



GLOBAL JOURNAL OF HUMAN SOCIAL SCIENCE
POLITICAL SCIENCE

Volume 13 Issue 4 Version 1.0 Year 2013

Type: Double Blind Peer Reviewed International Research Journal

Publisher: Global Journals Inc. (USA)

Online ISSN: 2249-460X & Print ISSN: 0975-587X

Transformation of Urban Spaces through Time-Space Politics towards Ethical Developing Urban Spaces in Turkey Context

By Aynaz Lotfata

Middle East Technical University, Ankara, Turkey

Abstract - Purpose : Ethics has captured the attention of many today for a variety of reasons as well as in urban issues, has been applied the phrase “ethical space”, including moral experiences of the world around us. How much our urban spaces contribute us to accumulate right experiences following that right knowledge about the world. That means ethical space should motivate us to work towards betterment of ourselves, of society, of the world we live. These comments have attracted geographers, planners and architects around the phenomenology of ethical thoughts instead of the absolute rational ethical ideologies. Indeed, there are not the clear and fix factors on ethical decision makings whereas the ethical factors are changing via time changing; the question has put forward “how do urban spaces have led us to a moral stance?”, “do ethics justifications hinge on the time?” And demarcation a question “what the ethical prospect of urban spaces is” (is that religion, politics, personal, law?).

Keywords : *political identity, ethical strategy (rationality of morality), moral time (in-between time), urban transformations, time-space politics.*

GJHSS-F Classification : *FOR Code: 120507*



Strictly as per the compliance and regulations of:



Transformation of Urban Spaces through Time-Space Politics towards Ethical Developing Urban Spaces in Turkey Context

Ethical Strategy of Urban Spaces

Aynaz Lotfata

Abstract - Purpose : Ethics has captured the attention of many today for a variety of reasons as well as in urban issues, has been applied the phrase "ethical space", including moral experiences of the world around us. How much our urban spaces contribute us to accumulate right experiences following that right knowledge about the world. That means ethical space should motivate us to work towards betterment of ourselves, of society, of the world we live. These comments have attracted geographers, planners and architects around the phenomenology of ethical thoughts instead of the absolute rational ethical ideologies. Indeed, there are not the clear and fix factors on ethical decision makings whereas the ethical factors are changing via time changing; the question has put forward "how do urban spaces have led us to a moral stance?", "do ethics justifications hinge on the time?" And demarcation a question "what the ethical prospect of urban spaces is" (is that religion, politics, personal, law?).

Design : In over history, the normative theories of virtue ethics, utilitarianism, Kantianism and contrarianism ethics do not flourish in inhabitants' happiness and satisfaction through conventional ethical decision making upon urban spaces where time has been enslaved and frozen amid the bounded upper forces ideologies. The paper has plunged into research upon "real time planning" of "real world" with time-space proximity policy has been fulfilled in the local urban transformation projects.

Findings : Human beings are intrinsically value-laden creatures. The gradual secularization of Turkey societies since Second World War has left a value void in the lives of individuals and organizations emphasizing on market-based and state-led activities. Ethical decision makings have merely re-constructed due to upper policies intervention with exploiting inhabitants' religious beliefs and their political interests towards self (elites)-interest. The paper has illustrated concepts including "Rationality of morality", "Real time Planning" and "Moral time (In-between time)" to make contributions on developing Turkey urban societies with right knowledge rather than imposed rational or rational religion knowledge.

Research limitation : Planners in their everyday practice maybe much more involved with morality than ethics. Morality is the way "the world ought to be" and "what we ought to do" whereas ethics is the foundation of a specific moral

value or norm. Although, ethics and morality are controversial issues among planners, they are always part of inhabitants' lives and thoroughly complement each other missing. In spite of differences on ethics such the regulated and determined reality on urban society and morality such independent and self-governing reality, they have exchangeably applied in paper.

Practical implication : Why is ethics so crucial to planning practice, theory and analysis? And why have we moved from a state of morality to a state of immorality?

Hypothesis : Turkey urban society has probably witnessed the political identity unsteadiness through power struggles in between Islamism movement (parties) legitimizing with religious ethics and Republic movement (parties) capturing its legitimacy dependence on human rationality - secular ethics - to re-construct nation-state identity. Nevertheless, none of the parties (Islamism and republic movements) has apparently included inhabitants in urban transformation projects by justly having ideologically intervened on urban project accomplishments to manifest their political powers and conflicts. These oppositions are result in the theoretical deficiency of Turkey urban planning has not entirely been developed.

