

URBAN STIGMA: A MORPHOLOGICAL INVESTIGATION OF THE
MARGINALITY IN THE CITY

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ABSTRACT

URBAN STIGMA: A MORPHOLOGICAL INVESTIGATION OF THE MARGINALITY IN THE CITY

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City is one of the most complex and sophisticated artifacts shaped by numerous inputs and many different programmatic layers that eventually form the urban fabric. In modern cities, the fabric is reproduced through standardized and sterilized spatial orders controlled by the local authorities and the state. The marginals (i.e., slum areas, refugee camps, red light districts), in this context, are conceived as *deviations* where the so-called *legitimate* spatial syntax is interrupted and deformed. Since the marginal spaces cause fear, moral apprehensions, and a threat to the image of the city, they are exposed to some kind of purification strategies and urban policies. Brothels, as an early type of marginal space, are periodically subject to the different modes of moral cleansing in the name of ensuring public order. Exclusion, isolation, displacement, and concealment are the instruments of the policymakers that aim to keep these *immoral* territories out of the moral majority's sight and conscious.

This study focuses on the question of the spatial exclusion of the marginal spaces and the dynamics of their territorialization in the case of the legal brothels in Turkey. In order to reveal the spatial characteristics of urban stigma, the marginal spaces within urban fabric, locational relations and morphological structure of the active brothels have been analyzed. In this framework, a focus study on the brothels in İstanbul, İzmir, and Adana has been conducted to identify the three basic typologies

(i.e., center, inner fringe, and outer fringe), respectively. The cases were investigated in terms of location choice, spatial structures, syntactic formations, land-use patterns, visibility, typo-morphological characteristics, and boundary conditions in a multi-scalar view. The research eventually aims to expand the limited scope of the current knowledge on the issue from the sociological to morphological perspective.

Keywords: Marginal Space, Legal Brothels, Spatial Exclusion, Urban Morphology

ÖZ

KENTSEL KUSUR: KENTTE MARJİNALLIĞIN MORFOLOJİK İNCELEMESİ

İnce, Büşra
Yüksek Lisans, Kentsel Tasarım, Şehir Bölge Planlama
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Kent, mekansal dokuyu oluşturan çok sayıda tipolojik form elemanı ve birçok farklı programatik katmanla birlikte insan uygarlığının ürettiği en karmaşık yapıya sahip oluşumdur. Modern kentlerde doku, yerel otoriteler ve devlet tarafından kontrol edilen standartlaştırılmış ve sterilize edilmiş mekansal düzenler aracılığıyla yeniden üretilir. Bu bağlamda kent içerisinde yer alan marjinal alanlar (gecekondu bölgeleri, mülteci kampları, genelev mahalleleri vb.), *meşru* mekan dizimin kesintiye uğradığı ve deforme olduğu sapmalar olarak görülür. Marjinal mekanlar korkuya, ahlaki kaygılara ve şehrin imajına tehdit oluşturduğundan bir tür arınma stratejilerine dayalı kentsel politikalara maruz kalmaktadır. Bu bağlamda genelevler, tarihsel açıdan oldukça eski bir marjinal kentsel alan türü olarak, kamu düzenini sağlamak adına periyodik olarak farklı ahlaki temizlik biçimlerine tabi olagelmıştır Dışlama, tecrit, yerinden etme ve gizleme, bu *ahlaksız* bölgeleri ahlaki çoğunluğun gözünden ve bilincinden uzak tutmayı amaçlayan politika yapıcılarının temel araçları arasındadır.

Bu çalışma, Türkiye'deki yasal genelevler örneğinde, marjinal mekanların mekansal dışlanması sorununa ve bunların alansallaşma dinamiklerine odaklanmaktadır. *Kentsel kusur* olarak kavramsallaştırdığımız bu marjinal mekanın morfolojik karakterini ortaya çıkarmak için, Türkiye'deki aktif genelevlerin kentsel doku içindeki konumsal ilişkileri ve mekansal yapıları analiz edilmiştir. Bu çerçevede,

sırasıyla üç temel tipoloji (merkez, iç saçak ve dış saçak) tanımlanarak İstanbul, İzmir ve Adana'daki genelevlere yönelik bir odak çalışması yapılmıştır. Örneklem alanları, çok ölçekli bir bakış açısıyla yer seçimi, mekansal yapı, mekan dizimi, arazi kullanım örüntüsü, görünürlük, tipo-morfolojik özellikleri ve sınır koşulları açısından incelenmiştir. Bu bağlamda araştırma, konuyla ilgili olarak var olan sınırlı bilginin birikimini sosyolojik bakış açısından morfolojik bakışa genişleterek geliştirmeyi amaçlamaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Marjinal Mekan, Yasal Genelevler, Mekansal Dışlama, Kentsel Morfoloji

for unity in diversity

and to *no ones*...

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ABBREVIATIONS

NIMBY : Not in my backyard,

RLD : Red Light District,

VGA : Visibility Graph Analysis

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Problem Definition

Beyond being solely a physical ground that embodies societies, the city is a sophisticated and multilayered artifact that is affected and fed by recursive relations and dynamics, simultaneously shaping and reproducing the social structure and practices (Park *et. al.*, 1925; Lefebvre, 1991; Stavrides, 2010). Urban fabric, as one of the layers of the divergent structure of the city, is formed by various programmatic inputs and dynamics of society such as social diversity and coherence. As a result of this series of relations that produce each other, urban fabric has eventually been forming as a heterogenous structure that mirrors of divergent nature of societies. However, in modern cities the fabric is reproduced by state, local authorities and policymakers in the name of adjusting the public order and exposed to standardization and sterilization strategies. The production of *purified* urban space is procured as outcomes of exclusion, boundary construction and isolation processes (Sibley, 1998; Kearon, 2005; Bauman, 2007).

The key trigger behind these purification operations lying *the fear of the otherness* that cause *moral panic* and *abjection* towards specific groups in society (Jews, Gypsies, mentals, homeless people, the have-nots, prostitutes). In the social construction process of the marginal, the discourses of disorder, disgust and deviance are integral notions promoted by dominants (Cohen, 1985). The marginals are considered as *defiled* objects that threaten the public safety, morality and order. Correspondingly, **the spaces of marginals are deemed as deviations where so-called legitimate spatial order is interrupted and deformed.** The artificial correlation of the marginal spaces with fear, stigma, moral apprehensions, and threat to the image and quality of the city, justifies the operations conducted in these areas.

Marginal spaces are trying to be suppressed or vanished by purification and exclusion strategies enacting by state and law.

Prostitution has long been a socially problematic issue that is accepted as signifier of *immorality*. Since its presence is related to dirt, danger and corruption, there is a global recognition that prostitution stigmatizes the area where it occurs. Parallely, there is an urge to control over the geographies of prostitution (brothels, red-light districts, and other types of sex premises) as early forms of marginal spaces. These *conflict generating* spaces are exposed to periodical moral cleansing, spatial exclusion, displacement and concealment operations in the name of ensuring public order (Asworth *et. al.*, 1988; Hubbard, 2000). These sanctions have been legally continuing particularly in Western societies, in order to keep these ‘immoral’ territories out of the moral majority’s sight and conscious and protect the value of the urban land. Hubbard summarize the policing attempts towards places of sex work as follows:

“...the idea that the police’s attempts to restrict sex work to specific marginal sites has been detrimental to both the quality of life of local people and to the health and safety of sex workers is a valuable one, signifying that the modes of regulation shaping the place of prostitution in the urban West are inexorably unravelling” (Hubbard, 2000, p.168).

In Turkey, similar zero tolerance regulations and exclusionary attempts towards brothel zones have been conducting especially for last two decades. Despite they are legally accepted areas, the existence of brothels **conflicts with the ethical and religious values of the society and the discourse and policies of the government**. Particularly, prostitution areas located in inner parts of cities **are subjected to demolition and removal operations** in the name of sustaining moral safety and public order, protecting decent majority of the society from defiled, eliminating the danger that pollutes the image of the city and ensuring the physically improved and sanitized living conditions. In addition to removals and demolitions, there are legal spatial codes that brothel zones have to obey. These codes are mainly cover the

visibility, proximity and accessibility levels of prostitutions areas. All these discourses, sanctions and operations are determinants for location-selection, spatial characteristics and dynamics of brothel zones in the country.

Besides, there is the problem of **insufficient knowledge and research in literature** regarding brothel zones and their marginalization processes from spatial standpoint, specifically in the case of Turkey. Even though, constructing the other, marginality and marginal groups have always drawn attention from academic circles, and researches in the fields of psychology, sociology, economy, and gender studies have been conducted and forms of marginal spaces is discussed many times, not many scholars have focused on spatial dimensions of the issue through geographies of prostitution as marginal spaces. Studies about their spatial dynamics and integration problematic with their context are insufficient in the literature. **Particularly in Turkey, there is not any academical research that investigates the state-regulated brothels and their current distributions from spatial aspect.**

Consequently, before defining the main problem of the research, it is necessary to sum up the set of problems identified above. In broad sense, these problems which develop on the axis of the city, marginality, society and decision-making mechanisms can be generalized as follows: (1) the process of constructing the marginal in society is fueled with exclusionary discourses and practices, (2) the spatial exclusion of the socially excluded marginal, and the destruction of urban diversity and unity, (3) the formation of standard and sterilized urban spaces as outcomes of purification operations, (4) encountering the marginal within the city is becoming a rare situation that is deemed as interruption of socio-spatial order (5) brothel zones as early types of marginal spaces are also subjected to purification strategies and they are in danger to be extinct in urbanized patterns of modern cities (including cities in Turkey and Europe). Ultimately, the main problem that this thesis deals with, and questions is the spatial integration and separation problematic arising from the exclusionary discourses and practices that brothels are exposed to, as well as the spatial tactics and potentials they have developed to exist in the city.

1.2 Aim of the Study and Research Questions

In the light of above-mentioned problems, this study focuses on the question of the spatial exclusion dynamics of the marginal spaces and their territorialization potentials and decisions through the legal brothels in Turkey. In this research it is assumed that since prostitution is a socially neglected phenomenon that has been a taboo for centuries, its spatialization and physical communication with the environment differ from so-called *normal spaces*. Prostitution zones manifest **distinctive locational, configurational, and morphological characteristics that mirror the perspectives of society**. Moreover, **all the exclusionary mechanisms directly affect the location-selection processes of brothel zones, their modes and levels of integration with the city, boundary construction types, spatial formation dynamics and tactics they generated to resist these destructive practices**.

In fulfillment of these assumptions, **this thesis aims to conduct a morphological investigation in the case of actively working brothels in Turkey, specifically İstanbul, İzmir and Adana, and reveal the locational and spatial dynamics of them regarding with location choice decisions, spatial structures, syntactic formations, land-use and activity patterns, visibility and accessibility conditions, and typo-morphological characteristics from an inter-scale standpoint**. In accordance with this main purpose, series of theoretical and analytical methods have been used and a general framework has been established in line with successive sub-questions as follows:

- What are the dynamics of socially constructing the marginal in modern societies and its impacts on urban space?
- What are the exclusionary operations and moral cleansing strategies towards marginal spaces by authorities and moral majorities?
- What are the marginalization and stigmatization efforts towards brothels and their spatial repercussions around the world?

- What are the spatial impositions applied to brothels in Turkey and the exclusionary processes they are exposed to?
- What are the locational status and spatial production dynamics of brothels in Turkey and their visibility, accessibility and integration values in the city?

In the way of morphological exploration of marginalized brothel zones, answering these questions is constructing the basis of the research. While exploring the patterns of the marginality through legal brothels, these questions shed light on the dynamics of these immoral spaces of modern societies and the integration-segregation dilemma of them. Besides, the research eventually aims to expand the limited scope of the current knowledge on the issue from the sociological to morphological perspective.

1.3 Methodology

In this study, which needs a very comprehensive research base, theoretical and analytical research methods are used supportively. In order to provide a well-established framework, the thesis begin with literature review which mines the ontological, sociological, political and urban studies focusing on the formation process of marginality. The literature review provides a conceptual infrastructure for understanding the formation of the marginal and the mechanisms developed for it and forms the structure of the discussions and inferences in the following sections. In the way of constructing the other Kristeva (1982), Bauman (2007), Levinas (1987); comprehending geographical exclusion Sibley (1998); grasping the potentials of marginal spaces Foucault (1984), Hetherington (2002), Wacquant (2007); and associating all these notions with spaces of prostitution Park and Burgess (1925), Ashworth et. al. 1988, and Hubbard (2000) are the main sources shaping the thesis theoretically.

In the following part, comprehensive researches aiming to reveal the basic definitions, debates, procedural and legal status of the brothels in all around the world are conducted. A multifaceted research method that focuses on review of academic studies, reports, law and regulations and is also followed in the way of exploring examples of brothel areas and red-light districts around the world and the dynamics affecting the spatial formation of these examples. In the case of Turkey, General Regulations Regarding Brothels and Prostitution and the Fight Against Venereal Disease, which is the primary statute that embodies the rules and regulations of the brothels and the sex workers in the country, is used as the primary source to decode the spatial codes that brothels have to follow. Decoding the spatial sanctions from this regulation helps to create a legal framework to understand spatial formation processes of brothel areas and make consistent deductions.

In order to explore the spatial dynamics and location-selection processes of brothels in Turkey, a top-down and inter-scale research order has been determined. In this context, the first step is to identify the brothels that are still active. At this stage, according to a list published by the Ministry of Health in 2000, 37 provinces with brothels were examined one by one. This examination was carried out to determine whether the brothels in the provinces are still active. More than a hundred newspaper articles were scanned, and it was found out that the brothels in 20 provinces were demolished or closed. In the continuation of the research, news sites and blog pages were scanned one by one in order to specify the locations of these sixteen actively working brothels and their locations and assembled the dispersed knowledge about them in a list. Ultimately, as a result of this demanding process, the exact locations of ten active brothels in Turkey can be specified. After designation of brothel locations, their place in the urban macroform and basic spatial characteristics are mapped. In terms of locational (i.e., center, inner fringe, periphery) and analogical (i.e., closed street, enclave) differences Istanbul, Izmir and Adana cases are selected to conduct in depth analysis.

This study adopts a mixed-method approach to focus on locational and spatial dynamics of these three selected cases elaborately. Also, a multi-scalar method is

followed to comprehend the relationships established in each level by focusing on macro, mezzo and micro scale characteristics. The cases were investigated in terms of location choice, spatial structures, syntactic formations, land-use patterns, visibility, typo-morphological characteristics, and boundary conditions in a multi-scalar view. The examining process starts with macroscale relations to understand whole system and Space Syntax is used as complemented qualitative method elaborated by Hillier and Hanson (1988). This method is used to reveal integration level of the study areas in global and local levels. Space Syntax is used in this study as a complementary method that support the sets of relation in the way of understanding different aspects of the formation of the space. Besides, this method and theory gives clues about the human behavior, activity, and movement that make possible to comprehend the socio-spatial patterns of the environs of the brothel areas from different scales. In this context, the data of the district level street network is obtained from Open Street Map and after making format change in QGIS, the main analysis is calculated in software called DepthmapX. Besides, Visibility Graph Analysis (VGA) is conducted by using same software in a more focused area. Subsequently, mezzo-scale level analyses are applied in order to manifest the contextual dynamics and spatial characteristics of the cases in terms of land-use and activity patterns, visibility and accessibility conditions and relation modes with the surrounding. Precisely same diameter areas are covered for examination. Consequently, specialized micro-scale explorations made through 3D models of brothel zones to reveal typo-morphological site-specific characteristics, and boundary conditions.

1.4 Structure of the Research

The study organized in five main chapters. **Chapter 1**, the introductory part, briefly defines the research problem, aim and scope of the thesis with the methodology conducted in the research process.

Chapter 2 covers the literature review which comprises of theories regarding otherness, marginality, exclusion notions and their socio-spatial formation process. The chapter starts with the ontological production of the otherness and construction of the marginality within the society. Subsequently, production of space as a social construct will be explained in this section of the study in association with spatial dimensions of marginality and geographies of prostitution. The correlation between the formation of marginality and space will be evaluated simultaneously with the possibilities of alternative forms and uses. The comprehensive explorations on discourse of marginal spaces creates the theoretical framework of the thesis.

Chapter 3 concentrates on the brothels with all kinds of dynamics including basic definitions and debates, legal codes and regulations in all over the world but particularly in Turkey, evaluations of status of the brothel zones through global examples and most vitally tracing the locational and spatial conditions of active brothels in the country with physical, moral and legal operations they are exposed to.

Chapter 4 accommodates the elaborated morphological explorations of marginal spaces will be traced through actively working brothels in the cases of Istanbul, İzmir, and Adana respectively. Site-specific research will be conducted to reveal detailed contextual characteristics of brothel zones and the dynamics of their territorialization regarding with location choice, spatial structures, syntactic formations, land-use and activity patterns, visibility and accessibility conditions, and typo-morphological characteristics from an inter-scale standpoint.

Conclusion part critically presents the main findings of the research in the light of theoretical framework and analytical outcomes. Emergent spatialities of brothel zones as results of locational dynamics, the identified contextual commonalities and variations, configurational details and spatial tactics they produced, and integration problematics will be discussed regarding with the discoveries throughout the study in the very last chapter of the thesis.

CHAPTER 2

CITY AND MARGINALITY: THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The concept of the other has found a place in many different academic studies, from psychology to literature, politics to anthropology. Thus, it has been discussed from different perspectives. However, the analysis of the concept of the other in spatial terms has remained incomplete in the literature. The relationship between the marginal and the city, its effect on urban dynamics and territorialization modes have not found a place in academic circles. Before diving into the rich notion of "marginalization" in the urban context and interrelating it with the space, it is aimed to is aimed to generate basic assumptions and deductions in the light of a comprehensive literature review to provide a basis from which to develop analysis.

In this chapter, the concept of the other will be examined from an ontological to socio-spatial perspective by creating a cumulative conceptual framework. As a starting point, it is aimed to evaluate the production of the marginality in individual level, comprehending the socially and politically formation processes and interrelating it with the city, space and form. Subsequently, the production of social space and the alternative modes of spatial formation will be discussed in the line with marginality. Also, sanctions (i.e., spatial exclusion, isolation, segregation, dislocation) that marginal spaces exposed to will be assessed with the modes of spatial formation and physical tactics generated by the marginal spaces to defend themselves to all kinds of implementations. Lastly, the chapter will be concluded with associating the aforementioned conceptual findings with sites of commercial sex work.

2.1 Conceptual Exploration on Constructing the Marginal

Marginality is an artifact generated by individuals, societies, and states that have characterized and have evolved over time and space. There are many motives behind the production of the marginal rooted from psychological, cultural, political, and economical reasons. Racism, sexism and all kinds of radical attitudes towards minorities have made living together impossible by causing polarization, exclusion, social and spatial segregation. There is a common tendency to purifying space and labelling minorities as *defiled* especially among the western cultures (Sibley, 1998). Thus, marginalization has an integral place in the creation phases of social and spatial orders and boundaries. Especially in developed societies, the position of the marginal has gained attention as live with whom has become a vital concern.

Exclusionary practices, discourses, attitudes, tactics, and forms result in marginalization are concerns of wide spectrum research areas (i.e., psychoanalysis, sociology, politics, anthropology, feminist theory, and urban studies). It is necessary to take advantage of these intertwined areas, especially in order to deal with the interaction of the marginal with the city and the forms it creates. To provide a holistic ground for identifying patterns of marginal space produced by marginal itself and also installed by law and society, these recursive sets of relations should be decoded. Although these stigmatization processes have resulted in large-scale and broadly effective outcomes when evaluated from today's condition, constructing the other starts from individual level and initially produced by the self. Therefore, the research will start with the elucidation of the forms of producing otherness through the subject in the individualistic level, and then continue with the examination of social, political and spatial practices.

2.1.1 Ontological Definition of The Other

The other is a complex phenomenon that is affected by multiple determinants, related to many factors (i.e., time, context, social structure, majority, power, demography, etc.), and causes diverse and multiscalar outcomes. Therefore, it has attracted the attention of academic circles in different areas and has been the subject of many types of researches. Although the main focus of this study is to examine the marginality from a spatial dimension, it is crucial to discover how the society constructs the other and how the other sustain its existence. In order to answer these questions, the study starts investigating from the ontological base of it which is the very beginning of the formation process of otherness. Modern philosophers begin to question the formation process of the other at the level of the 'self' and analyze otherness through the reactions and feelings developed by the self (towards to those who are not *me*). To develop a profound understanding on the phenomenon, this also starts to define the other from the self level, the smallest scale, by mining views of mainstream theorists (Husserl, Kierkegaard, Heidegger, Sartre, Bauman, Levinas, Douglas, Kristeva).

In the way of constructing the other, the self locates at the central position since the relation of the self with social and cultural contexts and material world shaped from the individualistic perspective. Otherness contains relativity and opposition in its nature. According to Edmund Husserl, the other, in its essence, cannot contain solitude, it depends on someone else, can be produced and defined through someone else. The other is at the essence of the human being. Therefore, the 'intersubjectivity', can be specified as basis since it depends on the sets of relations (especially psychological) among people (Husserl, 1960). He also asserts that the consciousness of the self can be possible only by being aware of the other selves. Therefore, the other has a crucial role in the formation, definition and completion of the self-consciousness, the person realizes who he is by understanding who he is not (Husserl, 1960). Jean-Paul Sartre also uses 'intersubjectivity' as a tool in describing the phenomenon of the other in the way of self-perception and evaluates the

relationship with the other through an intersubjective conflict. He puts to the other in an essential place for the existence and knowledge of the self (Sartre, 1956, p.19). Based on these ideas, it can be deduced that the other is a condition for understanding the individual identity and self-awareness.

In the way of defining the other, concepts such as being a *stranger* and being an *outsider* are crucial, since at the very basic meaning of the other lies not belonging to certain circles or circumstances (i.e., culture, religion, nation, etc.). In *Being and Nothingness: An Essay on Phenomenological Ontology* (1956), Sartre defines the Other as an object 'from outside', which cannot be represented, it can only be encountered (p. 321). His ideas on this issue can be located in a radical place with his famous quote '*Hell is other people*'. He associates the other with restraint and shame that breaks the freedom of being ourselves because in the gaze of other a *judgmental* reflex occurs (Sartre, 2007). Judgmentalism is the key element of exclusionary discourses and practices, and it emerges at the moment of encounter with the other.

There are also different approaches in the context of the other and self relation. In the philosophy of Emmanuel Levinas¹, otherness occupies a central place in his works, the relationship with the Other is entirely different from what existentialists propose. Emmanuel Levinas opposes to the common tendency among Western philosophers which is description of the object merely based on the existence, not an essence, a nature, or characteristics. He claims that many philosophers take the self as a starting point of all understanding and perception, that causes to think of other people as if they were reflections of 'the self'. In other words, knowing the Other is kind of an invasion, redirection or reshaping the sense of the self. Levinas suggested that encountering with the other should be reconsidered in terms of the 'revelation'.

¹ Emmanuel Levinas is a Jewish-French philosopher, grew up in Russia, studies philosophy with Husserl and Heidegger in Freiburg, fights with the French Army against the Germans, loses his family to the Holocaust, and is captured by the Nazis, but survives.

To him, 'revelation' is a way of understanding and relating to the other. It allows the Other to be 'absolutely the Other' without any dependency to the self to be existed (Levinas, 1987, p.79). The discourses on the Other that developed by Levinas, are inclusive, defending diversity and coexistence.

The *concept of the face* in the philosophy of Levinas is a crucial metaphor for manifestation of the dynamics behind the encountering with the Other. The 'face' of the Other reminds to the self that it is not the center of the universe (Levinas, 1987, p.78). It breaks the selfish attitudes and reinforces the idea of that the Other separately exists. The face of the other human is the recognition of that there is something beyond the sense of self which occurs only encountering with the Other in the first place. The face operates like a two-way mechanism that creates an awareness of the world for both sides.

"...this gaze that supplicates and demands, that can supplicate only because it demands, deprived of everything because entitled to everything, and which one recognizes in giving (as one "puts the things in question in giving")-this gaze is precisely the epiphany of the face as a face. the nakedness of the face is destituteness. to recognize the other is to recognize a hunger. to recognize the other is to give. but it is to give to the master, to the lord, to him whom one approaches as "you" in a dimension of height." (Levinas, 1969, p.75)

Levinas interprets otherness through the ethical dimensions of the philosophy. From his perspective, *responsibility* is the key action to understanding the Other and adopting it. People have a responsibility to treat others ethically and also with compassion. With the concept of *substitution*, that basically is putting yourself in someone else's place; he puts benevolence for others at a primary point in the inter-subjective relationship. According to him, the substitution and responsibility is that is the desire to 'respond' comes from the mind, from an a priori order and it is not a rational choice. People take action automatically by separating the subject and the object, it is a metaphysical urge that creates the empathy and the compassion to other beings. The essence of this mutually responsible relationship with the *other* comes

from the empathetic drive. The other, is not the enemy or an outsider, it is an entity to whom it is responsible and for which an unconditional purpose is obtained. Individualization is possible by taking unconditional responsibility towards the other. One can only know the self through someone else. The Other is the part that defines and complements self, not the reflection of the self. Empathy is a necessity for those sharing the same environment (Levinas, 1991, p.232).

Other is also labeled as an abjection activator for the self. Sustaining the purity of the self is an existential concern for ensuring inner peace, protecting the body from dirt and sickness, and specifying the social and physical boundaries. Julia Kristeva describes the abjection as *opposed to I* and she follows '*Excrement and its equivalents (decay, infection, disease, corpse, etc.) stand for the danger to identity that comes from without: the ego threatened by the non-ego, society threatened by its outside, life by death*' (Kristeva, 1982, p.71). Abjection is a result of human behavior mechanism. Beings develop an exclusionary reflex towards the objects that correlated as defiled and dirty and the urge for specifying borders and erecting boundaries occurs. According to Sibley (1998) this tendency for separation is promoted in western cultures:

'Yet, the urge to make separations, between clean and dirty, ordered and disordered, 'us' and 'them', that is, to expel the abject, is encouraged in western cultures, creating feelings of anxiety because such separations can never be finally achieved' (Sibley, 1998, p.8).

Undoubtedly, the concept of the other, as mentioned above, is a concept that has been discussed many times and theories have been developed on it. While for some it is a dialectical result, for others it is the result of an artificial process. But in both cases, according to the common view, it is treated as a phenomenon opposed to the 'self'. The existential definition of the concept of the other is not a cumulative process, but a collection of definitions produced through different perspectives. For some theorists, the ontological formation of the Other which is constructed by the self contains fear, dirt, hostility, abjection, alienness while for others it reveals

feelings such as responsibility, empathy, sensibility, and awareness. However, the socially formation of the other has been shaped in such a way as to justify the first definitions. The hostility and abjection to the others often trigger the public anxiety since the people marked them as a threat to their identity, culture, safety, and even they correlated the other as a danger to property values. Thus, shaping the social space, determining the public order, and specifying the social and physical boundaries differences plays a crucial role.

2.1.2 Space, Power and Stigmatization in Urban Societies

It is overt that, there have been always marginalized groups, jobs, cultures, races, and places in every period of the history. These never-ending exclusionary discourses and attempts against specific ensembles have some similarities and commonalities in terms of motives, methods, and also results. Being represented as imperfect, immoral, or defiled has come up with a marginal status in the society and space. Colour, poverty, disease, sexuality, ethnicity, religion and even animals and nature are the particular issues that leading the discourses on marginality and socio-spatial segregation. They all evoke the idea of dirt or danger, and they are accepted as *signifiers of imperfection inferiority*. Dominant social and moral expressions have always been determinants of social order that shaping the spatial contexts. According to Sibley, attempts towards the defiled minorities and *list of others* generated by the dominants of the societies can be fed from baseless ideas and fabricated places (Sibley, 1998, p.49). In other words, the presence of marginal groups (including gypsies, Jews, sex workers, homeless) in society has provoked moral panic, fear and disgust (which are artifacts) over time.

All in all, the need for protection from the marginal arises in the vast majority of society. To provide the maintenance of social and spatial boundaries and to solve this societal problem, specific methods have been developed towards the deviant and dirty ones. These feelings triggered by the marginal in society and in the individual have been resulted in specific methods such as erecting boundaries, visual and

physical separations, distance from the marginal, and removing the other to sustaining the overprotected places.

In global era exclusionary discourses also has an impact on social and spatial context of societies even though the process of *othering* varies over time and space. It can be associated with clear shifts in the dynamics of dominant production modes, state organizations, and politics (Hubbard, 2000, p.94). Modern cities and societies are comparatively more obsessed with sterility and order than in the past. Sibley (1998) suggests that panics and anxieties occur in modern societies against the risk of any kind of disorder. While the possibility of disruption of the social order creates modes of anxiety in the society, the danger of shifting or breaking the spatial order also raises similar concerns. Such panics are outcomes of identifying the marginals as a threat by state and media and prompting them as problems enabling safe and clean spaces. Apart from the issues about pollution and morality caused by the marginals, since they are associated with the criminality, they are marked as disrupting the security environment. The idea of sustaining the family-oriented and sterilized order of the city is characterized the way of living in modern cities. There is also a economic dimension of the public anxieties towards the marginals in urban societies. Marginals are seen as a danger of lowering the property values with their uncanny presence (Hubbard, 2004).

Consequently, the multi-layered dynamics behind the production of the space in modern societies depending on the concerns of the public in terms of morality, security, economy, and hygiene in particular. Exclusionary policies and smear campaigns to marginals which are promoted by the state and the media in the name of protecting the conditions such as cleanliness, security and property value, have been shaping the urban fabric. The claim of distance from the unwanted, need for specifying boundaries and the obsession of the order are the main factors that shapes the urban space, which can be used as a tool in the implementation of these codes, as a result of exclusionary discourses and the stigmatization of certain groups prompted by the state, law and media.

2.1.3 Exclusion, Purification and Controlling Strategies

There is a very long history that can be associated with societies developing exclusionary discourses and creates imaginary geographies of others cast minorities as imperfect and impure. According to Constance Perin (1988), over time and space a list of ‘others’ (i.e., mentally ill people, the homeless, prostitutes, and racialized minorities) is compiled by societies (p.146). This impurity that minorities constitute is seen as a threat for the dominants of society that cause pollution physically and socially. Sibley suggest that particularly at the local level, societies are frequently resisting diversity and social mixing, and he follows:

“...there are enduring images of ‘other’ people and ‘other’ places which are combined in the construction of geographies of belonging and exclusion, from the global to the local. Historically, at least within European capitalist societies, it is evident that the boundary of ‘society’ has shifted, embracing more of the population, with the class divide, in particular, becoming more elusive as a boundary marker. The imagery of defilement, which locates people on the margins or in residual spaces and social categories...” (Sibley, 1998, p.69).

Ultimately, the urge to locate these polluting bodies ‘elsewhere’ and the need of *distanced from the defiled* is arising as a result of enduring otherizing processes (Ibid, p.49). Societies have developed purification and controlling strategies by using space as a tool. Spatially removing the marginal means a state of being cleared of what is different. In modern cities, exclusionary operations, enacted by authorities and law, are conducted in the name of ensuring public order, protecting families from defiled and providing a city image that has potentials for investments (Flusty, 2001). Especially, with the emergence of *new urbanism*, as Smith (1996) defines, urban policies are shaped by neo-liberal policies putting the capital flow and investment potentials above public interest and urban quality. For sustaining partnerships between governments and corporates, gentrification is the integral tool of new urban policies to create glamour zones in contemporary cities (Smith 2002). In this sense,

gentrification policies have been conducted ruthlessly with authoritarian tactics and repressive policing operations to clear the urban space from all components that are deemed as threat for city image. These purification practices particularly carried out towards squatter areas, homeless or street people, minority groups especially located in valuable urban centers, red-light districts and have been justified with the need for improvement of by life quality and redevelopment for the city (Hall&Hubbard,1996). In other words, urban fabric is sterilized from the difference and diversity and public life and space is allocated for decent majorities of the society. Smith evaluates these attempts of exclusion the marginal groups as creation of *single-minded space* and more radically he accused the decisionmakers as *stealing* the city from those who also have right to be part of metropolitan urban lives (Smith, 1996).

Sterilized and privatized urban spaces are outcomes of neglecting mutual respects and rights. These exclusionary mechanisms are seen as far away from creating public sphere that embrace the diversity in unity with all segments of society:

“In the punitive city, the post-modern city, the revanchist city, diversity is no longer maintained by protecting and struggling to expand the rights of the most disadvantaged, but by pushing the disadvantaged out, making it clear that as broken windows rather than people, they simply have no right to the city” (Mitchell, 2001, p. 71).

Physical sterilization also mirrors in social order by the creation of *ordinary place for a very ordinary culture* (De Certeau, 1984, p.22). These actions exclude marginal groups from everyday life practices. Removing the marginal from the majority's sight and conscious keep them away from the public life and disables encountering possibilities. Diversity and heterogeneity as traditional components of society in terms of way of living is elucidated by exclusionary tactics that eliminate the difference from public sphere. According to De Certeau, marginal groups become a *silent majority* that knotted together a form of *obligatory language* and the functional relations of these groups depend on *social situations* and *power relationships*. He

claims that the marginality groups are *massive and pervasive* formations that are not homogenously structured (p.15). But the heterogeneity the marginal contains is separated from the urban fabric and everyday conditions.

Accordingly, the exclusionary mechanisms operated to marginal groups are also attempted to sex-workers and geographies of prostitution as forms of impurity. The urge of maintaining the social and spatial boundaries is emerged from the uncanny presence of these disordered components of urban pattern. Demolishing the places of sex-work, removing them to the margins, banning them from being central parts of cities, or erecting boundaries to block visual and physical connections with them are common practices to exclude this deviance from the public life spatially and psychologically (Hubbard, 2000).

2.2 Space, Form and Dynamics of Marginality

Marginal spaces are defined many times from scholars that have different standpoints such as place of deviance and deprivation (Sibley, 1998), a no-go area with lack of law (Wacquant, 2007), place of resistance (Hetherington, 2002), and an alternative space with its irregular order and potentials (Shields, 2013; Hetherington, 2002, Stavrides, 2010). There are series of factors, dimensions, scales and relations that generates the marginal spaces such as poverty, violence, moral issues, politics criminal activities and one or multiple of these factors can be the reason of the formation of marginal spaces with different functions and modes. As such, slum areas are mainly products of economic issues, ghettoization both rooted from political, criminal and economic reasons, main factor that marginalizes the red-light districts can be associated with moral concerns. These complex, multifaceted and also ambiguous aspects of marginality and its spatialization make it difficult to conduct a systematic and satisfactory study on the issue.

In the continuation of this section, the formation processes of marginal space in post-modern cities, cause-effect relationships, the potentials of these spaces and theories with different perspectives will be examined. Even though the formation of marginality is correlated with inequality, disadvantage, unevenness, and exclusion, there are also views and debates on potentials and possibilities of the marginal spaces regarding the multi-layered natures of them containing resistance, hybridity, diversity and alterity.

2.2.1 Production of Alternative Space in Urban Context

. In order to understand how marginal space is formed, the initial and essential condition is to grasp the dynamics of the production of space as a social construct. As a result of the ongoing debates on how space is produced, a dominant consensus is that social structure (culture, identity, habits, trends) has a decisive influence on the formation of space. Even though there are different views and critiques upon the experience of space and its configuration, the urge for alternative conceptions of urban space as a social constructed is raised among the many of modern geographers. According to Castells, space has no meaning in itself because it is shaped by the social codes, relations and practices produced by the elements of the economic, political and ideological system and their combinations (Castells, 1991, p.225). Space is an ideological and political formation (Lefebvre, 2009, p.170) that is shaped macro-social shifts, socio-economic activities and human behaviors. There is a multifaceted relationship between time, society, politics, production and consumption habits, and space that all factors are in a recursive process generating and forming each other (Harvey, 2014).

In ‘The Production of Space’, Lefebvre examines the space beyond its merely material existence and presents a broad understanding of social space and the processes that generates it with the impacts of political relations and everyday practices. He adopts a multilayered spatial thinking that claims every kind of production is the organization of space. To him, *space is a social product* that:

“...is not the work of a moment for a society to generate an appropriated social space in which it can achieve a form by means of self- presentation and self-representation – a social space to which that society is not identical, and which indeed is its tomb as well as its cradle. This act of creation is, in fact, a process. For it to occur, it is necessary (and this necessity is precisely what has to be explained) for the society’s practical capabilities and sovereign powers to have at their disposal special places: religious and political sites” (p.34)

In this sense, societies produce their own space and reside in that social product with their own practices. Space is produced and created. No relationship happens spontaneously, without tools, and without context. All mediation is the organization of space. Lefebvre also propose a conceptual triad that consists of *perceived, conceived and lived* spaces. The comprehension of the space, the perception of the space and the production we perform with our bodily presence in the space are both in relation with each other. Space is never a one-dimensional place where this trilogy is in harmony with each other. On the contrary, space contains many symbolic productions and codes in a multi-layered way.

In the modern and post-modern period, the changing socio-economic dynamics on a global scale have resulted in a radical organization of the urban fabric and creation of fragmented socio-spatial order. In addition to the socio-economic factors that led to social segregation, stratification and polarization, the administrators made investments to image of the cities in order to make them more attractive is the other prominent reason of standardized and segregated urban space. The obsession with order and image has led to social and spatial standardization, especially in metropolises. (Harvey, 2014).

According to Bauman, the deepest meaning of spatial separation is the prohibition or suspension of communication and thus the forced continuation of alienation. Alienation is the main function of spatial separation (Bauman, 1999, p.121). Eventually, the dynamics of segregation in modern cities prevent social coexistence,

block the communication and create a society that become estranged. This result in the social and physical boundaries more evident and contradictory identities at the local and national level (Gannam, 2007, p.188). Gated communities, gentrification zones, consumption areas and urban transformation zones, which are formed due to new and exclusionary lifestyles, can be given as examples of urban formations that new way of sterilized lives and distinction of boundaries.

The dynamics created by modernization processes produce new *homogenized* identities and *clustered* places by dissolving old bonds of togetherness, stigmatizing and separating the certain groups (idib., p. 188). The heterogeneous structuring in the society is dispersed and confined to the spatial sub-parts that are homogenized and separated from each other. The segregated urban fabric generates *relatively* homogeneous sub-units that constitute typical groups, values, functions and behaviors. This gives a way to creation of specialized clusters with subjective qualities differs according to perspectives of other groups in society. The subjectivity is production of the meanings attributed by individuals. In this sense, the space of other emerges from the relativity in perceiving the space with subjective values (Harvey, 2014). This *conflict generating* nature of subjective labeling process is the basis of physical, phycological, and social disengagement and miscommunication creating the spaces of the other. Stavrides defines the emergent spatiality process of urban conflict as follows:

“When, during an urban conflict, people collectively seek to re-appropriate public space, they are not simply using the city as it is; they are transforming it. Their actions not only search for space, they invent space. These “performed” spaces, these “practiced” spaces, as they “happen” in the process of the conflict, acquire distinctive characteristics that tend to influence the outcome and the form of the conflict”. (Stavrides, 2010, p.3)

The space of the other creates an alternative order by overflowing the ordinary urban order. In addition to the relativity mentioned by Harvey, this alterity that these spaces contain brings uncertainty. In the postmodern society, where communication is

already damaged, this situation causes the spatial islets of the other to be positioned completely isolated and disconnected from the rest of the society. This positioning action is commonly done by executing authoritarian practices and violating the right of the marginal in the city.

2.2.2 Potentials and Possibilities of Marginal Spaces

The construction of the marginal and its exclusion mechanisms provide a theoretical basis shaped by the handling of space and marginality especially on the periphery-central axis. Although it is a problematic process that the marginal cannot find a place in the center and is shifted and imprisoned in the margin, studies on trying to understand the pattern and potentials of the alternative order offered by the marginal's space are increasing. It is noteworthy that these spaces are reconsidered and re-evaluated, especially through the 'productivity and potentials of in-between spaces' (Sargin, 2004, p.53). The position of Other and emergent spatiality of sites of the marginal have been become significant in terms of the *validity of difference, hybridity, transgression and uncertainty* that they constitute (Hetherington, 2002, p.7).

