SOCIO-SPATIAL ANALYSIS OF URBAN RENEWAL

IN THE CASE OF RELOCATING KADIFEKALE INHABITANTS TO TOKI UZUNDERE

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Approval of the Graduate School of Social Sciences

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ABSTRACT

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Urban renewal has a very important role not only in terms of physical but also in terms of social aspect. According to the state representatives responsible for urban renewal projects, urban renewal aims to support people with low income, to provide better conditions, new skills and employment. On the other hand, there is a critical approach that evaluates urban renewal projects by highlighting the fact that these districts are regenerated not only physically but also socially.

In this sense, Kadifekale urban renewal project is taken as the focus of a case study in this thesis. This urban renewal project is aimed at relocating Kadifekale inhabitants from their homes in Kadifekale to new apartment blocks in TOKI Uzundere Public Housing Project. However, as reported in recent studies, many of these people are unwilling to exchange their houses for the new apartments, in spite of the fact that these have been represented as the "perfect solution" in regard to socio-spatial factors by the authorities of the urban renewal project.

In short, it can be claimed that since the living spaces of the inhabitants have been changed through the urban renewal process, this master thesis aims to merge different concepts of urban renewal by associating space with the social relations, while it analyzes changing spatial conditions and their consequences on the social aspects of Kadifekale inhabitants' daily life practices. In this case, socio-spatial issues are considered as the elements of social space concept, and they are considered under three approaches (which are spatial triad, strategy versus tactic,

and space versus place theories). Moreover, the research question can be built on how urban renewal may affect the way inhabitants of Kadifekale used to live or experience the daily practices. The hypothesis of this thesis is based on the idea that urban renewal project may not be appropriate for the social and spatial needs and demands of the inhabitants. In respect to that, while the spatial dimension of the research includes the comparative analysis of the physical conditions of Kadifekale neighborhood and TOKI Uzundere public housing units, the social dimension comprises the predicted social dissonances and problems form the social dimension of the case study.

ÖZET

KADİFEKALE HALKININ TOKI UZUNDERE'YE YENİDEN YERLEŞTİRİLMESİ ÖRNEĞİNDE KENTSEL DÖNÜŞÜMÜN SOSYO-MEKANSAL ANALİZİ

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Kentsel dönüşüm, fiziksel boyutta olduğu kadar sosyal bağlamda da oldukça önemli bir role sahiptir. Devlet temsilcilerinin beyan ettiği şekline göre ise, ele alınan kentsel dönüşüm projeleriyle, düşük gelirli insanları daha iyi koşullar altında yaşatmak, onların beceri ve yeni iş kazanmalarını sağlamak amacıyla desteklenmesinin hedeflenmiş olduğu öne sürülmektedir. Öte yandan, kentsel dönüşüm projelerini, bu bölgelerin sadece fiziksel değil, sosyal olarak da yeniden oluşturulduğunun altını çizerek değerlendiren eleştirel bir yaklaşım da bulunmaktadır.

Bu bağlamda, Kadifekale için planlanan Kentsel Dönüşüm Projesi, bu yüksek lisans tezinde bir örnek alan çalışması olarak ele alınmıştır. Bu kentsel dönüşüm projesinde, Kadifekale'de yaşayan kişileri kendi evlerinden alarak TOKİ Uzundere Toplu Konut Projesi'ndeki yeni apartman bloklarına taşımak amaçlanmıştır. Yapılan çalışmalarda görüldüğü üzere, bu kişiler, yeni apartmanlara taşınma konusunda isteksiz olsalar da, kentsel dönüşüm projesi adına toplumsal-mekansal yönleriyle "kusursuz" çözüm olarak gösterilmiş olan TOKİ Uzundere'ye taşınmak zorunda bırakılmışlardır.

Özetle, kentsel dönüşüm sürecinde halkın yaşadığı mekanların değişimi sebebiyle, bu yüksek lisans tezi, kentsel dönüşüm kavramlarını mekanı sosyal boyutla ilişkilendirerek çözümlemeyi amaçlarken, değişen mekan koşullarını ve Kadifekale halkının günlük yaşam pratikleri bakımından sosyal safhada sonuçlarını incelemektedir. Bu bağlamda, sosyo-mekansal konular sosyal mekanın parçaları

olarak görülüp, üç anakol olan mekan üçlemesi, stratejiye karşı taktik ve mekana karşı yer teorileri ile ele alınmaktadır. Bunun yanısıra, araştırma sorusu, Kadifekale'de yaşayanların alışkın oldukları yaşama biçimleri ve günlük uygulamalarını nasıl etkilendiği konusuna dayanarak kurulmaktadır. Projenin varsayımı, kentsel dönüşüm projesinin sosyal ve mekansal olarak, yaşayanların gereksinim ve talepleri ile uyuşmadığı fikri üzerine kurulabilmektedir. Buna ilişkin olarak, araştırmanın mekansal boyutu, Kadifekale çevresi ve TOKİ Uzundere konutlarının fiziksel koşullarını içerirken, sosyal boyutu ise örnek alan çalışmasında öngörülen toplumsal uyumsuzlukları ve sorunları kapsamaktadır.

Anahtar Sözcükler: Kentsel dönüşüm, sosyal mekan, mekan üçlemesi, strateji, taktik, yer, Kadifekale, TOKİ Uzundere.

Dedicated with love to the memory of my parents, Esma and Serdar Eranıl.

She gave me the greatest gift a mother can give a child, the desire to excel.

He taught me to be strong of heart and to stand tall.

It is also for my husband Reşat, whose love and support

has equalled theirs, with all of my love.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

To be modern…is to experience personal and social life as a maelstrom, to find oneself in perpetual disintegration and renewal, trouble and anguish, ambiguity and contradiction: to be a part of a universe in which all that is solid melts into air.

Marshall Berman*, All that is Solid Melts into Air*

1.1. Problem Definition

Urban renewal can be described as being mainly based on finding integrated solutions for physical, economical and social urban problems since the industrial revolution, in the world and more recently in Turkey. The urban renewal notion has become more important as it is focused on creating better conditions and living quarters in cities. Moreover, as Budak mentions, in some resources it is stated that apart from physical, economical and social change in urban field, urban renewal has another function, regenerating and healing the area of slum houses (Budak, 2007). In addition to that, there are many components of urban renewal notion. Some of

these are renovation, revitalization, rehabilitation, regeneration and gentrification[1] (Scherer and College, 2007).

From the historical perspective, because of Industrial Revolution, it can be noticed that industrial cities have become surrounded by pollution and unhealthy housing areas with low living conditions and insufficient infrastructure systems. In the second half of the nineteenth century, urban renewal projects appeared which involved wide streets and boulevards in the city centers in order to keep cities cleaner and healthier. However, it can be seen that the notion of urban renewal has come onto the agenda seriously in the policies of 1980s that were applied to the physically and socially distress areas of non-industrialized cities. In particular, with competition between global cities, and the strategically growing importance of the city towns and increasing interest in historical areas, city centers have become the core interest of urban renewal projects (Karadağ, 2008).

Although the economical and physical aspects of urban renewal projects have loomed large, these projects have also a very important role in communal and social

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[1] The term "gentrification" was used by the sociologist Ruth Glass for the first time in 1964 as London's middle and upper class people had started to buy properties from labor neighborhood and turned them into luxurious and elegant housing units which had changed the social character of that area (Glass, 1963; quoted by: Ergün, 2006). According to Griffith, although gentrification includes the internal migration of the middle and upper class families to the central neighborhoods in which low-income inhabitants live and the improvement of that area of existing housing stocks (Griffith, 1995), Islam mentions that many additional operations have layered on top of that foundation (Islam, T. 2003). In addition to that, today's government policies declare the gentrification process as an effective progress in terms of urban renewal projects.

fields, as their main concern should be increasing life quality. In this sense, urban renewal projects are represented as the solutions to support low income people in order to improve living conditions, promote skills and new jobs. On the other hand, it is significant that supporting the groups living in insanitary districts in the city and regenerating these districts not only physically but also socially should be one of the major concerns. In this case, the urban renewal project in Kadifekale, Izmir is taken as the core of the study subject in this master thesis.

As one of the urban renewal project site in Izmir, Izmir Metropolitan Municipality has chosen Kadifekale district, which contains 7324 housing units accommodating inhabitants that are mainly from Mardin[2]. This urban renewal project aims to relocate Kadifekale inhabitants from their homes in Kadifekale to newly constructed apartment blocks in the TOKI Uzundere Public Housing Project[3]. Although these people are reluctant to exchange their houses for the new apartments, they were persuaded to move to TOKI, represented as the "perfect solution" in socio-spatial aspects on behalf of urban renewal project. But underneath this one-sided representation, however the force of the governmental mechanisms which are accepted as authority, and the injustice of the obligatory rural migration are clearly seen. In spite of this, the main reason for moving the inhabitants from their houses to the apartment buildings is explained as a municipal policy to prevent them from being affected by landslide which is a serious potential threat in Kadifekale.

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[2] The information is gained by the interview with Abdülaziz Turan who is the neighborhood headman of Kadifekale, on 16 May 2010.

[3] TOKI (Toplu Konut İdaresi Başkanlığı) stands for "Housing Development Administration of Turkey". TOKI Uzundere Housing Project will be referred as TOKI throughout this master thesis.

Secondly, after providing those "suitable" living conditions, the municipality aims to give them modern city life necessities to enable their children grow up in a healthy environment. On the other side, in order to create a solution to landslide danger in Kadifekale, it is affirmed that the district will be made safe and developed as an attraction center of Izmir after the relocation of the inhabitants (who are used to live in the landslide area of) Kadifekale to TOKI Uzundere housing units. According to the plans of Izmir Metropolitan Municipality, the region will be considered as a recreation area; however, this aspect is not a focus of this thesis.

Since TOKI Uzundere and Kadifekale district has been selected for Izmir Metropolitan Municipality's urban renewal project, it is possible to obtain many negative representations and public discourses of Kadifekale district, as well as positive ones about TOKI Uzundere. In this sense, it may be claimed that the sanction of the transformative power of the practices goes beyond the individual units and the project itself. It extends to reshaping the urban image, which the state tries to control and "beautify". In TOKI Uzundere case, the separate housing units and apartment blocks are represented as the milestones of the promised "modern" life style which is characterized by the construction of "good and beautiful housing". As Ghannam states, the image of modernization is matched with progress, scientific solutions, rational planning, statistical facts, the importance of international investment, separation of the home from the workplace, creating personal and

public hygiene, family structure, clean environment, child rearing, etc. (Ghannam, 2002) [4].

According to Ghannam, the modern apartment objectifies the state's understanding of modernity. After relocation to new public housing units which are considered as "modern apartments", people would be turned into productive elements who would contribute to the country's progress. It means that the state promotes the modern apartment as a way to create healthy families while removing their immoral behaviors (Ghannam, 2002). In addition, since Kadifekale inhabitants are the migrants from the other parts of Turkey, they have different backgrounds and cultural lives. In this respect, Wellman (1979) adds; "Whether or not community results from the gathering up of people into proximate face-to-face interactions depends sociologists routinely say-on their number, their differentiations along lines of class, race, ethnicity, taste or lifestyle, and the cultural beliefs they share"(as cited in Gieryn, 2000). Here, the important point is the ability of modern apartments to show their residents how to live in or use spaces. More importantly, it is not possible to determine whether socio-cultural differences can be answered by the identical spatial arrangements in housing units of TOKI Uzundere.

Furthermore, Bourdieu (1990) puts forward that in the justification process of the public housing project, representations of the inhabitants as criminal, unhealthy,

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[4] Ghannam (2002) has made a similar research on a public housing project in Cairo, Egypt, in the name of *Remaking the Modern: Space, Relocation and the Politics of Identity in a Global Cairo.*

and isolated "other" who does not contribute to the development of the country can be described as "symbolic violence". Apart from physical force, "symbolic violence", described as "gentle, invisible violence unrecognized as such" can be mostly observed through relocation process (as cited in Ghannam, 2002). Presenting a negative image of the inhabitants may be assigned as one of the governmental strategies.

As a result of created public discourses and representations, some people can be labeled as "bad" people, such as drug dealers and troublemakers in the group of inhabitants. However, according to Kadifekale inhabitants, the majority of the group is composed of skillful, strong and brave people but still they are misunderstood by the other groups in community.

In short, not only state hegemonic construction matters, but also the public discourse, which may be considered sometimes as unfounded, will probably be effective through many years of relocation. On the other hand, according to Hassan (1985), who investigated a case of relocation in Cairo, such public housing projects not only have failed in the representation of modern, but also have led the community to a "slow but certain economic death", as they have caused the destruction of cultural identity (as cited in Ghannam, 2002).

As modernization and modern family construction is aimed to be realized, there is no doubt that national policies conflicts with the daily practices and lives of Kadifekale inhabitants, which are transformed for the sake of urban visual image. It

can be claimed that whether Kadifekale is represented by exaggerating its deficiencies or difficulties by means of living conditions in daily life routine or TOKI Uzundere overestimates its own importance by the impact of governmental policies, it may be asserted that the inhabitants of Kadifekale will come face to face with many problems in experiencing their daily practices and social relations since socio-spatial issues are not seriously considered as spatial conditions, and it can be stated this will have negative impacts.

1.2. The Aim of the Study

This master thesis aims to merge the concepts of urban renewal regarding the relationship between spatial and social issues, while the consequences of relocation from Kadifekale to TOKI Uzundere in changing spatial conditions are examined within the social dissonance of its inhabitants to the spatial conditions of TOKI Uzundere. In respect to this, while the spatial dimension of the research includes the physical conditions of Kadifekale neighborhood and TOKI Uzundere public housing units, the predicted social dissonances and problems create the social dimension of the case study. Since the social dimension of space and the consequences of spatial changes on social life and daily practices are aimed to be investigated, the theoretical framework is based on the concept of social space which includes the brief information on the theories of "spatial triad", "tactic versus strategy" and "place versus space". In this case, the social and spatial conditions of Kadifekale inhabitants are comparatively examined from an original point of view,

while the analysis of the situation of Kadifekale after the relocation process is left outside the scope of the research.

In this context, TOKI is taken as a case study subject in this master thesis, which aims to explain how spatial and social codes are considered under the term "urban renewal" and how they operate in relation to each other. In this respect, a comparative study between Kadifekale and TOKI Uzundere is carried out and the situation of Kadifekale inhabitants, most of which have migrated from Mardin, is taken as the core of the case.

In this master thesis, while the research question can be built on how urban renewal may affect the way inhabitants of Kadifekale used to live or experience the daily practices, the hypothesis of the study focuses on the idea that urban renewal project socially and spatially does not fit with the needs and demands of the inhabitants.

On the other hand, there are some reasons why Kadifekale has been chosen as a part of urban renewal project by municipality, as well as being chosen as the case study of this master thesis. According to Budak, first of all, Kadifekale plays an important role in history as it has advantages of its unique central location in the city, with a magnificent setting. Furthermore, it carries the potential value for future projects. There are two options which are considered for the location of urban renewal, being either a "problematic area" or a "high potential zone" (Budak, 2007). Kadifekale may be regarded as the suitable subject that fits into both situations of

urban renewal. If a problematic area is chosen, community approval for urban renewal project should be gained. Also, if a high potential zone is chosen, and then areas with a need for an urgent solution are overlooked. In this respect, it is important to choose the areas where problem and potential rates are equal to each other. So, as a squatter housing settlement[5], Kadifekale becomes an important model for urban renewal for being an "problematic area" and because of its central location in the city, historical value and magnificent city view, it also becomes a "high potential zone" for future regeneration projects.

In addition, there are some other reasons to choose Kadifekale as a research subject. Although the theoretical framework and the process may be very similar to

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[5] In accordance with the changing socio-spatial context, the course of squatter settlements may be divided in three phases in Turkey. The first one belongs to the period of 1940s in which the construction of modernist social space was realized by making urban lifestyle visible to public and in the beginning of this period, the squatter settlements were few in number as they were considered as transitory structures that would be integrated into cities in time. Later on, these settlements had been seen as deviant and ugly spaces so that they were planned to be removed from the face of beautiful cities while they were accepted as "the others" of Turkish modernization. The second phase contains the period between 1966- 1980. In this period, the extreme polarization of politics between right and left political groups was occurred whereas the squatter settlement district was dominated by the struggle between the groups as the awareness about the heterogeneity of dwellers in hometown had risen. In addition to that, by the rising commercialization of these settlements, they took on the form of extended neighborhoods constituting large *gecekondu* regions encircling the big cities. The last phase starts by 1980 and still continues to the present time. By the beginning of the period, the idea of the integration of the squatter settlements to the urban structure had totally failed since their continuous growth is still visible. On the other hand, latterly legalized settlements are seen in this period though they still keep their traditional appearance with their one floored structure with its garden. After 1980s, with the intense rural-to-urban migration, industrial cities such as Istanbul, Izmir, Diyarbakır, and Mersin have been emerged by the low-income settlements. Because of the "forced migration", the population of the new comers who are especially from Kurdish ethnic background, is increased in the urban form and as a result of this process, urban middle class perspective in Turkish Republic has defined its "other" by time (Demirtaş, 2008).

other previously analyzed urban renewal projects, the actors differ in Kadifekale case. This fact combined with the lack of recent studies about Kadifekale case brings the need for more consideration of the subject. Besides, the existence of many different disciplines and their integration in this case deserve the attention of the researcher as an interesting case study. Some of the included disciplines may be considered as sociology or architecture; it has a strong relationship with design studies, all these are involved in the urban renewal project, the TOKI Uzundere public housing project and its implications. In this case, it can be said that while design principles in TOKI do not reflect any social or cultural values, as they apply unidentified, standard, identical housing, neither are they oriented according to the user needs, demands and life styles.

1.3. Structure of the Study

In this master thesis, the research is composed of five main parts. After the introduction chapter, in the second chapter, the theoretical framework is structured under the concept of "social space". In this sense, the issues of "spatial triad", "tactic versus strategy" and "place versus space" are investigated through critical thinking. Firstly, the spatial triad is analyzed in order to see the differences between the ideal space of professionals and the way it is perceived by the occupants. Secondly, comparing tactic versus strategy helps to understand how the occupant reacts and changes the ideal space of professionals. Finally, place versus space theory puts forward the comparison of spaces according to their physical properties and their differing significance within the social context. In the next chapter, the

case study locations with their existing conditions are analyzed. Since urban renewal concerns both departure and arrival destinations, the Kadifekale district and TOKI Uzundere are examined in two separate subchapters. In order to understand specialties of Kadifekale, the history, characteristics, significance and the urban renewal project are discussed within Kadifekale district part while history, representation and architectural information of TOKI Uzundere are given in the following subchapter, with the intention of enlightening the reader about the current situation and importance of the two areas in regards of urban scale. In the fourth chapter, the comparative analysis between the Kadifekale district and TOKI Uzundere is conducted in three different dimensions, housing, neighborhood and urban scales through physical and social issues. In this part, the interview conducted among Kadifekale inhabitants is investigated, following that some critical thoughts are examined in each dimension in order to relate the spatial differences. Finally, in the conclusion chapter, the housing, neighborhood and city categories are investigated according to their relationships with the theoretical base of this thesis, as the consequences of urban renewal are highlighted under socio-spatial aspects.

1.4. Methodology and Literature Review

This thesis is structured by a theoretical framework supported by case study which is based on the comparison of Kadifekale and TOKI Uzundere. In this respect, the research is conducted in both Kadifekale and TOKI Uzundere. Furthermore, in-depth

interviews[6] with Kadifekale inhabitants to collect the data are carried out and analyzed to find answers to the research question of this study. Thesis findings provide that urban renewal is a multi-dimensional phenomenon; and multiple relationships exist between spatial factors and social relations of the locals who are forced to the relocation.

Moreover, the methodology of the thesis is enriched primarily by site analysis, composed of photographing, interviewing and observing. In addition, the resources, including arguments of theoreticians, are carefully explicated in order to set the theoretical framework as having recourse to official documents such as drawing sets (site plans, plans, sections, elevation drawings) and TOKI reports, which will be seriously considered.

Throughout the resource research of the study, firstly the unpublished studies are taken into consideration in order to discover the differential points of the study from the previously ones. Some theses that focused on the concepts of urban renewal notion are evaluated. No recent study which is focused on urban renewal in Kadifekale has been found so far. These theses include; *Izmir'de Kentsel Dönüşüm Sürecinin Izmir-Cennetçesme Mahallesi Üzerinden İrdelenmesi* (2008) by Bal, and *Konutta Değişim: Mekansal ve Estetik Kalitenin Izmir Örneği Üzerinde İncelenmesi* (2009) by Temiz.

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[6] The interview has been realized in "Imariye Neighborhood" in Kadifekale with ten participants. For analyzing the interview questions, see Appendix A.

While Bal (2008) focuses on the urban renewal projects in Izmir, the case study is conducted on Cennetçesme District. In this sense, it gives an opportunity to analyze how squatter areas as being one of urban transformation application areas, examined by approaching its vulnerability conditions. Also, the problems of squatter areas and their solutions that should be revealed in the course of transformation are considered in relation to the Cennetçesme district in particular. Moreover, the studied notions, such as urban renewal, squatter areas and vulnerability, are placed in the theoretical framework as the given examples in the world and Turkey are shown. Since Cennetçeşme district is examined according to its spatial, social and economic aspects, Temiz (2009) has mentioned the effect of the change in people's living conditions on "the house" factor and investigates it according to the spatial and the aesthetic quality by means of the examples (TOKI, Soyak, Yüksek Vadi mass housing projects). In addition, the quality factor in mass housings also occupies an important place as much as special qualities. In this case, it is possible to take housing problem into consideration in terms of both aspects, qualitative and quantitative, as people perceive aesthetics as "being beautiful", therefore they think that it is a conceptual and an abstract factor changing according to individual's opinions. But by taking the people's requirements into consideration and decomposing the aesthetic quality criteria, it is possible to concretize it. As a result, the importance of considering housing problem in both qualitative and quantitative aspects is highlighted in the study of Temiz.

On the other hand, during the research into Kadifekale district and TOKI Uzundere, many different information resources are evaluated. Previously realized interviews

and newspaper articles are taken into consideration according to their importance on giving updated information about the current situation in both fields; other reports are analyzed in detail in order to prove the accuracy of the used information. Some of these reports are; Akdağ, C., 2009. Dönüşüm Sürecinde Kentler, Afetler ve Kentsel Projeler, TMMOB Izmir Urban Symposium (2009) by Akdağ, Kadifekale'de Durum Değerlendirmesi, Izmir Chamber of Commerce (2006) by Baran and Çiçek, "The Role of Migration on the Adjustments of Adolescents in Turkey", *Turkish Journal of Psychiatry* (2008) by Gün and Bayraktar, EIA Report of İzmir-Uzundere Public Housing Project (2005) by Housing Development Administration of Turkey, Kadifekale'nin Sosyo-Ekonomik Profili ve Sorunları, Izmir Chamber of Commerce (2005) by Karayiğit, İzmir'de Kentsel- Mimari Kavrayışı Dönüştürmek ve Yeni Başlangıçlar, TMMOB Izmir City Symposium (2009) by Kayın, Yeni Yerleşim Alanlarının Zemin ve Heyelan Açısından İrdelenmesi, TMMOB Izmir Kent Sempozyumu (2008) by Özden, "A Marginal Place for the Gypsy Community in a Prosperous City: Izmir, Turkey", Cities (2005) by Kaya and Zengel, "Hydrogeological and Geotechnical Assesments of the Kadifekale Landslide Area, Izmir, Turkey", *Environmental Geology*, (2001) by Tarcan and Koca, "Kentsel Yoksulluk, Göç ve Sosyal Politikalar", Urbanization Council (2009) by Turkish Ministry of Public Works and Settlement.

With the help of published documents, information and drawings of TOKI Uzundere, the approach of governmental powers about the urban renewal project and the representation of the urban renewal notion to the public are highlighted although the communal reactions of Kadifekale inhabitants are not presented. For this

reason, the articles on print media and newspapers that show the public side of the urban renewal are taken into consideration in order to recognize thoughts and feelings of the actors of both sides.

On the other hand, in the comparison part of the two objects of the urban renewal project, Kadifekale and TOKI Uzundere, criticisms of some theoreticians are taken as resources in order to imply the disharmony among the spatial conditions and social daily life experiences. These include *Algeria 1960* (1979) by Bourdieu, *Social Spatialization in a Turkish Squatter Settlement: The Dualism of Tactic and Strategy Reconsidered* (2008) by Demirtaş, *Remaking the Modern: Space, Relocation and the Politics of Identity in a Global Cairo* (2002) by Ghannam, *Finding Lost Space, Theories of Urban Design*, (1986) by Trancik.

While Bourdieu's study has been used as a reference for defining the place notion and the public discourse on urban renewal projects, his criticisms on the representation of "modern" and the inefficiency of moving into a modern housing in producing "modern" practices are carefully discussed in the housing dimension of Kadifekale and TOKI Uzundere comparison section. In addition, in *Algeria,* he puts forward the inability to provide the necessary utilities and furniture for the "modern" apartment and this critique is used for the Kadifekale inhabitants' future oriented situation in TOKI Uzundere. Secondly, in the study by Demirtaş, the definition of squatter housing is put forward, and its historical revolution and application in Turkey is highlighted. Moreover, the study is taken as a helpful resource since it explains some theories such as Lefebvrian understanding of space

with its three aspects or the socio-spatial dialectic of Soja. Thirdly, since Ghannam's case study addresses a public housing project in Cairo, Egypt, it can be stated that there are many parallel discussions between both TOKI Uzundere and Cairo public housing project. In this sense, the book has become a efficient guide for understanding the importance of a community's culture and religion on their social lives, as it is used in all three dimensions of this master thesis' comparative study that are housing, neighborhood and urban scales. Finally, Trancik points out what "lost space" is in urban scale as he mentions the importance of three-dimensional thinking rather than considering only two dimensional land-use plans. According to him, the relationship between buildings, spaces and human behavior should not be ignored, but carefully considered.

Apart from the theses about urban renewal and theories that are used in the comparative analysis of Kadifekale and TOKI Uzundere in the scales of housing, neighborhood and city, the main theoretical framework is structured by important theoreticians, such as Augé, De Certeau, Lefebvre, Soja and Tuan. Some of their considered studies that are taken as references in the study include *Non-Places: An Introduction to Supermodernity* (1995) by Augé, "Spatial Stories" in *The Practice of Everyday Life* (1988) by De Certeau, *The Production of Space* (1998) and *Writings on Cities* (1996) by Lefebvre, *The Socio-Spatial Dialectic* (1980) by Soja, *The Post-modernization of Geography: A Review* (1987) by Soja, and *Space and Place* (1977) by Tuan.

Since the theoretical base of this thesis aims to investigate the concept of social space, in the first place it is beneficial to consider Lefebvre's study. Lefebvre opposes social and political theory, which conceives space as a static "container", or a "platform" which carries social relations. According to Lefebvre, space is a crucial dimension of social relations under capitalism while it is historically produced, reconfigured and transformed. One of Lefebvre's main concerns (in his works) is examining the historically specific and contradictory configurations of "abstract space" as he analyzes the social space under capitalism and its role as socially produced second nature in the intervening time. In this master thesis, the notion of social space is investigated under three sub-chapters, spatial triad, strategies versus tactics, and place versus space. In this sense, it is useful to mention the theoreticians' studies in accordance with the order of these three sub-chapters. Firstly, in the spatial triad, Lefebvre's *Writings on Cities* has been used in order to identify the elements of public space and implement their co-related relationship with each other. On the other hand, it can be stated that Soja challenges the modernist social science which neglects the socially reproductive aspects of space.

In short, it is possible to claim that what Soja tries to do is to implement or reformulate the Lefebvrian understanding of production of space. Moreover, Soja claims that the organization, use, and meaning of space are products of experience, transformation and social translation. The second sub-chapter, about tactic versus strategy, mainly considers De Certeau in regarding the identification of the theory.

In *The Practice of Everyday Life,* De Certeau (1988) makes a distinction between strategies and tactics. While a strategy includes a proper place in order to set certain relationships with an "exteriority composed of targets and threats", tactic is

not stable with a fixed locus; it depends on time and waits for the emerging opportunities in the dominating system. Moreover, strategies may create, arrange, and control spaces as tactics may only use, maneuver and invert the existing spaces.

Thirdly, in "Place versus Space", Tuan opens the pathway with his critical thinking on both notions. While Tuan examines the concepts of "space" and "place" in his studies, he accepts them as the basic components of the lived world and people take them for granted. As Tuan indicates, the use of space and place in daily experience may become confused, though space is more abstract than place. What begins with undifferentiated space becomes place as people get to know better that certain space. The other differentiating point comes from the fact that place has its own properties. In addition, Augé puts forward the differentiation between space and place as he brings out a new terminology for space notion, which can be named also as non-place. Furthermore, the two terms are defined with detail and non-places are shown, as they never exist in pure form at the same time as places reconstitute themselves in non-places[7].

In short, it can be claimed that while the theoretical background is composed of the criticisms of these important theoreticians, the aim of this thesis is to take a different perspective on the case study. Since the Kadifekale inhabitants' relocation

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[7] Heidegger (1971) has described space regarding the place notion and emphasized that spaces are identified places where people locate safely. The French Anthologist Augé has claimed that there are two types of space in today's conditions and formulized the two opposite space notions as; "places" and "non-places". According to Augé place (lineu) has three main properties; place can be define as relational, historical and concerned with identity. In this case, if place is identified by being in relation, historical and identified, the places which do not have these properties are called "non-places". Moreover, Augé claims that the places like airports, shopping malls or hotel rooms become the samples of non-lieu or non-places (Karasakaloğlu, 2010).

process is investigated, it is seen that there is no substantial study on either Kadifekale district or TOKI spatial organizations. With the help of this master thesis and its the case study, it is possible to induce from the local issues to the universal concerns as it is intended to challenge criticisms on urban renewal issues, its consequences on both locations and socio-spatial evaluations in the daily life practice.

CHAPTER 2

SOCIAL SPACE

We do not live in a kind of void, inside of which we could place individuals, and things. We do not live inside a void that could be colored with diverse shades of light, we live inside a set of relations that delineates sites which are irreducible to one another and absolutely not super imposable on one another.

Michel Foucault, *Of Other Spaces*

In order to highlight the importance of notion of space and its consequences on social context, the production of space which is deeply related with social factor, will be put forward throughout this chapter. In this sense, after explaining social space concept, the three concepts of social space; spatial triad, tactic versus strategy, and place versus space will be investigated. Firstly, the spatial triad will be analyzed in order to examine the differences between the space as ideally planned and the way it is perceived by the occupants. Secondly, a consideration of the concepts of strategy and tactic will help to situate the interaction between two realms created by the spatial triad, the space of the planners as well as its alteration and its employment by the users. Finally, place versus space theory will focus on the comparison of spaces and their differing significance within the social context.