Originality : Turkey urban transformation projects have been fallen victim to paradoxes in the requested political identities by elites-interests who have gotten rid of bottom-up urban society's values. The paper therefore has tries to integrate planning process with "ethical strategy" including the answering question "what is moral time (in-between time)?" for ethical urban planning decision makings. Paper type- conceptual and argumentative

Keywords : political identity, ethical strategy (rationality of morality), moral time (in-between time), urban transformations, time-space politics.

I. INTRODUCTION

What kind of urban spaces satisfy our sorts of needs and goals? Having surveyed on the various normative achievements such utilitarian ethical norms might justly poise us on the pre-determined ethics decision makings of the world. The pre-determined rational ethics has gotten back to the medieval period and extended forward in the early modern period - spreading knowledge reliance on a deductive and foundationalism approach to value/ethics justification of urban projects. This approach found its

Author : Ph.D. Candidate, City and Regional Planning Dep., Middle East Technical University, Ankara, Turkey.
E-mail : a.lotfata@gmail.com

trace in the Greek period via Euclid's axiomatic geometry. Value justification on this account proceeds "top-down" ethical decision makings and developing instrumental reasoning upon urban transformation projects through the deduction of conclusions.

Instrumental top-down value justification has followed in a world of unfettered capitalism which consumes greater and greater numbers of human lives. Until finally it consumes itself; leaving a nothing but a dead zone. The failure of urban planning is hence the result of its insistencies to obey the universal capital orders i.e. gentrification and the displacement of lower income groups for luxuriating urban spaces to attract global capital, getting more common in Turkey, particularly in major cities such as Ankara and Istanbul. Urban planning has not been therefore legitimized owing to its transparency and participatory capacities leading to ethical implementation of planning. Indeed, the re-constructing political identity on behalf of elites-interests have caused to devastating the grounded values of Turkey societies.

The urban spaces are now justly instruments in hands of upper policies to heighten their political and economic goals i.e. the urban transformation has taken place to heighten the role of economic actors and so planning has systematized around benefit-values of elites. The elite's benefit-values have also driven results on haphazard growth of city, informal settlements, housing and urban infrastructure problems are unethical rationalities.

The whole issue of ethical theory and moral practice has only dealt with rational decision theory. Notwithstanding, inhabitants' participation in value justifications have improved the locality in utilizing its resources more effectively. In the real sense, the lost and immoral space is where inhabitants cannot integrate in it. We thereby need to do epistemological de-construction to convert rationality of morality from self (elites)-interest to empirical results of time-space planning politics.

The remainder of the argument proceeds by; section one briefly debates on necessity and importance of "time" on urban issues, section two has pointed out "Empowerment planning", section three has hinted on rationality of morality and has debated on integrating "ethical strategy" phrase on urban planning concerns, section four has drawn attentions on "moral time/ in-between time" in Turkey "geography of differences" and section five has inserted some closing thoughts.

a) *Necessity and Importance of Time*

It is not right to the city when time tends to zero. How cultural heritage can be therefore integrated in today's city, how cultural heritages can integrate in inhabitants life without making limitations towards contemporary livings.

According to Augustine said that "For if there are times past and future, we desire to know where they are (Augustine, 397A.D)." Planners, geographers and architects have invited to re-think on the proximity policy of time and space. The argument has addressed debates on the unethical real time segregation in today's Turkey cities and puts forward questions: Is time the sensation when we see a change? (Figure 1) Is time the moment when we remember? Is time the speed of forgetting?

II. TIME-SPACE POLITICS THROUGH EMPOWERMENT PLANNING

The emphasizing on relationship between space and time has been formulated in the most diverse planning theories and has fascinated mankind from the beginning. When planning our cities, when defining projects that may improve the conditions of our society, when proposing decision processes that manage the space around us, when implementing techniques to foster development- the relationship between space and time - is something we are constantly working with. Therefore there are sub-questions, 1- How to plan taking account time, both past history and future development? 2- How to handle time that cannot be planned, such as long decision processes or real time decisions?

Time having integrated in planning process differently appears in top-down and bottom-up policies have made different reflections upon urban transformation projects. But, to curb urban society, there has been required to combine, top-down and bottom up, government and governance, instrumental and communicative planning. We hence have tried to emphasize on "empowerment plans" that is new modes of intervention in spatial planning via better balance between space and time planning. The better balance between space and time planning can make influences on other development variables i.e. Ethical developments of Turkey urban societies and strengthen the legitimacy and transparency of the planning process.