Marginal spaces are spaces of *resistance* developed against hegemonic powers (Hetherington, 2002; Hooks, 2015). They involve a revolt against the order. The spatiality of this revolt promises the hope of opposing all kinds of oppression, as it has the activism of defying the sovereign. They are materialized forms of resistance that offer clues about the patterns of counteraction; and interruption of order that forced by the power. The act of counter-hegemonic resistance by those marginalized shape their spaces distinctively (Shields, 2013). In this context, they are evaluated as *counter spaces* that manifest spatiality of resistance and alterity:

“In effect, margins have come to be seen as sites of counter-hegemonic resistance to the social order. ‘Other places’ have become the space of Other

voices. In marginal spaces, people not only raise their voices to be heard but are seen to live different, alternative lives, openly hoping that others will share in their vision or at least accept their difference” (Hetherington, 2002, p.7).

The anatomy of counter spaces is complex since they represent and are represented, collide with the sovereign and their genetic copies for a share of power, and are *deviant* because they run counter to the legal/legitimate sovereignty of the social order (Sargin, 2004, p.53).

Marginal spaces produce their own authenticity since they have the freedom of generating the space they live by themselves according to their own identities, culture and practices. People live in the margins have capability and courage for redefining the norms and fight for the way of life. The collective actions emerged from the urge of sustaining the originality ends up with creating their own spaces (Stavrides, 2010). The unique character of the marginal space arises from the urban practices of the social actors that are neglected and forced to be kept in the margin and their protected identities produced in relation to these practices.

Marginal spaces are spaces of *emancipation*. They are interim zones that embrace diversity with alterity. These spaces are spaces of possibilities that offer the tolerance of coexistence with the difference. People develop an art of negotiation based on the creation of in-between spaces, that is, thresholds, in their daily encounters with otherness. Spaces called in-between spaces are spaces of possibilities. Here, instead of marginalization, an opinion that allows for differences prevails (Stavrides, 2016). The emancipated characteristics the marginal spaces also emerged from their well-protected, framed and confined structuration. *A defined territorial enclave always ready to defend itself. This image, embedded in the collective imaginary of the oppressed, tends to construct a geography of emancipation in the form of a map clearly depicting free areas as defined by a recognizable perimeter* (Stavrides, 2010, p.2).

2.2.3 Heterotopias as Alternative Ordering

The term *heterotopia* is a prominent metaphor used by many theorists in the conceptualization of other spaces and marginal sites. Foucault initially used the term in his seminal text *Of Other Spaces* (1984) by discussing and explaining it in a spatial context and he opened a new door into the series of original debates in this field. He states that the space I which we live is not a mere void, but a '*set of relations delineates sites which are irreducible to one another and absolutely not superimposable on one another*', the space we live in has a heterogeneous nature (p.3). In his regard, heterotopias are real places that *are absolutely different from all the sites*, and they offer a *mixed, joint experience*, which would be the *mirror* of their different characteristics (p.4). Foucault considers *heterotopic spaces* as the space of 'otherness' and argues that every society generates heterotopias in different forms and functions in their unique way (1967).

Hetherington (2002) defines heterotopias as *sites of alternative ordering* (p.viii). He ironically describes them as *badlands of modernity* that have a position that opposes and breaks the normalized modern order and with their different social and physical content. Hetherington accepts heterotopias as *marginal sites* of modern society and argues that they exhibit a counter-hegemonic practice that is against the mainstream. Heterotopias, as spaces of the other and otherness, are a product of resistance and produce resistance. Emergent alternative moralities that superimposed in heterotopias make possible to be present together of excluded identities and functions (Hetherington, 2002; Stavrides, 2010).

Brothels have also been discussed in relation to the concept of heterotopia in the literature. These spaces are heterotopic structures that go beyond the *normal* with their moral values, identity and functions. In the light of the conceptual definitions of Hetherington and Neuman, Hubbard (2000) explains the heterotopic nature of brothels as follows:

“...these spaces of sex work can be conceptualized not only as sites of resistance but also as sites that might provide the model for alternate modes of social and sexual ordering - as Hetherington (1997) puts it, heterotopias are seditious and mysterious places where new social orders can be ‘tried out’. Neuman (1996) thus claims that areas where sex work is tolerated by the police are ‘anomalous areas’ which have considerable subversive potential as sites for contestating the power of the state and law. The heterotopic potential of spaces of sex work is then evident in the way that they bring together acts and practices widely regarded as immoral and imbue them with an acceptability and morality that suggests that they might act as the basis for new forms of social and sexual behaviour” (p.186).

Additionally, Foucault also defines the brothels as illusion heterotopias (p.8). To him brothels are *extreme types of heterotopias* that creates an illusionary situation to both the inside and the outside with all their realities. They require certain rituals and qualification as a condition to be able to enter in. They are places of escape and production of fantasies of freedom with the highly mediated environment they offer (Shane, 2005, p.240).

CHAPTER 3

LEGAL BROTHELS AS MARGINAL SPACES: THE LOCAL AND LEGAL DYNAMICS GENERATING THE MARGINALITY

The local dynamics behind constructing the marginal (as a person, group, action, or place) in an urban context are rooted in many reasons and shaped by varying relations. Space is the main source of all dynamics, serves as a basis for all relations and has a bound with sets of reason. Although space is the main concentration of the thesis, it is important to understand the whole of relation syntaxes that feed the spatial formation processes and examine the motivations behind spatial exclusionary mechanisms. The spatial strategies, codes and laws conducted throughout the history demonstrate that marginal is an artifact. The main aim of the chapter is decoding those strategies to unveil the obvious efforts of the state actors to create socio-spatial exclusionary discourses and practices especially toward prostitution and sites of sex work. In this context, brothels and other forms of commercial sex places are the main attention of the following chapter. Basic definitions and debates regarding places of commercial sex work, legal regulations, sanctions and spatial codes, examination of examples from the world and finally in-detail examination of active brothels in Turkey are accommodated in this part of the study.

3.1 Basic Definitions and Debates

The most common definition of prostitution is exchanging sexual services in return for a financial gain (Pateman, 1998). In an analysis report prepared by Cheryl Overs (2002) in cooperation with WHO, the term *sex work* is also described as “*the provision of sexual services for money or goods*”. In the same source, the definition of sex worker is followed as “*sex workers are women, men and transgendered people who receive money or goods in exchange for sexual services, and who consciously*

define those activities as income generating even if they do not consider sex work as their occupation” (Overs, 2002). However, since prostitution is a socially controversial phenomenon, many definitions, theories, and discussions have been made on the subject. These discursive productions involve radical changes according to different points of view. According to Marxist theory, defining sex work as just an act of interchange is a reductionist approach because what comes into question here is the problematic balance of the domination, to establish power over the body or to own and to command someone else’s body for a while. Domination over bodies, bodies of women in particular, is correlating with the goal of controlling over societies (Cruz, 2018).

From a feminist perspective, prostitution encompasses more than just a sex worker (female) offering a sexual service for money to her male client. All kinds of social and cultural transactions that women are paid for and exposed to sexual exploitation, are forms of prostitution including arranged and forced marriages, stripping, and pornography (Jeffreys, 2009; Raymond 2004). Also, it is discussed by feminist circles that, there are linguistic and discursive problems attached to act of prostitution and people involved in it. There is a need of neutral and normalized terminology that does not contain embedded patriarchal exploitative meanings giving sex workers a secondary position in society by stigmatizing them verbally (Jeffreys, 2009; Raymond 2004).

There are different forms of prostitution, varying especially according to the place where it takes place. Although the scope of the thesis encompasses the spatial aspects of brothels, it would be appropriate to briefly mention the types of the prostitution. These various forms and spatialities of prostitution can be generally sorted as *street prostitution, brothels, massage parlors, escorts, call girls and on-premise*. While escorts and call girls are performing their professions in a mobile and hard to monitor manner, other forms of sex-works are relatively more static and easily regulated. However, since their locations are overt and known by society and power, they are prone to be relocated and be vanished (Maginn, 2011).

The various forms and spatialities of prostitution encompass wide range of dynamics such as risk factors, services, regulations, and perceptions. Legal brothels are the most reliable form of sex work in terms of providing health and safety conditions and controllability when evaluated both socially and specifically for sex workers and even customers. The main aim of the thesis is understanding the territorialization of brothels as sites of prostitution. Hubbard (2011) claims that, the location of sex work provides a relatively more holistic ground for analyzing the dynamics of prostitution (p.38). Brothels are the places where sex work takes place. According to General Regulations Regarding Brothels and Prostitution and the Fight Against Venereal Disease, brothels (*general houses* if translated from Turkish directly) are places where *general women* gather in order to perform sex work.

3.2 Legalizing the Marginality: The Procedural Strategies, Laws and Regulations Regarding Prostitution

The legal status of prostitution around the world differs from country to country and there is not a legal consensus regarding the issue in global scale. However, There are key legislative approaches that can be grouped in five main international models of regulating prostitution which are prohibitionism, abolitionism, neo-abolitionism, decriminalization, and legalization. Countries adopting prohibitionist approach criminalize all aspects of prostitution and considers all forms of commercial sex unacceptable in terms of morality or human rights. All actors involved in prostitution have to be sanctioned as criminals including the prostitutes (Albert *et. al.*, 2007, p.14-15). In most of African, American and Asian countries prostitution is fully criminalized (See: Figure 3.1).

Neo-abolitionism and abolitionism are models that partially criminalize the certain aspects of prostitution (See: Figure 3.1). Neo-abolitionism also known as Nordic Model or Swedish model, advocates that prostitution is a violent act that

consumption of human body is a form of abusing rights. In countries that adopt this approach, (i.e., Norway, Sweden, France, Ireland) regarding the legal foundation all aspects of prostitution is illegal, but prostitutes are decriminalized for all sanctions. Abolitionist model criminalize the third-party involvements such as organizing sex-work, pimping and operating brothels but prostitutes are allowed to decide the action that are going the involved in with their own bodies including selling sex. However, public order and safety have to be protected (Barnett & Casavant, 2011).

Decriminalization of prostitution is repeal and re-enactment of legal sanctions and criminal actions towards the all forms of sex-work while minding health related conditions and safety of the actors. It is a contemporary phenomenon that the countries who enacted this emancipatory law (i.e., Australia, New Zealand), aim to prevent exclusion and stigmatization towards sex-oriented activities and individuals (Mowat *et al.*, 2016).

In some countries commercial sex is legal and regulated by state and law (See: Figure 3.1). In these limited geographies even though there are variations in terms of controlling strategies and level of prohibition or restrictions towards some activities such as pimping, street sex-work etc., selling sex and operation brothels are legally accepted. Turkey, Germany, Greece, Netherlands, Switzerland, Taiwan, and Tunisia are some of the examples where prostitution is legalized and regulated (See: Figure 3.1). In these countries regulations such as licensing, or tolerance zones are conducted to surveillance of the trade (Barnett & Casavant, 2011).

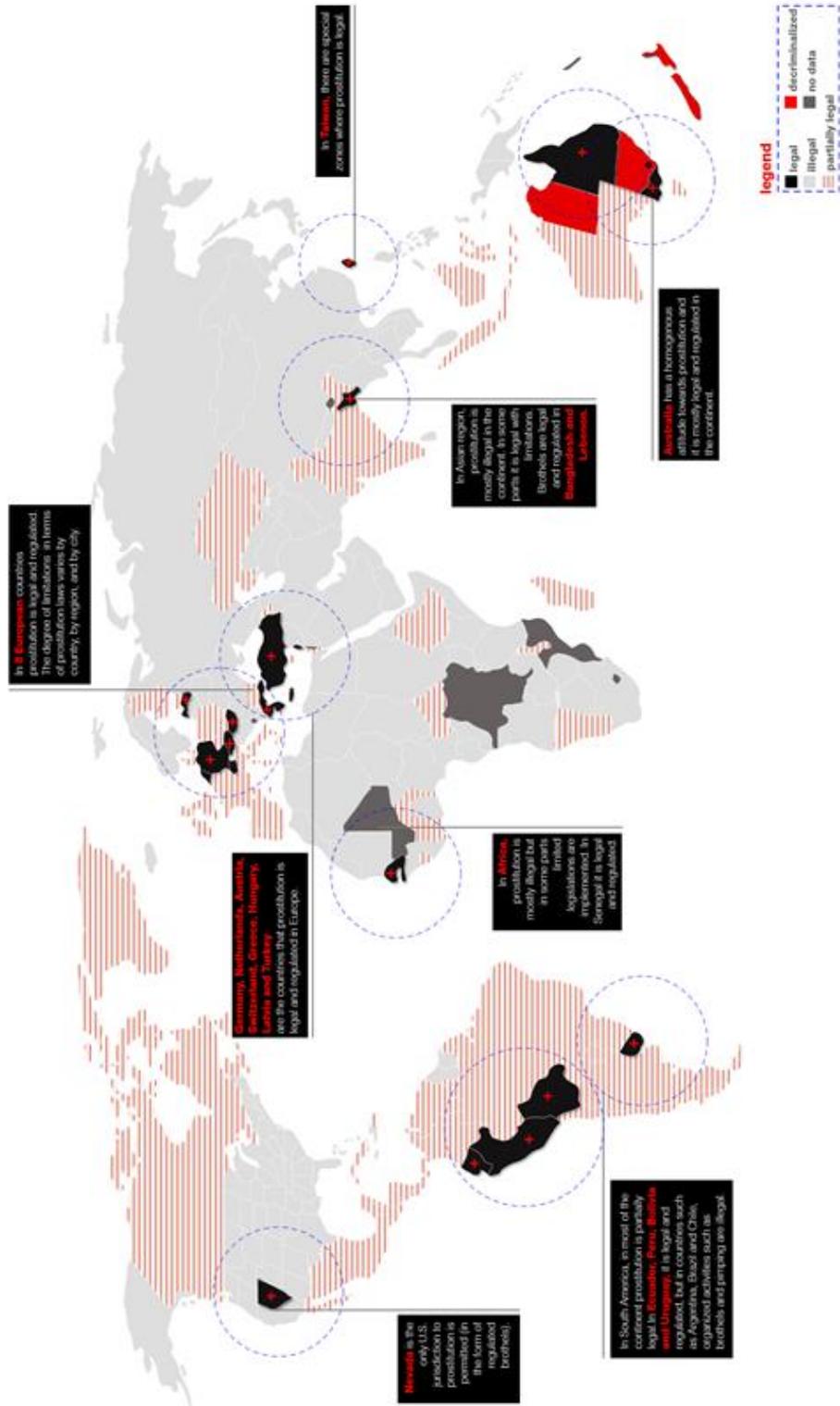


Figure 3.1. Legal status of prostitution around the world (Source: URL1)

3.2.1 Legal Status in Turkey

In the early 20th century, prostitution in Turkey gained a legal status with the secularization of the Turkish society and the government. Prostitution is legal and regulated under the article 227 of the Turkish Penal Code, Law No. 5237 which aims to protect the rights and freedoms of individuals, public order and security, the rule of law, public health and the environment, public peace, and to prevent crime. The law regulates the basic principles of criminal responsibility, crimes, punishments, and types of security measures in order to achieve this goal (Turkish Penal Code, article 1). The offense of prostitution is addressed in Chapter 7 of the Turkish Penal Code, titled ‘Crimes Against Public Morality’ (Genel Ahlâka Karşı Suçlar). The Penal Code draws a general frame about the prostitution as a criminal act. Basically, this law makes the encouragement, mediation, and facilitation of prostitution subject to penalties. It does not regard prostitution alone as a “crime”, nor does it prescribe any sanction for the client. According to this law, promoting prostitution is illegal, those who encourage and facilitate prostitution are punished with imprisonment; children under the age of 18 and non-Turkish citizens are prohibited from prostitution. According to the Turkish Penal Code, the prostitution is an immoral act that should be treated.

One of the other regulations relating prostitution in the country is the Misdemeanor Law², Article 32. Misdemeanor Law aims to protect the social order, morality, public health, environment, and economic order (Misdemeanor Law, Article 1). Misdemeanor Law does not constitute any regulations directly about the prostitution, but it is a commonly used reference for several offenses including the different types of sex work. According to the Misdemeanor Law’s 32. Article, to protect public safety, public order and general health, an administrative fine of 100 TL is imposed on a person who violates the lawful order. The application of this law has been quite disputable since it is used as abusing strategy for the rights of the sex workers (specifically not the ones working in brothels). They are tried to be intimidated by administrative fines imposed by the Law on Misdemeanors, mainly by using articles

32 (violating orders), 36 (noise) and 37 (disturbing others to sell goods or services) (Ördek, 2014, p.20).

The Turkish Penal Code and Misdemeanor Law include general principles, definitions and procedures upon criminal acts or offenses. It demonstrates that the morality is something that should be regulated and protected by law for the public's sake. From the legal framework, what is immoral or what is moral can be named, detected, and punished. These laws do not provide any criminal enforcements for the purchase of prostitution. According to the laws, the main danger is to be driven into prostitution or to be encouraged.

In Turkey, apart from the abovementioned laws, the legislation regulating prostitution has also two main elaborated sources. First one is, General Hygiene Law³ (UHK), which entered into force in 1930, it was decided to promulgate a regulation (tüzük) to specify the codes for the public health and hygiene. According to UHK, Article 1, is the duty of the state to improve the sanitary conditions of the country and to combat all diseases that harm the health of the nation.

In the third part of the law, titled as 'Judgments on General Women' (articles 128-132), the responsibilities for taking precautions within the scope of prostitution and venereal diseases are mentioned. Issues such as preventing the work of infected general women, promoting their treatments, and controlling by the municipalities are regulated. Additionally, the usage of beverages which includes denatured alcohol (ispirto) in the brothels is prohibited by this law. This law addresses the General Regulations Regarding Brothels and Prostitution and the Fight Against Venereal Disease for detailed information and procedures.

General Regulations Regarding Brothels and Prostitution and the Fight Against Venereal Disease is the primary statute that embodies the rules and regulations of the brothels and the sex workers in Turkey. The regulation (tüzük) embodies the issues in relation with the prostitution in terms of working and health conditions, controlling strategies and actors, relevant commissions, permissions, and procedural

enforcements. The overall approach of the regulation has a predominant motivation to fight venereal diseases.

The regulation also encapsules several definitions. defines the ‘general women’ as ‘a woman who acquires the art of satisfying the sexual pleasure of others in return for benefits and who has relationships with different men for this purpose.’

As stated in the regulation, legalized sex work can be performed in permitted places such as brothels. In order to open and operate brothels, a license must be obtained from the state. Women working in brothels also have the obligation to be registered as sex workers. In this way, regulatory agencies provide ID cards that allow sex workers to access free medical care and other social services. Operating a brothel without a license is forbidden and the sex workers must be registered, and health check-ups are mandatory. Registered sex workers have to undergo periodical health checks for sexually transmitted diseases or infections and the ID cards of them state the dates of the health visits. The security of the brothels is provided by the police appointed by the state.

The regulatory articles related to the spatial characteristics will be examined in the following chapter. The laws mentioned in this part of the thesis, draw a framework based on general provisions regarding the operation of the legal brothels and sex workers.

3.2.2 Spatial Regulations and Codes: Production of Brothels as Legalized Spaces in Turkey

In Turkey stated-owned brothels are the only way of buying sex or working as a sex worker legally. Spatial strategies supported by the laws marginalize sex workers and places of the sex work. It is not only the people's perception but also the methods applied by the state that otherize the places of prostitution. The Regulation, General Regulations Regarding Brothels and Prostitution and the Fight Against Venereal Disease, draws a concrete framework regarding spatial arrangements of legal

brothels. Since there are some restrictions for determining the place where the brothel can be situated, they are not allowed to exist anywhere in the city. Many brothels in Turkey were closed because they do not comply with the rules relating to the spatial codes in the regulation. The spatial arrangements in the regulation include general arrangements at different scales from urban planning to architectural elements. Although spatial decisions are not very detailed, they play a decisive role regarding the relationship of the brothels with the environment (social and physical) and its socio-spatial status in urban context.

3.3.2.1 Proximity and Visibility Conditions

There are specific articles in the regulation that directly addresses the space-based determinants such as location choice, spatial arrangements, architectural components and, interior organizations. In this part of the thesis, the main aim is tracing the spatial codes in the regulation with a deconstructivist attitude to unveil the legal status of the space in the stigmatization process.

According to Article 47 in the regulation, there are some restrictions in terms of visibility and proximity of the brothels from certain public avenues. A brothel cannot be visible from the public streets or cannot be close to those streets. Since it is against the principle of visibility, it is not possible to open brothels in streets and neighborhoods where social life is active.

Article 47: ...these districts cannot be visible from the public streets, and too close to such streets.²

The act of seeing is a much more primitive action than understanding, perceiving, and memorizing space. It is the first step of connecting with the subject or the object

² Madde 47: Zührevi hastalıklar ve fuhuşla mücadele komisyonu tarafından vilayet veya kaza merkezlerinin hangi mahalle veya sokaklarında genel evler açılabileceği ilgililerin müracaatı üzerine tesbit olunur. Bu mahaller, umumi caddelerden görünecek yerlere veya bu gibi caddelere pek yakın olmayacaklardır. Tesbit edilen bölgenin dışında genel ev açılmaz.

we are encountering. It is also the first step in interrelating ourselves with the other and the environment. At the very beginning of *Ways of Seeing*, John Berger (1986) says that “...it is seeing which establishes our place in the surrounding world” (p.7). Seeing behaves like an activator for placing the self or the other to a context and constructing the social and physical interactions. For this reason, preventing the possibility of spatial visibility is an implementation that directly blocks the acquisition of a place in the city.

Marginality is the outcome of not knowing. Knowing can only be possible with the interaction. Seeing, encountering, experiencing, and even passing through are the ways of communicating in urban context. *In the gaze of the other* the interaction process begins. Since the brothels are not places that can be reached by all citizens, making it ‘out of the sight’ completely destroys the bond it has established with the society. Due to the exclusionary mechanisms towards places of sex work, they are becoming marginal spaces that cannot be a part of urban memory and being pushed to the edges of social life and public environment. “*The relationship with alterity is neither spatial nor conceptual*” (Levinas, 1987, p.84).

City is the place that serves a functional bases for people to live in collectively and to fulfill their needs. This functional base is generated from a heterogenic set of urban programmes. The distribution of these programmes relies on the planning decisions *under control of one agency*. Planning the site is ‘the art of arranging the physical environment’ but the main aim in the planning process is to accommodate human behaviors (Lynch, 1962, p.7). The allocation of functions in urban context specified the daily practices, patterns of activities, commonings, encountering possibilities and social reflections.

In the Article 48 of the regulation, there are certain restrictions in terms of the determinants of the land that legal brothels can be situated. The urban programs around the legal brothels limit the location of them in the city.

Article 48: Brothels, except for the medical institutes where general women examined and treated, cannot be close to and visible from administrative

buildings and institutions; venues for worship and education, sports grounds; gathering, entertainment and festival venues; and close to or within the locations specified under article 178 of General Code on Hygiene.³

These spatial sanctions pave the way for urban exclusion. Due to the Article 47- 48 of the regulation the neglect of the places of sex work. It is a strategic article to marginalize the space and exclude it from the public life. Brothels are not allowed to be a part of the urban context both socially and physically. When brothels are out of sight, city is turning a place to live in appropriately. Purifying the city from threats, stigma and immoral is an attempt implemented by the authorities under the aim of normalization. Normalization policies continue through spatial regulations and have an impact human behavior (Stavrides, 2015, pp.9). By ordering the urban pattern, social relations and forms of communication are re-knitted.

“Normalisation is a project and also a stake. It is not simply imposed on populations; it has to infiltrate every capillary of society in order to be effective. It has to be connected to words and acts that mould everydayness, but also to acts of dominant power that frame those everyday molecular practices. Normalisation is undoubtedly a project of domination, a project that seeks to mould society’s subjects, and thus it has to be the result of a certain arrangement of power relations.” (Stavrides, 2015, p.9)

Proximity, visibility, and ordering are the strategical urban parameters to organize the spatial characteristics of the city. Changing characteristics is a

³ Madde 48 – Genelevler; genel kadınların muayene ve tedavi edildiği müesseseler müstesna olmak üzere, resmi daire ve müesseseler, ibadet ve eğitim yerleri, spor sahaları, genel toplanma, eğlence ve bayram yerleri yakınında ve bu yerlerden görülebilecek bir mesafede ve Umumi Hıfzıssıhha Kanununun 178 inci maddesinde yazılı yerler dahilinde veya yakınında olamaz.

construct both differentiate and de-differentiate the social structure and the urban texture. It differentiates the society because of the categorization of the land. Categorization increases the level of ignorance and decreases the interactions between different segments of society. Simultaneously, de-differentiation is the consequence of homogenization and standardization of certain parts of the urban fabric. Stavrides wisely points out that, while assimilation results from the destruction of distance, hostility arises from the maintenance and increase of this distance (Stavrides, 2010, pp.19).

3.3.2.2 Entrance and Interior Organization

“The relationship with the Other, the face-to-face with the Other, the encounter with a face that at once gives and conceals the Other, is the situation in which an event happens to a subject who does not assume it, who is utterly unable in its regard, but where nonetheless in certain way it is in front of the subject. The other ‘assumed’ is the Other” (Levinas, 1987, p.78-79).

The entrance of a place is an *in-between space* that act like a *threshold* between inside and outside. The entrance becomes even more vital if there is a dramatic contrast between interior and exterior. It protects both sides from each other by absorbing the polarization between inside and outside. In terms of marginal spaces, the entrance is the most important component as a threshold which both separates the two different worlds from each other and also brings them together; it is both a bridge and a border. It is the protector of the internal by hiding it from the external. Threshold has a relativistic position. It covers the *dirt* inside according to the outsider; creates a *habitus* according to the insider.

In the regulation there are multiple directives related to the entrances of the legal brothels. The first of these is a precaution taken for controlled entry and exit:

Article 79: Prostitution places are entered and exited through a specific door. Any other doors cannot be opened to places such as other streets, houses, shops, coffeehouses, casinos, and hotels. In the plan written in Article 51⁴, the existing doors of the house other than the entrance door are also particularly shown and these doors must be closed.⁵

Apart from the controlling purpose of the entrance of brothels, the invisibility of the inside is also guaranteed by laws:

Article 81: The doors of the prostitution places will be closed without glass and will be opened only after being stolen by visitors. There will be a legible sign showing the house number next to the doorbell or knocker. Frosted or other non-transparent glass will be passed to all windows of the house up to the level of two meters from the level of the road, and the opening of the first floor will not be allowed in any way by pegging the window sashes up to this height. Even though the windows of other floors can be opened, women are forbidden to display themselves and speak to passersby by sitting rambling in front of the windows.⁶

There is a dialectical mechanism between space and the sex workers. As they are excluded from the public life, their places are excluded from the urban context. They

⁴ Article 51 states that, the plan (kroki) of the house (where will going to be used as a brothel) is expected from the applicants who wants to operate a legal brothel.

⁵ Madde 79 – Fuhuş yerlerine behemahal bir kapıdan girilir ve çıkılır. Diğer sokak, ev, dükkan, kahve, gazino ve otel gibi yerlere ayrı kapı açtırılmaz. 51 inci maddede yazılı krokide, evin giriş kapısından başka mevcut olan kapıları da behemahal gösterilir ve bu kapılar kapattırılır.

⁶ Madde 81 – Fuhuş yerlerinin kapıları camsız ve daima kapalı olacak ve ancak ziyaretçiler tarafından çalındıktan sonra açılacaktır. Kapı zili veya tokmağının yanında evin numarasını gösteren okunaklı bir levha bulunacaktır. Evin bütün pencerelerine yolun seviyesinden itibaren iki metre yüksekliğindeki hizaya kadar buzlu veya sair herhangi bir surette gayri şeffaf kılınmış cam geçirilecek ve birinci katın bu yüksekliğe kadar olan pencere kanatları mıhlınarak hiç bir suretle açılmasına müsaade edilmeyecektir. Diğer katların pencereleri açılabilirse de kadınların pencere önünde açık saçık oturarak kendilerini teşhir etmeler ve geçenlere söz atmaları yasaktır.

belong to the stigmatized places as bodies of marginalization. In addition to the exclusion that develops through social norms, prostitution is also spatially excluded. The marginality is producing in a legal way by spatial implementations. Brothels are generated physically excluded from their context with certain architectural components such as long concrete borders, barbed wires, and huge iron gates at the entrances.

3.3 The Spatial Aspect: Brothels Around the World

There are various types and scales of sex work premises such as brothels and RLDs throughout the world. In considering the spatial characteristics of them, it is hard to generalize their dynamics of territorialization due to varying legal, political, moral standards and tolerance levels of countries, regions, and societies. Locations of the brothels and red-light districts also show varieties since they highly depend on legal codes and the attitudes of majority. Their locations can be superficially categorized as placed in city centers, outer parts of the cities (suburbs) and sites that are already dominantly used by other marginals. Since the scope of the research covers the spatial aspects of legal brothels, in this section of the thesis will mainly focuses on the *legal* geographies of sex work in the world from a socio-spatial point of view.

Red-light districts have long been integral parts of city centers for decades particularly of Western cities. Because sex-related business has commercial purposes, they need certain level of accessibility and visibility. Accordingly, sex premises were located in central parts of the cities to be found readily. However, there have been a rapid change in terms of land-use and accessibility dynamics of cities in addition to the continuous debates on legal and regulatory status about sex-related premises that clearly affecting the positions of brothels and RLDs in the cities. Red-light districts are both traditional and present realities of urban fabric that have been periodically structured by conflicting forces. In current era, there are few examples of brothel zones located in the city centers as a part of everyday life pattern. Since the presence of sex-related premises in the urban core have long been subjected

to moral control, and spatial ordering, most of them are vanished (Hubbard, 2011; Aalbers & Sabat, 2012; Singelenberg & van Gent, 2020).

There are many red-light districts across the Europe, but Amsterdam RDL is the most well-known district among all and has a distinctive place in terms of *commodification of sex work* both locally and globally. Amsterdam red-light district, also known as De Wallen, is a centrally located prostitution zone which contains various forms of sex-related businesses such as sex shops, strip clubs, adult cinemas, and theatres. When these services offered in the district combined with the progressive policies in Amsterdam, the region turned into a *freedom zone* and a huge adult entertainment park (Aalbers & Sabat, 2012). This unique climate of Amsterdam RDL has made the area a major tourist attraction point. Moreover, the fact that the area attracts too many tourists, causes decisions to be taken to close the RDL⁷.

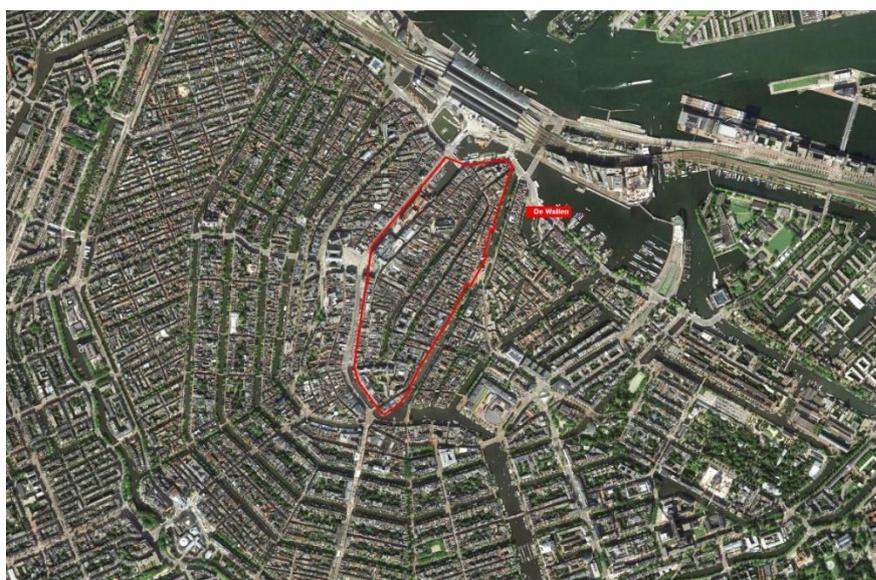


Figure 3.2. De Wallen in Amsterdam, (Source: Adapted from Google Maps, July 2021)

⁷ URL2

The central location of De Wallen dates back to the origins of Amsterdam as a port city with some shifts and since 2000, which is the date brothels legalized in Netherlands, the fame, accessibility and visibility of the area increased (Aalbers & Sabat, 2012, p.113). Until this fully legislation phase, the area faced with the threat of complete extinction. This area was a region where many illegal activities were carried out, especially in the 1980s. The area exposed to gentrification and demolition implementations. Afterwards, the area took its present form with the efforts of the state and private sector with the support of the public opinion (van Liempt & Chimienti, 2017, p.1573) The district extends along the canal and organized as a cluster with multiple streets and buildings it contains (See: Figure 3.3). It is a multifunctional area with both sex-related and non-sex related distribution of programmes. There are not any borders such as walls, fences, barbed wires that separate the area or signify the exact perimeters of the district. There is not any physical or spatial effort to protect or hide the area. On the contrary, with the lights and vivid nature, the district is appealing with its high level of visibility. This special area, which has been a part of the city for years, continues to be a part of the image of the city on a local and global scale today. The area penetrates the everyday life as a part of living tissue of Amsterdam city. This place is not a isolated zone or no-go area, the district is integrated with the *normal life* thanks to its multifunctional surroundings and unlimited human flux (See: Figure 3.2 and Figure 3.3).



Figure 3.3. RLDs in Amsterdam (De Wallen) and Antwerp (Schipperskwartier)

There are also few examples of traditional red-light districts located in central parts of Western cities. To exemplify, *Schipperskwartier* is a centrally located RLD in Antwerp which has long history (Loopmans & Van den Broeck, 2011). The district has similarities with De Wallen in terms of locational status, port relation, size and structural characteristics (See: Figure 3.3). Schipperskwartier is organized as a cluster that has multifunctional pattern with the domination of sex-related businesses. The area has undergone great changes and restructured socially and physically. The contemporary character of the RDL is outcome of changing tolerance level of society, law and policies (Loopmans & Van den Broeck, 2011). Villa Tinto is a brothel in the district that stands out with its prominent features and its contemporary and technological design (See: Figure 3.4).

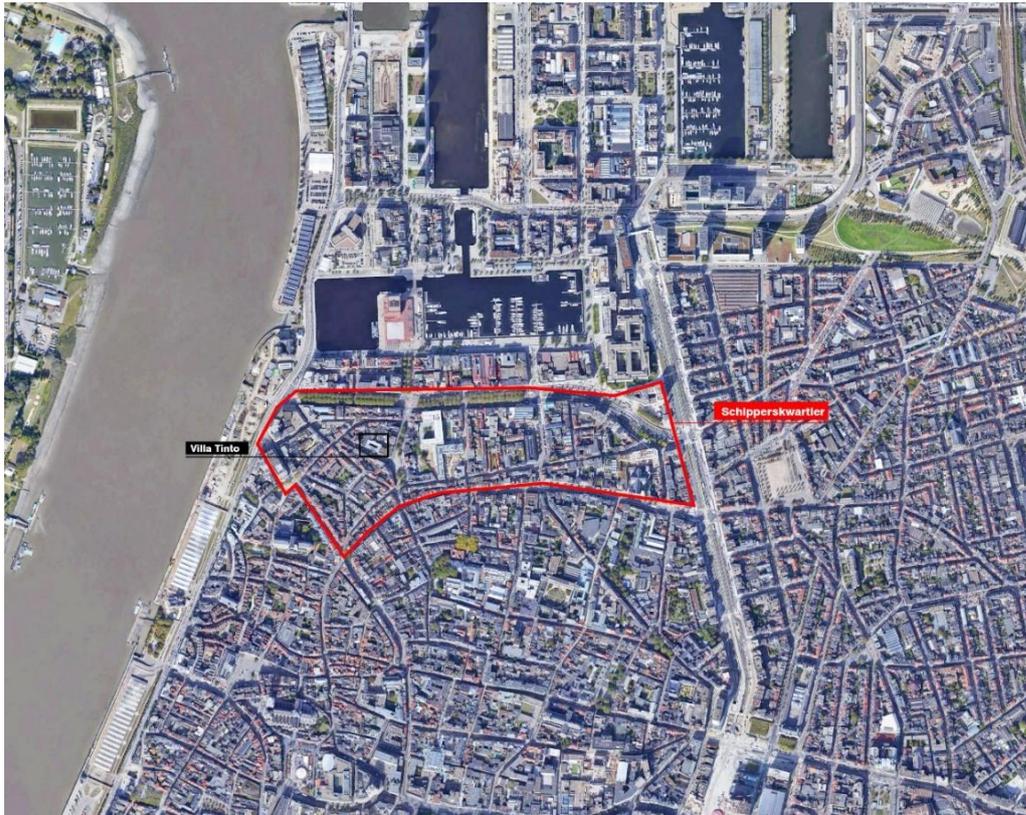


Figure 3.4. Schipperskwartier in Antwerp (Source: Retrieved from Google Maps, 07.08.2021)

The contemporary red-light districts in Europe have some commonalities with De Wallen and Schipperskwartier in terms of locational status and spatial organization. However, there are also different types of uses such as red-light zones organized through a single street. The natures of these streets are dominated by sex-related industries. For instance, *Herbertstrasse* and *Reeperbahn* are streets in Hamburg that are equipped with entertainment businesses and sex-related premises including brothels. *Reeperbahn* is the principle red-light district located in the core of the city and has a global fame. *Herbertstrasse* is located very close to *Reeperbahn*. The interesting spatial status of the street is that, both end of the street is blocked with walls (See: Figure 3.5). Women and children are not allowed to access to Herbert Street, *Herbertstrasse* (Mathieson et.al, 2016, p.379).



Figure 3.5. Two sides of Herbertstrasse (Source: Retrieved from Yandex Street View, 07.08.2021)

In Germany, in addition to red light districts, there are brothels which are operated as single buildings. Pascha in Cologne is a multistorey brothel building and Das Bourdell right across to Pascha can be given as examples to this situation (See: Figure 3.6). They are located at Hornstrasse which cannot be defined as red-light district but contains other types of sex-related premises. Pascha was the largest brothel in Germany, however it bankrupted during the Covid-19 break in 2021 (URL 3).

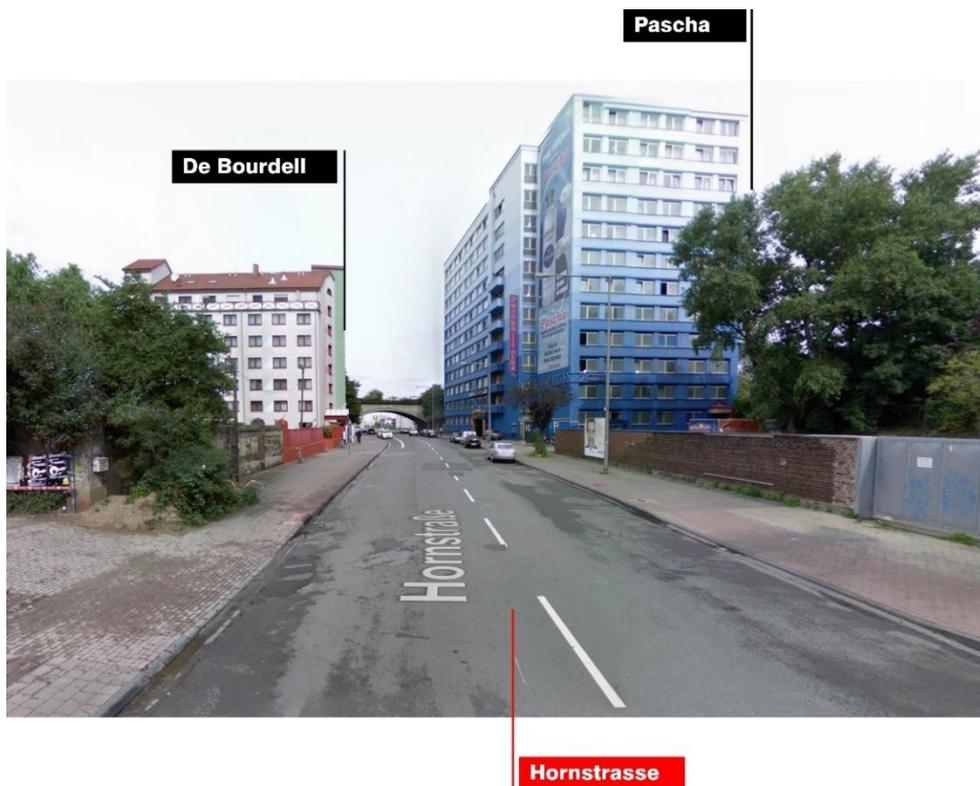


Figure 3.6. Brothels in Hornstrasse, De Bourdell (left), Pascha (right) (Source: Adapted from Yandex Street View in August, 2021)

Even though their configurations and sizes change, red-light districts located in European city centers (where operating brothel is legal), have high values in terms of accessibility and visibility with some exceptions such as Hornstrasse. In a general sense, they do not have the problem of physically uniting with the city and have become a living part of the city. They are integrated into daily life with their living tissues and multifunctional structures. However, even though sex work and brothels are legal, some problems may arise in case of sex-related areas are located in city centers.