To start with, it is beneficial to investigate the different significances of "social space" presented in the dictionaries in order to explain what it actually means.

According to Oxford University Press dictionary, the notion of "space" has much significance in many fields such as;

- a continuous area or expanse which is free , available, or unoccupied
- an area of land which is not occupied by buildings
- an area rented or sold as business premises
- the dimensions of height, depth, and width within which all things exist and move (Oxford Dictionary, 2010).

It is seen that, in some definitions, "space" is regarded only in two dimensions while in some cases, it is considered as "an empty void" in three dimensions; for instance "a continuous area or expanse which is free, available, or unoccupied" or "an area of land which is not occupied by buildings". Although from these definitions, it is not possible to decide whether space is a two or three dimensional concept, it can be seen that its social factor is not emphasized in any of the descriptions.

In this case, it would not be an overstatement if Lefebvre is objectified as one of the leading theoreticians who deal with "space" notion and its close relationship with "human being" and "society"[8]. In his writings of 1970s, such as *The Production of Space* and *De l'Etat,* Lefebvre opposes social and political theory conceiving space as a static "container" or "platform" which carries social relations. According to Lefebvre, space is a crucial dimension of social relations under capitalism, which is historically produced, reconfigured and transformed. One of Lefebvre's main

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[8] Lefebvre's spatialized approach was published in his two books, *The Production of Space (*1974) and *De l'Etat* (1976-1978), and the provocation of the critical engagement has increased with the English translation of his books in 1991 (Brenner, 1997).

concerns in his works examines the historically specific and intensely contradictory configurations of "abstract space" as he analyzes the social space under capitalism and its role as socially produced second nature in the intervening time. Moreover, Lefebvre describes the notion of social space as a part of modern capitalism and also defines it as an "abstract space". Lefebvre's abstract space could be portrayed as formal, geometric, quantitative and blind to the qualitative differences. In addition, the conception of social space as multilayered, multi-scalar and contradictory scaffolding of social relations is an analytical lens for Lefebvre[9] (Brenner, 1997).

Shortly, what Lefebvre has tried to do can be described by understanding the space concept by integrating spatial practices, perceptions and representations within the definition of space rather than defining the space only as a physical container of spatial practices (Demirtaş, 2008). In this sense, the definition of "space" in various realms of literature and the understanding of space as a social phenomenon differ from each other. While Lefebvre concentrates on the three dimensional perception

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[9] Lefebvre challenges the previous definitions of "space", though he used some ideologies and pre-spatial analyses as inspiration sources. In history, apart from the previous scientific and dualist Cartesian space analyses, Lefebvre's socio-analytical consideration of space started with Heidegger, and it can be said that the main point of his argument is based on the ideology of Heidegger. While Elden advocates this position, he claims the complimentary outstanding against the analyze method of space within the limits of mathematics and calculation by disregarding the everyday activities where people act and react and the experiences from space. The second channel of Lefebvre's arguments focuses on the Aristotelian criticisms. Lefebvre stands against the Aristotelian position on space identification since the concept of Aristotelian space is considered as a empiricist space whose reason of existence is reduced to the classification rather than having an absolute existence. In the third aspect, Lefebvre's ideology opposes the Kantian space which separates the realm of consciousness from the empirical sphere (Brenner, 1997).

of "space", he includes the social factor which is directly related with the "human being" in his concept of space.

As one of Lefebvre's main statements, he defines "social space as a social product" (Lefebvre, 1998, p.26). By attributing space a transformative capacity, Lefebvre not only refers to the fact that social relations define space but also that space itself may have definitive power on social relations. On the other hand, Lefebvre takes social space as a structural matrix within historically specific dynamic. It is also stated as;

> "Social space is not a thing among other things, nor a product among other products (…) It is the outcome of a sequence and set of operations, and thus cannot be reduced to the rank of simple object (…) Itself the outcome of past actions, social space is what permits fresh actions to occur, while suggesting others and prohibiting yet others" (Lefebvre, 1998, p. 73).

Allen strongly emphasizes the intense relationship among space, culture and history. Thus, while culture and history have generated powerful discourses, critical studies of space offer a reconnection of the material, the social and the unknown culture and history. According to Allen, space may be considered as being in part a socially-constructed view of the world which both "reads" and "read through" cultural and historical knowledge while "past remembrances" and "future visions" come together in the concept of space (Allen, 1999). Here, at this point, the immense relation of space within social structure which is composed of culture and history is inevitable.

In this aspect, a new term was introduced by Mayer in order to explain the social feature in spatial concept. According to Mayer, spatiality for society, which contains social interactions and social relations under capitalism, could be better understood as "societally" produced in specific social places. As a matter of concern, "space" is not perceived as the representation of an object or container, rather the production of space may serve the implementation of social interests. Additionally, it can be claimed that the socio-spatial patterns are not the facts of natural aspects; rather they are caused by the specific economic and social interests, of power relations and contestations. Spatiality could not be understood apart from social relationships and society (Mayer, 2008).

On the other hand, in the study of Demirtaş, the socio-spatial dialectic of Soja is described as a notion which is based on the space that is conceptualized both as the medium and the outcome of social action, which connects social and spatial structures in a way that the former appears in its concrete form in the latter. It can be assumed that what Soja tries to do is implementing or reformulating the Lefebvrian understanding of production of space. According to Soja, the qualities of "concrete spatiality" can be listed as:

> 1.   "Spatiality is a substantiated social product, part of a (second nature) which incorporates as it socializes and transforms both physical and cognitive space.
> 2.   As a social product, spatiality is *simultaneously the medium and the outcome* (…) social action and relationship.
> 3.   This spatio-temporal structuration of social life defines how social action and relationship are materially constituted, made concrete.

4. The constitution/ concretization process is problematic, filled with contradiction, conflict and struggle.

5. Conflict and contradiction arise primarily from the duality of produced space as both outcome-embodiment-product and medium-presupposition-producer.

6. Concrete spatiality is thus a competitive arena for both social production and reproduction, for spatial practices aimed either at maintenance and reinforcement of existing spatiality or at significant restructuring and possible transformation.

7. The temporality of social life, from the routines and events of day-to-day activity to the longer-run making of history, is rooted in spatial contingency in much the same way that spatiality of social life is rooted in temporal historical contingency.

8. The materialist interpretation history and the interpretation of spatiality are inseparable intertwined and theoretically concomitant, with no inherent priorization of one over the other" (italics original) (as cited in Demirtaş, 2008, p. 30).

Since space is considered as both the product and the producer regarding the social activities, it can be claimed that there is a constant relationship between the social life and the space.

Moreover, Soja claims that the organization, use, and meaning of space are products of experience, transformation and social translation. In this sense, the created space becomes socially produced and it carries out some transformation as the human history represents a social transformation of time and temporality (Soja, 1980).

On the other hand, Castells puts emphasis on space as a material product. A brief encapsulation of his understanding is;

> "(…) this is tantamount to conceiving of nature as entirely fashioned by culture, (…) "man," transforms himself and transforms his environment in his struggle for life and for the differential appropriation of the product of his labor.
> Space is a material product, in relation with other material elements-among others, men, who themselves enter into particular social relations, which give to space (and to the other elements of the combination) a form, a function, a social signification. It is not, therefore, a mere occasion for the deployment of social structure, but a concrete expression of each historical ensemble in which a society is specified. (…) This means that there is no theory of space that is not an integral part of a general social theory, even an implicit one" (as cited in Soja, 1980, p. 212).

As Soja believes Castells regards space as a material product emerging from a dialectical process which is relating and transforming the relationship between culture and nature, man and environment. Space is a concrete expression of a combination, a "historical ensemble", of interacting material structures and elements rather than being a simply reflection of social structure (Soja, 1980). In this respect, it is possible to make a comparison between Castells and Lefebvre in order to clarify their understanding of socio spatial dialectic. The main difference is caused by the former's assumption that particular social relations give form, function and significance to the spatial structure. On the other hand in socio-spatial dialectic, both the social and the spatial relations interact in the production (Soja, 1980).

Throughout the work of some important theoreticians, of which Lefebvre is the leading one, the notion of "space", the socio-spatial dialectic and its social covering as much as its physical being are intended to be clarified. While "space" is accepted in its three dimensional existence, the mental perception of it directs to its production, which is constructed socially. In this case, the social texture is composed of by cultural-historical values and consequently by human being itself. With the intention that, apart from being separated from each other or episodic, the social and physical elements of space concept have always acted as the inseparable major components of a system, as neither could survive without the other, as in the motor neuron and the muscle fiber in human muscle-skeleton system, or the organisms of the same mutual life. In this structure of socio-spatial analyses, the socio-space has differentiated in three aspects by Lefebvre. He has divided social space to three moments as perceived space, conceptual space and lived space.

2.1. Spatial Triad

According to the Lefebvrian spatial theory, there is an existing spatial triad which is composed of "representations of space", "representational spaces" and "spatial practice" (Fig 2.1) (Table 2.1). Since Lefebvre strongly emphasizes the power of capitalist system to create a totalizing space in which users have no room at all for affecting the agency in the other two realms, he mentions the equilibrium in all three aspects of his space notion. Consistent with Lefebvre, the three aspects of the spatial triad, the perceived, lived and conceived, are concerted together as there

are no oppositions or contrasts between them. Rather, there are echoes, repercussions and mirror effects among them (Demirtaş, 2008). In this case, it would not be appropriate to declare that one of the components of the triad has dominance over the others as the opposite condition has been tried to be represented in the representation of space. While the hierarchy of the political powers and the system is influenced deeply in the representations of space, the human agency is embedded in the spatial practice.
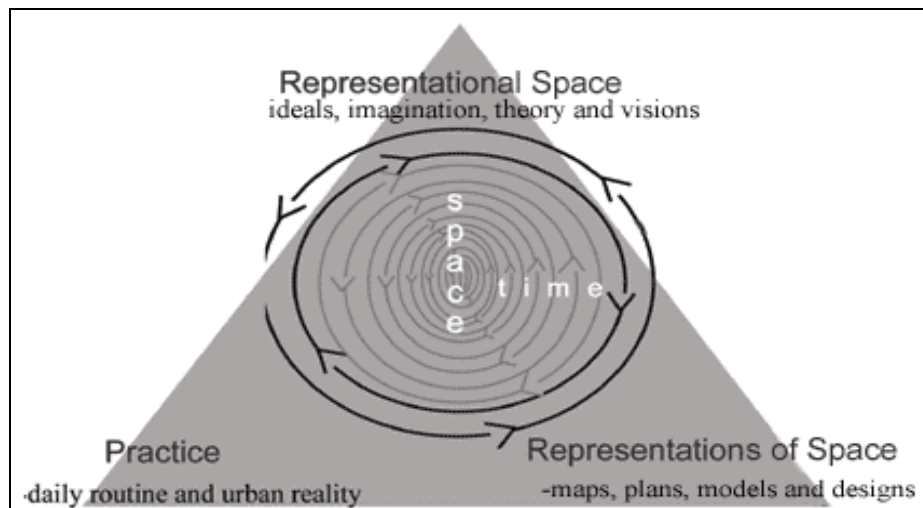
Figure 2.1.The graphic representation of Lefebvre's *Production of Space* (Anderson, 2003) (http://hannahwinkle.com/ccm/Lefebvre.htm).

Table 2.1.Interpretation of spatial- triad.[10]

Spatial practice	Representations of Space	Representational Space
Lived	Conceived	Perceived
Social	Mental	Overlay of the Physical
Practice	Knowledge	Ideology
Lived	Known	Seen
Real	Symbolic	Imaginary
Spatial practice	Logico-Epistem	Sensory

Accordingly, the three components of the spatial triad will be exploited in order to give a better understanding of social space;

"Representations of space" are unified with the production of space, and they are related with signs, codes and frontal relations. It may be conceived as conceptualized space. It is the space of planners, urbanists, social engineers, etc. who decide what is lived, perceived and conceived at that proper space. It includes a system of verbal signs (Lefebvre, 1998). It may be pictured as conceived space that includes the imagined representations of space. It is particularly important because it dominates and codes that which is perceived while repressing lived space. More importantly, the power of the conceived space comes from the ability to allow human both "see" and "not see" the world (Allen, 1999). In this case, the spatial codes are applied as the way the producers want the users perceive them.

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[10] The chart represents the three components of the Lefebvre's spatial triad and was prepared in the course of FFD 551 "Spatial Practices" which was coordinated by Gülsüm Baydar in Design Studies Graduate Program in 2008-2009.

Though the dominance of political powers is quite effective in the representations of space, the importance of the capacity of ordinary people to slightly alter and use these planned spaces different than the intended purpose has also been referred by Lefebvre (Demirtaş, 2008). It may be claimed that Lefebvre is one of the theoreticians who clarify the lack of the consideration of implementation of act of humans who survive in that proper space and the consequences its social life that may be used to transform that space. Lefebvre states his opinions about the representations of space as; "Even neo capitalism or "organized" capitalism, even technocratic planners and programmers, cannot produce a space with a perfectly clear understanding of cause and effect, motive and implication" (Lefebvre, 1998, p.37).

"Representational space" may be linked to complex symbolisms and codes. It is passively experienced as it overlays physical space. It may be said that it is the space of non-verbal symbols and signs (Lefebvre, 1998). Reality equals the perception. Perceived space is the mundane spaces of everyday life and its spatial practices. It includes "job routines", "travel routes", "urban life" and "leisure". These spaces are mostly nostalgic spaces in which objectivism may be blurred (Allen, 1999).

As mentioned before, it is the triad of three elements, not two since it embraces physical, mental and social phases (Lefebvre, 1998) and accordingly, the representational space works for the mental perception of space as it uses the historical background or memories of that proper space. In this case, when the two phases of the triad, representations of space and representational spaces are

compared, Lefebvre continues his argument while notifying that the people in represented space are subordinate to a logic which will break them up because of the lack of consistency. On the other hand, the people of representational spaces do not need to obey the rules of consistency as they have their source in history. These spaces may be individually related with childhood memories, dreams or uterine images and symbols. These are taken as alive and vivid by Lefebvre (Lefebvre, 1998). Without a shadow of a doubt, the human factor should be predicted and in structuring the project for a proper space, the history of that specific zone, the memories of the locals and most importantly their feelings about that space should be taken into consideration.

"Spatial practice" contains production and reproduction together. It ensures continuity and some degree of cohesion. Every society has explored its own spatial practice within its space. It carries a close association within perceived space, between daily reality and urban reality. It is paradoxical as it includes the separation between the places it links together (Lefebvre, 1998). It is the space of representation and resistance while its existence depends on the conceived space (Allen, 1999). According to Soja, it is "the space which the imagination (…) seeks to change and appropriate" (as cited in Allen, 1999, p.260). Lived space which is reproduced is also against the homogenizing influences of conceived space. It is the location of subaltern identities as it is the matter of concern of philosophers, writers, psychoanalysts, since lived space is produced from conceived space and it is seen differently by culturally normative perceived space or spatial practice. It does

not exist without the other two moments of social space. It is the site where power is operationalized as the production, exclusion and reproduction (Allen, 1999).

According to Brenner, Lefebvre considers space as a matrix of social action, at once as a presupposition, medium, and product of the social relations in capitalism while disregarding the social space as an object, a void or a container (Brenner, 1997). Lefebvre also describes the situation as; "The space engendered (under capitalism) is "social" in the sense that it is not one thing among other things, but an ensemble of links, connections, communications, networks and circuits" (Lefebvre, 1998,p.26, 33, 73). The importance of human interactions with each other, the accessibility of their communication in their daily lives and their social relationships has been underlined.

To summarize, although each of these three different phases of the spatial triad contribute in different ways, it can be claimed that the relations between the three moments of the perceived, conceived and lived are either simple, or stable. Moreover, it would not be logical to consider some of them are "positive" or "negative" (Lefebvre, 1998). The consciousness and unconsciousness may be the matters of concern at the same time. None of them can be obligated to unconsciousness or consciousness even representations of space refer to the conscious planning, etc, or other phases, on the other hand, act unconsciously. The situation can be observed as the human social life and their daily space using habits, which are automatically or unconsciously activated during the day in the space,

while the powers of the representations of space should take those actions into consideration to be fully conscious.

Furthermore, as a consequence of the three interrelated spatial categories, it is possible to come up with some analyses. To begin with, "spatial practices" build the correlation between the "social relationships of reproduction" (private and family sphere) and the "social relationships of production" (the sphere of the work and social interaction). It may be said that these practices represent the ways in which individuals perceive the social space they inhabit. Secondly, "representations of space" refer to "abstract space" which is conceived by planners and architects. By the use of some codes and signs, the ideology of the dominant class is imposed, and possibly the social hierarchy is controlled by the relationships of the production. Thirdly, the "representational spaces" may be conceived as the domain of lived experience and everyday life (Lungu, 2008).

In order to explain the composite relation of these three socio-spatial elements, Lefebvre claims that "The "heart" as *lived* is strangely different from the heart as *thought* and *perceived*" (italics original)(Lefebvre, 1998, p.40). However, the equilibrium among the spatial triad elements may change according to existing conditions of that proper time, space and community. As stated by Lefebvre, every society has its own spatial code which creates its own spatial triad (Demirtaş, 2008). Whether in some cases it is communitarian or intellectualized representation of space is applied, the most important part may be explained by the demand and supply relation. Within these examples or architectural works, as long as it is clear

the demands of the user and the project supplies that is prepared according to the demands and necessities by the planners, the consistency will be provided for that socio-spatial construction.

Consequently, it can be clarified that in the full realization of space organization, space should be considered not only as a social product but also it rebounds back to shape social relations, practices and life itself. Otherwise, the consequences of the structures of space arrangements may encounter many social problems and users may try to adapt space according to his/her daily life conditions and social relations by engaging tactics against the strategies of the political powers and the system.

2.2. Tactic versus Strategy

As stated before, when the users of space find it appropriate for their personal daily life routine, they start to search for the spatial solutions in order to resolve the problematic issues and develop tactics wherever they realize the lack of control mechanism in the existing system.

In this aspect, Lefebvre declares the dominance of the representational space and its close relationship with the user rather than the producer. On the other hand, the representation of space is claimed as the space of the producer and if it does not contain any harmony with the space of users, the users try to find a way to make a maneuver as far as the limits of the producers allow them. To exemplify the potential of squatter settlement inhabitants to produce their own space by using

the loopholes of the modernist planning can be an illustration of Lefebvre's theory (Demirtaş, 2008).

De Certeau has made a distinction between strategies and tactics. While a strategy includes a proper place in order to set certain relationships with an "exteriority composed of targets and threats" (De Certeau, 1988, p.36), tactics are not stabile with a proper locus; they depend on time and wait for the emerging opportunities in the dominating system. Moreover, strategies may create, arrange, and control spaces, whereas tactics may only use, maneuver and invert the existing spaces.

Modernization ideal brings dualism and distinction as "strategy" and "tactic". The main distinction between these two notions comes from the realm of "producers" and "users". While representation of space is closely related with the producers, there used to be an existing plan as a representation of space in order to create any possibility of strategic act (Demirtaş, 2008).

In contrast to strategies, tactics are based on shifting meaning and functions in order to provide certain needs, although, the daily use of space does not go parallel with the prescriptions regarded to the housing unit (Ghannam, 2002). Alternatively, the space of the tactic may be considered as belonging to the users or the weak since they have no option on planning a general strategy, but can only use, manipulate or divert the spaces of power (Demirtaş, 2008).

Moreover, De Certeau defines tactical acts mainly within the realm of consumption rather than production while explaining the tension between strategical and tactical realm as a non-dynamic power relation. A tactic may take place in the absence of the power and divert the dominating space in various ways at the same time as strategical realm tries to impose its hegemony over the user or the consumer. Individuals look for the opportunities in strategical realm in order to develop a tactic (Demirtaş, 2008).

It is possible to compare Lefebvre and De Certeau[11] as they both accept an asymmetrical power relationship between strategical (producer based) and tactical (consumer based) realms, while the strategical one owns the advantage of dominance. While Lefebvre examines the study of space mostly for the interrelationships of the representational space (lived) and representation of space (conceived) with the spatial practice, De Certeau leaves a more flexible space for tactical acts to take place in the system (Demirtaş, 2008). In this sense, it is possible to claim that tactics work against the strategies of conceived space; whether they are sourced from lived or perceived space.

The relation between the strategy and tactics is exemplified in John Berger's book, *A Seventh Man,* as "his migration is like an event in a dream dreamt by an unknown sleeper, he appears to act autonomously, at times unexpectedly; but everything he

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[11]De Certeau considers the everyday life as a part of capitalist system and emphasizes the dominance of modernist strategies over the users/consumers, like Lefebvre also mentions. However, De Certeau uses a different vocabulary and also indicates that the rationalization of the city seems to be structured by the strategic course (Demirtaş, 2008).

does- unless he revolts- is determined by the needs of the dreamer's mind. The migrant's intentionality is not permeated by historical necessities of which neither he nor anybody he meets is aware. That is why it is as if his life were being dreamt by another" (as cited in Baydar, 1997). Baydar does not see any point in questioning the power of the dreamer, but she aims to focus to the unexpected acts of the migrant. These acts have displayed their potential for distracting from the historical constructions of Turkish architecture, while they can homogenize accounts of rural forms. From an architectural perspective, squatter houses are not built under the premise permanency as they are under the continuous threat of demolition, and the demolishment and the survival of the early dwellings was accomplished because of their owners' tactics against the city fathers' strategies (Baydar, 1997).

Baydar also emphasizes the way the squatter housing settlements are settled as a tool of tactics. As mentioned settlers utilize land which belongs to others, and make clever use of time in order to implement their tactics. In such case, the situations which the powerless turn into opportunities and make use of the powerful are examined and it is inevitable that a political dimension emerges in everyday practices (Baydar, 1997).

Since squatter housing sets a good example for the application of tactics, Gülsüm Baydar (1997) prospects a vision of strategy and tactic regarding squatter housing, *gecekondu*[12], instance. She states that:

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[12] "Gecekondu" is a Turkish word, used for "squatter housing" in Turkey.

"(…) although *gecekondus* lack necessary power to 'strategically' utilize and manipulate local political institutions in their service, they 'display ingenious tactics' in which they 'turn events into opportunities and make use of the strong'. In a sense, migrants 'lend a political dimension to everyday practices' and they protect early *gecekondu* dwellings by using 'tactical operations against the relentless strategies of the city fathers'" (Italics original) (Baydar, 1997, p.203).

Tactical spaces of the city are represented as fluid and multiple while they are considered as they resist totalization according to Baydar (Baydar, 1997), who states that rural migrants need to discover spatial and architectural tactics of survival and resistance while architectural discipline has kept its silence. Moreover, the rural immigrants are assimilated, subverted and mimicked (Baydar, 1997).

In short, as Baydar suggests, instead of considering the squatter settlements as being opposed to the modernization period in the urban field, these can be analyzed as spaces where dense social interaction takes place or their occupants transform them according to their needs and demands. In this case, while political forces attempt to apply their strategies regarding their representation of space, the squatter housing occupants attack these strategies by their own tactics. In other words, they stand out against the asymmetrical power of producer based strategies by their consumer based daily life routines and their necessities.

2.3. Place versus Space

As a part of the social space concept, place concept should be differentiated from space since place is more in dense relationship with the social space. Meanwhile, as the thesis is focused on the relocation from one place to another, it is logical to consider the immigrant place as "place" with full of memories, lived experiences and daily practices and the emigrant place as "space" which can be described as an empty void for its new comers. On the other hand, the comparison between space and place can be associated with the relation between strategy and tactic. Since, the occupants may use tactics in order to transform physical properties of a particular space in order to adapt their social lives and necessities, it can be mentioned that they also try to transform the space into place where they adapt the physical necessities according to their life styles.

As in the relocation process, if every story is accepted as a travel story which includes a spatial practice, the notions of "space" and "place" also play a major role in each story. In this way, De Certeau makes a distinction between space and place since place is defined as the order in accord with which elements are distributed in relationships of co-existence. At the same time, place does not allow two things exist in the same place; each existence has its own location. In this sense, place implies a sign of stability. On the other hand, a space exists when the vectors of direction, velocities and time variables are taken into consideration. Space is composed of intersections of mobile elements and it naturally includes movement. The relation between space and place proves that *space is a practiced place* (italics

original) (De Certeau, 1988)[13]. Since a certain tour/map organization is out of the question in this master thesis as both case study locations are constant and stable, it is not a story telling of action. It is rather about defining what space and place is as deciding which location belongs to which category.

To start with, it would be beneficial to understand both notions of space and place by analyzing their descriptions. According to Tuan, the intersection point of the two concepts, space and place, appears when place is accepted as a type of object and space is defined by places and objects which give space a geometric property. In this sense, Tuan gives the example of a man who has a lifetime of blindness and is incapable of immediately recognizing a geometric shape such as a triangle. The triangle is equated with space like a blurred image and places are linked to the corners of the triangle which are priorly identified in recognizing the triangle (Tuan, 1977). Thus, space reflects any place with its physical appearances or objects we directly see; however place reflects specific properties of that object or what it makes us think of.

Apart from mentioning the common points of space and place concepts, the investigation of their differentiations are helpful in order to clarify their positions.

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[13] Collaboration between the two fields has been evident ever since concerted attention to place began to emerge just over twenty years ago in, e.g., Edward Relph's *Place and Placeness (*1976) and Yi-Fu Tuan's *Space and Place* (1976). Because of their emphasis on the experiential features of place-its "subjective" or "lived" aspects-such works were natural allies of phenomenology, a form of philosophy that attempts to give a direct description of first-person experience. Both geography and phenomenology have come to focus on place as experienced by human beings, in contrast to space, whose abstractness discourages experiential explorations (Casey, 2001, p. 683).

As Tuan examines the concepts of "space" and "place" in his studies, he accepts them as the basic components of the lived world and people take them for granted. In addition to that, Tuan indicates that the use of space and place in daily experience may be confused, even though space is more abstract than place. What begins with undifferentiated space becomes place as people become more familiar with that certain space. The other differentiating point comes from the fact that place has its own properties, such as security and stability while space has freedom, openness and its threat. Furthermore, if space is conceived as the motion, place becomes pause and each pause in movement makes it possible for location to be transformed into place (Tuan, 1977). In this case, Tuan adds that "Place is a pause in movement. Animals, including human beings pause at a locality because it satisfies certain biological needs. The pause makes it possible for a locality to become a center of felt value (…) Humans do (pause), and this fact contributes to the depth of their sentiment for place" (Tuan, 1977, p. 138). Additionally, place notion is described by Norberg-Schulz (1996) as;

> "(…)place led to the conclusion that the structure of place ought to be described in terms of 'landscape' and 'settlement', and analyzed by means of categories 'space' and 'character'. Whereas 'space' denotes the three-dimensional organization of the elements which make up place, 'character' denotes the general 'atmosphere' which is the most comprehensive property of any place" (Norberg-Schulz, 1996, p. 418).

The term 'atmosphere' of Norberg-Schulz can be identified with 'the depth of sentiment' of Tuan in terms of understanding place notion.

In order investigate in detail, it may be beneficial to focus on the place concept and understand its properties. Gieryn states that "As places lose their distinctiveness,

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place loses its reality and significance, some believe" (Gieryn, 2000, p.463). At this point, it becomes clear that places have their own significances apart from their physical appearance. In this respect, according to Gieryn, places can be explained in terms of three essential features

1. Geographic Location: Place may be concerned as a unique spot in the universe while it is the distinction between here and there. As the boundaries are flexible, they nest logically though they have finitude. It could be any place in the house such as a room, an armchair or a whole building or neighborhood (Entrikin 1989, 1991).

2. Material Form: Place has physicality, whether it is artificial or natural. It is a compilation of objects at some particular spot in the universe (Soja, 1996).

3. Investment with Meaning and Value: If a place is not identified or represented by ordinary people, then it does not become a place. It can be said that they are constructed in both ways. One is physical existence and the other is the interpretation, narration, perception and imagination part of that place (Soja, 1996) (as cited in Gieryn, 2000).

While defining three features of place, it should not be forgotten that they should be collected together and none should be evaluated as having greater or lesser importance than the others in social life. Place may be substantively destroyed if three become unraveled or one of them is ignored (Entrikin 1991) (as cited in Gieryn, 2000). In this sense, the completeness of place is equaled with the existing of the three major features at the same time.

Additionally, Trancik highlights the significance of meaning and value of place in his studies. Trancik aims to achieve the understanding the cultural and human characteristics of physical space as it is believed that the place may only exist when a contextual meaning has been derived from cultural or regional content. Moreover, each space is defined as unique while taking on the character of its surrounding. This character is explained as a notion which contains two aspects, material substance, such as shape, color or texture, and a certain patina given by human use over time. The human touch over space is enlightened more by claiming that people need a stable system of places where they can develop themselves, their social lives or cultures. This fact creates a presence of emotional human content, rather than physical conditions (Trancik, 1986).

In this sense, it is possible to claim that human agency plays the major role in the formation of place. Since place has the property of existing in material form, it gains significance and identity by the meaning that humans attribute to it.

Meanwhile, the emotional human content creates a link between the human itself and his home environment. For Tuan, the value of a place comes from the intimacy of a particular human relationship while place offers little outside the human bond (Tuan, 1977). In this sense, it can be claimed that, as Tuan states, "place can acquire deep meaning for the adult through the steady accretion of sentiment over the years. Every piece of heirloom furniture, or even a stain on the wall tells a story" (Tuan, 1977, p.33). Furthermore, according to Tuan, intimate experiences occur only in places. In explaining intimate experience, he states that it is stated in

person's innermost being so that person may not even be aware of it. It may suddenly surface, when a mere smile or touch may signal our consciousness of an important occasion (Tuan, 1977).

In this respect, the notion of homeland should be evitable in the consideration of place concept. Homeland may be briefly described as a region which is large enough to support a people's livelihood and it residents create strong attachments to it. Most of the human beings even tend to regard their homeland as the center of the world (Tuan, 1977). He adds that:

> "This profound attachment to the homeland appears to be a worldwide phenomenon. It is not limited to any particular culture and economy. (…) The city or land is viewed as mother, and it nourishes; place is an archive of fond memories and splendid achievements that inspire the present; place is permanent and hence reassuring to man, who sees frailty in himself and chance and flux everywhere" (Tuan, 1977, p. 154).

Since a homeland can be an example of place, the intimacy between the place elements and the human body comes to the surface as an element of the place may catch people's attention and create the link. As Tuan designates, place can be defined in a variety of ways, one of which is the description of place as stable object that catches the person's attention. For instance, Tuan points out that it is not possible to look at a scene in general and the eyes keep searching for points of rest. In this case, a peak on the horizon which is clearly visible, a monument or a public place can be pointed and recorded (Tuan, 1977).