Through the empowerment planning, real time planning has gotten its privilege position in planning process since planning has not been merely fulfilled due to long term pre-determined decision makings but additionally local flowing consciousness of inhabitants in moments are integrated in planning process (Figure 2). "Process" illustration of planning has been in addition pertaining to urban planning including bottom-up values and changes in planning framework as well as the top-down policies. "Rather than generally speak about architecture, technology and aesthetics...the more important is architecture production process, Prost says" (Prost, 1994). In that light, planning has continuously updated with novel changes in urban society and Time will not be any more a toy for the

money making industries and it is not any more an instrument in hands of political groups to impose their political reasons such reverting to Islamic culture in Turkey for appearing as a modern Islamic nation, whereas modernizing requires capturing all social variables.



Fig. 1 : Integration bottom-up dynamics in planning process framing ethical empowerment urban planning

In the next section of argument, “rationality of morality” has re-constructed through criticisms on “absolute rational ethics” causing to “time segregation” in Turkey contemporary livings.

III. RE-CONSTRUCTING RATIONALITY OF MORALITY

In the social reality, despite all changes, the domination of man by man is still the historical continuum that links pre-technological and technological reason. This supports argumentation that urban planning and design can be used as an instrument under the ideological domination of the powerful groups of society and has envisaged the conventional planning with technocracy characteristics (Marcuse, 1964, p. 144). Conventional urban planners see participation of ordinary people in the planning process as undesirable. Planning is understood such a purely technical matter which has to be carried out the basis of absolute rationality. Typical conventional planners see themselves as value-free professionals i.e. conventional planners’ most important instrument for the achievement of order and efficiency is land use zoning.

There is a narrow point, “excluding ordinary people in planning is enough for unmanly refuting “time” names “time segregation”.” Planning has appeared as justly “planning” and thrown out “planning process”, for the reason that the flowing time is lost and overwhelmed in pre-determined time policies. What is the conventional planning “ethical strategy? And “how do values justify?” Ethical strategies of conventional planning can dictate actions have their origins far of the inhabitants’ values. Despite the importance of values in the formation of ethical percepts, there appears not to be well-established according to necessities of inhabitants. The ethical inquiry should involve all social actors and inhabitants to lead social consciousness and responsibility rather ethics of elites.” Generally, the argument on ethical strategy should stem mainly from

involving inhabitants personal, social and moral values. Otherwise, it has worked in an abstract technocracy pre-determined framework where elite’s absolute values have gotten priorities rather than bottom-up relative values. The absolute top-down /government ethical strategy has set values hierarchically (command and control) and legitimized via the agreed social convention rather the governance ethical strategy has tended to consider different public, private and voluntary actors values.

We have aimed to highlight ethical strategy on empowerment planning where it made combination in top-down, bottom-up, temporal and spatial policies. Local development cannot justly be organized ethically via top-down policies, but has to grow from within the local communities values, Friedman (1987) says. People always produce values but they are relative and changing which name “critical morality” since there is not “Grand Narrative” can legitimate them as “true” or hegemonic.

To summing up, empowerment planning having integrated bottom-up/communicative planning into top-down/ instrumental planning could manifest a novel template for rationality of morality owing to referring on relative morality than absolute rational morality. Likewise, bottom-up communicative planning legitimates the use of instrumental power also (Friedman, 1987; Habermas 1995).

In the next chapter of the paper, we have encouraged attentions on embedding “moral time” or “in-between time” phrases into empowerment planning to re-interpret Turkey political identity.

IV. MORAL TIME; IN-BETWEEN TIME- TOWARDS RE-INTERPRETING TURKEY POLITICAL IDENTITY

In Turkish urban spaces has implemented the multi transformations and development projects since rising republic 1923 till now. In this period, our cities were the accumulation of values or that were the accumulation of useful objects. In reality, since rising republic, absolute rational morality has managed ethical strategies and value justifications of Turkey urban society. Political powers have gotten awareness about time changes, for that reason, they often move faster than civil movements to go head hegemonic dominations on urban society. Through over-viewing Turkey events in between Kemalist republic and Erdoğan justice and development party (AKP), political upheavals have always hierarchically been triggered Turkey urban societies i.e. even if the Kemalist revolution has sought to give Turkey a civilization identity defined not by religion but rather by cultural values such secularism, individual human rights, civil society and the rule of law, but the revolution process has happened from above, imposing changes on Turkey urban society

without providing the necessary cultural underpinning, that calls “state-led modernization”. In that light, the political ideologies have made influences on other variables of societies, urban, ethical developments and transformation projects also fulfill under hegemonic pre-defined values of conventional ideologies rather than entailing below dynamics in value justification. Whereas this typical planning has tended to zero time, the planning organization stimulates to behave unethically in the value void condition.