Even though prostitution and operating brothels in Switzerland is legal since 1942, areas of commercial sex in central Zurich exposed to purification sanctions. The city has gone through a legally, socially, and physically special process in terms of drug

use and sex market in the center of the city opinion (van Liempt & Chimienti, 2017). In the late 1990s, with the consensus of the policymakers and dwellers of the city periodical gentrification process had begun by cleaning the urban core and removing defile to the peripheries. The motive behind this repressive action, there is the risk of ‘Amsterdamisation’ which can be summarized as the concern of the society arising from the explicit presence of the RLD situated in the center of their everyday life. The RLD, known as Sihlquai area, was considered as a too visible vice zone with uncanny drug-use. As a result, sex work has been limited to few zones in Zurich which are dispersed at the peripheries of the city. The Strichplatz is one of these designated sex-work districts opened in 2013 (See: Figure 3.7). Due to the peripheral location of the area, the only possible way to access here can be fulfilled with vehicular options. The area around the sex market is dominated by industrial uses (Grittner & Sitter, 2020, p.283).

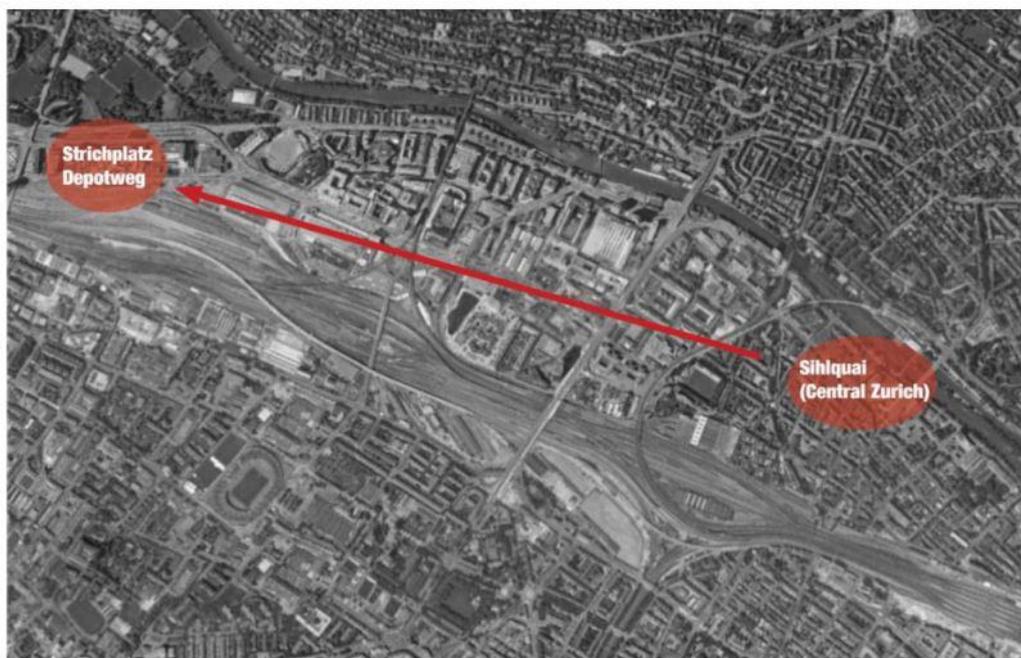


Figure 3.7. Displacement of RDL in Zurich from center to periphery (Source: Grittner & Sitter, 2020, p.284)

As mentioned above, there are not many examples of brothel zones that have managed to survive in the urban cores as a well-integrated social and physical part of the city. They are mostly banned from the urban cores. Centrally located RDLs in recent cities are periodically exposed to *forms of moral cleansing and purification enacted by the state and law*. Central Paris and West End of London can be stated as examples of zero tolerance policies towards geographies of prostitution in modern cities. Both in UK and France, there are limitations towards sex-related activities. Operating brothel is illegal but individually working as a sex worker is legal. The motives behind the purification processes can be summarized as suppressing moral concerns of majority, sustaining public and spatial order, maximizing the potential of capital accumulation by cleaning the image of the city and creating a sterilized public sphere that is clean, safe, and suitable for everyday family life and investments. As a result, the unwanted, immoral and threatening presence of sex-related businesses end up with relocation, exclusion, and demolition. The central London and Paris is cleaned by the authorities in the line with these motives (Hubbard, 2011)

In addition to brothels and RDLs in Europe, there are places of commercial sex around the world that have some commonalities and differences with the western examples. Eastern countries also contain prostitution zones that are configured as clusters like RDLs in European countries. Especially in Southeast Asia, there is mass demand for sex-work as a touristic activity. The combination of this intense tourism demand and prostitution phenomenon reveals venues containing entertainment industry products in different forms. These places are mostly in the city centers, they are illuminated, explicit, visible and easily accessible. Although prostitution is not legal in some regions of South Asia, these regions still exist de facto. Recent commercial sex zones are highly different from the traditional phenomenon of prostitution with their vast scales and touristic characteristics as entertainment establishments. Tours called ‘trips for men only’ are increasingly organizing in order to visit brothels in Philippines, South Korea, Taiwan and Hong Kong and Japan. (Thanh-Dam, 2008). According to Thanh-Dam when considering the dynamics of

prostitution as a part of tourism industry on an international scale, a form of complexity occurs:

“The complexity of this ‘traded service’ is found in the nature of the service itself: it is a combination of services, part of which involves the dynamics of an international tourist industry where both public and private marginal sectors play a role, and part of which involves a ‘marginal’ sphere of petty trading on the fringe of legality. The marginality of this sphere is not related to the quantity of goods and services sold, but rather to the fact that agents operating at the margins of legality have extracted a large part of the value of the ‘traded service’, leaving the women who actually sell their services at the margins of existence and unprotected by legislation” (Thanh-Dam, 2008, p.549).



Figure 3.8. RDLs in Southeast Asia (Source:URL4)

Bangla Road in Thailand, Kabukicho in Tokyo, Geylang in Singapore, and Patpong Market in Bangkok can be adduced to commercial sex tourism zones in Southeast Asia (See: Figure 3.8). The common spatial features of all these regions are that they have different types of entertainment and sex-related uses, they compete to offer different services to their users, each in an environment covering multi-functional texture, they are mostly in large scales, they are situated in central parts of cities with high level of visibility and accessibility (URL5).

3.4 Mapping the Active Brothels in Turkey

3.4.1 Demolition, Closure and Relocation Processes of Brothels in Turkey

In Turkey prostitution is legal and regulated by law. There are actively working brothels operating in control of state. Despite this legal status of them, prostitution is a socially and morally sensitive matter. Sex-related issues are considered as immoral by state and society and there are limited data about brothels in Turkey. Details such as the number of brothels in country, their locations, sizes, conditions and how many women they employ are ambiguous or not easily accessible through open sources. The state and institutions are silent about these legal zones and not publishing explicit information such as official records, statistics and figures related these areas. Also, there is very few numbers of studies in the literature particularly on brothels in Turkey. The deficiency in the literature on this subject has remained beyond the spatial dimension, and sufficient studies have not been carried out in almost any field including medicine, sociology, economy, politics, and psychology. The silence of state and institutions about these legal zones, makes it difficult to conduct a research in this area.

In Turkey, there are several state-regulated brothels in different cities of the country. Whilst there is not even an up-to-date list of brothels in which cities they are present.

The most recent report including the cities with brothels was published in 2000. According to this report titled 'Monthly Disease Monitoring Form for Brothel Women by Province' published by the Ministry of Health, there are 37 cities in Turkey that contain actively working brothels. Within the scope of the thesis, brothels in these 37 cities on the list were traced one by one. A detailed examination was conducted about the current status and location of brothels in each province. As a result of these investigations, it has been revealed that most of the brothels in Turkey have been subjected to periodical demolition or displacement processes. Since 2000, active brothels have been identified in only 16 of these 37 cities. All brothels in 20 cities, some cities have more than one brothel, were completely closed or demolished. About two specific cities, Kütahya and Tokat, any reliable current information couldn't be encountered (See: Table 3.1).

Table 3.1 showing the dates of closures and demolishments of brothels. After the year of 2000 elimination operations towards brothels have begun and in 2010s it accelerated. It is an interesting fact that, the brothels, which were opened with a ceremony in 1970s and 1980s, were demolished with a ceremony in the 2000s Turkey (i.e., brothel Gaziantep). In the country, once opening a brothel was an election promise but in recent years demolishing of brothels becomes the appealing commitment used by authorities who demand votes from the public. So, it can be deduced that, changing perception of sex-work can be an artifact generating by power.

Brothels in cities of Turkey are being cleaned one by one with different excuses. Almost all of the brothels, especially in the city centers, were either demolished or moved out to the peripheries of the city. Although these purification discourses and practices are seen in all over the world, it is crucial to comprehend the motives and methods behind the cleansing operations in the case of Turkey. Table 3.1 also demonstrating the motives behind the closures, demolishments or relocations declared by municipalities. The reasons given as excuse for the demolition processes are vary in terms of locational, structural, moral, political, religious, economic, and sanitarian aspects (See: Table 3.1).

The most prominent reason is that the location of the brothel remaining in the areas where the residential uses are dominated (See: Table 3.1). In fact, intimacy to residential areas is a multifaceted situation that creates a ground for demolition or closure decisions by fueling various motives. This locational has particularly impact on moral and security issues that people living close to this immoral area can be disturbed by the existence of the brothel and the uncanny visitors of it. Especially the urge of protecting families from the defiled and possible side effects as outcomes of its presence. Public demand for eliminating the brothel existence in their living area is a common phenomenon, as the frequency of encounters with the brothel increases, the probability of being disturbed by it simultaneously getting higher. Being in the sight of public is a world-wide threat for sex-related premises. In addition to the residential uses, the proximity to public uses such as schools and mosques has also been cited as a reason for the demolition of brothels. Since brothels are not allowed to be close to or visible from such public areas by law, demolitions caused by these reasons are legal.

Table 3.1 Activity Status of Brothels in Turkey and Details of Closures

	City	Status	Year of Closure	Reason of clousure	Source
1	Adana	active		relocated to periphery from city center	
2	Afyon	-	2013	economic reasons	URL6
3	Ankara	-	2011	urban regeneration and conservation projects	URL7
4	Antalya	-	2011	proximity to a religious building	URL8
5	Aydın	active			
	Nazilli (second brothel in Aydın)	-	2010	urban transformation project	URL9
6	Balıkesir	-	2007	public demand + election promise	URL10

Table 3.1 Activity Status of Brothels in Turkey and Details of Closures (continued)

	(two separate brothel zones demolished in different years)		2021	proximity to residential areas	URL11
7	Burdur	-	2002	economic reasons + lack of clients	URL12
8	Bursa	-	2000	being on foundation land	URL13
9	Çanakkale	active			
10	Çankırı	-	2007	health conditions	URL14
11	Çorum	-	2020	Covid-19	URL15
12	Denizli	active			URL16
13	Diyarbakır	active			URL17
14	Edirne	active			URL18
15	Erzurum	-	2014	remained in residential areas and a mosque that was built close to brothel	URL19
16	Eskişehir	active		relocated to rural area from city center	URL20
17	Gaziantep	-	2017	public demand + polluting the city image	URL21
18	Hatay	active	2011	**Demolished due to the closeness of residential areas and removed to industrial zone	URL22
19	Isparta	-	2008	moral and political concerns + protecting families from defiled	URL23
20	İçel	active			
21	İstanbul	active			
22	İzmir	active			
23	Kars	active			URL24
24	Kastamonu	active			
25	Kırklareli	-		economic reasons	
26	Konya	-	2017	development plan (Akşehir)	URL25

Table 3.1 Activity Status of Brothels in Turkey and Details of Closures (continued)

			2017	insufficient earthquake resistance (Ereğli)	URL25
27	Kütahya	-	-	No information	
28	K.Maraş	-	2012	Polluting city image	URL26
29	Manisa	active			
30	Muğla	-	2019	insufficient conditions to earthquake resistance (it was already removed from the center)	URL27
31	Niğde	-	2017	unlicensed construction + Insufficient conditions of brothel building	URL28
32	Tekirdağ	active			URL29
33	Tokat	-	-	No information	
34	Uşak	active			URL30
35	Van	-	1998	No information	URL31
36	Yozgat	-	2012	unlicensed construction	URL6
37	Zonguldak	-	2017	deficiencies in cleaning and hygiene	URL32

Also, independent from the location of the brothel, people in specific cities including Gaziantep and Kahramanmaraş are uncomfortable with the opening of a brothel anywhere in the city they live in. People of these two cities have zero tolerance to presence of brothels since they are correlating the brothel with immorality and impurity. Majority of the people considering the brothels as they pollute the image of the city with their defiled nature, so, these immoral places do not suit the special cities where they live in (See: Table 3.1).

Economic reasons behind the closures can be divided in two main regards. The first one is due to the lack of clients or other income problems of brothel premises, that disable to sustain the operation. In this scenario, the request of closure is generally

made by the manager of the brothel. Unlike others, this form of closure does not involve a coercive or disparaging attitude from the state or the public. Second economic inflicting reason is that the existence of brothels has potential to decrease property values. Since it is an unwanted and uncanny form of land use, it blocks the investment possibilities (Hubbard, 2011). In Turkey, especially in the name of urban regeneration projects, many brothels have been vanished by the authorities by ignoring the status of sex-workers (i.e., case of Bentderesi, Ankara).

Insufficient structural conditions are another demolition motive stated by authorities. It is a commonly used excuse since most of the brothels in Turkey already located in slum areas and additionally most of the brothel buildings even does not have any construction license. Thus, many brothels facing the problems of insufficient physical conditions and infrastructure problems like other slum settlements in the country. Because of these structural deficiencies they do not fulfill the requirements of earthquake regulations. As it can be overtly seen in Table 3.1, brothels in Niğde, Muğla, Konya and Yozgat are demolished due to the lack of construction license and poor physical conditions. Lastly, there are sanitary sourced orders of closures that can be generalized as deficiency in cleaning conditions of the facility (i.e., Zonguldak and Çankırı) (See: Table 3.1).

All in all, there is a dramatic decrease in the number of actively working brothels in Turkey. Figure 3.9 is prepared to manifest the recent distributions of active brothels in the country. Black colored cities represent that the brothel in that city is closed or demolished. Figure 3.9 reveals that particularly in Central Anatolia Region a *witch hunt* towards brothels was started after 2000. All of the brothels located in this region are vanished except the brothel in Eskişehir relocated to outer part of the city. Removals of brothels continued in the eastern parts of Aegean Region however there are still actively working brothels that manage to survive from purification operations. It is overt that cities contain active brothels are concentrated on the western side of the country. Additionally, in the east of the Mediterranean region brothels are still existing in the cities of Adana, Mersin and Hatay and in the eastern parts of the country Diyarbakır and Kars brothels are actively working. In the

northern parts of Turkey there was not any legal brothel except the one in the city of Kastamonu (See: Figure 3.9). To sum up, there is not an evenly distributed patterns of brothels in Turkey. Their locations and operations towards them vary region to region.

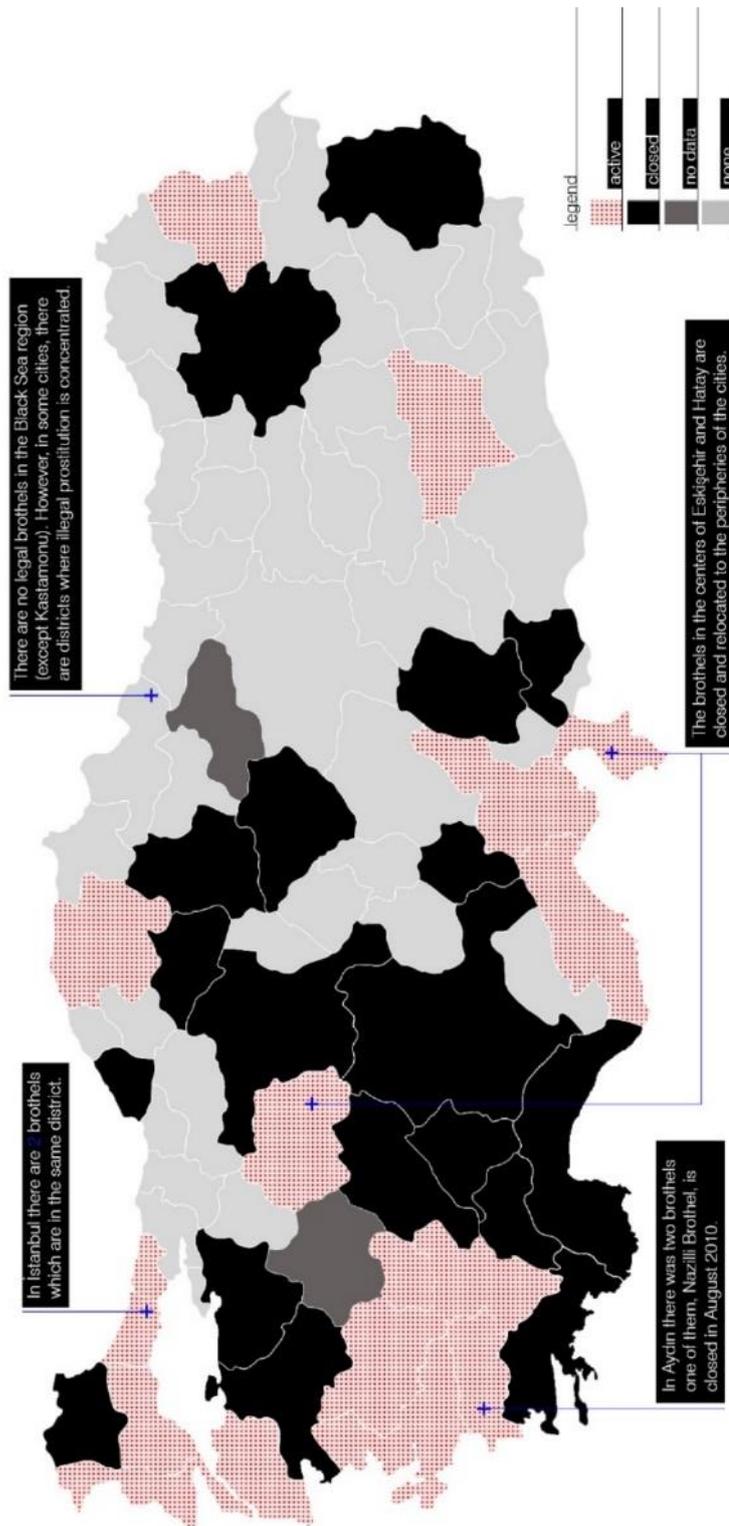


Figure 3.9. Status of brothels by cities in Turkey

3.4.2 Locational Explorations of Active Brothels

The parts of the urban fabric (i.e., center, inner fringe, rural parts, peripheries etc.) where the brothels are located shows varieties in modern cities. Although brothels are traditional elements of central parts of cities with a long history, there are many factors that affect the new form of location-selection processes of sex-related premises in urban macroform including contemporary dynamics of cities. Some of these factors, as mentioned before, are concerns sourced from morality, economy, and security that associating brothels with crime and labelling them as a danger that interrupts the sterilized public order and pollutes the image of the city. All of these justifications trigger the removal of brothels from the city centers which are scenes of everyday activities and make brothels inevitably in sight of the public. These reasons also cause the elimination of brothels from the whole city as an edgy outcome. But common tendency is that these immoral components of city centers have been becoming to find places in the outcasts of recent cities. The changing dynamics and habits of urban societies also have impact on the removal of the brothel zones from urban cores to peripheries. For instance, the increase in the vehicular movements has made it possible to access to these commercial areas with their recent peripheral locations.

Table 3.2 presents¹⁴ active brothels in Turkey and their places in the urban macroform with site specific notes. As it is clear in the table, there are two brothels located in inner parts of the cities of İstanbul and İzmir. They can be defined as exceptional examples in the case of Turkey since all other brothel areas are peripherally located. The brothels in İstanbul are centrally located in a traditional commercial district of the city. Brothel zone in İzmir located in Tepecik Neighborhood which is known as dominant Gypsy population and high criminal records. It is a rare example of inner city positioned brothel zone which surrounded with residential uses. Both of the brothel complexes in İstanbul and İzmir situated closed to the port area (See: Table 3.2).

Table 3.2 reveals that peripherally located brothel zones are situated dominantly in industrial sites or rural areas. Industrial areas as integral parts of post-modern cities commonly located in the outer parts of the cities since they regarded as producing *negative externalities* and exposed to NIMBY protests. Placing prostitution zones close to these neglected parts of cities are considered as appropriate locational move (Hubbard, 2000, p.141). Also, in terms of client potentials these areas are advantageous for commercial sex premises. It is clearly seen that there is almost no use around the brothels located close to the rural areas. These parts of the cities preferred probably preferred for the extremely low potential of disturbing the public. They are out of sight and out of mind areas of modern lives with their highly invisible and silent characteristics and are distant from the daily life practices (See: Table 3.2).

Table 3.2 Locations of Active Brothels in Turkey

City and Locations	Site-Specific Notes
<div data-bbox="320 1149 504 1193" style="background-color: black; color: white; padding: 2px;">İstanbul</div> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> + Located within the boundaries of Karaköy District + one of the historical centers of the city + there are two separate brothel zones in same district + they are situated close to the port

Table 3.2 Locations of Active Brothels in Turkey (continued)

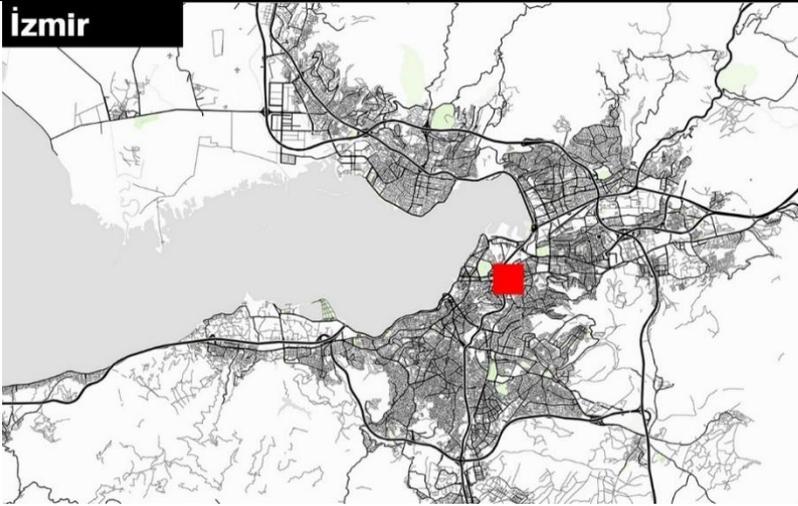
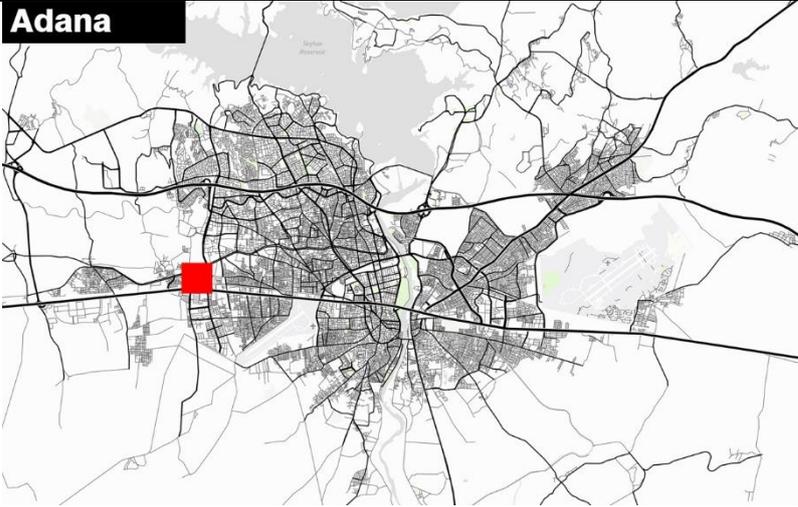
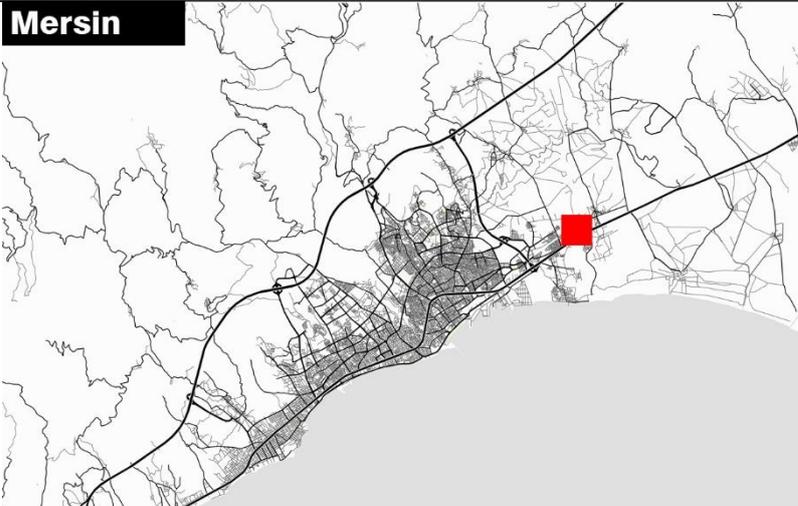
 <p>Izmir</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> + Located in Tepecick Neighborhood + inner fringe + situated close to the port + positioned near the train station
 <p>Adana</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> + Located in industrial zone + outer fringe + situated close to the airport and bus terminal + highway and railway axis passing in front of the brothel zone
 <p>Mersin</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> + Located in industrial zone + outer fringe + situated close to the airport and bus terminal + brothel zone is positioned between highway and railway axis

Table 3.2 Locations of Active Brothels in Turkey (continued)

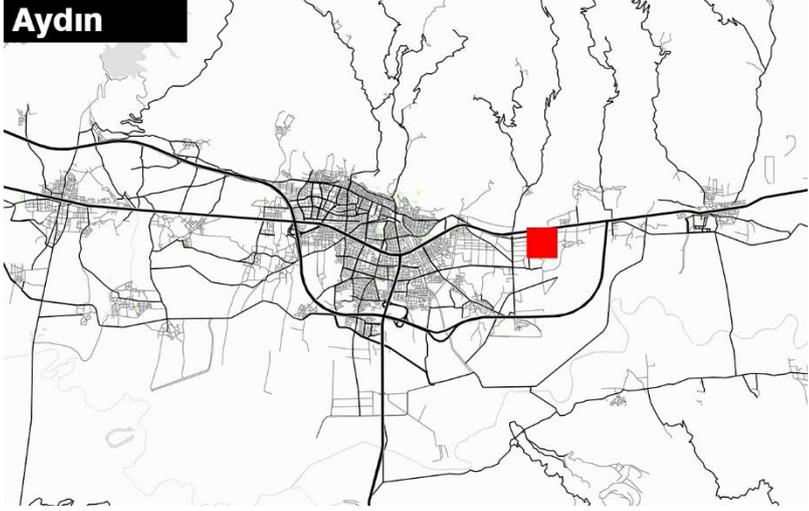
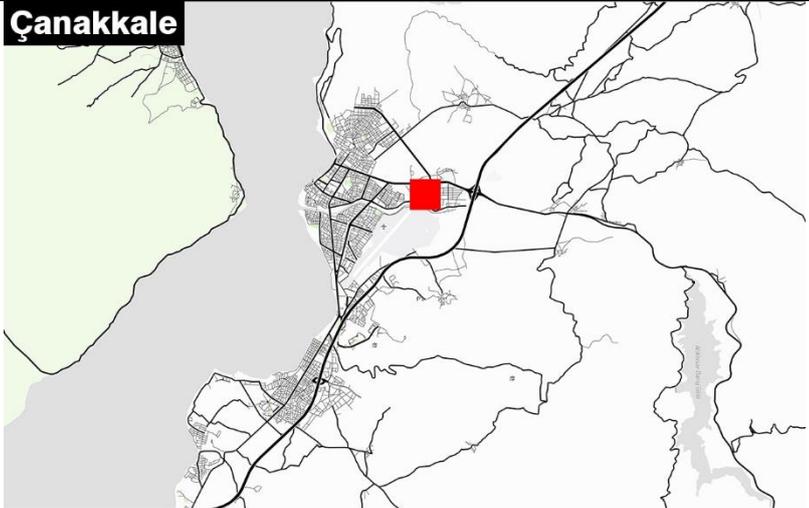
<p>Aydın</p> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> + Located in industrial zone called ASTİM + outer fringe + brothel zone is positioned between highway and railway axis + close to airport (3 km)
<p>Hatay</p> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> + Located in industrial zone + outer fringe + exact location could not be found
<p>Çanakkale</p> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> + Located in the edge of industrial zone + situated close to the airport (300 meters) + one facade of the brothel borders aligned with the canal passing in front of it + there are residential uses in the immediate vicinity

Table 3.2 Locations of Active Brothels in Turkey (continued)

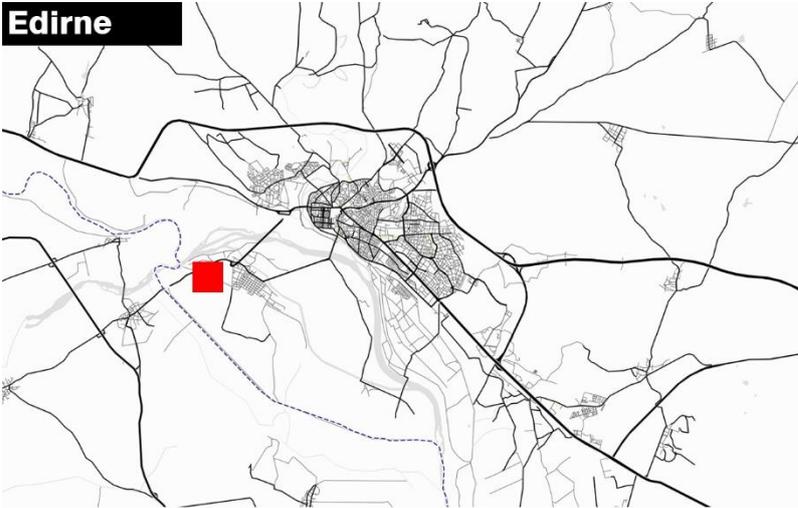
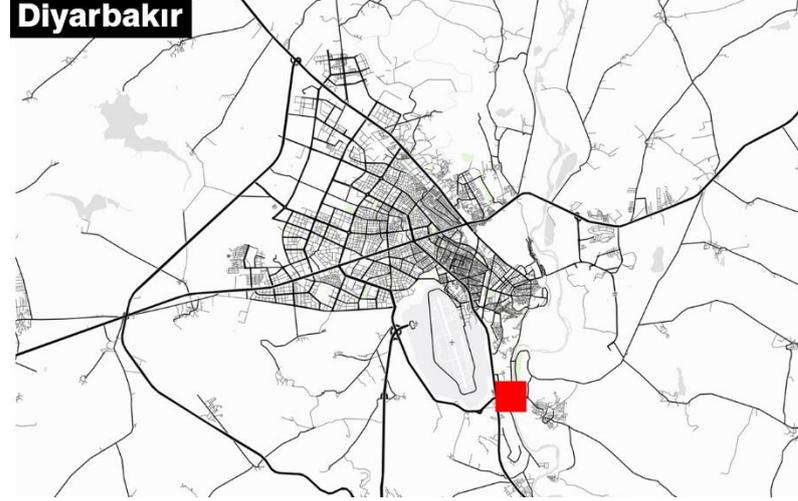
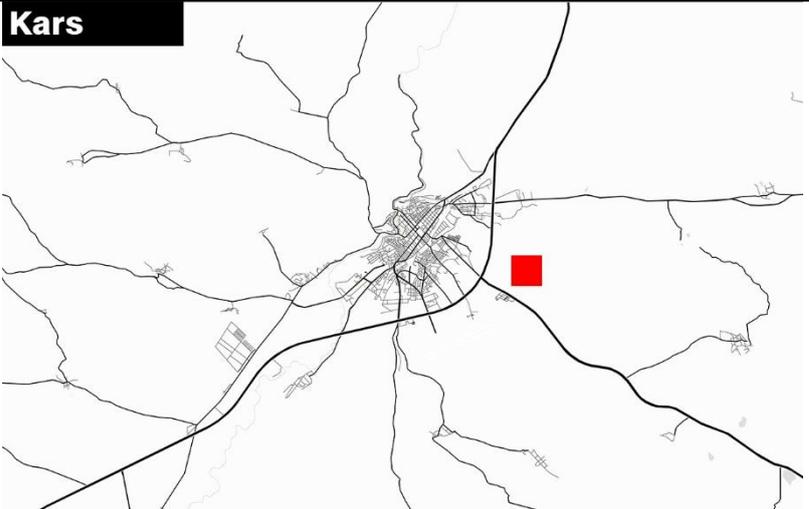
<p>Edirne</p> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> + Located close to residential areas + outer fringe + brothel zone is positioned between rivers of Tunca and Meriç + Tunca River separates the brothel zone from the residents + surrounded with agricultural lands
<p>Diyarbakır</p> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> + Located in close to residential areas and surrounded with agricultural lands + outer fringe + situated close to the airport + exact location could not be found
<p>Denizli</p> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> + Located in industrial zone + outer fringe + brothel zone is positioned between highways

Table 3.2 Locations of Active Brothels in Turkey (continued)

<p>Manisa</p> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> + Located in close to residential areas and industrial uses + surrounded with agricultural lands + outer fringe + there are prison, mental hospital and slaughterhouse in the immediate vicinity + highway is passing through in front of it
<p>Eskişehir</p> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> + Located in rural area + surrounded with agricultural lands + it is right across the Kanlıpınar Village + there is a martyrdom close to brothel zone + highway is passing through in front of it

Table 3.2 Locations of Active Brothels in Turkey (continued)

 <p>Tekirdağ</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> + Located in rural area within the boundaries of Çorlu District + surrounded with agricultural lands + there are industrial uses close to it + brothel zone is positioned between highways
 <p>Kars</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> + Located in rural area + surrounded with agricultural lands + there are not any uses in the immediate surroundings of brothel zone, but residential uses are present close to it + brothel zone is positioned between highways

There are notable features have been identified that are commonly encountering around the brothel zones in Turkey. The first of these is the proximity to main transportation networks such as the train station and bus terminal and also major roads (See: Table 3.2 and Figure 3.10). To Ashworth (1998), in the motorized society being close to major roads maximize the accessibility; and being proximate to attractive transportation node is not a surprise due to demand of travelers to the prostitution (p. 208). Being nearby of major transport interchanges provides opportunity for prostitution areas in terms of accessibility. So, these proximity issues

undoubtedly manifest that in the location-selection processes of brothel areas accessibility is a very integral concern. As it is overt in the Table 3.2, most of the peripherally located brothel areas are also close to airports. Even though airports are one of the means of transport, they do not offer a benefit in terms accessibility and do not commercially affect the well-being of brothel zones. However, this situation shows that there is a relationship between the scenarios of the development of the city towards the periphery and the urban strategies in the spatial decisions of brothels and airports. The other prominently encountering feature is being close to some kinds of obstacles such as railways, canals, and rivers (See: Table 3.2 and Figure 3.10). These elements, which have macro-scale separating and segregating effects, can be considered as obstructive elements that define the bidirectional city-brothel relationship.

3.4.3 Spatial Characteristics of Active Brothels

In order to reveal contextual features, spatial characteristics, immediate environment relations and configurational structures of active brothels in Turkey Figure 3.10 and Figure 3.11 are prepared. Figure 3.10, which is created with images derived from Google Earth, presents the places of the brothels in their contexts and provides clues about land-use characteristics and urban fabric they are surrounded. It is clear that brothel zones in İstanbul and İzmir are existed in a compact urban tissue with densely organized built environment. The multi-functional land-use distribution and sophisticated street pattern around them cause a compulsory physical relationship with the city and increase their visibility and access potential. Figure 3.10 also demonstrate that the brothel complexes in the countryside are surrounded by agricultural lands. There is no function in their immediate environment that they can directly relate to. A gradually decreasing integration is observed in the contextual characters of brothels from the inner city to the periphery and from the periphery to the rural area positioning (See: Figure 3.10).



Figure 3.10. Aerial views of mezo-scale contextual characteristics of active brothels in Turkey (Source: Adapted from Google Earth)

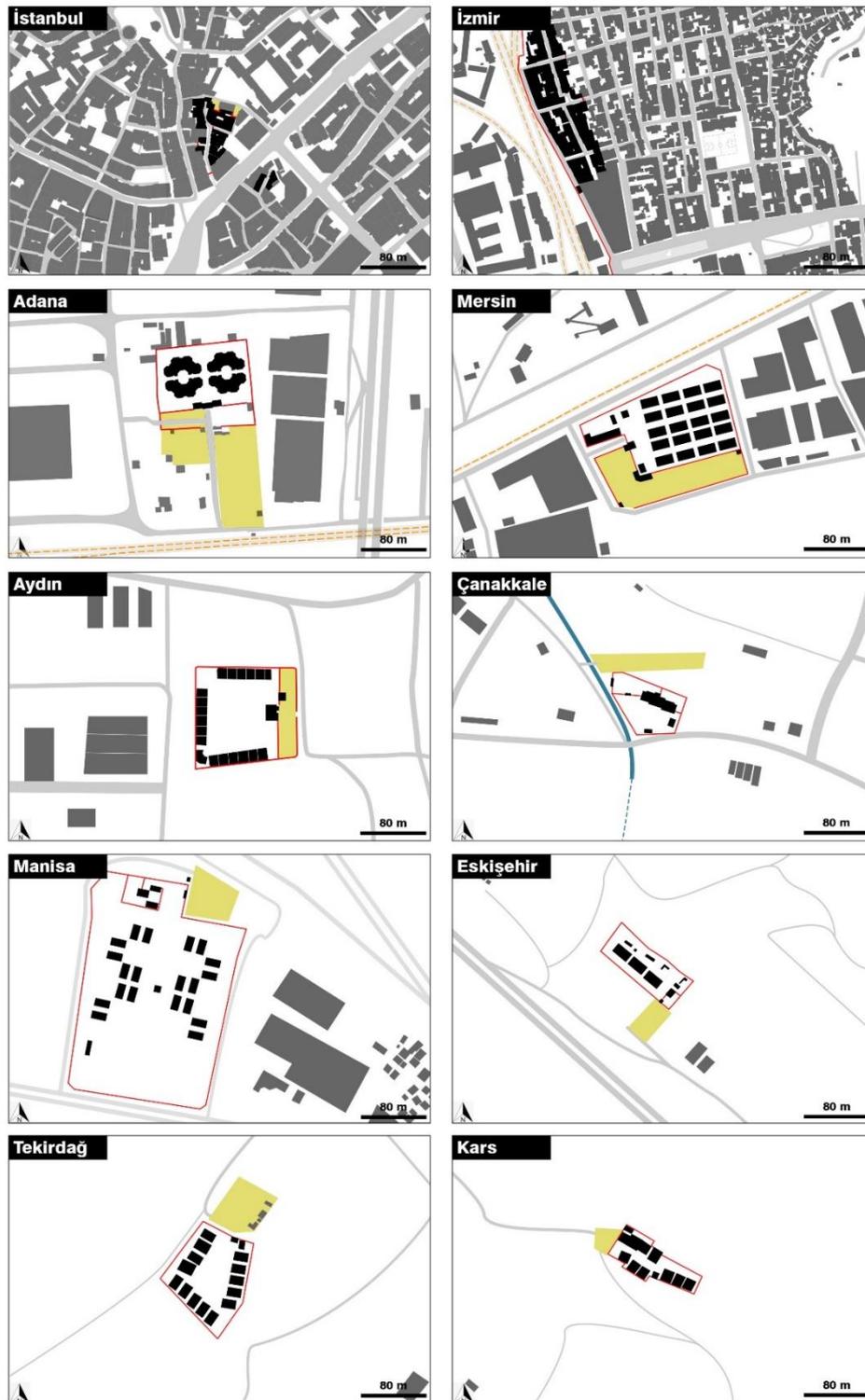


Figure 3.11. Aerial views of mezo-scale contextual characteristics of active brothels in Turkey (Source: Adapted from Google Earth)

Figure 3.11 also shows the density level of built environment and street network conditions around brothel zones. Additionally, it is also overt how the elements that serve as physical separator in the city, such as water canals, rivers, and train tracks, are mostly encountered components located very surroundings of the brothel areas. Brothels benefit from these obstacles in terms of blocking the unwanted physical relations and they provide more isolated contexts for the immoral zones of cities. In some instances, the obstacles act as a part of the brothel like in the case of İzmir (See: Figure 3.11).

