GENDERED SPATIAL PRACTICES: TOPHANE AS A GENTRIFYING NEIGHBORHOOD IN ISTANBUL

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This is to certify that we have read this thesis and that in our opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts in Sociology.

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I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.

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ABSTRACT

GENDERED SPATIAL PRACTICES:
TOPHANE AS A GENTRIFYING NEIGHBORHOOD IN ISTANBUL

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MA, Department of Sociology
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This thesis aims to investigate how individuals practice and produce urban spaces through the construction of the body in a gender context. The neighborhood of Tophane is chosen as a case study for its critical position as being in a gentrifying process that brings together both new residents and old residents in the same place and at the same time. As the determinants of Tophane daily life, community perception, conflict, and power relations are examined in the study. The result of the determinants, gender representation and the production of the space in a gender context is analyzed using the concepts of patriarchy, male gaze, and fluidity of public and private spaces by focusing on the disadvantaged group of the neighborhood: women. Since the study is grounded in a feminist perspective on daily life experiences, ethnographic research methodology is used as the most suitable method in the thesis.

Keywords: Gender, gendered space, gendered body, production of the space, urban space, gentrification.

ÖZ

CİNSİYETÇİ MEKÂN DENEYİMLERİ:
İSTANBUL'UN SOYLULAŞTIRILAN TOPHANE SEMTİ ÖRNEĞİ

Altın, Özge.
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Bu çalışma, bireylerin cinsiyetlendirilen bedenlerin inşası üzerinden kent mekânlarındaki deneyimlerimi ve kent mekânlarını üretimini konu edinmektedir. Tophane, soylulaştırma sürecindeki bir semt olarak yeni ve eski sakinlerini aynı anda ve aynı yerde barındıran kritik bir pozisyonda olduğu için örnek saha olarak seçilmiştir. Çalışmada Tophane'de gündelik yaşamın belirleyicileri olan cemaat algısı, çatışma ve iktidar ilişkileri incelenmiştir. Bu belirleyicilerin sonucu olarak, toplumsal cinsiyet temsilleri ve toplumsal cinsiyet bağlamında mekân üretimi; ataerki, erkek bakışı ve kamusal ile özel alanın akışkanlığı kavramlarıyla, semtin dezavantajlı grubu olan kadınlara odaklanarak analiz edilmiştir. Çalışma, feminist bakış açısıyla gündelik hayat deneyimlerine dayalı olduğu için teze en uygun method olarak etnografik araştırma yöntemi kullanılmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Toplumsal cinsiyet, cinsiyetçi mekân, cinsiyetlendirilmiş beden, mekânın üretimi, kent mekânı, soylulaştırma.

To the Academics for Peace of Turkey…

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Özge Altın

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF MAPS

CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

Figure 1.1. A view from Tophane

Social scientist inevitably analyze everyday life as they live. Although academics try to be objective in their studies, the selection process of the case study always comes from a subjective experience. This is because academics have the opportunity to analyze their daily life with the perspective of the theories on it. Therefore, daily life itself became an endless field of study. And that allows academics to study their daily life experiences. That familiarity with the studied field gives possibility to be able to explain the field easier. The inspiration of this thesis is also based on subjective experiences. As a sociology master student, I had chance to experience, to compare and to analyze different urban spaces in Istanbul. The urban transformation process of Istanbul creates special conditions in each neighborhood. I experienced the urban in transformation process as a woman in Istanbul. This situation caused me to experience the process in its gendered aspect as well, and to read the field with a critical gender perspective. Thus, this thesis is formed by my personal experiences, a combination of factors: sociological theories and the district of Tophane field (see figure 1.1) where I have had the chance to live for five years and with in the process of gentrification.

Since this thesis focuses on daily life practices, it adopts a qualitative approach. The data is based on semi-structured and open-ended interviews, participant observations, and also auto-ethnography. This study aim to investigate the spatial and social characteristics of urban spaces in the context of gender on the basis of their meanings, conceptions, and understandings. I have selected women as a disadvantaged group as the subject of the interviews in the thesis. This thesis is thus a qualitative feminist study. In addition, it also investigates visual and written documents such as local and mainstream newspapers. Empirical data was collected in the form of recorded interviews carried out in January 2015. I also had the chance to observe the change of the district during a time period from September 2009 to September 2014. The findings are supported by photos and also maps, which were taken or drawn by me, unless otherwise stated.

The second chapter of the thesis reviews general theories on everyday life, production of space, and construction of gender. Everyday life theories explains the bases of space production theories. After focusing on several space theory, urban and transformation of urban theory are discussed. This transformation is explained in the context of gentrification. Afterwards, gender theories is approached with construction of gendered bodies. And by combining those theories, production of the gendered space is discussed as the main argument of the thesis. The third chapter is on methodology. As the general perspective, feminist research methodology is introduced as why it is necessary and how it is applied to the study. Than qualitative research methods theories that used in thesis is explained. At the end of the third chapter, field research of the thesis in Tophane is clarified. The history and current situation of the Tophane field is referred on the fourth chapter. The chapter starts with history of Tophane and comes to present day. In that part, the demographic information of Tophane is given and the prominent concept of the neighborhood "hemşehrilik" is evaluated. Gentrification process is discussed and exemplified with the case of art gallery attacks. The fifth chapter is the crux of the thesis: gendered spaces in Tophane are discussed on the bases of sociological theories and the data gathered from Tophane. This part evaluates everyday life, production of public and private space, and production of gendered space through the construction of gendered bodies in Tophane. It discusses patriarchy, the male gaze, and the fluidity of public and private space in Tophane. Finally, the sixth chapter, conclusion, reflects on the theories of gendered space in the district of the

Tophane. And the supplementary documents of the thesis, urban transformation law in Turkish legal system (number 6306), attached to appendix. As an introduction, this first chapter gives basic information about the concepts, theories, and particular information of the case study.

Gender studies started to involve debates on space and gender as new territories in the early 1990s. Henri Lefebvre's ([1974] 1991) first usage of the concept of social space, rather geometric space, brought new perspective to the theories of space. Lefebvre's idea that social relation produced space, influenced theories on space in both feminist studies and urban studies. Urban spaces started to be questioned within the contest of social relationships after Lefebvre's (1987) discussions on everyday life practices, and the same happened in gender studies. The idea of the production of space was introduced to gender studies by Doreen Massey (1994) and Linda McDowell's (1999) arguments and these arguments opened a new area of study in this field. McDowell (1999: 12) identifies their aim as feminist geographers is "to investigate, make visible and challenge the relationships between gender divisions and spatial divisions, to uncover their mutual constitution and problematize their apparent naturalness." Their purpose was to investigate how genders experience spaces differently and how these differences are part of the social constitution of gender as well as part of the place.

Urban spaces are the most visible areas in observing the gendered practices in daily life experiences and the production of space. Most of places in the inner cities are parts of a gentrification process as the inevitable fate of cities in the 21st century. Thus, urban spaces have to be evaluated in the context of this transformation. Gentrification in a general sense is the practice in which most of the original working-class occupiers are displaced and the social character of the district is changed (Glass, 1964). Gentrification affects physical space, though social relations in these spaces are affected as well. Since the transformation forces different social groups to live in close proximity, it causes clashes among these groups. Gender practice is one of these clashes: the usage of public spaces by different social groups influences the gender practices of the space. Spaces are characterized and constructed by the specific symbolic meaning of gender.

As concepts, the distinction between space and place should be clarified. A place is a space with a meaning and identification (Tuan, 1977). On this view, it is more or less

an abstract concept. Space is a location without values; no meaning or boundary has been ascribed to it. In contrast, place can be described as a location created by human experiences; it is more than a location (Tuan, 1977). It can be a city, a neighborhood, a region etc. Place is space that is filled with human experiences in a particular location. For Tuan, place also does not have observable boundaries and besides, it is a visible expression of a specific time period as in the case of art, monuments, and architecture (1977). However, the concepts of space and place are fluid. The term social construction of space refers to the phenomenological and symbolic experience of spaces. The term "production of space" is used rather than the "construction of space", which is the result of this production process. These terms are two different, but are significantly close according to Low and Richardson (cited in Yücesoy Ünlü, 2013): "space as a social product" implies the control and organization of power relations in the economic, political or cultural aspects of life; also it means the historical emergence and political and economic formation of space. "Space as a social construct", refers more to the phenomenological and symbolic experience of space that is mediated by social processes such as exchange, conflict, and control. In this thesis, with respect to Low's (1996) approach, the social, economic, ideological, and technological transformation of Tophane produces a new space that has been changing social exchanges, memories, images, and the daily use of the material setting, yet it has also been constructing a new space through the meaning of these social interactions. As McDowell (1999) emphasizes, gender is both a set of material social relations and a symbolic meaning at the same time. Thus, space and gender share the same fate in social construction; their meanings are attributed by social interactions.

As in many other cities, certain neighborhoods in the inner city of Istanbul are in the process of gentrification. Since the process is going on very quickly in the inner city areas, the effects of the transformation occur strongly in certain neighborhoods of Istanbul. Gentrification changes the physical appearance of the public and private spaces in Istanbul and thus affects daily life practices. Tophane is one of the neighborhoods located in the heart of the city, that has experienced an ambivalent gentrification process. Tophane is in the historic district of Beyoğlu, the center for cultural, leisure, and touristic activities in Istanbul. The central location and historical housing stock of Beyoğlu caused a gentrification process in the late 1980s, particularly in the Cihangir and Galata neighborhoods (Islam, 2005). Tophane is located between these two gentrified

neighborhoods. In this thesis the reason the term of ambivalent gentrification is used for Tophane is that there has not been a total displacement of inhabitants as there was in Cihangir or Galata. Old inhabitants and new-comers live side by side in this neighborhood. That is to say, inhabitants settled before gentrification process and inhabitants came during the gentrification process have been living in the same space, and this has resulted in a mixed use of the same space by different groups of people from different cultural, economic, and social backgrounds. While long-term residents mostly belongs to the lower economic class and are undereducated, newcomer inhabitants are mostly wealthy and well educated with a cultured background. This has produces a visible change in the neighborhood. Since the image of the neighborhood has been changing, there is a resistance against this change. This conflict between the old inhabitants and the new-comers puts Tophane in a different position than other gentrified neighborhoods. Also, the discussions on right to the city (Harvey, 2008) questions "whose right" and "whose city" in Tophane case:

> The question of what kind of city we want cannot be divorced from that of what kind of social ties, relationship to nature, lifestyles, technologies and aesthetic values we desire. The right to the city is far more than the individual liberty to access urban resources: it is a right to change ourselves by changing the city. It is, moreover, a common rather than an individual right since this transformation inevitably depends upon the exercise of a collective power to reshape the processes of urbanization. The freedom to make and remake our cities and ourselves is, I want to argue, one of the most precious yet most neglected of our human rights.

This thesis aims at analyzing the use and experience of urban spaces, that are under the effect of gentrification, including semi-private and semi-public spaces, in gender context. The focus is on the particular social effects, mainly conflicts, of gentrification on the socio-spatial relations of gender practices (dominantly the feminine and masculine roles) in the spaces of the Tophane neighborhood. The reason for choosing Tophane as a case is because of its unique position. The gentrification process there has placed conservative and modern residents in the same sphere at the same time, and causes conflicts between these groups.

The gender practices observable in the urban spaces of the neighborhood and the construction of gender identities are investigated in using Judith Butler's conception of gender as a performative act that is embodied through repetitive mundane practices by the body (1999). The acts of the body are differentiated in every culture and practices

of the body produce unique gender performances in every different cultural and social context. Butler uses the *stylized repetition of acts* of the body to explain the construction of the body in the gender context (1988). She grounds her theory on criticism of phenomenology and feminist theory especially concerning the constitution of social relations by agents through bodies, and develops it into the idea of theatrical or performative gender, by comparing Merleau-Ponty and Beauvoir. Butler applies and improves Merleau-Ponty's (1962) conception of gender as "historical idea" or situation, rather than "natural species" (as used by Foucault, 1978). This conception is one of the main approaches of the thesis.

CHAPTER 2
THEORIES ON EVERYDAY LIFE, SPACE, AND GENDER

2.1. Everyday Life and The Production of Space

> *"Think of a common everyday experience while walking down the street on the way to collage."*
>
> (Bauman, 1990)

The everyday, simply, is the lived experience shared by urban residents, the banal and ordinary routes of commuting, working, relaxing, walking in the streets, shopping, eating foods, etc. (Yücesoy Ünlü, 2006). It is difficult to understate the significance of the everyday because it is "at the centre of human existence, the essence of who we are and our location in the world" (Pink, 2012: 143; cited in Neal and Murji, 2015). Everyday life approaches try to recognize the mundane, routines in social relations and practices that give importance to ordinary. They also emphasizes the everyday social relations that are more than a routine. Moreover, everyday life is dynamic and surprising; it is characterized by doubts, contrasts, accommodation and transformative possibilities. This focus on the ordinary includes an immersion in the seemingly unremarkable and routine relationship with others, things, and contexts. (Neal and Murji, 2015). Everyday life is constructed through repeated activities and conditions that form routines. There is something extraordinary in these ordinary routines and unconscious actions (Upton, 2002; cited in Yücesoy Ünlü, 2006). Routines and repetitive social relations are embedded in urban public spaces, like the streets that we use and pass by everyday on the way home or to work, while shopping, or for any other purpose (Yücesoy Ünlü, 2006). Lefebvre claims that, human is the subject of production of means and relations in everyday life, it is not a system above the subject (1987). For Lefebvre, everyday is "the most universal and the most unique condition, the most social and the most individuated, the most obvious and the best hidden." (1987: 8). We produce and reproduce everything in everyday life in different contexts in everywhere. Therefore, the everyday is a product, where production engenders consumption, and where consumption is manipulated by producers that are the manager of the means of production, but not by "workers" (Lefebvre, 1987).The everyday is composed of unplanned, unconscious, and unspecialized activities; thus everyday space is contrast to the planned,

designated, and underused spaces of public use (Crawford, 1999; cited in Yücesoy Ünlü, 2006).

The city, as a social space of everyday life is conceptualized by Massey as "a specifically spatial phenomenon, as a region of particularly dense networks of interaction, from which emerge intense effects, set within areas where interactions are more sparse and spaced out" (1999: 156). These networks of interaction can be seen in mundane practices. As the representation place of everyday practices, urban public space will be the main discussion of this thesis. There are different perspectives on public space, after the introduction of them, Henri Lefebvre's interrelational space concept will be discussed. The first perspective refers to the architecture and urban design of physical space (Cooper Marcus and Francis, 1998). Scholar using this perspective accept public space as an enclosure and a container and focus on the predominant land-use activity, the mode of its use, or a channel of movements, and the determined ways of defining space resulting in outdoor public space, interiorized outer and interior public space. Second, for Arendt (1958) and Habermas (1991), public space is a representation of political space and a distinctive field of action, which makes public space a prerequisite for functioning of civic society. Public space, for Arendt, is determined in relation to citizenship and political community based on the "common". Thus, public space has no specific location, it is structured by institutions, organizations, and movements but rather by physical boundaries. Arendtian studies indicate the role of public space in active participation and collective decision making: it is a special field of conceptualizations about and representations of the city relating to the identity of the city and citizens. Similarly for Habermas, public space is the sphere of communicative action, and depends on critical and rational dialogue between free and equal citizens. This symbolic conception of public space in a physical sense becomes a manifestation of meeting places, along with cafes, clubs, and academies in the city: the place for dialogue between different cultural groups, diversities, and also for demonstrations, mass meetings, collective celebrations (Habermas, 1991; cited in Yücesoy Ünlü, 2006). In the third approach, space is defined as an interactional and experiential space by social conventions, rules, regulations, and symbolic boundaries. This perspective is shared by sociologists and geographers like Jacobs, Sennet, Lofland, and Fyfe (cited in Yücesoy Ünlü, 2006). On this view, public space is related to sociability among citizens;

urban public space is accepted as the core of urban experience, where everybody can meet, communicate, and conduct business, or enjoy anonymity in the crowd.

This thesis will focus on the relation among the spatial and social characteristics of urban public spaces from the point of view of the participants. It thus adopts a perspective similar to that of Lefebvre's studies. The main focus points of the study will be public space as a physical, and social space and the patterns and characteristics of the social relationships of users of public space. In this framework, public space, beside the physical existence, is defined and redefined by public interactions that actively restructure urban public spaces; it is not fixed in space or time, but is constantly subject to change as a result of the reorganization and reinterpretation of the physical space by different users (Yücesoy Ünlü, 2006: 3). Lefebvre's argument on space highlighted the interrelational concept rather than a physical one. For Lefebvre (1991), space is a social product and social products interrelatedly shape and are shaped by the individual's and the collective agent's social practices. The socio-spatial practices in the political, cultural, and economic spheres in specific historical conditions produce urban spaces and their functions. Space is not only an object, abstraction, or physical thing, but also is social. It is not stabile, constant, and lifeless; but variable, fluid, and alive. Space is, conflictingly or consensually, always in contact with other spaces. It is a social production process and it is both the result and the pre-condition of society's production. Therefore to understand it, Lefebvre (1991) argues that the spatial practices which produce and create space, should be investigated. For him, a Marxist perspective is essential to an understanding of social space, in the context of the mode of production with the theory of historical materialism.

Every practice produces peculiar spaces. It is possible that practices are results of consensus and conflicts at the same time. The process of the production of space could cause a conflict by itself, which would be reflected upon the production of the space as well. Therefore, spaces have their own histories (Merrifield, 2000). These histories are related to social practices, and then symbols, experiences, meanings, and relations. As with other products, space is produced as a part of the capitalist system. But as with the other products of the capitalist system, space is produced with representations and coding, to be a means of the system and the state (Avar, 2009).

Lefebvre's production of space refers to the social context and production process of space. For him, the arguments on space should be practical, political, strategic and philosophical. The production of space has three dimensions: perceived, conceived, and lived space. In the context of the scientific practice these dimensions represent physical (perceived), mental (conceived), and social (lived) space. These three-dimensional dialectics also reflect the social phase of a space; therefore, Lefebvre identifies this with the moments of the production of space as, space of representation (lived), representation of space (conceived), and spatial practices (perceived). Space is a social production with these three-dimensional dialectics. The production of space has many phases within itself, which Lefebvre characterizes as the conceptual triad in three moments of space, as two-sided dimensions, which are dialectically related.On the one hand, representation of space, space of representation, and spatial practices; and, on the other hand, conceived, perceived, and lived spaces (1991). The representation of space is theoretical, discursive, and conceptual in the fields of architecture, urban planning, and mapping, and is conceived by engineers, architects, investors, geographers and urban planners. It is always related to power and knowledge, and is produced by science and knowledge. Lefebvre emphasizes that the representation of space is at the same time as being the space of capital. In contrast, the space of representation is experienced by the inhabitants of the space via symbols and images. These experiences include the images and the symbolic meaning of religion, state, gender, etc. There is tension between these two moments of space; the representation of space is a mental and abstract space, in the context of plans and strategies oriented towards the exchange value.In other words the space of representation is a lived space in everyday life and routine activities are oriented towards the use value (Kim, 2010). In this triad, various actors' spatial practices determine the relationship between the representations of space and the spaces of representation. In spatial practice, the reproduction of social relations is determinant: "The spatial practice of a society secretes that society's space; it propounds and presupposes it, in a dialectical interaction; it produces it slowly and surely as it masters and appropriates it" (Lefebvre, 1991: 38). Spatial practice appropriates production and reproduction, and spatial sets the characteristics of each social formation. Spatial practice provides permanency and some degree of cohesion. In terms of social space, and society's relationship to that space, this cohesion indicates a guaranteed degree of competence and a specific degree of performance (Lefebvre, 1991).

Other scholars have followed Lefebvre's lead in the way they approach social space. According to De Certeau, space is not only a geometrical but also a practiced place: "The street geometrically defined by urban planning is transformed into a space by walkers. In the same way, an act of reading is the space produced by the practice of a particular place: a written text, i.e., a place constituted by a system of signs" (1984: 117). In the study *The Practice of Everydaylife*, De Certeau (1984) looks down from the top of the World Trade Center onto the streets, and expresses his impressions about what people do on the streets. According to him, the city is not simply a space with tall buildings, but also a space that brings people from different places together; the relationship among these people can be seen as ordinary daily life practices on the streets. The thinking of De Certeau shows that a place becomes a space when it is practiced by users; without walkers, the street does not have meaning. He claims, the defined environment is "strategies" those are institutions and structures of power of the "producers"; on the other hand, individuals who are participating in environments are "consumers", where the space is defined by strategies but they acting by using "tactics". In the "Walking in the City" chapter, De Certeau claims the city is generated by the strategies of corporations, governments, and other institutional sets that produce the plans and maps to describe the city as a whole. On the other hand, the people walking on the street move tactically and are not totally determined by the plans of the city. For his argument, everyday life is a process of challenging the other's territory, by governing the rules and products of the culture; yet it is never determined utterly by those rules and products, by strategy.

Similar to De Certeau, McDowell emphasizes the physically bounded or categorical definition of the spaces are not current, but are the combination and coincidence of a set of socio-spatial relations (1999). In *For Space*, Massey characterizes space as political, informed, interactive, contested, and fluid (2005). This characterization includes temporal, historical, and relational processes, and indicates the impossibility of assuming space as a place of given materiality. For Massey, the definition of space is, first, "the product of interrelations; as constituted through interactions, from the immensity of the global to the intimately tiny"; second "the sphere of possibility of the existence of multiplicity in the sense of contemporaneous plurality"; and lastly "always under construction" and "the product of relations-between, relations which are necessarily

embedded in material practices which have to be carried out, it is always in the process of being made" (2005: 9).

Social space is produced through sets of myths and representations. These sets are given meaning by everyday spatial practices, as De Certeau (1984) and Lefebvre (1991) have specified. Lefebvre emphasizes that the everyday is the most universal and the most unique condition, while at the same time the most social and the most individuated; for him, it is both the most obvious and the best hidden (1991). These unique conditions produce space according to each groups' practices. Each space has a different meaning for different social groups, and there is always the possibility of its being occupied by other groups (McDowell, 1999). Every group can attribute another meaning to a place by bringing new practices to the same place at different times, as can be seen in McDowell's example: the street and the park, in different times during the day or the holiday place in and out of season, are different spaces in practice in the everyday experiences of that people that live in and use the spaces (1999).

Streets and parks, as urban public places, where everybody can meet, communicate, do business, spend their leisure time, and be anonymous in the crowd, are considered as the core of urban life by such theoreticians as Sennet, Lofland, and Fyfe (Jacobs, 1961; Sennett, 1970, 1977, 1990; Lofland, 1973; Fyfe, 1998; cited in Yücesoy Ünlü, 2006). This status is related, firstly, to sociability among citizens. They are a sphere of broad and largely unplanned encounter (Yücesoy Ünlü, 2006: 3). The public space, for Burgers, by the changes on structure of cities, and economic and technological developments, is effected from organization and design to use and experience (2000; cited in Yücesoy Ünlü, 2006). The growth of the service economy and globalization, and also the increasing leisure-oriented plans in urban public space, called the traditional social and political function of public spaces into question as the cultural, commercial, leisure, and entertainment activities, which were once city-centered activities, moved out of the city center to make the outher areas of the city attractive for users (Yücesoy Ünlü, 2006). Therefore, the usage of public space is changed and transformed over time by users.

As Massey has argued, in the global system localities are produced by the intersection of global and local processes (Massey, 1991; cited in McDowell, 1999). For her, this

produces a "global sense of place": Places are defined by the socio-spatial relations in daily life that intersect with different practices and give a place its distinctive character. This thesis will focus on, socio-spatial processes and the intersection points of global and local practices in daily life in cities, which produce the character of a space. The power relations in the space will be questioned by McDowell's argument on gentrification: For McDowell, places are made through power relations; this relationship determines the boundaries and constructs the rules (1999). These boundaries are social and spatial, so they have the power to determine who belongs and who does not belongs to a space. The practices of social-spatial relations, which define the space, also define relations of power and exclusion.

2.2. Transformation of Urban Space: Gentrification

The term "gentrification" was first used to explain the urban transformation process of London by Glass: working-class neighborhoods were bought by the middle class, who constructed elegant and luxurious houses and changed the social characteristics of the areas (1964). In a general sense, gentrification is a process whereby "all or most of the original working-class occupiers are displaced and the whole social character of the district is changed" (Glass, 1964: xvii). In time, gentrification became a noticeable phenomenon in many cities in every country from the early 1970s (McDowell, 1999). For real estate developers and builders, the economic aim of gentrification is to produce new commercial and cultural facilities in the inner areas of the city center and to be able to profit by investing in these areas. Gentrification can be considered as both a part and a result of this transformation; it refers to class and spatial segregation in backward areas (Şen, 2005). The continuity of the gentrification process is assured by the rising new middle-class and investors, in accordance with the gentrification processes in the world, especially in Eastern and Central Europe (Uzun, 2006).

Gentrification, distinctive from physical expansion, occurs in the older and the more central areas of the city. The aim of investors is to construct a marketable area. Besides, middle-class members want to live in the inner city, to be close to socio-cultural activities, and also to be closer with people similar to themselves (Ergün 2004). The investors and members of the middle class, who have the economic and cultural capital, are able to control and determine the inner city settlements with uncertainty and fluidity of the places.

Gentrification occurs in different rates under different conditions. The transformation can be done by central government policies, local government decisions or simply spontaneously by the private sector (Ergün, 2004). The projects done by the state force lower-class residents to leave their homes and bring new-comers to occupy the new luxury residences that are built in their place. Through the displacement of old inhabitants, the culture and characteristics of the an area get lost. As Ergün states, modifications in the socio-cultural structure mean displacement of the original occupants of a rehabilitated settlement (2004). Contrary to this, if it is a rehabilitation project and involves the participation of the residents, it is possible to change the foregone conclusion of displacement. To ensure the continuity of the place it is necessary to preserve the culture and characteristics of the settlement. Without state-based central projects, inhabitants or owners give their settlements to the private sector for their own profit, which creates a unique ambivalent condition. This makes sites of gentrification attractive, as seen in Sennett's example: "the writers and artists who remain are, like myself, people who came when rents were cheap; we are aging, bourgeois bohemians upon whom this variegated scene works like a charm." (1996: 356). Here, intersections of different people and groups could cause a possibility of not welcoming different life styles: "It may be a sociological truism that people do not embrace difference that differences create hostility, that the best to be hoped for is the daily practice of toleration." (Sennett, 1996: 358). But at the same time, if the city is a "mosaic of social worlds" (Wirth, 1938; cited in Pile, 1999), as seen in most gentrification areas, then it requires this variety, otherwise it could be an "imagine of Venetian Christians": if difference inevitably provokes mutual withdrawal , then it is not possible to have a common civic culture for a multi-cultural city; this would mean taking the side of the Venetian Christians, who imagined a civic culture possible only among people who are alike (Sennett, 1996).

Here, gentrification causes culture and class clashes among different groups; therefore the right on the urban spaces should be discussed. The only right in the world we live in is on the private property and the profit rate. But Harvey (2008) asserts the concept of right to the city to emphasize another type of human right. The city is a whole with its social ties, relationship to nature, lifestyles, technologies and aesthetic values. It is a human right to change ourselves by changing the city and it is a common right rather

individual one. The changes, such as gentrification, exercises collective power to re-shape the processes of urbanization. Hereby, with reference to production of the space, gentrification processes can be seen as making and remaking our cities and ourselves as well which is an important human right.

2.3. Construction of Gendered Bodies

As in everyday life, gender is also a performative act that is embodied through repetitive mundane practices by the body (Butler, 1999). The acts of the body differ in every culture and the various practices of the body produce unique gender performances in every cultural and social context. Judith Butler uses the concept of *stylized repetition of acts* of the body in the gender context in her 1988 article "Performative acts and gender constitution: An essay in phenomenology and feminist theory" to explain the construction of gender . Butler grounds her theory about the construction of social relations by agents through the bodies on phenomenology and feminist theory, and develops on theatrical or performative gender by comparing Merleau-Ponty and Beauvoir. Butler applies and develops on the work of Merleau-Ponty (1962), which accepts gender as a "historical idea" or situation rather than a "natural species" (as used by Foucault, 1978; and Butler, 1990). Her approach is going to be used as one of the main approaches of the thesis.

The naturalness of the category of sex has received a critical attention by Foucault and various researchers, who explain sex, gender, and heterosexuality as historical products (cited in Butler, 1988). For Butler, these theories still lack of the critical resources to think about the historical sedimentation of sexuality (1988). For Butler, Beauvoir's claim "one is not born, but, rather, *becomes* a women" appropriates and reinterprets the doctrine of constituting acts from the phenomenological tradition, which adopts the theory of "acts" from Husserl, Merleau-Ponty, Herbert Mead, and others, and tries to explain the everyday way in which social agents *constitute* social reality through language, gestures, and symbolic social acts. In this perspective, gender is not a stable identity, but an identity that is constituted in time, through a stylized repetition of acts. Gender is instituted through the stylization of the body and should be understood in term of such daily practices as bodily gestures, movements, and enactments of various kinds, which constitute the illusion of an abiding gendered self. Therefore, the conception of gender moves from the ground of a substantial model of identity to one that

requires a conception of a constituted *social temporality.* If gender is instituted by relying on internally discontinuous acts, *the appearance of substance* is a constructed identity; it is a performative accomplishment that the everyday social audience comes to believe and to perform in the mode of belief. If gender identity is not a faultless identity but the stylized repetition of acts through time, the possibilities of gender transformation are to be found in the arbitral relation of those acts and variations on their repetition in subversive repetitions of that style (Butler, 1988).

