

Gentrification Within the Law of Transformation of Areas at Disaster Risks in Turkey Sulukule, Istanbul Example

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Abstract: With coming in force of The Law of Transformation of Areas at Disaster Risks numbered 16.5.2012/6306 by Ministry of Environment and Urbanization, the concept of urban transformation has entered to our life in Turkey. Gentrification as one of the forms of urban transformation brought the existence of liberated zones produced by neo-liberal mentality. Sulukule area (Neslisah Sultan settlement) which is subject to research is counted among “the areas to be renewed and to be put under preservation” by numbered 2006/10299 decision of Council of Ministers. Due to the shortage of lands in the city, it is observed especially in 1980s that the families in high-income group have preferred to live in horizontally expanding villa towns far from the center. While these residential areas are deepening the distance from the center in time, the pressure of housing demand of middle-income people and rent circles who are not planning to leave the city center caused to have an eye on these areas which are residential areas of mostly low-income people and appeared in certain regions as they are established without infrastructure and healthy conditions. With this law, the transformation has started in the areas such as Fikirtepe, Dolapdere, Esenler, and Banks of Halic (Golden Horn) where structural life is completed, and floor area ratio has been raised to 4.0 from 2.07. Vertical housing is stimulated by adding the street between the parcels to the blocks, it has been tried to prevent the victimization of local people to unearned income. There are some quarters that, under the name of gentrification, Romany citizens who passed to permanent settlement from nomadic culture at the Ottoman era, and who are engaged in activities such as handicraft, adornments, shoe making, weaving beside the show business at Fatih Sulukule district are convicted to lodge in the houses built in suburban if they have title deed, and in jerry-built tents if they don't have deed. Chamber of Architects, Chamber of City Planners Istanbul Branch and Roma Culture Development and Solidarity Association filed “nullity suit” and “stay of execution”. Despite the continuing judicial process, the demolition started in 2009, and starting the constructing the villas in 2010 breaking the resistance of Romany citizens, the area was victimized to rent.

Key words: Gentrification, urban transformation, laws, settlement.

1. Introduction

In our country in recent years, as it has been in the world, intensive population pressure raising especially towards Metropolises has caused to diminish lands in city centers almost minute amount, structuring to start growing away from city centers through urban areas, rent circles to verge central old districts distortedly structured.

While this situation shows itself with political and economic pressures, displacement of people comes to a state of social problem and keeps up-to-date.

In the article, gentrification concept that shows itself with urban transformation laws and that,

enviroming dilapidated old areas, causes displacement of people is studied.

Within the scope of research, the applications realized in Neslisah (Sulukule) district, spatial variability effecting the past and present of district, actors taking place in this variation are addressed in a frame, and a comparison of Istanbul with gentrified regions in three phases.

Face-to-face interviews are done with displaced and returned people. Internet resources, together with books, journals, newspapers, and thesis and doctorate studies from industrial revolution to present day have been factors to direct the study.

2. Concept of Gentrification

“Soylulaştırma” which corresponds the English word

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“gentrification”, and which has other usages in Turkish such as “mutenalaştırma, seçkinleştirme, burjuvalaştırma, nezihleştirme, kibarlaştırma, centrikasyon, jantileşme, etc.” is shortly defined as settlement process of middle- and high-class people to the districts in city centers where low-income people live.

Gentrification is modification process of distorted districts via the raiding of supremacy whose socio-economic condition is high. Gentrification is designing the neighborhood-size areas that started to deteriorate, dilapidated and decadent with an identity, and is quartering middle- and high-income people into these made out places. This is a social issue with political, economic and cultural dimensions and still discussed today.

From this point of view gentrification is improving the quality of a small or big scale of settlement, at the same time it subverts the permanent settlement of present habitants and push them to live in potentially more sophisticated, of lower cost and quality houses far from city center. While gentrification takes more effect at settlements with racial and ethnic structures, the people of high-income level have been provided to settle these high quality and expensive areas [1].

During the transformation of the districts under the name of gentrification, gentrifiers and gentrifieds prompt habitants to be settled in urban areas, separating them from the houses where their grandfathers, fathers and children lived and will live, taking away their memories. The rent brought by high housing quality, high rental incomes and high contribution fees make it impossible for these people to hold on to these areas.

2.1 Transformation Process Improved with the Industrial Revolution

Gentrification has started to manifest itself as a result of population pressure intensifying through cities from villages at mechanization process started by the invention of steam engines of 18th-19th century industry revolution.

The income raise at middle-income class has started suburbanization at this transition process, and has created living quarters around the cities. This improvement has caused the settlement of low-income group people into city centers. Parallel to renovations brought by industrialization, while labor need of mechanization was doubling that intensity, these settlement areas started to deteriorate, dilapidated and decadent in time. Ultimately, orienting need of population with middle and high income conduced toward urban renewal and rehabilitation processes for inner-city areas. This process is evaluated in five kinds of categories under the name of “Neighborhood Life Circles” by Knox and McCarthy.

According to this classification, the neighborhood at chosen areas are in a successive alteration and transformation. Social, economic and physical alteration realized in transformation areas has reshaped the pattern.

The first phase of neighborhood life circles is named as “Suburbanization” and starts with the settlement of high-income people into these areas. Low number of residences and having detached houses is the first and biggest feature of the first phase. “In-filling” feature that is composing the second phase makes up the lodgment of multifamily renters. This phase starts to destroy the socio-economic structure of the neighborhood it had. The third phase is “Downgrading” to cause a reason to make these living quarters a more static areas, and it is the longest lasting phase. At this stage, depreciations and deterioration on the houses start.