Configurational structures of brothels are also shifting in accordance with the locational status of them. While the brothel complexes located outside the city are organized in clusters with clearly defined borders, the ones inside the city have configurations that act as the continuation of the normal texture. Thus, typological differences and diversities can be observed from inner-city brothel areas such as closed street and enclave. However, peripherally located complexes are similarly organized which is a confined configuration consists of a very defined boundary and building blocks placed within it. Also, Figure 3.11 presents that, parking areas are integral parts of these brothel complexes as a result of vehicular accessibility is the only option for the clients. Moreover, unlike brothels in the periphery, boundary typologies of inner-city brothel zones are located more scattered and comprise of dispersed walls. The walls are placed pointwise to the potential access spots to disable the visual and physical access and separate the brothels within the compact urban fabric from the dense outside relations (See: Figure 3.11).

CHAPTER 4

MAPPING THE MARGINALITY OF BROTHELS IN TURKEY: MORPHOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF THE SPATIAL EXCLUDEDNESS IN URBAN FORM AND FABRIC

Marginality and marginal groups have always drawn attention of academic circles, and researches in the fields of psychology, sociology, economy, and gender studies have been conducted. However, not many scholars have focused on spatial dimensions of the issue and studies about the relationship between prostitution and space are insufficient in the literature. Since prostitution is a socially neglected phenomenon that has become a taboo, its physical communication with the environment is different from so-called normal spaces. Prostitution zones manifest distinctive locational, configurational, and morphological characteristics that mirror the perspective of society.

In this chapter, the morphological explorations of marginality will be traced through state-regulated active brothels in the cases of Istanbul, İzmir, and Adana respectively. Site-specific research will be conducted to reveal detailed contextual characteristics of brothel zones and the dynamics of their territorialization regarding with location choice, spatial structures, syntactic formations, land-use and activity patterns, visibility and accessibility conditions, and typo-morphological characteristics from an inter-scale standpoint.

4.1.1 Overview

Beyoglu, one of the sub-centers of the polycentric metropolis, is located on the European side of Istanbul and has a coast to the Bosphorus and the Golden Horn in the south. The strong relationship it establishes with the coast is the most important locational feature that shapes the socio-spatial character of the region. Karakoy,

formerly known as Galata, is the district that has come to the fore with its feature of being a port and trade center throughout the centuries. The district has long been acting as a meeting point where the city connects to the world which paves the way for the concentration of commercial viability in the region in addition to entertainment centers including brothels (Scognamillo; p;17).

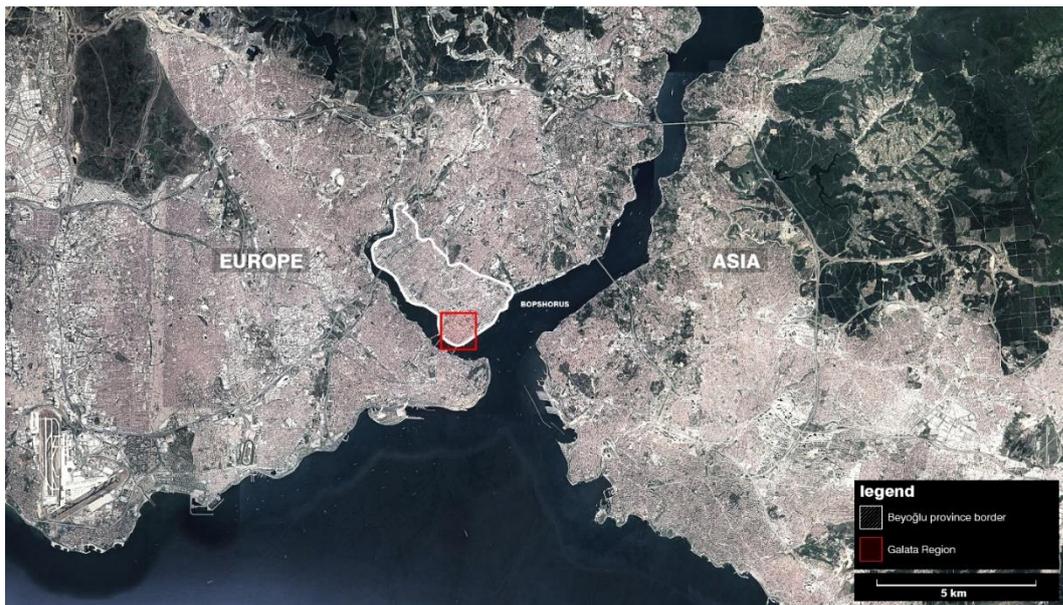


Figure 4.1. Location of Beyoğlu within the aerial view of Istanbul (Source: Adapted from Google Earth)

4.1.2 Locational Characteristics of the Site

Istanbul has been an up-front city in regards with its strategical location, historical background, economic activities, demographic structure, and socio-cultural abundance for centuries. The city has a palimpsest nature with its long historical and socio-cultural accumulation. The multi-layered structure of the city arises from embracing different ethnic groups, lifestyles, and daily life practices. In this respect, with the heterogeneous urban and social pattern of the Istanbul, it accommodates

multiple forms of marginality. Beyoglu, in particular, is one of the most embracing districts of the city in terms of welcoming different groups and socio-spatial diversity. The district is one of the historical sub-centers of Istanbul which accommodates mostly minority groups and so-called marginal activities for centuries.

Brothels, which can be radical to find a place in other parts of the city, have also been located in the district. The history of the region regarding prostitution dates back to the Ottoman period. Many sex-related premises in Beyoglu have been removed from the area periodically (e.g., Abanoz Street). However, two state-regulated brothels of the city are still actively located in Galata Region (known as Karakoy today), within the boundaries of Beyoglu. These brothels are organized around two streets, Zurafa Street and Kadem Street, with controlled access (See: Figure 4.2).



Figure 4.2. Location of Study Area-2 within the aerial view of Konak district (Source: Adapted from Google Earth)

According to Lefebvre (1974) space is a field of action and a basis of action. While certain social codes and activities appear in certain places and produce life patterns, they also shape the physical formations. Production of space depends on sets of relations (p.191). During the 19th century, due to the increasing trade activities, Beyoglu has undergone a socioeconomic transformation process that also affected the physical and functional patterns of the area. Especially the active use of Karakoy Port has been one of the most important reasons to revitalize the region by attracting all kinds of people and activities (Scognamillo, 1994, p.12).

In the case of Karakoy, spatial production of marginality can be directly associated with socio-economic activities and socio-cultural characteristics of the area. It can be said that socio-spatial characteristics of the region, which are also arising from the port relations, creates a basis for the location-choice process of brothels. In particular, demographic diversity, commercial vitality and concentration of entertainment industry are key attractors behind the formation of sex-related premises in this region.

This old port is both a commercial center and a global hub for entertainment. Scognamillo (1994) in his book named Prostitution in Beyoglu, which he describes the entertainment dynamics of Beyoglu, claims that due to its location, prostitution is inevitable in Beyoglu:

“Beyoglu, formerly Pera, can be regarded as a huge den of vice, a disgusting snare of prostitution. But remember, inside every big city there is a zone that is deemed free, the center and source of all kinds of legal and illegal entertainment. From this point of view, Beyoglu's relations with prostitution are inevitable, which has assumed the role of the most west-oriented, most liberal, most attractive district of Istanbul city since its establishment, or because of its qualities and privileges” (p.114).

4.1.3 Structural Morphology of the Site

Beyoglu, with its polyphonic sociocultural texture, has been the most cosmopolitan sub-center of the polycentric metropolis. This polyphonic nature has also affected the spatial character and programmatic distribution of the district. The existing urban pattern of Beyoglu offers a rich ground in terms of functional uses and morphological structure. The district has been divided into nine segments according to their functional characteristics in accordance with the concentrations of historical, industrial, touristic, residential, and commercial usages. Besides, commercial buildings are highlighted to reveal the axial formations of the trade-based functions. These commercial axes are fed by the port relations and touristic activities (See: Figure 4.3).

As it is seen obviously from the Figure 4.3, there is a continuous trade axis in the district which is consistent along the north-south directions. This axis ends up with a commercial zone with a wider configuration on the coast. As sites of sex trade, the brothel zone (A) is located in the middle of this commercially concentrated part of the region (See: Figure 4.2-3).

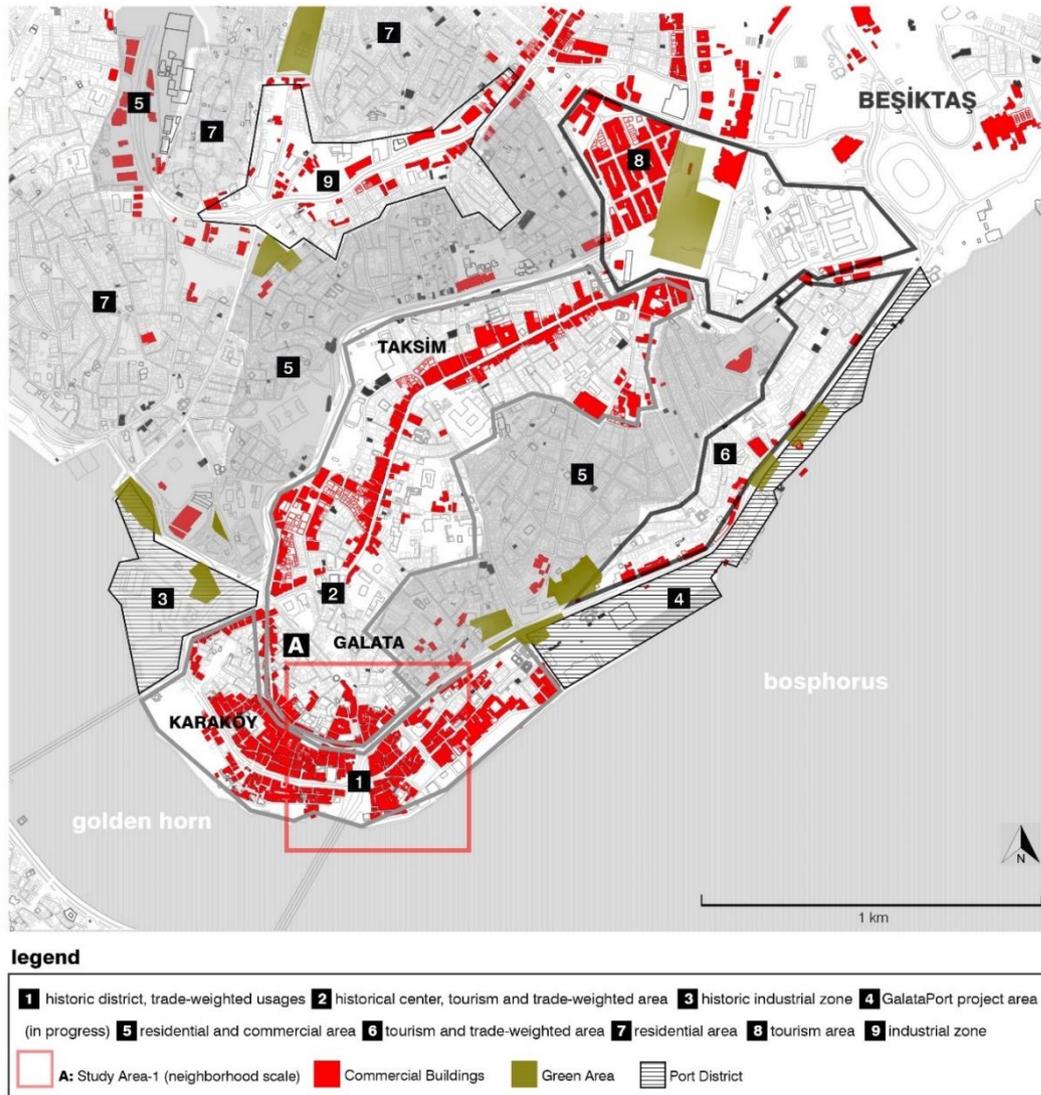


Figure 4.3. Segmentation of Beyoğlu

The commercial core covers the brothel zone does not constitute residential uses but is surrounded by them. The domination of commercial uses is supported by the port and touristic uses (See: Figure 4.3). This gives vitality to the region by attracting people to the region with different purposes. The fact that the brothel is located in this heavily used context creates a positive situation for the anonymity of the users. The character of the context that is integrated with everyday life, which everyone

can pass through, suppresses the absurdity of 'appearing here'. However, being in an actively used context can also be a threat to the presence of the brothel because of potential to be exposed to purification motives since it is a highly encountering and in sight place.

4.1.4 Syntactic Explorations: Street-based Spatial Configuration

In this section, the study continues by examining the macro-scale maps produced from street-based configuration data of Beyoğlu, since they provide holistic data in terms of understanding the context and environmental relations. Street network is a key indicator to understand the socio-spatial structure and dynamics of a specific area. It gives clues about how urban macroform serves the built environment. There is a cumulative street pattern in the area that composed of different layers from historical and modern times of the city. Thus, in Beyoğlu, there is a diverse network system in terms of street types and organizations (See: Figure 4.4). Study Area-1 (A) is located in a context which has a strategical importance since the region has a sophisticated urban infrastructure shaped from the intense trade and port activities. Kemeraltı Street is the core axis of study area connecting Galata Bridge to Tophane. Figure 4.4 demonstrates that, Kemeraltı Street, which includes T1 tramway axis3 on it, is a vital line in terms of transportation activities.

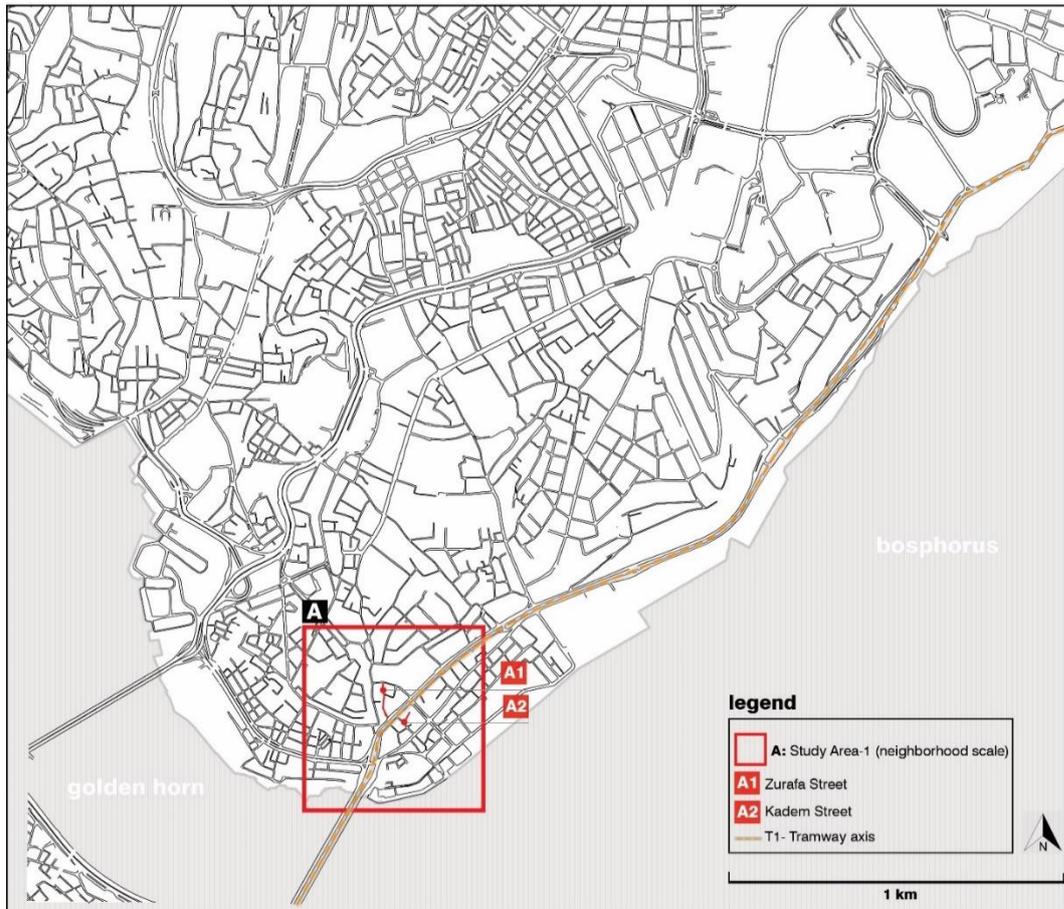


Figure 4.4. The place of the Study Area-2 within the street network and transportation axis

Space syntax method and theory addresses the question on how spatial configuration and social interactions shape each other by revealing the relation of street or street segment with its immediate environment and to the whole system (Al_Sayed vd., 2014; Hillier, 2007). In the path of comprehending forms of spatial relations that marginal establishes need an investigation that is enlightening for both social and physical dimensions. Therefore, syntactic measurements of the context hosting brothels has performed. Both global and local level integration maps showing the ranked integration values of the network have been conducted by using DepthmapX software (See: Figure 4.5 and Figure 4.6).

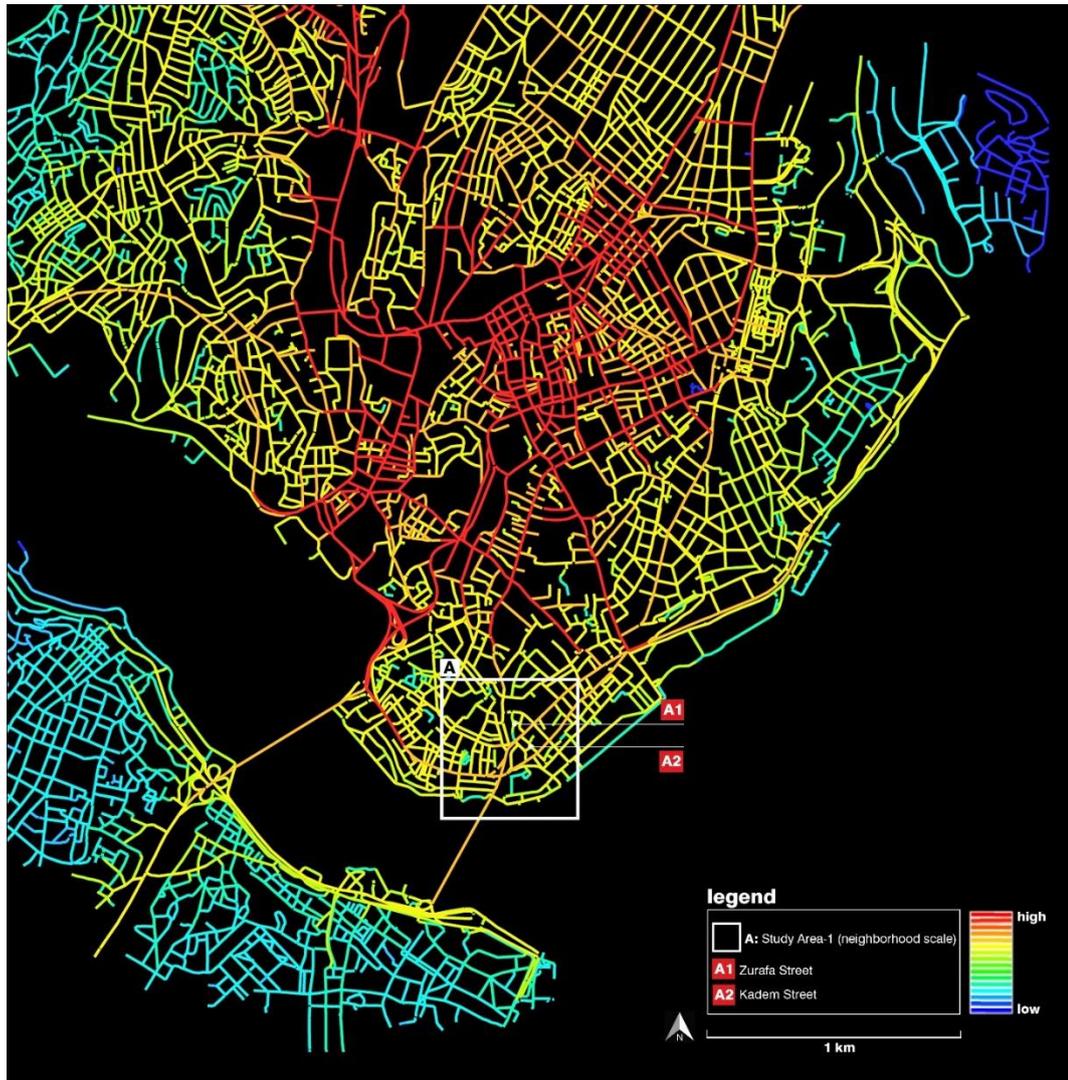


Figure 4.5. Global integration (R_n) map of the spatial network

Global integration map is produced by using *radius n* to understand the structure of entire system (See: Figure 4.5). The gradient pattern of the map represent the relativized relations of lines from most integrated to less (from red to blue). Global integration measurements of the area have shown that the district is a globally integrated area as a whole. In the borders of Study Area-1 (A), Kemeraltı Street is the line with the highest integration value. It is the most suitable axis for vehicle

movement and transportation activities (See: Figure 4.5). Considering the use of the road within the context, it can be claimed that the results of the measurements show consistency.

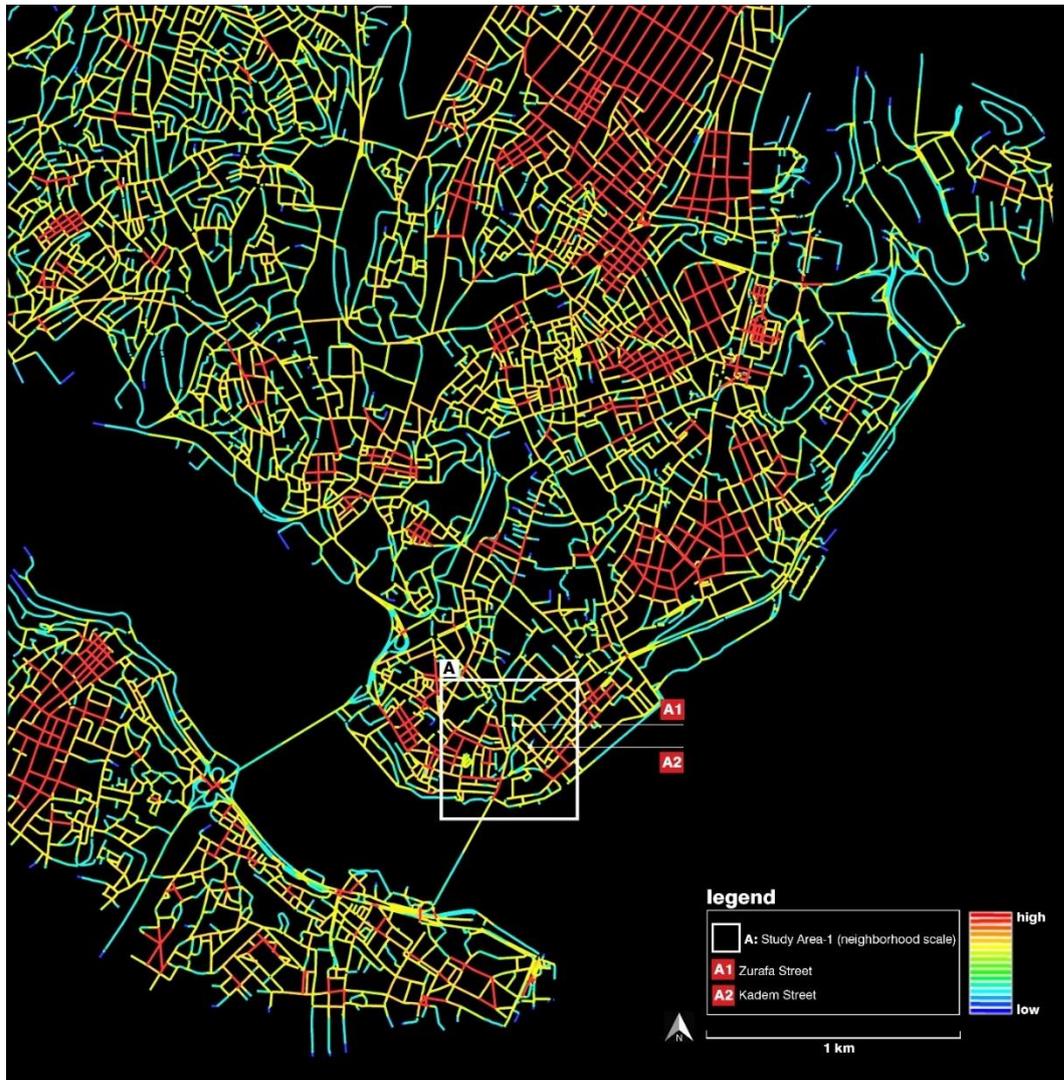


Figure 4.6. Local integration (R3) map of the spatial network

Local integration map showing the relatively integrated parts of the area within closer environment is produced by the axial line data of the context (See: Figure 4.6). The map performed by using radius 'R3' which is suitable for manifesting potential

pedestrian movements and local level relations (Hillier, 2007, p.119). Streets named Bankalar, Maliye and Tersane which are directly connected to Kemeraltı Streets within the borders of Study Area-1 (A) have high integration levels. Yüksek Kaldırım Street also have better integration levels which can be correlated with trading activities on these axes. The vivid nature of the close environment and potential human flux are mainly attracting by these two lines. As it can be derived from the graph, Zürafa Street (A1) and Kadem Street (A2) has low integration values despite the well-integrated structure of the immediate surroundings of them. Their dead-end street configurations have an impact on the accessibility and connection status within the context (See: Figure 4.6).

Global and local syntactic measurement demonstrate that, brothels located in a context with affirmative integration values in both levels. While the area has an integral position in the entire system in terms of vehicular movements, it also provides a ground for neighborhood level interactions such as pedestrian flux, encountering possibilities and public uses.

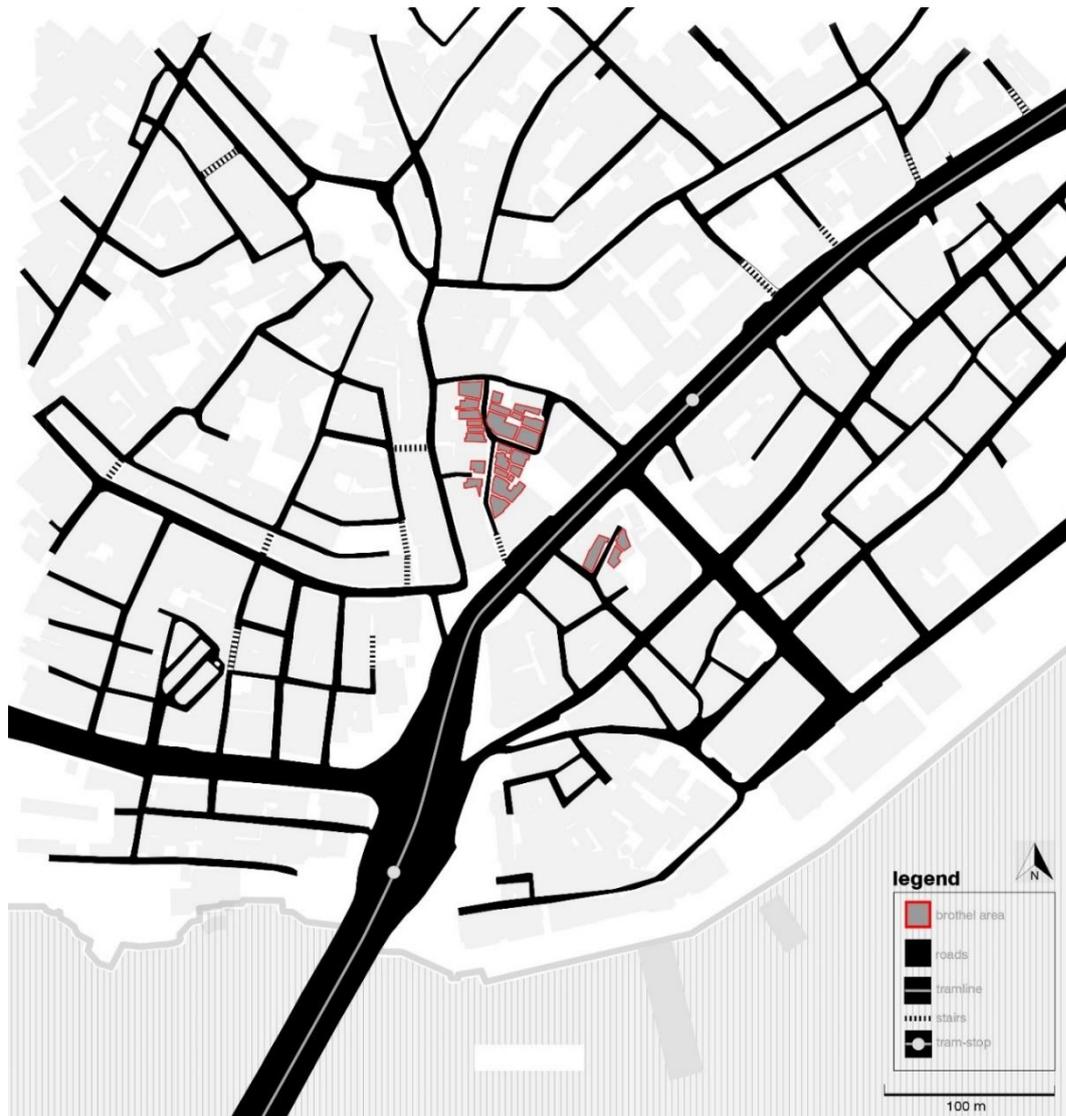


Figure 4.7. Street pattern of the Study Area-1

Kemeraltı Street is a 30-meter-wide two-way street that also contains T1 tramline. As it is obvious from Figure 4.7 this is a primary axis of the area that links Galata Bridge to Tophane.

3.3.2.1 Visual Configuration of the Built Fabric

To investigate configurational relations and visual properties of the area, visibility graph analysis is performed (See: Figure 4.8). Isovist, as an analytical method, is conducted to reveal the site-specific visibility pattern of the study area and to produce an alternative representation of the range of vision in relation with a certain layout. Isovist, first introduced by Benedikt (1979), “*is the set of all points visible from a given vantage point in space and with respect to an environment*” and he suggest the method for studies in the search of the potentials of architectural or environmental space, in particular, in the areas of “view control, privacy, defensibility, dynamic complexity and spaciousness judgements” (p.47). Visibility graph analysis (VGA) is the consequence of connecting all sets of isovists in a human-scale grid and shows the visual relations of different nodes in the layout calculated by using local and global measures in DepthmapX (Turner, Doxa, O’Sullivan, & Penn, 2001, p.103).

Figure 4.8 revealing the visibility conditions of immediate surroundings of Zürafa Street. While the axis of Kemeraltı Street has high level of visibility, other parts of the context are relatively less visible. There is a dramatic decrease in the junction point of Zürafa Street and Kemeraltı Street. Zürafa Street and very immediate environment of it is has highly low visibility values. The compact tissue of the area has an impact on this level of invisibility conditions of the context.

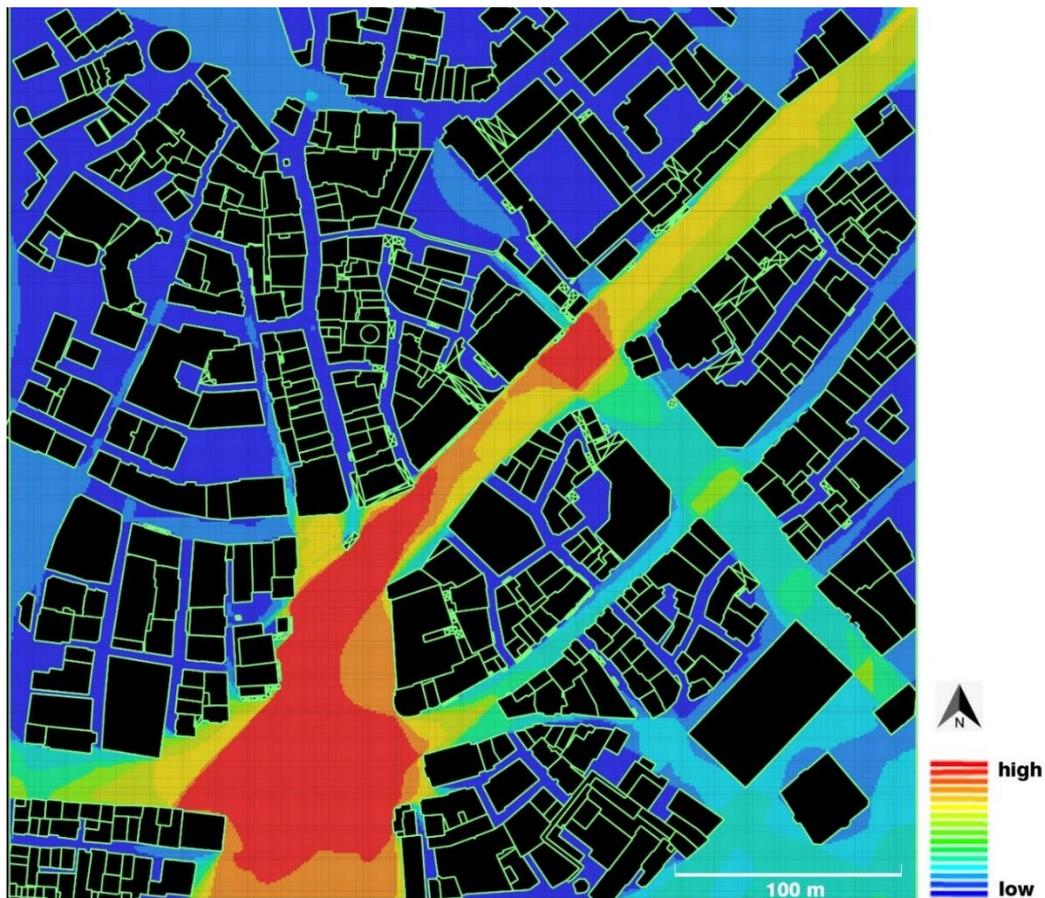


Figure 4.8. Visibility Graph Analysis of Study Area-1

4.1.5 Fabric Characteristics and Land-Use

Morphological examinations conducted at the neighborhood scale provide direct data about the relationship between the physical characteristics of the built environment and social structure of the area. Urban form profoundly affects the way the city is used and offers concrete data about way of life, user preferences, behaviors, and activities. Shifts in the land use patterns and neighborhood preferences reflect on the urban form.



Figure 4.9. Figure-ground diagram of Galata Region

The existing pattern of Galata region has a complex and compact configuration because of densely organized building units. This high-density order does not offer open spaces, green areas, or recreational activities. As it is apparent in the Figure 4.9, the land coverage rate of built environment is significantly higher than unbuilt spaces in the neighborhood. Brothel zone is located within this compact layout of the traditional city center (See: Figure 4.9). It can be derived from the figure ground diagram that the brothel zone organized in consistent with the surroundings pattern. It is present at the context as a physically integrated part of it.

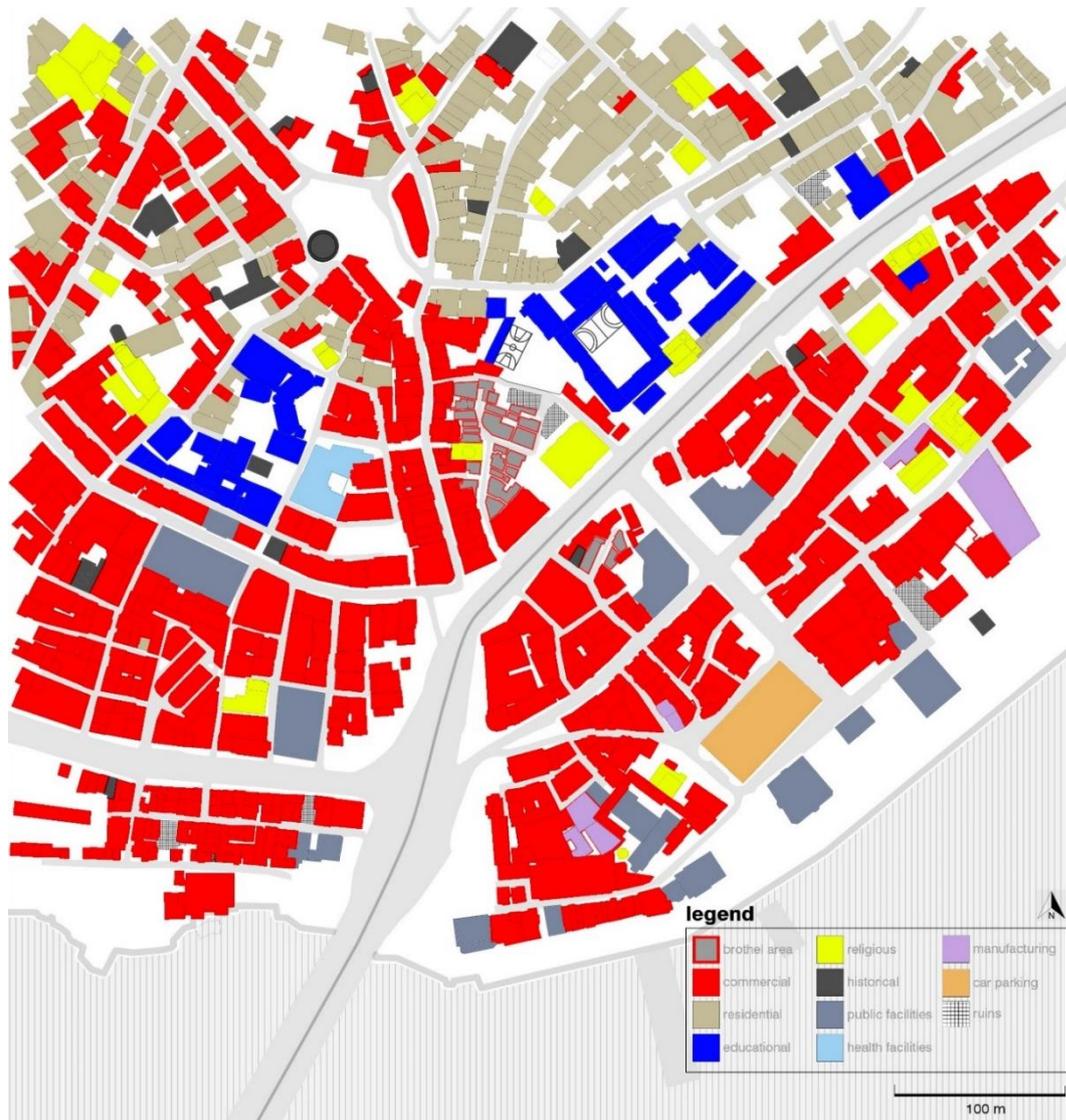


Figure 4.10. Land use pattern of Galata Region

Figure 4.10 represents the land-use distribution of the neighborhood where brothels are located. As it is apparent in the diagram, they are situated in a context that acts as a social hub with trade-weighted uses and public facilities. In particular, southern parts of the district covers dominantly commercial uses. Zurafa Sokak is parallel to Yüksek Kaldırım Street which is a commonly used commercial axis (See: Figure 4.10). The land-use distribution in the vicinity of the brothel zone has a vivid nature

with dense human flux. In addition to commercial activities, this area has a diversity in terms of educational and religious programmes (See Figure 4.10). These are buildings mostly used by the minority groups which are local people of the city with another religion or nationality (i.e., Jews, Christians; Armenian, French, Austrian, Italian). Minority group usage and forms of marginal spaces togetherness is a very common situation.

