

DEMANDING "JUSTICE AND FREEDOM" AT THE URBAN MARGIN: AN
ETHNOGRAPHY OF KÜÇÜKARMUTLU IN RELATION TO
TRANSGRESSIVE POLITICS OF SPACE

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Thesis Abstract

Evren Gönül, Demanding "Justice And Freedom" At the Urban Margin: An Ethnography Of Küçükarmutlu In Relation to Transgressive Politics Of Space

This thesis aims to anthropologize the present of a squatter neighborhood, Küçükarmutlu through historically tracing the employment(s) of transgressive politics of space. As such, differing lines of spatial identifications and distributions of social capital with regard to fluid networks of neoliberal urbanity constitute together the conceptual frame of the research. Within this framework the study intends to problematize, discuss and interpret the complexities of drawing a coherent image of the “urban margin” as to how the emerging shifts in the restructuring of urban space define the realm of politics, economics, social and cultural. Having been based on an ethnographic research conducted in Küçükarmutlu, İstanbul this study focuses on the transgressive politics of space enacted in Küçükarmutlu through a radical employment of the “right to city”. Küçükarmutlu is elaborated as a boundary itself, more of an amorphously shaped and temporalized frontier zone between urbanization of labor and urbanization of capital; thereby from within the anachronism of industrial and neoliberal temporalities as well as in the very contradiction of respective logics and politics of spatiality. The thesis basically asserts that reading the present of urban margin should go through multiple dimensions of material and corporeal as much as symbolical and ideological in their complex relationality with the spatial forms of surrounding urban environments and their respective temporalities.

Tez Özeti

Evren Gönül, Kentsel Marjinde “Adalet ve Özgürlük” İstemek: Küçükarmutlu’daki İhlalci Mekan Siyaseti Üzerine Etnografik bir Çalışma

Bu tez, İstanbul Küçükarmutlu gecekondulu mahallesinin bu gününü, mahalledeki ihlalci mekan siyasetinin izlerini sürerek antropolojik bir çerçeveye yerleştirmeyi amaçlamaktadır. Çalışmanın kavramsal çerçevesini, uzamsal belirlenimlerin ve toplumsal sermayenin farklılaşan dağılımlarına koşut olarak çizilen neoliberal kentliliğin eleştirel okumaları oluşturmaktadır. Bu çerçevede, tez “kentsel marjin”i kent mekanının yeniden yapılandırılmasıyla ortaya çıkan değişimler ışığında tanımlamanın siyasi, ekonomik, toplumsal ve kültürel karmaşıklığını sorunsallaştırmak, tartışmak ve yorumlamak amacını taşımaktadır. Küçükarmutlu’da yapılan etnografik bir çalışmaya dayanan bu araştırmanın odağında ihlalci mekan siyasetinin temelini oluşturan “kentli hakkı” kavramı bulunmaktadır. Bu kavram ışığında, Küçükarmutlu’nun kendisi bir sınır olarak ele alınmakta, böylece tarihsel olarak emeğin kentleşmesi ile sermayenin kentleşmesi süreçlerinin arasına yerleşmiş amorf bir ara hat olarak irdelenmektedir. Bu tezde temel olarak, Küçükarmutlu’nun endüstriyel ve neoliberal zamansallıklara özgü mekan siyasetlerinin anakronik çelişkilerini görünür kılan bir mekan olduğu savunulmaktadır.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Did you see that scene? When I saw that scene on TV yesterday morning, I was startled. It was very short, passed away in the blinking of an eye. But I am warning everyone. That fleet scene was the signal flare of what's about to happen, that will give all of us goose bumps. For this reason, I want to tell you about this scene, to the ones who haven't seen it.

The previous day, the Municipality of Istanbul tried to perform the sentence of demolition of "Derbent Beautification and Solidarity Association" building. Seven hundred residents of the neighborhood protested against it. There were scenes of "intifada" in the neighborhood.

These were not different from scenes of demolition in other neighborhoods. We've seen them before. The police was spraying tear-gas over to the rioters, and they were throwing stones at the police. Like I said, there's nothing extraordinary so far. But just when you think the incident is over, a striking operation begins. Some young people that got away from the police begin to throw stones at the apartments of a legally built site on the other side of the neighborhood. The flat's window glasses are broken. People inside run away in fear. To me, this fleet scene squeezed inside ordinary slum-demolition images is the signal of a dangerous time. Let's picture the scene once again. Young people resisting the demolition of illegally built houses are throwing stones at legally built houses.

Until today, we never witnessed the youth of the slums throwing stones at apartments. This means that, the feeling "now that our houses are demolished, we won't let you stay convenient" is acting. First alarms of the forthcoming danger are ringing. *Gecekondus* that have been growing like a tumor for the past thirty years, with illegal occupations, extreme organizations and mafia relations, are now changing in a way that will affect the healthy parts of the city.

I'm exclaiming as a sociologist.

Beware...A social tsunami is coming. Those stones thrown from "Derbent Beautification and Solidarity Association" the other day, are taking down the window glasses of all of us.

That fleet scene I watched on TV scared me. It should scare us all.¹

¹ O sahneyi gördünüz mü? Dün sabah televizyon seyredirken, o sahneyi görünce irkildim. Çok kısa bir sahneydi. Göz açıp kapayınca kadar geçti gitti. Ama herkesi uyarıyorum. O kısacık sahne, hepimizin

The above passages belong to Ertugrul Özkök, a well known daily columnist who had been (between 1990 and 2010) the editor-in-chief for Hürriyet; one of the most widely distributed daily newspapers of Turkish mainstream media. This thesis simply intends to find out as to what is there in *gecekondu*_neighborhoods that “should scare us all”; at least those who live in the “healthy parts of the city”. To this aim, I will focus on Küçükarmutlu ethnographically.

The history of the formation of Küçükarmutlu, as a squatter settlement at the heart of Bosphorus, is a complicated story intertwined with several confrontations and negotiations with the state and the urban capital; a history of people witnessing not only a spatial transition from the villages of Almus-Tokat to the metropolitan Istanbul, but also a temporal transition spanning over the second half of twentieth century. In order to more fully grasp the complex struggles around the making of

tüyerini ürpertecek gelişmelerin ilk işaret fişeğiydi. O nedenle görmeyenlere de o sahneyi anlatmak istiyorum.

Önceki gün İstanbul Belediyesi, "Derbent Güzelleştirme ve Dayanışma Derneği" binasını yıkmaya kararını uygulamak istedi. 700 mahalleli olayı protesto etti. Mahallede "intifada" görüntüleri ortaya çıktı.

Bunlar, bugüne kadar başka mahallelerdeki yıkım görüntülerinden farklı değildi. Polis göstericilerin üzerine göz yaşartıcı gaz sıkıyor, onlar da polise taş fırlatıyordu.

Dediğim gibi buraya kadar sıra dışı bir şey yok Ancak olaylar sona erdi derken, birden çok çarpıcı bir eylem başlıyor. Polisten kaçan bazı gençler, semtin bir başka tarafında kanuni biçimde yapılmış düzgün bir sitedeki apartman dairelerini taşlamaya başlıyor. Dairelerin camları kırılıyor. İçindeki insanlar korkuyla kaçıyor. Sıradan gecekondu yıkımı görüntülerinin arasına sıkışmış bu küçük sahne, bana göre çok tehlikeli bir gelişmenin işaret fişeği.

Sahneyi bir kere daha gözümüzün önüne getirelim. İzinsiz, kanunsuz inşa edilmiş binalarının yıkılmasına karşı direnen gençler, kanuni yoldan yapılmış binaları taşıyor.

Ama bugüne kadar gecekondu gençlerinin, apartmanları taşıdığına hiç tanık olmamıştık. Demek ki, "Bizim evlerimiz yıkılıyor, artık size de rahat yok" duygusu harekete geçiyor. Yaklaşan tehlikenin ilk alarmları çalmaya başladı. 30 yıla yakın süredir, kanunsuz işgallerle, aşırı örgütlerle, mafyanın ortaklığı ile tümör gibi büyüyen gecekonducular, şimdi şehrin sağlıklı bölgelerini etkileyecek şekilde değişime uğruyor.

Bir sosyolog olarak haykırıyorum.

Dikkat...Sosyal bir tsunami geliyor. Önceki gün, "Derbent Güzelleştirme Derneği'nden" atılan o taşlar, hepimizin evlerinin camlarını indiriyor.

Televizyonda seyrettiğim o kısacık sahne beni ürküttü. Hepimizi ürkütmeli. From From "O sahneyi gördünüz mü?", *Hürriyet Gazetesi*, 25 March 2006.

Küçükarmutlu, my research focuses on the symbolic and the material, the ideological and the everyday. To understand the present of Küçükarmutlu I follow an ethnographic inquiry on the formations of subjectivities in relation to “spatial” re-configurations of the neighborhood as well as its discursive enframings by the state, by the political organizations and by its inhabitants standing in a dialectical tension to each other.

In an earlier study² about the dissolution of agrarian structures in Turkey we have focused on the formation of Küçükarmutlu with respect to rural-to-urban migration whereby we sought to establish the historical trajectory of the emergence of Küçükarmutlu squatter settlements in particular relation to local, national and global changes of capitalism. The data conducted throughout this study suggests that at the urban site two major themes constitutes the main paths for interpreting political and socio-economic articulations of the subjects peculiar to the past and the present of Küçükarmutlu: political mobilization of the immigrants through a particular emphasis on the use-value of urban space in 80s and 90s and the rhetoric of “degeneration” which is being currently appropriated by the leftist political organizations still active in the neighborhood (albeit their hegemonic position was shattered with the dramatically decreasing mass demands of housing).

Armutlu is divided into two neighborhoods as Fatih Sultan Mehmet and Baltalimanı within the borders of Sarıyer municipality. The highway, for which the expropriation of many squatter’s houses in Küçükarmutlu constitutes an axis of the current tensions, separates the insufficient/underdeveloped spectacle of the neighborhood from the skyscrapers of Etiler, one of the centrifugal zones of urban

² See Cörüt, İ., Gönül, E. (2007). From Almus to Küçükarmutlu: An Ethnographic Study of the Rural and Sub-Urban Space in Relation to State and Market Intrusions. *In The Graduate Journal of Historical Studies in Turkey*, 5, 33-67.

and global capital within the polycentralized İstanbul. In that sense, Küçükarmutlu differs from most of the other squatter settlements of İstanbul with its eye-side-view of the Bosphorus, and thus, attracts relatively more attention of the state and urban capital.

The West side of Armutlu is referred as Büyük Armutlu whereas Küçükarmutlu demarcates the borders of the East side. Yet it is difficult to talk about a wholly established Armutlu squatter settlement until 90s. Besides, the story of Küçükarmutlu was not radically different from that of the many similar squatter settlements in Istanbul up to 1989. Three big demolitions of 1989 and the entry of Revolutionary Left (*Devrimci-Sol*) into Küçükarmutlu after these demolitions affected patterns of political participation and (infra-)structural development of Küçükarmutlu. It was a time period in the formation of the neighborhood when Revolutionary Left invited people to occupy new lands, to rebuild their houses and kept on distributing further lands to the new comers without payment.

It can be argued that the organization of the space via a moral economy of housing, more generally in the use of urban space in Küçükarmutlu has defined codes of daily life by establishing a local ethos of urban survival. The defining characteristics of the moral economy imposed by Revolutionary-Left, which offered the new comers a profound opportunity to satisfy their primary need of housing without any payment to the state or land mafia, can be traced as follow: (I) No houses in Küçükarmutlu could be larger than 120 square meters. (II) Nobody could rent out or sell his/her house. (III) One who already owns a house could not settle in Küçükarmutlu.

So, a rejection of the commodification of land was actualized through a mass demand towards claiming the use-value of the urban space. On a similar vein, the inhabitants of Küçükarmutlu found the legitimizing notion in the radical leftist

rhetoric provided by Revolutionary-Left. They believed that this land was their right. At this point there is a radical difference between Küçükarmutlu and surrounding neighborhoods where the initial patterns of occupying the land as a right led to a massive engagement with the relations of patronage and the “commercialization of the *gecekondu*” as symptoms of “immoral economy of housing” (Buğra, 1998, pp. 306-307).

From 2001 onwards, when the hunger strikes³ in Küçükarmutlu came to an end through the violent police raids, “Struggle Against Degeneration” began to constitute the primary agenda of the political organization in the neighborhood. The end of hunger strikes by a violent police raid constituted another significant moment of political mobilization for the inhabitants of Küçükarmutlu whose narratives were temporally divided with reference to this attack as “before” and “after”. Currently, the inhabitants of Küçükarmutlu are preoccupied with the degeneration of the youth and increased crime. The security forces are accused of colluding with criminals and of deliberately encouraging drug-addiction, prostitution and theft in order to break up the solidarity within local political organizations. In this regard, most of the accusations are based on a distinction made between “before the police station” and “after the police station”. Led by the members of the Basic Rights Association, inhabitants of the Küçükarmutlu began to patrol at nights in groups of fifty to hundred. Drug sellers, prostitutes, pimps, thieves were caught and beaten after they were exhibited to the inhabitants.

Structural inequalities such as poverty and unemployment, especially among the youth, are rarely included within the recent agenda of political organizations.

³ Hunger strikes began in October 2000 when the government started to build F-Type prisons in which the dormitories that hold 60 prisoners were replaced by smaller cells. Throughout the strikes, Küçükarmutlu was the main place in which the supporters of the political prisoners joined in a hunger strike and where a number of prisoners continued to strike after having been released from prison on medical grounds. At the end of the process, 122 prisoners had died and more than 400 had suffered/or are still suffering from unrecoverable diseases, particularly Wernicke-Korsakoff syndrome.

Rather popular forms of local justice are established in the forms of local security which pinpoints a radical shift in the local paths of political mobilization. As a result, largely shaped by their memory of the recent past the inhabitants are ready to formulate social tensions in terms of the political contrast between the state and themselves.

Concerning the current social and economic tensions in the neighborhood, the threat of demolition remains as a productive axis of confronting the expanding colonization of the squatter regions by the state and global capital. In 1962 the lands of Küçükarmutlu were allocated to Istanbul Technical University. And the rectorship of Istanbul Technical University (İTÜ) made a petition about the illegal occupation of its lands in Küçükarmutlu on the ground of a forthcoming “technocity” (Teknokent) project which will be realized under the sponsorship of the World Bank. Two hundred of the houses in the neighborhood were decided to be demolished and depending on further decisions of the court the number of houses under the threat of demolition may rise to a few thousands.

Methodological Framework

To situate the issue in a broader theoretical perspective I first take up the question of space in relation to human practices, experiences, memories and silences it entails. Following Harvey’s insisting remarks on dwelling upon the nature of space to understand urban processes under capitalism (Harvey, 1973) I discuss the “continuous re-formation of the urban space” as a signifier of the inner contradictions of capitalism (Harvey, 2001, p.35). Dwelling upon the contesting claims and discourses on the urban problematic by different actors I also relate findings of my

ethnographic praxis to Lefebvre's conception of the "right to the city" with his underlined emphasis on working class as the ultimate agent of reprioritizing the use-value of the urban space (Lefebvre, 1996, p.158). In addition, it is of equal significance to take the space as a daily practice, as an experiential realm of human relations, thus, as an entity constantly reclaimed by different actors varying from state agencies to the subaltern subject in the political, cultural and economic lines of bargaining.

The formation of Küçükarmutlu as a moment of larger totality within which the historical trajectory of re-structuring the urban peripheries can be viewed in its mediations with "inordinate concentrations of population and major economic activities" (Sassen, 1996, p. 29). As I trace patterns of survival employed by the inhabitants of Küçükarmutlu there is a need to draw upon the structural possibilities/inequalities of "integration" to and exclusion from the cultural, socio-economic networks of the city. For this I intend to re-evaluate the data I have conducted in the field under an hermeneutic reading of existing theorizations on the formations of class identities on stratification of class structures, on changing faces of urban poverty and un(der)employment.

This study discuss as to what kinds of discourses and modes of social action are available to negotiate collectively the interaction between different kinds of "enframings", materiality, inscription(s) and embodiment(s) under the play of various positionalities, political claims and interests. Mapping the complexity of these multiple worlds involves looking at how both representations and material activities are enacted, performed and contested in the corporeality of Küçükarmutlu.

In order to collect data towards understanding the emergence of Küçükarmutlu as a lived space of constant tensions and confrontations around the conflicting claims on and representation of the urban territories I have conducted an ethnographic

fieldwork in the neighborhood. Within the framework of a multi-sited ethnographic approach I first try to pose the question of the social, economic and cultural marginality of the neighborhood with reference to particularities of the emergence of local identities within the multifaceted power geometry of the urban culture. As the two axes of my fieldwork participant observation is complemented with semi-structured in-depth-interviews to dwell on how the urban territories are challenged, negotiated and re-marked in post 1980s.

To pursue such an approach I have talked to twenty nine inhabitants of Küçükarmutlu that has provided me proper anthropological substance on the everyday interactions with the informal labor networks of the city, thus, “tactics” of survival and “maneuvers”(de Certeau, 1984) within a web of meaning givings established around the issues of “degeneration” that holds an implicit reference to “depoliticization”. More than that, my focal concern was to locate the narratives of the young informants within the changing characteristics of the urban labor market wherein chronic unemployment and multiple threats of downward mobilization reinforce social and cultural exclusion. As a note, a great majority of the employed youth of Küçükarmutlu work in service sectors of the neighboring regions such as Etiler, Levent, Sarıyer and Tarabya. I have situated the life-stories I have collected within the interpretive frame of changing social cosmology of the *gecekondu*, thereby tried to read emerging manifestations of masculinities as to what extent they converge to/diverge from the dominant gender codifications of “revolutionary morals” peculiar to highly politicized social cosmology of the initial years of settlement.

In order to historicize Küçükarmutlu narratives of relatively older inhabitants among my informants are used as a first-hand data as they have not only witnessed the settlement and demolition of the houses in the neighborhood various times but also experienced the “urban” with a different ethos of survival. It is because in the era

of developmentalist modernization the dissolution of rural Anatolia into cities was smooth and possible in terms of supply/demand relations. While traditional forms of rural economic activities were dissolving, the industrial sector had a rapid growth through import substitution. This opened up various possibilities for the new comers for employment/integration into the informal and formal labor sector. That is to say, the city offered a considerable chance of social mobility for the very generation who settled in Küçükarmutlu decades ago. Altogether, tracing memories of arrival/settlement/demolition and patterns of politicization enabled me to understand how politics are spatialized and how space is culturally and politically coded within power differentials of varying historical moments of Küçükarmutlu.

Apart from the interviews, I have utilized fragments of data that were collected during my fieldwork through various methodologies of observation. One of them goes through tracing legal measures taken by the state in approaching the “problematic of *gecekondu*” and “suburban crime”. Official reports and verdicts of the court on previous and forthcoming demolitions were of crucial importance to get such knowledge. Regarding this, a fundamental component was short and long term responses of the political organizations and local administrative (*mukhtars*) along with the inhabitants’ struggles against demolitions and increased crime. Publications, announcements and public declarations of the political organization, web sites of local associations, photographic/textual documentations of mass protests and accessible archives of the unions, thus, constituted primary sources towards studying technologies of memory and political participation employed by the inhabitants of the neighborhood. In addition to that, an extensive media research covering above mentioned processes and debates helped me to understand how the whole rhetoric of the *gecekondu* and *varoş* as criminalized spatial entities are constantly re-produced

within intermingling circles of representational regimes adopted by the state and the mainstream media.

As an integral part of my intention to elaborate on politics of spatiality on the part of inhabitants I engaged with a visual ethnography of the neighborhood on the base of architectonics of the buildings, places of memory (Khalili, 2005), and other visuals including posters and graffitis on the walls as semiological manifestations of the local political tensions. Finally, rather than thinking distanced approaches a more focused study on everyday practices and performative transgressions of the people in Küçükarmutlu guided me towards expanding my fieldwork into various epistemic directions. Hence, following the periodic meetings and festivals organized by Pir Sultan Abdal Association as well as joining informal conversations (such as in coffeehouses) not only allowed me to gain knowledge on how new agendas are incorporated to infrastructural development/and resistance goals in the neighborhood but also on how the circulation of rumors,⁴ myths and local stories invoke alternative languages and “regimes of truth” besides the dominant ones produced beyond the borders of Küçükarmutlu.

⁴ As Veena Das argues rumors should be read both with their enunciative and performative aspects

CHAPTER 2

AN URBAN UTOPIA: THE HISTORY OF KÜÇÜKARMUTLU

It was a cold and rainy December morning, the trial day of seven inhabitants from Küçükarmutlu who had been kept in prison since the police raid to the neighborhood a year ago. The accusation was “carrying out a campaign against degeneration and gangs”.

As I arrived at Beşiktaş square and recognized an amorphous crowd of familiar faces waiting in front of the Criminal Court I found myself in an effort of estimating the number of people and the possible length of the trial. How long would it last for the judge to decide as to whether or not the evidence is enough to release the accused who had been behind bars for eleven and a half months without a legally declared indictment and formal process of prosecution? While residents of Küçükarmutlu were still joining in the crowd, leaving the narrow passages and stairs of Beşiktaş behind with a pace as if they had been walking all the way down from Küçükarmutlu to Beşiktaş on foot, I was trying to capture moments of conversations of the men and women crossing each other on spontaneously composed corridors within the waiting crowd. Two middle-aged men were joking with one another loudly: “Let’s block the road. We did that many times even on TEM highway next to Küçükarmutlu, should we be scared of that now?” The other replied pointing out the university students which were trying to bore their way to the university building next to High Penal Court - Beşiktaş through a double-layered police line: “Don’t make the students afraid right now, they are already staring us as if we are aliens. Surely we will have lots of time to fight off the police today” They had indeed.

They were literally “aliens” to the omnipotent gaze of the urban core with their corporeal existence right in the middle of Beşiktaş; as an unidentified crowd

singing and dancing until the midnight not merely for the freedom of their fellows - as they have argued through their slogan and placards - but also for the “freedom of their neighborhood” against all forms of violence, be it symbolic/discursive violence in the form of official enframings and hegemonic media representations of Küçükarmutlu; structural/economic violence in the form of insufficient living conditions and constant thread of demolition; or physical violence in the form of almost-periodic police raids, investigations, arrests and deaths.

The way the inhabitants of Küçükarmutlu manifested themselves on this particular day, whereby the ocularcentric power relation as well as the physical-and psychic “safe distance” between the margin and the center (or between *varoşlu* and *şehirli*) came to be disturbed, was a “temporary” mimicry of “occupation” performed in the place of “others”. In fact, “occupation” always happens in someone else’s place. Yet in the margin you need to “occupy” the place which was already yours for decades but where you do not and will never belong to. They had “temporarily” “occupied” Beşiktaş square until their fellows are released at midnight and then went back to home, to Küçükarmutlu, where the “occupation” means the erection of a whole neighborhood while “temporariness” means a state of uneasy feeling- as the natural condition of the “everyday” at home- that cannot be fully translated into words but into spectacles of the built space burdened with faint hopes as much as blank despairs; a place of spectacles trying to hold on to the fringes of the city, exactly the same way their residents had been trying to do for the last three decades.

I remember the smiling face of a young man when he stopped his wheelchair in front of the group and began to sing with them. The police had shot him four months ago while he was selling a legal publication in another margin of İstanbul. He was seventeen when he was paralyzed by a bullet. I also remember that the calmness of the two young women, who read the press declaration while the police was steadily

narrowing the circle around the group in a provoking manner, was in direct contrast with the uneasiness of the by-passers' quickened pace. I remember myself thinking about the metonymic interplay of the two words "freedom and justice" that were written on the banners and inscribed on almost every wall of Küçükarmutlu without being caged between quotation marks; the beloved signs of anthropology securing the deferral of meaning. I was not certain what "freedom and justice" meant for me but almost certain that what brought me there was the desire to find out, what it could have meant for someone else, for a single moment of history, elsewhere in the margins.

2.1 Between 1990 and 95 *we have successfully experimented and lived the so called socialism* here. We simply lived together, constructed together, resist and died together if needed. We have built every single piece of Küçükarmutlu *with our hands* collectively and we knew that it was a new life, therefore, had to be defended against the established system of money relations... There was no money here either. No theft. No locked doors. Even if one attempted to break into a house he had to think twice as to whom the house belong to. There was fear of it. Things have changed when the police came. [...] Our motto was "*Justice and Freedom*", it still is. Those times were wonderful. For me, however, Küçükarmutlu is still the only place on the planet where I can live.⁵

These words belong to a thirty-four year old man who has lived since the age of eleven in Küçükarmutlu and is a well known figure with the nickname "Commission". This is because he actively participated in the infrastructural development of the neighborhood from asphaltting of the roads and construction of the gardens to the installing of water pipes, sewerage systems and electrical cables. In the first section of this chapter I will try to give a brief account of Küçükarmutlu's history

⁵ 1990-95 arasında *biz sosyalizm dedikleri şeyi burada başarıyla denedik ve yaşadık*. En basitinden birlikte yaşamak, birlikte ev yapmak, birlikte direnmek, yeri geldiğinde birlikte ölmek. Küçükarmutlu'nun her bir parçasını *ellerimizle* imece usulü yarattık; bu yeni bir yaşam demektir ve farkındaydık, para ilişkileriyle yürüyen mevcut sisteme karşı bunun korunması gerektiğini. Burada aslında para bile yoktu. Hırsızlık yoktu. Kapılar kilitlenmezdi ya. Biri hırsızlık yapacağı zaman kimin eve gireceğini iki kere düşünmek zorundaydı. Korku vardı yani. Ne zaman polis geldi, o zaman işler değişti. [...] Şiarımız "*Adalet ve Özgürlük*"tü işte, hala da öyle. O zamanlar çok güzeldi tabii. Benim için, nereden bakarsan bak, bu gezegende yaşanacak tek yer hala Küçükarmutlu'dur.

through the narratives of my informants. As my primary sources of historicization, however, the narratives will be referred, rather than a chronological junction, in their hermeneutic relationalities formed around certain historical moments and subjects that have been raised as definitive subtexts of the local episteme. Following this, current debates and discussions on the urban restructuring will be elaborated with reference to transgressive politics of spatiality based on the right to shelter and the right to resist, “right to city” in general with Lefebvre’s (1996) terms.

