THE REPUBLIC OF TURKEY
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MULTICULTURALISM IN TARLABAŞI

Master's Thesis

SARA GRANDIN

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THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF NATURAL AND APPLIED SCIENCES

MASTER OF ARCHITECTURE

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Supervisor: ASSOC. PROF. DR. NILAY ÜNSAL GÜLMEZ

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Name of the thesis: Multiculturalism in Tarlabaşı

Name/Last Name of the Student: Sara Grandin

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The thesis has been approved by the Graduate School of Natural and Applied Sciences.

<div align="right">

Assist. Prof. Yücel Batu SALMAN
Graduate School Director
Signature
</div>

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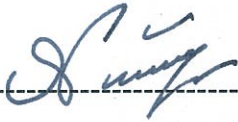
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Prof. Dr. Emine Özen EYÜCE
Program Coordinator
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Examining Committee Members   Signatures

Thesis Supervisor
Assoc. Prof. Dr. Nilay ÜNSAL GÜLMEZ   -------------------------

Member
Prof. Dr. Emine Özen EYÜCE   -------------------------

Member
Assoc. Prof. Dr. Murat ŞAHİN   -------------------------

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ABSTRACT

MULTICULTURALISM IN TARLABAŞI

Sara Grandin

Master of Architecture

Thesis Supervisor: Assoc. Prof. Dr. Nilay ÜNSAL GÜLMEZ

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Today, understanding multiculturalism became a critical issue; dealing with different cultures, different backgrounds and stories that are distinct from ours is necessary to be able to harmoniously cohabitate together and for social sustainability. However, multiculturalism should be dealt with, very delicately, to ensure human development, intercultural communications, and social cooperation. If not, lack of social cohesion and cultural understanding might lead to marginalism, violence, instability, insecurity and the failure of the social system. Those factors do not only affect social behavior, but also urban and physical ones. This thesis aims at analyzing multiculturalism and its social and spatial reflections in Tarlabaşı. Having overviewed the history of the neighborhood and examined the theoretical discussions on multiculturalism and marginality it utilizes ethnographic research methods to unveil the hidden stories of people and the neighborhood that are in suspense due to prolonged urban renewal attempts. Among others, the findings of the research mainly reveal how inhabitants of Tarlabaşı mark and mirror their own socio-economic presence in Tarlabaşı and how multiculturalism is floating in the air.

Keywords: Multiculturalism, Urban Enclaves, Marginalization, Tarlabaşı

ÖZET

TARLABAŞI'NDA ÇOKKÜLTÜRLÜLÜK

Sara Grandin

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Çokkültürlülük bugünün dünyasında giderek önem kazanan bir kavram olarak belirmektedir. Farklı kültürlere, geçmişlere sahip olanlarla ve onların hikayeleri ile ilgilenmek uyumlu bir biraradalık ve sosyal sürdürülebilirlik için elzemdir. Çokkültürlülük özenle yaklaşılması beklenen, kültürlerarası iletişimi, sosyal işbirliklerini ve kişisel gelişimi desteklemesi gereken bir konudur. Aksi takdirde sosyal uyum ve kültürel anlayış eksikliği marjinalleşmeye, şiddete, istikrarsızlığa, güvenlik zafiyetine ve sosyal sistemin çöküşüne neden olabilir. Bu etmenler sadece sosyal davranışları değil aynı zamanda kentsel ve fiziksel çevreyi de etkilerler. Bu tezin amacı Tarlabaşı'nda çokkültürlülüğün sosyal, mekansal yansımalarının izini sürmektir. Tarlabaşı semtinin tarihini, çokkültürlülük ve marjinalleşme kavramları üzerinden devam eden kuramsal tartışmaları irdeledikten sonra uzatmalı kentsel dönüşüm süreci nedeniyle askıda kalan mahallenin ve insanlarının saklı kalmış hikayelerini anlamak ve anlatmak için etnoğrafik araştırma yöntemlerinden yararlanır. Diğerinin yanısıra araştırma bulguları temelde Tarlabaşı sakinlerinin sosyo-ekonomik varoluşlarını mahalleye nasıl yansıttıklarını ve çokkültürlülüğün etnik ayrım temelinde semt mekanlarına kodlanmak yerine semtin genel atmosferine nasıl sindiğini ortaya koyar.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Çokkültürlülük, İçe-Kapanık Yerleşim Bölgeleri, Marjinalleşme, Tarlabaşı

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ABBREVIATIONS

ACE	:	Acknowledgment, Commemoration and Education Program
AKP	:	Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi (Justice and Development Party)
CSCE	:	Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe
EC	:	European Commission
EIGE	:	European Institute for Gender Equality
EU	:	European Union
IDEA	:	Institute of Development and Economic Alternatives
INED	:	National Institute of Demographic Studies
INSEE	:	National Institute of Statistics and Economic Studies
MCT	:	The Ministry of Culture and Tourism
MOST	:	Management of Social Transformations Program
OECD	:	The Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
UN	:	The United Nations
UNESCO	:	The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
USA	:	United States of America
WACOSS	:	Western Australia Council of Social Services

1. INTRODUCTION

When I was walking in the streets of Tarlabaşı, I had a weird feeling; people were looking at me in a very bizarre way; they were seeing a total outsider, someone who would not fit in. I later asked myself how come an area in the heart of Istanbul and parallel to Istanbul's most popular street "Istiklal Caddesi" could be as closed to itself and rejected as Tarlabaşı? I walked out with a feeling of insecurity and fear. It was to know later on, that Tarlabaşı was a whole other world, very much excluded to the outside environment. The area seemed to mark its importance because of the bus stop that serves many parts of Istanbul and which hundreds of passengers frequent every single day. It caught directly my attention of how crowded yet how unsecured the place was. I thought a dotted line draws itself invisibly between the main street and the streets of Tarlabaşı, creating a visible boundary between them. Then, "*I am not from Tarlabaşı, I am from Istanbul*" (see. Appendix-7) said a little girl in the streets of Tarlabaşı, when I asked her where she was from. It was curious to see how this innocent child excluded herself from the area and considered Tarlabaşı a whole new other, closed and sealed city. Why was this boundary created? What makes Tarlabaşı today, a city within a city? How Istanbul –known for its multiculturalism- neglects an area in the heart of the city? Many such questions come to mind when one's wandering in the streets of Beyoğlu, as a tourist, as a resident and as a local, like how did Tarlabaşı, next to the huge boulevard, known once as "la Grande Rue de Pera", turned today into one of Beyoğlu's most dangerous and derelict areas despite the renewal attempt started in 2006 and related vision of the authority who claimed the neighborhood future "Champs-Elysees" (Demircan, 2010).

Tarlabaşı, one of Istanbul's oldest neighborhoods has gone through several urban changes which explain her situation today. The wealth tax in 1942, impoverished many of the residents; As a result, they either left the country or were thrown in jail, leaving behind everything they owned. Then the rural migration in the early 50's led to dramatic demographic and socio-economic changes in Istanbul, and Tarlabaşı was one of the areas affected the most. Later on, during the implementation of the liberal policies in Turkey in the 1980s, Tarlabaşı was not taken into consideration and the whole area was left to rot. In accordance with the new urban plan in 1988, Tarlabaşı was definitely

detached from the urban fabric of the city with the construction of the new boulevard. Hence it is possible to say that throughout the history, Tarlabaşı has always been subject to many demographical, urban, social, cultural, and economic changes. Today, it is also undergoing a transformation process with the urban renewal plan inaugurated in 2006 called "Tarlabaşı 360" that would affect the silhouette and the entire spatial structure of the neighborhood.

In the present, the place is home to many Kurdish migrants, Romanis, Keldani people from Iraq, illegal migrants or asylum seekers from various African countries, Syrians who fled the war in 2011, transvestites and sex workers. The strategic location of the place seems to be one of the most beneficial reasons that attract migrants or low-income people that come to look for job opportunities in small, cheap, run-down apartments on the less popular side of the Boulevard. The dilapidated homes are serving as shelters for Istanbul's poorest, less fortunate classes and were known to harbor marginalized groups and others who lived on the fringes of society. After personal visits to the sites, it was staggering to see the living conditions of the residents; the housing is in a very bad conditions, very small and not well served, roads are not maintained, the neighborhood is very dirty, and there is no accessibility for disabled people and there are many more architectural and urban-related problems. Poverty, unemployment, low level of education, lack of access to basic municipal or state services such as infrastructure, security, and health, discrimination and marginalization are the main features that determine the position of Tarlabaşı residents in the wider society. The place built a reputation as a dangerous place where violence, drug issues, and prostitution is more visible than anywhere else in the city.

What also attracted my attention about the neighborhood is that the inhabitants seemed to not giving any efforts in changing the living conditions in the area, whether from a social, architectural or urban aspect. This lack of motivation might show that the "inhabitants" are not that attached to the area and do not consider Tarlabaşı a place where they could call "home". Tarlabaşı seem to become throughout the years a huge waiting room, where people come to pass and not settle down, they have this special feeling of suspended living or living on the edge. The feeling of home is not reflected, memories are faded or are being blocked until further notice. Hence, I thought it would be interesting to study how this space of marginality and all associated uncanny features

claimed before, are translated between the residents of various groups, what are the types of bonds (if exists) and relations between each other, the acceptance and tolerance or the decline of the "other" and how it is rejected, neglected and reflected on the architecture and the urban space.

1.1 AIM OF STUDY

In order for making a place, reasons and facts determine its current situation, environmental aspects, and public. Historical facts took action in creating a built environment that leads to the urban and social sphere that a space today is transformed into a "place". Tarlabaşı's history sure plays a major role in developing its current situation through time, known today as a place of violence, prostitution, poverty, safety instability and so forth.

At the initial phase, it would be needed to study the importance of urban planning and development through time, which defines at the present time the situation of the place-making. Tarlabaşı was not chosen by marginal communities by hazard, the place had a strong point, a commune target and aim, a historical background (as mentioned in the introduction) and a future perspective and prospect (Tarlabaşı 360) that attracted once people who "didn't fit in the image of the society" and people who wanted to hide from the state's panoptical surveillance. The present social and urban atmosphere, the broken bonds between the outside and the inside, between the local and the "other", between the "I belong" and the "I am a stranger" feelings are all words of social consequences, that derived from a certain urban reason that would be essential to study and analyze.

Secondly, as mentioned in the motivation part, the most peculiar aspect of Tarlabaşı at the present is its multicultural structure despite the ongoing renewal project aiming to upgrade the neighborhood. This leads to some questions as the focus of this research such as;

    a. How different people, from different backgrounds, ideologies, from different beliefs and traditions, are able to live in one place and how they respond to the neighborhood in terms of attachment

b. How the ongoing renewal project is received and responded by these groups? And what might be its potential effects in terms of multiculturalism and attachment?

I believe such questions are needed to be asked and answered in order to understand the place today and to be able to make estimations about the future of the neighborhood that goes through a limbo situation oscillating between the extremes of the old derelict part and the luxury renewal project.

Many hypotheses are possible; the study area and the research questions sure open up a wide range of interesting objective-related questions, which will only be answered with the help of background studies. The history of Tarlabaşı, which is a fundamental factor in the composition of the current situation of the place is to be studied. The new project implemented since 2006 is also an important attribute that defines the future of the whole area; whether it enlarged the social instability or created social resistance in the area. Such questions will lead us to our main interest; the feeling of belonging and the bonds created (if exists) between inhabitants and between the outside world.

Multiple questions arise connectedly such as how much the residents invest their feeling, time and effort, mentally and physically in the area? How do they feel in the area and what role has multiculturalism and marginality play in building the environment? What are the reasons that turned the place into a waiting room- if it did? It's essential to see how the solidarity mechanisms if exist works under such conditions and how it is reflected on the architectural characteristics of the area; a place where hopes and lives are suspended on the horizon, just like the laundry is suspended on ropes between the buildings of Tarlabaşı.

1.2   METHODOLOGY

In order to respond to the objectives of the thesis questions, a qualitative research will be held to help understand the present situation and to make projections for the future. As the initial phase of the research, I will conduct a literature review on the history of Tarlabaşı, and ongoing urban renewal process, in addition to multiculturalism and related subjects to gain an insight about the survey area and position my research among the related research literature.

The method of the survey could be manifested as ethnographic since I will make multiple personal visits to the selected survey area to understand the use of urban space and the social interaction among different groups. The research will be based on participant observation, short and friendly face-to-face interviews rather than long structured ones, and informal chats with different groups of people (gender, age, religion, background, ethnicity, financial status etc.). For Tarlabaşı case, ethnographic methods could help a better understanding of cultural differences and similarities and most importantly, the perspectives of current inhabitants towards each other, the built environment and the project implemented. It could be stimulating to listen to their stories, to study the interaction of the culture-sharing groups, to get familiarized with their situation and extract as much as possible feelings from them, emotions and memories and to analyze how their mental situation is verbally and visually translated into the physical space.

Some visual information will also be collected from the site such as photos of graffiti's, wall writings, videos to decipher the mutual interaction/demarcations between the inhabitants and the neighborhood.

1.3   SCOPE OF THE STUDY

After the introduction part, in the second chapter of the thesis, the history of Tarlabaşı that led to the present situation today will be studied. The importance and the consequences of urban planning decisions that paved the way for the rejection of a neighborhood and its effects on architectural, spatial, social, and economical built systems will be reviewed in this part.

The third chapter is the theoretical part, a literature review on different subjects which was conducted in the aim of building a solid theoretical framework to substantiate the research question. This chapter discusses both social and urban aspects to elaborate the connection between them and understand in what ways they are complementary. A study on multiculturalism and understanding the presence of multi-ethnic group in enclaves will be held. The main aim is to focus mainly on displaced people because this is the case of most of Tarlabaşı's residents. This aims to understand the socio-economic

status of ethnic groups within a host society. Later on, it will be necessary to understand how multiculturalism could lead to marginality and exclusion. It will aim at analyzing diverse cultures, human behavior, their attachment, and bond of tradition that complement self-wellbeing. It will focus on the acceptance of the other and the acknowledgment and recognition of different ethnic groups within a society. Therefore, a discussion on equal rights and opportunities that each holds, and that no one is considered unimportant and should not be neglected. Consecutively, a study on the laws and integration policies that were taken into consideration to increase social development and ease integration process will be presented. In the end, it aims at relating all the social factors with the urban one by explaining the space of settlement of multicultural groups. It also mentions types of urban enclaves, their location within the city and how they emerge and how they become knitted into the urban fabric and last but not least, the process of multiculturalism and its physical contribution and evidence in the place-making which does not only intend to be social, but it intends to be architectural, physical and spatial as well.

The fourth chapter will focus on a more personal scale, it will be more related to the inhabitants of Tarlabaşı, who made the place today, as it is, a heaven for some, and hell for others. People from all around the world came to live in this melting pot; a pot which collected different people from different backgrounds, different ethnics, different stories, and speaks different languages. Hence this chapter will search for the social and spatial reflections of multiculturalism in Tarlabaşı, the response of inhabitants (attachment) to the neighborhood and ongoing urban renewal project. Is Tarlabaşı really just a huge waiting room for some, is it a home for others? And most importantly, how is this situation translated into the spatial and architectural form? How can the social and mental state be translated into something concrete, something touchable and visible?

1.4   LIMITS OF THE STUDY

Despite the interesting and full filling parts of the ethnographic research, there are some disadvantages that occurred during the field study.

Firstly, one of the biggest limitations that affected the research study had been the language, first the Turkish language, and then, the language of the different groups of people in question. As Tarlabaşı, where the ethnographic research is based in, is a very multicultural field, it was more difficult to confront people who speak different languages in the interviews and small chats. Language had also been a limitation in data collecting; since I am not native n Turkish, in sense of accessing local journals, documentaries, books and research studies conducted in Turkish such as thesis studies and many others. Luckily, the research field is a very well-known case, which aroused international interest and there are many international publications.

The second limitation was the time that was not in favor of the research analysis. The ethnographic research needs a huge investment in time in order to collaborate with different groups of people in the target. It is based on observation, analytical perspective, and engagement with the people in question, which demands time and patience in order to obtain requested objectives.

At the very beginning, when I decided that my study case was Tarlabaşı, the field's reputation was ahead of itself; Tarlabaşı was not an area recommended to go alone (preferably to go with a male) and not after sunset or night time. This was also a limitation that affected the ethnographic research as I was not able to go whenever I wanted to and experienced the neighborhood after sunset, plus, I felt tied up with the friend asked to go with.

In ethnographic studies, it is hard to check the findings for reliability. The research concerns large groups of people, each with different stories which makes this study very interesting yet very challenging in terms of triangulation.

The last limitation I think is very personal, because the ethnographic research touches the emotional side of the researcher and the person in question and their relation to and bond with each other. The topic touches a very sensitive and delicate part; their feelings, emotions, and memories. Therefore, a special and open bond should be created in order to extract as much as information needed –without giving the feeling of invasion of

privacy and lack of trust. This is not always evident because generally, people try to present their selves in the most proper way and in a good light, which might also affect the reliability of the information provided and their interpretations. In the end, the most effective and challenging aspect of this study would be to initiate an honest, transparent and open dialogue, to share their daily struggle in this huge waiting room and its spatial reflections, to speak about their journey, to unveil their hidden hopes and to reveal their dreams about the future.

2. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND: TARLABAŞI, A FORGOTTEN LAND

In the second Chapter, a historical overview of the events, which drew Tarlabaşı's current socio-urban shape will be presented. In the first subchapter, an introduction about the importance of its location within the city will be analyzed which justifies why Tarlabaşı was a target place for radical changes throughout the years. In the second subchapter, it will be important to see how Tarlabaşı was born, and how it expanded from the 16th century to the 19th century, when the Ottoman Empire was ruling the area. Later on, with the proclamation of the Turkish Republic, a study of the political situation will be held, which could be one of the reasons that changed the social and urban status of the neighborhood. Then, with the rise of liberal policies in the mid 50's, Tarlabaşı was also a victim of many political events which led to the migration of many of its residents and ended up with the evacuation of the whole area creating a gap into the social and urban structure. Then, the migration of many ethnic groups to Istanbul, and especially to Tarlabaşı, will be discussed also on the fourth subchapter, to understand the current neighborhood's demographic fabric. Afterward, a presentation of one more urban challenge that might change the whole image of Tarlabaşı will be briefly presented; Tarlabaşı 360 project, along with a demographical analysis of the quarter. This chapter intends to set forth the aspects and challenges that Tarlabaşı had to face for years, to understand it, today.

2.1 INTRODUCING TARLABAŞI; HEART OF ISTANBUL

With its natural beauty, historical and archeological sites, a reflection of both western and eastern culture, Turkey has become one of the world's most popular touristic destinations. The most visited city in Turkey today is Istanbul, the city where Europe and Asia meet, known for its mysterious atmosphere and historical places. Istanbul succeeded to attract more than half of the foreign visitors that entered Turkey with 888.995 visitors, only in January 2018 (Çelik, The Ministry of Culture and Tourism Report 2018, p.4). The historic peninsula, the chic quarter of Nisantaşi and the busy Taksim square that gather inhabitants and foreigners around the city, mirror at the same time a magnificent history and a contemporary future; and Tarlabaşı is located at the center of all this (see figure 2.1).

Figure 2.1: Tarlabaşı; the heart of Istanbul

Tarlabaşı neighborhood is surrounded by the Dolapdere Street in the north, by a wide Boulevard, named after it, in the south, by Talimhane in the east and Kasimpasa in the west. Tarlabaşı Boulevard begins at the intersection of Taksim Square and Cumhuriyet Road, lies parallel to Istiklal Street and ends where Refik Saydam Road starts.

As seen in figure 2, Tarlabaşı is interconnected to Istiklal Avenue via Taksim square; the heart of a variety of attractions and among leader places when one thinks of charming Istanbul. Taksim square marks its importance by the number of, not only tourists but also the native population of Istanbul. Full of attractions, shopping hubs, hotels, restaurants, bars, clubs, coffee shops, open-air public events, social gatherings and many others, the square captivates thousands of visitors every single day (see figure 2.2).

The place has also been an important venue for political protests during much of its existence. This urban and social space, which became a landmark for the city, is connected by a long pedestrian artery and the cultural and entertainment street; *Istiklal Caddesi* which takes people to Beyoğlu's tunnel and Şişhane.

Figure 2.2: Tarlabaşı and its surrounding area
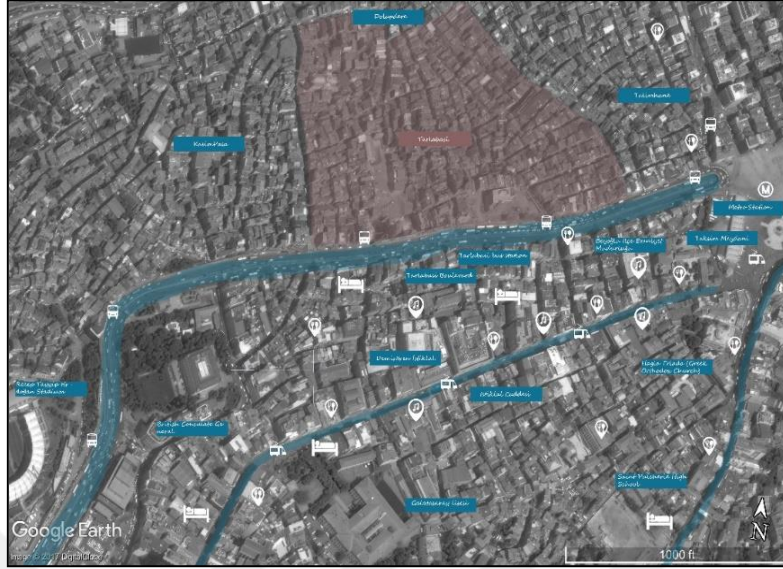
Tarlabaşı is divided into 8 quarters within Beyoğlu (which gather 45 administrative neighborhoods), all of them on the northern part of Istiklal Avenue: Sururi and Kamer Hatun quarter on the western side, Kalyoncu Kullugu and Cukur in the center, with Bostan on the northern side and Huseyn Aga on the southern axis and Bülbül and Sehit Muhtar on the eastern side (figure 2.3). Tarlabaşı forms a puzzled neighborhood with its narrow streets and embroidered and embellished urban fabric (Sakizlioğlu 2007).

Figure 2.3: Tarlabaşı quarters plan
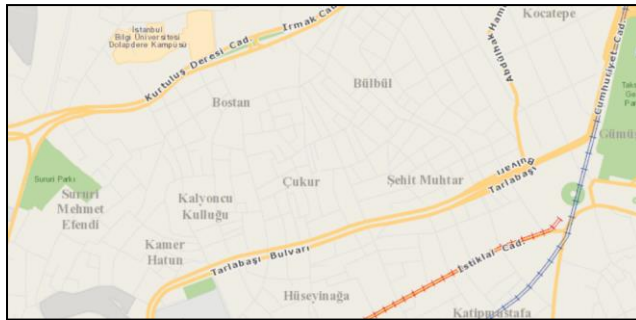
Due to the central role of Taksim Square and Istiklal Street, the whole neighborhood is very well served, transportation-wise, that eases its accessibility around the city. Buses, metro lines, finukuler, airport buses, small shuttles, and even a nostalgic tramway are

provided interconnected. Hence, Tarlabaşı is one of the main transportation hubs of the area with its grand boulevard axis. But how did and does the city manage this urbanization? Is the whole area treated equally, urban/social-wise? What do Beyoğlu, Taksim square, and Istiklal Avenue hide behind this image that they try to cover? Did the whole area (Beyoğlu) keep its history and how far could the nostalgic tramway of Istiklal Avenue really bring back history that was once written in Pera, the former name of the neighborhood?

To discuss these proposed issues could only be possible with understanding the events that occurred throughout history which turned Pera, into Beyoğlu today.

2.2 THE 16th - 19TH CENTURY; COMMERCIAL PERA

In the 16th century, Francois I of France (the first monarch to create diplomatic relations with the Ottoman Sultans), was the first to build an embassy in Pera. This westernization in the Ottoman capital led to a development of the area attaining a European atmosphere and urban fabric. After 1535, when the Ottomans started to host international representatives in consulates, Tarlabaşı became a residential settlement for diplomats. It became a turn of the century neighborhood, where bourgeois used to live, surrounded by elite small stores and chic cafes around consulates and built over several old Muslim cemeteries in the 17th century (Moraitis 2013). At the beginning of the 18th century, due to the growing population of Constantinople (Istanbul today), Tarlabaşı became the main trading center for consulates at that time. Consequently, the diplomats, the Levant and the non-Muslim workers, who were excluded far away from the historic center of the old City (once called the "Holy City"), started to reside and work to serve the area (See figure 2.4). Tarlabaşı became also home to many Jewish craftsmen, smaller merchants, Greeks, and Armenians, serving the diplomats residing around La Grande Rue de Pera[1].

Figure 2.4: Streets of Tarlabaşı in 1800
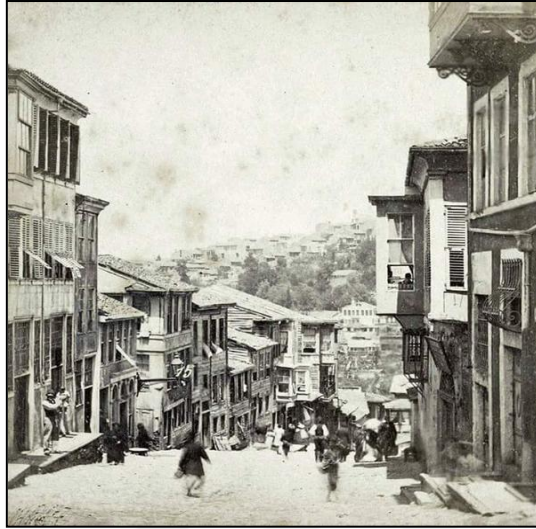
Tragically, on the 5th of June 1870, a major fire hit Pera which destroyed an important part of the neighborhood. Because of the wooden buildings, the great fire spread quickly and destroyed two-thirds of the quarter, burnt down many buildings and killed many people. Many hotels, entertainment centers, theaters, and embassies went up in flames. The British embassy (see figure 2.5 and 2.6), which was also a victim of the great fire of 1831, was also completely destroyed[2]. The London Times newspaper published on their front page the fire on June 7th, 1870:

> *News from Constantinople, dated June 6, states that a fearful fire broke out on the 5th in Pera, which was not got under for many hours. In consequence of a strong wind, the flames spread with alarming rapidity, and the English Embassy, and American and Portuguese Consulates, the Naoum Theatre, the Palace of the Armenian Patriarch, churches, mosques, and several houses and shops in the finest part of Pera were completely destroyed. Several persons were killed, and others wounded. The loss was immense.*

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[1] (URL: https://www.weloveist.com/history-of-Beyoğlu-from-pera-to-Beyoğlu/2)
[2] (URL: http://cityofistanbul.net/the-great-fire-of-pera-in-1870/).