At the fourth phase, “Thinning out”, the beginning of the end stage starts, that it necessitates the destruction of the outmoded, dilapidated, and transformed houses from in terms of population social and peculiarities (Slum clearance). At the last phase, that is renovation and rehabilitation, the lifecycle of the area is completed by a new housing form under the name of “Gentrification” by renovating or destructing and reconstructing of the damaged houses (Fig. 1) [3].

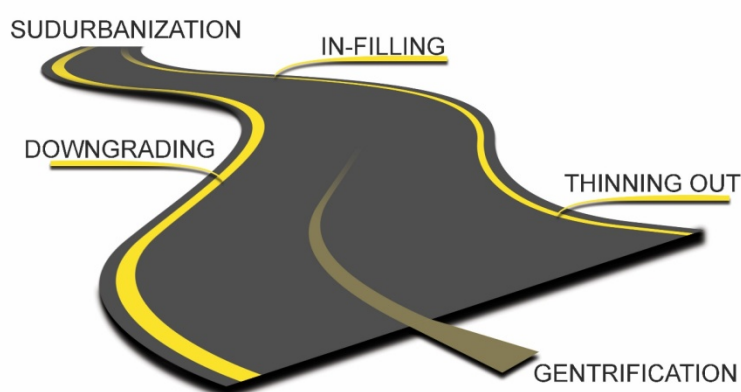


Fig. 1 Major Phases of Gentrification According to Knox and McCarthy [2].

2.2 First Sample Areas of Gentrification Concept

In the industrialization period started by 18th and 19th century, Gentrification was started to be seen in Western Europe and American cities. Together with a 100-year beginning life of that period, it shows a rapid expansion in globalizing world.

Even if this gentrification process shows an expansion tendency in cities such as London and New York, it gained popularity in other American cities like Philadelphia and Minneapolis, and Glasgow and Manchester in England. This process accelerated by 1960, and started to influence large historical cities of Europe, North America and Australia after 1970. Raiding of high-income population to city centers in metropole cities in 1980 has created the renovation need of old buildings. Because of the integration of closed economies to globalization process especially from these years, gentrification has constituted a global phenomenon. While gentrification is entering to 21st century, it is seen that city culture and its future has been brought to a new dimension with the power of rent-dependent capital.

In United States of America which is one of the first actors of gentrification period, it is indicated in the researches related with gentrification that gentrification shows a raise in time, approximately 1%-5% part of urban houses are effected, and this covers 900.000 houses in a year. In addition, at the present time gentrification is also seen in Eastern

Europe and 3rd World countries along with big cities such as Washington, Vancouver, Adelaide, Amsterdam, Istanbul and Madrid [4].

2.3 Cultural and Socio-Economic Dimension of Gentrification

By city centers' becoming attractive to financially powerful middle- and high-income group people, the rent values of these areas have begun to raise, and rising tendency of the prices day by day has precluded the living of local people previously settled here.

Established culture made that city gained its own identity, thus, intervention of another hand to their world that they have founded for themselves from past to future reveals a social dimension of gentrification concept.

Knox and McCarthy expresses the social aspect of gentrification as follows: "The principal significance of gentrification lies behind the qualitative, symbolic and ideological effects it struck on urban transformation."Knox and McCarthy also emphasis that gentrification pave the way for social conflicts via dramatically changing the social structure of neighborhood [5].

Some chamber, association and institutions utter that gentrification is aviolation of right via displacing people, and they object gentrification that generate pressure with law. The most significant example of its being so is revealed with Neslisah (Sulukule) neighborhood.

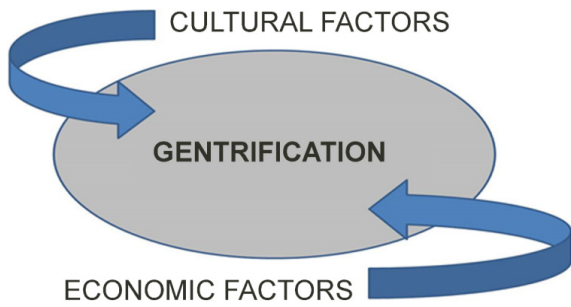


Fig. 2 Factors effecting gentrification [2].

2.4 Reasons Creating Gentrification

The cities are living spaces which are in the grip of a continuous period of change that doesn't like stability, which fulfill the necessitation of change, and which grows with the transforming human.

As a result of rapid globalization of the world, it has become an inevitable part of urban renovations. Gentrification concept shouldn't be perceived as the only mobility indicator in the cities, it should take part in cultural and economic dimensions as seen in Figure 2. Economic dimension, which is the most effective power on this, shouldn't be ignored. Depletion of rapidly decreasing lands around the city has caused to renovate the slummed neighborhoods stayed in the inner parts of the city in time [6].

Another factor is the distance between urban and center, and length of transportation network increase

the time en route; traffic density raises the attraction of city centers. Changing life perception and wishes of the youth introduce another dimension of gentrification.

Local governments may become an important factor to affect the gentrification process in order to renovate some old neighborhood that are close to the historical center of the city, to provide security in those areas, to rehabilitate the social and economic pattern of the city, to protect the historical places.

3. Studies Done under the Law of Transformation of Areas at Disaster Risks Numbered 6306

Since 1985 to present day urban renewal and transformation projects are realized by being based on laws under several names such as Zoning Law, Zoning Remission Law, North Ankara Entrance Urban Transformation Project Law, etc. Inefficiency of these mentioned laws and destructive effect of 17 August 1999 earthquake have provided The Law of Transformation of Areas at Disaster Risks Numbered 6306 by Ministry of Environment and Urbanization enter in force.

