

**READING SULUKULE AS A SOCIAL PRODUCTION OF SPACE:
OWNERSHIP/POSSESSION AND BOUNDARIES OF THE DWELLING**

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OWNERSHIP/POSSESSION AND BOUNDARIES OF THE DWELLING**

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ABSTRACT

READING SULUKULE AS A SOCIAL PRODUCTION OF SPACE: OWNERSHIP/POSSESSION AND BOUNDRIES OF THE DWELLING

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The main subject of this thesis is focused on the notion of taking space as a production and the relations that effect this production. The theoretical background of this study will be based on Henri Lefebvre's 'Production of Space'. In this context, the notion of house which is the spatialization of social life, interrogated within the concepts of possession and ownership. This interrogation is constructed on the Sulukule district which presents unfamiliar social and physical relations. According to this, it is designated that, this settlement has a great value with its own dynamics and the unique spatial formation. Therefore the analyses are carried out the social and spatial value of the district and its place in the urban memory, in the light of the concepts of possession, ownership and appropriation. In this respect, the thesis ends with a call for an evaluation of the district, including its social, economic, cultural production facets.

Keywords: Social space, possession and ownership, Production of space, Sulukule

ÖZ

SOSYAL MEKAN ÜRETİMİ OLARAK SULUKULE: MÜLK EDİNME/ SAHİP OLMA VE EVİN SINIRLARI

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Bu çalışmada ana konu, mekanı sosyal üretimin bir sonucu olarak ele alıp, ona etki eden ilişkiler üzerine odaklanmıştır. Bu çalışmanın teorik olarak açılımı Henri Lefebvre'nin "Mekanın Üretimi" adlı çalışması üzerinden yapılmıştır. Bu bağlamda sosyal yaşamın fiziksel yansıması olan ev, mülk edinme ve sahip olma kavramları üzerinden sorgulanmıştır. Bu sorgulama, alışık olmadığımız fiziksel ve sosyal ilişkiler ağı sunan Sulukule üzerinden yapılmıştır. Buna göre bu yerleşimin kendi içindeki dinamikleri ve oraya özgü mekansal oluşumuyla bir değer olduğu belirtilerek, bölgenin bu sosyal ve mekansal değeri ve ayrıca kent belleğindeki yeri, sahip olma, mülk edinme ve uygunlaştırma kavramları ışığında analiz edilmiştir. Bu doğrultuda tez, yok olmak üzere olan Sulukule alanının bir değer olarak sosyal, ekonomik ve kültürel üretiminin boyutları üzerinden değerlendirilmesi gerekliliğini vurgulayarak bitecektir.

Anahtar kelimeler: Sosyal mekan, Sahip olma ve mülk edinme, Sulukule, mekanın üretimi.

To My Family

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

“The magnet comes before the container”

Lewis Mumford

The importance of the forces that made people to accumulate is marked in Lewis Mumford's phrase. According to Mumford, 'magnet' can be observed as the potentials that orient people towards gathering in a space. In this context, the container is formed according to this accumulation, as a product after the initial activities. For instance in early history, human beings have changed their places depending on their nourishment style, for instance they started to get involved with agriculture. Thus, the places where they had settled down had the properties for conforming their needs and their way of living. These potentials or attractive components can be physical, social or economic. In this context, a settlement can be the product of several relations. These relations which are either social or production relations, in that sense they can be described as the 'magnet'.

1.1. Scope of the Thesis and Definition of the Problem

With the developments in the world, these relations mentioned above are getting more complicated and interconnected with each other. In this context, today the space that we deal with is also product of the present space. In that sense, this space should be analyzed within today's social and production relations. As cities are enlarging with increasing population, the need for new dwellings arises. These dwellings are constructed with minimum costs and some of them are illegal. In Turkey these places are mostly, the slum areas either in the periphery or located at the centre of the city depending on the enlargement. It is not a coincidence that

these places are used as house for immigrants and marginalized groups because of its low rents. In addition to that, illegal activities are possible to occur in these places because of being uncontrolled by the state as they are not legitimized.

Slum areas are usually legitimized in Turkey for reasons of political and short-ended aims. When cities grow some of these slum areas can gain the value for being located at the centre of the city. In this respect, the owners of these places give their dwellings to constructors to have a number of flats in return. As new blocks are being built in such places, these are treated by contractors and also by land owners as investment objects. The problem with the constitution of these blocks is that they only fulfil the function of sheltering. Thus, with the realization of these blocks, the social, cultural and economical aspects of the old district are completely diminished. To open up, these areas are anonymous spaces as they are formed according to their relations by their inhabitants. Yet, in these diminishing districts there exists different variations of social relations, in accordance with Lefebvre's saying "(social) space is a (social) product" (Lefebvre 1991, 26). It must be confirmed that while diminishing of these areas has been occurring, the same kinds of buildings can be seen everywhere in the whole country. Significantly this is the problematic point of the thesis.

In this respect, the starting point of the thesis was the property relations which have constituted the basic relations for creation of such dwellings. Accordingly, the concepts of 'possession' and 'ownership' have become the main issue in order to understand the formation of spaces within property relations. Depending on this, the main difference between possessing and owning a space reveals with the concept of appropriation which signifies the use of space socially. In order to understand appropriation, the social relations and production relations which are interconnected to each other, should be taken as an interrogation. Lefebvre have dealt with it in the 'production of space'. Thus, Lefebvre's book of 'production of space' will be taken as a basic conceptual framework. With reference to this, it is important to realize that, he deals with space as a product in a structuralizing way. In the light of Lefebvre a field is taken and this case are will be analyzed as a product with its

process. In doing so, the difference between ‘owning’ and ‘possessing’ a place will be examined within the case of that district. Accordingly, that space will be taken as a social product which is forming and evolving in time, thus being a living organism in a metaphorical way.

Lefebvre who deals with space as a production points out that “(social) space is a (social) product” (Lefebvre 1991, 26). Dependant on social relations, spatial formation of space occurs. In addition to social relations, production relations can also be described as an effective part of a magnet in the production of space. And this interaction takes place in all communities in history, as Lefebvre puts it as;

“...every society – and hence every mode of production with its subvariants create their own spaces” (Lefebvre 1991, 31).

This thesis is going to be focused on the questions of; how the magnet (which is mentioned above) formed its container and how it effects its environment and what properties it consists of in a certain settlement in Istanbul endangered by new developments that does not acknowledge the value of the settlement.

In doing so, Sulukule district in Istanbul is chosen for the case study for its strong social relations that are hardly visible and known by the citizens of Istanbul. It is recently studied by anthropologists and sociologists who were involved as social activists in the resistance for the urban transformation. Meanwhile this place is under the threat of being demolished by the new urban policies and the plan for urban transformation which is approved (is mentioned as for the transformation of slum areas) at September 2005 with general urban transformation plan for Fatih (Fatih Municipality web site). With this urban transformation plan, the urban pattern of the district which has unique social, physical and economical properties seems not to be taken into consideration. Furthermore, an important recent development was that the people of Sulukule are supposed to be sent to Taşoluk, a

mass housing on the periphery of the city that TOKI ¹ has been constructing. Taşoluk is located at the northeast side of the Sulukule which is 40 km far away.

Sulukule is located inside the city walls on the historic peninsula, where the land is valuable. Furthermore, the residents of that area are the Romani/gypsy people. The ‘Gypsies’ are said to be living in there since Byzantium. It is a lively place with character and it is famous with its ethnic-Gypsy music. However, this place’s economical conditions are worsened with the demolishment of the entertainment houses. They were used to make money from music and dancing or growing vegetables near the ancient city walls. So, their location is of vital importance for their survival (To work in the entertainment halls in the city centre as musicians or dancers or selling their products, they are dependant on the proximity to the centre.).

The people of Sulukule have strong relations with each other, and the district has a unique example of having an identity. The feeling I experienced there by entering the area as a stranger was quite similar to entering someone else’s house. The reason for this is they appropriated their neighbourhood even the streets of their neighbourhood. Thus, when a stranger enters their neighbourhood, the one is under surveillance which makes one to feel uncomfortable. In a way, this feeling can also be constituted due to the communal sense of ‘gypsies are dangerous’. This situation will be analyzed in the next chapters. The image I had of Sulukule (shared by many others) was that, the people here have a talent for music and this place brings entertainment and collective living to mind. The concept of the collective way of living is clarified within the analyses of the neighbourhood that are placed at the fourth chapter. On the other hand, the possible demolishing of the area made the residents very anxious and angry. That is the reason entering the area was a bit scary for me. However, once inside, one can hear the sounds of music coming from the houses, and observe that people mostly live outside, some of them are sitting on the stoops of their houses, others talking to each other from the windows.

¹ TOKI: Housing development administration of Turkey.

The second time that I had entered the area was with Sulukule Platform². It was the time that I discovered another face of Sulukule, since the residents are accounted with the people of the Platform and act accordingly. That was an opportunity for me to talk to the residents and listen to them saying that although they do not have any money, the collective way of living in the neighbourhood helps them to survive. With the meeting which took place in (Roman K lt r n  GeliŐtirme ve DayanıŐma DerneĐi)³ I learned many things about their lives and the problems of the new project.

In my other trips to the district, I was with the members of the platform and I had a chance to observe the house typologies. The courtyards surrounded by 6-8 houses are typical of the neighbourhood and its collective way of life. Their communal life consists of sharing not only the courtyard but also wc, in addition to that they are sharing one electric power meter. It is a fact that these houses with courtyards reveal different use of space. The courtyard is treated as a house which is shared by different families. It is a fact that this life is completely different than the life that is squeezed inside the modern apartments. In contrast, the inhabitants of Sulukule live by interacting with nature, animals and each other. So, this approach is also seen in their houses. The boundaries of their houses are clear as the apartment life. Rather the boundaries are blurred within the stages of houses, courtyards, streets and district. Therefore, this situation references from their way of living. Although the area is about to be demolished, there still exists strong social bounds between people. The children of the people who moved elsewhere still come back to the neighbourhood to play, and the women come back to chat with their old neighbours.

I had the opportunity to be a spectator in several press conferences which Sulukule Platform had arranged. These were very helpful to observe Sulukule with the views of other disciplines and the inhabitants as well. In addition to that, Sulukule Platform had prepared a report to present to UNESCO. I had also been some of the meetings, and was involved in the field works for several days. In the light of these

² Sulukule platform: A protest social organization in order to save Sulukule.

³ Sulukule Romani Culture Development and Cooperation Association.

works, I had an opportunity to observe Sulukule and exchange views on Sulukule. In these meetings the present urban transformation project was criticized and alternatives were discussed, which was also informative in the preparation of the thesis.

1.2. Aim and Promises

The main aim of the thesis is to reveal the value and uniqueness of Sulukule with its social and production relations by interrogating the concepts of ‘possession’ and ‘ownership’. In doing so, the notion of dwelling and its boundaries will also be interrogated too, because Sulukule represents different relations of owning a dwelling. These concepts are taken as critical frameworks because the inhabitants of Sulukule are appropriated their neighbourhood even nearly half of them are not land owners. Furthermore, socially they are strictly connected to each other socially, economically and in cultural way. As they have a collective life, their space as a social product has unique production process.

The focus point is the houses with courtyards which are typical for their potential of the communal life which is unique to them. These houses with courtyards are different in character by the usage of the spaces. The uniqueness of these houses is coming from the embodiment of the social and economical relations to physical formations. The confrontation can be done with the modern apartment flats or to be more precise, the property relations that is certain and legitimized by the state. So, these houses with courtyards represent different relations rather than the certain boundaries of dwellings. These courtyards will be analysed by the conversations of the people in there and researches on their way of using that courtyards.

With the present Urban Transformation Project, the whole typology and the resident profile of the area is about to change. As space is taken as a social product, which means that social relations forms their spaces. Thus the inhabitants of this place can not live with the limiting boundaries of the property like the repetitive TOKI houses. Yet many problems of property relations have occurred in the present urban transformation plan. Therefore, their life style (the boundaries of public space and

private space collide to each other) can not be matched to the existing regulations. It is important to realize that Sulukule is a value for the variety for of Istanbul, and as a district it should be protected. In order to protect and sustain Sulukule, this place should be analysed with its relations and the projects should be done depending on these analyses.

1.3. The Structure of the Thesis

The second chapter focuses on theoretical background of the thesis, which includes the concept of ‘production of space’ in Lefebvre’s terms. Property relations and the terms of ‘possession’ and ‘ownership’ will be discussed in this chapter.

In the third chapter, the methodology of the study and the information about the case study will be given which consists of the culture of gypsies, the history of Sulukule in Ottoman Empire and the recent history of Sulukule.

In the fourth chapter Sulukule will be analyzed in terms of Lefebvre as conceptual framework. Further on, the spatial and social formations in Sulukule will be analysed with stressing the issue of present social segregation which is foreseen to get worse with the demolishing of the neighbourhood. Sulukule will be examined with the layers of social locus, economical conditions and spatial formations (the scale of district and housing units). The notions of ‘possession’ and ‘land ownership’ will be discussed in the part of production relations of Sulukule. Also the current urban transformation plan will be analyzed with its critics.

In the last chapter as a conclusion part, with the light of the interpretations of Lefebvre, it is proposed that Sulukule has a value for the city with its own characteristics of spatial and social formation. Therefore, the difference of the possessing and owning a space will be discussed. In the light of that, the notion of dwelling will be interrogated. According to that, the dwellings that are represented as a product of modern life will be discussed with the situation of Sulukule which is out of the strict boundaries of ownership.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

It is known that space is not only a material production but also a social production affected by many dynamics. The whole theoretical background is constructed on Lefebvre's analysis on producing space. In this context the case of Sulukule is going to be analyzed.

The starting point of the problematic was the homogeneous spaces that can be seen everywhere. Lefebvre approaches this problematic with the term of 'everyday life'. According to him the notion of everyday life associated with the rhythm of life which consists of the recurrences. The content of 'Everyday life' is described as;

“The study of everyday life affords a meeting place for specialized sciences and something more besides; it exposes the possibilities of conflict between the rational and irrational in our society and in our time, thus permitting the formulation of concrete problems of production (in its widest sense): how the social existence of human beings is produced, its transition from want to affluence and from appreciation to depreciation” (Lefebvre 1971, 23).

In other words the concept of 'everyday life' includes the production relations intrinsically. Lefebvre emphasizes that the creative forces of everyday life are the superstructures which are 'state, church, philosophical systems or political organizations (Lefebvre 1971, 15-16). Lefebvre describes that everyday life consist of recurrence, for instance;

“the gesture of labour and leasure, mechanical movements both human and properly mechanic, hours, days, weeks, months, years, linear and cyclical repetitions, natural and rational time, etc.” (Lefebvre 1971, 18).

The notion of recurrence in ‘everyday life’ and the recurrence of newly built residential areas can be related to each other. The same repetitive character of buildings outspread in whole country. Strict boundaries of dwellings are created for strict ways of living in repetitive character. It is important to realize that, although everyday life is intrinsically a holistic approach, in order to understand the ‘production of space’ (especially focusing on production of Sulukule), the terms of Lefebvre should be expounded. In doing so, the terms of Lefebvre and its relations with possession and ownership will be represented.

2.1. Lefebvre’s Production of Space

Space is defined as a ‘living organism’, rather than a form of container (Lefebvre 1991, 94). It constitutes of structure and function. The fields that Lefebvre show concerned with this can be classified into three parts;

“Physical: nature, cosmos, mental: Logical and formal abstractions, social: Logico-epistemological space” (Lefebvre 1991, 11).

Lefebvre analyses the production of space with notions he creates, conceptual and spatial triads. In relevance with these triads he classifies space according to history, as transformations of space. These notions will be discussed with Lefebvre’s implication of ‘(social) space being a (social) product’.

2.1.1. Lefebvrian Approach to Space

As mentioned above, space is classified into three parts which are physical, mental and social space. Lefebvre describes that the mental space and the real space are placed on the contrary sides of an abyss, which are described as mental sphere existing on the one side, and the physical and social spaces existing on the other side, respectively.

2.1.1.1. Physical Space

Physical space is the space that consists of nature. It is described by Lefebvre as ‘origin’ or ‘starting point’. Moreover, the physical space is taken into account like a tabula rasa or background and it is re-formed by the signs. Relph mentions in his book ‘place and placelessness’ a similar concept, naming it pragmatic or primitive space:

“Primitive space is the space of instinctive behaviour and unselfconsciousness action in which we always and move without reflection. This is an organic space that is rooted in things concrete and substantial and which involves no images or concepts of space and spatial relations” (Relph 1976, 8).

Thus, the primitive space consists of the nature and contains no abstract images or symbols. In addition to that, in primitive space, the notions of ‘place’ and ‘space’ is not easily distinguishable (Relph 1976, 9). But inevitably with the abstractions and symbols of human beings primitive space transforms in accordance with the differentiation of the notions of ‘space’ and ‘place’ occurs.