Figure 2.5: The British Embassy before and after the great fire (Constantinople, 1862 and 1876)

Source: London News, 2 July 1876

This important event in Beyoğlu gave the municipality a great opportunity to play with the urban and architectural fabric to plan a whole new area, in order to give the place a new face and identity. Some "westernized" plans were followed during the period of "*Tanzimat*" reformation; the Grand Vizier Mustafa Reşid Paşa hired European planners to reorganize the burnt land of Pera (Çelik 1993).

The damaged parts were redesigned according to a geometric axis and rational gridding system, with repetitive masonry buildings to prevent further damages, and even with a town square. However, urban planners had to respect the extreme topography and the important masonry monuments that survived that fire such as mosques and churches. The unique spirit of the European architecture was noticeable; 3 or 4 story row and slim buildings, ranging from 50 to 100 square meters with a ground floor used as small shops or workshops, gathered around courtyards (figure 2.6 and 2.7) (Ünlü 2010).

Although the plot divisions were never actually drawn, with this heterogeneous pattern of ethnicity and planning, this urban planning change didn't stop Tarlabaşı to become the center of European urbanization (Honsa 2014).

Figure 2.6: Cadastral map of post-fire Tarlabaşı, 1904

*Source:*https://www.failedarchitecture.com/istanbuls-fading-metabolism/
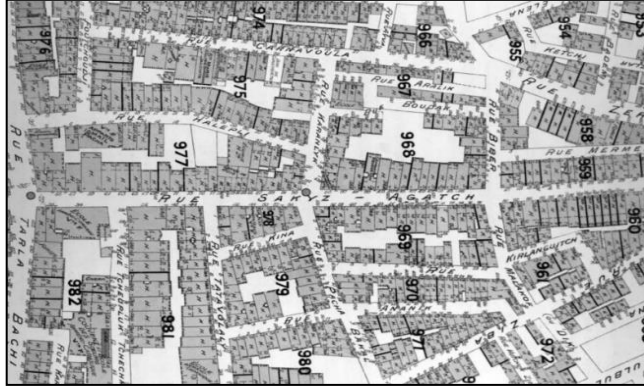
Figure 2.7: Tarlabasi, January 1907

*Source:*https://roomfordiplomacy.com/istanbul-pera-house-since1856/

2.3 BEWARE OF THE WEALTH TAX!

During the Second World War, the newly founded Republic of Turkey (1923) refused to enter the war and managed to stay outside by following a balanced policy (Bilgin 2014). However, they couldn't totally manage the economic crisis, impoverishment of the population and starvation. This led to a serious decrease in national production (Inci, 2012). After many attempts to regain economic and financial stability, the only way was to collect the excess money supply from the market.

Figure 2.8: The wealth tax statement

Figure 2.9: Non-Muslims auctioning off their furniture to pay for the tax

At that time, a "market anarchy" appeared; black market, bribery, and hoarding were intensifying the economic crisis and the inflation continued to rise, especially because of the war profiteers which were making a fortune during the Second World War (İnci 2012). In order to gain money from them, a tax was implemented for certain groups of people. In November 1942, the wealth tax (see figure 2.8) was established and was forced upon everyone who made extra-profit in the war. Additionally, another cause of Wealth Tax was "The sharp decline in imports and the diversion of large resources for

the maintenance of an army of more than one million...” (Owen and Pamuk 1998). According to Rıdvan Akar, a Turkish journalist, and author, the Wealth Tax was also used upon 26.000 poorest non-Muslim citizens who were drummers, employees, servants and drivers, but Muslim population should have paid less than minorities that drew their reaction.

Fundamentally, the reflection of Wealth Tax was mostly felt in Istanbul because there was %54 percentage of non-Muslim tax liable. Sakir Dincsahin and Stephen Goodwin claim that Turkey's strategy arose from constructivist interpretation towards Jewish people. The tax which was implemented upon certain people were divided into categories: the Muslims, the non-Muslims, the Apostate, and the foreigners[3]. Tarlabaşı inhabitants were all included, no exception whatsoever, for being non-Muslims. They only had 15 days (with 2 more weeks extension from the government) to pay an important percentage of their properties (see figure 2.9). Consequently, the inhabitants who were able to pay stayed, but many of them had to escape and flee Istanbul, leaving everything they owned behind them. In 1944, the wealth tax was abolished, collecting 317.5 million TL, 52% of the tax paid by Non-Muslims (Coşar 2003).

2.4 LIBERAL POLICIES IN TURKEY; ECONOMIC INSTABILITY

After the wealth tax, another event took place that aimed to weaken minorities' domination in the area, which undermined the demographic, economic and social stability. The *Istanbul Ekspres* (a local newspaper) and the Turkish state radio announced on the 6th of September 1955, that a bomb exploded in the memorial house of Kemal Ataturk in Thessaloniki, Greece (see figure 2.10). A few hours later, public demonstrations were organized by several groups of students. Riots started in Tarlabaşı by crashing houses, stoning shops' windows, harassing Greek people, looting their goods and stealing their properties (see figure 2.11). These attacks succeeded in "neutralizing" and weakening these ethnicity groups; as a result, most of the Greek community had to immigrate elsewhere or to return to Greece (Ilker 2015).

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[3] http://en.akademikperspektif.com/2014/10/27/wealth-tax/

Figure 2.10: The Istanbul Express front page, 6 September 1955

Figure 2.11: Riots in Tarlabasi 1955

This massive destruction of buildings, monuments, Greek churches, schools and other institutes, left Tarlabaşı abandoned and over-floating with deserted houses[4]. These "ghost" buildings of Tarlabaşı were later on rented to students and low-income workers. The place became later a destination of the rural-to urban migrants that moved from the eastern Anatolian side of Turkey in the 60's (see figure 2.12). Its important location to the center, the opportunities for inner-city squatting became the area's important one attraction feature. Those residential units, overpopulated and badly maintained, led to a

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[4] URL: https://www.weloveist.com/history-of-Beyoğlu-from-pera-to-Beyoğlu/2

fast deterioration due of excessive use and illegal rental practices (Tonbul 2011). As a result, Tarlabaşı had become a rootless place, where only memories of immigrants and building walls witnessed its history.

Figure 2.12: A Street in Tarlabasi in the 60's

Source:https://twitter.com/stanbulartevent/status/551160736500944896

In 1986, more than 350 buildings of Tarlabaşı (which 167 of them were registered as historical heritage) were demolished (Tongul 2011) to make way for the extension of a main artery of Istanbul's traffic and transportation system: Tarlabaşı 8-lane Boulevard. This process excellerated the expedition of the social, economic and physical decay of the area, and drew an important invisible barrier that excluded and separated Tarlabaşı neighborhood from the outside and wider connection; Taksim and Istiklal Avenue. This project intensified the "gettoization" and gave it a "slum" character (Göktürk, D., Tureli, I. & Soysal, L., 2010.)

In the 90's, Tarlabaşı faced another demographical change in addition with its low-income workers and students' residents. In the early 1990's, some Kurdish villages were damaged/destroyed in the south-eastern side of Turkey; consequently, Kurds had to leave and evacuate the areas in question (estimated to be 2 to 3 millions). Those internally displaced people found a place to hide, a tavern to escape panoptical surveillance and an impenetrable labyrinth: Tarlabaşı (see figure 2.13 and 2.14). A place which was quietly but quickly detaching from the social and urban structure of the surrounding environment.

Figure 2.13: Tarlabasi map before the extension (1986)
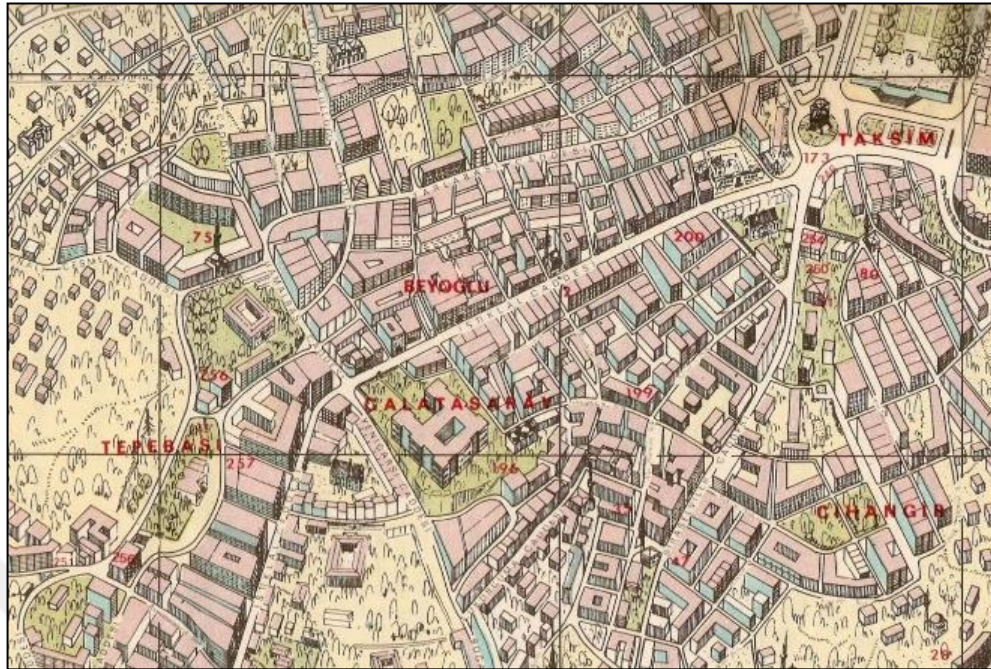
Figure 2.14: Tarlabasi during the Extension

2.5 PRIVATE CONSTRUCTION COMPANIES INVADING BEYOĞLU: "LET'S MAKE YOU PRETTY TARLABAŞI!"

When the new party became in power, AKP (Justice and Development Party) in 2002 and neo-liberal policies concerning urban decisions accelerated; many legislation laws have been enacted to ease urban renewal in Turkey. Because of Tarlabaşı's symbolic and economic potentials, the neighborhood was a main target for profit and investment projects. The promising vision to turn the area into the Turkish "Champs-Elysees" (Demircan, 2012), initiated the changing of, once again, the urban plan of the quarter. In 2006, the government and local municipality had successfully passed a legislation (known as law 5366), which accepted the demolition of many historical buildings that were under state protection since 1993 (figure 2.15). The new vision of the project aimed to turn this "rotten" and "unsuitable" neighborhood into a fancier and luxurious one (Saybasili). For this aim, Tarlabaşı has been declared as an urban renewal site, and to later be turned into a fancy complex that regrouped offices, residential blocks and commercial ones. GAP Inşaat, the private construction company that won the bid to design the project on April 7th 2007, promised to reconstruct the old facades of the buildings and making use of their nostalgic aspect while designing contemporary and modern units at the same time (figure 2.17 and figure 2.18). The project's reflections will be translated into a 9-block residential and commercial plots, expanding on a 20.000 square meters area[5] (figure 2.16).

Figure 2.15: Streets of Tarlabasi

Source: From Author, December (2017)

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[5] URL: http://www.taksim360.com.tr/en/blocks

Figure 2.16: Tarlabasi 360 Location

Figure 2.17: Before and After Elevations of Tarlabasi 360 Project

Figure 2.18: Tarlabasi 360 Main Elevation from Tarlabasi   Boulevard

Figure 2.19: Project Billboards on Tarlabasi Boulevard

Source: Tarlabaşı, Istanbul: *A case study of unsustainable urban transformation*, M. L. Turanalp Uysal1 & N. Korostoff, 2015.

It will be interesting to witness whether and how this urban intervention in the area, is transforming the identity and silhouette of the neighborhood in question. Surely, designing a fancier area might seem like a dream come true in order to upgrade the economic level for some parties especially decision-makers and developers (figure 2.19); but is Tarlabaşı going to have the same multiculturalist texture? Is Tarlabaşı a transfer stop or an "unhomely" house? How do the people of Tarlabaşı translate all of what they go through, every single day, into a visible and physical space?

3.   HEAVEN FOR SOME, HELL FOR OTHERS; MULTICULTURALISM AND MARGINALITY

The previous chapter of this research was mainly concerned about illustrating and highlighting the historical context of Tarlabaşı which depicts its demographic, social and urban structure today. In this chapter, a literature review on multiculturalism and marginal communities will be conducted to build a solid theoretical background to substantiate the research question. To reach a successful ethnographic research, it requires a better understanding of the group of people in question; their history, their circumstances, their reasons, their social status and their social bodies that structure their physical and mental space in the area. Hence, within the scope of the chapter first, there will be a study on multiculturalism, marginal and minority communities and culture. Later on, it will be fundamental to understand the impact of multiculturalism and related subjects on the social structure through the questions like how different parties handle this diversity (the social investment of the government and society towards marginal groups and vice-versa) in the socio-environmental sphere. Then, it would be crucial to understand the different stages, policies, and factors in relation to the politics of recognition and the integration process that could facilitate the social contribution and the relationships and bonds created. The first part will mostly rely on social studies, whereas the second part will focus on the urban texture. I will argue about the reasons and the consequences of multiculturalism and marginalism in urban enclaves which by them, we could manage to come to an understanding that might shed light on the research objectives and let us proceed with the ethnographic research, and case study implemented; the case of Tarlabaşı.

3.1   UNDERSTANDING MULTICULTURALISM, MINORITIES, AND MARGINAL COMMUNITIES

To understand multiculturalism, we need to understand the meaning of culture. What is culture? And what are the human behaviors that define this term? The English Anthropologist Edward B. Tylor in his book, Primitive Culture (1871) states that culture is "that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, law, morals, custom, and

any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society". However, traditions are "something that passed down from one generation to the next, generally by informant means, with little or no change in the transmission of an item or in the item that is transmitted" (Green, 1997). Culture and traditions are both complimentary, tradition is an ideological aspect that derives from the culture itself and passes by individuals, a group of people from a certain society. This process justifies why we behave in a different way, we exercise our daily social custom depending on the place we grew up in, the social environment that surrounds us and on the inherited pattern of thoughts, traditions, and lifestyle which grows within us. One of Merriam-Webster's definition of culture is "the customary beliefs, social forms, and material traits of a racial, religious, or social group; also the characteristic features of everyday existence (such as diversions or a way of life) shared by people in a place or time[6]".

There are more than a single definition of the term multiculturalism. According to Collins English Dictionary, multiculturalism is "a situation in which all the different cultural or racial groups in a society have equal rights and opportunities, and none is ignored or regarded as unimportant". In another, the term multiculturalism is also referred as a presence of, or support for the presence of, several distinct cultural or ethnic groups within a society (Oxford English dictionary). The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy notes that "it is a body of thought in political philosophy about the proper way to respond to cultural and religious diversity", which means that it's more than accepting different ethnic groups within a larger scale in the society, but also to treat them as equal citizens. Multiculturalism has been described as a "salad bowl" and "cultural mosaic" in contrast to a melting pot (Burgess 2005). Some theorists argue for tolerating minority groups by leaving them free of state interference (Kukathas 1995, 2003), when others argue that what should be done is to recognize and accommodate minorities group practices through what Will Kymlicka (1995) calls "group-differentiated rights".

Multiculturalism has been used as an umbrella term to characterize the moral and political claims of a wide range of marginalized groups, including African Americans, women, LGBT people, and people with disabilities (Glazer 1997, Hollinger 1995, Taylor 1992). It is an idea which promotes marginal communities within the society and

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[6] https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/culture

aims to balance social sustainability and create a social bond. Those marginal communities could be defined as a group of religious and ethnic minorities (like Latinos and black people in the US, Roma in parts of Europe and Muslims in Western Europe…). But who are really the minority groups? And what is the difference between marginal and minority groups?

According to the United Nations Development Program Resource Guide and Toolkit and the European Institute for Gender Equality; both terms have the same concepts, minority and marginal groups are both terminologies that define a group of people with personal characteristics that differentiate them from the dominating/all-powerful majority such as gender, ethnicity, religion or beliefs, language, financial status, and disabilities. They could be groups of people with different sexual orientations such as lesbians, gays, transsexuals and bisexuals, drug dealers and so on (McDougall 2010). They could also face inequality in terms of access to rights and use of services and goods such as education, employment, health and housing assistance and protection (European Institute for Gender Equality brief report, 2017). The only difference between them is that marginality could be referred to as social exclusion. Marginalized groups face systematic disadvantages in their interactions with dominant social, political and economic institutions[7]. It means that they face discrimination and live on the fringe of the society. One person cannot constitute a minority but can be a marginal, excluded and an "outsider" wo/man (Baczko 1978). Therefore, minorities are not necessarily marginal, they could be very much integrated and have access to basic socio-economic needs, despite their socio-cultural differences. However, if we combine those two terms, we could define a group of individuals, which not only constitute a small fraction of the society but also excluded, segregated and disadvantaged ones from the wider society.

Of course, the degree of exclusion depends on the scale of integration both from the society towards them and them towards the society and their implications in the social understanding, as to be discussed later in this chapter. Generally, minorities are the ones who face many and different situations; they are constantly targeted for being "weak", face long-standing discrimination, drug misuse, unemployment, teenage pregnancy, homelessness sometimes even violence. Minority groups are often poorly represented, excluded, disadvantaged; they are limited in terms of employment and education

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[7] https://www.ideaspak.org/our-research/social-exclusion-and-marginalization

accessibility, expressing themselves and sharing their own identity. They have little control in political structures and decision making bodies and their voices are rarely heard (which will be discussed and proven in the oncoming chapters), which makes decision-makers easier to "neglect them" (UNDESA 2009). Marginal communities are left at the bottom of the social hierarchy and sometimes find it hard to "upgrade" their position for many reasons that will be stated later. As a consequence, this injustice towards them leads to many social and integration problems, increases stress and prevents social collaboration and widens relationship distances on the social scale. Later in the chapter, I will discuss in what ways marginal communities and minority groups could bring benefit in the society, but also may intensify social discrimination and anxiety within a social structure. It will help to have a better perspective on the "Tarlabaşıans" and position them within the theoretical frame of 'multiculturalism' and 'marginality'.

3.2 MULTICULTURALISM AND ITS CONTRIBUTION TO THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE

With the increase of globalization, migration, and immigration, decolonization, the collapse of communist regimes, the independence of countries, the term cultural diversity has become more common (Inglis 1996). As humans, belonging to a certain place, we might face every day "incomers", people who do not necessarily share our culture, traditions, ideas, and stories. I believe that we shall always bear in mind the possibilities of different yet novel perspectives. I personally call myself an immigrant and even an "incomer" to the wider society in Turkey. Since 2011; I meet new people every day, share their ideas their stories and in return, they are always present to hear mine, and in a way, this thesis is also a way of negotiating with a new place, making a place and understanding a range of possibilities in a wider community not limited to a specific group.

For those reasons, in the following part, I will discuss the policies which promote the participation of ethnic and cultural minority groups and their integration which are becoming more and more important to better understand the diversity of human lives. In

Bikhu Parekh's book titled Rethinking Multiculturalism: Cultural Diversity and Political Theory (2000), he defines such a policy as:

> *"Not only a political doctrine or a philosophical issue, but actually a perspective on a way of viewing human life. Increasing cultural diversity focuses on the promotion of rights for different religion and cultural groups. The rights for cultural groups from basis for multiculturalism".*

Therefore, multiculturalism has always been a social development to a better understanding of human habits around the world, sharing different cultures, different ideologies, and beliefs. It would be very important to shed a light on the necessity of recognition of social differences which might lead to socio-economic problems that could occur if those policies are not applied. Hence, I will study the impact of not only socio-politic but also architectural and urban problems in the society in the context of the politics of recognition. Understanding those issues might help us acknowledge marginal minorities' revelation in the first place, and whether disengagement contributed in forming and creating this unequal situation that marginal minorities live in.

3.3 MULTICULTURALISM AND POLITICS OF RECOGNITION

The growing international recognition of ethnic diversity is very much needed in order for people to understand who they are, and the fundamental characteristics that define them as a human being. The absence of our self-recognition can create a real damage and distortion and can lead to a total loss, self-rejection, and oppression of individuality (Taylor 1994). According to Taylor, recognition is an indispensable means of understanding and justifying the demands of identity movements, which have had a major impact on society, particularly from the 1960's onwards[8]. The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy defines recognition as a way to bear obligations to treat an individual in a certain way, which means that the person in question should recognize a

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[8] https://www.iep.utm.edu/recog_sp/

specific normative statue of the other person as a free and equal human being, not inferior due to their social and economic status[9].

The aim of recognizing individuals is to illuminate different new social movements recently rising and the psychological mechanism of social and political resistance. It is to fight for an affirmation of their own identities, to implement themselves more in a new form of politics, sometimes called "politics of difference" or "identity politics" (Iser 2008). Hence, it is important to own freedom and sense of self; in order to understand our self as an independent self-consciousness, which requires the recognition of other like Hegel explains. In his book, The Phenomenology of Spirit, Hegel (1807, p.179) argues that 'Self-consciousness exists in itself and for itself, in that, and by the fact that it exists for another self-consciousness; that is to say, it is only by being acknowledged or "recognized"', which means that one must recognize oneself as mediated through the other (Iser 2008). Sartre proves Hegel's theory by stating that 'The road of interiority passes through the other' (Sartre 1943 p.236). However, identity cannot be generated alone, it is by interpretation of "significant other" through which we formulate this identity. Inferiority, lack of recognition as individuals and low self-esteem grew up mostly in victims of racism and colonialism, who suffered psychological harm (Fanon 1952). Recognition is then not a choice, but rather a "vital human need" (Taylor 1992). In order to prevent the feeling of ethnic-based inferiority, the ideology of an integration policy is aiming to reduce such social conflict (Baubock 1995).

The founders of the United Nations aimed to protect ethnic minorities in the aftermath of the 2nd world and the cold war, including the Jews, the Greeks, the gypsies and many other marginal minorities who faced genocide, in order to ensure peace, development, and respect for human rights (Inglis 1996). The UN created many instruments for non-discrimination, rights of minorities and indigenous people such as the Universal Declaration on Human Rights, International Convention on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, The Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide and many others (The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization –UNESCO- Human Rights Mar International Instruments Status 1996). Those systems aimed at emphasizing the importance of culture and cultural rights,

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[9] https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/recognition/

which the constitution of UNESCO refers to as "fruitful diversity of cultures", where this comparison is also similar to Burgess's (2005) "salad bowl" in subchapter 3.1. For example, article 27 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (1966), which promotes cultural rights, is crucial for self-dignity and free development of personality. The article states that;

"In those states in which ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities exist, persons belonging to such minorities should not be denied the rights, in community with the other members of their group, to enjoy their own culture, to profess and practice their own religion, or to use their own language" Article 27 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights 1966.

Developing and executing each one's culture then has not only become a need but mostly a must, as said previously.

However, practicing culture may not be sufficient to accomplish homogeneity for recognition within the social structure. To facilitate integration process, in 1992, the Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities, extended the rights to also include the rights of groups in question to participate in the cultural and public life of the wider community. It also gave them the opportunity and the right to become decision-making bodies, to monitor their own institutions without any discrimination from other groups (MOST 1995). Many other international organizations accepted the idea and pioneered giving more rights to minorities such as the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE) and the Council of Europe (CoE Report, 1995). These rights emphasize recognition and minorities' self-affirmation in the political, social and economic sphere in developing their status within the society.

Many countries in the world deal with ethnic marginal communities in different ways by creating integration policies to avoid ethnic conflicts, and a variety of political systems were implemented. For example in the 1994 election of the Republic of South Africa, the replacement of a white government with a multi-racial government of national unity, which was led by Nelson Mandela, was a prove or a major ethnic change and a recognition policy which promoted minorities, and those who were politically repressed, which showed how "South Africa defied the logic of their past, and broke all

the rules of political theory, to forge a powerful spirit of unity from a shattered nation"
(Magubane 1995 p.3).

In 1994, only 10 to 15% of worldwide countries can reasonably be described as
ethnically homogeneous (Connor 1994; Varyinen 1994). Western Europe countries
have become the *de facto* countries for ethnic diversity, due to immigrant's attraction
for diverse reasons such as employment, education, and better life conditions (Hugo
2005). Following the Second World War, some western countries invited guest-workers
such as Germany who became the first destination for Turkish guest-workers in the
mid-1960. In the 70's, Germany, Switzerland and other European countries were an
important target for "guest-worker labor" (Inglis 1996). In 1993, Germany hosted
181.000 workers coming from Central and Eastern Europe; there were 72.000 in
Switzerland, 16.000 in Austria and 11.000 in France (The Organization for Economic
Co-operation and Development 1995). In 1995, 1.9 million of Germany's population
was Turkish (OECD 1995) who still don't have the German citizenship, despite many
attempts to facilitate access to nationality (Inglis 1996).

France, for example, deals with ethnic diversity with an assimilationist model, which is
a model based on the policy of assimilating different racial or cultural groups (I.
Bloemraad, A. Korteweg and G. Yurdakul 2008) by the Jacobin, Friends of Freedom
and Equality's ideology of the French revolution. Nationality and integration became
easier when some laws were applied such as; giving the nationality if a newborn had
French-born parents, enacted in 1889 just after the French revolution, or the law of
naturalization after 5 years of residency in the country in question[10]. According to the
French Constitution, "France shall be an indivisible, secular, democratic and social
Republic. It shall ensure the equality of all citizens before the law, without distinction of
origin, race or religion. It shall respect all beliefs. It shall be organized on a
decentralized basis". This process of naturalization basically for minorities is a social
procedure which encourages groups in question to integrate and is also a form of
recognition. Only in 1993, 60.000 people were nationalized as French citizens (OECD
1995). In France, the law of July 1, 1901, relating to the contract of association, allows
minorities to establish the development of cultures and languages to which they are

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[10] http://www.vie-publique.fr/decouverte-institutions/citoyen/citoyennete/citoyen-france/comment-
devient-on-citoyen-francais.htm

attached to (Giordan 1992). Therefore, some social ethnic-based conflicts could be diminished with the feeling of integration, recognition, and belonging of indigenous groups of individuals and promote them as managerial bodies. This dealing of integration and identification of different cultural bodies is hard to see in many countries yet, based on ius sanguinis; the principle that a person's nationality at birth is the same as that of his or her natural parents[11]. This might limit their access to basic rights as wanted to be citizens and might also distant the process of integration and recognition and create social heterogeneity in the nation (Inglis 1996).