Although brothels found a place in this context and continued to be present for decades, the variety of uses around it legally jeopardizes its existence. There are spatial restrictions for the state-regulated brothels in Turkey in terms of location of the brothel and land-use activities around it. According to article 48 in the regulation, brothels cannot be closed to or visible from public spaces such as administrative, educational, and religious buildings, sports centers, and venues for gathering, entertainment or festivals. These land-use restrictions can be a determinant factor for location-choice processes or relocation excuses.

4.1.6 Micro-Scale Spatial Assessments

“In this site [the city] organized by ‘speculative’ and classifying operations, management combines with elimination: on the one hand, we have the differentiation and redistribution of the parts and function of the city through inversions, movements, accumulations, etc., and, on the other hand, we have the rejection of whatever is not treatable and that, thus, constitutes the garbage of a functionalist administration (abnormality, deviance, sickness, death, etc.)” (De Certeau, 1985, p.127).

There is a set of relations between the space and power which is reciprocal and feed each other. Space acts as an intermediary ground for implementing purifying and control strategies to the society by using various methods from different levels

(Sibley, 1998). Especially for the exclusionary geographies, spatial cleansing and purification rhetoric becomes evident. There are two basic operations applied on the spaces of 'marginals' within the urban context. The first of these is displacement which can be defined as deprivation of the right to be existed in a specific area or violation of the right to housing or to be exiled. Alternatively, the second operation can be generalized as interventions on-site which is re-arranging the spatial order of where the marginal is present by following the moral rules and law.

The controlling strategies of the power can be observed “*from the great strategies of geopolitics to the little tactics of the habitat*” (Foucault, 1980). These spatial tactics are customized according to the function of the space, user profile, and the topological characteristics of the region. In this section of the thesis site-specific micro-scale characteristics of Zürafa Street will be explored with its immediate surroundings. Spatial tactics, configurational behaviors, physical responses of the site towards purification and controlling strategies are the main concerns of this level investigations.

4.1.6.1 Functional Uses of the Immediate Environment

There are standardized patterns of modern cities in terms of social, cultural, and economic aspects. Marginal spaces are the contexts where this regularity is broken from all dimensions. It is not rare that, if there is some kind of so-called marginal in a specific area, it attracts other marginals to that certain context, or the existing marginal generates new forms of margins. In other words, in spaces of others there is a high possibility to encounter with different forms of marginality. Zürafa Street is located in a context that minority groups of İstanbul is dominantly present for centuries. There is a unique programmatic distribution that can be labelled as marginal (from the perspectives of certain majority) with the presence of facilities that represent wide range uses (See: Figure 4.11).

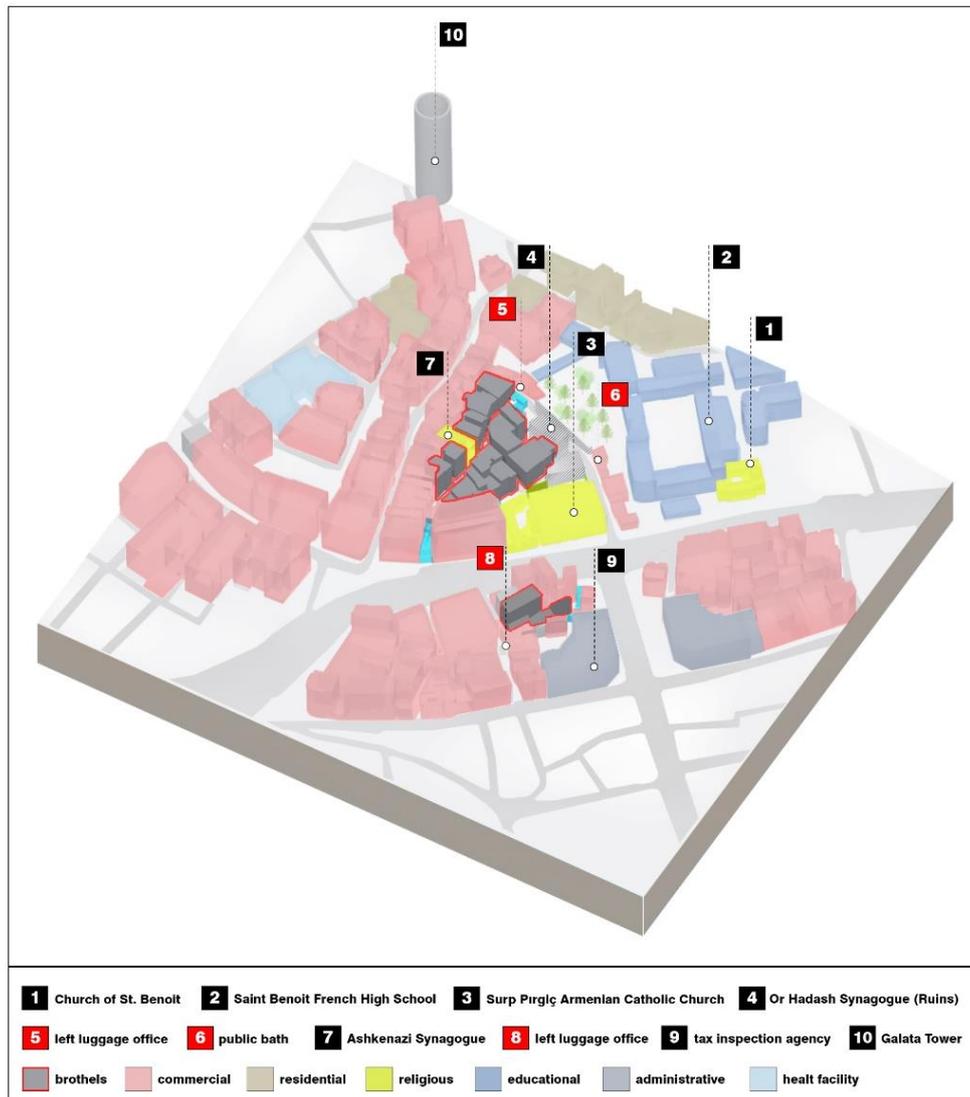


Figure 4.11. Spatial uses around the brothels of Karaköy

The street is surrounded by religious and educational facilities actively used by minority population (i.e., Jews, Armenians, Christians etc.) of the city (See: Figure 4.11). Even though this togetherness of different kind of marginals in same context is not surprising, the fact that the functions existed here with the brothels are educational and religious buildings makes this place unusual since they are the most sacred use types for all groups. This programmatic coincidence is unfamiliar because brothels can be exposed to exclusion in the name of moral concerns.

As it is pointed out in Figure 4.11 there are a synagogue, two churches and a high school in the direct vicinity of the brothel zone. Saint Benoit French High School does not have visual and physical connection to Zürafa street because of the walls separating them and the topography. Church of St. Benoit is a part of this educational complex. Surp Pırgiç Armenian Church is located at the very beginning of Alageyik Street. It follows the street with continuous blind façade that does not allows any physical interaction with the street. Ashkenazi Synagogue is located just on the Zürafa Street, adjacent to the brothels. Although the entrance of the synagogue is from Yüksek Kaldırım Street, it is physically a part of inner dynamics of this specialized street organization (See: Figure 4.11).



Figure 4.12. Views from Alageyik Street (Source: Personal archive, 2020)

Alageyik Street is the only way to reach to the entrance of the brothel. There is not any legally possible way but using this line in order to get access to the brothel zone. Apart from its physical importance, Alageyik Street also has a significant place for the users of brothel complex due to supportive sub-marginal functions it contains. There are certain procedural needs of the brothel users that must be fulfilled before they enter or after they leave from the brothel zone. According to regulations, it is

not allowed to get inside of the brothel complex with any property other than ID card and cash. Therefore, visitors are required to leave their belongings (i.e., cellphones, keys, sharp objects, lighter, and so on) to specific places to get inside. Left luggage offices which are places for fulfillment of that procedures locating at the in front of the entrance door of the brothel zone (See: Figure 4.13 and Figure 4.14). It is where you pay to leave your properties for a while and serves as a tiny shop a sign that says ‘emanetçi’ on it (See: Figure 4.13). It is a preliminary stop for the visitors.



Figure 4.13. Public bath (left) and left luggage office (right) located in Alageyik Street (Source: Personal archive, 2020)

Apart from the left luggage office, there is one more sub-marginal function on the Alageyik street which is public bath (See: Figure 4.12 and Figure 4.13). This is an integral use for functional sustainability of the brothel zone. There are two main motivations that lead to associating the bath as a functional part of the brothel. First one is concerns about hygiene, while the second motive is originated from religious principles (obligation of performing ablution). It is not a traditional Turkish public

bath but similar to left luggage office, it also serves as a random shop that offers visitors to take a shower with hot water for a fee (See: Figure 4.13).

All in all, Alageyik Street covers marginal uses generated from the existence of the brothel zone which are essential for sustaining and supporting functional continuity in this specific context. This is a place where regular spatial uses and forms of marginalities share a mutual ground. Sub-marginal uses are distributed around the regular functions of the urban space. Figure 4.14 demonstrate the respective distribution of the programmes located on the Alageyik Street. There is café, flower store, carpenter, grindery, balloon shooting shop and many other functions that serves for public use and brothel users simultaneously (See: Figure 4.14).

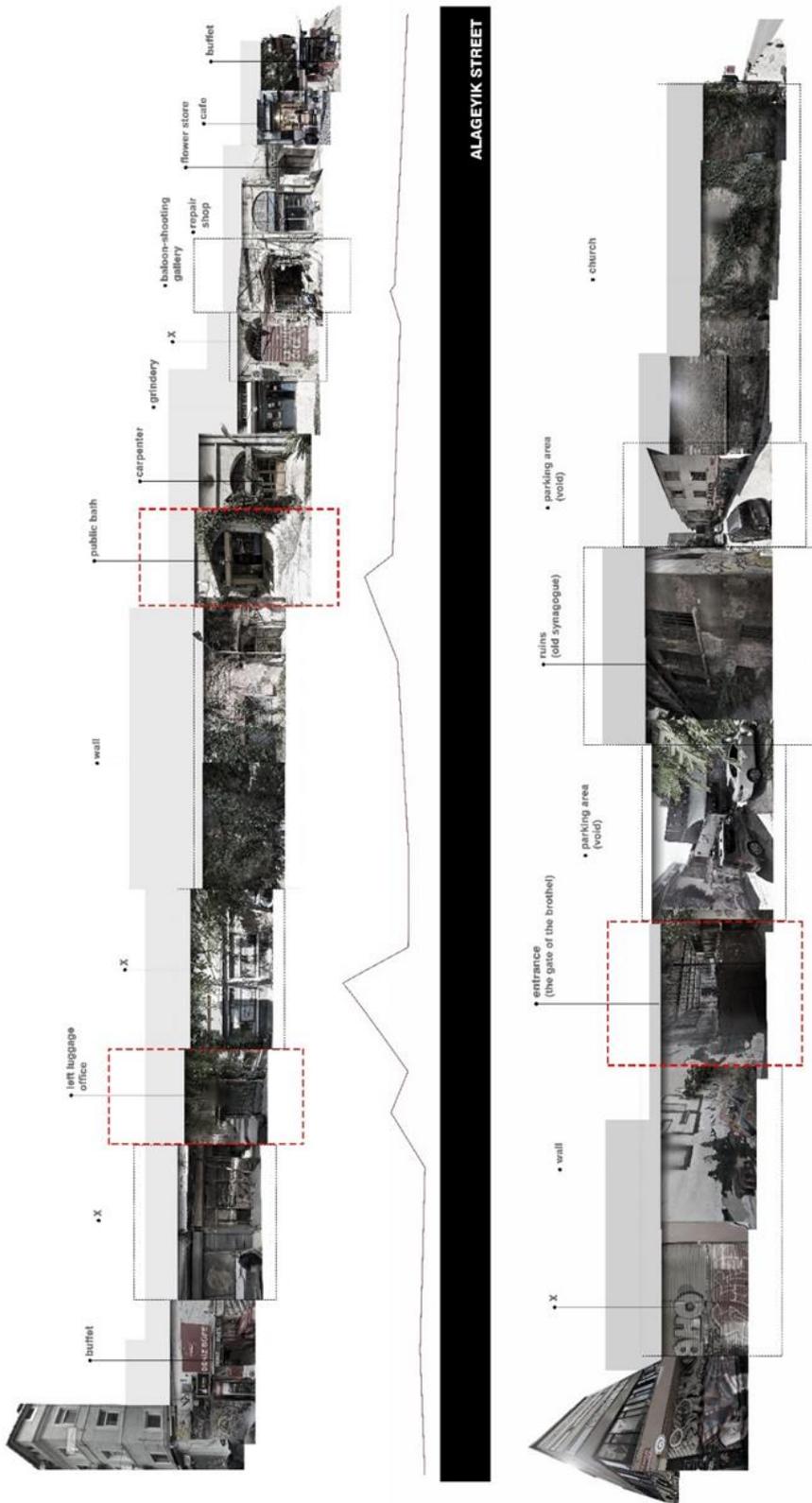


Figure 4.14: Collage of Alageyik Street generated from the photographs of use types in accordance with their locations in the street

4.1.6.2 Boundary Relations

There are some spatial tactics generated by marginals to become out of the sight of majorities and to be concealed in order not to expose purification implementation, or else, these tactical productions can be outcomes of legal restrictions. In either case, to be able to exist in a specific context and to survive in the urban fabric, marginals need to make an effort and have to develop spatial codes arising from its programmatic and locational status. Although these modes of production have some common features for marginal spaces, each of them creates specialized results as the results are produced from site-specific attempts and alternative methods and attitudes. In the case of brothels, the reflections of moral concerns and legal sanctions in the statute on the place will be explored through the boundary conditions and spatial organization of the Zürafa Street. It is an elemental investigation for the study since the relationship between the brothel and the outside world is basically shaped through the borders. In this context, configuration of the brothel zone and components of its perimeter have been decoded and correlated with the legal framework (See: Figure 4.15).

Zürafa Street is a dead-end street that one end of it is completely closed and the other end is controlled by an iron gate. The junction points where Zürafa Street is connected to Kemeraltı Street continues as a staircase. However, it is not possible to use this staircase from inside or outside since it is surrounded by walls and metal fences (See: Figure 4.15). Due to these barriers that blocks the direct accessibility to the street of brothels, it works as a cul-de-sac that creates its own inner dynamics. As it is obviously seen from the Figure 4.15 all possible connection points to Zürafa Street is blocked with physical instruments such as walls, fences, barbed wires, and metal curtains. According to the regulation, visual and physical access to brothels have to be restricted. Thus, these physical elements are placed to disable all kinds of accessibility to the brothel complex as consequences of the sanctions and they completely cut off the interaction with the outside. This extreme isolation generates

a complex that has defined internal characteristics by specifying inner and outer spaces distinctively.

The brothel complex has a strip configuration in which Zürafa Street plays an integral role. All brothel buildings are organized around the street which work as a core, a connector, an encountering space, and a public sphere of the inner world (See: Figure 4.15). In the complex not all the buildings work as brothels anymore. Since brothels are periodically exposed to disclosures, some of them are in sale or vacant.

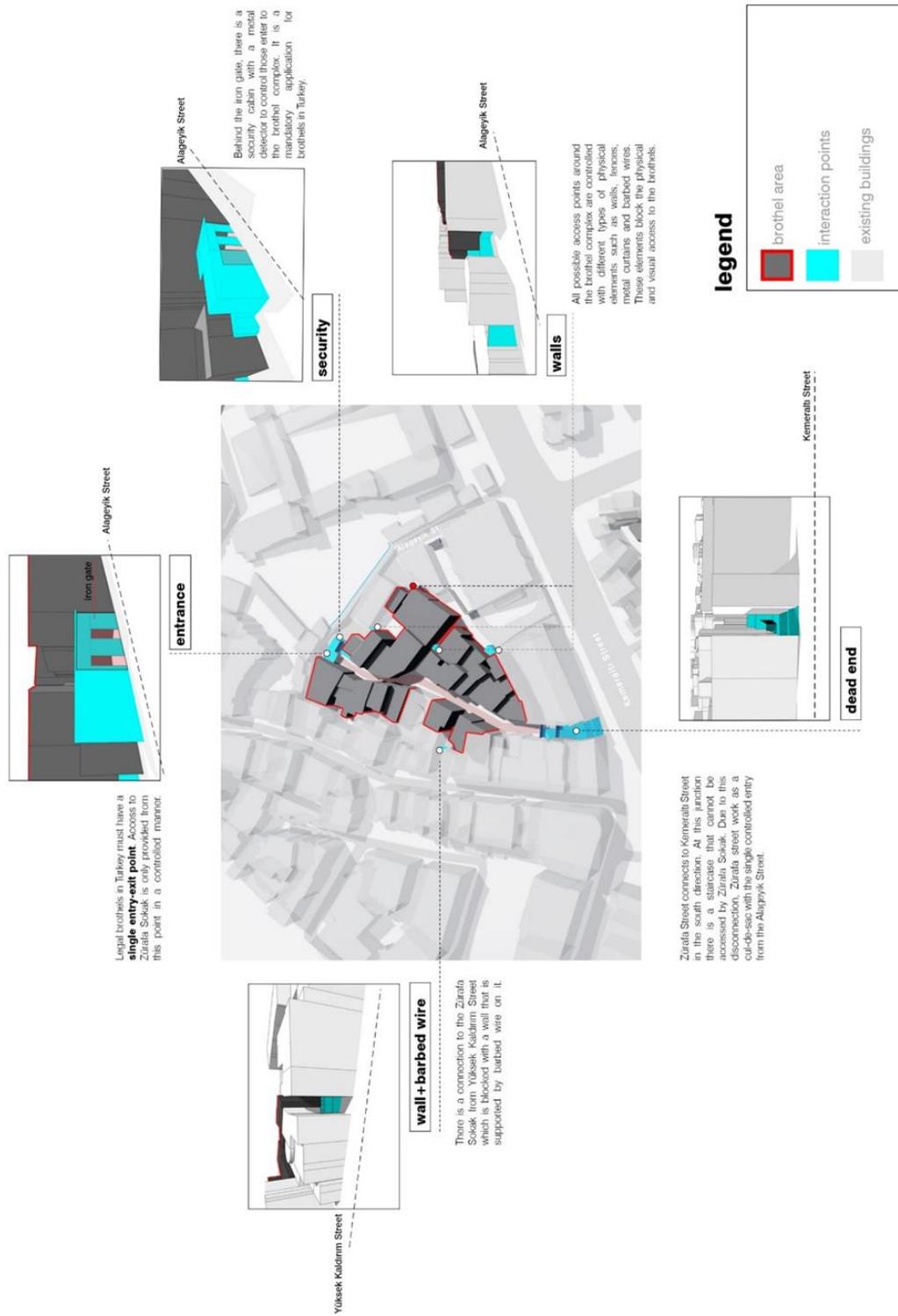


Figure 4.15: Boundary Relations of the brothel complex

The only access to Zürafa Street is via a controlled entrance facing Alageyik Street (See: Figure 4.15). According to the regulation, the entrance and exit of the brothels must be made from a single point. Since there are certain restrictions valid for all legal brothels in Turkey about those who are allowed to enter into the brothel zone, the entrance point is controlled with an iron gate, metal detectors and a security cabin (See: Figure 4.15 and 4.16). The security cabin (3) is located behind the iron gate for the security guard who checks the visitor's ID cards and belongings (See: Figure 4.16). There are signs on the door which reminding to users the rules of the complex.



Figure 4.16. Entrance of Zürafa Street (Source: Personal archive, 2020)

4.2 Izmir Tepecik Brothel Zone

4.2.1 Overview

İzmir is the third most populous metropolitan city of the Turkey that located in the Western side of the country (TÜİK, 2019). The city, which is situated at the edge of Gulf of Izmir, is a port city that has been the leading role of intense commercial

activities throughout history (See: Figure 4.17). Being a port city is a factor that increases the number of foreigners entering the district in parallel with large-scale commercial activities. Therefore, the city of Izmir has become one of the entrance gates of epidemic diseases to the country (Müderrisoğlu Esiner & Sarçın, 2020 p.757). The trace of the epidemic disease opens a door for investigation of the prostitution history of the town.

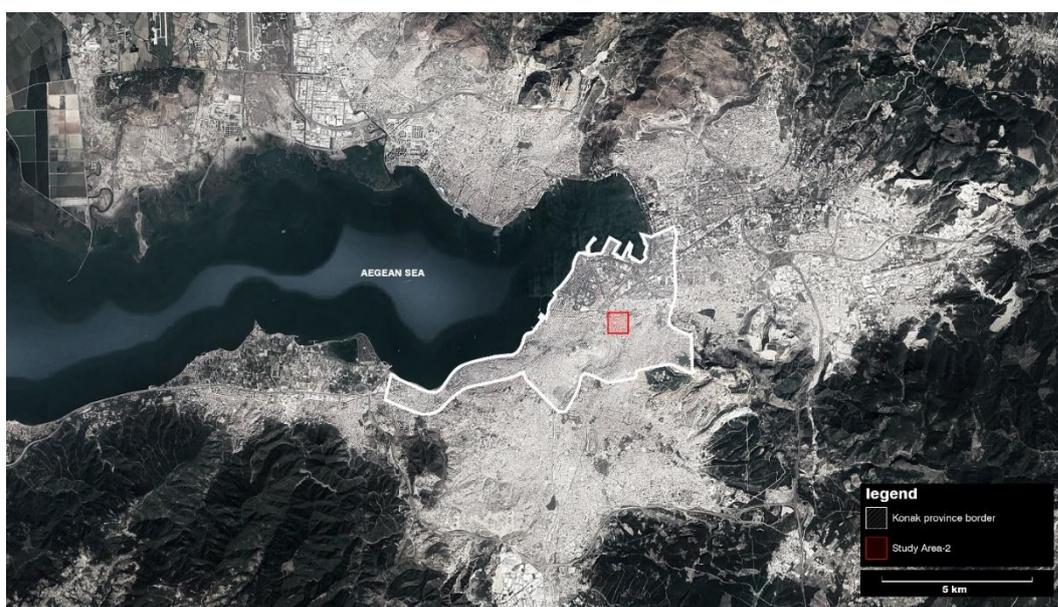


Figure 4.17. Location of Konak district and Study Area-2 within the aerial view of İzmir (Source: Adapted from Google Earth)

The history of brothels in the city of İzmir dates back to Ottoman times. Following the opening of the first brothels in Istanbul in the 19th century in order to control sexually transmitted diseases, sex premises started to be established in other Ottoman cities and became increasingly common (Kırlı, 2010, p.46).

In that era, brothels are distributed in different parts of the city in accordance with their qualities. First class brothels were in the Second Kordon area which was the busiest trade center of the city. Second class brothels were operating in settlements around Alsancak Station, Mersinli and Bayraklı districts. In Kemer district, it is the

area where brothels are located today, there were mostly third-class sex premises (Ocak, 2016, p.23-25). In 1889 The Ministry of Internal Affairs (Dahiliye Nezareti) prepared a report within the scope of the fight against syphilis. As stated in the report, it was decided to remove the brothels from their location and transfer them to a more suitable neighborhood due to the fact that these places are busy and the people of the region are dissatisfied about existence of them (BOA, 1327).

Today, İzmir brothel is operated as a building complex located in Yenişehir, formerly known as Tepecik, Neighborhood. This area is the only brothel zone in the city that is operated under state control.

4.2.2 Locational Characteristics of the Site

Konak district is located in the hinterland of İzmir Port which is also known as Port of Alsancak (See: Figure 4.18). Ports not only interact with the economy of the region and the city where they are located, but also leave important traces on the characteristics of the city in terms of social, cultural, and spatial aspects. The relationship of Konak district with the port also has a great influence on the formation of the physical and social structure of the district (Baran & Hatay, 2010). The port is the main reason of attracting foreigners and immigrants since it stimulates the economy and creates job alternatives. Therefore, Konak district has a wide range socio-cultural abundance as it has been hosting different ethnic groups for centuries. Minority groups mostly accommodate in the informal housing areas at the inner fringes of the city that are situated in the eastern parts of the district.



Figure 4.18. Location of Study Area-2 within the aerial view of Konak district
(Source: Adapted from Google Earth)

Tepecik, is a neighborhood in the borders of Konak district, which has a locational importance with its proximity to the port and the city center (See: Figure 4.18). It is one of the minority group concentrated informal housing settlements of the Konak district with its dense Gypsy population. In Tepecik district, Gypsy population is increasing day by day due to the continuous domestic migration of Gypsies to the neighborhood since they feel comfortable in the neighborhood in comparison to other parts of the city. The reason behind the migration lies the fact that they are exposed to exclusionary behaviors towards their ethnicity (Yaprak, 2015, p.131). Therefore, they prefer to live in this neighborhood in spite of the poor physical conditions, infrastructure problems, lack of social and educational services.

Tepecik Neighborhood is known for high crime levels and tendency to marginal activities for decades. Unemployment problems, poverty, low level of education and social exclusion are main reasons of criminal record in the neighborhood (Eren, 2008; Kızıldağ & Cansever, 2018; Yaprak, 2015). Moreover, the existence of the

brothel zone in the district is considered as a crime attractor. Increased level of crime and disorder can be associated with irregular user profile and the efforts of the local people to supply their illegal needs (such as drugs, weed and prostitution service outside of the brothel zone) due to unemployment-related motives. Formerly these kinds of criminal activities were conducting underhand, however, people of the neighborhood internalized such activities in time and involving crime explicitly became ordinary in the area (Yaprak, 2015, p.104) and all these repeating processes end up with the normalized corruption. According to scholars, increasing local crime activities and disorder are the secondary effects of commercial sex premises (Hubbard et al., 2007; McCord and Tewksbury, 2012). Presences of sex-related establishments can be outcome of criminal activities such as vandalism, drug dealing, assaults, robbery, and, in some cases, property crime (Soto & Summers, 2020, p.250). Beside all these, the physical condition of the area (such as high density of the building pattern, narrow streets, and high number of vacant places) is a complementary factor due to providing a compact pattern for invisibility of criminals and their praxis.

4.2.3 Structural Morphology of the Site

Konak province is located in the core of urbanized pattern of the city of İzmir. The district is the section where the residential, commercial, industrial, and administrative functions of the city are met. To comprehend the structural morphology of Konak district, the distribution of spatial uses is analyzed by categorizing the region into character areas. Eight character areas are specified by the land-use concentrations and morphological differences (See: Figure 4.19).

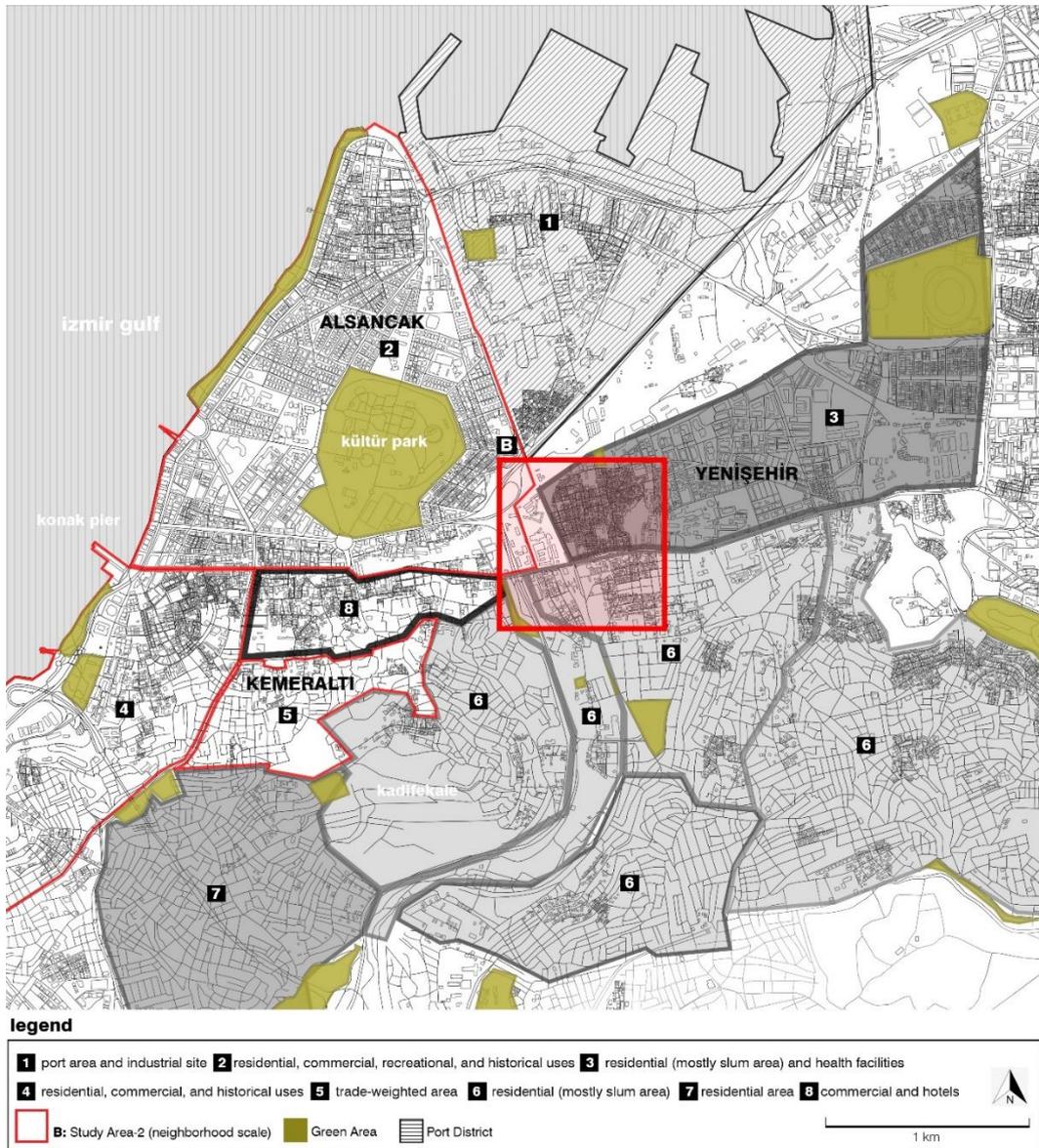


Figure 4.19. Segmentation of Konak District into character areas in accordance with land-use concentrations

Character area number 1 embodies the port of İzmir and the close hinterland of it. The port has affected the physical texture and spatial uses of the city by playing a decisive role in the location selection processes of industrial and commercial activities. Industrial site associated with the port is situated in the central part of the city. This area supported with commercial areas and transportation axis. Character

area 2, Alsancak district, is where commercial and recreational activities are concentrated. The area is the public sphere of the city center with its squares and promenades in addition to recreational areas. Kulturpark It is the most important open space of the city in terms of the area it covers, the historical value it contains, and floral diversity. The park has also been registered as a Natural and Historical Site (IMM 2012, p.132) and visited by local and foreign tourists. As it is pointed out in the Figure 4.19 open spaces and commercial areas also continue along the coastline. Character area 4 is a region where the diversity of commercial activities, registered buildings, potential of tourism and the density of people are high. This segment was declared as Historical Protected Site (IMM 2012, p.57) with the Character area 4. Segment 2 and 4 also contains residential areas which are mostly accommodated by high- and middle-income level residents.

Kemeraltı (5) is an urban protected area that includes natural and archaeological sites. This area has been the traditional commercial center of the city throughout the centuries. In addition to its commercial identity from the past, Kemeraltı Bazaar has embraced people from different ethnicities and religions with its public houses and hotels that have hosted the guests of the city for centuries. Also, due to the mosques, synagogues and churches in the area, this segment has a multicultural texture (KKAİPR, 2002) .

Figure 4.19 indicates that residential uses are densely situated in the Character areas 6 and 7 with structural differences both in social and physical circumstances. While Character area 7 contains apartment buildings for middle-income groups, Character areas number 6 are dominated by high-density informal housing settlements. The residences located in these areas are densely organized low-rise buildings with insufficient physical conditions. They are accommodated by the lower income groups with various ethnicities. Urban renewal and transformation projects have been conducting in those segments.

Character area 3 is Yenışehir district where Study Area-2 is located. However, the domination of informal housing units continues in this section of the district, there is

no planned urban transformation project decision for this segment unlike other regions. This region also show variety in terms of health facilities, institutional and educational buildings.

All in all, Konak district has a heterogeneous texture that offers diversity with its differentiated existing urban land use distribution and variety of functional uses. There are dramatic changes in many subjects between the districts along the coastline and the regions to the east of the city such as density, physical conditions, public services, and demographic structure. As we move towards the east of the city, the demographic diversity increases, and we encounter mostly shantytowns where marginal groups live. There is a physical and social tension between the western and eastern part of the district. It can be observed that Study area is located in the intersections where the socio-spatial tension is started. Since this study prioritizes the traces of social reflections on urban form; the potentials and dynamics of their relations embedded in the urban pattern, this macro-scale analysis is aimed to reveal....

4.2.4 Syntactic Explorations: Street-based Spatial Configuration

Road system of a city is the elemental tool for resolving the wide-range dynamics of urban macroform such as accessibility, human activity, the way of movement, development levels and potential land-use pattern. By looking at the street network of Konak district it can be deducted that land use differences in the north-south direction of the district are reflected in the road system. While the network is more condensed and irregular in the areas where the slum areas are located, the linear and radial street pattern continues ordered and less frequent in the north. However, Study Area-2 has a more regular and consecutive configuration, unlike the street patterns of the other informal housing settlements (See: Figure 4.20).

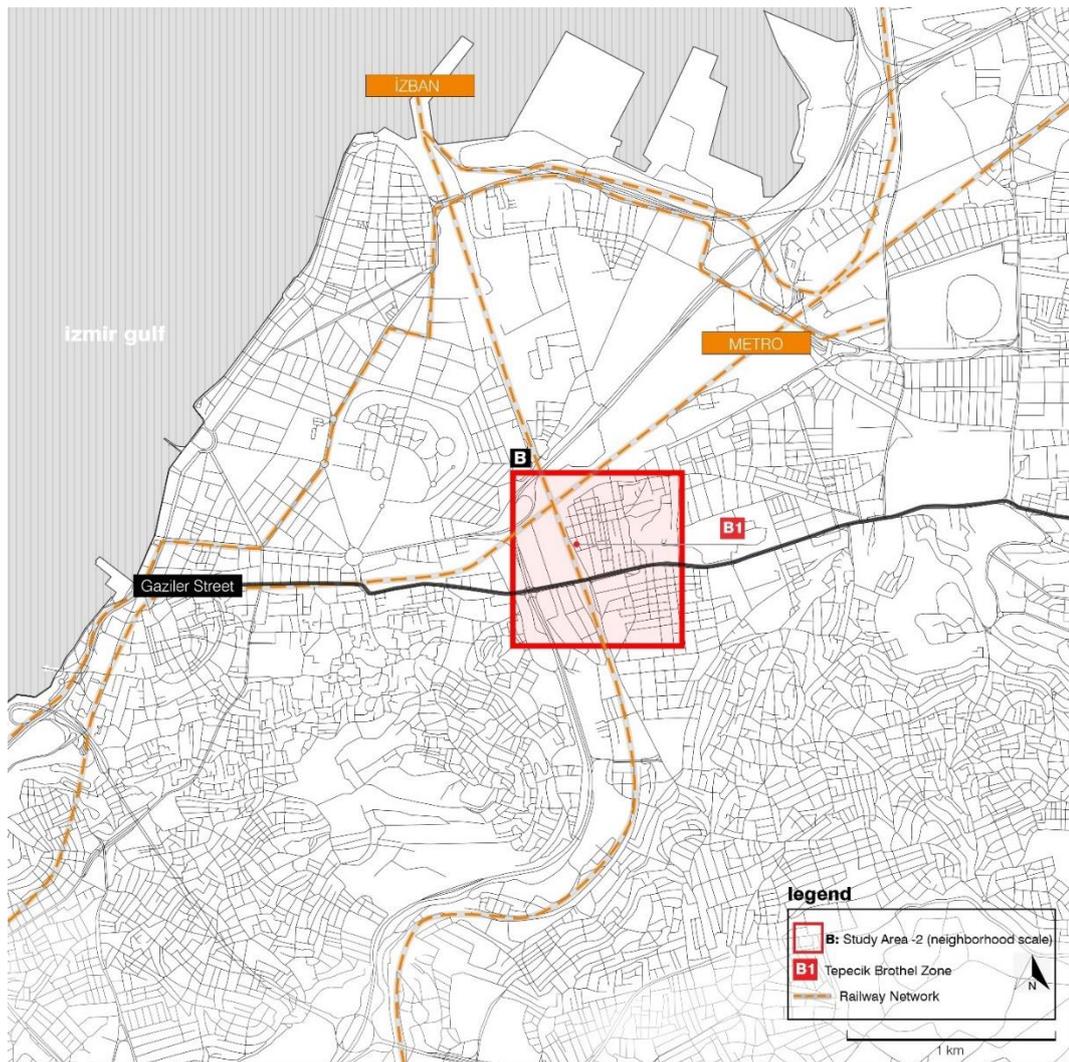


Figure 4.20. The place of the Study Area-2 within the street network and transportation axis

As it is pointed out in the Figure 4.20, transportation network of Konak district is supported by Metro and İZBAN railway systems. Although the rail transit systems increased the accessibility to the area, disconnections and interruptions in the street pattern and can be observed. The northern and western sides of the study area is also faced with interruptions. Since the brothel zone is placed at the intersection of these two-railway axis, the connection of it within the context is blocked.

To manifest how a street or street segment is related to others and calculate the integration level of the area global and local integration maps are prepared also for this case by using the software named DepthmapX. Integration value expresses the measurement of the depth of a space unit in the defined area to the other space. By using this syntactic value, the most integrated and segregated areas in the spatial system can be found (Al_Sayed et al., 2014). A larger scale has been selected to reveal the relations of the study area with its direct vicinity and to the city as a whole in the same frame.



Figure 4.21. Global integration (R_n) map of the spatial network

Global integration map of the area is produced with radius n (R_n) to demonstrate the ranked integration values of each line related to all other lines in the whole system. In the map, while hot colors (i.e., red) stands for the highest values of integration level, cold colors (i.e. blue) show the least integrated axis. So, Figure 4.21 shows that Gaziler Street, which is the main axis of the Study Area-2 and is directly related to the street that connects to the entrance of the brothel, has the highest global integration value (R_n) in the district. This measurement indicates that the study area

better integrated within the global system and more accessible especially for vehicle movement flow due to the proximity of Gaziler Street. Additionally, it is also seen that study area is more globally integrated compared to other informal housing settlements (See: Figure 4.21).