By looking at the history of Küçükarmutlu/Armutlu⁶ I will have particular reference to formations of collective and individual forms of remembering. For I believe narratives of migration, settlement, demolitions, hunger strikes, police attacks (which are remembered with the death of many settlers at various times) as well as on the “degeneration” of the youth are of crucial importance towards mapping configurations of subjectivities without losing sight of political, macro economic processes as definitive and constitutive of the re-organization of the space. In this theoretical framing, I will try to trace how these “processes do not occur *in* space but define their own spatial frames.” (Harvey, 2004, p. 4) and how space can be conceptualized as the “raw material of sovereignty and the violence it carried with” (Mbembe, 2003, p. 26). By engaging with the literature on memory and violence in an inter-textuality I will try to explore how politics of spatiality is intermingled with the formation(s) of violence and counter-violence (Feldman, 1991) and through which modalities of remembering Küçükarmutlu, as a metonym for “freedom and justice” is registered in the intersecting planes of counter memories.

However, the workings of memory, as the constitutive element of narrative construction of reality, go through a dialectical tension of forgetting and remembering of particular events. And that what is inscribed within one’s personal memory does

⁶ As the initial name of the neighborhood was Armutlu I will be using these two names depending on historical context accordingly.

not merely refer to the recorded/witnessed events in the past, but also based on an adoption, adaptation and interpretive selection of others' narratives. As Ricoeur (1981) puts it, "every narrative combines two dimensions, one chronological (episodic) the other non-chronological (configurational) that enables the narrator for a grasping together" (p.174). Keeping in mind that "the event is not what happens [but] which can be narrated" (Feldman 1991, p. 14) I will take up the question of narrativization with reference to its constitutional and configurational aspects and as an interconnection between past and present through translating one's experience into speech.

Apart from textually constructing a local history of the transgressions in the production of urban space, my overall intention towards collecting narratives of the inhabitants in Küçükarmutlu will be based on identifying the predominating and subordinating forms and genres as much as their intersections. For reading fragments of narratives through hermeneutic interpretation is of critical significance for a conceptualization of the narrativity with reference to its spatial referents vis-à-vis material and psychic effects in terms of enacting and stabilizing one's existence in the language as well as in the present.

As scholars of Turkish urbanization indicates the proliferation of the squatter settlements (*gecekondu*) in remote parts of İstanbul in the second half of the twentieth century can be regarded as spatial and architectonic reflections of the political economic regimes in national and global scales. This means, it is crucial to elaborate on short and long-term changes in global capitalism, industrialization and modernization as well as respective government policies in order to comprehend as to how urban space is re-structured throughout the century. Both with their spatial regimes within the social-topographical transformation of Istanbul and with their specific historicities within Turkish urbanization, squatter settlements had a working

class character in various dimensions. As such, different than the modern middle class suburbs emblematic of the Fordist accumulation regime of 1950-1970, the expansion of the squatter settlements throughout the city followed the orbital configurations around the industrial zones of Istanbul. (Şenyapılı, 1981)

The formation of Küçükarmutlu can be traced back to the 1950s. This was a period when eight to ten families from the Black Sea region arrived and were employed by a quarry, now closed. The public land next to the quarry settled by these migrant families who were also dealing with greenhouse work, animal husbandry and agriculture, constituted embryonic tropes of the settlement that was followed in the succeeding years more extensively and finally led to the emergence of Küçükarmutlu as an appropriated niche for surviving in the urban cosmos.

In these years of developmentalist modernization traditional forms of rural economic activities were dissolving while the industrial sector had a rapid growth through import substitution. So the big cities offered to new comers several areas of employment both in formal and informal sectors as well as “centrifugal possibilities of modern life” in Herzfeld’s terms. (1991, p. 43) Below passages, taken from the interviews done in the villages of Almus-Tokat, give just a snapshot of these years in terms of new comer’s motives and partial mobility within the labor networks of the city.

2.2 *What was being sold to live?*

He could sell *simit* (Turkish bagel), or...even shit. It is Istanbul! He could sell water as well.

My son came back from Istanbul. He put new clothes on...We did not care whether he has money in his pocket. So, others’ sons decided to go, too. Consequently they used to go to Istanbul.

For instance when I went to Istanbul I was laying along with three-five men in spoon-shape at nights. I also stayed at bachelor house. But I turned back to my village in grand toilette. Villagers who saw or listened to me became more eager to go. (Cörüt & Gönül, 2007)

Until 1980s *gecekondu*s had been largely elaborated by the scholars of modernization as temporary units of settlement along the historical path from agricultural society to a industrial capitalist one, thereby a transitory urban pattern of survival appealed by the migrant populations. This was also at the subtext of the developmentalist outlook of the Turkish nation-state that entailed systematic attempts towards a smooth adaptation of the squatter populations into the urban culture. As Şükrü Arslan (2004) argues this was the period (1930-1980) when the problem of the *gecekondu* was merely discussed as a straightforward outcome of the urbanization and believed to be solved through adaptive legal measures. The problem-solving characteristic of the period may best be reflected by the Gecekondu Law No. 775.

In İlhan Tekeli's (2001) periodization the two decades between 1960 and 1980 refers to a general search for planned urbanization and to the attempts towards an institutional organization of urban planning as a scientific realm of profession. He defines the following period (post 1980s) with the corrosion of the modernization project under the effects of globalization. Parallel accounts compare these two periods where the former resembles to the 'urbanization of labor' while the latter is described with the 'urbanization of capital'.

A final comprehensive reflection on the periodization of urbanization can be reached in *Nöbetleşe Yoksulluk* (Pınarcıoğlu & Işık, 2001). The state's passive role before 1980 with only minor intervention into the market is described as a "silent partner" in the occupation of the urban lands. Since the destructive elements of inequality has not been yet established in the informal networks, acting with solidarity in the construction of *gecekondu* niches still constituted a pull factor for the rural-to-urban migrants. One of the most significant phenomena of the post 1980 was the weakening position of the state as an arbitrator that paved the way to the emergence of various actors seeking urban rents through "strategies of aggressive

entrepreneurship”. Within the scope of these structural transformations the migrant profile of the post 1980 is redefined as a figure willing to do anything in order to socially mobilize within the urban economy rather than searching for ways and means of integration.

Since the period of 1980-1990 comes to the fore in the narratives and also underlined by the scholars of urbanization with concomitant wave of settlement policies I will proceed focusing more on the political-economic currents of post 1980s with reference to particular configurations of settlement and strategies of spatiality in Küçükarmutlu. The development of the Küçükarmutlu as an established squatter neighborhood resembles to a particular period when the texture of the urban landscape as well as patterns of housing began to transform dramatically with the accelerating rural-to-urban migration at the end of 1970s. It is primarily because the state’s theretofore quasi-visible position in the production, distribution and regulation of the urban space was abandoned for non-interventionist policies whereby the urban lands either belonging to the treasury or private investors had been settled by the migrants.

Different than the preceding decades the urban policies of 1980s were built upon the re-allocation of the urban rent through a series of amnesty laws aiming the legalization of existing squatter houses.⁷ Although political-economic symptoms of the ever-growing urban tensions might have shaped such legal attempts towards consolidation, they mark another historical juncture as important as the former; that of the reproduction of urban space as a commodity through manipulation of the ground rent on the part of the government. Parallel to that, political parties continuously exploited the housing demands of the inhabitants in squatter neighborhoods by promising to deliver title deeds (*tapu*) and providing public

⁷ See İmar Aflar Yasası ve Yasa no. 2981 1984.

services. (Cörüt & Gönül, 2007) Consequently, squatter regions, especially in Istanbul, became open to organized land speculation and Armutlu was not exempt from this urban trend where land mafia began to regulate the settlement.

Hence the acceleration of migration to Armutlu is marked by a period when exchange-value-oriented squatter settlement strategy dominated. While the relationship of co-locality in Armutlu had gradually transformed into a land-mafia organization led by the initial settlers of Armutlu, called *Lazlar*⁸, from the Black Sea region, the informal relations of land exchange was reinforced as a function of increasing demand. The land mafia did not let anybody settle on the enclosed land of Armutlu without their permission which eventually led to a differentiation between the builder and inhabitant of the houses. Only 47.14% of the migrants constructed their house while the rest either bought the house or hired workers for its construction. (Gülersoy, 1999)

In fact illegal housing and manipulation of the ground rents were wide spread strategies appealed by those who can afford it not only in squatter regions but throughout other parts of Istanbul most of which presently accommodates areas of gentrification and gathered villas (*toplu villa*) such as Acarkent and similar variations of settlements on the side of Bosphorus based on private property. This reflects the contested nature of the urban space as to whose production the relationships and negotiations between different classes and central political power may result with varying urban forms and spatial regimes.

As Ekinçi (1994) argues, the city plan (*nazım planı*) about the urban development of Istanbul which was declared by the Bureau of Istanbul City Planning (*İstanbul Nazım Plan Bürosu*) in June 1980 indicates the protection of the agricultural lands, forests and river basins that are largely located in the northern side of the city.

⁸ *Lazlar* is the local name used for the initial settlers of Armutlu who came from Black Sea region.

So the metropolitan development of İstanbul should follow linear path from East to the West of the city. However, the military government abolished the bureau same year and paved the way to the urbanization of the northern parts. Besides, the expanding communication network that crisscrosses the surface of the city redefined the center/periphery proximity, thus, led to the acceleration of the emergence of further squatter settlements in Sarıyer from 1980s onwards. Pınar, Reşitpaşa, Ferahevler, Derbent, Cumhuriyet and Çayırbaşı neighborhoods developed in these years with the arrival of new migrants who were employed both in industrial and the service sectors of Etiler, Maslak, Levent and Sanayi Mahallesi with low wages and insufficient social security.

Finally, the construction of TEM highway in 1987 and Fatih Sultan Mehmet Bridge in 1988 played a great role as spatial arrangements vital for the development Armutlu towards a fusion with the core elements of city culture. Needless to say, the same historical developments in the large scale urban structures that transformed -in spatial terms- the marginal position of the inhabitants into a relatively more “integrated” one also pushed the whole region in a cartography whereon the urban, national and global capital was operating and had been more interventionist with the forthcoming neoliberal wave of urban restructuring.

After the amnesty law decreed in February 1984, the inhabitants of Küçükarmutlu massively supported Motherland Party’s Sarıyer candidate in the elections of March 1984. The primary reason was that he promised to give title deeds. Nevertheless, following demolitions in the squatter neighborhoods and the Party’s affinity for the neoliberal macro-economic policies paved the way to a shift in the political map of Armutlu The Social Democrat Populist Party and its Sarıyer candidate, İhsan Yalçın gained mass support from Armutlu during the 1989 elections. Before the elections, İhsan Yalçın promised to “provide public services to the squatter

settlements as much as he can do.”⁹ However three big demolitions followed each other in 1989. Only in June 1990 could İhsan Yalcin declare that he indeed had a more hostile political stance toward squatters: “We cannot prove our social-democrat identity by supporting squatter settlements.”¹⁰ (Cörüt & Gönül, 2007) The demolitions of 1989 sharpened political antagonism between Armutlu and the state. A primary axis of this antagonism was posited between the exchange value and use value of the urban space where the former was constantly enforced by the state and private capital while reclaiming the latter was an underlined source of the ideological cohesion among the inhabitants of the neighborhood.

In the same year Revolutionary Left (*Devrimci-Sol*), appeared for the first time as a political actor investing on the concrete demands of the people in Armutlu. Given that, not only the state’s constant pressure in the form of evacuations and demolitions but also land mafia’s attacks on the new comers was signaling further contestations, aggressions and political polarizations in the neighborhood.

After the big demolitions of 1989, that also affected other squatter neighborhoods of Istanbul, Revolutionary Left invited people to rebuild their houses and settle new lands. The old inhabitants of Küçükarmutlu, some of whom were already politicized around the radical praxis of Revolutionary-Left, invited their relatives from the villages of Almus-Tokat to join the reconstruction process. Further families came and began to settle in Küçükarmutlu under the protection of Revolutionary-Left. Following that, a petition signed by 286 inhabitants was handed to the police and to the Attorney Generalship of Sarıyer (*Sarıyer Cumhuriyet Başsavcılığı*) to inform them about the attacks of the land mafia on July 1990. Four

⁹ *Cumhuriyet*, 27 March 1989. “Gecekonduılara hizmet için elden gelen her çabayı göstereceğim.”

¹⁰ Günaydın, 18 July 1990. “Gecekonduya prim vererek daha fazla sosyal-demokrat olduğumuzu kanıtlayamayız.”

days after the petition was handed out, the local police conducted an operation in Küçükarmutlu at night. However, the target was not the land mafia, but the petition givers. In the violent attack, one of the inhabitants, street vendor Hüsni İşeri, was shot by the police. The violent confrontations continued until the next evening, when police left Armutlu after the negotiations between the representatives of the inhabitants and police chiefs. The operation resulted with the death of Hüsni İşeri while 11 inhabitants were injured with police bullets and 30 inhabitants were arrested. (Cörüt & Gönül, 2007)

In addition to the struggles of the inhabitants of Armutlu against the state led by Revolutionary-Left, the violent struggles between Revolutionary-Left and the land mafia were also taking place through various encounters which continued until 1993 when the land mafia was expelled from Armutlu. Armutlu was divided into two parts in these struggles. The land mafia kept its power in Büyükarmutlu and continued to sell enclosed public lands. However, Revolutionary-Left, having established its hegemony in Küçükarmutlu, kept on distributing lands to the new comers without any payment. Two defining features of the moral economy imposed by Revolutionary-Left can be traced in the practices of the inhabitants of Küçükarmutlu. First, they settled in to satisfy their basic need without any payment to the state or land mafia. So, a rejection of the commodification of land was actualized through a mass demand towards claiming the use-value of the urban space. Second, the inhabitants of Küçükarmutlu found the legitimizing notion in the radical leftist rhetoric provided by Revolutionary-Left. They believed that the land was their right. Such a realization of legitimacy on the basis of right to shelter fundamentally diverges from that of Büyükarmutlu's and many of other squatter settlements in Istanbul whose inhabitants did not insist on claiming the land as a right on which they had settled rather were engaged in relationships of patronage.

The moral economy of housing in Küçükarmutlu was not limited to the ownership of land. There were some basic rules that everyone settled in Küçükarmutlu had to obey. The rules privileged the use-value oriented settlement pattern which aims to prevent any possible opportunist use of the squatter houses:

- I. No houses in Küçükarmutlu can be larger than 120 square meters. The only condition of exceeding the limit is the structure of the land that house is located.
- II. Nobody can rent out or buy his house.
- III. No house can have more than two floors except the cases such as the necessity to find a house to the married child.
- IV. One who already has a house cannot settle in Küçükarmutlu.
- V. All the inhabitants of Küçükarmutlu must obey the basic moral values.

These rules were controlled by the People's Committee (*Halk Komitesi*) which could be seen as the executive committee of Küçükarmutlu. The neighborhood was divided into four sub-regions, each region with its own committee which was charged with developing the infrastructure, the organization of labor-force for these infrastructural practices and getting the public services to the neighborhood. They actively contributed to the amelioration of the infrastructural deficits of the neighborhood such as electricity, water system, asphaltting of the roads and sewer system. This was a period that is remembered by a majority of my informants with the reign of socialism in Küçükarmutlu.

The theoretical framework in which Turner (1977) problematizes the issue of housing implies the effective role that the central political power should have in the infrastructural services and even distribution of resources. His main focus on the construction and usage of the built space according to the needs of those who reside underlines also his critical position against centralized attempts of housing estates where the practices of the users are confined within predefined built spaces. In that regard, Turner's conceptualization points out the informal as a site where local groups can both find easier access to resources and reflect their immediate needs, priorities

and collective demands onto the very process of building architectural elements of the living areas. Rethinking the spatial economy put into practice during the development of Küçükarmutlu in 1980s in the light of Turner's insight might be productive in terms of elaborating on the prioritization of the use-value of space in relation to satisfaction of basic human needs. In part because beside the houses a major part of the built space for public use in Küçükarmutlu was planned and constructed by the inhabitants themselves according to existing needs of the people

Harvey (1973), on the other hand, argues that in most aspects of the urban culture, the poor is condemned to space while the rich has control over it. Yet Arslan's (2004) reservation against this linear dichotomy is equally important to be considered. He proposes to read recent patterns of gentrification and fortification of the last decade as an embodiment of a reverse relation between the segregated urban space and human activities it entails, whereby the isolated practices and micro-cultures within these topographies came to be primarily defined by the very organization of the space. What he argues is that the "new spaces" of the 1970s which brought forward the use-value of the urban space, such as 1 Mayıs Mahallesi, on the contrary, constitutes significant experiments as to what political modalities and through which practices the rural-to-urban migrants, the urban poor tried to create their own space by reproducing it in radical ways. Throughout the present study I will elaborate on the formation of Küçükarmutlu as "place" from within this productive tension of the above conceptualizations.

In a further theoretical level I will dwell upon the discursive totalization of meanings assigned to the experiences enabled in Küçükarmutlu. Whereas criminalization of the neighborhood as a "dangerous place" (Yonucu, 2002) through the adoption of various tones of "talk of danger" (Caldeira, 1999) by the state/media will refer to such totalizations, I will also try to bring the multiplicity of contesting

imaginations in and on Küçükarmutlu into equation. By doing that, I will pose the questions of how the state's visibility changes in Küçükarmutlu and what forms of spatial investments it resorts to keep its hegemony. One concrete example of the spatial embodiment of the sovereign power is definitely the construction of the police station on the highest point of Küçükarmutlu which keeps the whole neighborhood under a constant panoptic surveillance. Yet I will also regard the state as a circulation of images and rumors, as a social production of an "ensemble of discourses" (Gupta, 1995)

Up until now I have presented the history of Küçükarmutlu with regard to larger social, economic and political circles in national and global scales. The following section will be based on a complementary effort of seeking traces of certain historical moments through individual narratives that I have collected throughout my fieldwork. As collective forms of remembering play a fundamental role in the formation of subaltern subjectivities, narrative formulations of different temporalities as much as linguistic components of local epistemology will be identified through presenting and interpreting my informants' words hermeneutically. In this regard, production and circulation of signs, symbols and metaphors (Marcus, 1995) will guide the discussion at the subtext of entire section.

Genesis: Narratives of Settling

- 2.3 We were ready to get going when *one of them approached me and said "look that's our plateau"*. When looked from below to the *single cubicle houses, there was no green, everywhere was yellow*. It seemed really strange to me, well at least our village was much more beautiful than this one. My father was doing some plaster work when I first

entered the house, I said to myself “is this it?” *the floor was nothing but earth and there was nothing inside but a couch.*¹¹

2.4 ‘Help me get down to that place so that I may harvest some cabbage’ she says. *She looks at the sea and imagines it as a huge cabbage field.*¹²

2.5 When I first came; *soil walkways and tiny houses...* there was *so much dust* until here, for example during the last operation, we buried the woods in the soil, and for example after İşeri died, a great battle was expected.¹³

2.6 For example a shoe you can only wear for one week, because *it becomes all muddy until you can get to the station. You wash it and then you put it behind the stove* only to find it dispersed in the morning. When it gets wet and dried you can not even wear the shoe for a week.¹⁴

2.7 One thing I don’t forget, I was attending a *bağlama*¹⁵ course. From that station, but the *kids who come from the other side, their feet are clean*, they have you know, but around here... one day in the course, *the desk I am sitting on had a pile of soil under it.* You know this is the kind of trouble we all go through in this neighborhood. There is a girl living close by, she studies in Behçet Kemal High School, she says that she gets *so ashamed that everybody is staring under her desk at the pile of soil.*¹⁶

2.8 There were not many houses here at that time. *There were barley and corn fields, they planted raspberries and cloves...* there was cultivation; *Lazlar* were doing it...¹⁷

¹¹Hadi gidiyoruz artık dediler, *birisi bana bak bizim yayla orası dedi.. gerçekten tek gözli evler aşağıdan bakınca o zaman böyle yeşillik falan yok, sarı...bana çok tuhaf geldi, en azından bizim köy bile bundan daha güzel...babam siva falan yapıyor, bir girdim burası mı dedim...taban daha toprak, bir tane divan var başka hiç bir şey yok*

¹²Şuradan beni indirsel de şuradan biraz lahana toplasam diyor. *Denizi görünce zannediyor ki lahana burası komple.*

¹³ İlk geldiğimde *küçük evler, toprak yollar...öyle bir toz vardı ki* buraya kadar, mesela biz son operasyonda o toprağın içine tahtaları gömüp, mesela İşeri öldürüldükten sonra büyük çatışma bekleniyordu.

¹⁴ Mesela ayakkabıyı, bir hafta ancak giyiyosun çünkü *ordan durağa gelene kadar çamur oluyo, yıkıyorsun akşam, sobanın arkasına koyuyosun* açılıyo ayakkabı. ıslanıp kurudu mu açılıyo bi hafta giyemiyosun yani bi ayakkabıyı.

¹⁵The most commonly used string folk *instrument* in Turkey.

¹⁶ Şeyi hiç unutmuyorum, ben bağlama kursuna gidiyodum bi ara. ama o da durakta yani. ama *o taraftan gelen çocukların ayakları temiz*, onların şeyi var, bizim burda şey. ben gidiyodum, *benim oturduğum masanın altı böyle bi toprak* (gülüyor). ya herkes işte de öyle sorunlar yaşamışlar. okulda, okulda mesela, aşağıda bizim mahallede oturan şeyde okuyan, Behçet Kemal Lisesi’nde okuyan kız şey diyo, *yani o kadar utanıyodum ki diyo, herkes benim masamın altına bakıyordu diyo.*

¹⁷ O zamanlar fazla ev yoktu burada. *Arpa tarlası, mısır tarlası ahududu vardı, karanfil ekiliyordu buralarda... ekim biçim vardı buralarda lazlar yapıyordu...*

- 2.9 I see a difference here about the protected constructions. Different than Gazi and 1 Mayıs neighborhoods. All of our streets used to be much wider, the people just craved into the streets by time, however *the foundation was drawn by an architect, and everything is planned*. There is always a road that goes between every house anyhow. *It is not true that there were no road*, we did not want our houses to be demolished by this. During that period the media was always writing news about *how the gecekondu are destroying the green and how ugly they made the Bosphorus look*. We had to plant some trees just to create an alternative version of the story; *everybody's house has at least 2-3 trees in the front yard. And in fact this neighborhood used to be a greenhouse, strawberry fields and stuff, not trees*.¹⁸
- 2.10 People that came here were determined to stay, “*even if it's demolished 10 times and I have only one room, I will stay*”, they would say. When we first came here, we were living a bachelor's life. 15 people would stay in one room, standing guard at night. We built houses with one room because our families were in the village; actually, *we took courage from this singleness. If we had brought our children here to go through 5-10 times demolishments, we would have moved out of here long before. I had one goal: to keep on living here till the last drop of my blood*.¹⁹
- 2.11 My little son was 3-4 years old when my wife/husband started to work. *We used to leave him in the middle of the street and go to work*. There were only 3 properly build houses in this area that days.²⁰
- 2.12 *Having my mother at home kind of meant that we were here for good, our life will be spent here, no matter how much we seem temporary, my mother and me, we are now here as the residents*.²¹

¹⁸ Burda yapının korunmuş olmasıyla ilgili bi farklılık görüyorum. gazi'den, 1 mayıs'tan farklı olarak) ilk yerleşim yapılarının. mekansal düzenin, organizasyonun. tüm sokaklarımız daha geniştir, sonra yonta yonta insanlar biraz daha daraldı ama, *kuruluşu mimar çizdi mesela. planlı*. zaten her evin arasından bir yol geçer. *hani böyle yol gitmiyo filan şeyi yok*, sonunda bunlar bahane olup yıkılmanın en azından diye. tecrübe var ya, 1 mayıs mahallesi vardır örnek olarak benim bildiğim. bize sürekli *gecekondu ağıaçları kesiyolar yeşillik yok, boğazda çirkin bi görüntü var filan* o dönem gazetelerde çok yazılar yazılırdı bununla ilgili. biz de bunun alternatifini yaratabilmek için ağaç dikme durumunda kalıyoruz. *herkesin evinin önünde muhakkak 2-3 tane vardır. gerçi burası seraydı, çilek, lahana tarlaları.. ağaç değildi. büyük ağaçlar yoktu*.

¹⁹ Buraya gelen insanlar kararlıydı *10 sefer yıkılsa tek göz ev yapsam da içinde kalacağım* diyerek buraya geldiler. Biz buraya ilk geldiğimizde bekar hayatı yaşıyorduk. Bir göz evde 15 kişi kalırdık, gece nöbet tutardık. Ailelerimiz köyde olduğu için tek göz ev yaparlardı. *Biz bekar halimizden cesaret aldık yoksa çocukları buraya getirmiş olsaydık, 5 sefer 10 sefer yıkıyordu çoktan buralardan taşınırdık. Benim bir hedefim vardı: burada kanımın son damlasına kadar devam etmek*.

²⁰ Eşim çalışmaya başladığım da benim küçük oğlum 3-4 yaşında idi. *birakıp gidiyorduk işte ya, sokakta yolun ortasında*. O zamanlar bizim bu tarafta da doğru dürüst ev yoktu, 3 taneydi.

²¹ *En azından evde annemin olması bile artık biz burda kalıcıyız, burda yaşamaya başlıyoruz.. Her ne kadar geçici görünsek bile, annemle birlikte artık buranın yerleşimcileri olmuş sayılıyorz*.