With this law, the transformation started to be actualized incrementally in three stages; Investment (Rent) purposed, Earthquake Focused, and urban transformation oriented to historical sites (Fig. 3) [7].

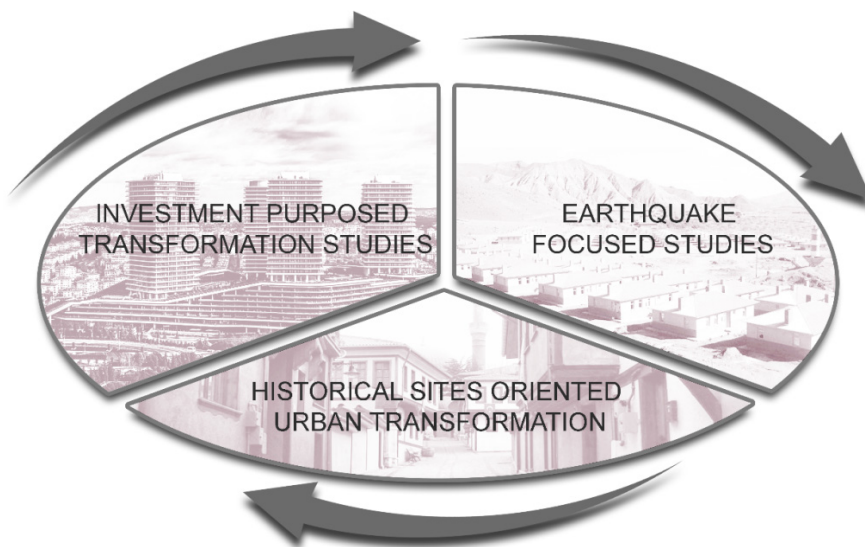


Fig. 3 Urban Transformation Studies in Istanbul [8].

3.1 Earthquake Focused Studies

After 17 August 1999 earthquake, not to live the same disaster again, earthquake focused urban transformation studies came to start. The goal was thought as removing the buildings at risk and retransforming. For this purpose, the risky buildings in Istanbul were determined, and earthquake focused urban transformation areas were identified. In Istanbul there are approximately 15 million habitant [9] and 2 million 291 thousand 226 houses. 60% of these houses consist of houses built illegally and out of control. Also, 916.491 houses that correspond to %40 of them have completed their earthquake resistance life. These numbers show that half of the building stock in

Istanbul has to be included in transformation.

1106,25 hectares area primarily including 16 districts is identified as urban transformation area. That amount is equal to %27 of the total area. Priority areas for urban transformation identified in consequence of researches done by Ministry of Environment and Urbanization are considered as “Risky Areas”, and included in urban transformation area (Fig. 4).

Areas that are subject to priority areas for urban transformation are, in order-of-magnitude; Gaziospanpasa, Sariyer, Pendik, Kadikoy, Bagcilar, and Gungoren (Chart 1). Percentage distribution of risky areas referring to the districts is shown at Chart 2 [10].