To be consistent with Tuan, it can be stated that each homeland has its own landmarks, which are features of high visibility and public significance, such as monuments or a cemetery. The importance of these visible signs comes from the fact that they serve to enhance people's sense of identity and bring awareness and loyalty to the place. Moreover, with the memory of sounds and smells of both communal activities and homely pleasures, the intense relation with homeland is accumulated (Tuan, 1977).

Furthermore, as Boym (1995) declares; "It was not the space itself, not the house, but the way of inhabiting it that made it a home (…)" (as cited in Wise, 2000, p.391). It is seen that home, homeland or neighborhood may become a place for a person since s/he recognizes that specific area through all five senses, thus creating a link between person and the place.

Tuan explains that deeply loved places may not be visible, either to us or to others. Palaces can only become visible by rivalry or conflict between places, visual prominence and suggestive power of art, architecture, or rites and ceremonials. Through dramatization, human places can be real and the identity of place can be achieved only by dramatizing the aspirations, needs, functional rhythms and personal or group life (Tuan, 1977).

According to Bourdieu (1990), a place is "at once, the buildings, streets, monuments, and open spaces assembled at a certain geographic spot and actors' interpretations, representations, and identifications. Both domains (the material

and the interpretive, the physical and the semiotic) work autonomously and in a mutually dependent way" (as cited in Gieryn, 2000, p.467). On the other hand, Gieyrn states; "place saturates social life: it is one medium through which social life happens" (Gieryn, 2000, p.467). Meanwhile, De Certeau (1984) claims that places are endlessly made, not only when the designer give form to function, but also when ordinary people extract from continuous and abstract space to a meaningful, identified and a significant place[14]. Alternatively, places may be made as people ascribe qualities to material and social categories, such as public or private, ours or their, safe or dangerous, beautiful or ugly (as cited in Gieryn, 2000).

Instead of defining only what place is, we may come to a conclusion by identifying what place is not. First of all, a place cannot be considered as a space. Space is conceived as abstract geometries, such as size, shape, volume or distance. In one sense, space can be summarized as anything that is left after place is sucked out with its gathering of things, meanings and values. On the other hand, it can be stated that place is a space that is filled with objects, people, representations and practices (Gieryn, 2000). Secondly, place is not a setting or a backdrop, it is an agentic player in the game, while being a force with independent effects on social life (Werlen, 1993) (as cited in Gieryn, 2000).

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[14] The making of places-identifying, designating, designing, building, using, interpreting, remembering- has been examined in three sociological literatures, only sometimes brought together: upstream forces that drive the creation of place with power and wealth; professional practices of place-experts; perceptions and attributions by ordinary people who experience places (and act on those understandings) (Gieryn, 2000, p.468).

Then again, Casey considers "space" as an encompassing volumetric void in which things (including human beings) take place and "place" as an immediate environment of the lived body -an arena of action that is once physical and historical, social and cultural" (Casey, 2001, p.684). Alternatively, if the non-existence of place is considered, according to Fullilove (1996), the loss of place may cause devastating implications for individual and collective memory, identity, history and psychological well-being (as cited in Gieyrn, 2000). Moreover, according to Dordick (1997), Rossi (1989), Snow & Anderson (1993), Wolch & Dear (1993), Wright (1997), a person without a place of their own is called "persona non locata", meaning almost being non-existent, as studies of homeless imply (as cited in Gieyrn, 2000).

In conclusion, it can be claimed that in the case of creating a place for human being, the goal of an urban designer should be fixed in the content of discovering the best fit between the physical and social context, while considering the needs and aspirations of contemporary users. Furthermore, designers are thought to create unique contextual places by exploring the local history, the needs and the feelings of the population, indigenous materials, and the political and economical realities of the community. According to Whitaker (1996), while place arranges patterns of face-to-face interaction which composes network formation and collective actions, it also secures cultural norms, memories or identities. In this case, Gieryn adds that place embodies visible and tangible ways the cultural meanings ascribed to them (Gieryn, 2000). Since a place and the emotional, sentimental bonds between people come together and bring the material formations on a geographic site and the

meaning the people invest them (Altman & Low, 1992, Gupta & Ferguson, 1997) (as cited in Gieyrn, 2000), the intense relation between the place and the social life is underlined by Gieyrn, as follows: "How do places come to be the way they are and how do places matter for social life or in socio-spatial practices"[15] (Gieryn, 2000). It should not be disregarded that when place is considered as an intimate form of space, social life plays an active role in the way that place is consumed and lived. Since the history and cultural values create a dimension in social structure of a community or only a single human being, the concept of place is strongly related with these bonds while gaining a specific significance for human beings. This property of place can be evaluated as one of the major concerns which differentiate the notion of place from space.

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[15] In the literature, there is a variety of studies on place concept. Some of them are; "transcendence of place" (Coleman, 1993), the "placelessness of place" (Relph, 1976), cities "without a place" (Sorkin, 1992) and how place becomes, with modernity, "phantasmagoric" (Giddens, 1990) (Gieryn, 2000).

CHAPTER 3

THE ANALYSIS OF THE URBAN RENEWAL PROCESS IN KADIFEKALE NEIGHBORHOOD

3.1. General Overview of Kadifekale

3.1.1. Characteristics of Kadifekale

Kadifekale occupies a significant place within the urban concept of Izmir, which may be considered as the cradle of the civilization in the history. Since the beginning of the establishment of Izmir city, Kadifekale has been always a focal point because of its central location in the city and the historical values[16] that it has carried throughout centuries. In this case, Kadifekale may be concerned as the core of the city while the city and Kadifekale have mutual interaction. In the urban history, it is precisely seen that the changing movements or periods of society and architecture had their own influences on Kadifekale district, as much as the general layout of the city.

One of the leading examples of the condition can be specified by the urban high level migration period. According to Karayiğit, the district of Kadifekale, which

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[16] The Kadifekale region always has achieved to obtain a widespread and dense population because of its location and the advantages it has carried out. Especially, Kadifekale gained more importance in Hellenistic, Roman, Byzantine and the Middle Ages through its geopolitical location (Karayiğit, 2005).

contains 7324 housing units, was affected by the squatter housing movement of 1950- 1960 period, as it was recorded as a potential disaster area by the decision of the cabinet council in 1978. In addition, the population of the Kadifekale district was reported as being approximately thirty thousand, with the majority consisting of people from Mardin, and the rest occupied by the inhabitants from the East and South-East of Turkey (Karayiğit, 2005).

As the city and Kadifekale interact with each other, any difficulty in the district directly becomes an important issue in the city. In this sense, according to the reports, the main problems of the Kadifekale district can be classified into three areas, firstly physical, including infrastructure, means of access and cultural heritage, secondly social, including education, health, and indoor-outdoor facilities, and finally economical aspects.

As a physical aspect, mainly the problems can be analyzed under the building and infrastructure, means of access and cultural heritage aspects. First of them, infrastructure, is affected by its location. Kadifekale, as described by Karayiğit, is located in the south of the city, on the top of a mountain, with a panoramic view from the height of 186 meters. The first signs of squatter housing were seen in 1950- 1960. The squatter area of Kadifekale was created on the north slope of the volcanic mass and climbed up from the valley through the Kadifekale saddle.

According to the statements of the governmental forces[17], fifty percentages of the houses are squatter houses and in some neighborhoods, the sewage system is in need of repair, the streets are too narrow, and inadequate for the population, also some old buildings are used by homeless people, who disturb the other inhabitants. However, the structure of the zone could not be prevented as the danger of the landslide creates a major problem for the infrastructure of Kadifekale. Although the district was designated as a potential disaster area by the cabinet decision in 1978, this was not enough to prevent squatter settlements. The danger of the landslide through the Kadifekale saddle still exists and creates a major problem for the infrastructure of the region (Karayiğit, 2005).

Secondly, it is presented that in regards of convenience, it is conveyed that Kadifekale district has a rising problem of accessibility, due to inadequate bus shuttle services and the condition of buses. Also the steps in the streets are damaged and in need of repair (Karayiğit, 2005).

Finally, cultural heritage of Kadifekale is considered as one of the most important touristic assets, with its historical aqueducts, stadium, theatre and agora. It is translated that all these historical structures face the danger of disappearance because of lack of attention and care. In general, inhabitants of Kadifekale are held responsible for not caring enough about their houses and the surrounding

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[17] As the published reports of Izmir Chamber of Commerce are used in order to understand the governmental discourse about the urban renewal project in Kadifekale, the report written by Karayiğit can be evaluated as a part of governmental viewpoint rather than objective assessments.

environment, and for damaging the historical background. It is stated that they are accused of damaging to the historical ruins which play an important role in tourism (Karayiğit, 2005).

In regard to the social aspect, it may be possible to investigate and solve the presented problems of Kadifekale district by means of education, health and indoor and outdoor facilities. In this sense, the lack of education opportunities are highlighted by Karayiğit, who states that in Kadifekale, there are in total six neighborhoods, but only two of them afford the opportunity of a local school. Despite the existence of young population in Kadifekale and great number of primary school-aged children, approximately 7654 in number, 780 of them do not go to school. In addition to this fact, none of the 2420 high school-aged young people go to school. Furthermore, 5500 people, one sixth of the population, are illiterate (Karayiğit, 2005).

Another aspect of social conditions is given as the necessity of health services due to the members living in the district. Kadifekale had its own gymnasium, stadium, theatre, agora and many other facility places since it was structured in 3000 BC as a developed, organized city. However, today there is an important lack of a full-capacity hospital, which is vital for its inhabitants needing health services. As Karayiğit points out, only in two of six neighborhoods, district clinics exist for service (Karayiğit, 2005).

According to research, as stated before, the number of houses in the Kadifekale area is 7324 while the overall population is around thirty thousand. This means that the average population per house is 3.2. In general the population is young and composed of the middle aged adults and adolescents, while a remarkable proportion, almost 25%, are young (Fig. 3.1) (Karayiğit, 2005). In this case, it is obvious that there is a great need for sports, social and cultural activities in order to support the social life of the young population.
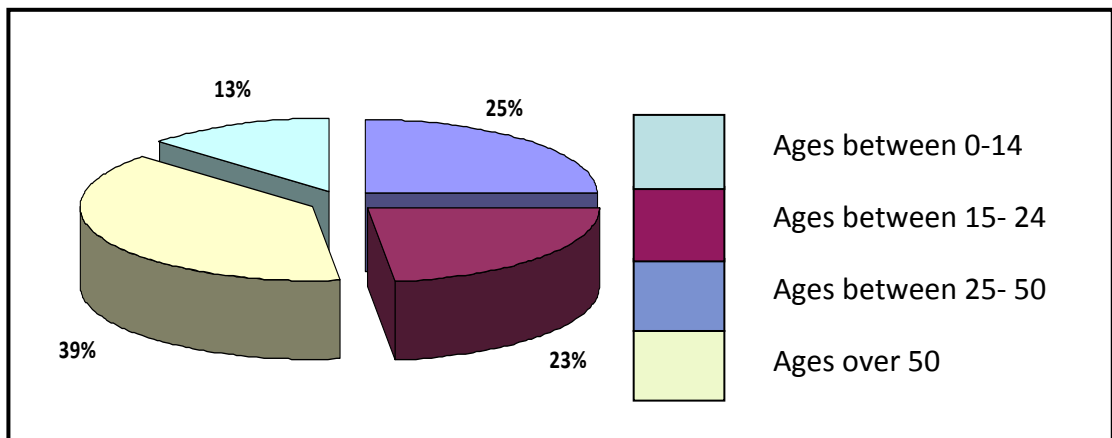
Figure 3.1.The age rates of the population in Kadifekale (Karayiğit, 2005).

In addition, population growth is increasing by 10%, and this ratio is greater than the country population average. The main reasons for this situation are low education level, lack of awareness of birth control and the high immigration rate of the region (Karayiğit, 2005). No matter what the reason is, the certain need for social activities becomes more serious in the sense of increasing number of population.

Lastly, one of the major aspects of Kadifekale district may be summarized under the title of economic conditions. As one of the oldest allocation units, Kadifekale has a strategically important place. In this context, originally, the city of Izmir was established in this region according to necessary conditions which encourage trade. In contrast, today the economy of the region is based not on trade but on the small enterprises and work of a tradesman. The field of business activities at present includes grocery, growing, restaurant-keeping and laboring. In addition, it is possible to consider stuffed mussel making-selling, rug and small businesses (Fig. 3.2 and Table 3.1) (Karayiğit, 2005).
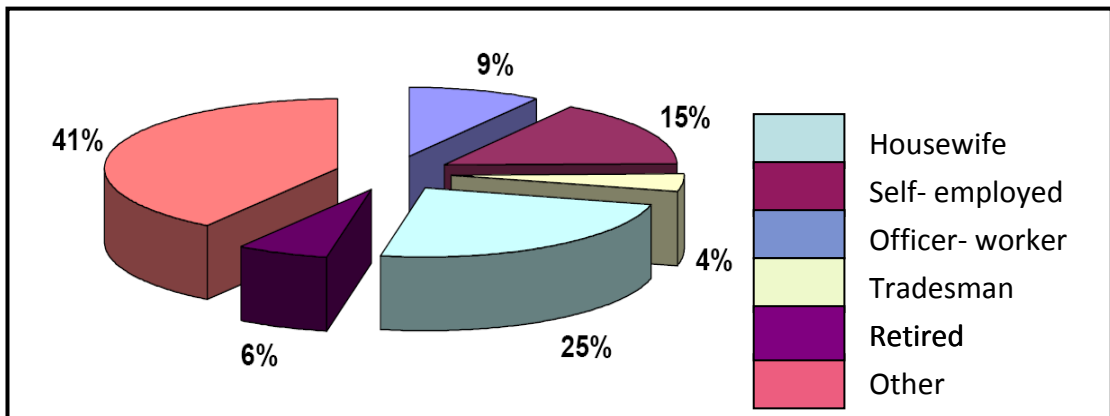
Figure 3.2.The profession rate of the population in Kadifekale (Karayiğit, 2005).

Table 3.1.Registered occupation types and numbers in Kadifekale district (translated by Meltem Eranıl Demirli) (Izmir Chamber of Commerce, Izmir Labor Association, 2005).[18]

OCCUPATION TYPE	NUMBER	OCCUPATION TYPE	NUMBER
Shoe Maker	3	Market-seller	82
Shoe Repairer	5	National Lottery Ticket Seller	15
Shoe Seller	2	Minibus Driver	5
Fisherman	2	Furniture Maker and Seller	4
Pull in Owner	5	Cartage Contractor	16
Glazier Operator	2	Wood Coal Seller	2
Domestic Trademan	2	Health Institution Employee	3
Iron Worker	3	Street Peddler	24
Leather Manufacturer	3	Driver	364
Electrician	6	Taxicab Driver	12
Aggregate Trademan	19	Repairman	5
Food Industry Employee	12	Chicken Seller	2
Grower	29	Licensed Retailer of Beverages and Tobacco	2
Truckman	23	Tailor	5
Delivery Van Operator	22	Store Dresser	11
Butcher	4	LPG Seller	3
Hair Dresser	17	Public Service Businessman	8
Restaurant Businessman	3	Bakery Employee	9
Grocer	22	Quilt Maker and Seller	2
Dry Goods and Notion Seller	3	Glassware Seller	6
Carpenter	3	Others	28
		TOTAL	798

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[18] The chart is prepared especially according to Yeni Mahalle neighborhood inhabitants in Kadifekale district.

As the capacities and deficiencies of Kadifekale district have been described, three main categories, physical, social and economical aspects will be analyzed in order to determine the current existing situation in the field. In this case, the general layout of the district by means of the feasibility of the land, the cultural historical values that exist, the lack of education and health services, the capacity of social activity centers, age rate of population, the variety of the occupations, and other characteristics of the district relating to it, insufficient conditions will be examined carefully, according to the reports and data.

3.1.2. Significance of Kadifekale

Apart from the problematic issues of Kadifekale district, it is possible to mention the strengths of the district, which create the unique properties of its importance. First of all, it is necessary to point out the importance of its location, because of a central position in the city with panoramic dominance because of its height, and also the fact that the district still holds some of the archeological ruins of its history, which adds a touristic value. In the report of Izmir Chamber of Commerce, it is shown that Kadifekale is located in the south part of the city on top of a mountain, with a height of 186 meters. In addition, it has a panoramic view over Izmir and the gulf. As the city has hosted many civilizations such as Hellene, Roman, Byzantine and Ottoman, it still holds many historical ruins. In this case, the castle of Kadifekale may be considered as one of the major ruins while the walls reach 20-25 meters in height, and the castle is braced by 24 towers. The cisterns inside the castle also still exist (Karayiğit, 2005).

Moreover, Türksoy states the importance of historical assets and their preservation, by claiming that all historical cities with local historical asset should be considered as cultural heritages of the previous civilizations. These cities still stand against wearing forces of nature and their damage; however they are vulnerable to the attacks of contemporary community. The communal approach toward these assets is the unique opportunity to determine their fate according to their permanent function. In this case, Kadifekale is measured as one of the major cultural assets in Izmir which has survived till today, and its future will be determined by the communal approach. Although, the public opinion of Izmir is settled, it is hard to claim that any massive association or action is taken into consideration (Türksoy, 2006).

The importance of Kadifekale's historical assets is also highlighted by Tarcan and Koca, who address the existing disadvantages of the district as follows:

> "Izmir is the third largest city in Turkey and a famous historic city known in the past as Smyrna. Kadifekale is also located in the south of the Izmir bay (Fig. 3.3). In Kadifekale, Mt. Pagos, stands in the impressive ruins of a castle and its walls were built by Lysimachus during the reign of Alexander the Great, which still dominates Izmir today (…) What remains today, however, dates from the rebuilding under Marcus Aurelius after a devastating earthquake in 178 AD. At the present time, unplanned urbanization, a high rate of population increase and emigration from village to city have played an important role in disturbing the balance of hydro geological and geotechnical processes, and have caused the occurrence of landslides in the Kadifekale area" (Tarcan and Koca, 2001, p.289).

Figure 3.3.A view of Kadifekale Hill and its high density housing (Tarcan and Koca, 2001).

As stated in the report of Chamber of Commerce in Izmir, Kadifekale has a strategic importance for its privileged location on the route to Ephesus in the south part of Aegean region and also for its extended view of the Izmir Gulf. Within this understanding, there have been many preservation and restoration projects in Kadifekale since 2005, in order to increase the touristic value of the district and improve the living conditions of the residents. On the other hand, because of the inconsistency in the application of the series of Kadifekale projects, the overall result has not been as effective as desired (Baran and Çiçek, 2006).

There is nothing inaccurate in considering Kadifekale as an important piece of the city formation since it adds values to the city identity while it is also affected by the constructed urban identity. In this sense, the identity of Izmir which contributes to Kadifekale's texture has been described in three categories by Kayın: its history, geography and physical conditions, and its social structure. These are summarized as follows:

- Being an "Aegean-Mediterranean city", a "port-coastal city" and a "Commerce city"

- A multi-cultural social structure because of visitor groups who stay for short or long periods and create sub-groups in the city

- Dilemma between different characteristics like being "a large city" and "coast village", holding economic-cultural potentials and disorganization, being "open" or "closed" to the outer world (Kayın, 2009).

Through all these characteristics, Izmir and eventually Kadifekale has become an important center for drawing its inhabitants from other cities, beliefs, values or cultures.

As mentioned before, Izmir has a potential for settlement since the beginning of its existence in the history and for this reason, it has been chosen by a variety of different groups. The importance of communication between groups is inevitable for creating a community and social unity. In this case, as Kadifekale hosts its population which is mainly from Mardin, it sets a good example of unity in a city with people from many different backgrounds.

So far, the importance of Kadifekale district may be reviewed by its strengths in terms of geographical opportunity, historical values, touristic significance and multi-cultural combination of its population within the urban contour. It is impossible to deny the advantages that the district brings to its inhabitants and Izmir.

3.1.3. Urban Renewal Project of Kadifekale

Kadifekale is considered as a problematic region firstly because of the potential landslide danger, and because the squatter housing settlements are considered as

part of the unhealthy urban structuring. In this sense, according to the viewpoint of Kaya and Zengel, Turkey is one of the developing countries where the urbanization process in its metropolitan cities is still incomplete, in the transition process from rural to urban life. As seen in Izmir, Turkey, the continuous migration process has come on the agenda with its flow from the eastern areas to the western cities, and as a result, homogeneity in the city structure has been dissolved by the squatter housing constructions. Some emigrants desire to carry the reflection of their own culture and hometown lifestyles, thereby; they prefer to shape their environment according to these codes. In this case, they separate their environment from the rest of the built environment that surrounds them and this causes a duality in the socio-cultural city structure. Moreover, Kaya and Zengel state that the distinct typologies have stated to appear in city structures through the growing influence of globalization. In this case, spaces have become fragmented, and isolated sites which are started to appear. As a result, metropolitan residents have lost their cultural, historical and environmental values because of piecemeal design approaches. Another effect of polarization in the city structure can be seen in the blighted neighborhoods in expanding cities. Neighborhoods which are generally occupied by migrants are formed illegally and the subjects of marginalization, exclusions and class-based differentiation have started to play role in the urban context. These types of spaces can be considered the others' spaces and they are excluded from global culture (Kaya and Zengel, 2005);

> "Migrant communities, ghettos of people of color and gypsy neighborhoods, excluded from the process of production, are all defined as marginal places of the present day. Although the concept of marginality, which is basically a sociological term, reminds us of disparity and the

condition of being different at first sight, it is enriched more with the meanings -either single or plural- borne by the common characteristics of the groups that represent the term in societies existing up to the present" (Kaya and Zengel, 2005, p. 152).

Moreover, Kaya and Zengel emphasized the emergence of duality within the global city, as the general layout of the neighborhoods and streets are directing in the horizontal expansion, while building structures and economically developed regions of globalization are positioned in vertical axes. As a result, the duality of the situation brings out unplanned developments and legality issues (Kaya and Zengel, 2005). For this reason, an urban renewal project is projected as a necessary action to take in order to refrain from marginality.

In this case, as a part of urban renewal projects in Izmir, it is planned to reorganize after the dislocation of its inhabitants to another area in the city. Firstly, the deficiencies in the structure of Kadifekale district, and the need for such a project are highlighted by the governmental services. According to Baran and Çiçek, as the last step of the urban projects in Izmir, it is planned to rehabilitate the city using the contribution of Kadifakale district with its hidden economical and touristic assets. In this respect, some neighborhoods, such as Kadifekale, İmariye, Aziziye, Altay, Yeni and Kosova, have been under investigation since 2005. For this reason, many meetings were organized by the contribution of the elected head of the neighborhood and the residents, the analyses and interviews were conducted in order to understand the problematic points of the Kadifekale environment, and the complaints of its residents. In addition, it was suggested that Izmir Metropolitan

Municipality take some action in order to exploit the Kadifekale district in city life, and use it as a tourist resource, and try to integrate its inhabitants into the socio-economic urban life (Baran and Çiçek, 2006).

The major problems of Kadifekale district are stressed by Izmir Chamber of Commerce Report on 16th August 2006. According to the report, the items are presented as;

1. "Although it is decided by the Committee of Preservation and its Decision No. 870, 16 October, 2005 that an urgent restoration project that involves the district as a whole should be applied, no restoration project has yet been started.

2. As it is decided by the Committee of Protection and its Decision No. 870, 16 October, 2005 that the city walls should be strengthened by the wire clothing system, no action has been taken. Moreover, the damaged south and southwest parts of the city wall are close to collapse.

3. Although it is necessary to raise the height of the existing retaining wall in order to provide safety of lives, it is seen that the necessary barbed wire system on the upper part of the retaining wall is removed. In this case, the entrances to the area are not protected.

4. One of the serious situations is the collection of waste materials like empty bottles or plastic bags in the historical castle area. Especially the ground around the city walls is facing this problem.

5. Particularly, the south part of the city walls is being damaged by the ruins of rubble, soil and binder dust.

6. Plastic bags and the remains of kites on barbed wire cause visual pollution.

7. While there are some bores on the south-west part of the city walls, there are also squatter houses between the city walls and retaining wall. This fact shows that there are people living in that zone for a certain time and unfortunately they cause pollution by leaving their piles of wood and waste.

Moreover, they use the area between city walls and retaining wall for grazing goats.

8. It is observed that the empty places should be covered by the green iron blustered fence as they can be seen to the south-west of the city walls.

9. Inside the borders of the city walls, there is a water depot which belongs to IZSU; a dwelling belonging to Turkish Airlines and a nursery garden that is owned by Konak Municipality. In addition, the existing vehicle road prevents the area from being a first grade archeological site.

10. There are collapsed wire fences on the upper part of the city walls.

11. Existing iron cast columns and the cut ones create a visual pollution as they are covered by rust.

12. Although there are direction signs, an information officer who knows foreign language is needed to be assigned to translate the signs.

13. It is observed that some people with criminal intent can reach the tourists because of the lack of guards and controlled entrances.

14. It is seen that some children disturb the tourists by their efforts to sell items.

15. In the uncontrolled areas, there are some recently-created steps made out of stones, in order to make climbing up the road easier.

16. The dwelling which belongs to Turkish Airlines and the nursery garden that is owned by Konak Municipality should be demolished.

17. The wild grass on the city walls should be cleared.

18. The public seating units are damaged.

19. The public rest rooms, which are built by the Izmir Chamber of Commerce, are damaged. The windows are broken and the walls are dirty" (Baran and Çiçek, 2006).

Moreover, some conditions of Kadifekale district, represented as problematic, are unilaterally reflected, the positive factors are ignored. These can be summarized under the subjects of historical assets, multi-cultural structure of the city and the condensed social network among its inhabitants. According to Özden, because of the increasing population and economic pressure, some geographical zones which

were not preferred previously, have now become desirable. The main areas for this type of development are the costal areas where the layers of earth are not packed tightly. Izmir is a significant example on a worldwide scale for these new settlements. In this sense, the structuring process has accelerated by the public housing projects on Meles and Eski Gediz River Deltas. However, Izmir still has many construction sites which have the potential risk of landslide, the majority of these constructions are slum houses which are grouped at Kadifekale zone and around it (Özden, 2008).

One aim of the renewal project is to find alternative restoration solutions to the potential natural hazards of Kadifekale district. According to the Izmir Chamber of Commerce report, the restoration project in Kadifekale is considered as an urgent act to rescue the historical structure of the district and to protect the residents from natural disasters and its hazards, and some solutions have been offered. These key points are;

- "Certain warning signs should be located through the city walls and the important precautions should be applied to provide safety of lives.
- Traffic should be prevented on the vehicle road underneath the southern city walls.
- All the necessary documentations should be asked from the municipality whether they were applied within a project or not and the collected documents should be used for further projects in Kadifekale.
- All the applications should evaluated by the professionals of committee office before implementation.
- A type of administration should be clarified for Kadifekale.
- The research excavations should be started in the south part of the city walls, where they are not visible from roads/paths" (Baran and Çiçek, 2006).

The urban renewal project of Kadifekale district is being closely followed by the press groups as it occupies an important issue in the agenda. While the majority of the free press is concerned about the projects and questions its consequences, the press which is subordinate to governmental services, supports the project and gives project news in a favorable light.

According to the reports of municipality, urban project is described by giving sort of numbers and input data. After the decision to demolish 2508 living units in Kadifekale, 1764 of 2156 TOKI Uzundere units were bought by Izmir Metropolitan Municipality, while 392 units were left to TOKI. In addition, the inhabitants of 1149 Kadifekale houses in the landslide zone will move to the TOKI Uzundere, while the remaining 615 units will be evaluated later in order to be used in different urban renewal projects.

As the Mayor emphasizes the difficulty of relocating Kadifekale inhabitants, he states "I know that those people have memories, even about a scratch on the wall of their homes. However, the region is a matter of life and death because of its location. For that reason, we definitely need to implement this renewal project" (http://www.arkitera.com/h29373-uzunderede-mutlu-son.html, Izmir Metropolitan Municipality, May 27, 2008).

The commentaries and the news about the urban renewal project in Kadifekale exist in many publications. It is possible to separate them into two groups, which evaluates the renewal project as a positive implementation of the municipality, and

the ones which consider the negative effects of the renewal. Examples of the first group, the positive attitude, are found in the municipality reports. As an example of the first group, it is mentioned that after the meetings with the inhabitants and the municipality, 620 of 2508 accepted payment for the value of their houses in Kadifekale, while 1149 were obligated by law to sign the contract. The people who did not sign, preferred to go to the law court, however, inhabitants who go to court will lose their right to own a unit in TOKI Uzundere, as an expropriation act allows for direct payment of the allowance of the settlement (http://www.arkitera.com/h29373-uzunderede-mutlu-son.html, Izmir Metropolitan Municipality, May 27, 2008).

Furthermore, it is reported that the Mayor of the Izmir Metropolitan Municipality has expressed the urban renewal project of Izmir in his own words;

> "We want to save you from living under risk. We want to save the lives of you, your children and grandchildren. That is what our aim is. You should avoid the idea that Kadifekale will be taken from you and the construction of villas will take place here. There is nothing like this. As long as the Turkish Republic will be directed by democracy and its president, prime minister and TBMM[19], any further implementation in construction cannot be applied in the landslide area. The constitution would also not allow it. Only forestation is appropriate for that area. In the project of Uzundere, it is aimed to improve your life standards. We will not bring you to any place which has worse conditions. We are here to solve your problems and we aim to save your life and goods" (http://www.arkitera.com/h17861-kadifekale-zirvesi.html, Izmir Metropolitan Municipality, June 26, 2007).

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[19] TBMM which is *Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi* in Turkish has its equivalent in English as the Turkish Grand National Assembly.

In addition, the mayor has stated that the project will be analyzed for three years, including the variations in the prices of the 1968 housing units. In this respect, he adds that the houses in Uzundere will be also varied according to their prices and suitable payment conditions will be created for the inhabitants[20]. In advance, the municipality will provide every type of social facility, such as stuffed mussel storage, bazaar place, multi-functional saloon, sports center and computer-laboratory place. On the other hand, the mayor of the Konak Municipality (in 2007), Muzaffer Tunçağ states that the housing units in Uzundere will be a part of the city, which is modern in its infrastructure systems and social facilities. The average size per house is 70 squaremeters, which is larger than the ones presently inhabited, which are 55-60 squaremeters. In this case, 80 percentages of the total inhabitants will have the opportunity to live in larger spaces (http://www.arkitera.com/h17861-kadifekale-zirvesi.html, Izmir Metropolitan Municipality, June 26, 2007).