Butler stresses the ways conceptions of gender are reified and naturalized as constructed and as capable of being constituted differently (1988). In a phenomenological model, by confronting the understanding of the gendered self to be prior to its acts, Butler claims that acts is not only constitute the identity of the actor, but also constitute identity as an object of *belief*. The naturalistic explanation of sex and sexuality that accepts that the meaning of women's social existence can be derived from the facts of their physiology, has been discussed by feminist theory. By the distinction between sex and gender, feminist theorists have argued that sex dictates or necessitates certain social meanings for women's experience (Butler, 1988). In *The Phenomenology of Perception,* Merleau-Ponty (1962) identifies "the body in its sexual being" with bodily experience, and claims that the body is "a historical idea" rather than "a neutral species"; in *The Second Sex,* Beauvoir (1989) cites this claim and says "women" and any gender is a historical situation rather than natural one (cited in Butler, 1988). On Beauvoir's statement on the body as a historical situation, she stresses that the body is effected as a cultural construction through conventions that forbid bodily acts and enforce the acts of the body and that are culturally perceived to structure the body (1989). If gender is a cultural significance and is determined through various acts and cultural perceptions, then it would not appear possible to distinguish sex from gender (Beauvoir, 1989). The existence of the material and natural dimensions of the body is recognized, but as distinct from the process of the cultural meaning of the body. For both Beauvoir and Merleau-Ponty, the body is understood as an active process of embodying cultural and historical possibilities. To describe gendered body, phenomenological theory expands of the conventional view of acts to mean both acts that constitute meaning and acts by which meaning is performed. To state this in a different manner, the similarities between the acts that constitute gender and performative acts within theatrical context is questioned (Butler, 1988). For Merleau-Ponty, the body is a historical

idea, and also a set of possibilities to be perpetually realized; this means that the body gets its meaning through a concrete and historically mediated expression on the world (1962). As the sets of possibilities that the body signifies appear in the world without any interior essence or predetermination by manners, the concrete expression must be understood as the rendering specific of a set of historical possibilities. Therefore, the agency is inferred as the rendering process that allows these possibilities, which are constrained by available historical conventions (Merleau-Ponty, 1962; cited in Butler, 1988).

Phenomenology shares a similar perspective with feminist descriptions of gender on grounding theory on lived experience. Yet, there are different views on the subject: Feminist theory claims that the personal is political, which means that subjective experience is structured by existing political arrangements and also effects and structures the arrangements in turn. Feminist theory has questioned the way of how systematic political or cultural structures are enacted and reproduced through individual act and practices. The personal is thus indirectly political, as it is conditioned by common social structures, but it has also gained resistance against political challenge to the public/private distinction. For feminist theory, the personal becomes an expansive category that reserves political structure that seem public; furthermore, the meaning of political also expands. The notion of *act* could be used in a richly ambiguous sense by phenomenological theory of constitution's feminist appropriation. If the personal widens enough to include political and social structures as a category, and then the *acts* of the gendered subject could also be widened. For Butler, there are clear political acts, such as political organizations instrumental actions and resistance to collective intervention. In these case, feminist theory involves a dialectical expansion of these categories. The situation of the one does not belong that person alone, because it is also the situation of someone else; the individual acts of one, still reproduce the situation of one's gender in various way. There is a hidden argument in the personal is political theory of feminism: the life-world of gender relations is constituted at least partially through the historically mediated *acts* of individuals. In view of this, the body is constantly transformed into male or female; the body is only known through its gendered appearance. On this point, Butler claims "the body becomes its gender through a series of acts, which are renewed, revised, and consolidated through time" (1988: 253). Gender is not a fact, the idea of gender is created by different acts and without those acts

there is no probability of occurrence for gender. In this way, Butler questions how gender is constructed through specific corporeal acts, and adds the question of the possibilities that exist for the cultural transformation of gender through such acts (1988).

The body as a materiality bears meaning, so it is not a self-identical materiality; it is a continual *materializing* of possibilities which Butler calls dramatic: "one is not simply a body, but, in some very key sense, one does one's body and, indeed, one does one's body differently from one's contemporaries and from one's embodies predecessors and successors as well" (Butler, 1988; 521). As Beauvoir claimed, the body is a historical situation and manner of doing, dramatizing, and reproducing a historical situation; so too for Butler. For embodiment, to do, to reproduce, to dramatize are the elementary structures. Embodiment declares a set of strategies, or a style of being for Sartre; or a stylistics of existence for Foucault (cited in Butler, 1988). For gender, this style is an act, *a corporeal style*, which is intentional and also performative, that performative itself carries "dramatic" and "non-referential" meanings (Butler, 1988). Foucault, in other respect, described the body in his essay on genealogy as "the inscribed surface of events", that makes the body a scene of cultural inscription (1977). Foucault states that the task of genealogy is to display how the body is formed by history, and adds that the aim of history is the destruction of the body. The body is always enclosed as a volume in perpetual disintegration and suffers destruction with the terms of history, and this history "is the creation of values and meanings by a signifying practice that requires the subjection of the body" (Foucault, 1977; cited in Butler, 1990: 130).

In another respect, Mary Douglas suggests the contour of the body is established by particular codes of cultural coherence in *Purity and Danger* (1984). The discourses on the boundaries of the body reproduce the limits, postures, and modes of change of the body that define the body and also naturalize the taboos of the body (Douglas, 1984; cited in Butler, 1990). In this way, the difference between the male and female–with and against, within and without, above and below–is increased; therefore, an order is created. The limit of the body is not constituted as corporeal, but the surface of it is systematically signified by taboos; thus, the boundaries of the body become limits of the social itself. Douglas refers to untidiness as a cultural disorder. Therefore her analyses provides a possibility to understand the relationship of the institution of social

taboos and the maintenance of the boundaries of the body. According to the post-structuralist interpretation of Douglas's claim, the boundaries of the body could be defined as having socially *hegemonic* limits (Douglas, 1984; cited in Butler, 1990).

Butler questions the senses in which gender is an act, and as an answer she refers to Turner's ritual social drama (Turner, 1980; cited in Butler, 1988), where social action requires a repeated performance: the repetition covers (re)experiencing the socially established meanings, it is a ritualized form of those meanings' legitimation (Butler, 1988). By the application of the concept of social performance to gender, although the individual bodies perform the significations by being stylized in gender mode, the action also becomes public. Gender has cultural survival as its purpose; therefore, the term strategy defines better the situation of gender performance, which occurs always under oppression (Butler, 1988). Gender, as a public action and performative act, is neither a project reflected individual choice, nor one imposed upon the individual. The body is not passively designed by cultural codes, otherwise it would only be an object that receives the pre-given cultural codes. Also the embodied selves do not pre-exist the cultural conventions that signify bodies. Actors are always on the stage in the term of performance: the script could be enacted in a different way or the play could require text and interoperation, therefore the gendered body acts as in culturally determined material space and also enacts interpretation in the limits of existing directives (Butler, 1988).

For Butler, gender reality is performative; that is to say, it is real only to the extent which is performed. It cannot be understood as a role that expresses an interior self, which is designed as sexed or not. Gender is a construed act, that constructs the social fiction of its psychological interiority, as a performative performance. Butler embraces and criticizes Goffman's view on game theory. For Goffman, the self assumes and exchanges various "roles" in the "game" of modern life's complex social expectations (1959; cited in Butler, 1988). Butler states that the self is irrecoverably "outside", based on social discourse; furthermore, attribution of interiority is a publicly regulated and approved form of production of the interior self (Butler, 1988). Therefore, gender cannot be true or false or either real or obvious. Nevertheless, one is forced to live in a world where univocal signifiers are constituted that stabilize, polarize, and make a separate entity out of gender.

The appearance of the reproduction of the category of gender on a large political scale started when women got certain rights or entered a profession (Beauvoir, 1989). But the everyday reproduction of gendered identity occurs through the acts of the body in relationship to the deeply rooted expectations of gendered existence. There is a sedimentation of gender norms which produces the special phenomenon of natural sex, and that sedimentation produces a set of material styles in time that appear as the natural form of bodies as sexes in a binary relation to one another. Beauvoir's claim of "women" as a historical idea, not as a natural fact, underlines the distinction between sex, as biological facticity, and gender as a cultural interpretation or signification of that facticity. For this view, to be female is a facticity without meaning; but to be a woman is to have become a woman, to make the body a cultural sign, materialize oneself in obedience to a historical possibility, and to do this as a sustained corporeal project (1989).

Gender is made to accept a true-false model, that is against its own performative fluidity, and it also serves a social policy of controlling and regulating gender (Butler, 1988). Incorrectly performing gender initiates a direct or indirect punishment system, and performing it correctly provides the guarantee that there is an essential gender identity. Thus, the culture can punish or marginalize those that fail to perform the essential gender illusion; in this regard the truth or falsity of gender is socially compelled and not ontologically required as social knowledge (Butler, 1988).

As a conclusion, the stylization of the body produces the effect of gender, so gender should be understood in everyday life, where bodily gestures, movements, and styles constitute the illusion of permanent gendered selves. This model carries the conception of gender to a constituted *social temporality* (Butler, 1988). As in Butler's perspective on gender and body, gender is not passively inscribed on the body, and it is not determined by nature, language, or the symbolic history of patriarchy; it is continuous, under constraint, daily, with anxiety and pleasure: "Gender ought not to be constructed as a stable identity or locus of agency from which various acts follow; rather, gender is an identity tenuously constituted in time, instituted in an exterior space through a *stylized repetition of acts*" (1990: 140).

2.4. Production of Gendered Space

Before getting into the matter of gendered space, "the bodies in the space, bodies as place" (McDowell, 1999) should be investigated alongside Butler's body construction theory. As geographer Smith recognizes, bodies in space raise all the questions about the space and place they occupy:

> The primary physical site of personal identity, the scale of the body is socially constructed. The place of the body marks the boundary between self and other in a social as much as a physical sense, and involves the construction of a "personal space" in addition to a literally defined physiological space. The body is also a "cultural locus of gender meanings", according to Judith Butler. ... Indeed, Simone de Beauvoir argued that masculine culture identifies women with the sphere of the body while reserving for men the privilege of disembodiment, a non-corporeal identity. Not just gender, obviously, but other forms of social differences are constructed around the identity of the body. Young, in particular, argues that the "scaling of bodies", as she puts it, appropriates a variety of corporeal differences in addition to sex–most obviously race, but also age and ability–as the putative bases for social oppression and "cultural imperialism". (Smith, 1993: 102; cited in McDowell, 1999)

The concept of gender is questioned from a dominant emphasis on the material unequal condition between women and men on the basis of a new approach to language, symbolism, representation and meaning in the definition of gender and in inquiries into subjectivity, identity, and sexed bodies (McDowell, 1999). Feminist anthropologist Moore investigated "what it is to be a woman, how cultural category 'woman' vary trough space and time, and how those understanding relate to the position of women in different societies" (1988: 12; cited in McDowell, 1999). On her view, development of this understanding required the concept of gender and gender relations, which are the different ways that women and men, and the accepted attributes of femininity and masculinity, are defined across space and time. These two aspects of gender, as a set of material social relations, and as symbolic meanings, cannot be distinguished from each other. In defining gender, and also place, social practices–including social interactions in variety of places and ways of thinking about and representing place/gender–are interconnected and mutually constituted: "we all act in relation to our intentions and beliefs, which are always culturally shaped and historically and spatially positioned" (McDowell, 1999: 7). For McDowell, what people believe to be appropriate behaviors by men and women both reflect and effect what they imagine a man or a woman to be, and how they expect men and woman to behave, although these men

and women are differentiated by sexuality, race, class or age; these beliefs and expectations change over time and place (1999).

Personal identities and daily lives are structured by an internalized dualism, that affects the lives of others by structuring the operation of social relations and social dynamics (Massey, 1995; cited in McDowell, 1999). The belief in binary and hierarchic categorical difference constructs women as inferior to men and the attributes of femininity as less valued than masculinity. This binary division is involved in the social production of space in the presumption of the natural and built environment and in the regulation sets that affect who should occupy which space and who should be excluded (McDowell, 1999). Constructing a geography or geographies of gender draws attention to the significance of place, location, and cultural diversity (Pollock, 1996, cited in McDowell, 1999). Also, the spatial division between public and private and between inside and outside, has an essential role in the social construction of gender division. The idea of women's having particular place is a basis for Western Enlightenment thought and the structure and division of knowledge and the subject in the context of this division. Additionally, the social organization of institutions, from the family to workplace, and from shopping malls to political institutions, is based on the idea that women have a particular place. Gendered binary distinctions could be listed as public/private, outside/inside, work/home, work/leisure, production/consumption, independence/dependence, and power/lack of power (McDowell, 1999). This list is possible to find in discussions in feminist texts and also in the discussions of the organization of social relations and institutions in modern Britain. The women and feminine side always attributed as "natural", and thus trivial or unsuitable for academic analyses. Therefore, for example housework, domestic labor, or leisure activities and shopping have been recently become the part of geographical analyses (McDowell, 1999).

Feminist geographers have defined gender in the context of uncovering variations in the ways in which material social practices result in inequitable gender relations. McDowell claims that patriarchy is an important concept to make the connection between gender and class, and also for theorizing the reasons for women's oppression in a range of society (1999). In a general sense, the term "patriarchy" refers to the law of the father, the social control that is held over wives and daughters by fathers. In the

specific sense in feminist scholarship, patriarchy is a system whereby men are constructed as superior to women and have authority over them. This control is enforced in the legal system as a system of tax and social security, and also through everyday attitudes and behaviors in advanced industrial societies (McDowell, 1999).

In *Theorizing Patriarchy*, Walby claims that patriarchal relations in advanced industrial societies are constructed by six sets of analytically separable structures that men dominate and exploit women (1990; cited in McDowell, 1999). These structures are: household production, patriarchal relations in waged work, patriarchal relations in the state, male violence against women, patriarchal relations in sexuality, and patriarchal relations in cultural institutions. Patriarchy was assumed to be a universal feature of the relations between men and women and criticized for it prior to Walby. Her distinction was that her account adds another perspective to this general criticism: patriarchal relations take specific forms in each of the six spheres. She has been criticized for the overarching nature of her account and for and being ethnocentric within capitalist societies. And her ignorance of the interconnections between gender relations and other social division like ethnicity, age, or sexual orientation has also been criticized. In her later formulations, she accepted these criticisms and suggest that these structures or sets of relations are connected in different ways in particular circumstances and places. She changes the term from *patriarchy* to *gender regime*, within the same six sets of relations (Walby, 1997; cited in McDowell, 1999). For Walby, there are two main regimes in advanced industrial societies: the domestic and public. The domestic regime is separated by private patriarchal relations, and the public regime is dominated by public relations. She describes the two regimes as follows:

> The domestic gender regime is based upon household production as the main structure and site of women's work activity and the exploitation of her labor and sexuality and upon the exclusion of women from the public. The public gender regime is based, not on excluding women from the public, but on the segregation and subordination of women within the structures of paid employment and the state, as well as within culture, sexuality and violence. The household does not cease to be a relevant structure in the public form, but it is no longer the chief one. In the domestic form the beneficiaries are primarily the individual husbands and fathers of the women in the household, while in the public form there is more collective appropriation. In the domestic form the principal patriarchal strategy is exclusionary, excluding women from the public arena; in the public it is segregationist and subordinating. In both forms all six structures are relevant, but they have a different relationship to each other. In order to understand any particular instance of

> gender regime it is always necessary to understand the mutual structuring of class and ethnic relations with gender. (Walby, 1997: 6)

These regimes often coexist, but these regimes are analytically distinct and women are involved in each structure in different ways. The gender regime differs as a result of diversity in gender relations resulting from class, ethnicity, and religion. In the British case, older women are more involved than younger women in the domestic gender regime. Women from higher socio-economic groups are more likely to be in a more public form; Pakistani and Bangladeshi women are possibly in a domestic form and Black Caribbean women are possibly in a more public form than white women (Walby, 1997).

For McDowell, the idea of separate but also interconnecting structures is a useful way to distinguish changing gender relations, especially to include class and ethnic differences in Walby's gender regimes (McDowell, 1999). Walby's new perspective on the concept of gender regime rather than that of patriarchy brings her work closer to that of Connell, the first analysts to focus on the social contraction of masculinity (Connell 1987, 1995; cited in McDowell, 1999). Connell, as a Gramscian and in contrast to Walby, theorizes gender relations in forms of cultural consent and pleasure, while Walby focuses on a singular dominant and coercive male oppression of women similar as to Marx's theory on coercive class oppression. For Connell, different societies are characterized by a dominant or hegemonic gender regime that is relatively stable over time. Connell also claims that a range of oppositional regimes may coexist with the dominant one, challenging the assumptions about sexuality and gender that maintain it, and that this may lead to change. Connell thus provides an alternative way than criticism of patriarchy as all encompassing and seemingly incapable of change. For him, sexuality and gendered positions are not only enforced by oppression and power, but by also people taking pleasure in their subject position in a particular gender regime. This argument is closer to the feminists view of how the social construction of femininity brings pleasure and delight to individual women (Connell 1987, 1995; cited in McDowell, 1999).

Compared to Walby's six, Connell's account consists of three sets of structures: relations of power, production, and cathexis (emotional attachment) (Connell, 1995: 73-4; cited in McDowell, 1999). Thus, if the dominance produced through force in

Walby's view is interpreted using Connell's approach, it is possible to understand why people, especially women, are bound to and even enjoy and celebrate their positions in patriarchal relations, which early feminists used to disapprovingly refer to as women's "collusion with patriarchy". In addition to Walby's and Connell's perspective, McDowell refers to Kandiyoti's (1988) analyses as the third way of gender regimes, since in Walby's view, the reasons for women's attachment to individual men or to a particular gender order or regime order is not explained. Also, Connell's view is not enough to qualify the other ways in which women may feel a lack of options and thus compelled to "buy into" the dominant gender order. McDowell emphasizes Kandiyoti's view–different than Walby and Connell–that focuses not on advanced industrial societies, but on non-European ones (McDowell, 1999). Thus, Kandiyoti not only differentiates patriarchal structures on a broad geographical basis, but also explores the reasons why women in the main accept rather than rebel against patriarchal structures. Kandiyoti drew attention to:

> Different family structures and the ways in which wives and widows were dependent on particular structures of patriarchal kinship relations, arguing that it was in women's self-interest to support a system that was essential for their long-term survival and living standards even while it was also oppressing them and their daughters (1988, cited in McDowell, 1999: 20).

Kandiyoti emphasizes the recognition of women's agency: women may be subordinated but not necessarily subservient (1988). Women are able to subvert patriarchal relations, and similar to Connell and Walby, Kandiyoti identifies the ways that the gender regime may change. The three authors insist on *complexity* and *variety* of gender, the unequal relationship between men and women, and also the scope and reasons for change. They also emphasize the interconnection between gender, class position and ethnic origins. Thus, for McDowell dominant and oppositional gender regimes are complex and variable. This gives a useful and structured way of investigating the geographic diversity of gender relations (1999).

As conclusion of the structural approaches to gender regimes, the belief that patriarchy or gender regimes are a structured set of inequalities has been under attack from deconstructive and postmodern arguments about the impermanence of the very categories "woman" and "man", and the impossibility of understanding difference and diversity through "grand theories" (McDowell, 1999). Similar to Walby, McDowell claims

that it is not necessary to give up wide-ranging notions of structured relationships in order to theorize complexity. For McDowell, all those theories,

> Recognize the complexity of the ways in which gender is intercut by class, age, ethnicity and by other factors such as sexuality; but in circumstances where women, as a group, are clearly subordinate to, unequal with and dominated by men as a group, then it seems to me that we must hold on to ways to theorize these differences which recognize structured inequities between social groups. (1999: 21)

The social construction of versions of femininity and masculinity, it is still habitual practice to assume that previous constructions are the basis for subsequent ones. Thus, men are implicated in the domination of women even though such domination is fluid and variable. As a consequence, gender relations are "at the base, relations of power, hierarchy and inequality, not simply dichotomous, symmetrical and complementary relations, as commonsense categories like to put it" (de Almeida 1996: 8; cited in McDowell, 1999). There are many ways of "doing gender" (West and Zimmerman, 1987; cited in McDowell 1999), of being man and woman: they are multiple and oppositional, as well as hegemonic; they are geographically and historically specific and vary across the range of spatial scales. Besides the spatial scale, gender itself is theorized now as "one variable among others, or rather, and more correctly, as mutually constituted by class and by ethnicity" (Brewer 1993; Davis 1981; Giddings 1984; Kobayashi and Peake 1994; Malson et al. 1990; Mirza 1997; Peake 1993; cited in McDowell 1999: 21).

On this point, as one way of doing gender, space is included in feminist discussions. McDowell's argument, which is that both people and also places are gendered and therefore that social and spatial relationships are mutually constituted, brings the feminist theories to bear on geography:

> How is gender linked to geography? Do men and women live different lives in different parts of the world? And if gendered attributes are socially constructed, then how does femininity and masculinity vary over time and space? What range of variation is there in the social relations between women and men? Are men usually centre-stage and women confined to the margins in all societies? (McDowell, 1999: 1)

Geographers view places as contested, fluid, and uncertain. Socio-spatial practices define places, and these practices result in overlapping and intersecting places with multiple and changing boundaries, constituted and maintained by social relations of power and exclusion (Massey, 1991; Smith 1993; cited in McDowell, 1999). It is the power

relations that make places, construct the rules, and define boundaries. These boundaries are social and spatial, and define who belongs to or is to be excluded from a place (McDowell, 1999).

For Massey (1994) and McDowell (1999), the difference in the way that men and women experience geography is not only the result, but also the producer of it. Accordingly, as Buehler states, such spaces as the city, the house, the company, quarters and neighborhoods, public spaces, and the nation state are characterized by specific activities of women and men, by specific gendered power relations and by specific symbolic meanings of gender (2007). There is an explicitly observable division of the public-private in terms of gender, with a strong connection between of women and the private, and men and the public, although there is an intensive fluidity between the distinction between private and public space. Studies on women in private space focus on domesticity, and those on women in public space focus on the problems that women experience outside; on the other hand, "men take for granted their freedom in and dominance of these spaces" (McDowell, 1999: 148).

Schick claims that gendered discourse–before anything else–is a *technology of place*: "to describe the discursive instrument and strategies by means of which space is constituted as place, that is, place is socially constructed and reconstructed" (1999: 9). Therefore, technology of place not only refers to the construction of a place, but also to the means and methods whereby an individual understands a place. As a case in point on the production and reproduction of gender, Schick uses Lauretis's term of *technology of gender* as a Foucauldian concept to describe the discursive instruments and strategies by means of gender's socially construction and reconstruction in studies on the harem (Laureates, 1987; cited in Schick 2010). Space is constructed through social practices and carries the impact of the power relations that characterize it. In turn, space effects social practices, reproducing society and reaffirming the power relations that organize it (Schick 2010: 74). Here, Schick goes on with Soja's citation:

> The generative source for a materialist interpretation of spatiality is the recognition that spatiality is socially produced and, like society itself, exist in both substantial forms (concrete spatialities) and as a set of relations between individuals and groups, an 'embodiment' and medium of social life itself. (Soja, 1989: 120; cited in Schick, 2010).

That means, spatiality as a social product is simultaneously the medium and outcome, and also both the presupposition and embodiment, of social action and relationship.

2.4.1. Gender in Urban Space

When we come to the city as part of the space and gender discussion, Grosz suggests that the city organizes and orients sexual and social relations in such a way that "the city divides cultural life into public and private domains, geographically dividing and defining the particular social positions and locations occupied by individuals and groups" (1992; cited in McDowell, 1999: 66). The public sphere, which is dominated by men, derives from the industrial urbanization that was accompanied by a spatial separation of women and men's lives. Therefore, the division of the public and private is also socially constructed, and feminist scholarship has challenged and tried to reverse it, as McDowell does by stating, "the public spaces of the city have been significant locations in women's escape from male dominance" (McDowell, 1999: 149). In this respect, between the public and private spaces, semi-public spaces such as large department stores are also places for women to escape. These areas create a place to which women can escape from domesticity and the male presence in temporary periods, "Thus the public and semi-public arenas of industrial towns and cities were paradoxical spaces for women, where danger but also relative freedom awaited them" (McDowell, 1999: 149). Semi-public spaces in neighborhoods, such as blind alleys, where access is controlled and accessible for only residents, are also places of escape for women.

As private space, domestic space is the material representation of the social order; and social reproduction is achieved through the symbolic enduring of the social order represented in the habitat (Bahloul, 1992; cited in McDowell, 1999). This *representation* in domestic space and order, is *habitus* in Bourdieu's conceptualization (1977; cited in McDowell, 1999). Bourdieu elaborated on the Kabyle houses' in relation to the everyday life practice, which is defined as *habitus*, and where space is defined as *habitat*, in *Algeria 1970* (Bourdieu, 1979).[1]

[1] Since the concept of "habitus" itself is too strong and overarching for explaining the case of this thesis, it is not going to be used as one of the main concepts, so as not to allow it to overshadow the other concepts used in the thesis.

Post-1968 feminists pointed out that the division of urban space into worlds of home and waged work, that developed in capitalism in the West, had an important effect on women's lives and status. In this division so-called private space is related with women, and public space with men (Allen and Crow, 1989; Mackenzie and Rose, 1983; Madigan and Munro, 1991; cited in McDowell, 1999).[2] Women were encouraged (and maybe forced) to identify with and restrict themselves to the home, which is alternatively a site of deprivation of their rights, abuse and fulfillment. Men are the only group that have traditionally been encouraged to "earn a good living", on the other hand, women are still expected to "keep house" (Merles, 1992; cited in McDowell, 1999). And this housekeeping was seen to rely on women's "natural" skills and was financially unrewarded; therefore it was devalued and long left untheorized (McDowell, 1999).

The repression that pushed women into the home causes an exclusion from the public arena. Therefore, women have been and continue to be excluded from equal access to the public arena. Thus, "women's construction as dependent on men, both economically and morally, or as lesser beings–as fragile or in need of protection–reduces their rights to freedom" (Pateman 1988, 1989; cited in McDowell, 1999: 150). Here, the illustration about the danger of the outside (e.g., rape and harassment) forces women to stay indoors for their own protection. Feminist campaigns to "reclaim the streets" and "reclaim the night", along with counterclaims for curfews for men, have challenged the presumed greater freedom for men to occupy open and public space (McDowell, 1999).

The nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in Western Europe and the USA not only reshaped the relations between space, gender, and identity, but also transformed cultural representations (McDowell, 1999). The suffrage movement was part of this transformation that changed women's status in everyday life. There was an overwhelming focus on how the public arena of life was dominated by men. Because industrial urbanization was accompanied by a growing spatial separation of men's and women's

[2] In addition to gender, class also has an important effect on the division of space and women's participation in the public spaces. As Massey and McDowell claim, it is not possible to distinguish these from each other. But for the case study of this thesis, gender is going to be focused on more than class.

lives, it caused an inadequate attention to women's life (Wolff, 1985; cited in McDowell, 1999). In this case, the great new cities of the nineteenth century had a new male figure, that of the *flaneur* or voyeur who took pleasure in his role as an urban onlooker (McDowell, 1999). For Baudelaire and succeeding theorists, the flaneur was inevitably male, and had the freedom to hang out and spectate in urban areas in those times, while women were not accepted as participants in urban spaces (1963; cited in, McDowell, 1999). By the end of the nineteenth century, women became visible in cities by using the streets, going to offices, or shopping at stores. Women started to stroll alone just like men. These women were still subjected to the male gaze, or physical/verbal harassment, but still women had a great deal more freedom in nineteenth and twentieth century cities, where the strict and hierarchical ties of small towns and villages were relaxed and dissolved (Wilson, 1991, 1992; cited in McDowell, 1999). Therefore, the female flaneur, *flaneuse*, is always under the male gaze in urban space; this fact produces the space in the gender context. Here, Heron also argues, the city as an important locus in the challenge of gender divisions (Heron, 1993; cited in McDowell, 1999). The city is a crucible for destabilizing the dichotomies of traditional divisions of women's and men's lives. For her,

> The classic narrative of the city as a new beginning, a stage embarked upon in early adult life, has specific features for women in that the very notion of female self-invention defies the nature-culture divide; women being traditionally the stable, fixed point in a universe whose spaces wait to be explored by men, so that woman endures while man transcends. (Heron, 1993: 3; cited in McDowell, 1999)

As discussed in the context of Wilson's work, after the nineteenth century, women became increasingly visible in cities, passing through the streets on their way to such new employment opportunities as clerical occupations, and going shopping in the growing number of department stores (1991, 1992; cited in McDowell, 1999). But this is not to deny that women were still subjected to and constrained by the intrusive male gaze and actual verbal or physical harassment. Yet, this was often less a feature of city life than it was of narrower social environments like that of provincial towns (Heron, 1993; cited in McDowell, 1999). In cities, "the very anonymity of the urban crowd may protect women, while at the same time that edge of danger is a lure to explore the city landscape" (McDowell, 1999: 156).