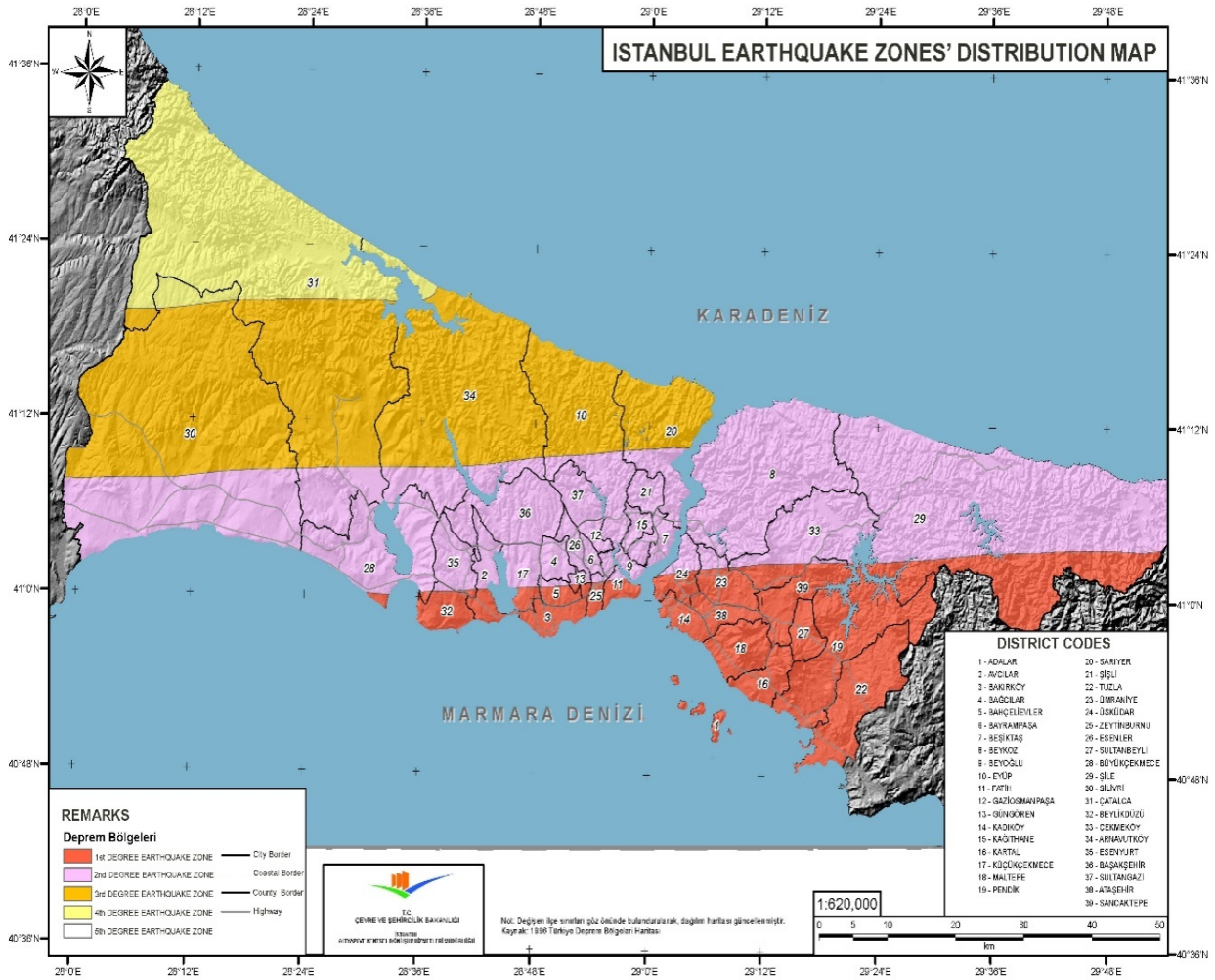


Fig. 4 Map of Istanbul Earthquake Zones [12].

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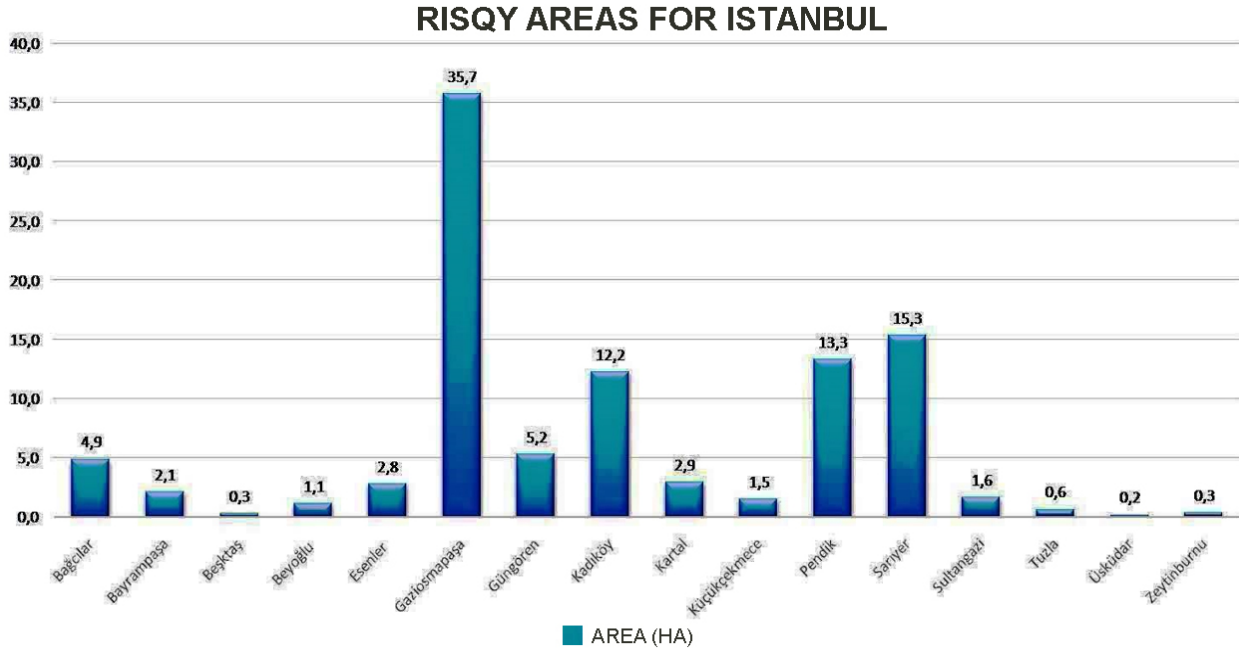


Chart 1. Percentage distribution of risky areas referring to the districts [13].

DISTRICT	AREA	RISKY NEIGHBORHOODS
Bağcılar	53,4	Çınarlı - İnönü - Sancaktepe - Yavuzselim - Merkez, Demirkapı, Evren, Göztepe, Kemalpaşa
Bayrampaşa	22,7	Bayrampaşa / Vatan
Beşiktaş	3,19	Etiler / Rumelihisarı (Akat)
Beyoğlu	12,24	İstiklal, Örnektepe - Söğütözü
Esenler	30,54	Atışalan Havaalanı, Çiftelavuzlar, Oruçreis 1,2, Tuna
Gaziosmanpaşa	392,96	Gaziosmanpaşa / Merkez, Yıldıztabya Doğu, Batı, Yeni Mahalle, Sangöl - Merkez, Pazariçi Kuzey, Pazariçi Güney, Mevlana, Kazım Karabekir - Fevzi Çakmak, Barbaros Hayrettin Paşa - Karadeniz - Karayolları, Bağlarbaşı
Güngören	57,71	Güngören / Tozkoparan
Kadıköy	134,18	Kadıköy / Fikirtepe
Kartal	31,84	Yunus, Kordonboyu, Yukan Mahalle
Küçükçekmece	16,64	Fatih, Kanarya
Pendik	146,22	Pendik / Batı, Dumlu Pınar - Orta
Sarıyer	168,8	Çamlıtepe (Derbent), Fatih Sultan Mehmet (Armutlu)
Sultangazi	18,08	Sultangazi / Cumhuriyet
Tuzla	6,78	Tuzla / İçmeler
Üsküdar	1,77	Üsküdar / Burhaniye
Zeytinburnu	3,82	Zeytinburnu / Sümer
TOTAL	1106,25	

Chart 2. Districts and Neighborhoods Included in Earthquake Focused Urban Transformation Areas in Istanbul [14].