Moreover, according to the clarifications of Izmir Metropolitan Municipality, there will be special sterilized pools for mussel production, sterilization units and 21 stuff mussel selling counters. Kocaoğlu[21] highlights the importance of providing necessary conditions to survive their jobs and earn money and he explains this situation as; "We want to set up a good example for Turkey by finding solutions for Kadifekale people to earn enough to get along in TOKI Uzundere". The mussel

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[20] The mayor declares that the municipality is ready to allocate 16-17 thousand TL to compensate inhabitants whose old house has greater value than the new one in TOKI Uzundere. Those whose house has a lower value will pay 33 thousand TL, which they pay over 15 years (180 months) at the rate of 120-150 TL per month.

[21] Aziz Kocaoğlu (1948 -) has been the mayor of Izmir Metropolitan Municipality since 2004.

facility is planned to be structured in a one-floor construction, on 6337 squaremeters of land which also includes 21 selling counters and a sterile pool. The Mayor further explains the project with the following statements;

> "Urban renewal does not only mean destroying unhealthy living units and building up high rise buildings. Creating green areas and social activity places must be the core of the project as each renewal projects requires different properties for having different geography and socio-cultural values. When Izmir is focused on, it is seen that the city is surrounded by unhealthy living units, as it seeks green environment. We would like to change this image by the formula of "urban forest and plus living unit" and by distributing the dense population to the satellite cities which will help to create new attraction points (…)" (http://www.arkitera.com/h18492-izmirdeki-kentsel-donusum-turkiyeye-ornek-olacak.html, Izmir Metropolitan Municipality, July 17, 2007).

Still, in the declaration of the municipality, it is claimed that Kadifekale will become a "nook from heaven". Apart from all the considered activity facilities in the landslide area of Kadifekale, equal to 42 hectares in total, it is planned to build a huge sculpture which signifies the historical past of Izmir, and which can also be seen from the city center (http://www.arkitera.com/h31063-kadifekale-nefes-alacak.html, Izmir Metropolitan Municipality, July 1, 2008).

Özden Alıcıgüzel, the urban planner of Izmir Metropolitan Municipality, has declared that Kadifekale area analysis had been completed and in the following periods, it is aimed to create an axis which connects Kadifekale to the historical areas such as Agora and Kemeraltı. Moreover, it is claimed that, without causing any unjust treatment, Kadifekale inhabitants are going to be moved to another

place and the area will be revaluated in the urban context (http://www.arkitera.com/haberler/2003/07/07/kadifekale.htm, Yeni Asır Press, July 7, 2008).

Another statement of the municipality focuses on the strategic aims and objectives. It is specified that the main subjects of Izmir's historical heritage which are Kemeraltı, Kadifekale, Agora, Amphitheatre and its surroundings will be prevented from becoming distress areas and they will be integrated with the rest of the city. In relation to this aim, certain principles are set for the protection of the historical, archeological and cultural identity of the region. These principles are;

- Integrating the archeological heritage of Izmir-Konak, Kemeraltı and its surrounding with the modern city life
- Repairing the historical fabric and integrating it into the city by restoration of the monumental and vernacular architecture elements
- The preparation and application of urban designs and environmental arrangements that cover public squares, parks and streets
- Vacating the geologically unstable areas
- Preserving the living areas, dealing with their social problems and integrating them into the city
- Carrying out as the inventory analysis for the historical and cultural structure of the region
- Identifying the relations between the area and the tourist industry
- Improving the infrastructure and transportation systems of the region
- Creating a model for the production and conservation of the projects that deal with rehabilitation process of the region in order to improve social and economical factors (http://www.arkitera.com/h34076-izmirde-tarih-iste-boyle-ayaga-kalkacak.html, Izmir Metropolitan Municipality, Sept 16, 2008).

On the other hand, the serious considerations of the consequences of the urban renewal project are found in the press, though it is limited. The second part, aims to highlight the reasons of the negative attitude towards the project.

As a part of urban renewal project of Izmir Metropolitan Municipality, 1968 housing units will be demolished, and the region is characterized as being vulnerable to natural disasters. However, the executive officer of the Kadifekale Merkez Neighborhood, and Davut Tekin, who is the head of the Kadifekale Beneficiary Association claim that not all of this area is considered a "natural disaster region" in the researches of the universities, and by applying the ground interview studies, and they insist on protecting the inhabitants from the distress caused by the relocation process. In addition, Mustafa Rollas, who works as a lawyer for the inhabitants of Kadifekale disputing the demolition in the region, states that there is no obstacle for the rehabilitation of the old houses in Kadifekale, and people's right to live there should be respected (http://www.arkitera.com/h27368-kadifekaleliler-yikimlara-karsi-cankaya-yolunda.html, BirGün Press, April 14, 2008).

In another source, it is reported that the authorities in Izmir Metropolitan Municipality state that in the name of urban renewal, 124 houses in Kadifekale have been demolished and 112 structures are awaiting demolitions according to the recent documents of 23 December, 2008. Moreover, since September in 2007, the demolishing process has been carried out manually in the narrow streets of Kadifekale, where heavy construction equipments are not able to move in and it is reported that some tenants do not leave their houses during the demolition. In

addition, the authorities declare that the owners of the real properties have signed the contract and already received the compensation payment. In addition, written notices sent to the owners in order to vacate their houses have not made any difference in the existing situation, and the final verbal notices were delivered to each house at least one month ago. Finally, when the tenants could not resist anymore, demolishing teams started to work after removing the belongings of the inhabitants (http://www.arkitera.com/h37035-kadifekalede-yikimlar-hizlandi.html, Yeni Asır Press, Dec 23, 2008).

Meanwhile, as it is planned to integrate Kadifekale into the whole urban structure of Izmir, the Roman amphitheatre, which has the capacity of 6000 people, has been ascertained to exist in Kadifekale district, and this as well as the rest of the area is planned to be archeological and historical site. In this case, four steps are regarded in the process of the project. In the first step, the buildings in area of the theatre will be subjected to the condemnation process, and the archeological excavations will start. In the second step, while the scientific and drilling excavations continue, a water depot, a nursery garden and wireless station will be sold to raise money for the project and restoration projects of the cistern inside the limits of the existing city walls will be prepared. In the following stage, urban design in city walls and environmental design in Kadifekale will be considered as the main issue and finally in the last step, Kadifekale region will be rebuilt as an archeological-historical park, with the integration of Kemeraltı, Agora, Roman Road and stadium (http://www.arkitera.com/h20253-kadifekale-de-tarih-yeniden-canlaniyor.html, NTVMSNBC, Sept 17, 2007).

Furthermore, although new housing units in the public housing project have been promised to the inhabitants of Kadifekale, it is seen that no new units remain. According to the statements of Izmir Metropolitan Municipality, the public housing projects, which are dispersed over the city, are planned to be completed by 2008 (http://www.arkitera.com/h20253-kadifekale-de-tarih-yeniden-canlaniyor.html, Zaman Press, Feb 15, 2007).

Finally, it may be considered that there are various opinions about urban renewal project in Kadifekale, which can be divided into positive and negative. On the positive side, basically the governmental organizations, municipality services and its press units present the project as the inhabitants will move to a new environment which is away from the landslide area and capable of supporting all the needs for modern living. On the other hand, the negative viewpoints stress the results of dislocation, the erosion of socio-cultural values through exposure to a new form of urban life and the possible damages in the communication network of the inhabitants, which are not truly considered in the press that supports governmental strategies, but are considered only in other media which have critical viewpoint in this sense.

3.2. TOKI Uzundere Public Housing Project

As this part of the study focuses on the analysis of the existing conditions of TOKI, the description of TOKI, with its history, functions, projects and criticisms will be examined at first place. Furthermore, the reasons presented for Uzundere Public

Housing Project, the physical conditions of the project and the detailed spatial aspects of the housing units will be investigated.

3.2.1. History and Representation of TOKI

According to the remarks of TOKI on the official website, the government aims to support the production process of housing units by TOKI (Housing Development Administration of Turkey) or local services. In this respect, in 1984, the administration was established in order to solve the problems of rapid increase in population and reduce the unemployment rate. First, an autonomous public housing fund was legalized by the new regulations, although it was canceled in 2001. With the help of the fund, Housing Development Administration of Turkey supported 950000 housing units with financial credits from its establishment until year 2002. Meanwhile, it has completed the construction of 43145 housing units, built on its own land. The function of Housing Development Administration of Turkey has been stated as promoting housing production and providing the community accordingly (http://www.toki.gov.tr/, 2010).

In addition, in the EIA report of Housing Development Administration of Turkey, the aim of TOKI is stated as providing the necessary communal supports and organizing services in order to supply the housing needs of a country, and provide orderly urbanization. The foundation of the public housing policy is based on supporting those who cannot afford a house under present market conditions. In this sense, the principle "sufficient housing for everyone" is considered in structuring the

politics and actions of TOKI. As the sum of TOKI's objectives; disciplining the housing market by producing houses on a certain model by alternative applications, considering the issues of quality, sustainability and cost, producing housing units in the areas which the private sector disregards, providing houses for those who cannot afford a house, supporting the balanced distribution of the general population over the whole country, contributing the renewal of slum areas and orderly urbanization should be taken into consideration (EIA Report, 2005).

On the other hand, many of TOKI projects have been accomplished in partnership with private construction companies. The directorate of TOKI mentions that the organization has tried to adopt today's conditions and needs, as the smaller housing projects have been replaced by new "TOKI cities" (http://www.gazeteparc.com/h28951-ket25-toki-sehirleri-geliyor.html, 2010). In this sense, it is underlined that TOKI transforms the part of the city in which it exists, and henceforth that particular part of the city becomes primarily known as the location of a TOKI project.

In the case of Izmir, many construction businesses such as TOKI, Izmir Metropolitan Municipality, Ege-Koop have started to supply the need of housing through the whole city as housing issue has become a serious problem because of the increasing migration rates and population in cities. As an example of the work of TOKI, it is reported that 27 housing projects have been realized in Izmir, producing housing units in the areas that are ignored by the private sector, but have been especially targeted by TOKI (Temiz, 2009).

Meanwhile, TOKI have participated in several urban renewal projects in Izmir in order to speed up slum-housing transformations and supplement planned urbanization. For instance, there are some projects in Örnekkoy and Uzundere in progress. Moreover, in the private sector, TOKI is participated in Mavişehir housing project with Soyak Company (Temiz, 2009) (Fig. 3.4).

Figure 3.4.The localization of some projects and TOKI in Izmir with their distances to the city center (Google Earth) [Accessed: 10.09.10].

According to the statements of TOKI authorities, with the help of the private sector, in the example of Izmir, there is an improvement in restoration of slum areas, rapid production of housing units, and demolition of slum houses as a consequence of urban renewal projects, and the provision of good housing condition to the community (Temiz, 2009). In addition, in the recent works of TOKI, it is seen that

renovating the unplanned areas, which includes slum houses, is taking first place, as authorities have claimed, and they aim to develop at least one renewal project in each municipality and the city center in the current TOKI five-year plan (http://arkitera.com/h25591-toki-124-bin-gecekonduyu-donusturdu.html, *Radikal*, 2008).

Moreover, in the case of TOKI Uzundere, the urgent need has been created by the governmental agencies since the potential landslide danger in Kadifekale district has been revealed. According to the municipality, between 1962 and 2005, 8 geological reports have been prepared according to the field research of Kadifekale area and in the years of 1978, 1981, 1998 and 2003, Kadifekale was considered as landslide risk area, by the cabinet council. Condemnation proceedings have been under consideration by the municipality since 20th of July 2006. The housing units, which are poor in terms of the quality of the material used, incongruous to construction techniques, and which lack planning, are built on geologically unsuitable land. This fact may cause a great damage in the future. However, while the inhabitants show resistance to being forced to leave the environment that they live in, the potential landslide danger has been realized and accepted by the majority (Karadağ http://www.arkitera.com/g67-kentsel-donusum.html, 2008).

It is stated in EIA Report of TOKI that the population of 15000 will move to the area of TOKI and it will develop the regional and national economy. As the half of the project is allocated to the urban renewal project, people who live in poor conditions

of squatter houses will move to the modern housing units. In this aspect, the city will gain a more modern outlook (EIA Report, 2005) (Fig. 3.5).
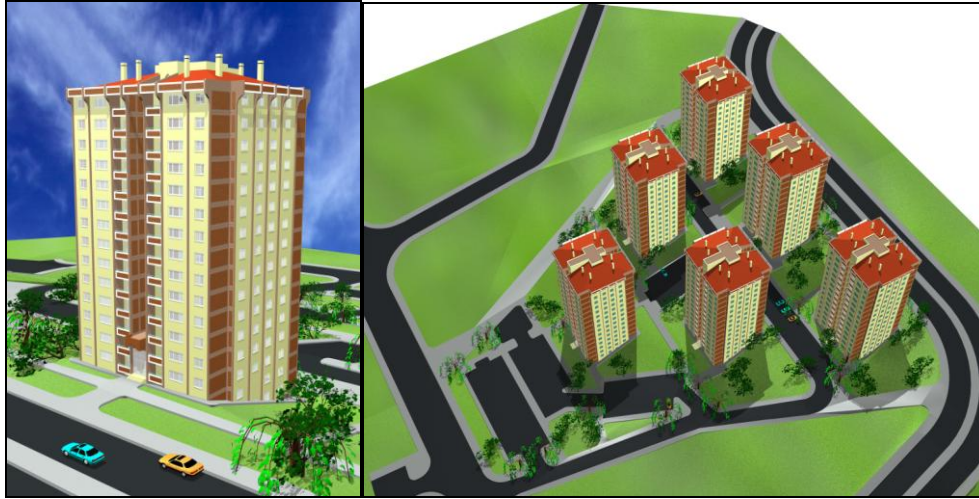

Figure 3.5.The 3D representation of group of blocks (TOKI Project Management).

Besides all the represented good reputation of TOKI, there are also some negative opinions. It has been described as having monotonous and alien properties, and introducing "block apartment" architecture. Moreover, the projects have been criticized for ignoring the local identity. On the other hand, while the function of TOKI is considered to be a community duty, the project should be responsible for taking the local culture and environmental values into consideration (Ekinci, 2007).

According to the study of Temiz, an enquiry has been held among the locals of Izmir in order to gather opinions of some construction projects, such as TOKI, Soyak and Yüksek Vadi. When the chart is analyzed, it is clearly seen that the community does not find TOKI projects successful and efficient, considering their design approach stable, monotonous etc. (Fig. 3.6).
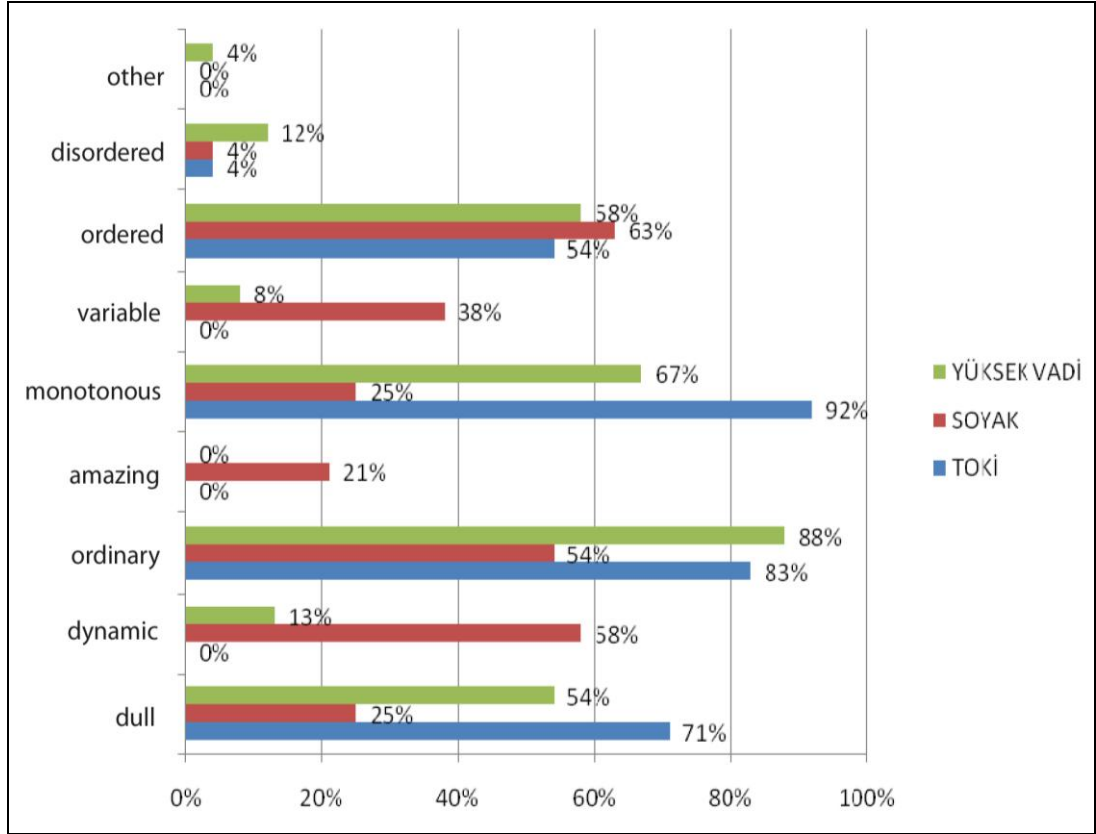
Figure 3.6.The comparative chart among TOKI, Soyak and Yuksek Vadi construction projects (Temiz, 2009).

In this sense, it was expected that TOKI would fulfill three critical criteria:

- In each project, the overall construction-urban balance in the city and local identity with unique life style should be evaluated.
- Instead of putting blocks in layout plan, the housing units should be designed with the human factor that promotes community services, vivid streets and squares.
- The character of "Anatolian city" should be continued in a contemporary way, which brings an option to create open bazaars instead of locating supermarkets (Ekinci, http://www.arkitera.com/h21018-anadoluda-toki-mimarligi.html, 2007).

In short, the potential consequences of the project that are rendered entirely in positive predictions are promoted by the municipality services. According to the

municipality, with the help of the project, the renewal urban part in Kadifekale and Uzundere Public Housing site will help to create a new urban identity. Moreover, the inadequacy in education, socio-psychological abnormalities and criminal leanings caused by a reaction to the state and the ruling class will be terminated. Additionally, by providing the right of living in spaces that are charged with modern life requirements, improving the life quality and decreasing the risk of natural hazards will promote a healthy social environment. Living in the environment that is supplied with education, health, social areas and green areas will increase the economical, social, political, and psychological and aesthetics values of the inhabitants who are used to live in slum houses. Living space is designed according to the variety of the inhabitants' ages and their social, cultural and economical conditions (Karadağ, http://www.arkitera.com/g67-kentsel-donusum.html, 2008).

Even though TOKI has been criticized in many ways, when the overall reports of the municipality are analyzed, it can be stated that TOKI is represented as the symbol of modernity and good economical and social conditions by the government. It may be considered that TOKI Uzundere may provide solutions in the physical environment within infrastructure systems. On the other hand, losing the meaning of dwelling, intimacy and privacy, use of indoor and outdoor spaces within functions of spaces, deconstruction of the meaning of the neighborhood and the intimacy of place within categories of visual recognition, odor and social network, treating building structures as isolated objects by causing lost spaces in urban fabric, unplanned physical environment for outdoor activities, difficulty in access to the city center,

separation of work from home, topography, and the situation of being "other" can be considered as some of the major aspects to be criticized in TOKI Uzundere.

3.2.2. Architectural Information about TOKI Uzundere

In the case of TOKI Uzundere, it is given that the project is governmentally supported and it consists of 3080 housing units on an area of 58 hectares (Fig. 3.7). The building types can be described as 10-15 storey apartment blocks. It is planned that the new residents of these blocks are to be the current inhabitants of Ballıkuyu, Vezirağa, Kadifekale and Bayraklı who are assumed to be in the danger of landslide. In the whole public housing project, TOKI has its own quota of 70 percentages for settling Kadifekale inhabitants and the apartment blocks of "B, B2, C and F" types have been allocated. The properties of these blocks can be described as follows;

B Type: It has 2 rooms and a living room, occupying a gross space of 75.06 squaremeters. There are 560 units in total.

B2 Type: It has 2 rooms and a living room, occupying a gross space of 94.91 squaremeters. There are 840 units in total.

C Type: It has 3 rooms and a living room, occupying a gross space of 120.18 squaremeters. There are 644 units in total (Fig. 3.8).

F Type: It has 2 rooms and a living room, occupying a gross space of 94.60 squaremeters. There are 112 units in total (http://www.arkitera.com/h9774-toki-konutlari-tanitimi-icin-irtibat-burosu.html, Izmir Metropolitan Municipality, 2008) (Fig. 3.9).

Figure 3.8.The 3D model of TOKI general outlook as represented to public during sales (http://www.toki.gov.tr/uygulama/index.html).
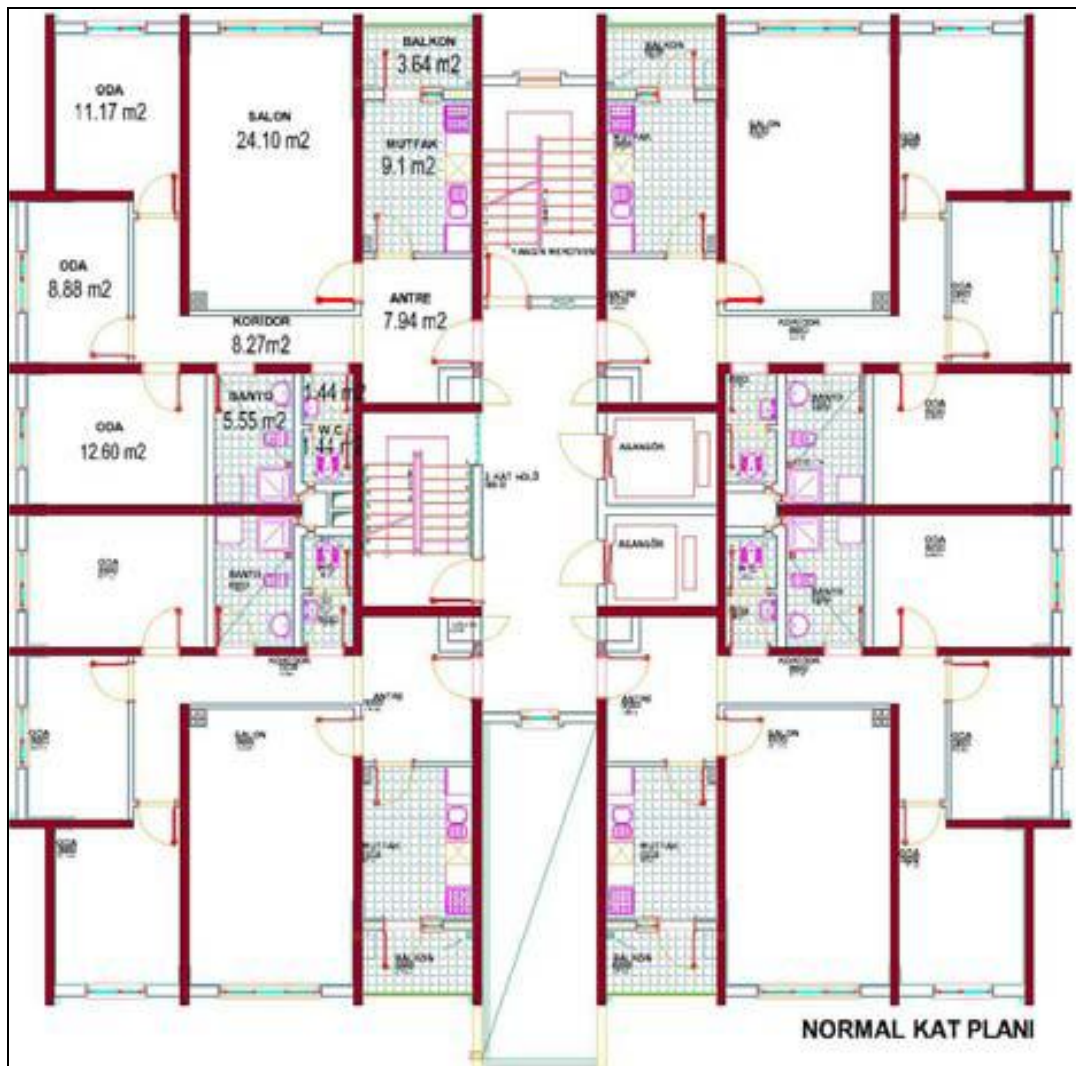

Figure 3.9.The plan of C type apartment building in TOKI Uzundere.
(http://www.toki.gov.tr/html/satis/izmir/uzundere-k/C-kat.jpg)

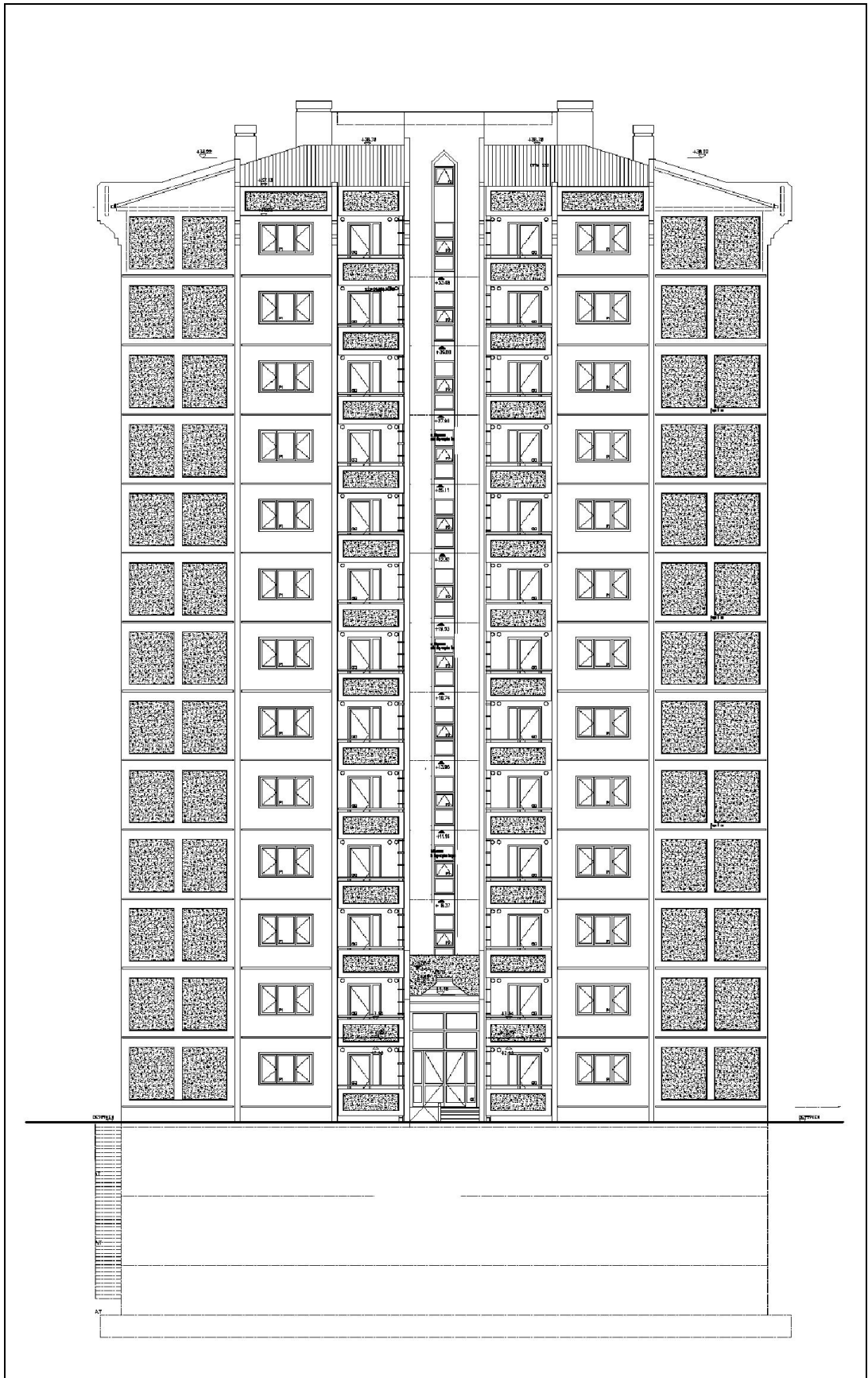Figure 3.10.The front facade of an apartment building in TOKI Uzundere
(TOKI Project Management).

In the project of TOKI Uzundere, the overall project site is planned to be 22 plots, 1017 parcels and 469425 squaremeters of land. Since the project is managed by the cooperation of five different construction companies, it has been divided into four stages and completed in separate steps. In regard to the project site and its location in the city, a particular zone between Aydın-Çeşme local roads and Uzundere turn has been chosen,-a 47- hectare site which occupies the south part of highway that uses the local and suburban access potential. In the case of access, the project site has a distance of 9 km from the city center in Konak and it takes 30-35 minutes to reach the site by main access or 20 minutes by the local road. Furthermore, facilities in the vicinity include "Uzundere recreation space", "Uzundere Urban Renewal Site", "Olympic Village" of Konak Municipality and "New Specialization Fair" and "Gaziemir Free Trade Zone of Izmir Metropolitan Municipality". In respect to topography, while a constant homogeneous slope in TOKI Uzundere is out of concern, the housing units are shown as more attractive by promoting a view of the Izmir Gulf through the high-rise structure of apartment blocks and their level difference in height from the highway (Akdağ, 2009).

Since it is represented that TOKI Uzundere aims to solve the spatial problems of the unhealthy environment of squatter housing constructions, it also considers social aspect of the slum construction concept. In this sense, the lack of education, socio-psychological abnormalities and criminal tendencies will be discouraged, while improving the standard of life, reducing the risk of natural hazards and providing modern living necessities. In order to supply these social necessities, an eight-floor

hospital, open bazaar space, police station, place of worship, trade center, primary and secondary level education center and sports center are planned (Akdağ, 2009).

In order to emphasize the social importance of TOKI Uzundere, it is presented that apart from being represented as a urban renewal project, the project should also be considered as a social project, which is summed up in the words of Kocaoğlu: "We all know that an urban renewal actually means a social renewal." In this sense the main aim of moving the citizens from their houses to the apartment buildings is explained as a municipal policy to prevent them from being damaged by landslide which is highly likely to occur in Kadifekale. Secondly, after providing those suitable living conditions, the municipality states that they aim to give them modern city life necessities and allow their children grow up in a healthy environment (Cihan Haber Ajansı, 2008).

Once the problem of the landslide danger has been solved, it is stated that the district will become a new attraction center of Izmir after the relocation of citizens who used to live in the landslide area to TOKI Uzundere housing units. According to the plans of Izmir Metropolitan Municipality, the region will be considered as recreation area, for which the following developments are being undertaken:

- Landscape architecture will be taken as the core of the arrangements and the area will be a value for its visual and functional properties in the urban context.
- Walking, racing and bicycle tracks, seating units with pergolas, sightseeing platforms, playgrounds, open sports ground, multi-functional amphitheatre , and a kite hill will be created.

