strolling around aimlessly… What does all this mean?" he asks. Implicit in this statement is the expectation that a woman should notify "her man" if she intends to go out into the public space of the city by herself and she should do this only in case there is a legitimate reason. "Strolling around aimlessly" does not qualify as a reason. After all why would a woman want to "stroll around aimlessly"?

Why, if not for prostitution? In an unforgettable shot from Pasolini's film, we see Mamma Rosa "strolling around aimlessly" while men accompany her, joining her and then disappearing, their place taken up immediately by others in an uncanny atmosphere, against the glittering lights of the night.

Sabiha violates the spatial codes of urban gendered cartography

Sabiha finally decides to find out if Halil is married by going to his neighborhood, even to his father's greengrocery. Again, she has a headscarf, since she has stepped into his domain.

Halil finally goes back to his home. When his son opens the door and announces the arrival of his father Halil is shown as retreating back to his traditional set up at the fringe of the city. His wife suddenly appears from the back of a curtain together with the daughter. The wife is available, ready and submissive for all times. She asks no questions, she makes no comments let alone any criticism. She prepares the bed, she asks if he is hungry, he merely nods, meaning no. Halil starts looking out from the window, gazing in the direction of the city

which is invisible and inaccessible from his suffocating room. His parents come in, he greets them with respect and he resumes his duties. He stays with his family but this becomes exclusion rather than inclusion for him. He is excluded from "public _stanbul".

Sabiha also violates the codes since she walks into public _stanbul which is traditionally a male environment. Antonioni's *L'Avventura* has a scene showing how uncanny *flânerie* can be for a woman, as an object of gaze, not very different from the atmosphere of "public Istanbul" for Sabiha. I would like to end with images of Sabiha assuming subjectivity at the end of the film, by comparing her to Varda's Cléo. Janice Mouton describes Cléo as a *flâneuse* who learns to enjoy the city. Cléo ends her walk by happily running into a soldier and the last image that we see of her is a romantic symmetry. Sabiha is probably more of a *flâneuse* than Cléo, a lonely individual, who has been gazing at us for the past four decades while walking into the "heart of darkness" which is public _stanbul.

Ugur Tanyeli has recently claimed that *flânerie* does not exist in the urban community of Turkey since "strolling around aimlessly" has traditionally been considered uncanny. He argues that the conceptual dichotomy of public space/private space is an invention in Turkey, a dictionary novelty rather than a creation within the practices of daily life: "So we cannot still talk about the *flâneur* but only groups of *flâneurs.* This demonstrates that the members of these groups are not individualized yet, and that the members of the social class that the group belongs to are rather reluctant to play the role of the public man or woman." (Tanyeli 2005, 222) I would disagree with the non-gendered tone of this statement equalizing "public man or woman". I would argue that the *flânerie* is gendered in Turkey as elsewhere.

It was mainly by Janet Wolff's 1985 article that "the *flâneur* has returned as an object of critical interest in the late twentieth century, becoming the focus of feminist critiques of hegemonic modernism" as Parsons points out. (Parsons 2000, 39) Wolff regards the "public

women" in Baudelaire's city – the prostitute and the *passante* – not as actors of *flânerie* but as commodified objects of the male gaze and therefore she considers them as a diametrically opposed position of the *flâneur.* (Wolff, 1985)

Let me finish by summing up my premises and references which I will elaborate in the final version of this paper: I start with a basic premise, that cinema and metropolis are dual products of modernity, both vitalized by movement, one reflecting the other. (Bruno) I refer to flânerie (Baudelaire, Benjamin) in the context of modernity revisiting the concept with a critical interest concerning women in public spaces (Buck-Morss, Wolff, Wilson). Conceptual dichotomies such as "traditional/ modern" (Göle) and "public/private" (Tanyeli), as well as their urban spatial connotations such as fringe and center, enclosedness and openness, interior and exterior (Abisel, et al.) are critical as they came up during the cruise through the images. Finally the "woman walker of metropolis" (Parsons, Mouton) is central to my arguments and serves as the critical concept for comparison of Sabiha with her contemporaries such as Mamma Roma or Cléo.

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Senem Doyduk

Evaluation of Urban Archeological Data in Public Spaces Located in Istanbul Historic Ppensinsula

Introduction

Beyazıt Square has always housed the functions of education, religion, administration throughout the history. While some of these functions have reached today, the density of some of them has changed in the area and some of these functions have totally vanished. In this study, movements of various users are analysed along the directions of the currently valid functional distribution. The circulation patterns formed by devise user groups are put forward through these observations, and their relations with the past physical fabric of the area are elucidated. It is observed that the functions of some of demolished buildings ***(objects)*** have retained their existence in the square ***(void)***. In this context, the current layer of urban stratification that is to say “ground level of urban space”, which is scrutinised from physical and social point of view, is tackled as a means medium of ***“cultural coding & transmission”***.
The unit constitute the Beyazıt Square is handled at two different fronts in this study. Firstly, the physical transformation of the void, in other words, the changing boundaries and built/demolished buildings will be investigated. Afterwards, what type of changes in the ongoing social life has been caused either by the constructions and demolitions of these buildings or by their functional transformations will be examined. Having considered the traces of vanished buildings, today, as an archaeological data, one can claim that such a data seem to influence the continuity of social life in the public realm. Particularly, when the urban layers that are constituted by the archaeological data are handled in accordance with the ongoing public life, possibility of tracing the past objects’ back in history.
Moreover, the profits proposed for the area during the historical process, appear to have played a significant transformative role in the functional utilisation of the public realm. The active part that urban stratification takes place in the urban transformation of the square can be clearly observed since the area of study is a district in which historical layering is abundant. If the data obtained from Beyazıt Square are generalised the determining role of “anti-objects” (i.e. urban voids such as street, square etc.) on the urban sustainability and on the collective memory in addition to the “objects” (i.e. buildings) and object-based urban preservation approaches. In the scope of the vision of the conservation of public realm, the notion of the ***“conservation of anti-objects”*** has the potential of providing new ramifications. The symbols that are the components of urban layers and the social life in the past are both reflected in today’s public realm as much as it is determined by the buildings of the current physical context. In other words, the traces of the archaeological data are legible in the public realm.
Historical Peninsula of Istanbul is an area in which urban stratification is quite intense. One of the reasons why Beyazıt Square is selected as the subject of study among other

places in the entire peninsula is that physical fabric of the area have changed several times. For instance, Hagia Sophia Square which accommodates as much archaeological findings as Beyazıt Square has not over witnessed such a transformation to that extent. Generally, that an area retains its physical tissue without being changed at all is considered as a success from the conservationist point of view. Nonetheless, Antique remains in the former urban layers are transmitted to the current layer via transformation projects conducted in Beyazıt Square. Another reason why Beyazıt is selected is, there are multiple and diverse functions in the square. The functions of religion, education, administration and trade have always been together in the area. This, in fact, has provided public life to retain its vividness through concentration of functions in addition to physical stratification in the area.

Firstly, the physical transformation of the square and its impacts on the urban functions are put forward in the study. The research is realised through the methodology of; observing the circulation patterns of current user groups, identifying the circulation pattern and correlating this pattern with the physical fabric of the former periods. This correlation is established in 5 successive stages. First; the location and the significance of Beyazıt Square within the Historical Peninsula is defined; and in this scope, the reasons of its selection for such a study are explicated. In the second section; the transformation which the area has hitherto faced is set forth. This transformation is investigated through the study of construction activities during Antiquity, Byzantine, Early, Classical and Late Ottoman as well as Early Republican and Menderes Eras. In the third part; the groups of functions in the square are listed and their concentrated areas are marked on a specific map. The groups of functions which take place in the square are identified as follows; religion, administration and military, education and culture, trade, recreation and transport. In the fourth section; the public life and social groups in the square are analysed. In the fifth part; circulation pattern, which users formed in-between the building types, is identified. Along this purpose, behavioural maps are produced by means of observing the movements of different user groups within the square.

The urban transformation in Beyazıt Square can be defined as a history of demolitions whereby the public imagination, which belongs to former periods, is intended to be ideologically and politically removed from the collective memory and public realm. Here, an evaluation of the urban-archaeological transformation of different periods is done from a morphological point of view. Also, the relationships between the "objects" that remained this transformation and the "void" that is a resultant of this transformation are elucidated. Besides, the study puts forward the impacts of the "urban layers" entertained through successive interventions to this "urban void".

The Location, Significance and Uniqueness of Beyazıt Square in the Historical Peninsula

Beyazıt Square is geographically located in the centre of the Historical Peninsula. The main axis of the peninsula, which was named as "Via Egnatia" in Antique Era and "Divanyolu" in Ottoman Era, lies between Hagia Sophia Square and Beyazıt Square. This axis splits into two after Beyazıt Square (Map 1). Due to its significance provided by geographical location, the area maintained its characteristic of being an area which was used as a commercial area. With the name Forum Theodosius during Antiquity has been an administrative and religious centre particularly with the buildings like; Old Palace in Ottoman Era, and structures of Beyazıt II Kulliye and later building of Serasker. Doubtlessly, it is hard to talk about a single centre of the peninsula. Nevertheless, the area four corners of which are surrounded by Süleymaniye, Beyazıt, Nur-i Osmaniye and Yeni Cami can be defined as a centre that accommodates intense commercial administrative and religious complexes. (Cerasi, 2001, pp. 102-106) Other kulliyes, which are aligned in the peninsula, are also significant centres like Beyazıt Area and are surrounded by dense business districts. Besides, although they are not located along Mese, it is known that these areas had an intense settlement fabric in Antique Era. Nowadays, important building components that belong to Antiquity observed in the urban layers that take place in these areas. (Doyduk, 2006) These areas have become religious centres with the kulliyes

constructed in Ottoman Era, and have developed functions of education and commerce around them by means of the other buildings of the kulliyes. One of the distinguishing characteristics of Beyazıt Square from the other areas both today and Ottoman Era is the diversity that is contributed by various functions accommodated in the area. Despite the changes in their boundaries Old Palace and Building of Seraskerlik are the significant buildings of the central administration that were located in the same place. Again, with the handing the same buildings over to Istanbul University in the Republican Era one of the most significant functional transformation in the social life of the area had been realised. The existing of students, professors and intelligentsia in the area, has played a major role in the history of the area during 20th century. It can be said that the same social groups have currently been the determining actors in the functional transformation of the area.

Chronological Analysis of the Monuments in the Square and the Physical Transformation of the Square along the Directions of (Realized & Proposed) Projects

The transformation of the physical fabric area will be put forward by the chronological documentation of the buildings that have both existed and disappeared in the square throughout history. Following the reorganization of the former urban nekropol in the Antique Era, as the new forum area in the Byzantine Era, the area had been included in the daily life. Having constructed the uses of buildings and constructions in Early, Classical and Late Ottoman Eras, it can be suggested that public works in the area have been concentrated around the activities of transformation of an urban void since the Antiquity. The movement of evacuation of the buildings in the square that started in Early Republican years has climaxed with the works of road enlargement in Menderes Era, bringing the square to its current boundaries today. Various arrangements have followed; however, these have been restricted with the construction of pads, arrangement of greenery etc. Since there is no building, which is not historical, left within the borders of the square, the void has reached its greatest, clear, straight, regular dimensions.

Antique Era; It is thought that the area was used as a necropolis in the Antique Era. The old necropolises of the city which started from the Hagia Sophia were lying through the west by the Via Egnetia street's on both sides. Findings concentrate around Beyazıt area (Map 2). The remains of the cemetery were found during the works of the construction of Istanbul University buildings between 1944 and 1952. The Hypogaeums from the 4 & 5th century were remains of rectangular buildings which were having doors and domes. Also the tombs were from the 3 & 4th century. The thickness of the layers which the remains had founded was about 0.3 & 1 meters. The cemetery remains which have founded during the works of the construction of underpass near the Bakırcılar Street were acquainting about the different ways of burying dead (Müller-Wiener, 2002, p. 219).

Byzantian Era; The Antique necropolis was included into the city during the reign of Constantinus. Houses for the state officers were built in the area in the same period. Primary works about the construction of the area commenced under the reign of Theodosius I (379-395) (Müller-Wiener, 2002, p. 258–265).

There is a level difference between the northern and southern directions of the area where the square is located. This slope and varying unevenness in the land have been flattened through a series of public works realised in different periods until today. This process of flattening has begun with the construction of the forum in Byzantian Era. It is known that the excavated earth from the construction of Forum Theodosius was taken to the Port of Eleutherios and a great deal of infrastructure had been constructed in the southern part for the flattening of the uneven area (Müller-Wiener, 2002, p. 260).

Some of the remains found during the excavations are being exhibited along Ordu Street. They are pieces of the Triumphal Arch of Theodosius. These pieces have long stood in the courtyard of Simke_hane before its northern wing was demolished. Some of the remains found during the public works conducted in different periods have been taken to the Museum of Archaeology. A clear result regarding the dimensions of the area could not have been reached through the researches and remains yet. Müller-

Wiener has marked these remains onto the map. Various findings can be obtained through matching his map with the map of current state. Although the data in the map do not identify the boundaries of the area, they can reveal some clues regarding the direction of the forum and orientation of the buildings. The remains found during the construction of Ordu Street have been marked on the map (Map 3). The pedestals of the Triumphal Arch can be seen in the region A of the map. Today, stone and marble remains of the pedestal that is exhibited along the street take place on the sidewalk and serve as a display element for the products of pedlars and salesman (Figure 1). Remains B are the remnants of a system that belong to the southern terrace of the forum. Remains C, constitute the traces of a canal system that belong to Mese in the north and those of a cistern that belong to the southern terraces of the forum in the south. Stilobats that belong to the remains A-B-C are found in the same direction and height. D-E-F areas are each remains of buildings. The direction of these remains can be assumed to delimit an axis lying along the south-north direction, which constitutes one of the major approaches to the square from the Ordu Street.

Ottoman Era; Activities of construction in the area by Ottomans have commenced with the construction of *Old Palace* by Fatih Sultan Mehmet in 1454. The palace took the name "Old" Palace with the construction of Topkapı Palace yet continued to be used as Harem. There are no remains left from the Old Palace today (Map 4).

It can be stated that construction of *Beyazıt Külliye* in Classical Ottoman Era was the most comprehensive construction realised so far in the history. The külliye, which was constructed between 1500 and 1506, is comprised of Mosque, Medrese (monastry), Hamam (bath), Imaret (hospice), and Sibyan Mektebi (primary school). Besides, tombs of Beyazıt II and his daughter take place in the backyard of the Mosque. It is assumed that the formation of the site planning of the kulliye was conditioned by Old Palace. The organisation of Kulliye buildings, particularly the orientation and distance of the medrese from other buildings give the impression of the existence of a palace garden in between (Müller-Wiener, 2002, pp. 385–390). Hamam, even further than the medrese and independent from the rest of the külliye, was built in parallel to Ordu Street. Pieces of Theodosius Coloumn were used for its construction.

Old Palace, which was used until 1826, was transformed into *Seraskerlik Building* by being handed over to the military. Some buildings have been converted to the Army Barracks along with this functional transformation. Later, the building complex that was named as Harbiye Nezareti (Ministry of Defence) had been used with the same function until the Republican Era. With the proclamation of the Republic, the groups of buildings were given to the use of _stanbul Darülfünunu (Cezar, 2002, p. 509–510).

Simke_hane, which was built on Ordu Street approximately across Beyazıt Hamamı was built in 15th century as the imperial mint, however, it was rebuilt following a fire by architect Mehmed Aga with the order of Emetullah Banu who was the haseki (favourite wife) of Sultan Ahmet III (Figure 2) (Müller-Wiener, 2002, p. 354). In 1956, northern wing of the building was demolished during the construction of Ordu Street.

The buildings of Old Palace and Beyazıt Kulliyesi, which was built during the Ottoman Era, have been the major buildings of the square. The physical transformation of the area has not been completed with the construction of these buildings; in fact a dynamic process of change has started with their construction. This process can be defined as a period of clearing the area from the buildings by their demolishment (Map 5). Rows of retailers accommodating shops such as barbers and coffee & reading houses (kıraathane) have been built in Beyazıt Square, which has a large urban void accommodating major urban functions, however, they were later demolished. Demolishment has continued since the 15th century in order to reach today's large boundaries of the square and the current state of Ordu Street that is a quite wide boulevard (Figure 3).

Following this brief historical synopsis of the urban-architectural transformation realised in these three successive stages, at this point, it is of particular interest to make an evaluation of the metamorphosis from a morphological point of view. Because, such a morphological foundation is

necessitated so as to put forward not only the relationships between the "*objects*" remained from this transformation and resulting "*void*" but also the impacts of the "*urban layers*", which are intertwined with the interventions to the void, on the public life in the square as well.

With the construction of the Old Palace in 1454, a great deal of the Byzantian Forum was included in the palace. The rest of the forum that was left outside the palace was covered with trees. Fatih Sultan Mehmet removed these trees following few attacks from this direction in order to provide security (Müller-Wiener, 2002, p. 264). The construction of Beyazıt Kulliyesi at the beginning of 1500s signifies a second major transformation in the physical fabric that was realised under Ottoman Era. There are different interpretations regarding the organisation of buildings in the site. Beyazıt Kulliyesi was not built according to a symmetrical schema unlike other Prince Complexes (*_ehzade külliyeleri*) such as Fatih Kulliyesi. Although it has a plan quite similar to the Beyazıt II Külliyesi that was built in Edirne approximately five years before its construction, Beyazıt Külliyesi in Istanbul has a bedesten that has a distant position and different orientation from other components. Cezar thinks that walls of the old palace may have constrained the regularity of symmetrical site planning. He also assumes that the void of the Forum Theodosius have a determining role in the site plan in addition to the walls of Old Palace. He asserts that rectangular extension of the buildings of the Külliye towards the west of the mosque, en route for Aksaray, reveals the rectangular formation of the Forum Theodosius. The void between mosque and bedesten seems to be arranged for the preservation of the space in front of the entrance of the Old Palace (Cezar, 2002, p.97). Tanyeli conceives the interpretations regarding the dispersed positioning of the buildings of the Beyazıt Kulliyesi, as an initiative of establishing a new ground of legitimacy by envisaging a group of buildings, legitimacy and historiographical significance of which is questionable, as if they are interrelated with current planning problematic. He interprets these approaches as an anachronism of claiming the validity of former planning principles, which made the building exist in the past, for the modern world while demanding the preservation of a historical building (Tanyeli, 2004, p.517). Another disputable matter such as the positioning of the complex (kulliye) in the area is the courtyard wall of the complex. Cezar says that whether the complex had an exterior wall is not clearly known, and thinks that the possibility that wall was not constructed signifies that area was defined as a square (Cezar, 2002, p.97). Ataman, defines the courtyard of the complex in between the mosque and the entrance gate of the Old Palace, and delimits the border of the courtyard on the side of the road with a wall. He draws the trace of the wall as a clear rectangle in the scheme of the complex (Figure 4) (Ataman, 2000, p.105). Gürallar, too, in her comprehensive study regarding the transformation of Beyazıt Square, asserts that the area was converted to a square by the demolishment of the walls and shops of the exterior courtyard that belonged to the complex (Gürallar, 2003). Beyond the discussions about the existence and boundaries of the exterior courtyard walls, there exists a fact that the current borders of Beyazıt Square has been drawn with the evacuation around the mosque by demolition of the shops once located in the area among Beyazıt Mosque, Beyazıt Medresesi, and courtyard walls of the Old Palace towards the end of the 19th century. With the removal of the "*objects*" that constitute the boundaries of the urban voids, a new "*void*" occurred. This new space has become a new single platform gathering the different users of all buildings in the nearby surrounding. The traces of the removed physical boundaries can still be observed by means of the movement patterns of the users particularly through the role of this new platform as an instrument (medium) of cultural coding and transmission.

Another project that includes a series of demolitions has been proposed for the area right after this massive destruction which has radically changed the physical fabric in Beyazıt Square. This project has never been realised. In the 20th century, French architect Bouvard proposed various new projects as a result of the offer by Salih Münir Pa_a, who was the Paris Ambassador of Sultan Abdulhamit II, to develop a master plan for Istanbul. One of these projects developed in 1902 is the one designed for Beyazıt Square. The urban design project that was based on symmetrical landscape arrangements could not establish a harmonious relationship with the slopy topography of the Beyazıt Square. Bouvard, in his project for Beyazıt Square, proposed a Municipal Building along the major axis of the Harbiye Nezareti (Figure 5). The project brings twin buildings with domes and courtyards instead of Beyazıt Medresesi by demolishing it. One of these two buildings is recommended to be used as Museum of Industry and Agriculture, while the other to be used as State Library. Beyazıt Mosque appears to have an inappropriate angle with the major axis of the project. Therefore, the

projects intended to solve this "problem" by using the southwest gate of the mosque as a focal point that is oriented towards the street and by disguising the masses of the mosque by the green fabric of the planting. Western wing and courtyard of the mosque seems to be partly annihilated, and Tomb of Sultan Beyazıt appears to be totally removed in the project (Çelik, 1998, pp.94-95). An orthogonal approach along the axis of the entrance to the Gate of Seraskerlik is proposed by completely changing the orientations that kulliye has constituted in the area.

The slope of the square was ignored in Bouvard's project. Nearly 50 rears later than this proposal, the "initiatives" for removing the sloppy topography was realised. Most of the archaeological remains from the Antiquity are the ones that have been reached during the works for levelling the site. Revealing the urban stratification, their inclusion consciously / unconsciously in daily life and their impacts on the public life doubtlessly necessitates a significant and comprehensive body of knowledge that would constitute the content of a separate and deeper research. Nonetheless, observations regarding the influences of archaeological remains, which take place along Ordu Street, on the users, will be shortly mentioned in the evaluation part of this paper. During the works for the enlargement of Ordu Street, some remnants of the column demolished in 1517 were found (Müller-Wiener, 2002, p.264). The empty area formed at the end of 19th century demolitions has been further enlarged with the complete destruction of the urban blocks at the southern part of the square for enlarging the road leading to Aksaray. The construction of Beyazıt Square starts with the demolition of the old buildings located in the west side of the mosque in 1940-41 (Müller-Wiener, 2002, p.390). Within the scope of the practices of Menderes Era that include construction of Ordu Street, half of the facades of two buildings, Hasan Pa_a Hanı and Simke_hane have been demolished for the alignment of the street in 1956 (Cerasi, 2006, p.154). Thus, destruction of the buildings and plots for the construction of Ordu Street could be considered as the third major intervention in the transformation of the square.

The construction of Ordu Street is a part of public works conducted in Istanbul at the time. The construction of the square has restarted with the works for widening the street. The level of the ground of the square was lowered, and street was enlarged to 30 meters in width since it was not sufficient to meet the transportation load of Istanbul. For this purpose, however, a new and different void had emerged in the area with both the demolition of various buildings and the change of levels. The publication, named "The Book of Istanbul" that depicts the phases of the projects by photographical illustrations, emphasises the "civilised outlook" provided by the project, particularly via the definition of the former state of the street before the enlargement with the following phrase; "this outlook that gives the impression of belonging to a period even prior to the middle ages have completely disappeared today". The attention is drawn to the narrowness of the street by the old photographs and other illustrations. The fact that the street had gained a perfect perspective apart from its width, spaciousness and airiness were emphasised in the pictures showing the enlarged state of the street. After the demolition of the buildings around the street, the ground was covered with concrete and then with asphalt (Figure 6).

Slopes of the area had been levelled during the construction of the street. The level of the ground was taken down for about 3.5 meters in the southern part of the square. Ordu Street had been brought to the same level with Yeniçeri Street through this excavation. Moreover, the level in front of the university was also hauled down and levelled in accordance with the Bakırcılar Street. Since the level of Beyazıt library was left above, two terraces have been built between the ground level of the square and that of the library. These terraces are organised as parks by being decorated with trees and benches (Figure 7).

The sensitivity of the project towards cultural heritage is accentuated in the publication called "The Book of Istanbul" by the following expressions regarding the work conducted in the area; "…to provide a *harim"* to the square surrounded by historical pieces; Beyazıt Mosque, Istanbul University and Grand Bazaar "and elevate this sublime district to a sense of tranquillity" and "…archaeological remains found during the construction are taken to the Museum of Archaeology". Müller-Wiener, on the other hand, states that most of the building components were found yet destroyed by bulldozers, and that remains in the southern part of the area were removed during the construction of new buildings. (Müller-Wiener, 2002, p.264) In the promotion of the project it was emphasised that the square was allocated for pedestrian use and it was accentuated that it would be arranged as a green zone and park rather than a traffic junction. It was stated that Beyazıt Mosque would attain the

outlook it deserved through such a park arrangement. Approximately seventy buildings were expropriated to prevent the negative building next to the historical buildings for the reason that former state of the square was visually blocking the mosque with the shops. A substitute of 15 million Liras, in 1956, was paid for expropriation in the area. Following the physical transformation it would be appropriate, at this point, to elucidate the functional distribution in the area.

Functional Distribution in the Area and its Ramifications in the Physical Formation

The transformation of public life and the distribution of its density within the area will be put forward by means of marking the distribution of functions in the square on maps of different periods (Map 6). The changes of the function of the Old Palace have been the determining factor in the transformation of the social life in the square. The transformation of Old Palace first to Military Headquarter and then to educational institution has caused the emergence of a new and different social group in the square. While the conservative users of religious buildings that belong to the külliye sustain their own introverted social life around their own group of buildings on the one hand, the increase in the density of the use by a group of revolutionary-intellectual groups in the square, on the other hand, caused the gathering of two opposite polarities in the same square. Although there has not been a constant conflict between these two poles, the invisible territories of each group are almost clearly drawn in the square. In spite of the fact that Beyazıt Square; is not the only area in the peninsula where university and religious buildings are gathered, it comes forward as the most preferred square for political expression for both groups. One can assume that the reason lies in the continuity of functional diversity in the area. The main functions in the area; can be grouped as religion, education-culture, and trade. Besides the users of these functions, groups of travellers and tourists can also be observed in the area in connection with the current use of the square as well as with the fact that the area accommodates historical heritage. Having considered the nature of the evolution of the boundaries of the areas of different uses and the densities of these groups in the historical process, the transformative influences of the educational and cultural buildings on the area can easily be noticed.

1. Religious Buildings;

Beyazıt Mosque comes first amongst the religious buildings located in the area. The tomb located behind the mosque also attracts different groups as visitors in addition to the worshippers. The mosque used to serve a much more heterogeneous user group during the Ottoman Era. When the border of the exterior courtyard that was defined by the wall or the rows of shops was disappeared and the existence of a defined open space allocated for the mosque was lost, this void became a an exterior space not only for the users of the mosque but also to the other user groups of the other buildings in the surrounding. The observations regarding the approach of worshippers to the area as well as how they utilise the area in terms of their routes will be elucidated in the next section by means of marking the user circulation patterns on the map. Along these new orientations, the gathering point of the user groups seems to have shifted from the courtyard of the mosque towards the void between the mosque and the imaret. An area for the pedlars' exhibits, where products address the worshipper groups, has emerged in this space. The historical background of the commercial activity in the area will be discussed in the section about the function of trade.

2. Education & Cultural Buildings;

Buildings that belong to education group have taken place since the Ottoman Era. However, the density and transformative influence of this user group has started to gain acceleration particularly with the Republican Era. The building of Beyazıt Medresesi, which was built in 1508, was transformed into an exhibition building, in which products of traditional art of calligraphy are displayed, in 1939. Imarethane that is a part of külliye was also converted into a library in the 19th century, and continues to be used as "Beyazıt State Library" today. As can be seen, the buildings of the külliye, original functions of which are educational-cultural have again been converted to new yet educational functions. It can be assumed that transformation of the area of the Old Palace to Istanbul University has played a leading role in this development.

University of Istanbul is located in the building that was built as Harbiye Nezareti in the 19th century. While the mansions of Ali Pa_a and Fuat Pa_a were the typical examples of the special stone and brick masonry residences located at a nearby position to the garden, they were later given to Harbiye Nezareti and were burnt down in the same period. They were demolished in 1950s after

being stood for quite some time after the fire. Han buildings were constructed in their place. The mansion of Fuat Pa_a that was in the corner of Takvimhane Street facing Beyazıt was used as Maliye Nezareti (Ministry of Finance) for a period of time, and is currently used as the Faculty of Dentistry (Belge, 2006, p.70). The building is still under construction due to the works of restoration and preservation.

As the impact of the function of education in the area, it still retains its status of being the centre of bookshops since the 19th century. The courtyard squeezed between the mosque and the tombs is a bazaar of bookstores dominated by second-hand booksellers (*sahaflar*) (Figure 8). The fact that most of the components of the Beyazıt Külliyesi have been used for educational and reading purposes as well as the existence of Istanbul University help keeping the educational function alive in the area. Students, lecturers and intellectuals who constitute the educational user group have become an influential party of the public life in the area.

3. Commercial Buildings;

Commercial life in Beyazıt Square is the major function of the area which has never changed or declined since the Antiquity. It can be stated that the source of the continuity of other building groups as well as the diversity of social life in the area is the existence of trade activity to a large extent. Although neither what type of a functional distribution is displayed in the forum in Antiquity nor the physical structuring of this distribution is known today, pieces of stoas found in the area gives clues about the existence of an active commercial life in the area. The most significant contribution to the commercial activity in the area has been the existence of Grand Bazaar in Ottoman Era. The Sahaflar Bazaar, located next to the mosque, forms a vivid shortcut between the square and the Grand Bazaar.

The shops once located amongst the monumental buildings within the area have not reached today. These buildings have played a determining role in the social and public life of the square since the Ottoman Era. These shops have gathered commercial activities with higher values and low amount of storages. Besides, shops of service sector such as barber shops and coffeehouses and reading saloons (*kıraathane*) were the major types of commercial units in the area.

It can be asserted that copper shops (*bakırcılar*) are among the oldest commercial functions of the area. The Bazaar of Copper Shops, lying along the garden wall of the university extending from the square towards Fuat Pa_a Street, is an area which has been the centre of metal goods in Istanbul during Ottoman Era. Copper Shops had been transferred from Tahtakale to Beyazıt in the 17th century. The Bazaar of Copper Shops was established when the building of Seraskerlik was built in the 19th century. The shops across the garden walls were also converted to Copper Shops in the Republican Era. The interiors and their fronts were utilised as places for sales whereas the rear parts were used as workshops. Along with the widespread usage of aluminium in daily use, The Bazaar of Copper Shops has started to lose its importance (Figure 9) (Tümertekin, 1997, pp.161-162). Bekırcılar Street, which was a wide and two-way road before the construction of tunnel-passage, has become a narrow corridor with shops on one side under the university garden wall. The shops once located where the Beyazıt State Library stands today, were expropriated. There are only 18 shops in Bakırcılar Street today. Here was only Copper Shops until 1987 (Kayao_lu, 1993, p.555). Nowadays, there is only one copper shop is left among these shops. This shop, which is used by a few people who knows its place, maintains itself with its position under the ground level despite the difficulty of being perceived from the road (Figure 10). While the copper shops could not retain their existence in the area, the line across these shops is replaced by pedlars.

An intense activity of selling shoddy goods continues in the square. Pedlar stands that removed every now & then by Municipality, constitutes the areas where the most intensive commercial activity is realised. The circulation routs in the area that are traced in the maps under the heading User Circulation, delineates the areas where exhibition of Pedlars are located (Map 7). Besides, the similar to the case of Bakırcılar Street, it is observed that pedlars replace the former roads of shops which were later demolished. The small square that provides entrance of the Bazaar of Sahaflar is an area where pedlars who sell goods of religious interest, such as rosary, are gathered. This small square was also surrounded by rows of small shops (Figure 11). It could be stated that in every part where small shops (objects) are removed, function of commerce retains its existence in the square (void) via pedlar stands.

Coffeehouses (kıraathane) take a significant part among the shops which perform commercial activity in Beyazıt Square. Nowadays, the functions which carry the content of the

coffeehouses that took place in the square do not exist in the area even though there are few tea gardens that can meet the need for short term sitting and resting. The history of these coffee & reading houses dates back to the 16th century. Cerasi defines coffeehouses as "places where public entertainment activity is concentrated"; and transmits. Gerard de Nerval's depiction of the surrounding coffeehouses while he was telling about himself watching shadow (Karagöz) and mimic (tuluat) theatres in Beyazıt Square; *"Serasker Square is much more vivid and bright than all the others. This triangular place, that opens up two mosques on its right & left; with the lights of military buildings behind; supplies a wide square to the cavalcade and other ceremonial corteges. Stands of the pedlars fill the house fronts and calls rising from a dozen of coffeehouses, shadow theatres, jugglers, various shows and entertainment mixes all together".* (Cerasi, 2006, p. 86) It could be stated that coffeehouses (kıraathane) were places in which intellectuals and artists frequently come together and organise professional or political meetings as much as they were spaces in which entertainment activities continued. One of the most characteristic example of that coffeehouses were wrapped in educational function, was Sarafim Kıraathanesi. This coffeehouse had been active between 1857 and 1920 along Okcularbasi Street that take place in the southern end of the square. The coffeehouse served as a public library since the older issues of periodicals were collected. The talks about politics, social issues, and literature were held in this coffeehouse, also known as "Uzun Kahve" (Long Coffee). (Koz, 1993, p. 459) That coffeehouses were used for very different functions and purposes shows that public life was practically contained in this building typology. Not only the way coffeehouses and barbershops perform but also the customer profile forces one to think that these spaces had a much more public life in comparison to the retail shops in the bazaar. For instance, user group of Copper Shops was a group with a specific aim, thus spending all their shopping time in these spaces. However, the users of coffeehouses were "arbitrary" and their communication was less "controlled". These spaces were social spaces in which opposition towards control authority or daily events could easily be voiced. The reason behind the decision to abolish these coffeehouses supports this thesis. Hence, coffeehouses and barbershops located across the Seraskerlik in the northern part of the exterior courtyard of the mosque were famous places in which gossips about the empire were rapidly spread around. Coffeehouses were demolished to a great extent after Vakayı Hayriye since these spaces and meetings were conceived as a threat to the unity of the empire, law & order. Official Ottoman Historian Vak'a Nüvis Es'ad Efendi states that coffeehouses are recorded around Serasker Pasha and along Bosphorus and all of them were demolished except a few "decent coffeehouses" around Tophane. Besides, he gives an account of a decree about customers of barbershops to immediately leave the shop after being shaved. Furthermore, along with the efforts to erase all the traces of Janissaries, who became a rebellious group, building of Fincancilar Kullugu (police-station, guard-house) which was located in the centre of the square, was also demolished. (Gurallar, 2003, p. 112) As can be conceived from the depiction of Vak'a Nüvis Es'ad Efendi, coffeehouses are the building types which accommodate the diversity of civic life (Sennett, 1992) and thus, the threat against the control authority. Another example regarding the restrictions put on the public activity in coffeehouses was a warning published in Takvim-i Vekayi. Sitting in coffeehouses during Sultan's visit to Beyazıt Mosque was strictly forbidden. (Gurallar, 2003, p. 192) Therefore, coffeehouses were removed because of their threatening content and their conditions of structuring within the open space. Nevertheless, it can be interpreted that the oppositional content of coffeehouses were brought back to the square through the university, and the use of the area as a field of political rhetoric and action by groups of students and intelligentsia, very similar to the process which shops are replaced by pedlars.

Some Observations Regarding the Social Life in Beyazıt Square

It can be noticed that functional diversity and intertwining of different social groups are the salient features, particularly when the historical sources as well as the recent observations conducted for the analysis of social life in Beyazıt Square are elucidated. The area is an "urban void" that has been utilised since the Antiquity, as discussed in the section which investigates the physical transformation of the square. The kulliye function in Ottoman Era has also kept the area alive for quite a long time. However, it can be claimed that the transformation of the square gained acceleration in the 19th century, particularly when a research is conducted on the social transformation of the area. For instance, while visual documentation about Hagia Sophia Square prior

to 19th century can be frequently reached, visual accumulation about Beyazıt Square has started after 19th century. The reason behind the fact that open spaces are utilised without intervention to nature in Ottoman Era lies in the uniquely passive quality of daily life in Ottomans. The roots of this character can be stemmed from the notion of “wretchedness” embedded in the Ottoman Culture. Observations of Montagu support this view. He asserts that Ottoman conception of “entertainment” is based on sitting under trees rather than strolling. Thus; open areas have started to be used for recreation only after 18th century. (Gurkas, 2003, p.9) A comprehensive intervention beyond the building scale has not been made into the city until the 18th century. Classical Ottoman Era had been an influential period in the physical transformation of the square, yet changes in the social life occurred in the 19th century. In the majority of the studies about the 19th century, these changes are interpreted as the conversion of “urban void” into “public realm”. The transformative effect of the new rules and restrictions introduced to the social life as well as physical intervention to the space during the 19th century are obvious. However, one can not claim that public life started in the 19th century. The public life that was formerly contained in the above-mentioned shops has started to take place in the urban space after the demolitions of these buildings.

When the social activities in the area in the 19th century are analysed, it is observed that official ceremonies are also very influential in the use of the square in addition to the daily life of folks. Particularly, military ceremonies have been frequently realised in this square mainly because of the Seraskerlik building. The processions of Mahmut II from the palace to Seraskerlik along Divanyolu are relevant examples of such official rituals whereby he gives gifts to soldiers during his visit to the army. (Gurallar, 2003, p. 181) The order of military troops along the axis of the gate of Seraskerlik during the ceremonies can be seen in the pictures (Figure 12). The area has also hosted various celebrations organised for the births, marriages, circumcision of Sultans and Princes in addition to military rituals.

Beyazıt Square has always been a very lively hub in the daily life of the city. However, there have been changes in the content of the social life in the square in the 19th century (Figure 13). It is clear that physical interventions were very effective in these changes. Tramway, as a means of public transport, was introduced in 1864 to the city which had a pedestrian-based transport system so far. Rail system, boats, tunnel and other means of public transport not only increased the density in the square but also provided the constructions such as sidewalks. Trains started to operate on European side along the route Eminonu-Sirkeci-Divanyolu-Beyazıt-Aksaray. (Cezar, 2002, p. 316) Public transportation by train and horse-carts for rent has surely increased the activities in Beyazıt. While these innovations are made, some traditional activities such as Muslim Festival of Sacrifice have also continued in the square. During that time, sale of sacrifice animals also used to take place, and some butchers used to cause the pollution of environment by sacrificing these animals in the square (Figure 14). Such uses that cause “inconvenient” images in the public realm had been prevented via various prohibitions. Nevertheless, that same efforts continue today makes obvious that centuries-old traditions, such as the habit of performing the sacrifice in open spaces could not be stopped by means of forbidding or by various punishments. Even though urban places or squares are no longer used for such activities, the use of public spaces such as recreation areas along riverside or motorways for sacrificing animals still persists today, and various fines are still valid to prevent this activity in open areas.

One can not claim that the culture of coffeehouses, which used to take an essential part in the use of square during the 19th century, persists today. Although there are teahouses at three different spots of the square, their content does not go beyond a sitting area for short-term resting due to either their position in regard to the overall circulation or their physical conditions. Moreover the open-air coffeehouse spread under the shadow of chestnut tree next to the mosque that was used by students & lecturers is recently removed and it is converted to an area where pedlars selling religious items are concentrated.

As claimed at the beginning, the archaeological input interest in the area makes a story impact to the persistence of the public life. The continuity of the notion of polarity and opposition in the square for ages clearly exemplifies this view. Beyazıt Square has retained its quality of preparing a ground for political rhetoric and action from the 19th century onwards. A great number of attacks, protests, demonstrations as well as the show of strength by central authority that took important place in the political history of the country has mostly been realised in this square. The killing of Re_it

Pasha, who was an eminent military figure at the time, as well as the execution of his murderer in the Beyazıt Square is a very good example of the use of this square for "representational" purposes. Such practices have continued throughout the political history in the 20th century. (Gürallar, 2003, p. 191) The square has also been frequently used for funerals due to the religious prestige of the Beyazıt Mosque. It is clear that the military intervention in 1980 was a break to the intensity of public activity in the area. The last decade of the 20th century signifies a period whereby significant changes have occurred in the use of public realm; quite similar to those occurred in the end of the 19th century. Surely, 1980 intervention has relatively influenced the use of public space. Although it is hard to mention the width of an active public realm prior to 1980, one can easily suggest that all type of expression were restricted much more than how it formerly was. The society could not easily got over the traumatic effects of this intervention even long after the period of its pressure was closed. (Tanyeli, 2002, p. 57) after a long break, political activity rapidly started to take its part in the public realm in the area. Beyazıt Square became the centre of various actions, commemorations and protests. "March 16th Bayezıt Massacre", "March 8th Day of World Labourer Woman", "November 6th Boycott of Higher Educational Council (YÖK)" are among the traditionalised political or civic activities, mostly realised in Beyazıt Square. The area is also selected as a convenient location for press conferences regarding the actual events. For instance, protests about Palestinian case are mostly performed in Beyazıt. Demonstrations of both students and fundamentalist religious groups take place in the very same place. Observations about how these two opposite groups utilise the square in spatial terms and how they are positioned in the area will be discussed in the next section.

Consequently, the following assessment can be made regarding the public life in the square; "Publicness" is conceived as a ground for "visibility" and "legitimacy" for different sections of the society. Different actors in the society are being "legitimized" by being "seen" on the one hand, and are being "autonomous" by being "isolated". The meaning of the social isolation in the public realm is the isolation of the individual stemming from his order visibility by the others. (Sennett, 2002, p. 30)Open spaces are the areas where the "problem of visibility in public realm" occurs. Thus, different parties of the society intend to legitimize their place in the public life simply by making themselves visible to "others". In this sense, Beyazıt Square holds a significant place in history. As a matter of fact, that conception of "publicness" in 1980's & 1990's Turkey, as merely an issue of gaining visibility, is a vital development. (Tanyeli, 2002, p. 57) One of the most significant instruments of this notion is the endeavour of the urban void to make its visibility and legitimacy durable via images. Scientific efforts to comprehend the environments, can not only clarify and distinguish the visible and invisible; but also reveal multiple dimensions of the environmental reality as long as these efforts achieves to filtrate beyond the images. However, such a scientific activity does not necessarily guarantee the internalisation of the physical environment. It only helps its dimensions or aspects to be known or analysed better. (Tanyeli, 1997, p. 83)Yet the knowledge of urban spatial life lies within certain images and the place these images hold in the collective urban memory. The observation tower (Yangın kulesi) is one of the urban images of Istanbul (Figure 15). The gate of former Seraskerlik is associated with the concept of university. It can be assumed that Gate of Seraskerlik and Tower were instrumentalised so as to symbolically emphasize the tower of the Sultan in the square and urban silhouette at the time when they were built by Mahmut II. Nowadays, too, projects of monumental scale, which are intended to become similar urban images, are proposed despite the massive reaction of the public. The discussions, which develop around whether Historical Peninsula needs a new urban image, concentrate on the notion of the silhouette of the city. In fact, the wish of the authority today is also to create the symbols of power on collective memory very similar to those of Mahmut II. In other words, these wishes are the endeavours to create reflections of the visions of political transformations on the city. Beyazıt Square retains its visual and public effectiveness of its historical images. In this context, the analysis of the behaviours of the users in the square comes forward as an essential device to establish the public life of the square today.

Some Observations Regarding User Circulation and Gathering Areas in Beyazıt Square

Here, various behavioural maps are produced on the basis of the observations of different user groups in Beyazıt Square. The area, in which these observations are concluded, is limited by; Bakırcılar Street in the northeast, bus stops in the southeast, entrance facade of the medrese in the

northwest. Two different behavioural maps, one of which shows the points of concentration and gathering while the other shows the movement routes of users, are prepared.

At the phase of analysing the user circulations, it is intended firstly to determine which walking routes are mostly used by which groups (Map 8). The functions of the surrounding buildings are taken into consideration in determining these routes. Under the framework of these limits, the network of circulation that is constituted by the movement of three different user groups; (religion, education, trade) in between associated buildings. The primary user group in the area is the one consisting of university students, university employees and users of libraries and museums. Hence, educational group seems to have a quite wide-spread area of distribution. Another intensive user group is comprised of retailers and shoppers. In addition to shops and sahaflar, there are pedlars' exhibitions in the area. The relationship between the distribution of pedlars within the physical fabric and the historical land-use schema of commercial activity is elucidated in previous sections. As claimed at the beginning, archaeological input in the area directly influences the continuity of public life in the square. The existence of the notion of trade in the square throughout history constitutes a good example. The pedlars, which happen to concentrate over the traces of demolished commercial buildings, are much more intensively visited when compared to the shops. The narrow passage in the south of mosque and tombs, and the narrow path along Bakırcılar Street are the areas on which pedlars mostly concentrate. This zone intriguingly corresponds to the exterior courtyard which was demolished to overcome the opposition in history. The pedlars, located in the small square situated in front of the Beyazıt State Library in the north of the courtyard of the mosque, is mostly used by the group of worshipers to buy itenary associated with religion. It is observed that another crowded group of users are worshipers. It must be emphasised that the circulation of religious groups are only derived from the observations of people using the associated buildings. It is observed that the routes used with minimum density are the paths providing connection from the east and west sides of medrese to the Ordu Street. It is noticed that these paths, which are mostly used by educational group, are used as open car-parks (Figure 16). The primary approaches to the square are; first the Sahaflar Bazaar, and more intensively the narrow path in the south of the mosque which is full of pedlars. That is mostly conditioned by the position of the stops of public transportation (Figure 17). Moreover, the points of main approaches of tourists concentrate in the east of the square, in other words, in the area where square is limited to Grand Bazaar.

It is particular interest to analyse the areas of gathering after the elucidation of circulation networks and orientations of user groups. Apart from the three separate teahouses and cafeterias, the benches in front of both the Gate of Istanbul University and Building of the Faculty of the Dentistry are the main sitting, thus gathering areas (Figure 18). Another area of concentration is the place on the west of the mosque that constitutes the centre of gravity of the square. This very spot accommodates the salient and essential feature of many squares in historic cities like Istanbul, that is to say pigeons and bait-sellers (Figure 19).

Apart from these gathering spaces that randomly bring users together, the square is an area of political activity for the crowd coming together for protests. As mentioned in previous section, political meetings, demonstrations and ceremonies of commemoration frequently take place in the square. It can be claimed that Beyazıt is the most politically oriented amongst the other historical squares within the peninsula. The reason for this is that urban functions which accommodate two different world-views are brought together here. Fundamentalist Islamic groups make demonstrations in all other Selahattin Mosques after the prayer. Similarly, students of left tendency organise protests in front of all other state universities. Beyazıt Square is the area of political activity for students of the oldest (Darül Fünun) university of the country, Istanbul University. However, the unique characteristic of Beyazıt Square is that these two opposite groups are positioned in two opposite corners (north & south) of the area. These two groups realise their activities in front of their associated buildings or around relevant structures. Islamic protests are performed in front of the exit gate of the mosque, while student demonstrations take place in front of the gate of the university (Figure 20). In other words the area is shared by opposite groups in two directions during public activities. It must be emphasised that this confrontation is split along the invisible trace of the vanished periphery of the exterior courtyard which represents the "opposition" in history.

It is also interesting that tourist groups, which have no connection (in their memories) with the existing buildings in the site concentrate in the centre of the square merely for taking photos, in

addition to the political activities as well as daily movements realized by all parties of the society around the relevant buildings.

Evaluation

Beyazıt Square has gained a significant place in the urban memory by that it has been a stage for various historical events as much as it houses many historical and monumental buildings. In this study, the relationship between the physical structuring in history and socio-political life in the square is put forward. Even though the functions of the vanished "objects" have been altered, they retain their existence in the "urban void". The traces of these objects can be followed in the ongoing civic life conducted in public realm. The stratification of the square enables the multiple readings regarding urban history. Such a reading is performed over behavioural maps by means of observing the movements of different user groups in the square. The urban transformation in Beyazıt Square is designated as a history of destructions, yet these demolitions could not obliterate the ideological and political of the historical public contemplation.

When the history of public life in the square is glanced over, it is noticed that "public spaces" such as coffeehouses, barbershops etc. in the same square were conceived as a clear and present thread because of their oppositional contents, and thus, were removed from the square. Nevertheless, the notion of political opposition in the square still lives today, through the demonstrations of two polar groups. The border of the areas which are used in the protests realised by both Conservative and Revolutionary groups in front of the symbolically associated buildings, is formed by the currently invisible line of the vanished shops once existed as the exterior courtyard of the mosque. Another matter regarding the notion of vanished objects retain their functions, is that demolished retail shops are replaced by pedlars in the area. The distribution of the mobile stands of pedlars displays a quite similar pattern with the physical formation of these demolished shop units. Consequently, it can be suggested that urban archaeological inputs play an active part in the continuity of public life over the ages.

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PUBLIC ISTANBUL
SPACES AND SPHERES OF THE CITY
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Ebru Erdönmez / Selim Ökem

Public Transformation of Bosphorus. Facts and Opportunities

(figures and pictures in this version are removed to scalling down the document, K.W.)

Abstract:
Cities are places where societies and individuals come together and socialize. Especially open public spaces, which played a fundamental role in the establishment of cities, are places for gathering for people from every cultural and social backgrounds, different ethnic origins and diverse characteristics.

As the city that connects two continents, Istanbul owes its unique identity to a narrow strip of sea called the “Bosporus”. Historically the Bosporus has been used primarily for sea transportation purposes. It did not have a public character. Along the sea shore, the main building type was characterized by the palaces and private dwellings, yalı’s. As the city expanded and the population increased, to meet the changing needs new traffic arteries were built along the seashore which changed this privatized area to a large extend. Although there are complains that this new establishment has damaged the historical characteristics of the Bosphorus and interrupted the relationship of Yalı’s with the sea; on the other hand it created an opportunity to transform this area into a public space.

As for function, public space is the place, where relations are established, going beyond the private sphere and thereby creating community. Public spaces should be seen as one of the most important elements of a modern city in creating the city culture and city consciousness.

This study aims to delineate an alternative domain for intervention by proposing the Bosphorus and the surrounding land strip as a continuous public space that forms the physical basis of the pedestrian perception of the city. Depending on this perception, we should consider the Bosphorus as a binding element between two continents rather than a separating border. Organizing the Bosphorus as a living public space, will be the approach in the study. To create a desired public space along the Bosphorus, the conditions that are necessary for outdoor activities, recreational activities and social activities will be analyzed in this paper.

The research methodology utilized in this study is based on place centered behavioral mapping and sequential site analysis through day and night as well as morphological analysis of the area covering a larger time span.

Keywords: Public Space, Bosporus, pedestrian perception

1. INTRODUCTION

Cities are places where societies and individuals come together and socialize. Especially open public spaces, which played a fundamental role in the establishment of cities, are places for gathering for people from every cultural and social backgrounds, different ethnic origins and diverse characteristics.

Urban public spaces in historical context have particularly been a center for differences and diversities in the society. As opposed to housing settlements that show categorical, cultural and ethnical distinctions, cities and urban open areas are spaces for people from different social and cultural groups come together and socially interact with each other.. Public spaces (civil and official public areas) play a particular role in the formation process of cities..(Erdönmez 2005)

As the city that connects two continents, Istanbul owes its unique identity to a narrow strip of sea called the "Bosphorus". The urban character along the Bosphorus was defined by steep slopes of dense vegetation interspersed by imperial buildings, commercial docklands and *yali*'s, prestigious private dwellings peculiar to Istanbul. Historically the Bosphorus has been used primarily for sea transportation purposes. It did not have a public character. Along the sea shore, the main building type was characterized by the palaces and private dwellings, yalı's. In between restricted access zones, public spaces were mainly provided by boat stations, together with the now extinct local public beaches and sea baths.

As the city expanded and the population increased, to meet the changing needs new traffic arteries were built along the seashore which changed this privatized area to a large extend. Although there are complains that this new establishment has damaged the historical characteristics of the Bosphorus and interrupted the relationship of Yalı's with the sea; on the other hand it created an opportunity to transform this area into a public space.

The Bosphorus is approximately 30 km long. The shortest distance between the two shores is between Anodolu Hisarı and Rumeli Hisarı (so named because of the fortresses built on the two sides)

Another topographical characteristic of the Bosphorus is the inclined landscape that rises directly from the shores on the two sides, the green hillsides. The settlements areas determined by this topography are the "yalı" grounds stretching along the coastlines, the dwelling areas on the natural terraces behind and above the coasts, and village settlements on the bays, and valleys opened by streams.

The Bosphorus is a continuous channel of winds, which prominently blow in the North-east and South-west direction.

2. BRIEF HISTORY OF THE QUARTER

When we look at the historical development; the city of Istanbul consists of 3 nuclei, which are separated from each. They were situated on the waterways providing the trade routes between Asia and Mediterenian hinterland and there was a natural harbour, the Golden Horn, the passageway between Balkans and Anatolia. Inside the walls, or so called" Historical Peninsula", "Galata" the northern part of the Golden Horn, which was a , and the Anatolian site of the Bosphorus. It has functioned as a political and cultural center since 4th AD, throughout the centuries in which it became the capital of 2 great empires.

The deveopment of Bosporus could have only been possible since the antique period. According to Greek mytology, one of the gods disguised as an ox and crossed this strait. Thus it is assumed that it was first the Greeks who called this area "Bosphorus", which means ox passage and later Bosphorus.

The 2 shores of Bosphorus, the straits connecting the Black Sea to the Sea of Marmara, and the slopes rising from the shores and ending up on the plateaus on both the European and the Asian sides are called "Bo_aziçi".

Bosphorus in the ancient period served as a passage way that provided transportation for the trade colonies and functioned as a worshipping place as well. It has been revealed that several villages and plenty of altars existed in shores of Bosporus before 196 B.C. (A_at, 1963).

In the following Byzantine period, Bosporus which was then know as 'Stenon', was known to have a certain importance as a passageway. (1996, Çınar)

In the Byzantine era, the Bosphorus had no organic ties with the city center, which mainly developed within the city walls. During the Byzantine period people could not dare to inhabit outside the city walls for the continuous threats of attacks and assaults which ic why it is not possible to speak of a Bosporus culture of that era. Along the shores there existed small farming and fishing villages together with monasteries, sacrificial altars and fortifications controlling the Black Sea and the Bosphorus.

There are two main aspects of Bosporus stettlement in the Byzntine Period:
Orgnic villages disconnected from the city
Other buildings like palaces, big mansions, monastries and curces, etc.,

In the 17th Century, the villages strung along two shores of the Bosphorus were described as rows of non- detached small wooden houses clustered around the public buildings serving various ethnic groups (mosques, churches, synagogues). The integration of Bosporus into the city structure dates to the 17th century thus region defined by the enclosed village clusters has become an important summer place for Istanbul.

In the Ottoman Period Bosporus settlement is a space muslim and non-muslim people existed together side by side. Settlements like Kuzguncuk and Çengelgöy on the Asian side were accomodated by non-muslims. Anadoluhisarı and a local region in Kanlıca on the Asian side and Ortaköy, Arnavutköy, Bbebek on the Europen side were Roman villages. Evliya Çelebi describes Bosporus coast as a place with 100 local regions and seven mosques. Besides that Kanlıca, Anadoluhisarı, Beylerbeyi and Beykoz were settlements with muslim majorities in the 17th century. These villages were organized according to functions related with land (farming) and sea (fishing). And there were also summer houses of wealthy people.

It can be observed that Bosporus has gained importance for both Europe and the ottomans in the 18th century. The general tendency for settlement in the 18thcentury was the integration between the city center and Bosporus. A significant incrementation in the urban density can be determined in this century.

And in the second half of the 19.century, with the construction of the Dolmabahçe Palace (1853) the Çıra_an Palace (1874), and the Yıldız Palace, the administrative core of the state was moved onto the Bosphorus.

During World War I, the Bosphorus became an insecure area. Some settlements were evacuated because of strategic reasons. Most of the buildings disappeared between 1930 and World War II. In Republican Period, the buildings which formerly belonged to the Ottoman dynasty have been transformed into public buildings.

After 20th century Istanbul was getting a metropolis. Green areas and groves, which were part of the yalıs, were cut up into pieces because of the highway constructions. 2 bridges built over the Bosphorus. Parallel to those developments, the implementation of roads and the proliferation of the industry alongside the coast have restricted public use of Bosphorus.

By the construction of the first Bosphorus Bridge and related bypass roads in 1973, construction of the second in 1989 have badly influenced the land use on either sides of Bosporus devaluating the importance of Bosporus sea traffic.

In the rapid urbanization process Istanbul is presently undergoing of over a population of 10 million, protection of the Bosporus silouhette itself is an urban problem. 2960 numbered Bosphorus Act has come into force in 22.11.1983 in order to protect the cultural, historical and natural merits of Istanbul Bosporus region for the good of public and to restrict the population growth and urban density across the area regulating the developmental practices by law.

Throughout history, main characteristic of the city of Istanbul has been shaped by the sea gorge named Bosphorus, connecting its Asian and European parts. Apart from its characteristic landscape, Istanbul is a fast growing metropolis with an urban population of over 15 million. With such a magnitude, urban planning strategies tend to deal with infrastructural problems rather than qualitative

approaches. According to a recent survey conducted by the municipality of Istanbul, the city dwellers recognize Bosphorus as the main area of attraction (Istanbul Municipality Survey, 2003).

The traditional Bosphorus Dwelling: YALI Architecture

Traditional settlement texture that gives Bosporus its identity is made up of 'Yalı's. The Yalıs, the basic unit of the Bosphorus dwelling architecture are strung on the both shores. These are buildings closely related with water, and they are built of wood. The land belonging to a yalı is usually a large green area. Yalı grounds are usually connected with each other by roads built by pedestrians. The inner garden is connected to the back either by a bridge built over the road or not to disrupt the unity of the garden, a tunnel is there to connect 2 parts

This land starts from the edge of the shore and continues up- wards, rising as required by the topographical conditions of the landscape. This green area can be on the back or at the side of the yalı building itself. – contains terraced gardens, sitting quarters, and some kiosk for watching the moon. The kitchen, the bath and other service quarters are situated in another building detached from the yalı itself- on the same ground. The only means of transport is provided by water- function as a street.

However this settlement texture and the privatized extends of it do not allow public use. Public area use in Bosporus villages has been limited with the pier square that provides main transportation from sea.

As a result of the social, economic and cultural structure collapsing together with the Ottoman empire, the yalıs lost their quality of being valuable entities. A yalı was the product of an ordinary life style. They were witness to this culture, which is in a way impossible to revive.

3. BACKGROUND

Social effect of cities on man is very important. Streets, squares, parks and open areas are behavioral reconciliation and liberation places where citizens could meet, come across with each other, individually and cooperatively could express themselves to create a city culture. City places and meanings addressed to those places are some significant aspects of communication in a society and between its individuals. (Erdönmez, 2005)

As for function, public space is the place, where relations are established, going beyond the private sphere and thereby creating community. Public spaces should be seen as one of the most important elements of a modern city in creating the city culture and city consciousness.

Beyond being individuals, human beings are social creatures together with the social and physical elements that forms their environment. An individual carries out his socio-cultural experience in open public spaces and within the framework of the life and activities taking place within this urban physical environment

system. In shaping process of these urban places, interaction with the physical environment and the users (individuals and society) , their behaviours in these places, their perception of the space and the meanings they assign to these spaces play an eminent role. Within these spaces individuals can interact with other individuals and the society they are living in, can see and experience things and can feel the sence of society. Within this context, formation process of the society starts in open public spaces where the relationship between individuals and society is supported by the physical environment. (Erdönmez, 2006)

Society is the concentration of individuals sharing things in common and linked to each other by means of this commonness. In case of the urban process, this commonness is spatial and temporal at the least. The common places are where people share and are called public places as well. The number of people who share public places is not definite where as the places shared by a definite number of people are called private. This easily made opposition has more to it when the coat of meaning covering the terms and concepts are stripped off. To Habermas (2001), we call events and occasions public when they are open to all, in contrast to closed and exclusive affairs –as when we speak of public places or public houses. But as in the expression "public building", the term need not refer to general accessibility; the building does not even have to be open to public traffic. "Public buildings" simply house state institutions and as such are "public". The state is the "public authority". It owes this attribute to its task of promoting the public or common welfare of its rightful members. (Ökem, 2006)

Public areas today are more likely to be evaluated with respect to the activities and socio-cultural functions they contain. For this paper's sake, the most applicable public area definition can be found in Zukin. (L.M. Given, G.J. Leckie,2003)
Zukin, from a broader point of view, defines public domain as an ever changing condition of its users and determinants and of their public or private demands. Zukin has focused on concepts like public culture and public domain which are closely linked together and strengthen each other. As Zukin states, public culture and public domain are socially configured. In places like shops, parks and streets where people experience city life, they are produced by social correspondences of everyday life.

Zukin concentrates on the binary concepts of public culture and public space that strengthen each other. To him, public culture and public domain are social formations produced by many encounters that happen in everyday life in the city and in places like streets, shops and parks where we experience life. The right to use those spaces, and investing on them as if it belongs to ourselves, and acclaim that they belong to individuals yields an ever changing public culture. (Erdönmez,2006.)

The most significant function of open urban spaces is to create a social life (texture) in between the buildings. This social life creates a mutual identity by so many people's being at one public place making them interact and socialize with each other. This social texture includes playing children, celebrations,

conversations, collective actions and passive communication (Gehl, 1996) seeing and hearing. (Erdönmez, 2005)

For Istanbul that has grown over two continents Bosporus is a significant centrifugal spot. Bosphorus provide (like City streets, parks) places where one would encounter people who dressed and spoke differently, hear people expressing opinions that one would never hear amongst their "peers", see people engaged in activities one had never seen before In Bosporus, people tend to use the narrow public spaces provided by the coastal sidewalks as places of gathering which provide the background for various relaxation activities

4. METHODOLOGY

Istanbul, being the only city trough which a sea passes, with which it is seperated into two continents; together with the historical aspects, this unique situation creates unique relationships between human and city.But the urban culture of this huge city has not developed enough to serve all the needs of city life. To improve this situation rather than trying to rearrange landscape concentatrion on the people living in the city would be the approach

This study aims to delineate an alternative domain for intervention by proposing the Bosphorus and the surrounding land strip as a continuous public space that forms the physical basis of the pedestrian perception of the city. Depending on this perception, we should consider the Bosphorus as a binding element between two continents rather than a separating border. Organizing the Bosphorus as a living public space, will be the approach in the study. To create a desired public space along the Bosphorus, the conditions that are necessary for outdoor activities, recreational activities and social activities will be analyzed in this paper.