The real paradoxes have taken place during Erbakan and Erdoğan governments. Under the religious leader of national order party is established with the emphasis on industrialization of Turkey at the same time to keep the united political identity returning back to nation authentic identity through the reconstruction of Ottoman ethics. Islam has gradually appeared in political context of Turkey such nation state as a reaction to secularism urban projects with the aim of bringing back the old structures. Deviating from the principle of secularism would not occur by the words or ideas whilst they turn into actions in urban projects, Erbakan says. In contra, Erdoğan policies have worked not merely reliance on “pure islamization” of urban society. He has tries to awaken ottoman lifestyle and via that, he has re-constructed Turkey political identity. And the recent fast urban transformations have inspired from symbolizing meaning of “AK party” equals to “cleanness” trying to implement urban projects via the unethical selective memory construction policies i.e. building the Çamlica mosque project in Istanbul. Here, memory has been utilized in the instrumentalist framework which restricts society to the particular time to establish hegemonic social control. Indeed, “the past memory should not re-construct, but it should re-build on the basis of the presence, Halbwachs says” since we live in the continuum changing societies including transforming all variable such as ethics. Generally, that is illegal to imitate past memories causing to social discontinuity, while memory is the central faculty of our being in time; it is the negotiation of past and present.

Having referred to the past memories has caused to overwhelming in the dichotomy between the tradition and the modern which is a reason to the political identity anxiety. Insistent on anxiety has confirmed in Erdoğan declaration- his tries to re-interpret secularism-“states can be secular not inhabitants”. In this sense, Turkey urban projects have thrown out secularization and acculturation policies, but they have planned reliance on re-traditionalization, de-acculturation, and de-secularization perspectives, while inhabitants require living in twenty first century necessities with its fast changes.

However, in the prospects of Islamists, secular societies are less ethical societies and ethics can justly flourish through linking with religions. In that light, “from which perspectives we might review ethics/ is that

secular ethics or religious ethics?” To uphold the question, we should beware that we cannot legitimate a single culture such Islam across time whereas our society is changing. This argument is, a single culture imposes its dominated hegemony on all society variables such as time, space, social developments, ethics and so on. Absolute time and space of Islam have gotten rid of the present dynamics of the real world. We contend an absolute belief “it is fake.” Through the single culture domination, real time planning of our cities tends to zero while spaces occur through time. The changes across time are similar to the changes across space, how time has tended to zero whereas urban spaces are in continuum transformations. In the real world, time is truly changing but we have restricted it on our spatial sculptures, so as to merely introduce Turkey political identity such Islamic nation-state. Indeed, time cannot be unethically restricted reliance on linear thinking and teleological accounts. Why should not our citizens live in such “real man” with multi-dimensions? As a multi-dimensional man must live in a multi-dimensional world, which implies multidimensional time and space rather than spending life in the absolute fake world (Thrift, 1977b).

The Time problem In Turkey urban society has therefore admittedly gotten back to how we have perceived the world. Turkey planning society has segregated and isolated time in urban planning via imitating Islamic heritages. However, imitating previous heritages has declined the originality of the foremost vernacular achievements. Having exploited heritages has applied to define Turkey political identity. What would happen if time flows forward than backward? What if experiential and phenomenological construction of time than cultural construction of time? In that light, time geography ethically inserts human geography in continuum changes due to its new connotations. On the flip side, religious thoughts will deny changes and prevent the present time from becoming history. Having insisted on time geography is to shed light of “moral time” which its knowledge has spread in folding past, present and future instead of merely the past. In that light, past, present and future are being continuously re-ordered with respect to each other in Turkey Urban society. And political identity thereby re-formulates based on “moral time” of the real world made up of different times, neither merely past nor future, calls “in between time”.