Lefebvre emphasizes that “nature creates and does not produce” (Lefebvre 1991, 70). In contrast to that, human being produces and kills the nature “by abstraction, by signs and images, by discourse, as also by labour and its products” (Lefebvre 1991, 71). At this point, it is important to realize that nature creates the uniqueness, in contrast with human beings. Belonging to this, it serves variety of perceptions.

2.1.1.2. Mental Space

Mental space is placed on the contrary side of the real space by Lefebvre, which is defined as; “logical and formal abstractions” (Lefebvre 1991, 11). In the realm of philosophy, theoretical practice produces mental space. The notion of mental space takes its reference point from knowledge. For Relph the notion of mental space is approximately equivalent to perceptual space. Relph describes this as;

“The most immediate form of awareness is that of ‘perceptual space’ _ the egocentric space perceived and confronted by each individual. This is a space that has content and meaning, for it can not be divorced from experiences and intentions.” (Relph 1976, 10).

By perpetual space, there exists an emotional relation between the human and the real space. It is the space which is reproduced again and again by various people who experience them. These experiences can be fleeting and unexceptional (Relph 1976, 11). Therefore, mental space can be described with images and symbols. Mental space is the space formed in the human beings thoughts. So, it is a fact that this can open up the notion of reduction oppose to real space.

2.1.1.3. Sociological Space

Sociological space is the space that this research is going to focus on. Sociological space is defined by Lefebvre as; “Logico-epistemological space” (Lefebvre 1991, 11). In other words it can be defined as lived space. Social space is close to the notion of existential space which Relph mentions (Relph 1976, 12). For Relph existential space is described as an active space to be experienced and created by these experiences and furthermore recreated by the activities (Relph 1976, 12). According to that social space is the space that consists of social relations. In the production of space this is given as the main argument being put as ‘(social) space is a (social) product’, which will also be one of the vital points for this research.

2.1.2. Conceptual and Spatial Triads

In the production of space, Lefebvre approached the formation of space in the way of ‘representations of the social relations of production and reproduction’ (Lefebvre 1991, 32). He analyzes this in two parts which are conceptual and spatial triads. These are differentiated into three parts that are;

- Spatial practice (perceived)
- Representation of space (conceived)
- Representational spaces (lived)

2.1.2.1. Spatial Practice (Perceived)

Spatial practice subsumes “production and reproduction and the particular locations and spatial sets characteristic of each member of a given society” (Lefebvre 1991, 33). This practice is empiric to and it is based on observations. It is a living space. Its description is;

“The spatial practice of a society secretes that society’s space; it propounds and presupposes it, in a dialectical interaction; it produces it slowly and surely as it masters and appropriates it” (Lefebvre 1991, 38).

Thus, intrinsically spatial practice is the place of appropriation and also domination. Furthermore, it is a space of reality.

2.1.2.2. Representation of Space (Conceived)

Representation of space can be described as abstract space. Knowledge is the starting point of this space. Lefebvre describes it as;

“conceptualized space, the space of scientists, planners, urbanists, technocratic subdividers and social engineers, as a certain type of artist with a scientific bent- all of who identify what is lived and what is perceived with what is conceived” (Lefebvre 1991, 38).

In other words it is a place of plans, architects’ place. So, it is planned space or two dimensioned space. That’s why it embraces ideologies and potentials for repression. As it is a repressive space, it can be described as masculine space. It is “imposed relations between production to knowledge, signs, codes and ‘frontal’ relations” (Lefebvre 1991, 33). For instance monumentality can be taken into account for the representation of space (conceived).

2.1.2.3. Representational Spaces (Lived)

Representational spaces are the spaces that include the whole living in itself. Lefebvre defines it as ‘embodied complex symbolisms, sometimes coded,

sometimes not, linked to the clandestine of underground side of social life' (Lefebvre 1991, 33). With relation to this, it can be said that representational spaces contains complex relations in them and these spaces are formed according to experiences but passively experienced space (Lefebvre 1991, 38-39). Representational spaces belong to history. Lefebvre points out in addition to the study 'history of space' that there is a need to study the 'history of representations' (Lefebvre 1991, 42). Therefore, representational spaces are the spaces that are placed in its residents minds like memories of a place. In other words it formed with experiences.

2.1.3. Transformation of Spaces

Based on conceptual and spatial triad Lefebvre partitioned space according to history, which is transformation of spaces (Grönlund 1998). Transformations of spaces are absolute space, abstract space and differentiated space.

2.1.3.1. Absolute Space

The origins of absolute space are coming from places used by 'peasants, nomadic or semi nomadic pastoralists' (Lefebvre 1991, 234). These spaces have the potentiality of being close to nature and consisting of organic structure.

Absolute space also belongs to space of death with the dominance of the living creatures, like tombs and funerary monuments. Absolute space is introduced within the relation of lived and conceived space as;

"Here and there, in every society, absolute space assumes meanings addressed not to the intellect but to the body, meanings conveyed by threats, by sanctions, by a continual putting-to-the-test of the emotions. This space is 'lived' rather than conceived, and it is a representational space rather than a representation of space; no sooner is it conceptualized than its significance wanes and vanishes" (Lefebvre 1991, 236).

Absolute space contains 'social energies and natural forces', thus it contains everything according to Lefebvre as he puts it as; 'It has no place because it

embodies all places, and has a strictly symbolic existence’ (Lefebvre 1991, 236). It is also a matter of two major mechanisms which are identification and imitation (Lefebvre 1991, 236). In addition to that religious and political spaces are defined as absolute space. These kinds of spaces are ‘made up of sacred or cursed locations: temples, palaces, commemorative or funerary monuments, places privileged or distinguished in one way or another’ (Lefebvre 1991, 240).

2.1.3.2. Abstract Space

Abstract space does not indicate what it contains, which is described as; ‘specific imaginary elements: fantasy images, symbols which appear to arise from ‘something else’’. Moreover, it contains ‘representation derived from the established order: statuses and norms, localized hierarchies and hierarchically arranged places, and roles and values bound to particular places’ (Lefebvre 1991, 311). It can be said that abstract space can be an apparatus for power.

The ruling classes use abstract space “as a tool of power, without for all that forgetting its other uses... the generation of profit” (Lefebvre 1991, 314). Bourgeois apartment is given as an example and via these the lived experience and theory is discussed. Bourgeoisified space is described as ‘to validate the theory of abstract space’ (Lefebvre 1991, 316). And also, the artists or architects or city planners can use their work for ‘legitimizing ideology’ (Lefebvre 1991, 308), which can be discussed via the notion of abstract space. As abstract space refers to the planner’s space, it can be said that it refers to representations of space. In the abstract space, homogeneity of space is important. There exist three formats of abstract space;

- “The geometric format: Euclidean space (first of nature’s space then all of social space).”
- “The optical (visual) format: ‘logic of visualization’ (metaphoric, metonymic)”
- “The phallic format: Brutality of political power” (Lefebvre 1991, 287).

Abstract space consists of repetitions and differences. As well as these, it is described as ‘product of war and violence, it is also ‘Political; instituted by state’ (Lefebvre 1991, 285). It contains order intrinsically.

2.1.3.3. Differential Space

Differential space is occurred from the abstract space. It is constituted by ‘alternative culture’ or ‘counter culture’. The notion of counter space (differential space) is;

“Against the Eye and the Gaze, against quantity and homogeneity, against power and the arrogance of power, against the endless expansion of the ‘private’ and of industrial profitability; and against specialized spaces and a narrow localization of function” (Lefebvre 1991, 382).

In differential space the importance is given to the serve of architecture, instead of the power of capital. There exists the transformation of quantifiable spaces to qualitative spaces in differential space (Lefebvre 1991, 352). According to that, the spaces of consumption (abstract spaces) transforms into consumption of spaces (differential spaces) (Lefebvre 1991, 352).

2.2. “(Social) Space is a (Social) Product” (Lefebvre 1991, 26).

With his argument of “(Social) space is a (social) product” , Lefebvre mentions that social space is formed not only from ‘the collection of things, an aggregate of (sensory) data or by a void packed like a parcel with various contents’(Lefebvre 1991, 27), Lefebvre describes that there exist more complex relations. The research of Lefebvre is opposed to the view that reduces the social space to only form. In classical terms, the analytic concepts of space are;

- “form and formal analysis – composition
- function – construction
- Structure – proportion, scale, rhythm, the various orders” (Lefebvre 1991, 159).

These concepts (form, structure, function) are described as connected to each other, in addition to that these can be expanded by ‘identity, reciprocity, recurrence, repetition (iteration), and difference’ (Lefebvre 1991, 149). The attributions of space is given as, space;

- “is result and cause
- product and producer
- stake
- the locus of projects and actions
- deployed as a part of scientific strategies
- The object of wagers on the future” (Lefebvre 1991, 143).

Space is used as an apparatus of thoughts and activities (Lefebvre 1991, 26). To open up, space can be an apparatus for controlling and repression of power. This value of space is dealt up in two ways which are;

- Social relations of production of space (body-space relations, identity)
- The realm of production relations (state and space, property relations)

Social relation of production deals with the realms of body-space relations and identity. In the realm of production relations state- space relations and property relations will be examined. Surely, these are interconnected to each other, but in order to study them, these will be taken into account by classifying them into social relations and production relations.

2.2.1. Social Relations in the Production of Space

Social relations not only produce space but also reproduce social space. Society is the starting point when social space is dealt with. In the view of Marxist theories society is based on;

1. Economical basis: labour, producing material objects and wealth, and the division and organization of labour.
2. Structure: social relations are structured and structural, determined by the basis and determining relations of ownership.

3. Superstructure: Jurisdiction (acts and laws), institutions (among others the state) and ideologies (Lefebvre 1971, 31).

These have influences in the production of space. In other words production of society is combined with production of space. Surely the main functions or physical needs of people are the same, but it changes with different social relations, in Genius loci it is defined;

“‘similar’ functions, even the most basic ones such as sleeping and eating , take place in very different ways, and demand places with different properties, in accordance with different cultural traditions and different environmental conditions. The functional approach therefore left out the place as a concrete “here” having its particular identity” (Norberg-Schulz 1984, 8).

There exist numerous social spaces. It is mentioned that no local space disappears worldwide. And these social spaces are said to intertwine with each other. In the development of social spaces the new ones do not totally surpass the others but changes them. Lefebvre describes as;

“Social spaces interpenetrate one another and/or superimpose themselves upon one another. They are not things, which have mutually limiting boundaries and which collide because of their contours or as a result of inertia” (Lefebvre 1991, 86).

In other words, social space keeps on reproducing itself by the present interactions. Related to this the interaction can be associated by social locus. Two determinations are given to understand the social locus;

- “On the one hand that locus would be mobilized, carried forward and sometimes smashed apart by major tendencies, those tendencies which interfere with one another.”
- “On the other hand, it would be penetrated by, and shot through with, the weaker tendencies characteristic of networks and pathways” (Lefebvre 1991, 87).

The town is described as a machine, which is ‘appropriated to a certain use – a use for social group’ (Lefebvre 1991, 345). These social groups form space with their culture and traditions. This space can be described as containing the feature of signs and with these it becomes part of the knowledge. Another relation is reading the

space. By these signs, space can be read. In addition to that ‘Every language located in a space. Every discourse says something about space (places or sets of places); and every discourse is emitted from space’ (Lefebvre 1991, 132). Surely this coding, sign and tradition is a result of a process, which means that we are dealing with time and history. The relation between time and space is explained by Lefebvre as;

“The space engendered by time is always actual synchronic, and it always presents itself as of a piece; its component parts are bound together by internal links and connections themselves produced by time” (Lefebvre 1991, 110).

Social relations are intrinsically related and they refer to time. Furthermore, the relation of body-space, social group-space and identity are also dependant on time. The relations of body- space and the notion of identity will be examined as a social production of space.

2.2.1.1. Body-Space Relations

Body-space relations can be the basic relationship between the human and space. This can be taken into account in two ways. One of them is by producing space through the body the other one is producing the body through space. This relation is given by Lefebvre as; “...each living body is space and has its space: it produces itself in space and it also produces that space” (Lefebvre 1991, 170). In this relationship body is illustrated as an energy that produces space by motion. The living being is described as ‘apparatus which, by a variety of means, captures energies active in its vicinity’ (Lefebvre 1991, 176), which can be done by modification or generation of new space (Lefebvre 1991, 177).

Body – spatial body is produced as well as the production of space and it is “subject to the determinants of that space: symmetries, interactions and reciprocal actions, axes and planes, centres and peripheries, and concrete (spatiotemporal) oppositions” (Lefebvre 1991, 195). The materiality of spatial body is coming from the energy which is diffused in space. Bodies are described as the energy clusters of the space.

To open up, there exists energy in space, but the bodies contain higher density of energy. Furthermore, it is emphasized that the spatial body is insubstantial, if it is detached from its place of which its origins (Lefebvre 1991, 196).

Body also affects the space with its rhythms. Lefebvre describes body and the space encircling it as ‘on the surface of a body of water’ (Lefebvre 1991, 205). Rhythms are referred to as having their ‘own law, own regularity’ and being derived from their own space. Body, which has a determining role in a space, deals with space in a positive or negative way, which shows the quality of space. Hence, the body has three aspects;

- Gesture (gestural action=behavior)
- Traces
- Marks (excreta of living beings) (Lefebvre 1991, 174).

Gestures are the activating forces of the body. In order to be a part of a specific society, there are codes and gestures to apply to. These gestures can compose ideologies. Lefebvre disposes the notion of gesture in his concept as;

“Gestural systems connect representations of space with representational spaces – or, at least, they do so under certain privileged conditions” (Lefebvre 1991, 215).

Traces and marks are more intrinsic aspects, primitive spaces mainly consists of these. They have close relations with time or history of space. It is mentioned that time and space can not be detached from each other. Time introduces the process of evaluations or metamorphosis. In the period of time, the gestures or movements which identify the space transforms.

To conclude, body reflects the whole world, one perceives others and intrinsically reflects. There exist a dualistic relation with producing space with body and gestures and produced by space with these properties.

2.2.1.2. Identity

Identity influences people in two ways, one of them is the relation between human and its habitat and the other is the human with history, which also interconnect to each other. According to that, space has – ‘dual nature and dual general ‘existence’ (Lefebvre 1991, 182). A member of a society can be object and subject, which Lefebvre elucidates as;

“One (i.e. each member of the society under the consideration) relates oneself to space, situates oneself in space. One confronts both immediacy and an objectivity one’s own. One places oneself at the centre, designates oneself, measures oneself, and uses oneself as a measure. One is, in short a ‘subject’” (Lefebvre 1991, 182).

In addition to that, Norberg-Schulz points out human beings usually identify themselves by their places (Norberg-Schulz 1984, 21). Also the duality of the relationship between place and human is represented by Relph as;

“People are their place and a place is its people” (Relph 1976, 34).

And this is gained by ‘common experiences and involvement in common symbols and meanings’ (Relph 1976, 34). These experiences and symbols are constituted in time, so the history of space is prior task in order to analyze. In other words, time has its scripts on space. But with the modernity, time is said to be demolished from social space (Lefebvre 1991, 95). Lefebvre describes that the history of space as;

“can not be limited to the study of the special moments constituted by the formation, establishment, decline and dissolution of a given code. It must also deal with the global aspect-with modes of production as generalities covering specific societies with their particular histories and institutions” (Lefebvre 1991, 48).

“All places have character” and this character changes according to ‘material and formal constitutions of the place’ (Norberg-Schulz 1984, 14). As it is well known, there exist different ways or places for the similar functions. This situation belongs to ‘different cultural traditions and different environmental conditions’ (Norberg-Schulz 1984, 8). According to this, the symbols, codes or structure of a space can

be read. Lefebvre expresses that space is produced in order to be read. The signs can serve to authority, thus they can be weapons of killing. In addition to that it can be ‘hegemony over human beings’ (Lefebvre 1991, 135). Monumentality can be the spatial reflection of this hegemony.

Monumentality related with the notion of the identity, in other words, being a part of a particular society. Monumentality shows the property of ‘durability’ (Lefebvre 1991, 221). In addition to that, it shows the will of power and it is emphasized that it can be researched in the ‘semiological categorization and symbolic explanations’ (Lefebvre 1991, 221). Monumental spaces have the traces of history and include the codes of the power, which is mentioned as;

“each monumental space becomes the metaphorical and quasi-metaphysical underpinning of a society, this by virtue of a play of substitutions in which religious and political realms symbolically (and ceremonially) exchange attributes – attributes of power; in this way the authority of the sacred and the sacred aspect of authority are transferred back and forth, mutually reinforcing one another in the process.” (Lefebvre 1991, 225)

Therefore, social relations should be considered in the production of social space, production relations should also be taken into account. Furthermore, production relations are the superstructure of the production of space.