The research methodology utilized in this study is based on place centered behavioral mapping and sequential site analysis through day and night as well as morphological analysis of the area covering a larger time span.

It is possible to analyze outdoor activities in different ways as they are influenced profoundly by the physical environment. The requirements concerning the physical environment vary (Gehl, 1987), and define different activities like necessary activities, optional activities and social activities. Necessary activities can be exemplified with going to school or work, or waiting for transportation . Those are the activities that contain more or less amount of participation. Optional activities are realized due to the participational will of the individual and depends on the availability of the space. Its examples could be taking a walk, taking fresh air, sitting or sunbathing. Those activities can only take place according to the conditions of the outdoor living and only when the space is available and in desired quality. This is a quite significant point for the design of the physical environment since many of the recreational activities take place outdoors. When the outdoor public space quality is insufficient activities can only be achieved to a restricted extend In conditions of which those spaces are

provided with sufficient possibilities they become frequently and long term used places. (Gehl, 1987)

Fields of Research: Ortaköy, Bebek, Rumelihisarı, Beylerbeyi, Çengelköy and Kandilli

The historical transformation of open public spaces alongside the Bosporus has been given in the previous section of our paper. Our case study which will be presented from this point on includes a brief morphological analysis of selected six Bosporus settlements. Those settlements are observed to be located one after another on either sides of the Bosporus and to include similarities and differences in terms of urban density, land use and urban development. Among them are Ortaköy, Bebek and Rumelihisarı on the European continent and Beylerbeyi, Çengelköy and Kandilli on the Asian continent.

As stated above, Bosporus settlements are characterized by private units called 'Yalı's utilized for the accommodation of privileged state officers, capital holders, traders, and some of them served as summer houses for embassies of different countries. By the implementation of the coastal transportation line, Bosporus settlements were charged with a public potential character. The coastal transportation line, along with its negative externalities, brought in new perspectives for the public use of those settlements.

The transportation line segregates land and sea differently on the opposite sides of the _stanbul strait. On the European side, starting from Ortaköy, the southernmost village of Bosporus, up to the northernmost settlements of Tarabya, this line of transportation stretches adjacent to the coast line of Bosporus giving no allowances for buildings. Yet, stripes of pedestrian areas, partially extending towards the strait paves the way for those areas' public use and increases the chance of interaction with sea . On the Asian side, apart from Kuleli and some sections of Beykoz, the coastal transportation line and sea adjacency is continually interrupted by buildings with private use restricting the formation of open public spaces.

The first field of study Ortaköy is a settlement lies in between the coastal transportation line and the _stanbul strait, accommodating recreational spaces like cafes, brasseries, small art galleries and gift shops. The main open public space is organized around the ferry port and Mecidiye Mosque to which narrow streets defined by three to five storey high buildings open. Other than a mosque, Ortaköy accommodates Etz Ahayim synagogue and Surp Asdvadzadzin Ermenian church, both of which is still in service to a congregation of substantial scale.

Figure 1 Views from Ortaköy

The next field of study is chosen to be Bebek that comes after two other significant Bosporus settlements Kuruçe_me and Arnavutköy which have been omitted in this research. Bebek contains houses of people from high income

groups. A ferry port serves for intercity sea transport. Entering the settlement is a medium scaled city park that ends with a small scale mosque built by Kemalettin Bey in the beginning of 20th century which is a good example of the first national architectural style. It is followed by a common café and more luxirious ones and a stripe of walk way used commonly by local people for jogging, walking and fishing.

Figure 2 Views from Bebek

Rumelihisarı the last settlement on the European side subject to this research followed by Bebek, is defined mainly by a row of bastions and walls that belongs to a castle also gives the area its name. Its topographical condition is determined by a steep ridge that goes on lingeringly and parallel to the strait of Istanbul. This topography restricts the formation of vast open public spaces, yet one can observe the formation of socio-petal functions could flourish on the narrow stripe along both sides of the coastal transportation line.

Figure 3 Views from Rumelihisarı

As for the Asian side, Beylerbeyi is opted the first field of research. The settlement was named after the palace of Beylerbeyi which used to be a summertime excursion during the 19th century. The Bosporus (Atatürk) Bridge extends in between Ortaköy and Beylerbeyi to connect two continents. Beylerbeyi settlement has grown around a mosque built in the last quarter of 18th century was designed in Ottoman Baroque style like its correspondent in Ortakoy. It accommodates a ferry port for intercity maritime lines and a little breakwater for local fisherman around which is encircled by fish restaurants and taverns.

Figure 4 Views from Beylerbeyi

Çengelköy, the next settlement chosen as a field of study accommodates one of the oldest and finest example of Yalı architecture known as Sadullah Pa_a yalısı and was built in the last quarter of 18th century. One other important architectural element is the quite large scaled Kuleli military building. Çengelköy accommodates a still active ferry port and small scaled piers for boats and a coastal zone.

Figure 5 Views from Çengelköy

Kandilli also accomodates a ferry port and is most famous for its observatory building according to which the time zone of Turkey is adjusted. The topography of Kandilli extends towards the _stanbul straight providing it a comprehensive visual perception of Bosporus.

Figure 6 Views from Kandilli

Case-Study

The methodology of the case study is structured around two main courses one of which is the land-use readings made from aerial views and photographometric maps provided by the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality. The other course followed in doing the research depends on a field survey appointed to different users of the Istanbul city.

Land-use readings from the photographometric maps of the settlements provided data concerning the region covered by buildings, roads, main greenery, and open public spaces. It also provided information about the linear dimensions of adjacency those public spaces had with _stanbul Strait (Bosporus). In order to compare different settlements with each other one has to use indexes concerning different type of land usages. For example, to compare the building density of each settlement, the ratio of the area to the total amount of land area has to be known. Square meter dimensions of different type of land usages (building areas, green areas, public areas and road areas) in different settlements have been divided by the total land areas of each settlement to determine their land-use indexes thus they have become comparable to each other. Likewise, the public area – sea adjacency (public coast line) index was derived by dividing length of the public area coast line by the average value of all the settlements .

Finally, all the indexical values are put together to form a hypothetical equation to calculate the public potential of an open space that belonged to the selected settlements. This hypothetical equation aims to distinguish two important factors concerning the public character of Bosporus settlements in determining the strength and weakness of the related open public areas. The first factor is the public saturation of those spaces which is determined by proportion of public area index (P_a) with the building area (B). Taking a ratio of the building density and available public areas was assumed to indicate the public saturation of the given settlement.

The second factor is assumed to determine the public potential of selected settlements which is defined by the ratio of public area index (P_a), public coast line index (P_c) , and green area index (G) to the total built area index that is defined by the sum of building area (B) and road area (R) indexes. This formulation assumes the adjacency of public open areas and the sea is an attractive factor for people to use those public places. Also the green areas are presumed to carry a potential for those public areas to expand and to have a positive behavioral effect on people to be attracted to those areas. Therefore they are formulated to be directly proportioned with the public potential. The index of total built area that is the sum of building area and road area indexes are assumed to be the restrictive behavioral factors for people's environmental pleasantness and the expensional potential of the public areas and so are they inversely proportioned in the hypothetical equation of public potential. (Table 1) Indexical data gathered from land-use readings have been utilized to determine the strength and weaknesses of public potential the selected settlements had. This reading could provide information on issues like:

indicator	signification	strength / weakness	opportunity / threat
building area index (B) (building areas / total land area)	negative on environmental pleasantness, detract public use	■	
road areas index (R) (road areas / total land area)	negative on environmental pleasantness, detract public use	■	
green area index (G) (green areas / total land area)	positive on environmental pleasantness, provides potential for public area, attract people	■	
public area index (P_a) (public areas / total land area)	signifier of the public potential	■	■
public coast line index (P_c) public coastline length / average length of public coast lines	signifier of the public potential	■	■
public saturation index (P_s) building area index / public area index $P_s = B / P_a$ /	signifier of the existing public use	■	■
index of public potential (P_p) $P_p = (Pa \times P_c \times G) / (B+R)$*	signifier of the public potential	■	■

Table 1. The indicator and signification of the man issues in the land use readings

A public survey concerning people's use and perception of the open public areas was believed to determine the opportunities and threats as well as determining the strengths and weaknesses selected settlements carried. The main issues to be surveyed were:

indicator	signification	strength / weakness	opportunity / threat
time of presence (how many times a year / for how long each time)	indicates character of the public area as to whether it is recognized to be socio-petal or socio-fugal (its degree of public recognition)	■	
type of presence (optional / obligatory)	optional presence enhances public potential when met with physical environmental input		■
associated activities and concepts	indicates which activities attract us to a public open space; which positive concepts are associated with the public open areas in the selected settlements	■	
spatial equipments, actional and functional enhancements	signifies sufficiency / inadequacy of the open public spaces, direction of public area transformation		■

Table 2. The indicator and signification of the main issues in the survey

Table 3 Land Use Analysis of Selected European Side Settings (Ortaköy, Bebek and Rumelihisarı)

Table 4 Land Use Analysis of Selected Asian Side Settings (Beylerbeyi, Çengelköy and Kandilli)

Table 3 and Table 4 show the land use of the selected settlements. Amongst them Ortaköy seems to be the most dense, and Bebek sems to have the greatest and Kandilli the smallest amount of open public areas per total land. The graphics below shows the public sea line index values of the settlements which relates to the length of each public open area adjacent to the sea.

Figure 7. Public area –sea adjacency of the settings

When those values are considered in the given equations to find the public saturation and public potential indexes we have the graph above (Figure 7) which tells the existing open public space in Ortaköy, Çengelköy and Kandilli are more saturated than the other settlements for reasons that Ortaköy has the highest urban density and Kandilli has the smallest amount of public open area. The graph indicates that Ortaköy and Kandilli also have the lowest public potential. Bebek, Rumelihisarı and Beylerbeyi have higher indexical potential values than their public saturation. This can be interpreted the way that those settlements are morel likely to need no additional area for public purposes and that when they are provided with adequate and convenient functions and facilities and provided with better physical environmental conditions, they are more likely to serve better for public purposes.

Figure 7. Public use and potential of selected settings.

The survey

The survey was held between 26 participants form middle high and middle income groups; 70 percent of which is between 21- 30 years of age. 89 percent of the participants are educated in the university. The following table of graphs indicate users' frequency of presence in the public areas of the selected settlements (Table 5) which would signify that the settlements on the European side are more intensely used. This set of graphs has been interpreted that Ortaköy in perception of the survey participants has more public potential in terms of both frequency and duration. To determine the type of activities participants do in those public places they were asked whether or not they go there for necessary activities like working, or going to school or etc. More than 90 percent of the participants replied negatively which means that in general they do optional or social activities when they are in the surveyed public spaces.

Table 5 Participant's State, Frequency and Duration of Presence

Next questions appointed to the participants were about defining the strengths /weaknesses and opportunities / threats concerning the public places in the selected settlements. To do that they were given some activities and concepts and they were asked to evaluate the activities according to their main purpose of using the public space in a scale from 1 to 3 and asked to mark the concepts according their opinion of finding the given concept related or not related to the settlement. The answers to the main activities were quite close so the graphs of different settlements were unified and it can be observed in Table 6. The given answers once again emphasize the importance of user interaction with sea. Activities related to gastronomy and taking a walk also were given as the main reason for people to prefer going to those public spaces.

Figure 8 Strength / Weakness: Main reason for people to use public areas in the selected
Bosporus settlements

Figure 9 shows the given concepts participant find associated with the public spaces in the selected settlements. All the public spaces in the selected settlements show in the graph that they lack safety, quietness, green, transportation and cultural activity issues. Quite differently from what land use analysis in the previous section tells us, sea and interaction with sea was perceived to be the strongest aspect of all the public spaces in the selected Bosporus settlements. Participants also think those publics spaces offer a good view of Bosporus in general and those issues can said to be the strength those spaces have.

Figure 9. Strength / Weakness: Concepts associated with public spaces in the selected Bosporus settlements

To determine the opportunities and threats concerning the public areas, some conditions were defined briefly and participants were asked to evaluate those conditions in a scale from 1 to3 former indicating that he related condition was found poor and needed enhancement and latter indicating that they found the given condition of the public space appropriate and that it did not need any change. According to the graph derived from the response of participants, Kandilli in almost each item lacked appropriate spatial equipments and services. Although, (Figure 10)

5. CONCLUSION

In this research, the gathered data from facts concerning the physical environment and behavioral responses of users to this environment have been compared to make a SWOT analysis. In brief, depending on the saturation and potential comparison of the public spaces given in Figure 7., Ortaköy, Beylerbeyi, Çengelköy and Kandilli seems to have a very restricted public potential and it seems to be the main threat awaiting those settlements . The dimensional conditions of the public areas and the sea adjacency issue in those settlements have to be reconsidered. The opportunities for the public spaces in the selected Bosporus settlements is that people perceive those settlements different than what the facts say. They still think that those settlements provide good opportunities for them in their interaction with the sea. There seems to be a very important issue concerning ferry ports for they provide a pleasant alternative for public transportation, and apart from Ortaköy's mediocre transport perception data (see figure 9), all the other settlements are evaluated as 'weak' in users' perceptions.

One more thing to say as a result of this resarch could be activity as attraction. Experiencing other people represents a particularly colorful and attractive opportunity for stimulation. Compared with experiencing buildings and other inanimate objects, experiencing people, who speak and move about, offers a wealth of sensual variation. “At sidewalk cafés, as well, the life on the sidewalk in front of the café is the prime attraction. Almost without exception café chairs throughout the world are oriented toward the most active area near”

As physical quality of the open public spaces increase, potentials of usage of the space brodens and the public space can serve the users to facilitate their needs of spending time, resting, communicating with eachother or only having visual experiences. Many activities become possible in a better quality public spaces

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Anna Grabolle-Çeliker

The Public and the Private: Discourses and Identifications among Vanlı Women in Istanbul[1]

Theoretical Considerations

Social Anthropology, like all of the human sciences, is a discipline informed by multiple theoretical approaches (cf Appadurai 1986:358, Ortner 1984: 126). For this reason, it would be useful to clarify what theoretical frameworks have informed my research, in this case into the lives of migrant Vanlı women in _stanbul. In locating my research on the social reality of migrants to Istanbul as I perceive it in relation to the topic of 'Public Istanbul', my choice of perspective is not based on any pre-fieldwork sense of the inherent superiority of some concepts over others; rather, a constant dialogue between observed social life and theoretical anthropological writing has gradually allowed these perspectives to emerge. I have used those perspectives that seem best to illuminate what I have encountered. My chosen themes thereafter however have also led me to focus on particular social processes. My research experience then has convinced me that there is a virtue in the plurality of perspectives in the discipline of Social Anthropology. This reality might dismay those who call for a unified theoretical approach to the study of different societies in order to allow for comparison. However, in my view, differences in approaches are unavoidable and these varied studies can be equally enlightening, provided that their theoretical frameworks are made explicit.

The first key concept relative to my study is the much-bandied about term "identity". It relates directly to the topic of this conference because in anthropology there has been a shift in interest from both public to private, and collective to individual identities. In the past, the term "identity" was often used synonymously with the category "culture", under the presumption that members of a social group had the same "culture", and thus "identity" (cf Linger 2004: 188). Used in this way, "identity" like "culture" was a rather monolithic concept. When Frederik Barth wrote his seminal introduction to *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries* (1969), he pointed to the constructedness of identity. His study clarified a growing awareness that identity was dependent on situation or context, on interactions with

[1] I would like to thank Akile Gürsoy, Chris Houston and Anthony Pavlik for comments that have improved this paper.

the “Other”, and that people accordingly ‘possessed’ or ‘performed’ multiple identities. However, anthropology was still mostly concerned with *group* identities. In his critique of Geertz and others, Spiro noted that “the person or self has been studied in only a small fraction of human societies” (1993: 1). He went on to argue that the person had been assumed, at least tacitly, to behave and think according to group norms, particularly in non-Western societies. Despite Barth’s even earlier stress on the actions of individuals in the operations of political systems (1959), Obeyesekere could still claim in 1981 that the “bias is strong in the social sciences that culture must deal exclusively with group processes rather than individual motivation.” (1981:1). It is only more recently, that there has been an explicit interest in and theorizing about the individual in anthropology. The best-known writers writing from this perspective are Anthony Cohen (e.g. 1994), Nigel Rapport (1997, 2003), and in Germany, Martin Sökefeld (1999, also discussed in Linger 2004). Writing about “the private”, i.e. individuals, has become much more acceptable.

As a generalisation then, the tension between entities such as “society” or “culture” on the one hand and individuals on the other is an explicit concern for most contemporary ethnographies. Again as a generalisation, classical anthropology, at least up until the 60s, did not explicitly address this issue. A group of people, living in a particular territory, with a particular “culture” was described. This view became increasingly problematic as critiques of colonialism (cf Asad 1973, Said 1978) and enquiries into the process of ethnographic writing (Clifford and Marcus 1984) made us aware of ethnographic descriptions of “cultures” as “fiction”. In addition, there has been the realisation that there have long been transnational social and economic relations which make a division of the world into “cultures” seem naïve. Thus the second concept I have found helpful in disentangling both the individual agency and social understanding of my ‘informants’ in Istanbul, Van and the village is ‘discourse’. Link’s definition has proven enlightening: discourse is “an institutionally solidified way of speaking, insofar as such a way of speaking determines and solidifies action and thus also exerts power“[2] (Link 1983: 60 in Jäger 2001: 81, my translation). The category of discourse allows for more flexibility than “culture”; it posits individuals who both engage with these ‘institutional solidifications’ and shape them. Furthermore, individuals are addressed by, and address in turn, multiple discourses, rather than one “culture”.

Discourses can be analysed at different levels, depending on how deeply they permeate society: in Turkey, for instance, we might talk about hegemonic discourses at the state level, which are dispersed through education, cultural and military institutions, but we can also look at smaller groups and their day-to-day discursive practices. Obviously certain people or institutions have more power in creating, maintaining and disseminating discourses than others – one only has to look at the spate of court cases against journalists and writers in Turkey in 2006. At all levels, some people or some

2 The original German is “eine institutionell verfestigte Redeweise, insofern eine solche Redeweise schon Handeln bestimmt und verfestigt und also auch schon Macht ausübt”.

institutions have “more of a say” (likewise in German “das Sagen haben”), i.e. more control over what can be and cannot be said.

However, the individual is not just exposed to discourses, but she also engages with them. In this paper, I hope that a picture emerges of individuals interacting with different discourses and through them seeking to create a sense of an integrated self. This dialogue between discourses and individuals could alternatively be labeled the dialogue between the public and the private. It is the skill of the individual that allows a multitude of discourses originating from a multitude of more or less powerful institutions of discursive generation to convene, clash, fade and merge without any sense of urgent contradiction or diffraction of the self. For this reason in the paper I will avoid the term ‘identity’: following Brubaker and Cooper’s criticism of the overuse of “identity” and the “thick tangle of meanings” that it produces (2000: 14), I shall adopt their suggested term “identification” instead. Identification is a process which involves an agent and is context-dependent. It is a process we apply to others as well as to ourselves. For Brubaker and Cooper,

> Identification can be carried more or less anonymously by discourses or public narratives. Although close analysis of such discourses or narratives might well focus on their instantiations in particular discursive or narrative utterances, their force may depend not on any particular instantiation but on their anonymous, unnoticed permeation of our ways of thinking and talking and making sense of the social world.
> (ibid: 16)

In the following then I will describe the identification of individuals with reference to “public” discourses that “permeate their ways of thinking”. I explore the process of identification, which is an explicit rather than a tacit process, through the autobiographical narratives of informants. According to Wortham,”while telling their stories, autobiographical narrators often enact a characteristic type of self, and through such performances they can become that kind of self (2001: xii). Accordingly my observations of a small migrant group in _stanbul are based on the assumption that this group is also a ‘site’ or ‘community’ of discursive generation, within which certain broader discourses also possess general currency. Nevertheless, to describe these discourses is not enough, as individuals interact with these discourses differently. I thus also consider the identification of individuals through their autobiographical narratives in which they present, enact, and become a unique self.

A final theoretical note: this conference is about the city of _stanbul, and more particularly about those social processes that both constitute it as a space and that relate it to the wider context of the Turkish nation-state and processes of globalization. Despite arguing for the necessity of an anthropology *of* (and not *in*) the city (see Low 1996: 384 and Low 2002: 2), Low also notes that such an enterprise should be wary of “essentializing the city as an institution and identifying it through

population density, unique physical qualities or appearance, and styles of social interaction" (1996: 384). While she nevertheless argues for studying the urban space as "a process" (ibid), my own research has qualified her drawing of a sharp distinction between urban and rural life. Although the emic perspectives of the Vanlı women I have talked to often involved a discourse on the difference between rural and urban life and the drawing of a border between them, I would argue that many of their social networks and concurrent discourses simultaneously dissolved such a distinction.

Contextualisation of Study

Let us now turn to the _stanbullu[3] whom I have been concerned with. Interestingly, none of them, even the children, call themselves "_stanbullu" – rather, they are "Vanlı", or even more specifically, from certain districts of Van. They live in Tepelik[4], a lower-class quarter of central _stanbul. Many of them came to _stanbul after a severe earthquake in Van in 1976. They were offered temporary housing for the winter and given housing in eight housing blocks, totaling eighty flats. Of the original families, 35 still occupy their flats. Nine more flats have been bought for some of their children who have married and set up their own households. Thirteen more households moved to the housing blocks from Van later because they are close relatives to original inhabitants. Thus of the eighty flats, fifty-seven are now occupied by Vanlı. Fifteen Vanlı households are made up of extended families of three generations. The Vanlı in the blocks make up a multi-stranded network of households. They are linked by a common origin from three districts of Van and by being neighbours in the same blocks. Most importantly, many of them are linked by primary (blood) ties and later marriage ties. Finally, four flats are now empty, and the remaining nineteen have been bought by non-Vanlı.

The blocks and their inhabitants are part of the neighbourhood of Tepelik, but at the same time the spatial organisation of the site makes them slightly separate. Physically they are distinct because they are surrounded by small yards and park and playing ground areas. It is said that the blocks were originally designed to be police lodgings. The other houses in the area are built much closer together and directly on the roads, with sometimes not even pavements to separate them from the throughways. Many of the other buildings also house textile and woodwork workshops in their basements or on the ground floors, as well as a variety of shops and grocers, thus fudging the line between residential and commercial /industrial area. By contrast, the Van blocks are definitely designed as a residential space, with enough open ground between them to let the children play safely, the women wash carpets and wool in the yards, and groups of old men or housewives socialise on benches during the summer months. The block inhabitants can be considered privileged in that they do not have to pay rent and thus are significantly better off than other families in the area with similar income. Some families have

3 In this article, I refer to people from Istanbul as "_stanbullu" and to people from Van as "Vanlı". The ending -li/lı/lü/lu designates a person from a certain place

4 In order to protect the identities of my informants, I have changed the names of the _stanbul quarter as well as personal names. I also avoid the use of district names of Van for the same reason.

been living rent-free for the last thirty years. On the other hand, the future of the blocks is not clear. The land belongs to a foundation, while the blocks belong to the local government. The block inhabitants have recently been asked to pay rent, while they say that they should now be sold the flats. They argue that they have invested a lot of money in the improvement of the blocks, which were bare cement casings without windows or doors when they moved in. Apart from the basic kitchen, bathroom, flooring and paintjobs in the flats, the residents of most blocks have invested in plastic double glazing, have had the outside and the stairwell of the blocks repainted several times. Some flats have also had gas pipes installed, so that they can heat with gas radiators, rather than with coal stoves.

Socially and economically, however, the inhabitants are firmly embedded in the quarter of Tepelik. The women do their shopping in local grocery stores and at the weekly market. They also, like many other women, have work relations with the many piecework shops of the district from which they bring home clothes and beads to be sewn onto them. In addition, many Vanlı have relatives who have moved nearby and with whom there is often daily contact. The blocks thus represent a concentration of Vanlı, but their residents by no means constitute a closed group. However, from my observations I would posit that the social relations of the Vanlı women are mostly restricted to block inhabitants (who may be either non-Vanlı neighbours or people from the same district and/or relatives) and to relatives from outside the blocks. There is for instance little interaction between the Sunni Vanlı women and the many Alevi women in the area (with the exception of the few Alevi women living in the blocks).

The Vanlı families are a mixture of lower class and lower middle class families whose financial situation is improved by the fact that they do not have to pay rent for their housing. Of the first generation women, none have worked outside the house. The men have mostly worked in semi skilled jobs, such as drivers or electricians. Quite a few work for the local council, and this is apparently due to the contacts of one Vanlı who joined the party of the local authority government in the 1980s. Some families have their own stores which are run by several households together. One extended family runs a bakery, another a furniture workshop and store, while a third extended family has just opened its third grocery store. Two men, both middle-aged, are qualified engineers, and two other men have worked as civil servants. Among the second generation of young men there is still a dearth of qualifications. Some young women work in the ubiquitous textile workshops, while a few have managed to qualify and work in professional jobs.

The local primary school is close by and all children attend school, at least up until the eighth year. Some girls are withdrawn or leave after that and some of the young males have displayed a great degree of disinterest in schooling. Markedly, many of the girls are academically ambitious, aiming for university study and a job afterwards, in contrast to their mothers, who enjoyed very little if

any schooling. When I offered English lessons for the block inhabitants, most of my students were girls, and some parents complained that they could not get their sons to attend.

"The Public": A Discourse Community

While the group of Vanlı living in the blocks is not bounded, they can nevertheless be considered a discourse community. Within this permeable community, there are discourse *strands* that are current. Discourse *strands* (*Diskursstränge*, in Jäger 2001) are a collection of discourses that share the same theme, i.e. a strand represents all the things that are said/thought on a certain theme. Discourse fragments are smaller units within each strand, and they represent different discursive positions on a theme (ibid). Within these fragments, there are collective symbols, or *topoi* (ibid: 84) that allow participants in these discourses to interpret social reality. In the following, I would like to outline the discourse strands that I have identified as most relevant to the lives of the Vanlı women in the housing blocks. Within each strand, discourse fragments can be placed along a spectrum of discursive position, but in the following they are sometimes presented in opposites. This simplification is unavoidable and hopefully set off by the more differentiated accounts of individual narratives later on in the paper.

1. Discourse strand on the place of origin

Most of the Vanlı in the blocks have a rural background. This is because their migration to _stanbul took place thirty years ago, when villagers had not yet moved in great numbers into the city of Van. They came to Tepelik directly from the village. While all of the families now have relatives who have left the village for Van city, the older generation and many of the second generation women (who came to _stanbul in marriage) have experienced a childhood and perhaps also adulthood in a village. Most of the young adults and children who were born in _stanbul know their village of origin through visits to Van, visits from relatives to Tepelik, and through the narratives of their parents. The "village" and "village life" are collective symbols that are used by all the Vanlı women and men I have met. A common discursive position when talking about village life is nostalgia. Nostalgia for village life is particularly strong when a woman has many relatives remaining in the village whom she does not see often, and when she remembers a carefree childhood (often the girls of the house do not need to work very hard, as their mother and the "brides" are available to do housework). Nostalgia is also an embodied knowledge, as the individual contrasts certain unfavourable urban conditions with village life: the toxic smell of burning coal in the winter and the sickly-sweet smell of uncollected rubbish in the summer with the fresh mountain air; the chlorinated undrinkable tap water in the city with the clear cold streams in the village; the white bread loaves with the flat bread baked in the *tandır* ovens; the anonymity and coldness of urban relations (which they partly alleviate by living close to relatives) with the crowded, happy gatherings in the village; the danger of urban life for children and

teenagers compared with the freedom to roam in the village; and the weddings in stuffy wedding "salons" with cheap cake and lemonade compared to the outdoor dancing and home-made food. In short, a rural idyll (cf Rapport and Overing 2000: 315) is evoked. This perceived idyll becomes particularly poignant because there is no return to the village; on the contrary through the process of chain migration more and more relatives have moved to _stanbul and other Western Turkish cities. The lack of profitability of animal husbandry has forced most young men to labour on construction sites outside of Van, and the lack of schooling opportunities in the countryside has led many of them to bring their families to Van or to Western Turkey, in the hope that their children will one day do better.

There is a contrasting discourse fragment, however, which views village life in a much more critical light. All the women I have spoken to are grateful for living in the city, as they say it offers them easier living conditions. They speak of the hard work involved in carrying water (now in most villages a thing of the past), constantly baking bread for big families, looking after the animals, and living through the harsh winters. They are also aware of the power given to them with the allocation of household budgets. In the village most of the shopping is done by the man, unless enterprising salesmen come to the village. Further, in _stanbul many of the women participate in the piecework economy, utilising their traditional dowry-making skills to earn their own money. Many are involved in money and gold collection days with neighbours and/or relatives, where a lump sum is handed to one member at a time to allow for bigger purchases. When I asked whether their relatives in the villages would do this, one woman said, "the women [there] can't lay their hands on a penny!"[5] In addition, the women in _stanbul are able to make use of health services for themselves and their children much more readily. This also involves access to birth control methods. Although health circuits now extend to village women and many women have fewer children, for the Vanlı women in _stanbul village life still stands for too many pregnancies, stillbirths, and even infant deaths. Finally, many women hope that the city offers their children better educational opportunities.

As Rapport and Overing note, the rural-urban distinction is made with certain ideas about progress and "modernity" (ibid: 320). The city represents the future, where most Vanlı villagers will soon end up living. A city like _stanbul, with all the evils of pollution, crime, drug use and anonymity of social relations, is still seen as the inevitable way forward. Furthermore, as other researchers on low-income quarters of _stanbul have noted (e.g. Erder 1996, White 2002), the living space which might denigratingly be called "*gecekondu mahallesi*" or more recently "*varo_*" by outsiders, is not necessarily seen in such a negative light by those inhabiting it.

2. Discourse strand on Islam

5 "Kadının ellerine bir kuru_ gelmiyor ki"

Both in the village and in the city, the attitude of the women I talked to towards Islam could be summarised by the utterance of one of them: "First of all, I am a Muslim, *çok _ükür*[6]". Being a Muslim was explained by many of them as something to be grateful for, in return for which one should pay one's debts (*borç*). Praying five times a day and fasting during *Ramazan* and during other holy days are taken-for-granted duties that the women perform happily – the women's everyday conversations are full of utterances which speak approvingly of these duties and of the comfort they bring them. In the city, sending one's children to Koran courses during the summer holidays and attending prayer sessions for special occasions (*mevlüd*) are also highly valued. Some women take their religious commitment further, attending women's prayer and religious discussion meetings (*sohbet*), reading the Koran regularly (or taking Koran lessons if they do not know how to), and consuming other religious pamphlets and books which offer guidelines and rules for everyday life. One book that was read in my presence even had special prayers for when one drinks a glass of milk or when one goes to the toilet.

The women all agree on the fact that "there is so much more to learn", but realistically, they make pragmatic choices about their religious commitment. If a woman has one or several small children, she is too busy looking after them and keeping up with her household tasks to sit down for religious study. If she makes much-needed money from the time-consuming piecework, she will think twice about joining the *sohbet* circle. Similarly, I have found that although every individual is meant to be responsible for the saving of their own soul, the women are more perturbed by women who do not fulfill these duties than by men. There is a pragmatic acceptance of different religious commitment of women and men. Different standards are applied: while the men may be too busy working to perform *namaz* regularly, or may drink alcohol because "men will be men", this behaviour would not be accepted as easily in women. However, those women whose husbands do pray, fast and do not drink are always giving thanks for their good fortune.

3. Discourse strand on traditions (*örf adet*)

"*Örf adet*" is a catch phrase with which the person uttering it immediately evokes the image of a whole lifestyle. There are two very opposite discursive positions from which I have heard this phrase used, sometimes by the same person: in some situations it is uttered in order to forestall any kind of questioning of behaviour, in other situations it is used somewhat resignedly to describe rules that both men and women are imprisoned by. Thus, denoting behavioural rules as "*örf adet*" is a strategic way of getting widespread sanction for them. The elderly generation is often said to be the warden of "*örf adet*", but realistically, these rules are kept alive or revived through their appropriation by individuals. "Our traditions" ("*bizim örf adetlerimiz*") are an undefined mélange of villager, Vanlı, Kurdish and Muslim behavioural rules. Thus circumcision, semi-arranged marriages, the silence of daughters-in-law in front of their elders, a modest attire for women, hospitality towards visitors, the

6 "thank goodness"

reluctance of some parents to let their daughters go to school or work, respect for elders, gender-segregated socialising etc, are all quoted as examples of "*örf adet*".

4. Discourse strand on being Kurdish

It is noteworthy that not all people from Van are Kurds, but that most of those with a rural background are. Of the Vanlı in Tepelik, there was only one household that was not Kurdish. It should be pointed out that the intensity with which Vanlı in general identify as Kurdish depends on several factors. The first is the district they come from. As clashes between the army and the PKK have been concentrated in the southern districts of Van province, Vanlı from other districts have been much less touched by the war and appear less conflicted in their ethnic stance. The Vanlı who have migrated to Tepelik are from three districts all to the north of Van, which have not had a history of strong Kurdish nationalism (outside of the polling office[7]).

A second factor is the reason for migration; Çelik points out that Kurds who have been forced to migrate by the military's village expulsion policy often form a *resistance identity* in the city (2005: 150), in contrast to Kurds who are part of older migration waves. The Vanlı migrants in Tepelik are of two kinds; the early group migrated because of the earthquake in 1976. Note that this migration preceded the formation of the PKK and the armed conflict which began in the early 1980s. The second group consists of families who have come to _stanbul since the 1980s, principally for employment rather than political reasons.

A third factor influencing the degree to which Vanlı identify as Kurds is their socio-economic ambitions. Çelik notes that even some forced migrants cut themselves off from politically active relatives and acquaintances because their priorities are economic survival (ibid). In the lower and lower middle class families I have met, it is definitely the case that parents are most worried about getting by and offering their children better opportunities (be it through education, a good marriage or a good job). Nevertheless, I was also told that up until a few years ago, there was a lot of rioting in the area of Tepelik and neighbouring quarters by left-wing[8] and Kurdish youth, particularly on sensitive days, such as the 1. May or the 21. March (*Newroz*). Some young men from the blocks were said to be involved. However, these activities seem to have stopped.

A fourth factor is the social network that individuals belong to and the dominant discourses present in these networks. At least among the women, being Kurdish is a taken-for-granted or un-

7 In the 2002 general elections, there was considerable support for the Kurdish interest DEHAP party, though: in district 1: DEHAP 26.44, ANAP (centre-right) 23.76, AKP (religious-conservative) 16.35, in district 2: AKP 31.19, DEHAP 23.82, DYP (centre-right) 8.10, in district 3: DEHAP 53.86, AKP 15.03, CHP (centre-left) 8.49 (source: http://www.belgenet.com)

8 A lot of the population of Tepelik is Alevi, a group which has strong links to left-wing politics. Graffiti on the walls in the area shows support for the centre-left CHP and for more radical organisations.

politicised attribute. It means that the women of the older and the middle generation can joke, fight and talk in Kurdish to each other and to their spouses. It does not necessarily mean that they speak Kurdish to their children or worry about whether they will learn the language. For most, categorical identification as a Muslim is more salient than that as a Kurd. Judging from my observations and conversations, most of the women are more upset at the thought of their children marrying a non-Sunni or a non-Muslim than the thought of them not speaking any Kurdish. Finally, it has to be said, that the Kurdish solidarity discourse is not necessarily powerful enough to overcome entrenched regional and tribal prejudices. A Vanlı solidarity discourse, for example, may be more powerful than a Kurdish one, and I have often heard diatribes against Kurds from other cities, such as Diyarbakır. Similarly, there are cross-cutting tribal loyalties among the Vanlı which are still evoked.

The children, unlike their mothers (and many of their fathers), are all enrolled at school for at least eight years, during which they are exposed to the hegemonic discourse fragment on Turkishness that silences discourses on ethnic variety in the country. Even if the children are exposed to discordant discourses fragments at home, educational and professional ambitions seem to outweigh concern for minority ethnic solidarity. At school they share classes with children from all over Anatolia who have migrated to Tepelik. They are unified in their efforts to "do better" than their parents. Particularly the mothers support these efforts because their own participation in urban life has been experienced as impeded by illiteracy, lack of general knowledge and poor Turkish language skills.

The only explicit (and thus perhaps politicised) identifications as Kurds were observable to me at activities of the local Vanlı hometown association. Officially its function is the mutual support of Vanlı, but its members also strive for contacts with local authorities and political parties. Vanlı with political ambitions may become active in the home town association, and political parties may flirt with the association in order to obtain bloc votes. The party with most contact to the association seemed the DTP (*Demokratik Toplum Partisi* –Party for a Democratic Society), the latest Kurdish-interest party, and the association events I was present at (a fundraising dinner and a large-scale annual picnic) featured Kurdish singers and some speeches in Kurdish. However, because the local hometown association does not have any women members, these politicised identifications seem more salient to the men, and then only to those particularly active in the association.

5. Discourse strand on Vanlı women

"If you are writing about women, I will tell you about my mother and sister and make you cry. You will see what incredibly difficult lives they have had", one young Vanlı woman who lives near the blocks said to me. A discourse on the difficulties of women's lives, particularly in the village has

been repeated to me countless times[9]. Women drew attention to the fact of their being 'married off' at a young age, some of them barely into puberty. They talked about the many children most women had, some of whom died. They remembered the hard physical work in the village and women ageing before their time. They spoke about how if they lived in an extended household, their happiness depended on good relations with their mother-in-law, sisters-in-law and fellow brides rather than with their husband. In this discourse, rural life is considered more difficult than urban life, perhaps for two reasons. First, the physical hardship of village life takes its toll on women, and second, women feel more in control of their lives in the city.

While urban life is presented as providing women with the opportunity to visit literacy courses, earn money from home, and visit health centres, there are still common complaints about the problems of being a woman. As mothers they worry about their children's safety in the city, as wives they make do with the money their husbands brings home and thank God if they neither drink nor gamble, as daughters-in-law (in the fifteen households with extended families) they look after their parents-in-law and probably observe some avoidance rules towards their fathers-in-law (not eating, drinking, speaking or caressing their children in front of them).

The women are financially dependent on their husbands, and, should they be unhappy in their marriages, are mostly unable to get a divorce. As housewives, they would have no social security, and realistically, many of the men earn too little money to pay alimony, even if they were prepared to do so. A woman's decision to get divorced is often not supported by her family, who may refuse to support her morally and financially. Furthermore, while the state mostly awards women custody of children, Vanlı "traditions" (*örf adet*) 'demand' children will stay in the family of the father after a divorce. While I am not suggesting that most marriages are unhappy, it is also true that an awareness of the likely penalties of separation or divorce are understood by women and weigh heavily on action, rendering women more helpless. In my research among the Vanlı migrants in _stanbul, I noted three cases of divorce in the wider area[10]. In each case, the woman had the support of her family, two of them returning home to their parents, one middle-aged woman being supported by her son. On the other hand, I noted two cases (not in the blocks) where women were extremely unhappy in their marriages but unable to separate. In one case, the father told his daughter to stay put despite physical and psychological abuse, in the other case, the reason was financial.

At the same time, however, it is misleading to depict the Vanlı women as only the victims of male domination. We might argue with Bourdieu that a "legitimate world-view" in a certain social field is not questioned by individuals because the "objective power relations" that exist in the social field encourage the acceptance of this world view (1985: 728). Indeed, a female discourse on proper

[9] Bora and Üstün describe the collective narrative of experienced violence that women in Turkey pass from generation to generation (2005: 23)

10 There are of course many more cases of divorce, but these were the only ones I noted. This should be understood as anecdotal rather than statistical data.

female behaviour perpetuates a lot of the domination. As in any small-scale, tightly-knit group, which the housing blocks represent, gossip is a powerful way of keeping others in line. Ways of dressing, demeanour outside of the blocks, housekeeping skills, child rearing, etc are all topics of conversation through which women can show up failings in others while simultaneously warning their listeners not to trip up themselves.

The Private: Three women, Hediye, Ayla and Nur

In this part, I would like to introduce three very different women who all live in the blocks in Tepelik. They are all aged between twenty-five and thirty-five. Their families are from three different districts in Van, and while two of them grew up in the blocks (as their families are original or early migrants), one came to _stanbul in marriage six years ago, after growing up in a village. I am here concerned with showing how these individual women make sense of their lives in the way they have narrated it to me. I am thus talking about "identification" rather than "self-understanding", i.e. an explicit rather than tacit process of making sense of who one is (cf. Brubaker and Cooper 2000). This means that I accept as a premise that it is impossible to know fully how these women see themselves, but I know them through their representations to me, the interlocutor. I argue that these women, like us all, are interpolated by discourses current in their discourse community, but that they interact with them and reshape them into unique autobiographical narratives.

Hediye is 32 years old and she grew up in a village. She is the fourth of ten children, eight of whom are married. Her recently widowed mother still lives in the village with the two oldest brothers and their families and the youngest daughter who is still single. One sister is married in the same village, to a relative, while another is married in Van. The second oldest brother leaves his family in the village and comes to _stanbul to work in a nightclub, just as his three younger brothers do. Incidentally, there are several nightclubs run by men from this village, and working there is an alternative to working on building sites for the migrant labourers from Van. Hediye was married at the age of seventeen to a relative of hers in the same village. There was a religious betrothal (*imam nikahı*) only. Hediye moved in with her husband's family, as is normally the case. The husband went to work abroad for long periods of time and had come back for the wedding. He left again after three months, and did not come back to the village. Gradually, all communication ceased and Hediye was put in the humiliating position of living with her in-laws without a husband to show for it. Eventually, after three years, her family put their foot down and took her back. They put pressure on the husband's family to force him to return to face her, at least for a divorce. Finally he did come and they divorced (religiously). Hediye thanks God that there were no children from this union. After this marriage, she recounts bitterly that she had become "second hand goods". Although she had only been with her husband for several months and was still a young woman of marriageable age, it was clear that she would not marry a young, single man again. In the following years, she had dozens of marriage offers,

mostly from widowed men looking for someone to care for their children, or from married men looking for a second wife. It was her paternal cousin working in _stanbul who recommended her to Do_an Bey, a man who was recently divorced himself. Although he was twenty years her senior, she accepted his offer of marriage. She had learnt from past experience and thus insisted on seeing his divorce papers and having a registered marriage, which would also entitle her to her husband's pension if anything happened to him. When Hediye came to _stanbul six years ago, she moved into the blocks, into the flat that Do_an Bey 'owned'. This meant that her neighbours had been her husband's ex-wife's neighbours for over twenty years, and that his five children had grown up there too. Indeed, one or two of the block inhabitants are relatives of both Do_an Bey and his ex-wife. Out of this difficult situation, Hediye has managed to create a narrative of contentment. She says that she keeps herself to herself, socialising mostly with her immediate neighbours in her block, and with her husband's and her own relatives who live further away. Keeping a low profile, I believe, has been her strategy in order to become accepted. After all, the divorce of her husband must have been the cause of much gossip and disapproval in an environment where divorce is considered antithetical to "our traditions"[11]. She describes her aim in life as looking after her husband well and also prescribes to the discourse on good housewifery, putting emphasis on cooking and keeping the house clean. She feels a sense of gratitude that she has married a man she loves and finds attractive, that she now has two children, and that she lives in the city. She does piecework very well and cooperates with other women in the block to meet deadlines. She deals with her husband's ambigious attitude towards piecework by doing it mostly out of his sight, well aware that the financial contribution of up to 150-200 YTL a month is welcome.

One source of conflict between the spouses, particularly in the beginning of their marriage, has been their different attitude towards religion and traditions. Do_an Bey is very active in hometown associations, and has repeatedly expressed his frustrations with the "örf adet" and religious beliefs, which he thinks keep the Kurds imprisoned. He is part of a network where identification as and politicisation of Kurds is very important. At the beginning, he took his wife to association activities. However, he could not get her to comfortably wear her hair open, in a style that for him presumably symbolises the modern Kurdish woman, and he laments her lack of interest in "bigger matters", claiming that she is refusing to develop herself or take on a leading role among the women to match his own among the men. Hediye, who is normally keen to support her husband, has quietly resisted his pressure.

I believe that Hediye's priority is to get on well with the women in the blocks, whom she spends every day with. It is these women who will look after her children, lend her sugar or money, accompany her to the health centre, help her finish piecework, invite her round for a chat and tea, or

11 I should note that Do_an Bey's anti-traditional stance has meant that his unmarried children (one still at school) live with the mother and that he has bought a business for the son in order to support the fragmented family.

tell her about special offers in shops. In order to get on well, she must conform to certain expectations of behaviour. There are no Vanlı housewives in the blocks who do not cover their hair, and many of them wear a *pardesü,* a long loose coat, when they go out. Not only would a new style of dress be alien to what she is herself used to, it would also alienate her from her neighbours. It is these neighbours that are more crucial to her integration in the blocks than her husband, and she has aimed to fit in during the last six years rather than stand out. As identification as Muslim has great salience in these women's lives, Hediye has had immediate access to shared symbols, such as the *namaz* (prayer), the *abdest* (ritual cleaning), and the *oruç* (fasting). Asking her, as Do_an Bey has, to denounce much of what she perceives as Muslim practice means asking her to give up a mainstay in her life as well as to distance herself from much neighbourhood activity. On the other hand, Hediye also does not get involved in all the religious activities, as she sees her priorities as being her children and her husband. Thus, in a quiet way, Hediye has balanced her husband's and her neighbours' expectations in order to find contentment.

Ayla is in her mid-thirties. She was born in a district of Van, but her family moved to Tepelik after the earthquake. She grew up and went to school there with her sister and brother. The three siblings do not speak any Kurdish, although their mother could hardly speak any Turkish when she got married. Ayla is a mother of three children. With her husband and children she lives in the same block as her parents, in a flat that she bought after marriage. Ayla is a lively and outspoken woman. While she expresses contentment with her marriage and her children, she also declares her frustration with her current life. Her narrative plots the difficulties she comes up against through the "örf adet" beliefs of her family and her environment.

Ayla is still bitter about the fact that her parents did not educate her very far (she only went to school for five years, despite the school being very close) and that she had to start working at a young age. When she got married at the age of nineteen, her father told her that now she was married she should not work anymore. This made her very angry. She said: "When I was working under your roof, was I prostituting myself that now you consider it dishonourable to work?" She did work, first in textile workshops, and later she found a good job serving tea and doing odd jobs at a leisure centre for government ministers. Her mother looked after her children when she went to work. Ayla also paid her sister-in-law, who lives with Ayla's parents, to clean her house. She also says that through her contacts she was able to provide others in the neighbourhood with work. However, her mother has stopped looking after her children because of ill-health, and Ayla has had to stop working. She is bitter because she feels that the health problems are an excuse which masks the general disapproval of her working. She repeatedly told me that she wants to provide her children with a happier and wealthier childhood than she had had herself, and she sees herself engaged in a struggle with financial difficulties and ignorance around her in order to achieve this. She is willing to work at any job to provide a good

living standard for her children (she repeatedly and dramatically said "I wouldn't do anything dishounorable, I would not steal, I would not prostitute myself, but I would clean sewers[12]").

Ayla is quite dismissive of the "Vanlı solidarity" discourse. In her opinion, the local hometown association is passive and does nothing to improve the situation of women, particularly when it comes to enabling them to find work or childcare. She also criticises the women in the blocks for being more interested in gossip and material possessions than collaborative action. She gives as an example the fact that she does occasional menial work in secret because other women would look down at her rather than admire her for working. It is also important for her that others do not know when she is in financial or other difficulty. Rather than confide in the neighbours, she preserves a certain aloofness.

Ayla would like to move out of the blocks, nearer to her sister, to a quarter which she considers more desirable. However, as the flats do not officially belong to the Vanlı, she cannot sell hers in order to move. A move to her sister's would mean geographical as well as psychological closeness. She frequently contrasts her sister's situation to her own; her sister, despite initial resistance from the parents, has opened a small business. She divorced her first husband and remarried later. In front of the parents, the sister does not follow "*örf adet*" rules of demure behaviour or appropriate dress. Ayla says she herself always wears a skirt in front of her father, while the sister wears trousers, does not cover her hair and even dyes it! Ironically, Ayla thinks her parents are fonder and prouder of her sister because she has "made it" and they do not have the same expectations of her. This shows Ayla that resistance to dominant discourses can result in liberation. For Ayla, finding a good job would be her start of resistance. She would be able to contribute much-needed money to the household and thus raise her status within her nuclear family. She would wear more modern clothes and probably not cover her hair, but this would not attract the criticism of the Vanlı women, because different standards are applied to working women.

Nur is in twenty-eight years old. She was born in a district of Van but came to _stanbul with her parents and siblings when she was six. Two of her brothers have moved into separate flats in the blocks after marriage, as has she. When I first met Nur, she was wearing a headscarf and a *pardesü*, but during the summer of 2006, she began wearing the *çar_af* (literally "sheet", a black loose shroud covering all of her body), covering her forehead and lower face up to the nose, and also buttoning the sleeves at the fingers in order to cover her wrists and the backs of her hands. Nur is an eloquent self-assured young woman, tall and good-looking, and to see her in the *çar_af* was a great shock for me. My initial discomfort was not unlike Unni Wikan's reaction, when she first saw the Northern Omani women wearing *burqa* face masks (1991: 92-3). She wondered whether "an ingenious male mind had

12 "Namussuzluk yapmam, hırsızlık yapmam, orospuluk yapmam, ama la_ım temizlerim".

[…] invented a device" to distort women's beauty". For me, too, the çar_af has always represented a male invention, one aimed at making women "safe", as in "asexual" for anyone but her husband. The Atatürkist discourse in Turkey has always represented head covering, and in particular the *çar_af*, as an insidious political symbol in danger of spreading and undermining the secular republic[13].

In order to go beyond my initial reaction, I decided to ask Nur to tell me her story herself. It turns out that her self-representation is a narrative of personal reinvention and liberation rather than subjugation. Her current situation is presented as the climax of a long search for happiness.

When Nur was 17 years old, she got married to her mother's nephew, a young man who had grown up in _stanbul, too. She had been going to an _mam Hatip boarding school (a religious high school) and said she did not know anything about boys, nor was she interested in them. She says that her family was much more ignorant then, and that neither her parents nor her siblings knew better than to have her married at an early age. Her husband is an understanding man, and has encouraged her to develop herself further and to venture out of the domestic sphere. He himself, though working as a security guard, has just completed an open university degree in law.

Nur describes her life since marriage as a constant search (*arayı_*) for meaning. She spent some time writing a book and reading a lot. Then she did one and a half years of voluntary work in a local orphanage. Then she joined a foundation and took seminars on pedagogy and psychology. Meanwhile her husband discovered that he was infertile and they underwent long and psychologically taxing treatment. After five years without success, they finally decided to give up for a while, to "leave it up to Allah". Nur started a discussion group which would meet and discuss religious books in the members' homes. After a while this led to her teaching other women at home. Yet she was still looking. Finally, a friend suggested that she help set up a learning centre at the local mosque. She was ecstatic, and they set to cleaning the basement of the mosque and turning it into a Koran course centre. For the last two to three years she has been working at the mosque as a volunteer Koran teacher (*hoca*). Technically, her courses are illegal, as only the Ministry for Religious Affairs is allowed to organise lessons. However, in practice, every quarter has its own courses and they are very popular with local families.

Every day, Nur teaches women how to read the Koran at the mosque. During the day, she might also organise *sohbet*s (religious discussions around a theme), and she might attend or lead a prayer meeting (mevlüd) at someone's house. During the summer holidays many families send their

13 Despite the common impression that headcovering has been encouraged and has increased under the current religious AKP government, a recent study by the Turkey Economic and Social Studies foundation (TESEV) has found that there has actually been a decrease between 1999 and 2006: The percentage of women wearing a türban has dropped from 13% to 11%, the percentage of women who cover thier heads when they leave the house from 73% to 63%, and the percentage of women wearing the çar_af from 3.5% to 1 % (Aköz, 24.09.2006, page 22)

children to Koran courses and Nur teaches the girls. When I visited her at her flat just before the holy month of Ramazan, she later went off to a prayer meeting she and her friend had organised in an empty flat in her block. Women from the block and from neighbouring blocks had cleaned the flat, and they came together every day during Ramazan. Their aim was to read the Koran through from start to finish (*hatım etmek*).

Nur feels that she has gradually gained a new identity, and this is due to the fact that she has "fallen in love". She declared this with great drama and watched me to see if I understood what she meant. She is in love with Allah and she is also in love with her *örtü*, her covering. It is only quite recently that she has changed her name from the more worldly "Gül_en" ("rose garden") to "Nur", meaning divine light. The new name and her *çar_af*, she says, are outward expressions of her love.

Although most of the Vanlı women are covered in some way or other, the *çar_af* is considered a radical way of dressing. Indeed, Nur's family told her not to wear "that ugly thing", and her husband was dismayed, too. A mother of one of Nur's students expressed concern that the girl would take Nur as a role model later. Nur herself acknowledges that the *çar_af* has brought her many negative reactions; she says that people who do not know her consider her to be ignorant, backward and helpless. However, although many of the Vanlı women may say that the *çar_af* is "not for us" and criticise it as exaggerated, they do accord respect to those wearing it and acknowledge their religious commitment. It has to be said that the acceptance of the *çar_af* is probably dependent on the urban context; wearing it in the village would be quite impractical.

Wearing a *çar_af* makes Nur unemployable in the secular world. Her husband has expressed ambitions for her to work and do well for herself, and Nur herself agrees that she could make a career. She has the intelligence and self-confidence to do well. However, she has no interest in any other work than her current one. In many ways, she *is* a "working woman". She leaves the house every morning, goes to the mosque, and to other women's houses. She says she often leaves the house even in the evenings, when her husband is at home, and on holy nights (*kandil geceleri*) hardly comes home, something that is inconceivable for most of her fellow Vanlı women. She has a wide social network of her own, which goes beyond the neighbourhood and relative relations that other Vanlı women have. Although she works voluntarily, she does sometimes receive money or gold presents from her students. So, despite the misgivings that some may express at her wearing the *çar_af*, her occupation with religious affairs and her garb give her the license to ignore certain discourses on *örf adet* and appropriate behaviour for women.

Some people may argue that by wearing the *çar_af*, Nur has internalised the male hegemonic discourse on appropriate female dress and is deluding herself if she feels that it is her own choice. This is a point which needs contextualization and has troubled many social scientists studying "Muslim

women"[14]. It is the question of cultural relativism versus the insistence on universal human rights. Taken to an extreme, the former perspective accepts anything, in this case the veiling of women, as "part of their culture"[15], while critics say that the "culture" label is being used to excuse violations of human rights. Abu-Lughod is highly critical of the Western perspective, perpetuated in scholarly and media circles, that "Muslim women" need to be "rescued" from the veil: "First we need to work against the reductive interpretation of veiling as the quintessential sign of women's unfreedom, even if we object to state imposition of this form, as in Iran or with the Taliban" (2002: 787). She points to the variety of veiling practices and asks her readers to respect them. She argues that a constant reduction of "Muslim societies" to the "veiling issue" blinds observers to transnational political and economic processes (such as the American support for the Taliban in reaction to the invasion of Afghanistan by the Soviets) which create inequalities. Mojab tries to synthesise particularist approaches (i.e. those which see women first and foremost as individuals) with feminism, arguing that we "can respect the voluntary choice of any woman to wear the veil, and we can oppose forcible unveiling (e.g., in Iran in 1936-41)[16], yet we can at the same time criticize veiling or any segregation of human beings along sex lines" (1998: 4). While the issue of women's veiling is being debated in academic as well as political circles in Turkey as well as Europe, I am still not sure where to stand. I feel it would be patronising to assume that women like Nur who are covering are "unfree". Particularly when one compares her to her fellow Vanlı women, she seems to have more "freedom" of movement and decisions.

Conclusion

In this paper, I have explored interactions between multiple discursive formations and the actions and understandings of individuals, as both producers of and produced by those discourse fragments in _stanbul. Rather than perceiving the "public" as "culture" or "group identity", I argue that the "public" is more fluctuating and can be captured through the concept of "discourses". Discourses are "public" in that they are shared, but they are not necessarily shared consentingly. There are thus fragments of discourses revolving around the same themes and symbols. On an individual, "private", level, individuals make sense of their lives by creating a unique blend of discourse fragments through which they present their lives to others. Hediye, Ayla and Nur are only three of many Vanlı women. Arguably, they are part of the same discourse community, meaning that they are exposed to and interact with similar discourse strands. However, they have presented their selves to me in very different narratives, showing the dangers of generalising about perceived "groups" of people. A framing of social reality in terms of "discourses" and "identification processes" rather than "culture" thus seems to encourage the emergence of a more differentiated picture. As Nur said herself: "Just because we are from Van, it does not mean that we are the same!"

[14] I use quotation marks in order to point to the artificial nature of this category.
[15] In the debate between cultural relativism and human rights the veiling of women has often been debated, as well as female circumcision, "honour killings", and Indian sati/suttee (the death of widows on their husband's funeral pyre).
[16] The Tunisian government in October 2006 also demanded that women unveil in the streets (as well as in public buildings, as was the case before).

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Abstract

In this paper, public space is viewed not as a bounded physical space, but as the social field in which people are exposed to public discourses. The "public" permeates individuals' lives to different degrees through prescriptive discourses that are perpetuated by state apparati and by other groups. The researcher will present cases of women from Van (Eastern Turkey) in social housing in _stanbul and their identity negotiation in the face of public discourses. These women are, for instance, exposed to official state discourses on Turkish citizenship, Turkish discourses on Kurdishness, Kurdish discourses on Kurdishness, community discourses on their place of origin and on traditions, discourses on womanhood, and religious discourses on appropriate Muslim behaviour. A description of these public

discourses is followed by an account of how several women create meaningful narratives of identity by interacting with these public discourses. Thus, public space is diffracted and reshaped in the private sphere.

Biographical Note

Anna Grabolle-Çeliker is a PhD student in social anthropology at the University of Tübingen, but has been living in Istanbul for the last nine years. Her PhD and this paper are based on research she has been carrying out in a mountain village in the East of Turkey, in the city of Van, and more recently, in a quarter of Istanbul. She has used participant observation, semi-structured interviews, genealogical and survey data, and guided life stories in her research. Her everyday interactions with Turkish society and following of Turkish media have complemented this study.

PUBLIC ISTANBUL
SPACES AND SPHERES OF THE CITY
19. – 20. January 2007

Eylem Gülcemal

Intervention to Public Space and Displacement of *the Others*

INTRODUCTION

The socio-spatial effects of the changing global political-economies on megacities, like Istanbul, are deepening inequality, social polarization and emergence of a new kind competition on land, whose parties are local governments, international companies, investors and the local people. As the (exchange) value of land changed, its meaning changed too. New claims on land uses are displacing all alternative identities from inner cities that compose the bottom-income group of the society. No matter how those identities are embedded in those areas, how they created the meaning of those places, they have no more right to dwell there. Yet, marginal communities do not give up so easily and resist for their identities and places.

This article focuses on the destruction of places created by alternative cultures in the inner city, and displacement of those groups, and their claims to right to the city and to difference.

PART I: PUBLIC SPACES IN POVERTY AREAS and PLACE OF IDENTITY

In general when we speak of public spaces, most of the time we refer to the major public spaces that lie in the centre of the city, the ones that are visited by whole inhabitants of the city and/or by tourists. However, in this study, public space refers to the spaces of the neighbourhoods in poverty areas that are used and experienced only by its inhabitants, whose inhabitants may have limited access to the central public spaces[1], have sense of belonging to those of their neighbourhoods, and create alternative publicness in and through them. Considering the case of Istanbul the problem is that, due to increasing value of their land, those neighbourhoods are under pressure of being demolished, so that their public spaces, and public life.

The role of neighbourhoods in terms of creating social identity, sense of place, collective memory, and publicness is not to be disregarded. People identify themselves through their cities and countries too, yet the level neighbourhood comprises more aspects, more rights and responsibilities such as ownership right, social relations, and environmental problems and so on. It is on the one hand place of survival, on the other hand somewhere for which inhabitants have to give effort to make it better. Sometimes, inhabitants have to behave together in order to solve the problems of their living places. Owing to these aspects, ties are stronger and different than others. Furthermore, people in the neighbourhood are the people they 'know' with whom theyr share their ideas, influence each other, create a public realm in it.

[1] Accessibility is not necessarily prevented only by physical distances, but also social and economical distances.

Carmona M. mentions that “neighbourhood creates identity and sense of belonging through its physical character and/or through the place’s socio-cultural character. The public realm has ‘physical’ (space) and ‘social’ (activity) dimensions. The activities and events occurring in those spaces and settings can be termed to the sociocultural public realm.”[2] Another important writer on public spaces, Ali Madanipor, states that, smaller public spaces play a significant role for the locality. Public spaces are integral part of the life of the residents.[3]

From another point of view, the spaces of the neighbourhood constituent elements of social life as in Lefebvre’s formulation of ‘lived space’. In his writing, Marcuse Purcell explains Lefebvre’s space formulations like this; “Lefebvre’s space includes what he calls perceived space, conceived space, and lived space (Lefebvre, 1991). Perceived space refers to the relatively objective, concrete space in a person’s daily environment. Conceived space refers to mental constructions of space, creative ideas about and representations of space. Lived space is the complex combination of perceived and conceived space. It represents a person’s actual experience of space in her everyday life. Lived space is not just a passive stage on which social life unfolds but represents a constituent element of social life (Lefebvre, 1991: 39; Soja, 1996). Therefore, social relations and lived space are inescapably hinged together in everyday life. Producing urban space, for Lefebvre, necessarily involves constructing the rhythms of everyday life and (re)producing the social relations that frame it. The production of urban space involves much more than just planning the material space of the city; it involves (re)producing all aspects of urban life”.[4] That means the reproduction of urban life by those who use it.