3.4 MARGINAL COMMUNITIES LIVING IN URBAN ENCLAVES

Politically speaking aside, in order to understand marginal community's and minority's social and urban position within the city, a definition of ethnic enclave is needed. The Oxford dictionary defines ethnic enclave as a large neighborhood or a large territory whose population is largely ethnically distinguished from the surrounding area. The term can also be defined as "neighborhoods or sections of a community whose key institutions and business enterprises are owned and operated by members of ethnic group clustered together" (Jaret 1991). They are where ethnic concentrations operate as a social and economic complex within a geographic boundary regardless of segregation (Li 2006). The term ethnic enclave first emerged in the sociological literature in 1967 (Hanna and Hanna 1967). However, the theoretical concept was developed to better understand the labor market experiences of marginalized workers, particularly immigrants (Portes and Bach 1985; Portes and Manning 1988; Portes and Stepick 1985). The term is usually used to refer to either a residential area or a workspace with a high concentration of ethnic firms (Portes and Jensen 1992). This theoretical concept of social capital and the formation of migrants' and immigrants' networks creates the social roots of ethnic enclave. Douglas Manney describes how migrants' network provide new immigrants with social capital that can be transferred to other tangible forms (Douglas 1990). When these new "incomers" tend to cluster in close fragmented geographical spaces, they develop a special and spatial network.

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[11] https://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/jus-sanguinis

The origin of the ethnic enclave concept can be traced to the segmented labor market perspective (Sandres and Nee, 1987), which is an extension of dual economy[12] theory (Averitt, 1968; Galbraith, 1971). In advanced capitalist societies, the labor market is segmented into two labor markets (Edwards 1975; Gordon 1972). Primary labors are characterized by stable working conditions, scarce skill specifications, internal labor markets and high returns to human capital investments for workers. However, the secondary labor markets are characterized by high turnover rates, low wages, low skills, lack of opportunities for promotion and lower return to human capital (Sills 1968). Given that advanced capitalism requires the continual flow of low wages and relatively unskilled labor to fill the undesirable jobs (Buroway 1976; Sassen-Koob 1978), consequently, minorities, women, immigrants and migrants are disproportionately clustered in secondary labor markets (Light, and Gold 2000; Sanders and Nee, 1987).

Nonetheless, the character of the term 'enclave' had changed a lot; since such groups revolved from place to place in central cities and in suburban sites, those enclaves have developed demographically (Liu and Geron 2008). We can distinct 4 types of enclaves according to their chronological appearance; the first one is the traditional one which refer to the neighborhoods that appeared before the World War II by Chinese, Japanese and Pilipino immigrants. Due to the discrimination and segregation, those minorities were obliged to displace themselves into urban ethnic enclaves. They created their own institutions and their own labor market (Pascual 1996). Those ethnic enclaves were ways to protect and survive their culture and exercise their own traditions; it is a method to defend their own cultural extinction and facilitate their socio-economic connection with the host community. Chinatowns, Japan towns, little Bangladesh and little Italy are current examples of that form of enclave (Liu and Geron 2008). All of these neighborhoods flourish with a unique cultural ambiance and economic networks. These ethnic enclaves become a living memory and a physical evidence of the community's roots, as well as transition space for new arrivals (Chaiwat 2005). This transition and conceptual ideology will be later discussed in the upcoming chapter and will be linked in with the memories of displaced migrants and immigrants in Tarlabaşı, and how, on

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[12] A dual economy refers to the existence of two distinct types of economic segments within an economy. This involves: 1- A capitalist based manufacturing sector (geared towards global markets). 2- Labor intensive agricultural sector (low productivity, geared towards subsistence farming or local markets) (https://www.economicshelp.org/blog/10024/development/dual-economy/).

their turn, transfer and translate their own existence and their own space into a physical place, alongside with their recognition and their integration into the wider social community. Second, in 1945, satellite enclaves began to rise due to the flow of large numbers of immigrants to urban centers. The traditional enclaves were already very populated, therefore, those satellite enclaves were a solution to respond to a large number of incoming population, providing residential space and easy access to the traditional ones for goods and services (Liu and Geron 2008). New enclave is the third type of economic enclave to serve new immigrants and refugees. Ethnic entrepreneurs first created stores in which facilitate access to services as well to the ethnic community. For example, Koreans and refugees from southeast-Asia have all built new enclaves like little India and little Saigon, both in California (Liu and Geron 2008).

This type of enclave corresponds to what is happening now in some parts in Istanbul; Syrians have established a commercial activity in certain districts of Fatih recently known as little Syria or little "Damascus". The last type of ethnic enclave is the ethnoburbs which are suburban ethnic clusters of residential areas and business districts in large metropolitan areas. The context of ethnoburbs combines a strong ethnic economy, with strong ties to the global economy. Ethnoburbs are also multiethnic communities, in which an ethnic minority group has an important concentration, but not necessarily a majority (Li 1998). This literature research on ethnic enclaves gives a comprehensive definition of a space with ethnical characteristics. However, can we really define Tarlabaşı as an ethnic enclave or how can we position it? What is the difference between ethnic enclave and ghetto? Which one of them is more related to the case study? What is the main factor that differentiates them?

Like in the case of minority and marginality, where one refers to a group of people who are not necessarily excluded, the difference between ghettos and enclaves is theoretically similar, enclave refers to a place which is also not necessarily excluded, and ghetto is in fact, a "marginalized" place; however, ghetto has connotations about crime, it has a lack of security, a feeling of fear with a negative reputation. Nonetheless, they both refer to an area where ethnic groups form a kind of cultural identity or environment. The conceptual definition of ghetto is a part of a city in which members of a minority group live, typically as a result of social, legal, or economic pressure[13]. The

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[13] https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/ghetto

Cambridge dictionary defines ghetto as "an area of a city, especially a very poor area, where people of a particular race or religion live closely together and apart from other people". The etymological root of ghetto comes from the 1610's which meant "a part of a city in which Jews are compelled to live", more specifically in Venice, Italy[14]. Therefore, the term designated racial segregation and excluding a specific segment of a population, which is kind of related to the ghetto's implications in the present time. Thus, ethnic enclave doesn't necessarily mean an area where crime occurs and poverty reigns; but rather a space of cultural diversity, where people share a certain tradition, culture, language, history in the host community. The systematic study of those terms might help us categorize later in the chapter the social position of the case study in question and shed a light on different types of immigrants, migrants, and incomers' settlements. Shall we call Tarlabaşı an ethnic enclave or a ghetto? Could it be an ethnic ghetto? Where do the "Tarlabaşıans" stand within those social and urban terms in the metropolis? This literature research on multiculturalism, marginal communities and minorities, ethnic enclaves and ghettoization will be useful to analyze the mechanism by which the Tarlabaşı community functions socially as well as economically and how they have been able to translate their mental existence into a physical environment to be discussed later along with their interactions/limits within the outer city.

3.4.1 Marginal communities: A question of social sustainability

As we have seen before, the term marginal is a conceptual idea that emerges mostly from a certain social reaction and impression from the wider society towards people in question.

After giving a brief introduction about laws created which aim to protect ethnic groups from discrimination and marginalism, and giving them more access to their rights as displaced or immigrants, it shall be important to understand today, how countries tend to deal with those ethnic groups and minorities. This will be necessary to understand how laws, and countries, tend to help them in terms of social sustainability and integration while keeping their own cultural identity or in contrary, intensify the feeling of social exclusion and widens the gap between those "others" and "inhabitants". As a

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[14] https://www.etymonline.com/word/ghetto

result of this investigation, we might be able to reveal and understand in what ways those marginal groups translate their existence and implement their social stamps into their own physical and architectural space.

According to the Western Australia Council of Social Services (WACOSS), McKenzie in his Working Paper Series (2004, p.18) explains that social sustainability:

> *"Occurs when the formal and informal processes, systems, structures and relationships actively support the capacity of current and future generations to create healthy and livable communities. Socially sustainable communities are equitable, diverse, connected and democratic and provide a good quality of life"*

Another definition of social sustainability is:

> *"A process for creating sustainable successful places that promote wellbeing, by understanding what people need from the places they live and work. Social sustainability combines the design of the physical realm with the design of the social world – infrastructure to support social and cultural life, social amenities, systems for citizen engagement, and space for people and places to evolve[15]".*

The online business dictionary defines it as the ability of a community to develop processes and structures which not only meet the needs of its current members but also support the ability of future generations to maintain a healthy community[16]. All these definitions refer to a socio-political mechanism that promotes a socio-environmental "rules" to follow with the involvement of the government to achieve good social based standards. However, are these rules implied everywhere? How can we deal with social sustainability? To what extent could we achieve social satisfaction towards different minorities and ethnic groups?

In order for social sustainability to reach its goals, important connections must be developed by the use of employment and promoting integration by social events, which also could be created when job opportunities are given to those in question. According to the United Nations, social sustainability is about identifying and managing business

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[15] Social Life, a United Kingdom based social enterprise specializing in place based innovation (http://esg.adec-innovations.com/about-us/faqs/what-is-social-sustainability/)
[16] http://www.businessdictionary.com/definition/social-sustainability.html

impact both positive and negative, on people. The UN's Global Compact principles argue on those social dimensions of corporate sustainability, of which human rights is the cornerstone. Ms. Lila Karbanni, the chief of programs in the UN, states that:

> *"Our work on social sustainability also covers the human rights of specific groups; labor, women's empowerment and, gender equality, children, indigenous people, people with disabilities, as well as people-centered approaches to business impacts on poverty [...] While it is the primary duty of governments to protect, respect, fulfill and progressively realize human rights, businesses can and should, do their parts. At a minimum, we expect businesses to undertake due diligence to avoid harming human rights and to address any adverse impacts on human rights that may be related to their activities"*[17].

As mentioned before, the United Nations identifies indigenous people, education, and human rights among the most important social issues that exist; many of those indigenous people have suffered abuse, discrimination, and marginalization. The International Labor Organization defines indigenous people as a group of people who suffer from economic and political marginalization as minority groups (Henriksen 2008). As a result, many indigenous people live in poverty. Their cultures, languages and live hoods are threatened. They are socially and politically weak to the impacts of commercial development and business activities. Indigenous people can socially and economically contribute to their knowledge. When business treats indigenous with understanding and respect, they are more likely to obtain and maintain their social license to operate[18]. However, diverse countries have different responses towards indigenous people and treat those groups with different policies. Countries which give grants to multi-cultural ethnicities and indigenous groups of people, and which give them rights, tend to perceive those as a contribution to social sustainability.

The topic of social sustainability is a very large topic that is difficult to abort in this literature research. However, understanding social sustainability and the social and economic contribution of those marginal groups could help us understand how ethnic groups form their position within the hosted society, as it is a relationship that is built

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[17] https://www.unglobalcompact.org/what-is-gc/our-work/social
[18] https://www.unglobalcompact.org/what-is-gc/our-work/social/indigenous-people

between the inhabitants/government and the others. Understanding this relationship between the ones who control the flow of the society and the weaker part of the society can help to shed light on the situation of our case study. The fact is that the way country policies tend to behave towards ethnic groups is the key to how they are implemented within the social environment. Countries which perceive ethnic groups as an advantage to the social sustainability tend to encourage multiculturalism. Whereas, some parties tend to push them further and further, creating those social barriers and growing the gap between the "haves" and the "have-nots". How marginal groups contribute to the social structure and how countries see them is in fact very dependent; what I mean is that, when those ethnic groups are perceived as a grant to the society, they tend to invest more in participating and being productive within the society, which might decrease poverty, lack of education, violence, ignorance, increase children education, respect gender rights and so on. Whenever someone is treated as if he or she is at "home", it becomes a relief, comfort and gives the sense of a serene place to be. The discussion on feeling at home/ homecoming will lead to the next subchapter (3.4.2 Marginal communities: place-making and architectural imprints) which we will discuss later in the research, to better understand the place-making practices and the nostalgic sense of displaced/ethnic groups' memories. How truly "serene" are countries towards ethnic groups? How do governments treat ethnic groups and how do they deal with large numbers of minorities? And most importantly, how thick is the boundary that separates the term "minority" from the "marginal", in the hosted countries? Many countries adopt different policies towards ethnic groups and deals with them in different manners.

For example, Canada has been a country hosting different kinds of ethnicities, with its historical context of settlement and colonization, which resulted in a multicultural society (Dewing 2009). In Wayland's article (1997) titled *Immigration, multiculturalism and national identity in Canada*, the author argues about the historical circumstances and development that played a role in forming the social identity of Canada. Canada's policies sure reflect an open vision vis-à-vis of ethnic minorities and multicultural groups. The multiculturalism policy in 1971 that emerged under the Canadian Prime Minister, Pierre Trudeau shows great acceptance of multiculturalism in the Canadian policy which promotes equity and equality towards diverse minor ethnic groups and indigenous people. In his new policy, Prime Minister Trudeau stated that:

"The government will support and encourage the various cultures and ethnic groups that give structure and vitality to our society. They will be encouraged to share their cultural expression and values with other Canadians and so contribute to a richer life for all of us" (Multicultural Policy: Statement to House of Commons, Ottawa (1971).

This statement surely strengthens ties and bonds between different social groups whether they "belong" or they don't. The multi-ethnic integration process and its contribution to social sustainability emerged in the 70's and 80's through the Multicultural Act of 1988 and section 27 of the Canadian Charter of rights and freedom (Kobayashi, 1983).

As a result of different historical and political changes through history, Canada became, along with Australia and Sweden, one of the three officially multicultural countries in the world, bringing up the model of a Multicultural society within a bilingual framework (Wayland, 1997). By 2017, 7.6 Million immigrants are expected to be in Canada, which represents 22% of the total population (Harvey 2006). In 2011, immigration was the primary source for labor growth, with approximately 90% of immigrants belonging to visible[19] and/or religious minorities (Dib 2006). Canadian Policy horizons organization, governed by the Deputy Minister's steering committee stated that those newcomers were expected to be a major source of Canada's human capital by 2017 and would add to the "Challenge of building (and retaining) a workforce qualified to perform in a knowledge economy" which will contribute to the economic growth and prosperity of Canada (Berger, Motte and Parkin 2007). Therefore, Canada's feeling towards ethnic groups is not seen as a load but as much as an attribute to the country's economy.

Following the Canadian Multiculturalism Act of 1988, the Canadian government kept investing in several policies which aimed to promote multiculturalism and follow the Canadian integration policy towards ethnic groups. The secretary of State for multiculturalism announced in 1997, an upgraded program that targeted mainly 3 objectives; social justice, civic participation, and identity. Those 3 targets were basically

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[19] A visible minority is defined by the Canadian government as "persons, other than aboriginal peoples, who are non-Caucasian in race or non-white in color". The term is used primarily as a demographic category by Statistics Canada, in connection with that country's Employment Equity policies.

revolving around building a fair and equitable society, which ensured that Canadians from different origins participated in forming the community and creating a society which recognizes, respects and reflects a diversity of cultures so that it creates a sense of belonging to Canada (Dewing 2009). The idea behind such policies surely facilitates the active participation of ethnic, racial, religious and cultural communities in Canada and sheds a light on how fundamental it is to raise awareness and understanding of the social dialogue between the "local" and the "other", and to understand how sensitive and delicate this social diversity could be. The Secretary of state announced also the launch of the Canadian Race Relations Foundation which also aimed at giving information to support effective race relations training and the development of professional standards (Dewing 2009). To further encourage multiculturalism and mark its importance in the country, the Canadian government announced in 2007 that there will be a Canadian Multiculturalism Day on June 27th. In 2005, the government launched a 5-year investment of 56 million dollars for Canada's Action Plan against Racism. This plan also raised an Acknowledgment, Commemoration and Education program (ACE), which would take initiatives to effectively study and show the contributions of groups which might be facing troubles such as the aftermath of historical events, during times of war, or immigration policies. Another Plan against racism and discrimination was adopted called "A Canada for All", which aims at creating stronger bonds and social cohesion and enhance federal leadership against racism and hate crimes. On the 23rd of November 2005, Canada became the first country to accept the UNESCO convention on the protection and promotion of the diversity of cultural expressions, which allows countries to cherish cultural expressions. The understanding and accepting ethnic groups was obvious when the Canadian government apologized to the Chinese- Canadians in 2006 for not accepting them as immigrants until 1947 and for the imposed tax upon them until 1923. Later on, the Acknowledgment, Commemoration and Education program (ACE) was replaced with another program called "The Community Historical Recognition Program", to commemorate the historical experiences and the contribution of the ethnocultural communities (Dewing 2009). This brief summary of Canadian's policies launching to accept and integrate displaced, immigrants and ethnic groups into their own built society show great balance and social cohesion between both parties. Moreover,

Canadians are generally supportive of a multicultural society and see those groups as an advantage and contribution to social sustainability; attitudes towards immigration and multiculturalism have become more positive over the years. According to the Focus Canada statistical surveys, conducted by the Environics Institute for Survey Research, the percentage of Canadians who perceive multiculturalism as a symbol of Canadian identity increased from 37% in 1997 to 56% in 2017 (Focus Canada survey, 2006).

However, policies and government reactions differ from country to another and historical political status also plays a role in perceiving and dealing with multiculturalism and ethnic groups. Britain for example, which has a long history of absorbing people from different cultural or ethnic groups, was a leading colonial power, just like France. Its political governorship led the country to an emigration country rather than an immigration one (like the United States, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand). However, with the collapse of the empire, Britain was very confused and lacked criterion while defining its real citizens. Also, before the First World War, and the beginning of the 19th century, Britain has faced immigration from Northern Ireland and other European countries due to famine and persecutions (religious and political) against Jews and Polish. During the post First World War years, where Britain considered itself as a wide multiracial Commonwealth[20] of Nations, Britain continued on admitting all British Subjects, a category also including citizens of the independent Commonwealth countries. The main concerns of receiving new immigrants were not only social or cultural or political but rather economic, due to lack of employment and other risks which started to emerge around Western Europe countries. Due to many immigration attempts to Britain and population growth, the British government decided to take several legal measures at a national level but also under the influence of the European Community (EC) Law, after having become an EC member, to "help and protect" the British society and the national interests.

Decolonization and labor force in the 50's attracted many citizens from the post-British colonial countries and the Commonwealth ones. Mainly, there are two large groups of immigrants; immigrants from the Indian sub-continent and from the West Indies. More

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[20] The Commonwealth of Nations is a voluntary association of 53 independent sovereign states, most of which are former British colonies, or dependencies of these colonies. The relationship among them is one of an international organization through which countries with diverse social, political, and economic

than 1 million immigrants came from India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh and settled down in big cities such as London. The Caribbean and West Indies immigrants are about 600,000 today and they also tend to settle down in big cities, as for the working conditions and classes in Britain, the jobs that were held by those immigrants were as mostly in labor. However, the industry had an important role in helping those disadvantaged workers to join the labor market, but this was undermined by governments' open door immigration policy. Immigrants from South Asia helped the 1950's economic boom in Britain. Many of those immigrants were working in the textile industry of Britain's northern towns that were trying to compete on the basis of low wages with textile companies in Asia. For example, Bangladeshi immigrants were mostly working in "sweatshops" of the east end of London and Australian immigrants were working in wine-bars and pubs in west London (see figure 3.1). The waves of immigrants only occurred in the 1950's, when they settled down in London and started working also in the textile sector and the automatic industry, public transportation sector and hospitals. Of Course, multiculturalism policies, cultural diversity, and social cohesion could be reachable in a utopic world.

Figure 3.1: East End London Asian Sweatshop factory unit London 1978

Source: PInterest Cecilie Koch Larsen London-Sweatchop-asians-working-in-clothing-ragtrade-1970s-britain004

Nevertheless, it is important to understand that multiculturalism has its own criticism and might raise the feeling of insecurity, xenophobia, and racism. When numbers of immigrants in Britain started to increase, British people started to panic at the end of the

backgrounds are regarded as equal in status, and co-operate within a framework of common values and goals.

1950's when the first racial riots started at Notting Hill (1958) and Nottingham (see figure 3.2). Following the large immigration from Jamaica, India, and Pakistan in 1962 (all former British colonies), some controls and distinctions were imposed upon these groups in immigration law which created a second-class citizenship status between persons of United Kingdom and those who belonged to colonies. With the afflux of immigrants, Britain began to change its immigration and integration policies of those groups but at the same time, limit numbers of further foreign immigrants, especially from outside of Europe (Voicu, 2009).

Figure 3.2: London Police Clash with White Youth during Noting Hill Riot

Source: Blackpast.org website (An Online Reference Guide to African American History)

According to the National Institute of Demographic Studies (INED) on immigration in France, the expansion of the European Union, did not affect majorly the legal immigration rate to France from the newly joined Eastern European countries. However, in 2004, together with most of the EU states, France has restricted the free movement of workers from Eastern Europe. Nonetheless, citizens from those countries (only since 2006), in addition to Cyprus and Malta (since May 2004), have been offered to access the French labor market if they would agree on working in certain economic sectors. From 2000 to 2006, a major transaction appeared when the immigrant population grew faster than the total population; 960 000 people immigrated to France in those five years period. As a result, according to the National Institute of Statistics and Economic Studies (INSEE), the proportion of immigrants in comparison to the total

population has increased to 8.1% for the first time since 30 years. In 1962, after the Second World War, the majority of immigrants came from Europe to France (79%) and only 15, 3% were from Africa. This number increased in 2005, where 42.2% of the immigrants were from African countries such as the Maghreb region, Tunisia and Algeria (1.5 Million). As much as France encouraged diversity, the Article 1 of the French Constitution clearly states that "France shall be an indivisible, secular, democratic and social republic. It shall ensure the equality of all citizens before the law, without distinction of origin, race or religion".

France has adopted the assimilationist policy taken from its political nationalist evolution, and within the third republic, it aimed to integrate the national regional minorities by implementing common secondary education which revolved around patriotic historical consciousness, military conscription, a network of communications connecting the regions to the center, and by building a territory-wide economy (Hutchinson 2006).

In France, in contrast to Britain's multiculturalist policies of integration, this process that encouraged assimilation, social contribution and integration had also its own limits for marginal and immigrant's communities. Immigrants and visible minorities also frequently face racism, discrimination, and economic segregation. They are more likely to be unemployed: the unemployment rate in 2002 went up to 16, 5%, twice as much as non-immigrants rate. They usually maintain unskilled jobs (in sectors such as cleaning, domestic services, and security). Even between immigrants, social discrimination exclusion and lack of educational access were visible; the unemployment rate for immigrants from other European countries like Spain, Italy or Portugal are generally low, even lower than the non-immigrants, when for example immigrants from the northern African countries or Turkey have a very high risk of unemployment. One other challenge that immigrants face in France is language skills which are often the major obstacles to successful integration. It is interesting to see whether this is the case of the main target groups in our literature research, the Tarlabaşıans. These couple of problems, which are fundamental to build a better social environment, can lead immigrants, displaced and ethnic group to extreme marginality, to homelessness, unemployment or illegal activities (prostitution, drug dealing…).

As we have seen so far, immigrants and displaced people can contribute to social sustainability and reinforce the economic situation in countries. However, it is important to mention that today, this diversity worries many sociologist and politicians, all over the world.

Many of them start to question and fear multiculturalism, especially after 9/11, which created discrimination toward Muslims, the Paris, Nice, Brussels and Barcelona terrorists' attacks and many other riots and discriminatory manifestations. The question of integration and the idea of the "other" and the question of whether this community or group belongs here or not is increasing, which leads to question the success of multiculturalism by some theorists and the dystopian image of racism in some countries. The criticism of multiculturalism is a very wide topic that could not be discussed in this literature research. But it is mentioned to point out that in many countries, where liberal and democratic policies are trying to create a world where exclusion of the other and discrimination would not exist, and where marginality is invisible, multiculturalism cannot reach total success. There will always be disadvantaged groups, injustice towards them and social separation towards "different" people; people who do not share our story, our backgrounds, groups that do not share our interests, our skin color, our gender, or our religion. When the time comes where people, society, and government start realizing this, then we can maybe forget about the "other" and start treating them with the "sames".

3.4.2 Marginal communities: Place Making and Architectural Imprints

As we have discussed in the last sub chapters about the importance of integration process of immigrants, displaced and ethnic groups within the wider society, it would be interesting to see how these diverse ethnic communities express in turn their existence in the physical atmosphere and how they reflect their own architectural imprints within the host society. As seen before in the last subchapters, the formation of ethnic enclaves are consequences and reasons of several factors that triggered immigration, migration, displacement of a certain ethnic group to other places, such as poverty, economic crisis and political instability, in order to seek better life conditions, better job opportunities, that aim to reach their expected goals in life. But how do they translate their culture,

traditions, stories, and background in the host society? What are the aspects that define an area as an ethnic enclave? How can one turn a space into a "place", and how can an ethnic group feel at "home"? And how far could this feeling be maintained?

The built environment, the physical aspects, the social activities, and the public rituals turn a "stranger" space into a more "personal" place. This is about a sense of belonging, feeling closer to their country of origin and the visual illusion of "home". Some examples of ethnic enclaves are Chinatown in Los Angeles (see figure 3.3) and in New York (see figure 3.5), Little Italy in New York, Little Tokyo (see figure 3.4) and Little Saigon in Los Angeles and little Portugal in Toronto. These ethnic enclaves try to turn spaces into more familiar and personal places that reflect their culture and traditions. In time, they became an inseparable segment of the city structure.

Figure 3.3: Chinatown Entrance in Los Angeles

*Source:*http://blog.vanitytours.com/chinatown-story-l-icon

Figure 3.4: Tokyo Village Entrance in L.A

*Source:*https://www.daytrippen.com/little-tokyo-day-trip-downtown-los-angeles/

Figure 3.5: Chinatown Entrance in LA

We can see for example in those ethnic enclaves how culture is reflected and taken from their origins and backgrounds, to be later translated in the host society. Vernacular architectural reflecting Chinese architecture, pillars, dragon gates, inscriptions are all meaningful symbols which proves the existence of bringing back "home" to the actual space immigrants inhabit. It means that they didn't only brought their physical self, but also memories, to feel more attached to the environment, turned a strange space into a "place" and turn it into something closer to "home".