Place Making: Narratives of Infrastructural Development

- 2.13 At the same time there was a sound coming from the machines, they were covering the other neighborhood with asphalt, *and they were trying to run away before they covered our neighborhood with asphalt.* (laughs). The guys are waiting day and night though; they heard such and such rumors. They started running, we all started running. We caught them; we told them they should cover our district as well, other wise we will take over their machines. They said “no no, we will cover your district as well; we are just going to get something and come back”. The guys there, they did a lot of things, they saw a lot of things, they fought a lot to get the roads covered with asphalt. And they achieved it, *and they lived what we went through as well, they went around the neighborhood, they wanted to talk to us. They asked us questions about how we lived and how we came here you know, they listened to our stories, and shared what we lived at the time.*²²
- 2.14 Before these streets were paved with asphalt, people would reach the bus stop with *muddy shoes*. They would then leave them at the pastry shop and would head to their work with their other pair of shoes. Or *the other solution was to cover their shoes with nylon bags from the start. You wouldn't be able to imagine the mud here, it was impossible to get rid off it.*²³
- 2.15 We applied to İSKİ (İstanbul Municipality Waterworks) to establish a water source. *İSKİ rejected providing water and didn't supply any pipelines. We collectively established it by laying the illegal pipeline route starting from the bus stop. They came and set the water meter on the pipe line we built on our own endeavor as part of their so-called legalization.* Nowadays, it bursts every now and then. As a result, İSKİ workers can't even leave here.²⁴
- 2.16 For example, we were still not many here and *we wanted to have electricity*. It was around '88, we found a technician friend, and told him that we will put up electricity poles and meters to begin using legal electricity here. From where the Şalgamcı School is now to that

²² O ara bi de ses geliyo, makinalar gidiyo diye. diğ er mahalleyi asfaltlamış lar, *bizim mahalleyi asfaltlamadan kaçı yolar.* (gülüyor) Çocuklar sabaha kadar bekliyo ama sürekli, öyle bi duyum almış lar. Bi anda koştular iş te, hep beraber koştuk, yakaladık. asfaltliycaksınız, yoksa makinalarınıza el koyuyoruz falan filan, vermeyiz. yok dedi asfaltliycaz zaten biz sadece bişey almaya gidiyoruz falan filan. O çocuklar şey yaptı yani, çok, hem şeyi gördüler, bi şekilde onlar da o yanıyla mücadele ettiler, asfaltlanma yanıyla. Asfaltlattular, *hem de yaşadılar iş te, mahalleyi gezdiler, bizlerle konuşmak istediler, iş te, nasıl yaşadınız, nasıl geldiniz, neler yaptınız, vs.. her ne kadar bize yakın okusalar da bazı şeyleri, yine de birebir yaşamış oldular. Hikayeleri dinlediler.*

²³ Asfalttan önce insanlar ş uradaki durağın oraya kadar *çamurlu ayakkabılarla* giderlerdi orada ayakkabılarını değ iş tirip pastaneye bırakırlardı, diğ er ayakkabılarıyla iş e giderlerdi. *Ya da naylon poşetler giyerlerdi. Buranın ç amuru bildiğ in gibi değ ildi çıkmıyordu.*

²⁴ İski'ye müracaat ettik. *İski suyu vermedi biz imece halinde ç ektik. Kaçak boru ç ektik otobüs durağının oradan. Kendi gücümüzün yettiğ i suya saat bağladılar.* Ş imdi ise hiç durmadan patlıyor, bir tane İSKİ 'nin adamı ayırlamıyor buradan.

house over there, we put up 19 electricity poles, working collectively.
25

- 2.17 The technician friend showed us where the poles will be located and asked us to dig holes. Then we arranged a car, went to TEK (Turkish Electricity Administration) and took the poles. We bought the sand and cement ourselves too. TEK came during the process and laid the cables, and our friend put up the electricity meters. *That's how we formally retrieved electricity, around '88.*²⁶

Demolition

- 2.18 *They come and hit here, leaving the down floor. If you won't let me build, take it down completely! When they come with the digger, or the big hammer, they leave the hammer from this height to hit, and then leave. So we start over after 4-5 in the afternoon, for example, if I had built a 4 to 4 place, 20 square meters; I build a 5 to 5, 25 square meters place this time. After another demolishment, you make it 6 to 5, then 8 to 5, dividing from the inside.*²⁷
- 2.19 We were sometimes damaged, sometimes not. Take me for example, *I never packed up my wares. Let them flatten me out! Why should I compromise? Resisting or building a house would mean nothing if I compromise. I am trying to find a solution, which is supposed to be found by the state, on myself. Think of a bird in a nest...* It does its best to protect its chick. It kills you once you try to draw near to it, it drowns you in... All this, is a result of solidarity and joint efforts of the community. *Nothing would be achieved without resistance and struggle here.* Everything has a cost, you pay for bread and you don't swallow it without chewing. Even this requires an effort...²⁸

²⁵ Mesela biz azık bir yerdik *buraya elektrik çekelim dedik.* 88'li dönemlerdi, dışardan bir teknisyen arkadaş bulduk ve ona buraya elektrik direği diktireceğiz, saatlerimizi koyduracağız, burada yasal elektrik kullanacağız. Yani biz mahallemizin mahalle olması için uğraşcaz dedik ve şimdilerde Şalgamcı İlköğretimin olduğu yerden şuradaki evin oraya kadar *19 tane TEK 'in elektrik direklerinden diktirdik, imece haliyle çalışıp.*

²⁶ Elektrikçi arkadaş bize direklerin konulacağı yerleri gösterdi ve yerlerini açmamızı söyledi. Bi de araba ayarlamamızı söyledi gittik TEK ten direkleri aldık. Kumu çimentoyu da kendimiz aldık. TEK de geldi, süreç içerisinde geldi kabloları döşedi arkadaş da saatlerimizi taktı. *Biz de resmen elektriğe o zamanlar kavuştuk. Bu süreci 88'lerde yaşadık.*

²⁷ *Geliyor buradan vuruyor, altı bırakıyor. Lan yapamayacaksam, tamamen kes. Keççeylen geldiği zamanlar, veya balyozlan geldiği zamanlar, su yükseklikten balyozu bırakıp vuruyor, çekip gidiyor. Tabii aksam 4-5 ten sonra tekrardan başlıyoruz, mesela 4e 4 bir yer yaptıysam 20 metre kare, bu sefer 5e 5 yapıyorsun 25 metrekare, bu sefer bir yıktığı zaman da 6 ya 5 yapıyorsun, 8e 5 yapıyorsun, içten bölüyorsun.*

²⁸ *Zarar geldiği de oluyordu gelmediği de. Mesela ben eşya çıkarmam. Dümdüzlesin beni. Ben niye onlara taviz verecem sebebi ne ki taviz vereyim. Taviz verdikten sonra benim burada ev yapmamın direniş yapmamın anlamı nedir. Bu devlet benim sorunumu çözmesi gerekirken ben kendi sorunumu kendim çözmeye uğraşıyorum. Bir kuş şuraya yuvasını yapıyor, civcivini yaşatmak için, onun yanına yanaştığın zaman napıyor, imkanı olsa seni boğacak, atıp gönderecek. Haa, halkın birlik beraber ve mücadelesi içerisinde yapıldı. Mücadele direniş olmadan burada bir şey yapılmaz. Ekmeği bile bakkaldan paranlan alıyorsun, çiğnemedi yutamıyorsun, ona bile uğraş veriyorsun.*

- 2.20 Of course the circumstances change as you live. *I didn't even know how to put two bricks together. But when it fell to lot you need things. After they come to demolish and you rebuild your house with ambition, sharing a cup of tea with friends that night is a beautiful thing. Or eating the two potatoes you boiled, it tastes completely different. Let's say my house was demolished, and so Ahmet's. We would start out all together, building two houses that night. One night, we built 10 houses in a row. [...]* Well, *when you're demolished, all your stuff stays outside, you cannot get yourself together for 3-5 days, it's not as easy as it looks from now.*²⁹
- 2.21 A member from the demolition force writes a petition to the police department, to the district governorate stating that demolition is a must in order to secure life safety. They get official permission from one of those governmental bodies and then they come here. *All you can do is to trust the powers of your arms again and throw stones at them.* For instance, *once municipal police was here for demolition again; get the stone!*³⁰
- 2.22 Sometimes when they arrive to demolish they succeeded. However there were times when we succeeded in resisting and they could not. *Once they were here again to demolish, a little while later stoning incidents started to take place.* They took many people into custody. They are demolishing and *as they face the resistance, there comes the custody.* You spend 2-3 days at the police station and then you are sent to the prosecutor's office with your file.³¹
- 2.23 *Our sole purpose was to build a house and live in quiet here.* However, even today, they covet us for our house; if they were capable enough, they would dismantle it. *Anyone who lives in a slum area feels himself under continuous threat, those who say the opposite would be lying.*³²

²⁹ Tabi ki şartlar yaşam şeyinde devam ettiği müddetçe değişiyor. *İki tane tuğlayı ne şekilde korduk bide bilmiyorduk. Ama iş başa geçip bir takım şeyler gerektiğinde, o gelip yıktığı zamanlar, sen de o hırsla sarılıp akşamleyin o evi oraya yapıp da, oturup bir bardak çayı iki arkadaşın paylaştığın zamanlar çok güzel bir şey oluyordu. Yada 2 patates hgaşlayıp yediğin zaman onu tadı bambaşka oluyordu. Atıyorum benim evim yıkılmış Ahmet in evi yıkılmış, bakıyorduk başlıyoduk drumuşun oradan imece halinde çalışarak. O gece iki tane evi dikiyoduk, aha bi gecede şu sıraya 10 tane ev yaptuk bir gecede [...]*Tabii, *yıkıldığın zaman tüm eşyan dışarıda, 3-5 gün kendine gelemiyorsun, kolay degil yani öyle dışardan baktığın zamanlar çok kolay geliyor insana.*

³⁰ Polisi alıyor geliyor adam, emniyete yazı yazıyor, kaymakamlığa yazı yazıyor, ben diyor falan yerde yer yıkacam, buranın can güvenliğini sağlanması için. Yazı çıkarıyor. Geliyor. *Sen elini kolunu sallayıp da, iki taş sallayıp gönderebiliyorsan, mesela bir gun zabıta yıkıma geldi, ver taşı.*

³¹ Yıkıma geldiklerinde evlerimizi yıktırıyorlardı fakat yıktırmadığımız zamanlar da oluyordu. *Mesela tarihin birinde yıkıma geldi, bir süre sonra taşlama olayları başladı.* Gözaltına alınmalar oldu. *Yıkıyor, tabi saldırdığın zamanlar gözaltı oluyor. 2-3 gün karakolda bekliyorsun veya şubeye alıyor seni veya savcılığa çıkarıyorlar.*

³² *Bizim amacımız burada bir ev yapıp yaşamaktı, ama bugün bile güçleri yetse gelseler yıkacaklar, hala daha bile gözleri var. Bugün gecekondulu bölgede yaşayıp da üzerinde sürekli bir tehdit hissetmeyen yalan söylüyor.*

2.24 We marched here as ten thousand people. When we head towards Sarıyer, we got into cars until Çayırbaşı where we got off and started to walk. Now, our next stop was İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality. All the buses were arranged. However, my younger son who earlier went to work notified me as he joined us that the cops were stopping the buses in Büyükarmutlu. Then we gathered round and decided to walk instead. But, the authorized cops would not let us. *'Well' we thought, 'it won't hurt us to block the highway then'*. Of course, the cops didn't prefer such a scene and consecutive incidents to take place in their zone, and they piled us into the buses. It took only twenty minutes to get to the Municipality, I swear. How do you describe such outcome? *I call it; unity and solidarity. People ought to do something about these problems that affects them directly.* They should react. It is the end of the road for many things where callousness and insensitivity can survive. Imagine that I live in some part of Anatolia, cultivating wheat to make my living. Even then, how does the journey evolve? I plant the wheat, irrigate it, and harvest it. I help the wheat to grow after all these labor and effort. In respect, I get the product. I am able to cook and eat my own bread in winter time. What will happen when I don't act the same here in the city? It would keep going as opposite if you won't care with your asphalt, water and electricity...³³

2.25 They put a service prohibition, for instance, The Turkish Post and The İstanbul Water and Sewerage Institution. They don't serve saying that this is a special project area; so that we cannot take shelter here and leave. *Because this land is close to the Bosphorus, they don't want people from the slums and villages living here. Well now, doesn't the man coming here from his village with his black hat and big moustache have the right to live here?* You take taxes from him too, but tell him to go and live in Tekirdağ, Pendik, Çekmece, those places. What has he got to do with here they say, near the Bosphorus, we'll build four houses, let the rich ones live here. *Whoever you ask, they'll say: "they won't let you here". "Why not?" we say, "Are we not humans?" They demolished my house 13 times.*³⁴

³³ 10.000 kişi burada yürüdük. Sarıyer'e yürürkene arabalarla gitmiştik, çayırbaşında indik yürümeye başladık, işte buradan Büyükşehir'e gidicez. Otobüsler ayarlandı, giderkene benim ufak oğlan işe gidiyordu, o da gelecek bizimle beraber. Dedi ki baba Büyükşehir'de otobüsleri çeviriyorlar, toplandı yürüyerek gidelim dedik. Görevli memurlar. Bırakmıyorlar, *dedik ki o zaman da otobanı keselim anasını satayım.* Tabii mantıkasında polis olayı olmaması için, belediye otobüslerine doluşturdular. Yeminlen söylüyorum buradan yirmi dakikada Büyükşehir'e gittik ya. *Bu nedir, birlik beraberlik. İnsanlar kendi sorunlarına sahip çıkma zorunda.* Vurdumduymazlık olduğu yerde her şey biter. bugün Anadolu'nun bir köyünde ben buğday dahi yetiştirsem, onu yapıyorum, ekiyorum biçiyorum, suyunu veriyorum, onu belli bir emek vererekten belli bir şeye getiriyorum. Ondan buğday alıyorum, kışın ekmeğimi yapıp yiyorum. *Burada da ben bu şekil yapmadığım zaman ne olacak? Öbür şekil yürüyüp gidecek, asfaltına, suyuna, elektriğine gitmesen...*

³⁴ Hizmet yasağı koymuşlar mesela PTT'si İSKİ'si bu özel proje alanı olduğu için hizmet yasağı getirdiler biz burada barınamayalım terk edip gidelim diye. *Burası boğaza yakın bir yer olduğu için burada varoşlardan gelen köyden gelen insanların yaşamasını istemiyorlar. Şimdi burada köyünden kalkıp gelen kara şapkasıyla, pala bıyığıyla burada yaşama hakkı yok mu? Ondan de vergi alıyorsun, bundan da.* Bunlar gitsin Tekirdağ'ın Çekmece'nin Pendik'in o taraflarda yaşasın diyor. Onların burada diyor, ne işi var burası boğaza nazır yer diyor, 4 tane ev yaptırayım zenginler gelsin otursun

2.26 Here I am, shouting out loud: *You will come and demolish me today, but I will certainly start rebuilding my house in the evening of the same day.* Tomorrow, when you come here again, *you will find me sitting all proud and alert in front of my own house.*³⁵

Degeneration

2.27 Most of the women here go to Etiler and other rich neighborhoods for house keeping, working in the hair dressers and restaurants. *They see the life in those rich places, regardless of how much they are aware of their differences with these rich people, the desire to immitate begins.* By being different I mean that we can not keep up with this life style. The way we dress up, walk, talk, the relations we form with our neighborhood, everything is so much different. *She (a person from the rich neighborhood) does not even know who she shares the same building with, whereas I know even a person who lives in Baltalimanı. Within the boundaries, I know many people. This seemed very weird to me in the beginning.*³⁶

2.28 The guy leaves this place, his surrounding, his potential, his neighborhood is clear, but he goes to Etiler, it is such a close district anyway you know. *When he goes there he sees the different styles of dressing, and god knows what type of car they are possessing, young people want to imitate that.* Or gaining easy money, he looks and he sees the other guy, just wandering around from morning until night in a luxury car, *of course he wants to imitate this.* For example there was a period when rubbery peeked around here. Young people's only concern was gaining easy money, and they tried to adapt that corrupt culture. Jeans torn apart, sticking the hair up, piercing...for example a guy from our neighborhood, the last time *he went for rubbery he said: "you don't know us, we come from Küçükarmutlu".* He is trying to use this name as a label. *On one hand when you look at him, if he would come and talk to you this moment, you would think he's an anti-capitalist. But on the other hand when he goes to the other side he tries to harmonize with them, blend into them. He gets corrupt then, he gets stuck between the two cultures. One of them said "it was not my choice to be born from this particular mother and father".*³⁷

diyor. Kime sorarsan sor burayı size yedirmezler burayı size yedirmezler diyorlar. Bizde niye yedirmesinler diyoiz biz insan değil miyiz diyoruz. Benim evimi 13 kez yıktılar.

³⁵ Ben diyorum ki: *Sen geleceksin beni bugün yıkacaksın ben akşamleyin bunu yine yapacam.* Yarın ben burada alnım dik olarak, gözüm dik olarak şanımları şereflerimle oturacağım.

³⁶ Burdaki insanların çoğu, ev hanımları filan Etiler'de temizliğe gidiyor, kuaför'de çalışıyor, veya garsonluk yapıyor. *Ordaki yaşamı görüyor, ve ona bir özentisi başlıyor, her ne kadar farklı olduğunu anlasın da.* Farklı derken, biz onlara uyum sağlayamıyoruz. bizim konuşmamız farklıdır, giyimimiz, yememiz, içmemiz, mahalleyle ilişkimiz.. *O apartmandaki yan komşusunu tanımazken ben burdan Baltalimanı'ndaki kişiyi tanıyorum. Sınırlar dahilinde pek çok insanı tanıyorum. bana çok garip gelmişti,*

³⁷ Burdan gidiyor adam, yaşadığı mahalle belli, çevre belli, imkanları belli koşulları belli ama Etiler'e gidiyo zaten burnunun ucu, hemen iki adım ötesi. *Oraya gittiğinde şeyi görüyo işte, farklı bi giyim tarzı, adamın altında bilmemne araba, tüketim de var aynı zamanda giyip tarzı falan. Gençler özeniyö*

- 2.29 *There were no skyscrapers ten years ago, now there are much more. There was a time when Akmerkez didn't exist, Kanyon did not exist, and there were no paparazzi shows on TV, not even so many TV channels, maybe even no TV in most of the households. No computers, the kids felt the need to talk to somebody then. It's not like that anymore, there is a TV both in the bedroom and the living room, and there are computers. Instead of making conversation they are looking at their computers and that's when the corruption starts*³⁸
- 2.30 *We are not like other neighborhoods as well. For example Gazi neighborhood, it is so far away from the center. We are very near to Etiler which the high society and the media are praising all the time. Gazi neighborhood is not located like that. They did not have to corrupt like us, they did not have to fit in like us. Go to Gazi, there is much more over there than here.*³⁹
- 2.31 *For instance, it wasn't like this in the past. People were like "I won't let them destroy my house, I'll die instead", but they don't face this now. This mentality is related to the system, it gradually infuses this selfishness: you are yourself, every man for himself, why should I struggle for him? I can build my house somewhere else tomorrow; however, I cannot come back as myself.*⁴⁰

Narratives of violence

In the local epistemology of the neighborhood, temporariness occupies diverse meanings that are reinforced by the illegal and informal texture of the buildings

buna. Kolay para kazanma veya. Bakıyo adam akşama kadar geziyo araba altında, ona özeniyo tabii. Mesela hırsızlık bi dönem çok arttı bizim burda. Kolay para kazanma derdine düştü veya gençler, veya o yoz kültürü kendine şey yapmaya.. İşte giyim tarzı yırtık pantolon dersin, küpe takma, saçları dikti falan. Ama bi taraftan da şey, gittiği yerde bazı böyle tehditkar konuşmak gerektiğini düşündüğü veya.. En son bi yerde hırsızlığa gidiyo mesela şey diyo, "siz bizi bilmiyorsunuz, biz Küçükarmutlu'dan geliyoruz". aynı zamanda adını da kullanmaya çalışıyo. Yani bi taraftan bakıyosun, normalde şu anda gelse konuşsan, anti-kapitalist falan filan. Ama diğer tarafa gittiğinde de çok gayet onlarla uyumlu yaşayan, onlar gibi olmaya çalışan kişiler oluyo. Yozlaşıyo, şöyle, iki kültür arasına sıkışıyo. Bi tanesi şey demişti, "benim seçimim değildi bu aneden babadan doğmak."

³⁸ *Gökdelen bundan on sene önce bu kadar yoktu ama artık arttı, bi dönem önce Akmerkez diye bi yer yoktu, Kanyon diye bi yer yoktu, veya televoleler yoktu, bu kadar çok kanallar yoktu. Pek çok evde belki TV yoktu, bilgisayar yoktu, çocuklar birisiyle konuşmak ihtiyacı duyuyodu. artık öyle değil. adamın odasında da var, salonunda da var TV, bilgisayarı var...Sohbet etmek yerine onlarla uğraşıyo ve yozlaşma zaten orda başlıyo.*

³⁹ *Biz diğer mahalleler gibi de değiliz, mesela Gazi Mahallesi, şehre çok uzak. şehre derken hani, merkezi bölgelere. Biz sosyetenin, basının, medyanın sistemin Etiler dediği, onu yükselttiği yerin dibindeki bir mahalleyiz ama onlar öyle değil. Bizden daha az yozlaşması gereken veya daha az ayak uydurması gereken.. git Gazi'ye, daha fazla şey var.*

⁴⁰ *Hani, eskiden öyle değildi mesela. "Evimi yıktırmam, ölürüm" falan vardı, ama artık onu göze almıyor. İşte bu şeyin, sistemle alâkalı aslında, yavaş yavaş o bencilliği aşıyor ya. Yani sen sensin, işte her koyun kendi bacağından asılır; ben onun için niye mücadele edeyim veya ben evi yarın başka bir yerde kurabilirim belki ama, işte veya ben ben olarak geri gelemem. Böyle bir mantık alıyor başını gidiyor.*

which constitutes “temporary” shelters until the unknown date of the next demolition- as well as by the very formation of local subjectivities oscillating between “temporary” jobs and unemployment as “the other” of those already gained a permanent “right to the city”. The term “temporary” also captures strategies of infiltration into the neighborhood on the part of the state. The police station, that was initially set up on the garden of the school as a “temporary” measure of security, has moved up to the highest point of Küçükarmutlu by occupying the house of an old single woman for “a short period of time”⁴¹ What followed was the construction of the police station on the debris of the house that still holds the only panoramic and panoptic view of the whole neighborhood.

At the end of the main road, a junction separates the site of the police station- which is both formally and informally “the forbidden zone” for the civilians- from the site of the Cemevi and Pir Sultan Abdal Culture Association, the primary and for many the only place of public expression. Forking right at the junction one leaves the fortified police station behind and proceeds towards Cemevi on a sloping path running through burnt houses, where four people died by another police raid during the hunger strikes of 2000. Under these historical and psycho-spatial circumstances Cemevi seemingly constitutes a safe niche not only because of its political significance but also because of its geo-strategic position face to face with the

⁴¹ There are several events of death which come to the fore in conjunction with the successive demolitions, police attacks and hunger strikes while narrating the past of the Küçükarmutlu. A particularly mentioned one is the death of a 7 year old girl, Sevcan Yavuz, who was killed by an armored police vehicle in the school garden during the playtime. As a result of this tragic incident the police forces, which were “temporarily” settled on the school garden due to its central location, were immediately expelled. The following lines are from the lyrics of a song dedicated to Sevcan by Grup Yorum.

Armutlunun karakolmuş okulları / Bahçesinde bir panzer yatarmış / Panzerin gölgesinde büyümüş çocuklar / Panzer çocuğun topunu çalmış / Çocuk koşmuş topunu almaya / Panzer yürümüş / Çocuk hep yedi yaşında kalmış

embodiment of the state violence, mimicking its power upon the space in constant vigilance through a 24-hour counter-surveillance of the police building.

“Vigilance”, like “temporariness” may well be added in the list of those words that are “pushed into strange metaphors and surprising disjunctures” (Stewart, 1996, p. 44). Similar to the temporariness of any secured state of being at work, at home, at the street, at Cemevi, or at any place in Küçükarmutlu and more generally at any part of the city; the permanence of the state of vigilance is a necessary psychic condition of living at a *gecekondu* area like Küçükarmutlu. That is why most of my informants repeatedly warned me about not to continue into the neighborhood when I see a police line with gas-mask waiting nearby the main road which signals demolition, house raids, skirmish, gun shots and arrests, if not death; or “the brute ugliness of the realities of lived experience for the oppressed” in Harvey’s formulation.. (Harvey 2001, p. 78)

One further warning came from the former mukhtar of Küçükarmutlu, when I asked whether it was possible to talk to the young members of the household and listen their work history, spatial practices and memories of the neighborhood. His immediate reply was that I should be very careful about over-politicized accounts.

We have met lots of ‘outsiders’. They came here first as observers then as our companions they supported our struggle against violence and injustice. This is typical for those who try to gain our trust. When they left and wrote about here on the newspapers we were again and again reduced to “men with guns in a rescued zone trying to establish local justice with people’s committee”. That should not be the only thing recorded about the reality here in Küçükarmutlu where thousands of people try to live humanely⁴²

⁴² Biz çok 'yabancı'yla karşılaştık. Buraya önce gözlemci olarak geldiler, sonra yoldaşlarımız olarak şiddete ve adaletsizliğe karşı mücadelemizi desteklediler. Güvenimizi kazanmak isteyenler için tipik bir şeydir bu. Buradan ayrıldıklarında ve gazetelerinde burasıyla ilgili yazdıklarında ise bizi yeniden ve yeniden "kurtarılmış bir bölgede halk komitesiyle yerel adaleti sağlamaya çalışan silahlı adamlar"a indirgemişlerdir. Bu, Küçükarmutlu'daki gerçeklikle ilgili kaydedilen tek şey olmamalı. Burada binlerce kişi insan gibi yaşamaya çalışıyor.