2.2.2. The Relations of Production

As stated previously, the forces of production (with the relations of production) effect not only production of space but also reproduction of space. Space is defined as ‘result of social superstructures’ (Lefebvre 1991, 85). Besides that it is also ‘inherent to property relationships (especially the ownership of the earth the land), and also bound up with the forces of production’ (Lefebvre 1991, 85). These properties of production are described as the productive forces and can not be separated.

2.2.2.1. State and Space

There exist dependence between state and the relations of productions, and contradictions between classes. Therefore state is mentioned to ‘legitimate the recourse to force and lays claim to a monopoly on violence’ (Lefebvre 1991, 280). Space is produced by the ruling class of the state; the political principle is mentioned as unification. Hence, the approach which creates homogeneous society is the ‘balance of power between classes and fractions of classes, as between the spaces they occupy’ (Lefebvre 1991, 281). State can be described as power. Lefebvre explains this concept as;

“The state was constituted as an imaginary and real, abstract and concrete ‘being’ which recognized no restraints upon itself other than those deriving from relations based on force (its relations with its own internal components, and those with its congeners - invariably rivals and virtual adversaries” (Lefebvre 1991, 279).

The process of production of space by the dictates of power is mentioned to be ‘production without creation’- mere reproduction. Therefore, space is reproduced by “each new form of political power which, introduces its own particular way of partitioning space, its own particular administrative classification of discourses about space and about things and people in space” (Lefebvre 1991, 281). This reproduction is occurred in order to reproduce social relationships. Furthermore, Lefebvre points out that there exists a relation between ideology and political power which earth, labour and capital are under the control of the state (Lefebvre 1991, 327). And it can be emphasized that, with this power, the ideology of this power can be applied spatial, social and economical formation of space.

2.2.2.2. Property Relations

As mentioned before, production relations influence on the production of space. In this realm the formation of space can be examined in terms of property relations. Property relations which is dependant to production relations, have determining role

in forming an urban space which is also related to economical relations. Property is conceptually defined by Günay as;

“Conceptually property is a bundle of rights over tangible (res corporeales) or intangible (res incorporeales) things, which permits the owner the right of use and disposal over them.” (Günay 1999, 3).

There exist three objects of property which are ‘land, labour and capital’ (Günay 1999, 3). As the new modes of production relations create their own space, today the neo-capitalism also creates its own spaces. Lefebvre emphasizes that as;

“... The fact that worldwide strategies are now seeking to generate a global space, their own space, and to set it up as an absolute-is another reason, by no means an insignificant one for developing a new concept of space”(Lefebvre 1991, 105).

The history of space also shows the accumulation of the capital (Lefebvre 1991, 129). As space is a product of modes of productions, it also has the traces of this. Lefebvre mentions as;

“Space still appears as ‘reality’ inasmuch as it is milieu of accumulation, of growth, of commodities, of money, of capital; but this ‘reality’ loses its substantial and autonomous aspect once its development-i.e. its production- is traced” (Lefebvre 1991, 129).

The importance of real property changed with the capitalism. In classical forms of production real property has a minor role but, with the capitalism, it has exchange value. Private property is an important component of the hegemony in the capitalist system (Lefebvre 1991), as it is used for investment object. Today with neocapitalism, city is becoming a commodity which is used in marketing (Sargin 2007), and creates its own spaces. Besides producing a thing, money making is done with increasing the value of property. And as the value of properties increase with minimum costs, more money can be made. The importance of real property is related with construction;

“Construction, whether private or public, generates higher-than-average profits in all but the most exceptional cases. Investment in ‘real estate’, i.e. in the production of

space, continues to involve a higher proportion of variable as compared with constant capital” (Lefebvre 1991, 336).

The influences of property relations in relation to space can be analyzed via the differences between the notions of possession and ownership. But firstly the relations of dominated space and appropriated space should be discussed.

Dominated Space

Dominated spaces are described as “transformed – and mediated – by technology, by practice” (Lefebvre 1991, 164). Their origins refer to power. Military architecture, fortifications and ramparts, dams and irrigation systems can be examples. These spaces are defined as “realization of masters project”. As dominated spaces refer to power, they can be specified as masculine spaces.

Lefebvre explains the relations of outside and inside of the house or public space as; the outside is dominated space and inside is appropriated space (Lefebvre 1991, 166).

Appropriated Space

Appropriated space resembles “work of art”, as it has a value of being natural and it changes according to the needs of the group who appropriates that place (Lefebvre 1991, 165). Although appropriation has the meaning of excluding the others, appropriation is “favourable concept in discussions related to meaning in space” for defining the identity of a place as Alanyalı mentions in her thesis (Alanyalı 2003, 15). Appropriation and possession seem similar but they are different. Appropriation has the property of interiorization. The difference between appropriation and possession is given in Alanyalı’s thesis as:

“A possessed space may be appropriated and reappropriated for several times during the period that it is being possessed (even by the same person). On the other hand, every appropriated space is not necessarily possessed.” (Alanyalı 2003, 19)

This difference presents that appropriation has social, individual and maybe psychological characteristic of owning a place.

The notions of Possession and Ownership

As appropriated space refers to possession, the terms of possession and ownership should be taken into account. There exist differences between the notions of possession and ownership. The meanings differ as;

Possession:

“in law, the acquisition of either a considerable degree of physical control over a physical thing, such as land or chattel, or the legal right to control intangible property, such as a credit—with the definite intention of ownership. With respect to land and chattel, possession may well have started as a physical fact, but possession today is often an abstraction. A servant or an employee, for instance, may have custody of an object, but he does not have possession; his employer does, even though he may be thousands of miles from the object he owns. Furthermore, except in the most abstract way, it is not possible to speak of the possession of intangible property.

In the development of the civil (or Roman) legal system, possession tended to assume more importance than proprietary rights, and the same is true of the common-law (or Anglo-American) system. Thus, possession tends to be regarded as prima facie evidence of the right of ownership; it gives this right against everyone except the rightful owner. Mere possession by a finder is sufficient to provide grounds for an action against one who deprives him of the object with no better right than his own.”⁴

Ownership:

“Ownership: the legal relation between a person (individual, group, corporation, or government) and an object. The object may be corporeal, such as furniture, or completely the creature of law, such as a patent, copyright, or annuity; it may be movable, such as an animal, or immovable, such as land. Because the objects of property and the protected relations are different in every culture and vary according to law, custom and economic system and the relative social status of those who enjoy its privileges, it is difficult to find a least common denominator of “ownership.” Ownership of property probably means at a minimum that one's government or society will help to exclude others from the use or enjoyment of one's possession without one's consent, which may be withheld except at a price.”⁵

⁴ Possession in Encyclopædia Britannica

⁵ Ownership in Encyclopædia Britannica

For Günay these concepts have impressive influences for urban development (Günay 1999, 34). As it can be seen, ownership has the full right of an intangible value whereas possession has ‘make use of’ value. Ownership has ‘the exclusive right to possess’ with the support of laws, on the other hand possession comprises ‘occupation’ (Günay 1999, 35). It is a fact that by occupation spaces are formed by its residents and depends on their need. On the other hand, the notion of ownership represents the abstract spaces in other words architects’ and planners’ space which is representations of space (conceived space).

In the light of these terms, the life that is formed according to the rhythm of everyday life represents the property relations according to the way it repressed to be. This concludes with the repetitious spaces. Thus these spaces are described as abstract spaces as being a tool of power. Property relations are arranged according to that. It is important to realize, the laws are also constituted according to that. For instance a house is expected to have bedrooms, bath, WC and kitchen; these are normally placed in the boundaries of a dwelling. Therefore, such spaces are occurred as a conceived space with the works of architects and planners that have the property of domination. In addition to that in general, life is repressed in these boundaries. In such point of view ownership fits to that kind of usage of space.

It is a fact that there can be another kind of usage within different property relations. According to this, the boundaries of dwelling are blurred in communal use of spaces. The well known use of space can be interrogated within such a usage. This kind of usage of space can be expounded with perceived space (spatial practice). The spatial formation is occurred according to social and productive relations. In such an approach the notion of possession becomes primary rather than the notion of ownership. Furthermore as being created with its inhabitants, such a space can also be represented as representational spaces. It includes an identity and also the memories of its inhabitants.

From an analytical stand point these relations of producing a space deciphered in ‘Production of Sulukule’. As stated before Sulukule is a space with collective life

style which means that the inhabitants are living in solidarity and most of the basic needs are supplied together like the fountain (Küçükçeşme) is used by the whole neighbourhood or when someone is ill or needs something they help each other. This life can be seen mainly in houses with courtyards. In the courtyard the collective use of wc or shower can be seen also when the repair works are done collectively in houses with courtyards. Thus, the spatial formation is occurred according to that. In order to understand this, the research is going to focus on the property relation via social and production relations.

CHAPTER 3

SULUKULE, ISTANBUL THE PLACE AND ITS HISTORY

In this chapter, the method of the study will be explained with the spatial and conceptual limitations. In addition to that, the information about the history of Sulukule will be given. Then, the value of Sulukule in the urban mind will be discussed. Finally the general information will be given about Urban Transformation Project in Sulukule.

3.1. Method of the Study

The current case study aims to explain the space at Sulukule in Istanbul as a product and this product belongs to many factors. In order to understand production of space, an analysis is going to be covered with consideration of these factors.

The interrogation starts with the homogenising of urban spaces in Turkey. This kind of spaces can be seen all around Turkey, especially enhanced with TOKI houses. The importance of conserving the cultural diversity with several identities in the city is underlined in contrast to the newly developing residential areas, which are products just for accommodation, lacking the social structures and production relations pertaining to the traditional district. The main problem is, while these culturally valuable places decay, repetitive spaces in character are increasing day by day.

The theoretical background is constructed on Lefebvre's 'production of space' in order to analyze space as a value for the experience urban life. The main argument

is that the space should be considered to be a production which Lefebvre accentuates as ‘(social) space is a (social) production’.

In the light of a theoretical background, Sulukule is going to be analysed as a case of a social production. The framework of the study is limited to the discussion of space as a social and economical product via the concepts of possession and ownership within the Sulukule district. A social space Sulukule has a value that contains the spatialization of a specific culture within delimited geographic environment. In doing so, it is important to confirm, Sulukule is needed to be developed because the conditions of Sulukule are both economically and physically about to deteriorate as time goes on. One of the important reasons for that is the transformation of production relations. To open up, this place was used to have its own economy with the entertainment houses when they were closed down this economy is collapsed and now this place is expedient to lower income people with low rentals. But today they are faced with complete demolition not only physically but also socially. The main reason for that is the urban transformation plan which has been prevailed on since 2005. By that plan many Sulukule inhabitants are forced to leave their place unless they have possibility to pay.

The spatial delimitation of the case study area is determined to be within Hatice and Neslişah Sultan districts, where the location is typically reputed as Sulukule. The methodology of research consists of a literature survey on the concepts and the socio-spatial analysis of the case. Properties of the old district and the possible damage of the new ‘urban transformation plan’ is going to be examined under these limitations. Also the conditions under which Sulukule is today, is going to be examined as product and a process. Thus, an assessment and evaluation of the new urban transformation project is going to be made, taking into consideration the views of consultative authorities.

The theoretical background material rests on and substantiates the research results of the Sulukule Platform and various readings on Sulukule. Related to these, the field work is done by making conversations with the inhabitants of Sulukule in

order to understand their social life and their interaction with their immediate environment. Furthermore, the experiences during the workshops about Sulukule and performing actively in the group which works to create an alternative project, have all been instructive for the author to formulate and define the boundaries of this case study. These are all going to be considered in the light of Lefebvre's 'Production of Space'.

3.2. The Case of Sulukule

Sulukule is chosen as a case study, due to being under the threat of urban renewal and transformation plans, which threaten to devastate the place. Today the works that are going on are done according to save Sulukule. These works consist of non-governmental organizations with related to universities. In the context of being intangible heritage which UNESCO had emphasized too, they are trying to save Sulukule with its culture.

In order to understand this intangible value, Sulukule's social and structural formation is going to be explained in Lefebvre's notions (the production of Sulukule) in the next chapter. Thus, the reason of diminishing, the value of Sulukule and how the method of approach can be applied to Sulukule is going to be discussed with the present situations.

Today Sulukule is becoming an attractive place among the researchers from various disciplines both for its social formation and for its new urban transformation plan. The reason is that Sulukule is not only just an ordinary physical formation, but it has also a value of being unique social formation with its culture and the life style, it houses from being. It can be said that this is a culturally endowed space. The people who work for saving Sulukule demolished are the members of various disciplines. Lefebvre's emphasis on producing a space with the union of various fields can be seen in the holistic approach of the Sulukule Platform, which is nongovernmental organization, and in the performances that are occur in Sulukule. It can be highlighted that the people who work for achieving the sustainability of

Sulukule with its social life, are members of various disciplines like sociology, architecture, economics, politics and planning.

Thus in order to understand Sulukule, the history and social life of Sulukule should firstly be researched. Next part consists of the history of Sulukule with gypsies, then their existing situation with the urban transformation project, is going to be introduced. As mentioned before, these studies are done within the light of the multiple experiences and interactions with the people who work for Sulukule and surely with the inhabitants of Sulukule.

3.2.1. The History of Sulukule

Firstly general information about gypsies in Ottoman Empire is going to be given. Then, with the light of this information, gypsies in Sulukule and their transformation till today with its place in the urban memory is going to be analysed.

3.2.1.1. Gypsies in the Ottoman Empire

Gypsies are known as nomadic people with the skills of dance and music. They are usually described as a nation without territory. Marushiakova-Popov marks out that Gypsies are coming from India to Middle West Europe in the periods between 5th and 15th century (Marushiakova-Popov 2001, 11).

The language of gypsies changed according to the places where they have migrated. They have made cultural connections where they live, Due to this data the main directions and the time periods can be found out while working on the origins of gypsies (Marushiakova-Popov 2001, 12). In the documentary movie Latcho Drum gypsies were investigated according to their geographies that began from India to Spain. It can be said that their instruments and clothes changed according to their place. Generally they were represented as musicians in addition to that they are dealing with small businesses.

The gypsies are named as 'atsingani' and it is mentioned that there exist documents that gypsies can be seen in cities with the roles of snake playing or fortune telling in the 12th century. In addition to that they were faced with the problem of segregation in the places they immigrate (Marushiakova-Popov 2001, 15). Same as in Ottoman Society gypsies were widely known as harmful or evil (Somersan 2007, 728-9). Also at present it can be said that gypsies are face to face with segregation in Turkey.

In Ottoman Empire, gypsies were distinguished with their ethnic structure from other citizens (Marushiakova-Popov 2001, 47). The tax documentation from nomads in Ottoman Empire was depicted as; magistrate gives attorney to a person to collect tax who can migrate with them (Marushiakova-Popov 2001, 28). In Ottoman Empire it was forbidden to pass another district, if one of them has passed the one was punished and sent to his/her own district (Marushiakova-Popov 2001, 32). Therefore, it is important to point out that gypsies have been influenced according to the limitations of the power.

Gypsies are well known with their music as an intrinsic value. Marushiakova-Popov marks out that there exist documents which are dated 1522-23, remarks that they were dealing with music (Marushiakova-Popov 2001, 41). In addition to that it is highlighted that the musician gypsies made entertainments to Turkish people and foreigner travellers in their houses or public houses (Marushiakova-Popov 2001, 42). Also gypsies joined with their music to all Muslim and Christian celebrations (Marushiakova-Popov 2001, 65). Today, in many celebrations in Turkey Romani music is played. Besides musicians, the other professions of gypsies according to the 1522-3 tax registers were;

“tinsmiths, farriers, goldsmiths, sword makers, stove-makers, shoemakers, slipper-makers, makers of clout nails, leather workers, tailors, carpet-makers, dyers, ironmongers, halva-makers, cheese-makers, butchers, kebab-makers, gardeners, muleteers, guards, prison guards, manservants, couriers, monkey-breeders, well-diggers and others, including occasionally army officers, janissaries, policemen (subashis), doctors, surgeons, monks” (Marushiakova-Popov 2001, 51).

Somersan puts the information of gypsies who can be the ancestors of Sulukule people. According to that information;

“In between the 16th through the 19th centuries, when the Ottoman Empire was in peace, for one, the Roma were located immediately outside the city walls, not inside, but could live on the gardens they planted right in front of their flimsy dwellings. During war times, however, they would be moved inside the walls to help in the war efforts of the military. The Entertainment Houses stood right inside the walls, and war or peace, individuals continued working there” (Somersan 2007, 725-6).

Also Adrian Marsh introduces the effectiveness of the gypsies in the Ottoman military and he points out the gypsies were working in the army as “metal-workers (especially in the Tophane complex), drovers, grooms and horse-trainers, porters, powder-makers, fletchers (arrow-makers), tent-makers and a host of auxiliary roles” (Marsh 2008, 19).