Another example of converting a space into a place and the marks of social and architectural / physical imprints by displaced population is the case of Turkish immigrants in Germany, most specifically in Kreuzberg, Berlin (see figure 3.6). Kreuzberg is located on the western side of Spree River, downtown Berlin. This neighborhood is separated in two sections; Westliches Kreuzberg and Ostliches Kreuzberg[21]. Kreuzberg was first inhabited by a small Jewish population in the 1820's. The industrialization process that occurred in the 1860's saw the rise of massive large construction houses and an increase in the population. 400.000 immigrants were residents before the Second World War (Weibel et al 2015). However with the reconstruction of Berlin after 1945, Kreuzberg –just like Tarlabaşı- was left to rot, for different purposes, but ending up with the same consequences; due to a low that controlled rents in the area, investors refused to invest in the dilapidated damaged industrial quarter.

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[21] http://www.berlin-info.de/en/districts/kreuzberg

Figure 3.6: Kreuzberg neighborhood
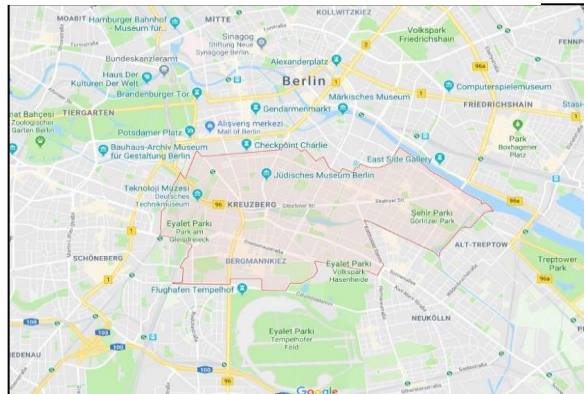
Source: Google Maps (2018)

As a result of every neglected area, Kreuzberg was subject of low housing quality, which also meant cheap attractive houses for immigrants, who came in the 1960's in Europe, as "guest workers"[22]. Moreover, this immigration process increased after the German unification in 1990, following the fall of the Berlin wall, separating it into west and east in 1989.

As we have mentioned in the previous chapters, labor and guest workers were a great benefit for economic growth which brought with them not only culture but economic advantages into the host country. Spirova in her online article (2013) describes Kreuzberg as the "legendary island of the foreign, the "other" and the poor"[23]. Being one of the largest Turkish city outside Turkey, those immigrants represented 55.2% of the neighborhood's population today. Despite their small "Turkish bubble", they feel secure and "comfortable in the neighborhood, some even feel anxious when they leave it for other parts of the area". The Turkish community began to form its limits within the city and marked its importance in the capital. The Turkish neighborhood slowly became "little Istanbul"[24]. With kepap döner restaurants, religious rituals, grocery shops with Turkish goodies, those minorities started their own culture and their own social imprints in the area. Turkish songs, pop and rap groups singing in Turkish to share their own traditions and values with the host society disseminated in the neighborhood, and they began to spread their own social institutions, newspapers and travel agencies. One

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[22] https://berlindividedcity.wordpress.com/2013/02/08/turkish-immigrants-in-berlin/
[23] https://berlindividedcity.wordpress.com/2013/02/09/the-multicultural-kreuzberg/
[24] https://www.cntraveler.com/stories/2014-01-04/berlin-germany-multicultural-acitivities

of the most attractive places in the Turkish neighborhood is its Turkish "Pazar". Which is open around the year (figure 3.10 and figure 3.11).

Figure 3.7: Turkish stand in Kreuzberg

Source:https://berlindividedcity.wordpress.com/2013/02/08/turkish-immigrants-in-berlin/

Figure 3.8: Kreuzberg Turkish Market

Source:https://awesomeberlin.net/food/shopping/turkish-market-berlin/kreuzberg

Just like any other market, the Turkish bazar offers a wide range of items; food, clothes, fabrics, different kind of equipment and even household supplies to fresh fish, serving low-income people –even German- to gather and shop. It seems that not only they brought their physical existence through the years, but also a culture, which exists in

Turkey –even today- and a lifestyle. Also, the traditional religious rituals and presence are becoming more and more important in the city. The Şehitlik Mosque (figure 3.9 and 3.10), the most visited mosque in Germany is also a religious and social imprint which proves multiculturalism in Berlin towards the Turkish population. The traditional 16th and 17th-century Ottoman architecture, the ornately carved stonework and the curved dome, reveals from a distance a smell of Turkish architecture and Turkish sense. There are also guided tours of the mosque, even in English for non-Turkish speaking visitors and it also hosts the annual Ramadan festival (Bayram or "Eid" celebration). This anticipation from both the Turkish and the German society shows a different perspective of dealing with multiculturalism and its success[25].

Figure 3.9: Şehitlik Mosque interior

Source:http://www.secretcitytravel.com/berlin-july-2014/berlin-architectural-highlights-sehitlik-mosque.shtml

Figure 3.10: Şehitlik Mosque

Source:http://www.secretcitytravel.com/berlin-july-2014/berlin-architectural-highlights-sehitlik-mosque.shtml

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[25] https://www.cntraveler.com/stories/2014-01-04/berlin-germany-multicultural-acitivities
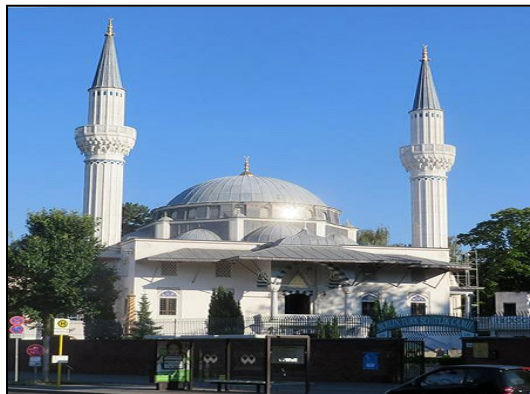
According to the New York Times, the city of Berlin considers itself to be Germany's most international city, a city of diverse ethnic communities and multicultural urban enclaves. "Multikulti," slang for multikulturell (multicultural), reveals a kind of accepting towards different cultures and religions, different backgrounds and different stories. Today, 13% of the German population have a non-German background[26]. For example, one of its international festivals which shows great acceptance of ethnical groups is the Karneval der Kulturen. This carnival was created in celebration of internalization, multiculturalism, and tolerance towards ethnic groups in the city after the fall of the wall of Berlin. Its aim is to show diverse cultures from around the world; Turkish, Arabic, and many participants from more than 180 countries living in the German capital[27]. With samba dancers, drummers, stilt walkers, colorful street parades, traditional food, and art craft shops, the festival celebrates multiculturalism and show a great example of the investment of both parties in the integration process, while still preserving backgrounds and cultures[28] (Figure 3.11).

Figure 3.11: Carnaval in Berlin

Source:https://www.cntraveler.com/stories/2014-01-04/berlin-germany-multicultural-acitivities

Many other ethnic communities in many host countries try to turn a space into a place, where they would exercise their own culture, their own habits, and their own customs. Kreuzberg in Berlin is just an example of displaced people who tried to make a place of

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[26]https://archive.nytimes.com/www.nytimes.com/fodors/top/features/travel/destinations/europe/germany/berlin/fdrs_feat_28_6.html

[27] https://www.dw.com/en/carnival-of-cultures-how-berlin-celebrates-multiculturalism/a-39083255

[28] https://www.cntraveler.com/stories/2014-01-04/berlin-germany-multicultural-acitivities

their own, where they can bring memories from back home. Being away from "home" is a tough feeling, people try to adapt every day by making the smallest things, it could be in a dish, in a story, in an event or in a monument; they are all related to each other; traditional architecture cannot exist without the community who represents it, and psychologically, a society cannot exist without its traditional architecture or its physical connotations. Studying the displacement process and the ways of adaptation of immigrants in a host country could contribute to our understanding of our own, and that later on, all of those aspects will be implied on our case study. Making a brief introduction about certain ethnic places, could shed a light on which aspects provide a much feeling of "home" and which plays a factor to ease the process of integration and assimilation in different ways to create a healthy livable environment.

Tarlabaşıans also intended to migrate to Tarlabaşı for many reasons as well, just like the Turkish immigrants. At a period, the immigrants in Kreuzberg also felt like being in a "waiting room", and planned to go back home, for a long time specifically the displaced people but many didn't and they still live in Germany. Is this the case of the Tarlabaşıans? Are they denying the fact that they may not be in a transfer zone, or in contrary, Tarlabaşı is not just a waiting room for them anymore? When does a host city, becomes home?

4. MULTICULTURALISM IN TARLABAŞI: A FORGOTTAN LAND, A DESIGNED FUTURE

This fourth chapter is where I try to relate or implement the previous discussed topics in the third chapter; multiculturalism, marginalism, integration, social and physical structure, the blur situation of the relationship that relates Tarlabaşıans to the place and their diasporic memories they try to hold on to. This part of the research study focuses on studying, observing and analyzing the field, on a much more detailed scale. I will start with a descriptive demographical analysis that structures Tarlabaşı along with its social ambiance, which reflects its own imprints of multi ethnicity. Questions about Tarlabaşıans' daily routine, their own way of life and their way of reflecting their own survival within the walls of Tarlabaşı will shed a light on how they translate this "sealed-city" into "home" and most importantly, how do they translate their personal journey to Tarlabaşı, socially and spatially as a group and as individuals?

As mentioned before, the social and mental state of mind reflects the built environment and vice versa. Hence, it will be important to shed a light on the architectural and physical state that Tarlabaşıans occupy. This socio-physical relationship which is created within this cultural "mess" might also reveal some hidden perspectives and some secluded points of view. The question of multiculturalism and the bonds between diverse ethnic groups will also be observed and argued to see how far people from different backgrounds are involved in creating a social livable environment. The title of this chapter "a forgotten land, a designed future" reveals a contradiction between the past and present with the futuristic plans envisaged in the neighborhood.

This will lead to talk about, on the other hand, the new project that is also starting to leave its social and physical traces in the area. Mentioning the "Tarlabaşı 360" project is important because it brings drastic social, urban, architectural and demographic changes –if has not already- to Tarlabaşı. On the one hand, I intend to understand how far the project will or already influenced the mental and physical presence of the inhabitants.

With those demographic and social changes that the project is bringing, I will talk about the limits of the project, the impact of urban renewal plan -if we can call it this way- on the multicultural structure of the neighborhood. The invisible (yet visible) barrier that

the project will be creating, the social reorganization targeting new "faces" and the will to change the multiculturalist atmosphere will also be discussed.

Last but not least, the last sub chapter will principally concentrate on merging social and spatial aspects of the field study. It will speak about the importance of social balance on the physical built environment, raising awareness on social marginalism, enhancing collective collaboration, empowering home feeling, and balancing social and physical displacement and stability. I will also discuss about the place attachment, the concluding aspects of turning a space into a "place", the thin borders between the "other" and the "same" and the hanging hopes of Tarlabaşıans and their unplanned delayed future dreams.

4.1 SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF TARLABAŞI; THE PLACE OF THE "OTHER" AND "MARGINAL"

Different waves of displaced groups settled and are still settling down in one of Istanbul's most dilapidated neighborhood; Tarlabaşı. As I briefly mentioned before, Tarlabaşı is a real "melting pot"; its urban fabric is constituted by different ethnic groups of displaced population which try to discreetly integrate in the wider society.

Topography of Tarlabaşı area is divided into social class as well; the well-to-do classes live on the upper part of Tarlabaşı, on the main Kurtulus deresi Avenue, and the lower income inhabitants live on the lower part of the quarter, hidden by the billboards of the Luxurious project and by the wide border where the flux traffic becomes a river, and where "they", become trash of gravels on the sides. In 2000, the total population of Tarlabaşı neighborhood, according to the census data is estimated to be 31.004 (SIS Census 2000). However, in 2007, the population number increased to approximately 35.000-40.000 despite the declaration of the neighborhood as urban renewal site (Sakızlıoğlu 2007, p.147). The population where the project is taking place, which covers 20.000 square meters, is estimated to be 2000 (Kentsel Strateji, 2010).

Table 4.1: Demographic structure of Kurds in Tarlabasi

Place of birth (geographical regions)	Frequency	Percent
Marmara region	54	27
Ege region	4	2
Mediterranean region	14	7
Central Anatolia region	16	8
Black Sea region	9	4,5
East Anatolian region	27	13,5
South east Anatolian region	74	37
Other	2	1
Total	**200**	**100**

Source: Field Study Report, Tarlabasi Community Center by Bahar Sahin, December 2006.

Today, Tarlabaşı hosts mostly Kurds, Romanis and Bulgarians, illegal and legal immigrants from Syria (figure 4.1), Iraq and Africa. Tarlabaşı is also a shelter for transvestites and transsexuals (figure 4.2), who used to work in the southern part of Beyoğlu (Cihangir) before the gentrification process of the neighborhood which forced them to relocate (Saybasili 2007). In 2006, within a field study in Tarlabaşı for Istanbul Bilgi University by Bahar Sahin, some questionnaires were conducted to 200 persons, who were chosen randomly. According to Bahar Sahin's field study, it seems that 37% of the 200 interviewers chosen randomly were Kurds, who migrated from the Southeast Anatolia region, most of them after 1990 (Table 4.1 and Table 4.2) regions while 27% were actually originally from the Marmara region. In Table 4.1, we can see the diversity of population in Tarlabaşı in a study conducted in 2007 on Tarlabaşı local residents, with regards to their arrival date ranging from before 1960's to after 1990.

Table 4.2: Tarlabasi population

Tarlabaşı Population with respect to the Arrival Periods and Regions of the Migrants						
Regions	Arrival Period					
	Before 1960	1960-69	1970-79	1980-89	after 1990	Total
Central Anatolia	13	33	44	13	15	23
East Anatolia	12	13	6	20	15	14
Southeast Anatolia		20	13	53	44	32
Black Sea	18	13	18	7	6	13
Marmara	38	13	13	7	12	14
Mediterranean		7	6		2	3
Aegean					6	2
Total	9	17	18	17	39	100

Source: Sakizlioglu 2007, Thesis Submitted to the graduate school of social science of Middle East technical university, p.150.

Figure 4.1: Syrian Restaurants in Tarlabasi

Source: From author, January (2018)

It is also interesting to mention that there is a large community of Syrian Dom. Dom are Syrian gypsies who speak a different language brought by the Indian subcontinent[29]. Before 2011's Syrian war, there were 300,000 Dom living in Syria and now, some of them, along with Syrian refugees are seeking for better life opportunities in Tarlabaşı[30]. Roma or Romanies as some may say or "Çingene" in Turkish, the gypsy community in Tarlabaşı is radically important.

Figure 4.2: Transgender inhabitant of Tarlabasi

Source: http://www.refendi.com/last-dance-of-tarlabasi

On the other hand, the amount of African community cannot be neglected as well, some reaching for the cheap house accommodations that Tarlabaşı offers to them. Habesha, an African restaurant with a vernacular interior design, invites people to discover the

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[29]http://www.romea.cz/en/news/world/turkey-dom-refugees-from-syria-find-refuge-in-the-tarlaba-i-neighborhood-of-istanbul

[30]https://www.theguardian.com/cities/2016/jun/02/syrias-gypsy-refugees-sanctuary-istanbul-turkey-ghetto-how-long-will-last

African (such as Injera[31]) and Turkish cuisine; walls covered with pictures of wild animals, chairs upholstered with animal prints, the restaurant offers an exceptional African ambiance (figure 4.3). The owner of the restaurant, Ethiopian Sammy claims that he decided to open his restaurant to serve the African community and other expats within Tarlabaşı[32]. Tarlabaşı is known to be one of Istanbul's –if not in Europe and the Middle East- largest community of Transgender and LGBT[33] as well; There are approximately 5000 transgender persons currently living in Istanbul (figure 4.2), if not more[34]. In Tarlabaşı, it is easy to find smoker-sellers. A website called "we be high" states "be careful not to be cheated[35] in Tarlabaşı" when purchasing weed and other drugs. Indeed, the neighborhood is known for consuming and getting drugs in Istanbul. Walking the streets of Tarlabaşı, it is very easy to pass by some young drug dealers, and they have their own knit of connections. Inhabitants mainly speak Kurdish, Arabic and Turkish (Table 4.3). However, some other languages from different backgrounds could be heard as well; Kurmanci –North Kurdish-, Zazaki from the Eastern Anatolian side of Turkey and even for some, Armenian (Sahin, 2006).

Figure 4.3: Ethiopian restaurant

Source:https://www.timeout.com/istanbul/restaurants/ha besha

Just like any other neighborhood, Tarlabaşı has its own social sparkle that survives within its narrow streets. Most of the residents held jobs such as paper collecting, street selling, small businesses, some work as unskilled workers in construction sector and/or textile industry. One of the inhabitants I conducted the survey with explained to me that

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[31]It is a flatbread with a spongy texture and a slightly salty and sour taste. Using pieces of Injera, Ethiopians traditionally pick up bites of the main dishes with their hands.
[32] https://www.timeout.com/istanbul/restaurants/habesha
[33] https://www.vice.com/sv/article/mvxayp/inside-istanbuls-trangender-community
[34] https://eurasianet.org/s/turkey-istanbul-becomes-magnet-for-transgender-migration

most of the Kurdish community is very good in textile sector that is why it is such a successful job in the area. "Most of the people here work in selling Midye (around Istiklal avenue and Besiktas) (see. Appendix-6 and Appendix-8) and in waste recycling, there are lots of depots for waste recycle, which are sold after" explained to me one of the interviewees.

Table 4.3: Mother tongue

		Frequency	Percent
1	Türkish	98	49,0
2	Kurmancî	95	47,5
3	Zazakî	2	1,0
4	Arabic	3	1,5
5	Armenian	2	1,0
	Total	200	100

Source: Field Study Report, Tarlabasi Community Center by Bahar Sahin, December 2006.

Ceren Suntekin, a social worker of the community center located in Tarlabaşı (Tarlabaşı Toplum Merkezi) declared to The Guardian that "Most of the Dom refugees beg, collect garbage in the streets, or sell things, such as flowers, near tourist destinations"[36]. The Roman mostly collect garbage on the street, sell flowers, or play music at clubs[37]. Children tap on car windows trying to sell bottles of water[38], begging for money on the more touristic side of the area like Taksim square and Istiklal Avenue. For the African community however, some students try to earn their pocket money by selling fake perfumes and watches around the area. As for the Trans gender's community, their jobs and life options are pretty much limited to sex work and homelessness. Loulou, a Transgender performer in a club called XLarge in Tarlabaşı, states that "95 percent of trans people here in Istanbul have no other choice but being sex-workers in order to survive[39]". Syrian refugees I interviewed explained to me that they work in different mix jobs, whatever they find indeed. One of the Syrian men I talked with was working in a

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[35] http://webehigh.org/istanbul-turkey/

[36] http://www.romea.cz/en/news/world/turkey-dom-refugees-from-syria-find-refuge-in-the-tarlaba-i-neighborhood-of-istanbul

[37] https://www.theguardian.com/cities/2016/jun/02/syrias-gypsy-refugees-sanctuary-istanbul-turkey-ghetto-how-long-will-last

[38] https://www.theguardian.com/cities/2016/jun/02/syrias-gypsy-refugees-sanctuary-istanbul-turkey-ghetto-how-long-will-last

[39] https://www.vice.com/sv/article/mvxayp/inside-istanbuls-trangender-community

Syrian restaurant, recently opened in Tarlabaşı, cooking Syrian tradition food "Fool Medamas[40] and Fateh[41]". This affirms Bahar Sahin's field report, among the 200 interviewer she conducted her survey with, 14.5% of them had regular jobs with regular salary whereas 11% of them were unemployed without any social security, 8% were students and 6% were street sellers. Thus, the job standards that Tarlabaşı inhabitants hold, is very critical when it comes to upgrading their social and economic status; reduce their chance for mobility and social integration (Table 4.4). These occupations are limiting and restricting their adaptation into the wider community (Sahin 2006).

Table 4.4: Employment, Unemployment Status

Employment Status	Frequency	Percent
Regular employment with regular salary	29	14,5
Temporary employment with irregular salary	34	17,0
Street seller	12	6,0
Small scale production in own workshop	5	2,5
Trade	34	17,0
Unemployed with social security	1	0,5
Unemployed without social security	22	11,0
Retired, but still working	5	2,5
Retired, not working	1	0,5
Student	16	8,0
Housewife	41	20,5
Total	**200**	**100,0**

Source: Field Study Report, Tarlabasi Community Center by Bahar Sahin, December 2006.

This instable employment situation and economic insufficiency is directly related with a serious low level of education. Turgut and Kellet (2001) in their book, "Cultural and spatial diversity in the urban environment", present the moderate level of social status in Tarlabaşı in terms of income and education. In 2001, approximately half of Tarlabaşı residents were primary school, 13.5% secondary school, 13.4% high school, and only 3% were university graduates. Moreover, 10% of the Tarlabaşıans were illiterate in addition to 7.5% who were literate but did not attend schools (figure 4.4). Relatively, in Sahin's report (2006), almost the same results appear. The highest level obtained in education among all residents was primary school which was up to 30%, then 16% who left during primary school phase and the third highest number was illiterates which goes

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[40] Fool Medammas is a very popular breakfast dish, made basically with fava beans served with fresh bread. It can be served as an appetizers (like a mezze platter).
[41] An authentic Lebanese Chicken Fatteh is a combo of flavors made with yogurt, spiced shredded chicken, chickpeas, toasted pine nuts and pita bread

up to 11.5% of the participants (Table 4.5). This unsteady social stratum that Tarlabaşıans strive to stand on surely do not contribute to the socio-economic status and cultural capital of their own.

Figure 4.4: Employment, Unemployment Status
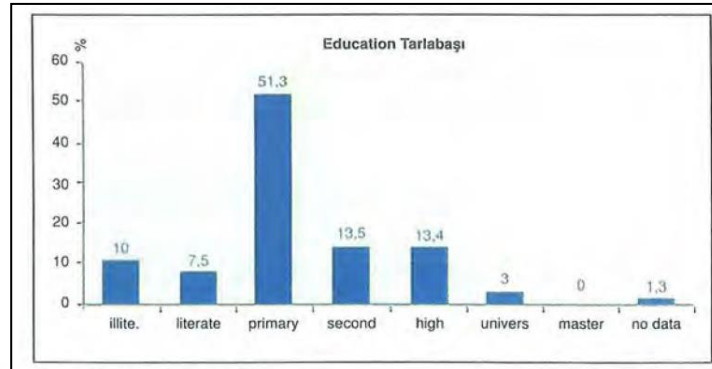
Source: Cultural and spatial diversity in the Urban Environment by Turgut and Kellett. Istanbul Technical University and University of Newcastle, 2001.

The Guardian also states on their online page on the 2nd of June 2016, that many of Tarlabaşı's children do not complete primary school and shortly become beggars or laborers, which rely on social services run by the state. The gypsies or the "Dom" community don't even have the luxury to access school, which is one of the prerequisites for social, economic, and physical integration[42].

Table 4.5: Level of Education

Level of education		Frequency	Percent
1	Illiterate	23	11,5
2	Literate, but no school visit	8	4,0
3	Primary school leave	32	16,0
4	Primary school graduate	61	30,0
5	Mid-school leave	16	8,0
6	Mid-school graduate	13	6,5
7	Normal secondary school leave	6	3,0
8	Normal secondary school graduate	16	8,0
9	Vocational school leave	2	1,0
10	Vocational school garduate	3	1,5
11	University leave	1	0,5
12	University graduate	3	1,5
13	Stil student	16	7,5
Total		**200**	**100,0**

Source: Field Study Report, Tarlabasi Community Center by Bahar Sahin, December 2006.

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[42] https://www.theguardian.com/cities/2016/jun/02/syrias-gypsy-refugees-sanctuary-istanbul-turkey-ghetto-how-long-will-last

Being illiterate and having low paid jobs do not necessarily mean that Tarlabaşıans do not know how to have fun. Indeed, Tarlabaşı community has her own way of celebrating, her own daily routine, and according to my observations, everyone seems to know each other despite their differences and ethnical backgrounds. Wandering in the streets of Tarlabaşı, you might randomly find a group of women having their morning coffee on their doorsteps, children playing in the streets, old men playing Tavla at a tea room called "türkü", Transsexuals looking out the window of their apartment having a cigarette in a hand a phone on the other. It is not all black in this sealed-city. Just like everyone else, Tarlabaşıans also have their rituals and religious celebrations. Similar to other weddings, cavalcades of cars drive into the streets of Tarlabaşı, honking car horns, to announce the celebration of a gypsies wedding. The gypsies for example in Tarlabaşı, celebrate their weddings on the street under strung-out lights with oriental music, not like Turkish residents who celebrate in wedding salons[43]. Men playing on a "davul[44]", another banging a "zurna[45]", "köçek", male dancers and musicians dressed as women[46], celebrate a real traditional gypsy wedding in the streets of Tarlabaşı (figure 4.5).

But it is not always festive, it also depends on the social connection that the person or the group of people has. For example, one of the Syrian interviewers I conducted my survey with explained to me that he absolutely doesn't like doing anything, he goes to his work in the morning and comes back when he finished, sleeps and revive his day as the day before. The weekly bazar held in Tarlabaşı sure attracts many of its residents and some outsiders too. "You can find whatever you want here my dear" says a street seller in Tarlabaşı weekend market. Piles of fresh fruit, cascading good-looking vegetables, hundreds of different olives types, thousands of different aroma and spices, cheap colorful clothes, small kitchen equipment, fake perfumes, glasses and make up and even underwear; everything is available and everyone comes to shop, without exception; Blacks, whites, Kurds, Transgenders, Syrians, and Turkish people. "Tarlabaşı pazari" is a refuge for low income groups who need to fulfill their household

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[43] https://balkanstories.net/import-export/tarlabasi-a-slum-quarter-in-istanbul/.
[44] The davul or atabal or tabl is a large double-headed drum that is played with mallets.
[45] The zurna is a wind instrument played in central Eurasia, ranging from the Balkans to Central Asia. It is usually accompanied by a davul (bass drum).
[46] A tradition going back to Ottoman times when women were forbidden to perform before the sultan, and so men dressed as women took their place.

and personal needs. On Sunday, on market day, everyone forgets who they are, what they do, and on this special day, laughter's, negotiations and anger is seen on people's faces no matter where they come from. They have one thing in common, they come for food, they come for cheap prices, and they come to afford…life (figure 4.6).