Following these claims we can further claim that the unit ‘neighbourhood’ is a vital scale of urban spaces in terms of providing identity and creating sense of belonging also is shaped by its inhabitants. Looking at the Turkish case we can add one more attribute to the poor neighbourhoods, that is, becoming places of economic support. As the inhabitants compose the bottom income groups, they develop ‘self help potentials’[5] by being accumulated in the same part of the town. Even sometimes, their economic activities are strongly connected to that neighbourhood. They perform their economic activities, which are most of the time related to their alternative identities and cultures, in those parts of the city in which they create the identity and culture of that place.

PART II: ALTERNATIVE IDENTITIES and ALTERNATIVE PUBLIC SPHERES

One of the basic discussions on public sphere turns around ‘equality’ and ‘accessibility’ considerations. Besides, we need to evaluate the emergence and evolution of public sphere differently in Turkey from the one in the west. Bacik differentiates those two and claims that, in Turkey the public sphere was evolved through and under the control of the state bureaucracy and rationality. It has never been accessible by everybody. As a consequence of this fact, people search for alternative public spheres. Thus, they create their own, parallel public spheres.[6]

It is already impossible to speak of one unitary public space. In contemporary society, rather than a unitary polis or public sphere, it may better to conceive a series of separate yet overlapping spheres involving for example different social, economic, gender and ethnic groups.[7] Alternative cultures and identities can not express themselves in spheres that are

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[2] Carmona M. p. 109

[3] Madaniopur, 2005, p.357

[4] Mark Purcell, Globalization, urban enfranchisement, and the right to the city: Towards an urban politics of the inhabitant

[5] the definition is used in the book of F. Heckmann, 1998, “in Ethnische Kolonien: Schonraum für Integration oder Verstärker der Ausgrenzung?,“ From the Bibliothek der Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, Ghettos oder ethnische Kolonie?, Entwicklungschancen von Stadtteilen mit hohem Zuwandereranteil / Forschungsinstitut der Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, p. 33, (Internet, WWW), ADRESS: http://library.fes.de/fulltext/asfo/00267.toc.htm.

[6] (Bacik, p.13). In east, although similar debates take place, the civil society has been more powerful against state dominancy.

[7] Carmona M, p.110, Nancy Fraser, 1991, Rethinking the Public Sphere

shaped by the dominant culture. Thus, they search for alternative public spheres or create it on their own.

Following the Dick Hebdige, Kate Shaw defines alternative cultures in general as "symbolic forms of resistance". According to her explanation, alternative cultures in particular are characterized by differences in music and art, are self-consciously marginal, and they differentiate themselves from or are differentiated by at least one other group according to these cultural forms". They are excluded from making or exclude themselves from contributing to. She further claims that many alternative cultures advocate radical social change; at the least they claim "to be allowed to be different within an inclusive society" and to have the right "to give expression to difference in the public sphere".[8]

The role of neighborhood in terms of creating such alternative public spheres is critical. The public life that can not be reached through other means like direct participation to civil organizations, parties or the means of communication like internet, the neighborhood becomes an important means of joining to public life for the alternative identities, or rather creating alternative public spheres. We have to take into consideration the multicultural, diverse, heterogeneous structure of the cities. Place preferences of different groups are influenced by this structure and influence it in return. In addition to this, we can claim that, not only the ethnic, cultural, gender differences, but also the class conflicts, inequality and social segregation determine the composition of alternative public spheres. Ugur Kömecoglu, following the Koselleck, claims that Habermas, when idealizing the liberal public sphere of the capitalistic society, ignores the class conflicts and power relations (p.24.) Nancy Frazer also criticises his model by claiming that he ignores the social segregation, differentiation and inequalities. Equality, accessibility and participation was only supposed 'to exist'. Moreover, existing public sphere included only white-masculine-bourgeoisie. On the other hand, alternative competing public spheres are created by the others like popular farmer public sphere, worker class public sphere, elite women public sphere, black people public sphere.[9] Habermas excludes the discussion of the cultural differences and conflicts. Moreover he concentrates on discourse dimension of public sphere rather than spatial dimension of it.

In order to understand better the relationship between location and alternative identities, we should refer to Geoff Stahl.[10] While explaining alternative identities, Geoff Stahl proposes that over time, "any scene becomes spatially embedded according to a dense array of social, industrial and institutional infrastructures, all of which operate at a local and trans-local level".[11]

Neighbourhoods are especially important locations of alternative publicness in disadvantaged neighbourhoods. Madanipour, when analysing the public spaces, claims that due to their limited mobility, the residents of the disadvantaged neighbourhoods are likely to use their public spaces heavily. (p.351). Madaniopur defines the public spaces in which disadvantaged populations live as 'marginal public spaces'. He claims that it is essential to search for an understanding of these public spaces, whether in the inner city or the periphery which are often excluded from the city marketing and public space improvement drives (Madanipor, 2005, p356). However, considering the case of Istanbul, we see that the disadvantaged neighbourhoods that lie in the inner city are not forgotten, on the contrary, they are under the pressure of city marketing to be redeveloped by the capital. Thus, it is planned by the local governors to torn down these areas through urban regeneration projects, in order to attract capital.

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[8] Kate Shav, 1998, pp. 124–125

[9] Nancy Fraser, Rethinking the Public Sphere

[10] As Kate Shav do.

[11] Kate Shav, p.149 – 169, (gives reference to Stahl, 2004, p. 54).

PART III: THE IMPACTS OF GLOBALIZATION ON PUBLIC SPACES OF POOR NEIGHBOURHOODS, RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN GLOBALIZATION AND URBAN REGENERATION PROJECTS

Within the new global economy, public authorities direct their investment in public spaces obviously for city marketing, aiming to make their cities more desirable destination for firms, to attract corporate headquarters and tourists. Such a goal leads them to ignore the desires, requirements and what is worse the existence of the real inhabitants at all.

Madanipour explains the competition for transformation of public spaces and public life in particular areas like this; "where the land is highly in demand, public spaces may be under pressure for redevelopment. There is a competition over land between the different stakeholders. Rather than competition for the use of the public space, this can be competition for the transformation of the parts of, or the entire area, a competition for the nature and the characteristics of the public space and the public life of the area. And the residents of poor neighbourhoods are in a disadvantage to influence the process".[12]

Integration to global economy requires Istanbul to adapt into the neo-liberal market economies too. Urban land uses face the pressure created by economic structural changes, thus, new uses are to be adapted. Moreover, rapid urbanization and accordingly increasing population makes it unavoidable the urban land to be evaluated as a source of economy. As Ilhan Tekeli states that, as well as external pressures such as migration, population increase and macro-economic changes, internal dynamics such as changing consumption patterns, increasing wealth, variety in transportation modes leads urban regeneration processes to be accelerated.[13]

In order to understand the global economic integration of Istanbul and Turkey in general, we should go back to 1980s. Till the beginning of 1980s, 'national industrial production and self-sufficiency principle' dominated to the economy policy. Since then, under the governance of President Turgut Özal, liberal economic policies have been adopted. Market became the major determinant of the development, especially Istanbul, which is presented as a 'world city'. Economic development and competitiveness have become the primary imperative that drives local policy-making. However, the cost of this title 'world city' has been destruction of natural resources, historical values and ignorance of public civic life. In the beginning, city expanded towards natural resources like forests, water reservoirs and agricultural land. The central business districts that integrated in international capital has grown in north direction, first starting from Taksim-Sisli-Mecidiyeköy continued further to north Levent-Maslak axes, by damaging the natural uniqueness of Istanbul. Later, the eyes of capital are turned to already structured parts, the inner city. Acquirement and redevelopment processes are tried to be realized through extremely increasing urban regeneration projects. The projects are implemented in spite of local people, and through total ignorance of them. In this paper it is not rejected urban regeneration by its nature, yet, the way it is applied.

In order to make it clear what I emphasise I will refer to the use-value and exchange-value concepts of K. Marx, by using the words of D. Harvey. In the third volume of Capital, Marx explains 'use value' (utility) as the object of the satisfaction of any system whatever of human needs. Use value falls within the realm of political economy as soon as it becomes modified by the modern relations of production, or as it, in turn, intervenes to modify them.[14] Transformation of values into prices is defined as 'exchange value' (price). Here commodity functions as money, so that relative values of all other commodities are expressed as a price.

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[12] Madanipour, 2005, p.367-368

[13] Tekeli, _., 2003,

[14] David Harvey, 1982, p.7

Marx claims that, the exchange of commodities for money conceals our social relationships with others. (capital vol. 1. p.74) [15]

In the preceding parts, the meaning of a neighbourhood as a place for its inhabitants is explained. For the people living in the poor neighbourhoods, the value of the neighbourhood, the open spaces of it are counted rather as "use value". For the investors, the local governors counted only as money, namely as "exchange value". The contradiction between local people and local government and capital is based on the tension between these two kinds of values.[16] As K. Shav states that " in the last 40 years changing business practices and new pressures on real estate have increased the imperatives for the 'highest and best' use of land. With the working class now almost completely removed from most Western city centres, places used by marginal cultures ('under-utilized' bydefinition) are the new targets for gentrification. Alternative cultures are inspiring marginal communities to critique and resist the domination of exchange value in the city, and to argue for new ways of treating place".[17] This is exactly what is taking place in Istanbul in contemporary.

Through destruction operations, the public life in poor inner city neighbourhoods are removed from the scene. Those are excluded not only from public sphere, as they are not allowed to express themselves, but also from their own places. The use values of places of significance to marginal groups are, by definition, devalued by the dominant culture; their marginality itself ensures that the economic returns are lower than those that could be gained from a 'higher and better' use.[18]

This brings us to the another dimension of the problem. That is, the 'democracy' and H. Lefebvre's 'right to city' and 'social and spatial justice' formulations. In Lefebvre's conception, those who 'inhabit' the city have the right to the city thereby production of urban space. Moreover, Lefebvre claims that the urban space should be produced to meet the everyday needs of urban inhabitants, rather than to meet the accumulation needs of capital. It therefore presents a radical democratic challenge to an accumulation strategy that has been fundamental to contemporary capitalism.[19] However, the inhabitants are excluded from decision making process which weakens the urban democracy. Mark Purcell in his article suggests new strategies for enfranchising urban inhabitants and can strengthen urban democracy. [20]

PART IV: MIGRATION TO ISTANBUL AND SOCIAL FRAGMENTATION

In Turkey, between 1950 and 1980, with the industrialization, a mass of rural population migrated to big cities. Within this period, the urban population increased 80%.[21] The immigrants that do not have sufficient educational background in order to get better positions in labour market, engaged in informal jobs. They could not afford a housing in the city and instead located on the peripheral areas of cities on the land owned by the state or somebody else and constructed their own houses in an illegal way. In the case of Istanbul, populations choose location close to industrial sites that also locate in the inner city[22], especially in

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[15] David Harvey, 1982, pp. 1-17

[16] It should be made clear that it is not valid for everywhere. In some places the inhabitants are more interested in exchange value. Yet, in the examples that will be mentioned in this paper use value of the neighbourhood have high importance for their inhabitants.

[17] Kate Shav, 2005, 149 - 169

[18] Kate Shav, 2005, 149 - 169

[19] Mark Purcell,

[20] see Mark Purcell

[21] ODTÜ MATBUM, Istanbul'un eylem planlamasina yönelik mekansal gelisme stratejileri arastirma ve model gelistirme calismasi sonuc raporu.

Eminönü. In contrast to Karaköy, in which international and financial activities, so called prestigious activities, were concentrated, Eminönü became the concentration of other "un-prestigious" activities. Thus, it became also the shopping centre of the populations who migrated from the poor parts of the Anatolia (Demirdizen, 2006). Those masses compose one source of poverty in urban areas (Tekeli, 2006). Another source is the areas where ethnic minorities live like Sulukule and Kücükbakkalköy.

PART V: SOCIAL POLARIZATION AND SPATIAL SEGREGATION IN ISTANBUL

One of the results of globalization, as stated before, is increasing social and spatial polarization. Istanbul is the city that this social and spatial polarization is observed at its extreme level. In 2003, the wealthiest (20%) group shared 48.3 % the total income in Turkey, whereas the poorest (20%) group shared 6% in Turkey. These ratios in Istanbul were 50.5% and 6.4% respectively.[23]

Tansi Senyapili mentions emerging new consumption patterns and life styles in relation to new restructured labour market. The weakening relations in labour market and sharpened segregations between social groups are reflected in urban space.[24] After 1980s, as a consequence of restructured socio-economic spaces, new emerging wealthy groups preferred new lifestyles. She differentiates three spatial patterns offered for those groups. First, in the historical centres that were decaying, yet were prestigious like Cihangir, Balat, Kuzguncuk, Galata. Second, at the peripheral parts of the city that have a good view of the city, high rise prestigious buildings that were constructed by big firms on the old *gecekondu* areas. Third one is the socio-economically homogeneous gated communities. The gated communities, that keeps '*the others'* outside, became widespread in Istanbul. The increase in housing production for upper and middle income groups, mostly like *Kemer Coutry* takes attention. Another contradictory issue related to gated communities is the reality that they try to recreate the sense of place identity which has started to be eliminated from our lives since the beginning of modernity. The contradiction lies in the fact that, on the one hand, neighbourhood life for rich social groups is tried to be revitalized, on the other hand for the poor social groups, it is tried to be eliminated.

While the housing provision for wealthy groups are diversified and increased, the urban poverty and number of economic, social and physical decaying areas have increased too. It is possible to observe in Istanbul the wealthiest and the poorest areas lying next to each other. Yet, the second group have to behave in accordance with the place preferences of the former group. The result is the displacement of the weaker groups through urban regeneration projects.

PART VI: THE INCREASING URBAN REGENERATION PROJECTS IN TURKEY AND IN ISTANBUL

Looking at the brief summary of urban regeneration policies and implementations in Turkey, we can differentiate three periods in Turkey:

- ***a.*** *The period between 1950 - 1980:* This period is marked with high urbanization process and emerging illegal squatter houses, the *gecekondu.* These gecekondus later were legalized through a law called 775 Gecekondu Law in 1966 due to political reasons. In that period, there was a strong central administration.
- ***b.*** *The period between 1980 - 2000:* 1980s is a breakpoint in the political history of Turkey. This is the period that Turkey leaves national economic development policies aside and opens its doors to foreign investment and capital. Turkish cities went under strong influence of globalization. Moreover, depending on those developments, the

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[23] ODTÜ MATBUM, Istanbul'un eylem planlamasina yönelik mekansal gelisme stratejileri arastirma ve model gelistirme calismasi sonuc raporu.

[24] Senyapili Tansi, 2003

power of local governments begins to increase. In this period we observe decentralization of the powers and local governments gain more autonomy. The urban regeneration was in the hand of small and big entrepreneurs. In addition to this state started to produce social housing for the low income groups through TOK_ (The Administration of Mass Housing) New urban renewal, rehabilitation (islah imar) plans were executed. However, these implications were not aimed at creating healthier environments; rather they functioned as further legalization of illegal houses through new laws (2981 Amnesty Law). The one storey houses were turned into apartments.

Here we can categorize the *gecekondu* areas in two; the ones in the centre of the city, and the ones at the periphery of the city. The ones at the peripheral parts were transformed and turned into apartments, through rehabilitation construction (*islah imar*) plans. It was allowed to reconstruct them as 4-storey buildings. In time, characteristics of the *gecekondu* have also changed; as being encouraged by amnesties, housing developers started to construct illegal apartments, not one story houses. They were constructed as multi-story housing units. The regeneration/transformation was left to the hands of market mechanism. The ones that remained in the inner city turned into decaying parts of the city. After 1980s while the big, capital based industry moved to outside, small scale labour based industry continued to stay in the historical centres of the cities and employed the population that have lack educational background. They were dependent on each other. There was a strong relation between housing and labour. Thus, in the centre of the city some areas could not be transformed or regenerated.[25]

- ***c.*** *since 2000:* this is the period in which this paper engages. In this period the power of municipalities is increased whereas public services were diminished. After the earthquake in 1999, the awareness for safer living units has increased and new attempts emerged in order to make houses and the environment safer. A new law is prepared in order to accelerate the transformation of the areas that are claimed to be under risk of the earthquake. The prior legislative base of urban transformation, 5366 numbered legislation; "*Yipranan Tarihi ve Kültürel Tasinmaz Varliklarin Yenilenerek Korunmasi ve Yasatilarak Korunmasi Hakkinda Kanun*" was suggesting the renewal of decaying houses in historical parts of the city. Nowadays a new law is on the agenda that is 'Law of Urban Regeneration/Transformation'. Those legislations give extreme rights to the municipalities to intervene to those areas and realize the transformation.

In fact, the story begins here, namely with the earthquake in 1999. Although the centre of the earthquake in 1999, 17th August was not Istanbul, Istanbul was also badly influenced. Especially the part, called Avcilar was one of the most severely damaged areas, most buildings were demolished. It is expected that in the near future a new earthquake will take place in Istanbul. The degree of lost (both in terms of human and economic) is unimaginable. Owing to wrong economy policies in Turkey, in the last fifty years, most of the investments were directed to Istanbul. Thus, especially the eastern part which suffered already under inner war many years, could get nothing from the pie. The result of these policies was the flow of people to Istanbul. Although Istanbul covers very small part of Turkey, it has already 12 million populations which mean the 17% of the whole population. Besides, the most economy of Turkey is concentrated in Istanbul and in the Marmara region. In case of an earthquake in Istanbul, the whole economy of Turkey will be badly affected. Thus, a number of studies were carried out to prepare the earthquake master plan of Istanbul. New legislations were enacted. As a result, especially since the beginning of 2000s, urban regeneration/transformation became a very popular term in the field of urban planning in Turkey. Although it is suspicious what is meant by 'transformation', local governors tend to see it as inevitable and as a medicine to all kinds of urban problems/diseases. The earthquake risk is the reason in front of the scene of urban regeneration. However, it is suspicious whether it is really intended to transform areas to make safer or to demolish the

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[25] Senyapili Tansi, 2003

parts which have high land value and serve them to capital. It is not tolerated any more that the "valuable", "unique" parts of the city in terms of its location (that have Bosporus view for instance) occupied by the poor. The participation of inhabitants to the process is somehow forgotten and in fact totally disregarded. The inhabitants were left with the choice either to sell their houses for very cheap prices and move out, or to buy a house in newly constructed apartments by getting a credit, which they can newer afford to pay back. They have to decide in fifteen days; otherwise their land will be expropriated by state.

These implications display conflict with the principles that were adopted in National Report and Action Plan of Turkey, that were presented during the conference Habitat II, which was held in Istanbul in 1996. According to the report, everybody has a right to dwell in a house. And all kinds of tools in order to access and get housing in an equal way, respect to local identities, and right to participate to decisions had been promised. [26] Moreover, within the framework of Local Agenda 21, the 'participation' is required to be achieved.

However, the inhabitants of those neighbourhoods are forgotten to be asked about their ideas. Current regeneration projects ignore the existing social, ethnic structure there and are too away from the realities of the city while trying to be a "world city". These urban regeneration projects are not human centred but profit oriented. As a result, they will contribute to the further sociospatial polarization.

Jean - Francois Perouse defines four dimensions of current urban regeneration considering the background reasons of the urban regeneration claims;

a. *urban regeneration in historical neighbours of the city (ex. Eminönü), which are in fact desired by tourism developers. The inhabitants and the workers (owners of small industry) of those areas are expected to leave and move outside of the historical parts that would serve to tourism-economy.*
b. *Urban regeneration as an precaution against earthquake: behind the claims of safer life under the reality of earthquake, in fact it is aimed to increase the rent (as the case of Zeytinburnu)*
c. *Urban regeneration and city image re-creation/ city beautification: is in fact aimed at erasing the neighbourhoods of the poor. The high tolerance of the local governments for the illegal residential areas till 1990s, turned into high intolerance. Yet, only for the illegally developed houses of the poor and ethnic groups, not illegally constructed villas of the rich (in Sariyer,[27]). It is event not the issue to cover those parts invaded by the rich illegally within the project urban regeneration areas. For instance, in Eyüp-Karadolap, even the ownership certificates of people were cancelled, or in Armutlu, expropriation was made in the name of public benefit, yet the aim was increasing the rent.*
d. *Urban regeneration and de-industrialization: as the case of Kartal it is aimed to attract the capital.*

In fact the urban 'regeneration' is not the correct definition for the process that is taking place in Turkish case. It can rather be named as urban 'reconstruction' which had been very widespread experience in European cities, marked with huge demolishment, after Second World War. [28]

The role of TOKI (Administration of Mass Housing):

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[26] Habitat Gündemi ve Istanbul Deklerasyonu: Hedef ve Ilkeler, Taahhütlerve Küresel Eylem Plani (1996). Insan Yerlesmeleri Konferansi Habitat II. Istanbul.

[27] in forest that have bosphorous view

[28] According to the plans, the slum areas in the inner city were to be demolished and high rise building blocks were to be constructed. In this way the city centres have been filled with office and commercial functions. (reference, odtü calismasi kentsel dönüsüm)

TOKI was established in 1980s with the purpose of producing social housing for low and middle income groups. They worked in cooperative way with the municipalities. However, in time it started to produce housing mostly for high income groups. In contemporary, TOKI is an important actor of urban transformation/regeneration projects.

PART VII: CASE STUDIES

Considering the framework of this paper, I will define two groups of *others,* who create their alternative public life and sphere that are bonded with their public spaces and are excluded from public life. These groups, namely the (unwanted) *others* are;

1. Immigrant groups: who flow to Istanbul from other regions of the Anatolia since 1950s
2. Ethnic groups who live more than one thousand year in Istanbul: the gypsies, rumens

Both have the inferior economic position in society. As Madanipour explains that the residents of the deprived neighbourhoods may be socially, politically and culturally different from one another, they may come from different ethnic and religious groups, from different parts of the country or even from different countries of the world. What connects them all is their inferior economic position in society, which allocates them to the space they inhabit.

We can analyse the publicness of those neighbourhoods in two levels; first, at the level of place of identity, second as a base of local organization to resist against urban regeneration projects.[29]

Case Study 1: Sulukule

Neslisah and Hatice Sultan Neighbourhoods (known as Sulukule) locate in the historical peninsula witin the governance borders of the Fatih Municipality. In November 2005, it was announced that those two neighbourhoods will be demolished, which will badly affect 517 households.

The local governors claim this area to be decayed, dilapidated and in very bad condition. Thus, it needs to be regenerated. The project was initiated in 2005 after a contract between Fatih municipality and TOKI.

In the offical web-page of the municipality it is written like this;

“Through this project, the mentioned neighbourhoods will be renewed with in a new infrastructure and in harmony with its historical architectural character in a modern way.”[30]

Yet, no word is mentioned from its social and cultural structure. Because with this project, the inhabitants are intended to be removed from the area. Sulukule will be torn down and the inhabitants will be forced to move away.

“We can not survive somewhere else!”

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[29] One of the examples of this is the case of Eminönü. Eminönü is the first settlement of Istanbul, also the place of first small industry in 19th century. Although it is known that Eminönü is famous with its diverse economic activities, including informal sector for many years, the municipality displayed big efforts in last years in order to eliminate informal sector from the scene. While the municipality tried to constrain or bring an end to activities of them, they are organized and proved themselves through their original style of protest activities which will not be long time erased from the memories of the public (Demirdizen, 2006). These are all indicators of increasing social polarization in Istanbul and created alternative identities.

[30] http://www.fatih.bel.tr/kate_detay.asp?id=46&tur=387

These words belong to a co-manager of Sulukule Rumen Culture Development and Support Association. Also,

"We do not want our neighbourhood to be torn down" is said by a ten years old girl living in Sulukule.

Gypsies have always played an important role in social economic and cultural life of Istanbul for 1000 years. They have settled in diverse parts of the city. Sulukule is one of the oldest and most important central settlements of Gypsies that could endure till today.

The owners of the Sulukule, who live here for one thousand years, may be erased from the face of the city if those projects are realized in this way. Throughout the history, Gypsies always faced the deportation. Sulukule was one of those places that experienced demolishment and exile many times. During 1950s, under the governor of president Menderes, some parts of the neighbourhood were demolished and inhabitants (Gypsies) were deported to the outer parts of the city. Yet, the Gypsies did not leave, so life there could continued. In 1982, it was demolished once more. The old Sulukule was totally destroyed. Later, it was constructed again, yet, not exactly on the same place as before (Yilgür, 2006).

However, one of the most vital elements of any democratic society should be respect to heterogeneity.[31]

Rumenian people are among the poorest income groups. In 1992 their entertainment places, that is the basic economic activity of the Gypsies, were closed down. Since then, the extent of their poverty has increased. They have even no electricity and water at home. Here, inhabitants support each other also economically. The grocer, watch-repairer, clothe seller all support each other. They could survive since always shared the poverty. That is why, they can not survive somewhere else.[32] As Sakizlioglu (2006) also claims, the rent created through this process which can be named as gentrification, will be shared unequally and sharpen and deepen the sociospatial inequalities. Moreover the rights of the urban poor to access to the affordable housing and services will be abolished.

The legislative basis of the project is 5366 numbered law, "Yıpranan Tarihi ve Kültürel Ta_ınmaz Varlıkların Yenilenerek Korunması ve Ya_atılarak Kullanılması", which was mentioned before. In September, the project was started by demolishing 465 houses. The duration of the project is planned to be 15 months.[33]

The owners are given the choice to have a house in the same area by paying the difference value of house, after expropriation, in 15 years. The amount of expropriation will be determined by TOKI. Or they will transfer their ownership rights to the state (TOKI) and have house in Gaziosmanpa_a Ta_ocak, which is outside of the city.

It is very one-sided decision. Moreover, it is known that those people can newer pay that money, neither in 15 years nor 150 years. The head of the "Sulukule Rumen Culture Development and Support Association" says that in spite of contact endeavours of the association, to find a solution, there has been no response from the Fatih Municipality. Also, their houses were demolished suddenly without any warning.

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[31] Edward J. Blakely and Mary Gail Synder, Birlesik Devletlerde Kapali ve Duvarli Yerlesmeler, Arradamento Mimarlik, Temmuz-Agustos 2003, Boyut Yayincilik, translation by Burcak Özlüdil, (original text is to be found at; Nan Ellin (ed.), Architecture of Fear, Princeton Architectural Press, New York, 1997, p. 85-99)

[32] An interview with Hacer Faggo, Ulasilabilir Yasam Dernegi, in: Istanbul, v.57 Istanbullulara Ragmen Kentsel Dönüsüm, Istanbul Dergisi Tarih Vakfi Yayinlari, Ekim 2006, p.46

[33] Emrah Sahan, 2006, 02.08.2006

The major of the Fatih Municipality Mustafa Demir, reported to representatives of the Accessible Life Association and Europe Rumen Rights Centre (ERRC) that 'they realize the biggest social project of the world'. Claude Cahn, on the other hand, representative of ERRC, stated that the ideas of the inhabitants were not been asked and no contact was realized.[34]

The inhabitants of the Sulukule claim that since the beginning they have newer been included to the project. After these problems arose, they are organized around an association "Sulukule Rumen Culture Development and Support Association". They emphasise that they can not survive somewhere else, and through this association they protest and resist the project. They want to be recognized, be included and be heard. Moreover they have contact and work together with NGOs, lawyers, city planners and academicians.

It is true that Sulukule is not a healthy place and has very low quality of life. Yet, the rehabilitation or renewal should serve to people living there. Not excluding them.

Looking at the preceding process, we can say that the aim of the project is obvious; to get rid of Sulukule Rumens and attracting white-collar urban elites. With these projects urban poor are displaced and located to the periphery of the city, in "ghettos of TOKI". Besides, the active role of TOK_ not only in Istanbul, but also in _zmir, Çanakkale and Ankara in urban regeneration projects of Rumen neighbourhoods is strange. It can be evaluated as the intervention of the state to the Rumen neighbourhoods that create their own autonomous spheres in the public life of city.[35]

Case Study 2: Karanfilköy[36]

In July 1996, in the neighbourhood called Karanfilköy, first 28, later 25 houses were demolished. Afterwards, the inhabitants of the neighbourhood organized a festival in order to protest the demolishment, show their support for each other, express themselves and carry their issue to the public sphere.

The first immigrants of Karanfilköy arrived to the area in 1930s from the Black Sea Region. Later, in 1940s 1950s, the immigrants from Inner Anatolia and East Anatolia came owing to diverse reasons. Each of them had a different story, yet, basically economic reasons. The newcomers settled to places where their relatives, who came before them, had settled. They worked in factories in the centre of the city, that are planned to be decentralized in the new planning period. Most of them were unqualified service workers or working in informal sector. As they did not earn much, they bought most of their basic needs from local marketplace. They experienced very severe conditions in the beginning. In those days, Karanfilköy was an area that nobody would like to live in. They constructed their own houses illegally.

The legal statue of Karanfilköy is very complex. In 1966 a new legislation, called 775, is emerged. According to this legislation the area was declared to be "Gecekondu prevention area". The area belonged to the greater municipality. Municipality was responsible for planning the area and producing social housing for the low income groups. Later, in 1986 a new legislation, 3030 numbered, is revealed. According to this law, the planning authority of the area belonged to sub-municipality Besiktas. Other than these, Karanfilköy is subject to two more legislation. These are Bosporus Law (2960) and Historical Site conservation law. As a result, no rehabilitation plans are allowed in the area. Some home owners have only

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[34] Hacer Yıldırım Foggo, 03/12/2006

[35] Emrah Sahan, 2006, 02.08.2006

[36] Arikanli, 2005, (all the information used in this part is referred to her thesis)

deed appropriation document. Shortly, it is not clear, to which legislation Karanfilköy is exposed to. Also the ownership statue of the area is not clear.

What is special to Karanfilköy is its prestigious location. It is located on the European side of Istanbul near the second Bosporus Bridge, in an area called Akadlar and within the municipal borders of the Besiktas. In 1990s second bridge was constructed, which would mean the (exchange) value of area that is close to the bridge has increased. What is special to the neighbourhood is that, although its surrounding has transformed into apartments, it remained as a small green neighbourhood. It stays among the newly emerged prestigious sites of Istanbul, in the northern growth direction. Suddenly the poor neighbourhood found itself surrounded by luxury houses (Ulus, Etiler, Levent) and huge shopping and business centres (Sabanci Centre, Yapi Kredi Plaza, Business Towers, Metrocity, Akmerkez). As a result, a pressure is felt on the settlement. The land value has increased in an accelerated speed. In 1996 the greater municipality prepared a project for the area. Afterwards the construction density is increased from 6.5 meter height to 15.5 meter.

Karanfilköy, since it was established, faced the risk of being demolished many times. Meanwhile, in 1994 the major, before the elections, said they may let inhabitants to built two storey buildings without giving them ownership certificate. This means, through these two applications, the municipality accepts apartmanization of the area, which would legitimize the demolishment of those buildings. However, people did not prefer constructing higher buildings. In Karanfilköy most of the houses are not higher than 2 stories. Only there buildings exceed 3 story.

In spite of this, in 1996 first houses were demolished. 4000 polices were given task in this operation. Also, provision of the neighbourhood by all kinds of technical infrastructure like water, electricity, telephone, natural gas etc was cut off. What is more, the operation was realized without sending any warning paper to the inhabitants.

The inhabitants of Karanfilköy had constructed the neighbourhood with their own hands. They gave innumerable efforts to make it livable and beautiful part of the city, a place embedded full of their memories. They define their identity with Karanfilköy. They say that they are from Karanfilköy. They even rehabilitated the river area. Their effort was awarded within a project called Top Ten Best Urban Implications project revealed by an organization “Human Settlements Organization” within the concept of creating local potentials. There has been a very strong neighbourhood soul in Karanfilköy. The inhabitants support each other by all means.

Karanfilköy has a square and a mosque. The narrow roads all have a flower or a tree name. They solved the technical problems like electricity, water, waste water on their own and they paid taxes for the mentioned public services. They constructed a school and working places which employ 140 people in it. They gave effort also for the social services like parks, sport areas, a small health centre and culture centre. The small, one storey culture centre AKADLILAR (Akadlilar Culture and Support Association) offers diverse education courses for the inhabitants like reading and writing, English courses, homework help courses for school children etc.

The centre burdens a central role during protests against these demolishing implications. The inhabitants have been organized around the centre in order to find a solution. They organized number of protest activities, starting with organizing a festival, with the aim of carrying the issue to the public sphere. They claimed that they are against living in high rise stone buildings that do not suit to the character of the area overall. This festival took place within 5. International Istanbul Bienali under the name of “Inhabiting Right is a Human Right” project. They display a kind of place conscious behaviour. They claim that another way of living is possible and underline the importance of creating life-places, neighbourhoods and taking part in urban public life. Moreover, they prepare a petition, and send it to all related public bodies and persons in order to stop demolishment. Here we see the contradictions of the desires of inhabitants who arrived Istanbul after 1950s and the spatial needs of 2000s. On the one side problems that arise from their legal status on the other side the pressure

arise from competition over urban land. As Shav states, through advanced methods of information dissemination, astute use of the media and strategic political pressure, participants in some alternative scenes are claiming their right to the city[37]

The media, however, draw a very negative image of those people. They are shown as creature who can kill their children to obtain more housing units. Moreover, these areas are targeted as the sources of criminality. This has caused an illusion in the minds of the people. They are accused of being rich without deserving it, people who look for earning more and more from urban rent and threat the lives of real city dwellers.

The problem turns around who will be excluded from Istanbul and who will be allowed to live in.

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PUBLIC İSTANBUL
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Constanze Letsch

Privacy and public space. The islamic headscarf and urban tension

From radicalism to reformism

In Turkey, the discussions about islam and islamism have taken up a large part of public debate ever since the foundation of the republic in 1923. With the rise of political islamist movements in the 1970s, the place and discourse of islamism in Turkey has changed in style, content and importance.

Two phases of islamism are being pointed out today: during the first phase, which reached its climax with the Iranian Islamic Revolution in 1979, islamist action was mainly restricted to militant fundamentalist circles, whose theories were revolutionary and directed against the system in power. The second and still ongoing phase is marked by new social groups like muslim intellectuals, cultural elites, businessmen and middle class muslims who do not think revolutionary but reformatory.[1] The social actors of contemporary muslim communities are part of a public sphere that they can neither control nor direct. They are therefore, unlike the militant islamists before, part of this public sphere and in interaction with its secular patterns.

> « The islamic actors make use of urban space, they use global networks of communication, get engaged in public debate, follow the consumatory patterns of others, learn the rules of the market, they enter seculiar time, get familiar with the values of individuation, with professional life and with consumption society. »[2]

Nilüfer Göle calls this process the « normalization of muslim identity » which is in opposition to the fundamentalist construction of muslim identity which defines itself as « radical otherness » from the secular modernity. It is the aim of this paper to analyze

[1] ROY, Olivier (1992), L'echec de l'islam politique, Paris, Le Seuil ; GÖLE, Nilüfer (2004), Die sichtbare Präsenz des Islam und die Grenzen der Öffentlichkeit, in : AMMAN, Ludwig / GÖLE, Nilüfer (Hg.) (2004), Islam in Sicht. Der Auftritt von Muslimen im öffentlichen Raum, Bielefeld, transcript, p. 11

[2] GÖLE, Nilüfer (2004), pp. 12-13

the changes in islamist discourse in Turkey in general and to locate the tension between secular and religious actors inside the public sphere that is created partly through the visualization of muslim symbols and *habitus*, such as the islamic headscarf, clothing or beards on men.

This entrance into the public space, culturally and geographically, creates tension with the fundamentalist islamists who try to hold on to the traditional defintion of a homogenous *umma* and who define islam in direct opposition to modernity and modernism. But the new muslim public is one of ruptures, breaks and shifts : through the new, more hybrid identity, muslims start to take a critical distance from the acceptance of islam as a common denominator, which triggers a change in islamist argument. The growing individualization leads also to a dissociation from collective militantism.

The shifts in religious muslim identity and the struggle for visibility through entering the public spheres creates a tension that is especially high in Turkey, a nation state defining itself on the basis of seculiarism and modernism. It is not only the muslim identity that is altered, but also the public sphere itself, which is, in the case of Istanbul, both true geographically and culturally.

> « The borders of the public sphere and the seculiar definitions of the neutrality of public space are put into question by the public appearance of muslims, by their new claims and social practices. Because in the same way that islam is pushing into public spheres, the there ruling homogenous structures and principles of consensus are destabilized. »[3]

The public debates in Turkey about the headscarf issue, both in the media and in the political scene, show how deeply the break between seculiarists and islamists runs. It is one aim of this paper to analyze the uneasiness created by the new definitions of a muslim public space in Turkey. This interaction of islam and modern public space leads to shifts inside the public sphere. Important borders are suddenly deleted, definitions of modern and traditional, public and private blurred : with the rise of a moderate political islam, marked by the election of the of the *Justice and Development Party* (*Adalet ve kalkinma partisi,* AKP) into office in 2002, comes a creation of muslim publicity that is not in direct opposition to everything considered modern, but that blends with it to open new fields of discourse and vice versa. Islamic mass media, the sectors of communication, entertainment and service are in

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[3] Göle (2004), p.13

harmony with what can be considered islamic rules and expectations, new markets grow out of the demands of a middle and upper religious class which all together leads to the fact that the equation of religious equals being backward does not seem to work anymore. « Islam creates an own public space, in which islamic styles of speech, body rituals and behaviouor are the rule. »[4]

In Turkey, the growing islands of political islam create an uneasiness that is reflected in large part through the headscarf debate, which started in this form with the headscarf movement in 1984 and is still going on, having changed only the actors, but not the content : with the election of the AKP, which is described as « moderately islamist » foremost by the foreign media, the headscarf has entered the public forum in its democratic core, worn by members of the parliament and wifes of deputees, thus creating a serious polemic amongst politicians inside the political arena itself.

Visibility and modernity in Turkey

In Turkey, the presence and representation of religion, of Islam has always been, ever since the foundation of the republic in 1923, a struggle for visibility and therefore a place in the public sphere.

The shaping of the nation state, the republic of Turkey, was accompanied and founded on radical social, political and cultural changes, reforms that were meant to outline and strengthen the face of the national entity after the decline of the Ottoman Empire.[5]

The complete and deep change from an Ottoman identity to a national Turkish identity was achieved with great determination and in a very short lapse of time, and is, in its radicality, unique in history. Its bureaucratic organization and its constancy can maybe only be compared to the reforms undertaken by Mohammed Reza Pahlavi in Iran.[6] Modernisation processes referred to the occidental model of modernity, proposing democracy, equality and, importantly, seculiarism as tools for development and substantial progress.

But the modernization by all means and without compromise was not able to keep all the promises made : while in the first years of the nation state, public space gained a

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[4] Göle (2004), p.13

[5] ADANIR, Fikret. (1995), Geschichte der Republik Türkei, Mannheim ; Leipzig ; Wien ; Zürich, BI-Taschenbuch-Verlag, pp. 21 - 46

[6] VANER, Semih (1991), Modernisation autoritaire en Turquie et en Iran, Paris, L'Harmattan, pp. 7 - 14

new positive image and power was transferred from the hands of dynasties and aristocratic elites, populist nationalism leads quickly from political emancipation to dictatorship.

> « The process of constructing the nation does not end with a nation state and free equal citizens, but it finishes with the simple destruction of traditional and corporative social structures that had served until then as patterns of exchange and points of orientation for identity. »[7]

It is argued that this disappointment in modernization as an imitation of « the West » with its occidental values, this « cultural violation »[8] leads to searches for alternative identities and militantism. One prominent example of this development is the rise of the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt, as analyzed by Gilles Kepel.[9]

In the process of building the nation state of Turkey, the question of islam and religious practices and symbols was to become the center of modernist efforts. Defining modernity as secular, according to the model proposed by western nation states, religion became the element most effected by the kemalist reforms. Islam, having organized and structured everyday life until then, having influenced clothing, speech and eating styles, the whole habitus of every social actor, was to become a private affair, something that was to be practised and acted out outside the public forums. Therefore, modernism and the act of modernization pushed islam out of the public spheres, and it was to become the constitutional element of the modernization and civilization project of the newly founded national state, in the sense that « modern » was to be defined as anything that was not linked with islam or religion, everything that was its opposite.

Visibility inside the public space thus became a key factor during modernization in Turkey: dress that was defined as ottoman, islamic and therefore backward, such as the fez, the headscarf, the tunic (*charshaf*), the traditional trousers for men (*shalvar*) or the facial veil (*peche*) were banned and substituted by European style hats, trousers and fashion defined as « Western » and « modern ». In the struggle for publicity and visualization of identities, women became the crucial social actors. Göle has analyzed the role of women in the Turkish modernization process in detail and of

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[7] GHALIOUN, B. (1997), Islam et politique. La modernité trahie, Paris, La Découverte, p. 95

[8] GÖLE, N. , cit. in : GHALIOUN, B. (1997)

[9] KEPEL, Gilles (1984), Le Prophète et Pharaon. Les mouvements islamistes dans l'Égypte contemporaine, Paris, La Découverte

how they acted as a key figure in the struggle between radical modernists and islamists. Göle points out that it is the definition and visibility of women who define in large parts modernity and reform : whereas in ottoman times, women considered honorable were expected to cover their heads, faces and bodies (slaves were excluded, even forbidden to cover their faces) and were partly excluded from the public sphere (e.g. coffee houses, public boats), the kemalist reforms aim to make them visible, to create a public space in which the new kemalist women live, act and shape the new republic alongside the men.[10] Political publicity is ensured by giving women the right to vote in 1930, years before countries like France or Italy.

The islamic headscarf and the new political self-conscience of islam

Especially in Istanbul, the center of modern, elite Turkey, religion with the islamic headscarf as its symbol, became a social « stigma » in the definition of Erving Goffmann.[11] It is argued that, not unlike other social movements that aimed for « a shattered identiy », islamist efforts and the politization of islam made use of visual symbols to underline differences between the western modernists and islamists.[12]
The headscarf movement as a political protest started in 1984, when young women wearing the islamic headscarf protested in order to gain access to public universities which was, and still is, legally forbidden (the same goes for all public buildings in Turkey). The methods used were not unlike those of other known social movements (sit-ins, demonstrations etc.).
With the beginning of these movements, the struggle for visibility in the public sphere became both a struggle for geographical space and political publicity. Whereas the headscarf was defined as an attribute of the lower, uneducated classes, of the farmers from Anatolia, the headscarf movement destroyed that definition and crossed the border carefully installed by the kemalist reforms and former constructions of Turkish modernity. The covered or uncovered head of the Turkish woman became a politicum and it is, still today, with the same fiery debate, a figure of discussion. But the symbolism of the islamic headscarf has changed.

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[10] GÖLE, Nilüfer (1995), Republik und Schleier. Die musllimische Frau in der modernen Türkei, Berlin, Babel Verlag
[11] GOFFMANN, Erving (1967), Stigma. Über Techniken der Bewältigung beschädigter Identität, Frankfurt a. M., Suhrkamp TW
[12] GÖLE, N. (2004)

> « The wearing of the islamic headscarf is now worn volontarily and chosen by those women who do not want to be confined in traditional roles anymore, who are not locked away in their houses, but by those who get out from the private space into the public spheres, by women who have access to higher education, to urban life and to public action. »[13]

As Jürgen Habermas has shown in his definition of the public sphere as catalyser for democratic discourse, the islamic headscarves seem to have a similar effect in Turkey. The headscarf movement puts the definitions of what may enter the public sphere and of what has to stay private in question. Göles analysis shows that the young girls who wish to wear a headscarf also put, for one thing, the defintion of « islam = anti-modern » to question, and, on the other hand, seem to challenge islamic fundamentalism by asking for access to higher education, professional life and individuality, thus breaking out of the classic islamic definitions which confine women in their roles as wives and full-time mothers.[14]

Geographical changes in Istanbul public spheres

With the shift of social actors carrying religious practice and symbols into the public forums from traditional lower class people to the self-conscious middle class, geographical centers of islam also change : while the Anatolian immigrants acting out religion as part of an unchallenged tradition lived in the peripheries and poorer neighbourhoods of Istanbul, islam is now also a visible part of more sophisticated areas. With a growing younger part of society living by the rules of islam, headscarfs are carried into the neighbourhoods of Beyoglu and Nisantasi.

On the other hand, fundamentalist neighbourhoods are more and more disconnected from other neighbourhoods and from the urban structures: the case of Carsamba, an area in the municipality of the very religious Fatih, where police surveillance is partly used to control islamist movements, illustrates the growing extreme difference also inside muslim communities in Istanbul.

A new and self-appropriated islamic public sphere

As mentioned above, the pushing of islam into the public sphere changes the definition of the public space itself as well. Patterns and structures of religion and modernism merge, connect and intertwine: The islamic headscarf has gained not

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[13] GÖLE, N. (2004), p. 24

[14] GÖLE, N. (1995),

only political value, but has also become a fashion item. Expensive islamic fashion labels such as the Istanbulian *Tekbir* create a market for the educated middle class and upper middle class women who wish to cover their heads and dress according to their religious standards. All throughout Istanbul, fancy fashion commercials, posters with beautiful fashion models wearing make-up and expensive silk headscarfs can be found in the streets, next to Prada, Hilfiger and Levis. Islamic fashion shows have long gained a high popularity and are an important part of the fashion industry as well. The headscarf as a fashion statement is not only a matter of style : the *türban*, tightly wrapped around the head and neck of the wearer, also underlines the difference between the new political islam and the traditional practice of religion by older generations.

Islamic pop culture has also gained in popularity : private islamic television channels such as *Kanal 7* and *Samanyolu* produce TV series and shows according to the taste and the expectations of a practicing muslim public, where the symbols and codes of islam are observed to create a difference from « regular, western-in-style » TV programs (presentators wearing headscarfs, no alcoholic beverages, use of islamic figures of speech etc.). Popular culture, consumerism, commercials and the capitalist markets are public forums in which modern discursive structures and islam merge to create an islamic identity that is not traditionalist. In today´s Beyoglu, students wearing Che Guevara shirts, leather wristbands, jeans, Converse shoes and headscarfs can be seen as a part of daily life.

However, the uneasiness created by the collision of political islam and seculiarism in these spheres can be observed when the struggle enters the « official » and political public arena :

When the TV shows « Winnie the Pooh » and « The Muppet Show » were banned from TRT's agenda because of the pig caracters, a wide-spread debate in the media was triggered about growing islamism in Turkey. The same can be said about the question of whether the wives of party deputees who cover their heads should be allowed to attend official events. (In 2004, Emine Erdogan, the wife of the prime minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan, was prevented from attending the official dinner with government officials during the NATO reunion. The prime minister preferred to show up by himself, which started not only angry discussion, but also sarcasm in the media.) In 2006, the public anger about the killing of a high judge who had been involved in a sentence forbidding the wearing of headscarfs by teachers on the way

to school and the call for seculiarism after his assasination showed another peak in the debate.

As a preliminary conclusion it can be said that despite the radical difference between islamists and secularists in political and medial discussions, more hybrid public places develop in the urban tissue. The changing cultural spheres in Istanbul create public tension but also shifts of borders inside the muslim identity. On the other hand, they lead also to a disconnection from fundamentalist movements of the Muslim community.

<u>Note:</u> This is a preliminary version written for discussion at the workshop "Public Istanbul" to be held in Weimar, January 19th to 20th, 2007. Lacking, among other things, most of the relevant discussion of literature, many notes, the due acknowledgments and the finishing of its rather approximate English, it is not good for quotation.

The Photographic Memory

or

How in Beyoglu Historical Photography Turns into Public Memory of Space

CHRISTOPH K. NEUMANN, BILGI UNIVERSITY ISTANBUL

In colloquial Istanbul Turkish, the word "cadde" that generally stands for "broad street" or "boulevard" often also denotes just a specific street and its immediate environs: the _stiklâl Caddesi, also better known as the "Beyo_lu". Likewise, the word "Meydan, "square" is often plainly used for the Taksim Meydanı, the square at the northern end of the _stiklâl Street.

Thus the two main spatial units of Beyo_lu[1] are linguistically more than a street and a square: They are THE street and THE square of THE CITY. This may seem astonishing. Beyo_lu may have been something of a city centre at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century, but it has lost – and actually continues to loose – a number of its central functions – without, however, losing its importance.

Beyo_lu was never the administrative centre of the state, but it had considerable political weight due to the presence of virtually all foreign embassies in the area.[2] These embassies have been downgraded to consulate generals during the first decades of the Republican time.[3] Since then, a number of them have left the quarter, most notably the

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[1] "Beyo_lu" is, on the one hand, the territory of administrative units (both a district ["ilçe"] of the provincial administration and a corresponding district municipality), on the other hand, it is a loosely defined neighbourhood ("semt"). In this paper, the second meaning applies. The neighbourhood in question is centred around the _stiklâl Street. While its northern (the Taksim Square and the entrance to Sıraselviler Caddesi and then the continuation along Turnacıba_ı Sok.) and western boundaries (the Tarlaba_ı Bulvarı) seem to be clearly understood, its southern and southeastern deliminations are not: The parts of Galata adjacent to the current end of _stiklâl St (what is today Galip Dede Caddesi was originally part of the Grand rue de Péra) and parts of the slopes declining toward Tophane are to be regarded as part of Beyo_lu whle others are not. We are dealing here with a cultural geography that has a propensity to swift change. When a real estate development project transformed the modest residential Cezayir ("Algerian") street into a hub of fashionable bars and restaurants (calling itself "Fransız" – "French" – street), it immediately became a part of Beyo_lu. No matter that it lies outside the boundaries just described.

[2] The most notable exception being the Iranian embassy which is located on Babiâli street *intra muros.*

[3] The first embassy that moved to Ankara was the German one. Cemil Koçak, *Türk-Alman _li_kileri, 1923-1939: _ki Dünya Sava_ı Aerasındaki Dönemde Siyasal, Kültürel, Askeri ve Ekonomik _li_kiler*

US-American embassy that in 2003 has moved into a huge and quite fortified location at _stinye.[4]

Similar developments concern the headquarters of the leading Turkish banks that have moved to high-rise buildings generally located in Levent.[5] The most prestigious shopping and service centres are also no longer located in Beyo_lu that increasingly caters a more popular clientele.[6]

In a city that houses 23 universities, only one has a small campus on the Sıraselviler Street; and another one has opened an institute on a side street of the _stiklâl in 2006. Finally, while a great number of hotels exist in the area, the most prestigious ones are located in the other quarters of the city.

If Beyo_lu's political, financial, mercantile and educative functions have been slowly degraded over the past decades, its importance as a centre of culture and entertainment has been on a steep increase, especially after the _stiklâl and some of its side streets were pedestrianised in 1990.

Since then, the night life has developed so forcefully that today many old apartment buildings house different bars in their different floors. However, the high end of the market is located not in Beyo_lu, but elsewhere. Yet it would be plainly wrong to characterise the entertainment sector of the quarter as "cheap."

The contrary is true. Beyo_lu also houses many theatres, art galleries, and concert halls, among them *Babylon,* that has become a major venue of avant-garde music on a world-wide scale. The cultural institutes of European countries are located in the quarter,[7] and many of the banks have put at least part of the space that was once allotted to administration functions) to use as a cultural centre: Most conspicable is the Yapı Kredi

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(Ankara: AKDTYK TTK, 1991), 10-15. Even after moving their ambassador to Ankara, many powers retained ambassadorial summer quarters at the Bosporus – some of which exist until today.

4 It may be characteristic that the governing parti AKP has not bothered to find a place for its Istanbul headquarters in Beyo_lu but rather in a non-descript, easy to reach location in Piyalepa_a (http://www.akparti.org.tr/istanbul, read 28.XII.2006).

5 Most of the banks had their headquarters in Galata, but some, most notably the Yapı ve Kredi Bankası were located directly on _stiklâl Street.

6 When Vakko, the upmarket fashion store that had opened is doors in 1962 and was regarded one of "Beyo_lu's touchstones" ("Beyo_lu'nun mihenk ta_larından": *Sabah* (2.VII.2006), quoted after http://www.sabah.com.tr/2006/07/02/gny/gny124-20060702-200.html, read 26.XII.2006) closed its doors, one of the reasons given was that its distinguished clientele would not walk along with the masses through the pedestrian zone in order to reach a shop: Oktay Ekinci, "Beyo_lu'nda 'Otomobil'!", *Cumhuriyet* (18.V.2005), quoted after http://www.arkitera.com/news.php?action=displayNewsItem&ID=1967&month=8&year=2006&PHPSESSID=ea1762500a30bc531b2be7195f5e0a68&month=7&year=2006&PHPSESSID=ea1762500a30bc531b2be7195f5e0a68, read 26.XII.2006; see also: Güngör Uras, "Vakko 55 yıl sonra Beyo_lu'ndan ayrılıyor", *Milliyet* (9.VII.2006), quoted after http://www.milliyet.com/2006/07/09/yazar/uras.html, read 26.XII.2006.

7 Some of them are there for an already quite long time like the French Cultural Centre and the Goethe Institute that, however, has acquired a building of its own ten years ago. Others, such as the Romanian, the Spanish Cervantes and the incumbent Greek Institute have been newly established. An exception is the Austrian Institute that has moved with the consulate into the old ambassadorial summer residence in Yeniköy.

Kültür situated opposite the Galatasaray high school and complete with art gallery, a small museum, library, publishing house, bookshop and auditory. A new addition is the Pera Museum, endowed by members of the industrialist Koç family. It has not only a remarkable collection of portrait paintings, Kütahya ceramics and Ottoman measures and weights, but hosts major exhibitions of Turkish and international art. In the last fifteen years, numerous bookshops have been opening, making Beyo_lu (no longer the *sahaflar çar_ısı* in Beyazıt or the area of Babiâli) the best place to acquire literature in Istanbul. With the bookshops came the publishing houses, and especially publishers with a secular orientation are today often found in Beyo_lu. Finally: despite the growing competition by multiplex cinemas, Beyo_lu is still the cineastic hub of Turkey.

All this has transformed Beyo_lu into a quarter specialised in entertainment and culture. Its new central function is that of cultural production. In this sense, the quarter is quite cosmopolitan, repelling only the devote Muslim parts of the population. It draws, however, on the custom of a broader public: the crowds that make it difficult to walk along the street especially in the evenings and on weekends. Still, the developments in Beyo_lu have triggered the gentrification of adjacent areas, firstly Cihangir, later Galata, now Asmalımescit. North to Taksim, a new tourist area with middle class hotels has also emerged.

This transformation had limited repercussions on the architectural fabric of the area, only in the form of renovations that entailed the gutting or destruction of the ground floor in order to open wider space for sales areas and shop-windows. The last ten years have, however, profoundly affected the urban structure of the quarter, the social composition of its population (residents, workers and customers) and the mixture of businesses, public and civic institutions.

At first sight, it may seem surprising that Beyo_lu's claims to centrality have not been given up but actually forcefully reinstated even if the conventional functions of a city centre have been considerably downgraded. That such claims enjoy some credibility has certainly to do with the importance culture has for contemporary cities.[8] However (as I shall try to show in the first part of this paper) many of these claims to pre-eminence use references to a Beyo_lu of the past. Thus, they rather hide than expose the fundamental transformation the quarter has undergone.

Another feature of interest is the relatively small degree to which state institutions intervene in the spatial representation of Beyo_lu. This is remarkable as the Republic of Turkey is not only one of the rare states that simultaneously claim to be a democracy and profess to a state ideology ("Atatürkçülük", Kemalism) but also because identity politics play an important role in the political debate. Consequently, via the display of flags, Atatürk posters, busts and statues, by naming places and streets and performing rituals, state authorities dislocate symbols that are meant to imbue space with meaning.[9]

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8 John Lovering, Amber Niksarlıo_lu, "Kentsel dönü_ümün son devası kültür ve kültür ba_kenti _stanbul", http://www.yenimimar.com/general/agenda.asp?contID=1299 (read 27.XII.2006).

9 The reluctance to display official state ideology in Beyo_lu on a massive scale may have something to do with the conventional construction of the quarter in literature and popular culture as "non-Muslim", "foreign" and "western".

That these attempts at dominating the representation of space are often challenged or subjected to – occasionally very sophisticated – modification should go without mentioning. In fact, in Beyo_lu there is one place that has been the locus of a heavy conflict on spatial representation: The Taksim Square, centred around Pietro Canonica's Monument of the Republic of 1928, is a space marked as secular. The controversy about the erection of a mosque nearby provoked a heated debate that went on for a long time.[10] Apart from Taksim Square, however, state-intervention is more or less restricted to maintaining a void (rather than creating a symbolism of its own). State intervention is concentrating on preventing the display of politically challenging symbols, not the display of its own.

When, in 1995 Saturday Mothers, the relatives of people who had "disappeared" in police or constabulary custody and had been missing ever since, began to hold vigils in front of the Galatasaray high school on _stiklâl Street every Saturday, these demonstrations turned into a symbol of popular discontent with the autocratic features of Turkish state culture, the so-called "derin devlet." Since 1998, the rather violent and frequent police intervention has made the demonstrations impossible; until in March 1999, when they were announced to be discontinued.[11] On a less violent note, when the secularist "Society for the Improvement and Protection of Beyo_lu"[12] that draws its membership mainly from business people and established artists began to illuminate the street in the winter of 1994-95 by using motifs such as stars and Christmas trees; the –then quite outspokenly Islamist– municipality reacted one year later by introducing an illumination of its own, featuring the presumably Turkish symbol of the tulip.[13] However, the tulip proved to be a weak symbol that was easy to replace. In the last few years, the festive illuminations in Beyo_lu have begun to feature visual forms associated with the beverage Coca Cola and the gsm operator Turkcell in its stead. In both cases, state intervention did away with symbolisms that appeared to challenge the powers that be but did not attempt to replace it with its own.

Even the Taksim Square has been partly de-politicized, at least on the surface. In a slow process, which went almost unrecognized, the erstwhile parade-ground has been transformed into a more civilian setting that can also accommodate the immense traffic a

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[10] Güldem Baykal, *The Iconography of Taksim Square: Competing Claims on a Public Space,* unpubl. MA thesis, Bo_aziçi University, 2000, esp. 63-78; Güldem Baykal-Büyüksaraç, "Conquering Istanbul: The Controversy over the Taksim Mosque Project", *Anthropology in Action* 11, 2-3 (2004): 22-31. Documents relating to the debate are published in Oktay Ekinci, *Bütün Yönleriyle Taksim Camisi Belgeseli* (_stanbul: Ça_da_ Yayınları. [1997]). Tanıl Bora, "Fatih'in _stanbul'u: Siyasal Islam'ın 'Alternatif Küresel _ehir' Hayalleri," *_stanbul: Küresel ile Yerel Arasında,* ed. Ça_lar Keyder, transl. Sungur Savran (_stanbul: Metis, 2000) [=Istanbul: Between the Global and the Local, 1999], 60-77.

[11] Berat Günçıkan, *Cumartesi Anneleri,* 2nd ed. (_stanbul: _leti_im, 1996); "Cumartesi Annelerinden »Cumartesi«", http://www.bianet.org/2002/05/17/haber10036.htm (read 30.XII.2006).

[12] The *Beyo_lu Güzelle_tirme ve Koruma Derne_i* was founded in 1985. During the 1990's it was largely identified with the fashion trader Vitali Hakko. http://www.beyoglu.org.tr.

[13] The use of tulips in public space would deserve a case study of its own. Both real flowers and representations are widely employed, but their meaning remains badly defined. Ironically, both the flowers and (most of) the representations have little to do with the Ottoman tulips of the eighteenth century to which they presumably refer, but to types associated with twentieth century Dutch gardening.

bit better.[14] Meanwhile, a general ban of political demonstrations [15] has been somewhat softened: Even if the immediate surroundings of the monument are off bounds for such gatherings, it is tolerated if crowds come together in a small distance supposedly in order to deliver and listen to a declaration to the press.

If Beyo_lu is a symbolically loaded quarter, and if imposed state symbolism is either quite absent or has limited impact, what kind of symbolism is then at work? This paper does not attempt to give a complete answer to this question. Instead, I restrict my argument to an isolated but conspicuous feature: the display of historical photography in the public space of Beyo_lu. The presence of photography is the more interesting as it is something not equally applying to other parts of Istanbul.[16] In Beyo_lu, however, not only exhibits on the history of the area are almost exclusively based on historical photography, which then is shown publicly (occasionally even on the streets),[17] but historical photography is also visible in commercial and popular contexts that link up to a certain representation of the area.

In the first main part of the paper, “The Dominant Photographic Representation of the Past in Beyo_lu”, the major mechanisms are scrutinised that are at work in the representation of the quarter as the embodiment of a particular modernity cleansed of ambiguity. The second part, “The Political Challenge: The Incidents of September 6th and 7th, 1955 and their Representation in Public Space” focuses on the reactions to an exhibition of (mainly) photographs documenting a state-sponsored anti-non-Muslim riot that devastated larger parts of Beyo_lu business life and resulted in the emigration of numerous Orthodox Istanbulites to Greece. Neither the political challenge nor the artistic one that is the topic of the third part “The Inner Mirror: *The Memory of a Square* by Gülsün Karamustafa”, are able to shatter the dominant representation, although both effectively question it. Some reasons for that will be sought out in the conclusion that otherwise will attempt to raise a number of questions.