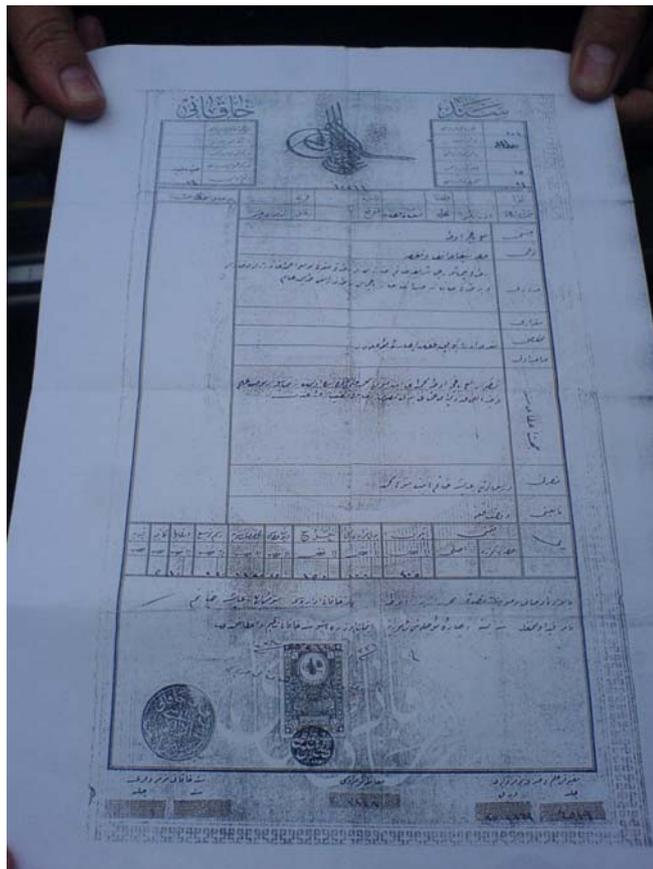


Figure 3.1 The Ottoman period land registry, Concerning one of the houses in Sulukule.

The figure 3.1 demonstrates the Ottoman land registry form that belongs to one of the residents in Sulukule. Even though there is the acceptance of the Romans have been living in there for a thousand year, Marsh points out that the rising of the identity of music and entertainment in the Sulukule was started with the fall of the Ottoman Empire (Marsh 2008, 19). Till now the traces of their identity can be seen in the urban memory in contrast to obstructions that they are faced to.

3.2.1.2. Sulukule in the Urban Memory



Figure 3.2 The location of Sulukule and the boundaries of urban transformation.

As mentioned before, Sulukule is well known settlement with its culture and history. Sulukule belongs to Fatih municipality, which consist of Hatice Sultan and Neslişah neighbourhoods. This place located in the historical peninsula, near the historical Byzantine walls of Edirnekapı. On the north side of the district Mihrimah Sultan Külliyesi is existed which has been constructed by Mimar Sinan about 1565 (Özer 2008, 8). The remained parts of the külliye are the mosque, madrasah, children's school, double public baths (Özer 2008, 8). Another monumental

building in the area is Hagios Demetrios church, which is a Rum Orthodox church constructed at 20 April 1834 (Özer 2008, 8).



Figure 3.3 Hagios Demetrios church from the street of Prof. Naci Şensoy.

Also there exist three fountains and one of them is still in use (Küçükçeşme). In addition to these, there exist 45 registered buildings and 11 of them are monumental buildings (Ingin 2008, 13). Recently, with the works of the Sulukule Platform, 9 of the houses were registered too.

The determining identity of this place is the gypsies as inhabitants. It has been said that this place is the oldest Romani settlement (Marsh 2008, 20). Foggo points out that there are 5000 people in Sulukule and 3500 of them are Romani (Foggo 2007, 41). They have lived in that area for about 1000 years (Marsh 2006). In addition to this Romani settlement, Adrian Marsh points out that at the time of Fatih Sultan Mehmet other gypsies were encouraged to settle in Istanbul (Marsh 2006). This would probably straighten the ethnic identity of the gypsies.

So, in such a long period of time they can continue their culture in that place. In the memory of the city Sulukule is famous with being a place for entertainment. This

culture is also mentioned in the movies with its atmosphere. For instance the movie *Gırgiriye* presents the life of Sulukule by taking a humorous look at Sulukule people and their culture. Somersan puts emphasis on this culture as;

“The Roma of Sulukule are famous for their EH, “private eat, drink, listen and watch” places along the famous Kaleboyu caddesi across from the city walls where middle and upper class İstanbulites came for the music and dance performances. These were tiny one- or room houses connected with intricate labyrinths to the owners’ homes to facilitate service and going back and forth in the backstage for the musicians and dancers, and singers. These Sulukule performers, the same ones as in the EH, were also often invited to homes of İstanbulites for a certain amount of money” (Somersan 2007, 726).

Osman Cemal Kaygılı gives information about the gypsies in Istanbul at his novel ‘gypsies’ in 1939. He had given general information about gypsies over that period, with the eyes of a musician, who investigates the gypsy people. A gypsy’s words about Sulukule point out that Sulukule people were famous with their music and dance also in the other gypsy groups and many masters of musicians were raised from there (Kaygılı 1972, 23).

In the period of nineteenth century, Sulukule is the one of the famous entertainment place that in the novel of Kaygılı. In that novel a gypsy made fun of the main character, because of going their gypsy quarter instead of Sulukule, Kasımpaşa and Ayvansaray.⁶

In the recent history of Sulukule, there exist transformations that influenced the gypsies and their social character. Somersan reveals three phases of demolition of individuals of Sulukule face up. These are described as;

“In recent history, the Roma here were faced with the vicious cycle of exclusion and poverty, more than once. At least thrice, since the 1950s, in 1958, 1966, and then again in 1982, groups of houses were demolished by the elected municipality, and many Roma had to leave the neighbourhood. On the first of these occasions, in 1958, two big highways, Vatan and Millet avenues, were built in place of their homes and

⁶ “Koskoca istanbul’da çalgıcı, şarkıcı çingene bulamadın da mı buraya geldin? Gözün görmedi mi o canım Sulukuleyi, gözün görmedi mi, gözün mü görmedi o canım Kasımpaşayı, gözün görmedi mi o hepsinden kıyak Ayansarydaki loncayı anlaşılan sen İstanbul’un acemisi olmayasın?..” (Kaygılı 1972, 87)

Entertainment Houses (EH), hence Sulukule was moved slightly northeast, from Topkapı, towards Edirnekapı. They were barely compensated for this. On the second occasion, in 1966, a part of the neighbourhood including a big EH by Sulukule standards, twenty-five small and one large house was again demolished by then Republican Party mayor, Haşim İřcan. Then in 1982, after the third military coup in the country, there was a third demolition. Furthermore, in the early '90s, the EH were closed down by a decree of the Motherland Party metropolitan municipality, those who had houses along the Sulukule avenue, were relocated by force to a district far away from where they are now, and takes anywhere from one-and-half to two hours to go by the city bus (Sarigöl and Taşoluk), unless they were wealthy enough to buy property elsewhere in the city.” (Somersan 2007, 726)

Today Sulukule is in ruinous situation physically because of their economic downturn due to the reason that mentioned above. Also there are much more several reasons like the strict rules of being in the protected area. But even the demolitions that happened before the social character of Sulukule can be observed.



Figure 3.4 General view of Sulukule from the city walls.

3.2.2. Sulukule with the Urban Transformation Project

The urban transformation project of Nesliřah Sultan and Hatice Sultan settlements consists of 357 parcels and 12 urban blocks. The total area is around 80.000 m². In web page of Fatih municipality, the district will be rebuilt in a different manner. Therefore, Sulukule will be diminished as whole district. The users of that space can possess property in other parts of the city but their space that is owned by them can not be existed any more. Because of most of them can not afford the prices of

new buildings. In addition to that many of them are tenants. According to UNESCO report that Sulukule Platform creates, there exist 645 flat owners. Some of them were made an agreement with the municipality, and some of them sold their houses to investors. The result of these the inhabitants of Sulukule are going to leave their places depending on this the identity of Sulukule is going to be vanished too. In addition, not only social life of Sulukule is vanished but also, the physical appearance of Sulukule is going to disappear as the new project have changed everything like parcels like working on tabula rasa .The relations of this urban transformation project, municipality and the inhabitants are going to be analysed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 4

READING SULUKULE IN TERMS OF LEFEBVRE: THE SOCIAL PRODUCTION OF SULUKULE AND SULUKULE AS A SOCIAL PRODUCT

This chapter contains the whole analyses that are done on account of the thesis. In general the text divided in two parts. The first part consists of the production of Sulukule. The second part deals with the relations between Sulukule and the State.

4.1. Sulukule as a Social Production

The acceptance of this thesis is Sulukule is an effective example of a social production. In order to analyse the production of Sulukule, the formation of this process is going to be analyzed in parts. Even though these parts are strongly connected to each other, each part is going to be discussed with its context. According to that the main partition is going to be the different layers of the social interactions, the production relations and the state relations in Sulukule.

4.1.1. Social Relations in Sulukule

As the information of Sulukule is given above, Sulukule is a living place and the physical appearance dependants on this. Firstly it is important to point out that the social space of Sulukule is formed in years with interpenetrating social spaces which is called anonymous place. Most of the residents are living in there for a long time. According to survey of Sulukule Platform %76 of the residents were born in Sulukule (Foggo 2007, 41). And many of them are connected as being relatives. The primary identification of them is as Marsh points out that, they identify themselves firstly as Turkish then Muslim and then Gypsy (Taş, 2008, 122). But

having a gypsy identity has an important aspect on creating Sulukule people (Sulukuleli) in urban mind.

Even though today being one of the Sulukule people is not preferable, they used to define themselves with their places in other words, they are their places and while they create their places vice versa their place created them too. In other words, the attributions of space which Lefebvre defines 'result and cause', 'product and producer' (cf, pg. 16) can be seen in this dualistic approach of Sulukule. To open up, by the gestures, body movements and languages (accent) Sulukule is formed and still forming with the actions interactions which are organizational coding. It is reproduced again and again within time. Also spatially this difference can be observed with the dimension of the houses, the houses with courtyards, usage of the streets and also the colours of their houses. The everyday life of them tells the story of them. Sulukule can also be defined with the Lefebvre's term of 'representational space' (lived) in his spatial and conceptual triad as Sulukule is reproduced in the inhabitant's minds according to experiences and memories of them. In other words Sulukule consists of many tales of its inhabitants for about 1000 years.



Figure 4.1 The football team of Sulukule; photographed with the permission of Asım Hallaç.

In the Figure 4.1 the football team of Sulukule can be seen about 30 years ago. The picture is belongs to Asım Hallaç who has a grocery store in Küçükçeşme street.

This photography is taken with the permission of Asım Hallaç which belongs to him. He is the third on of the squatted down boys. He mentioned that there used to be Sulukule football team and he was one of them. This picture is a kind of link between the lived space of Asım Hallaç. He has memories; he has connections to his place.

In addition to the formation of Sulukule with its inhabitants, also inhabitants are identified themselves with Sulukule (the notion of Sulukulean, which is generally known in Turkey). By being a Sulukulean the first thing that comes to mind is the music talented people, this is the part of their identity. Therefore they produce themselves according to this identity produced and reproduced in time. The marks and symbols of them give the determining character for them like drum playing child or dancing girl.



Figure 4.2 Kids entertaining themselves on the streets.

For instance, the Figure 4.2 was photographed in the Sulukule. It is easy to catch or recognize this place is Sulukule, with the traces of music, gypsy children and dance, which are located on the streets. By these traces and symbols, Sulukule is formed in urban memory as a mental space. Today, with the changing conditions, Sulukule can be described as a closed district, in other words, they are appropriated their spaces rather strongly. Now, Sulukule's image has changed to be a dangerous area

to enter for outsiders. Also, its inhabitants are known as dangerous and unwanted. This situation comes with the economical collapse of Sulukule. The reason of not being involved to existing economical basis is lightened with the view of Somersan points out is 'structural violence'. Structural violence is described as "the result of social structures which affect people indirectly" (Somersan 2007, 723). From Somersan's view Sulukule inhabitants are under the structural violence. Somersan explains that, when Sulukule inhabitant becomes rich, the connections between Romani or in other words his/her background are diminished by him or her. Somerman describes this;

"Do not speak the mother tongue ever again, do not teach the mother tongue or ancestral history to offspring, do not make mention of "Gypsy background" to anybody. If it is ever asked or mentioned, deny it" (Somersan 2007, 723)

Till late history they were represented as unwanted people. They were faced with the problems with police in the period of closing down of the entertainment houses. Somersan expounds their condition with the frequent operations of houses and the possibility of beaten by the police. In other words they were behaved liked 'usual suspects' (Somersan 2007, 726). Also in the conversations that are made with them the difference of 'gaco' (ordinary people, not gypsy) and 'gypsy' are still existed in their minds too. Within this closed system the outsiders are not always welcomed, due to protecting themselves.

Although such problems that they deal with they had manage to survive with their social formations until today. In the funeral or wedding ceremonies the traces of their culture can be observed. Surely social space must have been changed according to changing conditions or intertwining with other social spaces like the social spaces of the immigrants that settled down in Sulukule. As mentioned above the traces of their communal life can be read in the streets and housing units. These are analyzed in two scales one of it is districts scale. Within the district scale the inhabitants use the district as semi-private unit. The other one is housing unit scale that consists of small living organisms metaphorically surrounded a court. Both of them are going to be analysed within the terms of social production of these spaces.

4.1.1.1. District as a Semi-private Unit

Generally, private space can be described as an appropriated space and public space can be dominated space. In Sulukule sample, these sharp boundaries between outside and inside are not exist at all, due to the reasons of the concept of ‘district’ or ‘quarter’. The district is an appropriated space for them and the notion of district designates the communal life of them. Mischek points out the relation of Roms and their districts as;

“What is important is the *mahalle*, the quarter that people live in. Relationships in this quarter create a shared identity, in opposition to the ‘outside’ world. They divide the inhabitants from the other towns people, whether gadje or other Romanlar.” (Mischek 2006, 157)

The gypsy district (*mahalle*) is defined to be ‘the basic unit in identity construction for Roman communities in Istanbul’ which is a common point with Ottoman district (*mahalle*) (Mischek 2006, 161-2). That is the reason why they identify themselves according to their districts like *Sulukuleli* (Sulukule people). As Lefebvre points out that ‘every language is belongs to space’ and ‘every discourse emitted from a space’ this can be seen in the Sample of Sulukule. Sulukule can be read with its social space.

District can be defined as semi – private space in Sulukule. The notion of outside is after the district ends (Gül, 2008). The district is a social space for security and economical interdependence. Streets which are the main components of the pattern of Sulukule, have their own character. At the streets, the laundries or the people who talk or drink something can be seen. Surely the children can always be found at the street. In addition to that with the music from houses, it is possible to people dancing. That is also a kind of representing place of their identity.

In addition to that, one of the main binding forces in the district is kinship. According to conversations nearly everyone has relatives in and around the district. Also the close character of the district can be analyzed within the economical basis

of the district. To open up, in Sulukule the main needs are supplied from the shops in the district. Furthermore in the courtyard level the notion of large family can be seen which is also common in Ottoman houses. The ironic thing is these places are going to be collapsed according to built an ‘Ottoman district’, but the usage of these new houses is close to our modern life. In that sense, next part consists of analyzes of the houses with courtyards with their social life.

4.1.1.2. Courtyards for Communal Living

Belonging to its district pattern, Sulukule has its own dwelling typologies. These typologies were formed according to their communal life. Erdönmez points out that there is a lifestyle around courtyards containing 8-10 sometimes up to 13 families with rooms -not personal rooms-. Only one and common washing machine, a common fountain is present. Social life is settled around within these courtyards. Consequently, destroying parcel lines means destroying existing life (Gül, 2008). The boundaries of these courtyards are the boundaries of their houses as courtyards are still inside of the house. In one of the conversations in that courtyards, a gypsy women mentioned, they were like families in that courtyards. These courtyards are the organic structure of their social life although the physical conditions are in bad condition. It is important to realize that these spaces are like passing places from the private life of house to semi public life of street. For instance, if scaling from public to private is done with numbers, houses are four as private spaces, courtyards can gain three, streets of the district two and outside the district as public space can take the degree of one.

At the Figure 4.3 existing housing units with courtyards can be seen in area of the intersection of Küçükçeşme street and Sarmaşık street. The houses with courtyards can be observed in this part of the district. And as these courtyards represent typical characters dependant on that area is selected as field. In general plans of the district, the houses’ backyards can be observed with one or two storey houses. In addition to this, the places that are distant to city walls are sometimes up to 3 or 4 storey buildings. In general the buildings are old and not in good condition which can be

observed with the corruption of facades or incurvation of the structure. Furthermore, many of them do not have the main health requirements. For instance, humidity is a problem nearly all of the houses.