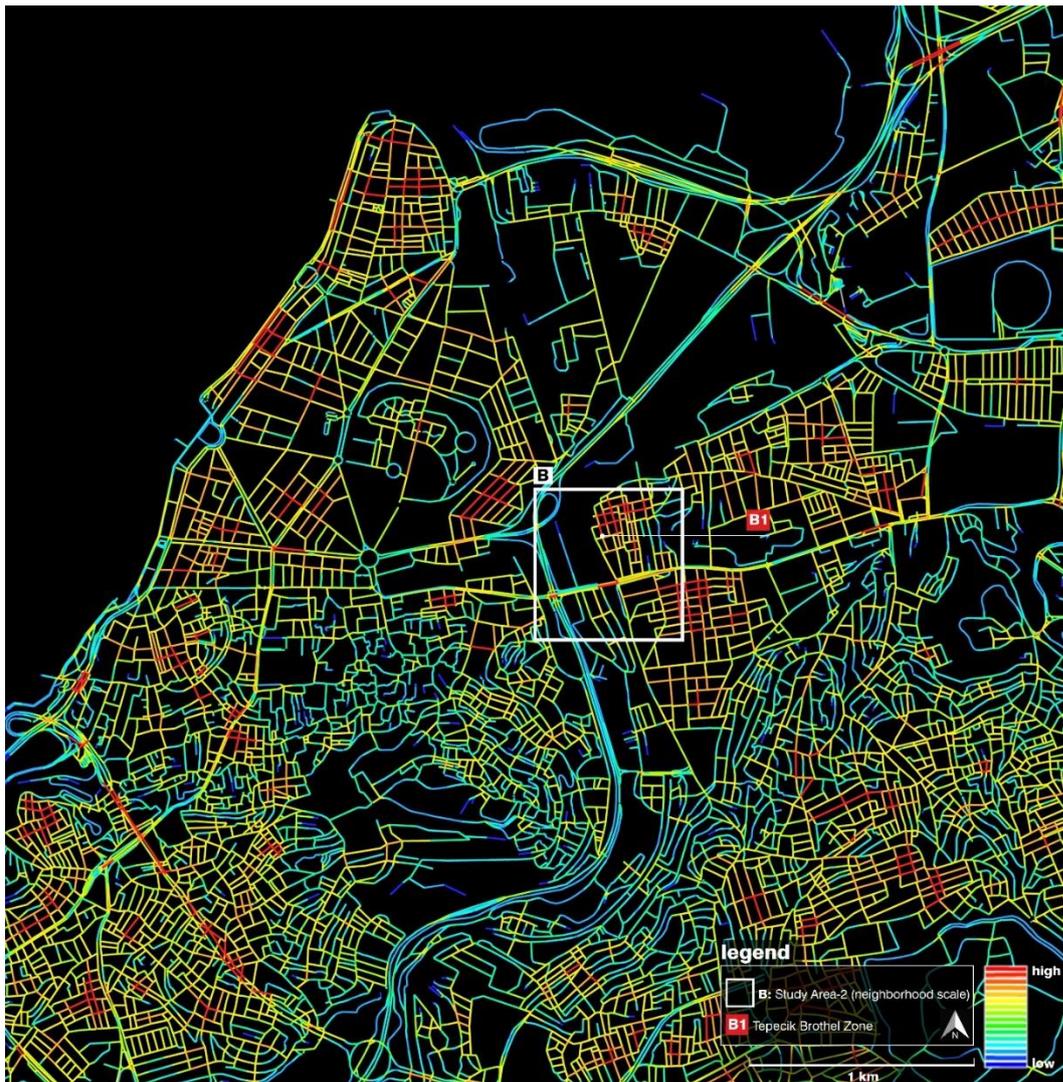


Figure 4.22. Local integration (R3) map of the spatial network

In order to examine the local scale integration values of the Study Area-2, a map showing the relations in the district level is produced (See: Figure 4.22). This data does not constitute the existing physical barriers (i.e., walls, iron gate etc.) of the brothel complex; the calculations are generated from the information provided by street configuration of the area. Local integration values of the area is measured from the axial lines of the system while specifying the radius as R3. Local integration measurements express the human activity, social interaction, liveliness and encountering possibilities of a neighborhood by manifesting the potentials of to-movement to the area. Results of analysis are basically associated with the pedestrian movements at this level of measurements (Hillier & Hanson, 1988).

According to Figure 4.22, which presents assessments on the local scale, Study Area-2 is integrated with the local network within the urban texture in which it is located and has positive values in terms of accessibility to the immediate environment. The integration values of Tepecik neighborhood have higher movement and co-presence possibilities, compared to general layout, specifically to other squatter areas. There is more probability of social-encounter, co-presence and pedestrian movement in line with space organization. As it can be clearly observed that at the western parts of the Tepecik district, local measurements are changing dramatically, and the reflections of block-outs caused by the railway can be seen on the map. Besides, the highway located on the west side of the district negatively affects the local integration balance of the area (See: Figure 4.22).

Syntactic measurements show that Study Area-2 both globally and locally integrated within the context. The spatial configuration provides a potential urban ground for different scaled operations. However, these measurements are not sufficient for comprehensive assessments since they do not take in consideration to certain physical and social features of the area.



Figure 4.23. Street pattern of the Study Area-2, Tepecik Neighborhood

From macro scale of whole city network to micro scale circulation systems within the building units, streets are the generators of movement space which is the connective tissue of urban public space (Marshall 2005; p.13). To understand the micro scale street network characteristics of the site and to reveal the zoomed-in relations of the immediate environment in terms of connection and movement potentials, neighborhood level street pattern map is produced. Street pattern of the district is composed of the roads with same hierarchy except for Gaziler Street.

Gaziler Street is the main axis of the area which is integral for inner-city transformation system. The street continues underground at the point where the railway starts. This point also coincides with the connection point of Gaziler Street with the narrow street leading to the brothel (See: Figure 4.23). This area has an important place in the urban network as it contains different transportation possibilities. Brothel is located between Hilal and Kemer station stops. This shows that the brothel is placed in a location with a high potential in terms of accessibility. Kemer metro exit is directly opposite the brothel entrance.

3.3.2.1 Visual Configuration of the Built Fabric

Syntactic measurements, developed for the analysis of the relationship between the organization of the space and the social structure, enables us to reach more holistic results by evaluating the movement and vision areas together in urban open spaces. Visibility graph analysis is run to examine visual properties of the area in the line with space configuration. Examining the level of visibility is has a great importance for the research, since it is correlated with strategies of marginalization and controlling of the space. This analytic method is used as an instrument to reveal visibility accessibility of the area by using the site-specific data of Tepecik Neighborhood (See: Figure 4.24).

The overall layout of the neighborhood does not offer a visibility pattern with high values. Low-level visibility measurements are the consequences of the compact spatial organization of densely placed informal housing units (See: Figure 4.24). Space Syntax research has demonstrated that, visually interrupted segregated spaces have high possibility of criminal activities and social misuse (Hillier & Shu 2000, p. 232). Hence, evenly distribution of low-level visibility qualities can be associated with the high level crime rates of the neighborhood, since spatial configuration provides a suitable ground for lack of privacy, defensibility and view control (Benedikt, 1947, p.47).

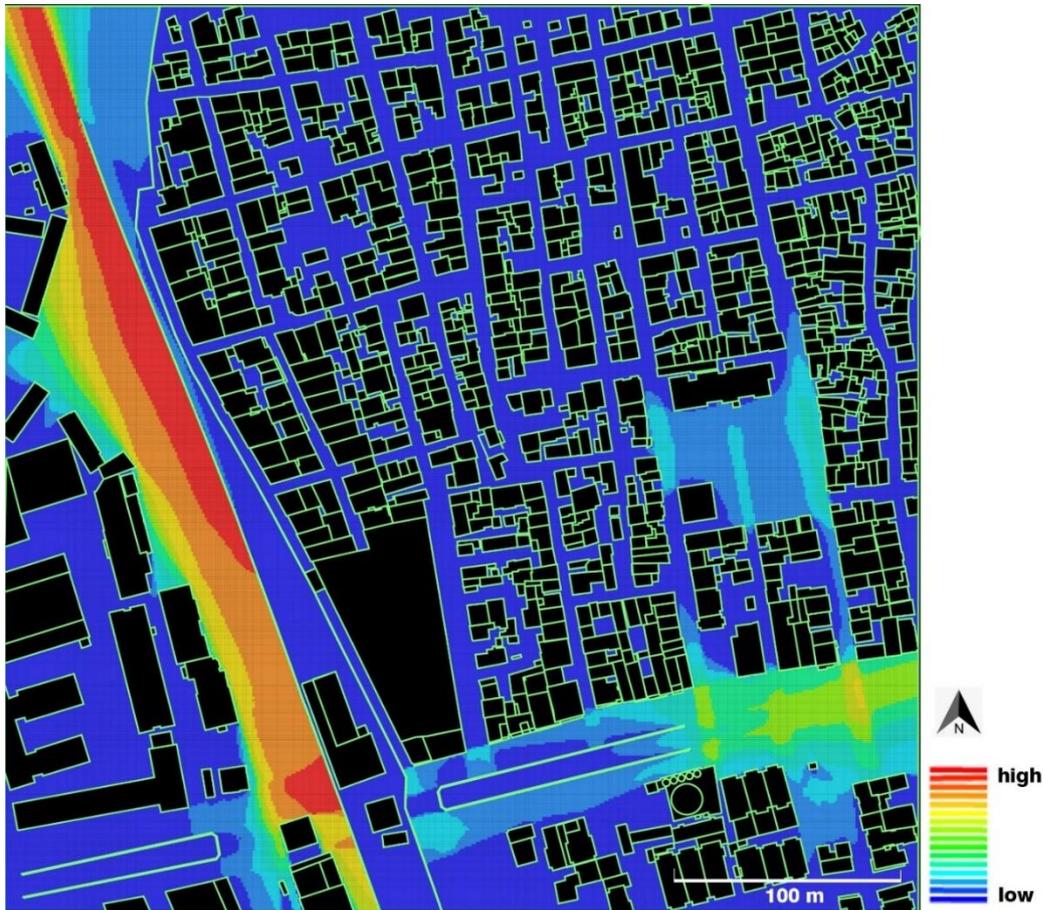


Figure 4.24. Graph Analysis of Study Area-2

The highest visual perception value in the area belongs to the open space between the institutional buildings on the left and the railway. However, this area can be defined as leftover space since it does not constitute public space quality. Another area with a relatively high visibility value is located on the axis of Gaziler Street, where commercial activities continue.

The visibility values of the brothel show parallelism with the general situation of the neighborhood. Since this area is an enclave surrounded by walls, visual and physical access opportunities are very low. However, as can be seen from the Figure 4.24, an

increase in visibility level is observed at the starting point of the narrow street, which is the entrance to the brothel complex (See: Figure 4.24).

4.2.5 Fabric Characteristics and Land-Use

It should be underlined that this thesis mainly concentrates on the marginality and its spatial relationship with the environment in the urban context. Most of the time, the 'other' appears as stuck, hidden, discarded, separated, or isolated object in a specific context. However, what needs to be questioned is where and how the marginal is situated in, which components are existing around it and the modes of their connections. What kinds of spatial tactics or strategies have been conducted to separate the other from the normal and does the immediate environment around the marginal somehow support this form of exclusion in a physical way? On the way to investigate these seminal questions of the thesis, the research continues with the figure-ground analysis which is a tool for expression of spatial configuration characteristics of the site in a simple but effective manner (See: Figure 4.25).

The existing urban pattern of Tepecik Neighborhood has a fragmented texture as can be understood from the differentiation in the footprints of the buildings in the east and west of the region. The railway creates a breaking point which acts as a buffer zone that separates functional and configurational situation between the two sides of the neighborhood. The dramatic fragmentation in the space organization is a reflection of social and physical interruption and lack of access. Also, there is a distinct density difference between western and eastern parts. High-density spatial order of informal settlements, that do not contain any open spaces or recreational areas, is the dominant texture (See: Figure 4.25).

Brothel complex is located at the very edge of this breaking point. It continues as an extension of the compact residential fabric and ends with the railway wall. As it can be seen in the diagram, the complex is enclosed by borders that disables all forms of

connection (See: Figure 4.25). It is an isolated enclave that has its own internal configuration that is segregated from the rest.



Figure 4.25. Figure-ground diagram of Tepecik Neighborhood

As it is discussed before, the densely organized spatial pattern can be associated with the criminal records of the neighborhood since the compactness level decreasing the visual access. The low-level of defensibility generates a supportive ground for the potential side effects of sex-related businesses.



Figure 4.26. Land use pattern of Tepecik Neighborhood

As it is aforementioned before, there are certain limitations about the proximity and visibility conditions of brothel that they are not allowed to be closely situated to official buildings, educational and religious facilities, public avenues etc. Hence, the regular buildings around the brothel zone can be a threat for its presence since they can be pointed out as excuse of disclosure. As it can be seen from the Figure 4.26 schools, institutional buildings, mosque and commercial activities are situated along

with the Gaziler Street. Apart from that, brothel zone and military area are facing each other but the physical access is not possible because of the rails.

4.2.6 Micro-Scale Spatial Assessments

In this section of the thesis site-specific micro-scale characteristics of Tepecik Brothel zone will be investigated. Micro-scale spatial analyses are performed to spotlight configurational operations, physical tactics, modes of control and way of use and its boundary relations.

4.2.6.1 Functional Uses of the Immediate Environment

Marginal spaces are sub-segments of the urban fabric where the normal order is interrupted or deformed. There is a high potential of encountering with unfamiliar physical or functional uses around the margins. Unexpected marginal uses can be produced by the marginal itself to sustain its presence or they can arise from by relying on other trajectories. Although these modes of production have some common features, each of them generates site-specific results. Brothels, as spaces of marginality, also surrounded by distinctive uses of land arising from the functional properties of the area. In the case of Tepecik Brothel Zone, regular functional activities and alternative uses are located together around the area (See: Figure 4.27).

As it is represented in the Figure 4.27, there are commercial uses are placed along with the Gaziler Street. Hotels, coffeehouses, tailor, bookmaker, soup restaurant, schools, mosque and other common commercial and public facilities are located in the line with the Gaziler Street. These places make it possible to live together in the area, increase the encountering possibilities and sustain the everyday life dynamics. Also, there are vacant places and ruins in both the residential texture of surrounding environment of the brothel complex and commercial activity axis (See: Figure 4.27). It is a common situation occurs around unwanted places.

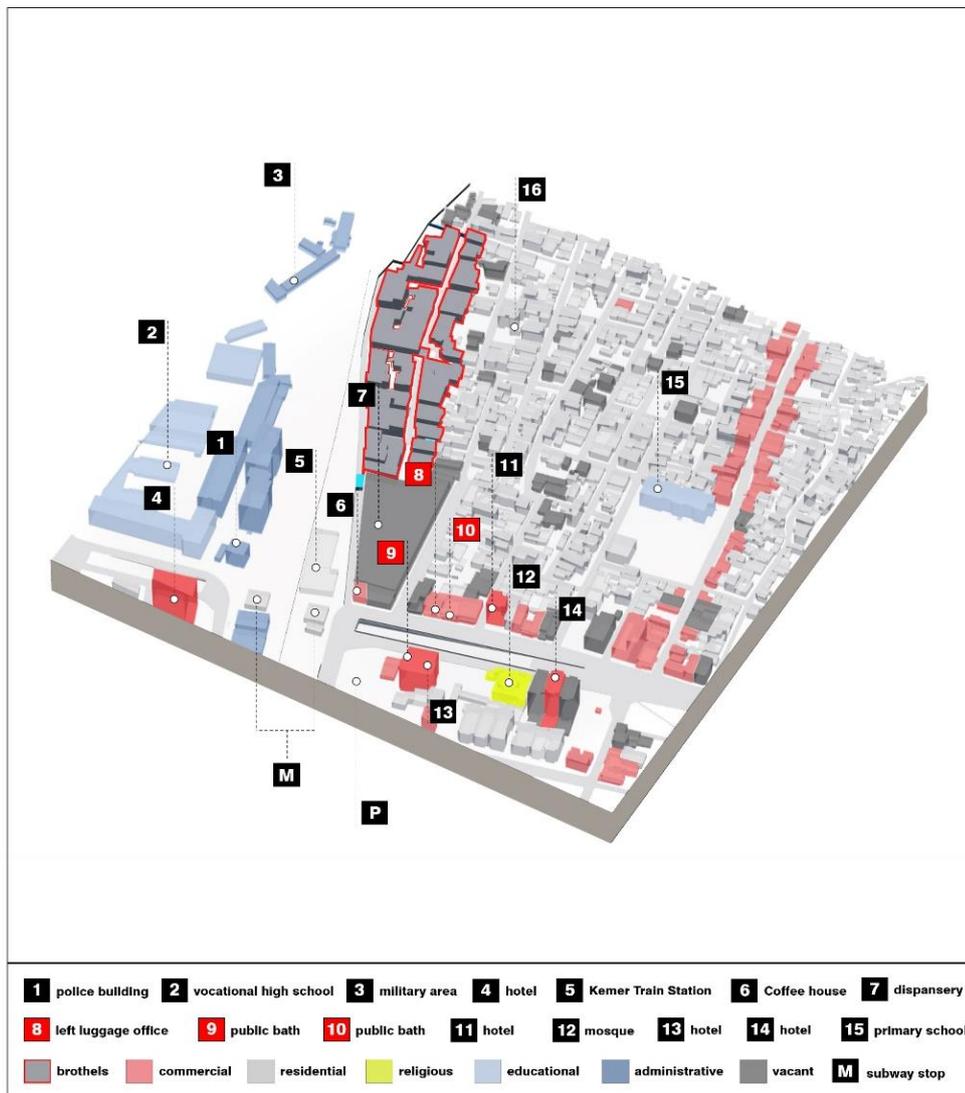


Figure 4.27. Spatial uses around the Tepecik Brothel Zone

There are places in the neighborhood that behave as a part of brothel complex. They do not own any physical or visual barriers like the brothel except their uncanny images. The dispensary (5) which is attached to the brothel zone, is an example of it. It looks like a vacant place from outside, however there is an entrance from the inside of the brothel complex to dispensary. Sex workers are using the place for their once-a-month health check-ups. Also, there is a coffeehouse (4) at the corner of the narrow

street that is the entrance way of brothel zone which is attached to the dispensary. Coffee houses are widespread public spaces in the country that dominantly used by Turkish men to spend their leisure times. This place also serves a a waiting hole for the users of brothel or as an observation hub for local people to see the flow (See: Figure 4.27).



Figure 4.28. Views around the brothel zone (Source: Personal archive, 2021)⁸

Sub-marginal functional uses have been identified in the immediate surroundings of them such as public bath, and left luggage office. These programmes are essential for ensuring the functional sustainability of the brothel zone in this context. To get

⁸ Photographs were taken in Covid-19 break when the brothels were closed as a health precaution.

'inside' or after going 'outside', there are some procedures that need to be completed. They are supportive sub-marginal uses since they fulfill the certain needs of the brothel users See: Figure 4.28).

4.2.6.2 Boundary Relations

The spatial organization of brothels are affected from many dominant factors such as legislative regulations, moral concerns, labelling, fear, and disgust. In order to obey the spatial codes caused by these pressure factors of society and power, they have to create their own micro-cosmos which is isolated from the outer world. According to Sibley (1998), spatial production of the marginal ends up with a classified space with defined boundaries that separates and protect itself from the others to maintain its existence and he follows:

“Difference in a strongly classified and strongly framed assemblage would be seen as deviance and a threat to the power structure. In order to minimize or to counter threat, the threat of pollution, spatial boundaries would be strong and there would be a consciousness of boundaries and spatial order. In other words, the strongly classified environment is one where abjection is most likely to be experienced. Strong classification will reinforce feelings of abjection and the two may be recursively related” (p.80).

Tepecik Brothel Zone has a framed configuration that corresponds to spatial codes defined by Sibley. The complex is organized as an *enclave* that surrounded by distinctive walls. The state of being isolated from the *outside* produced by the strongly clear borders also generates a well-defined *inside* sphere. The brothel zone is a complex which has its own internal dynamics and order. Brothel complex is

organized around two main streets consists of two or three storey housing⁹ units¹⁰. It has a dynamic configuration with inner streets, small courtyards, and extensions of building units (See: Figure 4.29). Also, there are commercial uses in the complex such as coffeehouse, grocery store, buffets etc. Tepecik Brothel Complex can be defined as a micro-scale neighborhood with all these components it consists of.

⁹ There are signs on the doors of each of the houses which shows brothel number. Each house has one or two rooms, a waiting room, a toilet and a kitchen.

¹⁰ Sex workers do not accommodate in the brothel complex, but they need permission if they want to go their home. They are obliged to inform the state of the address of the house they reside in and the names of the people they live with.

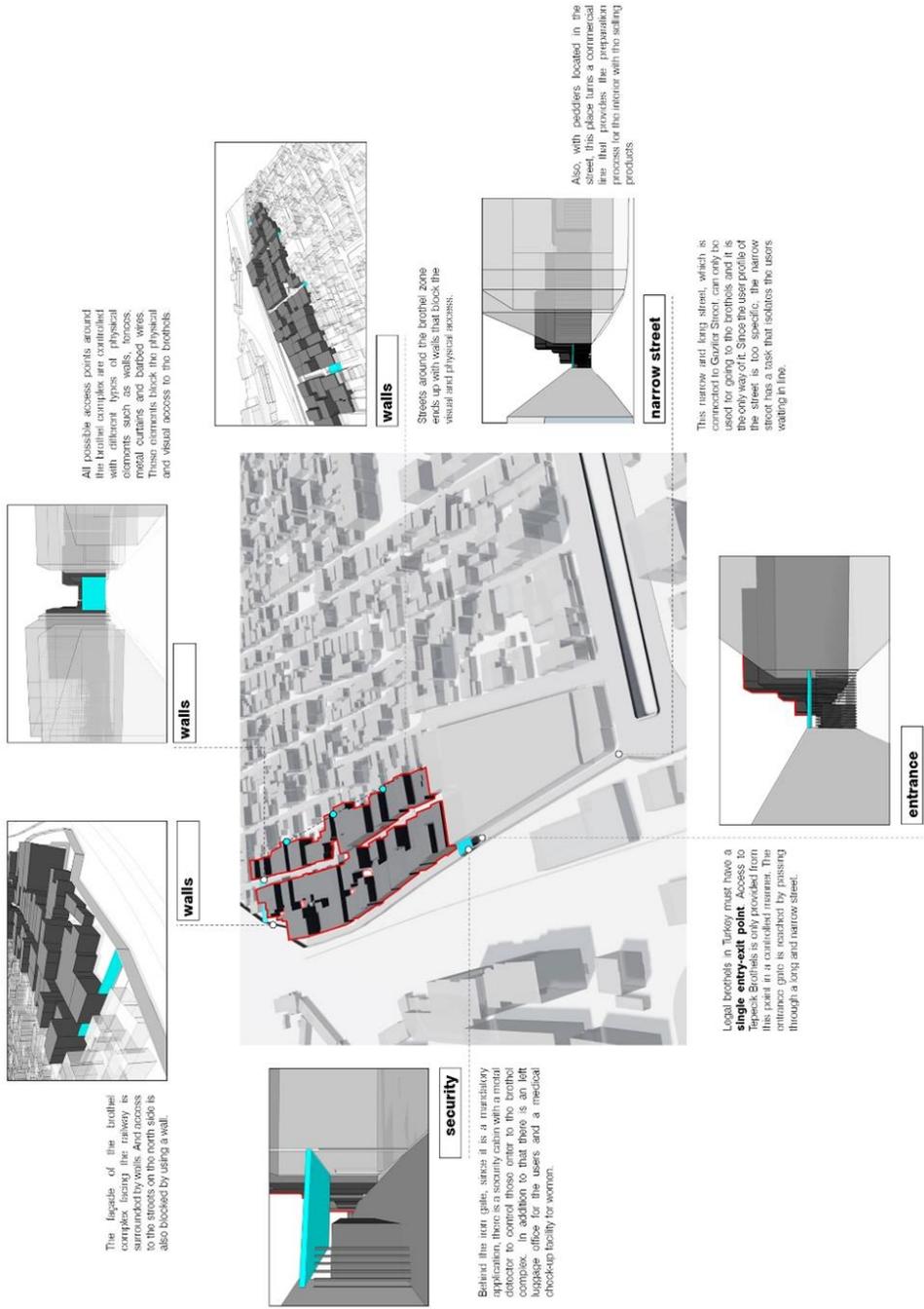


Figure 4.29: Boundary Relations of the brothel complex

While the boundaries create a defined area for the brothel complex, they also cut off the potential of physical and visual connection from the outside. (See: Figure 4.29 and Figure 4.30). All possible access points are physically blocked or controlled with borders (except the entrance gate). Western side of the brothel (4) and streets leading into the complex (5) are framed by walls, fences, and barbed wires (See: Figure 4.30).



Figure 4.30. Entrance and borders of the brothel complex (Source: Personal archive, 2021)¹¹

The only way to enter the brothel is from the iron gate, which is reached through a narrow street. It is obligatory to enter and exit legal brothels through the same gate (See: Figure 4.29). Therefore, the only gap at the boundaries of the complex is this

¹¹ Photographs were taken in Covid-19 break when the brothels were closed as a health precaution.

entry-exit point. In addition, it is mandatory for the state-regulated brothels to make a security check at the entrance. Those entering the brothel must be men over the age of 18 and they are not allowed to keep property other than identity card cash and money. These sets of regulations reflected in the spatial order as a barbed door (2), tool gate, metal detector, and security cabin (3) placed at the entrance (See: Figure 4.29 and Figure 4.30). There is also a depository at the entrance of this brothel. Access to the dispensary adjacent to the brothel complex is through another door behind the entrance. The narrow street (1) in front of the iron gate is also a isolation hub for the brothel users. Customers waiting in line to enter the brothel complex have a special area thanks to this corridor which separates them from public realm (See: Figure 4.29 and Figure 4.30).

4.3 Adana Brothel

4.3.1 Overview

Adana is a metropolitan city in southern part of Turkey. The city is one of the leading districts of the country regarding agriculture and industrial production. Seyhan River is the main axis where the city core settled around (See: Figure 4.31). Mersin-Adana highway (D-400) and railway, extending in the east-west axis of the city, have been effective in determining the direction in which urbanization will continue due to industrial sites developing around the axis (Sönmez, 2011, p.57).



Figure 4.31. Location of Seyhan district and Study Area-3 within the aerial view of Adana (Source: Adapted from Google Earth)

Adana Brothel located on the Mersin-Adana axis in the western part of Seyhan province (See: Figure 4.31). The brothel located in the historical core¹² of the city was demolished and moved to the peripheries of the city which is its current location. The motive behind the removal of the old brothel in the city center declared as the disturbance and inconvenience of its presence in sight. Due to the areal growth of the city in the north-west direction, it ends up with locating in the middle of industrial site.

¹² The presence of brothels in the city of Adana also dates back to Ottoman era. During this period, most known brothel of the city run by Armenians which was situated in an Armenian neighborhood behind the Yağ Mosque. It was organized around a dead-end street called Taşçıkan (BOA. HR. SYS. 2543-5/28).

4.3.2 Locational Characteristics of the Site

Seyhan province is one of the central districts of the city where administrative, social, business, trade, and cultural functions are concentrated. In the 1950s, with the acceleration of mechanization and industrialization in agriculture, economic potential and employment opportunities in the city enhanced. Thus, a continuous migration wave has developed from rural areas to urban areas (Yücel et Al., 1996, p.602). Migration movements towards the city resulted in highly populated demographic structure which leading an intense construction pressure and informal settlements (Özyurt, 2009, p.21). The demographic structure of the region consists of workers with low socio-economic level who migrated from rural to urban areas.



Figure 4.32. Location of Study Area-3 within the aerial view of Seyhan province (Source: Adapted from Google Earth)

Seyhan has a cumulatively growing population density as the district most affected by these intense migrations. These growths in industry and population were simultaneously effective in the development in the western direction of the district. The traces of rapid growth in industry and informal housing in the urban fabric is depicted in Figure 4.32, satellite image of the area. There are industrial buildings developed along the Mersin Road in the west of the district. an unplanned sprawl occurred through the axis with the expansion of informal housing settlements which extended beyond the airport by occupying agricultural lands (See: Figure 4.32). Thereby, the brothel zone, which was intentionally removed to the periphery, has remained in such a context that is in the middle of an urbanized pattern over time.

4.3.3 Structural Morphology of the Site

Seyhan district is the urbanized center of Adana surrounded by fertile agricultural lands. The third study area of the thesis is located within the western periphery of the district. The area has been divided into 4 main segments to reveal structural characteristics in order to comprehend the existing land distribution, motives behind the expansion, and potentials of the context. The frame of the character area diagram is determined by placing the study area (C) in the center (See: Figure 4.33).

Character Area-1 covers industrial zone which is the dominated use type of the area. The industrial buildings that continue along the Mersin-Adana Road are widely spread in this specific segment (See: Figure 4.33). Industrial zone acts as an attention factor that attracts the urban growth through western axis of the district (ref). Adana Brothel (C1) is located inside of the site of car dealers at the upper side of industrial area (See: Figure 4.33).

Character areas depicted with number-2 are used as agricultural land (See: Figure 4.33). Urban growth to the west direction occurred by absorbing the fertile lands. Thus, the existing agricultural pattern is in danger to be occupied. Since the region has agriculturally productive lands, the informal urban expansion is a problem for the future of the area in ecological and economic manner.

Other segments on the Figure 4.33 include different types of residential uses. In the third segment, informal housing settlements that developed with the phenomenon of migration took place. These slum areas are consequence of the housing problem of low-income workers migrating from rural to urban areas. Character Area-4 contains both informal housing units and multistorey apartment buildings. This place is a transition zone where the morphological structure of the area started to modify which attracts the dwellers with higher income levels. There are high-rise buildings and gated communities in the northwest part of the diagram (5). The user profile of these residences is mainly middle- or high-income groups. It can be deduced that the socio-cultural profile of the region is in the phase of transformation towards a more sterilized direction. Simultaneously, the region is in the way of becoming prestigious due to the increase of socio-economic status.

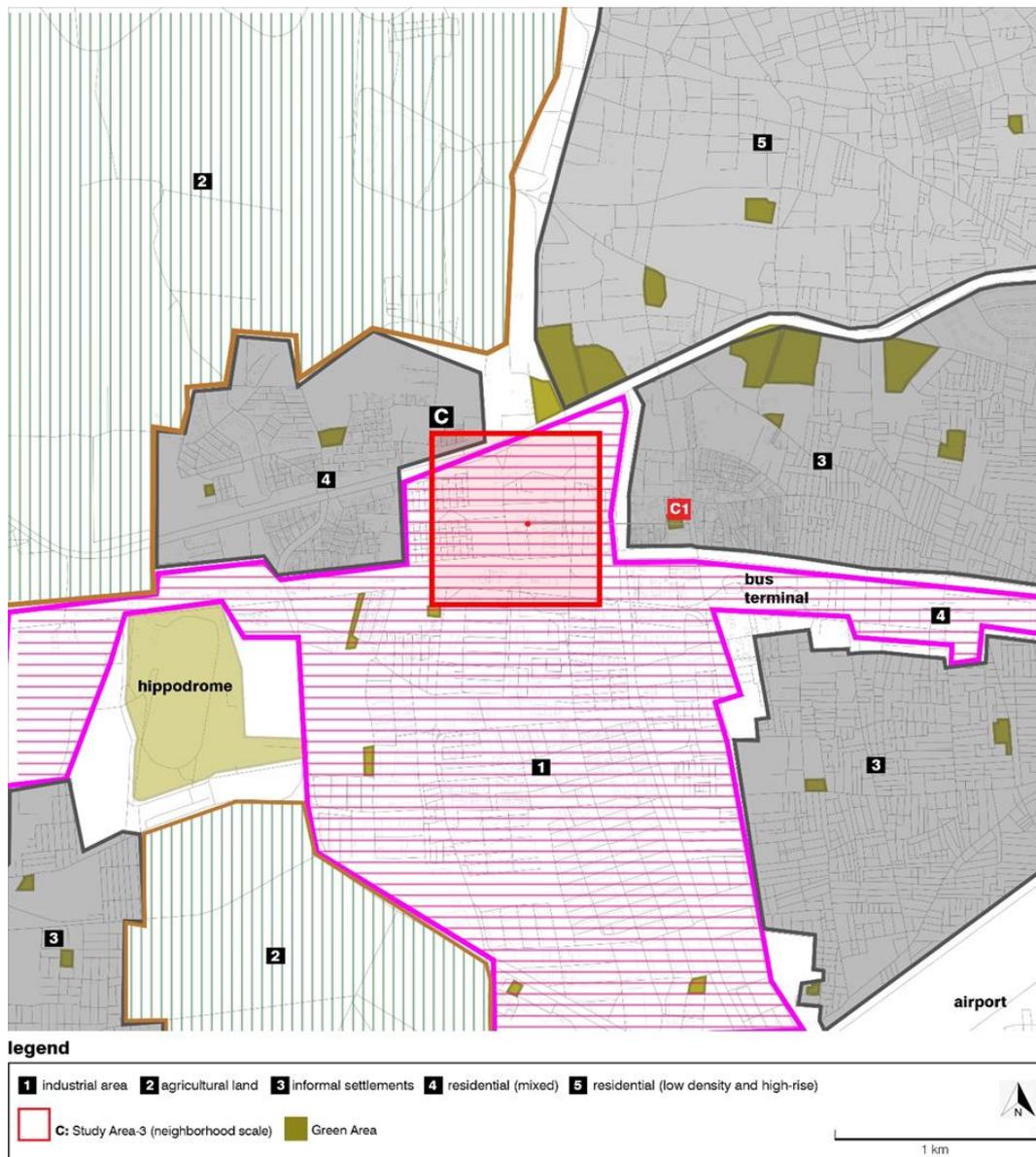


Figure 4.33. Segmentation of western periphery of Seyhan District

All in all, brothel zone is located in a context that is constantly evolving and expanding. With urbanization of the region and the rise of the population of middle- or high-income groups in the area may endanger the presence of the brothel in this place because of the ‘NIMBY’ concerns. Brothels, with their uncanny existence, can

be considered as a threat since they are correlating with dropping down property values and badly effecting public morality and safety (Hubbard et al., 2013 p.189).

4.3.4 Syntactic Explorations: Street-based Spatial Configuration

D-400 highway together with the Adana-Mersin railway are essential transportation lines of Adana that have shaped the macroform of the city and have affected the spatial uses in lower scale. These two axes are associated with the expansion of the city and demographic growth towards north-west direction (Adıgüzel & Kaya, 2015; Sönmez, 2011). This area is an intersection point of urban network of the city since it embodies the local, inter-city, and international transportation systems. So, Study Area-3 (C) is located in a key region regarding with city-transportation relations (See: Figure 4.34).

D-400 highway is the core axis of the region that street network and land-use pattern is simultaneously organized around. The change of the use types in the area is reflected on the street order (See: Figure 4.34). As it is clear on the Figure 4.34, streets around brothel zone have loosely organized and low-density configuration. The number of streets and connection points in immediate environment of it is few. Additionally, Adana-Mersin railway creates an interruption in street pattern continuity (See Figure: 4.34).

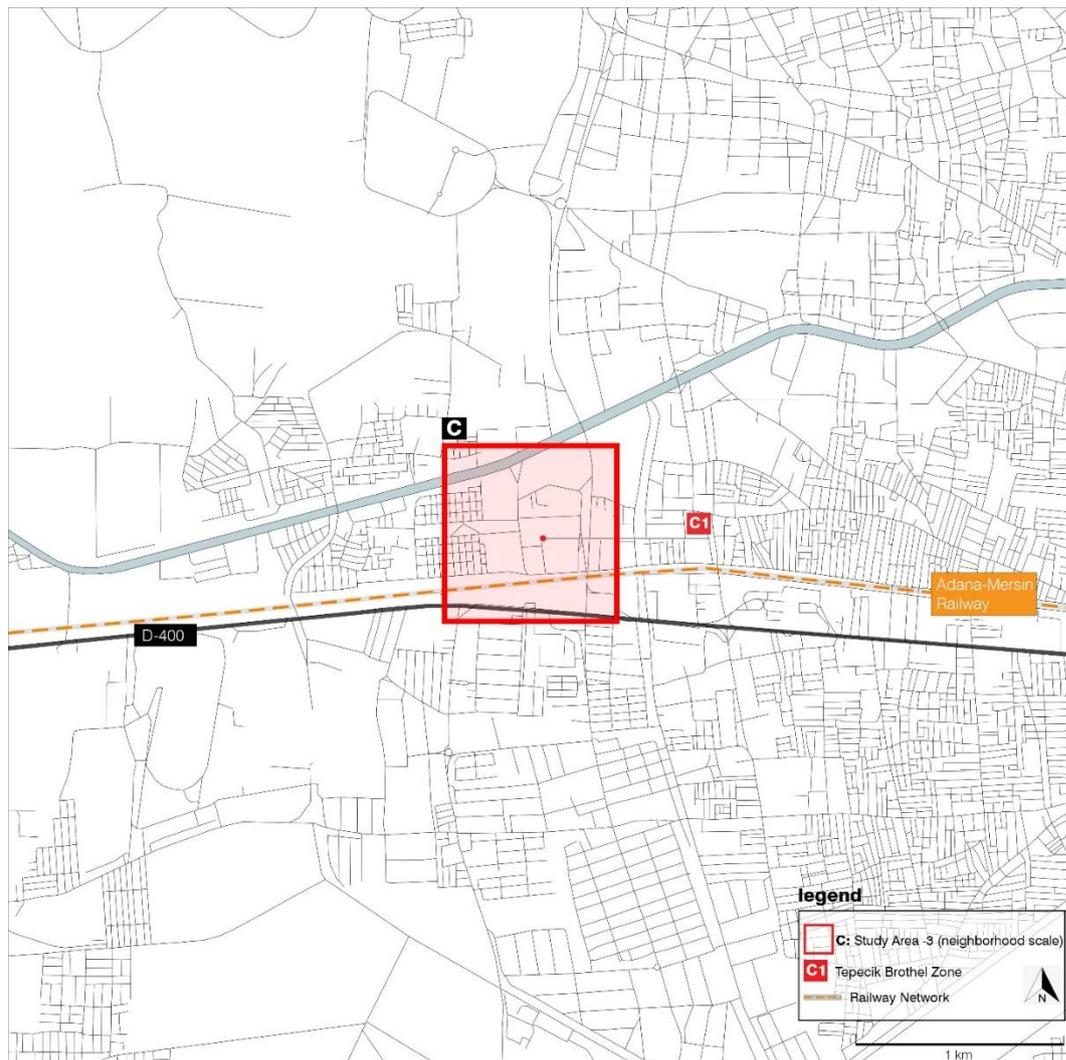


Figure 4.34. The place of the Study Area-3 within the street network and transportation axis

As it was measured in previous study areas, integration values of Study Area-3 is also calculated while using DepthmapX. Syntactic measurements are performed by using same diameter areas for all cases to ensure consistency of the research. In order to examine the configurational relations and potentials of the context at different both global and local levels, maps representing ranked values of the street pattern are produced by using contextual data of the area (See: Figure 4.35 and 4.36).

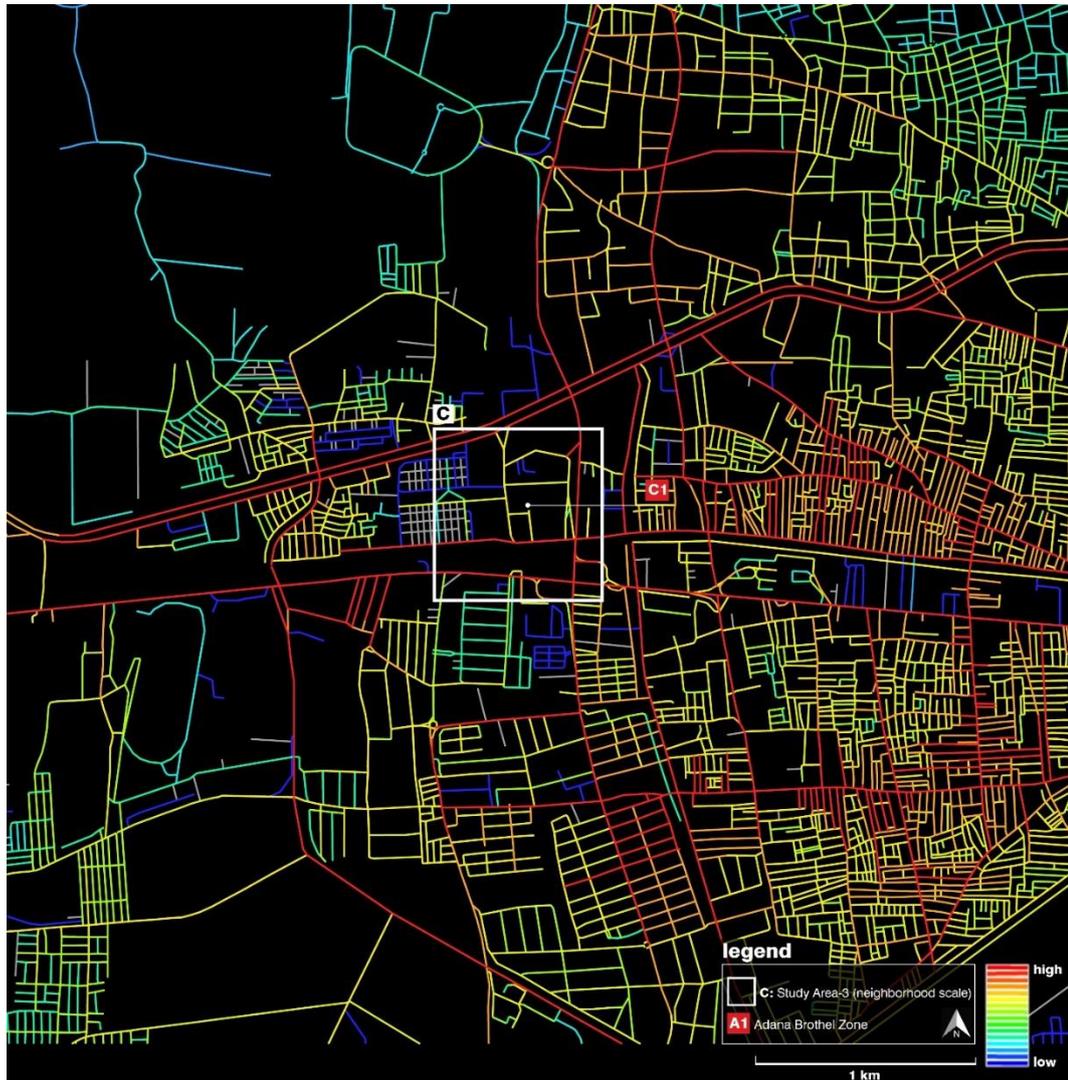


Figure 4.35. Global integration (Rn) map of the spatial network

Global integration map manifests the information of integration or segregation level of a line connected to all other lines in the graph network (Hillier, 2007, p.119). Thus, the map is produced to examine the syntactic status of the context in whole system. Rn is accepted as global integration value while running the calculation. According to global integration analysis, Adana-Mersin highway (D-400) is the most globally integrated axis of the district. Considering the effect of the road on the urban

macroform and its relationship with the transportation network, the results of the analysis are supportive and parallel with the aforementioned researches. Also, as it can be seen on the map that the area has many axes that well integrated with the network in both vertical and horizontal directions. The study area (C) covers roads with high integration value with whole system which makes the area accessible for larger scales. In other words, it can be deducted from the global integration map that the surrounding of Study Area-3 provides a high potential ground and accessible for vehicular movement (See: Figure 4.35).