In the whole, the problem is generally hierarchical management of urban projects and top-down value justification in accord with elites-interests i.e. Istanbul has been transformed without local input. These urban changes have indicated that urban planning under AKP domination behaves non-ideological and goes head by practice without enough theoretical frameworks to any spatial changes. In that condition, how much Erdoğan even observes inhabitants as free

entity, but that outlook has not implemented on value justifications purview. Contemporary problems of Turkey urban cities can therefore find the solution with re-visiting the normative frameworks to reject ethical dogmatism and universalism to justify urban ethics theories reliance on bottom-up values.

a) How "time is lived in Turkey Urban Society"

We have tried to debate on how human geography has engaged with time and how urban society has constructed time by disputing Turkey during four periods, 1910, 1930, 1950 and 1980. The first is the dramatic transition from the Ottoman Empire into the republic therein that change has spurred Turkey architecture and art towards breaking with the imperial Ottoman past. And in the second era, architecture, art and planning have been subordinated to nation-state ideologies reliance on state-led modernization where top-down policy is oblivious about bottom-up dynamics and time has segregated and overridden from inhabitants everyday life via long-term and universal ideological visions. The third period gradually hints about the starting point of the more liberal with caring on diversity and plurality, whilst eventually, the 1980 onward, Turkey urban societies have been built upon multi-parties interventions and amongst them the most dominated ideology is "post-Kemalist" challenges imposing globalization and political Islam trends on republican modernity. In that era, urban spaces have been forced to the crude mega transformation projects with the purpose of inner city beautification in so far as attracting global capital such Sulukule Settlement – Roma society- in Istanbul where the novel socio-historical values have been intensified with getting rid of and moving on Roma residents out of their homes. However, real time planning with integrating bottom-up dynamics has tries to make balance between top-down ideologies and bottom-up dynamics. And in that light, urban spaces have not undermined social time since real world has clarified by its inhabitant's actions. Otherwise, urban spaces have indeed confused with unethical and fake time planning via re-awakening previous times achievements such Seljuk architectures. Why the present time cannot embody tomorrow's history. If Turkey society therefore aims to appear as a modern nation-state, it should evidently capture all variables of modernity particularly socio-spatial variables. Here there is a narrow point; it does not mean ignoring vernacular context potentials, but we try to encourage intellectuals and inhabitants to think in accord with the vernacular context present time's events, technologies and its possibilities.

V. SOME CLOSING THOUGHTS

From one side Erdoğan's policy has tried to a combination liberal policy with conservative social values including Ottoman-Islamic civilization to build

Islamic political identity. On the flip side, Kemalist has strived to erase the Ottoman and Islamic past from the public memory. These struggles have not contributed to integrate "real time" in urban planning. Struggle is only the ideological competition to impose winner political interests on urban society with distance from the everyday life of inhabitants. We should think on potential "islands of time" which are accessible and close to us in everyday life. Surely according to Haidt and Anthony Smith argumentations on collective religions and common memories such myths of territories are essential to definition of a union nation which binds people together (Haidt, 2012; Smith, 1986). But that does not mean to ignore potential a-changing islands of time where inhabitants needs have updated in-continuum. And planning as an industry and an art should update per se via changes. Neither by returning back to Islamic principles nor state and market-led modernization principles on urban planning has witnessed appearing ethical urban spaces. In other words, determining urban spaces via absolute time applying to all people, for all changing geographies has taken Turkey urban society far off "the real world" and "real time" realities. The argument is, while the real world is evolving, it will not be ethical to condemn societies for the restricted religious outlooks. We mostly contend the past religious architecture and planning imitations since they are cultivating religious group institutions in urban context where groups can be immorally violent to "out-groups". We-planners-believe on action not in violence; we believe on collaboration not in segregation.

REFERENCES RÉFÉRENCES REFERENCIAS

1. **Adams, P.C.** (1995), a reconsideration of personal boundaries in space-time, *Annals of the association of American geographers*, Vol.85, issue 2, pp. 267-285.
2. **Augustine, St.**(397 A.D), *Confessions and Enchiridion*, Translated by A.C. Outler, chapter XI
3. **Dodgshon, R.A.** (2008), *Geography's Place in Time*, Swedish society for anthropology and geography, pp.1-15
4. **Dolan, P.** (2010), *Space, Time and the constitution of subjectivity: comparing Elias and Foucault*, *Foucault studies*, No.8, pp.8-27
5. **Friedmann, J.** (1987) *Planning in the Public Domain, From Knowledge to Action* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press).
6. **Habermas, J.** (1995) *Between Facts and Norms: Contributions to a Discourse Theory of Law and Democracy* (Cambridge: Polity Press).
7. **Haidt, J.** (2012), *the Righteous Mind: Why Good People Are Divided by Politics and Religion*, Pantheon books, New York
8. **Halbwachs, M.** (1950), *the collective memory; space and the collective memory*, chapter 4.