Figure 4.5: A Roma wedding in Tarlabasi

Source: http://www.refendi.com/last-dance-of-tarlabasi

Figure 4.6: Tarlabasi Sunday Market

Source: Source: https://istanbulsoup.wordpress.com/2015/02/20/tripping-in-tarlabasi/

4.2. URBAN / ARCHITECTURAL FEATURES OF TARLABAŞI

As mentioned before, the low socio-economic level of residents in Tarlabaşı, is not only reflected in the mental psychological state of the residents, but also mirrored on the physical built environment. After certain visits to the area and observations, it appears that the issues that Tarlabaşıans face are not only problems of integration or assimilation, belonging or attachment, economic or social, but also residential ones and those about access to services and infrastructure.

The field study that I decided to conduct is limited with the street boundaries that actually separate the new project in construction including the northern part of it, creating a pyramid shaped figure (figure 4.7).

Figure 4.7: Map of Field study

Source: By Author (2018)

The logic behind choosing that smaller part/portion is to be able to work on a manageable smaller scale in the neighborhood. But I believe that the survey area is the most crucial and delicate part which mirrors the old present Tarlabaşı and the new planned one. The proximity and boundaries that separate the project and Tarlabaşı, the "other" and the "marginal" might reveal diverse perspectives on urban, architectural and physical aspects. As can be followed from land use map (figure 4.8) Tarlabaşı is a

mixed used neighborhood; it is intertwined with residential buildings, historical monuments, education buildings and others. As we can see from the land use map, Tarlabaşı neighborhood consists of rectangular or triangular street drawn pattern, closely spaced houses and some small-sized buildings. From an urban scale, we can notice that there are no parks or recreational outdoor or indoor areas; there is a massive neglect of large grassed areas, winding paths, large buildings with green spaces. We can differentiate 5 types of land use buildings. Most of the buildings are residential located on the upper levels. However, in the ground level, there are many devoted for commercial activities, in those we can find: supermarkets, tea rooms, restaurants, shops, and computer / video rooms. In the basements, we can find work-related places; masonry, carpentry, textile and recycle depots. We can also find many historical places; Tarlabaşı contains one of the most important churches of the area: The Virgin Mary Syriac Orthodox Church, founded in 1922[47]. It also has educational buildings such as the Tarlabaşı community center which provides social, psychological and educational support for over 15.000 disadvantaged children, young people and women[48]. So as we can conclude, Tarlabaşı is a very mixed-use area with many functions, the place is not only multicultural with its own inhabitants, but it is also the case of its urban spatial functions.

Figure 4.8: Land Use Map

Source: By Author (2018)

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[47] https://www.christiantoday.com/article/turkey-to-get-first-new-syriac-orthodox-christian-church-in-nearly-a-century/86497.htm
[48] http://www.tarlabasi.org/en/about-us

The demographic and urban change that the area faced during years and is still facing until today has seriously affected the habitat condition and the housing morphology. The slim 4-story buildings in Tarlabaşı led to a harsh deterioration of its physical appearance; the ruined houses confront the danger of collapse[49]. They have cracks in exterior and interior main walls, fenced windows to prevent theft, broken glass and cracked staircases everywhere. The pavements are not maintained, the roads are dirty, with trash piles on the side and there is no access to basic infrastructure (figure 4.9).

The landlord, "emlakcı" that I interviewed explained to me that 10 years ago, there were many water and electricity cuts in the area, water used to come every 3 days but the situation improved today (see. Appendix-3 and Appendix-4). The reason behind those electricity and water cuts was that there were no canals or infrastructure underground, nor strong electrical expansion or connections. Inhabitants in Tarlabaşı use most of the time during winter electrical heaters, which cause pressure on power lines underground and result electrical shortage.

Figure 4.9: Physical appearance and street condition

Source: By Author, March (2018)

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[49]http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/350-buildings-in-danger-of-collapse-in-istanbuls-tarlabasi-neighborhood-accommodating-1000-people-116674

Svetlana Eremina talks in her online blog called "Mashallah News" about an Azerbaijani women called Aigul, who used to rent a room in Tarlabaşı. When she lost her job, she, her husband and her two children had to move in an unlivable room in the basement for free. This room had no access to light nor water[50]. Unfortunately, many of the residents live in similar conditions in this ramshackle neighborhood. On an urban scale, the neighborhood lacks public and green spaces and there are no entertainment areas for families and children. The residents find a way of demonstrating their own existence by writing and drawing on the walls of Tarlabaşı; the neighborhood might have serious architectural and physical damages, but people manage to express in an artistic way their anger, their feeling and emotions, their opinions and their own existence and presence through graffiti in an artistic way. Hidden messages, bold opinions, nationalist words or quotations are tools for inhabitants to actually have a voice, to be able to express something that may not be easy to say or tell. In the field of study, I have observed many graffiti which explains or describes the way they express their own existence or the way they tend to feel toward the place. "Seninki bir hayal" which means "you have a dream" with three dots are a reflection of futuristic plans and hopes unclear in the area. Another one, "Bu Tarlabaşından kimse elimizden alamaz" which means that nobody can take Tarlabaşı from our hands are messages reflecting a kind of attachment to the place and a tentative "home" for some.

Figure 4.9: Physical appearance and street condition

Source: By Author, March (2017)

Graffiti has become such an artistic way of revolution for the "unseen" or the marginalized inhabitants in Tarlabaşı that, on the 16th of September 2012, the 4th Renovation Street Art Festival was organized in the neighborhood, combining both

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[50] https://www.mashallahnews.com/tarlabasi-the-dusk/

Turkish and international street artists (figures 4.10 and 4.11). The festive ambiance created with art, dance and music gave life and a drastic make over to the derelict 400 years-old facades. The visual art provided in one of the most neglected areas in Istanbul shows great hope and in way, gave a delightful mask to such disfigured facades.

Figure 4.10: Graffiti inside empty units

Source:https://www.alamy.com/stock-photo-graffiti-art-in-buildings-in-tarlabasi-an-area-that-gets-heavily-gentrified-53216309.html
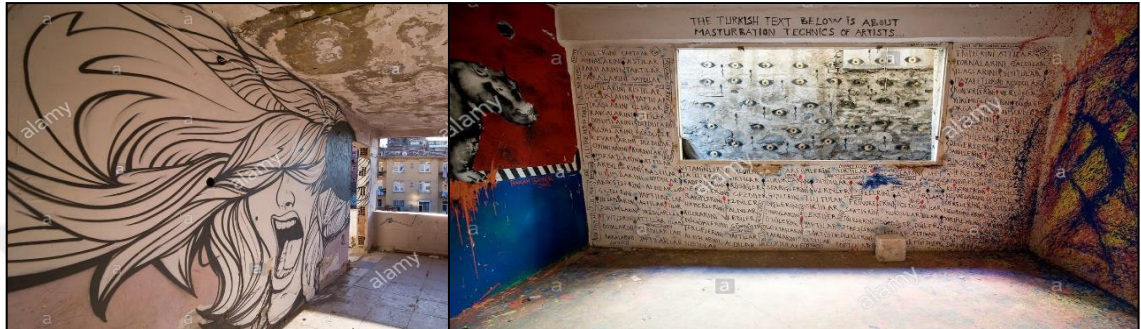
Figure 4.11: Renovation Street Art Festival 2012

Source:https://sanatyol.wordpress.com/2016/01/16/istanbuls-tarlabasi-street-art-festival/

4.3 TARLABAŞI 360: AN INTERVENTION INTO THE SOCIAL AND URBAN STRUCTURE

Scrolling down the historical trajectory of Tarlabaşı to its present time, it is inevitable to mention the project that began to take shape from the main boulevard. Huge billboards hanged on the buildings, closed steel fences, the sound of machinery drilling, debris and dust from excavations; Tarlabaşı 360 is surely not hiding its existence.

Tarlabaşı 360, the new project taking place in the neighborhood might also cause major changes in the social and urban structural shape of the area. Studying the urban and

social outcomes of this project might shed a light on many aspects discussed previously in this research. Figure 4.12 visually summarizes the current dynamics of Tarlabaşı. This part is actually to see the relation/ bonds and dependency between the project under construction and the social/ physical presence of inhabitants; assimilation, the multiculturalist existence of different ethnic groups, the feeling of "home", and even the exterior and physical structure of the place.

Figure 4.12: Current Dynamics of Tarlabaşı
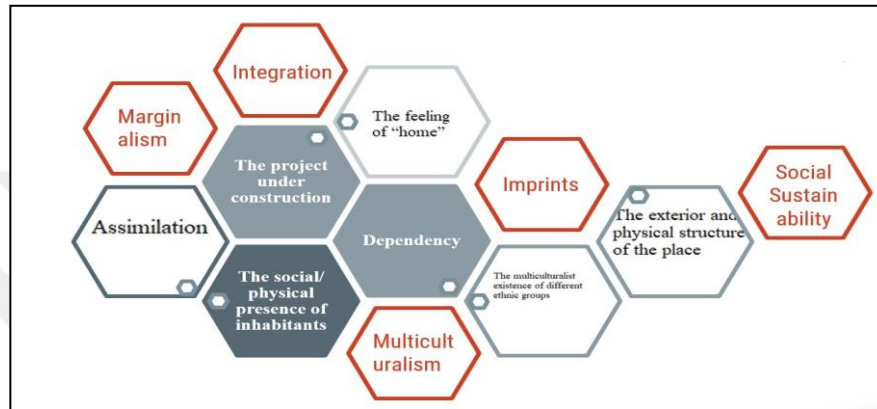
Source: By Author, August (2018)

How is this project affecting the urban, socio-economic, spatial and physical state they are in? And most importantly, how do different ethnic groups translate this social instability into the architectural space?

The project "Tarlabaşı 360" or "Taksim 360" is going to take place in a 20.000m2 area in the neighborhood, on the northern part of Tarlabaşı Boulevard[51] (figure 4.13). The first stages of this multifunctional complex designated 278 buildings in nine blocks within the renewal plans that were implemented in Istanbul in February 2006. Later on, a private developer, Gap Inşaat (the construction company) won the bid in collaboration with Beyoğlu municipality. GAP Construction Company is a part of Çalık holding group. Some buildings which were under state protection since 1993 and registered 19th century housing stock in Tarlabaşı, most of which were registered in 1978 and the decision has been extended in 2005. However, the decision was not taken into consideration; on June 16th 2005, the destruction of them were possible. The Justice and

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[51] http://en.beyoglu.bel.tr/beyoglu/services.aspx?SectionId=2079

development party (AKP) successfully passed a law (law 5366) to initiate the demolition of the buildings involved in the construction field[52].

The project has been canceled by the court in 2017 on the grounds that the project is against planning bases, public benefit and law[53], yet the construction is proceeding.

Figure 4.13: Tarlabasi 360 location and land use mapping

In 2016, the daily Sabah, a local Turkish newspaper, spoke with Feyzullah Yetgin, Çalık Real Estate Executive Board member for more information about the project. Yetgin (2016) states that one of the biggest features of the project is renovating the structures while still preserving the historical texture and cultural values of the area. He claimed that "the challenge is to build with delicacy a similar exterior design with a modern architectural interpretation" (Yetgin, 2016). Tarlabaşı 360 aims at competing with other retail areas in Istanbul such as Nişantaşı and Istiklal Avenue with its 1.4 km long streets and 160 stores available. In fact, the project includes 1000 car parking capacities, residential units, offices and shopping malls consisting of 9 blocks and 952 units. The residential units differ from 48 m2 to 354 m2 studios, 1+1, 1+1 lofts, 2+1, 2+1 duplexes, 4+1 duplexes and penthouses. Yetgin (2016) also mentions that the average cost for the residential units is 6,500$ per square meters and 7,500$ for the offices[54] (figure 4.14). Stated to be one of Istanbul's most derelict neighborhoods, the

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[52] https://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2015/07/turkey-akp-disneyfication-istanbul-buries-ancient.html

[53] https://bianet.org/konu/tarlabasi

[54] https://www.dailysabah.com/istanbul/2016/06/04/turkeys-first-urban-renewal-project-to-launch-soon

project's area is a target for the municipality and the stakeholders' economic/ capitalist growth, revitalization and "social development".

Zehra Tonbul, a lecturer at Mardin Artuklu University explains the political attitude and reasons for the project's intervention in one of her case studies and formulates her opinion on marketing the historical material in order to justify the political vision (2011). She criticizes the physical, architectural and urban form of the new project; "History melts into a décor and the facades of historical houses remain only as components of the "new" glass/timber façade of the new designs" (Tonbul 2011, p.7).

Figure 4.14: 360 Office Details and Facades

Source:http://www.taksim360.com.tr/uploads/katalog/Taksim360_office_catalog_tr-eng.pdf

The block's facades may still refer to the old building facades to a certain level, but yet, the building's typology and division on the interior differs extremely, "The 19th-century facades of the existing buildings are rebuilt and re-situated on this new function and language. They compare to a stage set, a makeup reference to history, and a tool of advertisement" (Tonbul 2011, p.7). From the plans I have seen on the project's catalog and 3D model in the sale office located on the opposite side of the on-going construction, the project is offering large interior green spaces with atriums for sun and lighting purposes. However, as Tonbul states, the existence of terraces, rooftops and large green spaces doesn't make "part of the language of the historic neighborhood and it reflects upon and changes the character of the street through texture and through its coding" (Tonbul 2011, p.7). This architectural language that the new project is trying to implement does not reflect the historical heritage of traditional architecture and urban silhouette of Tarlabaşı. Those architectural interventions in the urban fabric of the area

changes the texture of the historical place, which aim to re-create a different "Tarlabaşı" with modern touches.

4.3.1. Restrictions of the project: Invisible Social Barrier

This project's attempt at increasing life condition, encouraging economic growth and state intervention in the neighborhood might also be an intervention too -not only the urban and architectural state of the area, but rather to demographic and social structure. I was curious to ask the inhabitants' opinion about the project, many of them think that this new project will bring benefit to the area; it will be more secure and well maintained. But for who exactly?

Many of the respondents explained to me that the project was not fair and that "they" bought their houses for small amounts of money and would sell them for millions. "It is always the most powerful one who wins, no word for us" said a grocery owner that I interviewed in Tarlabaşı, then he began explaining to me the process that they had to go through if they wanted to express their disapproval and request more money for their lands or houses in Tarlabaşı; "we will have to go to the court, open a case, wait until it is approved, and who knows what time it will take and if we will win the case" he explains (see. Appendix-9 and Appendix-10). People which I started asking about the project, Tarlabaşı 360, and which had an idea about it -most of them Turkish- felt that all the actors in charge were taking advantage of them. Erdal Aybek, a community organizer and the former spokesman for the Tarlabaşı solidarity organization for property owners and tenants explains Al-monitor[55] in Tremblay's article (2015) that there were hundreds of court cases that were presented against the municipality and people being evicted since 2008 started resisting. They were aware that once the project is implemented and the new "faced" people will start to reside in Tarlabaşı, slowly, the whole area is going to change demographically, even the northern part of the project.

This demographical and urban change is like cancer or a skin rash, it starts in a small part of a place and starts spreading away, reaching the last part of its body, Tarlabaşı. As we have seen before, Tarlabaşı is an island, very neglected and detached from the

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[55] Founded by Jamal Daniel in 2012, Al-Monitor's mission is to foster a deeper understanding between the Middle East and the international community by diving deep with analytical pieces from some of the most trusted, independent authors from across the globe.

wider society, and this new project is not making things easier for integration; it might at the contrary, intensify marginalization. With Yetgin's 6.500$ per square meters estimated cost for residential units, living and renting in Tarlabaşı will become too expensive and unaffordable (Sabah 2016). Quoting from Tremplay's (2015) article, Aybek also tells that;

> "75% of Tarlabaşı population are tenants. Initially, they were voiceless. If you painted your building without proper permits, you would get fined thousands of dollars. All of a sudden, it has become acceptable to completely destroy these historical buildings, which were allegedly under state protection".

This related the architectural and physical state that Tarlabaşı has been going through in relation with this social and demographical barrier invisibly created in the area. Aybek mentions as well that hundreds of people and families did not only lose their shelter but had to lose also their livelihoods. Many of the respondents that had described me their job positions and locations, which were next to their "home", Tarlabaşı, will not be able to afford to come back living on the outskirts of Istanbul, their new "home" that the municipality gave them in return for their own houses in Tarlabaşı. Those hanging ropes between the buildings were not only laundry, but represented also human's relations in a place that regrouped the underprivileged and marginal society. This emancipation of the project did not only create limit and boundaries between the residents and the wider society, but tore down every possible or hope of belonging and attachment to the place. According to an article written by The Guardian (2016), a Kurdish waiter named Issam Saade explains after 2 years of fighting to not get evicted and to stay in Tarlabaşı "there is more money coming into Tarlabaşı but not for the people who live here now[56]". Saade was forced to leave Tarlabaşı in autumn 2016 following the court order. In the same article discussing about the cases Tarlabaşıans had to face due to the new project, Ebru Ergün, a psychologist who has worked at the Tarlabaşı community center for the past five years says that "[the people of Tarlabaşı] will have to move to wherever they can afford, and when they go, we will have to go too" and "many of them have nowhere to go, but the state doesn't care about that".

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[56] https://www.theguardian.com/cities/2016/jun/02/syrias-gypsy-refugees-sanctuary-istanbul-turkey-ghetto-how-long-will-last

This social neglect towards the inhabitants and the preference of a much more modernistic, luxurious face in Tarlabaşı creates not only urban discrimination, but a social one as well. It seems that Tarlabaşıans face many discriminatory acts from the wider society and the state. Previously seen that the education and learning level in the area is very low; this is also part of the discrimination that the "outsiders" have towards the Tarlabaşıans.

Ceren Suntekin, a social worker at the same community center (2015) explains also that the effort they try to do to enhance their life conditions and improve their socio-economic status is deniable and the only face that those "outsiders" see is the face of poverty, marginal, unwanted, and as simply; "the others". Suntekin tells the Guardian that "when they go to school, teachers discriminate against them and they don't have the environment to study in when they come back home[57]". Tarlabaşı and me (Tarlabaşı ve Ben), a movie produced by Marianna Francese and Jaad Gaillet in February 2015, is a short explanation of the social bonds in the area and examines in detail the life condition experiences of the Tarlabaşıans and the people who are facing the project and the impact of the project upon them and upon their existence and presence in the place.

The movie basically represents a refuse collector (kağıt toplayici), Mustafa (figure 4.15). In this movie, Mustafa explains the situation of the Kurdish people who came from the Eastern part of Turkey to Tarlabaşı in order to rebuild a new home and a new life and that today, they are leaving their houses again and seeing their lives destroyed in front of them, along with the registered buildings. Mustafa also talks about the weak situation Tarlabaşıans are in and their social invisibility that they live in along with the buildings that they are trying to hide under. This barrier created between the empowered actors and the Tarlabaşı inhabitants even restrict them from fighting for their rights and they simply accept their marginality, being "inferior other". "I don't understand why people don't fight in Tarlabaşı. What could they do if a family made a stand on the top of a building? They couldn't continue the demolition[58]" explains Mustafa.

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[57] https://www.theguardian.com/cities/2016/jun/02/syrias-gypsy-refugees-sanctuary-istanbul-turkey-ghetto-how-long-will-last
[58] https://www.opendemocracy.net/harriet-fildes-marianna-francese-jaad-gaillet/repression-and-resistance-in-istanbul-tarlaba%C5%9F%C4%B1-and-me

Figure 4.15: A scene from "Tarlabaşı ve ben"

People of Tarlabaşı endure all kinds of barriers, whether social or urban, economical or spatial and most importantly demographical. This boundary does not only exist between the "Tarlabaşıans" and the outside society, but some exist also within the place itself. It is true that everyone seems to know each other, and this I know from people's faces when I went to observe, it was like face recognition that I didn't belong there. But, some barrier exists between them as well; from the surveys I conducted, I realized that a certain bond and at the same limits was created between them, which I will explain later in the findings. However, I wasn't sure if this bond was due to similar socio-economic status, displacement or the fact that they were all forced to live in this melting pot and had no other choice. One thing is sure, everyone is faking their existence in Tarlabaşı until the day they will get evicted, and until this day comes, everyone seems to pretend that everything is okay and living day to day, and when this time comes, someone else with a "face that suits more of Istanbul's new picture" will fill in their shoes… and their "home".

4.3.2. Social Reorganizing, A New Target for New People

In an attempt to answer the question "who exactly benefits from this projects", I think the situation explains itself. On many real estate online agencies, rental and sales

information are provided to the clients and future property owners. Zingat for example, a Turkish online website for real estate, provided a wide range of Tarlabaşı 360 units for sale. As seen in figure 4.33, the sale rate is quite high and range from 454.000 dollars up to 2.000.000 dollars for penthouses[59] (Table 4.6). From 700 TL and 1000 TL per month for rent fees (according to one of the respondents I interviewed for a 1+1 apartment) to thousands of dollars, it seems impossible for "real" Tarlabaşıans to afford such prices as we have discussed before.

Table 4.6: Prices for types of units in Tarlabasi 360

Tip:	Metrekare:	Fiyat:
1+0	46 m²	-
1+0	53 m²	454.000 USD
1+0	71 m²	Satışı Tamamlandı.
1+1	57 m²	Satışı Tamamlandı.
1+1	65 - 140 m²	330.000 - 1.000.000 USD
2+1	85 - 208 m²	579.000 - 1.500.000 USD

Source: https://www.zingat.com/taksim-360-tarlabasi-360-11859p

Tarlabaşı 360 aims to "clean" the neighborhood in order to make a more economical profit, due to its important location and move people that already live there, regardless of their opinions and their nostalgic feelings, in order to make room for a brand new higher society. Those socially broken bonds and boundaries are evident in many ways in a very invisible –yet visible- way. For example, through the billboards representing the project with their slogan "Tarlabaşı renewed", and new faces that appear on them (figure 4.16).

A "better" targeted version of class and aimed hierarchy is planned and drawn. This twisted demographical and social translation requires understanding of the importance of public and governmental investment in order to deal with marginality and multiculturalism which seem not be well represented and translated. Also, it is necessary to comprehend the consequences of social / political and economic bonds to the architectural and physical space. The faces on the billboards of Tarlabaşı Boulevard

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[59] https://www.zingat.com/taksim-360-tarlabasi-360-11859p

surely shows a switch intended in the demographical silhouette of the new project, which aims "better looking people", social reorganizing, and increases this invisible social barrier, instead of dealing with multiculturalism and marginal communities in a more compatible way. The issues of decayed areas such as Tarlabaşı should be dealt with immense sensitivity towards ethnic groups, not by displacing them elsewhere, because in this case, the problem is not being solved, it is just being delayed and placed elsewhere.

Figure 4.16: Current and Future Inhabitants of Tarlabaşı

Source: http://www.refendi.com/last-dance-of-tarlabasi

It is amazing to see how those billboards hide not only buildings but is also a mask for social instability, ethnic discrimination, and multiculturalist prejudices. Showing large smiles on billboards screens, happy families, girl holding books, increasing education awareness and a "better" futuristic vision is only a cover and pretentious enhancement of the area. All the advertisements are glittery, sprinkled over one of Istanbul's most dangerous neighborhood to make it "great again". On the project's official website, words such as luxurious, fancy, fashionable, appears to advertise their "brand new" conceptual project. In fact, on their slogan, they mention "at the heart of Istanbul and its storied past" and then "A brand new Tarlabaşı" (figure 4.17). Both mottos are very contradictory in my opinion because they both somehow oppose each other; what is really Tarlabaşı without its people and the multicultural diversity that made it the way it is today, never less of its current situation?

I am not sure whether this gentrification process is a benefit to the area, and since that is not the focus of the research, I will not go into the details of the process. In the future chapter, the "inhabitants" opinion and the way multi ethnic communities translate their existence into the physical space might be revealing. That could bring up to observe the social impact and spatial influence that multi-ethnic groups and marginality have on the physical sphere. This win-lose chaotic yet serene deal is very disturbing, especially for the displaced population. The project did not bring ease to the inhabitants of Tarlabaşı and widened social barriers between the outsider and the insider, the wealthy and the poor, the marginal and the integrated. Those economic benefits for some means the eviction for others and it would be interesting to see the imprints that Tarlabaşıans leave on the physical surroundings.

Figure 4.17: Slogans on the Tarlabasi 360 official website

Source: http://www.taksim360.com.tr/en/

4.4 SOCIAL AND SPACIAL IMPRINTS OF MULTICULTURALISM IN TARLABAŞI

Through my literature research, I tried to focus on marginality, multiculturalism and their impact on the physical space in ethnic urban enclaves. The literature review and the theoretical part helped me understand the socio-economic factors that relates the status of ethnic groups, the importance of integration and their built environment within the city, and most importantly, their social and physical imprints. This made me shed a light on the importance of individual integration – social and physical- with the host society to build a better lifestyle and a better living condition. The neglect of existence of recognition might cause some severe social, economic, urban, architectural damage that might be very hard to deal with by time. This last part of the thesis tries to summarize the topics previously talked about and anticipate to find the bond that attach them with the field of study. It also focuses on analyzing the current situation, the urban and the physical condition of Tarlabası through participant observation. As I mentioned, many researches have been made on Tarlabaşı, and the field was a case study for many urban sociologist or architects, but few aimed at focusing on a much more personal scale that targeted the inhabitants, their own perspectives and impacts on the built environment. I will begin this sub chapter by showing some examples of previous research that were conducted in Tarlabaşı. Later on, I will explain the type of research I am dealing with, along with the methodology that I used; a brief explanation will be presented that might reveal some steps I had to take in order to achieve the targeted research questions. Last but not least, a classification of the findings and the social and spatial outcomes will be presented and in hope by doing so, be able to shed light on the questions that attracted my curiosity, which from the beginning, made me come up with the research topic. This part of the study for me is the most interesting part because it brings all the related subjects to one understanding and perspective. How do Tarlabaşıans reflect their existence in the physical space? What are the consequences of being displaced, or being in a waiting room, or being just in a transfer zone on the physical, spatial and urban aspects? All those questions pending, hopefully will be answered to be able to understand more this hidden, sealed small city called; Tarlabaşı.