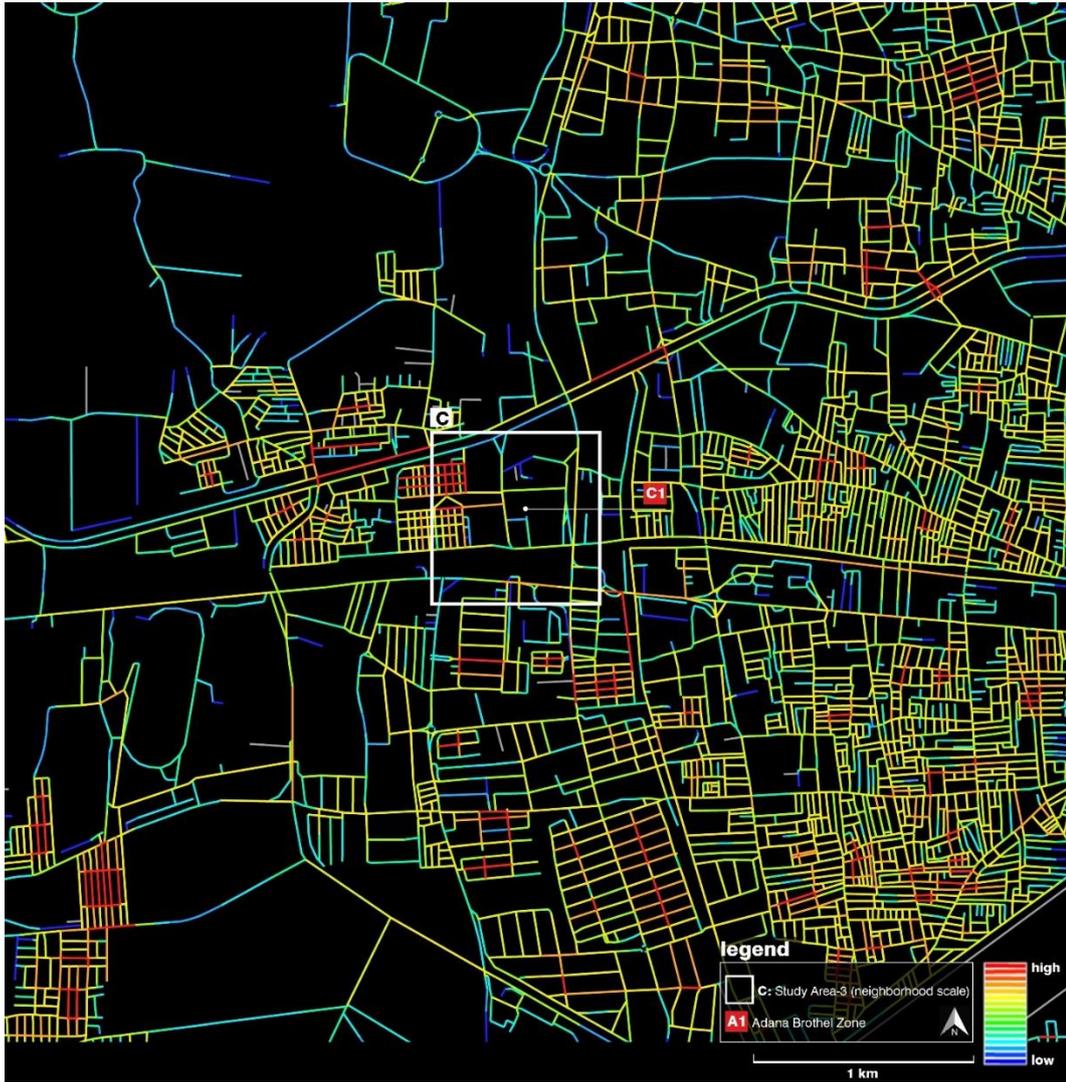


Figure 4.36. Local integration (R3) map of the spatial network

Local integration (R3) map of the Study Area-3 is generated from the axial lines of the context, which means it is not calculated with the data of building configuration and physical barriers around the brothel zone. As it can be derived from Figure 4.36, Study Area-3 and its surrounding have negative local integration values with some exceptions such as Auto Gallery Site located in the left side of the brothel zone (C1). More importantly, the map shows that the local integration status of vey immediate environment of Adana Brothel (C1) is weak. If the areas used as agricultural land are

excluded, the brothel is the area with one of the lowest integration values in the region. Since the local integration map is indicator of neighborhood level relations such as pedestrian density, local movements, liveliness and encountering potentials etc. (Hillier, 2007), it can be claimed that the area does not provide a ground for pedestrian activities, and it is not welcoming for public use (See: Figure 4.36).

Global and local integration analysis indicates that, Study Area-3 globally integrated with the whole system however, it is not well integrated in local level within the context it is situated. While it is in an essential position with strong interaction values at large scale, it does not provide a promising ground for microscale relationships (See: Figure 4.35 and 4.36).

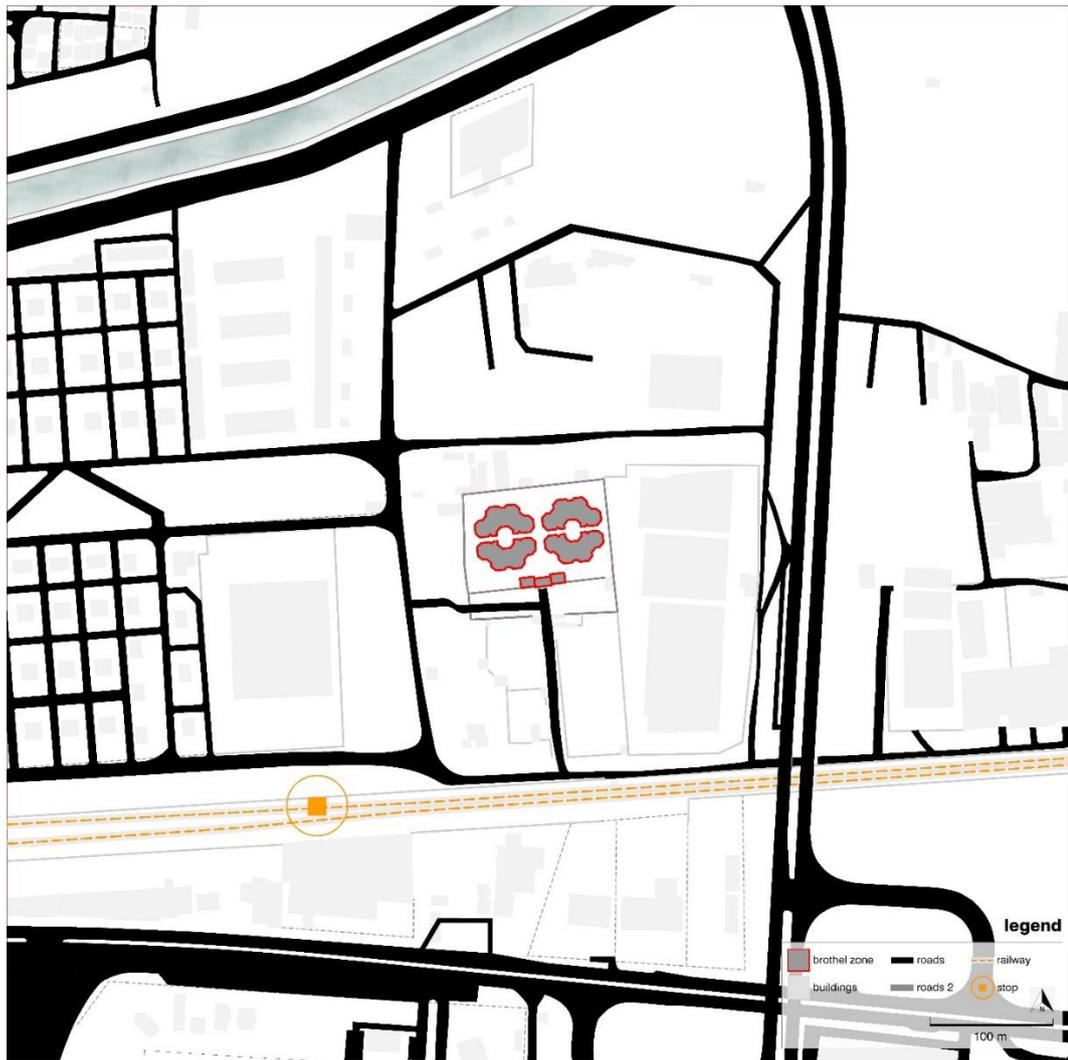


Figure 4.37. Street pattern of the Study Area-3

There is an unstable street pattern in the immediate environment of Adana Brothel regarding with sharp hierarchal and intensity differences. Additionally, street types around the brothel zone show variety in terms of use type, configuration, and physical properties such as width, length, continuity, and the number of connection points (See: Figure 4.37). There are paths which are not continuous and cutting of in a point. The road system is not a well interacted network since there are disintegrating components that cause rupture in the pattern. Highways, which are located at the south and east sides of the area, have an impact on fragmentation level

of the area. These roads are long and continuous that do not give branches into the neighborhood to integrate in local level and they mostly serve for vehicular movement. In addition to presence of highways, there are two elements behave as interrupting factors which are the canal above the area and the railway at the bottom (See: Figure 4.37).

There are two ways that leading to the brothel while one of them has direct connection with amenities around and the other one has secondary importance (See: Figure 4.37). These two ways do not serve any purpose other than accessing to a brothel. For this reason, they can be considered as a part of the brothel complex. In particular, the road that provides direct access to the brothel gate, together with the structures organized around it, supports the procedures that the users need to complete.

3.3.2.1 Visual Configuration of the Built Fabric

VGA analysis is repeated in the third case of the study to reveal visual pattern of the site. The use of surrounding elements (i.e., walls, fences, barbed wires) is very common in the spatial uses around the brothel complex. Therefore, as it is apparent in the Figure 4.38 visibility conditions are not high even though the context has a low-density organization.

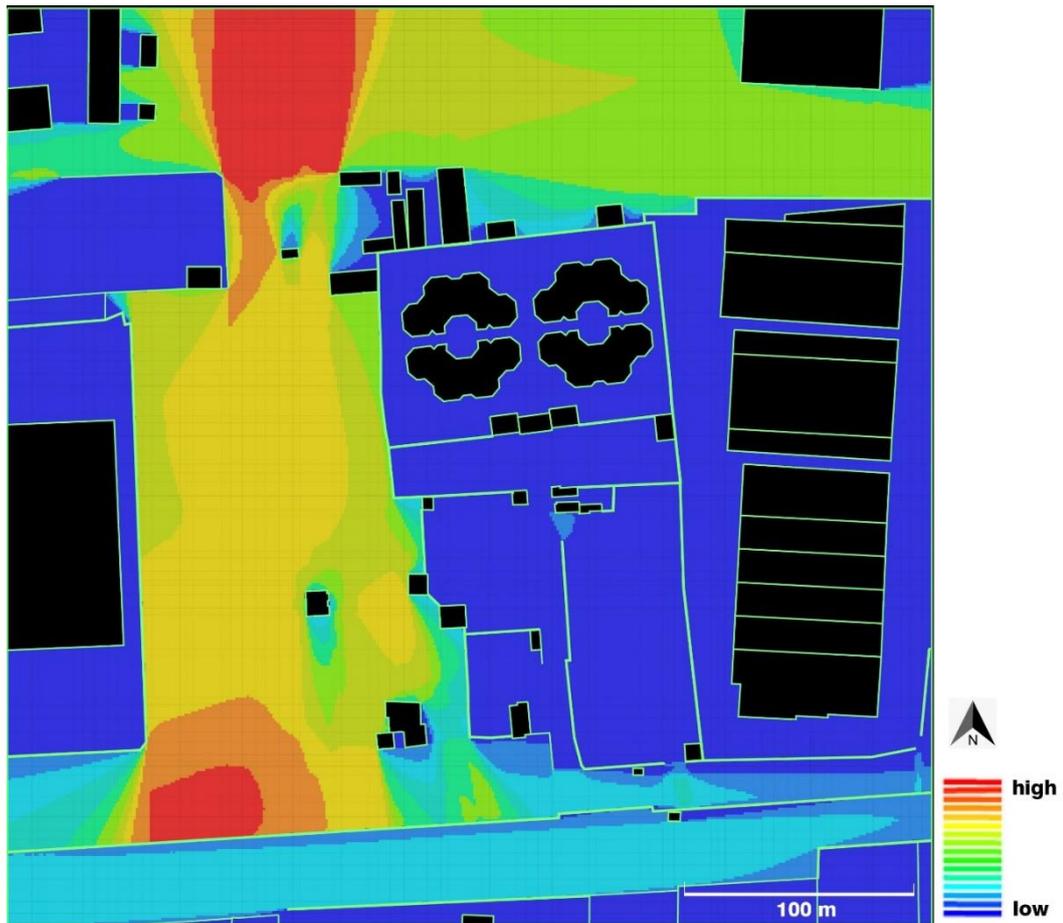


Figure 4.38. Visibility Graph Analysis of Study Area-3

4.3.5 Fabric Characteristics and Land-Use

The existing pattern around the brothel complex has dispersedly organized and low-density built environment. The brothel zone and the buildings around it are framed by fences or walls and placed in a disconnected manner from each other. The spatial layout in the area shows that the building blocks are not interacted to each other, and they are just merely existing on the site without communication. Railway supports the physical segregation conditions in the context by separating the north and west sides of the area (See: Figure 4.39).

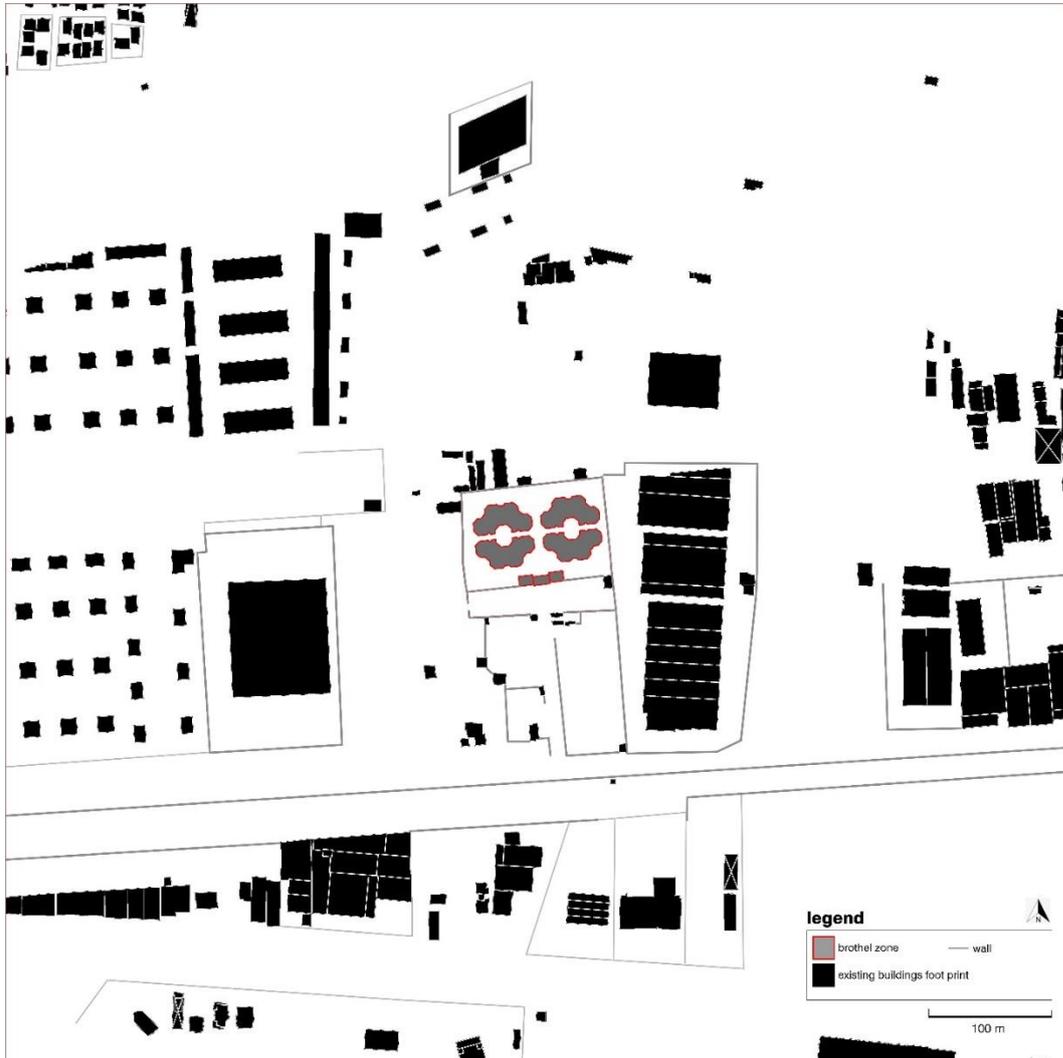


Figure 4.39. Figure-ground diagram of Adana Brothel and its surroundings

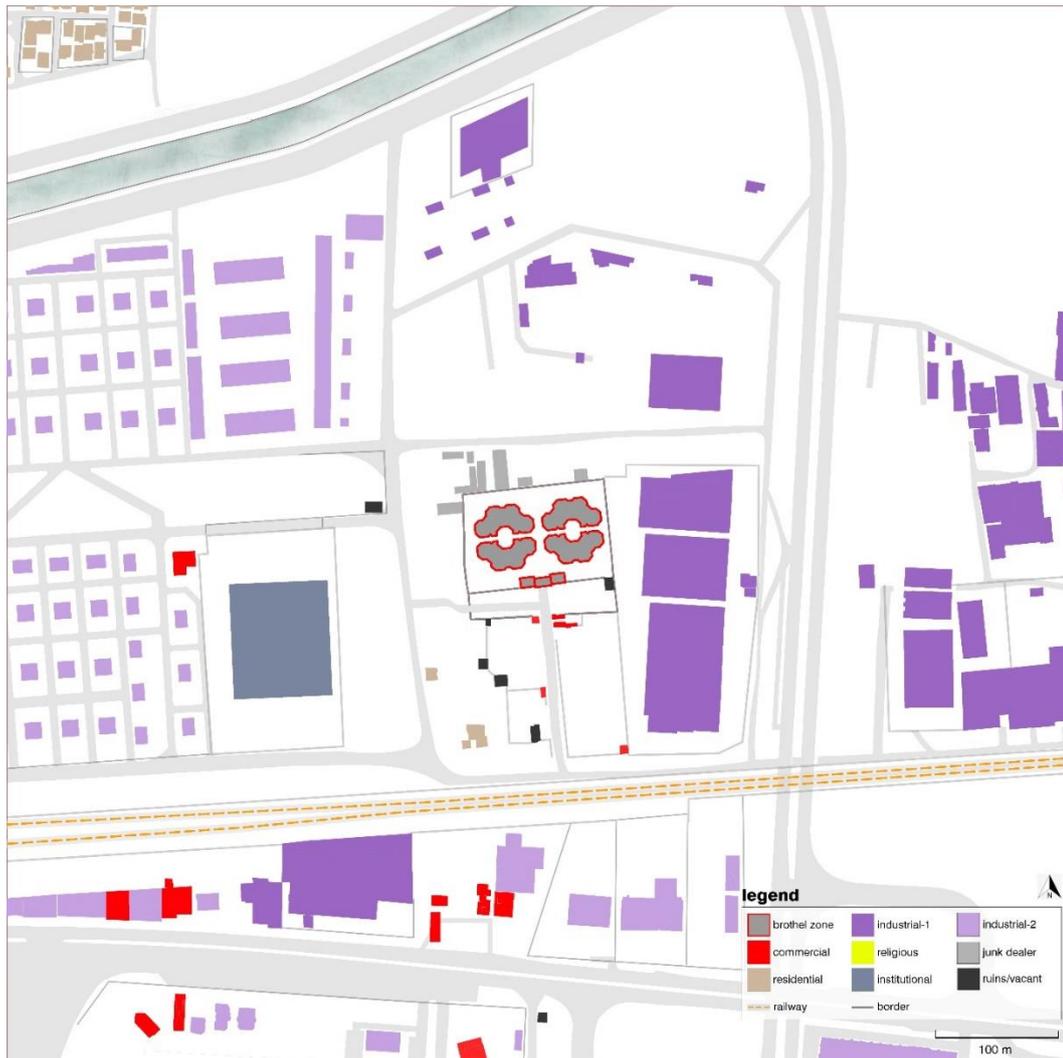


Figure 4.40. Land-use pattern of Adana Brothel and its surroundings

As it is obvious in the Figure 4.40, Adana Brothel is located in a mono-functional context which is dominantly comprise of industrial uses. Parallel to the examples of other peripherally located, there is not a wide variety of land use around the brothel. The lack of certain uses is advantageous for the presence of the brothel in the region since the risk of disturbing the environment morally and legally is declining (See: Figure 4.40).

4.3.6 Micro-Scale Spatial Assessments

In the path of investigating spatial dimensions of marginality through brothel zones, Adana Brothel is de-coded in microscale level with spatial uses and borders around it. Modes of control and tactics generated to restrictions are evaluated regarding with the site-specific condition of the complex. In the continuation of the study zoomed-in analysis will be presented.

4.3.6.1 Functional Uses of the Immediate Environment

Adana Brothel is a complex with clear borders that define its territory, and inner and outer amenities organized around it. In this specialized territory, there is a holistic system, a correlative order, and a unique habitat that supports and shape each other functionally and spatially. As it is apparent in the Figure 4.41 there is a two-layered boundary formation that frames the brothel zone. Spatial uses around the brothel concentrated on perimeters and around the path leading to the complex. While inner layer covers the entrance and security the outer walls are the layer where sub-marginal uses are attached (See: Figure 4.41).

Apart from the supportive functions correlated with the complex, Adana Brothel is located in a context that is surrounded by industrial uses. There are not any public services around the immediate environment for use of a random citizen (See: Figure 4.41).

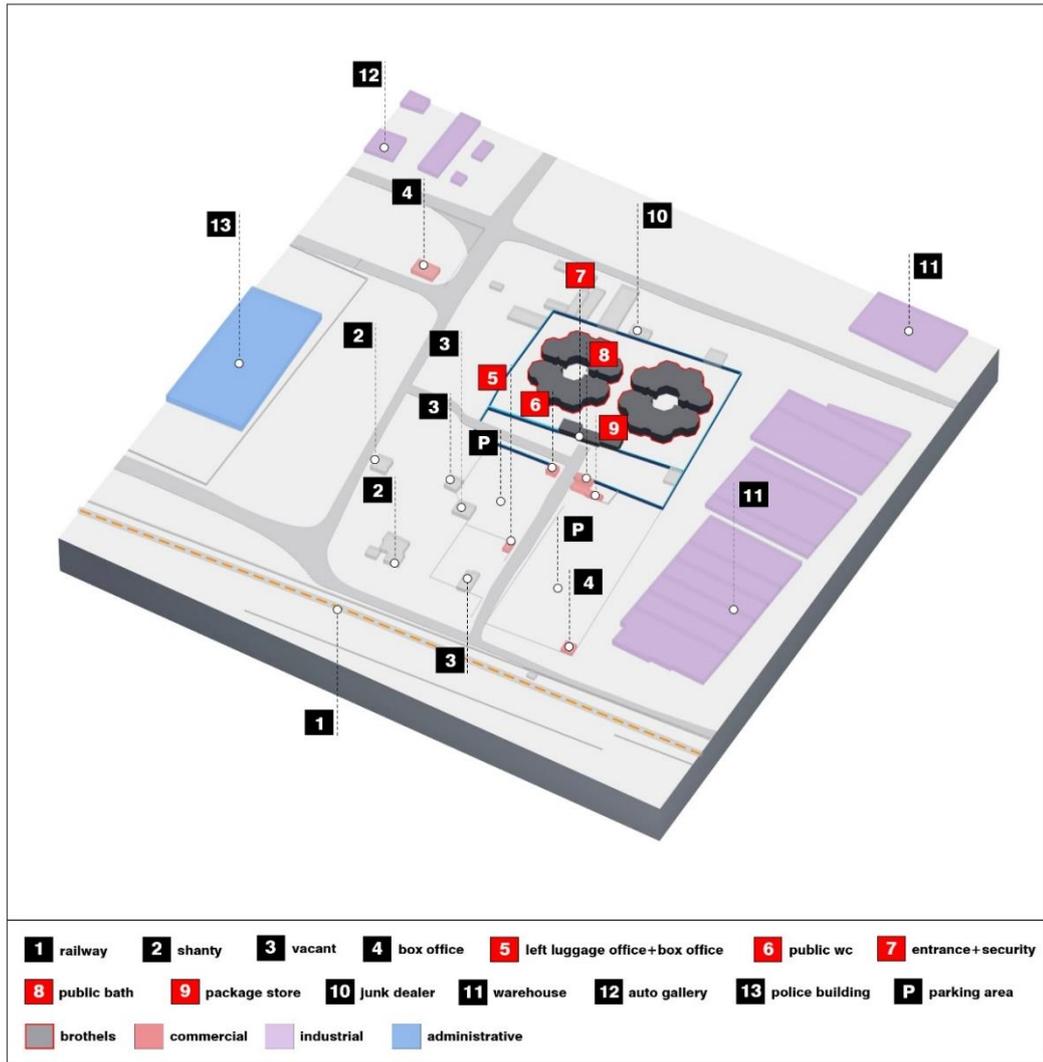


Figure 4.41. Spatial uses around Adana Brothel complex

Amenities which are integral for functional sustainability of brothel zone in its context such as public bath, public toilet and left luggage office are present also in this case as well as previously examined brothels. These sub-marginal uses are part of the process since they fulfill the moral and legal necessities of brothel users. Along with the path there are parking areas and box offices serving them. These offices also use as left luggage offices for visitors to leave their properties which are not allowed to enter with in the complex (See: Figure 4.42).



Figure 4.42. Alternative uses serving the brothel functionally (Source: Personal archive, 2021)¹³

The western part of the perimeter, there is an exceptional type of spatial occupation. Parasitic formations attached to brothel walls are used by junk dealers. It is an example of attracting a form of marginal to the other. In the bulk of waste at the edges of the brothels while adults are do their operations, children play around.

The programmatic distribution in the vicinity of the brothels complex contains forms of marginal uses. There are also vacant one-storey buildings, ruins, and units with insufficient physical conditions. Units (2) with poor conditions are occupied by people to accommodate in.

¹³ Photographs were taken in Covid-19 break when the brothels were closed as a health precaution.



Figure 4.43. Alternative uses around the brothel complex (Source: Personal archive, 2021)¹⁴

4.3.6.2 Boundary Relations

Adana Brothel consists of two hexagonal building units with courtyards and outer walls embracing them. It is a complex which has a strongly classified configuration with continuous walls specifying its territory. The walls surrounding the brothels have a two-layered structural organization that separates the space from the others (See Figure 4.44). The complex is organized as a camp with its extra-territorial character. With the clear boundaries around the complex, it excludes all kinds of creatures and attempts, simultaneously, embodies merely its own micro-cosmos.

¹⁴ Photographs were taken in Covid-19 break when the brothels were closed as a health precaution.

This configuration creates an absolute distinction between the inner and outer worlds.

The extra-territoriality it contains generates a ground for specialized inner dynamics and creates an emancipated place. Certain acts that are prohibited elsewhere become feasible within these clear borders. For such classified places, boundaries are inevitable components to specify the exact limits of the area of freedom. Within this place, some rules and ethics that provide public order interrupt, transform, or disappear.

Diken defines camps as exceptional sites in the polis that are present in the context they located but *they are not of it* (2004). There is an existential segregation between the camps and their surroundings. The boundaries around it are not symbolic acts of defiance, they are the representation of the need of protection (Alsayyad & Roy, 2006, p. 16). Construction of boundaries as a manifestation of the urge of sustaining its present is a valid problem for brothel zones since they are constantly exposed to purification strategies. Borders are erected as spatial tactics to ensure the presence of the brothels since they block to visual and physical access and keep the immoral out of the sight. Adana brothel has a deterrent image with double-layered walls surrounding it (See: Figure 4.44).

The entrance door is the only break in the continuous boundaries. The only possible way to physically meet the inside is through this door (See: Figure 4.44). However, the entrance to the brothel is selectively permeable by law. The controls required to enter are made by the guard at the entrance with the support of turnstiles, metal detectors and security cameras (See: Figure 4.

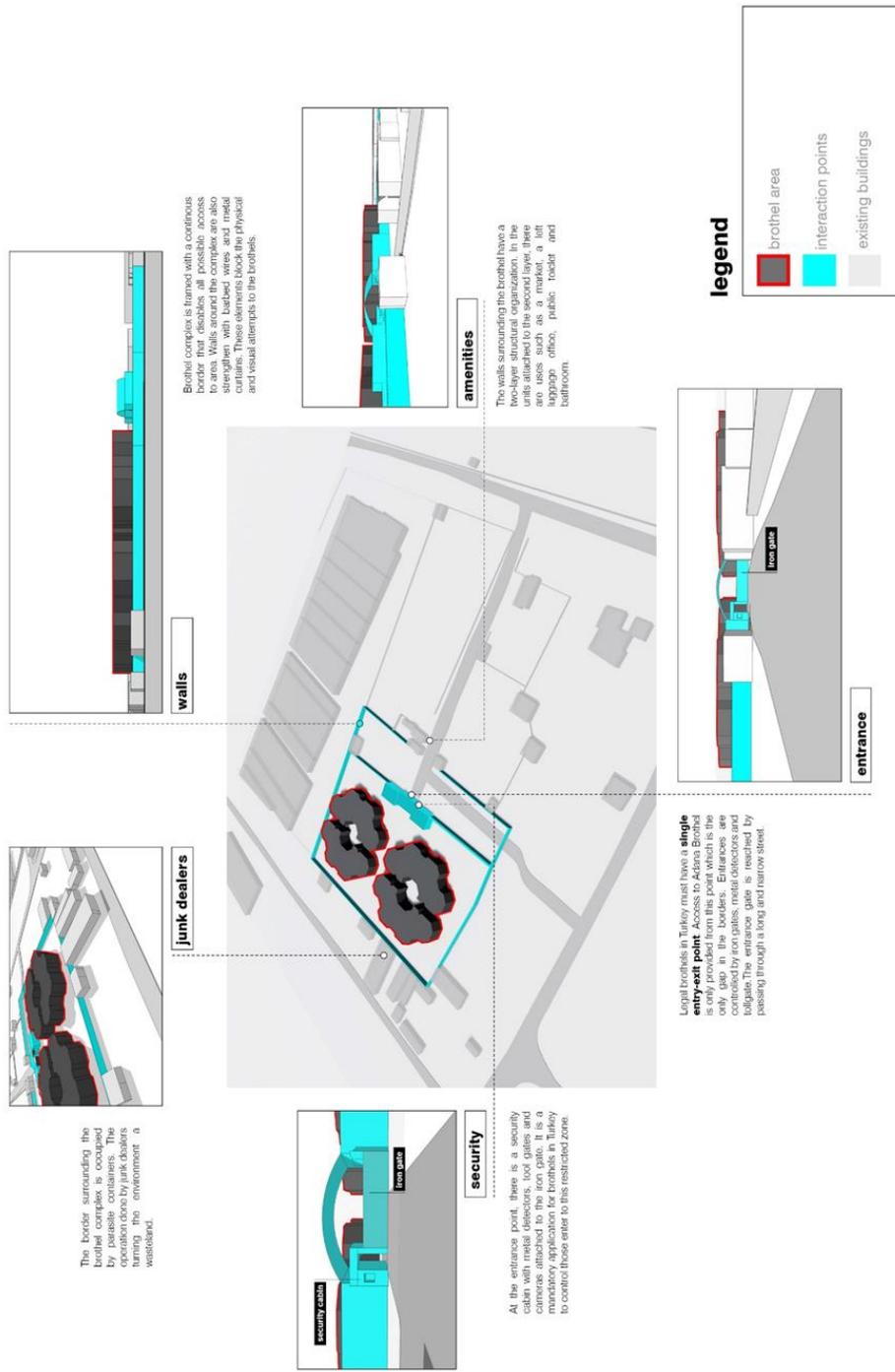


Figure 4.44. Boundary Relations of the brothel complex

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

This study addresses the question of the socio-spatial exclusion dynamics of the marginal spaces and their locational decisions, territorialization potentials, integration problematics and spatial tactics particularly in the case of the actively working legal brothels in Turkey. In order to fulfill this main objective, the study adopts a mixed-method approach with comprehensive and multi-scalar theoretical and analytical research method. In this context, after creating a theoretical basis for the conceptual understanding of the spatial relations of marginalization and exclusion practices, the study presents another legal and spatial framework for brothels around the world and in Turkey. In this context, examples of brothels and RLDs around the world examined in terms of locational status, spatial characteristics and the policies they are exposed to. Moreover, active brothels in Turkey are identified and classified according to their location in the urban macro-form, contextual features, and typo-morphological characteristics. As a result of this morphological classification, the brothels of Istanbul, Izmir and Adana are selected to examine in detail in accordance with both their locational (i.e., center, inner fringe, and outer fringe) and basic typological characteristics (i.e., closed street, enclave, and camp). These three case studies are analyzed morphologically using site-specific data from an inter-scale standpoint. The conducted sets of analysis reveal the location-selection dynamics, configurational characteristics and spatial structures of the cases regarding with location choice decisions, spatial structures, syntactic formations, land-use and activity patterns, visibility and accessibility conditions, and typo-morphological characteristics.

In the light of above-mentioned theoretical framework and analytical outcomes, the following part of this chapter critically evaluates the main findings of the research. In this context, the findings of the study will be presented primarily through the

relationships, and results arising from their locational status in addition to the exclusionary discourses and practices that the brothel zones are exposed in accordance with their positions in urban macro-form. Subsequently, the emergent commonalities and differences of brothel areas, and similar spatial tactics that they generated to sustain their presence will be discussed through subscale contextual findings and spatial inferences. Consequently, the integration problematic of these marginal sites with their context will be assessed in the light of the discoveries of the study.

5.1 Finding of Location Choice Processes

There are multiple determinants behind the location choice processes of brothels as marginal elements of urban geographies. Finding a place in the city is a problematic issue for all forms of marginal uses that includes conflicted dynamics and outcomes. In the way of determining the place of the brothel to be situated, there are so many actors who considering that they have right to pass a remark. Within the sterilized order of modern cities, the need of a certain level of tolerance occurs from those living with them in the context they located. Consequently, the dilemma of being in city center or in peripheral contexts arise from these multifaceted processes. Analysis conducted in the scope of this study reveals that there are parallel attitudes in terms of the locational status of brothels in Turkey and the Western geographies. **There is a common tendency to remove sex-related activities from central parts of the cities to outer locations.** This means that the traditional spatial distribution of brothels, which is existing in city centers, has been radically changing in accordance with the new dynamics of urban space and public order. In the light of locational investigations of brothel zones, in following sections, first centrally located traditional brothels and problems to be present in core of cities will be discussed; secondly, inner-city locations and its dynamics will be the main focus and finally, peripheral positioning will be summarized with their spatial characteristics.

5.1.1 Paradox of Existing in City Centers and Dislocation Processes

City centers are accessible to everyone and dominant parts of everyday life. In most cities of Europe, brothels or any sex premises has been located in the city centers for centuries. Although it cannot be claimed that brothels were completely acceptable by the society, their physical existence in central parts of cities have been continuing for a long time. They have been considered as a characteristic feature of the central parts of cities since they play a crucial role for public life. However, in the past few decades, most of them have been closed or moved out to the peripheries of cities if not used for tourist attraction like the RLD in Amsterdam. All forms of sex premises (street prostitution, sex shops, cinemas etc.) in the urban centers are considered as defiled and immoral objects that need to be cleaned up and be invisible for society. There are many examples of periodical increases in *witch hunt* for marginal uses in central parts of the European cities including Paris and London. The motives behind these purification processes have been justified in the name of ensuring public safety and moral order by state and law (Hubbard, 2004). Since central parts of cities, are reserved for moral activities, decent user profiles and economically profitable functions, not only sex premises but also all forms of marginal uses in city centers are in danger to be wiped out.

Centrally located brothels in Turkey are also exposed to similar periodical purification methods and operations. Those attempts of closure, dislocation or relocation are strategies for cleaning up city centers from *stigma* that threatens the public safety and moral order are also conducted in Turkey. Most of the brothels have been displaced or closed particularly in last two decades in order to sterilize the city centers. **The two brothels in Karaköy, Istanbul are the last examples of centrally located brothels in the country.** Although brothels in Beyoglu also underwent several purification processes, two of them have accomplished to sustain their existence until today. To understand the contextual conditions of brothels in Karaköy, the motives behind the removing defiled objects from the city centers and the outcomes of the conducted strategies will be summarized in this part of the thesis.

Since the methods and reasons of suppressing the marginality at the heart of a metropole shows similarities around the world, it will be a comprehensive summary referenced from all times and places.

The common motives behind the displacement of marginality from the city centers can be grouped into three. The first and the main motivation underlying the spatial as well as social exclusion of sex work-related premises is similar to the removals of other marginal groups, which is **being disturbed by their uncanny presence**. Color, nation, disease, sexuality and even nature can be subjects of exclusionary mechanism and all of them can be labelled as different, deviant, or dirty *as signifiers of imperfection and inferiority* (Sibley, 1998 p.14). According to Sibley, society constructs *stereotypes* to be distanced from and associates them with negative traits and at the end, geographies of exclusion occur. In order to understand the problem of exclusion in modern societies, it should be admitted that the fear factor among urban dwellers is getting higher (Ellin, 1997, p.26) and encountering with the Other causes *moral panic* (1998). So, the prominent reason of purification attempts towards marginals is suppressing the panic by getting rid of the undesirable *dirt*.

Another major motivation for removal of marginality from city centers is directly related with **economic interests**. In modern metropolises, urban centers are considered as faces of advertising that are used for marketing the city to attract capital. Centers are allocated for profitable functions and investments. Hubbard points out that removing the vice from central public spaces for private capital corresponds to the neo-liberal policies of *new urbanism* (p.1697). Marginality is considered as a prohibitor for the capital flow. The common interests of government and corporates, not the well-being of all kinds of people living in the city, generates the urban strategies. He continues as follows:

“Against this backdrop of ambient fear, convincing investors, and consumers that city centre spaces are ‘safe’ has become a key priority for those city governors and promoters keen to sponsor an ‘urban renaissance’. Given that sex workers are depicted as part of a criminal class, reducing the visibility of

sex work in the central city is an obvious way that policy makers can send out a message that it is ripe for reinvestment. In this sense, the displacement of sex work can be viewed as an essential precursor to middle-class, family-oriented gentrification” (Hubbard,2004; p.1698).