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[14] Baykal, *Iconography of Taksim Square,* p. 49.

[15] Ibid., p.61.

[16] There are exceptions like a large number of photographs showing Atatürk’s life hanged along the main street between Ortaköy and Dolmabahçe or the large photograph showing the opening of the Kadıköy branch of the Türk __ Bankası which nowadays (observation from January 12th, 2007) covers the upper half of the façade of that building. The second instance constitutes an parallel to what shall be described in the first chapter of this paper.

[17] Since February 16th, 2004, the municipal building of Beyo_lu in _i_hane houses the exhibition “6. Daire: _lk Belediye, 1857-1913: Beyo_lu’nda _dare, Toplum ve Kentlilik” that deals with the municipal history from 1857 to 1913. Conceptualised by Korhan Gümü_, Ça_la Ormanlar Ok and this poor one, this exhibition is largely based on photographs. Between June 1st and 25th, 2006, the real estate company Demirören Gayrimenkul sponsored an exhibit called "1870’lerden 2050’lere Beyo_lu Nereye?“ (“Where moves Beyo_lu from the 1870ies to the 2050ies?”). While the future of Beyo_lu was treated in an exhibition at the premises of the Societa’ Operaia Italiana, the historical parts, authored by Yıldız Salman and using mostly photography, were displayed in open air along the _stiklâl Street: http://www.arkitera.com/event.php?action=displayEvent&ID=797 (read January 2nd, 2007).

Mirror of the Past: The Dominant Photographic Representation of the Past in Beyo_lu

As has already been mentioned, changes in the architectural fabric of _stiklâl Street have been limited throughout the last few decades. Therefore, it is easy to identify the old photographs of _stiklâl Street—even for the complete layman. While building activity at Taksim Square has been much more invasive, on the square exist elements that make the location immediately recognisable in older photographs: the Monument of the Republic, the wall of the Ottoman water distributor (the *Maksem*), the defining border set by the entrance stairs and supporting wall to the park *Taksim gezisi,* which is situated on a higher elevation, and finally the Greek Orthodox Hagia Triadha (Holy Trinity) church in the background between _stiklâl and Sıraselviler streets.

This continuity is one of the conditions that rendered photography an especially apt medium for the representation of the past in Beyo_lu. Another one is that the history of photography in Istanbul (if not in the Ottoman Empire and Turkey) largely overlaps with that of Beyo_lu. As maps of the early nineteenth century show, what today is _stiklâl Street was then a street lined only with interruptions by buildings in midst of a sparsely populated area.[18] Beyo_lu is largely the product of the time after 1857, when a first modern municipality administered the development of the area and monitored especially the transformation of the "Grand rue de Péra" into an urban centre of the nineteenth century.[19]

Thus Beyo_lu turned also into the locus of Ottoman photography, a domain first dominated by foreigners, then by members of the non-Muslim minorities. Both the social context of photography and its status as a modern technique contributed to its connection with Beyo_lu where virtually all important ateliers of the city would be found. In time and space, Beyo_lu and Ottoman-Turkish photography have a history that runs parallel to an great extent.

As a result, Beyo_lu also got more than its fair share of photographs taken, and many of them were then published by the ateliers in Beyo_lu as postcards. Beginning with the 1950'ies, with the upsurge of documentary photography as a form of art, photographers such as Hilmi _ahenk[20] or Ara Güler[21] documented the change Istanbul underwent. Again Beyo_lu, which is also Güler's base, figures prominently among the motives of these photographers.

While it is difficult to quantify what has been represented most frequently on pre-Second World War postcards, anecdotal evidence suggests that the number of popular

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[18] Compare the maps of Kauffer and Barbier (1817) with that of Hellert (1831). The evidence of these maps is certainly debatable: Hellert appears to depend largely on Kauffer and Barbier, which turns it into weak evidence for the 1830'ies.

[19] Neumann, Cezar

[20] On his œuvre, see Hilmi _ahenk, *Bir Zamanlar _stanbul* (_stanbul: _stanbul Büyük_ehir Belediyesi Kültür __leri Daire Ba_kanlı_ı, 1996).

[21] *Ara Güler'e saygı= Hommage an Ara Güler= Tribute to Ara Güler* (_stanbul: YGS Yayınları, 1998) and Ara Güler, *A photographical Sketch on Lost Istanbul* (_stanbul. Dünya, 1997).

motives within the confinements of Beyo_lu as outlined above has been rather limited:[22] People time and again pictured the same places and buildings. Among those represented, the Grand rue/_stiklâl figures most prominently by far. Here again the crossing at Galatasaray was a very popular motive, followed mainly by pictures of the Tünel Square. Apart from the Grand rue, only the Petits Champs/Me_rutiyet Caddesi in Tepeba_ı and the Taksim Square were often represented.

Among single buildings, apart from the rather obvious choices of the Monument of the Republic, the now destroyed barracks at Taksim Square, the likewise demolished Tepeba_ı theatre, hotels, embassies, schools and churches occupy places of honour. Among the schools the Galatasaray high school, among the churches the Hagia Triadha appear to have been favourite objects for the photographic representation of Beyo_lu.

Interestingly, the photographs displayed as part of commercials or as wall-decoration in restaurants and shops prefer not to show buildings that have changed drastically. In the premises of the Ayvalık Tostçusu, just at the corner of Me_rutiyet and _stiklâl, a whole wall is covered by a photograph that shows exactly the view into the street at the point this shop is located. This kind of reduplication occurs rather frequently. Posting a (generally huge) photograph that shows in black and white (sometimes modified to give the impression of sepia or of hand-colouring), the shop owner invites the customer-spectator to compare the actual state of her/his immediate environment with that of "old times".

Here the photograph and the actual environment are juxtaposed, mutually informing each other. It is, however, only the photograph, that is under the complete control of those who create that juxtaposition. It is of their choice and open to their modification; and it is displayed in a way they have chosen. The actual environment, however, is only under the limited control of anybody. This limit of control has, occasionally, important repercussions.

Illustration 1 demonstrates this situation. It shows an advertisement of the gsm operator Turkcell that was hung at Taksim Square in the year 2000.[23] The text of the advertisement, meaning "Our meeting point" refers to the monument: Indeed, the sculpture at the centre of the square serves as an obvious place to meet if one has an appointment somewhere in the environment. This text, that refers to a rather private arrangement, is somewhat thwarted not only by the accompanying picture which shows a public meeting but also by the situation on the square, where during that time police barricades shielded the monument from any kind of leisurely access.

The discrepancy between text and picture of the announcement cleverly plays with the both individual and mass character of a telephone network. In addition, it links the company to the public values expressed in the monument (among them progress, a

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[22] Halil Onur, "Kartpostallarda Yüzyıl Öncesi Beyo_lu'ndan Anılar", *Geçmi_ten Günümüze Beyo_lu,* ed. M. Sinan Genim et al. (_stanbul: Türkiye Anıt Çevre Turizm De_erlerini Koruma Vakfı, _stanbul Büyük_ehir Belediyesi, 2004), 2: 771-89. The 108 postcards reproduced here assumingly give a more or less representative example of a collection relating to Beyo_lu (in its widest sense).

[23] Photograph by Güldem Baykal-Büyüksaraç. I thank her for providing me with the picture. See also Baykal, *Iconography of Taksim Square,* p. 79-84. In her interpretation, Baykal draws attention to the meaning this advertisement attains in a

Western orientation and national pride) but simultaneously invokes private memories of meetings in the middle of the square. The contradiction between the photograph and the actual situation gives the whole juxtaposition a kind of humorous twist that actually works against both: If the real monument is no meeting point, is then the advertisement credible? And if the monument used to be an accessible meeting place (as everybody can remember and is documented by the picture) why is it no longer?

In this case, the actual environment has disturbed the mechanism that the photograph was meant to trigger: enchantment via comparison with the past. The present environment is enhanced in its quality by the evocation of yesteryear. The photograph represents a past that is simultaneously constructed as remote and in full continuity with the actual environment. This can be perhaps best shown with the example of another photograph that has been displayed by Turkcell, but this time without connection to a specific marketing campaign and in a permanent way. It covers the complete front façade of the company's Istanbul headquarters on the ground floor; separated from the street by pillars that support the protruding upper floor. Nevertheless, the setting does not make the impression of a show-case; the photograph appears rather as an extension of the street (ill. 2): while the figures in the foreground are actually larger than life (ill. 3) in most perspectives the view of the street on the photograph corresponds to that on the actual street.

Thus the photograph plays with the old fallacy that has come with the medium: the total correspondence of the picture with actual reality. Due to its quality as belonging to the past, the photograph invites the spectator to compare it with the environment but inhibits him from questioning its relation to reality. Ripped of all other context but the setting in which it has been put, it leaves the spectator to find commonalities and differences with the environment of today: the results of this comparison, however, are understood as historical development.

This historical development is not only framed in total spatial and perceptional continuity with the environment; it is also teleologically constructed towards that environment. Because the actual space around the photograph and the spectator serve as the basis for the comparison and is the only context left to the photograph, the spectator looking at the photograph is confined to the question of what is like or unlike today. In principle, it would be certainly possible to look at the photograph in different ways. For example, one could attempt to date it by looking closely at the costumes of people, the cars or coaches on the road or the architectural environment. One could try to read the photograph as a document that aspires to capture a certain urban setting or atmosphere. But all these and the innumerable other potential readings of the photograph are discouraged by the setting in which the photograph is being displayed.

That the photograph belongs to the past is being highlighted by some of its features: it is black and white, people and things in the photograph look different from those today. Actually, only such pictures are used in the public sphere of Beyo_lu that are easily recognisable as historical. Old photographs that are confining themselves e.g. to the

rendering of architecture and might be much less obviously “old” are not encountered in public space.[24]

The setting of the photograph that mirrors its environment, however, renders the past as an unspecific one: “Old days” rather than, as in the case of the photograph at the front of the Turkcell building, the late 1930ies. The late 1930ies would imply certain historical features that might be controversial in the eyes of the public. Moreover: there is always something – or a lot of things – that one does not know about the late 1930ies. On the other hand, there is nothing that one would not know about the old days: they exist as something to refer to because they consist exclusively of what one remembers about them.

“Old days” in comparison to “today” oscillate between commonalities and differences. With regard to Beyo_lu, commonalities are then understood as aspects of modernity, differences as past, occasionally an exotic past. The aspects of modernity reinforce the continuity between the old days and now; the exotic aspects are part of a past life and objects of nostalgia. There is no break between the old Beyo_lu on the front façade of the Turkcell building and the current Beyo_lu on the street in front of the building. The photograph both provides an explanation of why Beyo_lu is modern (as it has always been) and accommodates misgivings. The contrast between the well-dressed people in the life-size photograph and the leisurely dressed ones on the street evokes the received idea that “in the good old days you could not visit Beyo_lu without wearing a hat and a tie.”

Something similar applies to the cars on the street. They are exotic,[25] and the scene of the street is pronouncedly idyllic if compared to the traffic of Istanbul today. _stiklâl Street is now a pedestrian zone, and a tram operates on it, that is officially labelled “nostalgic”.[26] Both features bring the actual environment close to that of the photograph (on which the rails of the tramline are an important visual element) and thus reinforce the continuity between the two. Past and present are thus seamlessly connected, and any ambiguity is dissolved in the nostalgia offered as explanation for the differences.

But the large scale photographs that are on display in the public space of Beyo_lu do not confine themselves to mirroring of the actual environment and to give it meaning by linking it to a past that is in continuity with the present. They do one more thing. In a study of vernacular photography, Geoffrey Batchen introduces what he calls the “physicality of the photograph” as an important aspect of its analysis: “…in order to see what the photography is of, we must first repress our consciousness of what the photograph is.”[27] Batchen recovers this often suppressed consciousness and talks about the frame, the hanging, the setting and modifications to photographs. He makes a claim that “Just as vernacular photographs themselves implode the presumed distinction between tactility and visibility, and between photography's physical and conceptual

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[24] An exception is a collage that uses a picture of the Galata tower and is part of the decoration of the textile seller _nci (observed December 2007).

[25] Watch the “funny” sign at the side of the taxicab on the right foreground of the picture!

[26] The term employed is “nostaljik tramvay“. A similar second line was established between Kadıköy and Moda in the early 2000’s. http://www.iett.gov.tr/metin.php?no=45 (read 4.I.2007).

[27] Geoffrey Batchen: "Vernacular Photographies", *.Each Wild Idea: Writing Photography History* (Cambridge MA, London: MIT Press, 2001), 56-81, n.b. p. 60.

identity, so must we produce an equally complex historical morphology for photographic meaning" – a meaning that is not fixed and does not originate in the photography but in the context.[28] Batchen insists against Barthes that photographs do occasionally not replace the monument as a place of memory but turn into monuments themselves.[29]

Batchen's argument is useful for the analysis of how photographic representation in the public space of Beyo_lu works. The photograph on the front façade of the Turkcell building (at the ground level) is not only a photograph: it is also a façade, a built structure. Or, to use another example: the black and white postcard showing a rather crowded lower end of _stiklâl Street with a tram on it that has been blown up to cover a whole wall-panel of the Dilek Pastanesi[30] is no longer a postcard: it is a wall, occupying the space where also a mirror could hang. As the postcard, again, reduplicates the environment of the shop it is part of, one can also say that it is a monumental mirror of the street that collapses its past into its presence.

The Challenging Mirror of Memorialisation: Documentary Photography on the Events of September 6th and 7th, 1955.

From the historical point of view, these monuments lie. There is no unbroken continuity between the past of Beyo_lu and its present. To the contrary, the history of Beyo_lu is one of breaks, and of conflicts. For one, it would be wrong to equal the co-existence of multiple communities so characteristic for the Beyo_lu of the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth century, with the cosmopolitanism, the commercial, artistic and cultural diversity of today. The first had its place in the framework of an empire and of a city that – to some degree – continued to live in an Ottoman setting after the empire had been done away with. The latter is a phenomenon of today's global modernity, a modernity that turns Istanbul – again, to some degree – into a global city.

Moreover, to identify the two with each other obfuscates the long and painful history of nationalist conflict in Beyo_lu. This is a history that shaped inter-communal relations for a long time and that, at the end of the 1950'ies and during the 1960'ies had apparently resulted in a situation, where the multi-communal Beyo_lu belonged to a past that was regarded with retrospective uneasiness as an unwelcome liability at best.[31]

In this history, the so-called "events of September 6th and 7th, 1955" ("6/7 Eylül Olayları") occupy an important place. During September 6th, 1955, the state-run Ankara radio and an Istanbul newspaper spread news that a bomb had been thrown at Atatürk's birthplace in Salonica. Meanwhile in London a tri-partite (British, Greek and Turkish) conference was trying to solve the impasse in the Cyprus question. Also on the same day,

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[28] Ibid., p. 79.

[29] Ibid., p. 76.

[30] Observed December, 2007.

[31] This was very much the situation until quite recently. I remember lively how at the beginning of the 1990'ies, I bought a bow tie at a shop in Tokatlıyan __hanı, the building of the former luxury hotel Tokatlıyan on the Grande rue. I asked the shopkeeper for a business card which he gave me lamenting that, unfortunately, the address included a name that was "not beautiful" – the Armenian "Tokatlıyan". When I responded that I rather cherished it as a reminder of a past cultural diversity, the man was not upset or hurt in his nationalist feelings but barely astonished.

the US-American secretary of state, John Foster Dulles, was having a meeting with the Turkish president Celal Bayar and prime-minister Adnan Menderes in Istanbul. The bomb had actually gone off at the Turkish consulate next door to Mustafa Kemal's (alleged) birthplace without causing much damage. Soon after, the news provoked mass demonstrations that were masterminded by a government endorsed association, the "Society Cyprus is Turkish" ("Kıbrıs Türktür Cemiyeti"). In the evening, the demonstrations turned rapidly into violent riots against non-Muslims and their property, not only spreading all over Istanbul (with the notable exception of Ye_ilköy) but also taking place in _zmir. The centre of the violence was Beyo_lu, where many businesses were owned by non-Muslims. These businesses were ransacked quite regardless of the proprietor's adherence to the Greek-Orthodox, Armenian, Jewish or another denomination. A large number of Greek-Orthodox churches and schools along with some cemeteries were also subjected to destruction. Compared with the massive material damage, the number of deaths was surprisingly low (numbers vary between 11 and 30); but mayhem and rape were committed in countless cases.

The question of who was actually responsible for the bomb in Salonica and the violence in Turkey has been long debated.[32] The Turkish government had ordered its forces to intervene only very late that night (in fact, the president and numerous government members had quietly left the city by train to Ankara after watching the beginning of the violence at Taksim Square.)[33] Later, the government blamed a communist conspiracy for the riots and vowed to compensate the damage afflicted onto the victims.[34]

When after the military coup d'état of 1960 the members of the government were on trial at a special court on the island of Yassıada, it turned out that the bomb in Salonica had actually been placed by Turkish officials. The government was also held responsible for the demonstrations that appeared to have grown out of the dimensions originally envisaged by the Turkish leadership.[35]

Since then, the events of September 1955 have been the object of fierce debate in Turkey:[36] After Adnan Menderes and his foreign minister Fatin Rü_tü Zorlu had been

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32 The best treatment of the events available is Dilek Güven, *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Azınlık Politikaları ve Stratejileri Ba_lamında 6-7 Eylül Olayları,* transl. Bahar _ahin (_stanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, 2005). Güven contextualizes the riots with the politics the early republican governments of Turkey had been pursuing in front of (not to say: against) the non-Muslim minorities in the country, but pays also attention to the international situation of the time and especially to Britain's diplomacy. The author of a second recent, richly documented monograph, Speros Vryonis Jr, is in agreement with regard to this second aspect but otherwise sees a historical (or, rather, transhistorical) Turkish-Islamic enmity against everything Greek at work. Vryonis is seriously disregarding the violence issued out at other non-Muslims. Cf. his *The Mechanism of Catastrophe: The Turkish Pogrom of September 6-7, 1955 and the Destruction of the Greek Community of Istanbul* (New York: Greekworks.com, 2005).

33 Güven, *6-7 Eylül Olayları,* 75-76.

34 The payments were to remain insufficient as the government attempted to finance it by voluntary contributions from the populace. For details Güven, *6-7 Eylül Olayları,* 40-50.

35 The pertinent court proceedings have been published: *Yüksek Adalet Divanı: 6-7 Eylül Hadiseleri*.

36 Two books that make extensive use of the Yassıada proceedings but add also other materials are good examples for this polemic. While one (Dosdo_ru) blames the Menderes government and tries to

hanged in 1961, for decades part of the public debate focussed on the issue of their rehabilitation or, conversely, continuing condemnation. What was largely lost from sight in this exchange, however, was the extent of the damage done to the non-Muslim population and the consequences of the violence: Many members of the minorities left Istanbul in the years after 1955, something that resulted in the marginalisation of non-Muslims in the city. The victims were more or less forgotten; at least, they disappeared from common consciousness. That (ethnic) Turks of Muslim creed might have meted out serious injustice to the minorities was never really taken into consideration. Moreover, that Turkish nation-building in the first decades of the republican era entailed a strong ethnicist attitude against non-Muslims and that the problem not of, but with the minorities pervades the Turkish discourse on identity are insights confined to relatively small academic and intellectual circles.[37] They have certainly not reached the broader public opinion.

Thus aversions against the non-Muslim population of the country in chauvinist circles was allowed to continue coexisting with the growing nostalgia felt toward the minorities who were seen as predecessors to the colourful population of contemporary Beyo_lu in its glittering modernity of a global city.

It were understandable if it had been a shock for the public, that serious research on the events of September, 6th and 7th reached the following conclusions:

> *The events of September, 6th and 7th have been planned by the government of the Democratic Party ruling at the time; and they have been implemented with the help of organisations controlled by the state such as student and youth organisations, trade-unions and the "Society Cyprus is Turkish" which cooperated with the secret service and local party organisations.*[38]

However, it was not the historical finding that stirred public unrest, even after it was published in a daily newspaper.[39] It was the display of photographs showing the events –

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exonerate Turkish society at large, the other (Demirer) is making an attempt to exculpate Menderes and his colleagues: M. Hulûsi Dosdo_ru, *6/7 Eylül Olayları: 6/7 Eylül 1955'in Karası Topluma Sürülmez!* (_stanbul: Ba_lam, 1993); Mehmet Arif Demirer, *6 Eylül 1955: Yassıada 6/7 Eylül Davası; Dezinformatsiya* (_stanbul: Ba_lam, 1995).

[37] The discourse on Turkish identity is too complex and variegated to be discussed adequately in the framework of a footnote. On early Turkish republican policy towards the minorities see, for example, Ahmet Yıldız, *"Ne Mutlu Türküm Diyebilene": Türk Ulusal Kimli_inin Etno-Seküler Sınırları, 1919-1938* (_stanbul: _leti_im, 2001). On the place of non-Muslim minorities in the Turkish discourse on identity see Etyen Mahçupyan, *_çimizdeki Öteki* (_stanbul: _leti_im, 2005). The current state of art in studies on Turkish nationalism is well represented by *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasî Dü_ünce: Cilt 4; Milliyetçilik ,* ed. Tanıl Bora, Murat Gültekingil, (_stanbul: _leti_im, 2002).

[38] Güven, *6-7 Eylül Olayları,* 174: "6-7 Eylül Olayları, dönemin DP hükümeti tarafından planlanmı_, gizli servis ve partinin yerel te_kilatlarıyla i_birli_i içerisinde, ö_renci ve gençlik dernekleri, sendikalar ve »Kıbrıs Türktür Cemiyeti« gibi devletçe yönlendirilen örgütlerin katkisiyla uygulanmı_tır."

[39] Güven published an article summarising her findings in the monthly journal of the Foundation for Turkish Economic and Social History (Türkiye Ekonomik ve Sosyal Tarih Vakfı, more commonly known as "Tarih Vakfı"): "6-7 Eylül Olayları ve Failler: Türk Milliyetçili_i ve Homojenle_tirme Politikası", *Toplumsal Tarih* 141 (IX/2005): 38-49. This article was serialised in the daily *Radikal* between September 6th and 8th 2005: http://www.radikal.com.tr/haber.php?haberno=163380,

exactly fifty years after they had happened, namely in September, 2005. They were exhibited at the private cultural centre Kar_ı Sanat on _stiklâl Street. that houses an art gallery but also offers courses and organises events such as film shows or discussion panels.

What was shown in this cultural centre in the framework of an exhibition that was to run for just two weeks, was material collected by the military judge Fahri Çoker who served in Beyo_lu at the time of the riots. This material consisted of a number of written documents and 244 photographs taken during the demonstrations and the violence.[40] Çoker had donated this material to the Foundation for Turkish Economic and Social History already in 1997 but stipulated not to publish it prior to his death. This poor one remembers how, after Çoker passed away in 2001, the advisory board of the History Foundation's publishing house discussed whether or not to publish the material, and against his opinion it was decided to withhold it for the time being – many members of the board worried about the possible reaction of the public.

That they were not altogether wrong became evident during the opening of the exhibition, a very crowded affair with many of the leading intellectuals of the city attending. Different groups of demonstrators entered the premises twice in an attempt to disrupt the show; and the second wave of them destroyed some of the photographs before they were removed. Three of the photographs were taken into custody for a short while (see ill 4 and 5).[41]

What is remarkable is that these photographs were not showing something completely unseen or unknown. While the Turkish public was then probably not aware of the pictures taken by the patriarchal photographer Dêmêtrios Kaloumenos,[42] some of the photographs originally published in *Paris Match* in 1955 had been reprinted in Turkey.[43] They do not look very different from those in the exhibition (compare ills. 6 and 7, which are taken from *Paris Match,* with ills. 8 through 11, taken from the Çoker archive).

What was new, however, was the massiveness of the presentation – and its presence in the public realm. Most of the photographs shown had actually been taken in Beyo_lu. The exhibition brought the memory of September 6th back to the place of the events. If the photographs that dominate the public realm are monuments of a past that reinforce the

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http://www.radikal.com.tr/haber.php?haberno=163490,
http://www.radikal.com.tr/haber.php?haberno=163591&tarih=08/09/2005 (read 7.I.2007).

[40] The material has been published *in toto* as *Fahri Çoker Ar_ivi: 6-7 Eylül Olayları; Foto_raflar, Belgeler* (_stanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2005). The quality of the photographic reproductions in this volume is unfortunately quite poor; but some of them have been more adequately printed in Güven's article in *Toplumsal Tarih* mentioned in the footnote above.

[41] Some of the news coverage: Erkan Aktu_, "50 Yıl Sonra Aynı Kafa", *Radikal* (7.IX.2005) = http://www.radikal.com.tr/haber.php?haberno=163524; Tamer Yüksel, "Sergiye Yumurtalı Saldırı", *Hürriyet* (7.IX.2007) = http://webarsiv.hurriyet.com.tr/2005/09/07/698042.asp; "'O Kafa' Serbest Bırakıldı", *Radikal* (8.IX.2005) = http://www.radikal.com.tr/haber.php?haberno=163617.

[42] Some of the supposedly 1500 shots he took during that night are reproduced in Vryonis, *Mechanism of Catastrophe.* There are eighty photographs by Kaloumenos and some from newspaper archives inserted in the middle of the volume, some of which do not directly relate to the incidents. The majority of the documentation is that of the damage, shots taken presumably at the 7th.

[43] As cover of and appendix to Dosdo_ru, *6/7 Eylül Olayları.*

present and stand in continuity with it, the exhibition functioned rather as a (temporary) memorial of a past that is constructed against the present. The Çoker photographs hint at a loss (the disappearance of the minorities) and challenge the representation of Beyo_lu as modern because they depict it as savage and violent.

It is not very simple to understand the exact motives of the protestors by only looking at the voices heard in the public debate as few openly defended them in the media. The slogans shouted were the normal chauvinistic fare, stating, for example, that "Turkey belonged to the Turks." A rare exception is the statement of one of the protesters that has been reflected in the newspaper *Radikal:* This man stated that he was against such a presentation of an event that happened fifty years ago.[44] Such a statement demonstrates that the exhibition was actually quite successful in challenging the public memory created in the meantime, that it enforced another kind of memorialisation.

This is certainly not due to some kind of superior epistemological quality of the photographs exhibited. True, documentary photography has frequently taken the realistic fallacy of photography as its starting point, namely the idea that photography can directly mirror reality, that it provides objective testimony. It should, however, be clear that the Çoker photographs as such are no more or less objective than any postcard, whether monumentalised or not. What gave them the power to challenge the established public memory was the context in which they had been put. This context consists not only of the archival documentation about the damage by which they were accompanied[45] but also of a discourse that questions the basic assumptions of Turkish nationalism. What lends them historical credibility is their dense contextualisation within the conceptual framework of such a discourse along with that in time and space. This last moment also made the display especially effective, as it made the clash of memories inevitable for everybody who was there.

On the other hand, it cannot been claimed that this was a long-lasting success. The challenge has not been translated into a permanent trace in public space. There is still no site commemorative of September 6th and 7th in Beyo_lu: the exhibition has receded into the pages of its catalogue. And even on the level of publications on Beyo_lu: A prestigious publication like the two large size volumes on Beyo_lu published by the metropolitan municipality in 2004 is full of beautiful (and often decontextualised) photographs[46] but ignores the events of September the 6th and 7th completely. In the chronology, the only entry for 1955 reads: "June 10th: Opening of the Istanbul Hilton Hotel".[47]

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44 "'Foto_rafları Ben Tahrip Etmedim'", *Radikal* (8.IX.2005) = http://www.radikal.com.tr/haber.php?haberno=163618.

45 This archival material was actually not very prominently displayed during the exhibition; while it is nicely documented in the volume *Fahri Çoker Ar_ivi,* 249-441.

46 In this publication, the collection by Onur quoted above is reproduced without any attempt to establish authors or date of the photographs.

47 "10 Haziran: _stanbul Hilton Oteli açılır." Selçuk Mülayim, "Yakınça_ Beyo_lu Günlü_ü", *Geçmi_ten Günümüze Beyo_lu,* 839864, n.b. 861.

The Inner Mirror: The Memory of a Square by Gülsün Karamustafa

Historians, the writer of these pages included, have a hard time to assess memory as what it apparently is: an obviously very complex psychological phenomenon that has an individual as well as an objective aspect to it. Instead of dealing with what happens in people's minds, historians confine themselves to the study of the traces that memory has left in societies. They look into diaries and folk-tales, at monuments and architecture, they analyse street-names and public rituals, they classify archives and school curricula: For Pierre Nora and his many collaborators and followers, virtually everything that relates to the past are "lieux" (or, in the English rendering established through the translation of their magisterial collective work) "realms" of memory[48] – everything with the exception of their own and their colleagues' work, which constitute history. To identify the content of these "realms" of memory with memory itself amounts, to say the least, to a gross simplification as it equates a representation with the "thing" represented.[49] Still, it seems that a historian dealing with memory cannot push his or her pursuit much further than to writing history as history of that what was remembered, or in other words, as a history of the realms of memory.[50]

This limitation of historical scholarship is less clear-cut as it may seem: Many of the realms of memory are highly subjective in character, others reflect upon the subjectivity of memorialisation, still another group combines both. In all of these cases, the historian gains access to the subjectivity that is a constitutive element of memory a phenomenon of mind.

It is at this point that Gülsün Karamustafa's video installation "Memory of a Square – Bir Meydanın Belle_i" becomes valuable for the investigation in the role photographs play in constituting public memory in Beyo_lu. This work of art that belongs to the third group of memory realms which both contains and reflects upon the subjectivity of memorialisation; but at the same time, it constitutes a photographic intervention in the public space of Beyo_lu.

First exhibited in the framework of the exhibition "Centre of Gravity" organised by the museum Istanbul Modern in 2005/6, this video installation confronts footage (photography and film) of public events on the Taksim Square with fictional scenes set in the interior of a bourgeois family home of the nineteen-hundred sixties or seventies. Using two screens the artist makes the fictional/private and documentary/public scenes alternating their places: In the first of nine episodes, the left screen shows the interior, in the second the square and so on. Formal unity of the 13 minute long work is achieved by the exclusive use of black and white material and by the absence of spoken voice: the only sounds to be heard being a piano and, occasionally, background noise such as

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[48] *Les lieux de mémoire,* ed. Pierre Nora, 3 vols. in 7 ([Paris]: Gallimard, 1984-92); shortened English version *Realms of Memory: Rethinking the French Past,* transl. Arthur Goldhammer, 3 vols. (New York: Columbia Univ. Pr., 1996-98).

[49] This is the approach of Jacques le Goff, "Mémoire", *Histoire et mémoire* ([Paris]: Gallimard, 1988, repr. 1995), 105-78.

[50] An example is: Matt K. Matsuda, *The Memory of the Modern* (New York, Oxford: Oxford Univ. Pr., 1996).

shouting or gun-shots (the relation of these sounds to the scenes shown on the screen is not necessarily obvious).

Equally blurry is the relation between the fictional and the documentary part. The documentary scenes follow a roughly chronological order that, as far as I could identify the footage, reaches from the early nineteen-fifties over the events of September 6th and 7th, the military coup of 1960 and its aftermath, demonstrations against the arrival of the 6th US-American fleet in Istanbul 1968 and the "Bloody Sunday" 1969 to demonstrations and the so-called "Bloody First of May" of 1977. Not all of the footage is taken directly on the Taksim Square; some of the shoots have been taken at locations such as the front of Dolmabahçe Palace; but a connection to what happened at Taksim Square at the same time is identifiable. The sequences on public events on the square are enriched by interspersed pictures of doves or scenes of more private character such as the meeting of two young men with small white suitcases in the fifth scene (at the same time, the middle of the work) – a section that looks as if it has been taken from a fiction movie.

Special importance accrues to the first and last episode. The last episode covers more than the whole time-span of the other episodes, showing photographs of 1933 (the tenth anniversary of the Republic of Turkey) and the demolition by a blast of an apartment block, possibly part of the large scale destructions of 1987 when the Istanbul metropolitan mayor Bedrettin Dalan wiped out whole neighbourhoods adjacent to the square in order to open up a eight-lane street connecting it with the Unkapanı bridge leading over the Golden Horn.

The first episode, however, shows a number of photographs while somebody is examining them (the spectator is looking over that person's shoulder): a procession of school kids at the Taksim monument, people looking at the monument or families that had themselves photographed in front of it. The still photography develops into a film when doves are shown. This episode links the "public" footage to the private scenes in the bourgeois interior mentioned earlier: The "private" side of the screening shows a family where a young woman looks at photographs while sitting together with a young boy and somebody who could be her mother – and the pictures at which she looks show the square. She is the one who looks at the pictures in the "public" half of the episode.

The family scenes do not have the temporal scope of the public ones. They are set sometime, probably during the 1960ies or 1970ies, in the apartment of a well-to-do middle-class family. The household consists of three women belonging to three different generations, possibly grandmother, mother and (grown-up) daughter. The youngest woman apparently has a child, a boy of approximately nine years of age. Finally, there is a man of perhaps thirty years, who has some kind of personal relation with the youngest woman.

The life-style in the apartment is extremely Western, to the degree that people wear shoes in their home or drink tea from broad cups made of smoked glass. On the other hand, the women deal themselves with all the chores their household has in store, including ironing and sewing their own dresses. The absence of any helping or rather, serving hand in such a bourgeois setting has the effect of a certain alienation.

In the episodes, elements of a story are recognizable, but the bits and pieces do not combine easily into an identifiable narrative. The family members convene to look at

photographs in a relaxed members (episode 1); the man is welcomed to the family in a rather tense atmosphere (episode 2); fortune is told from coffee ground, while in the background the boy is resting on a couch and being comforted (episode 3); the women react with consternation to an arriving letter (episode 4); the women work on a dress for the youngest one, and the boy is a smiling spectator (episode 5); everybody in the flat, including the man, looks tense and full of cares whole shoots are being heard from outside (episode 6); coming an going in the flat; in the end, the young woman leaves with a suitcase and the man is leaning against an radiator at the end of the hall (episode 7); the young woman bandages the man's arm (episode8); and finally, while the room is filled with noise that sounds as if is caused by a building site, the women have tea with the boy who then throws himself into the arms of the youngest woman (at that moment, silence sets in).

Neither the relation between the episode nor the one between the public and the private scenes is clearly articulated. The public scenes combine into an escalation of violence that is then somewhat broken by the last episode that seems to summarise the events in the crumbling down of the building destroyed by a removal blast. The private episodes convey a mounting tension that partly recedes in the last two parts.

The search for continuous parallels, analogies and correspondents that structure the relations between the two parts is thus bound to be as fruitless as the attempt to reconstruct integral and conclusive narratives within each of them. On the other hand, “The Memory of a Square” is fragmentary, but certainly nothing that has randomly been put together. It is rich in allusions, cross-references and repetitive elements that while allowing more than one reading, are hinting at story lines. It is therefore possible to direct questions at the work, some of which may provoke answers while others may not.

If one disregards the text on banners and advertisement panels that are reproduced in the footage, the only words that are part of “Taksim: The Memory of a Square” are those of the title itself. It should therefore be legitimate to wonder, how memory is conceptualised in these videos and what repercussions that conceptualisation has on the representation of the square.

The fragmentary character of the “Taksim” and the frequent change of position between the public and the private sphere correspond to the erratic character of memory as an uncontrollable psychic phenomenon. It is neither possible to control what is remembered nor at what time or at which occasion.

In the case of this video, it is moreover not clear, what or who is the bearer of memory: The (public of the) square or the family in the interior episodes (though it may be a hint that they are to be taken as primary that the interior scenes are rendered in a larger format). In the first case, the square acquires agency, a kind of life of itself; it turns into a historically active entity. In the second, the square is something represented in the memory of the family members, who (inadvertently?) are under the spell of their own memorisation. As a third option, public memory and private can be understood as standing in a reciprocal relation of mutual influence.

It has been mentioned above that Taksim Square is a politically marked space that is regularly subjected to symbolical interventions by state agencies. It appears to be relevant that the life-style of the family corresponds to the civilisational ideal that lies at the core

of Kemalist ideology and found one of its expressions in this construction of Taksim Square as a markedly republican space. The family inhabiting the interior lives a modern, westernised life, middle class and in spite of apparent affluence industrious and rather austere. In contrast, the scenes in the public arena are increasingly conflicting with this middle class ideal of a civilised but obedient citizen: These are scenes of political violence out of protest against government politics, scenes that apparently threaten and scare the middle-class family members

The members of the family can hardly be imagined as actively involved in street violence: When the young woman tends to the man's bruised arm, the only connection imaginable with the violent scenes on the other screen is that he had been passing by and has been a hurt by-passer when violence went out of control. The established and harmonious order of the family-life is put under strain by the outside world of the square: The demonstrations and manifestations there are just the opposite of the photographs these people keep as their private realm of Taksim-memories: the protest challenges the officially orchestrated ceremonies performed or the souvenir-shots taken at the monument.

The bloody and violent history of Taksim-Square is, indeed, a kind of anti-memory, similar to that of September 6th and 7th (actually, the September events are a part of the same anti-memory). Gülsün Karamustafa's installation does not so attempt to replace the given public memory by another one (which in the case of the square would also entail the replacement of a state-ideology by another one). Her work criticises bourgeois consciousness but does not propose a better one: It does not propose to create a public memory that is based on another historical narrative, because it rejects clear narratives. What she shows are fragments of events that a Kemalist bourgeois family with a Western life-style would probably prefer to rather (make) forget and the disconcerting impact these events have on such a family. In Karamustafa's videos, memory is taken as an "inner" mirror that has its place in the minds of people and does not make sense, if "sense" is taken as a closed, meaningful narrative.

On the other hand, by evoking the violence that has been part of the history of Taksim but not been admitted to become part of the established memory of the square, the art work does challenge the public memory in a double way: it evokes things that have been (made) forgotten; and it demonstrates the inadequacy of closed narratives when memory is concerned.

Conclusion: A Geography of Memory

The preceding pages have triewd to establish how historical photography works in the public space of Beyo_lu – an investigation made possible by the fact that so many of these photographs exist in the first place and lend themselves to various uses. The dominant use was that of the photograph as a monument that demonstrates a reputed continuum between the actual environment and the past. This was achieved by a careful de-contextualisation of the photographs employed that were severed from any contiguity but the spatial one: Reduplicating their immediate ambience into an unspecific past these pictures were used to show its conformance with "good old days" – thereby legitimising the environment, as it is. This legitimising aspect is certainly a constituting element of the

monumentalisation that makes these photographs so efficient also in their commercial use.

Both the de-contextualisation and the predominant commercial use entail another effect: They render the photographs anonymous. Neither the photographer nor those who have selected, modified and displayed its reproduction are easily identifiable. Thus the photographic monument seemingly acquires agency of its own, because it is not caused by somebody: it appears as an autonomous expression of the powers that be.

The exhibition of documentary photographs depicting the events of September 6th and 7th, 1955 challenged this monumental use of photographs. It confronted *in situ* Beyo_lu with an aspect of its past that does not easily lend itself to monumentalisation, an anti-non-Muslim pogrom that helped to destroy the imperial heritage of multiple communities co-existing in this quarter of THE CITY. The exhibition served not the purpose of monumentalisation, but that of documentation. Its invitation to memorialisation, however, failed to leave a deeper trace in public space: the effective provocation it constituted while on display was dispersed with the closure of the event.

The photographs of the riot were – at least in their majority – also anonymous. Their display, however, gave them a clear context: To some extent, their collector took the place of an author; and the bodies that organised the exhibition, the History-Foundation and the art-gallery Kar_ı, had a distinct public profile. This profile shaped the controversy around the photographs that evolved along well-established socio-political frontlines. Therefore the exhibit did not work as an intervention that was shaped by a detached historical memory but by one that used history in order to challenge the representation – and potentially, also the production – of public space in Beyo_lu. Admittedly, that history was used here in a particularly sound way enhanced the power of the challenge. That the exhibition was able to claim to be "scientifically" sound, enabled it to address the ideological construction of Beyo_lu as a "modern" part of the city: After all, "science" is a part of modernity. On the other hand, a different memorialisation of the past and a thorough reconstruction of the representation of Beyo_lu did not take place – probably because the dominant discourse on national identity did not allow the recognition of the rupture Turkish nation-building has historically constituted.

Gülsün Karamustafa's "Taksim: The Memory of a Square" leaves its spectator alone with the task to form a memorial narrative on Taksim Square. This video-installation is successful in negating the closed narratives of memory offered by ideologies and conventional history. History itself is not much of Karamustafa's concern; her videos do not explain anything. She rescues, however, elements of the past from oblivion that do not find a place in the memory of the square as it is organised by state ideology and its agencies. However, this rescue work is one without much impact: While the artist represent the space in a form radically different from established narratives, this representation finds little place in the public; it remains as a marginal "realm" of memory.

In all three applications, historical photographs have lent themselves readily to different commercial, legitimising, ideological, documentary and artistic purposes. Do they have in fact no autonomy in front of any user? And, if they are open to any use, what is then the difference between use and abuse?

It would have been certainly difficult to employ any of the photographs from the exhibition on the September events and use them for the monumental purposes that form the core of the dominant use. Single photographs as single texts offer only a limited range of interpretations,[51] but the imagined corpus of all historical photography does not have limits of usage. The notion of "abuse" comes into the play because of the realist fallacy connected to photography. The idea that a photograph somehow "objectively" reflects reality turns any use of it that cannot stand the check of reality into an abuse. However, an evaluation of an use as an abuse is justifiable not only with reference to the false notion of the objective character of photographs: it is valid to the degree any contextual assumption is valid, into which then the photograph is placed. Therefore a historical interest can reject both the dominant and Gülsün Karamustafa's use of historical photographs – as the official ideology refrains from mirroring reality with the help of the Çoker archive or the footage Karamustafa uses. Which rejection is better founded then remains to be cleared in another debate.

Historic photography of Beyo_lu seems to have, however, a final and unintentional side-effect: These pictures form a small universe of imagination, a black and white, sepia and hand-coloured world of images that deal and describe an urban geography of space that without them would be much less coherent. The notion of Beyo_lu cannot be retrieved exclusively from memoirs, fictional literature, statistics and personal memories: all these combine with photography as a constitutive element. Even if these photographs serve conflicting purposes: Even if juxtaposed to each other the map a region that is characterized as one of public space and in which modernity (according to the point of view, reigning supreme or developing in conflict) prevails.

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[51] Umberto Eco, *Die Grenzen der Interpretation,* transl. Günter Memmert (München, Wien: Carl Hanser, 1992) [*I limiti dell'interpretazione,* 1990].

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Koray Özdil

Claiming Space and Forging Community: Emerging Public Spaces of African Immigrants in Tarlabası

It was a usual day at the *African Restaurant Lady V*: I was waiting for my friend and key informant Chidi. I knew nearly all of the customers, mostly Nigerian immigrants sitting in the main room of *Lady V*, where I had spent the majority of my field work. We were watching Benedict, the son of the owner, Lady V sitting in the middle of the room in his walker and jumping. In the meanwhile, some customers were watching a Nigerian movie, imported by the immigrants from Nigeria.

Gabriel's, a Nigerian man in his fifties sudden, panicky entrance into the restaurant's main room interrupted the usually weary mood of the room. I had never seen him this agitated before. "Enough, it is really enough," he shouted. "I am sick, I am sick of them, what do they want from me?" While all of us tried to understand him, he continued: "They asked me for drugs, two boys came to me and asked do you have stuff. Just in front of the apartment. Why do you do this, why should I live like this every time?" he was shouting. I was just only a bit surprised since I knew from my informant accounts that incidents like this happen frequently. Some customers stood up in an effort to make Gabriel relax but most of the customers whom I know were laughing, not at Gabriel but on this very common incident, which had started to become a joke for them in their public discussions. Lady V, the Nigerian owner of the restaurant, was one of those laughing the most. She turned to me and said, " you see my friend, this is what we experience most of the time" and continued by joking with her Nigerian accented Turkish to the middle of the audience by indicating a popular Turkish phrase: "*Burası Türkiye abicim burada her _ey var, burada her _ey olur* ([Here is Turkey, here might everything happen brother!]." Then a well-known discussion started between me Lady V. and the other customers: their regret for being in Istanbul, out of their countries, and their hopelessness: "Istanbul is a faculty, university for Africans we learn the life here in Istanbul, the troubles of life how to live here…."

This incident illustrates a very common form of abuse experienced by the Sub-Saharan Africans in the host country Turkey, which provides limited institutional and social opportunities for the migrants. The racialized discourses, criminalization, Othering, and symbolic violence techniques appear as other means of power dynamics creating social exclusion. In that sense, African immigrants' complaints on Turkey reflect similarities with the conditions of undocumented or irregular immigrants in the different parts of the world.

The emerging immigrant social spaces in Tarlaba_ı, where cultural and political transformation processes occur, indicate to the establishments of new immigrant communities. In this framework, this study aims to reveal certain strategies developed by this

short, twenty year migration group to continue their lives in Istanbul, under the institutional and social limitations of the host society: founding social spaces, forging community associations, claiming rights, and involvement in the transnational trade networks.

Irregular Migration in Turkey

Immigration has been a central constituent since Turkish nation-state's establishment days whereas the ethnic-Turkish population from bordering countries constituted the main groups in these immigration trends (_çduygu 2005; Kir_içi 1996). In the last two decades Turkey has encountered an irregular migration flow which was atypical for Turkey in the past. This recent immigration flow consisted mainly of asylum seekers, refugees, transit migrants, and clandestine laborers who "began to arrive in small numbers and subsequently in an ever-rising tide which has reached sizeable figures (_çduygu 2005:331)."

The presentation of a comprehensive and accurate profile of irregular migration is very difficult due to the "complex structures of irregular migration flows" (Içduygu and Unalan, 2001 quoted in _çduygu 2003). Making categorical distinction between different irregular migrant groups, such as illegal entrants, over-stayers and rejected asylum seekers is also highly difficult since they overlap.

The irregular migration into Turkey can be classified into three categories: immigration from Eastern Europe; transit migration; and asylum seekers (_çduygu 2005: 333). The immigrants from Eastern Europe are in search of employment. The second group immigrants, the transit migrants are those who intend for temporary stay in Turkey on their route to Western countries. Most of those who cannot continue to Europe decide to stay in Turkey. The asylum seeker group involves people whose asylum application has been rejected but who choose to stay in Turkey.

The second groups of irregular migrants to Turkey consist of the transit migrants who came to Turkey mainly from the Middle East (predominantly Iranians and Iraqis), various Asian (e.g. Bangladesh, Pakistan and Sri Lanka), and African (e.g. Congo, Nigeria and Somalia) countries. These migrants often target Turkey as a transit zone as they attempt to reach and enter West European countries. Most of them enter in Turkey through illegal means while others become illegal as they overstay their tourist visas (_çduygu, 2005).

African Immigrants in Turkey

The category "Africans" as used by the immigrants themselves, mainly indicate the black community in Istanbul coming from Africa continent and accordingly does not include North Africans such as Moroccans or Algerians. In that sense the sub-Saharan Africa is a more proper for regional description. The immigrants from the sub-Saharan countries fall into the categories of asylum seekers, refugees, and transit migrants. The studies and researches on the African immigrants are not enough to make an outcome on their general demographic structures since they do not include accurate data.

The sub-Saharan Africans in Istanbul are extremely heterogeneous in terms of nation of origin, political and economic conditions in the sending country (including war and civil war) ethnicity, language, and socio-cultural capital. They are mainly coming from Nigeria, Democratic Republic of Congo, Ghana, Somalia, Rwanda, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Liberia and Guinea.

In terms of the language there are two main groups; Anglophones such as Nigerians and Ghanalese and Francophone such as Congolese. One visible data on the increasing African

population in Turkey was obtained through asylum seeker numbers indicating "the notable change in the composition of asylum-seekers to Turkey in 2003. In 2003 183 Somali and 64 Sudanese citizens sought asylum (_çduygu, 2004: 333)."

The sub-Saharan Africans in Istanbul can be divided in two groups the west- and the east-Africans. The east-Africans, Somalians, Sudanese, Eritrean, and Ethiopian are culturally closer and they are relatively more isolated in comparison to the West Africans, Congolese and Nigerian who have stronger associations. Most East-Africans are undocumented. Language is a significant problem for most East Africans, since most of the Turkish citizens they encounter in their daily lives cannot speak English. The East African immigrants are mostly asylum seekers; whether they apply for refugee status or do not even look for a job since they do not see employment as a possibility. For instance, the Somalians do not even have passports since the Somalian government does not allow people to leave their countries, thus they do not have any chance of obtaining visa. These spatial categories can be misleading sometimes; For instance the East-African groups such as Tanzanians or Kenyan spend more time together with the West-Africans.

The economic instabilities in West Africa constitute the primary motivation of the West African immigrants' deterritorialization. To obtain upward economic mobility, they become involved in immigration flows like various other immigrants crossing from the global south to the global north venturing their immigration projects through mostly illegal, risky, and expensive roads. Turkey lies on the transit-immigrants' route to Europe and North America. They imagine Europe as the sight of wealth, welfare, and freedom as my informant Chidi did, before he started his journey:

> The truth of the matter is that I never knew that Turkey was a state [when he was in Nigeria]. But when I lost my job at the airline, there was this need to move out. Believing if I go out of the country I can find a better job. People are going out: "tomorrow this friend is going to Italy", "May be I can pass to Germany." Then you want to go. Nobody wants try other ways, everybody feel if I can go to Germany to London I can make big dollars. That is the mentality of most of the immigrants.

According to my informants, immigration from Nigeria started 15-20 years ago[1]. The only official data on Nigerian immigrants in Turkey is on the apprehension numbers from the Bureau for Foreigners, Borders, and Asylum at the Directorate of General Security of the Ministry of Interior, which reports that nearly 20 Nigerians were apprehended in 1996 and 419 in 2001 (_çduygu 2003: 25). Although this data indicates an increase in the Nigerian immigration regime, one cannot make accurate estimations of the Nigerian immigrants' demographic structures in the past.

Although not primarily, the terminology regarding the migrant status is certainly significant for this study, since it is part of how the immigrant illegality is constructed. The terms illegal, illicit, or clandestine are applied by various discourses of media, politicians, and economic interest groups which represent the issue as a threat to the nation-state order and stability (Pugh, 2001). This study will apply the category of undocumented migrants to refer the immigrant group under examination. Furthermore, most of the Nigerian immigrants can be categorized as transit migrants who intend to make a transit via Turkey to Europe. Inevitably

[1] Yasemin N. Sosyal has also a reference to this point in her article She categorizes this migration under the internationalization of labor markets in the "past-war period". She maintains: "the list of sending and receiving countries has grown impressively with time, the new combinations are undermining political and geographical distances and rationalities. Like the Nigerians in Turkey or the Turks in Israel."

these categories would fail to fully describe the characteristics of the Nigerian immigrants in Turkey, since their community includes different immigrant profiles such as those of asylum seeker, e.g. some Nigerians living in Istanbul have applied for asylum status and did gain asylum status. There is also a group of Nigerians whose destination was not Europe, but Turkey to be involved in the transnational trade networks between Turkey and Nigeria.

My Ethnography:

This essay draws on my ethnographic research conducted between December 2005[2] and May 2006 in the immigrant social spaces in Tarlaba_ı where the African immigrants found refuge as those other irregular migrants such as Iraqi Arabs, Iraqi Kurds, Iranian, Filipinos and Kurdish immigrants. In the course of this study regarding West African (particularly Nigerian) immigrant community construction, their daily practices in social spaces, the ethnographic data was obtained primarily through in-depth-interviews conducted with total of three women and eleven men, undocumented and legal immigrants. In addition to in depth interviews, the participant observation conducted in the immigrant social spaces constitutes main data around which this paper is constructed.

This section summarizes the early processes research, not only to contextualize my rationale for this study but also to describe the immigrant group's isolation and spatial marginalization by the host society dynamics: by their invisibility in the host society public discourses and their strategies to become invisible due to a general negative treatment in their quotidian encounters with the host society citizens.

The scarcity of studies on the immigrant groups in Turkey, particularly micro-level studies addressing the features of various immigrant ethnic groups as well as basic, quantitative figures constitute one of the main problems for researchers studying the African immigrants in Istanbul. Due to the limited literature on the African immigrants in Istanbul, the initial data were collected by contacting with the organizations that have close social links with the African immigrants in Istanbul.

The initial data is based on the contacts and interviews in various NGOs, such as Caritas[3] and Helsinki Citizens' Assembly Refugee Legal Aid Program (RLAP)[4], working with asylum seekers. During my volunteer work at RLAP in summer 2005, I worked with asylum seekers and transit immigrant groups and though not elaborate, I observed the certain applications and practices in the Turkey's refugee law, the asylum seekers' agencies and strategies and how the refugee status is determined through the negotiations between legal aid officers and UHNCR. However, RLAP's institutional structures and policies did not provide enough space for the researchers interested to study the NGO because of the strict confidentiality policies on the asylum applicants' personal information. Also because of the ongoing struggles and conflicts arising between various refugee groups focused NGO's and UNHCR played an important role.

While working at RLAP, I also realized the existence of various undocumented and irregular migrant groups living in the various parts of Istanbul, who were excluded in RLAP client

[2] My first visit to the restaurant was at 10.12.2005. My periodical visits (sometimes twice a week, sometimes twice in a month) continued till the early May.

[3] Caritas is an international missionary charity organization providing social services to Iraqi Christians such as food, education and legal aid.

[4] Helsinki Citizens' Assembly Refugee Legal Aid Program "started in 2004 by a group of lawyers and human rights advocates to support and legally represent the many people who arrive each year in Turkey seeking refugee status. RLAP's primary mission is to empower refugee populations in Turkey and ensure their rights are upheld under national and international law." (www.hca.org.tr)

groups because of the legislation excluding them from the asylum seeker status. After learning that some sub-Saharan transit immigrants were Anglophones, I further decided to gather more data on these groups. They lived in Tarlaba_ı, a crime ridden lower class neighborhood of Istanbul and very close to one of the center point of Istanbul, Taksim. I started to conduct spatial ethnographies in Tarlaba_ı and interview real estate dealers. Meanwhile, I found an African restaurant where the African immigrants met regularly.

In my first visit to the restaurant, I was "welcomed to the Africa in Istanbul" by a male immigrant, Chidi, who later became my key informant. Chidi had a movie project on the lives of immigrants in Tarlaba_ı which he searched financial and technical support. His interest in explaining and narrating the living conditions of the African immigrants and my position as host society citizen as well as a university student was determinant in the construction of our close relationship. In this way, I obtained detailed information on the West African and Nigerian community since he was a well-known person in the restaurant and among the Nigerian immigrants, he is also responsible for public relations of the Nigerian Association; I was gaining more trust from the immigrants and the restaurant's customers. Moreover, when I was at the restaurant, I helped the people by translating or by mediating between the immigrants and their Turkish neighbors. Meanwhile among the immigrants whom I met, I did randomly cull my sample group. This process can be also described as snowball technique. Furthermore, I participated and initiated some group discussions among the immigrants in the restaurant which can be assessed as focused group interviews.

Moreover, I conducted a documentary project in which I first intended to make the restaurant Lady V.'s visual ethnography but later turned to represent different immigrant stories because the customers of the restaurant and accordingly Lady V. were concerned regarding visibility in a documentary due to their illegal positions. My experiences throughout this process will be part of my ethno-methodology.

Claiming Space

In his study *New Citizens, New Rights: Undocumented Immigrants and Latino Cultural Citizenship* based on his fieldwork among the Chicano community of San Jose, William V. Flores argues that the Latinos forge community and, claim space, as well as rights. By formulizing these as cultural citizenship practices, Flores indicates to a process by which the immigrant groups maintain cultural rights and political claims in the society (2003:304). According to Flores claiming space constitutes one of the most fundamental components of Latino immigrants' cultural citizenship practices in which "members of marginalized groups are free to express themselves and feel at home." The Latinos create spaces of their own to create for cultural identity constructions, group survival, and community organization. Flores' main argument is that "without the ability to express themselves the immigrant groups have no ability to belong to the dominant culture (297).

In the similar vein, the Nigerian social spaces enable most of the West African groups a space of freedom, where they can express their cultural practices. In Tarlaba_ı and Taksim area, the main public places where the African immigrants are most visible are restaurants, call centers, hairdressers and night clubs. The night clubs belong mostly to Turkish citizens as part of the popular entertainment sector on _stiklal Street. These clubs are one of the most well-known places for its high rate of African customers and where they become more visible. In contrast to the night clubs, the international call centers, hair dressers and restaurants are generally in the less crowded but marginalized places of Tarlaba_ı and Taksim. These call centers have become a gathering place for the African immigrants and

with restaurants they turn to be more significant spaces for the community construction of the immigrants.

Lady V.: an Immigrant Social Space

Lady V is an African restaurant in Tarlaba_ı, a crime and gangster ridden lower class inner city slum, once home to Istanbul's non-Muslim minorities. After the 80's, the neighborhood witnessed high rates of internal migration, mainly based on the immigrants of Kurdish origins. Tarlaba_ı is a cosmopolitan place where the Kurdish origined internal immigrants, some of the old non-Muslim Turkish citizens in addition to the Iraqi, Iranian, Kurdish, and also African immigrants are living.

The restaurant is a popular place for immigrants, especially those Anglophones such as Nigerians, Ghanalese, and Tanzanians. There are also other Nigerian restaurants in Tarlaba_ı. The restaurant is in a very old building of Tarlaba_ı. The ground floor of the restaurant is a Turkish coffeehouse, where the men play cards game. Behind the coffeehouse, there is call phone center where people can make an international call for cheaper rates to their countries.

The restaurant is in the one apartment of the old Tarlaba_ı building which has three rooms, one kitchen, and one toilet. One of the rooms is used as larder. Just after entering the restaurant, the main room stays on the right-hand. This room has no door and four walls. On the wall where there is entrance to the room, just at the right side of the entrance there is a TV with a VCD player. A showcase which stands to the right of TV has whitening powders and hairs, waiting to be sold. Because of that the restaurant is called also a shop.

The tables and the chairs stand right near the other walls, so that everyone can see the TV wherever they sit. Accordingly, the middle of the room is empty. On the left to the entrance, there is the kitchen which is quite small for a restaurant. On the left of the kitchen is the toilet. On the left of the toilet there is a larder, which becomes the bedroom of the restaurant's waiter. There is a main floor which lies between the main room of the restaurant, other room, which constitutes the smoking section.

Lady V. has prepared a green and white card, taking its colors from Nigerian Flag. The top of the card says *Lady V. African Restaurant & Shop*. Although the menu offers Beer/Hot drink, Soft Drink, *Banku*, Pounded Yam Rice, *Gari,* Fried Meat & Fish, Cow Tail & Fish pepper Soup, a famous Nigerian soup, however, the only item that one can find in the restaurant is *Banku* with pounded Yam rice and soup, beer and fruit juice[5].

The practices of the immigrants at *Lady V.* do not necessarily fit what a common customer practice in any restaurant. At *Lady V.* it is not mandatory to order something. It is not a usual restaurant where everybody has to come in and order something on the contrary the immigrants come there to socialize and unite. Most of the time, the immigrants come in and start waiting for their friends, meanwhile they watch either TV or a Nigerian movie, while talking to each other. Thus the restaurant becomes a place where the immigrants can socialize together. Although Lady V is not always happy with this, she generally accepts it.

It is used as a market place where Textile/Clothing Sales happen. Young immigrants bring clothes in huge bags to show and sell those textile goods to the customers who sometimes buy them to support the new arrivals.[6] These practices maintain group solidarity. Likewise,

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[5] See Picture2

[6] For instance one day a young immigrant entered to the restaurant and started to show the clothes in his bag. Then some of the immigrants bought clothes from him. After seeing Chidi buying clothes from him, I asked

the restaurant is a living place for the restaurant's waiter and some newcomer immigrants, who do have a place to live. The restaurant is also used a language school. I am teaching in the restaurant to Lady V Turkish.[7] Moreover, various religious rituals are also held in the restaurants: one day in a different Nigerian restaurant the immigrants were having their baptism ceremony for the marriage.

The public discussions in Lady V reflect the different topics through which the migrants are culturally included in the Turkish society. Football, as a major subject in the Nigerian public discussions is mostly on relation with the African players' situation in Turkish teams. During the games, the sense of belonging to the host society increases among the immigrants through the identification with the African football players.

Especially on the weekends during the games *Lady V* gets crowded. Although they do not have in depth knowledge about popular culture icons of Turkey, their knowledge on the Turkish football teams and players are almost close to a fan level. They also know the names of the African football players from the English clubs which indicates that this identification was not only with the African players of the host society but in a more transnational level.

In a similar vein, the main organization held by the African immigrants in Istanbul is an amateur football cup tournament with teams representing their home countries. "We found that people here focused on the negative things about us," said Donald, a slender man who fled Nigeria three years ago after religious riots between Christians and Muslims in his hometown killed his parents. "We thought that as footballers we could let them know about us in a positive aspect (Schleifer 2005)". African immigrants have anticipations that this tournament will change the negative public stigmatization constructed by the racialized host society discourses.

Many immigrants come to Turkey to play football in the major Turkish clubs for an upward social mobility. However, since most of them are not accepted in to the first league clubs, they try their chances in the lower division clubs. Because of the legal restrictions the lower division clubs cannot provide them resident status and work permit in Turkey. Likewise, the main debates in male dominated public spaces of migrants evolve around the African players playing in the Turkish league. Likewise in a short movie, *Long Run*, depicting an African immigrant's experiences in Istanbul the protagonist was a football player who wants to make a contract with a Turkish club.

Forging Association and Claiming Rights

The Nigerian immigrants strongly oppose to the boundaries established by the Turkish state order to distinguish between citizens and non citizens, however restrict them to develop strong movements for a cultural change. While discussing Latin immigrants' right claims, Flores stresses on the "more visible political and social movements", and struggles (Flores 2003: 297) which to him indicates an essential element of cultural citizenship practices. He sees cultural citizenship as a form of "cultural practices to broader struggles for social change", which becomes oppositional social movements.