Space were assigned as gendered not because of actual harassment, but simply because of the male gaze. In identity case, similar to male gaze, Butler also includes the term of "social audience" to the performative accomplishment to construct the gender identity (1990). As an example study of male gaze in space, Fiske's case study of the beaches shows us that the beach becomes a display of sexuality and a locus dominated by gaze (1992; cited in McDowell 1999). The most important point is that beaches are arenas for "looking": it is the heterosexual male gaze which dominates the displays, although beaches are often distinguished by the dominance of a certain group, for instance the surfers' beach by young men, or a family beach by adults and children. In another example of the beach case, Löw emphasizes that women are not only the object of the gazing; in fact, they actively use their placing practices to produce gender arrangements:

> In perceiving and placing, we create spaces. We produce spaces by drawing symbolic and/or material boundaries in the expectation that others will recognize them through a synthesizing cognitive act. People perceive the placing practices of others and at the same time orient their own placings to what they have perceived (see Featherstone, 1993: 176). What imparts dynamics to this process is the fact that while we place in anticipation of perceptions, we are not able to compel these perceptions. When boundaries are crossed by gazes, by touches, by invasion, by language, etc., or when different spaces do not coexist in harmony, it is social power and domination that take over (Löw, 2006:128).

Here, the act of perceiving-while-linking can be shown to be pervaded by gender. In mixed gender context, which constitute the majority of social contexts, at least in heterosexual contexts, perception has two positions: one is the male-coded gaze and the other the female-coded intuitive sense for placing (Löw, 2006). The fact that women also look and men also respond in this experience, for Kaufmann, means that it is experienced as bodily sensing in women's case and as gazing in men's case (1996, cited in Löw, 2006). For Löw, the *genderization* of space is effected through the organization of perceptions, in particular of glances and the body techniques corresponding to them: "it is in the gaze that gender is constituted" (Mathes, 2001: 105; cited in Löw, 2006). Here, by using Mauss's concept *body techniques* are historically and culturally specific modes of using the body and so of body behavior/activity as well: swimming, walking, or running examples show that there is nothing in bodily movement that is "natural"; conversely, there are culturally determined techniques which permeate the body as nearly to elude reflection (Mauss, 1978; cited in Löw, 2006). In

another respect, Merleau-Ponty demonstrates that what we perceive through our bodies is not only things but also "interspaces between things" which means that in perceiving through our bodies, we form syntheses in our everyday activities as a means of linking together a great multiplicity of objects to form spaces (1966; Löw 2006: 120).

As with ideas about gender, ideas about place, boundaries, and membership are also social constructs (McDowell, 1999). For young women and men and older ones, and for straight or gay people, different spaces have particular significances and different relations of power that vary over time. For example, for women with children, the home may be a place of safety; for waged workers, at the end of the day it may be a longed-for haven or a place where complex relations of age and gender have to be negotiated and renegotiated. In an urban setting, the street and park, that for some are spaces for liberation and exploratory behaviors are for others inaccessible, or places of fear and danger. The division between the public and private that is associated with gender division is assumed to be the "natural" sphere of one or the other sex, so feminist scholarship tries to deconstruct and denaturalize these division. As Massey emphasizes, the gendering of space and place "both reflects and has effects back on the ways in which gender is constructed and understood in the societies in which we live" (1994: 182).

CHAPTER 3
METHODOLOGY

3.1. Introduction: Feminist Research Methodology

The debate on research method is more than an argument concerning the best research technique to use in which circumstances; further to that it offers a narrative about the relations between social and scientific division of labor, the cultural production of masculinities and femininities, and the processes used to establish an understanding of the social and material world: therefore, "methodology is itself gendered" (Oakley, 1998: 707), as McDowell also argues in her study "Thinking about feminist methods" (1999: 231).[3] Thus, the quantitative and qualitative dichotomy is an *ideological representation* (Oakley, 1998). The focus of the methodology chapter of the thesis will be to try to comprehend the relationship between methodology and gender.

With the first feminist challenge to academia in the late 1960s and early 1970s, the positivist, quantitative research methodology was rejected as a way of doing research on women's studies, because the voices of women as an oppressed social group were unlikely to be heard using such an approach (Oakley, 1998). The methodology was masculine biased and women were invisible before that criticism. Therefore, feminist methodology texts accept qualitative methods as the best to hear women's accounts of their experiences (Bowles and Duelli-Klein 1983; Roberts 1981; Stanley and Wise 1983; cited in Oakley, 1998).

Qualitative methods include participant observation, unstructured/semi-structured interviewing, life history methods and focus groups. These are seen as epistemologically distinct from such "quantitative" methods as surveys, experiments, statistical records, structured observations, and content analysis. In practice, the feminist critique mainly equated qualitative methods with indepth face-to-face interviews (Stanley and Wise 1993:3; cited in Oakley, 1998), and quantitative methods with enumeration in some form or other and with the epistemological/philosophical position underlying the use

[3] For a detailed discussion on feminist methods by McDowell, see McDowell (1999) Chapter 9: "Postscript: Reflections on the Dilemmas of Feminist Research".

of statistical techniques (Mies 1991:67; cited in Oakley, 1998). The dualism of quantitative and qualitative methods is paralleled by others: hard/soft; masculine/feminine; public/private; rational/intuitive; intellect/feeling; scientific/artistic; social/natural; control/understanding; experiment/observation; objective/subjective; separation/fusion; repression/expression; autonomy/dependence; voice/silence (Belenky et al. 1986; Gilligan 1982; Millman and Kanter 1987; Reinharz 1984; cited in Oakley, 1998). In these dualisms, women' studies are ignored or marginalized by traditional social science, all the major social theories of which explain the public world of labor, but do not focus on the private world of work and the home (Elshtain 1981; Stacey 1981; cited in Oakley, 1998). Those areas of social life that especially concern women, caring, bodies, and emotions (Rose 1994; Martin 1987; Williams and Bendelow 1996; cited in Oakley, 1998) have been confined to sociology.

The feminist critique of quantitative research is that: the choice of topics usually supports sexist values; female subjects are excluded or marginalized; relations between researcher and researched are intrinsically exploitative; the resulting data are superficial and overgeneralized; and quantitative research is generally not used to over-come social problems (Jayaratne and Stewart 1991:86; Jayaratne 1983:145-6; cited in Oakley, 1998). Substantially, this criticism of quantitative research overlaps with general feminist critiques of mainstream or "malestream" social research (see, for example, Eichler 1988; cited in Oakley, 1998). Here, as a solution to quantitative research critiques, feminist research advocates "an integrative, trans-disciplinary approach to knowledge which grounds theory contextually in the concrete reality of women's everyday lives" (Stacey 1988:212; cited in Oakley, 1998).

Smith emphasizes a sociology "of" and a sociology "for" women and suggests the notion of a feminist "standpoint" as a place outside the dominant frame of organized social science knowledge from which it is possible to construct a sociology respectful of women's subjectivity (Smith 1988; cited in Oakley, 1998). For Rose, *everything begins with everyday life,* including all concrete experience, and all abstract knowledge (1994; cited in Oakley, 1998). For women, who are in a nexus of domestic labor and emotional work for others, the result of "thinking from caring" produces different versions of both social and natural science from the ones that have dominated most intellectual discourse and knowledge production. As a core of feminist methodology, Smith

suggests the "institutional ethnography", which means a commitment to investigating and explaining 'actual practices and relations' (Smith 1988:160; cited in Oakley, 1998). In-depth interviewing with selected women interviewees gives attention to the details of what women say, and forms on analysis dedicated to reproducing all of this as "faithfully" as possible. This makes it possible to construct an alternative feminist scholarship while the enemy of "the scientific method" appears to obstruct it (Oakley, 1998). That is going to be used as the main technique in this thesis.

3.2. Qualitative Research Approach

Qualitative research methodology ensure the possibility to analyze the construction of everyday life through lived experiences. Data collection is possible from words, images, impressions, gestures, or tones in everyday experiences, rather than statistical data. In this methodology, the focus is on the symbolic or phenomenological aspects of the meaning that is expressed in one's communications and actions, as is characterized by "symbolic interactionism" (Yücesoy Ünlü, 2006). For Herbert, researchers "explore the complex connections that social groups establish with one another and with the places they inhabit, cultivate, promote, defend, dominate, and love" (2000: 564; cited in Yücesoy Ünlü, 2006). He continues by identifying ethnography as a "uniquely useful method for uncovering the processes and meanings that undergird sociospatial life" (ibid: 550).

Case study research originates from the Chicago School of Sociology and the anthropological case studies of the early twentieth century. If there is a "how" or "why" question about a contemporary set of events, over which the researcher does not have control, than the case study is preferred (Yin, 1984; cited in Yücesoy Ünlü, 2006). The case study is a "methodology of a multi-perspective analysis"; that the researcher considers not just the perspective of the actors (informants), but also the *relevant groups of actors* and the *interaction* between them (Yücesoy Ünlü, 2006: 65). Hence, case studies are process-oriented, flexible, and adaptable to changing circumstances and dynamic context. If the case study is compared to the quantitative study as representative sample of a population of interest, qualitative researchers search for getting in-depth and intimate information about a smaller group of people. For in-depth information, it is necessary for the researcher to be involved in the setting and with the participants for qualitative research (Yücesoy Ünlü, 2006). Therefore, it is not the main

goal for the qualitative methodology to have a representative sample, as it is in quantitative methodology.

Qualitative research involves the use and collection of such empirical materials as case study, personal experience, life story, interview, artifacts, cultural texts and productions, observational, historical, interactional, and visual texts that describe the setting (Yücesoy Ünlü, 2006). Qualitative researchers study patterns in the empirical materials and try to understand phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them (Denzin and Lincoln, 2003; cited in Yücesoy Ünlü, 2006). In this interpretation, one methodological practice does not come further to the front than others, since qualitative research is intrinsically multi-method in focus. This multi-method approach, which is mentioned as "triangulation" by Denzin (1970; cited in Yücesoy Ünlü, 2006), makes it possible for researchers to collect data with different methods and provides explanatory insights from varying methodologies: "multiple methods can be used to secure an in-depth understanding of the phenomenon in question" (Yücesoy Ünlü, 2006: 66). This multi-method approach is employed in this thesis as well.

The criticism against ethnographic research is its focus on the small community and the culture of a chosen group; this is criticized as overestimating cultural perceptions. Thus "the representativeness (typicality/atypicality) of the selected group and the researcher's qualities as an ethnographer are considered to be the most important qualities for the validity and reliability of the research" (Yücesoy Ünlü, 2006: 65). Here, the more important point for judging the validity of the research is evaluation of the case materials, rather than representativeness (Jackson, 1985; cited in Yücesoy Ünlü, 2006). Jackson refers to the logical relationship between characteristics rather than their representativeness or typicality.

Regarding the ethnography, autoethnography as a qualitative sociological research method is also going to be used as a supportive methodology in the thesis. Autoethnography is described by Reed-Danahay as "a form of self-narrative that places the self within a social context" (1997b: 9; cited in Butz and Besio, 2009). It dissolves the boundaries between authors and the objects of representation; the author became the part of the study, and research subjects are reimagined as reflexive narrators of self.

The main idea of autoethnography in general is trying to break the conventional distinction between researchers as agents of signification, and research subjects as a separate category as objects of signification (Butz and Besio, 2009: 1671). Thinking autoethnographically is one approach to critical reflexivity. Autoethnography enacts:

> The ontological move of reconstituting the subjects (i.e. as reflexive) and objects (i.e. relations and assemblages in an expanded field) of social research, and provides epistemological resources for better recognizing the shape of representations researchers receive and produce, whether or not researchers' academic writing takes a specifically autoethnographic form (Butz and Besio, 2009: 1671).

These epistemological and ontological procedures are significantly important for all areas of social research, but especially for contemporary geography with its growing preoccupation with affect, emotion, and embodiment, its interest in the constitution of social life through interactions across space and the constitution of space through social interactions, its commitment to collaborative and participatory research, its tradition of ethnographic study, its concern for groups positioned outside the circuits of authorized knowledge, its long concern for issues of reflexivity, and its attention to how local, grounded, personal experiences of place relate to larger processes (Butz and Besio, 2009).

3.3. Framework of the Field Research in Tophane

As discussed above, the qualitative methodology is appropriate for the case of this thesis. Empirically, the data of the thesis are mostly based on recorded interviews conducted after moving from the field. Unrecorded interviews from the last year of residence, and also informal field notes during five-year period I lived in Tophane neighborhood. As techniques of qualitative method, in-depth interviews[4] and participant observation was used to collect data for the thesis. To investigate the spatial and social characteristics of urban spaces in the gender context on the basis of their meanings, conceptions, and understandings, women were chosen as the subject of the case study group of the thesis. Also as a resident of the neighborhood, I, as researcher, on a part of the research; thus, the autoethnographical method was also used as a supporting method of the study. Additionally, the newspaper review was also used as another supporting method of analysis.

[4] Some of the interviews were conducted together with Eva Maria Bruckmann, a graduate student in Modern Middle Eastern Studies at Oxford University, who was writing her master thesis on Tophane case as well.

As an inhabitant of the Tophane neighborhood, I had chance to observe the field for five years. During the period I lived in the neighborhood, I observed and then started to recognize the gendered spatial practices intrinsic to the neighborhood. I chose my thesis topic as a result of my four years of observations and experiences in the field, thus I started conducting my observations in the field in the last year of my residency and after moving away from the neighborhood, in 2014 and 2015. Eight non-recorded interviews were conducted during the last year of residency and seven recorded interviews were conducted after moving from the field (see map 3.1).

Map 3.1. Locations of the interviewees

Therefore, the first reason to choose the case, as mentioned, was to have chance to observe it very well as a participant. Secondly, the significant different position in cultural, economic, and geographical perspectives of the neighborhood compared with the environment around it which is investigated in detailed in the next chapter, is the reason to focus on the field as the case of the thesis. As Mason mentions, as the necessity of an active and reflective role of the researcher (1996; cited in Yücesoy Ünlü, 2006), I had active role in the neighborhood. As the thesis tries to investigate the spatial practices of urban spaces in a gender context, not only the actors' perspectives, but also the relevant groups of actors and the interaction between them is going to be considered. The feminist framework of the study let me to conduct interviews more with

the disadvantaged group of the case, women, thus this could cause the deficiency of reflection of the other perspectives in the neighborhood.

During my time living in Tophane neighborhood, I was in an in-between position. Because the general demography of Tophane is based on lower-middle or working class, migrant population, and recently new inhabitants from upper-middle class, urbanites have started to move to the neighborhood[5]. The "new-comers" and the "old-comers"[6] of the neighborhood had different socio-cultural practices in daily life. I was accepted as both an insider and an outsider by the two sides; that gave me the chance to empathize with different groups, and to have the opportunity to compare the cultural and practical differences between the groups. For Lerner (1958), empathy is an important skill to understand people and to have the ability of orienting the self in complex situation. Regarding his definition, I put myself in the place of the "old-comers" and "new-comers" of Tophane in an unusual situation and created a consensus. As a researcher, living in the field was an advantage for me to catch the daily life of the people and also my self, while participating in it. It provided the possibility to observe the case even in different time periods in the same day.

Being one of the researched actors in the field as an autoethnographic part of the case, I recorded and interpreted my social practices in the neighborhood as well. While doing this, keeping the researcher role was not an essentially difficult problem for me: in the autoethnographic method, during the collection of the data, it is not easy to avoid bias; yet, it was vitally important to keep the ontological position while analyzing the data. Because when I became the actor of the study, particularly in a sensitive field as feminism, as a feminist, I questioned my self about managing to keep the true position while analyzing the non-feminist experiences.

The selection process of the interviewees was based on the person's belonging to the neighborhood. As has been mentioned and is going to be discussed in detail in the next chapters, "the others" of the Tophane neighborhood was chosen. This means the oppressed people of the dominant patriarchal culture of neighborhood that can be clearly

[5] For the details about the demography of the neighborhood see Chapter 4.
[6] Discussion of the terms of "new-comers" and "old-comers" see particularly "Gentrification in Tophane" in Chapter 4.

observed in the field, who are generally newcomer upper-middle class women; seven of them had a cafe, art gallery, design shop, or second-hand shop in the neighborhood in Tophane and had been coming to the neighborhood every day, and one of them was a student who had lived in Tophane. In this condition, eight women's semi-structured interviews were recorded. From the other perspective, seven people from the neighborhood were interviewed: one woman was the *muhtar;* three of them were house wives from the neighborhood; one man from the neighborhood and had a coffeehouse; one man active in social issues of the neighborhood from Tophane; one man–who was an outsider–was an art gallery director. And lastly, one interview that was not recorded but had a significant role in the thesis, was with a woman newcomer. Who had a coffee and design shop in the neighborhood. She was described by other people and featured in the field notes and ideas about the first thinking on the topic of the thesis. In addition, visual and written documents such as photography and local and mainstream newspapers were investigated. Consequently, with the field notes of five years' participant observation, fifteen recorded or noted personal interviews, also the autoethnographical analyses based on living in the field as a women for five years, and visual and written documents are the main source of data of the thesis.

CHAPTER 4
TOPHANE

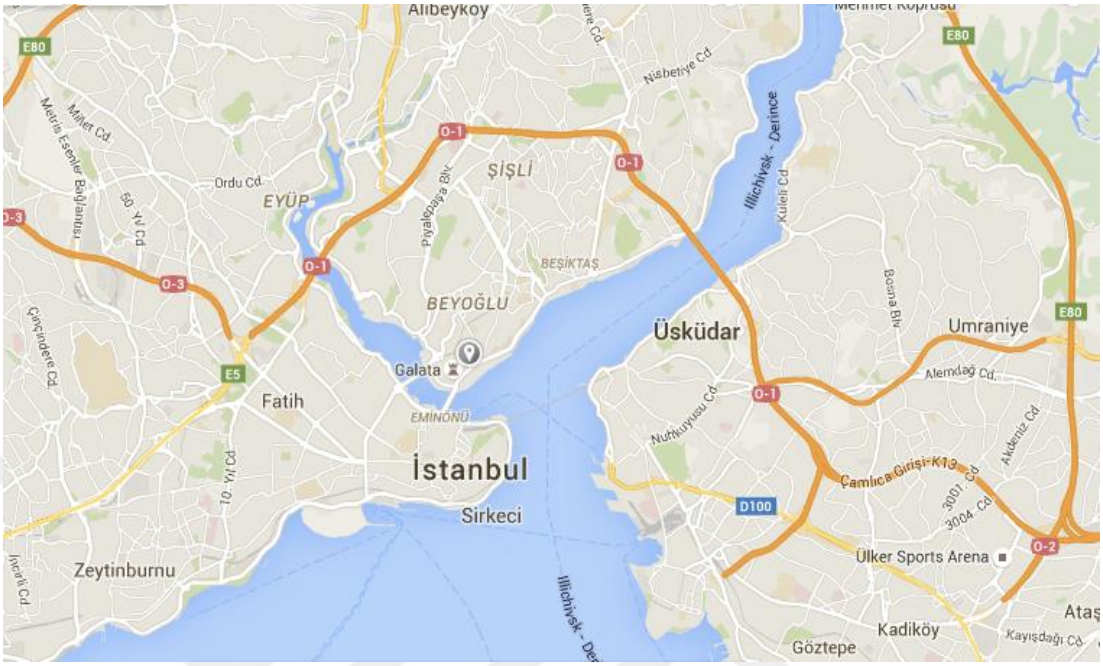
4.1. The History of Tophane

Tophane *Semti*[7] is a quarter, which is not an official administrative unit, between the Bosphorus and Golden Horn in the Beyoğlu district of Istanbul. It includes two main official neighborhoods (*mahalle*)–Tomtom and Hacımimi–and some parts of Firuzağa, Şahkulu, Kılıç Ali Paşa, and Müeyyetzade neighborhoods; it is surrounded by Galata and Fındıklı quarters (see maps 4.1 and 4.2). Although it is a quarter, Tophane is identified as a neighborhood in daily life, because the term "neighborhood" not only refers to a physical site, but also to a sense of belonging to an area, a sense which has been very strong in Tophane. In Turkish and Ottoman culture, a neighborhood is an administrative unit, the smallest one to be represented by the state (ruler is *muhtar*), and which is also represented by a local religious leader (*imam*). It is also a territorial community that is the main constituent of the city as in other Eastern cities. The unofficial borders of Tophane caused to be described as a part or extension of the Galata quarter in history.

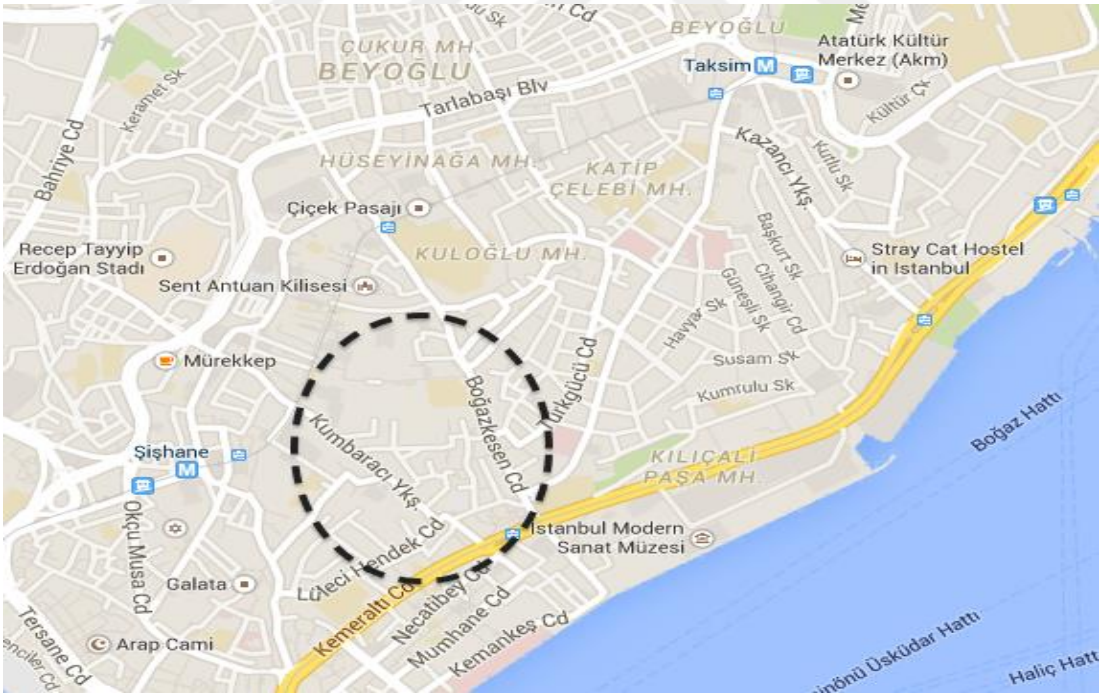
Galata has an older settlement history than Tophane as it was a trade center and an important seaport since the Byzantine Empire. Of the many merchants to trade in the area, those from Venezia, Amalfi, Pisa, and Genoa were the most economically powerful groups in Galata during the Byzantine Empire. In the 13th century, the Jewish population from Anatolia settled in the area to trade (Çöl, 2009). Until the Ottoman Empire, Tophane was not a place of settlemen. After the conquest of Istanbul by the Ottoman Empire in 1453, with the construction of the Tophane-i Amire (Imperial Armory) during 1451-1481 in the reign of Fatih Sultan Mehmed, soldiers were placed on the land. In time, civilians started to move to the area and it became a place of settlement. With the increasing of the population of Galata, population started to extend to Haliç and Tophane; therefore, Tophane became one of Istanbul's favored residential areas. Tophane and Fındıklı were the first places constructed close to the city center.

[7] *Semt* is the quarter that includes more than one neighborhood (*mahalle)* without official borders in a district. For Tophane, the term neighborhood is used in English, instead of quarter. Also, for the locals, the term *mahalle* has an affective meaning, while *semt* is only an official term.

With the increasing population of Tophane, the neighborhood became a famous shopping and trade center with new shops in Galata in Ottoman times (Aydüz, 2010-2011).



Map 4.1 Location of Tophane in Istanbul



Map 4.2 Tophane neighborhood

As Behar claims, Tophane is a typical Ottoman neighborhood with a main street and a small square surrounded by small streets, mosques, *tekke*s and *hamam*s (cited in

Başaran, 2015). Thus, to understand the cultural history of Tophane, the Ottoman urban culture should be reviewed. For Keyder, during Ottoman times, Istanbul was always a mosaic of religions and languages, where traditions lived without interacting with each other. Muslims, Rums[8] (Ottoman Greeks), Jews, and Armenians had always lived side by side, but hardly ever married with each other; with the "silent agreement" between different groups' elites and Ottoman rulers, religious and cultural lives were kept separate. This made it possible to see variety of people as ethnicity, religion, language, and clothing; yet, it made impossible a common social life and social cohesion (Keyder, 2009a).

The most typical urban segregation was based on religion in Ottoman Istanbul: Galata, Pera (Beyoğlu), Kumkapı, and Haliç (Fener, Balat) belonged to non-Muslim communities. The rest of the minorities were in the Princes' Islands and naturally segregated from the city. Ethic, cultural, or class identities were not as effective as religious identity (Aktay, 2013). For Ortaylı, as in every other city, the land, minorities lived in, was fixed and limited in Istanbul (1986). The purpose of the Ottoman Empire was to construct a social life by protecting the diversity of the population in their own separate spheres. For trade, state affairs, and some cultural necessities, those groups came into, but more than this was not considered necessary. According to Ortaylı, relations between different religious communities started to be seen after the Tanzimat, with the reorganization of the Ottoman Empire as a result of new agreements with other states and minority capitulations (cited in Aktay, 2013). Consequently, the postulate of tolerance between different religious group in society was not a reflection of reality; on the contrary, Ottoman urban planning isolated the different religious groups from each other, and tried to maintain this separation. This differentiation was not seen only in the spatial segregation, but also in clothes. Ottoman sultans enacted clothing regulations for each religious group. Thus, religious belonging and identity were protected by both urban spatial segregation and intervention in life style indicators. As an example of the urban segregation case, non-Muslim people were not allowed to buy houses around mosques. Islamic civilization is a traditional system that has a common urban architecture and a standard system in clothing, eating customs, etiquette, and aesthetics in the Ottoman Empire, though it was not possible to adopt this standard for all other

[8] For the Greeks, that lived in the Ottoman Empire and live in Turkey today, identified as *Rum* and for that group the term of the *Rum* is going to be used in the thesis.

Islamic states in the history (cited in Aktay, 2013). Consequently, for Ortaylı, it was not possible for the non-Muslim population in Istanbul to protect their variety within the separated living spaces, but was possible only by the control of the state (1986). According to the clothing regulations, non-Muslim women's clothes were determined as not to be similar to Muslim women clothes, in order to show their status. Another example to indicate the status is in architecture: non-Muslim houses were not allowed to be built higher than Muslim houses (Refik, cited in Aktay, 2013). "Our Armenian neighbor Agop, and our Jewish neighborhood grocery Salamon" memories are just a praise to the Ottoman Empire from early Turkish Republic literature, which ended with the 6-7 September events. Therefore, the Ottoman Empire was not a state that welcomed relations between different groups, but was a state that protected and assured the differences with its urban architectural design (Aktay, 2013).

As a typical Ottoman neighborhood, Tophane was a significant example of religious diversity. Mixed communities determined the social and commercial life of Tophane and Galata. After the conquest of Istanbul, the population of Beyoğlu was based on Italian, Rum, Jewish, Armenian, and a few Turkish people. When the Galata Mevlevihanesi (lodge used by Mevlevi dervishes) was constructed by İskender Paşa in 1491, the Muslim population was encouraged to move to Beyoğlu. With the construction of Asmalı Mescid (small mosque) by II. Beyazıt, a Muslim population started to appear in the area. Also, Galata Saray Ocağı (school for palace members) was built by the order of Beyazıt II, and became an important reason for the Muslim population to settle around Galata. In the 16th century in Galata, there were 592 Rum houses (39%), 535 Muslim houses (35%), 332 European houses (22%), and 62 Armenian houses (4%) (cited in Ortaylı, 1986).

According to the housing politics of Ottoman Empire, it was important to construct *külliye* (Islamic-Ottoman social complex) to a neighborhood to construct the idea of mahalle in urban life. In time, the Muslim constituents of Galata, such as Azapkapı Sokullu Külliyesi, Tophane Kılıç Ali Paşa Külliyesi, and Tophane Fındıklı Molla Çelebi Külliyesi became important communities of social structure (Çöl, 2009). As well as *külliye*s, coffeehouses (*kahvehane*s) were important social spaces during the Ottoman Empire, and many of them were in Tophane, which determined the social life significantly. The Ottoman coffeehouse was a principal institution of the public sphere,

a site of public communication, and an arena linking the socio-cultural with the political (Kömeçoğlu, 2005). Coffeehouses were divided according to their social function as: *âşık* (poet-singer) coffeehouses, *meddah* (public story teller) coffeehouses, *hashish* coffeehouses, *semaî* (musical) coffeehouses, gambling coffeehouses, fisher coffeehouses, etc. The major *meddah* and *semaî* coffeehouses of Istanbul were in Tophane, and were a sign of the social life of the neighborhood. For example, Tophane was famous for the story tellers in its coffeehouses during Ramadan; besides the Ramadan night prayers in mosques, people used to listen to religious opinions, traditions, or legends from the story tellers in coffeehouses. The coffeehouses became popular with different occupation, interest, addicted groups, but they always had a male dominant character and were centers for male social life, while bath houses were left for women as public spaces that served as "women coffeehouses" (Emeksiz, 2009). After the Ottoman Empire, the variety of the coffeehouses started to decrease, but they continued to exist during the Turkish Republic, and remein in existence today.