This survey is performed by members of Sulukule Platform. In addition to that, the conversations are made by author in order to understand the social life of the houses with courtyards. Asım Hallaç has helped to communicate with the inhabitants of the courtyard by being a Sulukule inhabitant.

The main characteristic of these courtyards is the formation of the wet areas inside the courtyard. With the above mentioning utilization of the wet areas, a family generally uses only one room or sometimes two rooms. All of the courtyards that surveys are made using only one electric power meter and they are paying bills by sharing. Most of them are tenants, nearly in all the courtyards, there exists kinship and the tenants can be living in there for 20 to 30 years. Most of the tenants do not have permanent jobs and they have no social security.

Thus, the conceptualization and implementation, i.e. experience regarding ownership can not be easily distinguished. Even though the boundaries of courtyards are obvious, the usage of inside is blurred as in relations of the ownership. It is obvious that they appropriated their spaces even most of them were tenants. In addition to that, it was conspicuous that while the survey group was talking to one of the residents of courtyard, the others have arisen and joined to conversation. This situation emphasizes the place of the courtyard in their social life.

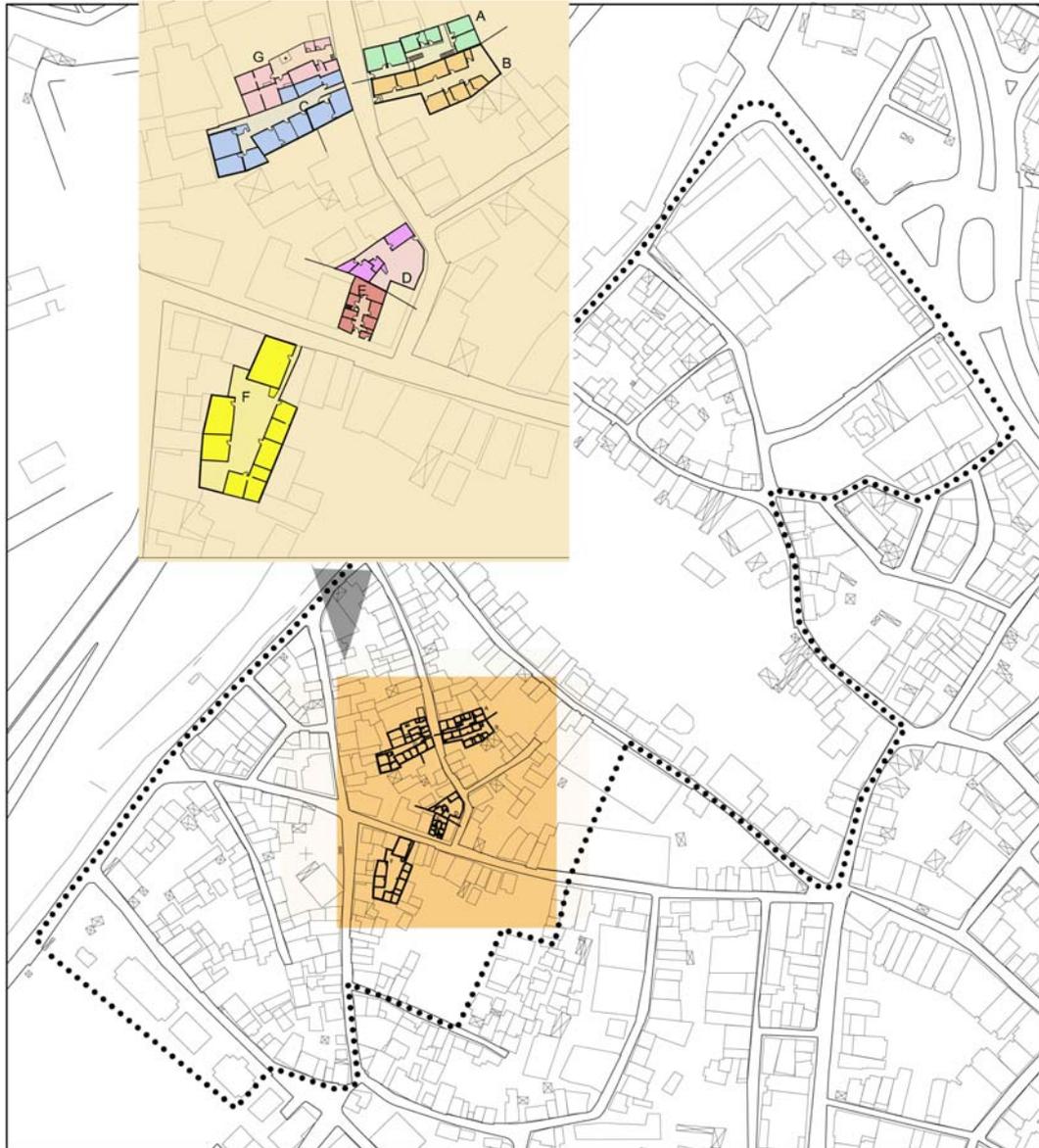


Figure 4.3 The houses with courtyards.

In the area that is shown in the figure 4.3, the survey of 7 courtyards will be examined. The area and the families who live in there will be concerned and described. The inhabitants of these courtyards are mostly in destitute situation.

In the analyses, the seven courtyards were entitled with letters and each courtyard will be explored in more details concerning in groupings. According to that the measurement of the courtyards is going to be designated with the number of the families living in there with the family members.



Figure 4.4 The dead end of the Küçükçeşme street. This dead end is also like courtyard. Its inhabitants appropriated the dead end.

In the Figure 4.4 there used to be an old sofa at the dead end which is used for sitting and chatting on the street. This situation displays the appropriation of the street. They use the dead end street as place for communication, by doing so they produce that space with their social activities, which is defined in Lefebvre's terms of lived space. Besides adults who are appropriating the streets, the children are the main possessors of the district. They are raised in the streets and they possess the streets as freely as possible. Even after the demolitions the children can be seen on the debris like ghosts.



Figure 4.5 Küçükçeşme Street for Children to Play.



Figure 4.6 Küçükçeşme Street.



Figure 4.7 Street-Courtyard relations, shown in the partial plan.

According to Figure 4.7, the relations of streets and courtyards are given in the area of Küçükçeşme street and Sarmaşık street. Dependant on this, the spaces that are connected with the street can be observed.

Courtyard A

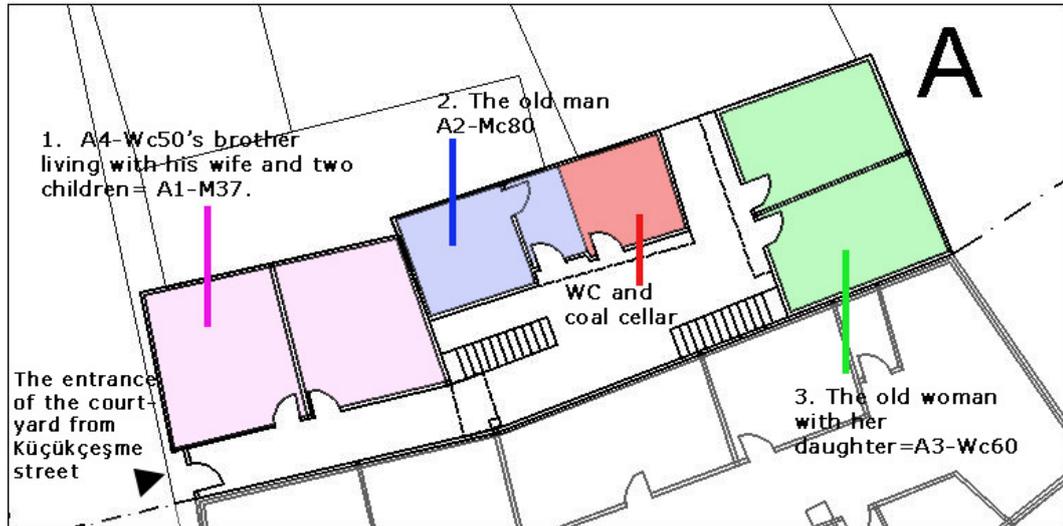


Figure 4.8 The Ground Floor Plan of Courtyard A

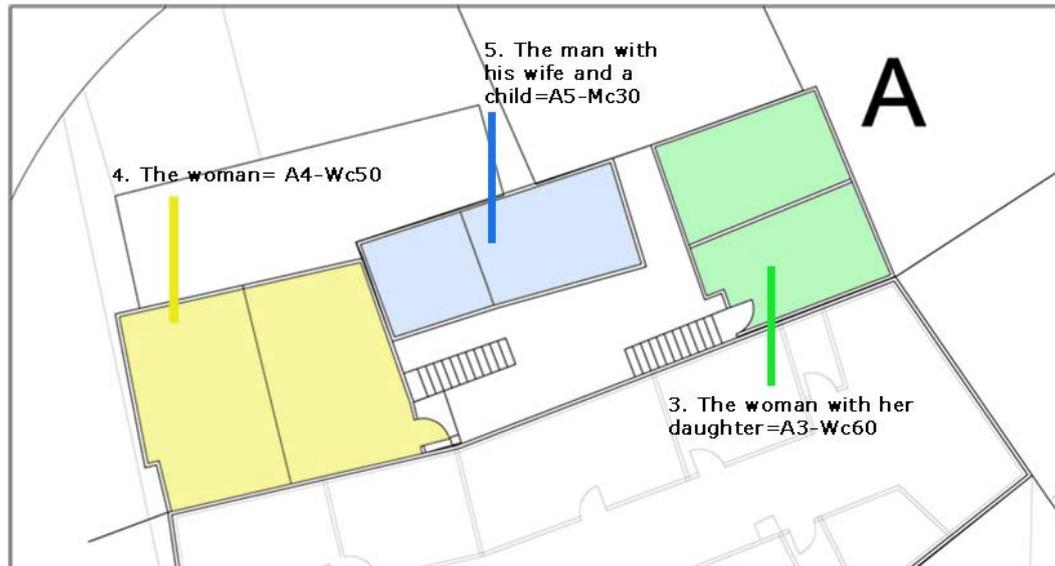


Figure 4.9 The First Floor Plan of Courtyard A

The whole area is 140 m² the courtyard is 49 m². In this courtyard different families are living in. This courtyard is differing from others with wet areas that are placed inside the houses. The entrance is from the Küçükçeşme Street and it is not

easy to realise the existence of courtyard due to the similarity of entrance and entrance of a two storey house. The entrance is connected to courtyard from the street with a corridor which has 7.70 m length to 1.45 m width. The houses that surround courtyard are two storey and there exit two stairs for entrance of two different houses.



Figure 4.10 Courtyard A, the entrance as viewed from inside.
They wash carpets in the courtyard in Summer.



Figure 4.11 Courtyard A.



Figure 4.12 Courtyard A.



Figure 4.13 Courtyard A, the entrance from the street. It is not easy to realize entering a courtyard from outside.

The woman (A4-Wc50) is talked with about the courtyard A. She is a retired textile worker. She is living alone in that place, her daughter is also living close to there with her family. A1-M37 is her brother-in-law who stays with his family. The others are not relatives but she mentions that they are as close as relatives. Also like other houses with courtyards, there exist only one electric power meter, belong to the electric is in common use, they pay invoice cost by sharing in. This approach is same in water. The houses in these courtyards have kitchen and baths as she informs. Only place two has a wc and shower that is opening to courtyard. The maintenance of houses is done all together. In the spring time they used to paint and maintenance houses. But she mentioned that they had quit it because of the demolitions. At the centre of the courtyard it can be possible to see them washing their carpets. Also it is possible to see them cooking their meal in front of the entrance of their houses. In addition to that A1-M37 was supposed to do a new bathroom but this is also quitted by the demolitions. There exit a door at the entrance, she informed that the last one who enters the courtyard closes the door around midnight. But during the daytime not only the courtyard door but also the doors of houses can be seen opened. It is important to realize that the whole families in this courtyard are tenants like in other houses with courtyards.

Courtyard B

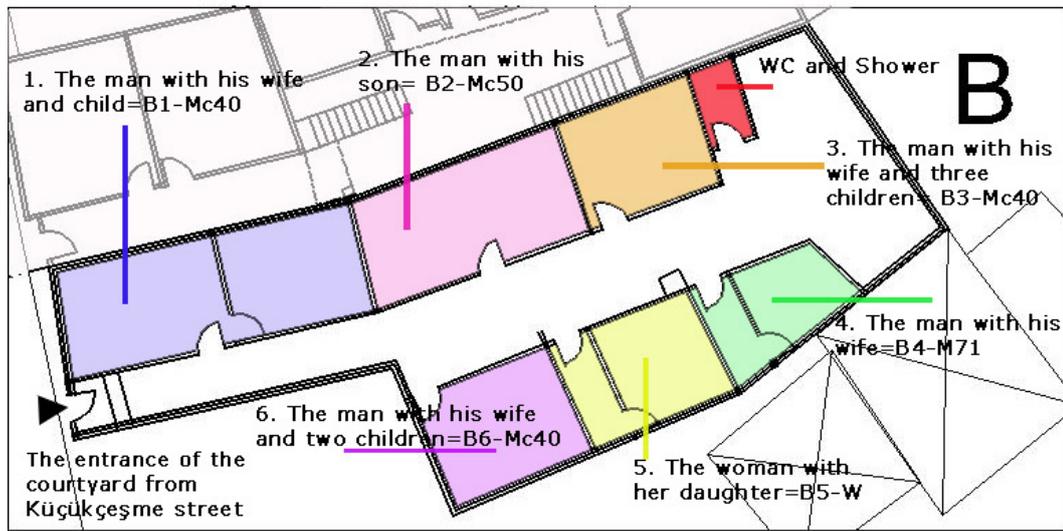


Figure 4.14 The Plan of Courtyard B.

The whole area is 177 m², the courtyard is 64 m². The houses in courtyard B are single storey constructions. The entrance of the courtyard is placed on Küçükçeşme Street connected to courtyard with a corridor which has 9.30m length and 1.40m width. Also in this courtyard it is not easy to realize the courtyard from the street as it can be observed in the Figure 4.15. It is important to realize the entrances of courtyards are like concealing, but in the public courtyards the entrances usually attract attentions with emphasized, huge entrances. This is also an evidence for the difference of these courtyards from others. These courtyards are like the part of their houses, it is not belong to the public use.

In this courtyard, the conversation was made with the old man (B4-M71). According to this information, the families who use that courtyard collectively, is shown in the Figure 4.1. Three of the families living in there are relatives; more precisely three brothers are living with their families (B1-Mc40, B2-Mc50 and B6-Mc40). In courtyard B, there is only one electric power meter that is registered to one of them. The water is taken from the fountain Küçük Çeşme as the water storage tanks can be seen in everywhere in the courtyard. There is also a wc and bath place for common usage. Several fridges and washing machine can be

observed in the courtyard. According to the conversations they are cooking in the courtyard in the summer time, in the winter they cook inside the houses. It is important to emphasize that in the meantime that conversation held place, B5-W with her daughter had gone to Taşoluk. But they had turned back to their houses because of not getting used to Taşoluk. B4-M71 informed as he and his wife are living by assistances, and they had no place to go. In addition to that he pointed out that the people who live in there are also financially in bad conditions.



Figure 4.15 The Entrance of Courtyard B. It is not easy to realize this is the entrance of a courtyard.



Figure 4.16 Courtyard B. The storages are for water, they take water from the Küçükçeşme fountain as it is free. The apparatus of kitchen and furniture are placed inside the courtyard. Accordingly it is related to the spatialization of the social life in courtyard.



Figure 4.17 Courtyard B. They use the trees for fruit and to hang up the laundry.



Figure 4.18 Courtyard B, The common use Wc



Figure 4.19 The water storage tank in common use.