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why he bought a cloth from this young guy because he was doing the same job for living. He used to buy clothes from the Turkish textile factories and send them back to Nigeria. He said that he bought because he wanted in way help to this young man. Most of the other customers also looked to this young man's goods and some of them bought something

[7] After making the interview with Lady V she has asked for teaching Turkish to her. Although she used to live in Turkey more then 5 years and gained a citizenship status she was not able to speak Turkish and it was creating obstacles for her. Then I have started to come to the restaurant one or twice in the week to teach her Turkish.

Nigerian association forged by the immigrants to demand rights use *Lady V.* as a place for the Nigerian Association set-up. Although this association has not obtained a legal status from the Turkish state yet, the members of the association are working to advance the association through their weekly meetings. But this action cannot be assessed as a political struggle, but rather they use the legal and democratic structures of the host society.

The main form of demands for the rights is not a political struggle but playing within the opportunity structures of the host country and developing certain strategies through which they can obtain those demands. The association works at two levels: first, as a hierarchical institution it helps to a community formation; second through its legal recognition, it helps obtaining certain rights from the host society. The immigrants with higher social and economic status have founded the association with the anticipation of obtaining work permit or resident permit from the Turkish state. However they did not get enough support from the Nigerian embassy and accordingly they were not recognized by the Foreigners Department of the Istanbul Governance [*Yabancı _ube*]. However, if they went to Foreigners Department of the Istanbul Governance as representatives of the Nigerian community to solve the problems of other immigrants they were not recognized as an authority. They tried to get registered by the Istanbul govership as an official association. Furthermore, none of the interviewees indicated that their efforts to empower their situation lead any kind of improvement in their relations with state institutions or public authorities.

The Nigerian immigrants demand rights not only for the context host society but also for the transnational context to improve their condition through the required legislation and policy implementation. Their request for the resident permit is not only for protection from the police detention or deportation back home or to a third country. They believe that gaining resident status will enable them to freely move between Turkey and Nigeria, thus enabling more opportunities for commercial activities. For instance, Chidi indicated that the European countries give the immigrants temporary work and resident permit in return to a certain amount of money. He told me that the Turkish government should also apply such a law what will additionally provide big economic revenue for the Turkish state itself. He continued:

> "When the government gets one thousand dollar from every immigrant, they would make a lot of money. Though such a law the immigrants can work and make money and pay the Turkish state for their resident and work permits. It would bring a lot of solution to the problems of the immigrants."

On the whole, above mentioned legal and political uncertainties in the immigration law and policy have created an ambivalent process which can be witnessed in the African immigrants' practices regarding their social interactions in the host country. Despite the fact that they still suffer under the restrictions of the immigration law and the racialized discourses, they seek to continue their lives via involvement in the transnational trade networks between Turkey and Nigeria. What follows is a discussion on the undocumented immigrant exclusion from the employment opportunities in Turkey.

Immigrant Illegality and Unemployment Problem

For undocumented West African immigrants, unemployment and exclusion from the Turkish labor market constitutes a major concern and complaint. After the new comers encounter immigrant communities in Istanbul particularly in the social spaces of Istanbul they learn

about the host society restrictive legal procedures. They start searching for a job but soon they see that the employers require resident and work permits. For undocumented immigrant the most common form of obtaining work and resident permits is founding a business office in Turkey or buying an estate. My informants have maintained that those who register their commercial activity at the state institutions or those who buy real estate can also receive work or resident permits. However, most immigrants do neither have enough economic income nor capital to provide those conditions. Accordingly, in the immigrations process, obtaining rights is equated with sufficient economic status.

The International Organisation of Migration's research on irregular migration phenomenon in Turkey is one of the limited numbers of studies on this subject. This study estimates the number of undocumented African migrants as between 3,000 and 5,000. It also suggests that most of the African immigrants are "overstayers and work illegally in mainly low-paid, difficult and dirty jobs (_çduygu 2005:28)." Overall, this study draws a useful picture to understand the economic activities to which the West-African immigrants are involved. However, the representation the African immigrants as illegal labor force do not seem to match to what I observed in this research. First of all, most of the African immigrants are excluded from the informal economic activities in Turkey. Since they do not establish networks in Turkey, they have employment opportunities in the informal labor market. Secondly, since most of the Nigerian immigrants are particularly university educated "skillful" labors, their intention is not to work in jobs that are traditionally occupied by immigrants which tend to be dirty, difficult, and, dangerous. On the contrary, they want to find an employment in an area through which they may reach economic empowerment. To investigate this phenomenon more clearly, this part discusses how undocumented African immigrants' unemployment problem is constructed through the Turkish immigration law and policies.

Since its establishment, Turkey, as most nation-states wants to be the gate-keeper of it boundaries and exercise sovereignty over its territories (Kiri_çi 1996). Although "Turkish state defines itself as a secular state, with civic notion of citizenship", which emphasizes territoriality (*ius soli*) rather than descent (*ius sanguinis*), however in its regulation and policies, the religious and ethnic origins have been determinants of citizenship (Kiri_çi 1996). Accordingly, emphasis on ethnic and religious origins are reflected in Turkey's immigration policy, which is mainly determined by the 1934 Law on Settlement, according to which only individuals with "ethnic" and "cultural" Turkish origin can migrate and settle in Turkey.

Turkey's 1934 Law on Settlement mainly determines immigration policy, according to which only individuals with "ethnic" and "cultural" Turkish origin can migrate and settle in Turkey. Several decades later, in 2003, the Turkish government proposed a draft law to change the 1934 Law on Settlement to harmonize Turkish immigration policy and its application with that of the EU acquis (Kiri_çi 2005). However, the law prepared/revised continued to permit only persons of "Turkish descent and Culture" in Turkey, which makes African immigrants' situation in Turkey even more difficult. The legal reformations in the past three years, regarding attempts at harmonization with the EU laws have also produced major shifts in the West African immigrants conditions, such as the removal of mass deportations, increase in the border controls, changes in the naturalization, and obtaining work permit procedures.

According to the studies on national legislation on immigration, although being of Turkish origin facilitates the application process for Turkish citizenship, it is not a requirement. There are different ways of obtaining citizenship according to the contemporary regulations, such as: marriage, birth, residence, and the intention of permanent residency (Hecker 2006, Tokuzlu 2005, _çduygu 2004). "The acquisition of Turkish citizenship by means of

naturalization requires five years of permanent residence in Turkey and the confirmed intention to settle in the country (Hecker 2006)." Furthermore children foreign nationals born in Turkey have the right to apply for Turkish citizenship within three years after reaching maturity. In principle, Turkish citizenship laws allow dual citizenship.

The only data related to foreigner naturalization applications is the report from the Bureau of Population and Citizenship of the Ministry of Interior, indicating that most candidates for naturalization in the past five years were migrants with Turkish origins (_çduygu 2005: 334). According to this data, 56,000 foreigners acquired Turkish citizenship between 1995 and 2001 by a marriage to a Turkish citizen. As the interviewees indicated most of the undocumented immigrants do not attempt for apply for naturalization.

Although the above mentioned studies describe some features of immigration laws, there is a certain lack of micro level and quantitative research that details the exact procedure of a paradigm of legislated exclusion in Turkey. Accordingly, one cannot easily comprehend how immigrant illegality is constructed in practice. For instance, like the citizenship issue, the restrictive legislative framework for obtaining work and resident permits play key roles in the construction of immigrant illegality in Turkey.

The case of my informant who works in an African restaurant as a waiter, exemplifies how most immigrants with graduate degrees are excluded from the employment structures in Turkey. This immigrant has an electronic engineer degree obtained from Nigeria. When he arrived in Istanbul, he started searching for a job to conduct his profession. However without having a work permit the employees did not agreed to give him a job. He told me that most of the employees had asked him whether he was married to a Turkish citizen, since the Turkish employees do not want to deal with the legal procedures of getting work and resident permit for the immigrants. Similar experiences have led undocumented immigrants to develop strategies to obtain permits. They mainly indicate that there are three ways to obtain the resident status: employment, marriage to a Turkish citizen, or study. Therefore marrying Turkish citizen remains as the easiest way of obtaining residence permit. The other option, studying in a Turkish university requires many procedures, and time which the immigrants need to spend working to gain economic stability.

Lady V.'s story illustrates this situation:

> I found out that before I can find a good job, I had to become a citizen. Then, how can I become a citizen? Whether you marry a Turkish man or you work in company and which can apply for you. The owner of a company can apply for you to get a working permit. In Turkey it is very difficult to get a job and how can find that? So I decided to fall in love with a Turkish man. He is not really Turkish man. This guy is Kurdish. This guy I met when I was working in *Tünel*. So this guy told me that he wants to marry me. So we agreed to marry. I agreed to that because I would be able to get a good job. So we married, I got my paper I started to look for job. But there were a lot of Turkish people who couldn't find job. And I was thinking how can they give me a job? Even the citizens had difficulties to get job.

In a 1995 IOM survey conducted by Ahmet _çduygu, none of the African informants have work permits while almost one quarter of the Iranians could work based on an obtained permit. Likewise, in _çduygu's research again conducted for IOM in 2003, the African immigrants indicated that none of them have resident permits. Although these data do not accurately explain the various reasons of undocumented African immigrant exclusion from

the Turkish labor market, it exposes to a certain extent that the African immigrants are less involved in Turkey's opportunity structures compared to other immigrant groups.

Furthermore Turkey's EU application process has started a new period in the asylum and migration policies. Accordingly, in 2003, the Turkish government proposed a draft law to change the 1934 Law on Settlement to harmonize Turkish immigration policy and its application with that of the EU acquis. However, the revised law continued to permit only persons of "Turkish descent and Culture" to Turkey in Turkey (Kiri_çi 2005:352). Furthermore the legal reformations had significantly impacted on the existing citizenship laws, "particularly concerning the acquisition of citizenship upon marriage (Hecker 2006:4)." According to previous laws, a foreign woman who married a Turkish man automatically obtained Turkish citizenship, as in the case of Lady V. Due to the increasing number of marriages, the legislation has now become subject to some requirements. For example, "foreign spouses are now eligible for naturalization after three years of marriage. With reference to gender equality, the right to acquire citizenship by way of marriage is now also granted to foreign men (Hecker 2006:4)."

Moreover, in the course of the immigrant rights a law on work permits for foreigners was approved by the Turkish parliament as of February 27, 2003. With this law, Turkey implements the new rules for the access of migrant workers to the labor market in the country. According to the new rules, "foreign citizens are now allowed to work as interpreters, guides, photographers, drivers and waiters, as well as in other jobs that used to be open to Turkish citizens only (Hecker 2006:4)." However, the impacts of these reformations were invisible for the immigrants in the practice. Most of them were aware of the recent changes in the law on work permits but they were still unable to find employment in the given professions.

Transnational Trade Networks

Although most of the immigrants have limited access to the income earning opportunities, some of the West African immigrants are involved in some kind of "income generating activities occurring outside the state's regulatory framework" which can be described as informal economy (Sassen 1998:153). Some ethnic groups in West African counties such as Nigeria, Ghana and Senegal have traditionally been long distance traders (Kelly, 2006:57). In the similar vein, these groups have established certain transnational trade networks between Turkey and Nigeria.

According to immigrant accounts the transnational trade network between Turkey and Nigeria emerged in the 1980s and became the main job opportunity for immigrants who could not make the transit to Europe. In this network, throughout these two decades, Nigerian businessmen have been coming to Turkey to make business and to deal with their Turkish counterparts, buy textile products or car by-products, and to export those products to Nigeria. Moreover the flow of the people in this transnational network is not only one way; there are a lot of Turkish business men who migrate to Nigeria or travel between Turkey and Nigeria on textile business.

In this process, a new job opportunity the 'middle men', who are responsible for buying the products in Turkey and exporting them to Nigeria, has emerged. Most of my informants for example are involved in the textile business as agents, negotiating with the Turkish textile producers and then transporting the products to Nigeria. Some of the undocumented

immigrants come to Turkey only to be involved in these transnational trade networks rather immigrants making transit to Europe[8], with a low rate.

Deniz Yükseker's study (2004) on transnational textile market in Laleli and informal shuttle trade between Former Soviet Union countries and Turkey describes a larger picture of this economic activity in Istanbul in which the Nigerian immigrants are also partly involved as agents. Like the shuttle traders from FSU, Nigerian agents used to work with the Turkish textile producers in Laleli, "a market place with weak legal regulation (Yükseker 2004:48)" as well as in Osmanbey and _i_li.

Although Nigerian immigrants and business men from Nigeria do not only deal with shuttle trade, but also buy large amounts of goods for exporting, they benefit from similar structures of informal economy. To export goods in larger amounts to Nigeria, the agent immigrants have to pay a certain amount of taxes; however, as undocumented immigrants they are not registered as formal agents of this economic activity.

This transnational trade network and the emergence of informal activities are part of a more complex process necessitating a multidirectional focus. According to Sassia Sassen, the immigration regimes of globalization are contradictory: While there is a liberal immigration organization for the elite personal of the global economy providing the flow of the capital around the globe, there are restrictive policies and regulations to prevent the integration of the lower class immigrants into these processes (Sassen 1996).

In the similar vein to Sassen's arguments, the Nigerian business men with higher economic status gain resident and legal permits and thus can travel frequently back and forth between Nigeria and Turkey to purchase moderate amounts of goods. While the lower status immigrants seeking work in textile industry represent a small percentage of the Nigerian immigrants, most of them are nonetheless interested in this trade. The larger group of the immigrants is unable to be involved in the transnational textile networks since they cannot provide the required starting capital. [9]

Exclusion from Social Aid:

Aihwa Ong's discussion on the Hong Kong transnationals and the Cambodian refugees enables us to see how Nigerian immigrant cases are distinct from them in the sense that they are neither recognized nor included in the disciplinary discourses of the host through the civil society, and the social institutions. Ong clearly points to the multiple levels and varying modalities of constructing citizen-subjects. She argues that the Cambodian refugees and Hong Kong transnationals cannot escape the disciplinary forces of civil instiutions and social groups that are "reproducing hegemonic criteria for belonging in U.S. (Ong 1996:751). On the other hand, Nigerian immigrants, as a socially isolated group remains invisible in Turkey's public discourses and excluded form the disciplinary forces which might be produced by various social groups and institutions.

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[8] My informant Gabriel illustrates this. He has wife and children in Nigeria. By overstaying his visa he goes back and forth between Nigeria.

[9] This I was able to obtain that on these groups simply because they were more visible, they were in a higher legal and economic status. One of the chief difficulties in my research was of course then assessing the profile of the bottom and middle immigrants simply because of their legal status they remain anonymous, they remain invisible.

Although some of the local and international NGOs has attempt to “reach” the immigrants; in general, the networks constructed through membership or client system failed to create opportunities for the immigrant groups. During the initial parts of fieldwork, my very first curiosity was the undocumented immigrants’ relationship with the local or international NGOs. Since I volunteered in the RLAP office, I have encountered many African people who were applying for the refugee status. I assumed that the undocumented immigrants at *Lady V* would also know about RLAP since they might need aid to legalize their status. The responses of the immigrants were quite shocking for me. For them it is not easy to obtain refugee status from UNHCR since their conditions did not fulfill the legal definition of the refugee as described in the international human rights laws. I did not encounter any immigrant who applies for help from the civil society organizations in Istanbul or any NGO.

The only NGO that was more visible in the social spaces of the undocumented Nigerian immigrants was a local NGO, founded by a United States citizen woman who obtained funding from the Turkish Tuberculosis Foundation (*Verem Sava_ Derne_i*). For instance, Chidi’s housemate, Frank, maintained that he is working for this NGO. He stressed even though their NGO’s income is insufficient, they are trying to make the immigrants aware of tuberculosis because most of them do not have aces to health services. This lack has led to the more dramatic conditions in which the death of the immigrants subjects could not prevented. The community, furthermore, which was not able to provide health service, was sometimes not even able to send these dead back home.

The categories of ‘immigrant’ and ‘refugee’ constructed through legal and social discourses, change depending on the context; e.g. as the Turkish case exemplifies that refugees have higher legal status and thus they have relatively more rights then the immigrants. On the other hand, undocumented Central Americans in U.S. do not prefer to use the refugee category because more rights and social services are provided to the immigrants (Coutin 1999:5). In other words, the attitude of the host society’s civil and state institutions is determined according to these categories.

The isolation of undocumented Nigerian immigrants from the social service channels provided by the Turkish NGO’s suggest a reassessment of the recent conceptual trend --post-national Europe-- which claims that the “deterritorialized expansion of rights” occurring through global-level processes challenges the nation state’s self contained autonomy and forges norms of appropriate attitude for undocumented migrants (Soysal 1996). A wide range of theoretical trends raises questions on the concept of citizenship to understand the dynamics of contemporary immigration processes. In these, new definitions of citizenship are suggested as a means of studying the questions asked by current modes of pluralism and ways of exclusion emerging with them (Vertovec 1999).

Yasemin Soysal maintains that most of the immigrants in Europe are entitled certain rights and have “a permanent resident status, which is not easily distinguishable from a formal citizenship status in terms of the rights and privileges, it confers (1996: 20)”. She clearly points out that “citizenship is losing ground to a more universal model of membership anchored in the transcendent and deterritorialized notions of personal rights (20)”. In that sense Soysal defines globalization as a process that challenges the territorially bounded notions of citizenship rights and diminishing the nation-state sovereignty over its subjects.

A parallel debate evolves around the role of civil society in Turkey’s ‘democratization’ attempts. In their article *Globalization, Civil Society and Citizenship in Turkey,* Ahmet Içduygu and Fuat Keyman (2003) seem to be in agreement with Soysal on some core theoretical observations. They assert that “in a globalizing world the Turkish state is no longer able to operate and maintain its citizenship policies and practices as a result of both

external factors (international migrations) and internal affairs (ethnic and religious revivals) (225).” Furthermore they attach a key role to the civil society “in the democratization of state-centric world” which to them, “provides a space of deliberation for societal forces to transfer their interests and demands to political society (232).”

As I have discussed Nigerian immigrants’ exclusion from the opportunity structures in Turkey, the restrictive regulations of Turkish immigration law and policy challenges explicitly both Soysal’s as well as Keyman and _çduygu’s normative globalization definition. The Nigerian immigrants are not entitled certain rights that provide them access to services and economic opportunities, including public education, health benefits and, free access to the labor market as it is argued in the post-national citizenship debates. Nor are there civil society organizations which create social opportunities for the immigrants through which they can transfer their interests such as work permit, resident permit, employment, and health issues.

Conclusion

In the context of the recent irregular migration flows that Turkey encounters, I elaborated the positionalities, negotiations and interactions occurring at the zone of the public exclusion and inclusion through the case of the Nigerian immigrants who found refuge in a crime ridden lower class urban ghetto of Istanbul, Tarlaba_ı.

This study revealed that the irregular migration dynamics should be studied by comparing various cases and investigating certain continuities and disjuncture in the experiences of immigrants in different parts of the world. Most of the Nigerian transit migrants have been to various other Middle Eastern countries before they enter Turkey Lebanon, Syria, and Israel. The answer to the question why these transit migrants did not decide to stay in these countries, but continued to their journey to Europe can be only answered through further quantitative and qualitative researches on the immigrant experiences in those countries.

Although the following list cannot be enough, this study needs to be furthered with three new sites of discussion. Firstly, by focusing on the quotidian practices taking place between various level state officials and immigrant, further studies should explore immigrants’ public exclusion from the opportunity structures in Turkey. Such a study would also provide insight on the institutionalized racial discriminations.

Secondly, this study could not investigate further the female perspective of the immigration. The reason is twofold. Because of the gender relations I have developed easier rapport with the male immigrants. On the other hand, although the female immigrants existed in the immigrant social spaces, these places were generally dominated by men. However, the gender issue is definitely one worth to explore in future research, particularly because of the high rates of contract marriages.

Thirdly, my findings indicate a significant number of immigrants who work in the small factories and ateliers under unhealthy and bad conditions. However contacting with them was difficult since they visit the Nigerian social spaces rarely. Besides since they over-work they did not have time to spend for the interviews.

Although this study is not explicitly policy oriented, it exposed the implications of the recent applications. Accordingly, ethnographic data and theoretical approaches presented in this study, provides certain suggestions to better the living conditions of the undocumented immigrants.

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PUBLIC ISTANBUL. Public Spaces and Spheres of the City
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Derya Özkan
Ph.D. Candidate, Visual and Cultural Studies, University of Rochester, USA
ozkn@mail.rochester.edu

"The *masses* flooded the beaches, the *citizens* could not swim."[1]
The *misuses* of the Caddebostan beach and the politics of public culture in Istanbul

Out of use since the 1960s due to pollution in the Sea of Marmara, Istanbul's Caddebostan Beach was reinstated by the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality and opened on July 10th, 2005. Towards the end of the same month, Mine G. Kırıkkanat, a columnist writing in the daily newspaper Radikal, commented that everywhere along the coasts of Istanbul including the Caddebostan beach—just as in the other recreation areas such as the Belgrad Forest or Çamlıca Heights—"men in their underwear rest ruminating, women wearing black chadors or headscarves are brewing tea, swinging their babies, fanning the barbecue… our dark people cooking meat by the sea that they turn their [behinds] toward… Here it is impossible to find one single family grilling fish. Well, if they liked fish, and if they knew how to grill it, they would not be just lying there in their dirty undershirts, underpants and long johns; they would not ruminate and belch; and they would not in any case be this chubby, short-legged, long-armed, and this hairy!" (Radikal 27 July 2005; The Washington Post 21 September 2005).

For the students of the politics of culture in Turkey, it is not difficult to comprehend the disgusted tone that comes out of Kırıkkanat's words. In this sense, it was not much of a surprise that this controversial piece of writing engendered a fierce public debate in Turkey, in which conflicting imaginations of Istanbul's urban public culture clashed. On one side were the ones for whom wearing "proper" swimsuits was a sign of "civilized" behavior, while on the other side were those who were comfortable swimming in their underwear.[2] Thus this debate revealed the social class divisions between "the white Turks" and "the black Turks" living in Istanbul—as coined by the mainstream media in the 1990s (Bali 2002: 306-337, primary ref.). Some accused Kırıkkanat for being a racist and criticized her discrimination against migrants with rural backgrounds living in Istanbul (Hakan, Hürriyet 29 July 2005); while others confirmed her humiliation of lower classes. The latter agreed

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1 This was a statement by Fahrettin Kerim Gökay, the mayor and governor of Istanbul in the 1950s. Ref?

2 This became an issue soon after: swimsuits were reclaimed by the upper classes, who ridiculed the lower classes for swimming in their underwear.

that their modes of social life were incompatible with a desired public culture of Istanbul, and that they *misused* public spaces (REF?).

In the latter sense, the public debate was also a reminder that different inhabitants of Istanbul appropriate urban public spaces differently based on their different modes of social life and material culture. In other words, the ways in which the inhabitants of Istanbul use (or *misuse*) public spaces make those spaces different; and this suggests that in the case of the Caddebostan beach occurred a clash of not only different imaginations of the same public space but also a more material kind of clash between two different social modes of using urban space.

In this paper, I elaborate on the different social modes of using and producing urban space in Istanbul against a backdrop made up of the public discourses on the uses and misuses of public spaces of the city—all considered as cultural practices in public. The case of the Caddebostan beach and the controversy around it provides us with clues as to how the material appropriations of public spaces by the inhabitants are inseparable from the discursive clashes that they give rise to. In other words, discursive practices are not only surface reflections of material practices; the two are inextricably linked together.

My argument is twofold: First, the politics of the discursive field and that of material practices (both of which contribute to the production of space) are inextricable; and the controversy around the Caddebostan beach is a case in point. Second, if we consider the case of the Caddebostan beach as one in which different appropriations of urban public space clash, we can argue that users of urban public spaces are ultimately social producers of those spaces. In conclusion, I argue that urban public space has a misuse value that awaits its political activation by the inhabitants and that this activation can be considered an integral part of the social production—not only reproduction—of urban space.

1. Citizens *against* the masses, Citizens *for* the masses: The pendulum swinging between elitist and populist views of public culture in Istanbul [DISCURSIVE PRACTICES]

At the opening of the Caddebostan beach, the public officers of the local government (Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality, IMM) publicized with pride that the IMM investments in wastewater treatment facilities were finally bearing fruit in the form of clean seawater, renewed coastal recreation areas and public beaches. The rhetoric employed in this opening[3] reflected the populism of the cultural value-wise conservative, economically neoliberal Justice and Progress Party (Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi, AKP), which currently holds power in the IMM as well as in the central government. Confessing its roots in political Islam and proclaiming its allegiance to secular democracy, AKP apparently owes its success in the electorate partly to its claims of representing the “black Turks”—ever

[3] The opening of the Caddebostan beach was featured both on the IMM website (http://www.ibb.gov.tr) and in Gazete Kadıköy (http://www.gazetekadikoy.com/dergi_yazi.asp?islem=goster&yazi_id=20&kategori_id=9) published by the Kadıköy Municipality.

since it came to power in the IMM in 1994.[4] Also present at the opening was the social democratic and simultaneously nationalist opposition party (Republican People's Party, CHP) that holds power in the Kadıköy Municipality (where Caddebostan is located) and that largely represents "the white Turks" who dominate the population of the neighborhood of Caddebostan. The CHP, trying to get its share of the publicity, reclaimed the space of the beach as that of the secularist front against the rising Islamism represented, in the minds of the inhabitants of Caddebostan, by the AKP.[5]

Although the opening of the Caddebostan beach was already signaling the divisions between "the black Turks" and "the white Turks" in the public debate to come,[6] the news coverage of the opening of the beach was quite neutral.[7] Newspapers were acclaiming that one of Istanbul's long-missed old beaches was reinstated and that others would follow. The good news was that Istanbulites would be able to swim in the city now that the sea was again clean enough to do so. References marked by nostalgia were made to the 1950s when the Caddebostan beach was a popular summer recreation area—especially for the middle classes. The press kit prepared by the public relations department of the Kadıköy Municipality focused on the good old days at the beach by referring to a well-known poet of Istanbul (Orhan Veli Kanık who used to go swimming at Caddebostan) and a composer of Ottoman-Turkish art music (Selahattin Pınar who used be a frequenter/regular of the beach)—both suiting the naïve sensibilities of an educated urbane social class.

The debate started with the column Kırıkkanat wrote in Radikal on July 27th, about two and a half weeks after the opening of the beach.[8] Kırıkkanat's article was emphasizing an

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[4] This is if one accepts an overall continuity between AKP and the one it emerged from, the outspokenly Islamist Refah Partisi (RP), which differs from AKP in its more protectionist tendencies. In fact, [explain, for this & that reason] AKP is something else, not just a continuation of the RP.

[5] Soon after the debate on the Caddebostan beach started, Kadir Topbaş, the Mayor of Metropolitan Istanbul, gave orders that the IMM would distribute swimsuits to the beachgoers at the entrance to the Caddebostan beach. This very well reflected the paradox of AKP politics, for which Topbaş found this solution of reconciliation [one more sentence on the paradox?].

[6] This division parallels various other oppositions: Islamism versus secularism/Kemalism, populism versus elitism, traditional versus modern/Western, rural versus urban, lower class versus upper class, etc. All of these I would consider as problematic binaries, as they conceal the often more complex power relations by means of their rather schematic explanations of social forms.

[7] At first sight, it is difficult not to see that the public debate on the Caddebostan beach is primarily a matter of class conflict. As much as this conflict is significant and explains a lot of what has happened discursively around the case of the Caddebostan beach, I am not going to restrict my discussion to this predominantly class-based conflict between "the white Turks" and "the black Turks." For this discursive conflict by itself is insufficient to explain the more complicated politics involved in the material practices of the inhabitants involved.

[8] There was a story titled "The atmosphere at Caddebostan has changed" in the newspaper Sabah on the same day Kırıkkanat's article was published in Radikal. This story simultaneously started to raise a criticism of the way the beach was misused by lower classes and emphasized how the upper class inhabitants of the Caddebostan neighborhood were uncomfortable with that. The story also included a comment made on the issue by an architect, introduced as a 50 years-long inhabitant of the neighborhood, and as an expert who was qualified to make comments on "proper" uses of public spaces ("Caddebostan'ın havası değişti" Sabah 27 July 2005).

alleged contrast between two pictures of Turkey: one was based on the impression that a friend of Kirikanat's had of the glossy Istanbul Atatürk airport, which represented what she called "the non-Arab" face of Turkey; the other picture was that of the Zeytinburnu coast running from the airport into the *intra muros* districts of the city and of the city parks along the Bosporus. The latter showed what Kırıkkanat called "our black people" picnicking in city parks along the shore. Kırıkkanat was in favor of the former and was fiercely criticizing the latter as an ugly and unwanted quality of the city of Istanbul: "Whatever does not represent Istanbul, whoever is not an Istanbulite is there." (Kırıkkanat Radikal 27 July 2005). For her, these people's practices of barbecuing in city parks were a sign of "uncivilized" behavior, conflicting with modern Western modes of urban social life.[9]

Writing in Hürriyet, Ahmet Hakan was the first to express his reaction to Kırıkkanat's article by calling her a "public enemy," a "fascist" and an "elitist" (Hakan, Hürriyet 29 July 2005). This was followed by other newspaper columnists, and their ideas about the issue clustered around two major lines which can be summarized as populist and elitist views. On the populist front, the argument was that what Kırıkkanat calls "the black Turks" were in fact the majority of the Turkish population—the masses; and their social modes of life represented the prevailing traditions that cut through modernity in Turkey. For writers on this side, humiliating these people did not only mean being an elitist but also amounted to a denial of the traditional and the allegedly "authentic" public culture of Turkey, which included people's habits of barbecuing in city parks on the weekends. These writers were arguing for the masses and supporting them in their right to use the public spaces of the city as they wish. On the other hand, the elitist view was uncomfortable with this very same idea because such people did not "suit a civilized city." (Özkök Hürriyet 3 August 2005).

In their imaginations of a desired Istanbul, the elitist front repeatedly made reference to the Istanbul of the pre-1950s, when Turkey had not yet experienced the massive flow of internal migration from rural areas in Anatolia to big cities, which was to be one of its defining demographic patterns ever since.[10] Insisting on a predominantly nostalgic imagination of public culture in Istanbul, this discourse was in denial of the present social composition of the city. The migrants with rural backgrounds were seen as threats to Istanbul's "authentic" public culture that was presumably represented by the ones who call themselves "the real Istanbulites." According to this view, the immigrants were the ones who came and "invaded" the city of Istanbul with their "pre-modern" traditions, rural cultures and inferior modes of social life. None of these fitted the ideal picture sketched out by the founding elites of the modern Turkish nation-state, nor by the currently elite groups of Turkey who inherited that discursive ideal.

The two fronts in this debate reflect the centuries-long discussion about modernization/Westernization in this cultural geography, where the masses and the citizens

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[9] The cartoon in Adalar newspaper is a parody of this stereotypical figure of the barbecuer (*mangalcı*) in city parks. More on this here?

[10] pre-1950s [a footnote on periodization?]

almost never came to represent the same people in public imagination.[11] As evident in the words of Fahrettin Kerim Gökay that I quoted in my title, the ideal Turkish citizen imagined by the founding elites was perceived as threatened by the masses who continued their traditional modes of life despite the modernization/Westernization efforts of the republic. Murat Belge calls this a local "clash of civilizations," which unavoidably involves the ambiguous social forms that are produced through the practices of the masses who strived to adapt to the modern society imagined by the dominant republican discourse[12] (Belge, Radikal 5 August 2005). This, Belge emphasizes, is as if two different societies exist in one country. The "white Turks" whose modes of life are not very different from modern European or Western lifestyles live side by side with the "black Turks." The latter are those who appear to comply with the stereotypes representing the "underdeveloped third world" in hegemonic (bourgeois?) public opinion.[13]

On the one hand, the polarization of these two discursive domains suggests the failure of the Turkish nation-state to produce a convincing narrative that would make its citizens commensurable in front of the state (Holston & Appadurai 1996). The public debate around the case of the Caddebostan beach reflects the conflicting claims to public space made by *the masses* and *the citizens*. The newspaper columnists, being privileged citizens, cluster around these two opposing political positions—elitist and populist—representing the citizens *against* the masses and the citizens *for* the masses. The line that cuts through these two political positions has to do with the respective congruity or incongruity with the figure of the imaginary and idealized modern citizen articulated by the founding elites in the framework of the official discourses of the Turkish nation-state.

On the other hand, and perhaps more importantly, this polarization also reflects the impossibility of creating and maintaining a homogeneous national public culture. The official state discourses appear to be inadequate for governing heterogeneous populations. This is manifest in the fact that the followers or the participants of the public debate on Caddebostan beach were forced to take one of the two opposing sides. I would like to argue that taking sides in this opposition without questioning it makes the participants in the debate (as well as the Turkish public opinion at large) prisoners of a discursive field dominated by binary oppositions. It also prevents all from taking account of the relatively less credited but pervasively multiple discourses of the ones whose voices were heard very little—if they were heard at all. For instance, one question that remains unanswered is how the people who were being talked about, the so-called masses, were involved in the debate; or whether or not they were aware of the debate at all. Meanwhile, various other writers who wrote on the issue but preferred to discuss it in depth rather than simply taking sides with one of the two political positions were considered marginals—if they were accepted as

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[11] a footnote summarizing the fault-lines of this centuries-long discussion? Perhaps Şerif Mardin, "Tanzimat'tan Sonra Aşırı Batılılaşma", Türkiye: Coğrafi ve Sosyal Araştırmalar, ed. Erol Tümertekin (Istanbul, 1971), 411-58, repr. Türk Modernleşmesi: Makaleler IV (Istanbul: Iletişim, 1991), 23-81, and idem, "Türkiye'de 'Kitle Kültürü' Sorunu", Özgür Insan 16 (1974): 58-61, repr. Siyasal ve Sosyal Bilimler, ed. Mümtaz'er Türköne, Tuncay Önder (Istanbul: Iletişim 1990),126-29.

[12] And forced from the top?

[13] Footnote on Belge? [being a white Turk himself but a rare example of seeing the difficulty inherent in this position if one insists to be a democratic socialist.]

interlocutors at all (Murat Belge Radikal 5, 6, 7, 9 August 2005; Zeki Coşkun Radikal 29 July 2005, Yıldırım Türker Radikal 1 August 2005). (ref.?)

2. Use as Production: "The right to the city" and the social production of urban space in Istanbul (MATERIAL PRACTICES)

The public discourses that became visible through the debate on the "appropriate" uses of the Caddebostan beach suggest that there exist normative definitions of how public spaces are supposed to be used in Istanbul. The case of the Caddebostan beach disclosed that these definitions are multiple, by highlighting the ways in which power relations figure in these definitions. These definitions are often products of a reconciliation effected by the actors involved in the production of the public spaces of the city. According to a commonsense conception, these actors include urban designers, real estate developers and the state. In this conception, there is no authorship granted to the users of urban public spaces; they are considered only as passive consumers of the spaces produced for them by the ones who hold the power to do so. This commonsense view involves a reductionist understanding of spatial authorship as well as of the relation between space and power, avoiding the question of how the inhabitants of a city also give color to urban spaces through the diverse ways in which they use and appropriate them.

Going beyond this restrictive understanding of the political actors involved in the making of social space in the city, I would like to readdress the question of space and authorship in Istanbul in a way that unsettles the seemingly self-evident authority of the hegemonic holders of power and knowledge to produce space. The politics of the public discourses that took shape in the form of a binary opposition in the case of the debate on Caddebostan beach very well reflects this restrictive understanding. I conceive the relationship between space and power as a precarious one; and I argue that power is multiple, incomplete, ambiguous, and that the relation of power to space involves more than the reserved power of the hegemonic actors involved in the social production of urban public space. In this sense, I assert that the users of public spaces do contribute to the production of space through their everyday spatial practices.

My understanding of the production of space regards the rights of the inhabitants to access, occupy and use urban public spaces, or in Lefebvre's words, "the right to the city" (Ref. Lefebvre). However, this is not limited to the liberal democratic rights of the inhabitants to participate in the mechanisms of institutional decision-making within the limits of legitimate citizenship in front of the state. According to Lefebvre, the right to the city extends beyond the national citizens' liberal-democratic rights to participate in the governance of urban social life and it includes a more direct right to appropriate space through everyday material practices. In other words, in Lefebvre's conception, membership in a political community is not restricted to the dominant Western model of liberal

democratic citizenship. Indeed, Lefebvre argues, being an urban inhabitant by itself involves having a political identity.[14]

In this sense, using a public space involves performing a political identity and thereby contributing to the social production of urban space, as in the case of the Caddebostan beach. This point was taken up by the popular comics magazine Leman, the writers of which organized a satirical demonstration at the Caddebostan beach under the banner "Hold onto your underwear!" on 28 August 2005, in defense of Istanbul's lower class inhabitants' rights to go swimming as they will.[15] The writers and cartoonists of Leman went to the beach on Sunday morning in their underwear and gave out underwear to the ones who wanted to participate in the demonstration. In the words of Timur Danış, a writer of Leman and one of the organizers of this demonstration, the political stance taken here was intended as a support to the masses in their rights to use urban public spaces and against those who humiliated them.

Asked about the objectives of the demonstration, Danış emphasizes not only the inhabitants' rights to use public spaces but also their rights to swim in clean seawater in the city (Ref. E-mail interview). Danış also stresses the privatizations of the seafront areas of Istanbul and criticizes the recently emerging upper scale "beaches" that serve an upper class clientele and prevent public access to the sea.[16] Danış's view of the issue highlights the use and exchange values of space, reminding that public space needs to be designed such that it prioritizes public access. This means prioritizing space's use value over its exchange value. Danış's interpretation of the case of the Caddebostan beach, however, does not go so far as to say that the appropriation of a public space is in fact a political act, claiming control over and right to urban space. The misuse of the Caddebostan beach, in this sense, was a reworking of social control over space, where the conceptual unity of a territory reclaimed by the hegemonic upper classes was threatened by the material acts (spatial practices) of the lower class inhabitants who claimed the space through their uses—which were interpreted as *misuses* by the upper classes.

The reopened Caddebostan beach of 2005 is thus an urban public space appropriated and transformed by the lower class inhabitants of Istanbul, who are migrants with predominantly rural backgrounds, and who represent "inurbane" modes of social life in the hegemonic public discourses of upper classes. Nonetheless, the everyday spatial practices of not only "the black Turks" but also "the white Turks" are certainly implicated in the social production of Caddebostan beach as a public space of the city of Istanbul. In the 1950s, Caddebostan beach was a social space dominantly colored by the spatial practices of upper classes and their modes of material culture. It was by then "the white Turks" who claimed and appropriated the beach as a public space of the city. In 2005, however, the

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[14] Lefebvre distinguishes between *citoyens* ("citizens") and *citadins* ("urban inhabitants")—those who inhabit the city have a right to the city, regardless of their legal, national status as citizens (to include the commuters, visitors, etc). ref. http://www.hic-net.org/articles.asp?PID=229

[15] Ref. coverage of the demonstration by NTVMSNBC. http://www.ntvmsnbc.com/news/339056.asp

[16] While public beaches like Caddebostan are called "plaj" in Turkish, the emerging private beaches are called "biiç," pronounced like the English "beach." Mention that there is also a recently opened private "beach" near Caddebostan *Plaji*.

beach becomes a space whose meaning in public imagination is altered considerably through the everyday spatial practices of lower classes—causing irritation among the upper classes who feel that their statuses are threatened by the material claims of "the black Turks" on this public space.

As long as the heterogeneous populations of the city use the Caddebostan beach in diverse ways and inscribe their cultures on it, this public space is transformed (through those uses) into a politically different kind of social space. Thus it is the spatial practices of the urban inhabitants that give color to the Caddebostan beach and make it a politically controversial topic in public debates. Caddebostan beach, in this sense, becomes a *representational space* where the politics of public culture in Istanbul is played out in its various discursive guises. Different inhabitants give different colors to public spaces under different historical circumstances. Given the remarkable social, cultural, political and economic changes in Istanbul in the post-1980s era, the case of the Caddebostan beach reflects the relations between public space and changing power relations in Istanbul in the post-1980s.

The issue at stake here has to do with different historical modes of the social production of urban space in Istanbul—which has changed from the 1950s to the 2000s remarkably from the production of a peripheral third world city to that of a globalizing one that enjoys the reemergence of its historical geopolitical role in the global order.[17] In the 1950s, Istanbul was just beginning to experience massive internal migration and had yet to see the consequences of that migration in its urban everyday life. Turkish economy was less exposed to than shielded off against the effects of global economy. In parallel to this, there existed a relatively secure upper middle class that was able to maintain its socio-economic status as well as discursive hegemony.

Under the current conditions of a globalizing Istanbul, though, the social status of not only the lower classes but also that of the upper middle classes is constantly being threatened by the emerging parameters of an increasingly polarized society. Since the 1980s, the old middle classes have been losing ground and experiencing a decline in the socially secure lives that they hitherto used to maintain rather easily. As the economy of neoliberal global capitalism is increasingly based on insecure jobs, the former populations of slum areas become more vulnerable as well as more heterogeneous, giving way to qualitatively different divisions within themselves (Mike Davis, "Planet of Slums" New Left Review). Certainly, AKP, the political party in power since 2003, moved considerably to the center, representing the upwardly mobile former slum inhabitants who have in the meantime become land owners as a result of the slum amnesties *(gecekondu afları)*. The case of the Caddebostan beach thus reflects the new class divisions among the inhabitants of Istanbul in the era of globalization, where a debate immediately fuels up as the *post-gecekondu* era

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[17] The global news coverage of Istanbul that coincided with the public debate on the Caddebostan beach was a discursive sign that Istanbul was in fact gaining the status of a global city, as it became increasingly integrated with the global capitalism of the 21st century. While Istanbul was formerly perceived as one among many stereotypical third world cities, in this recent coverage it becomes the "cool city," or "the rising star of Europe" (Ref?) For more elaboration on this point, see my "Değişen Istanbul tahayyülleri: Çarpık kentleşmeden 'cool' Istanbul'a" Istanbul V. ? January 2007, pp.??

people come to the quarters of the presently declining upper middle classes and poach on the public space that was formerly *theirs* (Esen & Lanz, Istanbul: Self-service city).

This relatively long detour that I have just taken shows once again that the inhabitants make political claims on public spaces through their everyday spatial practices (or simply their uses or misuses of them), and that the politics of these practices has to do with the politics of the social production of space in the city at large. Therefore, if social production involves all kinds of practices that are somehow politically implicated in space—both discursively and materially—the use of public space is also a political practice that involves the making of that space as a social space, or as a space of political representation. More importantly in the case of the Caddebostan beach, the clash that occurred as a result of conflicting material claims on public space suggested that space might acquire a controversial political value as it becomes socialized differently through different uses. This political value is what I call "the misuse value of space;" and that is the theoretical problem that I will concern myself with in the next section. How can we conceive the misuse value of space such that it works as a theoretical category that enables us to discuss the politics of public culture in Istanbul in relation to the social production of urban space?

3. The Activation of the Misuse Value of Space: What kind of political openings can this entail? (POLITICS)

As the uses assigned to public spaces are transgressed and perverted by urban inhabitants, the normative definition of the production of space is disrupted. In the case of the Caddebostan beach, this normative definition is the hegemonic one asserted by "the white Turks" and destabilized by "the black Turks." Nevertheless, this is not to say that the spatial practices of "the black Turks" are necessarily and automatically subversive of the social status quo. The misuse value of space gives us clues about the political possibilities that spatial transgressions open up, neither necessarily nor automatically but through the acts of the multiple user-authors of the common space of the metropolis.

Then, this is to say that space acquires a misuse value when it is used in such a way that goes beyond the limits set by its prescribed political qualities. Misuses thus release space from its designated and established meanings and give it a *becoming* quality; and this is what makes me inquire further the extent to which this value can be turned into a political potential to transform space socially. The misuse value of space, then, is an excessive value that comes into being only when the boundaries of given spaces are pushed by the users beyond their normative definitions and are thereby opened up to new possibilities.

The misuse value of space is neither required nor predictable. It comes into being as an excess of the inhabitants' material spatial practices that contribute to the *making* of social spaces. In other words, as long as public space is used and deflected by the users, the misuse value of space is implicated in the production of space. Although there is no guarantee that the misuse value is activated in each and every case; once activated, it reminds us that space is not only a physical container of things but the production of space involves social and political relations.

Thinking of space as socialized and politicized, one becomes—both conceptually and materially—capable of unsettling the causal relationship between the use and exchange values of space (space as a utility, space as a commoditized object). The normative definitions of the capitalist production of urban space are most often based only on the use and exchange values of space, failing to consider what I propose to call "the misuse value of space." In other words, what is missing here is a consideration of the ways in which the production of space is complicated by the inhabitants of the city through their everyday spatial practices. Referring to Henri Lefebvre's spatial trialectics, I reconsider the duality between use and exchange values and would like to note its insufficiency to explain the social production of urban space in the contemporary metropolis. Thus I employ the third category of Lefebvre's spatial trialectics and develop the misuse value of space to theorize the political relevance of everyday practices to the material production of urban space.[18]

Moreover, to add to Lefebvre's framework, I also posit that representational spaces might potentially be turned into a challenge to the capitalist production of space, depending on the political dynamics of the spatial practices that make them. While Lefebvre sees this subversive potential in the practices of everyday life which he conceives as practices of social reproduction (or consumption); I argue (drawing on Hardt & Negri) that everyday spatial practices have already become integral to social production in contemporary capitalism, and that they can no longer be considered only as acts of social reproduction. Thus by revising Lefebvre's third level of analysis, I propose to consider the misuse value of space as a third category that is as integral to the analysis of the social production of space as the use and exchange values.

Thus I argue that we cannot grasp the social, spatial and the political dynamics of the production of space in the contemporary metropolis only by considering the use and exchange values of space and by ignoring its misuse value. I articulate the misuse value of space as an analytical category that enables me to register the largely unregistered political role everyday spatial practices play in shaping the social space of the metropolis. In this sense, the misuse value of space is relevant to the case of the Caddebostan beach, where the misuse of a public space engenders a debate that discloses the politics of public culture in Istanbul. More important is the power relations revealed by the conflicting spatial claims on the beach, where the misuse value figures as an open source to draw from and to rethink space politically.

This theoretical endeavor of mine, of course, does not give any recipes as to how the activation of the misuse value of space can be turned into a radical political act of subversion. Rather, mine is an attempt to multiply the questions regarding the politics of the social production of public spaces in the city. Then, in this workshop, some of the

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[18] Lefebvre's spatial trialectics includes three categories, perceived space (physical), conceived space (mental) and lived space (social). *Social space* is the category that Henri Lefebvre makes use of to expand the analysis of the social production of urban space. At this level space becomes socialized and takes on a political character. Lefebvre also calls this *representational space*, in which the social practices taking place in space make that space a realm of political representation. This accounts for social practices as *making* spaces, not simply as taking place in spaces. Building on Lefebvre's spatial thought, I reconsider the politics of representational spaces and attempt to explore their subversive potentials by creating a new category, the misuse value of space.

theoretical questions that I think I would like to pose—and to discuss further with you—are the following:

To what extent can the misuse value of space be put into use to destabilize the normative definition of the capitalist production of space? In what ways do the inhabitants of Istanbul activate the misuse value of space in their everyday spatial practices, and what kinds of political possibilities are generated from this activation? To what extent can we think of the misuse value of space as a potential challenge to the exchange value of space; to what extent does it suggest reconciliation with the social status quo? Can the misuse value of space offer possibilities that can be articulated as alternatives to the capitalist production of urban space? To what extent can the misuse value of space help us to imagine an antagonistic production of space that radically alters the ways in which the spaces of the post-Fordist capitalist metropolis of the twenty-first century are conceived and produced?

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Florian Riedler

Zentrum Moderner Orient, Berlin, florianriedler@gmx.net

Public people: Seasonal Work Migrants in Nineteenth Century Istanbul

Introduction

This paper is an attempt to address the topic of public spheres and public spaces in historical Istanbul from a special vantage point. By showing how the marginal group of seasonal labour migrants (*bekar*) was integrated into the life of the city it will aim at a better understanding of the constitution of the public in Ottoman Istanbul. A special focus will be on the nineteenth century that saw, during its second half, the emergence of new public spheres and forms of public spaces in the city. These were part of a general transformation of Istanbul and of Ottoman society at large in which migration and migrants played the part of both an important effect of as well as a factor in accelerating this transformation.

It has been shown that marginal groups can offer new perspectives on the history of cities, not the least on the field of Ottoman history (cf. Rogan 2002). Also with regard to the special topic of the public sphere, the extension of historical enquiry beyond the bourgeois public has been a long standing demand. On account of such a critique in European historiography the examination of the historical development of *the* public has given way to one envisioning multiple publics that were differentiated and put into hierarchy along social and gender lines (Eley 1992).

Also research into public spheres in non-European societies was informed by a similar attempt to get away from a monolithic concept such as the bourgeois public of the West. Regarding Muslim societies lately one important focus has been on different forms of traditional publics. Most of these publics had a strong affinity to the religious field, because they were often organised by ulema but also by more popular and heterodox sufi movements. As the institutional underpinnings of traditional public spheres in Muslim societies organisations such as *waqf* (endowment) or the notion of Islamic law and community in general have been singled out (cf. Hoexter/Eisenstadt/Levtzion 2002). However, also other more secular institutions like trade and craft guilds as well as coffeehouses are relevant in this

discussion (Arjomand 2004).

The seasonal migrants investigated in this paper touch on many of these traditional publics and their supporting institutions. On a basic level their status and the space they are allowed to occupy in Istanbul was defined by public morals and state law. The issue of private and public spaces forms an important topic in the debates turning around the concept of the 'Islamic city' where it has been singled out – often polemically – as one of the key features setting apart cities in Europe and the Muslim world. With reference to this debate seasonal migrants will offer an example of the layering of various forms of private and public spaces in nineteenth century Istanbul.

On an institutional level it were the trade guilds of Istanbul that were charged to integrate seasonal migrants into the labour market of the Ottoman capital. Also guilds have been a recurring topic in the debates on the Islamic city and whether they could be conceived as voluntary public association that, like in Europe, formed the nucleus of a civil society (Gerber 2000).

Moreover, besides these traditional manifestations of various publics this paper tries to address the role of the seasonal workers in the emerging non-traditional public spheres and spaces of Istanbul. These were connected to phenomena like newspapers and new public places like cafés and theatres.

After giving some basic information on seasonal labour migration in the Ottoman Empire in general, in the following I like to concentrate on these aforementioned factors that were shaping the integration of seasonal workers into the public sphere and public spaces of nineteenth century Istanbul. The paper will deliberately mix different usages from the terminological field of the private/public dichotomy that, though they may be overlapping and contradicting, are nonetheless thematically linked. The main two relevant in this context are the political-deliberative public as well as the public understood as a sphere of sociability (Weintraub 1997). It is my aim to show how migrant workers belonged to 'public Istanbul' in many different meanings of the word public and, in turn, what was their place in a corresponding 'private Istanbul'. The result will be the description of a lifestyle that, somewhat paradoxically, was performed under special observation of the city's public, but with limited access to take part in it and with a limited private sphere. Hopefully, this will lead to a more detailed picture of the issue of public spheres and public spaces in the Ottoman capital and will also elucidate the phenomenon of seasonal labour migration in the Ottoman Empire beyond a purely functional economic explanation.

Seasonal migration in the Ottoman Empire

Seasonal labour migration is an old phenomenon in the Ottoman world that, according to some, can be traced back to Byzantine times. The economic rationale behind labour migration is to connect underdeveloped areas with high population surplus to more developed areas suffering from scarcity of labour. Under premodern conditions of hygiene with its recurrent epidemics especially cities were in constant need to replenish their population by migration to maintain their economic power. Seasonal migration was and still is a special arrangement offering additional benefits to both migrant as well as receiving city. Relying on seasonal migrants cities could grow with less strain on their natural resources like living space or provisioning, because the reproduction of the workforce remained located in the mostly rural home regions of the seasonal workers and their families. The worker, on the other hand, could profit from the difference of the low cost of living in the village and the high wages that could be earned in the city.

In premodern Ottoman cities we see this mechanism work much in the same way as in Europe (cf. Lucassen 1987; Moch 1992). Historical research has identified typical circles of seasonal labour migration in operation on the Balkans as well as in Anatolia (Palairet 1987; Faroqhi 1987, 267-87). The Ottoman capital being the largest of all Ottoman cities and a world city by any standards was dependent on seasonal labour migration, too. In agreement with the economic logic particularly physical jobs that required little training were filled by male seasonal workers. Typical examples were boatmen, shuttling goods and people from one part of the city to the other, porters distributing goods to the markets climbing the narrow street in the bazaar area, water carriers that distributed drinking water from the public fountains to private households or bakers and butchers provisioning the large city. These professions were highly important for the upkeep of the city's infrastructure and thus they were partly controlled by the government through the guilds of the city. Likewise seasonal labour was occupied in less organised branches like all kinds of street vendors and peddlers that also played a crucial role in distributing foodstuff to the residential quarters of the city.

Unlike it was the case with agricultural labour in most of these examples the seasonal pattern was stretched to the maximum. Workers could stay for several years in the city before they would return to their families in the countryside just to set out again.

Our knowledge of the particularities of these circles of migration is limited for the time before the nineteenth century. Only with the reintroduction of censuses from the 1830s onwards information on the size and origin of male labour migration becomes available. At the time of the second empire-wide census of 1844 76,000 seasonal workers resided in the Ottoman capital, a number that amounted to 35% of an overall male population of 215,000. In a population estimate undertaken thirteen years later, in 1857, this number stood even higher at

39%. Later censuses do not yield precise figures any more. Only in 1882 – a census that, however, was badly planned and later aborted – can we calculate that seasonal workers amounted to 27% of the total male population (Karpat 1985, 202-7; Behar 1996, 71).

An overall picture regarding the origin and jobs of these workers unfortunately is lacking. Some data concerning two districts of Istanbul in the first years of the nineteenth century was presented by Kırlı (2001). The author of this paper could reconstruct another snapshot from military census data of various quarters during the 1840s that, however, only capture Muslim labour migrants.[1] According to these documents ca 20% of them were boatmen (*kayıkçı*), followed by day-labourers (*rençber*, 12%) and sellers of boza (*bozacı*, 10%). Further frequent professions were porters (*hamal*), diggers of ditches and sewers (*la_ımcı*) as well as sawyers (*biçkici*) and makers or sellers of salep (*salepçi*).

These workers came from five clearly distinguishable geographical regions in the Ottoman Empire that displayed the usual characteristics of being rural, peripheral and underdeveloped. The main centres of Muslim seasonal migration to the capital in the 1840s were Kosova with the central place of Prizren, the Western Black Sea region around Kastamonu, the region in Central Anatolia around Kayseri and the Erzincan region in Eastern Anatolia.

The picture for the second half of the nineteenth century when the Ottoman Empire witnessed an economic boom and a revolution in transportation that probably also transformed the character of seasonal labour migration is even more incomplete. Also more detailed studies on non-Muslim migration to Istanbul that probably was on the rise is restricted to anecdotal evidence (Karpat 1985, 98). Another serious qualification of the sketch drawn above is the fact that it only treats male seasonal migration. It is for certain that also young girls and women came as servants from the countryside to Istanbul. However, they disappear into the privacy of the households they were serving so that there is even less information available regarding the particularities and patterns of female labour migration.

Legal status of seasonal workers

This considerable number of men coming to Istanbul in the circles of migration described above and in contexts still unknown had to be integrated into the life of the city. Separation from the inhabitants of the city may be regarded as the official principle organising this integration. It has to be added as a disclaimer, though, that it is hard to assess if and how this separation was enforced. In general, it was not only expressed by the low and precarious economic status of most of the seasonal workers; it was also inscribed by the authorities and

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[1] Research undertaken with the support of Wissenschaftskolleg zu Berlin at the Orientinstitut Istanbul. I am referring to documentation in Ba_bakanlık Osmanlı Ar_ivi (BOA), KK 6290, 8-9, 62-63, 107-11; ML.CRD 890; ML.CRD 1414.

the city community through their legal and moral status. *Prima facie* seasonal workers were not considered regular inhabitants, but strangers in the city. Economic factors together with moral and legal norms created a specific way of life for seasonal workers that determined their use of public and private space in the city.

The reason for the Ottoman government to prescribe and sometimes enforce separation of seasonal workers from the city's population was to prevent them becoming permanent inhabitants of Istanbul. After the city had been conquered, repopulated and grown to be the largest city in the empire and perhaps in Europe, it was considered as overcrowded by the authorities who were in charge of provisioning it. Thus, in order to fulfil its function as a capital additional labour was necessary, but migration above a certain level that could not be controlled was unwanted. There was the additional concern that migrants to the capital would be lost as taxpayers and producers in the countryside. As a reaction, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the Ottoman government recurrently evicted workers from the capital or tried to prevent migration to the capital by way of the provincial administration (Aktepe 1958). In the beginning of the nineteenth a system of internal passports (*mürur tezkeresi*) was introduced that was supposed to make unwanted migration impossible preventing the mass of seasonal migrants from settling permanently in the city and let their families come from the countryside.

One of the clearest statements of this drive to prevent migration to the capital in general and control seasonal workers in particular was formulated in 1826 on account of the reorganisation of the office of the market inspector (*ihtisab a_alı_ı*). Since the fifteenth century, this official had been part of the urban government of Istanbul not only responsible for collecting certain taxes and controlling prices, weights and measures on the market, but also had the duty to control public morals. In the nineteenth century the Ottoman government discontinued the farming out of this office and thirty years later, in a further step in a secularising trend the it seems to have undergone in all of the Muslim world (Glick 1992, 479), it evolved into the head of the city administration of Istanbul (*_ehremini*).

The background for this reorganisation was the suppression of the Janissary corps that had served as a police force in the capital and for a long time also had controlled the urban economy of Istanbul, collecting dues and protection money not sanctioned by the government. The regulation issued in 1826 (_htisab A_alı_ı Nizamnamesi, Ergin 1995, I, 328-41) restated the traditional tasks of the market inspector and especially stressed necessity of supervising migration as well as the different branches of seasonal workers. This stress was a general result of the state of insecurity that ruled in the first decades of the century when there had been several instances where boatmen, porters and caulkers had slipped into the criminal

milieu of the capital and their dwellings had become shelters for criminals, no-go areas and suspected places of vice and contagious diseases. As in earlier centuries the authorities, with the acclaim of the city's public, reacted with expulsing such workers from the city and pulling down their collective dwellings (_anizade, II, 109-13, 151; Cevdet, X, 92-5).

In contrast, to put seasonal labour migration back into orderly procedure the regulation obliged every worker to register at certain checkpoints at his entry into the city. Then he would be forced to stay in one of three or four supervised khans in the bazaar area or in similar institutions in the three traditional suburbs Galata, Üsküdar and Eyüb before being handed over to the control of his respective guilds. The regulation also shows how conscious the government was over the question of urban territoriality. It tried to rule out any uncontrolled areas in the city, the place in question being the bazaar of the Saddlers, Saraçhane (Ergin 1995, I, 335-6).

In all these measures proposed in the police regulation of 1826 the immediate aspect of security is very present. Additionally, the decree has to be seen in the broader context of the specific Ottoman understanding of *hisbe* or *ihtisab*, i.e., 'good order' in the city. For the Ottoman government order in a technical understanding consisted in the security of the city as well as the functioning of its economy – an issue that implied the provisioning of the city by the government and the surveillance of prices (*narh*) for products necessary for the population like grain, bread and meat. However, it also had religious implications like the surveillance of the moral conduct of the inhabitants (Akgündüz 2005).

Above that, as Michael Cook (2000, 469) has noted the understanding of *hisbe* is a measuring rod for the demarcation of public and private spheres in Muslim societies. *Hisbe* belongs to the public sphere, i.e., the sphere where the government is allowed and obliged to enforce 'good order' or, as it has been called in the classical Islamic discourse, is obliged to 'commanding right and forbidding wrong'. As the concrete shape of the office of *muhtesib*/*ihtisab a_ası* shows public was mainly understood as the economic sphere, in spatial terms the bazaar area of the city. The next sections will dwell more extensively on the spatial implications of the differentiation between public and private in Ottoman Istanbul in the context of the debate around the 'Islamic city'. Following this debate will help to understand the normative aspects ruling the separation and surveillance of labour migrants.

Private and public sphere in the '*Islamic city*'

For a long time the specific look and function of cities in Muslim societies have attracted scholarly attention and, in older scholarship, this has led to the construction of the model of the so-called 'Islamic city'. Since the 1960s this model increasingly has been criticised on

account of its orientalist assumptions and its rigidity. The critics pointed out that the traits of the 'Islamic city' basically were over-generalised characteristics of certain cities in the Maghreb whereby other cities in other Muslim countries were overlooked. Moreover, the model saw religious norms as the predominant factor shaping cities in Islamicate societies while many common elements could be explained functionally with recourse to secular factors as, for example, terrain or technology. Hence, several critics rejected the term 'Islamic City' and instead attempted to introduce wider and supposedly more neutral designations such as 'traditional' or 'oriental' city or 'city in dar al-Islam' (cf. Hourani 1970; Wirth 1975; Abu-Lughod 1994)

Despite these strictures also the revisionist literature retains certain structural elements similar in cities in Muslim societies adding up to what has been called the 'deep structure' of this group of cities. One of these elements is the specific division between private and public spaces. As the extreme sides of the public/private spectrum figure bazaars and residential quarters – a dichotomy that traditionally has been interpreted as a strict separation between the two spheres. In between, however, there were multiple zones of semi-private and semi-public spaces like courtyards, cul-de-sacs and small streets in residential quarters that, to a certain degree, call into question this separation. These divisions could, on top of that, switch according to time, so that a very complex pattern developed that defied a static spatial division of the public and the private. Underlying this deep structure was the gender division in Muslim society. Female/private space and male/public space were segregated, but linked through social construction of in-between spaces that helped cities to function more smoothly (Abu-Lughod 1980).