Urban transformation in Fikirtepe in Istanbul goes on as it is planned. Total 11 blocks on 134,18 ha area are in transformation process. Fikirtepe also is a beautiful example for urban transformation and gentrification. By its location Fikirtepe has become an attraction center. Despite it is under construction, start of the sales with high prices show the interest of

wealthy classes to there. That much raise of the prices has compulsorily directed the original Fikirtepe habitants leave the area. Generally nearby areas of Fındıklı, Bulgurlu, Unalan, Fetih, Kayisdagi, Ornek, and Esatpasa have been preferred. %87 of the Fikirtepe people who were living there before the transformation project have stated that they didn't

want to reside in Fikirtepe. This situation shows us that people are separated via compulsory spatial transformation [11].

3.2 Transformation Studies Including Historical Sites

Historical values of the city are brought to the fore by restoration of historical sites at urban transformation to contribute the development of tourism. For this purpose, the idea of “Urban Transformation on Historical Sites” arose. As the best samples to this, Sulukule, Fener-Balat and Suleymaniye in Fatih district can be counted. Another example is Persembе Pazarı and Tarlabası in Beyoglu district. Earthquake focused urban transformation is also done in Sutluce-Ornektepe and Kasimpasa in Beyoglu district. Neslisah (Sulukule) in Fatih district, Hatice Sultan neighborhood, Fener neighborhood, Balat neighborhood, Ayvansaray, Atikmustafapasa and Tahta Minare neighborhood are also decided as “Urban Transformation Area” by the decision of İstanbul Metropole Municipality Council. A major urban transformation and renovation studies go on in this area [15].

3.3 Investment Purposed Transformation Studies

Another purpose of transformation is to gain rent. Being attractive of such places in Istanbul drew attention

of business and finance sectors. This caused the start of investment purposed “Urban Transformation with Strategic Focus”. 901,5 ha area came up for this purpose. Of these areas 330 ha is in Kartal, 310ha in Ayamama Axis Cendere, 230 ha in Silikon Vadisi (Silicon Valley), 31,5 ha in Maltepe-Dragos (Fig. 6) [16].

4. Phases that Gentrification Included in Istanbul

4.1 First Phase: Kuzguncuk, Arnavutkoy, Ortakoy

Kuzguncuk is a district situated between Uskudar and Beylerbeyi on Asan side at Bosphorus, shaping a valley from north to south through Baglarbasi. It is written in sources that its old name is Khrysokeramos, meaning “Golden Tile”, and this name came from a church with gilded tile roof founded by Iustinos (dp 565-578). The Jews coming to the area by 17th century turned it into a habitat [17].

At the beginning of 1980s, by settling of architect Cengiz Bektas to Kuzguncuk neighborhood which is one of the oldest settlement areas of Istanbul, the neighborhood rehabilitation study he started raised the interest to the neighborhood. Raising deep interest induced groups such as artists, architects, writers and musicians to settle there, causing the neighborhood become popular.



Fig. 6 Fikirtepe Urban Transformation Area [18].



Fig. 7 Kuzguncuk District rehabilitation study [19].

The intense demand shaped in that way has increased the profitability of the region, the district became a natural movie set, and by shooting popular television serials here the interest has arrived to the highest levels (Fig. 7).

In Kuzguncuk district, renovation studies done with Cengiz Bektas' little touches fitting to the project have raised the demand to the neighborhood, and have caused the reviving of property market. Thus, to view the best samples of gentrification without public or profiteer intervention is provided.

Another district, Arnavutkoy, is situated between Kurucesme and Bebek in European side of Istanbul. Being an old Greek village, this district was named as Hestai, because limestone-quarries were there in Antique age era (Fig. 8).

The region was called as Megalo Revma (Grand Stream) by the Greeks at Ottoman era. There is no precise information about when and with what reason the area had the name of Arnavutkoy. After the big fire happened in 1877, most of the Jews living in the area have left their homes and settled to Ortakoy, Yenikoy, Balat and Kuzguncuk districts, and Turks have settled to the district that concretion rapidly started [12].

After 1960 apartment blocks were started to be built on coastal road. After 1980 "piled road" was built on the sea to enlarge the road, and so that structuring gathered more speed [12].

Arnavutluk district had a similar renovation process as to Kuzguncuk. While the neighborhood spirit found out in Arnavutkoy, that improved itself, not the hand of the state but the cultural structure of the public, is being affective at the renovation process, it also has been a good example of gentrification [20].

The last district of the first phase of gentrification, Ortakoy, is situated bay the foot of Bosphorus Bridge on European side. The history of Ortakoy, which is an important settlement if Byzantium and Ottoman Empire, reach out until Antique Age. It was named as Arkheon in old ages. Turks who settled to the region during the era of Suleyman the Magnificent built Ortakoy Mosque that later became the symbol of Ortakoy. It is a district where different cultures and religions live together in amity (Fig. 9).

Even if it doesn't make a direct relation of the subject with industry, gentrification studies done in the region puts forward district's relation with urban policies with its several aspects. The importance of architectural features and physical location of this district in terms of gentrification is its bearing the social dynamics of city centers. This area that has a mixed structure draws attention with its old habitants and newly settled middle class people [12].