- Activity places and exhibition units take place in order to be used for exhibiting the local production, art and education activities (http://www.arkitera.com/h41372-kadifekalede-kadife-yikim-suruyor.html, Referans Press, May, 19, 2009).

Since the authorities of TOKI and municipality represent TOKI projects as a solution to squatter housing constructions in the city and unhealthy living conditions, which depend on the squatter construction fact, they also consider the recreation of the abandoned space in Kadifekale that is created by the relocation of the inhabitants to TOKI public housing units. Moreover, while TOKI Uzundere has been structured according to physical considerations, it is represented that the project has many benefits in social life, as it is promised that the new generations will grow up in a healthier physically and socially constructed world. Although the urban renewal project and relocation process are idealized and represented as the perfect solution, it is possible to observe that TOKI Uzundere project does not respond to all the needs of the Kadifekale inhabitants in social aspects. It is certain that deficiencies in the design process of the physical structure have several negative results on social life. In this case, by the method of comparison, the environments of Kadifekale and TOKI Uzundere will be analyzed from every aspect of the socio-spatial dimension in order to reach an objective, full-dimensioned and crosschecked evaluation.

CHAPTER 4

THE COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

The modern apartment is an element in a system and, as such, it requires its occupants to adopt a certain life-style; it presupposes and calls for the adoption of a whole complex of practices and representations.

Pierre Bourdieu, *Algeria 1960*

As the inhabitants of Kadifekale are forced to relocate and have started to move into to the public housing units, the environment in which they are used to living is undoubtedly going to change. In this case, it is beneficial to make a comparison between the two different living environments, with their contradictory conditions, their effects on the inhabitants and their consequences in the social lives of inhabitants, since the physical conditions will be significantly transformed. Some of the questions (as suggested by Ghannam), such as which areas can be used for the new residents' activities such as socializing, raising animals, and gardening as well as for celebrating weddings and receiving condolences after funerals are needed to be reconsidered (Ghannam, 2002). It is clearly seen that the changes in the physical conditions and the social life interact with each other, which can be grouped under three dimensions: housing scale, neighborhood scale and urban scale. Each scale of analysis is structured in two streams which are social and physical issues. In order to understand the way people carry out daily practices, their habits and social relations

in relation to each other, an in-depth interview was held among the inhabitants of Kadifekale which also helps to highlight the huge changes and sharp differences they face in their new housing units and neighborhood. For this reason, it is understood that spaces should be concerned beforehand in order to prevent the housing project from being such a space that can be described as Augé claims; "(…)in which neither identity, nor relations, nor history really make any sense; spaces in which solitude is experienced as an overburdening or emptying of individuality (…)" (Augé, 1995, p.70). It should create specific solutions for making the newcomers adapt themselves to the new environment, and these should be wisely thought out in detail and applied in the plans.

Considering the social dimensions within the framework of urban renewal notion, the question of whether TOKI Uzundere provides a solution in respect to the needs and demands of the inhabitants of Kadifekale needs to be answered.

It may be said that the urban renewal, which is applied in Kadifekale, should be composed of not only physical but also social aspects, as it is structured according to indispensable needs and demands of the inhabitants living in contemporary city life. TOKI should not only aim to be successful in urban planning, but also in investing in the social and economical development of society. In this respect, when the question is asked whether TOKI is a permanent solution to the problems of the people of Kadifekale, or on the contrary, a problem creator, it is difficult to decide the answer. However, in conclusion, it should be admitted that TOKI has negative

aspects, as it is not self-sufficient for solving the problems totally, whereas it also creates new ones, which will be discussed in the following sub-chapters.

4.1. Housing Scale

Since the social life within the changing physical conditions and redefined types of spaces is in the process of modification, the uncongeniality among the lives which inhabitants are used to, and the new conditions which they are forced to integrate with, may be observed in three dimensions of the living spaces in TOKI Uzundere, which are the housing, neighborhood and urban scales. In this case, apart from the theoretical background and observations on the case study site, an interview was conducted among the inhabitants of Kadifekale. While physical conditions may be observed, the social consequences could only be identified by the interview results. Consequently, on the housing scale, the specified subjects of social issues are "meaning of dwelling", "intimacy" and "privacy" and physical issues focus on the "indoor and outdoor spaces within functions of spaces" through the criticisms of several theoreticians, personal observations and interview questions.

To start with, as a part of social issues, it is beneficial to analyze what a home or a dwelling means for human-beings. According to Heidegger, since every building cannot be counted as dwelling, to dwell means a place that human being takes shelter in. In his studies, the conditions of being and dwelling are investigated, and Heidegger has come to the point that though contemporary housing units may be well-planned, open to air or sun, they do not guarantee that dwelling occurs in.

Moreover, he claims that "dwelling (…)is the basic character of 'Being' in keeping with which mortals exist. (…) we try to fill the need by providing houses, by promoting the building of houses, planning the whole architectural enterprise" (Heidegger, 1997, p.109). At this point, it can be said that the notion of housing or dwelling, in the basic sense, has an intense relationship with human beings themselves. The properties of the dwelling can be considered as the sums of essential characteristics of the ones who live inside, as this gives the clues to what they are fond of, what they do; or more importantly, it identifies who they are.

In addition, Tuan has an approach towards dwelling on describing what home actually is for the human being. For Tuan, home place may be full of ordinary objects which cannot be counted as works of art, though they are known through their use. They become a part of the person's being as they come too close to be seen (Tuan, 1977). It is possible to mention the two important critical points of Tuan as he states. First, the incorporeal values of concept of home and its substances for people who live in it, and secondly, he underlines the strong connection of being and home itself, as Heidegger does. Moreover, Tuan adds another value to home and claims that home is an intimate place, continuing;

> "We think of the house as home and place, but enchanted images of the past are evoked not so much by the entire building, which can only be seen, as by its components and furnishings, which can be touched and smelled as well: the attic and the cellar, the fireplace and the bay window, the hidden corners, a stool, a gilded mirror, a chipped shell (…) a place where every day is multiplied by all the days before it" (Tuan, 1977, p.144).

The importance of the living experiences inside the house and their effects on the house though they are not clearly seen or easily recognizable, creates a value that transforms the house into home place.

These experiments are analyzed by Tuan, as they are considered to be intimate experiences which are hard to be described, though he finds possible to express them. They cannot be evaluated as they are solipsistic or eccentric, while they may also be personal. Any home or shelter is an intimate place to human beings everywhere (Tuan, 1977). Since the inhabitants of Kadifekale have spent many years in their original settlements, they have many memories and lived experiences of which they can see traces in their homes. In contrast, the inhabitants will face the empty space as their new housing unit, which contains none of these memories or experiences.

The main characteristics of a dwelling are explained by Heidegger as sparing and preserving. While sparing is defined as; "something positive and takes place when we leave something beforehand in its own nature, when we return it specifically to its being, when we "free" it in the real sense of the word into a preserve of peace, preserving is identified by keeping away from harm and danger" (as cited in Leach, 1997). Yet again, the dwelling is addressed as the shelter for human being to protect itself from the outer world dangers.

In the interview conducted by the inhabitants of Kadifekale, the meaning of their dwellings for them was clarified through the questions and their answers to them,

which are about the types of motivation that led them to choose their dwelling in Kadifekale, and the most important characteristic of the house for them. While some answer that they chose their own house because of its affordable price compared to other houses in the city, some of them underlined the central location of the house as an effective reason. However, the majority mentioned the great impact of having relatives or acquaintances that had moved to Kadifekale before, and their desire to live close to them. Also, for the second question, the greater part of the participants in the interview mentioned that they like their houses because of their proximity to their relatives and neighbors, who they frequently see (Fig. 4.1).

Secondly, since the inhabitants live in their squatter houses, which are not architecturally designed or planned in city structure, they all mention that they have a deep connection with their homes and the intimacy they feel for, though they complain about the insufficient number of rooms for the family members, or inadequate physical conditions, such as a leaking roof. On the other hand, in TOKI Uzundere, the Kadifekale inhabitants are moved to the public housing units which are designed by professionals. This situation is also emphasized by Tuan as the working class or the poor people do not live in the homes that they have designed themselves since they have moved to residences (…) In both cases, it can be said that physical structure does not reflect dweller's ideals (Tuan, 1977). In this sense, it can be claimed that whether the public housing units are professionally designed by architects or planners do not design the squatter houses in Kadifekale, the inhabitants can turn them into their homes since they provide their practical needs. Tuan puts forwards his opinion as follows;

"Art and architecture seek visibility. They are attempts to give sensible form to the moods, feelings, and rhythms of functional life. Most places are not such deliberate creations. They are built to satisfy practical needs" (Tuan, 1977, p.166).

Figure 4.1.The outside view of a three-storey house and its adjacent neighbor house, which is physically close in Kadifekale (Photograph by Eranıl Demirli).

Thirdly, since the spatial organization has been represented as the perfect solution for the promised modern life style, the lack of privacy issue attracts attention.

Ghannam describes the situation as "[I]t was characterized by the construction of 'good and beautiful houses' that would consist of separate apartments with separate kitchens and bathrooms" (Ghannam, 2002, p.34). It is observed that it does not function efficiently through all spatial parts of the public housing units, especially in the case of respecting private life and sustaining privacy among the residents.

In this case, if privacy can be accepted as being protected from the gaze of the others, in some cases, it does not function in public housing project of TOKI, although each unit has been planned to support the modern family life where each individual has his/her own space. In the interview, when it is asked if the family members slept all in the same place or not, only a few parents claim that they sleep together with their small children, while the rest mention that they have their own bedrooms. The studies of Ghannam show that sexual relationship between parents cannot be said to be totally private since the children are not required to ask for permission before they enter into their parents' room in public housing units (Ghannam, 2002). In this case, unless people change their daily habits or understanding of private and public, changing the physical conditions would not work properly.

Although the rooms of the new division of the apartment in the new public housing project were separated from each other and labeled as "kitchen", which defines a space for preparing food, "bathroom" that is a space reserved for personal hygiene, "living room" which indicates a place for social activities and "bedroom", that is

kept for sleeping, the notion of privacy was not handled properly (Ghannam, 2002).

There are some similar concerns for the housing units in TOKI also. In the interview, when asked if they have enough rooms for all family members and guests, all of the participants have complained of the insufficient number of bedrooms in their house since the living room part is converted into a bedroom for their children or their guests who come frequently to visit them from their hometown (Fig. 4.2). Probably, the problem of privacy would not be resolved in TOKI Uzundere since they have the same number of rooms with the previous original dwelling, such as containing only two bedrooms. The families who live with the grandparents, may need to use the living room as a children's' bedroom or the ones with many children may need to accommodate their guests there. Consequently, the living room can be considered as the integration of both private and public life according to its use. While it can be considered as the public place during the day as it is used by all family members, it becomes private if there is someone using the room as bedroom at night.

Figure 4.2.The multi-functional use of the space as living room that turns into a family bedroom in the evenings in Kadifekale (Photograph by Eranıl Demirli).

Another issue of privacy may come across with the space organization of the new public housing units. According to personal observations, female gendered inhabitants do not feel comfortable whenever a man approaches them and immediately women need to cover their heads. Moreover, the female participants of the interview have commented on the open plan of the kitchen and the living room whereas they find it uncomfortable in some situation they report that it would be better to have a kitchen separate, with a small opening for access to the living room (Fig. 4.3). As they have mentioned, if a male visitor who is not close to the family or a relative comes to visit their husband, they would not feel comfortable while they are in the kitchen preparing the food since the guest may easily see them. In this case, a visual separation is needed between the kitchen and the living room.

Figure 4.3.The non-existence of partition wall between the living room and the kitchen in TOKI Uzundere (Photograph by Eranıl Demirli).

While the new nuclear family is represented as the family members having their own separate spaces, they are also obligated to separate themselves from the other families within the borders of their housing units as it is aimed to be created in the public housing project. In this case, front doors are designated as the separators of housing units from each other. According to Ghannam since a door is a mediator of social relations, keeping the door open may signify closeness, honesty, trust and security among the residents (Ghannam, 2002). In the interview, most of the women have emphasized the fear that they have for the potential danger of dying alone while the door is closed and without anybody knowing it.

In the case of physical issues, it is possible to group the spaces within the housing unit as indoor and outdoor spaces as it is beneficial to find out whether the spaces correspond their functions or not.

While the TOKI Uzundere is represented as a solution to provide modern practices and life standards by improving their physical and social conditions, it can be seen that the physical properties of the housing units are not planned taking into consideration the inhabitants' daily life in Kadifekale. For instance, in the work *Algeria,* Bourdieu emphasizes the inhabitants' inability to provide the necessary utilities and furniture for the "modern" apartment; "which appears as a sort of scandalous absurdity; it objectively testifies to the occupant's incapacity to take real possession of the space available, an inability to adopt the modern lifestyle which such housing offers" (Bourdieu, 1979, p.83). Whereupon, as an example of the use of indoor space, it is observed in Kadifekale that the family members and their

guests prefer sitting on carpet or cushions on the floor instead of using seating

units. In contrast, architects have designed living rooms of public housing units as if

residents will furnish the interior with sofas, or they include throne type toilets in

the plans, without researching thoroughly the daily habits of the inhabitants (Fig.

4.4).

Figure 4.4.The family members sitting on the floor mat and cushions instead of
using any seating unit or furniture in Kadifekale (Photograph by Eranıl Demirli).

On the other hand, the participators note that they are mainly accustomed to squat

toilet instead of using thrones. In this case, they may also like to change the throne

type toilet for the squat one since the public housing units offer both types in two

separated bathrooms (Fig. 4.5).

Figure 4.5.The throne typed central bathroom of TOKI Uzundere (Photograph by Eranıl Demirli).

However, the furnishing or the toilet types have not been considered in TOKI Uzundere, it can at least be claimed that building and infrastructure systems are in a better and healthier condition. As the worst negative part of the old houses were asked for in the interview, many people complained about the broken sewage system, unsafe foundations and leaking roofs. In this sense, it may be said that by moving from Kadifekale to TOKI, people may gain constructive benefits. As observed, people who live in Kadifekale are vulnerable to diseases or health problems that are caused by the broken sewage system. Thereby, it can be considered that more hygienic conditions are offered to the public by TOKI

compared to their squatter houses. Though healthier building and infrastructure systems are promised in the public housing project, still it is not possible to claim that all necessary physical conditions are provided since the variety of place organization in interior designs according to different family types are not well thought out and applying standardization across all housing units is an insufficient solution in terms of representing the self being (Fig. 4.6).

Figure 4.6.The front view of a TOKI apartment building which shows the standardization among all apartment blocks (Photograph by Eranıl Demirli).

As the physical conditions of the public housing project have not been planned according to the daily life routines of the Kadifekale inhabitants, in the future, the variety of interiors according to the needs of different groups with different socio-

cultural background identities should be highly considered in designing the living units. In this case, Ghannam strongly emphasizes the importance of the housing unit. As "active users", people have transformed the standard spaces into more personalized homes, and thus they find a way to distinguish themselves from the rest (Ghannam, 2002). In the interview, when asked if there is any other difference among their houses, participants have hesitated to give an answer as they are afraid to be seen as arrogant if they differentiate their home from those of the others'. Still, the answer is not clearly expressed; however, it is possible to observe that there are specific differences among the interiors of the houses, such as the color of the walls the number of the rooms, or the different patterns in furnishing fabrics. In the aspect of mass production of housing units in urban renewal projects, Kayın suggests new approaches to providing alternatives in interior design, public use, green area, energy sufficiency and human factors instead of simply repeating standard apartment design in each zone, which has become the subject of criticism (Kayın, 2009). In this case, the variety of different social groups of Izmir population should be considered. As they are all from different backgrounds, they are likely to have different living styles and conditions, therefore, it is not possible to assume that all people should live in the same way or become accustomed to living in certain condition of the standard housing units that the public housing project provides.

Under the avoided circumstances by TOKI Uzundere, the use of space by Kadifekale inhabitants and the lack of providing physical necessities, people may try to change the physical conditions in order to adapt to live in public housing units. As stated by

Baydar, though inhabitants try to turn their housing units into convenient spaces for their daily activities, squatter settlements are still seen as elements, that interrupt the conventional notions such as boundaries and walls, inside and outside, and public and private. The sizes of housing units keep changing while a unit with one room and a toilet may turn into a seven or eight-roomed house within a matter of months (Baydar, 1997). Therefore, it can be claimed that the flexibility in space organization in interior design of the public housing units may be considered as a solution of the resident. In this case, the new residents from Kadifekale may try to make some changes in space allocations as they may find it unsuitable for their needs (Fig. 4.7). Some of the physical changes may include adding windows and doors, renewing sewage connections, removing or adding walls to expand the living room or to separate it from kitchen.

Figure 4.7.The kitchen of TOKI Uzundere with its cabinets which are insufficient for large families (Photograph by Eranıl Demirli).

Not only the change in the interior physical condition but also the change in the use of outdoor spaces or integrating some additional functions to a space is also a matter of concern in the relocation process. At this point, Ghannam gives an example for outdoor space usage in daily life. The use of balconies not only includes the needs of the house members, but also they can be used as a platform for information negotiations, a stage to communicate with others and present the self to the public. For instance, a blanket or the clothes that are hung up outside the apartment's balcony can be understood by other women as the indicators that show the economic situation of the family, or they can be used as an indicator for

the neighbors about the latest changes in the private life of the family, such as a

birth of child or marriage of the daughter (Ghannam, 2002) (Fig. 4.8).

Figure 4.8.An example of the use of a balcony in Kadifekale (Photograph by Eranıl Demirli).

Alternatively, the open spaces, such as balcony or garden, may be useful for keeping

domestic animals, storing some household items or for smoking outside of the

house (Fig. 4.9).

Figure 4.9.Domestic animals kept on rooftops, in shacks in front of the buildings, in cages of balconies or in gardens in Kadifekale (Photograph by Eranıl Demirli).

As an example of use of outdoor spaces in housing scale, balconies and gardens can be analyzed. In the interview, a nineteen year old participant living with his family declared that since he uses the living room as his bedroom for nights, he uses the balcony part as a place where he spends his leisure time on his computer and smokes without making his parents notice or sometimes chooses to sleep there on hot summer nights. In another example, a participant woman who explained that since their house is on the ground floor, she turns her balcony into a small shop where she can sell groceries (Fig. 4.10).

Figure 4.10.A ground floor of a house turned into a store in which textile products are sold in Kadifekale (Photograph by Eranıl Demirli).

In TOKI Uzundere, there is a balcony part extended from kitchen, and it is so small in scale that only one person may stand outside. Consequently, it is not possible to use it for drying laundry, keeping it as storage, or transforming it into a work place (Fig. 4.11).

Figure 4.11.The only open space which is the kitchen balcony of the housing unit in TOKI (Photograph by Eranıl Demirli).

From this point, it may be considered that though women have a socially limited life within the borders of their homes in Kadifekale, some of them find opportunity to work and take part in the family economy. As manifested by Ghannam, women are the main daily users of the housing unit since they spend much more time at home than men, and they are responsible for decorating and cleaning it (Ghannam, 2002). In the interview, it is highlighted that in addition to household tasks, women try to provide better economic and healthier living conditions for their families. For instance, selling groceries, or raising domestic animals, not only because they consume the leftover food of the family but also they provide supply of eggs and meat for the family, as it is believed that their taste is much richer and consumption healthier of domestic products than buying it from the market. Alternatively, for the Sacrifice Feast, they prefer to raise their own sheep in order to save money (Fig. 4.12). At this point, it can be stated that women arrange the spatial properties of

their house, because they leave their balconies or gardens available for raising their domestic animals. Since, it is not possible to claim that any proper space is reserved for raising animals, in the new blocks; it is quite probable that people may try to use the green areas in front of their apartment block, which is not designed for this purpose[22].

Figure 4.12.The outside of a house that shows how the open spaces are used for raising animals in Kadifekale (Photograph by Eranıl Demirli).

To sum up, since the relocation process is analyzed on the housing scale, it may be claimed that the changing physical and social conditions will not be sufficient to provide the needs of the inhabitants. In the case of social issues, it is supported by Heidegger as he points out the meaning of a dwelling for a human being and highlights its importance as; "The way in which you are and I am, the manner in

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[22] Although, this master thesis does not argue whether Kadifekale has healthy condition to raise animal or not, it focuses on accepting this part of inhabitants' daily life routines and makes a projection of it to TOKI Uzundere.

which we humans *are* on the earth, is *Buan*, dwelling. To be a human being means to be on the earth as a mortal. It means to 'dwell' " (italics are original) (as cited in Leach, 1997, p.101). In this sense, being is declared to be represented by his/her home, which is the dwelling. Secondly, although, dwelling may not be the sample of architectural taste and even full of ordinary objects, the intimacy that its residents feel for their house cannot be changed. In this perspective, the thoughts and feelings of the Kadifekale inhabitants for their existing house and the future one in the public housing project are examined. Thirdly, while modernization is equated with the separation of each individual space in housing and privacy is emphasized, it does not work efficiently in the system of public housing units. For example, it is possible to predict that people will need to add a separator wall between kitchen and living room in TOKI Uzundere.

On the other hand, however, the housing units in Kadifekale have not been designed by architects or urban planners, and lack some physical basic facilities, still it would not be right to claim that the public housing project solves all problems in some way by providing all necessary physical conditions and consequently social circumstances. For instance, regarding the indoor space use of physical issues, the furnished living room plans ignore the fact that Kadifekale inhabitants do not use seating units in their daily life. In addition, the lack of planned outdoor spaces in the new housing units shows a disregard for the reality that they raise domestic animals. In the end, though it lacks in many aspects, it can be stated that the observations of Ghannam reflect the situation in TOKI Uzundere which can be summarized as;

"The new apartments have brought many changes to people's lives, such as the promotion of the nuclear family, a redefinition of relationships within the household, increasing restrictions on interaction with neighbors, more separation of work from residence and private from public space, and the introduction of new ways to organize and use space" (Ghannam, 2002, p.51).

Since the social structure of the Kadifekale inhabitants is aimed to be changed in the sense of modernization act, the necessary physical issues should be considered carefully in both indoor and outdoor spaces in order to support the inhabitants to continue their daily practices and their unconscious acts that represent their cultural and social life.

4.2. Neighborhood Scale

Since the changes in physical conditions and consequently in the social relations are examined in housing scale, the outcomes will be analyzed on a larger scale which is the neighborhood scale. In this sense, while the analysis in the neighborhood scale is based on the social issues, which include the meaning of the neighborhood and the intimacy of place within categories of visual recognition, odor and social network, the physical issues is concentrated on building structures as isolated objects causing lost spaces in urban fabric and physical environment for outdoor activities. These outdoor activities are divided into three groups according to different gender groups and the communal spaces for both genders.

To start with the meaning of dwelling in social issues, according to Gieyrn, the core idea of any neighborhood is not deeply related with the arrangement of its streets or houses, rather it is concentrated on ongoing practical production/imagination of people. In this case, the term "locality" comes to the agenda by keeping its spatial organization against globalization (Gieyrn, 2000). As Boyer (1994) continues, "meanings that individuals and groups assign to places are more or less embedded in historically contingent and shared cultural understandings of the terrain-sustained by diverse imageries through which we see and remember cities" (as cited in Gieyrn, 2000). In this sense, it can be claimed that the Kadifekale neighborhood is historically quite varied from the beginning of the city establishment and as a result of the existence of the migrant population; it is observed that the community in Kadifekale struggles to keep their traditional values in order to continue their own culture in their neighborhood. To exemplify this, it can be stated that the inhabitants who bake the bread in public oriented oven in the neighborhood or the ones raising their animals on the streets can easily be observed. Since the social structure in TOKI Uzundere will be more heterogeneous than the one in Kadifekale, the residents of the former one may have difficulty in adapting to each others' traditions. However, it can be claimed that there is no consideration in spatial organizations in order to support cultural rituals in TOKI Uzundere.

On the other side, even though each neighborhood may have a dense culture and a historical background, Tuan draws attention to the other point and states that any place can be an intimate place even though it may be plain or lacking in architectural

distinction and historical glamour. In addition, its ugliness does not matter (Tuan, 1977). Since Kadifekale is a squatter housing area, it is not possible to say that the dwellings or the urban structure of the neighborhood have been created by planning or design understanding which considers the entire neighborhood as a whole. Moreover, the inhabitants were required to build their own dwellings without the supervision of any architect, designer or urban planner when they moved there from their hometown. In the interview, when asked if the inhabitants had taken part in building a structure in the neighborhood, it was revealed that apart from building their own homes, many of them had participated in building a mosque as they had also collected money to use it in the construction process. As a result, there should be no illusion of building perfection in the mind as the inhabitants had no opportunity for professional consultation. In this case, even though the governmental side claims that the neighborhood seems ugly or not aesthetic at all, the existing intimacy cannot be denied as the inhabitants are able to come together when there is a need in their neighborhood.

Moreover, the intimacy between the inhabitants and the neighborhood can be argued, according to the visual recognition of the domain elements in neighborhood, the effects of human five senses such as sensing familiar odors, and the vivid social networking within the boundaries of the neighborhood.

In accordance with Tuan, the visual recognition, as one of the simplest signs of intimacy in the neighborhood, can be exemplified firstly by the street on which one has dwelling. Since s/he has tread on that street on each day, it becomes an

intimate experience and the sentiment. Over time, the entire neighborhood becomes a place. In this case, it is stated by Tuan that neighborhoods as they are at first a confusion of images to the new residents; they are blurred spaces which are "out there". Meanwhile, in the way of learning a new neighborhood requires the identification of significant localities, such as street corners or architectural landmarks in that neighborhood (Tuan, 1977). Regarding the time period since the inhabitants have moved to their dwellings, most of the participants in the interview explain that they have been in Kadifekale at least for fifteen years and they have certain connections with their neighborhood, and its fundamental structures. In this case, it is reported in the interview that young people prefer meeting in front of the old walls of the castle, and that situation implies the fact that apart from standing as a historical piece, the castle gains another important function; it has become a meeting point for many inhabitants in social life (Fig. 4.13).

Figure 4.13.The view of Kadifekale castle as a historical piece (Photograph by Uçar, http://www.panoramio.com/photo/7274136, 2008).

Secondly, the human senses may register a place in order to define a neighborhood and create the intimate relationship with it. In addition to the function of sight in recognizing the domain structures in the neighborhood, the importance of another sense, smell should not be ignored. Tuan states that modern architecture may cater to the eye though, it often suffers from the pungent personality that may be gained by odors. Odors may lend a character to the objects and places while making them distinctive and easy to identify and remember. On the other hand, odor is capable of suggesting mass and volume. In this case, some odors like tuberose or musk arouse the feeling of "heavy", as the others may do "delicate", "thin" or "light" sense (Tuan, 1977). For instance, in Kadifekale case, it is recorded that people are used to baking their own bread in the commonly used public ovens and as a result, a certain aroma of baking covers all the streets of the neighborhood. Another example can be given of the cooking smell that comes from the kitchens. In the interview, also a sample of close relationship between the neighbors, the female participants report that they know what their neighbor has cooked on that day from the smell. For this reason, all neighbors prefer to share their food with each other to prevent a situation where neighbors are disturbed by the smell of food they cannot themselves afford.

Thirdly, holding the intimate relation between the self and the neighborhood is also most importantly related with the strong communication network among the inhabitants. In the study of Baydar, the strong communication network is underlined as it is emphasized that it is vocal and gestural rather than visual. Ertuğrul, in his study entitled "Gecekondu Yapım Süreci: Akdere'den Bir Örnek" in

1977, has exemplified a real life situation based on a squatter house dweller's story as follows;

> "We received the news that the demolishers had arrived, with the police. We did not know what to do. Our neighbors advised us. We locked our little kids inside, we remained out of sight. The police came to the house: 'Vacate the house, we will demolish.' The kids were all alone inside; they got scared, they started crying and screaming. The police are the police but they are not heartless (…) they left when they heard the children's cries. Since, that day, whenever the demolishers come we lock our kids inside and hideaway (…) this house that you see here has never been demolished" (as cited in Baydar, 1997).

The similar stories come to the surface by the Kadifekale inhabitants' answers in the interview when their relationships with their neighbors are asked. All of the participants agree that they have strong relationships with their neighbors, and women especially prefer spending most of their time at each other's houses to help each other in doing the housework, caring for their children or just for having conversations (Fig. 4.14). Moreover, as the participants state that they leave the key of their houses with neighbors when they are away so that the neighbors will take care of their houses and warn them of any emergencies. Thus, they have such a deep confidence in their neighbors that they never need to close the door of their houses. In contrast, the insufficiency of the apartment life style in gaining the social interaction among people is presented by Ghannam as;

> "Just as the individual apartment did not respect to the fluidity of daily practices, the changing size of the family, or the interaction between neighbors, the project at large did not address the need for diversification, flexible social interactions, or mixing of activities" (Ghannam, 2002, p.171).

By Ghannam, the effect of horizontal localization rather than vertical version on the social network system is underlined.
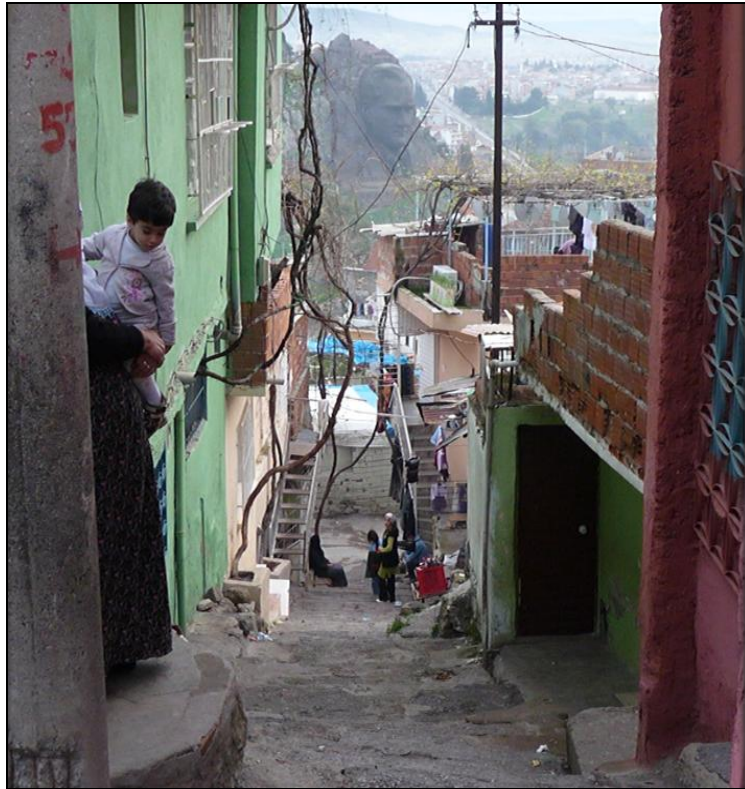

Figure 4.14.Women in Kadifekale spending time on the street and the lively social network on going in the neighborhood (Photograph by Eranıl Demirli).