Also Istanbul became to share many features with other cities in the Muslim Middle East after it had become the capital of the Ottoman Empire. One of these was the function and composition of the quarters (*mahalle*) of the city. The *mahalle* was not only the most important administrative unit, but also the primal form of social integration for the city's population. In Istanbul it usually comprised a few hundred houses, grouped around a mosque and a public bath and was the framework for the traditional communitarian lifestyle of the city's residents. Its population was not socially stratified; poor and rich inhabitants shared the same space in the *mahalle*. The quarters were small communities with their own solidarities and code of honour that had to be protected vis-à-vis others. The imam of the local mosque or *mescid* functioned as the middle man between government and population before, in the early nineteenth century, secular headmen (*muhtar*) took over this function (Duben/Behar 29-35).

During certain periods the function of the Istanbul *mahalle* seemed to have been similar to that of the *hara* in the cities of the Maghrib stressed in the model of the 'Islamic city'. After

the conquest people from various regions of the empire were settled in the same quarters that sometimes gave away their origin as, for example, in the case of Aksaray, Çar_amba and Balat. At the end of the sixteenth century certain quarters were equipped with gates that were supposed to be locked by night. In general, however, the Istanbul quarters were not highly autonomous and self-sufficing entities that could seal themselves off from the city and exist on their own like it has been claimed in the case of the *hara*s. Moreover, solidarities of the inhabitants that did rest on outsides factors like for example regional origin got lost over time. Interestingly, this can also be observed regarding one of the strongest such markers: religion. Although Istanbul quarters were usually formed along religious lines rather than on social ones there are also many examples of quarters with a religiously mixed population (Kreiser 1974; I_ın 1995, 39-40; Behar 2003, 3-10).

In the literature on the structure of cities in the Muslim world the quarters in general have been attributed a 'private' function in contrast to the 'public' character of the market. However, being the basic building blocs of the city the quarters were the points of crystallisation of public in different meanings of the word. During the sixteenth century one of the main public spaces of the *mahalle* became the coffeehouse. It coexisted with and integrated the public functions of the mosque and, to a lesser degree, the *hamam*. In the coffeehouse the male inhabitants could meet and matters of local or general concern could be discussed. For the men the coffeehouse functioned as the extended public part of their home, the *selamlık*, where they could welcome visitors etc. (Hattox 1985, 122-130; Georgeon 1997, 40-5). While in the coffeehouse the aspect of public as sociability – the open sociability of men in contrast to the hidden of women that had to meet at home – in P. Ariès' sense of the word was dominant, other institutions expressed the political side of the *mahalle* public. Many quarters of Istanbul possessed foundations with the task to pay the municipal taxes (*avarız*) of the inhabitants of the quarter. Through these local foundations the *mahalle* was connected to one of the most important institutions of the traditional public sphere in Muslim societies, the *waqf/vakıf*. As has been noted such foundations provided the framework for citizens to express and negotiate their interests relatively unimpeded by the state also on a larger and less local scale (Gerber 2002, 75-7).

As legal strangers, at least in theory, the seasonal migrants had to be kept away from the 'private' world of the *mahalle* and therefore also had limited access to its relatively closed publics. It is telling that their name in Turkish was *bekar,* a word also designating an unmarried young man or bachelor in general irrespective of being a labour migrant, i.e., someone not attached to a family and thus not representing the family values of the *mahalle*.

This name was given to seasonal workers irrespective of their age and the fact that many of them actually were married and had children in their villages of origin.

Their dwellings, the khan or the bachelor rooms (*bekar odaları*), conjure up the image of an almost opposite world separated from the one of the quarter. The khan (*han*), usually a rectangular two-storey building where cell-like rooms were arranged around a large courtyard, was a multifunctional building type that could be used as accommodation for strangers in the Ottoman city like travellers and merchants, but could also contain shops or workshops. These large buildings were located in the bazaar areas of cities, but sometimes also near the city gates. Besides offering shelter at night it was the function of the khans to give the stranger a legal residence and status in the city. It acted as an official address that was valid also in business transactions; the inn-keeper was the guarantor (*kefil*) of the residents responsible for their security and that of their belongings, having a general duty of supervision, too. Functionally speaking, khans were the 'homes' of the travellers and a private enclave in the public space of the bazaar where they were usually situated. For the individual, however, there was little privacy in the sense of intimacy to be found in a khan. European travellers have described them as places where 'everything was done everywhere' hinting at the different cultural definitions of privacy (Tamdo_an-Abel 1997).

Not only merchants and travellers lived in khans, but also seasonal workers could choose them as their residence. In the case of Istanbul usually these were not the prestigious big khans in the centre that have survived until today, but smaller less impressive structures. The already mentioned censuses of the first half of the nineteenth century show that of the ca. 225 khans operating in Greater Istanbul only a few appear as typical workers' khans. They are recognisable by the fact that larger numbers of seasonal labour migrants, usually of the same profession, were living together in one such khan. Most of them were not in the business quarter around the Grand Bazaar, but in Fatih, Üsküdar and Tophane. On the outskirts of town especially boatmen and day-labourers resided.

A first hand account of the life in such khans comes from a British consul:

> The first khan we entered had 150 lodgers. One of the rooms was 4 to 5 meters wide and 4 meters high and contained five workers (*bekar*). The monthly rent of the room was 10s. Apart from their mattresses and three little trunks the room contained nothing. [...] In the second khan there stayed 350 people, its landlord was a Turk. 29 of its 36 rooms were occupied by Armenians, 7 by Turks.[2]

However, even more than in such big structures seasonal workers could be found in smaller rooms, so-called *bekar odaları*. According to the economic logic of seasonal migration many labour migrants in order to save money took the opportunity to live in the rooms above their

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[2] Report of 25/12/1869 quoted from Tarih ve Toplum 2/11 (1984), 323.

work places, shops and workshops like boathouses, bakeries, *hamam*s etc. depending on their professions. As a lot of these workshops were concentrated in certain areas of the city, many of these simple dwellings were, too. There are numerous examples already mentioned in Evliya's seventeenth century description of Istanbul of whom the *Mercan odaları* housing the shoemakers of the central bazaar perhaps are the most famous for their unruly population of young men.[3] Like the khans also these lodgings were controlled by the police and each of them had to have a headman (*odaba_ı*) responsible for the inhabitants. They were poor, simple and almost empty reflecting the low economic status of the labour migrants as well as the fact that they were not at home in the city. Descriptions of such places like the following coming from an Armenian baker are rather rare:

> The room that we had taken was a dry place adjacent to the storage room for the flour. In front of the window from one wall to the other there was only a bench. [...] There was not even a chair because we had no time to sit down anyway. Every night we spread out our beds on the floor and lay down. And every morning we gathered them together again. Well, the bishop [a frequent visitor] knew this and even was used to the emptiness of the room (Mıntzuri 1993, 71).

Especially these rooms were potentially disturbing the urban order that divided the city in residential and business areas symbolising its private and public spaces. We have observed the ideal of a centralized housing for seasonal workers in the regulation of 1826. For rowers and porters it was explicitly forbidden to live in rooms 'here and there', but they were ordered to take up residence in khans assigned to them and stay there when not working.[4]

An interesting exception to this ideal was made for water-carriers (*saka*). With the permission of the imam of the *mahalle* they were allowed to stay overnight in residential districts to be able to deliver the water in time and to be there in case of fire. This exceptional and sometimes venerated status of the water carriers is still confirmed by European travellers who come to Istanbul later in the century (Ibid., 335; White 1845, II, 16-19).

That the separation of residential population and seasonal migrants remained an ideal shows not only research on the *mahalle* structure of Istanbul that demonstrates that a standard feature of many Istanbul quarters was a 'Bekar Soka_ı', a Bachelor street, and that in later censuses many of them were registered in residential quarters outside the central bazaar area (Duben/Behar 29-30). We can also glean that from the quarrels over the use of urban space sporadically found in the Ottoman archives. While originally this issue was in the jurisdiction of the *kadı,* in the later nineteenth century the police and city authorities became occupied with such matters. A case in 1905 shows that even a khan in a busy quarter like Aksaray could be regarded as unsuitable to house *bekar*s on account of its lying not only on the edge of a

[3] Cf. art. Mercan Odaları, in: *Dünden Bugüne _stanbul Ansiklopedisi* 5, 394; art. Bekar Odaları, DBIA 2, 123-4.

Muslim quarter, but also in the vicinity of a mosque and a sufi lodge (*dergah*). In another case a group of women in Beyo_lu petitioned the authorities, because they felt disturbed by the vicinity of some *bekar odaları*. It was ordered to have the inhabitants expelled and a strong warning given out to the owners. Additionally, the authorities pondered to have a wall to be build separating the houses.[5]

It seems that on the ground in the quarters the living together with and separation of seasonal workers was managed on a finer scale than the spatial order the model of the 'Islamic city' or the Ottoman authorities in the regulation discussed above assumed. From research on the micro-level of the spatial structure of Istanbul quarters we get a certain sense of their internal differentiation into zones for residential use and for business purposes. In the nineteenth century Istanbul had to absorb all kind of newcomers besides seasonal migrants like refugees and other immigrants. Also seasonal migrants could turn into permanent ones by either marrying a girl from Istanbul or bringing their families to the city. The former was the only legal way to settle in the capital and there seems to have been a veritable market for brokers of such contacts (Koçu 2002, 179-80).

But also the latter way was common and, as it turns out, at the end of the nineteenth century it does not seem to have been too hard to obtain the necessary papers to legalize one's stay. Usually newcomers to the city could rely on networks of people from their region that had already settled in Istanbul and helped them to find work in the informal sector and act as a guarantor for them (Behar 2003, 95-129).

From traditional to new publics

The preceding paragraph tried to show the difficulties in assessing how seasonal migrants were integrated into the city society of Istanbul. It became clear that we are confronted with a continuum of stages of integration and participation in different publics. Much depended on the degree the authorities could enforce and supervise separation of seasonal workers from resident population. It seems that in professional branches that were important and thus had a more elaborate structure than others the government tried to use the guild organisations of these branches to supervise the labour migrants. Unfortunately, we know very little of how this system worked or if the guilds also became institutions of public participation to seasonal workers. In contrast, workers in the informal sector like street vendors or day labourers could only be controlled by sending those home who were without a job. Usually this was done in times of economic and political crisis as there are many examples from the seventeenth to the

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[4] "Ve hammal ve kayıkçı ve sâir bî-kârlar _urada burada bî-kâr odası tedarük ü ihdâs etmeyüp ak_am olup maslahatı hitâmında tahsis olunacak hanlarına girüp sabahleyin i_ine gitmek", Ergin 1995, I, 332.

[5] Cf. archival documents in BOA, ZB 375-112, 11 _ubat 1322 and A.MKT.MVL 47-50, 26 M 1268.

nineteenth centuries.

We have only a faint notion in what publics the seasonal workers could participate as long as they decided not to become residents of the city they worked in. Probably these were publics transplanted from their home regions acted out in the regional networks seasonal labour was organised in. We know, for example, of particular coffeehouses Istanbul where people from certain regions came to exchange news, transact business etc. They also could house seasonal workers. These places were very different from the *mahalle*-coffeehouses, although they served similar functions to offer public space to a certain group of people (Georgeon 1997, 51).

In the second half of the nineteenth century Istanbul saw the development of new public spheres and spaces beyond the traditional ones that were associated with *mahalle* and religious life. A new developing bourgeoisie adapted models and practices of public from Europe and enacted them in their city. These publics were open to participation in various degrees. While Mason lodges were elitist and exclusive – however, as it turns out, not only to Christians –, newspaper reading, visiting the new style cafés or the theatre could include wider parts of the capital's inhabitants crosscutting ethnic and religious boundaries. Together with these new forms of sociability also new publics in the political understanding came into being. These could run counter the trend of bourgeois cosmopolitanism. The concluding paragraph will try to assess how seasonal workers were situated in this field of non-traditional publics.

One of the most palpable innovations in the public sphere of the Ottoman Empire were newspapers that started to appear first initiated by the government, later on a private basis. In the last quarter of the nineteenth century the Ottoman capital possessed a large and varied press despite severe censorship by the government. In the context of this paper a special journalistic genre called 'city letters' (*_ehir mektubları*) is interesting, because they described many of the new emerging public spaces like streets, parks, cafés etc. and, at the same time, created a public image of this new Istanbul in the making. This genre combined the subjectivity of the journalist with the particularities of city life, often hinting at curiosities, grievances and nuisances that create a bond between the readers as common inhabitants of the city. Often the organising principle of these letters was the stroll through the city. People and places mentioned or left out 'invented' the city anew according to the tastes and needs of the newspaper audience (cf. the parallel case of 17th c. London, Bartolovich 2000).

These letters were written for a special audience, the newspaper reading male inhabitant of the city, which did not include labour migrants most of whom were illiterate. But even as a topic

they are absent most of the time. If they make an appearance, they spoil the imagined order of the city. The column of Basiretçi Ali Efendi (2001), one of the first journalists using the genre regularly in his newspaper from 1871 to '78, is a good example in this respect. When working class people appear they are either cheating on citizens (129, 218) and molesting women (24, 41) or they are associated with contagious diseases like in the reiterating complaints on unclean conditions in the khans of the capital (76, 180). Conditions in the khans where people are stacked 'like firewood' are not reprimanded any more in the moral language of chroniclers like Cevdet or _anizade of the first half of the nineteenth century. However, there seems to be no direct address to better their lot.

In the column of the most famous letter writer Ahmed Rasim the tone is lighter, but even more occupied with bourgeois problems and public places like parks, restaurants etc.

This tendency to overlook the working and non-elite inhabitants of Istanbul in these descriptions of the city makes it very hard to assess in how far they participated in various new public spheres. This is aggravated by the scarcity of self descriptions from the milieu of workers. One important source here is the already mentioned biographical account of Hagop Mıntzuri (1993), an Armenian who came from Eastern Anatolia to Istanbul just before the turn of the century to work with his father and uncles in a bakery in Be_ikta_, but also to attend school in the capital. His stories relate much of the precarious integration of the labour migrants in the city and their access to old and new publics and public places.

In general, Mıntzuri's account conveys the feeling of difference between migrant workers and Istanbul residents defined by tastes, clothes, language etc. His ventures into the residential quarters where he delivers bread give him the occasion to dwell upon the strict rules of privacy with regards to the female sphere of homes to which strangers were not permitted (22-5). At the same time his account gives a good illustration of the networks that helped the migrants to survive in the city. Here the most important marker is neither religious nor ethnic belonging, but common geographical origin, *hem_ehrilik*. Turkish, Armenian and Kurdish migrants from the East assist each other while working together in the capital at least in the milieu of small entrepreneurs and shopkeepers that the author describes. There are, however, also contravening examples of rifts among the labour migrant community in Istanbul. During the tensions and riots in 1895/6 Kurdish porters take advantage to squeeze out their Armenian colleagues out of the labour market (Quataert 1983, 98-9).

The factors preventing the labour migrants' participation in modern city life are first and foremost of an economic nature. To put aside money even the fee for the horse drawn tram is avoided. Moreover, regarding other public spaces there seems to have been a serious cultural barrier. A Sunday visit to the Bomonti beer-garden is cut short, because the drink differs from

the author's usual diet (20-1). This experience is also known from Turkish immigrants especially connected to olive oil and olives as related by Aziz Nesin in his autobiography (1966, I, 56-8).

The situation of being set apart from the city population and not participating in the city public has one exception regarding the Armenian community Mıntzuri comes from: education. Besides himself many other boys whose fathers worked in the capital as inn keepers (*hancı*), caretakers (*kapıcı*) or porters (81) attended the Getronagan school in Galata. At least this new generation was able to participate in the newspaper and book related culture like the author did, discovering Armenian and French literature. The public space of this new culture was the reading room (*kıraathane*), yet another evolution of the coffeehouse. Here one could read the paper or books, discuss political or other topics, sometimes listen to lectures and have a cup of tea or coffee. In principle these establishments where open to all those who could read; because they offered papers for free they could be frequented by people who could not afford to buy a paper. It is an interesting fact that the first reading room in Istanbul, Serafim Efendi's Kiraathane-i Osmani, had, on its top floor, a residence for Armenian seasonal workers. Whether or not they also frequented the lower floors, however, is not related (Georgeon 1997, 66-70).

Perhaps the effort of the Istanbul Armenian community to open education to newcomers from the provinces could be seen in direct response to another group that wooed them. American Protestant missionaries were working in the Armenian community since the 1830s. Because among the Armenians of the capital their success was limited, from the 1880s onwards missionaries also tried to target the community of seasonal workers living in the khans of Istanbul whose number they estimated as high as 35,000. Also here the success seems to have been limited; participants in bible reading and singing mainly came from such Armenians who had become Protestants already in their home regions in Eastern Anatolia. Also the missionaries add to the multiplication of public spaces in the capital. One of the most successful ventures was the opening of two coffeehouses in Kumkapı and around Çemberlita_ where people, Armenians and Turks alike, could be drawn into conversation and supplied with literature.[6]

The stress on education regarding the working classes seems to have been a special feature of the non-Muslim communities showing that in the last quarter of the century also non-bourgeois groups were to be integrated into the forming national publics. Also the nascent Turkish nationalism was far from remaining a purely bourgeois phenomenon. A good

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[6] Papers of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, unit 5, reel 596, no 119, 1881, 717-23; no 120, 1882, 731; no 122, 1883, 742; no 126, 1885, 766-7; no 130, 1886, 790; no 131, 1887, 813; no 139, 1889, 879; reel 606, no 15, 1891, 140; no 38, 1893, 350-1.

example how workers and their organisations got drawn into nationalist politics are the porter and rowers of Istanbul who possessed powerful professional organisations. It was widely suspected that these were already instrumentalised by the palace in the pogroms against the Armenian community in 1896. However, in the struggles with the foreign company operating the new harbour facilities in Istanbul the guilds of porters and boatmen found themselves in opposition to their government that had sold the concession. This made the two guilds natural allies of the Young Turks who, after the revolution of 1908, tacitly supported them against the Port Company over control of the landing procedure of goods and rights over employment and pay. The guilds, at the same time, were instrumental in bringing the boykott against Austrian goods to a success (Quataert 1983, 95-120).

How their members as individuals were addressed and participated in the nationalist discourse and if among them the seasonal labour migrants of Turkish origin were of special interest for the propaganda calls for further research.

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PUBLIC ISTANBUL
SPACES AND SPHERES OF THE CITY
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Tim Rieneits / Orhan Esen

Göktürk – Strategies of Denial, Exchange and Adaptation in a Segregated Urban Environmnent

Research Project, ETH Zürich with Students from ETH Zurich and from diverse universities in Istanbul – with the support of IMP

New class positionings in Istanbul

Since mid 1980s Istanbul witnessed the emergence of an upper class of new money: Its hyper-activity, even its sheer presence blasted some old class positions. However, unable to differentiate itself from the rest of the society through acquired social gesture, a sophisticated 'bourgeois' culture, the new 'uncultivated' class preferred to distance itself through practices of space as well through symbols of status. Equipped with 4x4 jeeps and sunglasses they made their way through the open public space, mostly experienced as an urban jungle. The security infrastructure of the new settlements behind the walls, the so called 'gated communities' made them feel 'untouchable' given the codices of that jungle.

The segregation does not exclusively comprise of physical or spatial mechanisms like walls: Mental mechanisms of denial are important as well. Urban realities beyond the newly built environment are mentally suppressed or denied. Social contacts to the 'other side' comprise mainly of hierarchical employer-employee relations (gardeners, cleaners, au pairs, security staff, chauffeurs...) However, the new form of living and social behavior retroacted on other groups, as the real estate industry began selling the 'new urbanism' of the nouvelle riches to the middle classes as well.

The Case of Göktürk

Within the former rural town of Göktürk, at the northwestern peripheries of Istanbul, more than 30 gated communities have been constructed since the early 90s, to accommodate those members of Istanbul's upper and middle classes who were tired of the metropolis and longed for prestige. Paradoxically this migration engendered urban conditions in Göktürk similar to those, which they had originally fled from: urban density, permanent changes of the environment and close proximity to underprivileged classes.

Today two different urban cultures are living side by side, separated mainly but not only by the walls of the Gated Communities. Their relation to the urban environment is diametrical: One group builds their urban environment through small-scale investments and improvisation. Their living in Göktürk is mainly based on job and business opportunities generated by the gated communities. As far as available, family, kinship and other social networks are utilized as a major resource to improve socio-economic status. The other group, however, has its familiar and professional roots in Istanbul and celebrates a "privatized public life" behind walls, in urban environments constructed by investors according to the needs of the upscale real estate market. The exceptional proximity of both groups has prompted different spatial, mental and economic strategies of denial, sublime exchange and mutual adaptation among both groups.

The Case Study

Students from ETH Zürich and diverse Istanbul Universities documented and analysed in the genesis and qualities of this venue in diverse media and formats in the winter semester 2005/06. Photos, Videos and Mappings demonstrate a complex space that keeps on changing. Interviews with different stakeholders reveal extremely different values and perceptions. In individual essays students have tried to describe causes and effects of this particular urban development.
At first the visit of students was most welcomed as the project originated from a renowned Swiss university. However, with their analysis students did not share the values and perceptions of the municipality. Instead, the critical approach towards the recent development of Göktürk they demonstrated has obviously caused suspicion behind the reflexive-glass facades of the city hall and prompted the city fathers to publish their counterstatement…

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Pelin Tan

Space / Negotiation
Urban Anthropology and the Re-production of Locality

> "Yet for postmodern urban space, in which architects assay the wrapping and layering of space, and urban managers increasingly review its representation and control, nothing could be further than the truth; boundaries are not finite, *but zones of negotiation*", I.Borden[1]

Nowadays, one of the current debates among various cultures is the crisis in the urban environment. The occurrence of the crisis is being defined and described through several sociopolitical and economic outcomes with its intense relation to "space". Especially in the area of post-1990, the re-production of space and the actors involved in the process are beyond nation-state politics and urban marketing. Architectural practices and urban design as well as their concrete influence in daily life appear as a main anchor in re-shaping the societies and communities. As communities are re-defining their own cultural boundaries and seek to share their own urban space "negotiation" does appear as a mutual practice between cultures and spaces. I would like to address the relation between "space" and "negotiation" with several examples of some art & urban projects that were recently developed in Istanbul by local and international artists and architects. I think that the projects and the artistic research involved with the local urban realities highlight the recent conflicts between "spaces" and "negotiation". The question of how the "conflicts[2]" are revealing, as urban and architectural phenomena in a specific city, could be an example for trans-local realities in a comparable research.

Trans-nationalism, social segregation, transition, local urbanism and potentialities of ambiguous zones are the core issues in discussing urban phenomena in global cities. The 1990s saw the failure of a realization of our utopian visions as well as upside-down definitions of urban utopias, which can be considered one of the main phenomena relating to global cities at that time. Istanbul is an important example of how spaces are produced and shaped through facts such as geo-political conditions, temporary local economical strategies, a society of multiple identities and ethnicities, as well as conflicts between eastern and western values. In the meantime, conflicts of space and local identities appear as new forms of knowledge from the city.

1. “transit”

The conditioning processes of “transition”, cultural or economical, inner or outer, always shaped the city of Istanbul. These processes still continue and produce specific bodies of urban knowledge in a globalized world. The multiple social spheres of Istanbul, in the form of urban segregation, are not only legacies from the Ottoman Empire, but significantly developed under the pressures of migration from the 1960s onwards. For Keyder[3], governmental economic subsidies during the 1960s were the main reason for the flows of rural migrants from Anatolia in to the cities, and consequently for the construction of “gecekondus” at peripheral sites of Istanbul. These districts have by now been legalized as a result of land negotiations, black money circulation and short-term political strategies of local municipalities, which went through the so called informal economy. Following the military regime after 1980, liberalization processes and the globalization of capital affected the local municipalities. The informal economy of the city produced new infrastructures and services, used by immigrant and other ethnic communities. With important historical changes after 1989, such as the end of the Cold War, the fall of the Berlin Wall, geo-political changes in the Balkans, the events of September 11th and the war in Afghanistan, it was not surprising to see Istanbul emerge as a transit space for the informal economy sector, as well as for migrants and refugees. The “suitcase commerce” in the 1990s, for instance, influenced the Laleli district and its urban transformation. The clash between the discourse of the “global city” (or the next “European Capital”) and the reality of “transit” space is the most apparent contemporary dichotomy of Istanbul. In the 1990s, the urban transformations were the outcome of transnational economic, global capitalist strategies. An example of these dynamics is the skyscrapers built in the Levent area, which is now a sort of “Turkish Manhattan”. Many transnational companies have opened branches in Istanbul, thus providing the city with new capital and further increasing economic differences within the society. On the other hand, recent, as well as older, more settled immigrants, and a lot of ethnic communities become part of the illegal economy or integrated in the service sector of a globalized economy. The outcomes, both architectural and cultural, of urban inequality and segregation confuse us because they give Istanbul a heterogeneous urban identity. Cultural encounters, the co-existence of hybrid cultural fragments, trans-geographic experiences and the intersection of various geopolitical levels create a transit urban identity. The processes related to EU membership negotiations further influence the global city discourses, which are unrelated from the local dynamics in Istanbul. The presentation of Istanbul’s “exoticism” during the last centuries was, in this century, replaced with a global experience that includes several local experiments. What we are imagining about cities is becoming more dependent on the individual’s relation to space and conflict. Arjun Appadurai re-introduces the term locality as “*primarily relational and contextual rather that an as scalar or spatial*”[4]. According to him, cities are made up of several layers of localities. Culturally hybrid forms like migrants from various geographies also influence the urban design and practicalities of the city. Appadurai approaches[5] locality as the imagination of social practice: “*the work of the imagination allows people to inhabit either multiple localities or a kind of single and complex sense of locality, in which many different empirical spaces coexist*”.

Most of the contemporary art works related to Istanbul after 1995 make a smooth appearance with tactical approaches to the conflict of spaces and our distracted mood of our identities in cities. Investigation of everyday life, performative tactics, mixtures of

local and global discourses (which manipulate the dual structure), the search for spaces between public and private spheres and trans-local experiences form the core theme of art practices. **Esra Ersen**, for example, has worked in several cities such as Malmö, Stockholm, Graz, Berlin and Münster, which allowed her to gain various urban experiences. A part of her work investigates the contradictions between Western approaches and discourses on cities and the local realities and experiences. Through her artistic practice, Ersen creates tactics around space and relations among people, which shift the perspective toward their own space and their own local experiences. I believe this applies to all of us: how can we layer international approach, western approach with our local experiences. Many of Ersen's works are focused on the mutual tension and transformation between space and identity: projects on the transformation of the relationship between the subject's own identity and the space; on illegal immigrants and refugees, scrutinizing their adaptation and resistance thresholds. These projects, while displaying the results and influences of Europe's border policies during recent years from a certain perspective, at the same time make way for new channels of analyzing problems of globalized cities and urban identity. Ersen's documentary, which was also shown during the 8th International Istanbul Biennial, "Brothers & Sisters" (2003), in which a new perspective was brought to the perception of recent migrant communities in Istanbul. Esra Ersen worked for months with Africans in order to complete this work, which reflected the personal experiences of African immigrants in this country and city – these people we see on the streets every day but whose existence we cannot exactly define, and whom we approach with certain preconceived social clichés. In "Brothers & Sisters", the urban space is defined through the various experiences of the Africans, and through the background of ethnic, national and hybrid cultures taking form within the process of temporary habitation. Culturally hybrid forms, migrants from various geographies also influence urban design and practicalities. Fragmented urban indicators, time and space differences constructed via urbanites of different statuses, heterotopias where various local spaces co-exist simultaneously create subjects with multiple identities in cities. Major European cities in particular, took in immigrants during the period following 1990. Cities expanded and restructured with the urban experiences of integrated migrant cultures; many places gained new and different significance. The main reasons for migration amongst the illegal immigrants and refugees, where a more prosperous life formed the centerpiece of their utopia, were: civil war, poverty, unemployment, exile? The first major stop for many African and Middle Eastern migrants in the process of reaching Europe is Istanbul. A high rate of Eastern European, Middle Eastern, Eastern Asian, and African immigrants (mostly illegal) and refugees started to rush into Istanbul after 1990. One of the questions that the artists did ask the Africans is: where did they feel most at ease and safe in Istanbul. The purpose of this question was to see how they define the "sense of belonging" and how they perceive the urban space. The manner in which foreign migrants, living in the city for a "temporary" but "indefinite" period, define and perceive the space differs from that of permanent residents. The migrants indicated that they felt secure in McDonalds outlets spread throughout city centers, or in shopping malls such as Profilo or Akmerkez. More importantly, they stated that they felt as if they were in any place in the world and felt free of identity. Obviously, these foreign and fugitive migrants give a completely different classification and definition to large shopping malls, which generally are considered to be the most central consumption spaces, therefore resolve the tension between identity and space using different means through their nomadic experience.

In the district called Tepeba_ı where many of the illegal immigrants and refugees are located, the state of being “the other” is shared with gypsies, transvestites, transsexuals, Kurds and Arabs in street life, or in football matches taking place in Kasımpa_a. It’s difficult to encounter most illegal immigrants and refugees on streets or other public places. It is especially difficult to encounter African women. Although these people leading “exceptional” or “unusual” lives are excluded from the standard social structure, they nevertheless exist in a district that is right in the center of the city. In “Brothers & Sisters” a young African man gleefully defines Tepeba_ı and Kasımpa_a as “refugee camps” where they are under surveillance by the police and smugglers. Police and smugglers in many central districts in the city such as Tepeba_ı and Aksaray keep a close watch on the lives and spaces of these illegal immigrants. Giorgio Agamben defines the “camp” concept as a new biopolitical space. The exceptional condition that lies behind the foundation of a “camp” is that, together with a crisis or anomaly in the situation, mundane law becomes invalid[6]. These “camps” which employ a specific control over the body, are a new form of space that produce new power and biopolitical tools. Aside from being a form of existence presented to illegal immigrants and refugees, the “camps”, which have spread as a result of border policies after the 90’s – provide a sense of control in the lives of these people of various national, ethnic, and religious origins. A “camp” can also be seen as a formation that “dispossesses” a space while trying to establish a system of order. The process of applying urban control and biopolitics, and internalizing these tools into the system creates inconspicuous “in-between” spaces, particularly in city centers. The association of these spaces with other districts or the city’s general scale is a question mark. The desire of the African immigrants to fulfill their utopias (moving to any western country using Istanbul as a transit point) creates another heterotopia where they find themselves an “in-between” space in the center of Istanbul. Elizabeth Grosz focuses on interpreting architecture and urbanization as an observing philosopher through the concept of identity. Grosz identifies “in-between” spaces as the geometry of natural social and cultural transformation. She optimistically signifies that these spaces form around “in-between” identities, and will lead to the process of turning contemporary cities into innovative, open places[7]. “In-between” spaces constitute the unformed state of things; they are the spaces of destruction, exhaustion, and rivalry; the extremity of all identity boundaries. The way in which groups of different religions, ethnicities, and languages will co-exist and form mutual spaces is becoming more of a crucial problem today in the urban context. In “Brothers & Sisters”, Esra Ersen not only attempts to draw attention to African migrants as invisible urban personalities and identities, but also focuses on the public space, which embodies the challenges of the utopia of “living together”. The way in which illegal immigrants and refugees transform their urban space also becomes an indicator as to how urban language, power, and identities are formed. Every scene from the video projects the struggle of the immigrants and refugees within the urban space, and the sensitivity of the tension between their lives and identities from various angles. The artist draws attention to the dynamics of biopolitics and the association of the control mechanism with public institutions in the urban space.

2. “trans-local realities”

Since 1997, the artists collective **Oda Projesi**[8] did work in the Sahkulu Street in Galata,

in their space until 2005 when they had to move out because of the gentrification process and intention of local developers. Oda Projesi created their own practice by working together with the inhabitants that are mostly emigrated from different parts of Anatolia toward the end of the 1980s and other guests (artists, groups, professionals) from different backgrounds. Oda Projesi is a "mediator": by creating situations for meetings, relations among people from different disciplines, artists and the inhabitants which they attempt to create, through everyday life experiences, a specific public space, in Calvino's possibility of a third space in urban context. In 2005, as a outcome of urban marketing of Istanbul in last years; the gentrification process began in Galata district. Related to that, Oda Projesi worked on projects which endeavored to create local critique and public awareness about the new "gentrification" process in the centre of Istanbul, which are imposing urban security law and re-production of artificial urban consumption culture. One recent example is the "French Street" (which was called Algerian Street before the local developers bought the whole street), an area, which was restored and opened in the middle of the city centre to serve a new specific socio-economic class as a consumption space. As Istanbul is currently facing intense urban marketing strategies; "gentrification" and renovated districts serve as new urban spaces with nostalgic glamour for the cultural consumers and real estate developers. Eventually, the social segregation among communities and the slipping "public space" in those areas could create huge social problems in the near future in Istanbul; a city, which is being marketing internationally with its "fragmented" cultural features. Oda Projesi, did establish with French artist Matthieu Prat an unofficial radio channel as a parasite medium which hosted the habitants of the neighborhood, several people from different background, and urban planners, sociologist, artists who wanted reflect upon the gentrification process and related issues.

Other projects carried out by Oda Projesi exemplify the negotiation between human and its private space after an urban post-catastrophe. Creating our initial living space and filling it up with meanings represents extending consciousness of our relations to environment and life practices. Our question here is: how this living space created nowadays...how it is filled up...how it is over-expanded...how it is related to the megapolis as an alternative figure...in what forms does *domus/house* survive? Oda Projesi expanded their practices and experience over their space; again analyzing the relationship between "human" and space in contemporary situations, which formulates itself nowadays. Their focus is on: the freedom of the ability of shaping their own space/place/house and the constitutions of spontaneous physical elements in everyday life/city. Hans-Ulrich Obrist points out, when he is mentioning the architect Yona Friedman in questioning the relationship between small elements and city, how does one read city: "the ways in which rumors develop the city: small elements, very unpredictable yet self-organized, orbit…[9]. So, in recent years Oda Projesi has been searching and opening a specific urban and architectural reading that concerns small elements, unpredictable, self-organized urban forms which, are leaking among illegal economies, unstable political strategies and the urban texture that is formed by post-fordist urban planning strategies in Istanbul. What are these urban forms of survival? What could such forms explain to us? In the 2003 Venice Contemporary Art Biennale Oda Projesi was invited to the project of "Structures of Survival" exhibition, which was organized by the curator Carlos Basualdo. The exhibition presented urban realities from second and third world countries with a specific focus on poverty, needs of survival and conditions of crisis. Oda Projesi conveyed their project in three paths: they brought and built a "prefab"

with its own interior usage and extended forms of annex from the main earthquake area in Turkey; they produced a publication in a newspaper format about the issue of earthquake written by sociologist and urbanists and post-cards (photos of several types of prefab). “Prefab” is the new form of houses for people who tried to survive after the earthquake and tried to create their own spaces of “crisis”. On August 17, 1999 the public in Marmara faced the longest night of earthquake which measured 7.4 and lasted 45 seconds. The impact of the earthquake was very strong in the main area, which is Adapazarı. According to the official reports 17,000 people died but unofficial sources report 30,000 dead and 25,000 injured[10]. After the earthquake, the Turkish government provided “prefab houses” to families whose homes were demolished. Those people lived and still live in these small (two room) shelters faced with limited living space, cold and other disadvantages. By working some months in the earthquake area, Oda Projesi visited families in the shelters and “transferred” this structure to Venice. This “prefab” does not represent only a form of house of survival that the earthquake victims transformed into their own daily usage but also a representation of the “survived relations” among people. At the 8th Istanbul Contemporary Art Biennale (2003), Oda Projesi built a “Gecekondu” (a shelter built overnight) with local people in the front of the main exhibition space, Antrepo. “Gecekondu” appeared in the early 60’s as a form of building that mainly immigrants and rural people organized and built themselves. This structure (gece-kondu) means built in the space of one night in any space or territory, which is not owned legally. Oda Projesi focused on the relationship between everyday life practices of the victims in a temporal form in the earthquake prefabs. But in the case of “Gecekondu”, Oda Projesi worked on the idea of “self-organization” and “building”; for them “Gecekondu” is no longer a structure of poverty but a creative architectural self-organization that become the main part of urban life, an urban form that is the outcome of alternative economies, a structure that draws attention to the necessity of illegality. Again Oda Projesi conveyed the project in three paths: producing an annex (publication in a paper format) about the “gecekondu” written by social scientists and architects; a real estate advertisement in the public billboards about a built “gecekondu” that resembles a mainstream middle class home advertisement (the billboards and free post cards that was produced by Oda Projesi were able to reach easily to public). Oda Projesi worked with the local people who were professionals in building themselves “gecekondu”s and even created their own styles in building, without knowledge of architecture or urbanism. This project covered all the stages, it began with meeting the family that built their own home and continued until the opening of the biennale where they built a “gecekondu” at the front of the Antrepo together.

3. “segregation”

The phenomenon of “gated communities” in Istanbul has disrupted urban texture and lifestyles in this growing city. In the past ten years, some suburban areas have developed on city margins. These are distinct from the “gecekondu” areas of the 1960s–1980s, occupied by Anatolian immigrants on the outskirts of the city. The gecekondu arose through illegal construction and occupation. After 1995, however, “gated communities” on the margins of Istanbul have been occupied by upper–middle-class residents. In simplest terms, “gated communities” are privatized housing settlements for citizens who seek a safer and higher standard of living than the one afforded by the inner city. Artist Solmaz Shahbazi augmented the research of sociologists and urban planners on gated communities in two video works, shown at the 9th International Istanbul Contemporary

Art Biennial. After studying architecture in Stuttgart, Shahbazi continued her career as an artist involved with some urban –architectural issues through visual production. The documentary that she co-directed "Tehran 13"[11] is a research of the architectural structures (buildings, districts) in Tehran and its re-conceptualization in a postmodern era, which mainly focused on the modernist housing project "Ekbatan" and its residents. In Istanbul, the artist worked on gated communities such as "Kemer Country", "Bahçe_ehir" and "Optimum" interviewing residents and nonresidents and creating two distinct narratives. One video shows several images of the gated communities and their surroundings, and is accompanied by a soundtrack of three social scientists discussing urban sprawl. The other shows the interior of one house in the community. An owner speaks about her domestic life, the reasons her family wanted to move, her new daily habits, and her fear of Istanbul's city center. She mentions her high security bills and talks about her new hobby, golf. Her fear of the city is convincing, as is her assertion that the development offers the "community feeling." that she desires. These people are choosing to be part of a community, but one that is not rooted in ethnic, religious or even socio-economic classes. In the end, it is the reproduction of the "community feeling" the gaze of which re-defines the "other" of the city. Analyzing the links between security, segregation, and citizenship reveal how urban discourses are produced and have been consumed recently. Also the Swiss photography artist Laurence Bonvin[12] works since two years on the phenomena of gated communities in Istanbul. In her works, she focuses on the gated areas and its contradictory nature of images. The ambiguous details that appear in the visual language prevail the conflicting relation between an explicit human lifestyle and built environment.

"Gated communities" are one example that announce not only the social/economic segregation between communities but also physical segregation / spaciocide in the cities. However, at the other hand city center could preserve peripheral sites; spaces that are curtailed in between urban centers. So, segregation can appear by street to street or districts according to the life styles of ethnic and other marginal groups. Austrian artist Karl Heinz Klopf who works often in Istanbul since years; researches the relationship between ambiguous urban structure and daily life of inhabitants. The city of Istanbul has a complex and a disorganized urban texture that provides many possibilities in which to experience space. As the complexity stems from the heterogeneity of cultural communities and as the organization of space exists generally in informal urban practices, inhabitants have several options in which to use the public space. The knowledge of the street experience and everyday life habits in this city lead you to acquire an intense interaction with the city, which also influences the personal life of the citizen. Compared to West,- and North European cities, where the cities and public spaces are over-regulated; Istanbul somehow presents an "open city" where negotiation between space and people is required continuously both in formal and informal ways. The theme of the 9th International Istanbul Biennial (2005) was "Istanbul" and was curated by Vasıf Kortun and Charles Esche. The exhibition focused on the potentiality of the city; several artists had been asked to produce site-specific works: *"We sought to address the environments in which the work will be shown and to place art in dialogue with different aspects and observations of the city itself*."[13]. The work "Mind the Steps" by Karl-Heinz Klopf, consisted of site-specific works in several streets that connected the uniqueness of the spaces to local knowledge where performances appeared as a form of interaction and as a communication model between both performers and inhabitants. The

artist has, for years, been working on the relation between cultural structures and the notion of space (urbanism/architecture); he focuses on the intersection and the potential of spaces. The production of cultural practices of communities intervenes into public space that is shared by a cross-cultural society based on several different ethnic, religious and regional roots in global intense cities. The "relational art form" is able to show another aspect of this practice. This temporary art form is able to create a cross-communication that could interact with the social structure of the community. During several visits to Istanbul, Klopf worked on the complexity of the urban texture and its relation to the heterogeneous culture in Istanbul. He analyzed the potentialities of the space in relation to its ambiguous organization and its exchange among the inhabitants. For "Mind the Steps" he chose six streets in the district of Beyoglu-Galata where he indicated six pavements/steps. The steps, which are unorganized and have ambiguous structures, are real obstacles for walking in the streets in Istanbul. Klopf transformed the daily habits of walking in the streets into a playful performance. During the biennale he not only showed up the ambiguous steps with lighting by projectors as models of performance stages, he also organized shows by several different local musicians and performers on each evening during the first week of the biennale. At the first event, which was on a step in front of a cash dispenser in Hacı Ali Street, two Turkish artists performed by creating rhythm using their hands and bodies. Another day, the steps hosted local break and rap dancers in Yeni Çar_ı Street. Gypsy musicians and dancers were invited to the steps in Türkgücü Street and a local electronic music group was invited to Horoz Street on another evening. The urban intervention of the artist focused on the daily life, which is a vital element for the streets of Istanbul; we as citizens walk in those places every day and even have difficulty in walking and climbing those unorganized, spontaneous steps. However, Klopf, with his simple interventions provides significant features of those spontaneous steps and re-activates them temporarily in a different local context, so that we are not so much aware of them in our daily life. The collaboration with local musicians and performers from different cultural communities not only created interactive street interventions in public space, in which the audience and local people became enmeshed, but it also created a kind of trans-local experience and knowledge among the inhabitants.

4. "the potentiality of space"

The overlapping urban discourses on one specific space could create several potentialities in defining this space. If several authorities are claming with different purposes (governmental, global economical strategies, local developer) a certain space, which embodies a memory, several identities of communities and conflicting meanings; the space could become a focus of representation of overlapping meanings in which time, space and history context can not be defined. Is there any possibility to define space or does this cross-meaning situation create a possibility to lead this space to emancipate its meaning?

The Turkish artists **Banu Cenneto_lu** participated in 3.Berlin Contemporary Art Biennale in 2004 with her work "False Witness" which is a series of photography installation about the spatial organization of the asylum seeker registration center in Ter Apel, Holland and their unstable identity of the people[14]. By investigating the transitory and unstable spaces; the artist searches for the power of their uncertain conditions through the paradoxical nature of photography that its ontological aspect provides

information but also subjective fiction that plays with images. In her recent work "Are there any palm trees in Grozny?"(2005)[15]; she did focus on an urban area in Istanbul, a camp (people who were brought from Chechnya to Istanbul 5-6 years ago) which is situated in the center of the city. Cennetoglu's photography installation is potential for re-creation of a reality, a structure of subjective ambiguous information and seeks for the possibility of "potentiality" of the uncertain urban zone. The uncertainty reveals the several overlapping urban discourses and realities on one specific urban space. The Chechnya refugees in the military zone at the railway site, the middle class habitants in the high rise apartments at the other site of the railway station look to the Chechn camp and the military officials at the other site. The whole diverse groups and habitants dwell and share one same urban space; a space, which is on speculation by, again, different urban discourses that reveals itself as an current negotiation space under an ambivalent condition.

The artist Knut Åsdam has been working on the politics and usages of place and space for a long time. He focuses on the phenomena of architecture and urban planning and analyzes the relationship between subjects, identities and the politics of space; and he claims: "*I have gone from trying to define spaces of deviation and crisis within my work, to looking more at the social dynamics themselves and more complex conjunctions rather than works that are attempting singularities. But I have always been interested in the interplay between subjectivity, place and social and economic dynamics -and in how these things are not only known but also imagined. We often think of the public space as a space of deviation for example -but for the most part that is a fiction -it is mostly a space of conformity and control -which is so starkly thrown into relief when a deviation does occur.*"[16] In his early works Åsdam investigated the terms heterotopias of crisis and deviation, and he focused on a notion and usage of the public space related to imaginative spaces. Åsdam also deals with the relationship between subjectivity and architecture, space- where the cognitive and psychological process of identification develops. Elizabeth Grozs[17] gives a reference from the text by Roger Caillois's "Mimicry and Legendary Psychasthenia"[18] in explaining the term "Psychosis" as "de-personalization by assimilation to space", the condition of losing the relation with reality. Åsdam developed his works from his Psychasthenia series (2001) to films where the subjects are in interplay with the city and the dynamics of the space could be read. In "Filter City" (2003, video installation), two women examine their relationships according to their situation in the city surrounded with spatial environment. How the social, cognitive and inhabiting practices are constructed through the dynamics of the urban terms is the main theme in Asdam's works.

5. Summary: Infinite Zones of Negotiation

Urban representation insists on complexity and conflict to create several layers of localities. Since the 90s, cities have been influenced by several global socioeconomic factors. Huge social segregations within the urban sphere coupled with cultural clashes had been produced by the end of the Cold War, the fall of the Berlin Wall and other civil wars. The subsequent 'normalization' process has had a big influence on the East European cities together with the political and cultural affects, more recently, of 9/11 and the ongoing war in the Middle East. These have all contributed to a change in the conception of border politics, increased migration, aimless security and urban control in most cities. Furthermore, the common 'global city' or 'cultural capital' images or

imagination are still shaping the cities to create a layer of imposed urban discourses. Imagining a city also means participating in public space. This requires different urban tactics and strategies in dealing with the political and economic system. Through several projects and exhibitions artists, architects and urban researchers are discovering the localities and shifting paradigms between spaces. Another example of a curatorial practice is the early 1990s project/exhibition 'Cities in the Move'[19] which brought together on one level the artists and architects but also other practices that had re-activated several urban spaces in different Eastern and European cities in a trans-local context. Constructing an exhibition around imaginative action on urban sphere or urban analysis needs inter-relational knowledge and space tactics that could present the relation between conflict and space, while also having the potential for an open critical discourse. This also requires negotiation and more conflict, as Hou Hanru discusses, "each exhibition is a construction of its site, a challenge to, a negotiation with, or a conflict with constructed discourse, something that results in the subtle internal change".[20] The question of local knowledge mutated the project. As Hans-Ulrich Obrist explains "there is a dialogue on 'globality', but at the same time there is a point that if local necessity comes up in each place, the instructed art projects take entirely unexpected turns".[21] In this respect, "negotiation" between built-environment and inhabitants/communities is being connected closely to the local knowledge and its re-production of it. The investigation of this "negotiation" and its physical appearance such as spontaneous built structures or ambiguous urban zone is being analyzed and researched through different artistic practices by contemporary art projects. In conclusion, a contemporary urban anthropological analysis that stems from the art projects could open new approaches, deep analysis and designs for possible solutions for social problems in the cities.

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Pelin Tan

Pelin Tan, (1974, Germany). Research assistant and Ph.D. candidate at the Institute of Social Sciences – History of Art, Istanbul Technical University. Tan did graduate from the Sociology Department – Ankara University (thesis: "*What is Postmodernism? Lyotard, Jameson, Baudrillard, Giddens, Touraine*"), 1996. She completed her master degree at the ITU – History of Art with the MA thesis: "*Globalization and Contemporary Art after 1990s".* She is currently working on her Ph.D. thesis *"The concept of Locality in Contemporary Art After 1990s"*. Tan is a DAAD granted Ph.D. candidate at Humboldt Univ. – History of Art, Berlin and guest lecturer at TU -Berlin, Art History Dept. on "space politics" (2006-2007).

Tan did contribute art-ist 5 contemporary art magazine as a guest editor (2002). As a writer she contributed books: *self-service city: Istanbul,* b-books-Berlin. *Kulturelle Topografien* by Borso/Görling,Stuttgart/Weimar: Metzler. *The [un]common place* by B. Pietromarchi, Olivetti Foundation–Rome. *TRACER* 1-2, WdW-Rotterdam. Felons by A.Phelan, Ireland. FROM/NOW - Karl Heinz Klopf, Linz Museum. Wrote for art and architecture journals: Untitled, Metropol M, wearetheartist, NEID, Bidoun, IDEA, XXI

architecture, Doxa, arkitera, Graz Architecture Magazine, TOL architecture magazine and several other catalogues. Tan is the editor and the producer of a non-profit, Istanbul based international contemporary art issue “Muhtelif” with the artists A.Ogut and A.Yildiz (2006, June). She is the Istanbul correspondence of Atlanta based art magazine “Artpapers”. Member of executive committee of International Visual Sociology Association Conference, NY, 2007. Since 2001, Tan lectured, gave conferences in several international art institutions and universities about contemporary art in relation to space politics and localities. pelintan@gmail.com

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GOVERNING CITIZENS IN ISTANBUL

Ebru Üstündağ, Department of Geography, Brock University, Canada.

1.Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to discuss the discourses and practices of the Turkish republican project in its *will to modernize* in and through the public spaces of Istanbul. The strategies and techniques towards its realization changed over time, but 'modernization as westernization' has always occupied the political agendas of the Republic. For this project, public Istanbul –because of its location and cultural heritage- has always been an important reference point for the Republican project to define itself as European and governing citizens accordingly. In a significant sense, regulating everyday life in the city and disciplining citizens is constructed as an indication of being modern and European. Indeed it is part of my argument to underline that governing citizens[i] and cities through 'taming of public spheres' (Massey 2005) has been one of the most successful strategies of Turkish republican project.

What I am concerned here is to critically examine the practices of governing in order to homogenize, purify and normalize. What is needed is

to question the assumption of the existence of a singular universal public Istanbul where everyday politics can take place. What I would like to suggest in one sense is a modest proposal to pay attention the co-existence of multiple-spaces ranging from physical neighborhoods to various representations of public Istanbul. By no means, this is an exclusivist claim of the existence of romanticized heterogeneous spaces where they can be treated as eventful vignettes but to underline the fact the possibility of existence of multiplicities/identities/spaces –in most cases contradictory spaces and identities- in public Istanbul as a crucial signifier for being political that includes strengthening of civic consciousness of citizens as well as practices of national, urban and cosmopolitan citizenship.

Although citizenship is a contested term, and it is 'impossible to arrive at an exhaustive and comprehensive definition' (Lister 1997: 28), I use the term citizenship 'not only as a set of legal obligations and entitlements which individuals possess by virtue of their membership in a state, but also practices through which individuals and groups formulate and claim new rights or struggle to expand or maintain existing rights' (Isin and Wood 1999: 4). T. H. Marshall's definition of citizenship as civil, political and social rights and responsibilities constitute the main theoretical and empirical discussions about citizenship. There is a need to conceptualize citizenship beyond the exercise of rights (Turner 1995). This is not to neglect other theoretical conceptualizations of citizenship but to demonstrate the importance of *struggles* in the articulation of rights, especially struggles for 'right to the city' (Lefebvre 1996, Isin 2000, Amin and Thrift 2002, Mitchell 2003). My emphasis is on the city because

it is through city space that citizens produce identity, difference and solidarity. For Lefebvre (1996) it was not the home, but the city, which expressed and symbolized a person's being and consciousness. For him 'the city as an oeuvre' (Lefebvre 1996: 172-173) conceives urban space as a creative product of and context for the everyday life of its inhabitants. 'Lefebvre saw the rights to the city as an expression of urban citizenship, understood not as membership in a polity-let alone the nation state- but as a practice of articulating, claiming and renewing group rights in and through the appropriation and creation of spaces in the city' (Isin 2000: 14-15). As Isin (2000: 15) argues 'the articulation of the right to the city, not as a right to property, but as a right

2. Public Istanbul

Historically, Istanbul has always been an important space for governing citizens. Within this perspective I use the term 'governance' to denote how *public* Istanbul became a space that needs to be monitored, controlled, sanitized and ordered in order to realize Turkish nation-building and disciplining of citizens. I argue that with the attempts to 'modernize' and 'Europeanize', Istanbul has always been a privileged site for governance for Ottoman Empire as well as Turkish Republic. It was with the nineteenth century that governing public spaces appeared as a strategy of governance for the Empire in its attempts to modernize. During this period the disciplining bodies and sanitizing public spaces became a significant strategy of governance for the authorities of the Empire. In a significant sense, in its efforts to constitute an ideal

Republican citizen and to fulfill longtime ideal of becoming European, public spaces in Istanbul have been a contested space for Turkish Republic. Critical engagement regarding governance of public spaces in Istanbul could be read not only as an exercise of power in which both the Ottoman Empire and the Turkish Republic strategize to become 'European' and 'modern' but also raises significant questions regarding contested power struggles in Turkish society. By giving several examples, this paper argues how the spaces in the city not only make these various political projects possible, but they also reveal the instabilities and paradoxes of Turkish republican project's will to modernize as westernize.

3. Turkish Republican Project: Space and Time in Turkish nation building

In the process of nation building, the republican project has always seen the city as a space to be appropriated in order to govern the citizens in its will to create a new nation. Ostensibly it's the same space that needs to be appropriated by various social groups not only to resist governing, but also to articulate new formal and substantive rights. I discuss the Turkish experience in nationalism and nation building under what I call as 'the Turkish republican project'. The reason is that, as Zürcher (2004, 181) argues, the Turkish experience in nation building 'never became a coherent, all-embracing ideology, but can be described as a set of attitudes and opinions that were never defined in any detail'. I find that studies that discuss the Turkish experience in nation building under 'Turkish modernity' are ambivalent as they fail to capture the complexities, contradictions and dilemmas of Turkish nation building and

citizenship. This is not to mean that I reject the term modernity at all, rather to propose a critical stance towards previous conceptualizations of Turkish nation building. As Kandiyoti (1997, 129) argues:

> Studies of modernization in Turkey have, by and large suffered from a lack of critical perspectives on the 'modern' as an analytic category and have not adequately or explicitly addressed the local specificity.

I argue that Turkish republican project unfolds modernization as westernization *in* and *through* the spaces of the city. *The Turkish republican project is neither unified nor homogenous; it is an assemblage of ideas and ideals, practices, principles, proclamations that, taken together, with all their contradictions and paradoxes, have provided justifications and perspectives with which several generations of republican authorities have attempted to build a nation. This unstable assemblage has many complex components; however, the city has never been seriously investigated for its role in holding this assemblage together. I argue that the city always reveals the instabilities and paradoxes of this assemblage remarkably well*.

Naming it as the 'Turkish republican project' also allows me to theorize the transformation of Turkish nationalism and nation building at various stages as well as to emphasize the 'highly hybrid character' (Canefe 2002, 135) in its singularity. For example, Yıldız (2004, 16) argues that between the years of 1919-1938, the period known as the founding years of the Turkish Republic, it is possible to observe three different political projects. In its early stages, between 1919-1923, the unifying

ideal of the nation was religion and an ethnic majority. In contrast, during 1924 to 1929 the nation was defined on the basis of secularization of the state by being intolerant of anything and everything that had 'religious' implications. And finally racialization policies of the government from 1929 to 1938 clearly defined the basic principles of the early stages of the project. I aim to show the paradoxes of Turkish nation-building that arise as a result of the co-existence of conflicting ideas such as 'modern versus traditional', 'religious versus secular', 'urban versus rural'. In order to delineate the complexities of the process of nationalism, Turkish nationalism should not be investigated as a homogenous discourse (Bora 2003). In this respect Bora (2003, 436) distinguished four main 'nationalist languages' that dominate the Turkish political scene from the proclamation of the Republic until the present day:

1) Official Kemalist nationalism- Atatürk nationalism;[ii]
2) 'Left-wing' Kemalist nationalism;[iii]
3) Liberal neonationalism: Pro-western nationalism that grows and develops under the spell of the premises held forth by the era of globalization;[iv]
4) Racist and ethnicist Turkish nationalism that derives from pan-Turkism and from the reaction to the Kurdish nationalist movement.

I cannot think of a better phrase than the Turkish republican project to denote the contested nature of the constitution and the transformation of Turkey's political scene. Also naming it as the Turkish republican project enables me not to theorize within already created frameworks. As Canefe argues (2002, 130):

> One cannot solely rely on ready-to-use modernist models of nation-building to categorize a given historical case, one has to keep in mind that the formation of politically committed and self conscious

> citizenry is not a direct product of (assumed) cultural or democratic uniformity.

What is crucial to understanding of the Turkish republican project is an outline of the basic ideals that constitute it: nationalism, secularization, progress, populism and westernization/Europeanization. As Bozdoğan and Kasaba (1997, 3) argue the Turkish case, after World War II, was seen as 'one of the most successful models for a universally defined modernization process'. Especially in Lerner's (1964) and Lewis' (1965) works, the Turkish modernization experience was seen, and is still seen in certain political circles, as one of the most successful example of a Muslim country adopting Western norms and institutions. In his book Emergence of Modern Turkey Lewis admires the Turkish experience on directing itself towards Europe rather than Islam. He argues (2000, 486) that:

> For many Turks, the great transformation which has taken place in their country is to be defined, not merely in terms of economy and society or government, but of civilization. The essential change attempted by the Turks in their Revolution was one of Westernization- another step in the westward march of Turkish people that began 1000 years ago, when they renounced China and turned to Islam. Now, renouncing a large part though not the whole of their Islamic heritage, they have turned to Europe, and made a sustained and determined effort to adopt and apply the European way of life in government, society, and culture.

'The first cracks in the celebratory tone' in the Turkish experience in nation building, as Bozdoğan and Kasaba (1997, 4) narrate, came in the late 1960s and 1970s. Studies in this period concentrated on the economic structures and growing polarization. There was a large presence of Turkish scholars raising new and critical questions about the experience

of Turkey and building more critical views. Especially Keyder's State and Class in Turkey: A Study of Capitalist Development and Kıray's Ereğli: Ağır Sanayiden Önce Bir Sahil Kasabası (Ereğli: From a coastal to a heavy industry town) questioned the earlier works on Turkish experience. There are also two important books which provided valuable insights on the discussions: Ahmad's The Making of Modern Turkey and Zürcher's Turkey: A Modern History. What makes these works crucial is that they not only provide detailed historical accounts of Turkish experience, but also trace back the origins of the ideals that shaped the Turkish Republic to the late nineteenth century Ottoman Empire.

Following these works, the 1980s have opened a new era of discussing identity and group politics in Turkey. In this respect, the criticism of Turkish modernity from the standpoints of various discourses has become predominant in the last couple of decades. As Bozdoğan and Kasaba (1997, 4) indicate 'now, people publicly debate and criticize the Kemalist doctrine as a patriarchal and antidemocratic imposition from above that has negated the historical and cultural experience of the people in Turkey'. The Turkish experience in this period is discussed from different perspectives - religion, gender, architecture, urban problems, music and literature. Despite their different perspectives, they share a common notion that the Turkish experience was founded upon principles that were not genuine but manufactured from above. The 'manufactured character of the Republican Turkish identity' (Kadıoğlu 1996) was criticized, as the project was not able to spread out all sections of the society. What I would like to argue is that this manufactured identity always ran up against its own inherent paradoxes and instabilities.

Göle (2002, 66) shares the same opinion with Kadıoğlu on the manufactured character of Turkish modernity claiming that it was unsuccessful in penetrating the society in general. She further argues that the idea of modernity collapses the very understanding of one's own history in Western societies by enlarging the gap between the traditional and the modern. She claims that despite the fact Turkish modernity tried to ignore its past by imposing modernity from above, it has created chaos in terms of production of social relations in the society.

Although Turkish nationalism and nation building have been studied from various standpoints, how this project is realized in the city and through the spaces of the city is yet to be investigated. In general, the city in these studies is conceptualized as a space that creates both alienation and desperation. The city is often presented as a living organism having an incurable disease when problems related to infrastructure, housing, and transportation for those citizens who are unable to integrate in the city. The valuable works of major urban scholars, like Karpat, Kıray and Keleş opened new venues of discussions in social sciences. However, Kasaba (1997) argues they were unable to see the liberating aspects of the city. In other words, as I argue in this paper, the city is not only the space where modernization gets its work done, it is also a space where it encounters its paradoxes as well as its dilemmas opening for new spaces of identity formation and articulation of rights.

The key issue within this context is the investigation of the governing practices of the Turkish republican project. I use the word practices as it

'helps us to understand the dynamic construction of citizenship which changes historically as a consequence of political struggles' (Turner 1993, 2). I suggest that the city as the space in which the citizen not only questions his/her loyalty to the nation, but also articulates new rights and build civic consciousness and belonging. The city in this respect not only becomes a space of struggle for governing, appropriating, controlling and disciplining the citizens and yet the same space enables resistance and struggle to this governance by its citizens. From this perspective, the city is a contested space where various groups struggle to expand their rights to appropriate and participate. Although the claims made by different social groups in the city could be material or symbolic, most of the time at various levels they signify the articulation of an alternative political project.