Tophane's central location for trade and the port caused the neighborhood to always have a culturally and ethnically heterogenous population until late Ottoman times. For Ortaylı, Beyoğlu started to lose its Ottoman style ethnic-religious segregation in the early 20th century (1986). As a result of the French Revolution, the ideas of equality, freedom, and national identity started to affect the Ottomans, and the segregation mechanism started to lose its function. Particularly, the differentiation with multi-law system and spatial segregation were replaced by equal citizenship rules based on enlightened reason, with equal law system, and with the new spaces that made possible the relation between different cultures within the segregated areas (Aktay, 2013). With the construction of the Turkish Republic, the homogenization policy of the nation state affected the whole country, and particularly Beyoğlu, which had the most ethnically and culturally heterogenous population of Istanbul. Tophane neighborhood was influenced by this idea as well.

With the Turkish Republic's policy of Turkification, the Muslim/Turkish population increased as a result of the Armenian deportation (1915-1917) and the Turkish-Rum Population Exchange (1922-1924). As another case, with the new law regulation in 1933 stating that "foreigners must resign from their jobs within six months following the publication of this law in the Official Gazette," Istanbul Rums began to immigrate

from Istanbul to Greece, and the Rum population decreased by around 9,000 and became 17,642 (Aktar, 2009). Further, the events of 6-7 September 1955 had an important affect on Istanbul's demography. On the night of 6 September 1955, the report that "the house where Kemal Atatürk was born in Thessaloniki was bombed by Greek nationalists" in the pro-government newspaper *Istanbul Ekspress* started a violent riot in Istanbul. As soon as the new was released angry groups gathered in Taksim Square and around the city, and they started to attack non-Muslim shops, houses, churches, synagogues, and even cemeteries. At the end of four hours, thousands of shops and houses were damaged, seventy three churches were burned down, and two Rum cemeteries were destroyed. As a consequence between 1955 and 1960, approximately 20,000 Rums decided to leave Turkey permanently (Kuyucu, 2005). After that, the empty houses of Tophane were filled by migrants from eastern Turkey, especially those of Arab origin (cited in Ahıska, 2011). Yet, as another theory, according to Hür, the replacement policy of the neighborhood is older than 1950s; in the late 1890s, as a result of the Islamic politics of Abdülhamit II, Kurdish and Arab people from the Eastern cities of Turkey were moved to Tophane and there worked as portage for the port and trade centers (cited in Başaran, 2015). Also for Hür, with the urban renewal project in 1956 and 1957, non-Muslim population of Tophane left the neighborhood and their houses were occupied by Arabs from Siirt, Kurds from Bitlis, and Turks from Erzurum (2010). Therefore, the heterogeneous non-Muslim demography of the Tophane and Galata neighborhoods was changed to a homogeneous Muslim demography. Today, that demography retains its position as majority in the Tophane neighborhood.

4.2. The Present Day of Tophane

> Tophane, a cluttered area that slopes down to the Bosporus Strait separating the Asian and European continents, hosts two entirely different ways of life, side by side. Bearded men with prayer beads sip tea at sidewalk tables. Some women wear traditional shawls; a few have Islamic veils. Then there are the young artists and collectors, urbane denizens of Tophane's ten or so galleries. A chat in German -tourists on a tight budget- flowed from one doorway. (Torchia, 2010)

Tophane was an important port in Ottoman times, and was the first free industrial zone and migration area for ethnic intervention in the Turkish Republic; and now it is an area of art venues. The unofficial borders of the neighborhood makes it impossible to use official numbers for Tophane, but for the demographic research of this study, the

documents of the official neighborhood of Tomtom Mahallesi and Hacımimi Mahallesi, which include most of the area of Tophane, are used. The majority of the neighborhood's land is on the border of Tomtom Mahallesi, thus Tomtom Mahallesi's demographical information is used as a base for the case. To understand the neighborhood in the present day, the demographical condition, community perception of the neighborhood, gentrification, and art galley attack case are going to be examined. Newspapers will also be used for social, historical, economic, and demographic references, as well as for contemporary data.

4.2.1. Demography of Tophane

The existing population of Tophane's Tomtom Mahallesi partly reflects the general condition of Tophane. The population is mostly Arabic-origin Turkish citizens who were migrants from eastern Turkey, mostly from Siirt. According to the values of Tomtom Mahallesi, the population of district is 3,617, 90% of which belongs to immigrant families (Öğdül, 2000). According to Şatıroğlu's field work in Tomtom Mahallesi, %34.4 of women from the neighborhood identify themselves as *Siirtli* (being from Siirt), 6% as *Bitlisli*, and 12% as *Istanbullu*; 31% of young students identify themselves as Siirtli, 14% as Bitlisli, %9.5 as Istanbullu (2003). Women have a high percentage of illiteracy (30%). Yet, families do not have many children, most of the families have 1-2 children, who form 34% of the population. In 30% of the houses, there are families with 4 people, while 10% have 6 or more people. Families with only one official worker are %50.7 of the population, and 64% of the population has been living around Tomtom Mahallesi and Beyoğlu since they were born. Population's 64% has relatives or *hemşehri* (towns women/menship). Women's 18% have never been out of Tomtom Mahallesi. Women (60%) claim that, there has been paint thinner addiction, glue sniffing and marijuana cigarette addiction in youngsters. There is a solidarity of relatives and *hemşehri*s for 27% of the population in the neighborhood.

Şatıroğlu's study finds that, Tomtom Mahallesi consists of relatives or *hemşehri*s, which indicates that, there was a family-linked migration. Yet, as expected in result of the family linked migration the solidarity is expected to be seen very strong among community, but as it seen in study solidarity is not very strong in the neighborhood. The probable reason for this is explained as the poverty of the neighborhood by Şatıroğlu (2003). The economic responsibility of the families is based on husbands for

88% of the female participants of the study. Men employed in skilled professions work as lighting appliance sellers, furniture manufacturers, drivers, typographer; and in unskilled professions as hawkers, car park attendants, or porters. Very few women have wage-earning employment: 4.5% of women are workers, 4.5% are home-based workers, and 6% make handcrafts at home. Population's 34.3%s do not have any social security. Although many inhabitants have resided in the neighborhood for a long time ago, the percentage of home owners is very low at 46.3, while the percentage of the renters is 50 (Şatıroğlu, 2003). The rates of Tomtom Mahallesi indicate the general cultural and economic condition of the Tophane neighborhood. According to the 1990 general census results, the poorest areas in Istanbul are in the city center, and the people there were undereducated and with low incomes (Güvenç and Işık, 1996). Tophane is an example of one of these areas. The social and economic conditions have been changing since those studies (Güvenç and Işık, 1996; Şatıroğlu 2003) were done; however, the findings are still significant for the neighborhood.

With the migration of Arabs (significantly from Siirt's Halenze village) to the neighborhood, Tophane became a district where Arabs has a dominant voice and it had a conservative profile. The existence of Kadiri Tekkesi lead the other religious communities to settle to the neighborhood (Aral, 2010). In the neighborhood, beside the Arabs from Halenze village, there are Kurds from Bitlis, Turks from Erzincan and Rize, and also Romany people. The Roma community still lives in Tophane today. They are an ethnic minority in Tophane as in Turkey, descending from Byzantine times. Some of the Roma population in Tophane might have lived there from the beginning of the existence of the neighborhood in Ottoman times. There are also newly immigrated Roma people from other Roma communities in Turkey who define themselves as *Tophaneli* (Schuitema, 2013). The segregation between Arab, Kurd, Laz, and Romany spaces can be seen clearly in the neighborhood. For example, coffeehouses and associations are different for Romany, Kurds, and Arabs; while their only common spaces are Tophane Tayfun Spor Club, Semt Konağı, and Tophane Park (Aktay, 2010).

4.2.2. Community Perception of the Neighborhood: *Hemşehrilik*

In large cities like Istanbul, the geographical background of immigrants became the basis of new communities. The idea of *hemşehrilik* was the glue for these new urban communities: people belonging to the same geographical area–city, town, or village–

immigrated to the same places. This made it easier for them to find job and housing, and provided a mechanism for security to immigrants in the city. In time, geographical origin lost its importance and *hemşehrilik* became something more related with urban-based social ties: in the form of local neighborhood communities, mafias, or sport clubs. The significant importance of those communities is that they have local and citywide political power (Öğdül, 2000). That case is very obvious in the Tophane neighborhood. The semi-modern communities in cities have unequal power relations and the hierarchy of traditional communities (cited in Öğdül, 2000), as is seen in the Tophane example.

In another respect, the location of the area is important to understand the reason of the strong inner social ties and the reason for these communities introverted identity. The geographical area of Tophane is constrained between nonresidential functions. In the west, İstiklal Avenue is one of the clear boundaries of the neighborhood. İstiklal Avenue is the center for leisure and cultural activities of Istanbul: cinemas, cafes, pubs, associations, art galleries, etc. In the south west, there is a brothel district. In the south, there are historical commercial area with port and ware houses. In the east, there is a clear gentrification areas with renewed buildings that have been turned into antique shops, offices, and luxury flats. In this complex social position, immigrants have closed themselves off from the city to keep control over their social periphery. The social boundaries provide a "safe island" for inhabitants. On the other hand, the inhabitants are aware of the future potentials of the neighborhood (Öğdül, 2000). They are minorities in economic, ethnic, and religious terms in the inner city. Their identities as Islamist and conservative make them "the others" of central Istanbul, and this otherness strengthens their community relations and social cohesions; they identify themselves with the *mahalle* identity, as *Tophaneli*. Living nearby the secular and modern life of Beyoğlu challenges their practices.

As many researchers have agreed (Ahıska, 2011; Aktar, 2009; Kuyucu 2005), the Tophane neighborhood's present inhabitants replaced the non-Muslim minorities of Armenians, Rums, and Jews; therefore, Kurdish and Roma people are the only remaining minority, and they are subjected to ethnic and religious discrimination. This could be read as, the Turkish Republic's inheritance of the Ottoman Empire's system, which provided unity among to *tebaa* (vassals) by means of Islamic identity; now Turkey

tries to provide unity with a Turkish ethnic citizenship based on Islamic identity. For both states, there are two identities as citizens: Turks and *gavur*s (unbeliever foreigner). These refer more to religious identity rather than ethnic identity (Aktay, 2013). In Tophane, *hemşehrilik* is a significant determinative factor to be include to the neighborhood, but under that ethnic categorization, it also refers to religious belief. The *hemşehri* associations in Tophane are: Gönül Bağı Derneği, Bitlisliler Yardımlaşma ve Dayanışma Derneği, Siirt Halenzeliler Yardımlaşma ve Dayanışma Derneği, Siirt Dereyamaç Köyü Yardımlaşma ve Dayanışma Derneği, Bitlis Güroymaklılar Derneği, and İkiz Bağlar Köyü Derneği. For Aktay, *hemşehri* associations are important because they allow people to learn about their origins, to create a communications network, and to maintain ties with each other in the city (2013). As Tan claims, belonging to a community–which is marked by shared lifestyles, property ownership, and a sense of belonging–has become more important than identifying oneself with a city and developing a sense of "belonging" through a city (2007). Furthermore, the economic rules are also based on *hemşehrilik:* the first-comers control the job market, own houses, and rent them out. Landlords are the most powerful groups, both economically and socially. They control tenants and try to keep the identity of the neighborhood as Siirtli. People from outside this community are virtually excluded from social life, and are already reluctant to join in the neighborhood's social life, since it is conservative or even fundamentalist in religious terms (Öğdül, 2000).

As an example of Öğdül's view about the political power of neighborhoods, Tophane people are known to support and have strong ties with extreme right-wing parties like the MHP (Miiliyetçi Hareket Partisi/Nationalist Movement Party) and the BBP (Büyük Birlik Partisi/Great Unity Party). Many also support the conservative Islamic AKP (Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi/Justice and Development Party), which is in power in the municipality in Istanbul and has also been the govering party nationally for the past 13 years. Their discriminative practices are indicators of complicity with the hegemonic practices and discourses of the state (Öğdül, 2000; Ahıska, 2011).

4.2.3. Gentrification in Tophane

The Turkish national economy started to integrate into the global economy in the mid-1980s and neo-liberal globalizing developments started to take place. Speculative investment in urban real estate was the leader of the leading sector of the economy in

the world during this period, but not yet for Istanbul. This changed in 1994, when Recep Tayyip Erdoğan run for mayor from RP (Refah Partisi/Welfare Party)[9] he won the local elections and Istanbul started to be marketed. With the foundation (2001) and the rise of AKP, neo-liberal discourse was adopted to Istanbul and rulers started to look for new ways to market the city; this neo-liberal discourse was a perfect fit for urban projects to be planned to showcase the city on the global stage. After the successful liberalization of the Turkish economy, it was understood that the city succeeded and served the country as a gateway. With the political ascendancy of AKP to the central government in 2002, the strategy to position Istanbul on the global stage was reinforced. Thereby, Istanbul became a business platform for the transnational corporate elite and also the area for the cosmopolitan consumers of global lifestyles. The city's bourgeoisie and urban elites benefited from the newfound interest by investing in low-income neighborhoods in central Istanbul (Keyder, 2009b). After the law of under-disaster-risk areas transformation (law no. 6306[10]) on 31 May 2012, Istanbul started to undergo a rapid transformation process.[11] This is because the law did not involve only disaster-risk areas, but also involved all urban and rural areas; that means the law was for rent, which made it legal and possible to transform the expropriated areas by forced eviction and destruction (Özlüer, 2012). By the enforcement of the law, Istanbul's transformation started to be seen in every neighborhood in Istanbul, particularly valuable rent areas.

The geographical location of Tophane is next to İstiklal Avenue, and between Galata, Tünel, and Cihangir, all of which are prime examples of the gentrification process in Istanbul. Beyoğlu has been in the process of urban transformation since it was identified as an urban transformation site in 1994. German, Italian, Russian, and Rum traders were in Tünel until the 1970s; Russian migrants, who came around 1920, were in Cihangir; a large non-Muslim population was in Galata until the 1930s, where it served as the representative of the financial world in the late 19th century. After 1955, with the change of the population profile, the economic fortunes of the area changed as well. The common ground of the transformation of these neighborhoods is that lower-

[9] Recep Tayyip Erdoğan was a former member of the party, later founded AKP.
[10] For the law see Appendix 1.
[11] For details of the gentrification process in Istanbul, see Ergün, N. (2004). Gentrification in Istanbul. In *Cities*, *21(5)*, 391-405.

class migrants from eastern Turkey were settled in these areas after the 1960s by displacing the non-Muslim population from its neighborhoods, and that low income groups lived in there until the early 1990s (Ergün, 2004). The inhabitants were mostly economic, ethnic, or Islamic religious minorities in the inner city. The significant location of these areas was attractive for the middle class. After the mid-1990s, the gentrification indications started to appear in the area: the first art gallery appeared in Tünel, and the first artist flat in Cihangir; professionals like academics, architects, journalists, caricaturists, and film directors bought forty historical buildings between 1999 and 2001 in Galata and started to live there (İslam, 2002). This transformation started to increase the popularity of the neighborhoods and, eventually, the price of residential areas. Today, these areas are completely "gentrified": the lower classes have been replaced by middle-class residents, shops, and galleries. This process made the area attractive for future investment as well (Ergün, 2004). The Tophane neighborhood is surrounded by these gentrification areas, which has had a substantial effect on the gentrification of Tophane. Its proximity to İstiklal Avenue means that Tophane's inhabitants live in the complex social composition of art, culture, and night life in the inner city. Besides the location of Tophane in the middle of these gentrified areas, the government plans to construct a 1.2 kilometer-long port on the seaside of Karaköy, the Galataport project. This port is planned to be a large harbor with a "life center" with luxurious hotels and shopping malls for cruise ships. This Galataport is in the project phase as of yet; if it were to be put in practice, it would substantially affect the gentrification process in Tophane.

Since Tophane has not yet experienced the total displacement process of gentrification, it is not a completely gentrified area. Although the effects of gentrification are seen in the neighborhood, the old-comers still keep their position in Tophane, because of the community perception of the neighborhood in the context of *hemşehrilik*. The influence of gentrification around Tophane is highly effective, and can be seen in the rising number of culture and art centers, galleries, design shops, tea and coffee houses, souvenir shops, restaurants, and youth hostels, which are generally used by elites and tourists. According to the data gathered from the field, around twenty new cafes, twenty new art galleries, and a few hostels were opened in Tophane in last five or six years. By this impressively fast transformation, old-comers found themselves living in a place of entertainment. The local old coffeehouses and new modern coffeehouses

started to exist alongside each other in the neighborhood, yet the divide between them remains sharp. The cultural practice of "modern" cafe owners and customers is quite contrary to that of the inhabitants of Tophane; so too is that of art gallery owners and visitors. There are new art galleries, design studios, architects' offices, furniture-design boutiques, jewelry-design shops, handicraft workshops, vintage shops, third-generation coffeehouses, amateur kitchen academies, home-cooking restaurants, and youth hostels in Tophane. Besides, some of the owners, workers, or visitors of these places move or want to move to the neighborhood. Thus by the increasing number of "modern" places, the structure of the neighborhood has been changing, but the old- and new-comers have remained in the same place, even though the new-comers' middle-class cultural practices do not belong to the neighborhood.

The terms "new-comers" and '"old-comers" are also a problematic. Tophane's inhabitants were also once "new-comers" in the 1950s. The current old-comers are migrants from eastern Turkey, who came to Istanbul in the 1950s and replaced the previous old-comers: Rums and Armenians. Therefore, the idea of belonging to a *mahalle*, the norms and codes derived from tradition, the claim of the right to the space, and the differential features about being old- or new-comers are all unclear and not derived from a deeply rooted history (Özata, 2012). The conflict between these old-comers and new-comers can be seen as a case of different social groups pitted against each other by the gentrification process: working-class workers, artisans, and craftspeople vs. middle-class artists, shop owners, and designers; religious vs. secular; provincial migrants vs. urbanites; conservatives vs. liberals, etc. Each individual can react differently to this diversity. However, the consequences of these conflicts in Tophane became tense as a result of several incidents. The following part is going to take a brief look at these conflicts.

4.2.4. Art Gallery Attacks in the Media

Tophane has became a significant center of contemporary art and international cultural events. It is home to the Istanbul Modern Art Museum, Antrepo (warehouses) art museums, and many other small art galleries. It also hosts important artistic events like the Istanbul Biennial (Ahıska, 2011). This, coupled with Istanbul's other art exhibitions and film, theater, jazz, and classical music festivals, led it to became the 2010 Cultural Capital of Europe (Keyder, 2009b). It also led, however, to an incident in

September 2010 in Tophane, in which multiple exhibition and art gallery openings were raided by local residents. The reason for the attack was explained by the inhabitants as the consumption of alcoholic beverages on the street, and also the verbal harassment of a woman because of her veiling clothing. After the attack, there were many analyses of the event in the Turkish media. This described it "neighborhood pressure," "traditional-modern conflict," "class conflict," "fascism," "vandalism," "gentrification," and "being against art and intellectualism" (Çam, 2011). The incident was most commonly described as a case of "neighborhood pressure" a term coined by Şerif Mardin. He explains the neighborhood as a social process: In Ottoman times the neighborhood was a real unit and the center of social life. The neighborhood was a complex with mosques, tekkes, külliyes, and artisans; in a neighborhood, they all worked together (cited in Çam, 2011). By the term "neighborhood pressure", Mardin refers to the transformation of a neighborhood through a dominant conservative and religious ideology and the exclusion of "others" through social pressure (cited in Çakır, 2007). Therefore, the Tophane events are explained by the followers of Mardin as an expression of the anger "the others" of Tophane feel in response to perceived threats to their conservative life style in the context of the modern-traditional conflict (Çam, 2011). The attack was condemned by the current minister of Culture and Tourism, Günay, who stated that it was a duty to respect different lifestyles. There must be respect between the people who open offices in Tophane and those who live in Tophane: "Nobody has the right to impose their Anatolian small town lifestyle to Istanbul; the others also cannot condemn people's customs. People should learn to tolerate each other." (cited in Radikal editor, 2010). The dichotomy of the "traditional-modern" or "neighborhood pressure" are also criticized by questioning the borders of respectful behavior to others (Çam, 2011). The traditional-modern argument, together with neighborhood pressure, is the dominant hegemonic argument on that case: the reason for the problem is the Turkish modernization process (Bulaç, 2010b).

On the other hand, the idea of neighborhood pressure has also been criticized. The common declaration of the eight *hemşehri* associations in Tophane claims that the people who drank in the narrow streets and did not let the people of the neighborhood walk on the pavement threw alcohol bottles around and harassed and abused the covered women of the neighborhood (Bulaç, 2010a). The results of interviews with the people from the neighborhood are more or less in line with this: "Now there is pressure

towards the neighborhood, a pressure for changing the lifestyle of Tophane. Tophane has always been a place where people with different backgrounds could meet. However, now art galleries open, they establish gay hostels, drink in the street. Foreign people buy property in the neighborhood. We are against this" (cited in Özata, 2012). Many writers and thinkers claim that the attack is the result of a resistance to the gentrification and that it is based on class conflict. For this view, the Tophane area has been changing with the gentrification process. Therefore the inhabitant people in the neighborhood resist the gentrifiers, the upper classes, and this resistance causes the violence in the neighborhood (Çam, 2011).

As a consequence, although this study tries to avoid the use of dichotomies to explain the neighborhood, in the Tophane area two different lifestyles and competing and conflicting worldviews come to the fore: the conservative Islamist/pious on the one hand, and the secular-oriented/luxurious on the other. Although they do not have to be regarded in opposition or as dichotomous, and they may sometimes overlap, there has been an ongoing social struggle between the two sides. Class positions are another important effect in this respect: old-comers mostly belong to the working-classes, while new-comers belong to the middle-classes. Old-comers see new-comers as too Western, immoral, and sinful. New-comers, on the other hand, see the local people as backward, non-modern, and ignorant.

CHAPTER 5
GENDERED SPACES IN TOPHANE

5.1. Everyday Life and the Production of Public Space in Tophane

Historically, the Tophane neighborhood had a ethnically and culturally heterogeneous population because of its port and central location, as discussed in the fourth chapter. Due to the homogenization policy of Turkey during the construction of the Turkish Republic, it started to loose its heterogeneity (Ortaylı, 1986). With the replacement of the derelict houses by migrants from east of Turkey, especially those of Arab origin (cited in Ahıska, 2011), it became an ethnical homogeneous place. This can be observed in the public spaces of the neighborhood. Therefore, the resident population could be defined as ethnically and culturally homogeneous, at least until the 2000s. In this chapter, along with the most recent research on the demography of the neighborhood by Şatıroğlu (2003), the daily life and production of space in the neighborhood is going to be investigated with participant observation and interviews from the field, firstly by focusing on a gallery attack case, than focusing on the mundane practices of Tophane.

The physical condition of Tophane houses, streets, and parks can be described as working class signs. Based on the interviewees's information, and also the observed situation of the neighborhood (as physical and cultural situation), Arab originated residents[12] are generally people from working class. Some of the flats do not have heating system, and thus use electric stoves or coal-burning stoves, although it is not allowed by government to burn coal in central Istanbul. The lack of natural gas heating system in some of the houses of the neighborhood could be seen as evidence of poverty. There are factory workers, craftsmen, artisans, tradesmen, wood engravers, upholsterers, ironmongers, male barbers, kiosks owners, *kahvehane* owners, and bakers within the

[12]As another group in the neighborhood, Roma people's religious, educational, and public space participation practices are different from those mentioned in the thesis. There are 70 or 80 Roma people in both Tomtom and Hacımimi Mahallesi, and recently, many Syrians have moved to the neighborhood (W9, muhtar, 50). Some of the Roma men, as I was informed, are workers in local shops, solid waste collectors, or drug sellers while women work as cleaners. Some of their children are not sent to primary school, and forced to work in the streets. Most of the houses do not have clean water or heating systems. Since the case study mostly focused on the majority, the Arab-origin residents, it is not qualified to explain Roma people by just observation.

men population while women are mostly housewives, or a few of them work as cleaners of houses. The cultural activities of the neighborhood are generally based on religious activities, especially in the mosques of the neighborhood. If there are outside activities, they totally belong to men. Especially during Ramadan, men have iftars in the gardens of the mosques, and halaqas in the mosques after iftar. Women also gather at houses for halaqas during the day time. Most of the children start to work after high school, and few of them continue their education in universities.[13]

The high percentage of *hemşehrilik,* or a family-linked migration, to the neighborhood (Şatıroğlu, 2003) has a significant importance in the daily life of Tophane. As I residents gave information in the interviews, by the placement policy of the state due to the overpopulation of migrants from Siirt and Bitlis in Tophane, some of the Tophane residents were moved to Yeşilköy and placed to the airport as workers. Yet, most of them moved back to the neighborhood with the reason of the *hemşehrilik* bond in Tophane. They say that is their hometown and that it is not possible to live without their *hemşehri*s, although the condition of the houses was better in Yeşilköy than in Tophane. In the streets of Tophane, almost every residents knows and salutes each other. This strong public relation among *hemşehri*s creates a distinction between outsiders and insiders of the neighborhood. The boundaries of *hemşehrilik* are also determined by religion and devotion. Tophane residents[14] are mostly migrants from Siirt and Bitlis, identify themselves as religiously conservative, and try to keep their community's culture from "outsiders". This significantly strong engagement with the community causes the exclusion of those people who are not from the migrant religious community of Tophane. Tophane's former residents identify themselves as "us" in contrast to the others who are from the outside of the neighborhood. In Bauman's word (1990: 54): "We are 'us' only in so far as there are people who are not 'us' –them; and they belong together, form a group, a whole, only because each and every one of them shares the same characteristic; none of them is 'one of us'." The "new-comers" of the neighborhood are not "one of us", therefore former "old-comers" marginalize the "new-comers" as "them". The strong commitment to "us" and "them" creates a polar-

[13]Based on the observation conducted while living in the neighborhood between 2009 and 2014.
[14]In this chapter, "resident" is going to refer to the "old-comers" of Tophane who migrated to the neighborhood since 1955 and "new residents" is going to refer to the "new-comers" of Tophane, have moved there as part of the gentrification process, especially since 2002.

ization and conflict in some cases. Religious practices determine an important boundary between the insiders and outsiders of the neighborhood, and are thus one of the reasons for the conflict. The public spaces of the neighborhood are under the control of the dominant religious culture of the neighborhood. For example, it is not allowed to drink alcohol in the cafes, parks, or streets. It is not even allowed to sell alcohol in the shops, as stated in the fourth chapter; and if there is a couple kissing in public space they are interfered with by the residents as violating the neighborhood's culture, as mentioned in the interviews of the thesis.

During the day and night time, the streets are mostly occupied by men, who sit outside of the *kahvehane*s, or workshops, or stay in the parks (see figure 5.1). It is rare to see resident women alone in the public spaces of Tophane; they are generally on the way to school with their children, or they are together with a man from their family. Resident women are generally invisible in public spaces. The public activities of women are generally limited to visiting the houses of neighbors or relatives, or taking kids to school. They also go to the Semt Konağı as a cultural activity center of Tophane, for some courses that target to woman. On the website of Tophane Semt Konağı, the announcements for the courses are like this: "While ladies benefit from courses on knitting, stitching, embroidering, point lace, etc., on the third floor of the Konak, children could benefit from courses on English, Maths, and Turkish; also, both children and youths can benefit from such courses as guitar, theatre, and painting."[15] There course offerings clearly reflect local people's idea of women's place in the society.

[15] Quoted and translated from http://semtkonaklari.beyoglu.bel.tr/semtkonaklari/default.aspx?SectionId=971

Figure 5.1. Tophane Park

This traditional way of living in the neighborhood has been changing as a result of gentrification, which is seen as a threat to residents' lifestyle in the neighborhood. There is a rapidly increasing number of art galleries, design shops, and modern cafes in Tophane (see map 5.1 for Tophane Art Walk project; and map 5.2 for new cafes). These are the first signs to start to gentrification process; as mentioned in the second chapter from Sennet: "the writers and artists who remain are, like myself, people who came when rents were cheap; we are aging, bourgeois bohemians upon whom this variegated scene works like a charm." (1996: 356). Hereby, with reference to Harvey (2008) two different group of people started to claim right on the urban spaces of Tophane, and therefore that caused another discussion about "Whose neighborhood is Tophane?" The ongoing tension arose this question repetitively. The "new-comers" claim right to the Tophane and produce new spaces based on that right, while "old-comers" claim the same right and try to "conserve" their spaces from that change.