Courtyard C

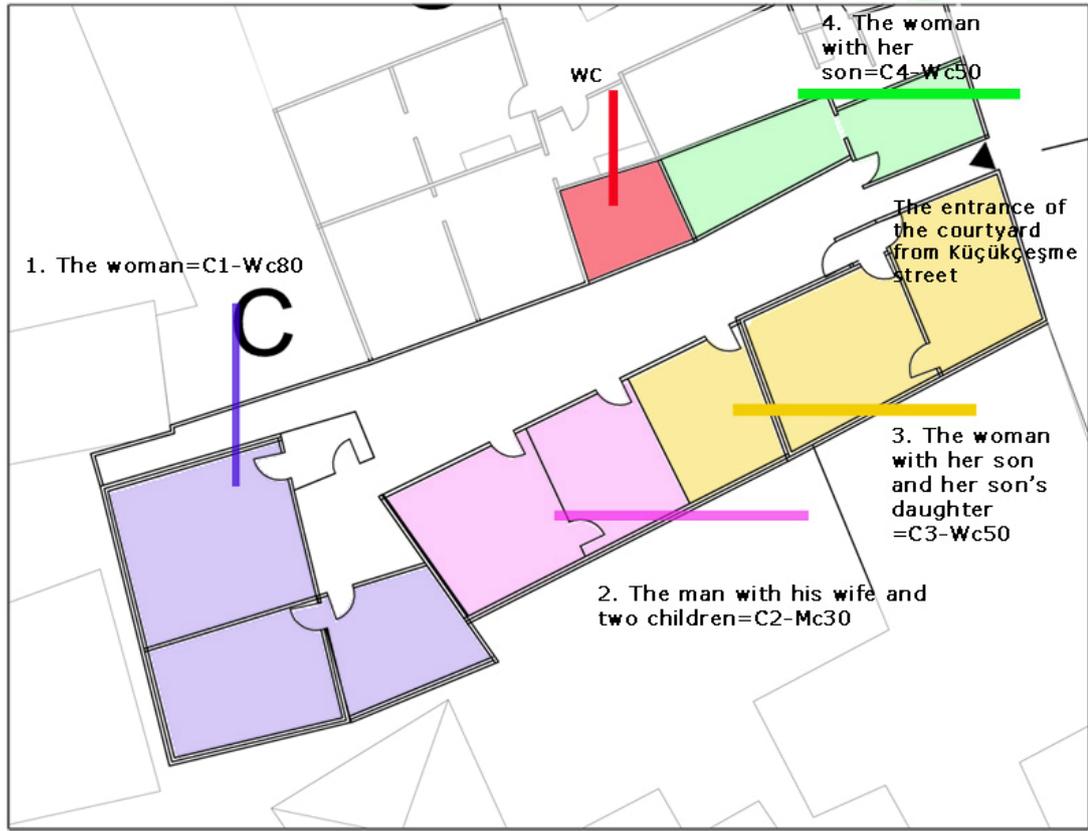


Figure 4.20 The Plan of Courtyard C.

The whole area is 296 m²; the area of courtyard is 73 m². Courtyard C is differing from other courtyards with including a fowl house (Survey notes of Ece Özden Pak). The rooms in the southeast part of the courtyard were demolished because of the landslide. The houses are one storey. The entrance is connected to Küçükçeşme Street in between two quarters.

The conversations are made with the C3-Wc50 and C4-Wc50. These two women can be always seen at the entrance of courtyard C by sitting on side walk in the summer time. The social existence of this courtyard has also the potentiality of being relatives. Belonging to this the families who live in places 3-4 are cousins and old woman in place 1 is their aunt. In this courtyard there also one electric power meter exists and they share the bills. C2-Mc30 works in Istanbul Municipality. The others work in marginal jobs. According to information that they had given there is

not a task distribution in the courtyard works. They do painting and repair works together in the spring time. But they had quitted because of the demolitions, the man who works in the municipality expressed that he could not do anything to repair and improve his house because he is waiting for leaving. Every family cooks their own meals. In winter they cook inside the houses but in summer time they cook in the courtyards. Surely they share their food when one of them needs. Close to other courtyards they are all tenants.

They mentioned that they have been living inside the town since their birth. The women in place four said that she had been tenant in this courtyard for 20 years, the other women in place four mentioned that she has been in there for 30 years. And their relatives are living in different places in Sulukule. It is important to point out that they informed that some people who had moved to Taşoluk, sold their rights and had moved to places that are close to Sulukule like Karagümrük.



Figure 4.21 Courtyard C, visited by the members of the Sulukule Platform.



Figure 4.22 Courtyard C; view towards the entrance.



Figure 4.23 Courtyard C; the entrance is also hidden between two houses which is not easy to realize the existence of courtyard. This proves the courtyard only belongs to its inhabitants who are relatives.

Courtyard D

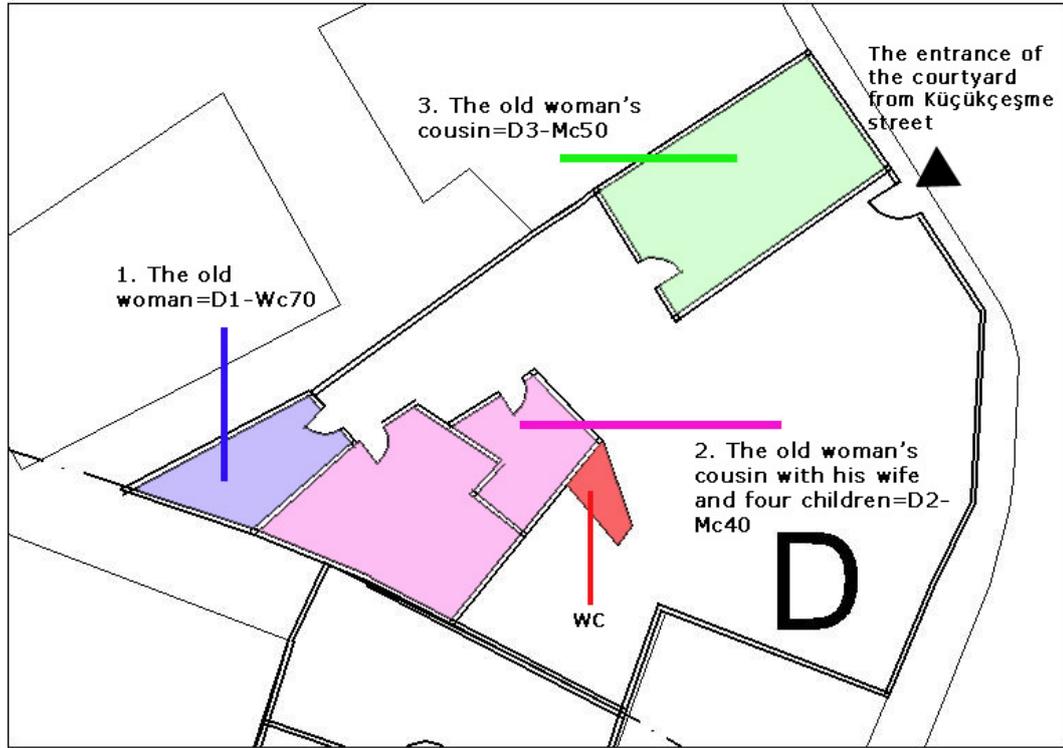


Figure 4.24 The Plan of Courtyard D.

The whole area is 127 m² the courtyard is 80 m². The walls which is placed at the Küçükçeşme Street, is neighbouring to historical Küçükçeşme fountain. The entrance is located near the garden walls, which is opened to Küçükçeşme Street. The conversations are done with the old woman (D1-Wc70). There was an opportunity to see the old woman's house which consists of one room with two sofas, a gas heater and a cooker. Also in this courtyard, they are tenants but the owner of the house has died, so they are like the owner of the houses. Like other courtyards they use Küçük Çeşme for water and there is only one electric power meter. There exists one wc in the courtyard for common use. The men who are brothers are doing marginal works.



Figure 4.25 Courtyard D. The Entrance.



Figure 4.26 Courtyard D.

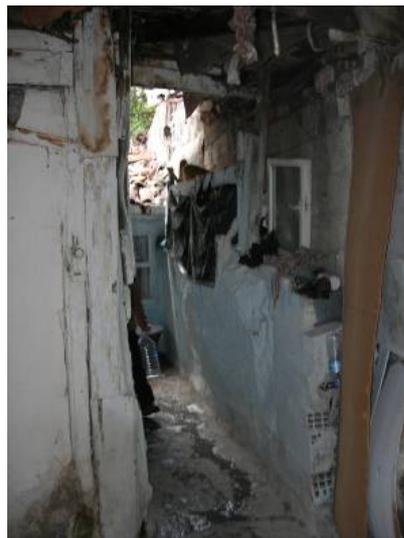


Figure 4.27 Courtyard D the corridor to the entrance of the houses of D1-Wc70 and D2-Mc40.

Courtyard E

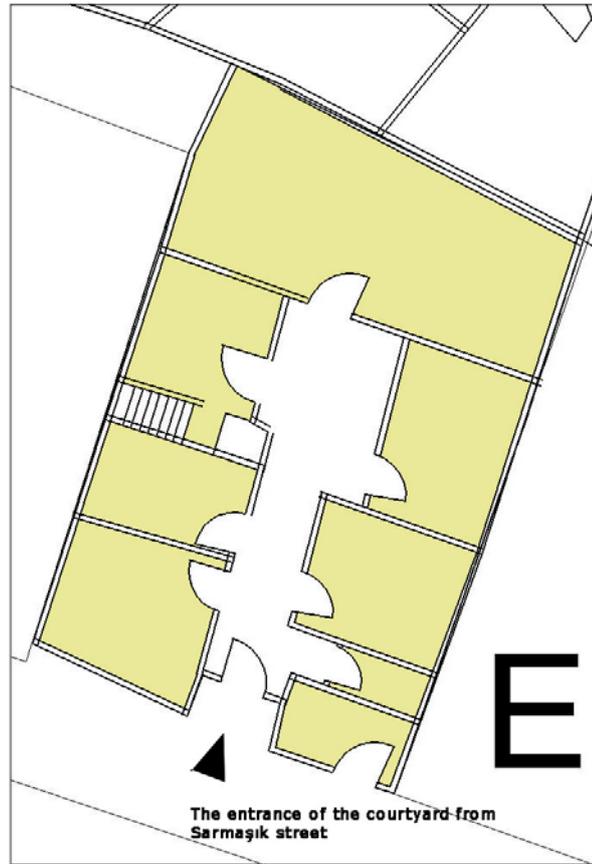


Figure 4.28 The Plan of Courtyard E.

The whole area is 71 m², the courtyard is 11 m². Courtyard E consists of two storeys. Courtyard E residents are relatives therefore each unit belongs to one family (Survey notes of Ece Özden Pak). Also, in this courtyard there is a fountain for common use. There are seven doors opening to courtyard. Near the entrance a small store can be seen. The entrance of the courtyard is placed on the Sarmaşık Street. Like other courtyards it is not easy to realise the courtyard from the street as can be seen in Figure 4.30 which means the courtyard belongs to the big family living in there.



Figure 4.29 The Entrance of Courtyard E.



Figure 4.30 Courtyard E.



Figure 4.31 Inside the Courtyard E.



Figure 4.32 The Façade from Sarmaşık Street.

Courtyard F

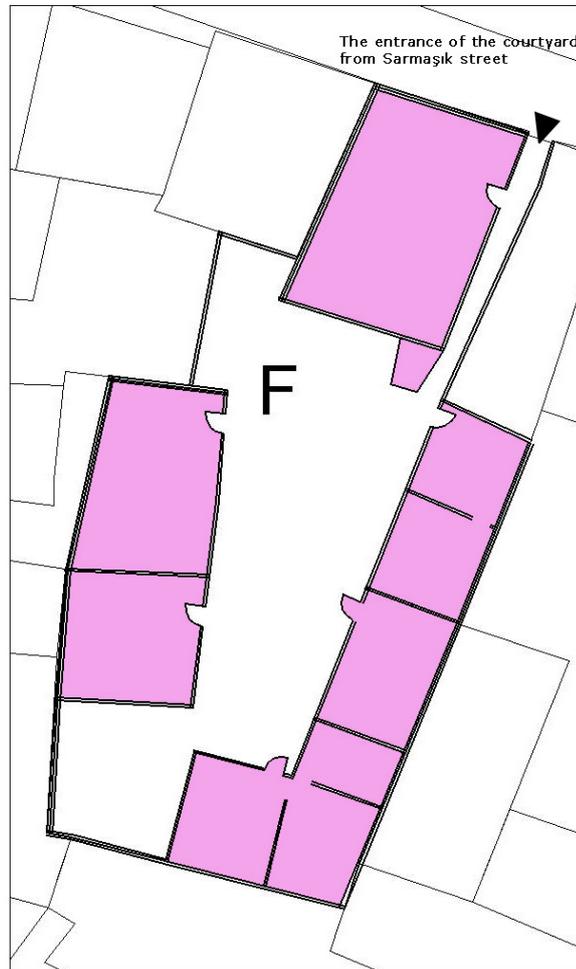


Figure 4.33 The Plan of Courtyard F.

The whole area is 400 m², the courtyard is 166 m². Courtyard F located on the Sarmaşık street. According to dialogues of one of the users, there are eight different families living in there. She also mentioned that they are closer than relatives in that courtyard. In this courtyard there is a fountain to supply water (Pak 2008, Survey notes). The houses that surround courtyard are one storey. The entrance of the courtyard connected to courtyard with a corridor which has 9.40m length and 1.00m width. There exists wc in the courtyard for common use, which is adjoining the house that is located at the street. Like other houses they use fountains for water and they had one electric power meter. There is a huge plane tree inside the courtyard. On the left side of the entrance of the courtyard, there is a pastry house.



Figure 4.34 Courtyard F.



Figure 4.35 Courtyard F; the entrance of the Wc which is for common use can be observed.



Figure 4.36 The entrance of Courtyard F, which is also hidden between two houses like other courtyards.

Courtyard G

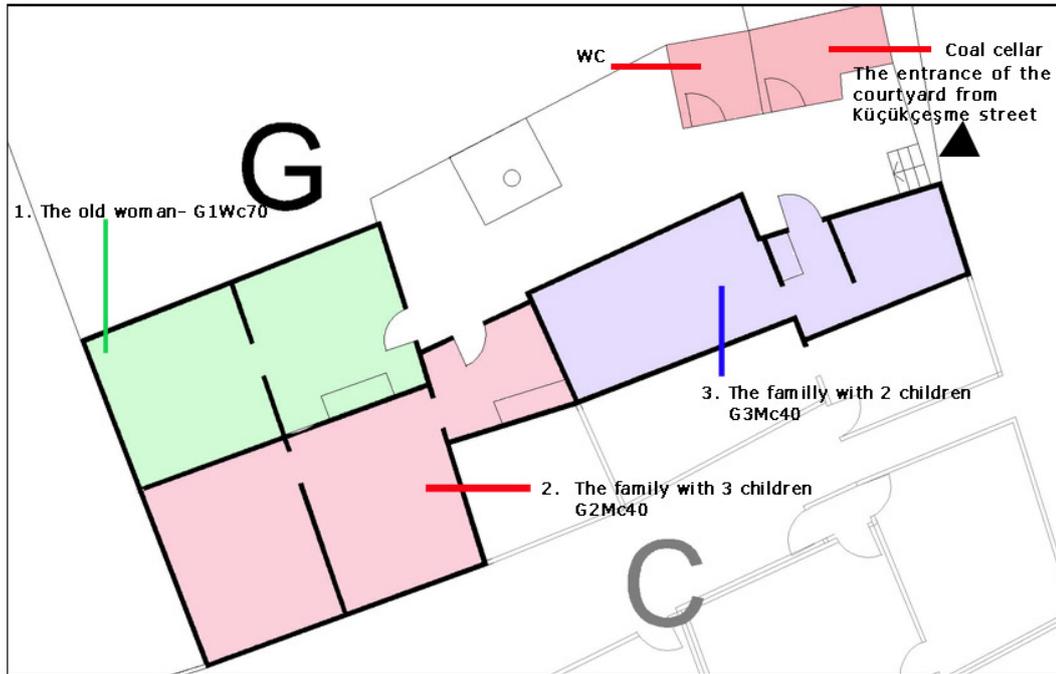


Figure 4.37 The Plan of the Courtyard G.

The total area of the lot is 144 m², and the courtyard is 41 m². The entrance of this courtyard is located on the Küçükçeşme street. The houses are one-storey in this courtyard. The houses are constructed with brick and the roof consists of wood. Before they had lived the courtyard, the houses were well-kept. Surely the materials of the houses were not healthy; like the materials of WC cabin or the floor and the ceiling coverings. But after they had leaved their houses; the place became ruinous. The whole users in this courtyard are relatives. In addition to this, like in other courtyards they are all tenants. There exists one wc in the courtyard for common use; all families have kitchen counters belonging to each family. Like the other courtyards they use the Küçük Çeşme fountain for water and there is only one electric power meter for the courtyard household.

When our conversation was held with the wife of G3-Mc40, the others had gone to Taşoluk. She mentioned that she and her family will be going to leave Taşoluk to try. If they would not be able to live in there, they would supposedly rent a house

around the Sulukule district. She also pointed out that the woman G1-Wc70 was very sad and she was continuously crying a lot because of being at Taşoluk, in one of the new houses. The sense of belonging to her previous environment, her personal attachment towards the Sulukule district must have been at its peak.



Figure 4.38 The Entrance of Courtyard G.



Figure 4.39 Inside the Courtyard F.



Figure 4.40 Courtyard G, after all inhabitants are gone.



Figure 4.41 WC.



Figure 4.42 Presumably the Kitchen in the G2.

According to the surveys it can be observed that the boundaries of courtyards are the boundaries of the dwellings. The courtyard is open to collective use like cooking or usage of water or toilets. The rooms which are dwellings for a one house are opening to courtyards. Belonging to this, the courtyards are like the living room of a house. It must be realised that they had occupied their spaces with their way of living. In such a spatial formation the property relations are different than we are familiar with. These spaces can be analyzed within the terms of possession and spatial practice as forming according to usage rather than creating a life according to formation of a space.