4.4.1 Previous Research

As mentioned before, Tarlabaşı is a well-known case study that attracted the attention of many urban planners and sociologists and became even more interesting with the construction of the new project "Tarlabaşı 360". The gentrification project caused many disturbances and faced many criticism to become later a case study for many sociologists, as well. In my thesis, I wanted to analyze how Tarlabaşı changed within time demographically and physically; what led now to its current situation and the impacts of displaced population on the physical space. That is why I tried to investigate previous researches that were conducted before the new project's implementation in 2006, because this –in my opinion- is the period that defined its physical, urban and social status and will help me see Tarlabaşı from the residents own perspective without any state or exterior intervention. Of course, the implementation of the new project played also a major role in changing the psychological and physical structure of the urban/ social fabric of the area. I tried to find the balance while working with different periods (winter, summer, day and night…) to be able to come up with analytical theoretical outcomes which will help me see the impact of multiculturalism and marginality in Tarlabaşı in relation with the place making.

Tarlabaşı has been a major topic since the implementation of the project. But even before, many researchers conducted surveys, reports to study the urban, social and economic condition of the area. The community center (Tarlabaşı toplum merkezi) published this year (2018)[60] –along with previous articles, journals and reports since its opening in 2007- A Needs Assessment Report of Syrian Urban Refugees Receiving Assistance from Tarlabaşı Community Center in Tarlabaşı. This report explains the socio-economic situation of the Syrian refugees that flee war in Syria in 2011 and moved to Tarlabaşı. It intriguers topics such marginalism and social recognition and stigmatization. The Tarlabaşı Toplum merkezi is working with many social and financial supporters such as the Mother Child Education Foundation (AÇEV), Istanbul Bilgi University Research Center for Immigration Studies, Turkey Family Health and Planning Foundation (TPAV), Istanbul University Children Studies Unit (ÇOÇA),

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[60] http://www.tarlabasi.org/docs/raporlar/ttm-Syrian-children-field-report-2018.pdf

Under the Same Roof with Children (ÇAÇA), Migrant Solidarity Network- Migrant Solidarity Cuisine and many others[61].

The center of migration of Istanbul Bilgi University published many reports and studied for many years the case of Tarlabaşı and the immigration/migration process[62]. Also, since the implementation and the competition for designing the future facades of the projects, Tarlabaşı was urbanely, socially, architecturally and economically studied from several aspects.

One of the studies that helped me a lot during this thesis is Bahar Sahin's field study report, conducted in December 2006, in partnership with Istanbul Bilgi University Center of Migration. This report was done in cooperation with local non-governmental organization; Tarlabaşı community center[63]. Since the project (Tarlabaşı 360) was just decided but not implemented then, the demographic or physical state was not effected at the time. Still, the findings of the research contribute in understanding place attachment of inhabitants and reflect their imprints on the physical state of the area .The preparation of the work commenced in November 2005 and because the neighborhood is divided by 6 mahalles[64], the 6 muhtars[65] were visited to obtain more information about the project and the area. They started their field study with overall demographic structure questions, income level and living conditions related questions. Later on, they organized some focus group discussions with the community local leaders which represented the majority of Tarlabaşı residents'; Kurdish and Romani population. After the first draft of the survey planned to be conducted, a pilot study was carried out to test its content and the validity of questions. The last version of the questionnaire took 4 months with a research team (2 researchers and 5 assistants) and targeted 200 random persons (which represent actually only 1% of the area's population in 2006). The numbers given in the field report study are all based on the latest population census given by the State Statistics Institute (SSI) which made me rely on this field report, while knowing that those numbers changed since. Unfortunately, this field of study was one of the few that were in English, but it was enough for me (with the interviews that I conducted with

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[61] http://www.tarlabasi.org/en/about-us/ttm
[62] https://goc.bilgi.edu.tr/en/resource/3/test-resource/
[63] https://goc.bilgi.edu.tr/en/activities/10/internal-migration-studies/
[64] District, quarter, ward, or "neighborhood
[65] A leader of an Arab village or district, usually chosen or approved by consensus

inhabitants) that permit me to have a holistic image and information on the current socio-economic situation of my field of study and inhabitant's views and attachment.

This research study covered mainly important aspects that I was searching for; legal documentation and status, languages used, education level in relation with their backgrounds, employment/ unemployment and poverty rate, demographic and property figures, household status and communal services, migration background and reasons, health profile, political affiliation and most importantly, level of attachment to the place and social involvement. Even though demographical changes occurred in the last 12 years in Tarlabaşı, especially after the immigration of Syrian, African refugees and foreign settlement in the area, this field study report brought me the required overall information on the residents and their socio-economic status.

Articles and books about multiculturalism and marginality were very helpful in completing the research question. The literature review was essential because it gave me specific ideas and information about cultural diversity and the host society and the bond that relates them both. This bond created was affiliated with many others such as assimilation and keeping one's own identity and the importance of balance between both; none should give away his/ her own culture but at the same time, should respect the host society's own traditions and culture and try to merge both in order to live peacefully. The socio-economic status also marked its importance in building the space that a group of people live in and the physical environment. Of course many others such as "Changing Neighborhood: Ethnic Enclaves and the Struggle for Social Justice" (Liu and Geron 2008), "The Politics of Recognition in Multiculturalism" (Taylor 1992), "We Are All Multiculturalists Now" (Glazer 1997), and "Limits of Ethnic Solidarity in the Enclave Economy" (Sanders 1987).

Christine Inglis's book, published by UNESCO in 2006, "Multiculturalism: New Policy Responses to Diversity" was very helpful in my theoretical research part. Inglis starts by explaining multiculturalism, ethnicity and cultural identities and its criticism. She takes evident examples –Australia, Canada and Sweden- and promotes the respect of individual human rights and citizenship in some countries. She also relates the importance of recognition of indigenous people and ethnic minorities and all the laws and rights that were implemented by the United Nations in order to protect and include them within the social context of the host society. She focuses on the non-

discrimination actions, the need for new policy responses to ethnic diversity in relation with globalization and international population movements, discusses the applicability of multiculturalism as a policy response. This publication was one the most influential or helpful to me to start with the issues of multiculturalism and the consequences of marginalism on a socio-economic scale and to later on, attach it with the physical and architectural space.

4.4.2 Methodology

The Cambridge English dictionary defines ethnographic research as a scientific description of the culture of a society by someone who has lived in it[66]. An ethnographic research is mostly based on observation; it requires a descriptive analysis on human's behavior, lifestyles and the way they influence their own built environment. It helps contributing to an understanding of the human race, culture and way of living. This field study, mainly based of ethnographic research needed great involvement and participant observation within the built environment to be able to come up with analytical perspectives and discuss the socio-physical problems that it faces. As I mentioned before in the previous chapters, Tarlabaşı is considered one of the most dangerous neighborhoods to visit in Istanbul. For that, I was able to visit the field of study seven times; three of them aiming to conduct interviews and four focused on observing the current condition of the neighborhood – which is a very crucial step for this type of research. The field visits was conducted between November 2017 and August 2018. This was a longitudinal study, extended 9 months which gave me the opportunity to pay attention on the smallest details that an ordinary person might not even pay attention to. I tried to see where people stand, where they meet, how they perform in social and urban space, what activities they do, and tried to understand the bond that attach them together and to the place.

The first time I went Tarlabaşı was just to have an idea about the place and to discover what Tarlabaşı is really about; looks were a little bit scary and suspicious, as it was obvious for the residents that I was not an "Inhabitant of Tarlabaşı". This visit permitted me to take pictures, study the place, and mark my field of study where I wanted to

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[66] https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/ethnography

conduct my research. After several visits to the site to be able to take more pictures and make observations trying as much as possible to find something or some action that might catch my eye and would be insightful for my thesis, on November 5th, I decided to get more involved in the place; that is when I conducted my first interviews with Tarlabaşıans. I was desperately trying to find someone that could help me when I went to a supermarket, in the heart of the neighborhood and asked for the shop owner's help –Not so surprising- he didn't wish to help. However, one of the 13-year-old kids in the supermarket was willing to help; he introduced me and guided me to some people of the neighborhood and showed me around.

The first person I interviewed was a 40's year old Kurdish women (see. Appendix-5), mother of two small kids, living in a 30m2 room at the entrance of a building with her family. She started explaining to me that she came from Syria 20 years ago and still has trouble speaking in Turkish, we spoke very simple Arabic to communicate together. The kid that was showing me around took me to a Kurdish real estate agent (see. Appendix-3 and Appendix-4) who I also conducted an interview with. Mustafa, the emlakcı, also explained to me the way he came to Istanbul from Mardin, 26 years ago and ended up in Tarlabaşı, thanks to one of his relatives. He answered many of my questions but I felt stress in him, he wasn't comfortable with me being in his office. The third interviewer was a Syrian young men working as a chef in a small "falafel[67]" restaurant who came to Tarlabaşı 2 years ago, the young men was very uncomfortable while talking with us (me and my male friend), and in my opinion, he might be without papers and was too scared that we were some legal workers. Then, when I was continuing to discover this sealed-city, a group of 6 year-old girls were sitting on the porch of their buildings. Those girls were the most enthusiastic to meet someone from "outside" and they were so curious to know about me as much as I was curious to know about them. I asked them whether they still go to school and about security and police problems in the neighborhood and if they love Tarlabaşı or not (see. Appendix-7). The fifth respondents were two Turkish shop owners, who fulfilled me with information and political point of view and living condition perspectives (see. Appendix-9 and Appendix-10). I also witnessed a debate between the two men, arguing about the negative and positive aspects of the project. Last but not least, I made a group

discussion with a group of Syrian male refugees that we met in front of the supermarket and who also shared with me their way of living, integration status, economic problems, political issues and housing condition in Tarlabaşı (see. Appendix-8).

After conducting 6 interviews with different (group of) people living in Tarlabaşı, the questions in my second survey were more structured and more focal; having already talked to some inhabitants in my first visit, it was necessary to change and add some questions which were more relevant to my research study and life condition of the interviewers.

With the second draft of the interview form (see. Appendix-1 and Appendix-2), I came back to Tarlabaşı on December 27th 2017. The form included questions about employment, poverty, infrastructure, security, education, attachment, integration, multiculturalism and marginality within the field of study. I conducted interviews with 3 more people; another emlakcı –running some houses in Tarlabaşı- , a 70 year-old Turkish men born in Tarlabaşı, and another Kurdish young men (see. Appendix-6). They started each individually to talk about their own experiences in Tarlabaşı, their own perspective of living in the place, and their own feeling that related them to this neighborhood. The emlakcı started to share with me his individual problems with rent payment, the infrastructure services in the area, the problems that occurs in Tarlabaşı and the police involvement. The Turkish men started to explain to me that Tarlabaşı was his heaven on earth whereas the Kurdish young men, his own hell. After ten interviews conducted with different groups of people, each from different background and diverse ethnic cultures, ideas and thoughts became more and more understandable for me and I was able to construct –with the other previous researches on the field that I analyzed- a general perspective about marginality and multiculturalism in Tarlabaşı.

Last but not least, I conducted interviews with 5 of my colleagues at work that surprisingly, are currently living in Tarlabaşı. They were 3 male friends, living together in one house in Tarlabaşı, and the other one is a married couple that also live in Tarlabaşı. My colleagues that I conducted the interview with also full filled me with many important information. They were all from different ethnicities (Ecuadorian, Syrian, Austrian and German) and they all came to Tarlabaşı from different periods. It

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[67] A small croquette made with ground chickpeas or fava beans and spices, often served with salad and tahini in pita bread.

was interesting to see from their point of view, how they perceive living in Tarlabaşı and what impact in has on them (see. Appendix-11 to Appendix-21).

My last interview which I conducted was with Mrs. Hatice. This women was recommended to me by one of my colleagues and is considered the eyes and ears of Tarlabaşı. She is a very kind lady, generous enough to provide me with many answers. She grew up in Tarlabaşı and runs the whole neighborhood.

Being in Tarlabaşı was not so easy and to convince people to participate as well; people were always afraid to talk to a stranger, and were stressful even though I explained each and every time that it was for an academic study. I guess that the limit –visible and invisible- that were drawn socially, economically and spatially were not so easy to break between the "outsider" (me) and the "Tarlabaşı inhabitants" (them) from their point of view. But this is the aim of an ethnographic research; to try to understand the lifestyle of the people who inhabit the area, and to see their own point of view and how – individually and as a community- they express their own existence in their own "space". Yet, since this is a master thesis, I had very limited time to conduct an extensive ethnographic study. Making more visits to the field and communicating more with the participants to overcome their anxiety and doubts would increase the reliability of the research.

4.5.3 Findings

To recapitulate on all the previous chapters and studies presented in this research study on marginalism, multiculturalism and urban enclaves, the aim is to analyze and find the impact of marginal ethnic minorities on the physical, architectural and urban space. I have based my findings mostly on my personal observations, my interviews with the Tarlabaşıans and some previous research to be able to come up with my own outcomes. The socio-economic status is much related to the physical space; the feeling of a "waiting room" surely do not seem to contribute to improving the physical and architectural space. The aim is not to know whether the architectural space impacts the social structure or vice versa, the target is to relate them both to understand the importance of both factors in relation to the living situation. This socio-physical bond is

what I will try to extract from the studies and observations I made in order to form an analytical understanding of the field of study.

4.5.3.1 Social integration; "Otherness, Sameness"

Tarlabaşı is a true "melting pot" or a "salad bowl" as aforementioned; displaced people came to hide in this "hole" to prevent panoptical surveillance and seek refuge in one of the most dangerous neighborhoods in Istanbul. From the people I interviewed, I realized that many ethnic groups try to make a living outside the walls of Tarlabaşı yet try to be as much discrete as possible. Some demographical and personal information about the respondents, in my opinion, was necessary because this influences the level of social integration or the feeling of attachment to the place that later on, might show its impact on the physical space. From the ten interviews which I conducted with different ethnic groups of people, half of them were Turkish, two were Kurdish and two were Syrians, compared with only one African. Four of the respondents came to Tarlabaşı from more than twenty years ago and four from five years or less. However, this was not a problem for them to be already feeling attached or not to the place as they all shared their feelings about integration and attachment to Tarlabaşı, which will be presented in the next subchapter. One of the participants, a Turkish men said to me; "it's only been 4 years in Tarlabaşı for me, I like it, I want to stay here forever", while another participant, who is living in the place for more than 30 years that he just want to get out of Tarlabaşı, and if he had to change, leave Istanbul. Of course, the employment rate is also a major contributor of social integration and eases individual's involvement in the social structure. Some of the interviewers work in mussel selling (3), near Besiktas and Karakoy, which is not really a way to widen social ties, so does street selling; two of them were textile workers and two of them hold other jobs, whatever they have the opportunity to work in.

Most of the interviewees I conducted my interviews found the house they live in Tarlabaşı thanks to relatives or families who used to live or still reside in Tarlabaşı. Despite the reputation of the area, the social bond and familial relationship should not be neglected in Tarlabaşı; most of the residents outgrow their community by bringing their own ethnic groups and people from their own backgrounds to the place. The

familiarity and the social ties that connect them creates a certain social knit within the neighborhood, which makes integration easier than to go somewhere where no one knows anyone. One of the interviewees, a Turkish men explained to me that he knows that Tarlabaşı might not be the best place in Istanbul and that he might have the economic possibility to live elsewhere, much more fancier, but he wouldn't go because he won't know anyone; he created his social network and now Tarlabaşı is the only place which feels like "home" for him.

As I mentioned earlier, physical space is reflected in the social, political and economic factors that contribute to the well-being of the area. Security question has always been visible –even personally- in the neighborhood. The feeling of being secure at "home" eases the fact of belonging and integrating oneself into the place. Most of the residents I interviewed feel insecure living in Tarlabaşı (7) and face many problems when it comes to daily life; "if you were here by yourself at midnight, that pretty purse of yours would be robbed, and you might get stabbed, be careful young lady" said to me one of the people I asked about safety in Tarlabaşı. However, the emlakcı, who obviously thought that he wanted to make a sell, explained to me that it was a perfectly safe area to live in! Having interviewed 10 respondents that accepted to participate, and extensive participant observation in the field I am guessing that many more problems occur in the Tarlabaşıans's daily life. The participants explained to me that one of the major problems they face was pick-pocketing (3 of the participants), discrimination issues, injustice, and inequality. Most of the participants all had poverty problems and economic issues, in addition to unemployment and lack of municipal services and infrastructure. It is possible to see that many of the main problems that were stated to me, appeared also in Bahar Sahin's research conducted in December 2006. It shows that from the 200 random persons she conducted interviews with, the most serious problems that the residents of Tarlabaşı perceived were security problems and illegal activities such as pick-pocketing and robbery (40%) and lack of municipality services and infrastructure (18.5%) (Table 4.37). Nonetheless, Sahin also raises a very important question about actions that should be taken to solve the security problems in Tarlabaşı. Half of the respondents agreed that the state and police have an advantage in the continuation of these problems (Table 4.8). In fact, as I mentioned before in chapter 3, the lack of urban and social maintenance could lead to the deprivation of an area and a

community itself. However, this also is an excuse to push the area to the extreme deterioration and to turn out as "heroes" to reshape and upgrade the broken and the rotten area, for economic purposes. Behind those answers, discrimination, favoritism, violence and inequality and economic difficulties are all revealed between not only the outside and the inside, but also between the inhabitants of Tarlabaşı themselves.

Table 4.7: Problems of and in Tarlabasi

What are the most serious problems of Tarlabaşı and its residents? (first replies)	Frequency	Percent
Migration	4	2,0
Discrimination	1	0,5
Low education level	7	3,5
Police	1	0,5
Prostitution	3	1,5
Security	22	11,0
Robbery, pick-pocketing	80	40,0
Gangs	3	1,5
Unemployement	5	2,5
Drugs	18	9,0
Poverty	2	1,0
Kurds	1	0,5
Infrastructure, lack of municipality services	37	18,5
Transvestites	1	0,5
State	2	1,0
Foreigners	4	2,0
Other	4	2,0
No answer	5	2,5
Total	200	100,0

Source: Field Study Report, Tarlabasi Community Center by Bahar Sahin, December 2006.

Table 4.8: Problems solution

Why do you think that these problems can not be solved?		Frequency	Percent
Valid	No solution is possible, without the solution of the Kurdish issue	10	14,7
	State and police have advantage in the continuation of these problems	34	50,0
	Violence is a widespread issue and juridical measures are not dissuasive	5	7,35
	Unemployment and economic difficulties are global issues	14	20,6
	Other	5	7,35
Total		68	100,0

Source: Field Study Report, Tarlabasi Community Center by Bahar Sahin, December 2006.

When it comes to the activities and the use of urban and social space, Tarlabaşıans have no problems in wandering freely in their own neighborhood to a certain level. While observing people walking, the looks and the way they walk and look into other people's eyes were different. I have seen many young men, most probably Kurdish, walking in Tarlabaşı with full confidence with their body movement, and their rosary[68] in their hands. They seem to own the area, and they were familiar with everyone and everything

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[68] A string of beads used for counting these prayers during recitation.

around them. Most of the gathering I have seen of people were for old men, mostly in tea rooms, playing Okey[69] and card games and drinking tea. Women, however, stand or sit on their houses' porch or on the pavements talking and young teenagers in computer rooms, playing video games. Observing from outside is not as bad as it seems, people do not fight and rob all day long. As I mentioned before, in this maze, everything is hidden, until you actually become one of "them".

When it comes to the social bonds and relationship between inhabitants of Tarlabaşı, multiculturalism is reexamined. The invisible barrier does not only imply between the "outsider", the host community, the wider society outside the walls of Tarlabaşı and the "insider", but also between "insider" and "insider" which also defines sort of interior boundaries between Tarlabaşıans. For instance; not only most of the people I interviewed with (7) do not have any friends from outside Tarlabaşı, but also only a few of them (2) have friend(s) from different ethnicity. This gives some clues about multiculturalism and its level of implementation and its success/ unsuccess within the neighborhood and might reveal kind of discrimination and ethnic diversification in the area.

Sahin in her field of study also analyses the social and ethnic bonds within Tarlabaşı. In her research analysis, it appears that 53.5% disagree with the idea of favoritism when it comes to shop from similar ethnic groups, however, 35% strongly agree and only shops at places whose owner are from the same ethnic community. 20% partly agree because it depends on which ethnic group (Table 4.9). For example, Sahin explains in her field of study that 95% of the respondents prefer people from the black sea origin and that social bonds are tight with specific ethnic groups. However, she states that African immigrants, for example, are less welcomed than Iraqi ones. Also, 25% of the respondents refused to have contact or do their shopping from Armenians or Iraqis, but one a third of the respondents are okay with their daughters marrying an Armenian or an Iraqi (Sahin, 2006). The same social connection is related to religious views also, and not only based on ethnic background. In Sahin's report, 52% prefer to be in relation with people from the same religion (Table 4.10).

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[69] Okey is a traditional Turkish game, similar to Rummikub. Players manage their hand to make runs and sets. The first one to use all his pieces wins the game.

Table 4.9: Relationship with the "other"

I prefer to do my shopping at places whose owner is an "insider" to me		Frequency	Percent
Valid	I strongly agree	70	35,0
	I partly agree	20	10,0
	I disagree	107	53,5
	No comment	3	1,0
Total		200	100,0

I use to keep in contact with everybody who lives in Tarlabaşı		Frequency	Percent
Valid	I strongly agree	62	31,0
	I partly agree	33	16,5
	I disagree	102	51,0
	No comment	3	1,5
Total		200	100,0

Source: Field Study Report, Tarlabasi Community Center by Bahar Sahin, December 2006.

Table 4.10: Religious bonds in Tarlabasi

I prefer to be in relation with people from the same religion		Frequency	Percent
Valid	I strongly agree	104	52,0
	I partly agree	15	7,5
	I disagree	79	39,5
	No comment	2	1,0
Total		200	100,0

Source: Field Study Report, Tarlabasi Community Center by Bahar Sahin, December 2006.

In my interviews as well, half of the participants explained to me that they would prefer to shop from someone from similar ethnicity (5), someone they knew and feel comfortable with and for the other half, it was not a big deal, as long as they can buy whatever they wanted.

Residing in such a multicultural ethnic area is not always smooth, and the socio-economic factors, security difficulties, the state intervention do not ease the living condition and the daily life of the area's inhabitant. The political problems between minorities towards the outside host society and the inside ethnic community and their own individual problems with each other as the "other" create another dimension of marginality. Tarlabaşı has created an internal hierarchy inside a wider social hierarchy, ascending toward extreme marginality and people living on the edge of the society, socially, economically ad urbanely.

4.5.3.2 Attachment to the "place"; Remember to forget!

In my opinion, being attached to a place means growing memories, growing feelings inside each and every individual who perceives the place in his own way. The Cambridge dictionary defines attachment as a feeling of love or a strong connection to someone or something[70]. The term "belonging" to someone or something is related to attachment because it means that it is a piece of someone that he takes wherever and whenever. Tarlabaşı, regardless whether its inhabitant thinks of it as "home", has sheltered many ethnic communities and has adopted several generations to a level that it automatically and genuinely called itself "home". However, Tarlabaşı who has been going under several changes over the past decade is torn between hosting its current residents and receiving another social, "better", much "fancier" class. The ethnographic research and the interviews that I conducted with the inhabitants made me realize the importance of urban sociology and the phenomenon of dealing with not only the urban fabric of the city, but also, the social demographical fabric in relation with it.

The attachment, integration and the investment of residents in the built environment are neglected in the scope of Tarlabaşı 360 project. The project implemented is not only tearing down buildings, but also dreams and hopes and the few social bonds that were created. Most of the participants (9) knew about the project because it somehow touched them all. The only respondent which had no idea about the project was a Kurdish woman, barely speak Arabic and no Turkish had no idea about the project, and didn't seem to go out her house that much. This woman was a total stranger, even to her own house, a stranger to the inhabitants, a stranger to the streets and a stranger to Tarlabaşı. It was very disturbing to see the relationship that she holds with the area, knowing that she spent 20 years in Tarlabaşı; "project? What project are you talking about?" (See. Appendix-5).

Most of the residents (8 interviewees) think that the project is actually an improvement to the area and that it will be a nicer, much more secured place. The only thing they knew is that they probably would leave the area eventually as they would not fit into the image and the social standards that will be imposed on the area and on them. However, most of the people know that this change is not only urban, architectural and physical

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[70] https://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/attachment

but rather a demographical one. Tarlabaşı which is one of the most multicultural neighborhoods in Istanbul, hosting ethnic groups from different backgrounds will no longer exist. At times when the people choose Tarlabaşı, once the project is done, Tarlabaşı will pick its own people, "fit" and "worthy" of its walls and streets and new commercial luxurious designs. The Syrians that I conducted my interview with, could not care less about the project, one explained that he is used of displacement, in the worst cases, he would pack and go; "we were displaced from Syria, and we will be displaced one more time, it is fine, we don't really care anymore, we are used to it now"(see. Appendix-8). Another respondent, the Turkish shop owner, arguing with his other friend, was telling him that if the area changes, he would take the money from the state and leave; "I want to leave in peace, I am sick of this, frankly, if the area becomes financially unbearable, I'm out!" (See Appendix-9 and Appendixe-10). In his opinion, he cannot do anything about the project, even if it was unfair, the winner takes it all.

Most of the residents are furious because they think that the project and the state is taking advantage of them, being week and poor. The marginalization status which they are in weakens their socio-economic status and leave them speechless and lack of recognition and respect. This feeling is later translated into lack of motivation in building a better environment because, in order to do so, they should hold on to some light of hope, and for now, the only thing they hold on to, is the laundry ropes that still exists, which the project didn't destroy yet.

The attachment and integration and the feeling of belonging to Tarlabaşı were quite hard to analyze. When I asked the Tarlabaşıans whether they would leave the neighborhood if they had the choice, half of the people I talked to responded negatively. However, some of them (3) answered that they were 100% attached to the place, that it felt like "home" to them, compared to only two who answered that they had no bonds or any relation connecting them to the site. Many of those answers were based on their nationality –Turkish citizens tend to feel more attached to the field of study; "Are you kidding me? This is my Istanbul, I wouldn't leave Tarlabaşı even if they kicked me out" (see.Appendix-3 and Appendix-4) said an old Turkish participant to me when I asked him if he would leave the place while foreigners tend to see Tarlabaşı just a "waiting room" and a place where they could stay in until they return back to their homeland.