Daniel Goldstein argues in her article *Desconfianza and Problems of Representation in Urban Ethnography* (2002) that there might be a general tendency on the part of squatter populations to regard ethnography as a medium through which they can express their ambitions and articulate their identities to a wider audience. Nevertheless, an opposite relation between the ethnographer and his/her subject populations can also be established wherein “mistrust and suspicion” (*desconfianza*) primarily determine the manner as to how the “outsider” should be perceived. Goldstein regards *desconfianza* as a necessary condition of the fieldwork that stems from the political economic conditions in which disempowered people find themselves vis-à-vis the city and the nation within which they are subordinated. A final layer concerns the epistemic problematization of the anthropological gaze in its parallelism with that of state and its official agencies (Goldstein, 2002). In the context of Küçükarmutlu I would also add the informative gaze of the journalist arousing discomfort and suspicion too. For a series of encounters with this particular gaze in the near past was inscribed with powerful images of police raids and arrests into the collective memory of the neighborhood.

So I was told to be in “vigilance” about the constant threat of misrepresenting Küçükarmutlu as well as about my identity; a “temporary” insider yet a permanent outsider. Representation, according to Goldstein (2002), is for those represented a matter of fundamentally material significance, with political and economic consequences that extend to all aspects of daily life. This is exactly true for the inhabitants of Küçükarmutlu steadily complaining about the fact that the only time their neighborhood is mentioned is to talk/write about the violence and disorder.⁴³

⁴³ Observing the general semiology and the language of the news on demolitions/evacuations of the squatters might also give a clear picture of mis-(or under-) representation. One is always provided either with short video sequences or singular photographic images in which the scene is depicted through a shoulder-cam-shot behind the security forces with the angry faces of people throwing stones at the police, thus, at the observing subject too. Furthermore it is very rare, that these scenes are not

Nevertheless, if one of my burdens as an outsider researcher is to depict the ‘reality’ in Küçükarmutlu without a deliberate filtering, another, definitely, is to constantly remind my fellows in Küçükarmutlu that ethnography is ‘about writing’ (Clifford & Marcus, 1986) and that ethnographies are neither true nor photographic representations of culture but “affective and world-making fictions”

2.32 *Several years ago, they used to attack more often at night time. Until last year it was like that, but then a new law was passed, and there is a restriction to attack before five or six in the morning.*⁴⁴

2.33 It was forbidden to make a night attack. In one of the operations during winter, there was incredible amount of snow everywhere, so so cold. My brother was very little by then; they went out as if they were going to work just to see what was going on. In such times, the policemen and the civil police were around. *It was heard that there was an operation and yet there is no way out anyhow, all the doors were sieged.* When my brother went out, he thought the civilian policemen are real civilians. (laughter) So he asked them, what they were doing outside while the policemen were around.⁴⁵

2.34 Those year’s headlines were as follows: “Armutlu lost the battle against frost”. *We had nothing in our hands to attack the police, not even a stone, nothing. Everything was frozen.* I don’t remember exactly whether it was Hürriyet or Milliyet which put a headline like that, in 96 or 98.⁴⁶

2.35 *Let’s say today was the second of July, you couldn’t go around with your hands in your pocket, definitely you would be stopped by the police and searched. When you took a bus, they stopped the bus and they searched everybody. It was the case until these last two-three years.* This is still how people think though; they still can not go their normal routes to avoid being stopped by the police, even when there was no police. *I think the police was trying to create the image of*

subtitled (or not introduced with a voice over) with the template “Olaylı Yıkım in” as if the demolition is not a noteworthy event in itself.

⁴⁴ Bir kaç yıl öncesine kadar daha çok geceleri saldırı oluyordu. Ama sonra bir yasa çıktı, artık sabah beş ya da altıdan önce giremiyorlar.

⁴⁵ Gece baskını yapmak yasak. En son bi operasyonda bir kış günü. İnanılmaz da bir kar var, soğuk filan. Kardeşim o zaman küçük. Dışarı çıkıyorlar, hem işe gitme bahanesiyle, hem de noluyo diye bakmak için. Ama genelde polisler siviller de yoğunlukta oluyo. *Operasyon olduğu duyuluyo zaten ama fırsat yok, çünkü kapılar filan çevrilmiş artık.* Bizimkiler çıkıyo sivilleri görünce halktan zannediyö, (gülüyor) napıyosunuz burda polis var ortalıkta filan.

⁴⁶ O zamanki başlıklar şeydi mesela, "Armutlu dona yenik düştü". *Polise saldıracak hiç bi şeyimiz kalmamıştı, taş yok, bişey yok. Her şey donmuş.* Hürriyet mi Milliyet mi hatırlamıyorum ama öyle bi başlık atmıştı. Sene 98 ya da 96 olabilir.

always being in our neck, kind of giving the message: “look I know what you are up to, so behave accordingly”⁴⁷

- 2.36 One day, we were sitting at home with all the family, my uncle’s daughter came running, and she shouted “close the windows close the doors!” “But what happened?”, “the police is here there are sounds of shotgun coming from everywhere. We stayed away from the windows; there was also the sound of a siren. I waited a few minutes and went to the roof to find out what’s going on. I went up, I looked but I could not see or hear anything [...] We went up the hill, to look. But there is this thing, constantly, from the pressure. There were people with uniforms, like those of special teams. *Raids were generally done at night, or towards morning. We were kids, but knew such things since 90s until 2000. In 2000, an operation was made during the last death fast after which there weren’t any.* At last we understood that they were bidding farewell with fireworks for young soldiers... (laughter) *It is in our psychology you know, to perceive every little thing as a threat.*⁴⁸
- 2.37 *There is an incredible sensitivity for sounds, during the operations here, they fired shotguns behind our back. It is a coincidence we are alive. In Hüsnü İşeri’s case, they made us lay down; bullets were flying above our heads. If you raise your head up just a little, you’ll be gone.*⁴⁹
- 2.38 For instance, one day, there’s an operation, a couple of people taken into custody. And there were a group of students, outsiders that day. They found it very strange, women shouting from the windows to each other, like “Hatice!..”, “Yes?”, “You know, this was taken into custody this evening!...” (laughs) It was so strange for them.⁵⁰

⁴⁷ Bugün, atıyorum 2 Temmuzdu, senin böyle elini kolunu sallaya sallaya gitmen imkansızdı. muhakkak ki çevrilirsin aranırsın. Otobüsle gelirken otobüsteki herkes aranır indirilir. Son 2-3 seneye kadar hep öyleydi. İnsanlar şimdi de öyle düşünüyo. Burda bi anma oluyo, arama olur diye başka yoldan geliyorlar. Artık öyle birşey yok. Şey imajı yaratmaya çalışıyorlardı bi yandan da, bak ben burdayım, senin ne yaptığını biliyorum, ona göre davran.

⁴⁸ Annem babam, dedem falan evdeyiz bir gün, oturuyoruz. Koşa koşa geldi amcamın kızı, “kapıyı kapatın, camı kapatın!” nooldu? “polis bastı kurşun sesleri geliyo her yerden”. Allah allah.. biz de duyuyoruz ama, pat pat bi ses geliyo. Yere yatın camların önünden kaçın...Biz gerçekten yere oturuyoruz falan. Allah allah dedik ya nedir bu? Bi taraftan siren sesi gibi bişey de geliyo aynı anda. Birkaç dakika bekledik ben dedim ki çatıya çıkayım çatıdan bakayım. Çktım baktım, birşey göremiyorum ama, bir sessizlik var [...]Tepeye çıktık baktık. ama şey var, sürekli o baskıdan, polis baskınından, gece basılır, sabaha doğru basılır. özel timler filan yani o tarz giyim,. aynen o tarz giyim, o tarz silah filan yani. *Bi de çocuğuz yani. 90dan 2000e kadar sürekli bunları yaşadık yani. 2000de ölüm orucundan sonra, son ölüm orucunda olmuştu operasyon, ondan sonra olmamıştı.* Bi baktık şey, askere giden gençler var. Onlar saklambaç oynuyo. Karşıdan havai fişek atılıyo. (gülüyor) *Psikolojimize yerleşmiş ya, en ufak şeyi öyle algılıyosun.*

⁴⁹ Sese karşı bi inanılmaz bişey var. Çünkü burdaki operasyonlarda arkamızdan kurşunlar atıldı. yani tesadüf yaşamamız. Kaldı ki o Hüsnü İşeri'nin olayında bizi böyle yerlere yattırdılar, üstümüzden böyle kurşunlar.. yani kafanı kaldırsan gidiyosun.

⁵⁰ Bir gün işte, bir operasyon oluyor, gözaltına almışlar birkaç kişiyi. Mesela dışarıdan gelen o öğrenci kesimi falan vardı hani bu tip, bir ara. Onların çok garibine gitmiş. Şimdi camdan bağılıyor, atıyorum, “Hatice!..”, “Efendim?”, “Bilyon mu, bu akşam şu gözaltına alınmış!..” (gülüyor) Onlara bu çok garip geliyor

- 2.39 Well, there's no need to make a special effort anyway. *If one person hears something, then everybody knows about it.* There's no shouting out here like "police attacked!" *A whistle was the way to inform.* It was always like this till now.⁵¹
- 2.40 *There is not a single person not taken into custody in Armutlu.* Custodies at that time were around fifteen days; you took beating for fifteen days. Now, for instance, they burn you out psychologically for three-four days. *They used to do this with continuous beating on those days*⁵²
- 2.41 It was here, the *police hit on the head.* Last time I held my head like this, *my hand was broken,* this part. The nightstick... *the wooden nightstick broke on my head, then I held my hand there, and it was broken too. Blood flowing like this.* When I felt warm blood flowing, I sat on a corner, *thinking I'm passing away.* (laughs) But then the police came and took me. (...) they wrapped my head like this. Hand also wrapped, I hold it like this. *My other friend's arm is broken.*⁵³
- 2.42 My friend's arm was broken: with the nightstick, when they beat us here. There wasn't much beating at the police station, mostly threats. Like "I'll throw you out the window, I'll rape you with this nightstick, etc.." and when we driving in the car, "let's throw the out the car", and so on... *I mean, they constantly tried to scare us. And of course we were scared.*⁵⁴
- 2.43 Well, that's my opinion. *There's no one in Armutlu who was not taken into custody.* At that time, the period for custody was around fifteen days, *and you were beaten for fifteen days.* Now, for instance, they wear you out psychologically for three-four days. Back then, they did this with continuous beating.⁵⁵

⁵¹ Yani hiç, öyle özel bir çabaya falan gerek yok zaten. *Bir kişinin duyması, herkesin duyması demek.* Buraya şey olduğu..şey diye bağırılmaz: "polis bastı" falan diye. *Islıkla haber verilirdi mesela. Bir ıslıkla orada olurdu falan.* Şimdiye kadar da hep böyleydi sürekli.

⁵² Yani öyle yorumluyorum. Aslında şey de değil, yani *Armutlu'da gözaltına alınmadık insan yoktur.* Veya o dönem gözaltıları on beş gün falandı ve on beş gün boyunca dayak yiyorsun. Şimdi mesela üç-dört gün artık psikolojik olarak yıpratıyorlar. *O dönem sürekli dayak atarak yapıyorlardı bu olayı.*

⁵³ Buradaki şeyde *polis kafaya vuruyor.* Ben en son kafamı böyle tutmuşum. *Benim bu elim kırılmıştı, şurası. Tabii. Cop..tahta cop kırıldı yani, kafamda kırıldı, sonra elimi tuttum.. ..elim kırıldı. Kanlar böyle akıyor.* Ben şeyi diyordum..Sıcak bir kan aktı ya şimdi, ben gittim galiba, böyle bir köşeye oturdum, *artık gidiyorum.* (gülüyor).. Ama işte polisler gelip götürdü falan beni. Şimdi gittik, kafayı falan sardılar, benim böyle sarılı. El sarılı. Böyle tutuyorum. *Diğer arkadaşımın kolu kırık.*

⁵⁴ Arkadaşımın kolu kırık. Copla. Bizim burada yediğimiz dayakla. Karakolda pek fazla bir şey yemedik. İşte tehditler savruldu, o kadar, bize. İşte camdan atarım, işte copla tecavüz falan filan şey yaptılar. Arabayla giderken, "arabada atalım" bunları falan. *Yani sürekli bir korku salmaya çalıştılar. Tabii korkmadık değil. Korkuyorsun sonuçta.*

⁵⁵ Yani öyle yorumluyorum. Aslında şey de değil, yani *Armutlu'da gözaltına alınmadık insan yoktur.* Veya o dönem gözaltıları on beş gün falandı ve on beş gün boyunca dayak yiyorsun. Şimdi mesela üç-dört gün artık psikolojik olarak yıpratıyorlar. *O dönem sürekli dayak atarak yapıyorlardı bu olayı.*

- 2.44 We're two in the car, they say, "Let's throw them out from here. Who will know? No one." He's just talking, but you're afraid, because it is a reality too. *You know at that time, there were lots of missing people under custody between 1992-96.* There was a missing person everyday. We read about these, we knew it could happen. *Or, there was the fear of rape.*⁵⁶
- 2.45 For instance, he would take us in front of the window, telling he would throw us out. If I'm not mistaken, it wasn't that high, a two-storey building. They would make us sign something with this threat.⁵⁷
- 2.46 The statement... We tell him we won't sign. He shows us his baton, threatening to rape us with it. One way or another, everyone, including us, signed it.⁵⁸
- 2.47 We gave all our effort here. *For instance, my little daughter had a fracture on her head during an operation.* On another one, fifteen girls were taken; they spent three months in jail. They imprisoned a lot of people, the young ones, the old ones, the women... *There were too many raids, operations, people taken into custody that I loose track with the dates.* There are only a few who haven't been in jail.⁵⁹
- 2.48 *There was a demolishment here following the '96 death fasts.* Then there was an operation during the second death fasts, but for the ones who were fasting. *There was an operation to Y.'s house in 2000, four people died there.* They throw gas inside, the house burnt down.⁶⁰
- 2.49 *There is not anybody here, who has struggled yet has not been exposed to operations.*⁶¹

⁵⁶ Şeyi diyor, arabayla giderken. İki kişiyiz biz. İşte bunları buradan atalım. "Kimin haberi olacak? Kimsenin haberi olmaz." Öyle konuşuyor ama sen korkuyorsun. Çünkü öyle bir de gerçeklik var. *O dönemde biliyorsun, kayıpları falan çok yoğunluktaydı, 92-96 dönemi. Her gün bir kayıp oluyordu.* Bunları da sonuçta görüyoruz veya yazılanları okuyorduk falan. Biliyoruz öyle bir şeyin olduğunu. Öyle şeyler oldu. *Veya tecavüz korkusu vardı.*

⁵⁷ Mesela, camın önüne getirip, "sizi buradan aşağı atarım". Çok da yüksek değildi gerçi ama iki katlı bir binaydı yanılmıyorsam. "Sizi buradan aşağı atarım, imzalayacaksınız"; bir şey imzalattırıyor bize.

⁵⁸ İfade... İfadeyi biz "imzalamayız" falan filan diyoruz. İşte copu gösteriyor. Copla tecavüz şeyi, tehdidi savuruyor. E, bir şekilde herkes imzaladı. Biz de imzaladık onu.

⁵⁹ Bütün emeğimizi buraya verdik. *Mesela bizim küçük kızın kafası yarıldı bi baskında başka bir baskında buradan on beş kızı alıp üç ay içerde yattı.* Genci de gitti kadını da gitti yaşlısı da gitti çok kişiyi içeriye aldılar. *Baskınlar gözaltılar operasyon o kadar çok oluyordu ki tarihlerini bile şaşırtıyorum zaman zaman.* İçerde yatmayan insan çok nadirdir.

⁶⁰ *96 ölüm oruçlarından sonra da bir yıkım yaşandı buralarda.* Sonra ikinci ölüm oruçları sırasında operasyon çektiler. Ama ölüm orucu tutanlar için. 2000 yılında *Y.'nin evine operasyon çekildi. Dört kişi öldü orada.* Evin içine gaz atıldılar evi yandı.

⁶¹ *Burada olup da, mücadele verip de gözaltı, operasyon görmeyen yoktur.*

- 2.50 *We had an area for playgrounds; it became a police station later. (laughs) One of them is Hüsnü İşeri Park, the other one is Sevcan Park. Police station destroyed both of them. The one above still stands there with the swings and everything. When they came to destroy that one as well, they came at night; we were also there to fight. They were sitting in O. Ablanın house but the upper part was empty. We heard one night that police were making a station in the park. We ran to stop, there was a little scene of shouting and yelling but it was not enough. The guy just had already come and nestled⁶²*
- 2.51 *They told us that the police came, and K.M. was taken in custody. Hoorah, we're running with bats in our hands, I am with a friend who lives around Sultançiftliği. It was dark, night time. We arrived at the place, people were already gathered there. There was the police squad who took K.M. It's not easy to just take someone away. So we took him back. On the way back, my friend told me: "If this place is demolished, this will be one of the things to remember".⁶³*
- 2.52 *When those below fired and all, we went to the police station and gave a petition the following day. We were a crowd, and we demanded to meet the commissar but they said "no". We shouted slogans like "police-mafia collaboration", blocked the traffic, shouting as we approach. On the other side, around the school, police was landing with helicopters. After that one, we lived through a lot of operations, but that one was serious; after all, there was a death in the end.⁶⁴*
- 2.53 *They shot real bullets in the operations, not the plastic ones. We perceived fireworks as gunfire.⁶⁵*

⁶² *Bi alanımız vardı çocuk parkı, karakol oldu. (gülüyor) biri Hüsnü İşeri Parkı, biri de Sevcan (üstteki). Karakol ikisini de yok etti. Üstteki duruyo, salıncaklar falan var, karakolun hemen üstünde var. Ona geldiklerinde de biz geldik karşı koymak için. gece geldiler zaten. O. Ablanın evine oturmuşlardı ama yukarı boştu. Bir gece bi duyduk, polisler yukarıya karakol yapıyormuş parka. koştuk geldik, bi itişme kakışma bağrışma çağrışma oldu ama yetersiz oldu. Zaten adam gelmiş oturmuş.*

⁶³ *Ha, dediler ki işte, K.M. gözaltına alınmışlar. Polis gelmiş falan. Hurra biz oradan koşuyoruz, koşa koşa elimizde sopalarla falan geliyoruz ama benim bir tane arkadaşım var, şimdi şeyde oturuyor, evli.. Gazi değil, Sultançiftliği taraflarında oturuyor. Onla geliyoruz ama, biz sopalarla falan böyle gülüyoruz falan yani. gece akşam böyle, karanlık. İşte ışıklar falan filan yanıyor. Koşa koşa geldik, bir baktık, millet toplanmış zaten, almışlar K.M' yi yani, polisin bir tane ekip gelmiş yani. Bu o kadar kolay değil öyle, bir ekiple alıp gitmek falan. Neyse aldık falan. Şimdi geri döndük, arkadaşla gidiyoruz. ey, geri döndük gidiyoruz. Şey diyor: "buraları yıkılırsa" diyor, "herhalde birçok şey..hatırlayacağımız şeylerden biri bu olur" diyor mesela.*

⁶⁴ *Aşağıdakiler silah falan attığına biz ertesi gün karakola gittik dilekçe verdik. Kalabalık gittik, komiserle görüşücez dedik, yok dediler. Polis mafya işbirliği diye sloganlar attık, trafığı kapattık bağıra bağıra geliyoruz. Diğer tarafa helikopterlerle diğer okulun oraya polisler iniyodu. Ondan sonra pek çok operasyon yaşadık biz. ama o ciddi boyutta olan bi şeydi, sonuçta bir ölüm vardı.*

⁶⁵ *Operasyonlarda kurşun atıldı zaten, plastik mermi filan değil, gerçek kurşunlar atıldı. Havai fişeği silah olarak gılamışız.*

Which year was that? I don't remember... around five years ago. Yes, it was five years ago. He was killed around twenty days later than the first autumn festival. My brother was a guerilla.⁶⁶

- 2.54 In the Sevcan incident, there were operations to both of the schools, this one and the one down. I told the headman of the neighborhood to give a petition so that the panzer waits outside, not to harm the children. When I arrived that night, *I learned that a kid was crushed. Then they relocated the panzer out of the school*, but what's the good of it to Sevcan? *The kid was just under it, and the panzer was going backwards, didn't hear the people shouting. It razed her right there.*⁶⁷

Metaphoric Narrativization: F- Type

- 2.55 Living in the same region of Anatolia, we shared the same things. Here we all come from different places; Tokat, Sivas, Maraş, Erzincan, Tunceli. Still, there is a communion style of life here. We share our ideas. We share our bread. Let's say, *when I visit the house of a friend on the fifth floor of an Apartment in Şişli, I feel suffocated.*⁶⁸
- 2.56 I went to Esenler once, for example. We get used to being loud as much as we want here. There, they warned me that I should get quiet. Then I asked why and saw the coffee house right across the street. *I said 'what is the difference; either F type jail or this house'. And I replied: 'There is no difference!'*⁶⁹
- 2.57 *You're also subject to an F-type outside, because of your ideas. Here, in this neighborhood, you're in isolation. You get fired because you are from Armutlu.*⁷⁰
- 2.58 She does not say hello to anybody, this is how everybody treats each other in there, it seemed so strange to me in the beginning. *It really resembles a prison cell.* People come home in the evening, look after their kids, go to sleep, wake up in the morning and go to work, this is

⁶⁶ Kaç senesiydi? hatırlamıyorum ki ya...Beş sene falan oldu işte. evet beş sene oldu. İlk güz şenliğinden bi yirmi gün falan sonraydı işte öldürüldüğünde. Gerillaydı benim abim.

⁶⁷ Şöyleydi operasyon oldu bu okulun oraya bi de aşağı okulun oraya. Sevcan olayında muhtara dedim bir dilekçe verelim, okul dışında beklesin çocuk çocuklar okul çıkışında ezilmesin diye. Akşamına geldiğimde çocuk ezilmiş haberini aldım. Okulun içerisinde duruyor zaten bahçesinde. *Ondan sonra okulun içinde aldılar ama çocuk ezildikten sonra neye yarar. Panzer geri geri geliyormuş bağırılmışlar ama duyulmamış. O anda da çocuk altındaymış dümdüz etmiş.*

⁶⁸ Biz Anadolu'da aynı yörede aynı şeyi paylaşmışız, burada da gelmişiz, bir bölüm Tokat, Sivas, Maraş, Erzincan, Tunceli. Burada bir paylaşma var, beyin paylaşması var: bir ekmeğin paylaşması var. atıyorum, *Şişli'de bir arkadaşın evine gittiğim zamanlar bunalıyorum, beşinci katta.*

⁶⁹ Esenler'e gittim mesela, alışmışız burda bağırılmaya çağırılmaya, sus sus dediler bana. Dedim nooldu, karşıya baktım kahve var... *dedim ha f tipi cezaevi ha, bu ev. Değişen bir şey yok dedim.*

⁷⁰ *Yani e, işte ha dışarıda da bir F-tipi söz konusu. İşte düşüncelerinden dolayı insanlar olmuş. İşte burada, mahallede bir tecrittesin. Senin Armutlulu olduğun için pek çok işten çıkarılmalar oluyor.*

the constant flow. Their biggest activity was going to Akmerkez. Going to Akmerkez at weekends.⁷¹

- 2.59 Buradaki yaklaşımınız bence F-tipinden farklı bir şey değil. Buraya gelirken bunu biliyorduk ama farklı bir şey olur diye geldik. Medya da neyse sonuçta burada da farklı değil.⁷²

Narratives of Justice and Freedom

- 2.60 Until the last three-four months *there's a demolition in Antalya, they say "Go take down Armutlu first"*, for instance. They still put Armutlu in a different place, even them. Likewise for those from other political groups, they are curious about us, they want to talk to us.⁷³
- 2.61 *I came and settled down here, I will not go anywhere else. I'll keep on as I began. The kids grew up here, one married and one single, served in the army. Still I'm living here. I tried to send the children to live in another place, but they said: "No father, we will live here. We have suffered here; we will keep on living here. However you have strove here, led a poor life at times, resisted and brought us to this day, it's the same for us, and we are the children of this neighborhood. It is our duty to live here. No one has the right to kick us out."*⁷⁴
- 2.62 You know, *living under the same roof leads us to cooperate* and this enhance the solidarity between us. Look at brother D., he is pissed off by all of these troubles but he still bears the responsibility of coping with them. At the end of the day, we share the same roof. We have our traditions and customs, *this is the place we used to live, and this is our home.*⁷⁵

⁷¹ Kimseye selam vermiyo. Herkes birbirine öyle davranıyo zaten orda, bana çok garip gelmişti. Gerçekten hapishaneyi andırıyor, insanlar akşam evine geliyo, çocuğuna bakıyo, yatıyo, sabah kalkıyo, işe gidiyo. Sürekli böyle bir akış var. eEn büyük aktiviteleri Akmerkez'e gitmekti. haftasonu mesela akmerkez'e gitmek..

⁷² In my view, your approach here is not something different from the F-type. We knew that while we were coming here but we hoped that something different could happen. Anyway, the media is not different here too, in conclusion.

⁷³ En azından son daha üç dört aya kadar Antalya'da bir yıkım oluyor. "Gidin önce Armutlu'yu yıkın" diyor mesela. Onun kafasında bile hâlâ Armutlu başka bir yerde. E, o açıdan da, diğer siyasetler açısından da falan, bizi çok böyle merak da ediyorlar bir taraftan işte. Konuşmak isteyenler falan filan.