On the other hand, in order to emphasize the physical issue through neighborhood scale, the idea of considering building structures as isolated objects causing lost spaces can be analyzed. According to Trancik, the understanding of urban development has been structured by treating buildings as isolated objects sited in the landscape, rather than considering them as a part of urban fabric of streets, quarters or open spaces. When three dimensional thinking is disregarded and two dimensional land use plans are only considered, the relationship between buildings, spaces and human behavior remain untouched and ignored (Trancik, 1986). However, designers should certainly not ignore the empty spaces and leave them

untouched, and the urban planners should also consider the totality of the city or at least that particular zone instead of concentrating on only building up structural elements in the city. These untouched or un-designed spaces may be labeled as lost spaces since Trancik claims that lost space is the "leftover, unstructured landscape at the base of high rise towers"[23] and lost spaces are considered as the undesirable urban sites which can variously exist as deteriorated parks, or marginal housing projects that has to be rebuilt as it does not serve its intended purpose (Trancik, 1986) (Fig. 4.15).
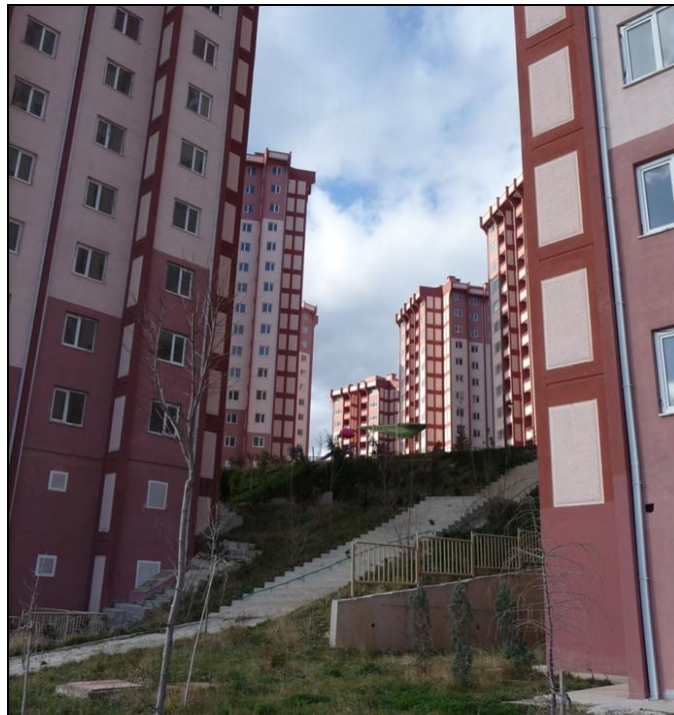

Figure 4.15.An example of left over space in TOKI Uzundere (Photograph by Eranıl Demirli).

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[23] There are five major factors that cause lost space in the city: (1)an increased dependence on the automobile; (2)the attitude of architects of the Modern Movement toward open space; (3)zoning and land-use policies of the urban-renewal period that divided the city; (4)an unwillingness on the part of contemporary institutions-public and private-to assume responsibility for the public urban environment; and (5)an abandonment of industrial, military, or transportation sites in the inner core of the city (Trancik, 1986, p.4).

Secondly, the importance of the physical environment for outdoor activities cannot be ignored. Outdoor activities can be described as any activities in which the members of the society engage in the outside public areas. As it is observed, while the narrow streets of Kadifekale are used for valued for collective activities, the squares which do exist in the public housing project were planned to be cultivated with flowers at first. In the EIA Report of TOKI, 40 % of the project site is reserved as green areas and the landscape design is arranged accordingly. In its design, the green areas, circulation areas, kindergartens and seating units are located between the buildings (EIA Report, 2005). However, these green areas are not designed for public facilities such as wedding ceremonies or arising animals (Fig. 4.16).

Figure 4.16.The unplanned green areas in TOKI Uzundere project site (Photograph by Eranıl Demirli).

After the new residents move there, they will need a public space where they can gather. In this case, it is likely that the land will start to be used for activities such as

gardening, raising animals, weddings, socializing and receiving condolences after funerals.

According to Gehl, there are three types of outdoor activities; necessary activities, optional activities and social activities (Gehl, 1987). As an example of necessary activities, waiting for a bus or a person or going to school, in short all activities in which those involved are to a greater or to a lesser degree required to participate can be included to this group. Generally, everyday tasks can be identified as necessary activities in which participants have no choice. Alternatively, optional activities may take place only under favorable conditions, as opposed to necessary activities, which take place in all conditions. Activities such as walking or standing in a place with no particular reason are some of the optional activities that happen when weather and place invite them. Finally, social activities such as conversations, children at play and any type of communal activities may occur spontaneously as the direct consequence of people moving about and being in the same place (Gehl, 1987). In the interview, participants emphasized that a variety of these activities happen in Kadifekale neighborhood. In this context, it is possible to observe the inhabitants doing their daily necessary activities in communal places while they go to school and work on foot or to take the bus (Fig. 4.17). While these examples represent the necessary activities of the daily life, it is also possible to observe the shop owners arranging their stands. For optional activities, the women who go shopping to the neighborhood's stores or the old people sitting quietly in front of the doors of their dwellings for fresh air and watch the daily routine of the inhabitants are noticeable (Fig. 4.18). Lastly, women are cleaning the street in front

of their houses, or the ones who gather in front of the doors of their dwellings to have a chat (Fig. 4.19), the children playing on the street (Fig. 4.20), and the men spending their time playing card in the local coffee house are evidence of optional activities. In the case of public housing project, it is quite possible to claim that there will be some interruption in outdoor activities. For instance, since the necessary activities may still exist in the public housing project, like going to school or work, but there will be no bazaars, stores or small markets on the streets, and it will not be easy to create an active environment. In the project, a shopping center is planned to serve to supply residents' needs, even though the credit accounts seen in Kadifekale will not continue in the new conditions (Fig. 4.21). On the other hand, as the vertical planning of the housing units is constant in the project, it will no longer be possible to sit in front of the door and chat with other neighbors, since the new housing units are designed in order to set boundaries among the outer world. This fact will show its consequences in social life as well.

Figure 4.17.A scene from early in the morning, women are having chat in front of the door while two men are walking down the street to go to work in Kadifekale (Photograph by Eranıl Demirli).

Figure 4.18.A man spending time by gazing at the lively street on which domestic animals are freely walking in Kadifekale (Photograph by Eranıl Demirli).

Figure 4.19.A group of Kadifekale teenagers spending the time socializing on the street (Photograph by Eranıl Demirli).

Figure 4.20.Some children playing on the street in Kadifekale (Photograph by Eranıl Demirli).

Figure 4.21.The shopping center in TOKI Uzundere (Photograph by Eranıl Demirli).

In social activities, while both men and women can participate in the same activities, they may mostly integrate with the other inhabitants of Kadifekale in terms of gender. Thereby, as the activities may differ in terms of gender, the spaces where the leisure time activities occur also vary. According to Aitchison, the construction of gendered leisure space may be classified as indoor and outdoor, or public and private, but it spatially remains largely authorized in consequence of the dominance of the social class issues (Aitchison, 1999). In the interview, it is stated by the participants that women prefer to socialize with their neighbors or close female friends by occasionally going to the bazaar together but mostly meeting in other's houses for friendly chats or to help each other with domestic tasks. As one of the commercial places, bazaars or small markets in Kadifekale can be considered as places where people, especially women, find a chance to contact with each other

and socialize, even though some visits by women to the market may be goal-oriented and short in time (Fig. 4.22).

Figure 4.22.Women publicizing their activities while shopping in Kadifekale
(Photograph by Eranıl Demirli).

The Kadifekale inhabitants also have the opportunity to find daily fresh vegetables and fruits, and other merchandize, get credit, which helps their economical situation. Accordingly, it can be claimed that women prefer to engage in leisure activities in the comfort and privacy of their own homes rather than choose public

123

outdoor spaces. The situation also justifies what Green, Hebron, and Woodward (1990) state; "(…) a significant aspect of the social control of women's leisure is the regulation of their access to the public places, and their behavior in such places" (as cited in Aitchison, 1999). Since there is a lack of communal places in public housing projects as there is no bazaar, and no intimate spaces among the housing units, women will be excluded from social life more. Women, who are used to living in houses physically in contact with gardens in Kadifekale, will miss the intimate relationship they had with their neighbors. This may create another phase and a social change which plays a negative role in their daily lives.

On the other hand, the situation of the male differs from that of the female. Although in the interview, men report that they generally work for six days in the week, they have only Sundays for leisure time. In this case, they mostly prefer going to coffee houses to meet their friends, or if they do not, they prefer to stay at home with their wives. Again, women are kept at home while men can socialize during the weekdays as they go to work and spend time with their colleagues[24]. In TOKI Uzundere, the decrease in social life will also affect the male population, since no coffeehouses are designed in the project or any other communal place where they can gather and spend their leisure time (Fig. 4.23).

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[24] Consistent with Beauvoir (1949), *The Second Sex*, the hegemony of the male over the female is one more underlined by; "Humanity is male and man defines woman not in herself but as relative to him; she is not regarded as an autonomous being (…) She is simply what man decrees (…) she is defined and differentiated with reference to man and not he with reference to her; she is the incidental, the unessential as opposed to the essential. He is the Subject, he is the Absolute, she is the Other" (as cited in Aitchison, 1999).

Figure 4.23.A coffee house used as a socializing place for the male inhabitants in Kadifekale (Photograph by Eranıl Demirli).

In order to improve the amount and quality of leisure time social activities, Gehl has analyzed these according to whether they are single or mixed gender, and according to the exact locations and motivations. According to Gehl, as the connection of people is of major importance in physical planning, architects and planners have the power to affect the possibilities of meeting, hearing and seeing people. Moreover, it is strongly emphasized that the life between buildings is not only about pedestrian walking or traffic, but involves all groups of activities and communal spaces in cities. If activity between buildings is missing, isolation becomes sharpened (Gehl, 1987). As Gehl describes in detail; "the possibility of meeting neighbors and co-workers

often in connection with daily comings and goings implies a valuable opportunity to establish and later maintain acquaintances in a relaxed and undemanding way" (Gehl, 1987, p.21). While answering interview questions about the daily life routine of the inhabitants of Kadifekale, many participants stress the strong interaction among the inhabitants in the streets between the dwellings, which represent the circulation paths (Fig. 4.24). Although these may seem to be complex and random, their ultimate function, which is getting people together, is unquestionable.

Figure 4.24.The social network constructed on the streets between the housing units in Kadifekale (Photograph by Eranıl Demirli).

For special occasions such as wedding ceremonies or funerals in particular, people like to gather in large numbers on the streets; sometimes they may even set up tables and sit together. In this case, it is possible to claim that in Kadifekale the

streets are very lively and they create the places where the inhabitants share their feelings on special occasions.

In order to increase the attraction over the public spaces, Gehl points out some alternatives and offers to create new attraction points. For example, shops are the main attraction centers where Gehl noted a great number of visits. These kinds of places have direct relationship to other people, and they help to improve social relations (Gehl, 1987) (Fig. 4.25). For instance, the existence of any type of shops in Kadifekale creates a vivid attraction points for its inhabitants.

Figure 4.25.The lively center of the neighborhood in Kadifekale (Photograph by Eranıl Demirli).

Meanwhile, the playgrounds are found unnecessary in Kadifekale since most children prefer not to play within the limits of playgrounds. According to the research of Gehl, whether it is a neighborhood of single-family houses or apartment housing surroundings, it is observed that children tend to play more on the streets, near the entrances of dwellings and parking areas rather than in the playgrounds, which are away from people and traffic, and therefore are remote and unsupervised (Gehl, 1987) (Fig. 4.26).

Figure 4.26.Children playing in the garden of their own houses in Kadifekale (Photograph by Eranıl Demirli).

In the case of Kadifekale, these attraction points are highly visible since the ground floors of many houses are reserved for shops, whether big or small, which also provide a job opportunity to its owner and workers. There are many small shops which create an opportunity for women to earn their money and improve themselves socially without leaving their neighborhood. When asked where the

children played in Kadifekale, the interview and the personal observations indicated that children are used to playing mostly on the streets, in their gardens or on enclosed land. Although some play areas are allocated in public housing project, because of the stagnant street life, children may be reluctant to play in a place which is isolated from the community (Fig. 4.27). Therefore, the function of the place becomes useless, and it is logical to say that apart from creating "lost space", these places will become abandoned as well. Though it is assumed that since some activity areas are effective, such as green circulation areas, play areas and sports fields, here is still a lack of indoor facilities. Because of the growing population and the range of the age rates, people should have an opportunity to educate themselves by going to movies, concerts or theatres. While in TOKI, all these activities are a missing part of the social life and development of society in culture, the Kadifekale inhabitants have more chance to attend these kinds of facilities as they live close to the city center.

Figure 4.27.The playground for children in TOKI Uzundere project site (Photograph by Eranıl Demirli).

To sum up, it can be stated that, firstly, the social issues concerning the meaning of a neighborhood for its inhabitants and secondly the intimacy created towards the neighborhood by the help of visual recognition, odor and social network are examined. Secondly, as a part of physical issues, the consideration of buildings as isolated objects and for this reason, creating lost spaces are investigated. Designers, who are compelled to define every detail on the project, should not leave any loose space, which can be transformed by the user or shaped according to the changing accommodation needs by time. This allows no user manipulation of the space. Trancik explains the situation as follows: "Inhabitants have not had the opportunity

to bring along their old patterns and styles of living or to modify their new homes in ways that allow them to feel the comfort of familiarity and continuity with their previous lives. Individuals must exercise some control over their environments" (Trancik, 1986, p. 115). Since producers have planned all spatial requirements in TOKI Uzundere, there is not much space left for controlling and transforming the spaces. On the other hand, the physical environment for outdoor activities within its motivations is questioned throughout the physical issues of neighborhood scale. While the neighborhood is represented as a place in which social interactions are important, Allen suggests that it should be analyzed how daily interactions with products and productions of socially-constructed spaces and spatial ways of knowing act to shape our consciousness of what we are, what we call ourselves, what we call each other and who else we are like (Allen, 1999). In this context, in order to improve these social relations and the self-knowing wisdom, the major role of public spaces is emphasized by Gehl while his criticisms of the lifeless cities are based on industrialization, segregation of city functions and dependency on automobiles, which make them more dull and monotonous. In contrast, living cities in which people can interact with each other are more stimulating just because they are rich in experiences. Meanwhile, Gehl suggests large building projects should have more streets, and squares with differentiated structures, such as main streets and side streets like the ones in old cities (Gehl, 1987). Therefore, the interaction of the inhabitants can be managed on a larger scale as it becomes the matter of city life.

4.3. Urban Scale

As the third step of the analysis of spatial changes and their effects on the social relations, the existing location of Kadifekale district within the city and its importance for its inhabitants are examined through both observations and the interview. While this section analyses physical issues to identify themes under the following headings: "access to the city center", "separation of work from home", and "topography", the social issues focus on "cultural connections to the city", and "the situation of being 'other'".

To start with, by regarding the access to the city center as a matter of physical issues, it can be stated that TOKI Uzundere is located in the area between Limontepe and the Uzundere junctions on the Aydın-Çeşme highway, 9 km from Konak city center. It is claimed that the specific area has an important potential for its accessibility to inner and outer sites of the city. The immediate environment includes Uzundere Recreation Area of Konak Municipality and Uzundere Urban Renovation District, the Olympic Village, the New Specialization Fair, whose design was prepared by Izmir Metropolitan Municipality and Gaziemir free trade zone (Karadağ, 2008). Although the location is presented positively, it should be remembered that the inhabitants are isolated and forced to live in the outer part of the city, whereas they are used to living in the center of the city as a result of Kadifekale's location (Fig. 4.28).

Distance from Kadifekale to Konak
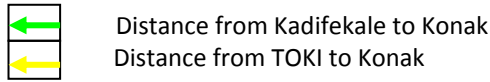Distance from TOKI to Konak

Figure 4.28. The distances of TOKI Uzundere and Kadifekale to the city center (Google Earth caption) [Accessed: 05.09.10].

Meanwhile, in TOKI Uzundere, the topographic properties and transportation sources are shown as positive factors. It is claimed that there is no constant slope in the area and the city is visible from each housing unit as a consequence of their height from the highway and the multi-floored structure of the buildings. Besides, as a result of its location and topographic structure, the area has an advantage of being exposed to the west wind (EIA Report of TOKI, 2005). In spite of these positive representations of the governmental agencies about the new situation, when people will move to TOKI Uzundere, they may have other accessibility issues to solve, as TOKI is located in Uzundere, which is far from the city center (Fig. 4.29) and it is expected to sustain a great amount of population which includes 15000 residents in the housing project.

Figure 4.29.The distance from TOKI Uzundere to the city (Photograph by Eranıl Demirli).

Regarding this fact, people who need to go the city center, especially those who have jobs in the center and have to go work every day, may face time management difficulties or financial concerns. For instance, the people, who sell stuffed mussel mostly around Alsancak zone, will have a greater distance between their new apartments in TOKI and their working environment. Probably, they will need to leave home earlier than before and pay more for gasoline or transportation fares. In addition, because of its existence on local road, people who reside in TOKI may suffer from the noise of vehicles (Fig. 4.30).

Figure 4.30.The view of TOKI Uzundere buildings from the highway. (http://www.arkitera.com/news.php?action=displayNewsItem&ID=14003&month= 6&year=2008&month=5&year=2008).

A further problematic issue of access is revealed in terms of emergency when a resident needs to go to the hospital. It is observed that the new public housing is far from the closest full capacity hospital. It is observed that there is no hospital in the neighborhood, there is only one village clinic which is close. Since it is planned to welcome 15000 people and provide them a modern life with all necessary conditions, most of the time only one medical center may not be enough for people who have health problems will need to go to a hospital as they did in Kadifekale. There is only one important difference between the two situations, that this time they will have more difficulties in reaching the hospital because of the long distance of TOKI from the city center. Secondly, with the hazardous gases which come from the vehicles on the local road, people will get affected in a negative way. This environmental factor may definitely cause some health problems in the long term.

Another important physical issue for female comes from the separation of home from the work place. Since the women in the interview report that though they

spend their most of the time at home and socialize in a more private world than men do; some turn the ground floor of their houses and find opportunity to work there as a shop keeper. Consequently, they find the chance to contribute to the economy of their family, whereas they also get around to socialize more in public. In the case of TOKI, these women will not only leave their neighborhood, but also will lose their jobs as they move to the other side of the city (Fig. 4.31). Moreover, apart from removing an opportunity to gain self-confidence, earn money and socialize with the outer world, the public activity zones are blocked since the ground floors are not allowed to be used as stores in TOKI Uzundere. The importance of stores is highlighted by Lofland (1973):

> "The spatial specialization of function-magnet places like stores, workplaces, office parks, or civic centers are distanced from residential neighborhoods, which are then differentiated by the property values of their homes-further segregates denizens along lines of race, class, ethnicity, age, and gender (as cited in Gieyrn, 2000).

Figure 4.31.A grocery store in Kadifekale (Photograph by Eranıl Demirli).

On the other hand, the separation from workplace from home is a binding concern since they will need to pay the transportation fee. As stated in EIA Report, since the location of TOKI in the city is not central, probably the residents will need to pay more, which is a disadvantage for their economy as they will already be under pressure of paying the cost of the apartment, though these people will have not any change in their income. In addition, even if they find a working place nearby and they are able to go there on foot, the slopes in TOKI Uzundere area will create a problem. Though public housing project is represented as a solution which offers a totally modern life style, the similar topographic problems are visible since the project is settled on steep slopes. In this case, the current topographic conditions in access will create difficulty at least for the people who need to walk on foot (Fig. 4.32 and 4.33).

Figure 4.32.Steep topography of Kadifekale (Photograph by Eranıl Demirli).

Figure 4.33.A general view of TOKI Uzundere project sites that presents the steep slopes (Photograph by Eranıl Demirli).

Besides the physical structuring or difficulties of access, the social consequences of the relocation to another side of the city are noticeable. Since there is an invisible, abstract, emotional connection between the inhabitants and the district in which they are used to live, the inhabitants would probably suffer as they lose their cultural connections to the city which are reflected to their neighborhood;

> "(…) cities are articulated simultaneously in spatial and temporal terms where discussions of 'our neighborhood' and 'our city' are interwoven with appeals to time of residence in a neighborhood and longstanding cultural connections to a city. This framing of space and time in the city has importance, if unpredictable implications for policy and politics" (McCann, 2003, p. 160).

It should not be forgotten that the inhabitants of Kadifekale have a special type of social relation with close-knit neighborhoods in their district, since even the younger

participants in the interview claimed that they lived in Kadifekale for more than ten years. In addition, since the question is asked whether they have any relatives or friends living close to their neighborhood whom they often see, the participants mentioned about relatives and friends whom they meet very often, at least once a week. This highlights the fact that inhabitants have a long history in their district in which they have been rooted, and which is a particular piece of the urban structure. Ghannam explains the situation in being rooted to a particular place as;

> "The homogeneity of these places is not based on similar economic activities, a common place of origin, or the absence of differences among their inhabitants. Rather, it results from the familiarity or intimacy created through the gradual rootedness in a specific place over a long period of time" (Ghannam, 2002, p. 80).

As Kadifekale has a long history in the city, it also has a specific identity within the whole city. It may be assumed that the social interaction of the neighborhood with neighboring areas feeds its social structure, as it differs from them with its existing cultural projections on daily life routines and physical structuring.

There is also a negative construction of the relocated group as they are separated from the community by physical segregation. As Ghannam states; "The unity in design and shape sharply defines and differentiates public housing from private houses: this makes it easier to maintain boundaries that physically and socially separate the relocated from other groups" (Ghannam, 2002, p.73). Moreover, buildings are identical in shape, color, number of floors, external design and internal arrangement of space. This type of uniformity and standardization of the planners

and policy makers emphasizes the physical separation from the others as the monotony of the blocks and the repetition of them are dull in aesthetics (Ghannam, 2002). In the case of TOKI Uzundere, since the building types are identical and grouped only in a particular zone in the city, it can be claimed that the residents of the public housing project differ from the rest of the city and also from the community. This situation underlines the issue of being the "other" as a result of becoming isolated from the rest of the urban context (Fig. 4.34).

Figure 4.34.The repetition of the standardized buildings throughout the whole TOKI Uzundere (Photograph by Eranıl Demirli).

As a consequence of becoming the other, it is seen that social interaction needs to be viewed not only within the concept of neighborhood, but also on larger scales, such as cities as urban places. In this case, the description of Halpern may help to give more information about the urban places. According to Halpern (1995), urban places are described as the locus of some specific terms, such as; integration,

socialization, diversity and tolerance, personal network-formation, freedom, creativity and interactions (as cited in Fischer, 1997 and Young, 1990). Although, urban places have also been explained by privatization, segregations, isolation, fear, loneliness and detachment (as cited in Gieryn, 2000). Especially, as a matter of urban renewal project in Kadifekale, the inhabitants have been forced to leave their dwellings and move to another part of the city, which clearly deconstructs the issue of locality towards their district. On the other hand, the feeling of locality is a notion for which a certain amount of time is needed. According to Ghannam, it is described as; "As a structure of feeling, a material reality, and an attachment to a situated community, locality has to be created and recreated over time" (Ghannam, 2002, p.24). In this case, the inhabitants of Kadifekale will come to understand the concept of rootedness as they lose their local identity and become the "others" for the other residents in TOKI Uzundere.

Since the residents of TOKI Uzundere are not only composed of the inhabitants of Kadifekale, there will be a certain challenge in the interaction of the living population. According to van Ham and Manley, "concerns have been expressed that offering people choice in residential locations through choice-based letting has the potential to increase self-segregation along ethnic lines" (Van Ham and Manley, p.408). The strong bonds of Kadifekale inhabitants used to living together, with strong social relations, means that there is a great possibility that they could be isolated as "others" from the rest of the residents in TOKI Uzundere. According to the results of the interview, participants strongly emphasize their feelings about leaving their neighbors, as they also are forced to leave their devoted district.

Alternatively, the constructed bad reputation of Kadifekale and its inhabitants will probably play an important role in terms of creating a new life in TOKI Uzundere. Ghannam has a definition which also fits into Kadifekale case; "(…)the area was seen as backward, isolated, and 'uncivilized', highly inappropriate given that it was located in the 'heart of the capital of the Middle East and Africa'" (Ghannam, 2002, p.33). In this case, the adaptation of the inhabitants to their new place in the city will be expectedly hard to be succeeded since the relocation has been applied rigidly by the government policy.

Apart from the deconstruction of locality and transformation into the other, interruption in social interactions and the dissolution of the entity, the concept of a city is expressed as; "But is the city an entity, a whole that can be managed, controlled, and disciplined centrally? Is this a productive way to view the city and the city practices of its dwellers?" (Ghannam, 2002, p.166). However, there is a variety in types of residents; therefore the inhabitants of Kadifekale and the others, who have bought their houses and have started to live there, will be structured into different social groups. Moreover, the homogeneity of the population will be affected negatively as a group of Kadifekale inhabitants become isolated within the city and be relocated far from the city center. In this respect, it is certain that variety has been removed in order to apply a false representation of the city which can be summarized as beautifying the city. Ghannam has pointed the same issues and stated that; "(…) from the removal of these groups from the center of the city was seen as 'the most dangerous plastic surgery, crucial to beautify Cairo's face' and relocation was seen as the 'scientific method' that was going to move the

people from 'the dark to the light' (Ghannam, 2002, p.34). The urban renewal project in Kadifekale has the same issue which can be described as destroying the squatter housing units by ignoring the social life of its inhabitants, although, the main aim is presented as sustaining the modern life conditions of the inhabitants as a result of government policies. This is represented as an adaptation to modern life, although they will face with many negative consequences in their social life.

To sum up, through the relocation process, the inhabitants of Kadifekale may have changing physical conditions, such as the separation of their work places from their homes and difficulties in access because of the existing slopes in the project site. Consequently, they will have social and psychological concerns when they leave their district and move to another part of the city. In this case, there is no doubt that after the relocation, the attachment to the original place may be seen in two different dimensions for Kadifekale inhabitants. While for males, the central location of Kadifekale in the city and its closeness to their work will be important, females may miss their neighbors, local markets and the cheaper goods that are sold in Kadifekale. Since the inhabitants have a long history with their neighborhood and their neighborhood has a long history with the rest of the city, they will be physically and socially separated from their neighbors, whereas locality will disappear and they will have integration problems with other residents in public housing project as Kadifekale inhabitants have a bad reputation throughout the entire city. As a final point, it can be said that the most reckless government action can be carried out under the guise of the urban renewal project. This has similarities

with cosmetic surgery, where inhabitants are cut away from their place of birth, physically removed from their homes.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

As a part of urban renewal project of Izmir Metropolitan Municipality, the inhabitants of Kadifekale are forced to leave their district and relocate to different parts of Izmir. Considering the economic issues, many inhabitants have no choice, but to relocate to the public housing project, called TOKI Uzundere. It may be said that in general the authorities of the municipality in Izmir and the authorities of TOKI support the project and idealize it as part of the urban renewal project, ignoring the new problems it may cause or the inability of the project to solve the existing problems of the citizens who used to live in Kadifekale area. In this sense, the inhabitants who have already migrated once from their homeland, Mardin, are obliged to change their homes once again. However, this time they are forced to relocate, without their consent. By changing living spaces, the inhabitants will certainly face many consequences regarding their daily life routine that also has some impacts in their social lives. Nevertheless, it is possible to claim that by relocating a certain group of people, the community is firstly divided into parts physically, and by not considering their accustomed home-neighborhood environment and communication zones, people are also socially separated due to the lack of communication. The hidden message of these separated communities can be put forward as they have been put aside from the rest of society, and kept outside the boundaries.

In this sense, thesis aims to investigate the socio-spatial relationships as it regards the relocation of Kadifekale inhabitants to TOKI Uzundere as the case study. Rather than only using the theoretical background of spatial issues, the physical changes in spatial aspects and their consequences for the social life of the relocated group of people are made more concrete by the case study.

Following the introduction part in Chapter 1, the main theoretical framework regarding the theory of social space is constituted under the framework of three main conjectures, "spatial triad", "tactic versus strategy" and "place versus space" in Chapter 2. In this regard, by means of spatial triad (structured mainly according to Lefebvre), the definitions of three spatial dimensions that consist representations of space, representational space and spatial practice, their dissimilarities from each other and finally the necessity of integrating three spatial properties in the process of spatial design are investigated. In the second phase, the close relationship between strategy and tactic (structured mainly according to De Certeau) is analyzed, while strategy can be related with the political, governmental or any professional power, and as tactic can be described any type of action that the real user of the space takes in order to transform the space according to his/her needs and demands. Lastly, in the third step, the concepts of space and place (structured mainly according to Tuan) and their disparities from each other are highlighted. In Chapter 3, an analysis of both spaces in the relocation process is carried out. While Kadifekale district is investigated according to its present condition, its history, its characteristics, its significance and the urban renewal project to be applied there; the study attempts to understand TOKI Uzundere first by clarifying history of TOKI,

its representation in public and then gain architectural information about TOKI Uzundere public housing project, which are examined in an ordered way. In Chapter 4, the comparison of the socio-spatial properties of Kadifekale and TOKI Uzundere is carried out through social and physical issues, and the situation is analyzed in three different scales: housing, neighborhood and city. For this reason, the existing situation of physical properties and their consequences in social lives of the relocated inhabitants of Kadifekale are examined by in-depth-interview for each particular aspect. In this respect, since the aim is to reach a general conclusion in the comparison, the gender or age groups of interview occupants were not considered.

To conclude, it might be beneficial to assimilate the prescribed conditions within the main theoretical framework, which is composed of spatial triad, tactic versus strategy and place versus space theories in this instance.

In housing scale, it is possible to mention the existence of all three theoretical frameworks, and observe their projections in physical (the indoor and outdoor spaces within functions of spaces) and social (meaning of dwelling, intimacy and privacy) aspects. To start with, as the housing concept is based on the idea of "dwelling", it is represented as a place in which human being takes shelter while its intimate being is considered as; " [a] place where every day is multiplied by all the days before it" (Tuan, 1977, p.144). In this sense, dwelling is described as home place where intimate experiences take place. Furthermore, the intimacy that the residents feel for their house cannot be changed, even though it may not be a good

example of architectural merit, such as the squatter houses of Kadifekale, with all experiences and memories of its inhabitants. The Kadifekale squatter houses set a good example for the concept of place, while TOKI Uzundere exists as a space, which does not include any social, cultural or historical connotations for Kadifekale inhabitants.