The third motive behind the sterilization implementations is considering brothels as **criminal activity magnets**. Those who involved in selling sex and also purchasing it are regarded as more prone to creating danger. In addition, there is a common belief that crimes such as theft and drug uses are associated with prostitution. Labelling sex-work related activities and individuals as crime attractors is a successful strategy for salvation of prized city centers and, simultaneously maintaining the moral values and socio-spatial order. Such vice activities and profiles are not welcomed at the heart of the city since they threaten the public safety and quality of urban life (Hubbard,2000).

All in all, brothels in Karaköy district still resist to all forms of cleansing attempts and operations. It manages to create a unity by being a part of all diversity around it. The case of Istanbul is of great importance in terms of understanding the relationship between the marginal and the city in a central location. It is the last example that makes it possible to examine spatially how the marginal is related within the compact texture of city centers and how to become a part of everyday life.

It should also be emphasized that the effort of the Karaköy brothel to exist in the urban core is sharply differentiated from the examples in the world. Because this is not a bright, appealing, and attractive *red-light district* that captivates people, or it is not organized as adult entertainment area that used for touristic purposes. Conversely, it is expected not to be in sight of the majority and while physically being in the middle of the city, it cannot be center of attention. Since visibility is a threat for existence of brothels, its effort is based on not being seen and accessible. While embracing the diversity around it also should be hidden and confined. These unique attempts of not being distinctively present, make its mode of existence and

spatial qualities are much more authentic than European and Southeast Asian examples.

City is not the property of certain groups, and all segments of society should have the right to take part in the public sphere and to live in it. Mechanisms to make decisions in the name of the socially excluded and so-called disadvantaged groups and out casting them is an unending behavior that has repetitive examples in different times and societies. In parallel to this unilateral reflex of *civilized* societies, Hubbard asks two questions at the end of his article:

“...who has the right to deny prostitutes their claim to city space? And is it right that sex work is displaced to make way for sanitised public spaces that are as safe and sterile as shopping malls?” (p.1700).

Authoritarian sanitization strategies can be promoted as a versatile gain for all by policymakers that result in suppressing the fear, dirt, and moral panic, increasing the quality of urban life, maximizing the value of the land, and restoration of public morality and urban safety. Hence, **removal of sex-premises and other marginal uses leads to public spaces which are predictable and homogeneous urban grounds that do not constitutes vitality, diversity, or differences.** Urban centers are produced on the basis of discourses that segregate and exclude, rather than being embracing for everyone and uniting the differences. The multifunctional and cosmopolite sides of the city centers are filtered by self-interested and single-minded decision makers.

5.1.2 Inner-City Location

In addition to locating in historical city centers there are also other types of traditionally positioning of the sex-related premises in the world one of which is locating in inner fringes of cities. It is a traditional positioning since the brothels require inner city dynamics that provides possibility **to be accessed** easily.

Locational services were critical for these commercial uses especially considering the past urban dynamics.

Commonly, **the inner-fringe brothels areas are located in neighborhoods where predominantly inhabited by other forms of marginal uses such as districts of minority groups or low-income groups, slum areas, ghettos.** In the creation of prostitution zones, it is likely to be established within areas where spatial, institutional and socio-political interests are at least tolerant to the establishment of such activities. (Ashworth, et. al., p.208). Also, another notable feature encountered in many prostitution venues is **being close to the port area** (i.e., Amsterdam, Antwerp, Istanbul, and İzmir). Since this situation increases the mobility of particularly foreign people in the region, it makes a positive contribution to the potential of finding clients for brothels and affects the location-selection process of them.

Brothel zone located in Tepecik Neighborhood in the city of İzmir is the only example of inner-city location model that manages to last its existence till today in the case of Turkey. Tepecik Brothel is a unique example that contains many typical characteristics of brothel zones and shows commonalities with many cases due to its specific features. Especially in terms of locational characteristics, it gives clues about the location choice processes of brothel zones in general. Moreover, one of the most important contextual feature of inner-city located brothel areas is that they are situated in a **multifunctional** context with **compact urban fabric**. This contextual feature of **inner-city brothels mostly brings with the integration problems with the immediate environment.** Besides, since brothels are not allowed to be near the certain programmes such as religious facilities, the proximity issue become a potential danger for their presence. For instance, it is a rare situation that being in the context where residential uses are dominant especially in modern standards of society however the intense gypsy population of the area and high criminality level pave the way for the existence of such immoral use in the neighborhood.

5.1.3 Peripheral Location

Outer parts of the cities are periodically being **the new addresses of sex-related marginal uses**. Especially in European societies there is a common tendency to relocate traditional brothel zones from city centers to peripheral locations (Ashworth *et al.*, 1998; Hubbard & Sanders, 2003; Hubbard, 2004). In the case of Turkey similar locational transformations have been performed by authorities for especially last two decades. Adana, Eskişehir and Hatay can be adduced to cities where brothels formerly located in city centers and periodically underwent demolition and relocation operations.

According to Ashworth *et al.* (1998), there are advantages of being outcasts of the cities for sex-oriented premises, which is *being less visible, gives less offence and is less vulnerable to police action*. **It can be claimed that allocating physically outlying places for these extremely marginal zones that keep them both out of the sight and out of the mind of moral majority will ensure the potential of their existence and lower the risk of being disturbed by decision-makers**. Apart from the moral panic, public concerns and obsessions to socio-spatial order of modern cities, **new dynamics of urban space** and the way of living have also been affecting these removal processes. Especially the new **potentials in mobility** and increase in **vehicular movements** have made it possible for brothels to find a place to outside the city. Ashworth *et al.* (1998) also asserts that since prostitution zones are commercial areas, it is vital for them to be accessible and the possibility to be reached these areas by vehicle plays a decisive role in the new location selection processes.

The analyzes conducted in the scope of the research reveal some common features of brothels located in peripheries. The majority of legal brothels in Turkey, which have been pushed out of the city, have many spatial similarities developed depending on locational factors. The first of these similarities is the **proximity of peripherally located brothel zones to highways and main arteries** is a strikingly common situation. Many brothels are not located directly on these main axes, but positioned very close to them (i.e., Adana, Mersin). The analysis performed to manifest global

integration values of these places also come up with results that support this situation. All samples have **high level of global integration values**. It can be deduced that the locations of brothels are suitable for accessing with vehicular options. Syntactic measurements demonstrate that, in addition to brothels in peripheries, inner city brothel zones also **located close to globally integrated axis**. It can be interpreted that *accessibility* is an integral factor for location selections of commercial sex spaces. These outcomes of the conducted analyzes also confirm Ashworth's argument about the impact of changing urban dynamics and mobility on the site selection process of brothels. The commercial expectations of brothels play a decisive role to pursue the principle of accessibility in their location selection mechanisms. As well as the preferences of brothel users for transportation are reflected in the macro-scale locational decisions, it also shapes the spatial organizations of brothel complexes. It is a repetitive pattern that, all brothels contain **parking lots as integral parts of the complexes**.

It should also be emphasized that reaching to the landscapes of prostitution by vehicle can be evaluated as a positive circumstance in terms of the **anonymity of users**. The peripheral positioning of brothel zones is organized as specialized territories that are allocated for a specific purpose and serve for limited group in society. This locational feature leads to an advantageous situation by filtering potential for encounters and reduces the risk of *being seen in there* compared to inner-city settings.

In terms of proximity to transportation axis, **existing close to the major railway axis or station** is a globally common phenomenon for areas of prostitution independent from their inner or outer city positions. Ashworth relates this to the fact that attractiveness in transportation creates a commercial opportunity. This, of course, can be considered as a strategic attitude as it provides a positive benefit in terms of transportation to the brothel zone, as discussed above. However, the divisive effect of the railways on the city and the possibility that marginal uses may take advantage of its separative aspect in the site selection processes should also be considered. For instance, in the case of İzmir, the relationship between the railway

and the spatial configuration of the brothel complex is marvelously enlightening. In this case, the brothel complex uses the separating wall of railway that runs parallel to the train axis as its own part and benefits from the divisive feature of both the railway and the wall. The wall becomes part of the spatial organization of the brothel area by reducing the potential for visual and physical access. In the case of Adana, the railway functions as an urban separator at upper level. Its existence creates a buffer zone that separates the industrial area where brothel zone situated from the residential uses at the upper scale. As it interrupts the flux and accessibility in the area, it reduces the quality of vehicular and pedestrian use there and the encountering potential of the area decreases.

Last but not least, **brothel zones in peripheries are located in contexts that cover mono-functional patterns.** The land-use distribution around them is monotonous and uniformed. They are mostly located in areas where industrial uses are intense. Brothels in the cities of Adana, Mersin, Aydin and Hatay can be given as an example to this situation. The fact that brothels are located in industrial areas can be considered as a situation that is likely to increase the potential of finding users. These areas, which are free of women and children, have a male-dominated flow and daily life practices that can have a positive effect on the commercial concerns of brothels. Another common situation is that the brothels are surrounded by agricultural lands. These types of brothel zones are not located in the village settlement, but in the contexts where there is no built environment around. The fact that brothels are located in these regions creates a positive ground in terms of specialization of the brothel districts for a certain user group and eliminates the sterilized part of the society from being around the defiled.

5.2 Commonalities and Differences in Spatial Characteristics

Spatial characteristics of brothels zones are shaped by multiple determinants such as context-based physical factors, (i.e., location, topography) social structure of the area (i.e., tolerance level of dwellers etc.), and laws. Although these factors lead to spatial

similarities by creating common denominators in some cases, they may also form the basis of physical differences. Spatial similarities and differences in brothel areas are difficult to generalize or to reveal completely. However, the dynamics of their territorialities can be discussed, and it is possible to make deductions about spatial relationship mechanisms through the analyzed examples.

Inter-scale morphological examinations particularly conducted in İstanbul, İzmir and Adana cases reveal that context-based features directly effects the formation modes of brothel zones. Land-use distribution, density of urban fabric and street pattern around the prostitution areas create bases for spatial attitudes of these places. **The physical condition of the immediate environment has a great influence on the formation of configurational decisions and brothel typologies.** For instance, among many other contextual factors, the density of built environment is one of the determinants that specifies the organizational decisions of a brothel zone and its spaciousness. The typological differences between closed-street type configuration of the Zürafa Sokak example, and camp-like organizations of Adana brothel are the outcomes of contextual infrastructures.

Boundary types of brothel complexes are the specifying factors in the determination of spatial analogies. Analyses show that differences in the boundary typologies of brothel zones, the contextual features (these features are also outcomes of inner-city and peripheral locations) are highly effective. **Peripherally located brothel complexes with monofunctional land use, low-density urban texture and street pattern are framed by defined and continuous boundary types.** Brothels (i.e., Adana, Mersin, Aydın, Manisa, Çanakkale) with this type of borders usually create a well-defined interior-space configuration within these clear and limited walls. Their relationship with the city and its surroundings does not branch beyond these distinctive frames.

Brothels, which remained in the inner city and have the necessity to get related with the surrounding urban elements are surrounded by partial barriers placed at each point where communication or accessibility is possible. On the other hand, the border

types of inner-city brothels differ from the peripheral examples in terms of continuity and monolithy. These brothels such as İstanbul and İzmir, **do not have uninterruptedly enduring framed walls**. Instead, each point where there is a possibility of access to the inside of brothel complex is **closed with dispersed walls** within the densely organized urban contexts. **These walls work as barriers that blocks visual and physical communication of the brothels with the environment and creates the distinction between inside and outside.**

Social structure of the area, public demand and tolerance level of the surrounding affects the macro and micro scale spatial decisions of prostitution districts. These factors have impacts on the spatial features of brothel areas especially in regarding with visibility level and size of the brothel area. The main difference between examples around the world and the Turkey case can be pointed out as the **attractiveness level and commodification types of prostitution areas** that rooted in the mindsets of societies. Being socially accepted influences the configurations of brothel zones and the spatial tactics it developed to sustain its presence.

Laws, with the spatial codes about they contain, draw the frame of formation dynamics of the places of prostitutions. They are legal prescriptions of compulsory spatial sanctions that brothel complexes must fulfill. The regulations about commercial sex places mainly covers the visibility, proximity and accessibility concerns while defining the spatial orders and limitations. Since the all state-regulated brothels have to follow this legal framework to survive, certain physical commonalities occur among the brothels in the case of Turkey. Particularly micro-scale spatial features such as single entry-exit point, selectively permeable entrance gate, walls to break the unwanted visual and physical access, distinctively isolated interior organization, and security components (i.e., security cabin, metal detectors, cameras) are common features of all brothels in Turkey without exception.

In addition to commonality in the locational and spatial configurations of brothel complexes, **there are also commonly encountered functional uses around them.** The first and foremost, there are **sub-marginal programmes** located in the

immediate surroundings of the brothel areas that are vital for the functional sustainability of premises. **Left luggage offices and public baths and toilets are detected around the brothel zones in all cases.** These are functional uses that are not ordinary urban elements that commonly encountered with despite they are indispensable for brothel areas. Also, **parking areas** as outcomes of new urban dynamics are in common around the brothel areas that support these commercial spaces functionally as integral parts of complexes. Finally, **vacant buildings and ruins** detected around the brothel zones demonstrates that demand to these areas and the level of preferences are not promising. Also, it can be deduced the spatial conditions around the landscapes of prostitution are neglected by society and municipality.

5.3 Integration-Segregation Problematic

Comprehensive researches, observations and analyzes carried out in order to reveal the locational dynamics, spatial conditions of brothel zones and their relationship with the city overtly demonstrate that sex-oriented spaces, **which have been socially excluded in different geographies for centuries, are still not seen as a completely acceptable element by societies** (Ashworth *et al.*, 1998; Hubbard & Sanders, 2003; Hubbard, 2004). Even though in some geographies it is a legally recognized issue, toleration problems sourced by state and society still persist morally and conceptually. Continuous demolition operations, being exposed to periodical displacement sanctions, the fact that spaces of prostitution in inner cities result in public concerns and disturbance, spatial codes towards them limiting the proximity to certain public uses, obligation of being less visible, the fact that only adult men are allowed in and many other circumstances that brothels subject to are indicators of that social and spatial integration of prostitution spaces is still problematic. Besides, **the borders surrounding the brothel zones or blocking any possibility of communication are the most concrete indications that these complexes are completely isolated.** These boundaries are a two-way segregation mechanism that

while protecting the outside from the immorality of inside, it is also a spatial tactic produced for the survival of the marginal. This level of segregation is prerequisite for prostitution spaces to sustain their existence. **There is a clear effort to prevent brothels from integrating with the city and everyday practices.** More importantly, the extremely isolated configurations of brothel areas also cause those inside to be completely cut off from society. These territorial and legal dynamics block all means of communication for women inside and condemn them to a mandatory neglect, invisibility and silence (Zengin, 2011).

The fact that this ongoing integration problem is used by the state and decision-making mechanisms as a tool to provide social and spatial order should not be ignored. Conflicting relations between power, space and society are included in the relations of interest, especially in the name of cleaning up these areas labeled as marginal. As long as the city administration is carried on through these ideologies, it does not seem very possible for any marginal use to integrate with the city and become an actual actor included in daily life.

5.3.1 Micro-scale Elements

The micro-scale elements physically underline the integration problems of the brothels. Walls, metal curtains, barbed wires and iron gates are invariably encountered in the environs of brothel zones and the prominently placed to prevent the physical and visual communication of these *unwanted* complexes with their surroundings. These elements are tools for **controlling, excluding, and isolating** the *defiled* and keep its place **concealed**. The spatial exclusion is mainly fulfilled with the construction of boundaries around the brothels and also restricting and controlling the accessibility to these areas. At this point, the entrance of the brothel zone work as a **threshold** that simultaneously separate and interrelate the *regular* and the *irregular*. It is the point of both a bridge and a border.

Even though the boundary types and production styles show varieties, the wall is the most integral element in the process of the boundary construction of a brothel complex. Walls around the brothels are directly related to exclusionary purposes and operations of the state, power, and the moral majorities. They both create a specialized internality and are the most basic tools in the spatial creation of isolation and exclusion. They sharply separate inside and outside by excluding, hiding and isolating what is inside. In this context, walls are also spatial tactics erected to sustain the presence of the *immoral*. They are the protector of the internal by hiding it from the external and limiting all forms of accessibility to it.

Walls, metal curtains and barbed wires also serve as a **censorship** aside from being physical separators and isolators. These elements control what is not wanted to be seen by physically censoring what is inside. Society is thus not exposed to what it should stay away from. In addition, censorship is performed in such a subtle way that brothels particularly the ones centrally located do not attract attention and are not easily noticed.

5.4 Perception and Spatiality

Prostitution and the existence of brothels are socially problematic and controversial situations in Turkey as well as in the majority of the globe. Although they are legal and regulated, it cannot be claimed that they are fully accepted by all segments of the society. However, it is a fact that there is a socio-political effort to change the perception towards brothels and to deepen the recognition of their *stigmatic* nature. The witch hunt for brothels in Turkey accelerated especially in the post-2000 period and promoted by specifically municipalities in certain cities. Despite being isolated, excluded and even displaced, brothels are periodically closed due to the changing dominant political discourses. In other words, physical cautions such as low visibility levels, boundaries, walls, and peripheral locations could not prevent them from being demolished, and they continue to have a socio-political tolerance problem even today (See: Figure 5.1). Additionally, during Covid-19 period, all brothels in Turkey were

brothels and the expression of hate and disgust to these areas, the actions practiced, and the people involved in has become more explicit by the pro-government campaigns. These promotions fuel the public's hostility towards these places and increases the tension between the marginal and the normal.



Figure 5.2. Changing perception of brothels in Turkish media through headlines
(Source: URL33, URL34, URL35)

Moreover, there is a vital problem that sex workers of legal brothels in Turkey cannot be heard or seen by the outside of the isolated walls. The problem of inaccessibility and discommunication is beyond the spatial dimensions, it is a matter of **forced neglect** by the hands of the state. The women working here **are condemned to silence** (Zengin, 2011). According to the news of Pazartesi Dergisi (URL35) (See: Figure 5.2), brothel workers describe this place as a semi-open prison. Restrictions both in the walls of the brothels and in very private life of sex workers prevent them from living freely. There are several restrictions that restrain them to sustain a free life. For instance, the state even has the legal power to control that these women live with whom and there are not allowed to leave the brothels without taking a permission. They have been subjected to constant control. The social conditions inside and restrictions that brothel workers are forced to present a dramatic picture

that goes beyond physical problems, however it can be deduced that spatial isolation fuels the problem of social neglect and the physical and visual limitations are tools of the **captivation**. Brothels in Turkey are problematic in terms of the constraints they impose on women's working and living conditions. The socially acceptance of the brothels and their not being evaluated on the basis of common moral values are the prerequisites of socio-spatial emancipation. Removing the limits of women's freedom can only be possible with the removal of physical, moral, and mental limits all together.

5.5 Further Researches

Within the scope of this thesis, state-regulated brothel zones in Turkey are investigated in terms of their places in urban macroform, relation types, territorial dynamics, and modes of formations. Since the main focus of the study is on the city and marginality relationship through brothel zones, an inter-scale research method has been conducted to reveal a comprehensive study. However, all analyzes, and observations conducted from an external point of view and the specialized interior organizations of confined brothel districts still remain unknown. Examinations beyond the borders of brothel areas in terms of spatial dynamics is a gap in literature. Their isolated internal characteristics and the micro-scale patterns of marginality from a socio-spatial aspect will also enrich the urban studies.

In addition, the analyzes made within the scope of the thesis only dealt with fixed spatial uses. Examining the marginality of more fluid forms of prostitution geographies and the way they are associated with the city or the trace of the marginalized body in the city and the flow of marginality will also contribute to literature.

Also, since the space is not a merely physical element, the research can be expanded by more deeply integrating sociological and political dimensions. Specifically,

feminist discourse on the issue should be reconsidered for further studies to support the conceptual ground and diversify the framework of discussions.

Moreover, the situation after the demolishments and closures of the brothels can be traced. The transformation of the lands that they were existed and the use types of those areas, the way of integrating the places that are cleaned from the unwanted, the transformation of marginalized to normalized can shed a light on the relations of urban space and socio-political dynamics.

Ultimately, the research is carried out during the Covid-19 break, which dramatically changed the regular codes and patterns of daily life. Since the brothels were closed in this unusual period, the photographs taken in the sites can be misleading regarding the human flux and user profiles in the environs of brothels. Thus, to manifest the regular conditions around the brothel zones and comprehend the behaviors and movements of the users, research areas can be revisited.

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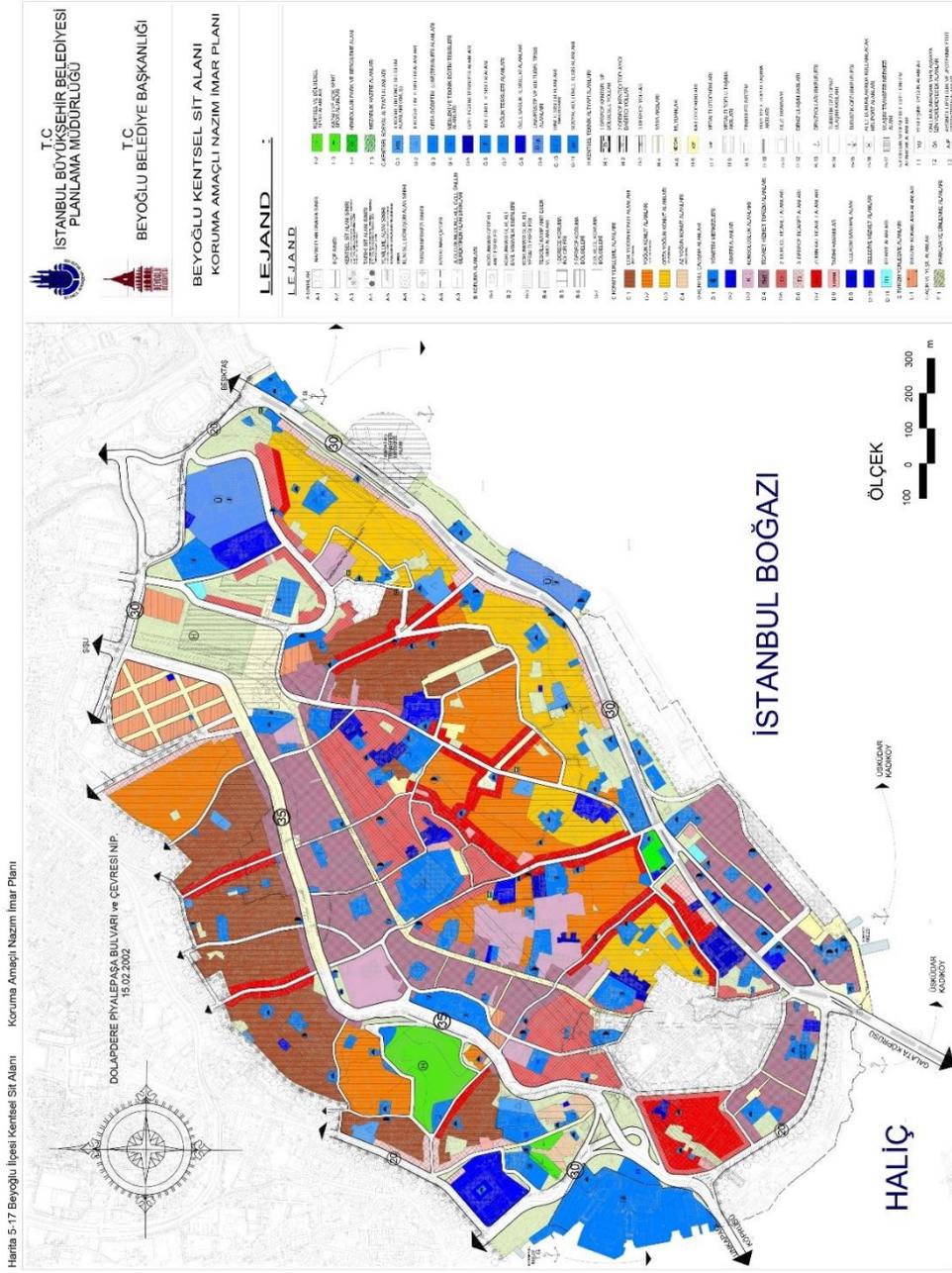


Figure A.4. Beyoğlu 1:5000 Conservation Development Plan

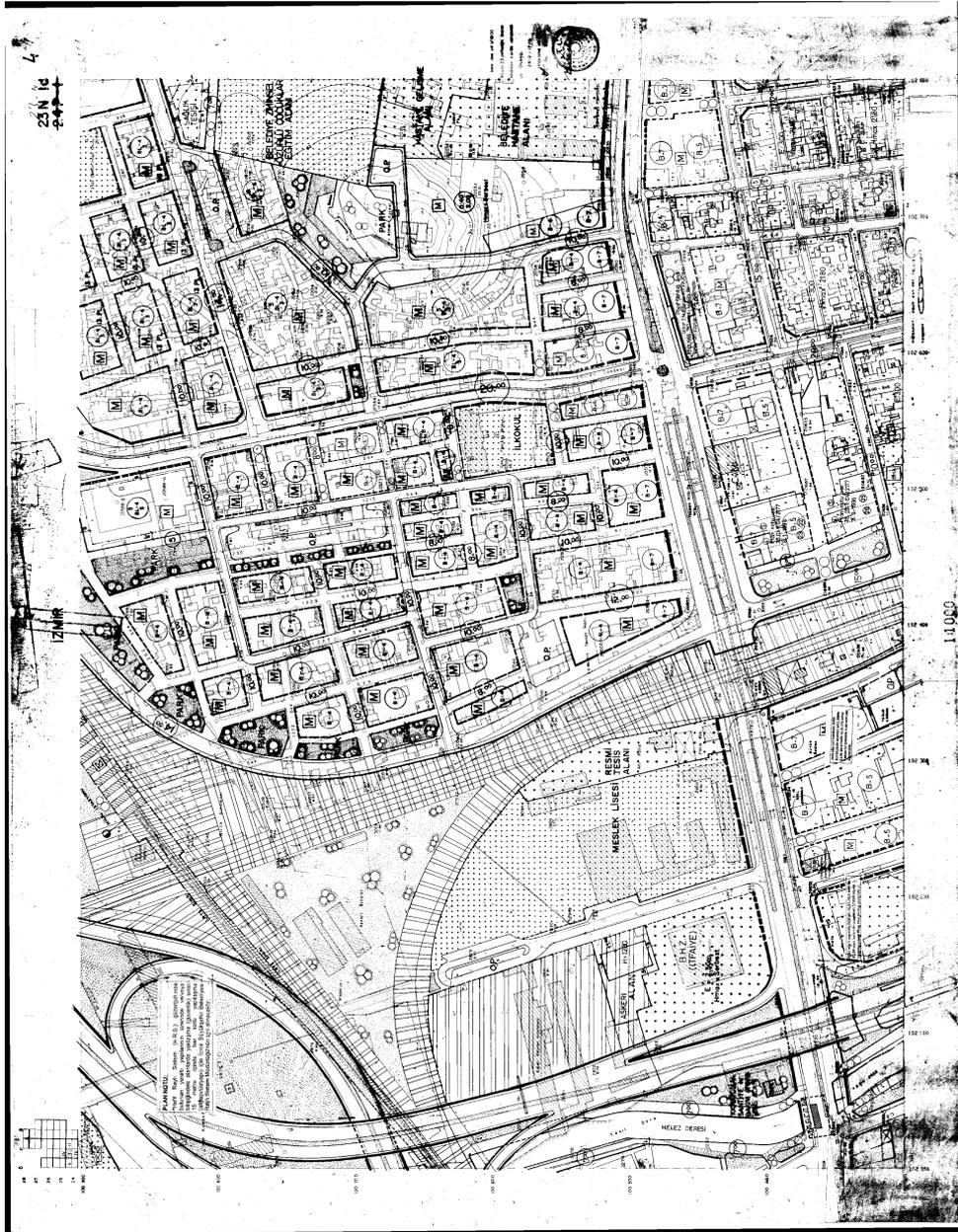


Figure A.5. Yenişehir 1:1000 Development Plan

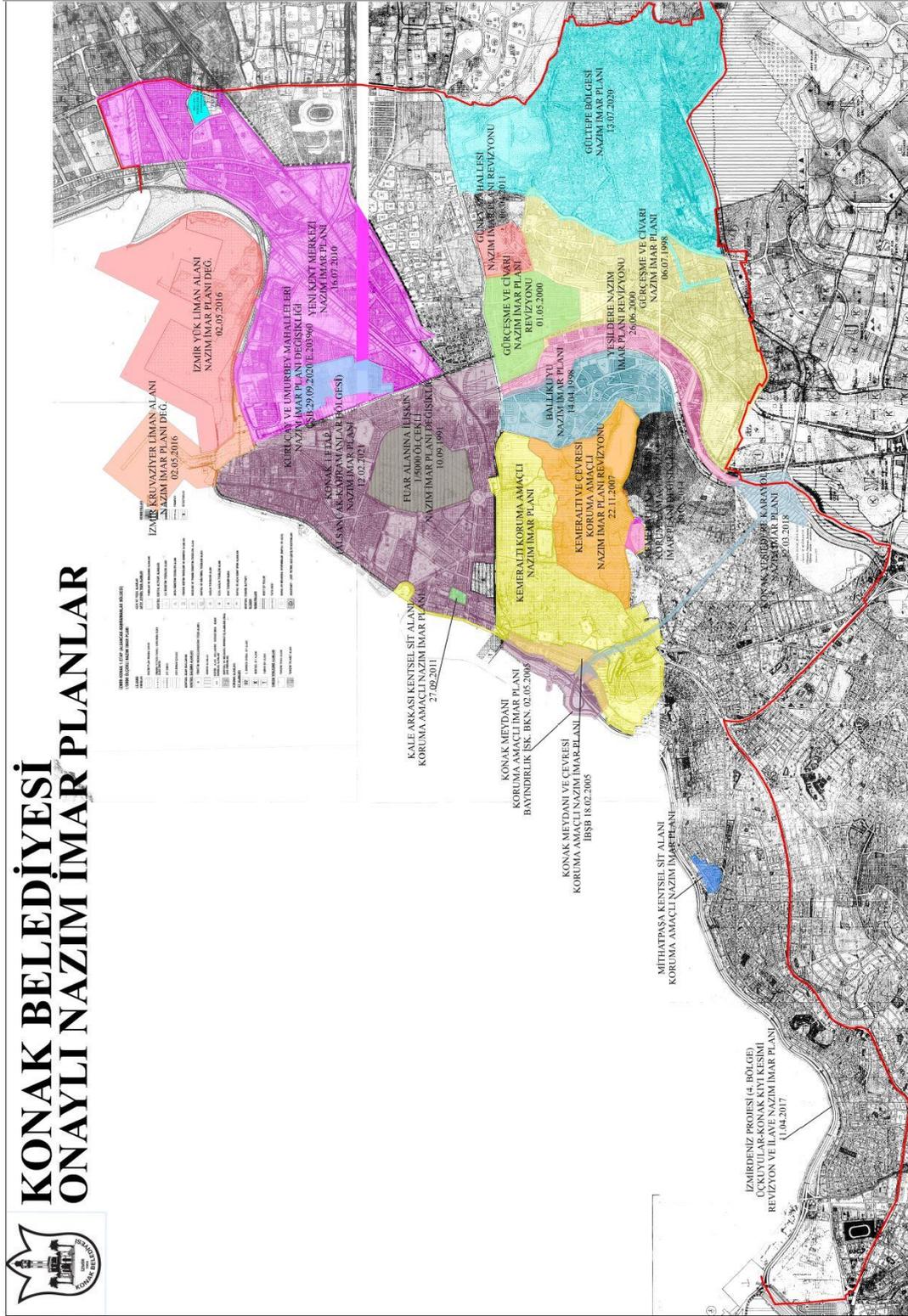


Figure A.6. Konak Municipality 1:5000 City Development Plan

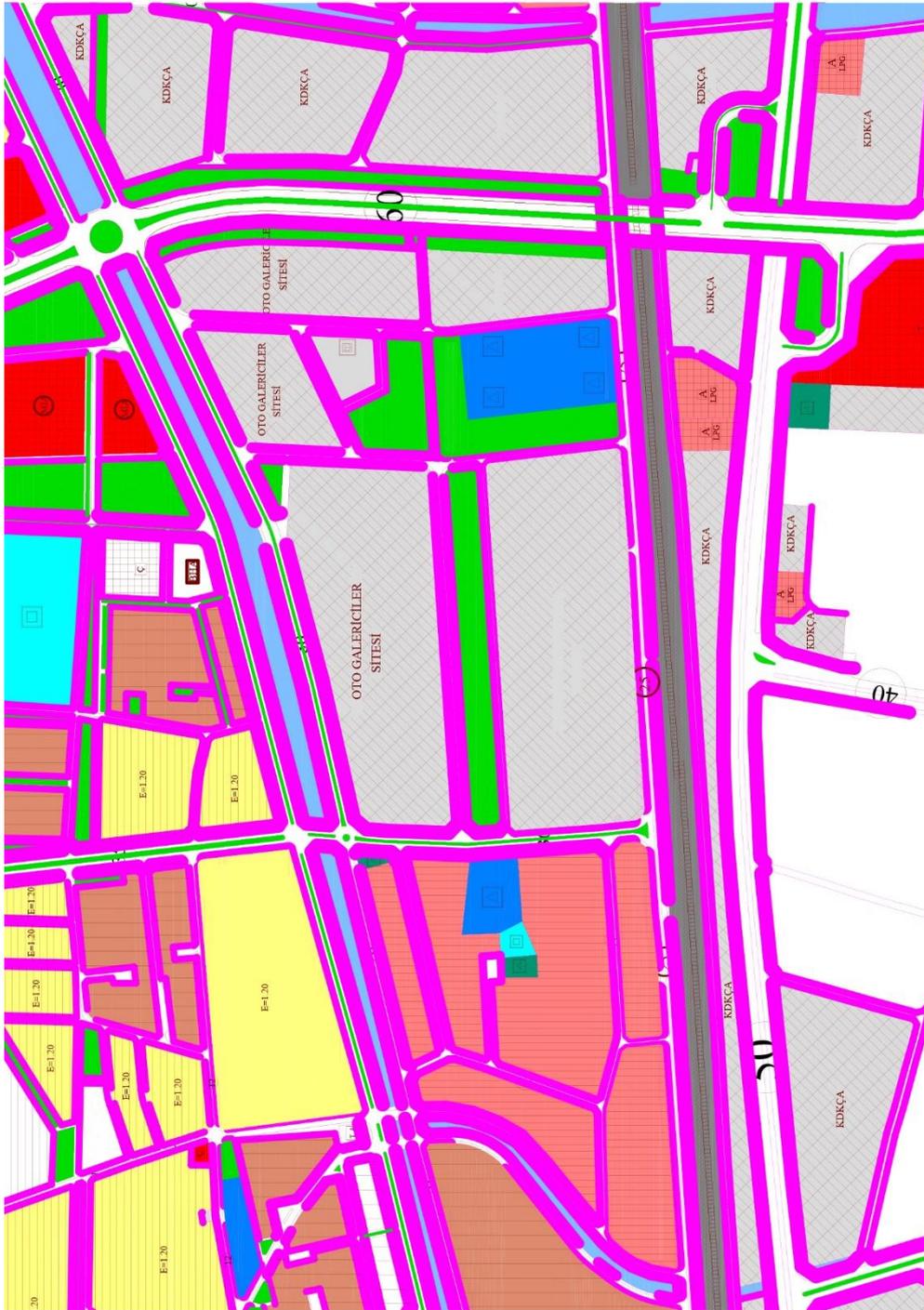


Figure A.7. Plot of Adana Brothel in Seyhan 1:5000 City Development Plan



Figure A.8. Zürafa Street Entrance Door complex (Source: Personal archive, 2020)



Figure A.9. Views from Tepecik Neighborhood (Yenişehir)¹⁵ complex (Source: Personal archive, 2021)



Figure A.10. Immediate surroundings of Tepecik Brothel (Yenişehir) complex
(Source: Personal archive, 2021)

¹⁵ Photographs of Adana and Izmir brothels were taken during the Covid-19 break, when the brothels were closed.

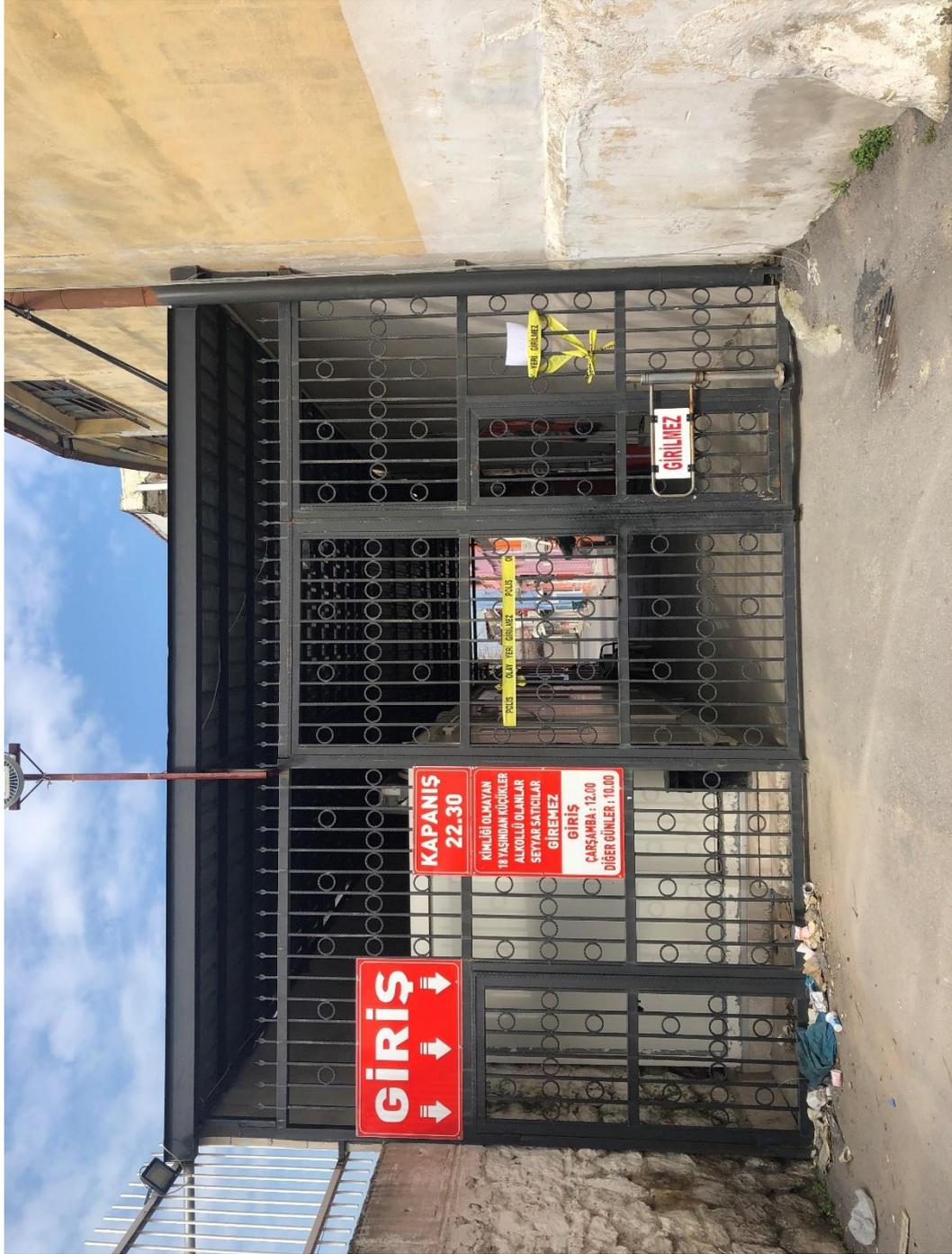


Figure A.11. Entrance of Tepecik Brothel complex (Source: Personal archive, 2021)



Figure A.12. Views from immediate surroundings of Adana Brothel complex
(Source: Personal archive, 2021)



Figure A.13. Entrance of Adana Brothel complex (Source: Personal archive, 2021)