⁷⁴ Geldim oraya yerleştim oradan da başka bir yere yerleşmeyeceğim, başladığım gibi devam etceğim dedim. Çocuklar orada büyüdü birisini evlendirdim birisini evlendiridim birisi bekar askerliğini yaptı. Aynı şekilde oturuyorum. Çocukları başka yere göndermeye çalıştım, bana dedi onu söyleme baba, ben dedi burada oturacam. Ben burada dedi bu çileyi çektim, burada da yaşamasını sürdüreyim. Sen nasıl dedin burada uğraştın, yeri geldi dedi aç kaldın, susuz kaldın, direndin bugüne getirdiysen dedi, ben de aynı şekilde, bu mahallenin çocuğu olaraktan, bu mahallede oturmak benim dedi görevim. Beni dedi kim gelirse gelsin, beni buradan kovmaya da hakkı yoktur

⁷⁵ Burada bir çatı altında bulunduğu için, anladın mı, kızsın da mesela D. Abi şimdi lanet olsun yeter artık uğraşmıyacam dese de yine bir olay çıktığında taşın altına elini koyar çünkü sonuç itibari ile aynı çatı altında yaşıyoruz. Gelenek var. Bizim gelip, gideceğimiz yer, yuvamız burası.

- 2.63 It gave me self confidence, when you say *what Armutlu has contributed to you, actually it created me all over*.⁷⁶
- 2.64 In fact now when I look back, I can say “I’m happy to have gone through this” for some of the events that caused me a lot of pain back then. *I’m so happy to have lived in this neighborhood and learned here. There were events which made “me”*.⁷⁷
- 2.65 You know he says “if I don’t burn, If you don’t burn, how would the darkness become light?” in a way *some people have to burn in order for this neighborhood to “be”*. If this person is not you, then it is me, if it is not me, it is somebody else.⁷⁸
- 2.66 It develops your *consciousness*, maybe if I had not lived here, if I had lived differently, I would be thinking differently. This consciousness was never going to grow, I would have been more ordinary. *Just living in this system without ever interfering with anything, seeing life through that little window. At least now I can question*⁷⁹
- 2.67 I have been living in this neighborhood for twenty years. If I quote from my mother, she always says: “Son, which part of Istanbul would I want to travel. Even if they offer gold in exchange, *I feel like I am in heaven when I arrive in Armutlu*”. For instance, I hang out here for twenty four hours; not even hesitating to avoid being loud. No one would complain and claim that you disturb them. *However, you can’t act like this in Şişli*.⁸⁰
- 2.68 *Freedom* today... you know how there used to be police search in every corner, “where are you going, where are you coming from”, you feel bordered. For example you are being looked for by the police in coffee houses. I do not go around with an ID card, even if I go to Karanfilköy⁸¹
- 2.69 They work and gain money, before their family used to say be home at nine, and now they say it is no problem to come after twelve. Even if

⁷⁶ Kendine güveni verdi bana. Ben olarak baktığımda, *Armutlu sana ne kattı dediğinde, aslında beni yarattı yani şey değil*.

⁷⁷ Aslında o dönem bana çok acı, çok vasat gelen şeyler şimdi düşündüğümde iyi ki yaşamışım diyebileceğim şeyler var. *İyi ki bu mahallede yaşamışım bunları öğrenmişim. Beni ben yapan şeyler oldu diyorum*.

⁷⁸ Diyor ya, ben yanmasam, sen yanmasan nasıl çıkar karanlıklar aydınlığa. *Bir şekilde buranın kalıcı olabilmesi için birilerinin yanması lazım*. Bu sen olmazsan ben olurum, ben olmam, öteki olur.

⁷⁹ Bilincini geliştiriyoy, diyorum ya işte belki bu mahalleye gelmesem, farklı bi yerde yaşamış olsam bugün daha farklı düşünecektim. O bilinç gelişmeyecekti, sıradanlaşacaktım, *sıradan bir, bu düzende yaşayan, suya sabuna dokunmayan, hayata o pencereden bakan bi insan olacaktım belki. Ama şimdi sorgulayabiliyosun en azından*.

⁸⁰ Tam yirmi senedir buradayım, annem der “oğlum” der, ben İstanbul’un neresine gideyim geleyim, bana altın da verseler, *ben Armutlu’ya geldiğimde cenneteyim*. Mesela ben yirmi dört saat burada gezeyim, bağırır çağırız, kimse rahatsız ediyorsun demez. *Şişli’de bunu yapamazsın*.

⁸¹ *Özgürlük* bugün şey, nasıl eskiden her köşebaşında arama olurdu, nereye gidiyosun, nereden geliyosun, kısıtlanmış hissediyosun. Şimdi kahvelerde mesela aranıyosun. Ben mahallede kimlikle dolaşmıyorum. Veya ikinci durağa da gitsem, Karanfilköy’e de gitsem, kimlikle çıkmam.

he doesn't come, it is not an issue, he has caught the freedom, it means freedom for him. *But freedom for me is something different, it is to be able to go around in your neighborhood*⁸²

2.70 He fought for them, even in Karbala, when he was told that if he followed Hüseyin, everything would be forgiven, his family and seventy two people wouldn't die. But, knowing he will die, he does not accept it, because if he gives in, people following might do so. He says "no" knowing he will be killed.⁸³

2.71 Dear people of Armutlu

We couldn't fit in this room today, we are very crowded. Because the people of Armutlu know that their power comes from their unity. They are resistant, they gave their lives here, shed blood, built with their labor. And they will protect their right to shelter with the same labor, same patience and resistance. Friends have talked broadly about TOKI, the urban transformation projects and how we should never sign the papers of the municipality for demolition.

Our basic right is our right to resist. We have to understand this very well. We can protect our other rights only if we know and use our right to resist. We have various rights, the right to take shelter in healthy dwellings, the right to write petitions, the right to live our private lives in secret. All are written in the Constitutional Law. What if the government, the rulers and the wealthy people of this country violate our rights, how do we protect our rights? How do we protect ourselves from the government? With our right to resist. To resist is the most fundamental human right. We have to engrave this into our heads; we have to be aware of it. I wanted to underline this. It doesn't really matter what the government of this country says. What do we want? Let's ask this to ourselves, again and again. What do we want? We are human. We are the people, the people of this place, and we have rights. We want our rights, we will protect our rights, and we will do this using our right to resist. It doesn't matter what's written in their laws, we will resist with the power of our legitimacy. We will not let the rich and the political power of this country benefit from this land. I am a lawyer. But I know that the lawmakers are human too. They are ordinary humans like we are; they make the laws in their self-interest. We are the people; our interests are different than theirs. We have to be aware of this.

⁸² Çalışiyolar paralarını kazanıyorlar, eskiden ailesi dokuzda evde olması gerektiğini söylerken şimdi on ikiden sonra da gelsen olur oluyo. Sonra sonra bu, gelmese de olmuş oluyo. O özgürlüğü yakalamış oluyo. O anlama geliyo onun için özgürlük. *Ama benim için özgürlük daha başka. En azından mahallede bu şeyi sağlayabilmek. Daha rahat dolaşabilmek, daha iyi hareket edebilmek.*

⁸³ Onlar niçin mücadele etmiş, adam kerbela'da hüseyin'e sen bana biat et, her şeyi bağışlıycam sana diyo, çocukların, ailen ölmesin, yetmiş iki kişiyi Kerbela'da öldürüyo, ama etmiyo adam, ben bugün sana boyun eğsem, benim arkamdan gelecek insanlar da yarın aynı şeyi yapmasın. adam öldürüleceğini bile bile hayır diyo.

I thank you all, and I believe that they will not be able to demolish here.⁸⁴

⁸⁴ Değerli Armutlu halkı

Bugün bu salona sığamadık, çok kalabalığız. Çünkü Armutlu halkı gücünün birliğinden geldiğini bilen bir halk. Direnen bir halk, buraya can verdi, kan döktü, emeğiyle yaptı burayı. Ve yine aynı emekle, aynı sabırla direnerek koruyacak barınma hakkını. Şimdi arkadaşlar çok geniş bir şekilde hem TOKİden bahsettiler, kentsel dönüşüm projelerinden bahsettiler. Belediyeye asla ve kat'a imza masasına oturmamaktan bahsettiler.

Bizim asıl en temel hakkımız direnme hakkımız. Bunu çok iyi anlamamız gerekiyor. Bütün haklarımız ancak direnme hakkımızı bilerek, bu hakkımızı kullanarak koruyabileceğimiz bir hak. Bizim çok çeşitli haklarımız var. sağlıklı konutlarda barınma hakkımız var. bizim dilekçe verme hakkımız var. bizim özel hayatımızı gizlice yaşama hakkımız var. Bizim anayasada sayılmış çok çeşitli haklarımız var. Bu haklarımızı eğer devlet ihlal ederse, bu hakkımızı bu ülkenin egemenleri, bu ülkenin zenginleri ihlal ederse, biz bu hakkımızı neyle koruyacağız? Devlete karşı neyle koruyacağız? Direnme hakkımızla koruyacağız. Direnmek, en temel insan hakkıdır. Bunu hepimizin kafalarına çok iyi yazması gerekiyor. Hepimizin bunu bilince çıkarması gerekiyor. Bunun özellikle altını çizmek istedim. Bu ülkenin iktidarlarının ne dediğinin çok önemi yok. Biz ne istiyoruz, bunu tekrar tekrar kendimize sorup cevaplayalım. Biz ne istiyoruz? Biz insanız. Biz halkız. Buranın halkıyız. Bizim haklarımız var. biz haklarımızı istiyoruz. Haklarımızı istiyoruz, koruyacağız, bunu direnme hakkımızla yapacağız. Direnme hakkımızı kullanarak yapacağız. Onların yasalarında ne yazdığının pek bir önemi yok, biz meşruluğumuzdan aldığımız güçle direneceğiz. Bu alanları bu ülkenin zenginlerine, siyasal iktidarlarına peşkeş çekmeyeceğiz. Ben bir avukatım, hukukçuyum. Ama yasaları yapanların insanlar olduğunu biliyorum. Yasaları yapanlar bizim gibi sıradan insanlar, onlar kendi çıkarlarına göre yaparlar yasalarını. Biz halkız, bizim çıkarlarımız onlarınkinden farklı. Bunun bilincinde olmamız gerekiyor. Hepinize teşekkür ediyorum, ve inanıyorum ki burayı yıkamayacaklar.

CHAPTER THREE

PRESENCING IN THE MARGIN

*Intruders are the monopolies who have their eye on our houses, not us. Intruders are those who build up plazas, villas, chalets, towers, business centers and skyscrapers by destroying our forests without being subject to permission. How can we be intruders on our own land?*⁸⁵

From a handout calling for resistance against demolitions in Küçükarmutlu
(August, 2009)

The geometry of the occupation can only be understood in three dimensions

Eyal Weizman, "The Wall and the Eye: An Interview with Eyal Weizman"

The Edges of Küçükarmutlu

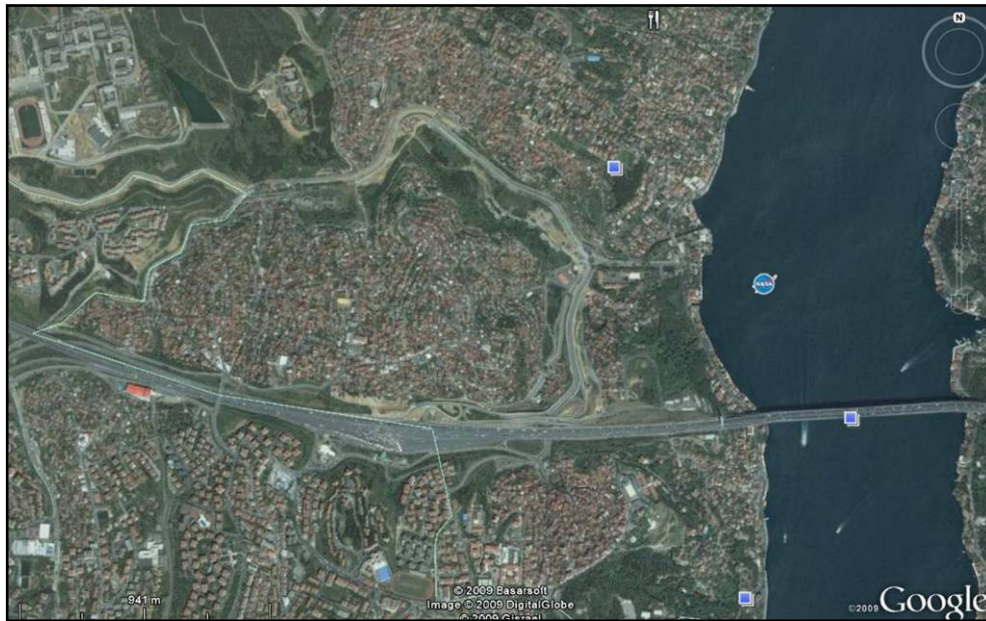
Armutlu is located within the borders of Sarıyer municipality and is formally divided into Fatih Sultan Mehmet and Baltalimanı neighborhoods. The Fatih Sultan Mehmet neighborhood that forms the West side of Armutlu district is referred in the daily language as Büyükarmutlu and the East side as Küçükarmutlu. Küçükarmutlu is a part of Armutlu whose borders are physically demarcated by the Pınar and Poligon neighborhoods in the North, by the TEM⁸⁶ highway and the Fatih Sultan Mehmet Bridge in the South, by the Baltalimanı and Emirgan districts in the East and by the axis stretching from Levent to Maslak in the West.

A series of subsequent maps obtained from different sources (and depicting varying features of the place through differing methods of mapping) might be substantial for being introduced what is meant by Küçükarmutlu as a topographic

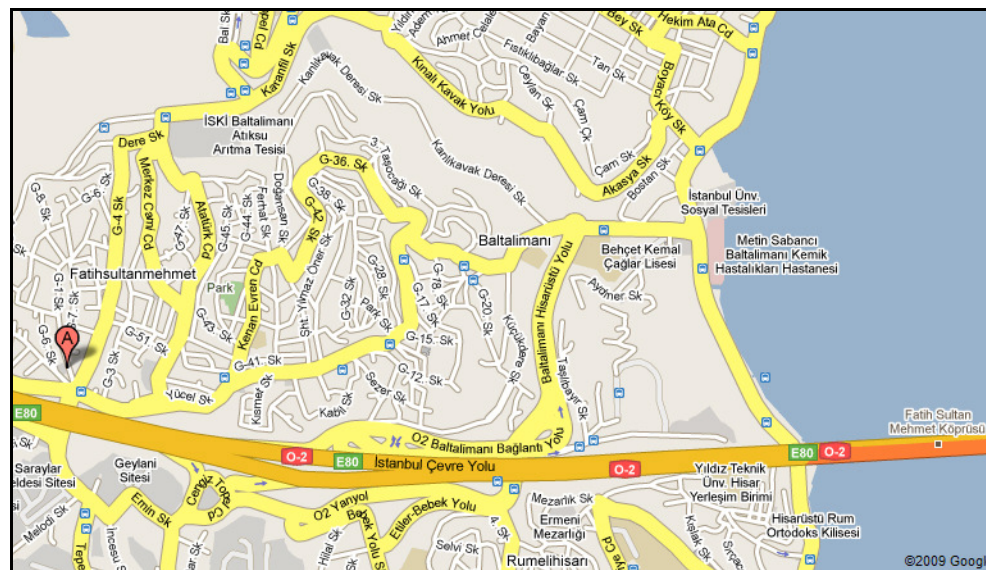
⁸⁵ İşgalci olan biz değiliz, iki göz kondularımıza göz diken tekellerdir. Ormanlarımızı yok ederek villalar, plazalar diken, gökdelenler, kuleler yapan, hiç bir izne tabi olmadan köşkler, iş merkezleri inşa edenlerdir işgalciler. Biz kendi topraklarımızda nasıl işgalci olabiliriz ki?

⁸⁶ Trans European Motorway

segment of Istanbul's urban space and as an "occupied", lived, recorded, remembered as well as narrated place in itself.



Map 1. source <http://www.earth.google.com>



Map 2. source <http://www.ibb.gov.tr>

Two pieces of map above capture the squatter areas around the southern side of Sarıyer district and İstanbul Outer Ring Motorway (*İstanbul Çevre Yolu*) connecting the Fatih Sultan Mehmet Bridge to the European part of TEM highway. These aerial depictions, albeit with a limited geographical scope of viewing, clearly show the disintegrability of the adjacent squatter regions; a technical obstacle towards identifying physical borders of the squatter neighborhoods. Despite the fact that they

officially exist as names inscribed into official maps and texts, the economy of governing through textual and visual modalities of naming/depicting the informally and illegally lived places becomes more than a mere technical issue once these places are historicized through narratives, thus, through counter-memories translatable neither into bird's-eye view capturings nor into geometrically stylized variations of mapping. Küçükarmutlu, absent even as a name in these indexical and iconic formulations refers to a densely settled area spanning between and over some parts of the Fatih Sultan Mehmet and Baltalimanı districts.

A closer view provided by the two images below enables the observer to identify main/secondary streets, connection roads and routes of public transportation crisscrossing the surface of Küçükarmutlu.



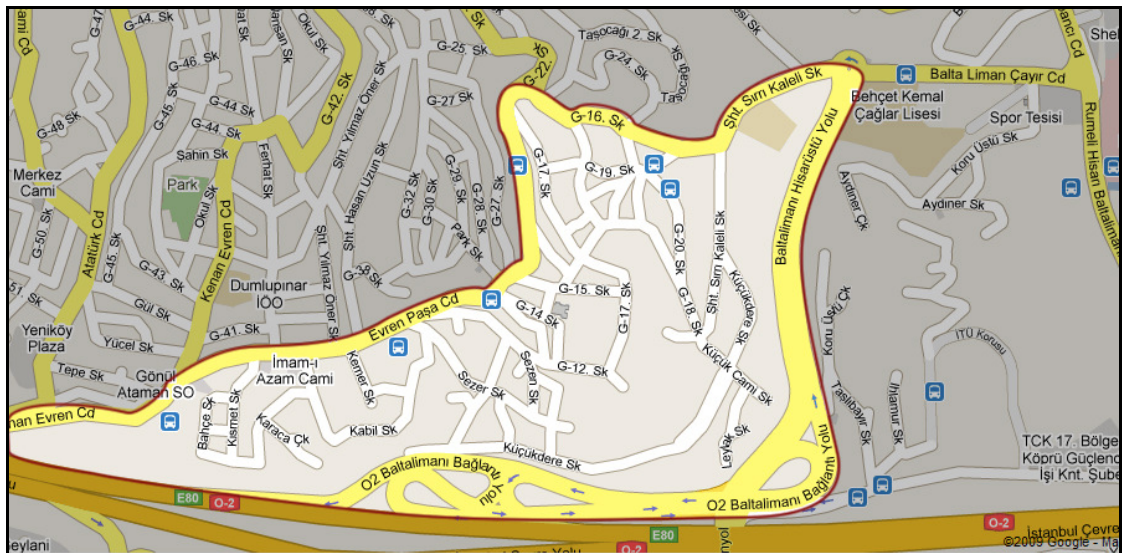
Map 3. source <http://www.earth.google.com>

The Eye of the Sovereign: Mapping

The irregular parcellation of the land formed both by the correlative positions of the conjoining/blind streets and by the geographical coordinates of every single building

can be recognized; whereas the two-dimensionality of the image prevents one to imagine slopes, benches, ramps and holes; the concavity and convexity of the surface in short. Küçükarmutlu, however, is a place of narrow, rapid slopes which constitute in most cases the only entry to certain constellations of squatter houses and the only exits to the shore allowing to descent to sea level. Roughly drawn, (on Map 4) the informal coordinates of Küçükarmutlu are determined by the surrounding roads and streets of different ranges; viaducts and turnings of different altitudes as well as by the Bridge (Fatih Sultan Mehmet) through a complex combination of official marks, road signs and street names.

Still one cannot estimate where Küçükarmutlu is, where it geographically begins and where the outmost borders separate it from the surrounding neighborhoods and roads in precise terms. This becomes a major challenge both during my fieldwork and during writing about various spatial configurations and geographical imaginations, enframings on and of the place itself.



Map 4. source <http://www.ibb.gov.tr>

There was indeed an almost spectral idea of “place” situated on a hill of Bosphorus, yet one only could define it historically and linguistically rather than spatially. This is partly because of the ongoing construction of the main-roads and secondary streets perpetually de-stabilizing theretofore existing borders of certain

segments of the neighborhood by first isolating a few squatter houses from the margin, extinguishing these poorly built structures, then replacing them with vast spaces for the broadening of roads.

3.1 We can tell you now; where Küçükarmutlu begins where it ends. But, one of these days *they will come up like wolf pack; they will snatch these houses one by one*, they will take all what we have and bury it under ground and by then it will not matter whether this *black wall* falls down on our heads or whether they evacuated us. This is what happened to the neighbor, it's no lie.⁸⁷

Facing the problem of physically defining “Küçükarmutlu” in varying contexts I have developed my conceptions of “place” and “boundary” through Heidegger’s (1971) notions of “*Raum*” and “horizon”:

Raum means a place cleared or freed for settlement and lodging. A space is something that has been made room for, something that-namely within a boundary, Greek *peras*. A boundary is not that at which something stops but, as the Greeks recognized, the boundary is that from which something *begins its presencing*. That is why the concept is that of *horismos*, that is, the horizon, the boundary. (p. 154)

Heideggerian conceptualization of “place” is primarily based upon an indeterminability of the physical boundaries, since places as ontological measures of *Being* are mediated through human cognition, thus, made particular by individuals. There he proposes to theorize “the place” something that is known through use and experience; therefore cannot be located and recorded exactly. Like a horizon’s receding into distance, the boundaries of the places (or *the edges of places* in Heidegger’s terms) are in constant motion as a function of individual and collective spatial experience and perception. “Remaining subjective, tentative, shifting and contingent the identifications of place are neither logical nor systematic”. (Sharr, 2007, pp. 54-58) As such, *the edges* of Küçükarmutlu, from where it *begins its*

⁸⁷ Biz şimdi sana Küçükarmutlu burada baslar burada biter diyelim. Yarın *kurt sürüsü gibi gelirler, na buradan bu evleri tek tek kaparlar*, elimizde avucumuzda ne varsa gömerler, o zaman ha bu *kara duvar* başımıza yıkılmış, ha bizi çıkartmışlar. Öyle oldu komşuya, yalan mı?

presencing, are ceaselessly re-defined and re-conceived, from moment to moment, throughout the intersection of corporeal uses of space and narrative constructions of relative distance and time. More to the point, I elaborate Küçükarmutlu as a boundary itself, more of an amorphously shaped and temporalized frontier zone between urbanization of labor and urbanization of capital; thereby from within the anachronism of industrial and neoliberal temporalities as well as in the very contradiction of respective logics and politics of spatiality.

Inscribed onto the collective imaginary of the current inhabitants as a predator's localizing its victim away from a flock (1.1), demolitions are in a dialectical tension with the architectonic proliferation of the dwellings (either centrifugally towards outside or spirally within inside) as well as of certain collectively formed informal constructions such as the electrical substation, parks, gardens and buildings like *Cemevi*⁸⁸ at relatively central zones of Küçükarmutlu which are regarded altogether as constituting fragments of local public space. Generating gazes to many different ends (administrative, topographic, political, touristic, etc.) through abstract and symbolic depictions of the "real", maps do not record the above mentioned lived and contested nature of the space. Historical accumulation and circulation of bodies, objects, burnt and demolished houses, narratives, rumors, marks and moments of collective and individual memories, confiscations and displacements prosecuted by the state and past/ongoing struggles of the dwellers to defend the "home", all of these become incommensurable to the totalizing and nullifying technology of mapping.

⁸⁸ *Cemevi* (literally translated as "meeting house") is where Alevi worship takes place. The terms *camii* (mosque) and *cem* are etymologically referring to the same (to gather). However, unlike the Sunni spatial conception of *camii*, in the context of urban Alevism *cemevi* has structurally acquired a multifunctional status for some other socio-cultural activities such as collective meals, open discussions, musical and dance performances. The construction of *Cemevi* in Küçükarmutlu reflects a moment in the local history of the district when politics of recognition gained another spatial dimension embarked with social and political contestations against hegemonic Sunni policies of the sovereign power.

Looking closer at Map 4, at the area enclosed by the Streets G-12, G-14, G-15 and G-17 one would see a tiny grey spot, unidentified and unnamed yet still distinguishable. This is where the *Cemevi* is located, where I have conducted almost all of my on/off record interviews. The garden that is shared by *Cemevi* and *Pir Sultan Abdal Cultural Association (Pir Sultan Abdal Kültür Derneği - PSAKD)* is the primary place of public expression. It was officially founded in 1998, has many local branches in Alevi neighborhoods one of which constitutes a “radical space”⁸⁹ for Küçükarmutlu both as a niche of resistance with its historical-symbolic power and as an opening of the space for daily politics with its representative power in voicing the sufferings and claims of people living in *gecekondus* in the particularity of the neighborhood. PSAKD articulates its constitutive aim through historical references to a mythic figure of the Alevi sect of Islam, Pir Sultan Abdal (ca. 1480 - 1550). He was a poet of vernacular language who had rebelled against the Ottoman state and hanged for his religious convictions by Hızır Paşa's orders. Along with the tradition of his poetry, his struggle has also remained alive within Alevism not only against Islamic orthodoxy but also against social inequality and discrimination. Below is an excerpt from the motto of the association (*PSAKD Yazıtı*):

We join hands, come face to face, and stand shoulder to shoulder for
the right/truth/supreme being
We become a fountain to spring out, a stream to babble, and then calm
down as a sea for the right/truth/supreme being
We live in excitement, fight in commitment, produce in abundance,
share and share alike for the right/truth/supreme being

⁸⁹ I am using the term “radical space” with reference to Margaret Kohn’s (2003) respective conception where she investigates the spatial character of Italian working class politics, peculiar to the early decades of 19th century, in the specific contexts of cooperatives, houses of the people, and chambers of labor. Through a historical-anthropological reading of the working class mobilization she argues that these politicized places constitute autonomous niches for workers’ sociability “where individuals came to understand the economic upheavals, to discuss strategies, and to plan political action.” (p. 58) See Kohn, M. (2003). *Radical Space: Building the House of the People*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

[...] It was like this for centuries in the wilderness of village and uplands
Now we are urbanites, with the city and in its conditions
[...] In this modern era, an era of labor and capital, when every single fact is defined by class relations, *the only way to survive is to get up*.