This includes many Kurdish residents, Syrian refugees and African immigrants. It also depends on the period they stayed in Tarlabaşı and the level of social connections they hold. Each and every individual based their attachment feeling on their own experiences; many of them faced political problems, some rent problems, along with economic and social difficulties. One of the interviewers explained to me that he wouldn't like to live in Istanbul itself, because it became a place with no good-hearted people, and for him, people everywhere are "gold from the outside, but rot on the inside" (See. Appendix-9 and Appendix-10). The real-estate agent, on the other hand, described Tarlabaşı as his "heaven"; for him, a person is attached and love the place he grew up in (see.Appendix-6). The social bonds and his family in Tarlabaşı is all he has now and he wouldn't leave this place even if could afford to live elsewhere, with better housing condition and secured area. He said, "All my friends are here, we sit, we talk, that is what we do all day long, we have our own society". Bahar Sahin also tried to understand the feeling of belonging in her report. Her research conducted in 2006 reveals that a significant percentage of the Turkish citizens felt that they belong to Tarlabaşı (34%) and 14% did not feel that they actually belong to the place. For Kurdish residents, for example, more than 70% did not feel part of the neighborhood. The reason behind it was the fact that they think that their stay is only temporary and mostly, they feel discriminated, unrecognized and unwanted. The only feeling of integration and love that some of the Tarlabaşıans feel towards the area are the opportunities that the place offers them, the fact that they were born there and of course, and social network.

Mine was not a quantitative survey, I rely on my own observations and less structured interviews with people, however, I managed to get approximately similar findings to Sahin's field study (Table 4.11).

Table 4.11: The feeling of belonging

| | | Do you feel yourself belonging to Istanbul? | | | Total |
		Yes	No	No response	
Mother tongue	Turkish	69	28	1	98
	Kurmancî	27	68	0	95
	Zazakî	2	0	0	2
	Arabic	2	1	0	3
	Armenian	2	0	0	2
Total		102	97	1	200

Source: Field Study Report, Tarlabasi Community Center by Bahar Sahin, December 2006.

Many factors play major roles in integration and alienation to a certain area; Economic, social, political, urban issues and services are all factors contributing to the wellbeing of a built environment, a healthy lifestyle, and attachment to a place. Dealing with multiculturalism should be done in a very delicate way and it is not easy to prevent internal and external ethnic social conflict. If those socio-economic factors are not respected, not only we might be facing social deprivation and deterioration, but also marginalization and social survival. The consequences of social unbalance and inequality is much more visible even if we are not in the same area or we do not share their daily routine; walls and streets speak at loud. This is where we also witness architectural, urban and physical imprints of those marginal survival groups of people on the built and surrounding environment.

4.5.3.3 "Space" versus "place"? : Multiculturalism floating in the air.

Multiculturalism is a very delicate subject in Tarlabaşı and aborting these issues are quite precarious. There's a thin line that separates multiculturalism and marginality in case of Tarlabaşı, this barrier is a blurred cloud, floating in the air. Our main discussion in this research study revolves around understanding the impact of displaced people, mostly marginal communities and their imprints on the physical space and groups of diverse ethnic communities in an urban enclave. It sheds a light on comprehending the social human behavior and their integration level within the built environment.

Occupying urban space, the quality of public places fill the urban gaps with life and strengthens connections and community relations within a space, and a city. This relationship and bonds created within Tarlabaşı differs from individual to individual on several levels that we aforementioned previously (integration, adaptation level, feeling of "home" and belonging, level of interaction with the "other" and the outsider and many other factors that affect socio-economic living conditions of the participants and of Tarlabaşıans). Surprisingly, making small face-to-face interviews and participant observation on site made me realize another dimension that connects multiculturalism and physical space relation. There was a major part of my unstructured random interviews about ethnicity and the usage of urban space. Each time I used to ask the

participants I got different answers and each time I went to the site and observed the usage of urban space, I got different conclusions; and in my opinion, this what made the field of study even more interesting, and kind of mysterious, just like the identity of Tarlabaşı. Many of the foreigners that I conducted my interviews with preferred not to talk about the way people from different ethnical background deal with one other. I asked one of my friends who live in Tarlabaşı weather different ethnic groups leave their traces in the neighborhood (graffiti, illustrations…) and he was really simple with a "can't tell you" answer (See.Appendix-20 and Appendix-21). I also asked him if the place is segregated between ethnicities and if people gather depending on religion, backgrounds, cultural habits, ethnicity, color or language; the answer was also very blurry: "can't say". Behind those answers, something seemed obscure and sounded suspicious. I can only justify those answers with an actual existence of somewhat differentiation and segregation in the place-making process.

As we have seen in previous chapters, Tarlabaşı is a whole sealed city; a city which has her own character drawn by an ethnic spirit of its inhabitants. I had the chance to chat with Hatice, a very kind lady which run the whole neighborhood and was the mother of the area. She gave me a broad idea of how things are done, dealt with, resolved in the area. She also explained to me how she keeps this area as peaceful as she can. Hatice hanım knows everyone in the neighborhood and everybody knows her; she is the eyes and ears of Tarlabaşı. She explained to me that on an urban scale, the place is very mixed. Areas in the neighborhoods are not divided by ethnicity neither are streets. Hatice hanım states;

> *"I don't want a segregated place, I don't want to divide people based on their origins, background, culture or beliefs which is why I try to mix everyone. We have all endured many things in life and we are here to support each other, we should learn how to be together".*

On a much smaller scale, even buildings are not segregated by ethnicity; there is no such thing as a "Kurdish street" or an "Arab building" or a "trans floor". It means that not only Tarlabaşı itself has a mixed character, but even its streets, buildings and floors are a "salad fruit bowl. She states "My neighbor is Turkish, the other one is African, and my landlord is an angry Kurdish [laughing], I buy my groceries from a Kurdish, eat

Ethiopian, work with Syrians, and dress locally". This was the situation of many participants who explained and described how mixed Tarlabaşı was; "Everyone is everywhere" said one of the participants. Of course, there are always some preferences and favoritism, which in my opinion is very normal. There are some next-door houses on the same floor or same building which are all rented by transsexual inhabitants of Tarlabaşı. Hatice hanım explained to me that it is not easy for everyone to accept to live next to a Transsexual neighbor, or prostitutes. This makes it hard for her, as they end up grouped in a single place; which is not ideal for Hatice hanım. Syrians for example or displaced people in general –who have already relatives or friends or acquaintance in the neighborhood- tend to rent houses as close as possible to them. This process by time creates a social ethnic knit by time and this is what Hatice hanım tries to prevent happening. Most of the Turkish citizens that participated in my surveys have easier access and flexibility "choosing" their own urban space; because some of them grew up in the place so they didn't need to go through this process of selecting a specific area in Tarlabaşı or a street or a building (See. Appendix-22). "I grew up in Tarlabaşı, I used to know everyone, I used to play in these streets since I was a little child, I didn't choose this house, neither did my parents, neither did theirs" said a 70-year-old Turkish resident. But even for the ones who came to Tarlabaşı after, they also prefer to stay somewhere more familiar, next to people they know or people they feel more comfortable with. This means that social bonds and ethnic relationship play a major role in forming the urban fabric of the neighborhood, however, this does not affect the consistency of multicultural balance.

As there are no areas, streets or buildings labeled depending on ethnicity; commercial places, markets, storages, restaurants are not spatially segregated as well. For example, within the boundaries of the survey area I did my research, I noticed a Syrian restaurant. The restaurant had no Syrian connection whatsoever with the surrounding; it was not opened on a "Syrian street" or next to another Syrian store. The same implies for example to the Tarlabaşı Sunday "Pazar". The event takes place in a spacious area; the idea is maybe to find a random empty place to serve as much number of people possible, and not a "Turkish" or "Kurdish" or "Syrian" space. The Ethiopian restaurant and the Kurdish emlakcı who run the real estate agency in Tarlabaşı were not located regarding ethnic concerns either. I am not sure if "chaos" is the right word to describe

the situation in Tarlabaşı; it resembles more to a hodgepodge, an urban patchwork, a medley of cultures.

I noticed that the usage of urban space was not segregated depending on ethnicity, but on many other factors. Mainly, I remarked 3 main group/pattern of gathering according to gender, age, and activities in common. I couldn't know if the people gathered were from the same ethnicity or not but what attracted my attention was that the first grouping pattern is based on gender; I saw very few mixed gender grouping. But the occupation of space was obvious; women gathered in front of their houses and old men in cafes or outside their small shops. This might show a kind of gender discrimination, a way of life or traditions.

However young men, ages ranging from 22 to 30 years old, they were the most visible and present ones in the field of study. They gather mostly on street corners and stand in front of stores. Because of the fact that there are no defined public spaces in the area (no parks or square), analyzing human movement within the built environment and space was not as smooth as I have imagined. Adolescents are more present in computer centers and game showrooms. I visited one game center, where young men were staring at computer screens, playing video games; this game center was open 24/7 and was never empty. The lack of urban and green spaces in Tarlabaşı is not only visible to the naked eye but is seen through the children playing in the tiny alleys. Public space seems to be defined spatially and socially and is visible in the area. People tend to compensate the lack of public spaces with small gatherings in different places, as seen just now and transferring fronts into temporary public gathering zones.

All these findings reveal some important factors about the impact of multiculturalism in the urban space, the social life and the occupation of the "place". It feels like everyone have a dedicated part of the neighborhood to use and each category or group of Tarlabaşı's residents' practices activities in the urban space in various ways. Even in a community as multicultural as Tarlabaşı, despite marginalism and socio-economic factors, its residents prove their own existence and reflect on their impact on a social level regardless of ethnic segregation.

This also has been translated into physical space/built environment in the same manner. The graffiti in the area has been a very important way to express ethnic existence. I presented previously many graffiti images which I took while studying the field and

observing details. The graffiti obviously has been kind of anonymous expressions of ethnicity. I have also seen some LGBT colored flags on the walls which also expresses belonging of certain groups. But those graffiti on the walls were not gathered and/or segregated according to streets or any ethnic grouping which also proves the homogeneous or salad bowl type of multicultural existence in the neighborhood.

5. DISCUSSION & CONCLUSION

The point I am referring to in my previous chapters is to understand that multiculturalism could be expressed in many ways; by the way people react socially and urbanely, by human behavior, by the level of recognition, depending on the level of integration, which reflects the way they express their existence throughout the built environment. Most importantly, dealing with marginalism could be difficult and sensitive and it needs great effort and understanding and appreciation, regarding individuals and groups in the society. The imprints could be seen in many different ways, physically; architecturally, spatially and socially. They could be via drawings/ graffitis on the walls, or the social relationship with the outside world and most importantly, towards themselves.

The idea behind this research topic was to commence with a historical overview of the field to better understand its urban presence within the city. Then, a socio-economic study was needed to understand who lives there and what is the people's daily routine and point out the multiculturalist profile that dominated Tarlabaşı. Later on, I tried to emphasize multiculturalism and present its importance and the value of the politics of recognition in the social structure. However, mistaking and misguiding the path of multiculturalism might also lead to marginalism. Marginalism have always been present in ethnic communities and in the wider social sphere. This feeling of "living on the edge or on the fringe of the society" through time, is accompanied by the feeling of temporariness and leads to not only social deprivation and dilapidation, but also to urban and physical one as we have seen in Tarlabaşı. People tend to care less about maintaining their settlement when they are in a place for a short time. However, needless to say that the area, has already been deteriorated and this not only results from its current inhabitant. The way ethnic groups tend to cluster themselves in an area and close all urban, spatial and social connection with the outside world and the host-society create tendency of urban enclaves.

An urban enclave is a patchwork especially when it revolves around different cultures, each from different backgrounds, which do not particularly share the same culture, food, lifestyle, beliefs, and behaviors. Urban ethnic enclaves does not have to be reflected

within segregated micro environments; it mainly depends on social dynamics and economic factors.

In Chapter 3.4 (Marginal communities living in urban enclaves) I started defining the term "urban enclave" and by that, try to position my case of study in one of them. We have seen that ethnic enclave is a way to protect and survive ethnical cultures and a place to exercise owns tradition. It is a way to defend cultural existence. This is seen in ethnic enclaves such as Chinatown, little Italy and even "little Şam" in Istanbul. However, Tarlabaşı could not be defined as an ethnic enclave because it is not possessed by one group of ethnic people. From the findings, we have seen that there are no imprints which defines a certain ethnic preferences, a characteristic cultural identity or a workspace with a high concentration of ethnic firms. This is why multiculturalism made its importance within the area. We also saw the term "ghetto" which also refers to a place defined by a certain minority group of cultural identity, with many socio-economic problems. Tarlabaşı could be closely defined as a ghetto enclave, a territorial marginalized area.

Nonetheless, the positive and negative aspects of multiculturalism should not be neglected in the scope of social and economic sustainability. Diversification is an important factor which increase social coexistence and well-being. The existence of different cultures, different languages, different architectural styles, different traditions, has many benefits on the host-society and on the ethnic group itself. However, it has its own limit also, socially, economically and spatially. If multiculturalism is misled, it might create social deprivation and create –just like Tarlabaşı - to a sealed-city. This is where spatial and social marginalism occurs.

We might not realize the importance of the consequences of social neglect on the physical built environment. In our case, it is majorly reflected on the built environment and the spatial status of Tarlabaşı. Social and physical deprivation and deterioration is not always easy to discover from the beginning, but once it is pointed, actors should take serious and fast decisions in order to prevent further social and physical damages. Social dynamics and urbanism are both very dependent on each other and they run their own cycle diagram. Poor neighborhoods with low rents –for many reasons mentioned previously and in case of Tarlabaşı, it's constant urban and demographical changes- tend to attract displaced and immigrant groups; which means lack of resources, access

to basic services, poverty, lack of health insurance, lack of education which leads to unemployment and low paid jobs. When much problems occur, inhabitants tend to neglect –or disregard- the physical condition of their built environment. This leads to low maintenance, physical deterioration and architectural dilapidation.

Tarlabaşı has been a very curious case, yet very interesting; what I have imagined to be a very segregated place turns out to be not that segregated physically after all. We cannot define Tarlabaşı as a patchwork physically but we could feel multiculturalism in the air somehow, very intangible yet tangible, here and there. The new project is surely going to be –if not already is- a major turnout of the area, which will affect its socio-economic and urban balance, eventually the multiculturalism in the area. It was kind of a relief, surprisingly, that Tarlabaşı was not ethnically separated by neighborhoods, streets or buildings; everything is kind of blurry. All we know is that its past defined its current situation and the future will be based on what is happening today. Tarlabaşı area is like a palimpsest; it has been scraped or washed off (and still is) so that it could be reused for other purposes. It is such a central and valuable place that is much wanted and therefore unreplaceable, and benefited as much as possible, until total destruction.

The way people are treated, socially and economically, mirrors how they might treat their own built space and that is what should be contemplated on with regards to urban enclaves and more specifically ethnic enclaves, because they are more likely to face socio-economic issues. This is also why we need to reconsider gentrification process in multicultural urban enclaves and try not to be financially-oriented, but to think more about human wellbeing and social flow. The main problem here is that many of the urban renewal projects in central neighborhoods tend to change the multiculturalist history and present. However, the inhabitants of those targeted places –which most of the time face many other socio-economic and residential problems themselves- are more likely to move into other cheap, run-down ghettos and urban enclaves. The authorities and all the stakeholders need to focus more on how to enhance marginal, displaced, "unwanted" and neglected sectorial parts of the society rather than displacing them again and again. As long as we don't find solutions and work on integrating and improving socio-economic level of the inhabitants, we will always face urban and physical deterioration.

Embracing multiculturalism is a very important factor and we should learn how to keep it. In the chapter 3, I gave some examples that encourage multiculturalism and prevent marginality by using policies, social centers, recognition and appreciation, and actually by recognizing their place in the society, the social structure and the economic growth. The advantages of multiculturalism and the presence of multi-cultural enclaves' mirrors a rich built environment with many cultural and traditional backgrounds and has many effects on the social structure of the country or the area if well dealt with. The country's policy towards immigrants and marginal communities are very challenging and sometimes restrictive depending on political systems. I believe politics of recognition and a system that aim at regrouping and integrating ethnic groups in Beyoğlu is quite necessary to help increase life condition and socio-economic status of its residents. If we tend to recapitulate our main questions which revolves around knowing whether different people from different backgrounds, ideologies, from different beliefs and traditions are able to live in one place and the way this multi-cultural existence is reflected on the architecture and the urban form/atmosphere/edges of the area, we might say that the answer is still unclear. The present social and urban atmosphere, the broken bonds between the outside and the inside, between the local and the "other", between the "I belong" and the "I am a stranger" feelings are all words of social consequences, that derived from urban changes and socio-economic conditions.

The Tarlabaşı Toplum Merkezi has been a major help in educating and assisting children in Tarlabaşı and the surrounding areas. I think that multiculturalism should start by focusing on the newest generations of displaced groups. The celebrations of different cultures should be done within the scope of festivals, such as the German festival or Tarlabaşı's graffiti festival are opportunities to build an inclusive atmosphere and introduce multicultural education. I think that areas such as Tarlabaşı need to be dealt with very delicately. I would encourage having more social and cultural centers in the area that would increase communication between ethnic groups. I would also recommend having a public space or a green space. Green and public spaces are a great way to make social connections, decreases stress level and create familial bonds. What could also be done is to have people from the "inside" and from the "outside" to work together in order to break the ice between them and make the image of the "invisible" boundary disappear. It might be important to organize different workshops such as

carpentry, small exterior restorations or other activities (free language classes to ease integration, women empowering classes…). I think that getting people to work makes them feel important and make them even more integrated in the place because they leave their own imprints, but in a positive way. This could be in campaigns such as cleaning the roads, fixing doorsteps, fencing and pavement maintenance. The attempt of building traditional monuments (such as Chinatown, Kreuzberg or little Tokyo) or the usage of ethnic representations are also an enhancement of multiculturalist understanding. The aim at the end is to promote social coexistence and to prevent urban and spatial differentiation and barriers between marginal ethnic communities and the host-society.

Those small touches might create better bond between Tarlabaşıans themselves and the outside world, while giving a sense of recognition and a contribution to the social and physical structure. I am only suggesting ideas which are already present in the area, small things which I hope could have a major impact on the people, because what we might have learned from Tarlabaşı is that: the way people are treated, is reflected on the built environment.

However, this social help is not enough and a serious intervention is needed from actors who can make a difference and has the power to control the presence of multi-cultural ethnicities in a place/ urban enclave without leading it to marginality, because not only it affects the socio-economic conditions of a certain group in a place, but as seen in Tarlabaşı, it has a major negative impact on the built environment and the physical space as well. Individuals, community and all responsible actors, need to raise awareness on the importance of accepting the "other" and to understand that we all need to collaborate in order to upgrade socio-economic living conditions in such urban enclaves in relation with architectural and physical environment. Multicultural imprints whether tangible or intangible adds to the city and to a place, a certain idiosyncratic touch and unfamiliarity, and each imprint tells a story.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A.1 Tarlabaşı inhabitants Interview questionnaire (Part 1)

TARLABASI INHABITANT INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Name: …………………   **Date:** … /… / 20…

Age: ……………………

Education: ………………

Occupation: …………..

Date of Arrival to Turkey: … / … / ……

Contact Info: …………

Demographics and General Questions/ Reasons to choose Tarlabasi:

- When did you come to Turkey?
- Did you come straight to Tarlabasi?
- Why did you choose Tarlabasi?

Job Questions:

- Do you work? (Who works in your family?)
- Where do you work?

House Conditions and Services:

- How did you find this house? Whom are you living with?
- Describe the condition of the house you live in?
- How much rent do you pay? (Is it normal when compared to the rents natives are paying?

Education and Security Questions

- Do you feel secure in Tarlabasi? Do police come a lot?
- What kind of problems do you face about security? Which preacautions do you take?

Use of Public Space and Relationship with the Other:

- What do you do in tarlabasi? Describe your daily routine? (very important)
- Do you have any friends in the area? Who are your friends? Are they from the same ethnics?
- How do come together with your friends in the neighborhood? Where? (Do you use the streets, public squares house fronts?)

Appendix A.2 Tarlabaşı inhabitants Interview questionnaire (Part 2)

- How is the relationship with the others? Is the place segregated between ethnicity? How?
- Are there different Syrian, Kurdish, Turkish places, shops, restaurants In Tarlabaşı? Which ones do you prefer?
- Where do your shop/eat? Do you shop/eat normally in places other than your own ethnicity?
- What do you think about living with different ethnic groups and cultural diversity in Tarlabaşı?
- Do different ethnic groups leave their traces in the neighborhood (graffiti etc) How?
- Do you have friends from outside Tarlabasi?
- Do you often leave the neighborhood and why? What kind of transportation do you use? How is your relationship with the outside world?

Tarlabasi 360 Project:

- Do you have any idea of Tarlabaşı 360 project? How did you learn about it?
- What you think about this project? How will that effect Tarlabaşı in terms of cultural diversity?
- Will you stay in Tarlabasi or no after the project? Where do you think you will go?
- How do you think the inhabitants of Tarlabaşı reacted to the project in general?
- Do you know any friends or relatives who had to leave the area? Can you tell about their story?

Memories and Attachment questions:

- How do you feel about living in Tarlabasi? Would you leave it if you had the choice?
- If you can go back in time, would you change the location (would you not come to Tarlabasi)?
- How attached are you to the place? Please explain.
- How do you make this place your own? How do you make it more familiar?
- Do you consider Tarlabasi as your home?

Appendix A.3 Interview 1 questionnaire (Part 1)

TARLABASI INHABITANT INTERVIEW QUESTIONS (First Draft)

Name: Unknown   **Date: <u>27 12/ 2017</u>**

Age: 55

Education: N/A

Occupation: Real Estate Agent

Date of Arrival to Turkey: 1992

Contact Info: …………

Q1- Who lives in Tarlabasi?

- Turks and kurds mostly and some arabs
- 10% arabs
- 70% Kurd
- 20% Turks

Q2- From where did the Kurds come?

Mostly from the eastern side of Turkey, for example I came from Mardin 26 years ago.

Q3- What do the locals here mostly work?

Some people have small private jobs, like supermarkets, laundry… but most of the people here works in selling midye and in Waste recycling, there are lots of depo for Waste, which are sold after. Lots of people work in Tekstil and in fabric, Kurds are known for tekstil.

Q4- Are there any problems between locals who live in tarlabasi? Are they cooperating?

Before, there were many problems, but there is no segregation. People here are obliged to live and cooperate, because it is a very mixed neighborhood, he couldn't integrate here if any of these ethnic problems occurs.

Q5- Is Tarlabasi a secure place?

The situation in Tarlabasi was very bad, 5-10 years ago, but it is getting better. In the last 2 years, the police are always interfering in the area and controlling it, it's not like the old Tarlabasi. But there are some disturbances for new incomers, because some drug dealers might follow them or harass them, but we know them, some of them sit on the corner of the supermarket, down this road, you might find some dealers.

But I like it here, it's a nice place.

Appendix A.4 Interview 1 questionnaire (Part 2)

Q6- How do people feel about Tarlabasi? Do they feel they belong here? Would they leave this place? Do they think of this place as a long term residence or if they had the choice, they prefer to leave?

People, whatever happens, are attached and love the place where they grew up in. For me for example, I know everyone here, all of my friends live nearby, for example if I go to a better place, let's say Beylikduzu, I wouldn't know anyone. Of course houses conditions are better there, but all of my friends are here, we sit, we talk, that's what we do. We have our own society.

Q7- Why did you choose tarlabasi? If you had the choice to live elsewhere, would you leave Tarlabasi?

I will tell you something, I came here in 1991, I first came to live in kadikoy, in a small restaurant on Bagdat Avenue. But my older brother used to live here and work as a tailor but he didn't have a big atelier or anything. I used to come to visit him from time to time and he offered me to work with him, we would rent only one house. That's how I came here.

The others came here because Tarlabasi is a cheap place to live in.

Q8- What are the houses rent situation? Are they mostly rent or sold?

Half of them are rent and half of them are rent, but many people sold their properties to contractors, took their money and went other places and some of them refused and went to court to complain, gained more money and left.

Q9- Are there any people who do not pay rents?

Mine! (Laughing), he says I'll give you later, and later comes and still no rent fees. One month passes, 2 months passes, still no money, I ask him many times and he doesn't pay. And I have financial problems to pay for gas, electricity and other bills.

Q10- What are the housing problems in Tarlabasi? How about water, electricity and other resources?

Before, there were many water and electricity cuts in the 90's, water used to come every 3 days, but not anymore.

Q11- Why?

There are no canals or infrastructure, there are no strong electrical expansions underground. People here generally use electrical heaters, which uses lots of electricity, this causes pressure on power lines underground which causes electricity cuts.

Q12- Did the project "Tarlabasi 360" affect you personally?

I encourage the project, I think it is a good investment, but not a fair one. They will build better housing, cleaner, much beautiful. It is true that these buildings are historical buildings, but they didn't keep any historical face or meaning. It is better to construct solid buildings, against earthquakes problems and natural disasters. But like I said, the distribution of locals was not fair and this is the only problem that we face.

Appendix A.5 Interview 2 questionnaire

TARLABASI INHABITANT INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Name: Unknown   **Date: 05 /11/ 2017**

Age: 47

Education: N/A

Occupation: Housewife

Date of Arrival to Turkey: 20 Years Ago

Ethnicity: Kurdish

Q1- When did you come to Turkey?

I came here 20 years ago.

Q2- Did you come straight to Tarlabasi? Yes.

Q3- With whom do you live?

I live with my husband and my 2 children.

Q4- Do you face any problems?If yes, what kind of problems? No I don't face any problems.

Q5- Why did you come to Turkey? For what purposes?

The main purpose is work opportunities in Turkey, Istanbul.

Q6- What do you do for living? Where do you work?

I work in Taksim, I sell flowers and beg for money sometimes.

Q7- Do you speak any Turkish?

Not at all.

Q8- Do you have friends in Tarlabasi? How is your relation with your neighbors? Do you have any friends from outside of Tarlabasi?

I don't know anybody in Tarlabasi, I don't deal with my neighbors.

Q9- Do you have any idea about the project "Tarlabasi 360"? If yes, what do you think about the project? How does it affect you?

Project? What project?

Q10- Do you think that Tarlabasi is a mixed ethnic neighborhood? Is the ethnicity/ multiculturalism visible?

Yes, it is very mixed, there are many different people from different background.

Appendix A.6 Interview 3 questionnaire

TARLABASI INHABITANT INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Name: Unknown   **Date:** 05 /11/ 2017

Age: 53

Education: N/A

Occupation: Real Estate Agent

Date of Arrival to Turkey: Born in Turkey

Ethnicity: Turkish

Q1- What do the locals in Tarlabasi do for living? Where do they work usually?

They work usually in mussels selling in Karakoy, Eminonu, Kadiko and Istiklal street.

Q2- Who are the main ethnic groups in tarlabasi? How can you define Tarlabasi as a multicultural area?