4.1.2. Production Relations in Sulukule

According to Marxist views social relations are the structure while forming social space. As mentioned before economical basis of a social place deals with the production relations. Lefebvre emphasized that “the productive forces of the period” effects social space (Lefebvre 1991, 76). Also in the sample of the Sulukule the same concepts can be described. The people who live in there, created their own spaces with the economy of entertainment, and they used to do this in a collective way. But it is not the only one; they had several stores in the district like tailor, grocery store, marble shop. It is important to realize entertainment was the main sector in the economy of Sulukule. So, the disappearance of Sulukule has started with the demolition of this entertainment houses. Belonging to economical basis property relations of Sulukule is also valuable to understand the conditions of Sulukule.

4.1.2.1. The Economical Basis of Sulukule

As mentioned before till the late history, gypsies are dealing with entertainment sector. Also this used to be same in the recent history of Sulukule. In the article of Ayşegül Oğuz musician Erdoğan depicted Sulukule when he was running entertainment house. According to that many famous musicians were used to go Entertainment houses. The structure of the labour of these houses was formed by

the families. To open up this, a girl carried on dancing till she became 16 then she was supposed to marry. Her father and her brothers have played an instrument and mother attended to serving works. This was ended in the time of Sadettin Tantan by closing down entertainment houses. Therefore, people earned money from them, lost their jobs (Oğuz 2007, 73). According to Foggo almost 3000 people earned money from that sector like ‘musicians, dancers, cooks, local taxi drivers, waiters, managers’ (Foggo 2007, 41).

In addition to entertainment sector, till the history it has been known that they are good at crafts. As mentioned in the history of gypsies they were brought to Istanbul by Fatih Sultan Mehmet to activate city life. It has been known that they were gardening near the city walls and there is a garden ware area in Neslişah Sultan which is not in use today.

Today Sulukule people are living under poverty. According to the surveys of municipality % 76 of them do not have a revenue-generating jobs. The prevalent jobs of them are tradesman, works of informal sector, workers and musicians (Tuna, Şatıroğlu, Çağlayandereli 2008, 164-168). Şükrü Pündük describes that Sulukule people keep on their life with public spirit. It is highlighted that they can buy one cigarette or one nappy from grocery store (Oğuz 2007, 74). In addition to that they had their own economy in their district, Foggo explains that;

“Street vending by the district’s own residents enables the neighbourhood to exist in a self- sufficient manner. In addition to textile, fruits, vegetable, fish, pickle, toy and balloon selling street vendors, the neighbourhood markets, food shops, small restaurants and tailors cater exclusively to their local clientele. In other words, the residents of Sulukule are able to survive without stepping out of their neighbourhood. According to the aforementioned researched, 66.3 % of the residents are content to live in Sulukule” (Foggo 2007, 41).

This closed economy in Sulukule straightens the community life and the notion being district. There are 45 shops exists in the district. Most of them serve the district like markets, small restaurants, in addition to district some of them serve near surroundings of the district like marble woks, car repair shops or it can be possible to find sheep for sacrifice.



Figure 4.43 The Hardware Store in Sulukule



Figure 4.44 The Small Marble Manufacture House.

Thus, it can be said that these productive forces of Sulukule, reveals the spatial formation of Sulukule as a district. Belonging to this, the property relations can have a definitive part to analyse the space within the economical and social relations. In other words, even with related to state property relations are like key point of Sulukule as a social production.

4.1.2.2. Property Relations in Sulukule

Property relations can be described as the consequences of production relations and social relations. Sulukule has the value of a unique pattern character. As stated before, in district layer and courtyard layer, there are different stages of possession in the district of Sulukule.

Firstly as mentioned before in the district layer, Sulukule can be read as an appropriated space. The inhabitants of Sulukule have their roots in there. The kinship can be seen in all and around the district. In the conversations the inhabitants have pointed into several directions to designate their parents' dwellings. So, it is inevitable for them to watch for their places and their people. Also as it is well-known, in Ottoman period there were kinship in the districts and the whole daily works were done in districts. Therefore, in this closed system streets and open places also used as part of their place. They use streets as public space just for them, and they raise children in those streets. For instance, after the demolition the streets are getting crowded, but before, it was not easy to see too many cars in the streets. Also fountains are important reference point for their use of the street. One of the fountains is still in use, the women and men can be seen with bottles or washbowl in front of it (Figure 4.45).

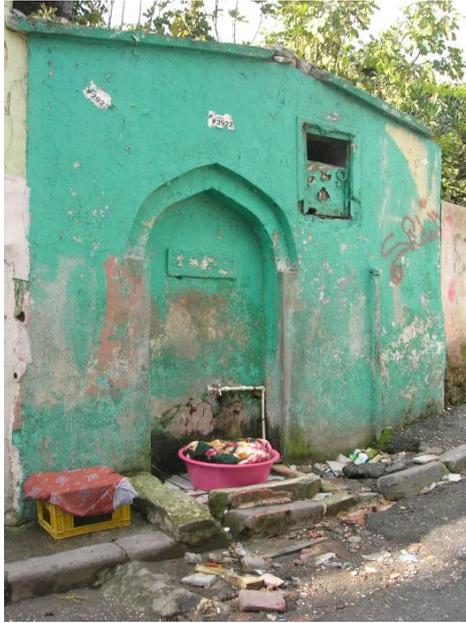


Figure 4.45 The Küçükçeşme fountain which gives its name to the street.

It must be realized that these people have strong connections with earth, plants and animals. They are living in one or two storey houses. Most of them keep animals like dogs, chicken or even horses as pets. They live together; they have strong relations with their neighbours. In addition to that most of them are relatives. They are completely different than the ordinary city life people. Such a social entity can not be detached from its context which is place, people and their culture.



Figure 4.46 The chickens at the streets.



Figure 4.47 The pigeons that the tea maker keeps.

In addition to that, it has been said that the problems are solved inside the district which straightens the concept of appropriation of the district: For instance, the owner of home goods selling store in the district has told that in district many houses and stores have well holes in the district still in use (also he had showed his own well hole). One of the inhabitants had connected his sewage system to his well hole, which has affected the other well holes. So, they had fixed this problem within themselves at recent history.

Therefore the boundaries of district are close to their boundaries of house. In the house layer, Sulukule can be examined in two parts one of it is the houses of house holders and the houses of tenants.

Initially, it is important to point out that the land registers are in mixed situation like one land register belongs to multi shareholders or in the old land registers the ink was damaged so they can not prove that the place belongs to their family. Also in one of them the land register belongs to their grandfather but it was arranged before law of family names, due to that they can not prove that house had inherited to them (the house in Figure 4.48).



Figure 4.48 The Timber House that is not Registered.

Furthermore, it is a fact that householders who live in there are not different than the tenants economically and socially. Even some of them let out on hire their part of houses. The tenants of Sulukule are %51,5 of the district according to UNESCO report. The unique character of Sulukule especially can be seen in the houses with courtyards which are consists of tenants. In this respect the notions of possession and ownership are distinguishable clearly.

It is important to realize that most of them have been tenant for 15-20 years; even some of them live without giving rental because of the death of home owner. The possession can be observed in all courtyards as they were taking care of their place which is mentioned before. As examined before, the kinship can be seen in every courtyard. When the conversations were done about this, they mentioned that the life of houses with courtyard could only be possible with their relatives.

In Ottoman district the relations of kinship were seen too, like in Sulukule. The kinship strengthens the communal life. Surely in Sulukule sample, the boundaries of families are stricter than the Ottoman period communal living, but the common life exists in general. Besides houses with courtyards this approach can be seen in whole district. For instance Asım Hallaç who is the owner of his house, is living with his brother and his brother's family. According to that he divided his two storey house in to two parts in use, at the entrance his brother lives with his family and in the second floor he and his family lives. In addition to that, there exit a small outhousing in the backyard which was made for his other brother. Asım Hallaç mentioned that this kind of an approach can be seen in whole district.

Such a usage of courtyards can also be explained with the poverty. But it is fact that they can move other places but they prefer to stay in there with their relatives. Surely with the changing conditions they have made arrangements to their houses like adding kitchen inside the house with the communal usage of the courtyards, the boundaries of private and public interferes to each other. The property relations are also interfering to each other as building subdivisions are done according to portion which refers to its usage. So, there exist the problems of ownership in the adaptation

process of the new project. According to new project the property relations are based on the notion of ownership that is generally accepted and used.

4.2. State and Space in Sulukule

‘Every political power creates its own space’ (Lefebvre 1991). As mentioned before, space is reproduced by the new political power and this situation can contain its ideologies in itself. This can be seen in the history of Sulukule, even in the period of Fatih Sultan Mehmet, gypsies were brought to Istanbul to revive the city life. Another example is closing the entertainment houses in the presiding time of Sadettin Tantan because of that period’s ideological views. Today, similar manner can be taken into consideration. As mentioned before, this area is selected to be urban transformation area. Surely, the area is not in good condition, many people living in there are under the poverty line. Also with the new coming immigrants, this situation consolidates. But with the new project the conditions of the inhabitants could not be changed. They have just forced to move peripheries of the city. The district that belongs to them is a valuable place, located at the centre of Istanbul. By this transformation plan the area is going to be used by upper income families. So, just the physical appearance is going to be changed, the conditions of inhabitants are not made better. Thus, with their existing problems they have just made move to peripheries of the city.

As the area located in the historical peninsula, the new project is declared as it is compatible with Ottoman houses. Consequently, this can be associated with influence of ideologies what Lefebvre mentioned. Such an approach can be discussed with the concept of nostalgia. The concept of nostalgia is given as a result of the difficult life of the modern world, with country sides in folk traditions or tourists who escape underdeveloped countries (Lefebvre 1991, 122). The project aims to build old Ottoman houses which never existed there before. In addition to that, the life of the district constitutes above this idea, which has the ideological request of nostalgia.

The Ottoman houses are also in the realm of monumentality, which are needed to be revitalized, but just like a décor, is buried ideological background. These will be done beside the historical city wall, which gives value to that area and have the traces of Ottoman. With the other point of view, besides the ideological reproduction, this place is a value for capitalism. There is surplus value of the location of Sulukule. To open up, by being near the city walls and at the historical peninsula of the city, the district of Sulukule has the potential of high prices, but this positivistic situation brings negativity to this place by the results of diminishing. Somersan describes this evaluation;

“Once in the periphery, now it has come to the centre of the city, which is partly the cause for its current shaky existence; the avaricious city is getting ready to swallow it up and turn over to wealthier and more established middle to upper class occupants” (Somersan 2007, 72)

Accordingly, the case of Sulukule fits the term of strategic place, explained by Lefebvre as;

“Strategic space makes it possible simultaneously to force worrisome groups, the workers among others, out towards the periphery; to make available spaces near the centres scarcer, so increasing their value; to organize the centre as locus of decision, wealth power and information; to find allies for the hegemonic class within the middle strata and within the ‘elite’; to plan production and flows from the spatial point of view; and so on” (Lefebvre 1991, 375).

So, according to this definition the exact situation can be observed in Sulukule as sending their residents to peripheries unless they can pay instalment. Therefore, the others who can not pay have to leave their places as lower-incoming citizens. By the conversations, one of the inhabitants of Sulukule has told the things happened to him. According to his thought a man had came and ask for him to sell his house to him, and he said why, If he was not good enough to live in his own district. In order to examine the situation of Sulukule with state, firstly the urban transformation plan with its effects should be dealt with.

4.2.1. Urban Transformation Project in Sulukule

Fatih Municipality described this place as a problematic space, due to its ruinous physical appearance, and social condition. According to that surveys are made and the process of the project has been started (Fatih municipality web site). These surveys are compromised the inhabitants demographic properties, socio-economic properties, consumer profile, jobs, social security and indigence (Tuna, Satiroğlu, Çağlayandereli 2008, 157). According to these surveys, it can be said that they probably can not afford the prices of the newly built areas. As a result of this it is possible for them to move Taşoluk, if they manage to pay its rents. By the way the district is going to be constructed for the new owners. By doing so, the traces of old district are going to be disappeared not only with the social character but also with the physical boundaries. This can be examined in figure 4.49 which shows existing situation and in figure 4.50 the proposal situation can be examined. Belonging to these, even most of the streets are preserved; the pattern of the area is completely changed to something else.

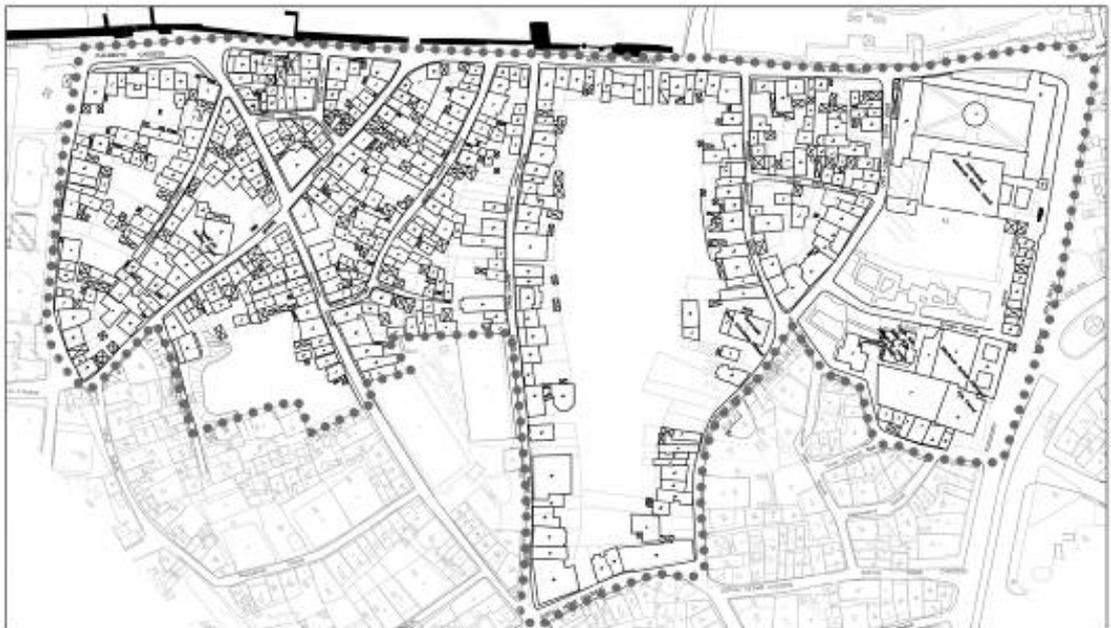


Figure 4.49 The Existing Plan of Sulukule.

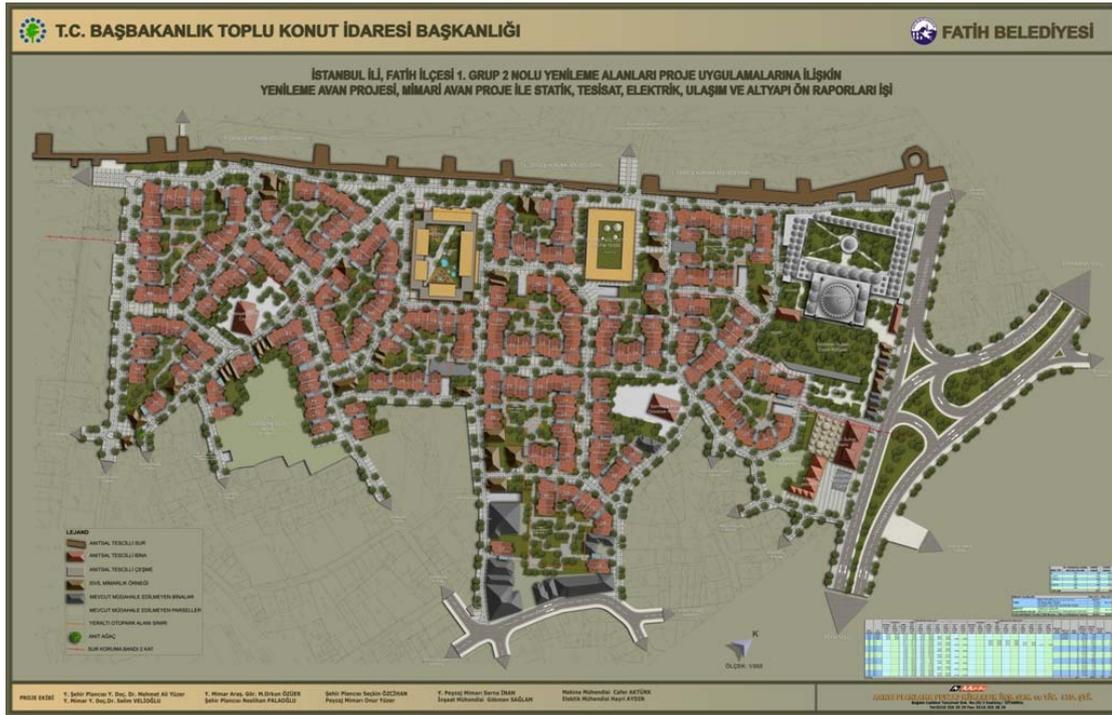


Figure 4.50 Urban Transformation Project, Fatih Municipality.