Map 5.1. Tophane Art Walk project [16]

Map 5.2. New cafes in or around Tophane [17]

Here, I find important to focus on an incident which had been a litmus test for the rising tension in the neighborhood due to the gentrification process. As mentioned in

[16] The map is taken from www.artwalkistanbul.com/tr/
[17] The map is taken from www.zomato.com

fourth chapter, the gallery attacks in Tophane were in the headlines in Turkey for a long time. The opening celebration of several galleries on Boğazkesen Street in Tophane was disrupted because of accounts that visitors were consuming alcoholic drinks on the street and that they had criticized a veiled female resident of the neighborhood saying that it was not acceptable to dress like that in this age. On mainstream media in Turkey, and abroad as well, the incident was described as "Alcohol raid on art galleries"[18] and "Gentrification posited as motive for attack on Tophane art galleries" (Öğret, 2010). For some, the reason for the attack was alcohol consumption in the public spaces of the neighborhood, while others interpreted the attack as a result of anger over gentrification. Some other newspapers called the incident as "barbarity in Istanbul" (Today's Zaman editor, 2010). The residents stated the debate was due to some annoyance because of the visitors, and it was claimed that some of them were intoxicated. A tradesman from the neighborhood said "Our people are pious. They were uncomfortable with those remarks" (Today's Zaman editor, 2010). The residents claim that they were annoyed by the "strangers". After the attack, residents put a signboard about not drinking alcohol around the neighborhood: "they put a sign on the trees in the park, stating that 'there is a mosque here, it is forbidden to drink alcohol' (see figure 5.2). They have been trying to keep their place, we have been trying to keep our place, and we are in struggle" (W2, design shop, 30).

Previously, Tophane residents had submitted petitions to the mayor's office complaining about the transformation of Tophane: the restaurants, cafes, galleries, and apartment hotels in the neighborhood were asserted as harmful to their family lives. One of the exhibition directors explained the reason of the assault as the attackers' Islamist conservative identity. He said they were warned before by conservative groups, about not to drink alcohol there, and that he and other gallery owners tried to be careful about the alcohol issue at the entrance of the galleries. But the galleries that were attacked were not warned, so he believes they would have been careful if there had been a warning (Taraf editor, 2010). It was claimed by the visitors that it was not a spontaneous, but a planned attack, and that the attacking group had been organized weeks previously via *Tophane Haber*, the local online newspaper of Tophane. This group of residents entered the galleries and started to shout at people, broke the windows, then

[18] Such mainstream media outlets as *CNNTurk, NTV, Hürriyet,* and *Radikal* announced the attack in this way.

used violence against visitors. Some of the visitors were taken to the hospital. For the exhibition director, it was a reaction against the threat to residents' way of life: "The things going on here are a kind of threat to their life style. ... They do not like 'the idea' that we represent: the cultural and economic difference" (Taraf editor, 2010).

Figure 5.2 A signboard from Tophane

Tophane residents complain about the gentrification process. Their local news outlet *Tophane Haber*, was criticized for provoking the local residents against the new-comers by using violence-prone speech. Residents said that hostels were opened in family apartment complexes, and that cafes and bars selling alcoholic drinks were opened in the neighborhood right next to the mosques and schools. These new things embittered the residents. One of the residents stated:

> A few years ago, we knew each of our neighbor even their parents, but today we do not even know who they are. At night or during the day, they come as a group of women and men; for the residents, it is impossible not to lose their heads. Do you think is it freedom to open a gay hostel in the middle of the neighborhood? (Güzel, 2013)

Another young man from the neighborhood, who wears traditional Islamic garb, said that people laughed at him and his sister because of their clothes, though he was born and raised there. One of the new residents, a handmade jewelry and ethnic souvenir shop owner, thinks it is not a clash of lifestyles, but a matter of being respectful to one

another: “There are rude and ignorant people on both sides.” He states the new residents do not have a real neighborly relationship with them, and says that he had a few bad reactions as well, because of his long hair. But for him, that changed quickly when people got to know him; they all get along (Letsch, 2010). One of the assaulted gallery owners states, “The problem is that we have different lives from much of the neighborhood. They are not happy because we do not want to live like them.” Another one says “So maybe, yes, they are against the drinking of alcoholic beverages, but that is no excuse for a lynch attack over a little sangria served in plastic cups” (Fowler, 2010). A local merchant explains the situation as “about cultural differences between the newcomers and the people who had been living in Tophane. It is about gentrification” (Fowler, 2010).

Accordingly, the general secretary of TMMOB (Union of Chambers of Turkish Engineers and Architects), Mücella Yapıcı, says that the reason for the assault was the gap between people of radically different incomes and lifestyles; the rift between the Islamist and secularist leads to “the fear of the other”:

> Both sides are afraid of each other. That is a horrible thing to happen in a society. One side is afraid that they will be chased out and that their lifestyle is in danger, and we, the others, the so-called White Turks, are afraid that they will attack our own lifestyle. And the biggest factor here is the radical urban renewal. (cited in Letsch, 2010)

In this process of spatial and social transformation, social practices produce space; meanwhile spaces lead to the formation of new social practices. For instance, both female old-comers and new-comers are not comfortable in this case: “The female residents are suddenly unable or unwilling to hang out in their streets; young women walking there are uneasy doing so,” Yapıcı says. On the other hand, the consequences of these social interaction are not only negative. According to Yapıcı, there is also a “more positive effect” such as that the daughters of local residents might ask to go to a bar. But since all these changes happen so suddenly and radically, and are imposed from above, they can cause conflict (Letsch, 2010).

For *Tophane Haber*, important streets like Türkgücü, Kumbaracı, Boğazkesen, Lüleci Hendek, Serdar-ı Ekrem, and Yeni Çarşı are occupied by so-called art galleries, hotels, and entertainment centers; that is to say, “get out of the neighborhood”. In the comments of the news, people from the neighborhood offered to “chasten” the owner of

the hotels or galleries, and "teach" them what Tophane means. Another comment from residents is that someone who does not understand one's mistake despite warnings deserves to be beaten. The most common comment from the residents is "we are against that change" (cited in Haberturk editor, 2010). In another respect, five years after the attacks, new residents were still feeling insecure in the neighborhood, especially after Gezi Resistance: "This neighborhood still goes on the rowdy tradition and also appropriates it. They say 'This is Tophane'. And if you ask to me how much secure I feel here, I can say it is always decreasing. I want to have a relation with the neighborhood but I also feel it is getting harder after Gezi." (W1, art gallery, 35). Moreover, newcomer residents feel taht the hegemony of the neighborhood has also changed due to the discourse of the regime in power:

> We can see how they were encouraged and fed with the speeches of the Erdogan. Erdogan's speeches give them courage to beat somebody in a very bad way, they find the authority in themselves to act with impunity. The Tophane incidents attackers are not caught by police either. They are in contact with the security forces as "you scratch my back and I will scratch yours."[19] They are collaborating each other. You cannot separate the discourse of the government from the discourse of the local people here. They take this courage of the non-sense from prime minister–used to be prime minister now the president–he has been polarizing the society, he has been increasing the level of the violence and people have been applying this in their neighborhood. … On one hand, there are some people with who we are in a good relation, and we work together, but after Tophane incidents, actually after Gezi protests, I feel more oppressed because with the polarized speeches of Erdogan, Gezi created a polarization. We were better before but now we are like this: You are a Gezi supporter, we are AKP supporters; we are Rabia supporters, you are not one of us. Actually they already thought that we were outsiders and that we were not one of them; but after Gezi, this feeling became stronger. (W1, art gallery, 35)

> A feminist artist organized an exhibition at a traditional coffee house, as sticking the names of murdered women by men on the windows of the coffee house. We said to the coffee owners that the government also supports campaigns against femicides. So they let us do the exhibition. They also told us that they were against violence against women–I am sure that they use violence at home–but officially they support us. Actually we cannot know, maybe they are more sensitive at home. So, we were let to do the exhibition. We try to challenge the neighborhood in such ways. (W1, art gallery, 35)

> Tophane is the only place that I have experience living in a conservative place, so Tophane is specific for me. But Üsküdar, Fatih, or Kasımpaşa could be the same, they are full of that kind of conservative people. This

[19] Expressed with a Turkish idiom: *Al gülüm ver gülüm.*

> conservative life style is also a wide part of Turkey. In Tophane, they became more and more cramped for space. Tarlabaşı is emptied, there is an area around Galata Tower so they come down from there; also from Karaköy they are forced into Tophane, so people in Tophane are stuck in between Galata, Cihangir, and Karaköy. Maybe this squash made them behave more aggressively. But during Gezi and the art gallery assaults–which happen all the time–they stuck here more. Or they will leave by that press, of course this will end, but when I do not know. As a result, the government policy supports them and they take courage from this. (W2, design shop, 30)

The cases above show that the production of the spaces of the neighborhood is defined and redefined by public interactions; it is constantly subject to change and reinterpretation by different users (Yücesoy Ünlü, 2006) and is also determined by power relations that determine the boundaries and construct the rules (McDowell, 1999). Although the art gallery incident is an extreme example of everyday life, it is still a part of it. In the five years after the attack in 2010, there were more than five extensive attacks on the galleries, all of which were carried out for the same ostensible reasons: drinking alcohol or behaving in violation of the culture of the neighborhood. Threats and attacks to gallery and cafe owners were ongoing while this thesis has being written. Controlling the spaces of Tophane by violence occurred as a daily life practice for the residents. Here, by referring to the three urban public space approaches in the theory chapter, the public space theories of architects and urban designers (Cooper Marcus and Francis, 1998) or Arendt (1958) and Habermas (1991) are challenged by the usage of the public spaces of Tophane: it is neither only a container that determines land use activity as in the first perspective, nor a representation of political space and a distinctive field of action which is a prerequisite for civic society as in the second perspective. Yet, it is possible to see that the construction of the public space is based on social conventions, rules, regulations, and symbolic boundaries as an interactional and experiential space, as in the third perspective on public space referred by Jacobs, Sennet, Lofland, Fyfe (cited in Yücesoy Ünlü, 2006).

On this point, the attacks as a public practice are explained by a new resident from an art gallery with the relation between gender, patriarchy, Islamism, nationalism, and gentrification:

> Patriarchy has an explanatory power in the dynamics of this neighborhood, because it is quite manly and I always refer to patriarchy when explaining the Tophane incidents in 2010. It cannot be explained only with reference to Islam or nationalism or life style or gentrification but also with patriarchy. They always say people from the neighborhood attacked, no, men from the

> neighborhood attacked. And it was the men who were furious about it and who were and still are threatening the new-comers to the neighborhood: it is not the women here, maybe they are not comfortable with the new-comers either but it is not their area, their voice cannot be heard here anyhow. (W1, art gallery, 35)

> No one asks them [the resident women] what they think about the Tophane attacks and what is going on here; even after the incident many journalist came here I do not know whether anyone talked to any women about this, and I do not think they were involved in it indirectly. They might be the wives of the attackers but they do not have an impact on it. (W1, art gallery, 35)

This quotation highlights the gender ed dimension of space discussions in Tophane. How gender practices and gender relations serve to control the space of the neighborhood is going to be the main discussion in the following sections of this chapter.

5.2. Production of Gendered Space through the Construction of the Gendered Bodies in Tophane

Tophane has been witnessing the coexistence of different groups in the same sphere. According to the culture of the majority, mainly religious conservatives, in Tophane, women are not allowed to go out alone into the public space, except in some cases. The spatial segregation of women and men is clearly observable in daily life in the neighborhood: women mostly belong to private life and men belong to public life (see figures 5.3 and 5.4). The usage of public spaces is determined by patriarchal practices, men are the ones to occupy the spaces, gaze as they please, and even warn women if they feel the necessity. Recently, due to gentrification, new users in the neighborhood have appeared and have been changing the way of life in the neighborhood. In this section, I am going to analyze the interviews in the contexts of patriarchy, gaze, and the fluidity of public and private space. In doing so, I will rely on gender and urban theories to explain the production of gendered spaces in Tophane.

Figure 5.3 Public spaces of Tophane

Figure 5.4 Public spaces of Tophane

5.2.1. Patriarchy

> "*Here women are not visible or heard and the neighborhood, as I said before, is very masculine. It is necessary for women to make themselves invisible, because men consider women's visibility as a threat."*
> (W1, art gallery, 35).

Patriarchy is a prominent concept in the definition of the neighborhood's daily life practices. In the first part of this section, I focus on the Tophane residents' private patriarchal relations. As McDowell (1999) claims, patriarchy is an important concept to make the connection between gender and class, which is possible to see in the private life of the residents in Tophane in interviews: "We need to protect our women at home, the home is the place where they belong and where they have to be. If a man cannot take care of his family and makes his wife work, this is not acceptable for us" (M2, resident, 40). Another claim from the same male resident was that "women are men's envelopes sent sealed by God; it is *up to us* if we want to show the private letter inside [woman] to everybody or not" (M2, resident, 40). This reflects McDowell's claim on patriarchy and women's oppression in society that is mentioned in the second chapter (1999). The quotations above belong to a male resident from the neighborhood, but I have often heard the same or similar ideas on women's position in the family and society from other male residents of Tophane. Male residents do not allow their wives or daughters to go outside alone based upon their community's culture. Here the situation promotes patriarchy as the law of the father, in which men have superior control on women and have the authority over them (McDowell, 1999). The working class social system in advanced industrial society also reproduces this subalternity (McDowell, 1999): women do not have social security independent from their husbands, which makes them more open to be controlled by men.

As mentioned in Walby's theory, it is possible to explain these conditions by some of the six sets of analytical structure of patriarchy (1997). In the resident women framework, patriarchy is produced by household production as which men appropriate the value of women's unpaid domestic labor. Female residents claims that the household was seen as their job, and they were never helped by the men of the house (W10, resident housewife, 30). Violence against women another concern of the six conditions, the is seen as a patriarchal fact in the interviews. For example, one woman

claims, when her husband felt incompetent in his role as husband, for instance not working and unable to meet the needs of his family, he used violence against her and their children (W12, resident housewife, 40). In almost all the interviews with women and men–regardless of whether or not women were one of neighborhood's residents– it was said that there was a male control of women's bodies, in line with another of Walby's claims about the six sets. In time, Walby widens the term patriarchy as *gender regime*. But she overlooks the interconnections between gender relations and such other social division as ethnicity, age, or sexual orientation, as criticized in McDowell (1999). Therefore, here the examples of patriarchal relations in sexuality are going to be investigated by combining the Walby's theory with Connell's (1995) and Kandiyoti's (1988) approaches.

As Walby (1997) states concerning the domestic gender regime, the exploitation of women's labor at home and their exclusion from the public are both seen in Tophane. For example, in Tophane women are only allowed to go out of the house when they *have to:* for instance if children have to be picked up from school, or if the woman herself has to go to the hospital, but not for visiting someone (W12, resident housewife, 40). They are sometimes allowed to go out of the house, but not out of the neighborhood. Most of the resident women claim that they only go out of Tophane maybe a few times a year (for instance to Eminönü, where there is an old trade center that is very close to the neighborhood) because there are no relatives or men from the family to go with them. The men of the families do not allow them to leave the neighborhood alone (W10, resident housewife, 30; W11, resident housewife, 25; W12, resident housewife, 40). It was rare to observe a crowd of resident women in public spaces of the neighborhood during the field work, while the male population was very obvious in the public spaces of Tophane (see figures 5.5 and 5.6).

Besides bearing out Walby's theory of the class oppression of the gender regime; the findings of the fieldwork also substantiate Connell's theories of cultural consent and pleasure is another finding from the fieldwork (Connell 1987, 1995; cited in McDowell, 1999). The resident women claim that, although they want to have a life out of the house, they are comfortable in their position. They say that if they have to work as a paid worker outside of the house, they still have to take responsibility for the house work and child care; therefore, they have to work double both inside and outside of

the house. Thus, earning money should be the responsibility of the men, so that the women can spend their time with their children and the housework. Besides, it is important to be *protected* by men in the social sphere, and to be in a *safe* area like the house, since they do not feel comfortable or secure outside (W10, resident housewife, 30; W11, resident housewife, 25; W12, resident housewife, 40; and other unrecorded interviews). Additionally, the "cathexis" of Connell (1995: 73-4; cited in McDowell, 1999) is seen in Tophane: women have emotional attachment to the their husbands and to the culture; they feel gratitude and appreciativeness. Here, Connell's theory on pleasure in women's subject position in a particular gender regime also comes to the fore in the field; even though the situation is stated as "collusion with patriarchy" by early feminists (McDowell, 1999).

Figure 5.5 Resident women in a park, in front of a market

Figure 5.6 Resident women in public space

Women's attachment to individual men or to a particular gender order or regime order on Connell's account makes McDowell (1999) add Kandiyoti's view as to the reasons why women in the main accept rather than rebel against patriarchal structures in different geographical basis. We can see this in Tophane as the *complexity* and *variety* of gender. Here, resident women's adaptation to the patriarchal order can be seen in their acceptance of house work as a duty or of the public space as dangerous. This adaptation helps their long term survival and the maintains their living standards, although it is oppressing for them and also their daughters. The distinction between *subordinated* and *subservient* is important here: resident women are able to subvert the patriarchal relations using certain ways, which are going to be discussed later in the section on temporality and the fluidity of public and private space. For instance, most of the resident women claim, that they are not allowed to work or to be alone on the streets, which is also seen in other conservative cultures in Turkey. As Kandiyoti states, working outside of the house could cause the neglect of the house and the children; it could lead relationships with men who are not relatives and thus to adultery; also women's economic empowerment could cause a challenge to men's authority (1997: 34). For these reasons, women, who are not allowed to work or possess economic power, are not be able to exist in public life. The interview with the muhtar also supports this analyses of women's position in this patriarchal society:

> It was the first time that a woman was elected muhtar. Because they are conservative, they do not want it normally. But they all like me, that imposed me double responsibility to deserve this. … They show their respect in the *kahvehane* when I pass through, they uncross their legs[20], that makes me both proud and spoiled; sometimes I feel like I am the prime minister. It was possible for a woman to be a candidate in Cihangir or Galata, but not in Tophane; but now the people who did not want a woman muhtar, they all prefer it. It is also an advantage for women of the neighborhood, they can share with me their all private problems. … Tophane men made progress about the cafes, women did not want to sit in the cafes of Tophane, but today they do. But of course there are traditional *kahvehanes*, where women do not sit, it is the same for everywhere in Turkey. But now there are many mixed-sex places. Before they did not accept anyone [strangers] as cafe owner in the neighborhood, but now their daughters work in those cafes. Therefore, Tophane has opened up. (W9, muhtar, 50)

The married women interviewees among the residents declared that they were not allowed to go outside alone when they were young and newly wed. But over time, this has changes. When they are of certain age and have children, they become able to go out with other women: eventually, they can go out alone even though this is rare. One of the women explains her experience as follows:

> When I got married, I was not allowed to go out for a long time. Even to buy intimate things like underwear, I had to ask the men of the family. This went on for years, then when I had children I was allowed to go out with the other women of the house. In time, I started to go out to take my children to school. Now, after fifteen years, I am able to go out when I want; but I do not want it as much as I wanted it before. (W10, resident housewife, 30)

Kandiyoti (1997)[21] describes this process in terms of "the basic factors that determine the position of women in society in rural culture." These are age, having children, and the position held in the family. According to the study of Kandiyoti (1997), Anatolian rural society is a "classic" example of patriarchy, as in many other societies. Primitive agriculture techniques and family relationship create equality in the family, which is contradict the hierarchy of age and sex in village life. The social and sexual hierarchy in the home resemble the hierarchy of labor process. The division of labor is related to the with social organization of the household: the merchandisation of agricultural production affects household organization and the productive role of women, which leads made women to be given new duties or identify the old ones, and it changes all daily life. The change of the productive force of women is related to the rural order they live

[20] Sitting cross-legged is accepted as rude if there is an older or important people opposite of you in Turkish culture.
[21] Especially the article of "Kadınlar ve Haneiçi Üretim".

in, and entering to the capitalist life recreates the gendered division of labor. The process of change of traditional family life also changes family labor and the necessity of women's labor. Therefore, the potential freedom offered by the disintegration of patriarchy can give way to new forms of exploitation. On the other hand, when the industrial products, like factory-made clothes, ready-made foods, and cleaning materials enter the villages, they decrease the time spent on labor in the home. Decreasing the time spent for preparing foods and clothes at home decreases women's control of consumption in the family. This causes double standards in consumption between couples. As has been seen in rural societies, working on classic patriarchal rural does not make women to feel their status get better and they do not complain about the absence of inspection on capital; so, working for agriculture does not provide women to control capital. Thus, women's dedication to housework is not only an indication of status, but also escape from the heavy work of rural agriculture. Inhabitants of Tophane maintain most of their rural traditions and practices in the city, as in Kandiyoti's study. For example, the decision not to work outside the home has similar reasons. In addition, as McDowell mentions, there is a "relative freedom" (1999), as resident women say whereas their situation in the city is much better than in the towns. In their towns–Siirt and Bitlis[22]–women were more subjected to pressure and control (W10, resident housewife, 30; W11, resident housewife, 25; W12, resident housewife, 40; and other not recorded interviews).

On the other hand, the new female residents of Tophane, who claim not to have the same patriarchal practices in their private life, face the situation in the neighborhood's public relations. In this part, I focus on the new resident women's experiences in the neighborhood. To start with, most of the new resident women interviewees used the idea of patriarchy to describe the feeling of walking in the neighborhood's public spaces; which they describe using such terms as *macho* or *kabadayı* or emphasizing its Islamic culture: "I do not feel very comfortable here and I do not want to demonize them (macho Islamic figures of the neighborhood), but every time I have to calculate my steps before taking them, whether this will be disturbing for neighborhood or not. This is kind of censorship, they push you to auto-censor" (W1, art gallery, 35). An

[22] Being from Siirt and Bitlis signifies belonging to the rural customs and traditions from those towns and maintaining the traditional rules of their culture, as it is mentioned in gender roles in rural society in Kandiyoti's study.

"outsider" gaze can easily observe that the streets, the coffee shops and teahouses, the parks, and the markets of Tophane generally belong to men such that a participant can feel that male-dominant order in the public spaces. It is as obvious that when I was in the neighborhood for the first time, I identified the place as a "men's republic", later on I also heard from female inhabitant of the neighborhood. The spaces are occupied by men and their masculine practices. For example, the *kahvehane*s are mostly situated on main streets and the tables of them are on the sidewalks. Men of the neighborhood always sit outside of the *kahvehane*s or gather on the street or parks in crowded groups (see figures 5.7 and 5.8).

Figure 5.7 Men in front of a *kahvehane*

Figure 5.8 A *kahvehane*[23]

If a woman, an LGBT person, or a non-masculine person where to pass through that crowd, they would inevitably feel the gazes and prejudice on them. Some of the feminine men working in the galleries are warned by residents as to behave as men, not as a women: "We had an intern, he identify himself as queer, and sometimes he wears feminine clothes, sometimes use nail polish. I have to warn him to 'never come here like that' because they might beat him up. As a feminist, I do this to a worker, to protect him." Or, in another example "The gay worker of the X gallery used to wear feminine clothes. The barber told me that I should tell him not to dress like that because somebody could *beat* him. And I told him, unfortunately. It is almost impossible to be a homosexual here" (W1, art gallery, 35) since that is contrary to being a *delikanlı.* Being a *delikanlı* means to be male or man enough to do something, for instance to protect a woman:

> There is another design shop and the worker woman was warned by the men of the neighborhood again, they even slapped her in the face–but we do not know if it is true. The owner of the cafe which next to us–who is a classic Tophaneli toughie–said that the woman was told she could not smoke cigarettes outside, she could not behave loosely. And then Nihat invited her to his cafe and talked with her to show the neighborhood that they should not intervene, and to give her the message that she was 'under his protection'. Here, masculinity is built and show by protecting women. Another story was

[23] The photo is from http://bianet.org/bianet/kadin/145181-erkek-siddetine-son-diyen-kahvehanede-kadin-bulusmasi

> that a tourist woman was being gazed at by a man from the neighborhood, then Nihat threw the man out. And he tells this story as a case of heroism, so masculinity is either by the abuser or by the person who snobs the abuser; but in both cases there are *no* women. (W1, art gallery, 35)

In the interviews, the patriarchal practices to the new-comers of the neighborhood is identified as *delikanlılık* by male residents, while the same cases identifies as *kabadayılık* by female new-comers:

> *Kabadayı* is more relevant for Tophane. Because *delikanlı* is innocent compared to being a *kabadayı*. Because *kabadayı* has this notion of using force, like mafia; of course it depends on the context, it is not necessarily bad, but for me it is quite a negative, a macho thing. When you look at the popular culture, you can have a figure who is known being *kabadayı* but who helps the poor people, fights with the bad guys, and who takes the money from rich and gives it to the poor. But here it is more like the people who apply the rules of the neighborhood to general. When people talk about the past of the neighborhood it was quite corrupt, with prostitution, drugs, and illegal stuff. When they came here, more Islamic people migrated from the south east–mostly Arabic villages–of Turkey. They came here and they started to organize religious associations. And the barber said that we came here and cleaned the neighborhood and we started to apply good personality traits. And we do not know how they did this, maybe by being *kabadayı* again by force, because I heard stories about Roma people who were beaten because they were involved in the drug trade. It is not only women who are afraid of *kabadayı,* but also Roma people and others. Tophane is famous with its *kabadayı*s, it is something historical, like a labor. (W1, art gallery, 35)

Couples–only the outsider ones–are also viewed as a potential danger for the neighborhood, because they hold each others hands and kiss each other. Even worse they might not be married; in this situation couples are directly warned by male residents, either verbally or physically. Another constraint for new female residents is being unmarried: they claim that it has a significant importance whether they are 'owned' by a man or not. One of the design shop owner says she feels relaxed because of her husband's frequent visits: "I am a bit more relaxed because they know I am married and my husband comes regularly, maybe they do not disturb because of this. But I had a worker, a girl, they disturbed her." (W2, design shop, 30). They say when they are seen with men, they are asked explicitly, if the man is their husband or not (W2, design shop, 30; W4, design shop, 40; W6, vintage shop, 35; W7, vintage shop, 30). A design shop owner's friends live as a couple. They were asked as as "who is he, are you married?": She says "they are always watched and under pressure; it is a classic of the neighborhood" (W4, design shop, 40). Therefore, three of the new resident women

interviewees declared that they themselves or their female friends have to wear a wedding ring in Tophane, not to be disturbed by male residents:

> Being married is a good thing for them but being single is dangerous. Some of my clients who live around here come to ask me to make a ring so they can pretend they are married. They are students or working around here, and they ask me for this to show they are *owned* by a man. (W4, design shop, 40)

Here, with the use of De Certeau's concepts (1984), new residents have their *tactics* in the male dominant, Islamist conservative patriarchal *strategy*, to be able to live in Tophane neighborhood. Here, besides the corporations, governments, and other institutional sets, the dominant culture of patriarchy also become the *strategy* of the neighborhood, hence individuals have *tactics* to continue living in Tophane.

> Now they are imposing the conservative Islamic lifestyle. … First week of working here, when I told a guy "we are using that space do you mind taking your car from here?", he would not look me in the eye, probably because I am a woman and he was looking somewhere else, and threateningly saying, "this is Tophane, you are a newcomer, we have lived here for a long time and you cannot live as you want, we have our rules here". In these rules, it is not the police or the government or municipality, it is their rules and they force you to obey. You cannot control this by calling the police, because he said tomorrow you will come and see that all the windows of your building have been broken. This male threatening is common in the neighborhood. (W1, art gallery, 35)

As seen in this quotation, "patriarchal power relations" (McDowell, 1999) determine the places of Tophane, draw the boundaries, and construct the rules in countenance of Tophane residents with their patriarchal hegemony; "Tophane cannot be explained just by religion, or just conservatism. It is also about masculinity, and the contest of the masculinities" (W1, art gallery, 35). These social boundaries determine the spatial boundaries, and even sitting out in front of new cafes or galleries is made impossible for new-comers, since they as seen as not belonging to the culture and therefore the space. Here, a patriarchal and Islamic lifestyle is the main determinant of the social-spatial relations, that define the space and the power-and-exclusion relations in Tophane. On this point, as another phenomenon determining space by power and exclusion, the gaze is going to be considered in the next part.

5.2.2. Male Gaze

The new residents, or users, of Tophane experience different practices than the residents of Tophane. Tophane neighborhood's dressing culture is determined by religious

rules, therefore almost all resident women are veiled; and on the other hand comfortable clothes are seen as a symbol of 'marginality'. Thus, both of residents and new residents show and understand each other's identity in terms of clothes. Clothing as a primitive symbolic device (Bauman, 1990) is important for understanding the male gaze in the neighborhood. By choosing my dress, I am telling the world, Bauman says, "Look, this is where I belong, this is the kind of person I am, and please note that this is the kind of person you had better take me for and treat accordingly" (1990: 64). By looking to the clothing of a person walk through Tophane, people understand if the person is different from them or one of them, and they get enough information to identify the person as a stranger. That gaze could be also a part of performative act with reference to repetitive everyday life practices by the body.