There is an interesting situation for this area; Ortakoy district which was gentrified with a similar process have had to experience a second gentrification process because of an intense capital flow in time, and



Fig. 8 Arnavutkoy District [16].



Fig. 9 Old and New Ortakoy [17, 18].

it has been seen that the parts settled here left Ortakoy district beginning from the mid of 1990s. The district became an entertainment center with its traffic that appeared especially after the rearrangement of Ortakoy square, with the intensity of entertainment places, and with the noise of hotels and cafes.

4.2 Second Phase: Beyoglu, Cihangir

Transformation of Cihangir and Beyoglu followed a process as a continuing one that goes back to 1980s, that is, the beginning of gentrification. In this period, Cihangir has been a place where travesties and homosexuals were taking shelter in. At the beginning of 1990s it drew interest of gentrifiers. Especially in this period, the first reason of their

preference was its central location and architectural style of the buildings were affective.

The people who preferred here because of these reasons were young professional citizens, writers, architects, poets and academicians, as it was seen in Kuzguncuk example. Another reason of this preference is the investors who are of buying the houses there with a low cost and selling them for a more charming prices after the necessary maintenance. Speculative raise on house costs after such acts of investors has resulted in Cihangir's becoming a life place for middle-up class. Artist people's Cihangir preference created a more bohemian life style. This gentrification example experienced in Cihangir is similar to gentrification samples in West [11].

4.3 Third Phase: Halic, Balat and Fener

Surrounded with Byzantium city walls on North and Halic city walls on East, Fener and Balat were places where non-Muslims were densely living for Al-Qudspatriarchate of Christian community and Greek patriarchate of Orthodox community were located there. Fener's residents where aristocrats were living until 18th century have started to leave the region at the beginning of 19th century. Rich notables mostly went to districts by Bosphorus such as Tarabya, Kurucesme, Arnavutkoy, remaining Greeks have left the country in masses in 1960s.

Balat was a region where Jews were predominated in population. They have also collectively left Balat and settled around Galata in 19th century. Remaining few Jewish citizens became minority in Balat, and left buildings were settled by low-income people came from Black Sea region. Generally artisans and

craftspeople were continuing to live in Balat that has lost its old charm in socio-cultural and economic aspects. With its closeness to center and cheapness of old buildings, it has been a hope for people migrated from rural areas. Balat and Fener which are becoming life place of low-income people have begun to transform with a project started in 1988 [12].

Towards the end of 1990sgentrification process has jumped to two neighboring districts within the boundaries of Fatih district and located on the bank of Halic, to Fener and Balatthat were designated among the poorest districts of the city. Gentrification in Fener and Balat begun to be seen after the announcement of 'Rehabilitation Program of Fener and Balat Districts' in 1996 which was prepared with cooperation of European Commission and Fatih Municipality and purposed to rehabilitate about 200 houses (almost 1/7 of total house stock) (Fig. 10).



Fig. 10 Rehabilitation studies of Fener-Balat District [18].

The project that started in January of 2003 and funded by European Commission has almost 7 million Euro budget. Since “institutive intervention” actualized before gentrification process and gentrifiers were informed about rehabilitation program before they settled to the region in Fener and Balat example, whether their purpose is this or not, the institutions are the main igniters of gentrification process. For this reason, Fener and Balat example are considered as a part of state-based new gentrification wave [12].

The region where nearly 500 first-degree and second-degree historical monuments are begun to become a culture and entertainment center after restoration, reconstruction and renovation studies. There are 16.000 sq. monumental work, 18.00 sq. new building, 32.000 sq. civil architecture example.

5. Fourth Phase: State-Based New Gentrification Wave, Neslisah (Sulukule) Neighborhood

5.1 Spatial Structure of Neighborhood

Spatial building elements of Sulukule are narrow streets and two-storied attached yard-type buildings

shared by two to five houses and surrounding these streets. But the main qualifier of these streets are not their physical features, but the colorful life style. Before the gentrification operation done to the neighborhood, 16% of the houses were below 50 sq. 31% were below 70 sq., neglected and dilapidated. Monthly rental of hovel houses which were qualified as beautiful by neighborhood residents were varying from 60 to 3000 TL. Besides, for most of the buildings there were even no rental contract that means legally assurance (Fig. 11) [13].

5.2 Economic Structure of Neighborhood

Monthly average income of Sulukule people was varying from per house 300 to 500 TL. & 77 of people have no any income, while %63,5 have no social security. Professional variability in Sulukule is quite low. Men of neighborhood generally deal with musicianship, shoe shining, phaeton riding and hawking. For sustainability of these occupations, easy access to city center has a big importance. As to women, they generally work at textile mills until they get married. While %17 of the families have no children, %13 of children and %8 of women are panhandling [13].