Such projects can introduce the concept ‘gentrification’. In Sulukule sample, gentrification can be read in a different way. Because in the Nil Ergün’s article gentrification discussed as a period and a process which takes time (generally it has three stages in the first stage some houses are bought and rehabilitated, then in the second phase other people are informed about the rental value and translocation starts, in the last phase prices increase and the original owners and the new owners start to interchange places) (Ergün, 2006, 20). But in this case the transformation will be realized like behaving this as tabula rasa. The whole districts physical appearance is going to be changed with the new project.

The urban transformation project can be associated with the Lefebvre’s term of conceived space (representation of space). By the new life style that is imposed to its inhabitants, is completely belongs to creating a new, different place. The life that is imposed here is homogenized life that consists of strict boundaries of ownership like three of two bathroom with a living room and a parking lot. If this project belongs to them, they had nothing to do with such a living style.

The point that should be emphasized at this point is homogenised spaces. Homogeneous society is ‘balance of power between classes and fractions of classes, as between the spaces they occupy’ (Lefebvre 1991, 281). These can be exemplified by TOKI in Turkey. The houses created by the aid of state gives the same typology in whole Turkey. Moreover, the people live in centre of the city with lower incomes, the state try to make them to go these houses at the peripheries of the city, which is a kind of elimination and violence for capital.

TOKI houses can be defined as repetitious places. Repetitious spaces are defined as spatial organization that is coming from repetitive actions. These places are dominated spaces. Everything is organized with the repetitive life of human life or the workers life. These kinds of places are the planners or architects spaces. Sulukule inhabitants are forced to live in houses which have the same repetitive rooms and roads. These houses have no possibility to be used by Sulukule citizens with their original social character. On the other hand economically it is not possible for them to live 30-40 km away from city as their economy based on their location. So, metaphorically the living organic structure of Sulukule disappears with the disappearance of their place. In addition to that as, “Segregation and mutual dislike are expressed nearly towards all other gypsy mahalles” (Mischek 159). Today even the people who live in Taşoluk are against the Sulukule people (Somersan 2007, 726).



Figure 4.51 Taşoluk, TOKI Houses.



Figure 4.52 The General View of Sulukule from City Walls.

Dependant on the properties of urban transformation project, the process can be discussed as dissolving a social product. As mentioned before Sulukule has a closed structure both in property owners and tenants. The houses in the Sulukule are generally concurred possession. Mostly, one of the shareholder lives in there. If they can not arrange a settlement between themselves, they sell their right to other people or municipality. By doing so, they can made an arrangement with municipality to have a house in that area or in Taşoluk. But in that time, if the house is registered, the possessor of the existing house can not possibly live in his/her own house, he/she had to live in some other house according to the arrangement. This situation points out the lost the lived space. Even though the space exists, he/she can not be living in there, in other words, with this the people and their spaces are made meaningless by setting apart them.

The transformation of this space is from appropriated space to dominated space by the powers of state. Before the transformation project this space is used to be an appropriated space as mentioned before that the rules of that space was taken care of its inhabitants. But now by the entrance of the state in this area this space can be described as dominated space. According to that there are several situations that refer to dominated spaces. One of it is forcing people to leave their places. The reason is the state uses its power by making the expropriations that people to make deal or find new spaces. Also before the demolitions the houses which are supposed to destroyed are put the sign of x with red paint. And when they have came to their

houses they had seen the red x on the doors which is also a sign for them to leave without problem because they are facing with the absolute power. In addition to that with the several demolitions the inhabitants become terrified and by this they are forced to leave. As a result of these demolitions some of the inhabitants who have no place to go have written notices not to destroy their houses. The notice is as shown in the figure 4.53;

Attention Bulldozer

In this house living as tenant, and he/she is waiting for the answer of his/her application for having holder of a right.⁷



Figure 4.53 The Notice for Bulldozers.

⁷ Dozer Dikkat

..... bu evde kiracı olarak yaşıyor.
Hak sahibi olmak için verdiği dilekçeye cevap bekliyor.



Figure 4.54 The caricature by Behiç Ak, points out how Sulukule inhabitants were segregated under the shaping of the municipal power.



Figure 4.55 One of the registered houses. The owner of this house has set up warnings on the walls of the house informing its being a registered house. After he left, however, his house fell into ruins in approximately three weeks.

As inhabitants leave their places, the houses are open to vandalism. The gypsies who are immigrated and settled in the area of garden ware use the abandoned houses wooden materials for fuel wood. Furthermore, the inhabitants of Sulukule use them. One of the residents mentioned that before the demolitions the empty houses were not used that way, after the demolitions this approached had started. In addition to that, after the demolitions, building rubbish has left behind also it has been mentioned that other places' rubbish has been thrown in there. Also by not collecting the rubbish the state gives the notice to leave that space.



Figure 4.56 The registered house with the damaged timber linings, probably taken as fuel wood.



Figure 4.57 Vandalism (graffiti) on one of the Registered Houses.

Sulukule now can be defined as an abstract space. By starting ground works and leaving earth to the whole street of Prof. Naci Şensoy, the message of ‘construction work has been started’ is given which points out that they have to leave their spaces.



Figure 4.58 The Debris of the Restoration of the Mosque of Mihrimah Sultan. Prof. Naci Şensoy street is completely under the debris.



Figure 4.59 The moment of the Demolition.

4.2.2. The Alternative Works for Urban Transformation

In order to prevent Sulukule from diminishing there exist various activities. These activities can be evaluated in the notion of differential space (counter space) which demands for qualitative space rather than quantifiable space. Most of the activities were arranged by Sulukule Platform. The entertainment activities, press statements, the arrangements of congress are performed by Sulukule Platform cooperation with Sulukule Romani Culture and Development Association (*Sulukule Roman Kültürünü Geliştirme ve Dayanışma Derneği*). This association placed on Sarmaşık street which have the same courtyard typology.



Figure 4.60 Sulukule Cultural Centre.

The group from University Collage London Development Planning Unit act on the problem in that multi disciplinary way with their report. According to that they have made analyze on actors of this project. As a result they have made a table for alternative relations between these actors.

In addition to that, in order to introduce that the different solutions can be found by associating with the Platform the group which consists of planners and architects work on an alternative plan for Sulukule. The name of the group is STOP (Autonomous planners without limits)⁸ in which I was included too. The alternative plan is designed and discussed on the sustainability of the Sulukule with its culture. According to that not only physical appearances are presented, but also the things that can be made for them to continue their economical life is discussed and some proposals are represented. By doing so, with the references of social life of Sulukule, the alternative way of dealing with the project is interrogated.

According to that, the process should be taken with a holistic approach. In Sulukule there exist complex relations. In order to develop this space, these relations should be discussed in interdisciplinary area. For Ucl they parted the problems in to five parts which are social, political, economical, cultural and spatial. Hence they had given the actors who can work on this project and the relations between them. According to that from civil society to academics, state, agencies and developers should work interconnected. As Lefebvre mentioned production of space consists of an interdisciplinary approach. In the organization of Sulukule Platform many people from different disciplines can be seen. The main aim of these organizations is to represent Sulukule as an intangible heritage that UNESCO had defined, and to protect Sulukule with its residents.

Thus, the organizations are trying to solve problem of Sulukule with its users. They believe Sulukule has a value in Istanbul. And new urban transformation project should be prepared with connection of its actors. As Korhan Gümüş mentions that when an architect works on public project, the customer of architect is not local government, instead of that the customers are users of that place (Gümüş 2008). So, the project should be dealt with the users and their sustainability.

To conclude, with being a member of Sulukule Platform, I have an opportunity work in this area not only just as a thesis study but also for help these people to

⁸ STOP: Sınır Tanımayan Otonom Plancılar.

survive their culture. Since one and a half year, the works of the thesis have been carrying on Sulukule, it was possible to observe the deterioration of Sulukule. Surely it was a terrible situation for both the inhabitants and Istanbul. However, with the analyses, it is possible to reveal their complex relations. It must have been known that, they are not open to outsiders. In a way, it was also a process for me to transform from an outsider to an insider (not exactly the insider as I am not one of them, but have had opportunity to have information). Although, being a member of Sulukule Platform, they were still not open enough. One of the reasons for that can be because of the structural violence they do not want to transcribe themselves. For instance, when I was doing my analysis on houses with courtyard, I have asked whether they are relatives and they have answered they were not. But the time I was gone with Asım Hallaç⁹, they have said that they are relatives.

Asım Hallaç was very helpful in actualizing the conversations that were made to analyze the life of houses with courtyards. The reason of being an outsider they do not like to talk to outsiders. Another reason is explicit after the public surveys about the earthquake, the urban transformation was on the scene for the first time, and they were faced with the problem of leaving their places. Furthermore, because most of the inhabitants have left their spaces, the information was gained from Asım Hallaç, as he is an inhabitant of district. He also has a grocery store and he can observe the situation of Sulukule from time after time. He mentioned that as the inhabitants had left their spaces, Sulukule was getting worse. Also he points out, ‘the taste of that place is gone’. Even the connection between his place and him can be seen in his tone of the voice. He is telling that he is going to resist till he will be left the only one but later he added that ‘without his neighbours, being in this place is meaningless’. These impressions and feelings all present how he is attached to the place; but also that for him place is a representation, a construct which reflects social relationships.

⁹ Asım Hallaç is one of the inhabitants in Sulukule, in addition to that he is an activist to protect his neighbourhood in Sulukule Platform.



Figure 4.61 Asım Hallaç with his daughter in front of his grocery store.

In addition to my field survey in the area, I worked with Aslı Kıyak Ingin who is also Sulukule Platform and Human Settlements association member. We worked about the restorations of some buildings with KUDEB and also we are working for registering the Küçükçeşme street for the preservation of the whole street. That was an opportunity to have conversation with the people who were usually the house holders. With these conversations, the notion of ‘Sulukule as a social product’ is strengthened. For instance, one of them has told that when he was small child (around 30 years ago) there used to be a man as a repairer of shoes, placed inside the plane tree. Or another has mentioned that his grandfather, who has been living in his house for 70 years, does not want to leave. As a result of this now he is very ill and the video of his grandfather can be viewed on the Guardian newspaper’s web site. This shows the connection of the inhabitants to their places. This place is lived (spatial practice) space; in every part of the place they had several memories. It was an important chance for me to observe this not only through just their houses, but also with their district and neighbours.



Figure 4.62 The plane tree (çınar) that shoe repairer possessed.

Consequently, the production, reproduction and the process of the demolition of Sulukule give traces of the interconnections of its relations. If one of the components of these relations is removed; this situation effects the whole. In other words, Sulukule is a whole with its place, relations and culture. Moreover, with these properties, Sulukule represent an impressive sample as a social product that enables to criticize today's spaces in general.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

Throughout this thesis, production of space is investigated with the case study of Sulukule, by focusing on the notions of ‘possession’, ‘ownership’. The thesis particularly dwells on these concepts, in the notion of ‘appropriating space’. These concepts have a determining role in order to make an analysis on the social actors (the users of the district) who are the subjects of appropriation of a space. The reason behind this case study is the potentiality of Sulukule to elucidate the spatial formations of the social, cultural and economical relations. To be more precise, Sulukule has a difference not only of being a place for an ethnic group, but also having a property of embodiment of its relations. This situation enables to interrogate the general approach of the dwelling by making a comparison of the conditions of Sulukule.

The conceptual framework of the study based on Henry Lefebvre’s ‘production of space’, producing space is analyzed with its components which are described as social, economical (depending on production relations) and cultural relations. As mentioned before the problematic reveals with the homogenised and standardized life styles and its products (homogenized spaces). In order to criticize these spaces, it is important to investigate how they are produced. In that sense, Henri Lefebvre’s ‘production of space’ is taken as a guide to structuralize the framework of the study. The structure of the analysis on Sulukule is constituted on mainly in three parts. The first part consists of the social actors (users of the district) of the Sulukule who are Gypsy/Romani in general. Their brief history in the Ottoman period and their identity with their space in the urban memory is investigated. In the second part the conditions of the Sulukule is researched. Their economical, social structures are dealt with while investigating the ‘production of Sulukule’. The analyses are carried

out according to the relations that produce Sulukule. These analysis constituted in different layers, which are;

- Social layer
- Economical Layer
- Physical layer
 - District layer
 - Housing unit layer

In the housing unit layer the investigation focuses on the houses with courtyards. The third part consists of the relations of state and Sulukule which depends on the control of power of the state, related to capital.

Therefore, depending on the analyses, it is important to point out Sulukule is unique for the sample of social and physical formation, which has a different character of an urban pattern. The collective life of Sulukule was formed according to the social and production relations that were analysed. As they have been living in there for a long time, many generations have adopted the same place. They used to gain enough money to survive through the entertainment houses. Also within such a formation, the collective life and public sprit is observed like in other parts of their social life. It is a fact that until the transformation process, they have been able to preserve that public sprit. The social relations formed the district as a product. The houses with courtyards are typical for this production. In these courtyards the social events and production relations are different compared with today's relations in other social geographies in Turkey. These are expounded with property relations. According to this, a courtyard is in use for the needs of the quarters which surrounds that court. Collective life in the courtyard includes cooking, washing, bathing or toilet needs, using the components placed in the courtyards. One of the most important thing in these courtyards is nearly all of the inhabitants are tenants. This reveals how they appropriated their spaces in the housing unit layer. Such a situation brings light to the difference of 'possessing and owning a space'. The boundaries of single dwelling that we are familiar with is not possible to seen in this case. For instance, it is not possible to place six or seven families in 140 m² area,

but in Sulukule it is. Consequently, the boundaries of the houses and the property relations represent different solutions in the case of Sulukule.

So, these relations place both in the district and the housing unit layers. It is important to realize that, in the production process of the thesis, it was an opportunity to observe how these relations are interconnected to each other. For about one and a half year, the demolition of Sulukule is observed for the preparation process of the thesis. It is mentioned that the breakup started with the closing down the entertainment houses which were their main economical components. In addition to that, with the urban transformation project, the social and physical disjunction can be observed in last three years, especially last one year. The consequences of these two breaking points are also connected to each other. With the closing down of the entertainment houses which was held by using force, made them to conceal their music identities. Furthermore, it made them to feel powerless oppose to the state as a citizen. Also, economically they are collapsed. This situation also has prepared the reasons for the next breaking point by having a potentiality of social and physical collapse. The consequences of the urban transformation process make the connections of social and physical space visible in such a short time. One of them is departing their space, because of the acceptance of the power of the state and desire for living in better conditions. This situation was intensified with the act of the dispossession of the state. This is resulted with the end of Sulukule. The inhabitants started to leave; some of them stopped taking care of their houses. As a result of this, the appropriation of Sulukule was collapsed day by day with the consequences of vandalism and demolition. In addition to that, time after time the bulldozers come and pull down some houses. The rest of the inhabitants were forced to move by living with the debris of these houses. So, depending on these observations, the connections of these relations to each other is revealed unfortunately with the demolition of Sulukule.

According to these analyses, Sulukule has a value with its social and physical space and it has a meaning in mental space (in other words, it has a value in urban memory). The whole components to create a space should be examined.

Furthermore the actors of that space should deal with the space as a lived-space which contains its actors too. Through urban projects that aim to construct better life should be in connection to the creation of appropriated space rather than creating a new dominated space. Surely the physical renewal of space does not mean too much to their inhabitants. In order to develop a place, the production relations of that place should be included as a process of developing to the overall process. In other words before creating a container the magnet should be analyzed and container should be formed according to that.

The thesis puts forward the importance of the evaluation of the space with its context. To be more precise, as mentioned before, space consists of various relations which strictly connect to each other. In order to analyse a space, it should be done with the various disciplines. The space is not only a physical product, but also social product. So, it is important to point out the dwellings are much more than the sheltering or being an investment object. They are also social products which is produced and reproduced again and again in the time. The homogenized spaces or the spaces in repetitive character (especially dwellings) are the problematic as the starting point of the thesis. Therefore, the concept of dwelling should be interrogated as a social product.

Thus, from the point of view of the thesis, Sulukule is a social product and there are several dynamics in that space, which creates that space. These dynamics can be observed from district scale to house scale. The boundaries of the dwelling have changed in the district. The strict boundaries of apartment life must always have been meaningless to them. It can be seen that some of the people who moved to Taşoluk are turning back to Sulukule or to Karagümruk which is neighbour district of Sulukule. The study proves that for places like Sulukule, where the social, economic, cultural, and kinship relations have interwoven a place as a social product, it is very difficult and if possible, unjust, to disintegrate the determinants and components of such a historic social product.

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