Since the new residents are defined as "gentrifiers" of the neighborhood, there is a significant difference between the daily life practices of the resident groups. The main factor of the change is the transformation of economic and cultural capital. The gentrified spaces have changed spatial practices and the usage of the spaces in many cases, as in gender. The cultural practice of the secular, modern, and middle-class life style has brought egalitarian practices to the usage of the spaces in the gender context. New residents, especially women, are able to use the streets, the cafes, the restaurants, the markets, the grocery stores, and the parks in the company of men, or alone. For example, the first design cafe, which was opened directly opposite a traditional male coffee house by a woman, was a significant challenge to the male dominance of the public space by gentrification. This cafe was the initial motivation and example for me to think about this thesis topic as a challenge to the patriarchal production of space in the neighborhood. Although the design cafe had a vital role in the construction of the thesis, it was not possible for me to conduct an interview with the female cafe owner (W0, cafe, 35)[24] since she did not wanted to talk about the topic because she felt under pressure and afraid due to the threats of the male population of the neighborhood, as I was informed by other new residents (W1, art gallery, 35; W2, design shop, 30; W4, design shop, 40; W6, vintage shop, 35; W7, vintage shop, 30);. Finally she closed her cafe before I started to conduct my interviews in January 2015. Thus, this experience, which has a vital importance for the study, is cited in her absence.

[24] She was one of the planned interviewees of the thesis; she was not interviewed, but since she was a significant figure for the thesis, she is named as W0.

In time, following this cafe, many other examples of design and boutique cafes have appeared in Tophane. This modification has been changing the socio-cultural structure of the neighborhood as Ergün (2004) suggests. Women in the cafes have started to sit cross-legged in the street-gardens of the cafes, which had never been seen in Tophane before. The increased number of the other middle-class public spaces such as the boutique design shops, art galleries, museums, etc. over recent years as result and precondition of gentrification, has changed the usage of the public spaces by women; new female residents have started to become more visible in the public spaces of the neighborhood. The male-dominant public space has started to be challenged this way, although male dominance is still pronounced. The fact of male dominance makes itself felt in the lives of new female resident primarily through the male gaze:

> In this neighborhood there is a tyrannizing male gaze, I always feel it when I pass by this *kahvehane*. I grew up in Ankara. My family is from a village in central Anatolia, but even in this village I did not feel the need to avoid drawing attention while passing by a coffee house. Here they 'stare' at you, and you are always under scrutiny. They make you uncomfortable. … There are such stories, the worker of the design shop opposite us, who is a young woman, was warned by a man from the neighborhood that 'you cannot wear such sleeveless shirts, short skirts here, do not play with my *nefs*' [self-control that keeps the self away from sin]. By wearing clothes that might sexually arouse men you are becoming a threat, actually in Islam a woman herself is a threat. So that is why they were supposed to cover themselves and not to make their womanliness visible. And in this neighborhood that is very internalized, so they came and threatened that woman. (W1, art gallery, 35)

> When you wear a skirt, you can directly feel it from the glances, and that makes you auto-control yourself. As you know, it is impossible to say "that is none of your business". W4, design shop, 40)

> Of course you can notice the gaze of the people on you, they blame you, especially men. For gays, men even look on shame and hatred. (W3, cafe, 22)

In the examples mentioned above, the male gaze causes women to remember their bodies' sex, therefore they take position in the space with their gendered body, which produces the gender of the spaces. I also feel the male gaze on me in every visit to the public spaces of the neighborhood, just as the other new residents' experiences. The disturbing gaze on me increases if I wear revealing clothes and I am annoyed by this situation, so I smooth down my skirt every time I enter the streets of the neighborhood. In an other example, a young women who both lives and works in Tophane claims she

cannot wear short skirt or pants when she goes down through Tophane, because she has to *tidy up* her clothes. She continues "When I go out of Tophane, I can wear anything that I want, I can behave as I wish, because in Tophane, people exclude you if you dress like that. I am anxious about this. I am not covered and I do not want to make it by force by thinking about Tophane people while I get dressed." (W5, design shop, 20). As Löw (2006) emphasizes, women are not only the object of the gazing, in fact, they actively use their placing practices to produce gender arrangements. In those experiences women–as the objects of the gaze–in perceiving and placing create the space. The emphasizes on "in and out of" or "going into" Tophane discourses shows the symbolic and/or material boundaries of the space for women. The new resident women perceive residents placing practices and orient their own placing according to what they have perceived: "There is a way that goes to the park here, the youth of the neighborhood gather in front of the grocery, while they are chatting, it is enough for a woman to pass in front of them [to talk about her], when I pass this way I feel very uncomfortable" (W5, design shop, 20). A foreigner female resident who is a university student has a similar experience: "They gaze and talk about me every time I pass through the streets. They know I live here, but still, even after one year, they still stare at me. Especially when I wear a short or low-cut skirt they always say something to me in Turkish, but I do not understand" (W8, resident, 24). By perceiving and placing, she created the space by not changing her way of participating in the space in spite of the male gaze.

These women's common declaration is "remembering their sexual identity when they enter the Tophane neighborhood because of the male dominance and male gaze." As Mathes stresses, "it is in the gaze that gender is constituted" (cited in Löw, 2006: 125). These experiences are definitive examples of the gendered usage of the space in the neighborhood, as in this example: "When you are walking on the street for example in the summer, if you wear a short skirt or short pants everyone looks at you differently. I wear short skirt, strappy blouse, and some vagrant people say 'look at her she wears short skirt, does a girl from our neighborhood wear a shirt skirt?'. It disturbs everyone, of course" (W5, design shop, 20). The reason for the gaze is not only the clothing but also the time: "Especially going out at night is very hard. I am a university student, I go out with my friends. Whenever I come back, they disturb me verbally, maybe not

physical abuse, but they disturb by looking." (W5, design shop, 20). This means that the male gaze is both performative and temporal.

Self control or auto-censorship is a common *tactic* of women in the neighborhood. New resident women share their experiences in this context, concluding that 'of course we do not wear such thing again' (W1, art gallery, 35; W2, design shop, 30; W3, cafe, 22; W4, design shop, 40; W7, vintage shop, 30; and not in interview, but in her absence, W0, cafe, 35). "When you wear short skirt, you can directly feel it from the glances, and that makes you auto-control yourself. As you know, it is impossible to say 'that is none of your business' " (W4, design shop, 40). Most of the auto-censorship mechanisms of the women start after verbal abuse. When women try to resist the male dominancy of the neighborhood, they are warned in different ways:

> She [worker] used to come to the shop with a short skirt, short t-shirt. A man came inside and talked with her for twenty minutes. She was shaking and called me. He said that "you wear this and you cause us to sin; we look at you, we are men of course we will look at you" and she said "why do you look, do not look at us". Then he said "we are men of course we are going to stare at you, do not dress like this". She is an anthropology master student. She tried to understand them rationally, but they did not speak rationally. It was not possible to communicate, because these are totally different worlds. So I cannot even say what do they say, because it is so absurd, so you erase it from your mind. But in general they say "you cannot walk around like that, I look at you"–they think it is already normal–"and you cause me to sin". Whatever he does by looking at us, maybe masturbation –I have no idea. (W2, design shop, 30)

> As a woman, you have to be careful all the time. For example, we organized an event about transsexuals, there were many transsexuals at the gallery. The neighborhood people gathered at our entrance, we called the police just in case. Nothing happened, but you can feel this visibility disturbs them, and it is possible they would disturb you about this, as they do for drinking alcohol and your dressing. So you always self-censor yourself. (W1, art gallery, 35)

> When there was a party here, I told my women friends not to show her alcoholic beverages in in the garden, because it will be hard for us later. They will say "In X gallery, they are drinking alcohol". Just to avoid it, you pressure your friend. But if there were a man I maybe would be less troubled because of the protective part of the masculinity in the neighborhood. But both being woman and in the night and with an alcoholic drink, it is dangerous for here. To be a sustainable place we need to keep our femininity as low profile. We need to keep our femininity as low profile. We [women] should not show the 'negative' parts to outside. (W1, art gallery, 35)

Women are put in the position of who "asking for the gaze and/or abuse because of participating in the spaces of Tophane in that clothing":

> Once I was subjected to verbal abuse when I was wearing a short skirt. He was coming down the street, he said some disgusting things, I got mad and answered him. And he asked me what I expected while I was wearing such short skirt! This is inconceivable, I started to scream at him then people came and made me calm down. This exactly reflects the culture of the neighborhood. In this apartment building, when a woman entered her house, four or five men from here subjected her to a physical abuse and cornered her, around 11 pm. It happens here, because they want to show their power. You can hear many stories like the one I told. (W3, cafe, 22)

The woman muhtar of Tophane, who was born and grew up in the neighborhood describes another self-control mechanism in the following example. In contrast to the above, it is not a case of auto-censorship, and this example shows that the idea of masculinity is not only imposed and practiced by men, but is also internalized and implemented by women:

> When I was very young, a girl who was wearing (tight) leather pants got beat up by people from the mahalle, but now their children wear pants as well. For example, I embraced my renter when she first moved in, but there is a *mahalle kültürü*. There are women to wear short skirts and also there are women wear burkas; no one has the right to say anything to any of these women. But here you should not wear strapless dress, this is my opinion but it is not appropriate here. People of the mahalle told me about my female renter's clothes, I said nobody could say anything to her; but I asked my renter if she she could try to cover up until she was outside of the mahalle. Thankfully, she considered my words. I agree with the people of the mahalle on this point. Our parents used to give us this warning when we were young and we would get angry, but now I say the same thing to my renter and daughter because it is imbedded in my subconscious. I do not care what they wear but why would they want to be the subject of the gaze? (W9, muhtar, 50)

As I have tried to keep my position in the neighborhood by not making concessions to patriarchy and by resisting it by refusing to be 'invisible'–as in the example below– some of the new resident women see their existence in the neighborhood as a resistance to male domination of the space. This is, again, an example of a tactic in male dominant strategy. This personal *act* of resistance could be identified as *political* by referring to the viewpoint of Butler: "There is a hidden argument in the personal is political theory of feminism: the life-world of gender relations is constituted leastways partially, throughout the historically mediated acts of individuals" (1988).

> Opposite the cafe is a mosque. During the summer while we were sitting with our short skirts and laugh loudly, they told somethings to us; we made

> even jokes about this with each other about what they were going to say this time, but of course that was not nice at all. Even laughing of a woman in the public space was distracted as a negative behavior in recent times in the country's agenda, so we when laughed, they were disturbed. … They complained about it, not directly to us, but to their people and we heard it, they laughed at us and talked in the street, 'they wearing that short thing again'. … Even though they do that, they cannot limit us, it is also about the manner of the person as well. They *cannot* force a strong person to do that, but they can do it to a weaker woman. (W3, cafe, 22)

> As a woman having a shop here makes you are in the target as negatively. But it is more shocking for them for many years I am here and working 'although' I am a woman. I did not have a direct intervention but down of the street is different: there was a tourist lady worn skirt in the souvenirs shop, was intervened by men of the neighborhood. (W4, design shop, 40)

The resident men of Tophane want to protect their space from gentrification and from the displacement of their culture and customs, so they take it upon themselves to warn or threaten people, they claim (M1, cafe, 38; M2, resident, 40). Therefore, they maintain their male authority in the discourse of protecting their culture. Almost all the stories of the new resident women are based on complaints about the male gaze and on how it makes then feel threatened. These women proclaim that sometimes they cannot endure the male gaze, that the gaze makes them feel like they do not belong in this space and that they are unwanted. Most of them are aware that this exclusionary attitude is not only about gender, but also about cultural and economic differences; these women, although they are subjected to patriarchy, say that resident men "rightfully" react to the idea of gentrification and corruption of their socio-cultural structure (W7, vintage shop, 30). On the contrary, a new resident man from an art gallery, who has an ordinary male appearance, claims that "I have never personally had a problem with the neighborhood, eventhough we are from a different cultural and economic background; yet our women workers used to have problems with men from the neighborhood" (M3, art gallery, 27)[25]. To conclude, most of the new resident women say that seeing women in public spaces is the most disturbing thing for the male residents, although these women try to have good relations with the neighborhood (W1, art gallery, 35; W2, design shop, 30; W7, vintage shop, 30). It is explicitly mentioned that beyond the male gaze, the new resident women are subjected to such verbal harassment as warnings about their behavior in public and even semi-public and semi-private

[25] This gallery was also attacked by residents previously because alcohol was being consumed inside.

spaces, for instance streets or cafes, galleries, etc., and even in the houses when the curtains are not drawn.

> After moving here, we had many problems as women. We can neither wear shorts, nor skirts, because they [men of the *mahalle*] specifically threatened us, not last but the previous summer. They said they did not used to live like that, that we made them sin, that they were looking at us; that happened eventhough we never went out of the shop. But *of course* since those days, we have been very careful, we *do not* wear short skirts, strapless blouses, or dresses. Today I wore a winter dress, but even today they looked at me weird. They told me they are annoyed with even tourist pass through here wearing short pants, for example. But this will decrease, I know, because there were many coffeehouses here, not cafes, but *kahvehane*s. Men used to sit there and look at whoever passed by on the street. Now most of the cafes are closed and in their place are design shops or bistros with high rents. If that *kahvehane*s could decrease, or the population decrease, it will decrease as well. … As a result, there is a male discourse here. They stare even at tourist to disturb them. (W2, design shop, 30)

Women's subjection to the male gaze is the challenge of the public spaces of Tophane. This way, the space of the Tophane neighborhood is produced by men and women through lived experiences, a sense of belonging and attachment; these are "built on the basis of ritualized uses of space and changes in time as the everyday experiences grow and their effects accrue" as De Certeau claims (1984 cited in Yücesoy Ünlü, 2013: 192). Physical appearance, attitudes, and status indicators make people establish a categorical knowledge for social interaction (Yücesoy Ünlü, 2013). Similar manners are seen in Tophane: new residents, both women and men, have secular/modern or modern-retro, post-modern, kitsch, and street-style clothes. On the other hand, long time Tophane inhabitants mostly wear clothes that are the symbols of religion and conservatism. This allows people to identify one another categorically with body representation such as clothing, hairstyles, special markings on the body. In a city, strangers "know a great deal about one another simply by looking" as Lofland notes in her work (1973). According to Lofland, public life in the city allows through the ordering of urban populations by their appearance and by their spatial locations (1973). Therefore, as stated by McDowell (1999) and Walby (1997), the reason for these gazes is not only gender, but also the physical differences that are determined by the gentrification process, which make visible differences of class, culture, and ethnicity.

5.2.3. Fluidity of Public and Private Space

In the Tophane neighborhood, new residents and old residents participate in public space in different ways. This study therefore investigates participation in the spaces of the neighborhood from the perspectives of these two different user groups. Since the main aim of the thesis is to inquire into the gendered production of space via disadvantaged and/or oppressed groups, the spatial practices of women in the neighborhood is evaluated. The two different daily life practices, ways of participation in the spaces, and thus, the production of the space by two different groups is investigated in two parts, namely resident women and new resident women, in the following paragraphs.

In the first part, the practices of women residents are analyzed. In addition to the interviews, observation and auto-ethnography have a significant role in the analysis of space practices. The resident women's practices in Tophane are mostly a typical patriarchal society example: spaces are separated on the basis of gender, and private space belongs to women and public space belongs to men (Kandiyoti, 1997; Khoury, 2000). Based on the working practices in the neighborhood, men are generally outside of the neighborhood during the day, and women are mostly at home performing child-care and house works. Also, according to the custom of Tophane residents women should not be alone outside of the house. Therefore, resident women representation is limited in the neighborhood. That limitation makes women produce other spaces for themselves to socialize: semi-private and semi-public spaces. During the day, the men of the families are mostly not at home, so women can easily create semi-private and semi-public spaces to be used only by women. They do the housework and care for children; sometimes they work collectively with the other women of the family in these spaces. In the remaining time they meet with women from their families, relatives, and neighbors who live close by within the neighborhood. According to Khoury's (2000) study in Ottoman Mosul, not public spaces but houses are the areas where women challenge patriarchy. The plans of the houses let women to have in-between spaces. Women have the most private and semi-private space in the house. Women can control and direct their own spaces, and also the semi-private spaces, as is seen in the Tophane case as well. Thus, in patriarchal and Islamic society, women are not directly represented in the public space; spaces are separated into private for women and public for men. But this does not mean that women are powerless; on the contrary, as Kandiyoti (1997)

emphasizes, there are many resistance strategies in the patriarchal system whether for Mosul women in Ottoman culture or in the case of Tophane.

The semi-private spaces in the houses of Tophane, such as the living room or guest room, are socialization spaces for women; they gather with their relatives or neighbors in the living room and cook, clean, or look after children together. During the day, the privacy of the house shifts to a collective domestic work area with relatives or intimate neighbors. One of the important routine meeting occasions for women is halaqas, where they meet for religious conversations in small groups of relatives or large group of women from the neighborhood in houses, especially every day in Ramadan. Although the men of Tophane also have meetings in the public spaces of Tophane or in mosques during Ramadan, women's meeting as hold in private space, not in public.

The usage of the semi-private spaces in the house changes during day and night time. At night, when the men of the families start to come back to the houses, the usage and the participation in the semi-private and semi-public spaces start to change: semi-private spaces like living rooms in houses are places to meet and have dinner as families with parents and children, not for women relatives or neighbors; semi-public spaces like dead-end streets are not a meeting place for women anymore. In these examples, space is not stable, constant, and lifeless, but rather variable, fluid, and alive (Lefebvre, 1991). This is clearly seen in the temporal change of the physical space neighborhood. In the meantime, women produce semi-public spaces outside of the home, such as in the backyards of the houses, or in front of the apartment buildings, etc. Tophane has many dead-end streets, alleys, stairs, and backyards, since it does not have the modern composition of a modern planned city. These dead-end streets, blind alleys, waste areas, and street doors are used as meeting places by women, as an alternative place to the male public space. Especially during spring or summer, the blind alleys or backyards of the houses have an essential role in women's everyday life practices. Women use the backyards of the houses where others can join them, but the others can only be female family members, relatives, or neighbors. These places are mostly not accessible by visitors or outsiders, but accessible for the residents. They are not private spaces, because they are shared and physically in the public space, but their inaccessibility for outsiders makes the space semi-public. There are seats and even armchairs and tables in these points of the alleys (see figures 5.9 and 5.10). Women meet in these spaces

for tea, especially in the late afternoon. At such times, the backyards and blind alleys belong to women. Meetings in these places–different than house meetings–are open to other women from the neighborhood who are not relatives. These spaces provide the opportunity of "relative freedom" for women (McDowell, 1999).

Figure 5.9 Sofas in a dead end street

Figure 5.10 Chairs in a dead end street

A similar spatial practice is experienced during shopping. Women do not go out usually, as mentioned before, but for cooking they need to buy groceries. Therefore that demand creates a supply for serving the groceries at the door of the houses with the combination of the hawker tradition of Turkish society. The grocer, green grocer, or clothier, even household good sellers come to the neighborhood's streets, mostly by car, to cater to the demands of the resident women in Tophane. Especially food sellers have a regular time schedule for coming, thus women are used to waiting for the sellers before they start cooking. These cars come up to the entrances of the apartment buildings (see figure 5.11), usually at the same time during the day, and women order their requirements from their own windows, even sometimes without going outside; they lower down a basket from their windows to get the products. At these times, multiple women hang out of their windows at the same time; thus, women meet and start to

cheat with each other while they do shopping from the house. Sometimes, women go up to the cars in the street; this temporal space can also suddenly become a meeting and socialization space: they talk with each other while waiting for the seller to prepare the products. In this way, women can supply the necessities from the house, without going outside of the house or outside of their streets. Although the physical space is constant, production of the space has changed by spatial practices in different temporal contexts (Lefebvre, 1991).

Figure 5.11 A vegetable seller car parked in a dead end street[26]

According to the new resident women, the old resident women socialize among themselves, mostly in private spaces: "I am sure you have seen women around in this neighborhood, most of them are covered and they socialize among themselves in the Semt Konağı of the municipality or in the houses or in some associations" (W1, art gallery, 35). Semt Konağı is a place for women to meet and take courses, as mentioned in the beginning of this chapter, where is the only social space for resident women to meet based on the interviews and participant observation of the thesis, while women are almost seen only in the accompaniment of men in the public spaces. Therefore, the lack of public space makes resident women create their own semi-private and semi-public spaces. In the concepts of De Certeau (1984): resident women create their own

[26] The picture is taken by Monica Maria Huluba.

tactics as semi-private and semi-public spaces in the patriarchal strategy of male-dominated public space.

As the second part, the new resident women's participation in the spaces of Tophane is determined by the individual's and the collective agent's social practices (Lefebvre, 1991) in the neighborhood. The male-dominated public spaces of Tophane make new resident women take a position of being aware of that dominance and even sometimes threat, and behave according to this condition. These behaviors could be sometimes auto-control/auto-censorship or sometimes a resistance against the dominance. For example, the first cafe in the neighborhood, which inspired me to think about gendered space practices in Tophane, was a challenge to the usage of the public spaces of the neighborhood. The owner of the cafe–whom it was not possible to interview (W0, cafe, 35)[27]–was the first person to have a cafe on the street that was open to both men and women. It was opposite a traditional *kahvehane* in Tophane. As a resident of the neighborhood, when I saw for the first time a woman sitting at the outside table, smoking and cross-legged, it was a surprising situation for me (see figures 5.12 and 5.13). While it is possible to see women walking in the streets of Tophane or in parks, it is not common for them to use the space as a site for leisure activity, as a *flaneuse*. What is more, the cafe is just opposite a *kahvehane,* which makes it more challenging. Moreover, as it is seen in photo below, sitting cross-legged and smoking just opposite of a *kahvehane* for a woman is not a common practice that could be seen often in the neighborhood. Therefore, the owner of the cafe (W0, cafe, 35) was warned to be careful about her and her customers' behavior in the neighborhood, for example not sitting outside "inappropriately". She was intervened for several times, threatened, and finally forced to leave the neighborhood. In this case, the power relations (McDowell, 1999) determine the boundaries and construct the rules of public spaces of Tophane.

[27] As stated before, she was one of the planned interviewee's of the thesis; she was not interviewed, but since she is a significant figure for the thesis, she is named as W0.

Figure 5.12. The first "challenger" cafe in Tophane [28]


Figure 5.13. The first "challenger" cafe in Tophane, inside [29]

Accordingly, the public space activities of the other cafes, art galleries, and shops are strictly under control of the neighborhood "rules". Especially for opening cocktail parties, where everybody is outside and drinking, people have to use separate panels to

[28] The photo is from www.balkonsefasi.com.tr
[29] The photo is from www.balkonsefasi.com.tr

hide their drinks and the fact of a group of men and women together outside: "When we have openings we serve alcohol and we are use separate panels in the courtyard that is not visible to the outside" (W1, art gallery, 35). Besides the courtyards, cafe, gallery, or shop owner women are told to be careful about their behavior 'inside' as well; because men can see them from outside, this means women should behave inside of their cafes, galleries, or shops as they have to do in the public spaces of the neighborhood:

> We were having an opening on the ground floor. We have a glass door and usually for exhibitions we were covering that glass door but for that exhibition we did not cover it. And serving the alcohol was visible from the outside and they came and said you cannot show this to outside so hide this. And they said the day will come when they will control all kind of alcohol things. (W1, art gallery, 35)

Another important case is in the private space of the neighborhood: the visibility of the inside of the houses from outside in the neighborhood is also becoming an important issue for the residents. In the new resident women interviews, if they have a flat in the neighborhood, at least one time, they are warned about drawing the curtains of the houses with the reason that men can see inside of their house while they are in dishabille: "They told me to always keep my curtains closed, because the window is toward the street" (W7, vintage shop, 30). When I first moved to my flat in Tophane, I was asked by my male land lord to curtain my terrace so as not to show the inside. Although I did so, I was nevertheless warned not to go out to the terrace with my casual clothes, lest I was seen by male neighbors. Similar cases are also experienced by other new female residents: even once, one women was threatened by male residents who came to the door of her home. Male residents also ask the hostels in the neighborhood to draw their curtains, especially by emphasizing that customers are half-naked in their rooms, which is harmful for their daughters and their family lives. Also, although the terrace of my house is not visible from the street, one evening when I was having both male and female guests together for a dinner on my terrace, I was warned by young men of the neighborhood on the street below. When I explained that it was not their concern who comes to people's flats in the neighborhood and that they did not have the right to control it, I was warned not to talk with them, since I am a *woman*; although I was the host, they asked me to call one of my guests, a *man*, to talk with him. In this case also, the boundaries of the rules of the public space in Tophane were exceeded and private spaces were also determined and controlled by the patriarchal hegemony.

Hence, not only the public space, but also the private or semi-public and semi-private spaces are kept under the control of the neighborhood; therefore, the practices in such spaces are also determined by *individual's social practices* based upon the *collective agent's social practices* and/or rules (for an example, see figure 5.14).

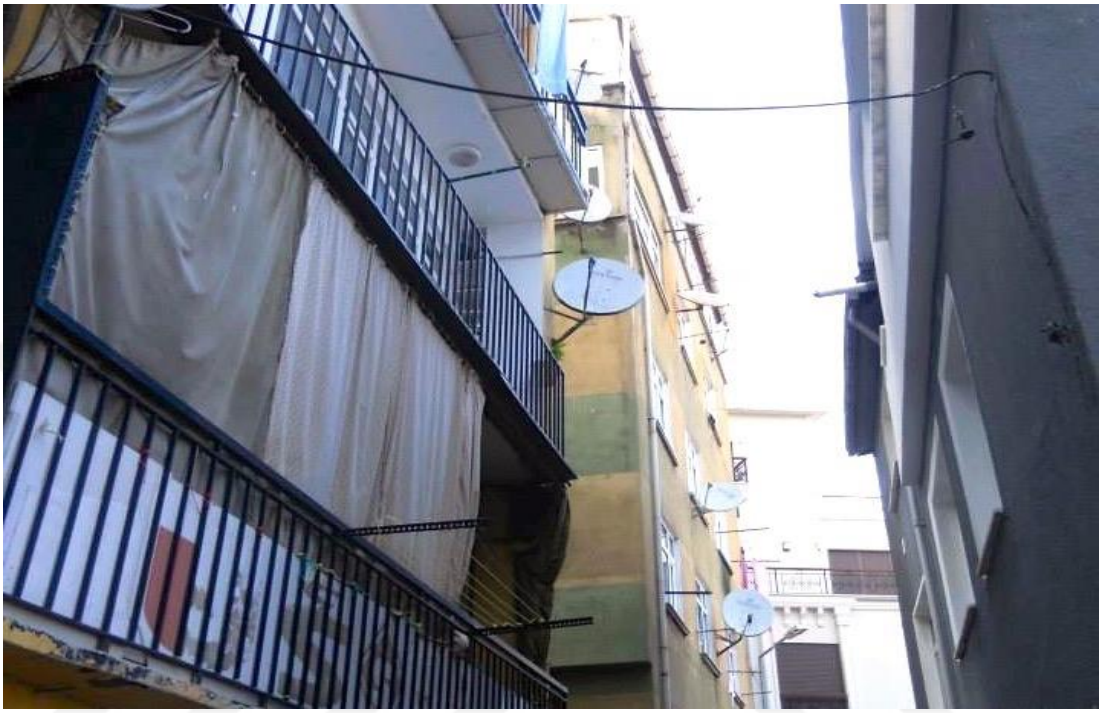


Figure 5.14. A balcony with drawn curtains

Moreover, in 2013, the declaration of the prime minister about "not to allow unmarried female and male students to live together in shared flats"–although there is no law or regulation about this–led the residents of Tophane to take it upon themselves to implement this policy. Since they identified themselves as "the soldiers of Erdoğan," they immediately started to monitor the private lives of the neighborhood's new residents, which means they crossed the borders of public space to private space to control the daily life. They claimed that some of the residential areas where young, single newcomers–especially women–live and have both female and male guests, were houses for rentals; although it is well known that they are not. The main purpose is that Tophane people want to give the message to the "others" to be aware that their private space and private life are under control of Tophane people based on the prime minister's discourse. The conservative and trenchant discourse of the prime minister is reflected simultaneously in the neighborhood and therefore more than fifty houses have been inspected by the police to a ascertain whether unmarried, unrelated men and

women are living together, or whether they are having improper guests according to the neighborhood's residents. The written declaration is control of illegal hostelling, but the people questioned by the police are not asked about illegal hostelling. Instead, they are asked if they live alone, or, if they are not whether the gender of the flatmates is the same; if it is not the same, if they are married; if they usually have mixed groups of men and women as guests; for university students, they are asked if their families know about where they live, where their parents live; the neighbors of those people are asked if they are bothered by their neighbors, or neighbor's guests. As one of the fifty objects of such investigation, I chose to resist and declare that neither the prime minister, nor the residents of the neighborhood have the right to interfere in people's private spaces, especially by emphasizing the gender issues, referencing the "personal is political" notion in feminist theory. This discussion addresses the political aspect of private space, while it is already clear in the public spaces of Tophane. As result, the politic, informed, interactive, contested, and fluid characteristics of space (Massey, 2005) is seen in public, private, and in-between spaces in Tophane.