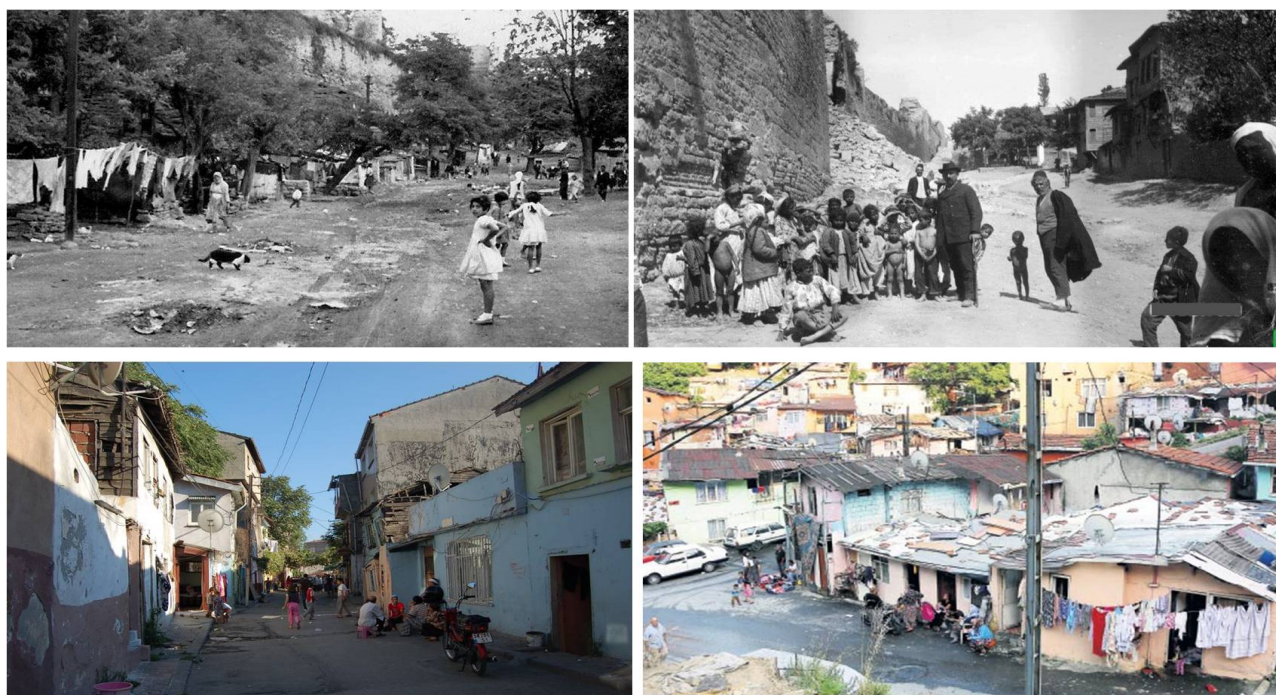


Fig. 11 Sulukule from past to present (Commission archive, 1939) [18].

Closing down of Fun Houses which are important income channel of Sulukule has hauled the region to a big and rapid fall in economic aspect. The region was given in to poverty in this period that artisans couldn't deal with works, 3500 people fell out of work.

5.3 Social Structure of Neighborhood

For locals, this area is perceived as of "inside" where everything is free, everything is comfortable, and out of the neighborhood boundaries is "outside" where are rules and people are not sincere and comfortable. For community dwellers the place they continue their existence is not "the house" but "the neighborhood". All kinds of activities but sleeping and cooking are done in narrow streets. While most of the men are spending their time in coffeehouse, women and children have socializing opportunity in front of their house. Everybody is relative with each other in a way and was born in this neighborhood. They see themselves as "Ottoman kids" and this is an important factor for identity formation [13].

To exist here since the Ottoman time is very important for community dwellers and it strengthen

their connection to the neighborhood. According to a-the questionnaire applied by Fatih Municipality, 74% of community dwellers wanted to continue living in Sulukule. Sulukule was more than a place where ethnic identity is tried to be sustained; it was hosting the people who were struggling to survive. Separation of Sulukule natives from strangers have increased unity and integrity inside, have obliged them to socialization.

5.4 Targeted Policies in Neslisah (Sulukule) Neighborhood Gentrification Process

The policies targeted during project building process are summarized as follows:

Protection of Living Culture and World Heritage: Inland city walls and their extensions such as historical and cultural monumental structures have been completely preserved and surrounding occupations have been purged of, social and cultural pattern areas and infrastructure have been constituted. The target is ensuring the lodgment of all families who are residing here. Thus, sense of belonging to the city will be strengthen with the positive effect of coexistence of different social layers (Fig. 12).



Fig. 12 Cinarli Fountain. Yesterday (Commission Archive, 1939). Today as it is restored! [2].



Fig. 13 Yesterday and today of Neslisah (Sulukule) Neighborhood [11].

Ensuring sustainability of historical pattern and stopping physical downfall: The buildings in Sulukule have started to fall because of lack of maintenance, repair and damaging interferences for years. The area which was occupied by lessees, occupants who do not pay rents and some marginal groups, have been a place of subterranean economy, illegal applications and crime constituting environments, and turned into an unhealthy settlement (Fig. 13).

Urban integration and improvement the quality of life while preserving cultural dynamics: The project also creates important standards together to raise life quality. With this Renovation Project, Sulukule which is situated on an important tourism and culture routing along city walls is going to contain an important tourism and culture axis in itself via the integration and relation it has with the city.

Encouraging participation: The project is formed by meetings held twice a week with community leaders, local residents and landholder according to municipality records. The number of residential buildings to be handled with the project are 620. Rent allowances are identified as 400 TL to landholders and 300 TL to lessees. According to project, one third of land holders

will again reside in this area, and requestors and lessees will can be a house owner without advance payment and draw in public housing built by TOKI (Housing Development Administration) in Gaziosmanpasa Tasoluk which is 30 km far from center. House value to be paid in 180 months (15 years) provided that to start after admission of the houses [13].

5.5 The Effects of Targeted Policies on Neighborhood's Physical Structure and Neslisah (Sulukule) People in Gentrification Process

5.5.1 Project Developers

With "renovation area" notice on Sulukule (Neslisah and Hatice Sultan neighborhoods) by Cabinet of Ministers on the date 3rd April 2006, the protocol targeting urban renovation was signed among TOKI, Istanbul Metropol Municipality and Fatih Municipality on 13th June 2006.