9. **Hindery, R.** (2008), Comparative ethics, ideologies and critical thoughts, *Journal of religious ethics*, Vol.36, No.2, pp.215-231
10. **Hyung Hur, M** (2006) Empowerment in terms of theoretical perspectives: Exploring a typology of the process and components across disciplines, *Journal of Community Psychology*, 34(5), pp. 523–540.
11. **Kasaba, R.** (2008) the Cambridge History of Turkey "Turkey in modern world", The Cambridge press
12. **Ketola, T.** (2006), Foresight strategies and practices based on regional religious, *Fennia*, Vol.184, No.1, pp.27-36
13. **Krebs, D.L.** (2008), morality an evolutionary account, *Association for psychological science*, Vol.3, No.3, pp.149-172
14. **Lefebvre, H.** (2004), *Rhythmanalysis: Space, Time and Everyday Life Continuum*, London.
15. **Lumer, C.** (2010), Introduction: the relevance of rational decision theory for ethics, *Ethics theory moral prac.*, Vol.13, pp.485-496
16. **Massen, E.** (2012), reassessing Turkish national memory: the AKP and the nation, Master thesis, Utrecht university.
17. **Marcuse, H.** (1964), *one dimensional man*, Beacon Press, Boston, pp. 123-170
18. **Mcclennen, E.F.** (2010), rational choice and moral theory, *Ethics theory moral prac*, Vol.13, pp.521-540
19. **Merriman, P.** (2011), Human geography without time-space, *Transactions of the institute of British Geographers*, pp.13-27
20. **Moshe, M.** (2010) it is about time: policy time, policy studies, Vol.31, No.3, pp.319-330
21. **Moshman, D.** (1995), the construction of moral rationality, *Human development*, no.38, pp.265-281
22. **Pettman, R.** (2008), power and morality: a misleading dichotomy, *Cambridge review of international affairs*, Vol. 21, No. 2, pp.235-249
23. **Prost, R.** (1994), "L'Architecture Considérée sous l'Angle du Processus", *Architecture, Ethics and Technology*, Eds. Louise Pelletier and Alberto Pérez-Goméz. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, pp.151-162
24. **Rawls, J.** (1971), *a theory of justice*, revisited edition Belknap press, Cambridge
25. **Sia, S.** (2009), *Ethical Thinking and philosophy*, Blackwell publishing, pp.242-252
26. **Singer, M.G.** (2002), the ideal of a rational morality: philosophical compositions, Oxford University press, New York, p.139
27. **Smith, S.J.** (2009), everyday morality: where radical geography meets normative theory, *Antipode*, Vol.41, No.1, pp.206-209
28. **Smith, A.D.** (1986), *the Ethnic Origins of Nations*. Oxford: Blackwell, p.32
29. **Somer, M.** (2004), muslim Democracy in the making? Explaining Turkey's AKP, the annual convention of the international studies Association, Montreal, Quebec, Canada, pp.1-40
30. **Stenmark, C.K., Antes, A.L., Wang, X., Caughron J.J., Thiel, C.E., Mumford, M.D.** (2010), Strategies in Forecasting Outcomes in Ethical Decision-making: Identifying and Analyzing the causes of the problem, *Ethics & Behaviors*, Vol.20, NO.2, pp.110-127
31. **Thrift, N.** (1977b), Time and theory in human geography part II Progress in Human Geography, pp.413–457
32. **Turkey: Istanbul Mosque Debate about Democracy or Islam**,
33. Online Available: <<http://www.eurasianet.org/node/66151>>
34. **Turkey: Is an Istanbul Grand Mosques, Erdoğan's latest "crazy project" in the works**,
35. Online Available :<<http://www.eurasianet.org/node/65551>>
36. **Evacuate Sulukule to be restored as "heritage"**,
37. Online Available: <<http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/turkeys-housing-administration-to-restore-historic-sulukule-buildings.aspx?pageID=238&nID=42208&NewsCatID=341>>
38. **Is turkey's secular system in danger?**
39. Online Available: <<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-20028295>>