New residents' way of life is unfamiliar with old Tophane residents's ways and means, as Bauman says: "Whatever normal and natural for us–'born' into our way of life–is bizarre and sometimes baffling to them" (1990: 59). Thus, unfamiliar daily practices produce new spaces in the Tophane neighborhood. The bodies' performance in daily life in Tophane shape their gender through mundane practices, "a series of acts" that are renewed, revised, and consolidated through time (Butler, 1988). And these gendered bodies become both the cause and the effect of the space: gendering of space "both reflects and has effects back on the ways in which gender is constructed and understood in the societies in which we live" (Massey, 1994: 186).

CHAPTER 6
CONCLUSION

This thesis has aimed to investigate the genderization of urban spaces through daily life practices in the context of gentrification, focusing on the case of Tophane (see figure 6.1). As seen in chapters, there are different factors that determine the gendered nature of spaces in Tophane. Social practices, power relations, patriarchy, performativity, temporality, and male gaze are prominent concepts that help to explain the neighborhood's gender practices. Although the economic factor has vital importance in the gentrification process, the gender aspect in gentrification has been the focus of this thesis, which evaluates the challenge of gender through the lens of gentrification.

Figure 6.1. A view from Tophane

Displacement is not the first issue in Tophane's ambivalent gentrification process, and the district has not experienced a regulated gentrification process, as it has been seen other neighborhoods in Istanbul such as Galata or Cihangir. Tophane instead exhibits more prominently social, political, and economic phases of gentrification. The relation of the residents with the government, the changing agenda of the country, and polarization are the outstanding issues that affect the daily life of Tophane. That context keeps Tophane as a defensible space with the collective *mahalle* idea. In interviews, the tension between residents and new residents leads to the question of "whom does the neighborhood belong to?"

As stressed in the theory chapter, "everyday" is the lived experiences of urban residents, and everyday life approaches try to express ordinary routines in social relations and practices. In this perspective, ordinary is important, and everyday social relations that are more than a routine (Yücesoy Ünlü, 2006). The networks of interaction of urban life can be seen in mundane practices in urban public spaces. Here, with reference to Lefebvre, space is a social product and social products interrelatedly shape and are also shaped by the individual's and the collective agent's social practices (1991). Space is variable, fluid, and alive, not stabile, constant, and lifeless. It is not only an object, or a physical thing, but also is also social. Similarly, De Certeau explains that the city–and implicitly the space–is generated by the strategies of the institutional sets that produce the plans of the city. The people in the streets , however, move tactically and are not limited by the city plans. At this point, everyday life challenges the other's territory, and governs the rules and the products of the culture that are actually determined by strategy. Massey also explains space as informed, interactive, politic, contested, and fluid (2005). This temporal, historical, and relational processes of the space point out the impossibility of assuming the space as a place of given materiality. The always under construction situation of the social space (Massey, 2005) is set by myths and representations in everyday spatial practices (De Certeau, 1984 and Lefebvre, 1991). By reference to Massey, McDowell (1999) describes the space as produced through power relations, and yet this relationship determines the boundaries and constructs the rules, as it seen in the case of gentrification as well.

The term gentrification, in the general sense, refers to a process in which working-class neighborhoods are bought by the middle-class and luxurious houses are constructed, and as a result social characteristics change in the areas (Glass, 1964). In an economic sense the goal of gentrification is to produce new commercial and cultural facilities in the inner areas of the city center, and thus to make profit by investing this areas; so it is both a part and the result of this transformation; it refers to class and spatial segregation (Şen, 2005). Besides the economic aspect of gentrification, the intersections of different groups of people in areas under gentrification (like Tophane), can cause hostility to different life styles in the same area (Sennet, 1996). Here, culture and class clashes pose new questions on the right to the space with reference to Harvey's right to the city concept (2008). It is a common right to change ourselves by changing the cities we live in (Harvey, 2008). Therefore, if we explain gentrification processes as making and remaking our cities, we have the right to be included in this decision mechanism.

Similar with the space, gender is also a product: it is a performative act that is produced in everyday life practices by body (Butler, 1999). Here with reference to Merleau-Ponty (1962), Butler explains gender as "historical idea" or situation rather than "natural species" (1990). Beauvoir's (1989) claim that "one is not born, but, rather, becomes a women" reinterprets the doctrine of acts from the perspective of the phenomenological tradition. The theory of acts by Husserl, Merleau-Ponty, Herbert Mead, and others is adopted to explain the everyday that agents constitute social reality through language, gesture, and symbolic social signs. Body is socially constructed, and the gender identity of body changes over time and place (McDowell, 1999). Therefore, gender identity is not stable, but constituted in time through a *stylized repetition of acts*. Related to this interpretation of the construction of the gendered body, gendered space is also produced by everyday life practices.

For McDowell, both people and places are gendered, thus, social and spatial relationships are mutually constituted (1999). For Massey (1994) and McDowell (1999) the different way that men and women experience geography is not only the result, but also the producer of space. Spaces like the city, house, quarters, and neighborhoods are characterized by specific activities of women and men, by specific gendered power relations, and by specific symbolic meanings of gender (Buehler, 2007). There is an

observable division of public and private spaces in the gender context, despite the fact that intensive fluidity between private and public spaces: the private belongs to women, and the public to men (McDowell, 1999). This is clearly seen in the Tophane case. Space is constructed as gendered through social practices, and it also carries power relations (Schick, 2010).

Capitalism's division of urban space into the worlds of home and waged work affects women's lives and status. The association of private space with women and public space with men occurred as a result of this (McDowell, 1999). Women were encouraged and also forced to identify themselves with the home, and this caused an exclusion from the public arena. The invisibility of women in public space started to change by the end of nineteenth century. In cities, women became visible by working outside, walking in the streets, going to offices, etc. Therefore, women's subjection to the male gaze and physical/verbal harassment became more visible. Here, the genderization concept of Löw (2006) explains how perceptions, in particular of glances and the body techniques corresponding to them, affect space. We form the space by perceiving it through our bodies.

In cities, as in the Tophane case, wide ranges of people are bought together in confined spaces and the social interaction in these spaces can cause tension; because it is the heterogeneity which is the main characteristic that causes the city to resemble a mosaic of social worlds, yet this heterogeneity can cause tension (Wirth, cited in Pile, 1999). In Tophane, old-comers' close proximity to the new-comers causes some consequences that change the way of life. The consequences of this social interaction are uncertain, and can be differentiated in each specific condition. In cities people are brought into close proximity with people who might be very much richer or poorer than they, or be from an entirely different country, or have completely opposite views on lifestyle politics, religion, etc (Pile, 1999), as in the Tophane neighborhood in Istanbul.

In the context of Lefebvre's spatial practice, the Tophane case shows, how the residents of Tophane neighborhood have produced the space through spatial practices, by using, participating, appropriating, and also dominating the space via daily life practices, without conceptualizing but directly living in it. The gendered use of space (i.e.,

public space mostly belongs to the resident men) as a spatial practice constructs the space of representation with its meanings and symbols, in company with designed urban space as the conceived space. For instance, public spaces are predominantly used by male inhabitants, and this use of material and production of space by residents created the idea of Tophane as a "men's republic." Physical spatial practices have transformed the space of representation via the construction of the lived spaces of the Tophane neighborhood. The practices, for instance not to allow drinking alcohol in public spaces, have been constructing the symbolic meaning of the social spaces of the Tophane neighborhood for "outsiders". As we have seen the example of the *kahvehane*s in Tophane, formal public spaces belong to men, although they include a variety of people. They are places to have free speech and argue, but they do not include women. Representation in public space is acceptable for men; but the *kahvehane*s cannot be a public space for women. Thus, resident women create their own spaces in the *mahalle*: not formal public spaces, but the semi-public or even semi-private spaces (for example back-yards, blind alleys, etc.) produced as socialization places by women, in cooperation with the other resident women, as a *tactic* against a male-dominant *strategy*. This practice is also seen in traditional societies in Turkey (Kandiyoti, 1997).

In Tophane, social, economic, ideological, and technological transformation of the neighborhood produces a new space of different social exchanges, memories, images, and mundane practices, and therefore constructs a new space through the meaning of these social interactions (Low, 1996). The phenomenological and symbolic experience of spaces of Tophane are explicitly seen in exchanges, in conflicts, and in controls of the relations. The conflicts resulting from the gentrification process in Tophane have caused "new-comers" to be marginalized as "other" by former "old-comers" and to be controlled by them. The increasing number of art galleries, museums, and modern cafes are seen as a threat to residents' lifestyle in Tophane, and have changed the nature of participation in the public spaces of the neighborhood. The gallery attacks in Tophane led to Harvey's (2008) discussion on right to the city, by asking "Whose neighborhood is Tophane?" While the "old-comers" of the neighborhood try to conserve their spaces and claim the neighborhood belongs to them, the "new-comers" also a claim right to Tophane and produce their spaces based on that right. Control over the

public spaces of Tophane is affected by the dominant religious culture of the neighborhood. Besides the cultural clash, power relations over public space also cause tensions in the context of gender in Tophane.

Spatial segregation based on gender is clearly seen in daily life in Tophane. Women belong to private life and private space, and men belong to public life and public space. Patriarchal practices determine the use of public spaces: men occupy the spaces and gaze in the spaces. As seen in the interviews, patriarchy has an important role in the connection between gender and class. Most of the resident women in Tophane do not have economic income and are dependent on their husbands for social security; therefore, men have control and authority over women. This economy-based patriarchal authority combines with conservative patriarchal authority in Tophane, and the result of this condition is seen in daily life practices such as in the case of not allowing wives or daughters to go out alone.

In the case of the old-comer resident women of Tophane, the household is seen as their duty and there is not a chance for them to challenge it by working outside of the house; therefore, patriarchy is produced by household production and men's appropriation of women's unpaid domestic labor. Violence against women is also another example of the production of patriarchy: an interviewee woman claims that her husband uses violence against her when he feels incompetent in his "role" as husband, such as not be able to earn money. But since this situation includes more dynamics than male domination over women, this is more than patriarchy; as Walby says, it is a gender regime. Resident women are allowed to go out only when they have to, as an example of their exclusion from the public space. Even they are allowed to go out, they are not allowed to leave the neighborhood. The public spaces of Tophane were clearly occupied by groups of males, while a crowd of women is rare to observe.

Connell's (1987, 1995; cited in McDowell, 1999) cultural consent and pleasure theory is also seen in Tophane: resident women claim they used to stay at home and feel more comfortable in that position. They claim that when they have the chance to work outside, they still have to take responsibility for the housework and childcare, thus they think working outside is the duty of the men of the house. Besides, they feel "protected" by male escort in public space and feel "safe" in private space. The emotional

attachment to husband and culture by women is a "cathexis" of feelings of gratitude and appreciativeness. Here, with reference to Kandiyoti (1997), we can say that Tophane is a place that displays a complexity and variety of gender. The resident women's adaptation to patriarchal order is clearly observed their acceptance of domestic work as a duty, and in their definition of the public space as dangerous. Here, it is the adaptation that helps their survival in the long view and makes it possible to maintain their living standards. But there is a difference between subordinated and subservient: women are subordinated but not subservient here. They can subvert the patriarchal relations by using tactics. As it seen in other conservative cultural practices in Turkey, in the Tophane case, women's working outside of the house could cause them to neglect the housework and childcare and could lead to them having relations with other men; also, women's economic empowerment could cause a challenge to men's authority in Kandiyoti's terms (1997). For these reasons, the resident women of Tophane are not allowed to exist in public space. But this situation changes in time as well, as Kandiyoti describes: aging and having children are basic factors that determine the position of women in society, especially in rural cultures. In interviews, women stated that by aging and having children, they started to have some rights like going outside to meet relatives or to shop. This "relative freedom" creates a possibility to bargain with patriarchy.

On the other hand, the new-comer female residents of Tophane experience patriarchal order in public space. New-comer female residents' common statement is that there is a feeling of patriarchy while walking in the neighborhood's public spaces. Here, the terms *macho* and *kabadayı* come to the front in the interviews with new-comer resident women. The gaze by *macho*s and *kabadayı*s are obviously visible in the public spaces of Tophane, and determines the participants behavior in streets, cafes, parks, and *kahvehane*s. In the cases, a woman in a short dress or a man in feminine clothes is not allowed to walk through streets of Tophane, they are warned. They claim there is a tyrannizing male gaze in the neighborhood. These patriarchal practices are identified as *delikanlılık* by male residents, and show the gender regime of the neighborhood in the public spaces. Therefore, patriarchal power relations determine the public spaces of Tophane. Not only these power relations, but also being the object of the gazing leads women and LGBT people to be agents and to use their placing practices to produce gender arrangements. Thus, in perceiving and placing, the objects of patriarchy

create the space. Lived experiences like ritualized usage of spaces and everyday practices determines the spaces of Tophane.

The difference between the usage of public and private spaces is another case in Tophane. There are two different groups based on culture and class, and those groups participate and use spaces in different ways. But in general, Tophane is a typical patriarchal society example. Space in the neighborhood is divided on the basis of gender: private space belongs to women and public space belongs to men (Kandiyoti, 1997; Khoury, 2000). Resident men are mostly outside of the neighborhood, and resident women are mostly at home for domestic work. This inside-belonging of women makes the house a place to challenge patriarchy. The private and semi-private spaces in the house are controlled and are directed by resident women. For example, guest rooms are used for visitors as place of meeting for halaqas, cooking, cleaning, or looking after children together: all activities where men usually do not have right to speak. The usage of semi-private spaces in the house also changes during day and night. When men are back to the house after work, semi-private space turn into private space for family. Similarly, resident women use semi-public spaces in the neighborhood such as blind alleys, back-yards, or even the entrance of houses as meeting places. Especially during spring and summer, these spaces are a favorite for tea-time talks. Correlatively, women experience similar spatial practice during hawker shopping. When they are at home during the day, they emerge from windows or doors with the arrival of food-seller cars, and those places turn into a meeting place. In these examples, it is seen that production of the space is based on temporality and the fluidity. Therefore, despite the constancy of the physical space, spatial practices in different temporal contexts change and challenge the production of the space; it is not stable, constant, and lifeless, but rather variable, fluid, and alive (Lefebvre, 1991). As a result women's non-representation in public space does not mean that women are powerless, but creates many resistance strategies in the patriarchal system by creating new spaces (Kandiyoti, 1997).

New-comer women's practices are different than resident women's practices, based on belonging to a different culture and class. New resident women actively use public spaces; it is possible to see that women walking in the streets, sitting in cafes, and spending leisure time outside the home. Thus, the male-dominant public space in the neighborhood makes them take a position of being aware of male dominance and

sometimes of threat. Therefore these women behave according to this situation in Tophane: this could be in the form of auto-control/auto-censorship or a resistance against the dominance. An early case of a unisex cafe in the neighborhood was the first place where one could see women and men sitting together and also a woman sitting outside of the cafe while smoking and cross-legged. This was first obvious example of resistance against dominant patriarchal public space. Although the owner of the cafe, a woman, was warned and threatened by resident men in the neighborhood, it was a tactic and also a challenge to determine the boundaries of the neighborhood and construct the rules of the public spaces of Tophane.

Gender is both a set of a symbolic meanings and a material social relation. Both gender and space are not natural but culturally determined by daily life practices. As in the case with gender, ideas about place, boundaries, and membership are also social constructs (McDowell, 1999). Thus, space and gender share the same circumstance in social construction: both of their meanings are attributed by social interactions. Space is assigned as gendered simply because of the male gaze. We create spaces by perceiving and placing: the *genderization* of space is effected through the organization of perceptions (Löw, 2006) as in Tophane case. But it is not only the gaze; it is both patriarchal relations and the gender regime that determine the gendered spaces. The public gender regime in Tophane is based on the segregation and subordination of women, not only on excluding women from public space (Walby, 1997). But in this case, women may be subordinated but not absolutely subservient (Kandiyoti, 1988). Women are able to subvert patriarchal relations through the *complexity* and *variety* of gender and the unequal relationship between men and women, by including interconnection between gender, class position, and ethnic origins. On that point, gender relations should be investigated with attention to geographic diversity (McDowell, 1999). Thus, we can see different cases and different experiences of gender relations in the Tophane example; and it is not possible to evaluate it only by gaze, patriarchy, gender regime, class position, ethnic origins, or geographic diversity alone. One must include all these factors.

The city's importance to challenge gender divisions is a crucible for destabilizing dichotomies that traditionally divide women and men's lives, as seen in the Tophane case. The visibility of women (both old-comers and the new-comers) increases in the

city. In the old-comer women case, the inhabitants of Tophane produce their own spaces in the urban setting. In the new-comer women case, although there were contradictions with men users, *flaneuses* have been increasing in number and creating their own spaces in the urban spaces of the Tophane neighborhood. The new-comers' daily practices allow women to experience the public sphere and challenge gender norms. And as a result, this has been changing the social practices of the space, and constructing new urban spaces in Tophane.

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APPENDIX

THE LAW NO. 6306

Afet Riski Altındaki Alanların Dönüştürülmesi Hakkında Kanun

Kanun Numarası: 6306
Kabul Tarihi: 16/5/2012
Yayımlandığı R.Gazete: Tarih: 31/5/2012 Sayı : 28309
Yayımlandığı Düstur: Tertip : 5 Cilt : 52

11579

Birinci Bölüm

Amaç ve Tanımlar

Amaç

MADDE 1- (1) Bu Kanunun amacı; afet riski altındaki alanlar ile bu alanlar dışındaki riskli yapıların bulunduğu arsa ve arazilerde, fen ve sanat norm ve standartlarına uygun, sağlıklı ve güvenli yaşama çevrelerini teşkil etmek üzere iyileştirme, tasfiye ve yenilemelere dair usul ve esasları belirlemektir.

Tanımlar

MADDE 2- (1) Bu Kanunun uygulanmasında;

a) Bakanlık: Çevre ve Şehircilik Bakanlığını,

b) İdare: Belediye ve mücavir alan sınırları içinde belediyeleri, bu sınırlar dışında il özel idarelerini, büyükşehirlerde

büyükşehir belediyelerini ve Bakanlık tarafından yetkilendirilmesi hâlinde büyükşehir belediyesi sınırları içindeki ilçe belediyelerini,

c) Rezerv yapı alanı: Bu Kanun uyarınca gerçekleştirilecek uygulamalarda yeni yerleşim alanı olarak kullanılmak üzere, TOKİ'nin veya İdarenin talebine bağlı olarak veya resen, Maliye Bakanlığının uygun görüşü alınarak Bakanlıkça belirlenen alanları,

ç) Riskli alan: Zemin yapısı veya üzerindeki yapılaşma sebebiyle can ve mal kaybına yol açma riski taşıyan, Bakanlık veya İdare tarafından Afet ve Acil Durum Yönetimi Başkanlığının görüşü de alınarak belirlenen ve Bakanlığın teklifi üzerine Bakanlar Kurulunca kararlaştırılan alanı,

d) Riskli yapı: Riskli alan içinde veya dışında olup ekonomik ömrünü tamamlamış olan ya da yıkılma veya ağır hasar görme riski taşıdığı ilmî ve teknik verilere dayanılarak tespit edilen yapıyı,
e) TOKİ: Toplu Konut İdaresi Başkanlığını, ifade eder.

11580

İkinci Bölüm

Uygulama

Tespit, taşınmaz devri ve tescil

MADDE 3- (1) Riskli yapıların tespiti, Bakanlıkça hazırlanacak yönetmelikte belirlenen usul ve esaslar çerçevesinde masrafları kendilerine ait olmak üzere, öncelikle yapı malikleri veya kanuni temsilcileri tarafından, Bakanlıkça lisanslandırılan kurum ve kuruluşlara yaptırılır ve sonuç Bakanlığa veya İdareye bildirilir. Bakanlık, riskli yapıların tespitini süre vererek maliklerden veya kanuni temsilcilerinden isteyebilir. Verilen süre içinde yaptırılmadığı takdirde, tespitler Bakanlıkça veya İdarece yapılır veya yaptırılır. Bakanlık, belirlediği alanlardaki riskli yapıların tespitini süre vererek İdareden de isteyebilir. Bakanlıkça veya İdarece yaptırılan riskli yapı tespitlerine karşı maliklerce veya kanuni temsilcilerince onbeş gün içinde itiraz edilebilir. Bu itirazlar, Bakanlığın talebi üzerine üniversitelerce, ilgili meslek disiplini öğretim üyeleri arasından görevlendirilecek dört ve Bakanlıkça, Bakanlıkta görevli üç kişinin iştiraki ile teşkil edilen teknik heyetler tarafından incelenip karara bağlanır. (İptal yedinci ve sekizinci cümle: Anayasa Mahkemesi'nin 27/2/2014 tarihli ve E.: 2012/87, K.: 2014/41 sayılı Kararı ile.) (...)[30]

(2) Riskli yapılar, tapu kütüğünün beyanlar hanesinde belirtilmek üzere, tespit tarihinden itibaren en geç on iş günü içinde Bakanlık veya İdare tarafından ilgili tapu müdürlüğüne bildirilir. Tapu kütüğüne işlenen belirtmeler hakkında, ilgili tapu müdürlüğünce ayni ve şahsi hak sahiplerine bilgi verilir.

(3) Bakanlığın talebi üzerine; 28/12/1960 tarihli ve 189 sayılı Millî Savunma Bakanlığı İskân İhtiyaçları İçin Sarfiyat İcrası ve Bu Bakanlıkça Kullanılan Gayrimenkullerden Lüzumu Kalmıyanların Satılmasına Salâhiyet Verilmesi Hakkında Kanun ve 18/12/1981 tarihli ve 2565 sayılı Askeri Yasak Bölgeler ve Güvenlik Bölgeleri

[30] Sözkonusu İptal Kararı Resmi Gazete'de yayımlandığı 26/7/2014 tarihinden başlayarak üç ay sonra yürürlüğe girmiştir.

Kanunu kapsamında bulunan yerler de dâhil olmak üzere, riskli alanlarda ve rezerv yapı alanlarında olup Hazinenin özel mülkiyetinde bulunan taşınmazlardan;

a) Kamu idarelerine tahsisli olanlar, ilgili kamu idaresinin görüşü alınarak, 189 ve 2565 sayılı kanunlar kapsamında bulunan yerler için Millî Savunma Bakanlığının uygun görüşü alınarak, Maliye Bakanlığının teklifi ve Bakanlar Kurulu kararıyla,

b) Kamu idarelerine tahsisli olmayanlar, ilgili kamu idaresinin görüşü alınarak Maliye Bakanlığınca,

Bakanlığa tahsis edilir veya Bakanlığın talebi üzerine TOKİ'ye ve İdareye bedelsiz olarak devredilebilir.

(4) (İptal birinci cümle: Anayasa Mahkemesi'nin 27/2/2014 tarihli ve E.: 2012/87, K.: 2014/41 sayılı Kararı ile.)

(...) Bu Kanuna göre uygulamada bulunulan alanlarda yer alan tescil dışı alanlar, tapuda Hazine adına tescil edildikten sonra Bakanlığa tahsis edilerek tasarrufuna bırakılır veya Bakanlığın talebi üzerine TOKİ'ye ve İdareye bedelsiz olarak devredilebilir.

11581

(5) Tahsis ve devir tarihinden itibaren üç yıl içinde ve gerekli görülen hâllerde Bakanlığın talebi üzerine Maliye Bakanlığınca uzatılan süre içinde maksadına uygun olarak kullanılmadığı Bakanlıkça tespit edilen taşınmazlar, bedelsiz olarak ve resen tapuda Hazine adına tescil edilir veya önceki maliki olan kamu idaresine devredilir.

(6) 25/2/1998 tarihli ve 4342 sayılı Mera Kanunu kapsamında olup riskli alanlarda ve riskli yapılarda yaşayanların nakledilmesi için Bakanlıkça ihtiyaç duyulan taşınmazlar, 4342 sayılı Kanunun 14 üncü maddesinin birinci fıkrasının (g) bendindeki alanlardan sayılarak, tahsis amaçları aynı maddeye göre değiştirilip tapuda Hazine adına tescil edilir; bu taşınmazlar hakkında bu Kanuna göre uygulamada bulunulur.

(7) (İptal: Anayasa Mahkemesi'nin 27/2/2014 tarihli ve E.: 2012/87, K.: 2014/41 sayılı Kararı ile.) Tasarrufların kısıtlanması

MADDE 4- (1) (İptal: Anayasa Mahkemesi'nin 27/2/2014 tarihli ve E.: 2012/87, K.: 2014/41 sayılı Kararı ile.)

(1) (2) 3 üncü maddenin üçüncü fıkrasında belirtilen taşınmazlar, tahsis ve devir işlemleri sonuçlandırılıncaya kadar Maliye Bakanlığınca satılamaz, kiraya verilemez, tahsis edilemez, ön izne veya irtifak hakkına konu edilemez.

(3) Uygulama sırasında Bakanlık, TOKİ veya İdare tarafından talep edilmesi hâlinde, hak sahiplerinin de görüşü alınarak, riskli alanlardaki yapılar ile riskli yapılara elektrik, su ve doğal gaz verilmez ve verilen hizmetler kurum ve kuruluşlar tarafından durdurulur.

Tahliye ve yıktırma

MADDE 5- (1) Riskli yapıların yıktırılmasında ve bunların bulunduğu alanlar ile riskli alanlar ve rezerv yapı alanlarındaki uygulamalarda, öncelikli olarak malikler ile anlaşma yoluna gidilmesi esastır. Anlaşma ile tahliye edilen yapıların maliklerine veya malik olmasalar bile kiracı veya sınırlı ayni hak sahibi olarak bu yapılarda ikamet edenlere veya bu yapılarda işyeri bulunanlara geçici konut veya işyeri tahsisi ya da kira yardımı yapılabilir.

(2) Uygulamanın gerektirmesi hâlinde, birinci fıkrada belirtilenler dışında olup riskli yapıyı kullanmakta olan kişilere de birinci fıkra hükümleri uygulanabilir. Bu kişiler ile yapılacak olan anlaşmanın, bunlara yardım yapılmasının ve enkaz bedeli ödenmesinin usul ve esasları Bakanlığın teklifi üzerine Bakanlar Kurulunca belirlenir.

(3) Uygulamaya başlanmadan önce, riskli yapıların yıktırılması için, bu yapıların maliklerine altmış günden az olmamak üzere süre verilir. Bu süre içinde yapı, malik tarafından yıktırılmadığı takdirde, yapının idari makamlarca yıktırılacağı belirtilerek ve tekrar süre verilerek tebligatta bulunulur. Verilen bu süre içinde de maliklerince yıktırma yoluna gidilmediği takdirde, bu yapıların insandan ve eşyadan tahliyesi ve yıktırma işlemleri, yıktırma masrafı ile gereken diğer yardım ve krediler öncelikle dönüşüm projeleri özel hesabından karşılanmak üzere, mahallî idarelerin de iştiraki ile mülki amirler tarafından yapılır veya yaptırılır.

11582

(4) Birinci, ikinci ve üçüncü fıkralarda belirtilen usullere göre süresinde yıktırılmadığı tespit edilen riskli yapıların yıktırılması, Bakanlıkça yazılı olarak İdareye bildirilir. Buna rağmen yıktırılmadığı tespit edilen yapılar, Bakanlıkça yıkılır veya yıktırılır. Uygulamanın gerektirmesi hâlinde Bakanlık, yukarıdaki fıkralarda belirtilen tespit, tahliye ve yıktırma iş ve işlemlerini bizzat da yapabilir.

(5) (İptal birinci ve ikinci cümle: Anayasa Mahkemesi'nin 27/2/2014 tarihli ve E.: 2012/87, K.: 2014/41 sayılı Kararı ile.)[31]

[31] Sözkonusu İptal Kararı Resmi Gazete'de yayımlandığı 26/7/2014 tarihinden başlayarak üç ay sonra yürürlüğe girmiştir.

Uygulama işlemleri

MADDE 6- (1) Üzerindeki bina yıkılarak arsa hâline gelen taşınmazlarda daha önce kurulmuş olan kat irtifakı veya kat mülkiyeti, ilgililerin muvafakatleri aranmaksızın Bakanlığın talebi üzerine ilgili tapu müdürlüğünce resen terkin edilerek, önceki vasfı ile değerlemede bulunularak veya malik ile yapılan anlaşmanın şartları tapu kütüğünde belirtilerek malikleri adına payları oranında tescil edilir. Bu taşınmazların sicilinde bulunan taşınmazın niteliği, ayni ve şahsi haklar ile temlik hakkını kısıtlayan veya yasaklayan her türlü şerh, hisseler üzerinde devam eder. Bu şekilde belirlenen uygulama alanında cins değişikliği, tevhit ve ifraz işlemleri Bakanlık, TOKİ veya İdare tarafından resen yapılır veya yaptırılır. Bu parsellerin malikleri tarafından değerlendirilmesi esastır. Bu çerçevede, parsellerin tevhit edilmesine, münferit veya birleştirilerek veya imar adası bazında uygulama yapılmasına, yeniden bina yaptırılmasına, payların satışına, kat karşılığı veya hasılat paylaşımı ve diğer usuller ile yeniden değerlendirilmesine sahip oldukları hisseleri oranında paydaşların en az üçte iki çoğunluğu ile karar verilir. Bu karara katılmayanların bağımsız bölümlerine ilişkin arsa payları, Bakanlıkça rayiç değeri tespit ettirilerek bu değerden az olmamak üzere anlaşma sağlayan diğer paydaşlara açık artırma usulü ile satılır. Bu suretle paydaşlara satış gerçekleştirilemediği takdirde, bu paylar, Bakanlığın talebi üzerine, tespit edilen rayiç bedeli de Bakanlıkça ödenmek kaydı ile tapuda Hazine adına resen tescil edilir ve yapılan anlaşma çerçevesinde değerlendirilmek üzere Bakanlığa tahsis edilmiş sayılır veya Bakanlıkça uygun görülenler TOKİ'ye veya İdareye devredilir. Bu durumda, paydaşların kararı ile yapılan anlaşmaya uyularak işlem yapılır.