[...] As we know that keeping our culture alive and hand it down to next generations is only possible through *places*; we have built *cemevi* and cultural houses; we have appropriated lands in Ümraniye, Pendik, Eyüp, Gazi Osman Paşa, Tokat, Kemalpaşa, Sultanbeyli and Sarıyer.⁹⁰

Although it is a religious center for the followers of Alevism, contrary to circumjacent mosques, this official map (Map 4) published by the Metropolitan Municipality of Istanbul semiotically disregards *Cemevi*'s existence by not naming it. In another map (Map 5) of the municipality *Cemevi* is marked as a religious center (indicated by a sign of green crescent and star) whereas the other built component of the same area, the unidentified building of *Pir Sultan Abdal Cultural Association* is separated from *Cemevi* through a non-existing street. The geometric economy of this particular map, in short, works as a tool for fragmentary mode of spatial perception that is by no means contingent and reflects the exercise of a governing power inscribed upon urban space via cartographic implications of its administrative structure.

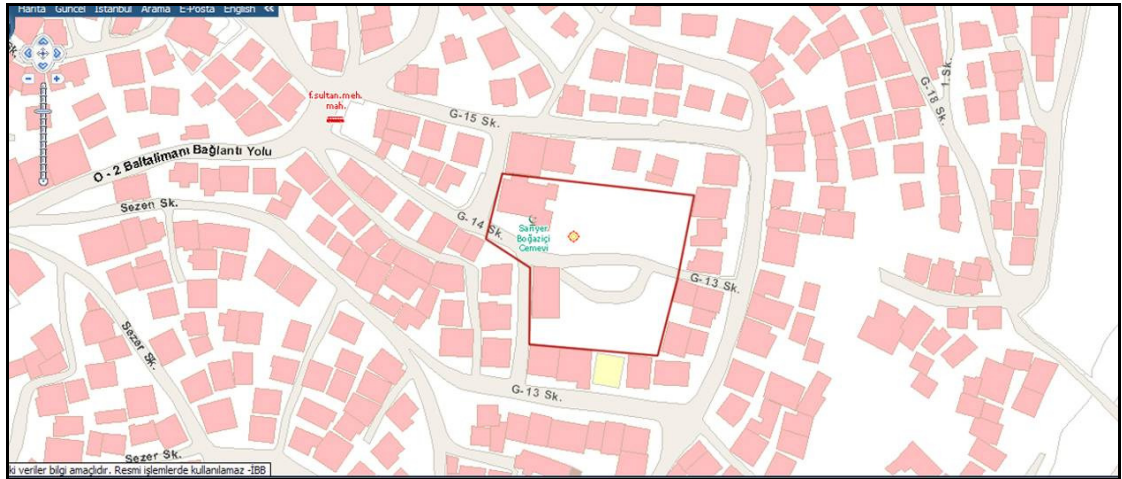
⁹⁰ El ele verimiz, yüz yüze geliriz, omuz omuz verimiz, "*hak*" için
Pınar olur kaynarız, çay olur çağlarız, durulur deniz oluruz "*hak*" için
Yaşarız coşku ile, cenk ederiz sıtk ile, üretiriz bereket ile, bölüşürüz pay ile, "*hak*" için

[...] Köyde, yabanda, yaylada böyle idi yüzyıllarca...
Şimdi kentliyiz, kentle ve kent koşullarında.

[...] Bu modern çağda, bu sınıf gerçeğinin her olguyu belirlediği emek, sermaye çağında var olmanın yarınlara *kalmanın yolu örgütlenmekle olanaklıdır ancak...*

[...] Kent koşullarında kültürümüzü yaşatmanın ve yarınlara aktarmanın *mekanlardan* geçeceğini bildiğimiz için Cem ve Kültürevi inşa ettik Ümraniye, Pendik, Eyüp, Gazi Osman Paşa, Tokat, Kemalpaşa, Sultanbeyli ve Sarıyer'de arsalar edindik. (translation mine)

From <http://www.psakd.org>



Map 5. source <http://www.ibb.gov.tr>

In Lefebvre's (1991) division regarding the conceptions on spatiality as *representations of space* and *spaces of representation* the former entails practices of hegemonic groups in order to enframe lived spaces through numerous patterns of segmentation, fragmentation and technical abstraction; while the latter resembles to material embodiment of the space by subaltern subjectivities. Keith and Pile (1993) regard this distinction by making use of Benjamin's formulation of "real" and "imaginary", thereby argue that *spaces of representation*, constructed via everyday lived practice inhibit a perpetually marginalized position against the *representation of the space*; abstract representational practices of the elite that are given definitive priority.

None of the maps presented in this study are exempt from this diacritical relation between the corporeal sense of the urban space and its imagined depictions through hegemonic regimes of representation such as the very practice of mapping. The question, then, comes to fore as follows: What is the difference between the text and the map except their modalities of communicating the public? By putting my inquiry in this way, I am not only referring to any representational text produced by those who are in power as administratives but also to the very workings of positivist approach within social sciences in general, and ethnographic textuality in particular, that hardly enable putting of radically comprehensive reservations on the part of the

researcher against the “essentializing visions of cool, rationalized conceived space”. (Soja, 1996) In order first to gain access into “social architectonics” (Herzfeld, 1991, p. 40) of the everyday in Küçükarmutlu I will leave this initial question as a constitutive discussion point for further sections and briefly conclude by dwelling on the means and modes of mapping in an operative/cognitive tension with radical practicing and sensing of the “field”.

In his seminal work *Siam Mapped* Winichakul (1994) extensively explores how maps actively construct knowledge through producing space, geography, place and territory by engaging with the material reality in a certain way to help the people perceiving it without direct experience. One of the methods (method of generalization) of cartographic communication, according to Winichakul, is built upon “reduction, selection, combination, distortion, approximation, or exaggeration of the very details of space to make them data for each particular map.” Combined with geometric calculation, symbolization and coding through the use of diverse semiotic devices the result, as argued, is “an interpretive abstraction of the material space.” (p. 53) The question of mapping was also in the forefront of Eyal Weizman’s (2002) work on Palestinian geography where he studied as to how the cartographic imagination inherited from the military and political spatialities of the modern state operates through the mechanized gaze of the sovereign. The map as a device of spatial representation, according to him, “ignores the vertical dimension and tends to look across rather than to cut through the landscape”, thereby constructs an abstract territoriality deprived of three dimensionality of the ‘lived’ which is primarily because both “politics and law understand place only in terms of the map and the plan.”

One can argue that a Google map which is an exact photographic depiction of a territory captured from the space is qualitatively and quantitatively distinct from an

illustrated map. Moreover, using a GPS⁹¹ technology a google map's accuracy hardly allows any cartographic distortion and reduction. Yet, it still invests upon a representative premise, a *regime of truth* that holds an epistemic claim over space by neglecting it as a materially embodied/experienced and an empirically perceivable entity; more importantly, by blinking the fact that space is "an active moment (rather than a passive form) in the constitution of physical, ecological, social and political economic life." (Harvey, 2001, p. 223) I, therefore, not only propose to study the space as an ethnographic subject in constant motion; a frame that resists to be composed with frozen terms of Cartesian rationality but I also argue for a dialogical relation to every single aspect of materiality presented and embodied through spatial forms on/of the field. Crucial for such an approach is trying to hermeneutically reflect the multi-layered syntax of landscape (albeit densely descriptive, sketchy, fragmented and even blurred) upon the textual construction of ethnographic "truth", wherein the very accumulation of sensory experience accompanying the practice of walking informs the text through a "non-verbal subliminality" of spatial forms.

The operation of walking, says de Certeau (1984),

is transformed into points that draw a totalizing and reversible line on the map. They allow us to grasp only a relic set in the nowhere of a surface of projection. Itself visible, it has the effect of making invisible the operation that made it possible. (p. 97)

Landscape, "both a material and representational creation" in Lilley's terms (2000, p. 382) constitutes a core theme of this study for various reasons. First of all, the landscape that is the appearance of a particular locality (with the shape, forms and correlative positioning of the material beings on it) is predominantly regarded as given to social sciences in the sense that its allegedly static nature does not deserve a phenomenological description. However, both with its dialectical relation to corporeal experiences and with its complex morphological surface upon which not only an

⁹¹ Global Positioning System

immense circulation of things and bodies but also collective and individual temporalities are registered, the empirically observable nature of space, the *topos of territory*, is of critical importance towards a thick description of the scene.

Another reason to emphasize the substantiality of the landscape is that it consists of the marks that are neither fully registered in human memory and narratives nor enframed in textual and visual formulations of diverse formal and informal sources, yet, should be traced and recorded in order to historicize and contextualize inextricable order of a particular human geography. As Stewart (1996) once observed in the coal-mining region of West Wirginia “a ruined landscape becomes a dense signification of social memory and meaning. Encountered places and scenes become social texts in themselves that enact the traces of a political unconscious” (p.11)

Any fieldwork praxis that urges to “learn to read all the signs of the landscape” (Harvey, 2001, p. 128) needs to be built upon an insistent emphasis of the lived nature of space, to the point that it embraces hints to de-construct the alleged totality of space which, otherwise, is passed over as the immanent and immobile surface of human experience. Nevertheless, devising a critical-enough-interpretive methodology to read marks and moments of the landscape in such a way, I argue, would still be insufficient towards elaborating on the present of Küçükarmutlu in an anthropologizing sensitivity of comprehension unless the relation of the *object* to the *subject* is insistently problematized. The final section of the present study is therefore reserved for the discussion of “ethnographic representation” with regard both to the epistemic articulations of object-subject relationality and to the partial unknowability of “space” that is due to the definitive power of contradicting ontologies on/of the field.

Lastly, as it will be discussed through photographic complements in the following section, the practice of seeing and the state of being seen on the part of

those, outsider to a particular place, entails in the last instance a tacit relation with the landscape itself that only becomes palpable through radically (if not militantly) re-posing the question of representation on an, first and foremost, ontological basis. As such, constituting one axis of my elaboration on spatial practice and representation *vis-à-vis* the scholarly meditations on space/place/locality/home and current formations of politics in/on urban margin, the physical and ecological will be in the forefront in their relation with memory space as much as memory of the space itself. As the visual documentation of the parallel spatial orders has been largely absent from the studies of urban space, images, throughout this study, will not be utilized as mere reflectors of immediate moments of a particular spatial totality; rather will be taken like “quotations, maxims and proverbs” (Sontag, 2002, p. 87) which will allow multiple forms of reading the inter-textual and corporeal complexity of space and memory.

In general, rather than employing the analogy of “mapping” into this study I would propose an analogy of “walking” into the space with the intention to avoid the totalizing economy of gazing at the margin from a safe distance and thereby to allow the material and corporeal tropes of experiencing Küçükarmutlu to be comprehended - as far as possible- through stressing the ontological effects of the landscape in its historical and present, lived and enframed relationality with the surrounding urban spatial totalities.

To this end, I will first try to scrutinize on the “urban spectacles” in and around Küçükarmutlu through an extensive use of eye-level photographic images along with the meanings they have acquired (both for me and for my informants) and the linguistic registers, either metaphorical or sensorial, within which they have come to be exchanged in the production and circulation of collective and individual narratives. Textually portraying the very co-existence of the squatter houses with their

immediate as well as distant -but visible from afar- surroundings and trying to locate the accumulation of voice(s) and silence(s) of my informants in the very fractures of those urban territories will partially complement my fieldwork by gaining insight in the very formation of the sense(s) of the place. Once for all, the way that places are organized in an urban and local scale and the way one temporalizes a meaningful life story amid those built structures often intersects on spatial-historical moments dialogically embodied by the “spectacle” either sensed and experienced or remembered and narrated. For, “spectacle is not a collection of images; rather, it is a social relationship between people that is mediated by images.” (Debord, 1995, Thesis 4)

CHAPTER FOUR
THE GAZE OF ABYSS

*And if you gaze for long into an abyss, the abyss gazes also into you.*⁹²
Friedrich Nietzsche, “Beyond Good and Evil”

*Do not read any more - look!
Do not look any more - go!*⁹³
Paul Celan, “Engführung”

Urban Spectacle(s) in and around Küçükarmutlu

Entering the neighborhood of Büyükarmutlu from south by following the main road perpendicular to the Bridge (see Map 1) one encounters with a spectacle of multistorey buildings alongside the main road that is wide but short similar to other squatter settlements of Istanbul. And peculiar to squatter regions again, one can find more than three hardware dealers selling supplies for construction in a distance of three hundred meters without crossing over the street. Moving ahead on the main street towards what is known as the “last station”⁹⁴, multistoreys begin to diminish and mostly squatter type of houses constructed intermittently appear with a view of the Bosphorus behind them. The last station sets a local borderline between Büyükarmutlu and Küçükarmutlu as the Bridge does by cutting across Küçükarmutlu and Hisarüstü.

Küçükarmutlu is literally located beyond the “last station” where public transportation with bus finds its final destination. Besides, as it is used in the daily language, Küçükarmutlu is also behind (or under) the Bridge which ironically

⁹² *Und wenn du lange in einen Abgrund blickst, blickt der Abgrund auch in dich hinein.* From “Jenseits von Gut und Böse” Aphorism 146.

⁹³ *Lies nicht mehr – schau!
Schau nicht mehr – geh!* From “Gesammelte Werke in Sieben Bänden”

⁹⁴ “Son Durak” in Turkish

Street and then joins to another one Şehit Sırrı Kaleli Street.⁹⁵ Whereas some side streets are given names of flowers and fruits a major part of the streets in Küçükarmutlu are still enumerated and coded as “temporary”.

Kenan Evren, after whom the two main streets of Küçükarmutlu is named, was the leader general of the *coup d'etat* on 12th of September 1980, a violent moment in Turkey's history by when civil liberties and human rights are suspended and violated in the name of establishing political and economic stability. The National Security Council that became the ruling body with the abolishment of the parliament legislated and persecuted martial law by a prolonged state of emergency (*OHAL*). The coup aimed to (although it was declared as the “overcoming of the legislative paralyzation of the parliament”) crushing of the ever growing politicization of the masses demanding fair re-distribution of income and recognition of ethnic, religious, gender identities, thus, a radical restructuring of the political and economic regime. To this end, the left, including revolutionaries, social democrats and trade unionists was brutally suppressed by military force.⁹⁶ One of the ultimate aims of the

⁹⁵ Şht. Sırrı Kaleli Street was named after a soldier died during an operation (1996) against Kurdish guerilla in South-East Turkey. Although it has been strictly denied by military and governmental authorities the counter-insurgency against Kurdish guerilla groups of the PKK (Kurdistan Workers' Party) since 1984 was an internal warfare run by military forces and paramilitaries that also aimed Kurdish civilians in the region. In Mid 1990s when the war evolved into its most violent stage the official practice of naming public places such as avenues, streets and schools after the soldiers died in the South-East region came to be intensely used as a manifest form of celebrating the status of “martyrdom” spatially through the proliferating social imagery constructed upon chauvinistic and religious populism.

⁹⁶September 12 marks the beginning of a particular period of Turkey's economic, political and cultural history wherein a whole population is literally pushed to a mortal silence under the physical, structural and political violence of military regime. Within a very short time, there were 250,000 - 650,000 people detained. Among the detainees, 230,000 were tried, 14,000 were stripped of citizenship, and 50 were executed. In addition, hundreds of thousands of people were tortured, and thousands are still missing. A total of 1,683,000 people were blacklisted. For further historical data on September 12, 1980 see Amnesty International, Turkey: Human Rights Denied, London, November 1988, AI Index: EUR/44/65/88, ISBN 0862101565.

See "Turkey still awaits to confront with generals of the coup in Sep 12, 1980". Hürriyet English. 2008-10-09. <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/english/home/9884161.asp?scr=1>. Retrieved 2008-10-09.

See "12 Eylül'de 1 milyon 683 bin kişi fişlendi" (in Turkish). Hürriyet. ANKA. 2008-09-12. <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/gundem/9877788.asp?gid=0&srid=0&oid=0&l=1>. Retrieved 2008-10-09.

post-September 12 regime was to synchronize internal economic structure with the global diffusion of Thatcherism. This was a moment when global re-structuring of capitalist machinery intersects with the transformation of national political/economic regime towards a neo-liberalist one that paves the way not only to an overt subordination of “every aspect of [the daily life] to private property, commodity production and quick profit making” (Cleaver, 1997); but also to a “destruction of collective structures which may impede the pure market logic”. (Bourdieu, 1998) Parallel to the diminishing echoes of the class struggle among the masses, once committed to a revolutionary change, anti-communism and ideological variants of orthodox Kemalism allegedly found an immediate support predominantly through de-politicization of the urban youth by force.

No doubt, the rhetoric of the military junta, which reduced the pre-1980 revolutionary mobilization into a provoked fraternal fighting (*kardeş-kavgası*), was just a surface-image of a broader “regime of truth” finding its fundamental basis on an eradication of the collective memory through an amnesic reconstruction of the recent history. In Trouillot’s terms, “formulas of erasure and banalization” (1995) have been operative at the sub-text of official history which hardly covers political events of the period 1960-1980 other than through a typology of criminalization. Trouillot’s formulas definitely include the transformative project of re-naming in the context of spatial re-configuration and semantic identification of Küçükarmutlu as

For her elaboration of September 12, 1980 through a Benjaminian conception of historical materialism, see Ayşe Gül Devecioğlu (2005): “Since 25 years we have been talking about looking at the past. Is it possible to do so without having a word to say, without knowing what to trace in the past and without having decided what is there we need? Do not we need first to know what we are looking for, what do we want to see there if we are to see something more than a finished “golden age”? (translation mine)

“25 yıldır bu geçmişe bakmaktan söz ediyoruz. Bugün söyleyecek sözü olmadan, geçmişte neyi arayacağını bilmeden, onda neye ihtiyaç duyduğumuza karar vermeden geçmişe bakmak mümkün mü? Bugün oraya bakıp kapanmış bir altın çağdan fazlasını görmenin yolu, önce orada ne aradığımızı, ne görmek istediğimizi bilmek demek değil midir?”

well. By quoting Paul Carter, Abu El Haj (2001) also points the relation of history to space with regard to (re)naming:

(Re)naming was a transformative project that was engaged in what Paul Carter has called “making spatial history” a history that begins “in the act of naming”, which “symbolizes the imperial project of permanent possession through dispossession” (Carter, 1989 cited in Abu El-Haj, 2001, p. 35)

As mentioned before, walking through the built environment paves way to a unique praxis of sensing the place as an “enabling moment” (Said, 1974, p. 301) that also unfolds the visible outside, the externality of visible referents in the local construction of place-bound identities even recognized by the absence of clear demarcation of territorial boundaries. Looking west one sees skyscrapers of the Maslak district occupying the horizon line and diverging into a series of gated communities in Etiler on the other side of the Bridge. Once it is traced in the narratives, the visual effects of this stark contrast of the dispersed formation of poorly built squatters of Küçükarmutlu against the apparent uniformity of the gated community buildings and the vertical proliferation of the skyscrapers become a powerful constitutive element of the local social imaginary. A young man (age 16) explains it as follows:

The Distance

- 4.1 Now have a look at this place then go to the *other side of the Bridge* and have a look there to the Narin Complex. Actually you don't even have to go there. You can grasp it even if you just look from where you stand. Houses with reddish walls, properly made, *they have even stairways inside*. There are no such walls *here*. *Stairs climb up next to the walls, like void*. They have *gardens* that they never actually use, just for the look of it you know. *Here we plant vegetables in the garden*; there they don't even step out on the soil. There is a public bus station exactly in front of the complex, but they never bother to take the public bus. *It seems like two totally different worlds yet only one bus station away, but sooo far from us*. I know as well how wander around relentlessly in the garden. Forgive me for saying but screw a

skyscraper, a garden, a bridge and a house as such if you can not be even in it, enjoy it.⁹⁷

The distance between points, for Harvey (1998) “is relative because it depends upon the means of transportation and on the perception of actors in the urban scene”. (p.168) As it will also be clearer throughout the study, apart from physical distance there are other forms and modalities that are setting the subtext of experiencing the margin. Seeking for aesthetic validation is of focal significance in the very formation of communities on the margin in terms of the architectural deficits of the built environment at “home”. The lack of aesthetic uniformity in Küçükarmutlu, mentioned in the above passage, is perceived in its direct contrast with the surrounding spectacles whereby this contrast is employed in the language as a “distance” more of a perceptual and social rather than physical. Ocak (2002) dwells upon different forms of distance by referring the paradigmatic shifts in the changing ecology of urban order. The psychic effect of being enclosed by multiple constellations of modern architectural forms such as apartment buildings put an aesthetic distance between the urban core and margin whereby *gecekondu* districts become sites of constant construction pejoratively assigned with visual disorder and contamination. At odd with the rapidly developing built environment around them, these areas deprived from the modern conditions of construction come to be regarded as old and dirty that paves the way to the primarily aesthetic constitution of the hegemonic discourse of urban renewal. In this context, urban renewal signifies an urgent need for architectonic cleansing of the residential areas with insufficient infrastructure as much as with an improper and flagrant panorama.

⁹⁷ Şimdi bir buraya bak, bir *Köprüünün öbür tarafına* git Narin Sitesi'ne bak. Gitmene bile gerek yok. Buradan bakınca anlıyorsun abi. Kırmızı kırmızı, hepsinin duvarları var. *Düzgün, içeriden falan merdivenleri var. Burada öyle duvar diye bir şey yok. Merdivenler duvarların yanından çıkıyor, boşluk gibi. Bahçeleri var, bir kere bile çıkıp üstünde dolaşmıyorlar ama şekil işte. Burada bahçeye sebze ekilir* orada ayak bile basmazlar. Sitenin önünden otobüsü var, binmez bile. *Buradan giderken bir durak sonrasında bahsediyorum ama uzak işte bize, yoksa ben bilmiyorum muyum bahçede dolanmayı. İçinde olmadıktan sonra, tadını almadıktan sonra öyle bahçeyi de, öyle evi de, öyle köprüyü de, öyle gökdeleni de* sikmişim afedersin.

A second modality of holding the urban margin in a “safe distant”, according to Ocak, goes through a representative articulation of the *gecekondu* areas as mere landscapes constructed for the gaze of the urban core. In this particular relation of gazing, these areas constitute a pastoral scenery for photographic employments of ocularcentrism, where the outer surface of the squatter houses set the horizon of the gaze through which the observer cannot and does not willing to penetrate. (pp. 95-96) What occurs when the direction and range of this very act of gazing is somehow disturbed or even reversed? Present chapter tries to reflect upon this particular question through narratives of people and of the landscape in Küçükarmutlu.

For the scholars of modern subjectivity the dichotomic construction of the self and other is also a material inscription of “here” and “there” whereby “inclusion” and “exclusion” as much as the “presence” and “absence” are spatialized. (Shields, 1992; Cresswell, 1996; Kirby, 1996) The Cartesian subject, as argued by Popke (2003), “is interpellated within a metaphysics of spatial presence [and] circumscribed by a location or place from which it can negotiate the world.” (p.302) The spatial subtext of difference, determined by the very axis between “in-place” and “out-of-place”, thus, “the distance” as an organizing metaphor comes almost axiomatically to surface along with narrative formulations of belonging and dis-belonging, possession and dispossession, sovereignty and subalterity.

The exteriority of the stairs in Küçükarmutlu is being felt as a lack, emptiness or even as an abyss (2.1) compared to invisible interior stairs of the clean-cut, multistorey apartment blocks nearby the Bridge which are of a particular architectural order and thereby communicating a visual ideology of the neoliberal urbanity. The stress upon the amorphous shapes of the built elements in an around the buildings of Küçükarmutlu reveals on the one hand the unplanned nature, thus, structural eclecticism of squatter houses and on the other hand a particular trope in sensing and

experiencing the vertical images of visible distance. Verticality, as a restructuring politics of the state (as in the cases of TOKİ⁹⁸ houses and heightened roads around “renewal zones”) and as a characteristic mark of neoliberal corporate urbanism (as in the case of skyscrapers) is of supreme significance towards understanding the ways *gecekondu* districts are discursively pathologized as “zones of collapse/depression” (*çöküntü bölgeleri*).