Most of the residents are Kurdish, who came long time ago to Tarlabasi.

Q3- Do people get along? How is multiculturalism translated into the social structure of the area?

When you have a job and a place to work, you don't care about anything else. However, arabs for example are very dirty; they come here and they throw their garbage everywhere and they do not respect the place, they stay for 3 or 4 months and then they leave.

Q4- What do you think about the project? What impact do you think it will bring to the area?

The area will be much cleaner and most importantly, safer. It will be better for us. As a real estate, I think that the houses are overpriced, house rents are not that cheap. A small room in a very bad condition is 400 TL a month.

Q5- What do you think is the solution for overpriced rents, insecurity, hygiene problems and other?

Well, I think that the project will certainly transform the place into a better and prettier place to be, in 1 or 2 years.

Appendix A.7 Interview 4 questionnaire

TARLABASI INHABITANT INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Name: Unknown   **Date: 05 /11/ 2017**

Age: Ranging from 6 to 8 Years old (4 girls)

Education: N/A

Occupation: N/A

Date of Arrival to Turkey: Born in Turkey

Ethnicity: Turkish

Q1- Do you go to school?

Yes, we all go.

Q2- Do you like living in Tarlabasi?

No, Tarlabasi is not a safe place. There are always robbery and guns around. It is not nice, police are always here. I am not from Tarlabasi; I am from Istanbul.

Q3- Do you play with other children? Who do you play with?

I don't play a lot with many friends. I don't have friends outside Tarlabasi, and my mom doesn't let me go to a park all by myself. I only play with my neighbors and sisters.

Q4- Do you feel scared in Tarlabasi?

Sometimes I do. My mom always tell me not to play outside when it is dark and she always want to see me when I play. I don't like it this way, there are many rules. Plus, there are no play fields in Tarlabasi.

Q5- Would you be sad if you left Tarlabasi and live elsewhere?

I don't really care where I go, I just want to be able to play whenever and wherever I want to. It would be nice to live somewhere with more kids, where it is safer, where I can enjoy playing in the streets as much as possible.

Appendix A.8 Interview 5 questionnaire

TARLABASI INHABITANT INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Name: Unknown   **Date:** 05 /11/ 2017

Age: 34

Education: N/A

Occupation: N/A

Date of Arrival to Turkey: 2011

Ethnicity: Syrian

Q1- Why did you choose Tarlabasi?

I came here for work, I left Syria because it was not possible for me to stay there. So I came to Turkey to see if I can find a job to work in. I am considering continuing my education. But it is still not financially possible for me.

Q2- How did you find the place?

My brother used to live here and I joined him after. There are a lot of Syrians in the area, this is why it is possible to find easier someone who I know.

Q3- What do people work here?

They work in Tarlabasi, or nearby. Places like Karakoy, eminonu, besiktas, taksim and so on. They work as beggars, flower selling, perfumes, water bottles selling (street selling mostly).

Q4- Do you think that Tarlabasi is a secure place to live in?

No, if you come here between 12am and 5am, you would get robbed. There are lot of gangs here.

Q5- What kind of problems do you encounter in Tarlabasi?

Beside security, people take advantages of foreigners (Syrians), house rents are very expensive for the house conditions. I am paying 750 Tl a month for a 35m2 old appartement. But at the same time, there are work opportunities and this is the only reason to stay here, and support all of the negative sides of Tarlabasi.

Q6- Do you have any idea of the project "Tarlabasi 360"? If yes, how do you think this project will affect you?

The project will definitely affect the area, in a positive way. But it will not affect us, we will have to move eventually and that is not a problem, we are used to moving. We cannot do anything about the project. In worst cases, we will pack our stuff and leave, take the whole family and live somewhere else. We do not have the power to do anything about it, even if we want to.

Appendix A.9 Interview 6 questionnaire (part 1)

TARLABASI INHABITANT INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Name: Unknown   **Date: 05 /11/ 2017**

Age: 58

Education: N/A

Occupation: Grocery owner

Date of Arrival to Turkey: 2011

Ethnicity: Turkish

Q1- Who are the main groups in Tarlabasi? How do you define multiculturalism in the area?

The area is very mixed; there are Kurds, Syrians and no Turkish (laughing).

Q2- What are the main problems that occur in the area?

There are no main problems, it is a very nice neighborhood and people get along well. It is too mixed of origin though, this sometimes create ethnic problems between people from different backgrounds.

Q3- How is the relationship between the inhabitants of Tarlabasi?

Well, people are not enemies, but they are not friends either, they live in a good way, everyone go to their work every morning and come back to their homes.

Q4- What makes Tarlabasi a target for people to live in?

The area is very close to the city center, people who come here usually do not have money for transportation, instead of paying 2 or 3 TL, they put it in their pockets, they walk to their jobs, and it's very close. If a person takes 1200 TL per month as salary, he pays 200 TL for transportation and is left with 1000 TL per month which is not enough. He said that even the rent is high, the rent rage is between 600-700 TL per month.

Q5- What do you know about the new project implemented "Tarlabasi 360"? Where will people go? How will it affect the inhabitants of Tarlabasi?

I think that most of the people will relocate to places such as Kurtulus Kasimpas, they even started moving out since the project was decided. I think it will be agood investement to the area, more clean and much more secure than the place is today. But once the project is implemented, no one living now is going to stay, they will clean the area because the rents and the value of the area will rise like crazy. If it will affect me, I will take the money and go away. However, I think that it is unfair, I bought my house for a certain price and now all the prices will increase and double. It is all related to the bazar the state will put. But if you are not happy, you can sell your house and leave; there is nothing we can do about it; the winner takes it all. When I wanted to make some changes in my house, the police came and made me pay a fine and that it was illegal to do so, and

Appendix A.10 Interview 6 questionnaire (part 2)

now that they are redesigning the whole area and building Tarlabasi 360, it becomes legal? It is unfair and it is always the richest one and most powerful one who wins. I don't like staying in Istanbul anymore, it became such a dirty city, with no good-hearted people and trust –worthy ones. The state speaks perfectly on TV and when you see them or hear them on social media, they are 100% good, but I face so many problems regarding my sigorta (insurance). I cant access my rights at the hospitals and once I had a health issue and they didn't let me in because of my financial status.

Q6- What is the best solution do you think for multiculturalism and the ethnic groups and how does it impact the physical space?

I mean it is very difficult to prohibit ethnic groups to come to Turkey. It is a both sided process that needs understanding and cooperation to be able to live well. I don't know the proper solution to decrease social problems or spatial one but I do know that it needs lots of efforts to make it happen.

Appendix A.11 Interview 7 questionnaire (part 1)

TARLABASI INHABITANT INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Name: Facundo   **Date: 31/06/ 2018**

Age: 28

Education: Master

Occupation: Researcher

Date of Arrival to Turkey: 18 April 2018

Ethnicity: Ecuador

Demographics and General Questions/ Reasons to choose Tarlabasi:

1) **Did you come straight to Tarlabasi?**
   Yes
2) **Why did you choose Tarlabasi?**
   Because it's close to work, it's cheap and it feels more authentic than neighborhoods around, such as Cihangir or Galata.

Job Questions:

1) **Do you work? (Who works in your family?)**
   Yes, I do.
2) **Where do you work?**
   In Galata, Sishane.

House Conditions and Services:

1) **How did you find this house? Whom are you living with?**
   Through a real state agent. Two colleagues.
2) **Describe the condition of the house you live in?**
   It's good. It's been renovated recently, so everything works perfectly. Only sometimes we don't have water or light for a few hours.
3) **How much rent do you pay? (Is it normal when compared to the rents natives are paying?**
   I pay 3500 TL, including services and fully furnished. I don't think its super expensive. I am sure I can find it for less somewhere else, but the difference in price won't make a big difference (the apartment is 3 rooms, two with balconies, very secure. So it's good.

Education and Security Questions

1) **Do you feel secure in Tarlabasi? Do police come a lot?**
   I feel fairly secure. No, maybe I see them once a week.

Appendix A.12 Interview 7 questionnaire (part 2)

   2) **What kind of problems do you face about security? Which preacautions do you take?**
Sometimes I work with female friends and they get stated a lot. At night some friends have been mugged. I am just careful. Always look around, don't look to flashy, use the routes with more people.

Use of Public Space and Relationship with the Other:

   1) **What do you do in tarlabasi? Describe your daily routine? (very important)**
I wake up, go to work, and come back. Go to the store pretty much every day. Go to have tea a couple of times a week. Nothing too crazy.

   2) **Do you have any friends in the area? Who are your friends? Are they from the same ethnics?**
No, I don't. I know a Syrian couple that lives close to me.

   3) **How do come together with your friends in the neighborhood? Where? (Do you use the streets, public squares house fronts?)**
Don't have any.

   4) **Are there different Syrian, Kurdish, Turkish places, shops, restaurants In Tarlabaşı? Which ones do you prefer?**
I mainly go to Turkish and Ethiopian.

   5) **Where do your shop/eat? Do you shop/eat normally in places other than your own ethnicity?**
No, I'm Latin. I go to a Turkish shop.

   6) **Do you have friends from outside Tarlabasi?**
Yes.

   7) **Do you often leave the neighborhood and why? What kind of transportation do you use? How is your relationship with the outside world?**
I do. I walk.

Memories and Attachment questions:

   1) **How do you feel about living in Tarlabasi? Would you leave it if you had the choice?**
If I have to, I will. I don't really care.

   2) **If you can go back in time, would you change the location (would you not come to Tarlabasi)?**
No.

   3) **How attached are you to the place? Please explain.**
Fairly. I like it, feels like a real neighborhood with kids playing in the streets and all the street vendors knowing about my existence.

   4) **Do you consider Tarlabasi as your home?**
Sure.

Appendix A.13 Interview 8 questionnaire (part 1)

TARLABASI INHABITANT INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Name: Lucas   **Date: 08 /06/ 2018**

Age: 29

Education: N/A

Occupation: Researcher

Date of Arrival to Turkey: April 2018

Ethnicity: German

Q1- How did you find this house? Whom are you living with?

Real Estate Agency, I live with 2 of my friends

Q2- Describe the condition of the house you live in?

Very good condition just renovated. It was an airbnb before. So it came furnished.

Q3- Do you feel secure in Tarlabasi? Do police come a lot?

I feel save. Have not seen the police once in the street

Q4- What kind of problems do you face about security? Which precautions do you take?

Closing all three entrance doors to our flat. Activation of the alarm system.

Q5- What do you do in Tarlabasi? Describe your daily routine?

I go to work in the morning and come back in the evening. On the way back I always do some shopping in the small shops surrounding our house. On the weekends I am doing that on different times so during the morning and afternoon.

Q6- Do you have any friends in the area? Who are your friends? Are they from the same ethnics?

No.

Q7- How is the relationship with the others? Is the place segregated between ethnicity? How?

Well, in our house living quite some foreigners. French, Italian etc. and Turks as well. On the other side of the road are some people from Africa living. However, I have no contact with other people beside my flat mates, the shop owners and my angry neighbor.

Q8- Are there different Syrian, Kurdish, Turkish places, shops, restaurants In Tarlabaşı? Which ones do you prefer?

Well, I think there are just Turkish bakeries and restaurant I know in the area. I like most of them.

Appendix A.14 Interview 8 questionnaire (part 2)

Q9- Where do your shop/eat? Do you shop/eat normally in places other than your own ethnicity?

Well, I am going to eat mostly outside of Talabasi to eat. Mostly I mix with other ethnicities.

Q10- What do you think about living with different ethnic groups and cultural diversity in Tarlabaşı?

I like it. I cannot complain about anything. It is a good mix.

Q10- Do you have friends from outside Tarlabasi?

Yes, most of them live in Cihangir.

Q11- Do you often leave the neighborhood and why? What kind of transportation do you use? How is your relationship with the outside world?

I walk mostly out of the neighborhood. Really seldom I use a taxi and sometimes a bus.

Q12- How do you feel about living in Tarlabasi? Would you leave it if you had the choice?

I like living there and would just leave when my flat mates and me would decide to live in different apartments.

Q13- If you can go back in time, would you change the location (would you not come to Tarlabasi)?

Well, I do not think so I like the place. However, most of the people I know live in Cihangir, I might consider this next time.

Q14- How attached are you to the place? Please explain.

Not really but I like the cheap rent and the view from our apartment.

Q15- How do you make this place your own? How do you make it more familiar?

We have a lot of pictures and art at the walls of our apartment. We also renovated our balconies. DIY.

Q16- Do you consider Tarlabasi as your home?

No. I am not long enough in this neighborhood. But in the end I consider everything my home if my own bed is located in the area. SO yeah maybe kind of home.

Appendix A.15 Interview 9 questionnaire (part 1)

TARLABASI INHABITANT INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Name: Karem (#1) and Hadeel (#2)   **Date: 08 /06/ 2018**

Age: 27 and 23

Education: N/A

Occupation: IT expert and housewife

Date of Arrival to Turkey: 15th of October 2014

Ethnicity: Syrians

Q1- Did you come straight to Tarlabasi, Istanbul?

1- No, I was in Gaziantep.
2- No, I used to live with my husband in Gaziantep.

Q2- Why did you choose Tarlabasi?

1- When I arrived to Istanbul, I found that all areas are expensive, but Tarlabasi was the most convenient location.
2- Although it is not safe at night, it is cheap and close to all other locations in Istanbul.

Q3- Do you work? (Who works in your family?)

1- Yes, I do. I work in a company called SREO in Sishane.
2- No.

Q4- How did you find this house? Whom are you living with? Describe the condition of the house you live in?

1- It is good for a small family of two people. I live with my wife.
2- It is okay, the house is enough for me and my husband.
1- It's a 2+1 house in Gumustepe Sk. It has all services a family would need.
2- The house is okay, we have a room I can use to draw or paint, the neighbors are good and very kind to us.

Q5- How much rent do you pay? (Is it normal when compared to the rents natives are paying?

1- I pay 1150 TL and around 350 for services every month.
2- I don't know, my husband pays the rent, but I think it's not expensive.

Q6- Do you feel secure in Tarlabasi? Do police come a lot?

1- I feel secure, but the police are sometimes very strict.

Appendix A.16 Interview 9 questionnaire (part 2)

2- I don't feel safe, especially moving around the neighborhood. I don't go out at night because it's dangerous. Our neighbor's house was robbed two weeks ago, so it is not very safe.

Q7- What kind of problems do you face about security? Which preacautions do you take?

1- The police always ask me for my ID card. I always carry my ID with me.
2- I can't leave the house without my husband, the neighborhood is not very safe for a young lady.

Q8- What do you do in tarlabasi? Describe your daily routine? (very important)

1- I only live there. I spend most of my time in other areas.
2- I live in the house, sometimes we get groceries from the Bazaar on Sunday. We mainly stay in the house.

Q9- Do you have any friends in the area? Who are your friends? Are they from the same ethnics?

1- I only talk to the people I see most of the time, the guy at the grocer's in the next neighborhood and the Sok salesmen.
2- I don't have friends in the area, unfortunately.

Q10- How do come together with your friends in the neighborhood? Where? Do you use the streets, public squares house fronts?

1- I visit the market and I see Ali, the salesman, I don't have many friends in the neighborhood.
2- I don't have friends here.

Q11- How is the relationship with the others? Is the place segregated between ethnicity? How?

1- We live in a street where there is a church, so there are people of different ethnicities in the same street. The relationship with the others is okay.
2- I only talk to our neighbor on Fridays when she comes to clean the building. I don't know about other ethnicities.

Q12- Are there different Syrian, Kurdish, Turkish places, shops, restaurants In Tarlabaşı? Which ones do you prefer?

1- There is one Syrian that I know, I mainly get all my groceries from him. I think all the others are Turkish, I've never seen any Kurdish people.
2- I don't go to restaurants in the area, but I know that the restaurants here are Turkish. There is a Syrian market close to our house.

Appendix A.17 Interview 9 questionnaire (part 2)

2- I don't feel safe, especially moving around the neighborhood. I don't go out at night because it's dangerous. Our neighbor's house was robbed two weeks ago, so it is not very safe.

Q7- What kind of problems do you face about security? Which preacautions do you take?

1- The police always ask me for my ID card. I always carry my ID with me.
2- I can't leave the house without my husband, the neighborhood is not very safe for a young lady.

Q8- What do you do in tarlabasi? Describe your daily routine? (very important)

1- I only live there. I spend most of my time in other areas.
2- I live in the house, sometimes we get groceries from the Bazaar on Sunday. We mainly stay in the house.

Q9- Do you have any friends in the area? Who are your friends? Are they from the same ethnics?

1- I only talk to the people I see most of the time, the guy at the grocer's in the next neighborhood and the Sok salesmen.
2- I don't have friends in the area, unfortunately.

Q10- How do come together with your friends in the neighborhood? Where? Do you use the streets, public squares house fronts?

1- I visit the market and I see Ali, the salesman, I don't have many friends in the neighborhood.
2- I don't have friends here.

Q11- How is the relationship with the others? Is the place segregated between ethnicity? How?

1- We live in a street where there is a church, so there are people of different ethnicities in the same street. The relationship with the others is okay.
2- I only talk to our neighbor on Fridays when she comes to clean the building. I don't know about other ethnicities.

Q12- Are there different Syrian, Kurdish, Turkish places, shops, restaurants In Tarlabaşı? Which ones do you prefer?

1- There is one Syrian that I know, I mainly get all my groceries from him. I think all the others are Turkish, I've never seen any Kurdish people.
2- I don't go to restaurants in the area, but I know that the restaurants here are Turkish. There is a Syrian market close to our house.

Appendix A.18 Interview 9 questionnaire (part 3)

Q13- Where do your shop/eat? Do you shop/eat normally in places other than your own ethnicity?

1- I don't care about ethnicity when I shop or eat, when I want food I eat anywhere I find open. I have no problems with other ethnicities.
2- I eat home, sometimes shop in the Pazaar or the Syrian market.

Q14- What do you think about living with different ethnic groups and cultural diversity in Tarlabaşı?

1- It is good to live among other ethnicities, although sometimes I'm concerned about their perception of us. Cultural diversity is reasonable in the area.
2- I don't know, the Turkish people in our building are good to us, the Syrian market salesman is good to us. I think you define how other people treat you.

Q15- Do different ethnic groups leave their traces in the neighborhood (graffiti etc) How?

1- I have never seen any graffiti in the area except for the bridge above Omer Hayyam
2- I don't think they are allowed to leave graffiti on the walls

Q16- Do you often leave the neighborhood and why? What kind of transportation do you use? How is your relationship with the outside world?

1- Most of the time; I work in Sishane and most of my friends live in Cihangir. I sometimes visit my mom in Fatih using a cab.
2- I leave the area with my husband all the time.

Q16-b) Do you have friends from outside Tarlabasi?

1- Of course
2- Yes

Q17- Do you have any idea of Tarlabaşı 360 project? How did you learn about it?

1- I don't know about the project but I see them renovating other areas.
2- I don't know about it.

Q18- Do you know any friends or relatives who had to leave the area? Can you tell about their story?

1- We haven't been in the area long enough to know other people who left. One of my friends used to live here and he still is.
2- I don't know anyone who was here and left.

Q19- How do you feel about living in Tarlabasi? Would you leave it if you had the choice?

1- It is okay, I don't think I'll find a house with a similar rent. I'm thinking of leaving the area though.
2- Living here is okay, I would rather live somewhere with more Syrians though.

Appendix A.19 Interview 9 questionnaire (part 4)

Q20- If you can go back in time, would you change the location (would you not come to Tarlabasi)?

1- I would, yes. It is not a good place for a family.
2- Yes, but we can't change back time.

Q21- How attached are you to the place? Please explain.

1- I'm only attached to it because my house is in the area.
2- I'm not attached to it.

Q22- How do you make this place your own? How do you make it more familiar?

1- I think if it were more inhabitable. The area is not very family friendly if you're not a Turkish person. My Turkish friends would fit here more than I ever have.
2- I don't know. I have tried to change my house's decoration and furniture, but it doesn't really help.

Q23- Do you consider Tarlabasi as your home?

1- Of course not.
2- No.

Appendix A.20 Interview 10 questionnaire (part 1)

TARLABASI INHABITANT INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Name: Julian   **Date: 08 /06/ 2018**

Age: 28

Education: N/A

Occupation: Researcher

Date of Arrival to Turkey: 15th of March 2018

Ethnicity: Austrian

Q1- When did you come to Turkey?

Mid-march 2018

Q2- Did you come straight to Tarlabasi? And why did you choose Tarlabasi?

No, I moved there after 5 weeks. I found a nice apartment in a good location for a fair price.

Q3- How did you find this house? Whom are you living with?

I found my house with a housing agency, I am living with 2 friends.

Q4- Describe the condition of the house you live in? How much rent do you pay? (Is it normal when compared to the rents natives are paying?

The house itself might be not in the best condition but the apartment is. We pay 3500 TL for 3 people

Q5- Do you feel secure in Tarlabasi? Do police come a lot?

Yes I feel save. Even if I don´t see police around much.

Q6- What kind of problems do you face about security? Which precautions do you take?

I have had no bad experience with it yet. So the only thing I do is to lock my door.

Q7- What do you do in Tarlabasi? Describe your daily routine?

I mainly only life there and do some shopping.

Q8- Do you have any friends in the area? Who are your friends? Are they from the same ethnics?

I have some work colleges/ friends I life with. But besides them I have not made much contacts in the area.

Appendix A.21 Interview 10 questionnaire (part 2)

Q9- How do come together with your friends in the neighborhood? Where? (Do you use the streets, public squares house fronts?)

In our apartment.

Q9- How is the relationship with the others? Is the place segregated between ethnicity? How?

Can´t say. I can´t tell the difference as I am not here for that long

Q10- Where do your shop/eat? Do you shop/eat normally in places other than your own ethnicity?

I don´t make a difference there. Whatever I find.

Q11- What do you think about living with different ethnic groups and cultural diversity in Tarlabaşı?

I enjoy the atmosphere there

Q12- Do you have friends from outside Tarlabasi?

Yes.

Q13- Do you often leave the neighborhood and why? What kind of transportation do you use? How is your relationship with the outside world?

I leave the neighborhood every day. For work, social life, sports…

Q14- Do you have any idea of Tarlabaşı 360 project? How did you learn about it?

No

Q15- How do you feel about living in Tarlabasi? Would you leave it if you had the choice?

No, I so far like it there and don´t see a real reason to leave there

Q16- If you can go back in time, would you change the location (would you not come to Tarlabasi)?

No, I wouldn't.

Q17- How attached are you to the place? Please explain.

I like it as it is a good apartment. But I would not say that I am really attached

Q18- How do you make this place your own? How do you make it more familiar?

Decorations and so on.

Q19- Do you consider Tarlabasi as your home?

One of many.

Appendix A.22 Interview 11 questionnaire

TARLABASI INHABITANT INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Name: Hatice   **Date: 21 /07/ 2018**

Age: 61

Education: N/A

Occupation: N/A

Date of Arrival to Turkey: Born in Tarlabaşı

Ethnicity: Turkish

Q1- How do you find Tarlabaşı? Is the area ethnically mixed?

On an urban scale, the area is very mixed from origin. Areas in the neighborhoods are not divided by ethnicity neither are streets

Q2- What do you do to prevent ethnic problems?

I don't want a segregated place, I don't want to divide people based on their origins, background, culture or beliefs which is why I try to mix everyone. We have all endured many things in life and we are here to support each other, we should learn how to be together.

Q3- Is there a Kurdish street, or a Syrian one? How is multiculturalism translated in Tarlabaşı?

On a much smaller scale, even buildings are not segregated by ethnicity; there is no such thing as a "Kurdish street" or an "Arab building" or a "trans floor". It means that not only Tarlabaşı itself has a mixed character, but even its streets, buildings and floors are a "salad fruit bowl". "My neighbor is Turkish, the other one is African, and my landlord is an angry Kurdish [laughing], I buy my groceries from a Kurdish, eat Ethiopian, work with Syrians, and dress locally.

Q4- Are there any ethnic-related problems between the inhabitants of the area?

Of course, there are always some preferences and favoritism, which in my opinion is very normal. There are some next-door houses on the same floor or same building which are all rented by transsexual inhabitants of Tarlabaşı. It is not easy for everyone to live next to a Transexual neighbor or prostitutes. This sometimes brings problems for me. Syrians for example or displaced people in general –who have already relatives or friends or acquaintance in the neighborhood- tend to rent houses as close as possible to them. Most of the Turkish citizens that participated in my surveys have easier access and flexibility "choosing" their own urban space; because some of them grew up in the place so they didn't need to go through this process of selecting a specific area in Tarlabaşı or a street or a building. even for the ones who came to Tarlabaşı after, they also prefer to stay somewhere more familiar, next to people they know or people they feel more comfortable with.

CURRICULUM VITAE

Name & Surname: Sara Grandin

Permanent Address: Sultan Selim Caddesi. Sanayi Mahallesi. Tasci Sk. No: 1.

Place and Year of Birth: Aleppo 1993

Foreign Language: Turkish, English

Primary Education: Lycée Français d'Alep

Secondary Education: Lycée Français d'Alep 2011

Undergraduate: Gaziantep University

Postgraduate: Bahçeşehir University 2018

Name of Institute: The Graduate School of Natural and Applied Sciences

Name of Master's Program: Master of Architecture

Publications: N/A

Working Life: I am currently working at a Monitoring and Evaluation company (M&E) since March 2018 which basically aims at assessing and monitoring humanitarian efforts on the ground. I also did an internship in UNESCO headquarter based in Paris in the culture sector in the summer of 2017. My duties were to assist the Arab unit in the implementation of the world heritage convention in the Arab region; some preparation of statuary documents, reports for the world heritage committee and technical meetings during the year. I did my Internship in Ella Architecture, an architectural firm in Brussels, Belgium in summer 2015, which lasted for 3 months, where I gained some experience in urban planning and restoration. There I helped with the planning of residential houses, 3D modeling suggested facades, plans and elevations. I was also able to work on an urban city scale as well. I did also some volunteer activities such as a workshop that lasted 4 months in winter 2014 that was done to Syrian refugees in Mersin, Turkey and the aim was to work psychologically and manually on basic architectural proposals for schools; this included basic architectural courses, hand-made models, and 2D planning. I was also an English teacher for Syrian

refugees in a learning center in Gaziantep, Turkey, from November 2015 until March 2016. I focused on supporting displaced people by teaching them a new language to prevent barriers and further challenges and fulfill their learning interests.