When the results of the interview are analyzed, it becomes clear that in the moving process to Kadifekale, inhabitants have chosen their houses according to the proximity to their relatives or citizens who had moved there beforehand. Under this fact, they also mention the importance and the meaning of having close relationships with their neighbors, which creates the deep connection between people and their houses. In this situation, the importance of the spatial practice, which includes the social life routines, experiences and interaction among people, in spatial triad may be once more underlined. Since the existing dissonance between the representation of space and spatial practice in TOKI Uzundere can be observed, it may be claimed that the lack of variety in interior space organization avoids the fact that there will be different groups of people from different socio-cultural backgrounds with different identities. For instance, while the living rooms of the housing units are designed considering the use of furniture, or throne type bathrooms that are specified by architects, the fact that the Kadifekale inhabitants prefer sitting on carpets and pillows on the ground instead of using seating elements, or prefer using squat toilets instead of throne toilets is ignored. Moreover, as the public housing units are represented to provide modern living conditions, the idea of "privacy" is set as a targeted goal. However, "privacy" cannot

be achieved as the all flats have the same number of rooms as in Kadifekale and therefore some members of the relocated families will continue to use the living room for sleeping at night, for instance. Another example may be given as doors are being used as elements of privacy in the representation of space. However, in TOKI Uzundere they are considered as sources of separation, alienation and isolation in daily life routine. Here, the confusion of private versus public, or privacy versus isolation issues are seen to be important, because the idealized representations of space does not match with the real life experiences in spatial practice.

In the sense of strategy and tactics, while TOKI Uzundere can be accepted as the strategy of the governmental powers, there are predictions for future tactics of Kadifekale inhabitants. Since the socio-spatial conditions of the public housing units may be lacking in many points, the new residents will need to make some arrangements in their housing units. First of all, in order to diversify themselves from the rest, represent their identity or personalize their own place, the active users may at least try to adopt the current circumstances by painting their walls with the color of their own choice. Alternatively, as women of Kadifekale have explained in the interview, they do not feel comfortable to have close relationships with men who are not the members of their family. In this sense, when a male guest will come to their house in TOKI Uzundere, they may feel uncomfortable in the kitchen since there is no wall between the kitchen, and living room where they attend to their guest. Accordingly, in the near future, the inhabitants may need to build a separation wall in order to provide privacy for the females in the kitchen. In

another example, the integration of open spaces such as balconies may be reevaluated in order to accommodate domestic animals or for drying clothes.

In the case of neighborhood, physical (building structures as isolated objects causing lost spaces in urban fabric, physical environment for outdoor activities) and social (the meaning of the neighborhood and the intimacy of place within categories of visual recognition, odor and social network) issues are considered. While a definition of intimate place is analyzed, the meaning of neighborhood is concentrated on the ongoing practical production and imagination of people. As locality is described as a concept that has been shaped by historical contingent and shared cultural values, Kadifekale sets an example of a neighborhood with a history dating from the establishment of Izmir, and common cultural elements that are shared by its inhabitants from the Eastern part of Turkey. The neighborhood as an intimate place is analyzed in three ways, visual recognition, sensing odors and social network. The streets and the historical castle in Kadifekale first give the inhabitants a visual recognition of the neighborhood, and then they create the feeling of intimacy towards it. In the second phase, the public smell of baking on the street or the cooking aromas from the houses create familiarity with the neighborhood. Lastly, the dense interaction of the inhabitants and their close social network increase intimacy. According to the interview results, it can be concluded that Kadifekale reminds its inhabitants of their homeland. In contrast, TOKI Uzundere lacks in many aspects which give a neighborhood a meaning since it has no similarities with what the inhabitants are used to seeing, smelling or having.

In the situation of spatial consideration, the role of spatial practice in the neighborhood dimension is once more highlighted by the use of outside public areas. While the outdoor activity places have not been planned at all in TOKI Uzundere, it is possible to group outdoor activities in three types; necessary, optional and social activities. The significant activities in the development of a social life can be described as the ones in which people gather, move around, and remain in the same place. In Kadifekale circumstances, women cleaning the street in front of their houses, the ones gathered in front of a dwelling's door to have a chat, children playing on the street or men playing cards in coffee houses give examples of social activities, whereas in TOKI Uzundere, there is no option for the inhabitants to experience a street life and socialize since the apartment blocks are situated on vertical axes, distant from street, and there is no social place for men such as coffee houses. On the other hand, while women have chance to socialize mostly by meeting at each others' houses, bazaars also act as a gate to the outer world where they can interact with the rest of the community. In TOKI Uzundere, instead of creating open spaces for bazaars, the planners decided to build a shopping mall as an example of representations of space. In this sense, it is quite obvious that representations of space and spatial practice do not work together.

On the other hand, as the urban structure should be considered as a whole, treating building as isolated objects should be avoided in the city planning process. Thereby, each type of construction and empty spaces should be considered as separate pieces of a unique place which makes up the city. In TOKI Uzundere, instead of leaving empty spaces untouched, and isolating them from the project as leftover or

"lost spaces", they should be revised and re-evaluated as public space elements where the residents can interact with each other. In this way, the issue of apartment blocks floating in space would be resolved and they would become identified within the fabric of the place. By means of using tactics, the inhabitants may try to transform the open or untouched spaces where they can gather or raise their domestic animals in TOKI Uzundere. Since they are used to celebrate some occasions like wedding or circumcision ceremonies together in the open spaces in Kadifekale, they will create tactics to find a suitable open gathering place in TOKI Uzundere. Meanwhile, women who believe that using meat or eggs from their own domestic animals had economic and health benefits, may continue to raise them. However, this time, they will keep them in green areas in TOKI Uzundere as the balcony of the kitchen does not have enough space for this function. Moreover, instead of using the supported kindergartens, children who do not like to play without the recognition of anybody, will chose to find new playing grounds as they convert some public space elements into playing tools in TOKI Uzundere.

Finally, in terms of urban scale, the physical (access to the city center, separation of work from home, topography) and the social (cultural connections to the city, and the situation of being "other") issues are investigated. Because of TOKI Uzundere's location in the city, far from the city center, and its physical structure which is dull in aesthetics because of its monotony and standardization, it can be stated that the relocated group of Kadifekale inhabitants are isolated from the rest of the community and the city. This situation underlines the fact that the inhabitants have been forced to live their home area in the city center and their district, which

represents their intimate place, and move to a new environment, which does not correspond to the concept of place in terms of social, cultural and physical facts.

In another respect, since Kadifekale inhabitants have close relationships with their neighbors and relatives residing in the neighboring districts in city, they will become separated from their old social networks. In this sense, while Kadifekale is identified as a social space where social interactions among neighborhoods feeds its social structure, TOKI Uzundere will exist only as the space of its producers, not the users. As Kadifekale inhabitants are forced to relocate and leave their homes in Kadifekale district, they are likely to suffer the loss of their cultural connections to the city. In the interview, many of the inhabitants have explained that Kadifekale reminds them of their home town, Mardin. Subsequently, Kadifekale means more for its inhabitants than having a house there as well as having connections with the neighbors. In this respect, it can be regarded as a "representational space", of which its inhabitants have images, thoughts and feelings.

Meanwhile, since TOKI Uzundere is located far from the city center, many problems will surface in terms of access. Moreover, since there is no opportunity to run a business in the apartment blocks in TOKI Uzundere in contrast to the small stores in Kadifekale, the workplace and home environment will become separated from each other. In this sense, the Kadifekale inhabitants will search for solutions as tactics, such as transforming part of their house for stuffed mussel production, reflecting the separate places for this purpose in their Kadifekale houses.

In socio-spatial analyses of three scales that are housing, neighborhood and city, it is seen that there is a striking dissonance among the spatial data and social life experiences of Kadifekale inhabitants. Since the urban renewal project is represented as a social based project, providing all needs and demands of the inhabitants, the deficiencies in regarding the cultural based social lives of the inhabitants becomes a factor of extreme importance, in urgent need of investigation.

Consequently, it can be claimed that this master thesis examines the Kadifekale inhabitants' situation from an original point of view in terms of socio-spatial aspects. The analysis of the situation of Kadifekale after the completion of the urban renewal project is outside the scope of the research, though according to some resources, it is known that after the relocation process to TOKI Uzundere and evacuation their homes, Kadifekale will be forestation and the area will be organized as a recreation area (http://www.arkitera.com/h9774-toki-konutlari-tanitimi-icin-irtibat-burosu.html, Izmir Metropolitan Municipality, 2008).

To sum up so far, indications of a future study can be examined since it will extend the existing one. In this master thesis, the main concern was to investigate how spatial changes resulting from urban renewal affected everyday lives of the inhabitants of Kadifekale. While the research has no aim to prove that all socio-spatial elements are in their best condition in Kadifekale, it has only aimed to make comparison between the two conditions in Kadifekale and TOKI Uzundere. Moreover it has displayed that the urban renewal project does not result in a way

to satisfy the needs and demands of the inhabitants, either in social or spatial terms. However, a more substantial analysis of both Kadifekale and TOKI Uzundere in the longer term, analyzing the impacts of the relocation, remains to be carried out through future studies.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS FOR KADIFEKALE INHABITANTS

Q1. On what date, from where did you migrate to Izmir?

Q2. What is your reason for migration to Izmir?

Q3. What is your education level?

Q4. How many people live in your house? How many of them go to school or work? What are their occupations?

Q5. How much is your salary for a month?

Q6. How did you buy your house?

Q7. For how many years have you lived in this neighborhood?

Q8. How did you decide on your house in the neighborhood?

Q9. Do you feel comfortable to live on upper floors of an apartment block?

Q10. Do you have fear of enclosed space? Are you comfortable to use elevator?

Q11. Do you think that the room sizes in your house are enough?

Q12. Do the family members sleep in the same room in your house? If not, how are the rooms shared?

Q13. Do you have a separate storing place in your house?

Q14. How many bathrooms do you have in your house? Do they take place inside or outside? What kind of difficulties do you face while using the bathroom?

Q15. Is your kitchen close to your living room? Do you have any difficulties about it in daily life?

Q16. How and where do you accommodate your guests in the house?

Q17. Do you use throne or squat type toilet in your house? Do you prefer using the throne one?

Q18. How many rooms do you have in your house? Do you think that the amount of the rooms is enough to support a comfortable life to the family members?

Q19. Which room in your house is the most important place for you? What kind of activities take place in this room? How much time do you spend in this room?

Q20. In which rooms do you see the garden in your house?

Q21. Who has decided on the wall painting colors of the rooms in your house?

Q22. Do you think that there are any differences between your house and your neighbor houses?

Q23. If you would have a chance of making an extra room to your home, what would it be and why?

Q24. Did the married children of the family move out? In which conditions, do you make extra rooms to your house?

Q25. What kind of facilities does your garden have during winter and summer times?

Q26. Do you have any balcony or garden in your house as an open space? How do you eveluate these spaces?How much time do you spend in these spaces? Do you entertain your guests in these spaces?

Q27. What are the difficult aspects of living in squatter housing?

Q28. Do you have any ventilation system in your house?

Q29. In which constructional matter are you having problem mostly in your house?
Q30. What do you like most in your house? What do you complain for?

Q31. What is the reason for you to choose this neighborhood?

Q32. What is the functon of your garden in your relationship with your neighbors?

Q33. How is your relation with your neighbors?

Q34. Where are your neighbors from?

Q35. How often do you see your neighbors? Where do you meet them and how do you spend time with them?

Q36. Is there any provided facility like state of health, education, security, or do you benefit from easy access to these services?

Q37. Is there any social activity center for females in this surrounding environment? If there is, would women prefer going there?

Q38. Which kind of educational facilities do you have in your neighbrhood?Are there any children who go to schoolroom or communal youth center?

Q39. How do you support to keep your neighborhood clean?

Q40. Where and how often do you take your litter ?

Q41. Do you have any neighborhood association? What kinds of activities are taking places? Do you attend these activities?

Q42. How the structures like school and mosque were in your neighborhood?

Q43. Is your home door always closed? Do you concern about security?

Q44. Do you feel safe in your neighborhood? Do you think the security is enough? Do you have any station house?

Q45. Where do the kids play in your neighborhood? Is your house directly connected to the street?

Q46. Do you have any playground in your neighborhood? How much distance does it have to your house? Do children prefer playing in the playground?
Q47. How do you use your balcony/garden in terms of communication?

Q48. Do you think your neighborhood has enough green space? Is it important for you?

Q49. Where do you celebrate weddings, and so on? How?

Q50. Do you remember any local store when you first moved to this neighborhood? Where did you use to go for shopping? Where do you go shopping now? Do you prefer shooping in the neighborhood?

Q51. What kind of means of transportation do you use?

Q52. How often do you go to mosque?

Q53. Is it important for you to live close to the coast or to see the sea view?

Q54. How often do you and your family members go to the city center?

Q55. How and where do you spend your leisure time or your weekends?

Q56. Until this time, did you have any natural disaster in your neighborhood?

Q57. Do you have any relatives living close to your neighborhood? How often do you see each other?
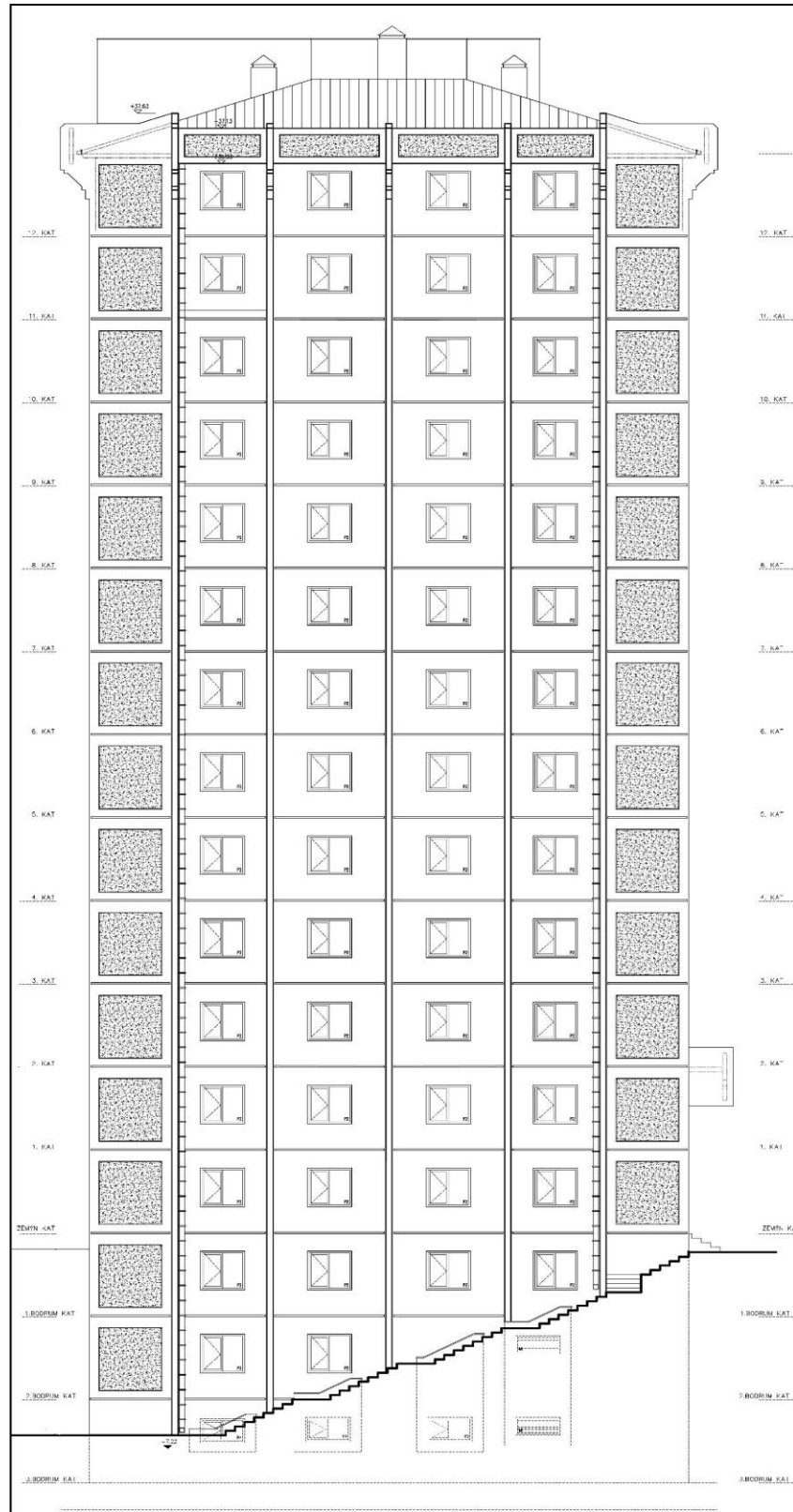
APPENDIX B

TECHNICAL DRAWINGS OF TOKI UZUNDERE
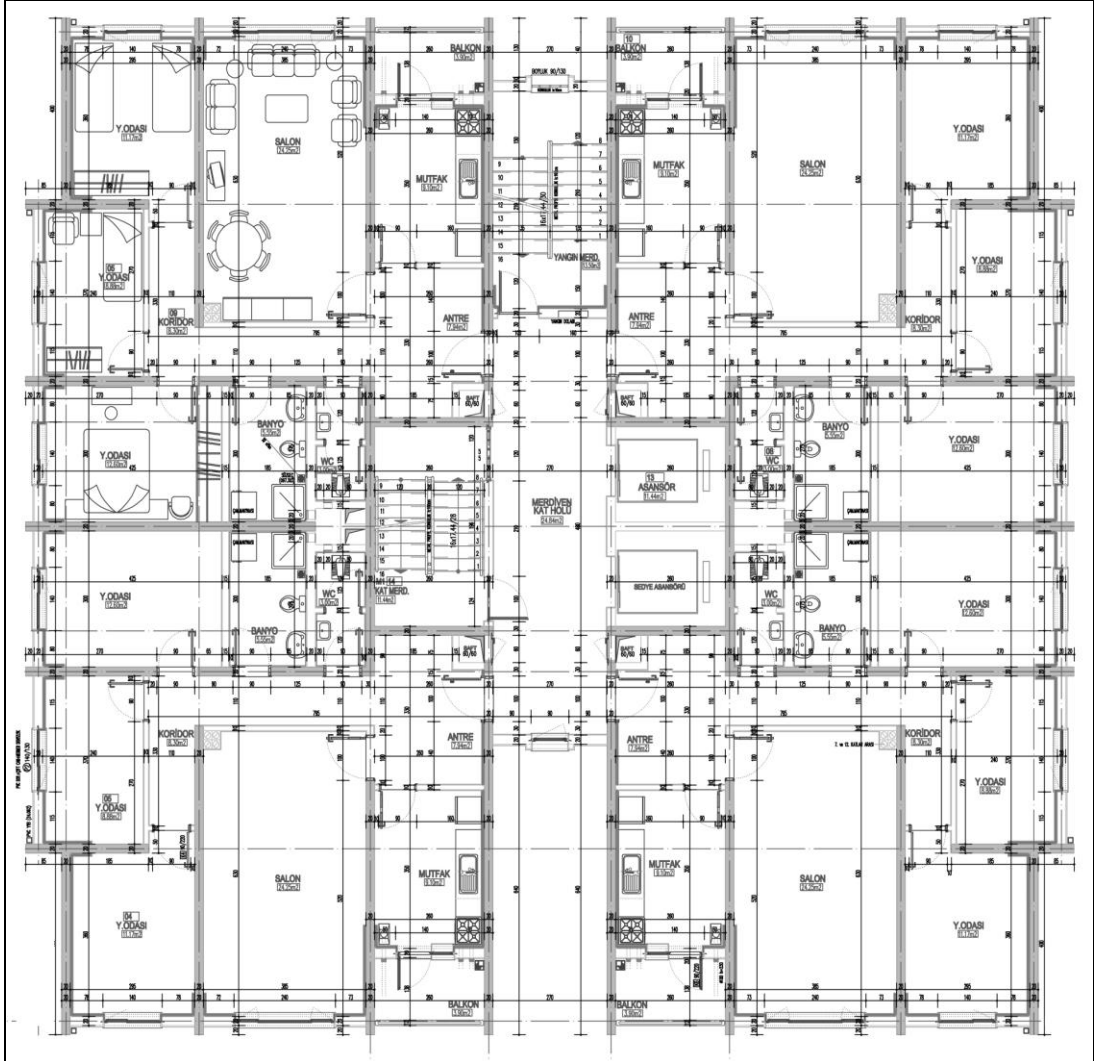
[20]C BLOCK-FLOOR PLAN (Not to Scale)

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[20] Technical drawings are obtained from TOKI office in Mavişehir, Izmir.
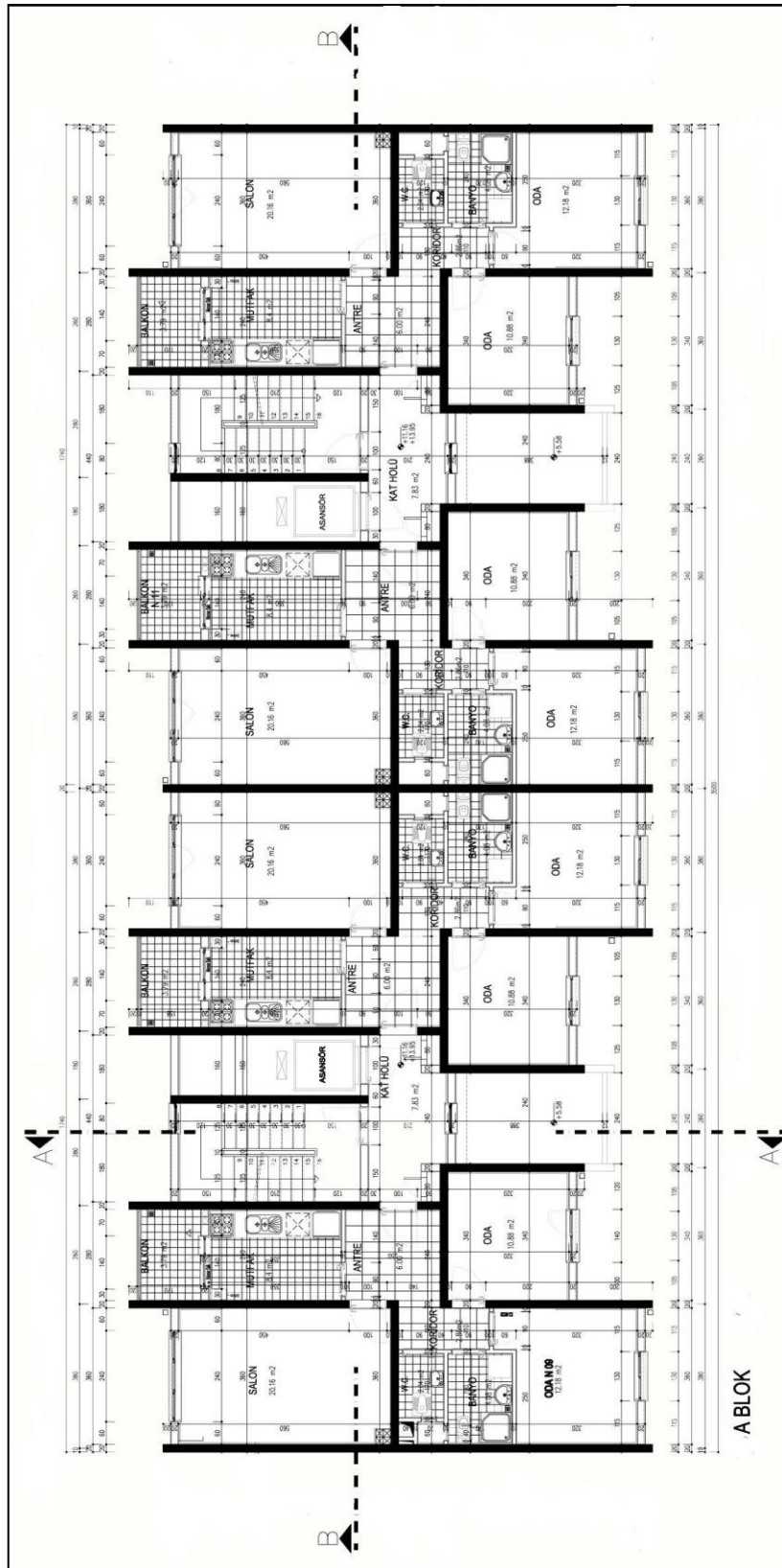
B BLOCK-FLOOR PLAN (Not to Scale)

B BLOCK-LEFT FACADE (Not to Scale)
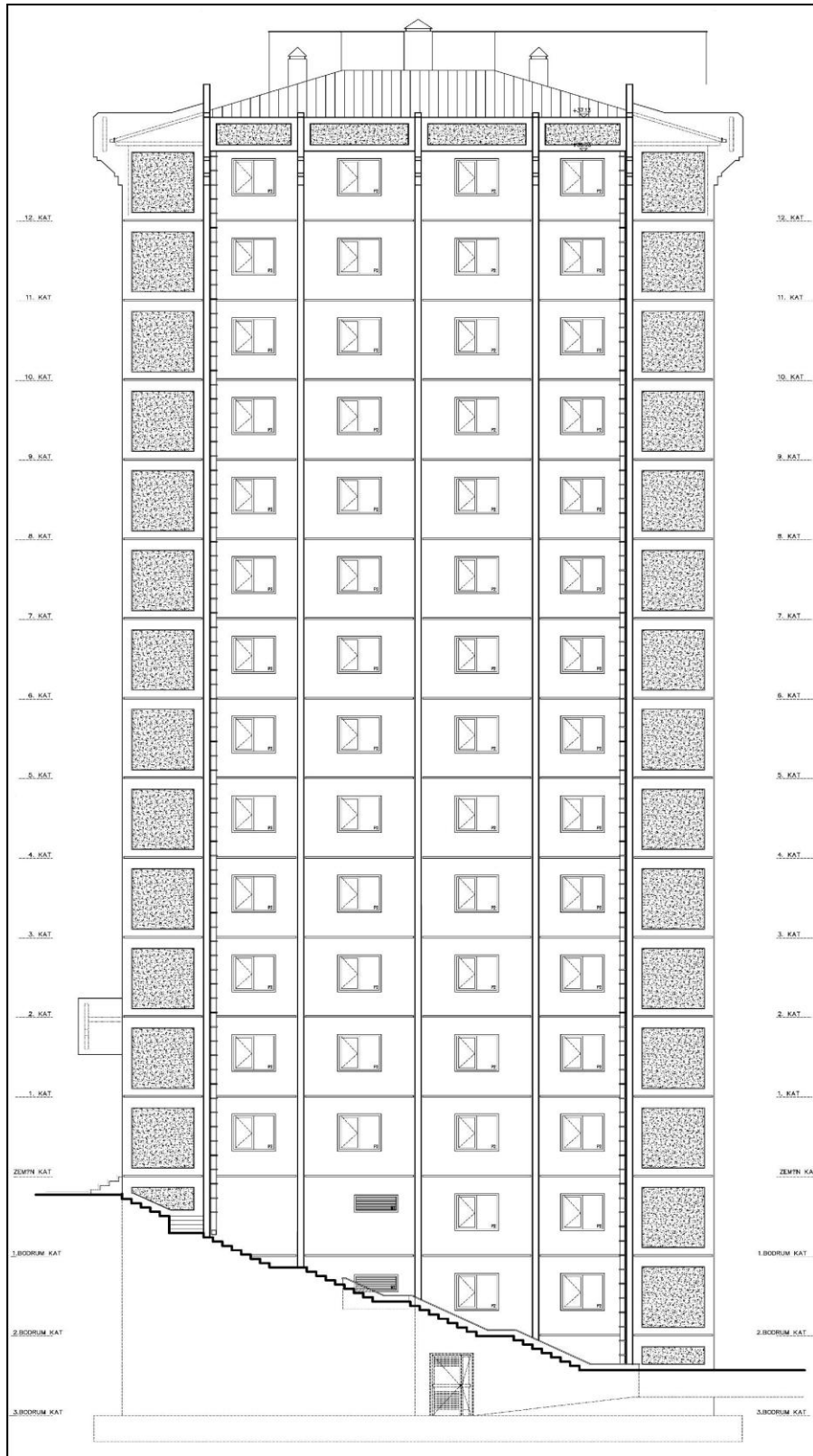
B BLOCK-RIGHT FACADE (Not to Scale)
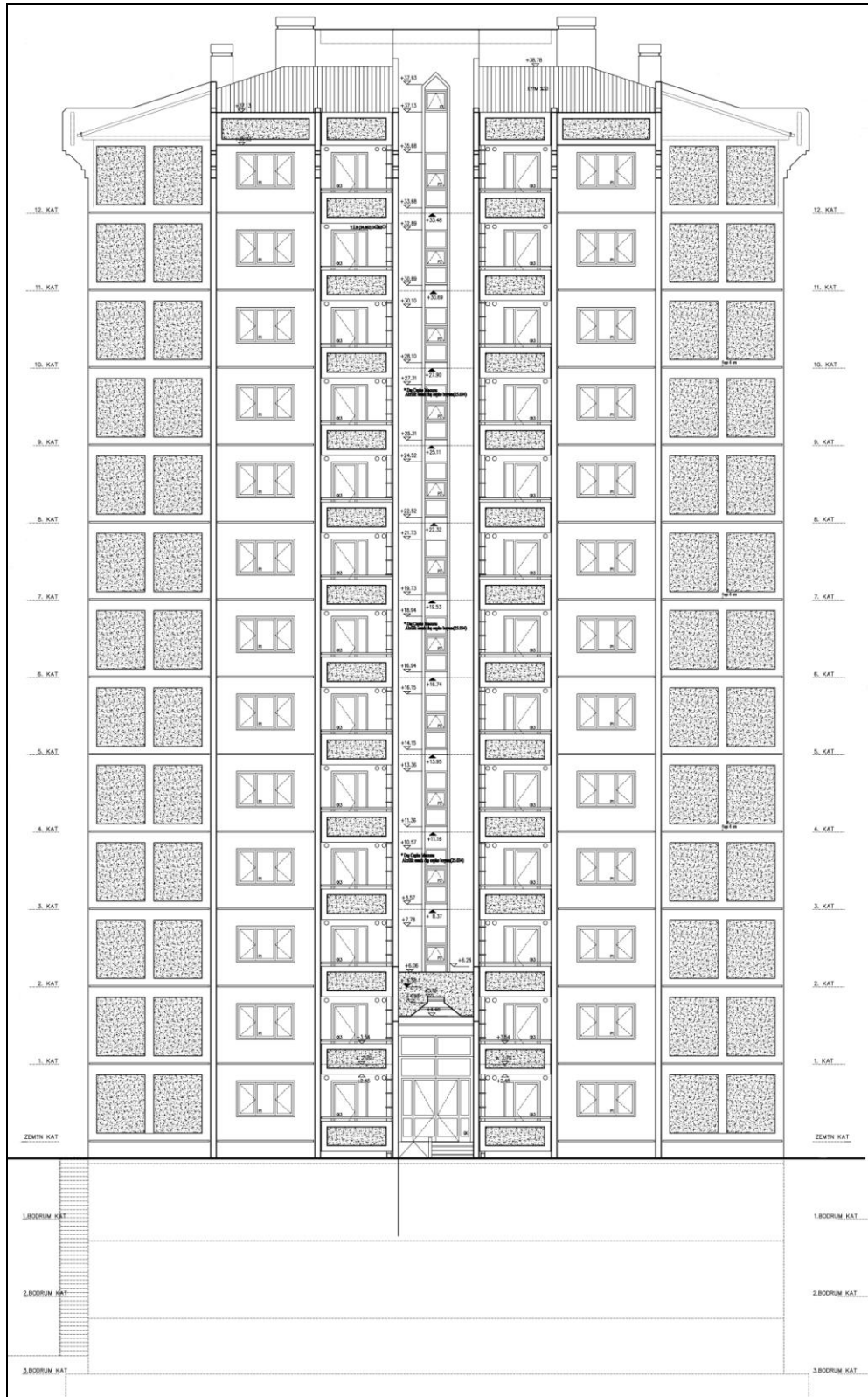
B BLOCK-FRONT FACADE (Not to Scale)