Photograph 1. Stairway to “home”

Objects in Circulation: Debris of History

A complementing aspect of the local fragments of spectacle is the garden and more generally gardening in Küçükarmutlu. Active engagement with the land, even on minute pieces of the front yards is a common practice in Küçükarmutlu. Although in the initial years of settlement, collective practices of constructing the squatter houses had not much to do with physical pre-definition of gardening areas,

⁹⁸ TOKİ (Housing Development Administration of Turkey) houses are where evicted populations of *gecekondu* neighborhoods are allowed to reside in return for a long term payment schedule which is in most cases unaffordable for the displaced. To visually trace the employment of vertical order in the planning and construction of the state-sponsored TOKİ apartments, see <http://www.toki.gov.tr/uygulama/index.html>

throughout the years; gardens gain significance not only as recreational niches but as an intrinsic part of place making. A majority of the dwellers use simple gardening tools in order to have quasi-agricultural production, so that they can consume their own products extracted from the trees and little orchards nearby their houses. As far as I was able to observe and discuss with my informants, the workings of the very existence of gardens is an organizing trope towards articulating the pastorality of Küçükarmutlu in diverse forms, yet primarily in a nostalgic dialogue with an authentic past:

4.2 Armutlu is a beautiful place. I mean, *it is a village*. A tiny village with specific characteristics that faces the Bosphorus... Because of this, people cannot take its existence. They think, poor people do not have the right to reside in such a place as if there can only be villas here.⁹⁹

Hence the engagement with the land is generally perceived by the scholars of squatter studies and urbanization as an integral part of the rural identity preserved. However there are some other functions of the garden such as allowing the expansion of the interior towards the street that engenders a daily social visibility among inhabitants. Ocak (2002) theorizes the garden and doorstep as an intermediary space allowing the poor to get a temporary distance against the house which he sees as a shell upon where all the sufferings of poverty accumulate. (pp. 111-112). In the particularity of Küçükarmutlu I would add that gardens full of disposable household goods are also a part of this accumulation in a material sense. The inert combination of the rusty, worn out objects of varying sizes pushes the garden into a semiotic disorder that is at odd with those of the gated communities, unacceptable to the logic of modern urban aesthetics wherein the disposability is primarily determined by exchange value rather than potential uses of the goods. Few instances below reflects how certain objects have been displaced to exterior, some of them still in use while

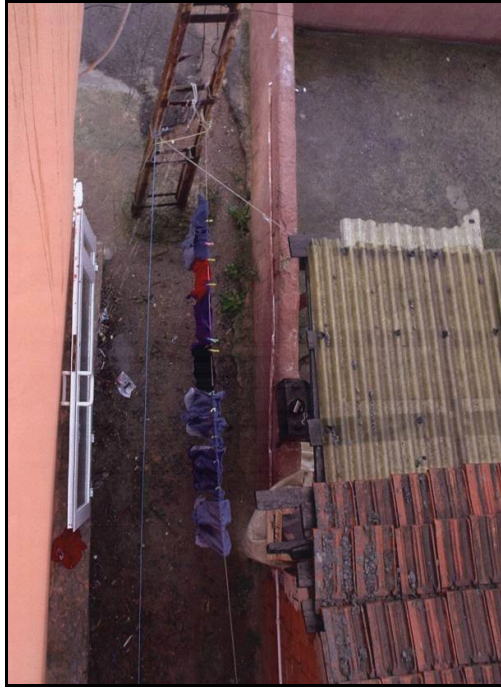
⁹⁹ Armutlu çok güzel bir yerdir. Yani köy, küçücük bir köy. Kendine has özellikleri olan boğaza nazır bir köy olduğu için kimsenin tahammülü yok. Yoksul insanların orda oturma hakkı yokmuş, orada villaların olması gerekiyormuş.

some of them are there to be used in the following “re-construction” of an unknown future.



Photograph 2. Exterior use of the old household goods which is peculiar to squatter type of settlements is a common practice in Küçükarmutlu as well. Placing of the seats on the doorstep is a local pattern of sociality, enabling to extend the inner area of the house towards a daily encounter with others for chats on the run.

The door (see photograph 3), seen from above just as a white line parallel to other components, with its purposeless existence in between two buildings symbolizes an economy of collective recycling. It is an object either thrown out by someone who no more needs it, or an excess of past demolitions and evacuations. In either case, it has acquired a status of relic, a material inscription, something that is still in use as a mark on the surface in between demolished and built environment and therefore got never dispensed although dysfunctionalized and displaced. Certain objects, partaking in the structural composition of the houses such as “the door” never disappear totally but change their coordinates as material records of an exterminating violence exercised upon the skin of built structures, thereby circulate through the neighborhood “only to reappear sometime later as an addition-in-progress to someone else’s place.” (Stewart, 1996, p. 44)



Photograph 3. Land, Roof, Wall, and Door



Photograph 4. A broken couch put in the backyard

Because of its ontological indispensability, it works as a texture along with other things around, as a trace of historical splitting up of episteme and codes of urban survival. It can produce, as an object in itself, a unique narrative of the margin and of the landscape that is in constant oscillation between past and present. No less than their instrumental utility, such objects exert their holding power as marks (and monuments) of remembered moments in individual stories by which the detrimental forces of the “urban” (demolition in most cases) prevent the subaltern subject from keeping an archive of personal history in various forms of recording such as photos and written documents. One of my informants whose house was demolished more than three times and therefore had to move to another part of the neighborhood replied as follows when I asked as to whether he can provide me any archival element of his personal history.

- 4.3 We are moving with a rush. Do not think of it, they inform us before they come. At times, you might only be able to take your bottled gas, pots and pans with. The guy says, “I am not just demolishing your house. Because you resist, I am demolishing whatever you have”. Even if it was not razed to the ground, what would you take with? First, you are not right in the head. Second, your children are out there

in the cold. From that moment on, you would only take *things still usable under the debris*; bricks, doors...windows mostly get damaged. Could you think of photos, newspaper cuttings, etc. in such conditions? They were a lot though. [...] *There is a couch with a dozer trace on it*. Its legs are broken, but it is from *there, belonging to earlier times*. It is as if we are incomplete without it. We will be bringing it with us even if we would move to an apartment in third, fifth floor. [...] You cannot find photos, albums here. Especially if his/her house were once demolished. Do not expect to find things for your purpose in *gecekondu*.¹⁰⁰

As revealed in these passage some objects, worth to subtract from the debris of a demolished house, come to be regarded both as excesses and as traces of a memory of suffering which would otherwise lost in a vacuum of spatial ruptures. The archival power of an unbolted and removed door; or a broken chair lies in the very intersection of spatial and temporal registers assuring a narrative construction of the margin. In this regard, being a relic “from there” and “from then”, a time when the immensity and destructiveness of demolition as a form of urban violence upon geographies of poverty even prevented people from collecting conventional forms of historical data, these objects become performers in a spectacle of loss (Stewart, 1996) to signify the “absent presence”. They were once installed in the houses with their instrumental power but became witnesses of a silenced past, as material traces back to an unwritten history of the margin and at the margins of history. Although these objects subtly form the debris of history in a concrete silence, they also remain intact for a moment

¹⁰⁰ Paldır küldür çıkıyoruz. Öyle haber veriyorlar, sonra geliyorlar değil. Gün olurdu, sadece küçük tüpünü, kabını kacağını alabiliyordun. Adam diyo ki sana, sadece evini yıkmıyorum, madem ki sen direniyorsun, ne var ne yok başına yıkıyorum. Ha, dümdüz değilse bile, ekip gittiğinde o eve girip alıyorsun, ama ne alıyorsun. Aklın başında değil bir. Çoluk çocuk dışarıda, soğuk iki. O andan itibaren *yıkıntının altında sağlam ne kaldıysa* tuğla, kapı...zaten pencere diye bir şey kalmıyordu çoğu kez. Şimdi sen ne fotoğraf, ne gazete küpürü bilmem ne düşünürsün, di mi? Yoksa çok vardı, [...] *Bi tane koltuk var, üstünde kepece şeyi duruyor*. Böyle ayağı falan çürümüş ama *ordan, ilk zamana ait*, sanki evde onsuz, şey gibi, eksik ne bileyim. Üçüncü beşinci katta eve de gitsek onu da getiriz, koyarız bi yere. [...] Kimsede fotoğraf, albüm bulamazsın, hele evi yıkılmışsa. Gecekondu da öyle çok şey arama, senin işine yarayacak falan.

of translation of the language of things into that of man, thereby the mute into the sonic and the nameless into name. (Benjamin, 2000, p. 70)

Since no commonsensical form of material accumulation in the urban ideology of modernity allows consumed goods of such size to partake in the daily life of things at home, they can be read as alien objects that would most probably be exterminated from a middle class house. I argue, it is precisely this corporeal alienness of the physically decontextualized objects and their incontinent diffusion around the squatter houses of Küçükarmutlu which defines their unique position as material excesses of urbanization as well as modernity. In this regard, there is a synecdochic relation between Küçükarmutlu as a historical excess of urbanization and the thrown out (but preserved and displayed as a part of collective recycling economy and local modality of remembering) doors, chairs, couches, bathtubs, washbasins, stoves as material codes of survival with their use value .

Land, Roof, Wall, Door: Material Codes of Survival

Something that is of equal importance in photograph 3 is its -almost magical- capturing of certain architectural components that are used as primary registers of the narrative temporality of “construction”. I will group them as (Toprak, Çatı, Duvar, Kapı) Land, Roof, Wall, Door; keywords for “the cultural poetics of being at home”. (Stewart, 1996, p.58) In most cases my informants were narrating the initial years of the construction as a segmented process of adding the architectural components of the single-room and single-storey dwellings according to the order of their practical function. As such, the *land*, on which the house were to be “put” at “night”¹⁰¹ initially

¹⁰¹ Literal translation of the term *gecekondu* would be “put at night”. As a semantically passive combination of an adverb of time (at night: *gece*) and a verb (to put: *kondu*) both the subject of the action, namely the constructor of the squatter house, and also the spatial-historical context are

as a sketchy structure, is of supreme priority for the dwellers. Unless the *land* was not enclosed the construction could not begin. The next step in the chronological order of the construction is to create a relatively safer niche by using any material (mostly with rubber cloth, or thick carton) as a temporary *roof*. This shelter, despite its vulnerability against climatic changes, also functions as the building plot of the whole construction until the erection of the *walls* and the replacement of the temporary roof with more rigid material such as tiles or plastic. Finally, windows and *doors* are to be installed. Although these two elements seem to be very similar in the composition of a living area, especially with their primary functions, the unique position of the *door* stems from its psychic function:

- 4.4 Can you imagine a house without doors? I looked at the house from outside one day. Okay, I mean it's not really finished, it lacks a lot of necessities, it has a big hole on the wall. But *the door* was standing so upright and big. You know how the saying "the guy is so big and upright like the door". This door really reflected the true meaning of a door; strong. Just imagine you give so much labor and you get very little in return, the kids might even wander around with an empty stomach for days but *a house without a door is unimaginable*. The ground was made of soil; the house sucked in everything such as humid and cold. But we fixed a door, *a door is vital*.¹⁰²

A *door* as the final mark of a dwelling, architecturally confirms the material existence of the "home". It is an opening not only towards the outside but also into the urban in the sense that the urban refers to an exchange of different spatialities in a constant re-definition of physical and psychic borders as well as through a complex circulation of bodies. The installing of the *door* as a gate in the subliminal space between inside and

definitely absent in this very term. There is, moreover, a second meaning, when it is read in the active form of the verb, which connotes to "landing on" of something (the house) in which case the deed does not even need a subject; or in other words, the "built" as such exists without the "builder". The term *gecekondu*, however, has always implied someone belonging to the margin once it has come to be the grammatical root of derivations such as "*gecekondu*", "*gecekonducu*". In my elaboration of popular and scholar representations of the "*gecekondu*" I will be turning back to the web of meanings surrounding these subaltern human geographies in a more hermeneutic framework.

¹⁰² Kapısı olmayan ev olur mu? Bi gün bi geldim, şöyle dışardan bi baktım eve. Tamam daha bitmemiş, bin türlü eksigi, deligi var; ama *kapı* böyle dimdik duruyor. Hani derler ya kapı gibi adam falan. Gerçekten de kapı gibi kapıydı. Düşünsene hocam, onca emek veriyosun, çoluk, çocuk aç geziyor gerekirse; *ama kapı yerine muşamba... ne anlarsın o evden sen söyle?* İsterse odanın tabanı toprak oluyordu, zaten uzun bir süre alttan nem, rutubet ne varsa alıyorduk ama yine de *kapı* takıyorduk, *bulup buluşturup*.

outside, beside constructing the *psychic interiority*, also spectacularizes the legalization of the house for the dweller by transforming the building from a mere shelter into a “home”, as a place to be occupied by those whose labor is embodied by it.¹⁰³ And if the house is a “psychic state” (p. 72) as Bachelard (1969) describes, then it is the blade projection of the exterior *door* that sets the borderline allowing one to leave behind an uncanny feeling of visibility, insecurity, otherness as well as dispossessedness all of which resemble, in a way or another, to ocularcentric constitution of the subaltern subject. A *door*, by its very function, is a tool of controlling the visibility of the interior; whereby it blocks the gaze and bodily presence of the outsider until s/he comes in. It is one of the objects, in Adorno’s (1978) terms, that is “inscribed with gestures, and thereby with modes of conduct” against the ocularcentric exploitation of the subalterity; a “monument” as well to the hatred of being homeless. (Aphorism 72) During my fieldwork in Küçükarmutlu I have also collected many instances, disabling moments, so to say, when I had strongly felt the otherwise invisible order(s) of ocularcentrism whose very function is to impede any mode of intruding gaze of the outsider.

Gecekondü vs. Skyscraper

As described before, huge and intensely illuminated constructions such as the Bridge and skyscrapers that can be seen from Küçükarmutlu are setting the end line of the “visible” on the western and southern horizon. The image of the skyscrapers,

103 What I was able to trace through stories about the “physicality of dwelling” was that they are mostly told in a particular narrative structure intermingled with the construction and expansion of Küçükarmutlu as a whole. For, in the last instance “being at home”, for many of my informants, was referring to a micro-chronological accumulation of past moments by which Küçükarmutlu has become a place to live. In that sense, King’s (2004) following description deserves attention which is complemented with another geographical layer in the scale of a neighborhood when reflected upon the narratives of the inhabitants in Küçükarmutlu:

Once a dwelling has been built it remains a mere thing. Only when it is occupied does it take on a meaning and significance beyond this physical structure: only then, so to speak, does the house become meaningfully a home. (p.19)

parallel to their dramatic proliferation since the 90s when a monumental transformation took place in the topographical configurations of the urban spectacles in Maslak-Sarıyer¹⁰⁴ district, has drawn into the field of view of Küçükarmutlu along with diverse metaphoric meaning givings. One of them surfaces in the narratives as a reflection of skyscrapers' extreme verticality compared to the houses in the neighborhood. With every single skyscraper erected somewhere on the hinterland of Küçükarmutlu (similar to the case of the Bridge) the valley on which squatters of Küçükarmutlu are settled become more and more the bottom line of the area; a low land, dark, depressed, claustrophobic and always vigilant under the panoptic gaze of the skyscraper; the crystal clear "accumulation of capital to the point where it becomes the image" (Debord, 1995, Thesis 34)

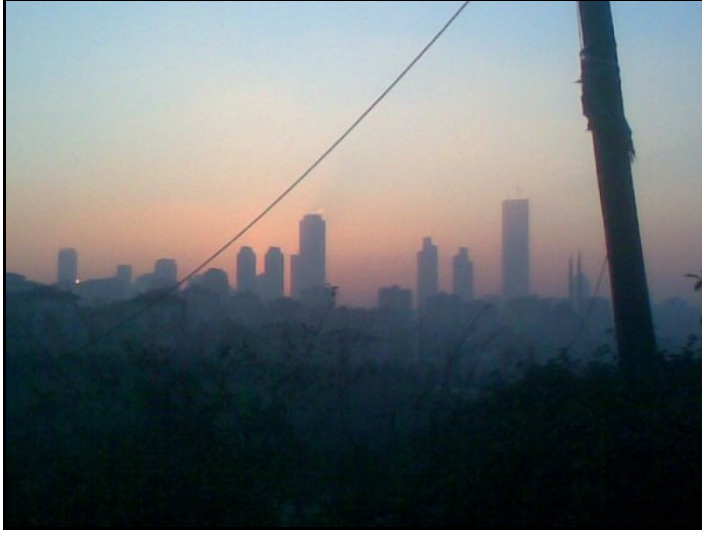


Photograph 5. A view of the western horizon of Küçükarmutlu with skyscrapers slightly distinguishable in the winter afternoon. "Like huge monsters...as if they are waiting there for us to be evacuated from our home"¹⁰⁵ says a woman from Küçükarmutlu.

Photograph 6. The ever-accelerating physical proximity of ongoing constructions of super-high structures is giving rise to rumors in Küçükarmutlu. It is told that a huge shopping mall is being built on the other side of the bridge (shown in the photograph) whereafter the neighborhood will be erased for reasons of security and ground rent.

¹⁰⁴ Having experienced several phases of overinvested building associated with wider economic cycles Maslak-Sarıyer district became the stream bed where the neoliberal urban imagery is embodied through architectural articulations of a phantasmagoric construct; Istanbul as the new global finance center of 21st century. It is recently manifested by the declaration of the new 1/100.000 structural plan (*nazım planı*) that prefigures a multitude of regional transformations in Maslak-Sarıyer according to the image of finance centers such as London, New York and Tokyo.

¹⁰⁵ *Koca canavarlar gibiler... sanki yerimizden yurdumuzdan edilmemizi orda öyle bekliyorlar.*



Photograph 7. A view of the southern horizon. A majority of my informants talked about the psychic effects of the skyscrapers as if these buildings are in motion, approaching to Küçükarmutlu day by day: “They tell us ‘you settled down here like meatballs. A region with a sea view and you claim it yours’ *Can I really see the sea being alert on the skyscraper on my back?*”¹⁰⁶

The antagonistic relation between squatter houses and skyscrapers is also deployed in the popular imagery in varying registers. While the proliferation of skyscrapers is deployed in the mainstream media within a discursive pattern of developmentalism, images of existing super-high buildings (as well as of those under construction) are mostly complemented with the words “growing”, “pushing up”, “rising”, “upwards”, “into the sky” and similars:

İstanbul has been a center of appeal for ages, and now it's a candidate to be the *financial center*. Through years, new skyscrapers are *rising up one after another* with the increasing demand for offices and dwellings. The *man-made "hills"* of this seven-hilled city are now *pushing up* as far as 250 meters.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁶ Bize diyorlar ki, “köfte gibi geldiniz kurulduunuz, denize nazır bölgeye bi de burası bizim diyorsunuz.” *Ben arkamdaki gökdeleni kollamaktan denizi mi görüyorum?*

¹⁰⁷ Ofis ve konut ihtiyacının artmasıyla, çağlar boyu cazibe merkezi olan *finans merkezi adayı İstanbul*'da birbiri ardına yükselen gökdelenlere her geçen yıl yenileri ekleniyor. Yedi tepeli kentin *insan yapımı "tepeleri"* artık 250 metreyi zorluyor.

See “İstanbul Göğe Yükseliyor”

<http://213.243.28.71/Default.aspx?aType=HaberDetay&articleID=5060>

İstanbul, one of world's most important metropolises, comes to fore with it's "*skyscrapers rising up higher day by day*" ... The limited number of skyscrapers around is increasing with upcoming projects.¹⁰⁸

A currently released song *Gecekodu and Skyscraper (Gecekodu ile Gökdelen)* of Grup Yorum, performing protest-folk music with highly political lyrics written in a variety of languages spoken in Turkey, is based on a parody of a dialogue (in a genre of fable) between the squatter house and skyscraper personified. Apart from employing a critique with an emphasis on right of housing against restructuring of the urban space under the state-sponsored urban renewal projects, the lyrics also refers to aforementioned antagonism via certain tropes such as gazing, aesthetic contamination, illegality and contesting temporalities embodied by different built structures of the urban.

¹⁰⁸ Dünyanın en önemli metropollerinden biri olan İstanbul, 'her geçen gün daha da yükselen gökdelenleri' ile gündemde... Birkaç yıl önce, sınırlı sayıda görmeye alışık olduğumuz gökdelenlerin sayısı, yeni projelerle birlikte giderek artıyor.
See "Türkiye Yükseliyor" <http://fotogaleri.ntvmsnbc.com/galeri.aspx?galleryId=1699&position=1>

*Gecekondu and Skyscraper*¹⁰⁹

Skyscraper:

you're *all over the city* / Stretching your arms
gecekondu gecekondu / Go back where you came from
with your *ratty walls* / You are *spoiling my sight*
your *streets of bole and mud* / You *contaminate* this city

Gecekondu:

we built your walls / We stirred your grout
you, *pile of cement* / We were here while you were not

¹⁰⁹ Gecekondu ve Gökdelen (in Grup Yorum. (2008). *Başçeğmeden*. İstanbul: Kalan Müzik.)

Gökdelen:

yayılmışsın bütün şehre / kollarını gere gere
gecekondu gecekondu / dön git geldiğin yere
yıkık dökük duvarların / görüntümü bozuyorsun
balçık çamur sokakların / bu şehri kirletiyorsun

Gecekondu:

duvarlarını biz ördük /senin harcını biz kardık
beton yığını gökdelen / sen yok idin biz burdaydık
kıpırdamam hiç yerimden / çekil benim güneşimden
gölge etme başka birşey / istemem senden gökdelen

Gökdelen:

ben yok iken sen gelmişsin / aman çok bir halt etmişsin
el koyup boş araziye / geceyarısı konmuşsun
bunlar kanundışı işler / kapına dayanır dozer
topla pılını pırtını / bunca zaman kaldın yeter

Gecekondu:

kurtlar bile uğramazdı / bomboş yerlerdi buralar
biz konunca üşüştüler / jandarmalar zabıtalara
göğü işgal ederken sen / hangi kanun izin verdi?
yaşam hakkıdır benimki / sen hangi hakla dikildin?

Gökdelen:

hepinizi yıkacaklar / yerinize konacağım
alışveriş merkezleri / rezidanslar olacağım
modanın kalbi burada / finans merkezi şurada
ışıl ışıl limuzinler / istiyorum gecekondu

Gecekondu:

yere batsın pis kar hırsın / senin olsun paran pulun
mahallenin her tuğlası / namusudur kondulunun
sömürünün abidesi / şatafatın senfonisi
ihtirasın anıtısın / nasıl mahluksun gökdelen

Gökdelen:

globalleşirken dünya / sen kalmışsın taş devrinden
kentsel dönüşüm dedik / yıkılacaksınız tümünden

Gecekondu:

yalınayak çocukların / kucaklarındaki taşlar
seni ters çevirip yere sokar / hayatı yeniden kurar....

I won't move a bit from *my place / Stop blocking my sun*
that's all I ask from you, skyscraper

Gökdelen:

you came here in my absence / what a thing to boast about
appropriating the *empty land / you have landed at midnight*
these are all *illegal / the dozer will turn up at your door*
get all your junk together / you've stayed here all this time, that will do

Gecekondu:

this was a bare land / *in the middle of nowhere*
once we have landed here/ then flocked the gendarme and the
constabulary
which law let you / *to invade the skies?*
mine is the *right to live / which is yours?*

Gökdelen:

they will tear you all down / I'll land on your place
I will become shopping malls / residencies
the heart of fashion here / *finance center* there
glittering limousines / that's what I want, gecekondu

Gecekondu:

damn your greed for profit / take your money and assets
every brick of this neighborhood / is [gece]kondulu's honor
you, *monument of exploitation / symphony of ostentation,*
monument of *ambition / what a creature are you, skyscraper*

Gökdelen:

as the world is globalizing / you are from the *stone age*
we've called it *urban renewal / you'll all be demolished*

Gecekondu:

barefoot children / with *armful of stones*
will turn you upside down, thrust you to the ground / *will build the life*
over again.

In order to comprehensively depict the urban spectacles around Küçükarmutlu one remaining image, capturing a view of the Bridge from a high point of the neighborhood, deserves attention. The Fatih Sultan Mehmet Bridge constructed in 1988 was actually a threshold for the expansion of the informal settlements further to the Northern part of Istanbul. Hence, Küçükarmutlu, among many other neighborhoods around, began to be densely settled after the completion of the Bridge and in that sense it is a result of this very construction process. However, in the

course of the time, as the theretofore existing secondary/bypass roads have become insufficient to connect and direct the vehicle traffic to the Bridge, a need has emerged for additional roads. Küçükarmutlu was the settlement that has lost a considerable size of its settled land to the confiscation for the new roads.



Photograph 8. A view of Küçükarmutlu and “the Bridge” beyond it. In the daily order of motorized urban circulation “The Bridge” connects remote geographies and populations of the European and Asian side, whereas it segregates and isolates Küçükarmutlu from its immediate surroundings such as Hisarüstü, Narin Sitesi and Tepecik.

Many of the informants, who have witnessed the sudden demolition of their neighbors’ houses nearby the right of way (*istimlak sınırı*), narrate the process of confiscation as a turning moment when the ties of local solidarity, once established by a collective demand of housing, have begun to resolve. According to them, it was due to a new strategy of the municipal government; negotiating with the resisting inhabitants one by one through an extensive use of misinformation and blustering:

- 4.5 The guy comes and says, “One way or another you’ll get out of the house, if you do not accept the evacuation fee, you’ll get nothing, your stuff will be buried under the ground, your children will be naked and doomed to the streets.” First he tries to frighten you as such, however even if they are going to make evacuation, there is an evacuation fee, and the connoisseurs decide that amount. He goes into all the houses and tries to bargain an amount in total ignorance. And when he enters, he really enters... As he gets out he says to the house owners, “don’t tell anybody we gave you this amount, you get the highest fee in the whole district.” They went to every house like this and placed the faction seed, like the Trojan tale. And then what happened? Our

collective resentment, our collective efforts to stop them did not work after some point. *They ruined the houses one by one, in the emptiness left behind, they constructed these giant Palestine Wall. All right then. Good bye to us*

4.6 There are not mass demolitions anymore. They are trying to demolish three or five houses at a time. When you talk to people you will realize how they think about it. They are just thinking of how they can increase the value of their houses. So they are not panting after saving their houses from demolition. Besides, until now these people have been neglected and excluded by the state. And now, all of a sudden the state appears before them and says “I am ready to bargain with you to agree on this or that price” as if he is being regarded as a *normal citizen*. It is not easy... The guy came from a village is unable to claim his right without any support. *Even when he hears the word “state” he would look for a place to hide, because he is a gecekonducu*. He certainly does not know that the value of the land and of the house is many times higher than that offered by the state. *This is how the state deceives, like a hunter bearing a torch to the eyes of the rabbit.*¹¹⁰

4.7 I saw a *giant wall*. Oh man, I understand the *bridge*, I understand the extra-wide road, but this wall? It is *black as the pitch*, a mentality that tries to bind us to where we are, that refuses us *to pass behind that wall*.¹¹¹

The moment of bargaining on the evacuation fee to be paid to the inhabitant is significant in terms of transformation of the property relations with reference to differing uses and perceptions of the urban space. For it resembles to an encounter with the state when the squatter house/the occupied land (thitherto claimed by its use value under the right to shelter) turns to be merely regarded by its exchange value.