The Renovation Preliminary Project prepared by TOKI was found appropriate by Renovation Committee on 2nd November 2007 (Fig. 14). At the end of reconciliation process with beneficiaries, the first destruction on Project Area was done on 11th February 2008.



Fig. 14 Sulukule Renovation Preliminary Project [19].

5.5.2 Project Details

Whilst project area is 9 ha, total construction area is 6ha. There are 620 landholders and 734 lessees in the project scope. Whilst present building block number is 12, in the prepared preliminary project it is increased to 20 and parceling is also changed [18].

There have been studies for lessees, as well as for landholders, in the project and they have been ensured to own residences in Tasoluk Housing Estates of TOKI. 37% of lessees have applied to become house owner. Even if targets such as providing occupation, in-situ transformation, protection of the culture and providing job opportunities are mentioned in project scope, the completed renovation studies have gone to a different dimension. Together with this, annulment actions sued by professional chambers and non-governmental organizations didn't win through.

5.6 Negative Effects of Gentrification Process upon Sulukule People

Solutions are developed by determining preservation principles taking population and housing intensity living in Sulukule into consideration. In reality, zoning alterations on block basis are applied and not obeyed to the typology of roads, streets, houses and historical pattern. Socio-economic structure of Sulukule people and historical structure of the region are pushed into the background, and the marks of 1000 year old Romany culture in the region is cleared away in an unjust way.

Despite non-governmental organizations' devising appropriate projects to abolish the problems causing poverty as part of the right to life and stay in place, and ignoring shelter need of Sulukule people, the pressure of environments who do not want to be away of rent returns have caused these studies to

be excluded [20].

Also, the following plan is prepared by Sulukule Platform, Roma Culture Development and Solidarity Association, and Autonomous Planners without Borders (STOP-Sınır Tanımayan Otonom Plancılar):

A contemporary, humanitarian approach to be an example in urban gentrification;

A multi-actored, democratic, transparent planning process to which academicians, public-private and nongovernmental organizations' representatives, and Sulukule people have participated;

Respect to national and international standards, and sensibilities of public opinion;

Respect to 1000-year Romany history and culture of Sulukule;

Opportunity of coming back to the neighborhood for Sulukule residents who were compulsorily displaced;

Humanitarian- and community-based programs and solution offers for Sulukule people who are experiencing unjust socio-economic treatments;

Social reinforcement areas for cultural sustainability and social development beside local employment opportunities;

A total of 20.500 sq. green space to eliminate the lack of green space in the region.

This plan is ignored, the studies excluded from the planning the municipality prescribed, Sulukule people's culture that survived for 1000 years have been destroyed by the effect of Gentrification Process.

6. Conclusions

Romany citizens constitute 3500 of 5000 citizens living in Sulukule. At the meeting with Sulukule people to apply the demolition decision taken by Fatih Municipality under the name of urban renovation, they said they would give 500 TL value per square meter of houses, and they could hand over the houses to the right owners by charging the cost differentiation in 180 months terminal date. Despite the people told that they couldn't pay these instalments because of income

inadequacy, and they could renovate the houses through their own means under the control of municipality, the authorities have pushed them to consent under the pressure of "You either sell them, or we are going to confiscate them!".

In Neslisah (Sulukule) neighborhood all Sulukule people and nongovernmental organizations have taken their position with the slogan "Neighborhood residents should stay in the neighborhood". In spite of this, that request didn't gain acceptance under the pressure of the state and rent environments. By the start of demolition, the interference fell down and the region became unlivable under the dust and dirt. Romany citizens couldn't resist to this condition and completely left the area in 2009.

The citizens who are lessees are placed by lot into the houses built in 30 km out of the city around Tasolukby TOKI, being obliged to pay in 180 months. They failed to pay travel expenses, dues and food by the time, and they started to come back to the neighborhoods near Sulukule.

Rich migrants are started to be placed in luxury houses built in Sulukule in Gentrification process paying 650.000 to 1.500.000 TL sale amount or 2.000-2.500 TL rental. Besides, the Turkman, Afghan and Uzbek refugees who want to use Turkey as an escape route are staying as groups of 8 to 10 people and sleeping on bank beds paying 300 TL per person in public houses which are set aside by the Municipality for itself.

During the field study, when we tried to go into the site using another entrance from a non-transformation area one street ahead, we came across with an iron door with a lock on it. A Romany citizen sitting across the site was shouting as "Forbidden!" Once we asked him why he was shouting, he answered that "They say that part of the neighborhood is the clean part, they don't let us who are of the dirty part, as they shackled us." There is a mess around, but it should be hard to understand who is right and who isn't, once we ask to the parts.

Obviously, to place “a rehabilitation process providing displacement of the people via racial, religious, color and language segregation” definition into the gentrification concept.

Today, while the intensity of Arabic refugees is reminding a small neighborhood of Damascus or Aleppo, it cannot be said that the sound of spinner suitcases leaves a better tone than the Romans’ hand drums and violins.

While this our colorful human community which is composing one of the keystones of Turkey mosaic is continuing their efforts to claim their rights at different levels of government offices despite this unfair pressure done to them, and the tones of their instruments in their hands are leaving nice tones in the ears of the authorities who do not give a value to their words, they bid farewell to their sanctuary in unbearable lightness of depression with their broken hearts.

Whilst the best example of pleased gentrification process developed itself are seen in districts such as Kuzguncuk, Arnavutkoy, Cihangir, the living space of forlorn Romany citizens where is their heaven for 1000 years is taken away by the rent environments with the hand of State.

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