4. Governing Cities, Governing Citizens

Within this perspective I use the term 'governance' to denote how public Istanbul became a space that needs to be monitored, controlled, sanitized and ordered in order to realize its political project. I argue that with the attempts to modernize, the city is the 'privileged site' for governance (Joyce 2003, 67). In this paper I argue that the emergence of Beyoğlu as the main space of governance can be traced back to the nineteenth century Ottoman Empire. This does not imply that the city administration in Istanbul, or other cities e.g. Bursa, Edirne, Sofia or Damascus, was not a priority for the authorities of the Ottoman Empire, rather that before the nineteenth century the physical and social services in the city were maintained by religious and neighborhood institutions. It was with the

nineteenth century that regulating public spaces and disciplining bodies appeared as a significant strategy of governance for the Empire in its will to modernize. During this period the disciplining bodies emphasized sanitation as an important concern for the authorities of the Empire. I argue that in the attempts to modernize, Beyoğlu was constituted as a space that needed to be governed. It was not only in the Empire that governance of Beyoğlu was prioritized. For the Republic, in the constitution of Turkish citizen, Beyoğlu also played an important role in governing citizens. The governance of Beyoğlu could be read as an exercise of power in which both the Ottoman Empire and the Turkish Republic strategize to become more 'European' and 'modern'. For both the Ottoman Empire and the Turkish Republic, Beyoğlu as a space of governance, has been an important reference point. While the Empire was redefınıng itself, and its practices through the spaces of Beyoğlu to be more Western, the Turkish Republican project saw this space as a reflection of their definition of themselves as Western.

5. The Empire Aspires Modern: Reforming Through The Spaces Of Beyoğlu

The nineteenth century was important when the Ottoman Empire started to initiate the first steps to becoming a modern Empire by reforming its administration. In their attempt to modernize there was an emphasis to govern the city and on the introduction of new practices and technologies through the spaces of the Empire. It is generally argued that the main priority of these regulations was to collect taxes on a more regular basis, as the Empire was losing its financial power. New practices and strategies for governing the subjects in Empire were introduced modernize. Heper

(1989, 4) describes the modernization movement in the Empire as follows:

> The modernization efforts that the center undertook during the nineteenth century were also motivated by a policy of strengthening the center itself. The primary motive behind the provincial and local councils founded at that time was to improve tax collection. As far as the center was concerned 'local government' was no more than a new administrative agency of the central government to conduct affairs in the localities

These initiatives of the Empire were notable modern forms of governance that also became essential defining practices for the Turkish nation state as well. What I want to stress is that in the Empire's will to modernize the emergence of Beyoğlu as a space of governance began with the regulation of *everyday practices* in the city.

Quataert (2000, 54) explains the Empire's interventions in everyday practices as:

> Domestically, the central state became more influential in everyday lives than ever before in Ottoman history, extending its control ever deeper into society. As a part of this process, it redefined the status of Muslim and non-Muslims and, after some delay sought, towards the end of the period, to re-order the legal status of women as well. And finally, a new and deadly element evolved in the Ottoman body politic - inter communal violence among Ottoman subjects – that attested to the power of these accelerating political and economic changes.

The first signs of the Empire's attempt to modernize came in 1856, Sultan Abdülmecit (1829-1861) left Topkapı palace, which was the

residence of the Sultan of Empire from the fifteenth century to mid-nineteenth century. It was located in the old quarter, and moved to Dolmabahçe Palace on the Bosphorus shores which are very close to Beyoğlu. This shift of the Empire's palace from the old quarter of the city to the European side was an important manifestation of the Empire's will to modernize. The Sultan wanted to be close to the spaces of European living. This shift also signified an important message to the European powers, in general, because the Empire initiated new practices to govern various social groups and defend its territories. The Empire's will to modernize started with the introduction and establishment of new institutions in Beyoğlu.

One of the main indicators of the emergence of Beyoğlu as a space of governance was the introduction of new infrastructure in the area. The aim was to introduce modern practices of urban living and respond to the basic needs of the residents of the neighborhood for gas, water and transportation. Nineteenth century Istanbul was a crowded city much like its counterparts in Europe, Paris and London, so to supply basic facilities was a priority to attract foreign capital for investment, especially in the port cities of the empire (Keyder et al. 1993). One of the major consequences of the modernization efforts of the Ottoman authorities was to reorganize the urban system that had been autonomous and self-sufficient. An Ottoman city was not only created by the awqaf system but also maintained by its various institutions and the services provided by them. As Yüksel (1998, 160) argues, almost seventy percent of all awqaf that were built in the Ottoman Empire were urban. Until 1856, the Ottoman city did not have any understanding of Western municipal

administration and the citizens were not asked to pay local taxes for their services. Ottoman waqfs provided various social and physical services in city. The modernization attempts with the introduction of local administration, a model that is directly taken from the "West" damaged the organic urban fabric of Istanbul. Ottoman waqfs, and especially *külliyes*, an authentic urban complex of various endowed institutions, provided not only physical services but also cultural, political, social and educational ones such as soup kitchens, grants to orphans, stipends for students, public fountains and various facilities for travellers and pilgrims. The awqaf provided the continiuty and accessibility as well as record keeping like land deeds that included detailed information on the demographic and physical characteristics of the city.

The transition to a central institution introduced a particular definition of services in the city. The emphasis was on four services: sanitation, street lighting, pavement and sewage. This was further accompanied by granting rights to various authorities that did not have the necessary financial and personal resources to distribute services. The unintended consequence of the policy was conflict about the jurisdictions of various authorities in the local administration of Istanbul. In most cases, the palace, *Nezaret* and the city, Şehremaneti, were responsible for local services but the services were not materialized. For example, in 1864, with the enactment of *İrade-i Senniye,* the Palace, ostensibly one of the responsible providers of services, asked citizens, to whom the former was supposed to provide the service, to provide lighting in the streets of Istanbul.

Starting with the abolition of the janissary army, the office of qadi*,* the main administrative and judicial authority, lost its power to maintain the security of the city. In 1826, in order to establish security, to control the guilds and to levy taxes, *Ihtisap Nazırlığı* (municipality) was established in Istanbul. Following the *Nazırlık,* in 1854, *Istanbul Şehremaneti* (The City of Istanbul) was established. The basic responsibilities of *Şehremaneti* were:

a) to provide basic food supplies;
b) regulation of prices in the market;
c) constructions of roads and pavements;
d) provision of sanitatation in the city;
e) control of the market
f) collection of taxes on behalf of the Treasury.

Istanbul *Şehremaneti* was governed by the *Şehremini*, mayor, (appointed by Bab-ı ali and Sultan) and council. *Şehremaneti* was not successful in providing services due to insufficient personnel and financial resources. As a result of the turbulent political conditions of the empire, *Şehremini* was continuously changing. Between 1855-1876, the position was occupied by nineteen different *Şehreminis*. In an effort to reform the administration, on May 9th, 1855, *İntizam-ı Şehir Komisyonu* (Commission for the Regulation of the City) was established. The commission was composed of Muslim and non-Muslim citizens who could speak certain foreign languages such as English and French and were "familiar" with European cultures and nations. Rosenthal (1980, 231) argues that 'the establishment of the new commission marked the new stage in the Palace's receptivity of foreign direction of municipal reform'. The commission prioritized three services in Istanbul's administration: sanitary, lighting, and maintenance of streets and roads. In 1857, it also proposed

a new local administration, *Nizamname-yi Umumi*, suggesting the division of Istanbul into fourteen city districts. The importance of the new regulation was the establishment of a semi-autonomous local unit in Beyoğlu-Galata district, modeled upon the local administration of Paris. The sixth arrodissement of Paris at the time was the most luxurious neighborhood in the city. As a symbolic attempt at Westernization, the Beyoğlu-Galata region was called *Altıncı Daire-yi Belediye.* The strategy was that in an area of residents from Europe, adopting European standards would make it possible to modernize the urban administration throughout Istanbul. In order to govern the Beyoğlu-Galata region, a special regulation, *Altıncı Daire Belediye Nizamatı (*Regulation for the municipality) granted new rights and responsibilities to *Altıncı Daire-yi Belediye*, which also established its own penal court system to regulate municipal affairs in the region.[v] French and Ottoman were declared as the official languages of the district and municipal records were kept in both languages (Rosenthal 1980, 236). The first Municipal Council of *Altıncı Daire* prioritized the provision of basic public amenities in the area by resurfacing roads, demolishing decaying houses and collection of waste. Streets were cleared of peddlers and clean fresh markets were set up in the main areas of the district. In 1864, the council appointed a municipal doctor to conduct a free clinic for the poor. Local churches provided free immunization for children within the district. The council also converted old cemeteries to public parks. As a result of insufficient financial and personnel resources most of the proposed facilities were not realized.

Four years later, in 1868, another attempt was made to reorganize local adminisration despite the financial and personnel inadequacies of the

period. This time *Şehremaneti* was divided into fourteen districts.[vi] A new urban administration was never established despite the constant efforts of the rulers. *Şehremaneti* was even unable to collect the necessary taxes. Nevertheless, new laws and new institutions were initiated. In 1877, another law regulated the urban administration: This time, *Der-Saadet Belediye Kanunu* divided the city into twenty districts, appointing mayors to head district governance. This law also initiated the establishment of educational institutions (Belediye Sanayi Mektepleri).[vii] In one year, 1878, local districts decreased to ten. And in 1910, the Committee of Progress and Union established nine districts in Istanbul appointing respective mayors. Thus, the nineteenth century administrative reforms created various jurisdictions for identical urban services. As a result of financial and personnel restrictions in addition to temporary solutions to problems, citizens could not access certain services and also lost previous rights. The coexistence of the "traditional" and "modern" institutions created an inaccessible system depriving the citizens of their basic urban rights. As Ziyaoğlu (1971) discusses, the administration of Istanbul in the nineteenth century was dependent on personal connections, relations and the abilities of *şehreminleri.*

In 1856, for the first time in Istanbul the streets were illuminated with gas lamps. The biggest infrastructure project was initiated with foreign investment in 1870 called ‘Streetcar Management Project’. In 1873, following London and New York, the third subway in the world which in known as the 'Tünel' was opened.[viii] It was called *The Metropolitan Railway of Constantinople from Galata to Pera* and was built by French engineers. It operated on a line of 1640-meter track between Galata and Beyoğlu.

Although the distance is very short, the introduction of the *tunnel* to the residents of Istanbul was crucial as it increased mobility between Karaköy and Pera, two active centers of the city. The increased mobility also fostered the development of this neighborhood with the introduction of new services responding to demands. Another important initiative in this period was the development of better strategies to cope with fire.

Throughout the second half of the nineteenth century Beyoğlu had several fires that destroyed the whole neighborhood, as most of the houses were made of wood. The worst fires were in 1870. The fire destroyed many landmarks including Theater Naum, Café du Luxembourg, Bon Marchè department store and the police office at Galatasaray (Akın 1998, 302). This huge fire created a great deal of empty space around the Taksim-Galatasaray area for redevelopment. According to the 30 June 1870 issue of Le Turquie, the city administration of Istanbul opened a competition for the restructuring of the city (Akın 1998, 302).[ix] In an effort to cope with the disaster, the government created a commission of engineers and architects for restructuring the city. In the *Remaking of Istanbul,* Çelik tells how the commission responded with an ambitious and financially unrealistic plan for a 'Nouvelle Ville'. The projected was proposed for the burned site. It was an urban design of large public squares, wide boulevards and modern buildings such as theaters and hotels. Realizing the immense financial commitment required to effect the scheme, the government asked for modifications. The commission then prepared a second plan which suggested most of the public squares to be eliminated.[x]

In this period new medical and military schools were opened. In 1879, '*Altıncı-Daire-i Belediye Nisa Hastanesi'* (Municipal Hospital) and in 1838, *'Mekteb'i Tıbbiye-yi Adliye'yi Şahane',* a medical military school were opened. The *High-School of Galatasaray* was opened in 1869 with French as its official language. After two major fires, in 1831 and 1849, the school had to be rebuilt. Also in this period, hospitals for non-Muslim communities were opened; the German Hospital in 1844, the Russian Hospital in 1874, the Italian Hospital in 1876 and the French Hospital on 1896.

Despite the fact that Beyoğlu was seen as an important space for the Empire to become modernize adopting the new life styles of Europe, yet at the same time it was criticized by some authorities as an unfavorable neighborhood because of increased undesirable behaviors, especially excessive drinking. In 1856, *Harbiye Vekaleti,* who headed military education in the Empire, forbade soldiers to stroll in Beyoğlu (Dökmeci ve Çıracı 1990, 42). Also in 1879, under the auspices of Beyoğlu Municipality, a special commission was set up to prevent prostitution in Beyoğlu because the neighborhood had a concentration of brothels. There were 770 women in Beyoğlu and 643 women in Galata who worked as prostitutes (Kaptan 1998). They came from a number of different nationalities: Ottoman, Russian, Greek, Austrian, Romanian, Italian, Spanish, Bulgarian, Serbian, American, French and German.

For the first time in 1859, streets were cleaned on a regular basis in Beyoğlu. A hospital to combat sexually transmitted diseases was also

opened in the neighborhood. In 1851, in order to provide financial aid for the poor and homeless in Beyoğlu, an orchestra was started to give benefit concerts. After the Crimean War there was an increase in crime rates in Beyoğlu. The British prison in Galata was at full capacity. To secure public safety a hundred police officers were brought from London by the British residents of the neighborhood (Dökmeci and Çıracı 1990, 45). Again in the late nineteenth century, street regulation was an important aspect of governance in Beyoğlu. Street vendors were also prohibited.

In the same era, for the first time public parks were opened by the city. The first public parks of Istanbul were in Beyoğlu's two key locations: Taksim and Tepebaşı. They quickly became important public spaces for the residents to spend their spare time and to socialize with other residents. Public spaces were restricted to women in the Empire except for women's *hamams* (public baths exclusive for women), so these recreational parks became an important place of interaction for Muslim and non-Muslim women. Generally the coffeehouses were located in close proximity to these parks.

Earlier I discussed that, the control of space and bodies in disciplining society was an important practice of the Ottoman Empire, but it was with the nineteenth century we see this practice as an important component of technology in the Empire's will to modernize and this will was realized through the spaces of Beyoğlu. Administrative authorities realized Beyoğlu's important role for the realization of this project. I have mentioned the continuity of this project emphasizing how Beyoğlu became an important space of governance in the history of the Turkish

Republic. Even though I intentionally mention the term 'continuity', the two projects have very different natures despite the fact that Beyoğlu is the space of governance for disciplining the citizens. The governance of the new Republic started to problematize Beyoğlu as space of foreigners that needed to be controlled. The spatial projects of the early Turkish Republic drastically changed the social, cultural and economical topography of Beyoğlu. One thing was the transfer of all official and residential buildings of foreign embassies to Ankara. As a result of this change, a large segment of the non-Muslim communities of the neighborhood left. Another exercise of the early republican project's power was to change the name of the main street of Beyoğlu from Grand Rue de Pera to İstiklal Caddesi (Street of Independence). Beyoğlu, for early republican authorities was the space of governance that needed to be governed according to the ideals of the new Republic. From the time of the fall of the Ottoman Empire, Beyoğlu and its particular characteristics became an important field for the Turkish Republic to define a habitus in order to govern and discipline. In the next section, I demonstrate how particular values and capitals associated with Beyoğlu have become a reference for the Turkish Republican project to govern the citizens of Istanbul in its process of creating a new nation.

6. The Republic Imposes Modernity: Governing through the Spaces of Istanbul

Beyoğlu played an important role in the nineteenth century during thefirst attempts to modernize the Empire. The main motives behind this will to modernize were to prevent loss of land and to tackle financial and

diplomatic problems. The will to modernize in the context of the Turkish Republic was different from the Ottoman Empire's. Unlike the Ottoman Empire, the early Republican project defined itself as modern as well as western. For the Turkish Republican political project Beyoğlu became an important space for self-actualization, as the image that the Republican project was looking for itself was already present in Beyoğlu. The only thing that was left to do was to appropriate the spaces and discipline the bodies according to the ideals of the Republic. In order to realize its political project the Turkish republican project constituted Beyoğlu as a space of idealized habitus for its own purposes. Especially 1930s Beyoğlu, was a space that reflected the cultural, social, economic and symbolic capitals of the Empire than the Republic, it played an important role in the constitution of Republican ideals. Although the early Republican project emphasized the rejection of the Ottoman past and its legacy, at the same time it expected the neighborhood to define itself as 'modern' even though it was found to be backward and corrupt. Bourdieu's framework of analysis of habitus and habitat explains this quite well.

While *the habitat* is characterized in this context as a space that a group of people inhabits, *habitus* is a web of social relations and practices depending on social trajectories. Habitus is where individual and collective practices are historically produced. Bourdieu (1990, 54) argues that habitus 'ensures the active presence of past experiences, which is deposited in each organism in the form of schemes of perception, thought and action, and tends to guarantee the 'correctness' of their practices and their constancy over time, more reliably than all formal rules

and explicit norms. For Bourdieu there is a differentiation between class (group) habitus and individual habitus. In shaping habitus, capital's volume, composition and trajectory are highly influential. Bourdieu's concept of capital is broader than the monetary notion of capital in economics (Annheir et al 1995, 860). Bourdieu classifies capital according to its forms (economic, cultural, social and symbolic) as well as its states (embodied, objectified and institutional). Economic capital refers to monetary income as well as other financial instruments. Cultural capital includes long standing dispositions and habits acquired in the socialization process. Social capital is the sum of actual and potential resources that can be mobilized through membership in social networks of actors and organization. Symbolic capital is the things that we inherit through our gender, family, culture, things that we don't have a direct control in building.

I want to elaborate on two forms of capital: *cultural* and *symbolic*. For Bourdieu cultural capital can exist in three forms: in the *embodied state,* i.e., in the long lasting dispositions of the mind and body; in the *objectified state,* in the form of cultural goods and in the *institutionalized state* such as educational qualifications. The reason why I introduced the concept of habitus as well as different forms of capital in shaping habitus is that, expand through nostalgia; the habitus of social groups and the capital they possess play a crucial role. The presence of social actors and groups plays a crucial role in Bourdieu's conceptualization. In Beyoğlu, in the eighteenth century and particularly in the nineteenth, the symbolic capital of the residents played a crucial role in the Ottoman Empire's desire to be modern. Throughout the decades Beyoğlu as habitus was

constantly constituted through collective memory that play a crucial role in the way public Istanbul is imagined, constituted and represented. The subsequent social groups' symbolic capital, which is quite different than the symbolic capital of the preceding group, was highly criticized. Especially starting from 1980s, it has been argued most of the time by intellectuals, journalists, writers and artists that the new symbolic capital and habitus that have been created by the practices of social groups are destroying both the city's culture and the image of a virtuous and loyal citizen that is associated with a neighborhood that the nation desires to modernize as westernize.

Within the discussions that I made above, now I demonstrate how Beyoğlu and especially, 1930s Beyoğlu, played an important role in governing citizens in Republican Turkey. In the era of the Republic, the economic policies of the Turkish Republic also changed. From the establishment of the Republic 1923 to 1950s, the main incentive was to create a new nation under state-led policies and investments. The parameters of Turkey's post-1945 economic development were based upon a model of national development implemented through state-protected, import-substituting industrialization.

Starting in late 1945, and gaining pace in the 1970s, Turkey in general and Istanbul in particular experienced massive amounts of immigrants. The pattern of urbanisation in Turkey produced a dual economic structure in Turkey's cities. The inability of the modern sector is unable to keep pace with the migrants who have created a second economy, often called

the ‘informal’ or ‘traditional’ sector, characterized by small-scale service enterprises, labour intensive employment, and substantial excess labour. Regular housing has been even less available for urban newcomers than jobs in the modern sector of the urban economy. The rural dwellers generated demands for low-cost housing that could be met by neither the private market nor government. Most private housing is too expensive for the poor newcomers and the government has been unwilling to make the enormous investments that would be needed to supply housing for the millions who migrate to the cities. As in other rapidly urbanising societies, migrants responded to the lack of housing by occupying land illegally and building squatter housing, or *gecekondu*, which literally means housing ‘built overnight’.

The Turkish urbanisation literature, which grew in the 1970s as a result of massive migration and its impact on cities, produced different representations of these immigrants such as ‘rural Other’, ‘urban poor Other’ and ‘threatening Other’ (Erman 2001, 983). Especially in the 1990s the ‘threatening Other’ is associated with a term called *varoş*. *Varoş,* originally a Hungarian concept, has a negative connotation, in the Turkish urban literature, representing people who live on the outskirts of the city and are unwanted by the rest. *Varoş* is always presented as hostile and antagonistic to the city. White (1999) argues that this spatial fetishism about *varoş* being located on the outskirts of the city is an imagined community, that what is defined as *varoş* is spread all over Istanbul. I argue that a part of the disciplining projects of the Turkish Republican project was to locate the ‘Others’ outside the spaces of ‘modernity’ and ‘civility’.

In the 1970s, the main research interests were in urban integration, finding possible ways of integrating rural migrants to urban lifestyle. Migrants created their own survival strategies based on kinship and *hemşehrililik/cemaatcilik.* Both concepts are based on a sense of belonging, while literally *hemşehri* denotes coming from the same city, *cemaatçilik* means social solidarity based on religious sect or ethnicity. They had to create the strategy, as the system was quite exclusionary in terms of social, economic and political rights to the city. In this respect, the networks based on *hemşehrililik/cemaatçilik* acted as one of the various forms of citizenship for the urban migrants. The urban survival strategies based on *hemşehrililik and cemaatçilik* were successful for a certain period of time, especially in terms of the housing market and job market, however in the 1990's the system collapsed. This could be explained as the emergence of new and different forms of poverty. The shrinking nature of the labour market and unavailability of urban land were the main reasons for the collapse. The majority of the new migrants, which arrived after the 1990s, are forced migrants from southeastern Turkey moving as a result of civil conflict in the area. Migrants from southeast Turkey are not only faced with the problems of entering the labour and housing markets, but also by the established networks of the migrants from the Black-Sea region.[xi]

As a result of the change in the cultural, symbolic and social capital in Istanbul it was impossible to see the bodily presence and various capitals of the previous generations. It was believed that the neighborhood where

everybody used to dress ‘properly’ was becoming a big ‘village’which is generally associated with backwardness against modernity. [xii]

Bourdieu’s theoretical framework makes it possible to define how governance in the city constitutes a certain taste. This specific taste, which was especially associated with 1930s Beyoğlu, was used as a strategy of governance for disciplining the unwanted groups and their various capitals. ‘Taste is *amor fati*, the choice of destiny, but a forced choice, produced by conditions of existence which rule out all alternatives as mere daydreams and leave no choice but the choice’ (Bourdieu 1984, 178).

In my interviews conducted for my doctoral dissertation in the summer of 2002, the respondents who are the older residents of the neighborhood or who have their businesses in the neighborhood bring up their unhappiness about the Kurdish people and transsexuals as new residents of the Beyoğlu. They point out that one thing that they miss about the old days is the social relationships among people. They also mentioned that it was hard on them to hear Kurdish when they used to hear one of the ‘beautiful’ languages of the Europeans. One of the things they constantly emphasized was the fact that everything is becoming more disposable and quick to consume. They told me that in the old days everything had ‘taste’ and ‘quality’. One of the classic associations of Beyoğlu is with a certain taste and quality. In the 1950s nobody would think about going to Beyoğlu without a tie or without white gloves, and shoes had to be polished for the special occasions.

Starting in the 1980s and gaining speed in late 1990s and early 2000s, Beyoğlu was to showcase for the world that Turkey is a ‘secular’, ‘modern’ and ‘European’ country. With its specific architectural characteristics as well as its diversity of cultural and economic activities, Beyoğlu has been declared as ‘the’ place to be modern and European. This idea of presenting the European and Western sides of Turkey through the spaces of Beyoğlu has been embraced by different practices. In 2003, the Greater Municipality of Istanbul initiated a new project called ‘Kentim Istanbul’ (My City Istanbul) and introduced thirty-four golden rules for being a ‘virtuous citizen’ in Istanbul (www.kentimistanbul.com). The common unifying theme of these thirty-four golden rules is to enhance the cultural and symbolic capital of the citizens by disciplining and governing their bodies and practices. The rational behind this initiative is to govern citizens’ everyday practices and to create a virtuous citizen who is expected to build his/her civic memory from the traditions, values and beliefs of the Ottoman Empire. In a socially and spatially fragmented city like Istanbul, this project not only has to negotiate with different social groups who articulate their varied claims to the city but also with nationalist practices. With this new project the Greater Municipality of Istanbul published a handbook for living in the city composed of the thirty-four Golden Rules. These rules are introduced as the essentials of being a ‘good’ citizen of Istanbul[xiii]:

As citizens of Istanbul we should:

1) learn about Istanbul
2) walk around in Istanbul
3) protect Istanbul’s legacy

4) protect the natural resources of Istanbul
5) be aware of the beauties of Istanbul
6) greet each other
7) be thankful to each other
8) be apologetic
9) present gifts to each other
10) be in dialogue with different cultures
11) be respectful to our neighbors
12) be thankful for the public service providers
13) be respectful and sensible to other citizens in the city
14) protect the city furniture
15) be respectful to city's nature
16) obey the rules in transportation vehicles
17) obey the traffic rules
18) be careful to warnings in the public transportation
19) not be loud in the public space
20) keep our city clean
21) not spit
22) not disturb others when having fun
23) not disturb the public order
24) go to the libraries
25) benefit from the cultural centers
26) know how to behave in the appropriate situations
27) help those in need
28) be respectful to other people's time
29) let the officials know about our expectations and demands
30) protect our city's future
31) properly use Istanbul's Turkish
32) cooperate socially
33) participate in the city administration
34) be aware of our responsibilities as citizens of Istanbul.

These thirty-four golden rules are targeted to create virtuous citizens of Istanbul. In the detailed description of these thirty-four rules there are constant references to the heritage of the city, especially to the Ottoman Empire and Beyoğlu. There is a direct regulation of the self; in this context

it is someone who identifies as an Istanbulite. The governance of citizens in the city is exercised by regulations both in public and private spheres.

In terms of analyzing ‘modernization and westernization’ it is significant to emphasize the temporality and spatiality of the strategies and technologies of governance. I argue that the rules that regulate the ‘ordinary’ everyday are not accidental; on the contrary they are good indicators of ‘conduct of conduct’ in the city. It is significant to acknowledge that although the notion of everyday is familiar to us, they are not necessarily fully understood.

The ‘unknown’, ‘unstable’, ‘fluid’ and ‘spontaneous’ nature of everyday has always been considered as the fear of the Turkish modernization project in its will to modernize. That’s why the city and the citizens have always been governed through various technologies of control and surveillance. Thus, in a city like Istanbul where the rhythm changes so quickly and where the crowd has always the potential to dissent, to create a ‘safe’ and ‘orderly’ city as well as docile citizens has been very significant. The modern citizen in the city, in this context, is expected to behave ‘modern’ and ‘European’ and should not be acting that would disrupt the social and political order of the city.

In June 2004, Istanbul hosted North Atlantic Treaty Organization’s (NATO) meeting. The event lasted two days, but introduced several security measures that had serious impact on ordering and governing of citizens of Istanbul. Prior to the meeting, the city was divided into several regions according to their proximity to the various meeting locations, and

the regions that were closed to the meetings were labeled as premium locations. Security officers before the meeting screened the personal information and criminal records of all residents and business owners. Visitors were not permitted to certain neighborhoods because of so-called security reasons. Throughout the meetings more than 23,000 security officials were assigned new duties in and around the city (Hürriyet, 17 June 2006). Following the 'successful' measures of 2004, in 2005, Turkish Security Directorate's Intelligence Services introduced a new system called MOBESE (Mobile Electronic System Integration) to install 600 surveillance cameras in four neighborhoods of Istanbul: Beyoğlu, Kadıköy, Beşiktaş and Kadıköy, In 2006, more than 3000 (all) of new graduates of four police schools were assigned new duties in Istanbul (Hürriyet, 3 April 2004). In addition to the public security officials, the number of private security officials has been increasing drastically in Istanbul.

One of the most recent attempts of purification of public Istanbul and governing citizens happened during the historical visit of Pope Benedict XVI. According to the public statement of Helsinki Citizens Assembly of Turkey, several African refuguees were arrested around Sultanahment and Kumkapı districts. Helsinki Citizens Assembly claims that the number of refugees arrested and used in forced labour can be between 25-40 (Milliyet, 9 December 2006). Now, here again- as in the case of other two examples we witness how public Istanbul becomes not only a purified or homogenized space where certain groups and behavious are seen as disruptive of 'normal' order but also how the use and enjoyment of public spaces are restricted to certain group of citizens.

7. Conclusion

In this paper I specifically aim to address how historically public Istanbul has been an important space for governing citizens in attempts to modernize as westernize. I began reflecting on historical significance of governing citizens in and through the spaces of public Istanbul. What is needed, I think, is to pay attention to the fact that public Istanbul not only reveals paradoxes and instabilities of governing practices, but also provides new spaces of being political in the city. There is now a growing literature on various struggles of social groups that use public Istanbul against governing stratagies and practices of Turkish republican project. One of the successful struggles is Istanbul's own Surveillance Camera Players (www.izleniyoruz.net). By using streets and cyberspaces, they not only challenge the governing strategies but also introduce new ways of being political. Everyday public Istanbul is a showcase of spaces of democratic possibilities in today's geopolitics.

What follows these discussions is to highlight the necessity of politically and textually engaging in multiple public spaces and multiple subjectivities /identities in Istanbul. What is needed, I think, is to look at multiple public spaces in Istanbul as spaces where citizens not only challenge governing practices but also they can articulate their right to appropriate, right to participate and 'right(s) to the city' (Lefebvre 1996, Isin 2000, Purcell 2003). Indeed it is part of my argument to recognize public Istanbul as a product of interrelations of subjectivities and spaces rather than a singular universal public Istanbul. The hope is here is to contribute to the

new ways of thinking about paradoxical and contradictory relations as well as struggles between various spaces of democracy (from transnational, supranational to the local) and identities (including gendered, sexual, ethnic, religious...). In this respect, I can not think of any other space than public Istanbul to analyze new possibilities that will challenge our various understandings of politics and the political ranging from new definitions of being European to being a cosmopolitan citizen.

Endnotes

[i] Here I use Foucauldian conceptualization of governing. 'Governing people is not a way to force people to do what governor wants: it is always a versatile equilibrium, with complementary and conflicts between techniques which assure coercion and processes through which the self is constructed and modifies by himself (Foucault 1993, 204).

[ii] It is the official nationalism of Turkey since the founding of the Republic. Turkish Armed Forces (TSK) occupies a central role in regeneration of official nationalism.

[iii] Again as Bora (2003, 438) argues 'the nationalistic discourse that the neo-Kemalist wave has acquire from the left-wing Kemalist discourse of the 1960s and 1970s is a version of Kemalist nationalism that claims to be left-wing.

[iv] Liberal neonationalism stresses the importance of progress through capitalization and modernization enriched by 'catching up with' modern lifestyle.

[v] In 1877 all the privileges of Altıncı Daire were abolished.

[vi] 1. Daire: Ayasofya, 2. Daire: Aksaray, 3. Daire: Fatih, 4. Daire: Eyüp, 5. Daire: Kasımpaşa, 6. Daire: Beyoğlu, 7. Daire: Beşiktaş, 8. Daire: Emirgan,

9. Daire: Büyükdere, 10. Daire: Beykoz, 11. Daire: Beylerbeyi, 12. Daire: Üsküdar, 13. Daire:Kadıköy, 14. Daire: Adalar.

[vii] The1876 Constitution defined the basic eligibility to elect and to be elected. In order to vote in local elections one had to reside in the area, pay a property tax not less than 100 kuruş, be an Ottoman citizen at least 25 years old. In order to be elected one had to be 30 years old, speak Turkish, pay a property tax not less than 250 kuruş and not to be occupant of certain posts in the administration (memur, zabıta, asker, müflis, müteahhid veya belediye müstahdemi) (Ortaylı 1985, 151).

[viii] For a detailed description on the history of Beyoğlu's subway that is known as "Tünel", see Engin (2000).

[ix] Istanbul Valiliği.

[x] There are two important resource about this period: One is *Eski Insanlar, Eski Evler: Ondokuzuncu Yuzyıl Sonunda Beyoğlu'nun Sosyal Topografyası* (Old People-Old Houses: The Social Topography of Nineteenth Century Beyoğlu), in which Said N. Duhani made an enormous detailed survey about the neighborhood, street by street, its houses and people, including their occupations. The second, again by the same author, is *Beyoğlu'nun Adi Pera Iken: Geri Dönmeyecek Zamanlar (When Beyoğlu was Pera: The Unattainable Old Times)*

[xi] For a detailed discussion of this issue and its effects on urban poverty see Işık and Pınarcıoğlu (2001).

[xii] One of the most quoted phrases regarding to appropriate attire is: Never walk in the streets of Beyoğlu without a hat or without getting your shoes polished.

[xiii] My translations. 1) Istanbul'u öğrenmeliyiz. 2) Istanbul'u gezmeliyiz. 3) Istanbul'un mazisine sahip cıkmalıyız. 4) Istanbul'un tabiat güzelliklerini korumalıyız. 5) Istanbul'un güzelliklerini farketmeliyiz. 6) Selamı yaygınlaştırmalıyız. 7) Her fırsatta teşekkür etmeliyiz. 8) Özür dilemekten kaçınmamalıyız. 9) Hediyeleşmeliyiz. 10) Farklı kültürlerle dialog kurmalıyız. 11) Komşumuzun huzurunu kaçırmamalıyız. 12) Istanbul'a hizmet edenleri

kutlamalıyız. 13) Şehir halkına karşı nazik olmalıyız. 14) Kentin mobilyalarına sahip çıkmalıyız. 15) Kentin Doğasına zarar vermemeliyiz. 16) Ulaşım araçlarında kurallara uymalıyız.17) Trafik kurallarına uymalıyız. 18) Toplu taşımada ikazlara dikkat emeliyiz. 19) Umumi yerlerde alçak sesle konuşmalıyız. 20) Şehri temiz tutmalıyız. 21) Yerlere tükürmemeliyiz. 22) Eğlenirken başkalarını rahatsız etmemeliyiz. 23) Şehrin huzurunu bozmamalıyız. 24) Kütüphaneye gitmeliyiz. 25) Kültür merkezlerinden yararlanmalıyız. 26) Nerede nasıl davranacağımızı bilmeliyiz. 27) İhtiyacı olana yardım eli uzatmalıyız. 28) Herkesin zamanına saygılı olmalıyız. 29) Istanbul için dilek ve beklentilerimizi bildirmeliyiz. 30) Istanbul'un yarınına da sahip cıkmalıyız. 31) Istanbul Türkçesi'ni özenle kullanmalıyız. 32) Sosyal dayanışmayı ihmal etmemeliyiz. 33) Şehrin yönetimine katılmalıyız. 34) Istanbullu olma sorumluluğu taşımalıyız.

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Contested public spaces vs. conquered public places

Gentrification and its reflections on urban public space in Beyoğlu, Istanbul

Eda Ünlü Yücesoy & Nil Uzun

Abstract: Urban public spaces are important parts of the city for framing a vision of social life in the city; a vision both for those who live in the city and interact in urban public spaces every day; a meeting place and social staging ground. Diversity and difference are represented in the urban public spaces with variety of rhythms and patterns of use, being occupied at different times by different groups. In that sense, public spaces are the only arenas in the city where conflicted groups and even counter-publics, who compete with each other in the urban environment, are co-present at the same time. This co-presence is not a passive, even it seems like that, there is a constant struggle for use and appropriation, whereby different actors and interests are at stake and boundaries of exclusion and inclusion are continuously constructed, negotiated, re-constructed, and enacted. On the other hand, gentrification is a process which ends up in creation of exclusive urban spaces. As a process of spatial and social transformation occurring especially in the historic city centers, gentrification brings a series of dualities in urban structure. There is a growing interest in distressed residential areas among affluent population, who make their investments either for their own housing needs or commercial purposes. A manifold struggle of claiming the public space is observed in articulations of different actors and corporate agents' practices. In this paper, we examine the social construction and production of urban public space in a late 19th century foreigners-neighborhoods of Cihangir and Galata where a hefty gentrification process is underway and its implications on the surrounding areas in Beyoğlu district. Lefebvre's triad of spatial relations is adopted as tools of analysis, hence dynamics of spatial constellations of which these peculiar public spaces are constructed and produced, are explored. The contested nature of public space is exposed in these conflicted constructions of public spaces and spatially reflected in different formation of public places.

Keywords: urban public space, gentrification, spatial practices, representational space, spatial representations, Istanbul.

Introduction

Since the 1960s, urban studies and planning literature have addressed the urban public space ideally as a place of framing a vision of social life in the city, a vision for those who interact there everyday, a common place and a social staging ground. As used interchangeably, the public space is considered to be at the core of the urban experience; the parts of the city in which everybody can come together to meet, to communicate, and to conduct business, or just to enjoy the sound and sight of urban area, be anonymous in the crowd (a.o. Jacobs, 1961; Sennett, 1970, 1977, 1990; Lofland, 1973; Fyfe, 1998). One feels the 'pulse' of the city in the urban public space, as Raymond Williams writes:

> I have felt it again and again; the great buildings of civilization; the meeting-places; the libraries and theatres, the towers and domes; and often more moving than these, the houses, the streets, the press and excitement of so many people, with so many purposes. I have stood in many cities and felt this pulse… this identifiable and moving quality: the centre, the activity, the light (Williams, 1973, p. 273, cited in Kasinitz, 1995, p. 5).

However, this idealization of urban public space increasingly has been overshadowed by the narrative of loss or the end of public space. As the pace of economic and technological change accelerates, urban social and cultural life alters dramatically; space, time, and movement are acquiring new meanings. Accordingly, as urban landscapes, spatial expressions of economic, demographic, and technological developments change, so do the urban public space (Burgers, 2000), its arrangement, use, and perception. It has been widely argued in the urban studies and planning literature (a.o. Davis, 1990; Sorkin, 1992; Zukin, 1995) that with the growth of the service economy and globalization, particularly intense emplacement of leisure-oriented developments with an emphasis on high levels of protection and privatization in the central urban areas, public space has argued to be loosened from its original roots and turn to be alienating people from public life and public experience in the city. Sorkin (1992) proclaims the 'end of public space' in the modern city; the globalization of space and time, the obsession with security, surveillance, and control, and the increasing tendency of simulacra have led to the homogenization, privatization, and aesthetization of the public space. Likewise, Zukin (1995) aptly observes that privatization makes people more secure but less free. These semi-public/semi-private spaces appear to be 'public spaces' because many people use them for common purposes, such as shopping and entertainment, but safety concerns and privatization are argued to be excluding, displacing, and marginalizing particular social groups. On the other hand, while previously city-centered activities, such as cultural, commerce, leisure and entertainment have moved outside the city borders, competing with the inner-city to attract users; public and private enterprises and developers and challenging the conception of urbanity.

Alongside these developments, another process, gentrification, has influenced the urban areas Affecting largely the older inner city districts, which are whether abolished industrial sites or worsened housing units, 'gentrification' has been mentioned for the first time by Ruth Glass; "the working class quarters of... London...[had] been invaded by the middle classes..., modest mews and cottages...have been taken over...and have become eloquent, expensive residences."

Once begun, …, "this process... goes on rapidly until all or most of the original working class occupants are displaced and the whole social character of the district is changed" (Glass cited in Engels, 1999: 1473). Starting in the end of the 1960s certain approaches to explain gentrification process itself have been developed which discuss the why, where and how of gentrification as well as its participants. Approaches to the subject of gentrification, which is still being discussed in relevant academic media, can be categorized under two general headings. The structuralist, Marxist approach, led by Neil Smith, explained gentrification through the concept of rent gap which represents the difference between ground rent under present land use and potential rent under a more profitable use. The devalorization in the inner city occurs when over investment in the production sector leads capital to more profitable housing sector. At the first stage suburbanization develops attracting the high-income groups. The channeling of housing investments to the suburbia and neglect of the inner city results in devalorization of the inner city housing stock, creating a rent gap thus redirecting housing investments to this area. Under the second heading, the demand dimension of the gentrification process is introduced by the individualist humanistic approach. In this approach, led by David Ley, the emphasis is on the economic, demographic and cultural preferences of the gentrifiers themselves and discusses that economic preferences are based on comparison of inner city and suburban housing with reference to accessibility costs to work places and services. Demographic explanations refer to increasing number of single or unmarried, childless, small family units among professional and managerial groups and to increasing number of professional and managerial jobs in the inner city. Culturally the gentrifiers are evaluated as seekers of cultural diversity avoiding homogeneity (Munt, 1987).

Economic approaches emphasizing the supply dimension of the process seem to leave certain questions unanswered as characteristics of and differentiation of demand are not taken into consideration. Choice of a certain area for gentrification while there are other inner city locations over which rent gap exists, identity of gentrifiers, the process by which gentrifiers choose location, role of environmental factors and amenities in the process of gentrification and the like remain without explanation. The missing points in the economic approach were handled in the humanistic approach however, this time the economic dimensions of the process were not taken into consideration thoroughly. It is possible to say that both approaches were complementary ones to explain the process.

Gentrification transforms the urban space radically. Displacement of economically marginal and working class by households of a high economic status, refurbishment and revalorized of the previously devalorized housing, and change of tenure types - from tenancy to ownership – transform the face, composition and ambiance of urban neighborhoods. In addition, demographic and economic conversions inevitably influence the social atmosphere. The place of public space in this framework is ambivalent. On the one hand, due to the boutique retailing and elite consumption, attraction and allure have turned the public space into a rewarding economic asset and on the other hand citizens make their own claims to 'a right to the city'[1], -though these claims can be contested in a variety of forms, scales and politics. It is on this basis that our paper aims at analyzing the nature of the production of the public space in the gentrified neighborhoods where conflicted and/or coincided social constructions of public spaces are exposed in different actors' spatial practices and representations of space.

Theoretical Orientations

When public space is conceived as a social construct, it embodies a variety of social and spatial practices, contesting and conflicting interests and actions, identity displays and struggles. This view of social construction of public space enables a multivalent representation of space, as Lefebvre (1991) conceptualizes it; being active, porous, and inseparable from experience. In that sense, he connects the formation of subjects to space by gestures of occupation that are constitutive of both self and space (Liggett, 2003). In his much acclaimed book, *The Social Production of Space*, Lefebvre (1991) advocates a conceptual triad in explaining how space is produced. His triad represents a relational perspective of space, constructed out of the interrelations between space, time and being (Fairbanks, 2003). Lefebvre's triad is a three-part model of spatial process. To start with, 'representations of space' refers to the conceived space, i.e. the manner in which space is conceived of in a society by those who participate in the creation of the dominant discourses via control over symbolic characteristics, such as signs and codes, as well as spatial knowledge. As a high-critic of the domination of urban development by representations of space, Lefebvre warns that planning, including the related design professions, formulates and implements decisions about space without maintaining contact with existing

[1] Lefebvre argues that the "Right to the City" is the right to "urban life, to renewed centrality, to places of encounter and exchange, to life rhythms and time uses, enabling the full and complete *usage* of … moments and places" (Lefebvre, the right to the city). In additon, Harvey (2003) points out that Lefebvre's concept is "not merely a right to access what already exists [in the city], but a right to change it after our heart's desire".

spatial practices (Liggett, 2003). Rather than based on the everyday life in the city, representations of space operate abstractly for making the professional codes compelling for decision making. Secondly, 'spatial practices' can be presented as both the medium and the outcome of the individuals' activities, behavior, and experience. Since spatial practices are directly apprehensible by the senses, they are the perceived. Community life, or everyday life, on a routine daily basis is an example of spatial practices as Lefebvre uses the term (ibid.). They can be congruent with or challenge representations of space, yet they persist. Last, 'representational spaces' or 'spaces of representation' refers to symbolic link to participate in the production of meaning, in other words, it calls for shared experiences and interpretations of everyday spatial practices of people, where making space is very much a way of making meaning. "People not only live their space through its associated images and symbols, they actively construct its meaning through cognitive and hermeneutical processes" (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 39). Production of space, according to Lefebvre, necessarily involves more than planning the physical space. It involves constructing the rhythms of everyday life and (re)producing the social relations that frame it. In that sense, production of space is a key process to which the right to the city refers.

Lefebvre's conceptual triad offers a useful framework for understanding how the multiple forms of conceiving of, perceiving, and living in space have been produced historically and imbued with cultural significance (Fairbanks, 2003). As such, it elucidates not only the ways in which space shapes social life and vice versa, but also, and more importantly, the ways in which power operates through spatial structures. In that sense, Lefebvre's conceptual tools provide us a valuable framework to analyze the relations between space in use and identity in process. For the purposes of this paper, we employ his two concepts of representations of space and spatial practice in our analysis. On the one hand, representations of space, i.e. those who design space with a particular way of seeing, present the dominant (imposed) spatial order on the rhythms and rituals of everyday life, on the other hand, spatial practice, i.e. those who observe and perceive to use or appropriate space, shows appropriation everyday space, in this case, both old and new inhabitants' use and conception of public space (new inhabitants: gentrifiers, old inhabitants: marginal groups): How do planners, designers, and policy makers approach these public spaces? What are the grounds of their identification and assessment, especially when they define it problematic? How do old and new inhabitants use and experience public spaces? In which ways do these public spaces function in their everyday lives? While the inhabitants

appropriate public spaces, how do they conceptualize them and which social process becomes influential? etc. Are these contested or acknowledged?

In order to depict the representations of public space in the gentrified neighborhoods of Beyoğlu, Galata and Cihangir, a brief account of gentrification process will be given in the following part. Following that, old and new inhabitants' spatial practices are discussed through the deciphering of their social spaces, spaces where their everyday social relationships are formed. In this way, their everyday spatial practices reveal how they construct the public and the private and the interplay with them. These practices also reflect the forms of belonging to the space, an important ingredient for claiming the right to the city. These forms of belonging, such as avoidance and participation, withdrawal and placement, are articulated in the relational construction of public spaces, in which boundaries of use and appropriation are continuously constructed, negotiated, re-constructed, and expressed.

Gentrification calls consequentially for privatization of public space, yet it is not intended in this paper to (re)argue the privatization of public space with all of its actors and processes in the neighborhoods. However, privatization is reflected both representations of space- the hegemonic discourse of the planners, developers, etc. and everyday spatial practices of inhabitants.

As one of the largest cities in Turkey, Istanbul has maintained its importance as an economic, social, and cultural center throughout the centuries. The economic restructuring process of the 1980s resulting from globalization affected the whole city rapidly. The inner city became socially and spatially segregated. The highest income groups started to prefer to move out to the periphery where they live in luxurious enclaves that are well protected and inaccessible to the rest of the city. Middle-income groups are also trying to move out of the city, seeking alternatives in housing cooperatives and mass housing estates. Meanwhile, certain sections of the inner city are being gentrified. Gentrification is especially observed in the neighborhoods adjacent to the old city center Beyoğlu. Parallel to the transformation in the city starting from the 1980s, Beyoğlu started to gain its previous importance again as a commercial and entertainment center responding to the new consumption patterns.

Cihangir and Galata

Cihangir, located on the slope of a hill with the panorama of entrance of the Bosporus and the Historic Peninsula is one of the areas in Istanbul with the most beautiful view and an old

residential neighborhood where the Elite lived in the Ottoman period. In the late 16th century, Cihangir started to be a residential area where Christians and Jews lived. As it was the case for many of the old neighborhoods in Istanbul until mid-20th century, Cihangir was also a place where the population was mostly non-Muslim. With the apartment houses and stone houses built in the end of 19th century and in the first quarter of the 20th century Cihangir became a dense residential neighborhood and until the mid-20th century it continued to be a residential area for many cultures. Due to the mixed composition in the Ottoman period and the existence of many embassies in Beyoğlu the inhabitants were Jews, Christians, Armenians as well as Muslims. After 1920 some of the White Russian migrants who were concentrated in Beyoğlu also settled in Cihangir and construction and growth continued also in the Republican period. Between 1930s and 1950s Cihangir was a neighborhood where a mixed population was living. In the neighborhood there were people working in pubs in Beyoğlu, there were secret brothels together with luxurious apartments. Through time this mixed composition disappeared. Especially after the Second World War, after foundation of Israel and after the 6-7 September events in 1955 most of the non-Muslim population migrated to their own countries. As a result of this process most of the houses either became empty or squatted by the Turkish migrants from Anatolia.

Until the 1980s in Cihangir, the buildings that were build in the Republican time that had a high quality of urban spatial structure and inner spatial structure started to be demolished. The style of the buildings was unique since it reflected the civic architecture of the Republican period. This process continued until the buildings in this area started to be considered as historical buildings that should be protected in 1994.

Cihangir was once more affected from the transformation in the old center and the demand for neighborhood increased starting from the end of 1980s. Its view and closeness to the center were the basic reasons for people who preferred Cihangir for residence. As the nostalgic ambiance with the historical buildings is another property of the neighborhood, especially artists and the intellectual population had a specific interest to Cihangir and this population started to prefer living here. In the beginning of the 1990s the area became more popular and the population started to change rapidly leading to gentrification (Uzun, 2001).

Today as there are no more empty plots in the neighborhood for the construction of new apartment houses and since the neighborhood can not expand due its location the old apartment houses gain more importance and value. Among a group of people who prefer to buy an

apartment house or/and apartment to live in it after renovation, there is another group of people who buy and renovate old apartments either to sell with a price more than the original price or to let. This renovation process combined with the changing consumption pattern in the last two decades a high demand for these apartments occurred. Therefore, in Cihangir real-estate investment brings a high profit. All of the real-estate experts state that this neighborhood is very profitable for investment where the owners may gain a premium of hundred percentage and over which is more than the average for Istanbul (Elmas, 1999).

Cihangir became a popular neighborhood among the artists, academicians, and writers starting from the 1990s with the effect of the changes in Beyoğlu. Most of the renovation activities were individual ones, it was not possible to observe common activities in the neighborhood regarding to the renovation of the area. By the foundation of Cihangir Beautification Foundation in 1995 the activities started to be more organized. The members of the organization are mostly architects, professionals and residents of the neighborhood. The organization works for the rehabilitation and reconstruction of Cihangir and promotes community participation for improving the living environment. As well as these, the organization have been arranging informative meetings for the residents of the neighborhood. There are also several concerts, happenings, plays and similar cultural activities organized by the Cihangir Beautification Foundation. As the organization has the aim of improving the environment, Cihangir Park that was once demolished for building a parking lot was re-constructed as a park again with its intervention[2] (Gedikoğlu, 1999; Gümüş, 1999). Among this quite new organization and community action it is possible to mention the gentrification process in Cihangir as a process where different groups like renovators, investors, and the displaced are involved.

An example for the renovators group is the two artists who bought an apartment house on Havyar Street in 1993. The old owner of the apartment house was an Armenian woman who was very old and wanted to go to Greece to live with her children. The couple renovated the apartment house in one year and started to live in. They renovated the apartment house according to its original form, they even did not change the mosaics on the windows. They only modernized the infrastructure of the apartment house. Both of them are professors at a university, which is located in 10 minutes walking distance from their home. They also have

[2] Some of the information in this section is obtained through an interview with Ms. Necile Deliceoðlu who is an active member of the Cihangir Beautification Foundation.

their workshops in the apartment house. They preferred the neighborhood because of its closeness to the cultural activities and their workplace[3].

In spite of the dilapidation in the neighborhood before the 1980's and the negative effects of displacement, the renovating group is trying to revive the area's old identity and historic value. Renovating architects, who have moved their office into the apartment house they bought in the neighborhood , have launched a project called "Integrating streets into the urban design and the life of the city starting Havyar Street" where their office is located. In this way, the street architecture project-which incidentally serves as a lecture venue for the Faculty of Architecture-turned a theoretical investigation into a practical workshop. The residents of the neighborhood considered this project as their own. The architects started by painting the outside of their building, paying for the work from the income of their own firm. At the end of June 2000, on the day of the opening ceremony, there were no cars parked and no garbage scattered on the street, there were no advertisements stuck to the walls, and the facades of the apartment houses were painted, at least up to the first story. The regenerator architects received help from the Beyoğlu Security Department, the Beyoğlu district municipality , the Cihangir Beautification Foundation and he Historical Foundation.[4]

On the other hand, in Cihangir the investors try to make profit of the increases of values in the area as much as possible. There are several newly build apartment houses on Akarsu Street, which is the most commercialized street of the neighborhood. In the previous years the number of commercial services such as cafes, pubs, restaurants serving for the gentrifiers started to increase in the area

In sum, gentrification in Cihangir can be observed as an amorphous, driven mainly by individuals, as there is no organization behind it. Artists and architects have been the pioneers, yet in the consequent years young professionals and investors have also been attracted to the area It can be stated that Lifestyle was the main drive for the first gentrifiers. After that, particularly after some refurbishment of the housing stock, the second wave can be referred to the Elite (seekers). Elite's have been attracted to Cihangir for prestige and social distinction led by the Lifestylers. The first gentrifiers, Lifestylers have affection for and commitment to the

[3] This information is obtained through an interview with Mr. Oktay Anýlanmert and Ms. Beril Anılanmert.
[4] Ibid., p.113
[5] Islam, 2002, p.7

neighborhood. –and urban life however, the second has more prestige, in that sense it triggers safety concerns. Therefore, their experience of the neighborhood is rather purified.

Galata, an old Geneose Quarter located on the north shore of the Golden Horn, have been the trade center of Istanbul since the 13th century. Due to the shift of the administrative and finance affairs to the new Capital city of Ankara, Galata affected sharply by the transformations in the inner city after this period and became a dilapidated area following the 1970's. Gentrification process, like Cihangir, began in the late 1980's, nevertheless only a small part of the district has been gentrified while most of the building stock is still in a deteriorated condition. The gentrification process in Galata and Cihangir are comparable, in a sense that they had started at the same time and similar actors as gentrifiers. Like Cihangir, but relatively in a very small scale, it began with the arrival of the artists and architects, who bought and mostly rented architecturally distinct but dilapidated properties with high ceilings, which were very appropriate for them to use as studios.

The pioneers quickly got organized and formed an organization to beautify their immediate environment. By organizing festivals and other cultural activities, they tried to attract the people to the area. Until the mid 1990's, together with the art sector members, a few other professionals moved to the area for residential purposes, but the real influx of gentrifiers occurred only after 1995. According to a survey carried out recently (2002), only 17.3 percent of the gentrifiers moved to the area before 1995 while most moved in after 1995 (60.8 percent)[6]. Forming 42 percent of the gentrifiers respectively, architects and journalists were the key actors in the process probably because they were more aware of the neighborhood's historic value. On the other hand, people holding managerial positions were still away from the area, one indicator showing that the process was still proceeding at the initial level after almost 15 years since the first signs of gentrification were seen.

Gentrification is associated with smaller size of households which also fitted to the case of Galata. Gentrifiers in Galata were mostly singles or childless couples that were either postponing child bearing or having adult children that had left the family. Another variable, a very significant indicator that sharply distinguishes gentrifiers from other groups in the society, was the high rates of unmarried couples living together, a marginal attitude in a Muslim society.[7]In Galata 22 percent of the households and 31 percent of the couples were cohabiting.

[7] Ibid.,p.8

In this neighborhood, gentrifiers have European bias in their lifestyles. They are less tied to religious customs. They are not conforming to the cultural common rules. And perhaps the most important, the changing roles and values of women are very significant among the gentrifiers.[8]
The major advantages of the gentrification experienced in Galata is that the buildings had access to maintenance and repair opportunities, the physical appearance of the quarter has changed, real estate prices increased substantially, commercial transactions of the small businessmen increased and the public authorities realized that they have to intervene in the economic, social and physical problems of the neighborhood. However, the area subject to regeneration was only a relatively small part of the quarter. And the increased land values and prices constituted at the same time a serious obstacle before the success of the gentrification. Cumbersome formalities required by the High Council of the Protection of Historic Assets have to be added too to the inconvenient conditions[9]

Though there are similarities, gentrification process in Galata is not identical to Cihangir. Unlike Cihangir, a more residential, individualistic process with intentions of Lifetyle and Elite, gentrification in Galata, particularly in the last decade become a planned, market-driven development. Thematic street projects, French street, Italian Street, and Brussels Street, nevertheless calls for one but "variations on a theme park" (Sorkin, 1992).

Because these developments are only commercial injections of private enterprises to the public streets, they need security zones and safety measures.
Note: this part of the paper is still under construction
The following part will discuss:
Tenants and their relations with the street and new developments.
Community formation
New plans
Conclusion / Further Remarks
Production of various public spaces

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REGENERATION OF "PUBLIC ISTANBUL": CHANGING MEANINGS AND MANIFESTATIONS OF PUBLIC SPACE IN HALIÇ (THE GOLDEN HORN)

SENEM ZEYBEKOGLU, KIVANC KILINC

REGENERATION OF "PUBLIC ISTANBUL": CHANGING MEANINGS AND MANIFESTATIONS OF PUBLIC SPACE IN HALIÇ (THE GOLDEN HORN)

The public space is…the factory of politics
Alexander Kluge, 1991

The true issue is not to make beautiful cities or well managed cities, it is to make a work of life. The rest is a by product. But, making a work of life is the privilege of historical action. How and through what struggles, in the course of what class action and what political battle could urban historical action be reborn? This is the question toward which we are inevitably carried by inquiry into the meaning of the city.
Raymond Ledrut, "Speech and the Silence of the City"[1]

The issue of relocating the western concept of public space within a "non-western" geography has been much debated by historians and scholars of urban studies.[2] In the Turkish context, analyses of the urban reforms of *Tanzimat* and the Turkish Republic that applied European concepts to city planning in Istanbul brought new dimensions to these discussions. Theatres, clubs, restaurants, modern schools, squares, wide streets, national monuments, and modern means of transportation were referred as the "public spaces" that defined Istanbul's image as a modern city.[3] At the same time, historical fabric became infused by new buildings, which accelerated its gradual erosion, not to mention extensive demolitions took place in Istanbul during the late 1950s.[4]

1 Quoted in Rosalyn Deutche, "Uneven Development Public Art in New York City," *October*, V 47, (Winter 1988), 3.

2 Nielsen, Hans Chr. Korsholm and Jakob Skovgaard-Petersen (eds.) *Middle Eastern Cities, 1900-1950: Public Places and Public Spheres in Transformation*, Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 2001; Kirli, Cengiz, "The Struggle Over Space: Coffeehouses of Ottoman, Istanbul, 1780-1845," Ph.D. Diss., 2001, Binghamton University; Esposito, John L. and François Burgat (eds.) *Modernising Islam: Religion in the Public Sphere in Europe and the Middle East*, London: C. Hurst, 2002.

3 İnci Şahin Olgun, Bahar Aksel Enşici, "İstanbul ve Kamusal Alan" [Istanbul and Public Sphere] http://www.metropolistanbul.com/public/temamakale.aspx?tmid=10&mid=9; Kuban, D. (1996) *Istanbul, an Urban History: Byzantion, Constantinopolis*, Istanbul, Istanbul: Economic and Social History Foundation of Turkey, 378.

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For some, emergence of “public sphere” in Turkey was related to *Tanzimat* reforms and the birth of printed media.[5] Modern schools, first private journals and urban planning attempts were also factors in the birth and development of “modern publicness” in the (late) Ottoman urban context.[6] This view is also shared by Jakob Skovgaard-Petersen, in his introduction to *Middle Eastern Cities, 1900-1950: Public Places and Public Spheres in Transformation*. He writes that,

> “In the Middle Eastern cities of the late 19th and early 20th century, however, public places became more prominent, and there were more of them. Apart from open spaces and public domains, new kinds of public utilities and privately owned venues became important for new forms of public life. Strolling, window-shopping, sorts and other recreational activities became popular with the opening of gardens, fairgrounds, stadiums, corniches and similar public spaces. The much enlarged new thoroughfares could serve as arteries not just for traffic but also for parades and ceremonies on a large scale.”[7]

This “Habermasian” reading of public space in the so-called third world has been challenged in several accounts by historians and architecture historians in Turkey.[8] In addition to the iconography of modern timeliness brought by “clock towers” to Ottoman towns, coffee houses have been demonstrated as gathering places of the (male) Ottoman public, where the “public opinion” was formed “through a dense oral information network.”[9] The first coffee house was opened in Tahtakale, Istanbul, in 1554, much before Habermas’ public space was formed in Western Europe.[10] According to Cengiz Kirli, the Habermasian notion of “public opinion” was located by European historians “as a powerful force in the second half of the eighteenth century in Western Europe, which is

5 Öztürk, Serdar, “Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda Kamusal Alanın Dinamikleri,” *İletişim*, Sayı 21 [Yaz-Güz 2005]: 100, referring to Şerif Mardin.

6 Ibid., 100, 107, ref. to Georgeon, 71. See Desmet-Grégoire, Hélène and François Georgeon (eds.) *Dogu'da Kahve ve Kahvehaneler*, Istanbul: Yapi Kredi Kültür Sanat Yayincilik, 1998.

7 Jakob Skovgaard-Petersen, “Introduction, Public Places and Public Spheres in Transformation – The City Conceived, Perceived and Experienced,” Nielsen, Hans Chr. Korsholm and Jakob Skovgaard-Petersen (eds.) *Middle Eastern Cities, 1900-1950: Public Places and Public Spheres in Transformation*, Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 2001, 13

8 Kirli, Cengiz, "Coffeehouses: Public Opinion in the Nineteenth Century Ottoman Empire," Armando Salvatore and Dale F. Eickelman (eds.) *Public Islam and the Common Good*, Brill Academic Publishers, May 2004, 95-96; Öztürk, Serdar, “Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda Kamusal Alanın Dinamikleri” [The Features of the Public Sphere in the Ottoman Empire], *İletişim*, Sayı 21 [Yaz-Güz 2005]: 95-124; Cengizkan, Ali, (2002), Kurgu, Tasarim, Kullanim: Cumhuriyet Donemi Kamusal Mekanlari icin Bir Calisma Programi [A Working Program for Public Spaces of the Republican Period], Guven Arif Sargin (ed.) *Baskent Uzerine Mekan-Politik Tezler Ankara’nin Kamusal Yuzleri*, Istanbul: Iletisim.