171
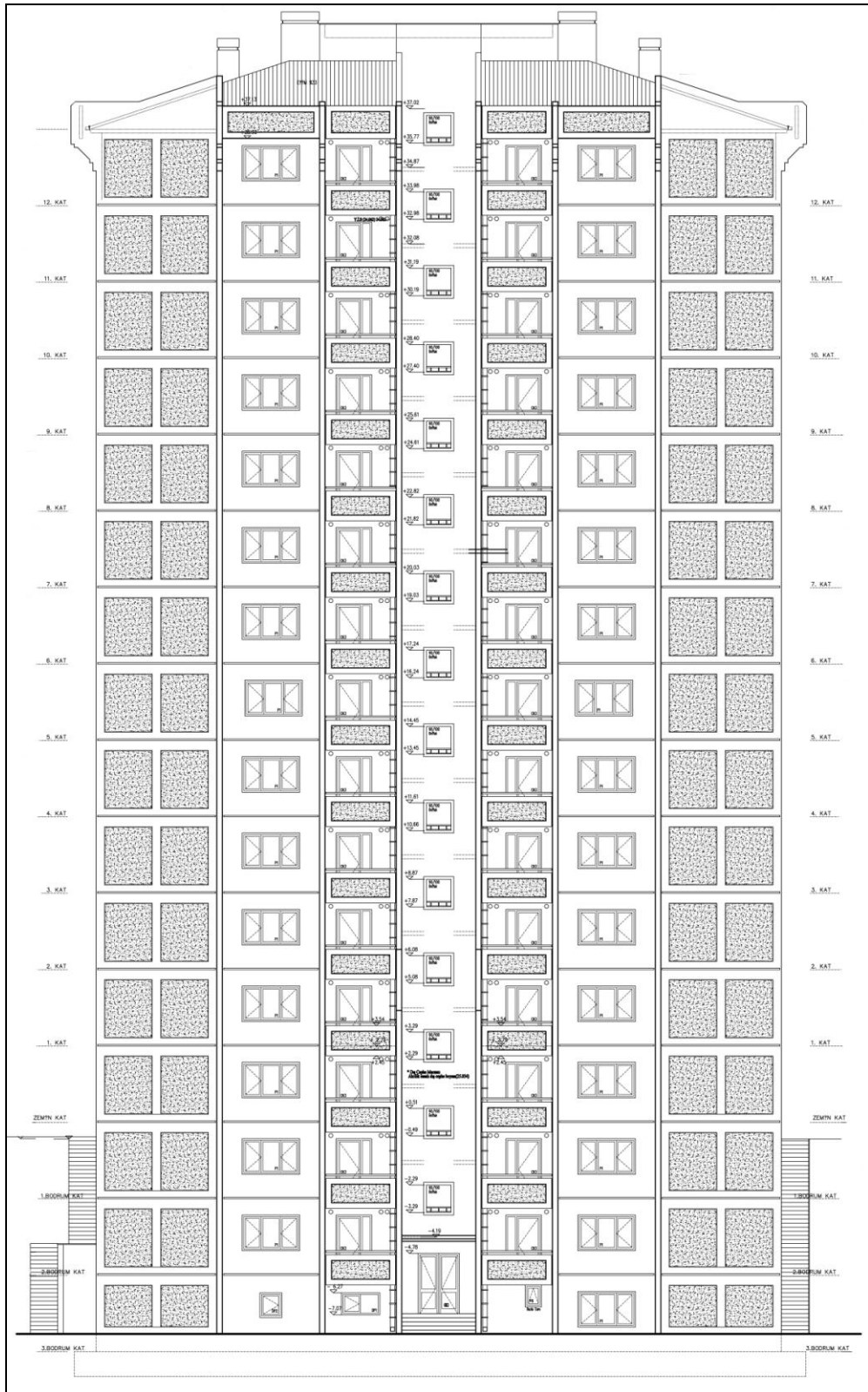
B BLOCK-BACK FACADE (Not to Scale)
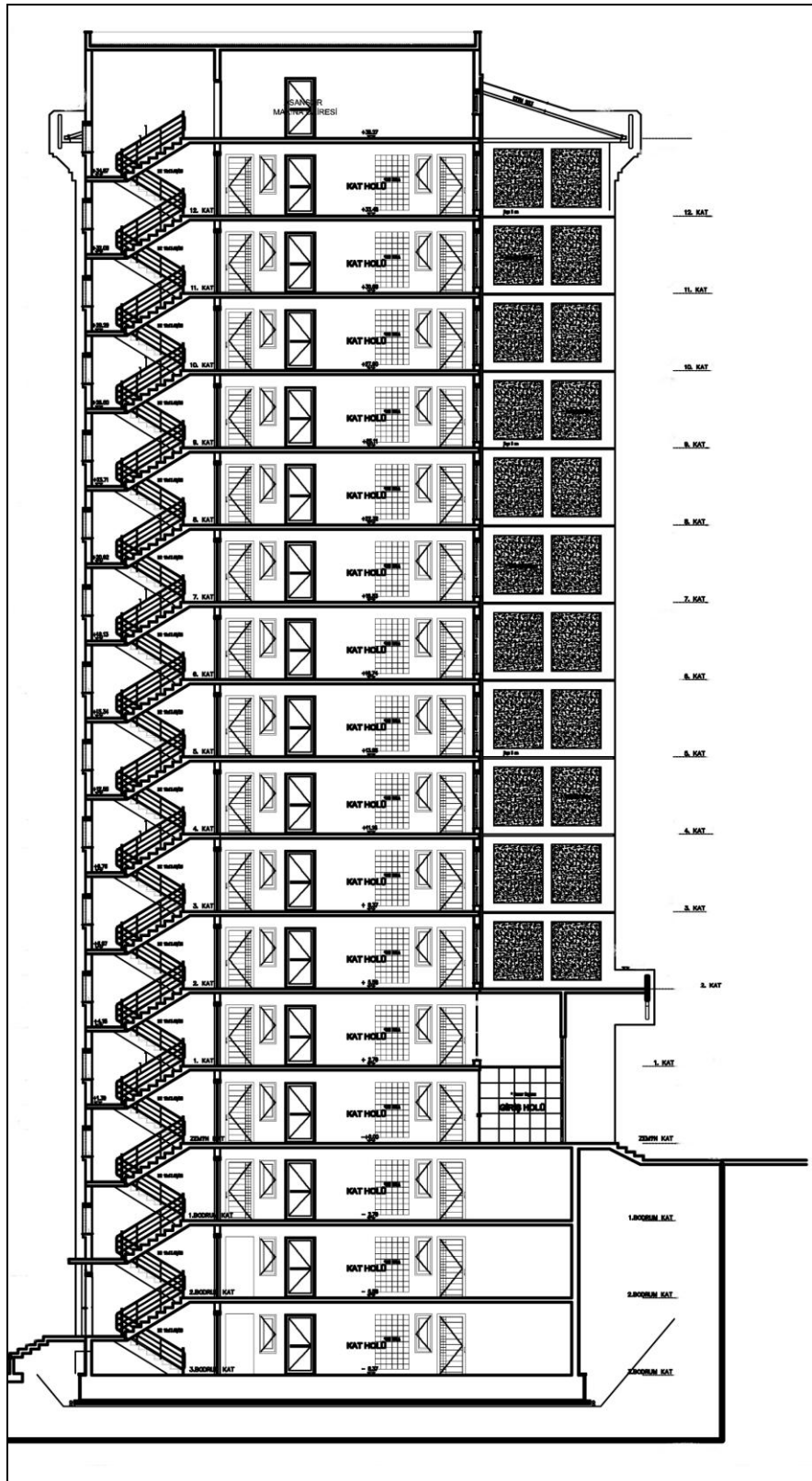
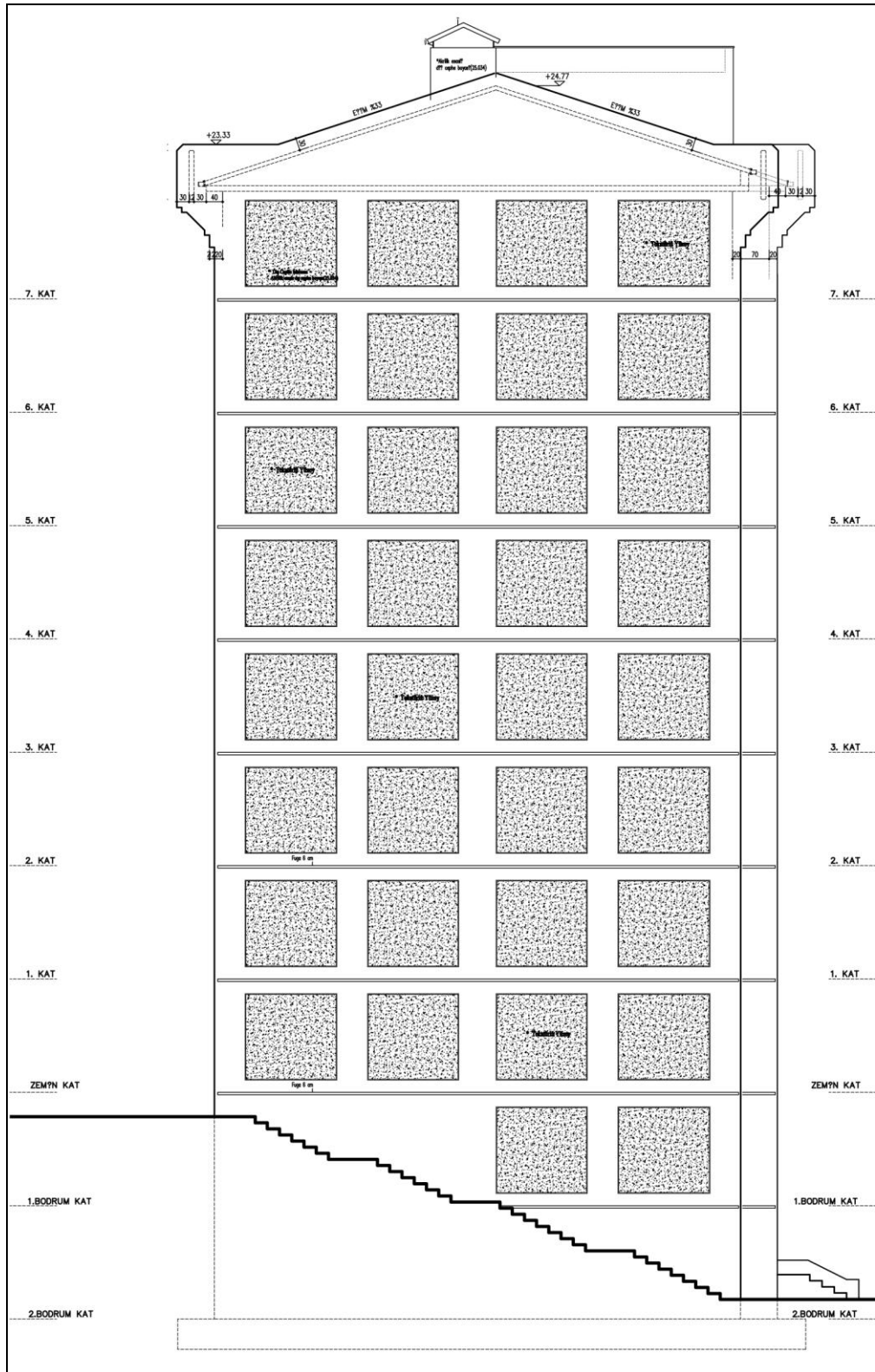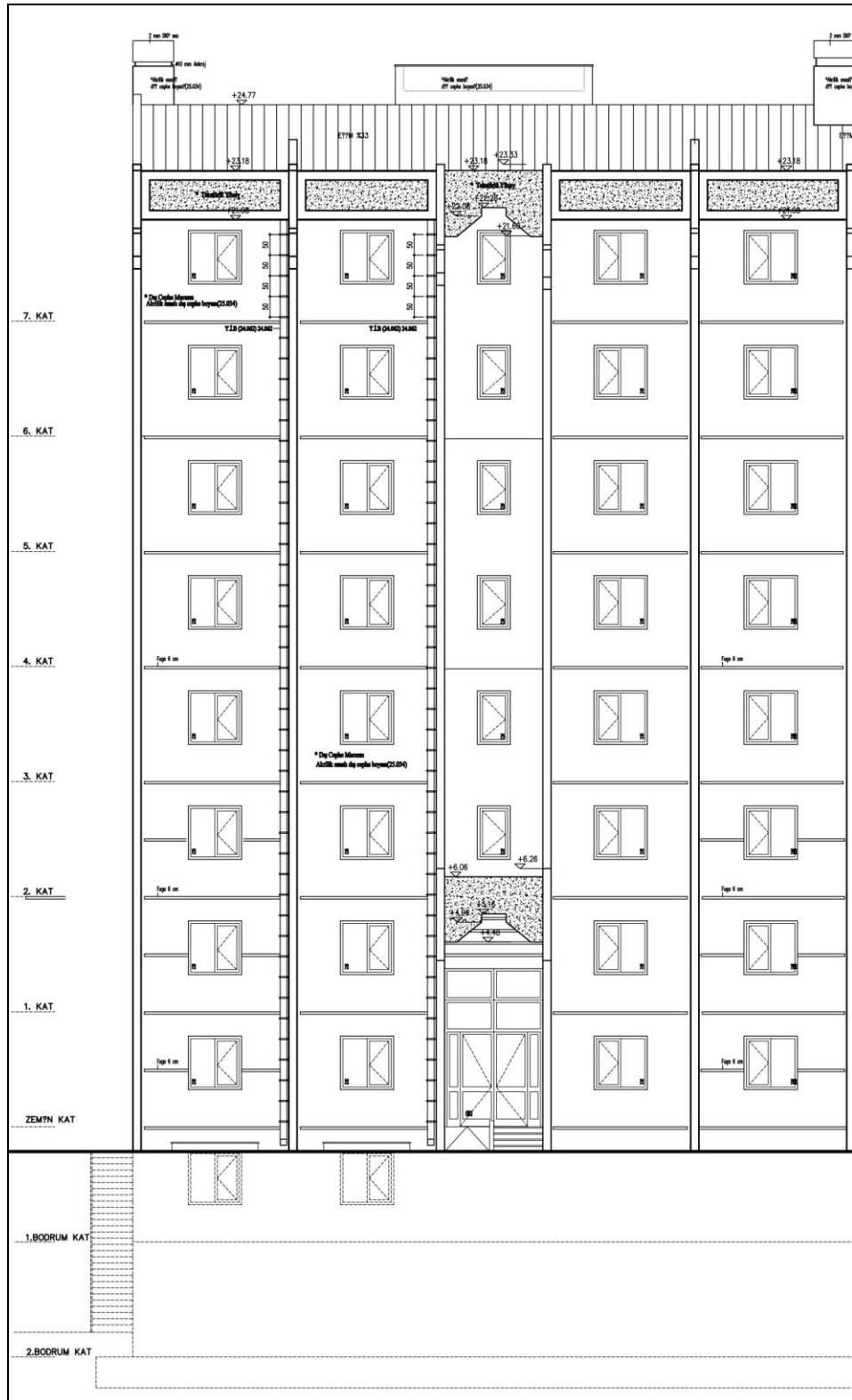B BLOCK-SECTION AA (Not to Scale)
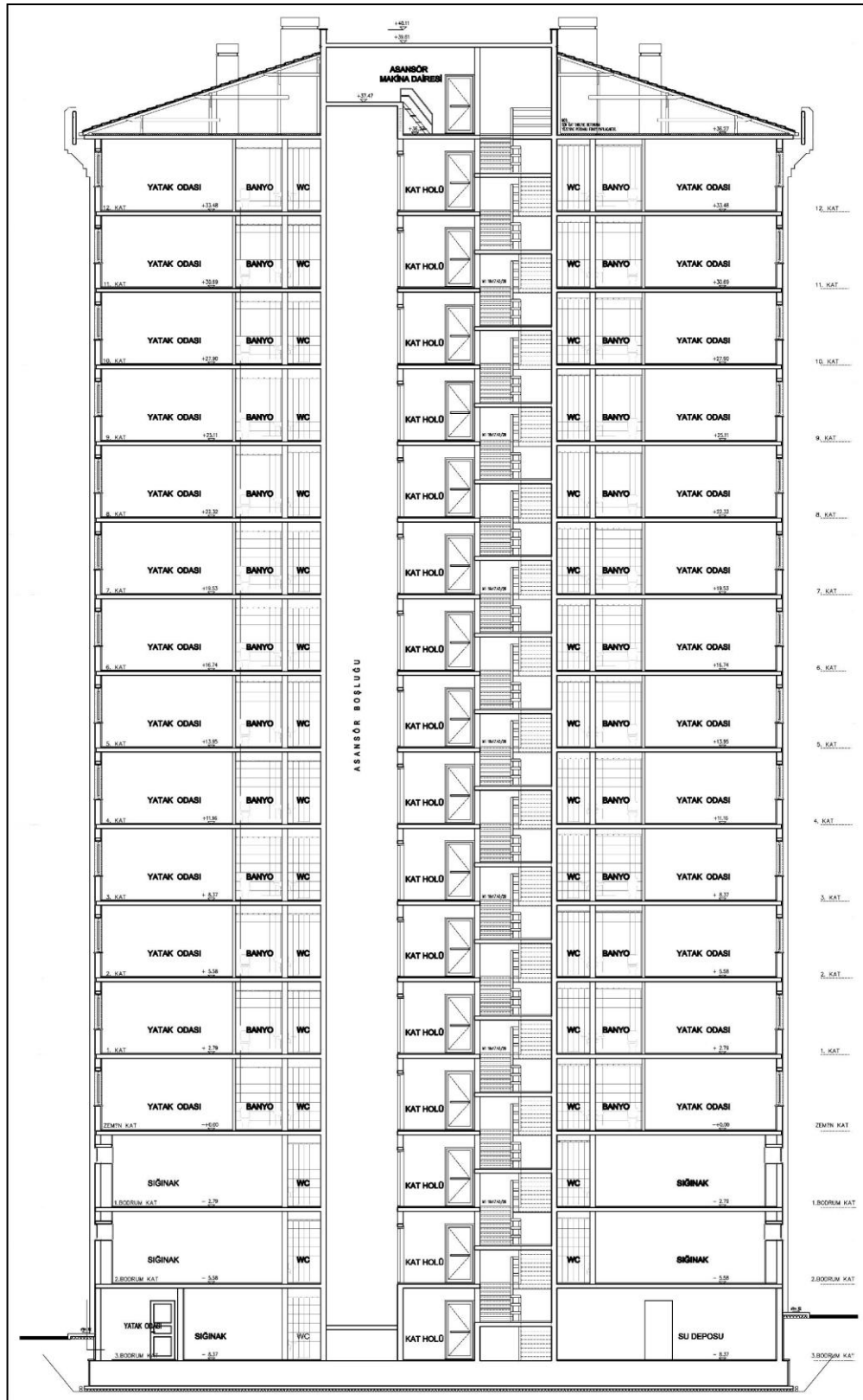
B BLOCK-SECTION BB (Not to Scale)

174
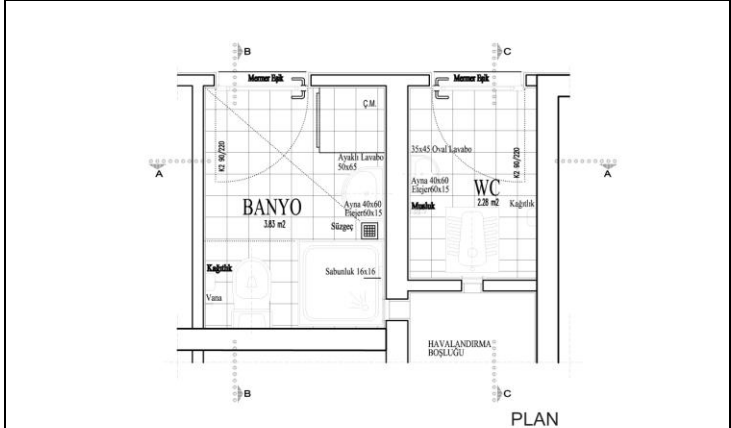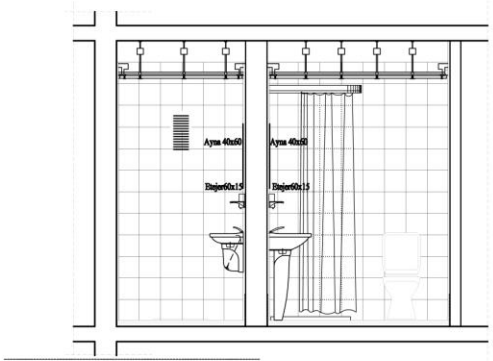
PLAN

AA SECTION

BB SECTION

CC SECTION

B BLOCK-BATHROOM PLAN AND SECTIONS (Not to Scale)

PLAN

AA SECTION

BB SECTION

B BLOCK-KITCHEN PLAN AND SECTIONS (Not to Scale)

F BLOCK-FLOOR PLAN (Not to Scale)
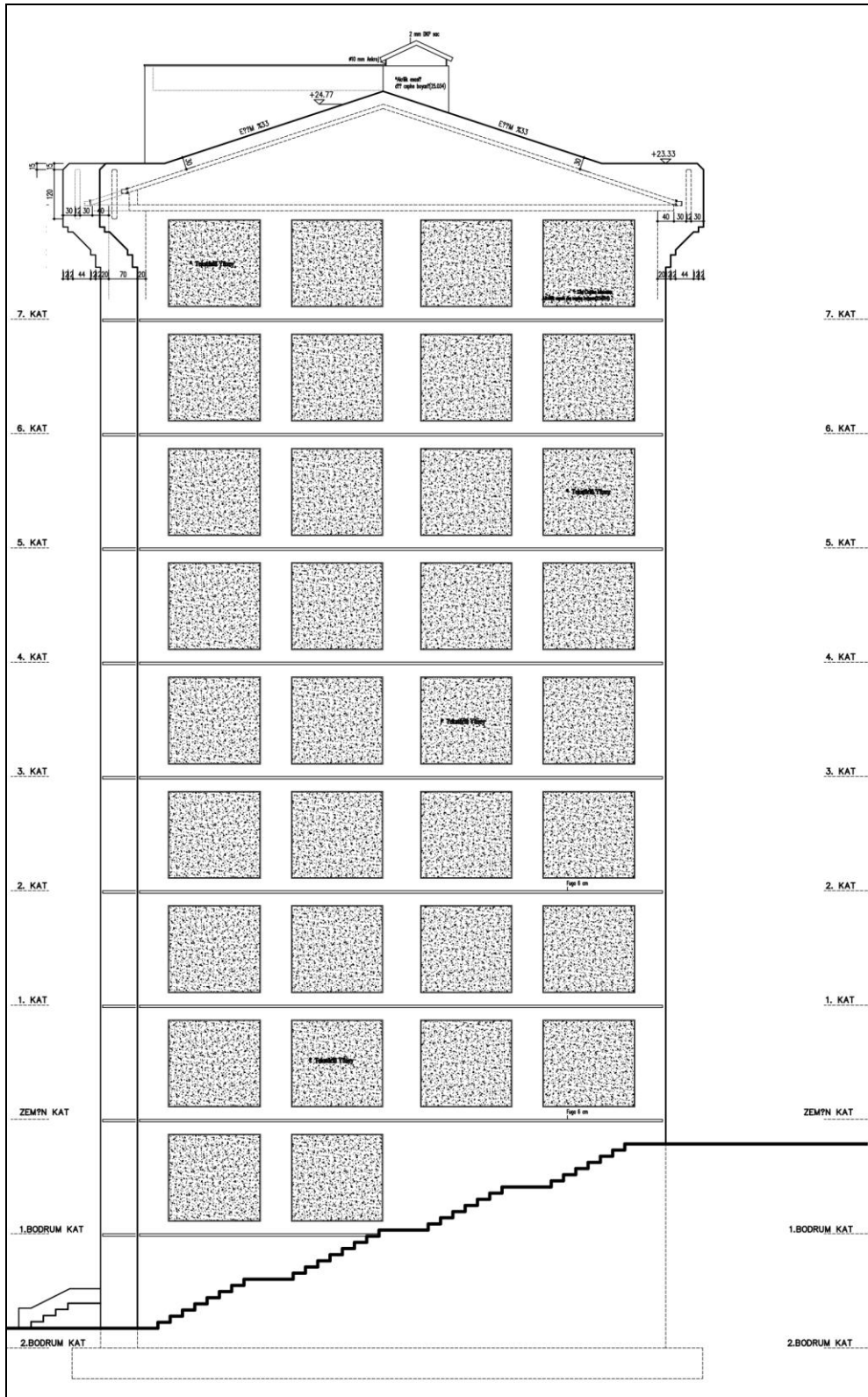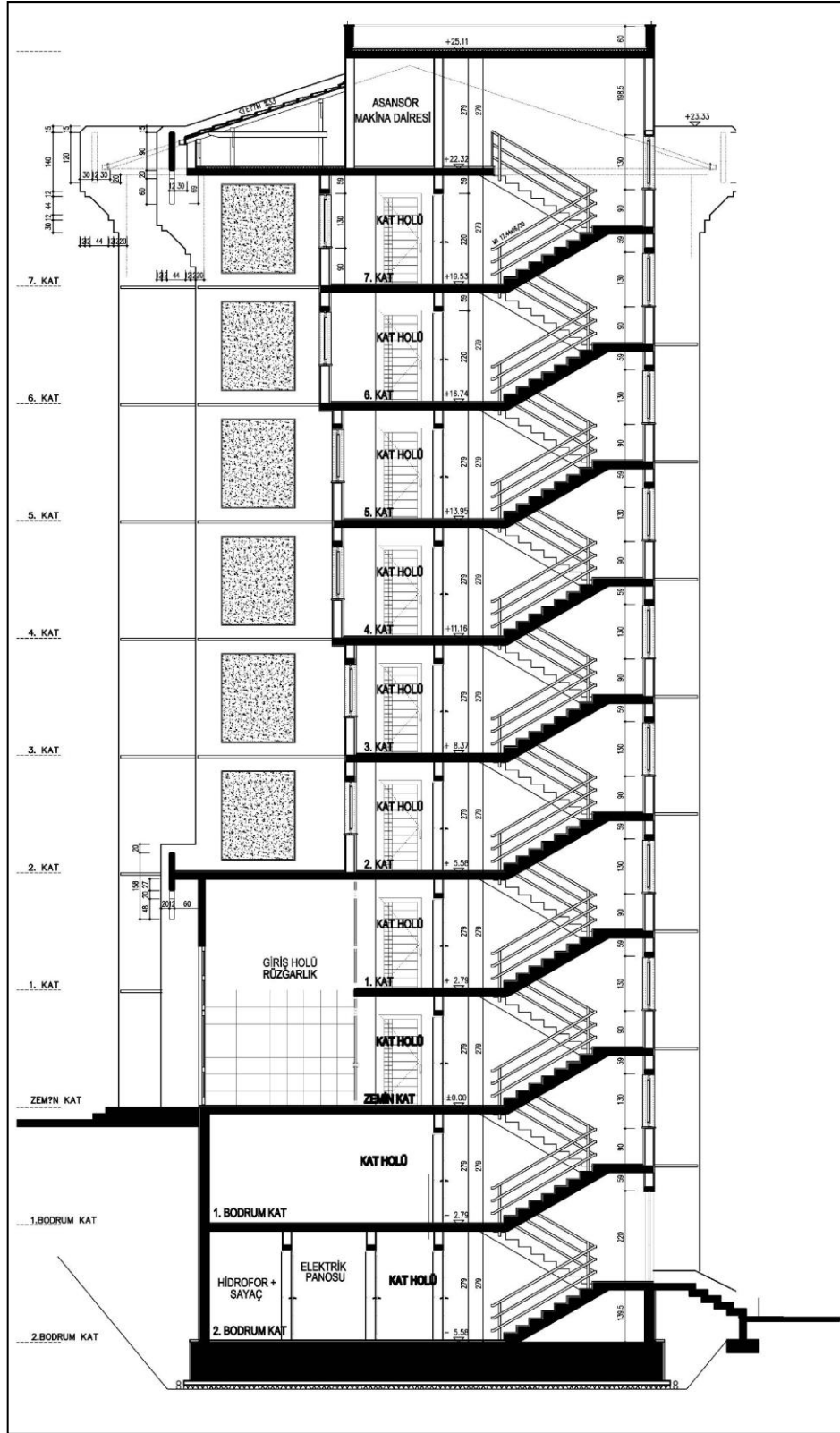
F BLOCK-LEFT FACADE (Not to Scale)

F BLOCK-RIGHT FACADE (Not to Scale)

F BLOCK-FRONT FACADE (Not to Scale)

F BLOCK-BACK FACADE (Not to Scale)

F BLOCK-SECTION AA (Not to Scale)

F BLOCK-SECTION BB (Not to Scale)