(2) Üzerindeki bina yıkılmış olan arsanın maliklerine yapılan tebligatı takip eden otuz gün içinde en az üçte iki çoğunluk ile anlaşma sağlanamaması hâlinde, gerçek kişilerin veya özel hukuk tüzel kişilerinin mülkiyetindeki taşınmazlar için Bakanlık, TOKİ veya İdare tarafından acele kamulaştırma yoluna da gidilebilir. Bu Kanun uyarınca yapılacak olan kamulaştırmalar, 4/11/1983 tarihli ve 2942 sayılı Kamulaştırma Kanununun 3 üncü maddesinin ikinci fıkrasındaki iskân projelerinin gerçekleştirilmesi amaçlı kamulaştırma sayılır ve ilk taksit ödemesi, mezkûr fıkraya göre belirlenen tutarların beşte biri oranında yapılır. Tapuda mülkiyet hanesi açık olan taşınmazlar ile mirasçısı belirli olmayan, kayyım tayin edilmiş, ihtilaflı veya üzerinde sınırlı ayni hak tesis edilmiş olan taşınmazların kamulaştırma işlemleri aynı madde hükümlerine ta-

bidir. Bakanlık, TOKİ veya İdare; kamulaştırma işlemlerinin yürütülmesi için mirasçılık belgesi çıkartmaya, kayyım tayin ettirmeye veya tapuda kayıtlı son malike göre işlem yapmaya yetkilidir.

11583

Tapuda kayıtlı malikin ölmüş olması hâlinde Bakanlık, TOKİ veya İdare, kamulaştırma işlemi için mirasçılık belgesi çıkartabileceği gibi, gerekiyorsa tapu sicilinde idari müracaat veya dava yolu ile kayıt düzeltme de isteyebilir. Kamulaştırma için anlaşma sağlanması hâlinde, Bakanlık, TOKİ veya İdare ile ilgililer arasında taşınmazın tescil veya terkinine ilişkin ferağ ve muvafakati de ihtiva eden sözleşme ve uzlaşma tutanağı tanzim edilir ve ilgili tapu müdürlüğüne gönderilerek kamulaştırmanın resen tapu siciline işlenmesi sağlanır.

(3) Anlaşma ile tahliye edilen, yıktırılan veya kamulaştırılan yapıların maliklerine ve malik olmasalar bile bu yapılarda kiracı veya sınırlı ayni hak sahibi olarak en az bir yıldır ikamet ettiği veya bunlarda işyeri bulunduğu tespit edilenlere konut, işyeri, arsa veya dönüşüm projeleri özel hesabından kredi veya mülkiyet ya da sınırlı ayni hak sağlayan ve usul ve esasları Bakanlıkça belirlenen konut sertifikası verilebilir. Bunlardan konutunu ve işyerini kendi imkânları ile yapmak veya edinmek isteyenlere de kredi verilebilir. 20/7/1966 tarihli ve 775 sayılı Gecekondu Kanununa göre yoksul veya dar gelirli olarak kabul edilenlere verilecek olan konut veya işyerleri; Bakanlık, TOKİ veya İdare tarafından, 15/5/1959 tarihli ve 7269 sayılı Umumi Hayata Müessir Afetler Dolayısiyle Alınacak Tedbirlerle Yapılacak Yardımlara Dair Kanunda belirtilen usul ve esaslar uyarınca borçlandırma suretiyle de verilebilir.

(4) Riskli alanlarda, rezerv yapı alanlarında ve riskli yapıların bulunduğu taşınmazlar üzerinde yapımı gerçekleştirilen konutların bedelleri, gerekli görüldüğünde, proje uygulamalarının yapıldığı illerdeki mevcut ekonomik durum, tabii afetin ortaya çıkardığı durumlar, konut rayiç ve enkaz bedelleri ile uygulama alanındaki kişilerin mal varlığı ve geliri göz önünde bulundurularak Bakanlar Kurulu kararı ile yapım maliyetlerinin altında tespit edilebilir ve sosyal donatı ve altyapı harcamaları uygulama maliyetine dâhil edilmeyebilir.

(5) Bakanlık;

a) Riskli yapılara, rezerv yapı alanlarına ve riskli yapıların bulunduğu taşınmazlara ilişkin her tür harita, plan, proje, arazi ve arsa düzenleme işlemleri ile toplulaştırma yapmaya,

b) Bu alanlarda bulunan taşınmazları satın almaya, ön alım hakkını kullanmaya, bağımsız bölümler de dâhil olmak üzere taşınmazları trampaya, taşınmaz mülkiyetini veya imar haklarını başka bir alana aktarmaya,

c) Aynı alanlara ilişkin taşınmaz mülkiyetini anlaşma sağlanmak kaydı ile menkul değere dönüştürmeye,

ç) Kamu ve özel sektör işbirliğine dayanan usuller uygulamaya, kat veya hasılat karşılığı usulleri de dâhil olmak üzere inşaat yapmaya veya yaptırmaya, arsa paylarını belirlemeye,

d) 23/6/1965 tarihli ve 634 sayılı Kat Mülkiyeti Kanunundaki esaslara göre paylaştırmaya, payları ayırmaya veya birleştirmeye, 22/11/2001 tarihli ve 4721 sayılı Türk Medenî Kanunu uyarınca sınırlı ayni hak tesis etmeye,

yetkilidir. (ç) bendinde belirtilen uygulamalar, 4/1/2002 tarihli ve 4734 sayılı Kamu İhale Kanununa tabi idareler ile iş birliği içinde veya gerçek ve özel hukuk tüzel kişileri ile özel hukuka tabi anlaşmalar çerçevesinde de yapılabilir.

11584

(6) Bakanlık, riskli alanlardaki ve rezerv yapı alanlarındaki uygulamalarda faydalanılmak üzere; özel kanunlar ile öngörülen alanlara ilişkin olanlar da dâhil, her tür ve ölçekteki planlama işlemlerine esas teşkil edecek standartları belirlemeye ve gerek görülmesi hâlinde bu standartları plan kararları ile tayin etmeye veya özel standartlar ihtiva eden planlar yapmaya, onaylamaya ve kent tasarımları hazırlamaya yetkilidir.

(7) Bu Kanun çerçevesinde dönüştürmeye tabi tutulan taşınmazların, üzerindeki köhnemiş yapılar da dâhil olmak üzere, muhdesatı ile birlikte değer tespiti işlemleri ve dönüşüm ile oluşacak taşınmazların değerlemeleri Bakanlık, TOKİ veya İdarece yapılır veya yaptırılır.

(8) Riskli alan ve rezerv yapı alanı dışında olup da bu Kanunun öngördüğü amaçlar bakımından güçlendirilebileceği teknik olarak tespit edilen yapılar için, Bakanlar Kurulunca belirlenen usul ve esaslar çerçevesinde Bakanlıkça dönüşüm projeleri özel hesabından güçlendirme kredisi verilebilir.

(9) Bu Kanun uyarınca tesis edilen idari işlemlere karşı tebliğ tarihinden itibaren otuz gün içinde 6/1/1982 tarihli ve 2577 sayılı İdari Yargılama Usulü Kanunu uyarınca dava açılabilir. (İptal ikinci cümle: Anayasa Mahkemesi'nin 1/3/2014 tarihli ve 27/2/2014 tarihli E.: 2012/87 ve K.:2014/41 sayılı Kararı ile.) (...)

(10) (İptal: Anayasa Mahkemesi'nin 1/3/2014 tarihli ve 27/2/2014 tarihli E.: 2012/87 ve K.:2014/41 sayılı Kararı ile.)[32]

(11) Bu Kanun hükümlerine göre Maliye Bakanlığınca Bakanlığa tahsis edilerek tasarrufuna bırakılan veya Bakanlığın talebi üzerine TOKİ'ye veya İdareye devredilen taşınmazlar üzerinde bu Kanun kapsamındaki uygulamalara bağlı olarak meydana gelen yeni taşınmazlar Bakanlığın, TOKİ'nin veya İdarenin isteği üzerine, kendileri ile anlaşma sağlanan gerçek kişiler veya mirasçıları ile tüzel kişiler adına tapuya tescil olunur.

(12) Bakanlık, bu Kanunda belirtilen iş ve işlemlere ilişkin olarak TOKİ'ye veya İdareye yetki devrine ve bu iş ve işlemlerden hangilerinin TOKİ veya İdare tarafından yapılacağını belirlemeye yetkilidir.

[32] Sözkonusu İptal Kararı Resmi Gazete'de yayımlandığı 26/7/2014 tarihinden başlayarak üç ay sonra yürürlüğe girmiştir

Üçüncü Bölüm

Dönüşüm Gelirleri ve Diğer Hükümler

Dönüşüm gelirleri

MADDE 7- (1) Bu Kanunda öngörülen amaçlar için kullanılmak üzere aşağıda sayılan gelirler, dönüşüm gelirleri olarak ilgili yıl genel bütçesinin (B) işaretli cetvelinde özel gelir olarak öngörülür ve gelir gerçekleşmesine bağlı olarak gelir kaydedilir:

a) 9/8/1983 tarihli ve 2872 sayılı Çevre Kanunu gereğince, çevre katkı payı ve idari para cezası olarak tahsil edilerek genel bütçeye gelir kaydedilecek tutarın yüzde ellisi.

b) 31/8/1956 tarihli ve 6831 sayılı Orman Kanununun 2 nci maddesinin birinci fıkrasının (B) bendine göre Hazine adına orman dışına çıkarılan yerlerin satışından elde edilen gelirlerin yüzde doksanını geçmemek üzere Bakanlar Kurulu kararı ile belirlenen orana tekabül eden tutar.

c) İller Bankası Anonim Şirketinin Hazine gelirleri ve faiz gelirleri dışındaki banka faaliyetleri ile 26/1/2011 tarihli ve 6107 sayılı İller Bankası Anonim Şirketi Hakkında Kanunun 3 üncü maddesinin birinci fıkrası uyarınca yapacağı faaliyetlerden elde edeceği kârın yüzde ellisi.

11585

(2) İlgili yıl genel bütçesinin (B) işaretli cetvelinde özel gelir olarak tahmin edilen dönüşüm gelirleri karşılığı tutar, Bakanlık bütçesinde özel ödenek olarak öngörülür. Ödenek tutarını aşan gelir gerçekleşmeleri karşılığında ödenek eklemeye Çevre ve Şehircilik Bakanı yetkilidir. Özel gelir ve ödenek kaydedilen tutarlardan yılı içinde harcanmayan kısımları ertesi yıl bütçelerine devren gelir ve ödenek kaydetmeye Maliye Bakanı yetkilidir.

(3) Gerektiğinde dönüşüm faaliyetlerinde kullanılmak üzere Bakanlık bütçesinde özel ödenek dışındaki mevcut veya yeni açılacak tertiplere, genel bütçenin diğer tertiplerinden ödenek aktarmaya Maliye Bakanı yetkilidir. Bu tertiplerde yılı içinde kullanılmayan tutarlar, ertesi yıla devredilemez.

(4) Bu madde kapsamındaki ödenekler, Bakanlığın merkez muhasebe birimi adına açılacak dönüşüm projeleri özel hesabına aktarılmak suretiyle kullanılır. Bakanlığın dönüşüm faaliyetlerine ilişkin giderleri, 14/7/1965 tarihli ve 657 sayılı Devlet Memurları Kanunu ile diğer kanunların sözleşmeli personel çalıştırılmasına dair hükümlerine bağlı kalınmaksızın çalıştırılacak sözleşmeli personel giderleri de dâhil olmak üzere, dönüşüm projeleri özel hesabından karşılanır. Bu madde kapsamındaki ödenekler ile

dönüşüm projeleri özel hesabından yapılacak kullanımlar yılı yatırım programı ile ilişkilendirilmez.

(5) Bu Kanunda öngörülen amaçlar için kullanılmak üzere;

a) Bu Kanunda öngörülen uygulamalar sonucunda elde edilecek her türlü gelir ve hasılat,

b) Bakanlığa tahsis veya devredilen taşınmazlardan imar uygulamasına tabi tutulması sonucunda tapuda Hazine adına

tescil edilenlerin satışından elde edilecek gelirler,

c) Dönüşüm projeleri özel hesabından kullandırılan krediler kapsamında ilgili kişi veya kuruluşlarca yapılan geri

ödemeler ile bu kapsamda tahsil edilen gecikme zamları,

ç) Her türlü şartlı veya şartsız bağış ve yardımlar ile sair gelirler,

dönüşüm projeleri özel hesabına gelir olarak kaydedilir. Birinci fıkranın (c) bendinde belirtilen tutar, hesap dönemini

takip eden yılın mayıs ayı sonuna kadar Bakanlığın merkez muhasebe birimine aktarılır. Bu Kanun kapsamındaki uygulamalara yönelik olarak Bakanlık tarafından sağlanacak kredilerin vadesi geçtiği hâlde geri ödenmeyen kısımları, 21/7/1953 tarihli ve 6183 sayılı Amme Alacaklarının Tahsil Usulü Hakkında Kanun hükümlerine göre vergi dairelerince takip ve tahsil edilir.

(6) Bu Kanun kapsamında sağlanması öngörülen krediler ile dönüşüm faaliyetleri kapsamında yapılacak konutlara ilişkin, hak sahiplerince bankalardan kullanılacak kredilere dönüşüm projeleri özel hesabından karşılanmak üzere faiz desteği verilebilir. Bu işlemlere ve verilecek desteğe ilişkin usul ve esaslar Hazine Müsteşarlığının bağlı bulunduğu Bakanın teklifi üzerine Bakanlar Kurulunca belirlenir.

(7) Bakanlık, dönüşüm projeleri özel hesabı gelirlerinin elde edilmesi, tahsili ve takibi ile bu hesaba bütçeden aktarılan tutarların dönüşüm faaliyetleri kapsamında yürütülecek hibe veya borç verme programlarında kullanımı, her türlü yapım, mal ve hizmet alımına ilişkin taahhütlere girişilmesi, giderleştirilmesi, muhasebeleştirilmesi, denetimi ve özel hesabın işleyişine ilişkin diğer usul ve esasları, Maliye Bakanlığının uygun görüşünü alarak belirlemeye yetkilidir.

11586

(8) Bu Kanun kapsamında uygulamada bulunacak olan belediyeler, yatırıma ilişkin yıllık bütçelerinin yüzde beşi ile 26/5/1981 tarihli ve 2464 sayılı Belediye Gelirleri

Kanununun 80 inci maddesi uyarınca tahsil edilen harç gelirlerinin yüzde ellisini, bu Kanunda öngörülen uygulamalara ayırmak zorundadır.

(9) Bu Kanun uyarınca yapılacak olan işlem, sözleşme, devir ve tesciller ile uygulamalar, noter harcı, tapu harcı, belediyelerce alınan harçlar, damga vergisi, veraset ve intikal vergisi, döner sermaye ücreti ve diğer ücretlerden; kullandırılan krediler sebebiyle lehe alınacak paralar ise banka ve sigorta muameleleri vergisinden müstesnadır.

(10) Gerçek kişilerce ve özel hukuk tüzel kişilerince uygulamada bulunulan riskli alanlardaki yapıların mevcut alanları için daha önce belediyelerce alınan harç ve ücretlere ilave olarak, sadece kullanım maksadı değişiklikleri ile yapı alanındaki artışlar için hesaplanan harç ve ücret farkları alınır.

(11) Bu Kanunda belirtilen iş, işlem ve hizmetlere tahsis edilmiş olan taşınır ve taşınmazlar ile her türlü hak ve alacaklar, para ve para hükmündeki kıymetli evrak, kamu yararı amacına tahsis edilmiş sayılır ve bunlar hakkında haciz ve tedbir uygulanamaz.

(12) Bakanlık, bu Kanun kapsamındaki uygulamalarda kullanılmak üzere dönüşüm projeleri özel hesabından TOKİ, İdare ve İller Bankası Anonim Şirketine kaynak aktarabilir. İller Bankası Anonim Şirketine aktarılan kaynak, Bankanın gelir ve gider hesapları ile ilişkilendirilmeksizin Dönüşüm Projeleri Özel Hesabının işleyişine ilişkin usul ve esaslar çerçevesinde kullanılır.

(13) Bu maddede öngörülen gelirler, bu Kanunun amaçları dışında kullanılamaz.

Çeşitli hükümler

MADDE 8- (1) (İptal: Anayasa Mahkemesi'nin 1/3/2014 tarihli ve 27/2/2014 tarihli E.: 2012/87 ve K.:2014/41 sayılı Kararı ile.)

(2) Bakanlık, TOKİ ve İdare; danışmanlık, yazılım, araştırma, her tür ve ölçekte harita, etüt, proje, kadastro, kamulaştırma, mikro bölgeleme, risk yönetimi ve sakınım planı çalışmalarını, her tür ve ölçekte plan yapımı ve imar uygulaması işlerini ve dönüşüm uygulamalarını, 4734 sayılı Kanun kapsamındaki idareler ile akdedecekleri protokoller çerçevesinde 4734 sayılı Kanuna tabi olmaksızın ortak hizmet uygulamaları suretiyle de gerçekleştirebilirler.

(3) Riskli yapıların tespiti, tahliyesi ve yıktırma iş ve işlemleri ile değerleme işlemlerini engelleyenler hakkında, işlenen fiil ve hâlin durumuna göre 26/9/2004 tarihli ve 5237 sayılı Türk Ceza Kanununun ilgili hükümleri uyarınca Cumhuriyet

başsavcılığına suç duyurusunda bulunulur. Riskli yapıların tespiti, bu yapıların tahliyesi ve yıktırılması iş ve işlemlerine dair görevlerinin gereklerini yerine getirmeyen kamu görevlileri hakkında, tabi oldukları ceza ve disiplin hükümleri uygulanır.

(4) Bakanlık, TOKİ ve İdare; bu Kanun kapsamındaki uygulamalarda, uygulama süresini aşmamak kaydı ile 657 sayılı Kanun ile diğer kanunların sözleşmeli personel çalıştırılmasına dair hükümlerine bağlı kalmaksızın, özel bilgi ve ihtisas gerektiren konularda sözleşmeli personel çalıştırabilir. Bu suretle çalıştırılacakların unvanı, sayısı, ücretleri ile diğer hususlar Bakanlar Kurulunca belirlenir.

11587

(5) Bu Kanun kapsamındaki işler ile ilgili olarak valilikler, belediyeler ve diğer kamu kurumları personelinden Bakanlık emrinde geçici olarak görevlendirilenler hakkında 657 sayılı Kanunun ek 8 inci maddesinin birinci fıkrasının (d) bendinde yer alan süre sınırlaması uygulanmaz.

(6) Bu Kanun uyarınca yapılacak anlaşmaların usul ve esasları Bakanlıkça belirlenir.

(7) Riskli yapıların tespit edilmesine veya ettirilmesine dair usul ve esaslar, risklilik kriterleri, riskli yapıların tespitinde ve itirazların değerlendirilmesinde görev alacak teknik heyet ve diğer komisyonlar ile bu Kanunun uygulanmasına dair diğer usul ve esaslar, Bakanlıkça hazırlanacak yönetmelikler ile düzenlenir.

(8) Riskli yapı tespitlerine karşı yapılacak itirazları inceleyip karara bağlayacak teknik heyetlerde üniversiteler tarafından görevlendirileceklere, fiilen görev yaptıkları her gün için, (4.000) gösterge rakamının memur aylık katsayısı ile çarpımı sonucunda bulunacak tutarda huzur hakkı ödenir. Bir ayda fiilen görev yapılan gün sayısının beşi aşması hâlinde, aşan günler için huzur hakkı ödenmez.

(9) Türkiye Radyo-Televizyon Kurumu ile ulusal, bölgesel ve yerel yayın yapan özel televizyon kuruluşları ve radyolar, ayda en az doksan dakika afet, afet risklerinin azaltılması ve kentsel dönüşüm konularında uyarıcı ve eğitici mahiyette yayınlar yapmak zorundadır. Bu yayınlar, asgari otuz dakikası 17:00-22:00 saatleri arasında olmak üzere, 08:00- 22:00 saatleri arasında yapılır ve yayınların kopyaları her ay düzenli olarak Radyo ve Televizyon Üst Kuruluna teslim edilir. Bu saatler dışında yapılan yayınlar, aylık doksan dakikalık süreye dâhil edilmez. Bu programlar, Bakanlık, Radyo ve Televizyon Üst Kurulu ile ilgili diğer kamu kurum ve kuruluşları ile bilimsel kuruluşlar, kamu kurumu niteliğindeki meslek kuruluşları veya sivil toplum kuruluşları tarafından hazırlanır veya hazırlatılır. Hazırlanan programların, Bakanlığın olumlu görüşü alındıktan sonra Radyo ve Televizyon Üst Kurulu tarafından radyo ve

televizyonlarda yayınlanması sağlanır. Bu fıkra kapsamında yapılan yayınlar için herhangi bir bedel ödenmez. Bu yayınların ve sürelerinin denetimi Radyo ve Televizyon Üst Kurulunca yapılır.

Uygulanmayacak mevzuat

MADDE 9- (1) (İptal birinci cümle: Anayasa Mahkemesi'nin 1/3/2014 tarihli ve 27/2/2014 tarihli E.: 2012/87 ve K.:2014/41 sayılı Kararı ile.) (...) Bu Kanuna tabi riskli yapılar, riskli alanlar ve rezerv yapı alanları hakkında 7269 sayılı Kanunun uygulanıyor olması bu Kanunun uygulanmasına engel teşkil etmez.

(2) (İptal: Anayasa Mahkemesi'nin 1/3/2014 tarihli ve 27/2/2014 tarihli E.: 2012/87 ve K.:2014/41 sayılı Kararı ile.)

(3) 2863 sayılı Kanun ve 5366 sayılı Kanun kapsamındaki alanlarda uygulamada bulunulması hâlinde alanın sit statüsü de gözetilerek Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığının görüşü alınır.

Dördüncü Bölüm

Diğer Mevzuatta Yapılan Değişiklikler ve Son Hükümler

MADDE 10- (31/8/1956 tarihli ve 6831 sayılı Kanun ile ilgili olup yerine işlenmiştir.)

MADDE 11- (20/7/1966 tarihli ve 775 sayılı Kanun ile ilgili olup yerine işlenmiştir.)

MADDE 12- (4/11/1983 tarihli ve 2942 sayılı Kanun ile ilgili olup yerine işlenmiştir.)

11589

MADDE 13- (2/3/1984 tarihli ve 2985 sayılı Toplu Konut Kanunu ile ilgili olup yerine işlenmiştir.)

MADDE 14- (3/5/1985 tarihli ve 3194 sayılı Kanun ile ilgili olup yerine işlenmiştir.)

MADDE 15-16 - (16/6/2005 tarihli ve 5366 sayılı Kanun ile ilgili olup yerine işlenmiştir.)

MADDE 17- (3/7/2005 tarihli ve 5393 sayılı Belediye Kanunu ile ilgili olup yerine işlenmiştir.)

MADDE 18- (19/9/2006 tarihli ve 5543 sayılı İskân Kanunu ile ilgili olup yerine işlenmiştir.)

MADDE 19- (29/6/2011 tarihli ve 644 sayılı Çevre ve Şehircilik Bakanlığının Teşkilat ve Görevleri Hakkında Kanun

Hükmünde Kararname ile ilgili olup yerine işlenmiştir.)

MADDE 20- Ekli (1) sayılı listedeki kadrolar ihdas edilerek 13/12/1983 tarihli ve 190 sayılı Genel Kadro ve Usulü Hakkında

Kanun Hükmünde Kararnamenin eki (I) sayılı cetvelin Çevre ve Şehircilik Bakanlığına ait bölümüne eklenmiştir.[33]

MADDE 21- (26/1/2011 tarihli ve 6107 sayılı Kanun ile ilgili olup yerine işlenmiştir.)

MADDE 22- (23/9/1980 tarinli ve 2302 sayılı Kanun ile ilgili olup yerine işlenmiş ve 11/8/1983 tarihli ve 2876 sayılı Atatürk Kültür, Dil ve Tarih Yüksek Kurumu Kanununun 104 üncü maddesi yürürlükten kaldırılmıştır.)

MADDE 23- 24/2/1984 tarihli ve 2981 sayılı İmar ve Gecekondu Mevzuatına Aykırı Yapılara Uygulanacak Bazı İşlemler ve 6785 Sayılı İmar Kanununun Bir Maddesinin Değiştirilmesi Hakkında Kanun yürürlükten kaldırılmıştır.

Devir ve tahsislerin iptali

[33] Bu maddede yer alan kadrolarla ilgili olarak 31/5/2012 tarihli ve 28309 sayılı Resmi Gazete'ye bakınız.

GEÇİCİ MADDE 1- (1) 775, 5366 ve 5393 sayılı kanunlar ile 29/6/2001 tarihli ve 4706 sayılı Hazineye Ait Taşınmaz Malların Değerlendirilmesi ve Katma Değer Vergisi Kanununda Değişiklik Yapılması Hakkında Kanun ve diğer kanunlar kapsamındaki dönüşüm ve iyileştirme uygulamaları için TOKİ'ye, İdareye ve diğer kamu idarelerine tahsis ve devredilmiş olup da tahsisin yapıldığı veya mülkiyetin devredildiği tarihten itibaren iki yıl içinde dönüşüm ve iyileştirme uygulaması başlatılmayan taşınmazların tahsisleri resen kaldırılır ve devir işlemi de iptal edilmiş sayılarak, tapuda resen Hazine adına tescil ve Bakanlığın talebi üzerine bu Kanunun öngördüğü amaçlar için kullanılmak üzere Maliye Bakanlığınca Bakanlığa tahsis edilir.

Gerçekleşen dönüşüm gelirleri

GEÇİCİ MADDE 2- (1) 7 nci maddede belirtilen dönüşüm gelirlerinden 2012 yılında gerçekleşen tutarlar, genel bütçenin (B) işaretli cetveline özel gelir kaydedilir. Gelir kaydedilen bu tutarlar karşılığında Bakanlık bütçesine özel ödenek kaydetmeye Çevre ve Şehircilik Bakanı yetkilidir.

Yürürlük

MADDE 24- (1) Bu Kanunun;

a) 19 uncu maddesinin (a) bendi ile değiştirilen 644 sayılı Kanun Hükmünde Kararnamenin 2 nci maddesinin birinci fıkrasının (e) bendi ile 23 üncü maddesi yayımı tarihinden altı yıl sonra,[34] b) Diğer hükümleri yayımı tarihinde, yürürlüğe girer.

Yürütme

MADDE 25- (1) Bu Kanun hükümlerini Bakanlar Kurulu yürütür.

[34] 27/3/2015 tarihli ve 6639 sayılı Kanunun 38 inci maddesiyle bu bentte yer alan "üç yıl" ibaresi "altı yıl" olarak değiştirilmiştir.

11590

6306 SAYILI KANUNA EK VE DEĞİŞİKLİK GETİREN MEVZUATIN VEYA ANAYASA MAHKEMESİ TARAFINDAN İPTAL EDİLEN HÜKÜMLERİN YÜRÜRLÜĞE GİRİŞ TARİHİNİ GÖSTERİR LİSTE

Değiştiren Kanunun/ İptal Eden Anayasa Mahkemesinin Kararının Numarası	6306 sayılı Kanunun değişen veya iptal edilen maddeleri	Yürürlüğe Giriş Tarihi
Anayasa Mahkemesi'nin 27/2/2014 tarihli E.: 2012/87 ve K.: 2014/5 (Yürürlüğü Durdurma) sayılı Kararı	6, 9	1/3/2014
Anayasa Mahkemesi'nin 1/3/2014 tarihli ve 27/2/2014 tarihli E.: 2012/87 ve K.:2014/41 sayılı Kararı	3 üncü maddenin birinci fıkrasının yedinci ve sekizinci cümleleri, 4 üncü maddenin birinci fıkrası, 5 inci maddenin beşinci fıkrasının birinci ve ikinci cümleleri 3 üncü maddenin dördüncü, yedinci fıkraları, 6 ncı maddenin dokuzuncu fıkrasının ikinci cümlesi ve 10 uncu fıkrası, 8 inci maddenin birinci fıkrası, 9 uncu maddenin birinci fıkrasının birinci cümlesi ve ikinci fıkrası	26/7/2014 tarihinden başlayarak üç ay sonra 26/7/2014
6639	24	15/4/2015 ..