9 Kirli, Cengiz, "Coffeehouses: Public Opinion in the Nineteenth Century Ottoman Empire," 96.

10 Öztürk, Serdar, “Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda Kamusal Alanın Dinamikleri,”101.

characterized by the growing literacy, developing press, and people's increasing awareness about politics." On the other hand, "since the term is strongly associated with the birth of a literary public in eighteenth-century Europe, the existence of public opinion in Ottoman society and in the rest of the world alike is implicitly ignored."[11]

Within the last two decades, with the recent urban regeneration projects, there have been various attempts to reverberate the "publicness" in the Golden Horn (Halic), which, being "a safe natural harbor", "a magnet for industry," and an important center for international trade with people and ethnic groups of different religions lived together, was a lively urban environment until the 19th century.[12] After the Turkish Republic was founded, Istanbul lost its place as the capital city that represented the power of an empire, yet it was still the "greatest port" of the country and the center of its overall economic activity.[13] During the last two decades this waterfront area has been experiencing an extensive urban and architectural transformation process. Former industrial complexes around the shores of the Golden Horn began to be replaced by a new type of "culture industry," that of arts, culture and education. These projects have been approached critically by many, and discussions around public space in Istanbul have yet again become a central theme.[14]

Contextualizing Contemporary Istanbul: Loss of Public Space?

In "Kentsel Dönüşüm, Çözülen Kentler va Parçalanan Kamusal Alan," Cana Bilsel analyses the economic, historical and social context that gave birth to the so-called "urban transformation projects" in Istanbul such as Galataport and Haydarpaşa projects and

11 Kirli, Cengiz, "Coffeehouses: Public Opinion in the Nineteenth Century Ottoman Empire," 77, 79.

12 Korkmaz, T., (2006), "On the Regeneration of the Golden Horn," in Sarkis, H., Mark Dwyer, Pars Kibarer, (eds.), *Two Squares: Martyrs Square, Beirut and Sirkeci Square, Istanbul*, President and Fellows of Harvard College, 107; Keyder, Çağlar (1999), "The Setting" in Keyder (ed.) *Istanbul: Between the Global and the Local*, Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 3-9.

13 Michael N. Danielson, Ruşen Keleş, *The Politics of Rapid Urbanization: Government and Growth in Modern Turkey*, London: Holmes & Meier Publishing,1985, 56.

14 İnci Şahin Olgun, Bahar Aksel Enşici, "İstanbul ve Kamusal Alan", Kurtulus, Hatice (ed.) (2005), *Istanbul'da Kentsel Ayrisma, Mekansal Donusumde Farkli Boyutlar* [Urban Decomposition in Istanbul: Different Dimensions in Spatial Transformation], Istanbul: Baglam.; Bilsel, Cana, "Yeni Dünya Düzeninde Çözülen Kentler ve Kamusal Alan: Istanbul'da Merkezkaç Kentsel Dinamikler ve Kamusal Mekan Üzerine Gözlemler" [Disintegrating Cities in the New World Order and Public Sphere: Centrifugal Urban Dynamics in Istanbul and Observations on Public Space] http://www.metropolistanbul.com/public/temamakale.aspx?tmid=10&mid=8

preservation attempts of the old fabric such as the Fener-Balat Rehabilitation Project. In her account, beginning from 1980s, "protectionist nation-state structure" that had largely determined political and economic order lost ground both in the world and in Turkey, and "world cities" began replacing nation-states as loci of global networks of trade, business, and also decision-making. Urban transformation projects around the world emerged as part of this recent development, to attract global capital to the cities.[15]

Bilsel argues that new "urban centers" in Istanbul - business and financial centers located on main arteries of the city – were developed without a holistic vision of city-planning. Market economy became the main determining factor for urban development and cities lost their identity as public spaces, while turning into a series of urban centers dominated by social and cultural groups who cannot come together. Upper class lived in places that have been separated with clear borders from other places (i.e., gated communities). "Spatial fragmentation" has reinforced "social segregation" and vice versa. In her argument, a Habermasian understanding of public sphere and public space paradigms are revisited as theoretical concepts to resist recent urbanization and space making practices brought about such economic policies. Streets, squares, boulevards, parks, theaters, concert halls, cafés-coffeehouses, movie theaters are defined as public spaces that are marked with their accessible character to everyone in the city.[16]

Like Bilsel, others have argued that the public sphere in Istanbul began to shrink in the last twenty years, especially with the impact of liberal economic policies that designated and promoted the city as a "world city."[17] During these years, traffic more heavily depended on motor vehicles, municipal plans altered, master plans rendered inoperative and individual

15 Bilsel, Cana, "Kentsel Dönüşüm, Çözülen Kentler va Parçalanan Kamusal Alan," [Urban Transformation, Disintegrating Cities and Fragmenting Public Sphere] Mimarlik, no. 327.
http://old.mo.org.tr/mimarlikdergisi/index.cfm?sayfa=mimarlik&DergiSayi=41&RecID=1014

16 Ibid.

17 Kurtulus, Hatice (ed.) (2005), *Istanbul'da Kentsel Ayrisma, Mekansal Donusumde Farkli Boyutlar*

urban transformation projects were developed in the city that allocated areas formerly belonged to the industry, docks and railroads to private enterprise.[18]

These critical analyses are linked to current debates on the global city concept which prevailed in political economical and urban sociological accounts in recent decades.[19] Also, new concepts introduced by Manuel Castells and David Harvey in the seventies and eighties challenged the understanding of the city “as a social ecology, subject to natural forces inherent in the dynamics of the population and space.”[20] Their scholarly works asserted that the city was “the product of specifically social forces set in motion by capitalist relations of production.” The world city hypothesis conceptualized that “the process of urban change” in the contemporary cities relied upon the changes in the world economy, and its spatial strategies. From a political economic point of view, the city is defined as “a spatially integrated economic and social system at a given location or metropolitan region.” The city’s integration with the world economy – where “the spatial organization of the new international division of labor” is visible – is decisive in any “structural changes occurring within” the urban space and city life.[21]

Globalization is characterized by replacement of industrial production with service sector economy, flow of capital and the people from one place to another, and finally, spread of new cultural values. This brings the question if we are living in era of “a new spatial order within cities.”[22] Marcuse and van Kempen argue that the effects of globalization together with economic and demographic changes create a decline in the operation of the welfare state. Similar changes may occur in different parts of the world, but each city has its own

18 Bilsel, Cana, “Yeni Dünya Düzeninde Çözülen Kentler ve Kamusal Alan: Istanbul’da Merkezkaç Kentsel Dinamikler ve Kamusal Mekan Üzerine Gözlemler.”

19 Saskia Sassen, *The Global City: New York, London, Tokyo*, 2nd ed., Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2001; Anthony D. King, *Global Cities, Postimperialism and the Internalization of London*, London and New York, Routledge, 1991.

20 John Friedman, “The world city hypothesis” and “Where we stand: a decade of world city research” in Paul L. Knox and Peter J. Taylor (ed.) *World Cities in a World-System*, Cambridge University Press, 1995; Castells, Manuel, *The Informational City: Information Technology, Economic Restructuring, and the Urban-Regional Process*, Oxford, UK; New York, NY, USA: Blackwell, 1989; Harvey, David, *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change*, Oxford, England; New York, NY, USA : Blackwell, 1989.

21 John Friedman, “The world city hypothesis.”

22 Marcuse, P., van Kempen, R., (eds.) (2000), *Globalizing Cities: A New Spatial Order?* Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd. , 2

unique responses to such kind of effects, related to its own historical and economic background, social structure and spatial formations.

In other words, world cities are the “large urban spaces”, which on the one hand house a transnational capitalist class and on the other hand, create peripheries within its borders. Here, there is a tendency that the “polarization” between upper and lower classes is represented as a “postmodern difference,” or part of “cosmopolitan culture,” thus concealing social inequality.[23] On the other hand, the coexistence of “homogenizing global forces” and “localizing forces and emergent hybrids” also creates a world where “geographical areas or spheres of different localities overlap.” Globalization, before all else, “is a descriptive term which ‘names’ the current moment.”[24]

What is the current moment in Istanbul, in terms of global city debate? Çağlar Keyder, in *Istanbul between the Global and the Local*, demonstrates the global restructuring of Istanbul via drawing a portrait of new informational and financial economies, the emergence of a new upper-class that benefits from these new economic sectors the most, and new urban spaces in which the upper-class lives and entertains. But, according to Keyder, Istanbul is still far away from being called a “global city,” due to informal flows of the capital and commodities through the city (namely**,** money laundering, prostitution, and huge amounts of suitcase trade), which is the result of gradual decline in state regulations and the lack of political will. Following this argument, Keyder points out the tension between the global dynamics and local responses within the city taking into account the excluded social groups and fragmented urban spaces.

Keyder brings forth another line of argument that even though the spaces become polarized with the effects of different forces, heterogeneous groups may continue to coexist in the same spaces. Globalization creates new conflicts between different cultural, political and symbolic groups, and heterogeneity of these groups enables the manifestation of these

23 John Friedman, “The world city hypothesis.”

24 Rob Shields, “Globalization – Entangled Places, Interface Buildings, Generic Design”, Raymond J. Cole and Richard Lorch (eds.) *Buildings, Culture and Environment: Informing Local and Global Practices*, Blackwell Publishing, 2003, 19, 24, 25.

conflicts. This approach brings a different perspective for our own case, to consider the tension between global and local forces and their spatial outcomes and manifestations. We can also ask what the conditions are, in which the transformation projects occur and re-shape the urban environment. Bearing in mind the urban regeneration projects is it possible to create "heterogeneous" spaces in the city, which would bring different groups together, without being exclusionary?

In other words, although we fully agree with Bilsel's discussion which illustrates the spatial outcomes of economic liberalization and globalization of capital accumulation in Istanbul, we would also argue that what we have been observing throughout the last decades in Istanbul is not merely disappearance of existing relations in urban form. It is also emergence of a global phenomenon, without which, Istanbul's present cannot be perceived. In our contemporary moment, we are obliged to understand the consequences of such new conditions, namely, the global economy that shapes the city's economic space.

In that vein, instead of an overall negation of recent projects in the Golden Horn as spaces of segregation that fulfils the requirements of the world economy, we would rather be willing to explore into the opportunities these urban regeneration projects could bring to the city, and form in different ways, democratic spaces of gathering, and communication between its citizens. Thus, rather than seeking, in a Habermasian sense, "a common cultural / public reference point around which these spatial clusters [in Istanbul] that are gradually becoming secluded would come together,"[25] we will presume that there might be more than one reference points in the city, represented by different groups and identities.

We would, therefore, like to embrace in this paper a more Foucauldian approach to understanding the nature of modern society, and rely on his argument that "…we live inside a set of relations that delineates sites which are irreducible to one another and absolutely not superimposable on one another."[26] According to Foucault, architecture

25 İnci Şahin Olgun, Bahar Aksel Enşici, "İstanbul ve Kamusal Alan."

26 Michel Foucault, ("Andere Räume"), "Of Other Spaces", Roland Ritter, Bernd Knaller-Vlay (eds.) *Other Spaces, the Affair of Heterotopia* (Die Affäre der Heterotopie), Haus der Architektur, 1998, 26.

throughout history has been used “to ensure a certain allocation of people in space, a *canalization* of their circulation, as well as the coding of their reciprocal relations.[27] This power architecture has is also a constructive one. In other words, “spatial fragmentation” might create but does not necessarily equate to “social segregation.” In “Ten Points for an Urban Methodology” Ohiol Bohigas writes that “the city is a centre of enriching conflicts which are only resolved in their affirmation as such or in the coexistence of other conflicts with different origins.” The urban regeneration projects in the Golden Horn provide a framework, where heterogeneity may be utilized for the sake of an overall scheme of regeneration.

But how would that be possible? Could there really be a larger framework, which would be “more methodological than stylistic” and connect all the regeneration projects in the Golden Horn even though they have different objectives, incentives and design parameters? Discussing such possibility as well as shortcomings of individual schemes, this paper will first contextualize the Golden Horn, outline its history of urban modernization and map the transformation of its “public sphere” through industrial development. Second, the paper will look into main architectural and urban characteristics of recent urban regeneration projects, and analyze how the interplay of local and global forces have been transforming former industrial complexes into arts and culture centers, universities and recreation areas.

Third, locating them within a larger context, the paper will explore main approaches in Europe and the United States to urban regeneration. We will particularly focus on the Spanish experience and the planners of Barcelona in their contextualizing Rossi’s concept of the “architecture of the city” as an effective device to reclaim city centers and waterfronts through the continuity of “the urban character,” and “relative centralities.”[28] And last, the paper will point out both opportunities and risks that regeneration projects brought to cities worldwide. These shed light on the potential problems surrounding the

27 Michel Foucault interview, “Space, Knowledge, and Power,” Paul Rabinow (ed.) *The Foucault Reader*, New York: Pantheon Books, 1984, 253.

28 Bohigas, Ohiol, “Ten Points for an Urban Methodology,” *The Architectural Review*. Vol: 206. Iss: 1231, (September 1999): 88-91.

urban regeneration projects in the Golden Horn, which, learning from past experiences elsewhere, we hope could be more effectively responded in the future.

Contextualizing the Golden Horn

The image of "public Istanbul" has been determined by different conceptions of "modern Istanbul" during the last century. From *Tanzimat*'s urban changes to the Prost Plan and urban operations in the 1950s, the attempts to create modern public spaces similar to European examples transformed the city but were also transformed by local interpretations of "modernity." The Golden Horn has been an important example of such transformation in Istanbul. After 1980s cultural and exhibition centers, university settlements and rehabilitation projects began to take place along its shores.

The Golden Horn is the name of the estuary which separates the European part of Istanbul into two main parts, namely Historical Peninsula and Galata Districts. Carrying the advantage of being a natural port, it has been a commercial center, not only for exchanging goods, but also as a gate opening to the world and exchanging ideas, cultural values and traditions. It also had a strategic importance due to its geographical location and with the construction of the docks the Halic estuary became the most important commercial and military port of Istanbul. The first docks of Ottoman Empire on Halic (Camialti Docks) date back to 1455, and others follow with the growth of the empire.[29]

In this sense, considering the significance of the city region with its large and small scale industry, docks, religious buildings, historical districts, public parks, and ongoing urban development projects, it is essential to emphasize on critical moments in Istanbul's "urban history" which caused radical transformations in the Golden Horn's urban topography. It will not be surprising to observe that most of the attempts for the modernization of the city during the last century have been related to this area to some extent. Its transformation continues to bring new manifestations of public space and public life for Istanbul.

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29 Celik, Z. (1986) *The Remaking of Istanbul Portrait of an Ottoman City in the Nineteenth Century*, Seattle and London: University of Washington Press.

Istanbul and the Golden Horn: a History of Urban Modernization

Istanbul is a city in which different layers of history are superimposed. These layers are characterized by architectural and urban schemes lay in Late Roman, Byzantine, Ottoman periods as well as planning decisions and developments in the Republican Period. According to Korkmaz, “Istanbul presents the most intricate urban cultures to its inhabitants and visitors.”[30]

The Ottoman period brought a different urban pattern on the traces of Byzantine Empire, but the significant location of the Golden Horn was always noticed. The fundamental goal in the development of Istanbul after the Ottoman conquest was to create a Muslim city.[31] During the reign of the Ottomans, the huge public spaces and monuments connected with colossal arteries were replaced with the *külliyes*.[32] The main industrial complexes of the 15th century, such as the arsenal and Tophane-i Amire, were also located close to the Golden Horn.[33]

These developments prompted the birth of new residential areas with both Muslim and non-Muslim population, such as Kasımpaşa, Tophane, Fındıklı and Cihangir. Galata, which marked the northern shores of the Golden Horn, was characterized by “a more homogeneous fabric made up of the grid plan and masonry buildings,” and industrial structures.[34] In the nineteenth century when the growth of modern industry dominated the Golden Horn’s silhouette, imperial pavilions, leisure gardens or old derelict palaces in the area began to be replaced with industrial buildings. According to Kuban, this transformation can be defined as the conversion of the imperial domains into public

30 Korkmaz, T., (2006) On the Regeneration of the Golden Horn, 97.

31 Çelik, Z. *The Remaking of Istanbul*, 23-24

32 Korkmaz, T., “On the Regeneration of the Golden Horn,” 105.

33 1993-1994. "İstanbul' da Sanayi", *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, vol: 4, 437, Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı, İstanbul; Kuban, D., Istanbul, an Urban History,. 225; For a detailed study on the shipyards see Köksal, G., (1996) “Haliç Tersanelerinin Tarihsel Teknolojik Gelişim Süreçleri ve Koruma Önerileri,” [The Historical and Technological Transformation of Golden Horn Arsenal and Some Suggestions for Its Conservation], Unpublished PhD Thesis, İstanbul Technical University, İstanbul.

34 Korkmaz, T., (2006), “On the Regeneration of the Golden Horn,” 106.

property.[35] On the other hand, also from the mid-19th century onwards development of the industry gained such a pace that the historical fabric in both sides of the Golden Horn increasingly lost its specific character. Kuban writes that "at the beginning of the 20th century the high chimneys of all sorts of workshops and factories near Unkapanı and Odun Kapısı already were competing with the minarets."[36]

The Urban Reforms of *Tanzimat*: Search for a Planned City

The ambition of creating a modern Istanbul became a central issue that the Ottoman administration took into account, much before the Republican Period. For Stefane Yerasimos, there were mainly two reasons why the urban renovations either implemented or remained on paper, seemed necessary. First, visiting the Western cities, wide streets with lines of trees, and tall buildings, the administration tried to make a modern image of Istanbul, which would be appropriated by the visitors.[37] In Gul and Lamb's account, the Ottoman diplomats had a common view on urban planning and architecture, the most important features of which were creating a regular street pattern based on geometric rules and converting from timber to masonry in terms of construction material.[38]

One of the very first attempts to renovate the image of the city was prepared on 17 May 1839, which announced that wide streets and docks would be built, whereas the narrow streets and dead-ends would be abolished. In the same document, the minimum width of a road was written 7.60 meters. Yerasimos reminds that at the time, the maximum street width in Istanbul was not more than 6.00 meters.[39] The second reason was the need to re-establish the state authority in the city. The purpose was to have a better control over a

35 Kuban, D., *Istanbul, an Urban History*, 379. Also, Cezar, M., (2002) *Osmanlı Başkenti İstanbul* [The Ottoman Capital Istanbul], İstanbul, Erol Kerim Aksoy Kültür, Eğiti, Spor ve Sağlık Vakfı Yayınları, No: 2, pp. 514-527, gives a brief history of industrial settlements on Golden Horn during the 19th century.

36 Kuban, D., 381.

37 Stefan Yerasimos, "Tanzimat'ın Kent Reformları Üzerine" [On the Urban Reforms of Tanzimat] in 1999, Paul Dumont, François Georgeon (ed.) *Modernleşme Sürecinde Osmanlı Kentleri* [Villes Ottomanes a la fin de L'empire], trans. By Ali Berktay, Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 3.

38 Gül, M., Lamb, R., (2004a) "Mapping, Regularizing and Modernizing Ottoman Istanbul: Aspects of the Genesis of the 1839 Development Policy", *Urban History*, 31/3, 423.

39 Stefan Yerasimos, "Tanzimat'ın Kent Reformları Üzerine", 1.

variety of ethnic groups that find shelter in the traditional structure of the city and to prevent revolts, as well as to collect taxes more regularly.[40]

Other major developments that were applied as part of the city's modernization were "commencement of regular ferry services in 1851, the establishment of the first telegraph line in 1853, the production of coal gas for the illumination of some public buildings in 1856, the commencement of first street illumination in 1865 and the construction of an underground railway between Karaköy and Pera in 1875."[41] In the nineteenth century, the construction of two bridges highlighted the area as a hub of the city's transportation.[42]

It is also in this period when "planning" entered the vocabulary of the city.[43] Inauguration of municipalities was a significant factor. On the other hand, the municipal solutions to the city's problems (which were partial themselves) were partially applied, and did not exceed the "beautification" of the existing areas, such as widening the streets, regular garbage collecting and making road surfaces available for the use of vehicles.[44] According to Korkmaz who criticizes such planning schemes as having lack of a comprehensive urban vision and also investment, "these piecemeal interventions could not bring back the good old days, but they were effective in gathering the isolated parts of the city into a sort of fragmentary whole."[45]

During the late Ottoman period, the Golden Horn continued its growth as an industrial area and became the electricity producing center of the city with the establishment of Silahtaraga Electrical Plant (1913). Other industrial complexes gave Halic its unique character, like the Feshane Fes Making Factory (1835), Cibali Tobacco Factory (1884) and Sutluce Slaughterhouse (1923). These complexes did not only introduce a new iconography of modernism and architectural typology to Istanbul, but also structured

40 Ibid., 4-8.

41 Gül, M., Lamb, R. (2004a), 424.

42 Korkmaz, T., 107.

43 İlhan Tekeli, "19. Yüzyılda İstanbul Metropol Alanının Dönüşümü" [The Transformation of Istanbul Metropolitan Area in the 19th Century] in 1999, Paul Dumont, François Georgeon (ed.), 19-30.

44 İlhan Tekeli, 1999, 22.

45 Ibid., Korkmaz, T. p 108

socio-spatial relations in the city.[46] So their history might also be considered as a significant part of Turkey's industrial modernization.

1930s - The Republican Period and the Prost Plan

In early republican Turkey, the rhetoric of modernization was most effectively conveyed in architecture.[47] To institutionalize the reforms and make them effective in the level of everyday life, the state searched for a "model" that would replace Istanbul's urban and cultural heterogeneity with a modern and homogeneous urban environment.[48] Most of the government's energy and modernization efforts were channeled towards Ankara, the new capital of the young republic.[49] In Keyder's words, the "very need felt by the nationalists to exclude Istanbul's past from the construction of the national imaginary constituted the cultural dimension of the Ankara-Istanbul dynamic during the heyday of Republicanism."[50]

After 1930's, the attempts to rebuild Istanbul was accelerated. In 1936, the government invited French architect and planner Henri Prost to prepare a plan for the city.[51] Prost's proposal was mainly based on creating a modern road network, which would connect the major parts of the city and building urban parks as well as public promenades, which

46 Gumus, K. (2006) "Sütlüce Unutuldu mu?" ["Has Sütlüce Been Forgotten?"], Radikal, 12.12.2006. <http://www.radikal.com.tr/ek_haber.php?ek=r2&haberno=5682.

47 Bozdogan, Sibel, "The Predicament of Modernism in Turkish Architectural Culture: An Overview", Sibel Bozdogan and Resat Kasaba (ed.) Rethinking Modernity and National Identity in Turkey, Seattle, University of Washington Press, 1997, 133-157.

48 H. Tarık Şengül, 2001, Kentsel Çelişki ve Siyaset: Kapitalist Kentleşme Süreçleri Üzerine Yazılar [Urban Contradictions and Politics: Essays on the Capitalist Urbanization Processes], İstanbul: Demokrasi Kitapligi.

49 For a more detailed reading on the construction of Ankara, please see: Kezer, Z., (1999) "The Making of a National Capital, Ideology and Socio-Spatial Practices in Early Republican Ankara," PhD Diss., University of California at Berkeley; Tekeli, İ, (1998), "Atatürk Türkiye'sinde Kentsel Gelişme ve Kent Planlaması" [Urban Development and Urban Planning in Atatürk's Turkey], Arredamento Mimarlık, 98/10, S: 100+7; Tekeli, İ., (1999), "Bir Modernleşme Projesi Olarak Türkiye'de Kent Planlaması," [Urban Planning in Turkey as a Modernization Project] Bozdoğan, S., Kasaba, R., (eds.), *Türkiye'de Modernlesme ve Ulusal Kimlik*, [Modernization ana National Identity in Turkey] Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, İstanbul.

50 Çağlar Keyder, 1999, 10.

51 Ibid., Gül, M., Lamb, R., (2004b), 65.

would be the open spaces for public. The ideas of wide boulevards, open public spaces and promenades were in accordance with the secularization ideas of the new Republic.[52]

Prost's proposal for infrastructure was concerned three main issues. The first one was expanding Galata harbor, the second was removal of Sarayburnu harbor (which, in Prost's words "demolishe[d] one of the world's most beautiful views") and finally, the third was setting up a cargo harbor in Yenikapı.[53] The transportation system he proposed was largely depended on motorized traffic."[54]

In his proposal, Prost allocated the shores of the Golden Horn to "development of national commerce and local industry. Areas extending from the Atatürk Bridge towards the source of the golden Horn will be allocated for large scale industry."[55] He also proposed the renewal of the northern shore of the Golden Horn, which entailed the destruction of many buildings in these old neighborhoods.[56] He proposed to designate the western part of Golden Horn as industrial zone, which resulted in the environmental pollution in Haliç in the following decades.[57]

One phrase that Prost was using persistently was the "beautification of the city", although the meaning of this beautification was never fully described. According to Tekeli, this beautification had four main components:

> The first involved the conservation of the area along the Bosphorus. The second one was the preservation of the city's natural endowments, again with the Bosphorus as the leading concern, the third was the development of a suitable circulatory system along with other infrastructure elements and new construction. This, it was thought, should be done in keeping with the architectural styles and approaches of the period. The fourth point involved the conservation and restoration of historical sites.[58]

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52 Ibid., 65.

53 Tekeli, İ., *The Development of the Istanbul Metropolitan Area*, 78.

54 Ibid., 82.

55 Ibid.,79.

56 Ibid., 80.

57 Gül, M., Lamb, M., (2004b).

58 Tekeli, 88.

In the Historical Peninsula, many squares were cleared, and enlarged, such as Eminönü Square, Sirkeci Square, Beyazıt Square and Unkapanı Square. Also, the park in Sultanahmet Square was recovered. The most important of the implementations was the completion of Atatürk Boulevard between Yenikapı and Unkapanı. Another road was laid out between Yedikule and Eyüp, running out of the historical walls, but parallel to them. This was also considered as a tourist route. Aksaray-Topkapı road and İstanbul-London highway were completed. Atatürk Bridge, which connects the two sides of the Golden Horn, was opened in 1939. On the other hand, as Tekeli has mentioned, some of the important parts of the plan could not be implemented, like Archeological Park and the Hippodrome in Sultanahmet district. "The City Park Number I," which would comprise "the Olympic installations, Yenikapı Harbor, international exhibition, the shore road and the underground railway system were other proposals which could not be realized."[59]

In Beyoglu (Pera) district, Atatürk Bridge was connected with British Embassy in Taksim. A road between Kasımpaşa and Şişli was constructed, while another connected Şişli to Kağıthane. The Ayazpaşa-Gümüşsuyu road linked Taksim to the Bosphorus shore line road. Some other roads and public and children's parks were also constructed in Beşiktaş district. In addition to roads and arteries, Taksim square was enlarged and "a square shaped ceremonial area was created in the axis where the construction of an opera house was begun." The construction of İnönü Promenade was inaugurated in the former place of Military barracks in Taksim, which were demolished. The construction of city park number II, which were consisted of the most significant public buildings, open spaces and recreational facilities in the area, such as "a sports and exhibition hall, open-air theater, a fair ground and Dolmabahçe İnönü Stadium" was also completed.[60]

1950s - Menderes' Urban Operations

59 Ibid., 88-89.

60 Ibid., 89-90.

An important stage in Istanbul's urban history that "defined one of the most significant breaking points of its urbanization process" took place in the second half of the 1950s.[61] The urban development operations spearheaded by the Prime Minister Adnan Menderes lasted than three years and came to an end with a military *coup d'etat* in Turkey that abolished the Democrat Party government on 27 May 1960.[62] The operations were, in Uğur Tanyeli's words, "the largest urban modernization project in Turkish History."[63]

"Two objectives," writes Tekeli, "seem to have underlined this reconstruction program. One was to solve traffic congestion and the other was to adorn the city. Both objectives were in conformity with the approach of the Prost Plan."[64] To be a part of the modernized world, wide avenues and public road connections that served for the transportation of goods and an automobile based economy was necessary. Seeming conscious that the historical city, which was previously the symbol of power and wealth of the Ottoman Empire, now became a main obstacle for its progress and development, the prime minister's commented in a 1956 press conference that:

> It is important to welcome those who come from Europe via the highway from Trakya or from Yeşilköy Airport and lead them to the city by a first class road and prevent both friend and foe from entering the city through an area which resembles a backward medieval town.[65]

The rebuilding program, consisted of opening wide avenues, creating new squares and refurbishing the existing roads, included the historical city and caused the expropriation and demolition of a number of historical buildings.[66] Concurrent with the demolitions, the government began restoring the huge monuments of the past, while depriving them of their historical context. It was the "museumification" of the old city, which in fact gave birth to a new urban form, rather than retaining its historical continuity.[67]

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61 Tanyeli, U., (2002) "İstanbul İmarı 1957-1960" [Istanbul's Development 1957-1960], *Arredamento-Mimarlık*, 10, 93-94.

62 Ibid., 93-94.

63 Ibid.

64 İlhan Tekeli, 1994, 118.

65 Ibid., 117-118.

66 Tekeli, İ., *The Development of the Istanbul Metropolitan Area*, 101-102 and 121-124.

67 Mehmet Altun, "Karaköy Mescidi'nin Meçhul Akibeti" [The Unknown End of Karaköy Mosque], (Internet,WWW), address: http://www.tarihvakfi.org.tr/haberler/haberayrinti.asp

By the second half of 1960, many changes had already taken place. In historical peninsula, Vatan and Millet Avenues – which were approximately 60 meters wide – were opened. Ordu Street and Fevzi Paşa Streets were widened and refurbished. Karaköy, Emninönü, Beyazıt, Aksaray, Tophane and Edirnekapı Squares were widened and reorganized.[68] It is needless to say that these operations resulted with an irretrievable devastation of the urban pattern of the historical peninsula, where more then 7000 houses were torn down. Danielson and Keleş write that Menderes was often photographed among heavy construction equipment, directing the operations, and attacking "the narrow, hilly streets of Istanbul to give the city a look of Haussmann's Paris."[69]

Being the center of industry and commerce on the national scale Istanbul's rapid growth was not unanticipated, but there had never been a comprehensive urban development plan to cope with the city's expansion. As the industrial core of the city, Golden Horn was more heavily "invaded" during 1950s and onward by the squatter settlements. Industry, pollution that came with it and the squatter settlements remained major characteristics of the Golden Horn until 1980s.[70]

1980s - The "Clearance" of the Golden Horn

Later, during 1980s the city's mayor Bedrettin Dalan commenced a "cleaning" operation of the Golden Horn, which resulted with the de-industrialization of the area, and which, to some extent, was successful in its initial aims. The effects of pollution were lessened and most of the factories were moved to the outskirts of the city. The remaining buildings were either demolished or remained empty for years. The price paid for this partial success was the loss of the most important monuments of Istanbul's industrial heritage. Besides, the recreation areas which were built replacing these industrial complexes still remain as

68 Tanyeli, (2002), p. 96

69 Michael N. Danielson, Ruşen Keleş, 1985, 57.

70 Korkmaz, 110.

vacant spaces. Korkmaz argues that Dalan's interventions were one-dimensional and this operation did not have an urban vision behind it.[71]

Recent Transformation Projects in the Golden Horn

Today the functional and spatial transformation of Halic is explicitly visible. In most places abandonment of these areas led to an urban decline. Some of the remaining examples of Istanbul's early industrialization have been in the process of turning into art, culture and exhibition centers, museums and university campuses. These projects, which we will be examining more closely in the following section, have been produced either by the city's municipal government or private enterprise.[72] Although most of them have been constructed almost simultaneously, each project involves different design processes and actors, and has different impact on the urban environment, architectural image, and the socio-economic structure of the Golden Horn.

Silahtarağa Electric Power Plant (Central Istanbul)

Silahtarağa electric power plant was founded in 1913, on the western end of Golden Horn. It was established in 1913 by Hungarian "Ganz Company," and it began to produce electric energy in 1914. The complex was delivered to Türkiye Elektrik Kurumu (Turkish Electricity Institution) in 1970.[73] In 1983, it ceased functioning, and in 1991 it was declared as a cultural heritage complex by the Ministry of Culture.[74]

The complex became larger through many interventions during its history. Although these interventions infringed the original layout of the complex, it is still possible to observe the

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71 Ibid., 110.

72 Koksal, G. (1996) "Historical and Technological Development Process of the Golden Horn Arsenal and Some Suggestions for Its Conservation," PhD. Diss, Istanbul: İstanbul Technical University.

73 Kara, F.H.E., (1993-1994). "Silahtarağa Elektrik Santrali", *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, ["Silahtarağa Electric Power Plant", Encyclopedia of Istanbul From Yesterday to Today] vol:6, pp.554-555, Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı, İstanbul, quoted in Soğancı, N.M., (2001) "Architecture as Palimpsest: Re-Functioning of Industrial Buildings Within the Scope of Industrial Archaeology," Unpublished Master Thesis, Middle East Technical University, Ankara.

74 Soğancı, N., M., (2001).

characteristics of an early 20th century industrial compound within the factory area. The buildings which have survived until today and their organization give the essence of the rational and functional organization of industrial production. The boiler rooms and the engine rooms are designed as huge shells, not only for human scale and circulation but for mere production: transformation of coal to electricity. The residential units of the staff are determined with a hierarchical order, which is again a typical feature of an industrial compound of the period. The administration and the social service buildings (which have prestigious and symbolic values) are built with an "eclectic style," inspiring local architecture in contrast with the industrial anonymity of the modern production units.[75]

The Project, "Central Istanbul" includes the transformation of Silahtaraga Electric Power Plant into the central campus of Bilgi University. As Dragan Claic has indicated in his report, "a new campus is in the making there which will fuse education, research, cultural heritage presentation, urban regeneration and residential functions." According to the same document, the project is consisted of an energy museum and contemporary arts museum, a library, laboratories, classrooms, offices and sport facilities, as well as open spaces for recreational facilities and cultural events."[76]

Sutluce Slaughterhouse (Sütlüce Cultural Center)

Sütlüce Slaughterhouse was built at the beginning of the 1920's, by three architects, Ahmed Burhaneddin, Osman Fıtri, and Marko Logos.[77] The complex was founded to produce meat in more hygienic conditions and it included biologic water refining system, a cold store and laboratories. It continued its original function for almost 70 years, and then served as a cold storage area for a while.[78] Due to pollution it caused in waters of the

75 This information is available on the website of Bilgi University Graduate Program 2005-2006 fall semester architectural design studio, "ARCH 504 Studio Topic and Definition of the Problem:" 19.12.2006, <http://mimarlik.bilgi.edu.tr/pages/lessons.asp?id=23>
76 Claic also wrote that "the campus should accommodate some seventy (foreign) artists and scholars in residence and offer a whole street of craftsmen and artists studios. Around eight hundred students would be on campus every day. Klaic, D. (2005) "Istanbul's Cultural Constellation and its European Prospects": 19.12.2006., <http://www.esiweb.org/pdf/turkeynetherlands/istanbulreport.pdf>
77 This information is available on Istanbul Municipality's official web site, "Cultural Investment for Istanbul European Cultural Capital": 02.10.2006,<http://www.ibb.gov.tr/IBB/DocLib/pdf/bilgihizmetleri/yayinlar/faaliyetler/2003/kultur.pdf>
78 Gümüş, K. (2006) Sütlüce Unutuldu mu?

Golden Horn, its slaughterhouse function was transformed to another place (Tuzla), and the building was demolished during the rehabilitation operations of Haliç in 1980s.[79]

Sütlüce Slaughterhouse was not only an industrial complex, which introduced a modern technology and hygienic meat production system to Istanbul, but it was also significant in architectural terms. It was built in the "First National Style," the popular style of its period in Turkey. Sütlüce Slaughterhouse was one of the most important industrial buildings in Halic, which symbolized the transformation of Istanbul into a modern city.[80]

In 1998, a copy of the original building was built, with some additional parts as a cultural center. The municipality's aim was to build the world's largest cultural center which included rooms for theater, congress, concert and other facilities.[81] This "re-construction" has been densely criticized, as it did not preserve the original building but replaced it with a replica.[82] The site is still under construction.

Feshane Fez Factory (Feshane Cultural Center)

Feshane Fez Factory was built in 1835 in Eyupsultan district, on the southern banks of Golden Horn in order to meet the *fez* and woolen cloth needs of the Ottoman army. The architect was Ohannes Kuyumjian.[83] After it was completely destroyed by a fire except for

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79 This information is available on Istanbul Municipality's official web site, "Cultural Investment for Istanbul European Cultural Capital": 02.10.2006 ,http://www.ibb.gov.tr/IBB/DocLib/pdf/bilgihizmetleri/yayinlar/faaliyetler/2003/kultur.pdf

80 Gümüş, K. (2006) "Has Sütlüce Been Forgotten?"

81 The program of the proposed cultural center and its advertisement based on creating a sort of national pride can be followed in many publications on daily media such as: "Haliç'in Dünü, Bugünü ve Yarını" [Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow of Haliç] CNNTURK.COM, 14.01.2005: 03.10.2006, <http://www.cnnturk.com/OZEL_DOSYALAR/haber_detay.asp?PID=162&HID=1&haberID=64805> ; Mebahadan Kültür Merkezine [From Slaughterhouse to Cultural Center: 03.10.2006, <http://www.istanbul.edu.tr/iletim/80/haberler/yasam5.htm>

82 Soğancı, N.M. (2001) cited from Milliyet Newspaper's official website, 06.05.2000, a broader discussion on the demolition of Slaughterhouse. This discussion is based on interviews with people who defend different ideas about the restoration procedure: one group criticizes the demolition of the original building and defends that it should have been protected as much as possible, whereas one architect claims that the building was in a very bad condition and it was creating a danger for its environment. 12.12.2006 <http://www.milliyet.com.tr/2000/05/06/sanat/san01.html>

83 Tuğlacı, P. (1993) *The Role of the Dadian Family in Ottoman Social, Economic and Political Life*, Pars Yayınevi, İstanbul, 189.

its engine room in 1865 the whole complex was reconstructed in the same place in 1868.[84] As Soğancı cites from Wiener Müller, "between 1883 and 1885…the large hall was built on the Valide Sultan Palace adjacent to the northern part of Feshane complex. This hall is the only part still standing today."[85] With the extensions and renovations in 1894 and 1916, it became the largest factory of Ottoman Empire in textile production.[86]
In 1939 Sumerbank took over the "Feshane Mensucat A.Ş. (Fez Factory Textile Inc.)" and turned its name into "Sumerbank Financial Department Factory." In 1986, the complex was abandoned due to Halic environmental cleaning project, and the factory buildings, except for the huge weaving hall, were demolished. In 1992, the building was renovated and turned into a crafts museum, but as the water of Halic raised and reached to the walls of the building, it was out of use again, until 1998.

At that time, Istanbul municipality made another project to renovate it and now the building is serving as an international fair, congress and culture center. In addition to its fair and congress activities, Feshane Cultural Center also houses a crafts bazaar, which aims to introduce the traditional arts and crafts to the younger generations.[87] On the significance of Feshane in Istanbul's industrial history, Soğancı writes that:

> "Feshane has a significant place in the socio-economic and industrial development of a country since the building symbolizes technological modernization of the Ottoman industry as well as the new reforms in military wear of the Empire. It stands as the rare representative of all factories, in which the first steam powered machines, were used. In this way, it gains a status in the national and political history as well. What is important for the social and economic history is that it produced for the public needs though it was intended to produce only for the army initially. Feshane, as a result, has significance in different histories."[88]

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84 Tuğlacı, P. (1993), 191.

85 Müller-Wiener, W., (199) "15-19 yy. Arasında İstanbul' da İmalathane ve Fabrikalar", *Osmanlılar ve Batı Teknolojisi: Yeni Araştırmalar Yeni Görüşler*, ["Shops and Factories Between 15th and 19th Centuries in Istanbul", Ottomans and Western Technology, New Researches, New Views] ed E. İhsanoğlu, pp.53-120, İÜ Edebiyat Fakültesi Yayınları, İstanbul. (Published originally in "Manufakturen und Fabriken in İstanbul vom 15-19. Jahrhundert", Mitteilungen der Frünkischen Geographischen Gesellschaft, 33-34, 1986-1987, pp.257-320.), Cited by Soğancı, N.M. (2001).

86 Tuğlacı, P., (1993), 193.

87 This information is available on Eyüp Belediye web site: 12.10.2006, <http://www.eyup.bel.tr/g-rehber/hizmet.asp?caid=329&cid=756>

88 Soğancı, N.M. (2001).

Cibali Tobacco Factory (Kadir Has University)

The Cibali Tobacco Factory is located between Unkapanı and Cibali, on the southern banks of Golden Horn. In 1884, the Reji İdaresi (Tekel Administration) was granted the rights of collecting and processing tobacco for 30 years.[89] The tobacco factory was founded in the same year and later in 1900, it started to produce cigarettes.[90] After the establishment of the Turkish Republic, it sustained its function as part of TEKEL (Turkish Monopoly). After 70 years of production, and its renewal in 1984, it was finally abandoned in 1990 and lost its function.[91]

In 1997, Kadir Has Foundation took over the building for 29 years. Currently the building serves as the main campus of Kadir Has University.[92] In Soganci's words, "the significance of the Cibali factory also comes from the employment of women workers here who began to contribute industrial production activity of the country. These buildings stand as a symbol of the area by integrating different collective memories and now ready to produce new activities to add new memories to its existence."

Lengerhane and Hasköy Dockyards (Rahmi Koç Industrial Museum)

Located on Hasköy Avenue, on the northern banks of Haliç, Lengerhane was built to produce anchor and chain for the Ottoman Navy. The construction took place during the Reign of Sultan Ahmet III (1703-1730) and the building was restored during the Reign of

89 Cited by Soğancı, N.M. (2001) from: 1993-1994, "Cibali Tütün Fabrikası", *Dünden Bugüne İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, [Cibali Tobacco Factory, Encyclopedia of Istanbul From Yesterday to Today] vol: 2, p. 429, Türkiye Ekonomik ve Toplumsal Tarih Vakfı, İstanbul.
90 Soğancı, N.M. (2001).
91 This information is available on official web site of Arkitera 27.10.2004: 07.10.2006, <http://www.arkitera.com/v1/haberler/2004/10/27/kadirhas.htm>; cited by Soğancı N.M. (2001) from: Doğruel F. and S., 2000. Osmanlı' dan Günümüze Tekel, [Tekel From the Times of Ottoman to Present Day] pp.278-279, Tekel, İstanbul.
92 This information is available on official web site of Arkitera 27.10.2004: 07.10.2006, http://www.arkitera.com/v1/haberler/2004/10/27/kadirhas.htm.

Sultan Selim (1789-1807). [93] Kucukerman writes that “Lengerhane, made of stone, was a small-scale model of Galata Tophane building.”[94]

The complex was used as a warehouse by Ministry of Finance until 1951, and it was delivered to Turkish Monopoly’s Cibali Tobacco Factory afterwards. The building was demolished by a fire in 1984, and then became stagnant. In 1991, Rahmi Koç Culture and Museums Foundation purchased the building and after a restoration period of two and a half years, The Koç Industry Museum was opened on December 13th, 1994.[95]

Hasköy Dockyard was founded in 1861 on the northern banks of Haliç. It was used for repairing and regular maintenance of the ships of the Şirket-i Hayriye (Ottoman Maritime Company). The Dockyard was renovated and also extended in 1884 and in 1910, respectively.[96] After the Ministry of Transportation purchased Şirket-i Hayriye, the Hasköy Dockyard was transferred to Devlet Denizyolları ve Limanları Umum Müdürlüğü (General Administration of State Maritime Lines and Ports) in 1945, and to Denizcilik Bankası (Maritime Bank) after 1952. It functioned as an engineering unit and part of Haliç Dockyard, and finally in 1984 it was transferred to Türkiye Gemi Sanayi (Turkish Shipping Industry).[97] In 1996, purchased from the Turkish Shipping Industry, it was transformed into a museum by Rahmi Koç Culture and Museum Foundation. The museum opened its doors to visitors in 2001. Apart from exhibitions, the museum complex houses different recreational facilities like shops, a café, restaurant, pub, tearoom and educational facilities for children.[98]

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93 This information is available on Rahmi Koç Industrial Museum Official Web site: 20.12.2006, <http://www.rmk-museum.org.tr/english/about/history.html#>

94 Küçükerman, Ö., Kıraç, B., (2004) *Geçmişten Günümüze Beyoğlu II* [Beyoğlu From Past to Present II], Türkiye Anıt Çevre Turizm Değerlerini Koruma Vakfı Yayını, this information is also available on Prof. Küçükerman’s official web site: 20.12.2006 <http://www.kucukerman.com/onder/tr/book_detail.asp?id=48>

95 This information is available on website of Pusula Journal, February 2002: 20.12.2006, <http://www.dho.edu.tr/pusula/eski/SUBAT2002/rahmi1.html>

96This information is available on Rahmi Koç Industrial Museum official website: 20.12.2006, <http://www.rmk-museum.org.tr/english/about/history.html>

97 http://www.dho.edu.tr/pusula/eski/SUBAT2002/rahmi1.html

98 http://www.rmk-museum.org.tr/english/about/index.html

Urban Regeneration: Waterfronts as Public Space

Examining different case studies is essential in understanding various practices of transformation in industrial areas and waterfronts, as well as their connection with inner city developments. In order to locate the abovementioned regeneration projects in the Golden Horn within a global context, in this section we will explore main tenets of urban regeneration in Europe and North America.

A brief definition of urban regeneration can be given as a "comprehensive and integrated vision and action which leads to the resolution of urban problems and which seeks to bring about a lasting improvement in the economic, physical, social and environmental condition of an area that has been subject to change."[99] According to Roberts and Sykes, main objectives of a regeneration project should derive from a better understanding of the physical, social, economic and environmental conditions of an urban area. After defining the problems, it can be possible to generate a wide-ranging and integrated urban regeneration strategy, as well as effective "operational objectives" to solve the problems specific to a city or neighborhood. To make the best use of existing natural, economic, human and other resources, sustainable development strategies and co-operation between different agencies in the regeneration process are indispensable.[100]

Even though these principles underline overall priorities, the "uniqueness of the place" should be considered also, and each scheme of urban regeneration should be implemented through the requirements and particularities of a place which is subject to change.[101] This implies that "an individual scheme of urban regeneration should both reflect the wider circumstances and requirements of the city or region in which it is located and seek to reduce social exclusion and enhance the economic reintegration of disadvantaged urban areas."[102]

99 Roberts P., Sykes H. (ed) 2000; Urban Regeneration a Handbook, London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi: Sage Publications, 17.
100 Ibid., 18-19.
101 Roberts and Sykes, 2000, 19 cited Hausner, 1993.
102 Ibid., cited McGregor and McConnachie, 1995.

Neil McInroy argues that public spaces are useful components of urban regeneration and they can improve an area's attractiveness to potential investors. Waterfronts, as highly visible places, usually provide large open spaces for regeneration.[103] As a result, they often become places of profit and prestige, and are subject to a struggle between different power groups in the city. The Golden Horn is a similar case, which combines different urban characteristics and building types around a natural estuary.

The waterfront has always been a popular site for developers. In the United States, waterfront regeneration projects have been usually based on residential, recreational and tourism related transformations. Added to that were the sports and cultural facilities as well as commercial uses.[104] This largely "commercial/leisure" led waterfront regeneration has been criticized from a number of reasons, such as causing "difficulties associated with private sector interests competing with public access needs and other public interests," and "the removal of traditional working and living waterfront practices." Many of these projects privileged the private sector and served for the interest of tourists, upper-class residents or investors, whereas "community groups gained little or nothing from the regeneration process." In most of the cases, the positive effects that such waterfront rehabilitation projects were supposed to bring to bear on neighborhoods and downtown areas remained limited.[105]

McInroy also mentions critical approaches to top-down initiatives, as they have the lack of community involvement, increase social polarization and produce inequalities, and he argues that the recent agencies of "culture-led regeneration" projects emphasize the involvement of local people and communities in regeneration initiatives.[106]

103 Marshall, R. (2001) *Waterfronts in Post-Industrial Cities*, London, New York: Spon Press.

104 Jones, Andrew, "Issues in Waterfront Regeneration: More Sobering Thoughts – A UK Perspective," *Planning Practice & Research*, Vol. 13, No. 4, 1998. 433, 434.

105 Ibid., 433, 438.

106 McInroy, N., (2000), "Urban Regeneration and Public Space: The Story of an Urban Park", *Space and Polity*, 4(1), 24.

Western European examples of regeneration in 1990s were built on more public-oriented approaches.[107] However, as Giorgio Piccinato explored in "Town Planning Versus Urbanismo," there are two distinct approaches to planning in Europe that shaped major regeneration projects in the Continent. The first one is Anglo-Saxon town planning, which is based on "rational method and theory of planning as intervention" and the second is Latin Urbanism, which is based on "architecture, urban morphology and Project-base action." Gordon Cherry and Oriol Bohigas appear as the two representatives of these two different poles.[108] While Cherry characterized town planning as "a branch of applied social science, rooted in a living tradition of social reform," which privileged decision making to town planning,[109] Bohigas underlined the significance of "encounters" in the city, which, according to Lefebvre, is the form of "social space," along with assembly and simultaneity.[110]

Learning from Barcelona: "Replacing urbanism with architecture"[111]

Waterfront regeneration was an important part of Barcelona's regeneration.[112] One of the most central issues for Bohigas in planning the city and its waterfronts was to "emphasize small-scale" and create public open spaces using "innovative regeneration schemes."[113] Rather than seeing urban regeneration merely in terms of efficient policy-making or successful land allocating, the planners have particularly underlined the role that architecture can play in creating locally sensitive, small-scale regeneration projects, which are conceived as part of a coherent whole. In their understanding, architectural and urban elements for the transformation of a city could not be created by "normative and quantitative general plans." Bohigas wrote that:

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107 Jones, Andrew, "Issues in Waterfront Regeneration," 440.

108 Hebbert, M. (2006) "Town Planning Versus Urbanismo", *Planning Perspectives*, 21 (July 2006), 233.

109 Ibid., 234, 237.

110 Henri Lefebvre, "Social Space", *The Production of Space*, trans. By, Donald Nicholson Smith, Blackwell Publishers, 2000.

111 Bohigas, Ohiol, "Ten Points for an Urban Methodology."

112 Erkal, Namık, "İspanya Kentlerinde Güncel Kentsel Dönüşüm Projeleri ve Barselona Örneği," Dosya: Kentsel Dönüşüm Tartışmaları-1, *TMMOB Mimarlar Odası Ankara Şubesi Bülten*, 40, Mayıs-Haziran 2006, 67-68.

113 "Ten Points for an Urban Methodology,."

> The identity of a public space is tied up with the physical and social identity of its wider setting. However, this identification is bound by limits of scale that are normally smaller than those of the city as a whole. This being so…it is necessary to understand the city not as a global, unitary system but as a number of relatively autonomous small systems. In the case of the reconstruction of the existing city, these autonomous systems may coincide with the traditional neighbourhood make-up.[114]

Bohigas and other key figures in the planning of Barcelona believed that "in physical terms the city [was] the conjunction of its public spaces." Regeneration of Barcelona, which brought the city the Gold Medal of the Royal Institute of British Architects in 1999, included the whole city, but was applied as set of localized projects. In fact, the planners' real emphasis was on "the city as the sum of its neighborhoods." Working through series of urban projects was a strategy developed against dominant European planning practices, which caused "lack of physical and social continuity" and eventually ghettoization of European cities. For Bohigas:

> The general plan may serve very well as a scheme of intentions but it will not be effective until it is the sum of these projects, plus the study of the large-scale general systems of the wider territory, plus the political definition of objectives and methods.[115]

According to Hebbert, by mobilizing Aldo Rossi's concept of "architecture of the city," Bohigas favored "a physical urbanism –fisicalismo- bringing the techniques of Italian and French morphology to repair the public realm, revive the block, reclaim streets and boulevards, and restore the dignity of urban greenspace."[116]

Therefore, continuity of pedestrian movement throughout Barcelona was of central concern. To prevent gentrification, projects were discussed with the local people, who were supported monetarily for the preservation and renovation of buildings of historical value.[117] Barcelona has also exemplified how the private sector became "a development partner in neighborhood revitalization" in such publicly oriented scheme.[118]

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114 Ibid.

115 Ibid.

116 Hebbert, M. "Town Planning Versus Urbanismo", 241.

117 Erkal, Namik, 67-68.

118 Hebbert, 242.

Conclusion: Prospects, Shortfalls and Lessons Learned

Is there a possibility in the Golden Horn to link both the proposed, ongoing and completed projects, while retaining their distinct characters? Is it possible to "design the public space - that is, the city - point by point, area by area, in architectural terms," make them accessible to each other's audiences, and connect each project to the "working waterfront"[119] and to ongoing rehabilitation and restoration projects in both physical and economic terms? Even Bohigas' scheme and overall process in Barcelona has received criticism for creating segregation. Because of decentralization, new economic spaces had to be searched to replace manufacturing industry and foster the local economy. The most prominent two were entertainment and information. Balibrea writes that:

> By working ideologically as a rhetorical instrument for generating consensus and consent on the part of the population, the process of monumentalizing the outskirts and of improving public spaces around the city has, paradoxically, facilitated the transition to a situation of progressive gentrification, privatization, and more restricted access to public spaces.[120]

Regeneration projects throughout the world have had their pitfalls. According to McInroy the concepts such as "partnership," "community," "co-operation" and "the people" encircling the discourses of public space can actually disguise the real concerns of power. The main line of reasoning lay behind many projects has been to promote "the city for capital investment and impressing artistic elites."[121] McInroy quotes Atkinson that "the meaning assigned to these terms is the result of the exercise of power which structures the discursive context within which urban regeneration partnerships operate."[122]

David Harvey makes a similar criticism for the renewal of the harbor and downtown of Baltimore, a process which he calls "feeding the downtown monster."[123] Likewise, Harvey's example of Baltimore, a city which he describes as a mess, is worth analyzing.

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119 Jones, Andrew, "Issues in Waterfront Regeneration," 438.

120 Balibrea, M. P. (2001) "Urbanism, Culture And The Post Industrial City: Challenging The Barcelona Model", *Journal of Spanish Cultural Studies*, 2(2), 195.

121 McInroy, "Urban Regeneration and Public Space,' 25.

122 Ibid.

123 Harvey, (2000), *Spaces of Hope*, Berkeley, Los Angeles, University of California Press 141.

He gives the growing inequalities, worsening economic and social conditions of neighborhoods, the growing number of abandoned buildings, chronic poverty and signs of social distress as the reasons of this failure.[124] Later he tells the story of the attempts to rescue the downtown area "by pursuit of consumerism and tourism" and gives details from renewal project of downtown and Inner Harbor of Baltimore.[125] He mentions the necessity of public private partnership to invest "in order to attract financial services, tourism and so-called hospitality functions to center city." For example the building of the hotel (Hyatt) was followed by the building of a "convention center to fill the hotel" and "a further public investment of $150 million was needed to create an even larger convention center to get the big conventions."[126]

Harvey has a critical approach to the private-public partnerships, as they turn out to be profitable for private sector only. The overall effect of this process is "division and fragmentation of the metropolitan space, a loss of sociality across diversity, and a localized defensive posture towards the rest of the city", which turns the urban realm into a "patchwork quilt of islands of relative affluence struggling to secure themselves in a sea of spreading squalor and decay."[127] This brings us to the point where "those who have the money power are free to choose among name-brand commodities, but the citizenry as a whole is denied any collective choice of political system, of ways of social relating, or of modes of production, consumption, and exchange."[128]

We argue that the key to regeneration process is to give a public character to the overall scheme, even though the success, inclusiveness and architectural quality of the individual projects are also important. As we have discussed in this paper, the new ordering of the economic space, spatial fragmentation and segregation fostered by global urban developments may have disabled main foundations of an Habermasian ideal of public

124 Ibid., 133-136.

125 Ibid., 144.

126 Ibid., 138, 141.

127 Ibid., 152.

128 Ibid., 154.

sphere, whose pros and cons has been much debated elsewhere,[129] but at the same time it paves the way for finding new tactics and developing counter-projects to regenerate publicness in the Golden Horn. We have especially emphasized on the Spanish example, as it made use of architectural tactics, and enabled regeneration in the smallest scales to reclaim the public space. By surveying the ongoing urban regeneration projects within their particular historical circumstances, as symbols of industrial modernization and in relation to other examples in the world, this paper aimed at exploring the conditions of pursuing a similar agenda in the Golden Horn.

129 Hohendahl, Peter Uwe, Marc Silberman, "Critical Theory, Public Sphere and Culture. Jürgen Habermas and his Critics." *New German Critique*, No. 16. (Winter, 1979): 89-118; Brooke, John L., "Reason and Passion in the Public Sphere: Habermas and the Cultural Historians," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, XXIX: I (Summer, 1998): 43-67.

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SPACES AND SPHERES OF THE CITY

19. – 20. January 2007

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Names and emails

NAME	ABSTRACT/TITEL	UNIVERSITY	EMAIL
AKSOY, ASU	Keynote: Experiencing, Istanbul	Bilgi University	asu.aksoy@gmail.com
ARAL, Ela Alanyali	Peripheral Public Spaces – Types in Progress	Çankaya Universitesi, Ankara	ela.aral@mask.com.tr
AYTES, Ayhan	ID Cover	UC San Diego, Communication	aaytes@ucsd.edu
BAS BUTUNER, Funda	Old City Walls as Public Spaces	Baskent University, Faculty of Fine Arts, Design and Architecture	basfunda@yahoo.com
BILGIN, Ihsan	Introduction key note	Bilgi University	ibilgin@bilgi.edu.tr
BOSCH, Susanne	*Human Traffic* in/from Istanbul	University of Ulster - School of Art and Design	susbosch@web.de
ÇIçEKOGLU, Feride	Sabiha in “Public Istanbul”	Bilgi University Program in Film-TV	feridec@bilgi.edu.tr
DIREN, Murat	Public Panel: Urban Planning in Contemporary Istanbul	Istanbul Metropolitan Planning and Urban Design (IMP)	muratdiren34@yahoo.com
DOYDUK, Senem	Evaluation of Urban Archeological Data in Public Spaces Located in Istanbul Historic Peninsula	Yıldız Technical University, Dept. of Architecture	senemdoyduk@hotmail.com
ECKARDT, Frank	Coordinator, Chair	Bauhaus-Universität	frank.eckardt@archit.uni-weimar.de
ERDÖNMEZ, Ebru / ÖKEM, Selim	Public Transfromation of Bosphorus. Facts and Opportunities.	Yildiz Technical University, Dept. of Architecture,	ebruerdonmez@yahoo.com
ESEN, Orhan	Final Comments	Urbanist, Istanbul	orhanes@superonline.com
GRABOLLE-ÇELIKER, Anna	The Public and the Private: Discourses and Identifications among Vanli Women in Istanbul	Universität Tübingen; Institute of Anthropology	agrabolle@yahoo.co.uk

GÜLCEMAL, Eylem	Intervention to Public Space and Displacement of “the Others”	Middle East Technical University, Ankara,	eylemgulcemal@yahoo.de
GÜVENC, Murat	Keynote Divided Istanbul	Bilgi University	muratg@bilgi.edu.tr
LETSCH, Constanze	Privacy and public space. The islamic headscarf and urban tension	Cultural Studies, Istanbul	constanze_letsch@yahoo.de
LEVENT,Tolga	Threats for Public Spaces: The Istanbul Case.	Middle East Technical University, Faculty of Architecture;	tolgalevent@hotmail.com
NEUMANN, Christoph K.,	The Photographic Memory Or How in Beyoglu Pictures Turn into Public Memory of Space	Istanbul Bilgi University; History	neumann@bilgi.edu.tr
ÖZDIL, Koray	Claiming Space and Founding Community: Emerging Public Spheres of Undocumented African Immigrants in Tarlabase	Maastricht University Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences,	korayozdil@su.sabanciuniv.edu
ÖZKAN, Derya	The masses flooded the beaches, the citizens could not swim. The case of the Caddebostan Beach in Istanbul	University of Rochester Visual and Cultural Studies	ozkn@mail.rochester.edu
RIEDLER, Florian	Public people: seasonal work migrants in nineteenth century Istanbul	Zentrum Moderner Orient; Berlin	florianriedler@gmx.net
RIENIETS, Tim	GÖKTÜRK	ETH Zürich	tim@rieniets.de
TAN, Pelin	Keynote: Representing	Humboldt Univ.Berlin	peltn@yahoo.com
TROSTORFF, Britta	PUBLIC WITH TEA. The Traditional Çayhane (Teahouse) in Modern Istanbul’s Everyday Life	Bauhaus-Universität Weimar,	britta.trostorff@archit.uni-weimar.de
ÜSTUNDAG, Ebru	Governing Citizens in Istanbul	Brock University Assistant Professor - Department of Geography	eustundag@brocku.ca
WELCH GUERRA, Max	Chair	Bauhaus-Universität	max.welch@archit.uni-weimar.de
WILDNER, Kathrin	Coordinator, Chair	Universität Hamburg	kwildner@hfg-karlsruhe.de
YÜCESOY, Eda /UZUN, Nil	Contested public spaces vs. conquered public places Gentrification and its reflections on urban public space in Beyoglu,	Middle East Technical University. Dept. Of City and Regional Planning	edayucesoy@gmail.com duruoz@metu.edu.tr
ZEYBEKOGLU, Senem/ KILINC, Kivanc	Regeneration of Public Istanbul: Changing Meanings and Manifestaions of Public Space in Halic (Golden Horn)	Yilidz Univ History and Theory of Architecture State Univ of NY, Binghamton	senemzeybek@yahoo.com kkilinc1@binghamton.edu