Throughout this process of negotiation which would ultimately lead to an “exchange”, the attempts of inhabitants to increase the value of their house seem to be in accord with the state’s corresponding gesture, to legally admit him/her as a

¹¹⁰ Toplu değil, artık üçer beşer yıkmaya çalışıyorlar. İnsanlar da konustugunuz zaman, ben evimin değerini ne kadar arttırabilirsem o kadar yararım, o insan evini yıktırmama aşkıyla tutuşmuyor. Bir de devlet şimdiye dek bu insanı kaale almamış, dışlamış. Bir anda karşısına geliyor, sanki *normal vatandaş gibi* ben seninle şu kadara anlaşırım diyor. Kolay değil...Köyden gelmiş adam, hakkını bilmemneyi tek başına savunamaz, *devlet diyince kaçacak delik arar gecekonducu olduğu için*. Bilmiyor ki o toprağın, evin değeri devletin ona verdiği kat kat üstünde. *Böyle aldatıyor devlet, tavşanın gözüne ışık tutan avcı gibi*.

¹¹¹ Bir baktım, *dev gibi duvar*...ulan dedim *köprüyü* anladık, geniş geniş on arabalık yolunuzu anladık bu duvar neyin nesi? *kapkara zift gibi*. sanki biz *oradan beriye geçemeyelim* gibi bir mantalite...

sovereign subject even for an instant. Described by an inhabitant as a rabbit's paralyzation under the flashlight of the hunter, this is a moment where radical politics of spatiality peculiar to Küçükarmutlu come to be dissolved and transfigured against the pressure of state.

At this point, the subject, recognized for the first time by the Power, may leave its transgressive position of defending the use of urban land as a right for various reasons (primarily economic). Yet I argue, there is still a psychic effect of encountering with the state (or being recognized by the state) as a subject even through legal procedures of confiscation wherein the theretofore illegalized and criminalized subjectivities of the margin become momentarily legalized. Butler (1997) asserts that the will to exist, the desire for recognition and the demand of occupying the site of the subject converge into a complex state of subjecthood whereby "regulatory power maintains subjects in subordination by producing and exploiting the demand for continuity, visibility and place." (p.29) Butler's formulation is both realized and paradoxically reversed in Küçükarmutlu. Realized because, the subject's desire for existence is directly and indirectly exploited by the Power. Reversed because, facing this "empty" gesture on the part of the state, the inhabitants' demands of place, visibility and continuity are indeed transiently realized at the expense of becoming homeless through a radical spatial rupture.



Photographs 9 & 10. The Palestine Wall of Küçükarmutlu.

The wall (Photographs 9 & 10) referred by the two informants above is a 20 meter high, black retaining wall that supports the northern side of the slip road crossing over Küçükarmutlu between the Bridge and the coast. It is a construction that marks the physical end of the territory by its contrasting verticality, impeding further movement and suspending horizontal vectorality of the very act of walking. It distorts the sight and leaves no room to pass around even by looking at a different direction. The wall where the neighborhood abruptly stops divides the landscape biting, thereby isolates houses and people of Küçükarmutlu from the daily life

beyond it. It is, in that sense, an incorporeal urban spectacle demarcating a population on the margin with its shadow. By this way, it functionally and semantically converges to remote images of the surrounding gated communities along with the Bridge, the skyscraper and the “last station”. Finally it is a concrete image of darkness, erecting over the neighborhood and intensifying the feeling of getting stuck on the bottom of an abyss. Looking from the urban core, beyond this *Palestine Wall* an urban abyss lies with its own spectacles and “hidden narratives engraved on the landscape” in Weizman’s terms. (Kastner & Najafi, 2003)

Up until now, I have presented fragments of the landscape formed by and forming the subalterity of Küçükarmutlu where politics of spatiality and place-bound collective imagery are in constant configuration against the arresting images of urban development. The *wall*, for instance, may acquire sharply opposed meanings in varying moments and contexts of the mundane materiality. The *Palestine Wall*, with its name and metonymic referents registered in the narratives, is a vivid mark of claustrophobic otherness for the informants. Regardless of its structural function as a retaining wall, it is a discrete construct of urbanism touching the corpus of Küçükarmutlu by its [once-settled-]edges, perpetually invoking the antagonism between the urbanites and the excess populations on the margin (or the dangerous classes), people who depicts their presence under a relentless isolation; physical, social, economic as well as political.

The construction of a *gecekondu*’s wall, on the contrary, is another unique moment in the temporality of home-making for the dweller, a collectively organized radical praxis that claims the use-value of the urban land and embodies this essentially political claim through the *concrete labor*¹¹² of the dweller brick by brick.

¹¹² Here I refer to the double characteristic of labor identified by Marx as *abstract labor* and *concrete labor*. While *concrete labor* connotes to the expenditure of human labor power in a special form and with a definite aim of producing use value; abstract labor is homogeneous human labor, which is

The *wall* of a *gecekondu*, also becomes a surface of inscription for real texts and images, some preserved as traces of past and ongoing struggles, of collective claims and desires; some vanished through time without any trace left behind. Street writings, graffiti images, banners and political slogans on rough-casted, fractured walls of squatter houses are hardly considered as primary anthropological substance in the sense that they are tended to be read merely as frozen displays of the local social imaginary. However, no less than the narrative construction of reality by my informants, anonym manifestation(s) of the “lived” and “desired” inscribed on and embodied by the walls of Küçükarmutlu have vitally informed my experience of fieldworking. The unique existence of a burnt, half-demolished house, or an image carved on the cement surface of a squatter house depicting a smiling child looks out of an imagined window that is considerably bigger and fancier than the real one beneath it; or an image of a red star (in combination with a rifle and a clenched fist) drawn in detail on another wall out-of-the-way; or slogans calling for collective struggle against state oppression and urban inequality, or even just a single word (REVOLUTION, RESISTANCE, LIBERATION, etc.) painted with capital letters between the fracture lines of gray walls are altogether complementary, as reflections of spatial- temporal ruptures and continuities. I tried to read them as manifestations of deep antagonisms finding expression in the built environment as to what constitutes both Küçükarmutlu as a “space of representation” and to what configures the narrative temporality *vis-a-vis* the present (and *Jetztzeit*) material forms.

These inscriptions operate as tacit narratives whereby the walls instantly acquire the position of the storyteller, arresting the flow of history through an inert

measured by time, and therefore, resembles to an equalization of subjective labor of individuals as interchangeable units in the relations of production and exchange. Whereas *abstract labor* it is identified as the source for the production of commodities, it only comes into being in the very practices of commodity consumption. (Read, 2003, pp. 70-71).

complexity of images and telling the story of a place in between mythical moments of past and messianic moments of future. Yet, due to their anonymity and hermeneutic surplus they also expose themselves to an ethnographic present covert enough not to provide a straightforward access for reading/interpreting. As such, the workings of this complex structure of signs and symbols of/on the landscape, is in direct tension with the singular matrix of regimes of truth produced beyond the borders of Küçükarmutlu that are enframing the “materially embodied nature of senses of place” only through terms of “empty abstraction”. (Marx, 1978, p. 122) Employing Marxian denouncement of Hegelian philosophy; in other words, following the dialectical task of identifying the contradictory nature of totality to its minute details while avoiding a reductionist reflection on materiality of things, I assume, is a proper way to problematize and discuss monolithic constructions of the reality of the margin. This is a philosophical commitment as well, to the cognition of the reality through a combination of abstraction, as theoretical synthesis, and *liberation from the abstract*, as the ultimate task of the materialist conception of history. I therefore propose a semiotically oriented outlook that inquire for a partial understanding of the built environment (and incorporated forms of collective articulations, visual and textual) both in its dialectic relationality with the discursive texture of circulating narratives and in its diametrical antagonism with the surrounding urban images and imaginations.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION:

Ideology of Space

I will conclude this section, with a hermeneutic attempt to read distinct languages of spatiality produced in two neighborhoods located symmetrically on different sides of the Bridge. As I prefer to see the present of Küçükarmutlu in its physical proximity to the surrounding constellation of concrete images I also regard the discourse(s) of belonging and manifestation(s) of urban claims in a relationality which are peculiar to diverge districts in their particularity as much as through their contested registers of political imaginaries. Once again, as to what constructs the order of material forms and the spectacles of the lived space along with what is displayed to a wider public in these locations are my primary focus of interpretation as to understand how “the place” is in a constant making out of collective regime(s) of imagination, articulation and production of difference. Lefebvre (1991) asks the critical question: ‘What is an ideology without a space to which it refers, a space which it describes, whose vocabulary and links it makes use of, and whose code it embodies?’ (p. 44)

Heading towards Küçükarmutlu from south, just before crossing over the bridge, one was able to recognize until very recently a huge section of apartment blocks with banners hanged on every single balcony and window. There was an



Photograph 11 & 12. Banners on the balconies and windows of the houses in the neighborhood of Tepecik Road. The banner on the left reads “Give me back my silent street”. The black banner on the right reads “We’re dying of exhaust gas” and the white banner “We fiercely condemn Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality with its new traffic regulations”.

ongoing protest in Tepecik area which belongs to one of the richest part of Istanbul, the Etiler district. The reason was, as of the end of November 2007 two streets connected to each other within the borders of the neighborhood almost became a part the TEM Highway. That was to say, these streets were to be substitutes of the main road that until then provided the last exit to Etiler before entering the Fatih Sultan Mehmet Bridge. Residents of the area, also known as Tepecik Road, chose to protest, hanging posters on their buildings with a seemingly professional advertisement campaign. Under an anonymous title, “Residents of Tepecik Road”, they were demanding for their “silent” streets once again. The protest aroused a great attention of the main stream media.

The stock images, as stated by the designer of the banners in a newspaper interview, were chosen to arouse a feeling of discomfort both to the residents and the by-passers. A screaming man, a gas mask and similar depictions were utilized towards manifesting the residents’ fear of the extensive vehicle traffic destroying their peaceful living area while the direct addressee of the protest was the municipality that is responsible for configuring the route in such a way. Complaints varied but were converging into a general aggression against the administratives who have disregarded the dignity of the district. Moreover the dominating genre, or the narrative form, used by the residents to explain the excruciating effects of the restructured roads was typical. It was the language of the sovereign subject, speaking to Power through possessive suffixes and re-claiming the streets, so to say, as a

property right.¹¹³ No single public demonstration, no mass meeting, nothing more than the banners and the imperturbably answered compassionate questions of curious interviewers for whom the problem was manifested without a need for translation. Below are excerpts from two news papers both with the interviewers' and residents' observations describing of the process from the beginning to the end as a success story of a silent and peaceful demonstration:

“I didn't participate the first meeting, however, when I saw everyone on the second meeting, I realized that this just about turned into a war. But it is a quiet and disciplined war. In a campaign, *you should always trust and believe in the product you'll be selling.*”[...] When their street has turned to a highway they have faced all the expected problems; and they explained them: illnesses as a result of the exhaust gas, the green of the trees getting pale, speedy motorcycles riding on the pavement when there's a traffic jam, school kids unable to find a road to walk on, even the water carriers getting a parking fine when they stop in front of the building. It is impossible to carry stuff because cars cannot stopover; shops cannot make the shipment of their goods; residents often find dead cats and dogs on the road. There is also noise pollution because of klaxons. [...] “Here used to be considered one of the most exclusive districts of Istanbul. *Instead of blocking roads or using force*, the residents chose to protest silently; a manner that can set an example to Turkey. *Decent and elegant people live on this street, they just claim their rights*

The banners hanged on the neighborhood are designed by a publicist resident. [The mukhtar says:]“Residents who park in front of their houses as usual began to get parking fines. This has been one of the most challenging things, and we established a committee.”[...] The worst thing is, I can not walk my dog. They assigned a bus line to a road no bus can pass through.

¹¹³ A lengthy quotation from Kathleen Stewart (196) is needed to clarify why I take up the dialogical relation of political imaginaries between the center and margin as a focal point of my study and why it is of crucial significance to dwell on the language of different spatialities :

Strange that these places so devastated by history retain the marks and memories of the past while in the suburbs the sheer timelessness of the straight line of progress spreads like oak wit from house to house [...] Strange how things seem to proliferate and amass themselves in the margins while the centers with the power to create look to these “Other” places as a source of both nostalgia and threat [...]

The one might come to imagine itself as a structure and order while the “Other” with no power to keep the surrounding other at a distance, sees itself in moments of engagement and encounter and the sheer nervous movement of contingency and indeterminacy. Where the one seeks sleek surfaces and finished objects, the “Other” amasses fragments into a surround that stands at once as prison and protecting cocoon. Imagine how it holds to dream of a homeland, how it gives rise to the desire to chronicle, to re-member, how it insists on the materiality of things that matter. (p. 42)

*The road of Etiler has been drawn by its residents. So, the “road case” that caused problems such as selling or renting of the houses is concluded with the victory of the residents.*¹¹⁴

These lines reveal that the protest was thought to be a promotional campaign of an unidentified product. Should it be right to say, that it is a given for the language of neoliberalism to construct any public voicing of any issue as if it will acquire the status of a commodity, to be circulated in the “market”; in a particularized public sphere of discourses and counter-discourses where the form, or more precisely the capability to adopt to and maneuver between changing networks of genres defines whether or not the product get sold? Is the “never-admired-claiming-voice” of the margin another formulation of the “lack” or “social distance” on the other side of the Bridge in Küçükarmutlu, in the sense that it neither partakes in the urban “market” (of discourses) nor invests upon neoliberal genres and formulations of sovereignty over space? Why are the residents of the Tepecik Road not “using force or not blocking the roads” to have their protesting voice heard like their counterparts on the opposite side of the Bridge? Is it simply because they are “decent and elegant people”, because they are “trusting in their product”? What determines the incontestably uneven distribution of “legalized privileges and legitimated inequalities” (Holston, 2008, p. 4) whereby the same road going through Tepecik into Küçükarmutlu resembles to an exemplarily victorious campaign for the former but to house eviction, demolition, and displacement; to a violent extinguishment of the

¹¹⁴ Mahalleye asılan afişleri reklamcı komşu hazırladı [Muhtar] "Her zamanki gibi evinin önüne park edenler trafik cezaları aldı. Bu en zorlayıcı şeylerden biri oldu ve komite kurduk" diyor.[...] "En kötüsü, dışarı çıkıp köpeğimi gezdiremiyorum. Hiç otobüsün geçmeyeceği yola otobüs hattı verdiler."

Etiler'in yolunu ev sahipleri çizdi Yani, Etiler'de pek çok ev sahibinin konutunu satması ya da kiraya vermesine kadar varan sorunlara yol açan 'yol davası', ev sahiplerinin zaferiyle sonuçlandı. From “Etiler’in Yolunu Ev Sahipleri Çizdi”, *Sabah Gazetesi*, 24 July 2008.

“home” for the latter? Lastly, which further ethnographic data does one need to be compelled to “look at the urban from the standpoint of class struggle”? (Harvey, 2001, p. 114)

After the hunger strikes came to an end with a violent police intervention and the police station is constructed in the neighborhood, Istanbul’s Chief of Police declared that the neighborhood is finally become “dead calm”¹¹⁵ From an opposite perspective but with a parallel “authoritative voice”, the Revolutionary Left announced that the incorporation of the people of Küçükarmutlu with the revolutionary struggle is the most immediate fear of the political regime. This antagonist positionality continue to reproduce itself on the colonization of the political realm in the neighborhood by the current threats of “degeneration” and “crime”. Given that, Küçükarmutlu can and should also be elaborated as the object (or *objet petit*) of opposite political fantasies.

Yet real human faces and human voices appear in the interstices of such political fantasies. In that sense, demarcated on the one hand with a criminalizing rhetoric by the state as a place of “lack of order and law” and “rescued zone under terrorist occupation”, on the other, through a mythic vocabulary by the Revolutionary Left with the slogans of “We are the people, we are right, we will win”, “Long Live People’s Justice” and “No to Isolation” Küçükarmutlu offers no anthropological substance. Since, none of these ossified representative rhetorics are sufficient to explain “the reality” of the margin. Similarly none of these “regimes of truth” is open to regard Küçükarmutlu as a “lived space” inhabited by the illegally constructed houses of the urban poor trying to cope with the harsh conditions of suburban life under the scarcity of resources (social, cultural, political and economic capital) which push and hold them to/at the margins.

¹¹⁵ "Burasını sülman hale getirdik" from the speech of Istanbul’s Chief of Police Hasan Özdemir after police raids in Küçükarmutlu.

I see the significance of doing such a study on the everyday experiences of people, which is informed by micro-historicities, memories and life stories, at the very intention of going beyond the *immediate* instances and *enframings* of spatiality. In other words, I insist on to replace the question of “what is space?” with the question of “how is it that different human practices create and make use of different conceptualizations of space” (Harvey, 2004, p. 4) To follow such an anthropologizing inquiry, this research not only problematized an urban conflict but also rethought how identifications, therefore subjectivities, are formed in relation to certain constructions and experiences of labor, spatiality, displacements, demolitions, representations, violence and memory. That I see as the most proper way of constructing a critical episteme as distant as possible from epistemic violence.

APPENDIX



Fig. 1. Armutlu 1966



Fig. 2. Armutlu 1989



Fig. 3. Armutlu 1989



BİLDİRİSİNİ ÖĞRENCİ İLKER OKUDU
İktidarı yıkıldıktan sonra şaşkınlığa düşen Küçük-
u yıkımzedeler çeşitli eylemlere itilmeye çalışı-

lıyorlar. Bir süre önce Anakent ve Sarıyer belediyelerini
basan yıkımzedeler, bu defa da açlık grevine başlattırdı.
Grevin basın bildirisini ilkokul öğrencisi İlker'e okuttular.

Yıkımzedelerden açlık grevi

• **Serap YAZICI**
NT Belediyesi tarafından
günlerde Kartal, Ali-
Gaziosmanpaşa Gazi-
si ve Sarıyer Küçük-
a gecekonduları yıkılan-
sabahtan itibaren süre-
grevine başladılar.

• İlker Çiçek isimli ilkokul öğrencisinin oku-
duğu basın açıklamasında, halkçı beledi-
yelerin başını sokacak yerleri olmayanla-
rın evlerini yıkacağı yerde, Boğaz'ın en gü-
zel yerlerini gasp eden villaları yıkmaları
istendi. Gecekondu Yaşayanlar Kültür
ve Dayanışma Derneği Başkanı Mende-
res Koc da, bu konuda s...ları söyledi:

• "Bizler, bakıma gereksinimi olan insanlarız. Yok-
sulluk varolduğu bin kez dahi yıkılsa, gecek-
ondular tekrar yapılacaktır. Ayrıca gecekonduların yıkıl-
malarını protesto amacıyla imza kampanyası başlat-
tık. Demokrat insanları kampanyamıza katılmaya
davet ediyorum. Gecekonduların yıkılması, sadece do-
zerle yıkmakla çözülmez, belediyelerimizin bu
konuya titizlikle eylemlerini istiyoruz."

Fig. 4. Hunger Strike against Demolitions (1990)



Fig. 5. Construction of Cemevi



Fig. 6. An open concert in Küçükarmutlu

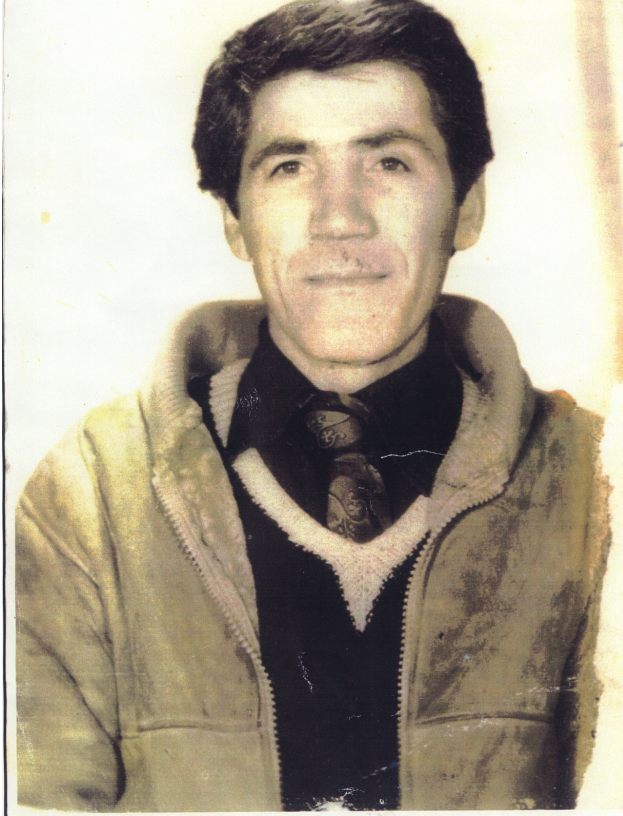


Fig. 7. Hüsnü İşeri (killed by a Police Operation in July, 23rd 1990)



Fig. 8. A protest of Pir Sultan Abdal Cultural Association



Fig. 9. A Multistorey in Küçükarmutlu



Fig. 10. Police Raid in Küçükarmutlu



Fig. 11. Beyond the barricades



Fig. 12. Petition protest in Küçükarmutlu



Fig. 13. Winter in Küçükarmutlu



Fig. 14. "Güz Şenliği" in Küçükarmutlu



Fig. 15. Exihibiton in “Güz Şenliđi”



Fig. 16. Concert in “Güz Şenliđi”

4. GELENEKSEL ARMUTLU GÜZ ŞENLİĞİ

KONSER:
9 Eylül Pazar
Saat:11_00

Panel:8 Eylül C.tesi
Saat:14_00

Konu:
Adalet ve Özgürlük

Sinema Gösterimi
Saat:19.00

duygu koçak
erdal bayrafoğlu
erdal güney
grup yorum
haluk levent
mişa
niran ünsal
nilüfer sarıtaş
nurettin güleç
sevcan orhan
yırtık uçurtma
çayeli der. fed. horon ekibi
almus semah ekibi

"şimdi ayrımcılığın kanonik radioiden kalkıp adaletin gollarına kayalmanın zamanıdır"

Pir Sultan Abdal Kültür Derneği Sarıyer Şubesi
Fatih Sultan Mehmet Mh. G:14 Sok. No: 19 (Boğaziçi cemevi bahçesi) Tel: (0212) 229 93 77 www.pirsultansariyer.net

4. ARMUTLU GÜZ ŞENLİĞİ

özgürlük ve adaleti mücadelemiz devam edecek...
8-9 Eylül Pazar
Saat:11_00

grup yorum
erdal güney
erdal bayrafoğlu
mişa
duygu koçak
nilüfer sarıtaş
haluk levent
sevcan orhan
yırtık uçurtma
burhan berken

Adalet ve Özgürlük Mücadelemiz Devam Edecek...

Armutlu

Pir Sultan Abdal Kültür Derneği Sarıyer Şubesi,
Fatih Sultan Mehmet Mahallesi G:14 Sok. No:19 (Boğaziçi cemevi bahçesi) Tel: (0212) 229 93 77
www.pirsultansariyer.net

5. ARMUTLU GÜZ ŞENLİĞİ

KONSER
14 Eylül saat 11.00

ARMUTLUDA AYKIRI HAYIR!
ARMUTLUDA AYKIRI HAYIR!

Aynur Haşhaş - Bajar(Vedat Yıldırım)
Duygu Koçak - Erdal Güney
Gülşay Yüce - Grup Yorum
Mehmet Ekici - Mercan Erzincan
Mişa - Murat Kekilli
Nurettin Rençber - Özlem Taner
Rojin - Sevcan Orhan
Seyfi Yerlikaya - Şevval Sam
Yırtık Uçurtma
Almus Kültr. Day. Der. Semah Ekibi

PANEL
13 Eylül saat 18.00

Yıkımlara, yozlaşmaya, yoksulluğa,
Adaletsizliğe karşı gücümüz birliğimizdir...

Pir Sultan Abdal Kül. Der. Sarıyer Şub., Fatih Sultan Mehmet Mh. G:14 Sok. No: 19 (Boğaziçi cemevi bahçesi)
Tel: (0212) 229 93 77 www.pirsultansariyer.net

"Birliktir her nefsin kalesin ykan..."

3. ARMUTLU GÜZ ŞENLİĞİ

SUNUCU: YİĞİT TUNCAY
KONUŞMACI: MEHMET ALİ ALABORA

10 Eylül 11:00
KONSER

AYLİN ASLIM
BARIŞ AKARSU
DUYGU KOÇAK
ERDAL BAYRAKOĞLU
GRUP İSYAN
GRUP YORUM
HOZAT
KARDEŞ TÜRKÜLER
KIVIRCIK ALİ
NURETTİN GÜLEÇ
SEVCAN ORHAN
YIRTIK UÇURTMA
ALMUS KÜL DER. SEMAH EKİBİ
... VE SÜRPRİZLER

9 Eylül 14:00
PANEL
HALKLARIN
BİRLİK VE BERABERLİĞİ

Pir Sultan Abdal Kültür Derneği Sarıyer Şb. Gençlik Komisyonu
Yer: F.S.M. Mh. G:14 Sok. No:19 (Armutlu-Sarıyer) (Boğaziçi Cemevi Bahçesi)
Tel.: 0212) 229 93 77

Fig. 17. Posters of "Güz Şenliği"



Fig. 18. Bare walls, dark interiors



Fig. 19. A burnt house in Küçükarmutlu



Fig. 23. Elections and Demolition



Fig. 24. Land speculations in mainstream media

Bilderberg'deki TÜRK TAKIMI

10 TEMMUZ 1990 SALI

SABA



BU MESUT YILMAZ MI
ANAP'ın GENEL BAŞKANI
OLACAK ?



Berna Yılmaz
Mesut Yılmaz'ın karısı. Onun gibi güçlü ve kararlı bir kadını bulmak zor. Berna Yılmaz'ın Türkiye'de bir kadının rolü hakkında...

KİM DAĞITTI? Şimdilik belli değil... Ama niyet belli...

17 polis yaralı, 30 gözaltı var

Çatışma: 1 ölü

● Sarıyer Küçükarmudu geçeköndü bölgesinde dün gece arama yapmak isteyen polislerle geçeköndü sakinleri arasında taşlı-sopalı çatışma çıktı, ardından da silahlar patladı. Olaylarda geçeköndüculardan Hüseyin İşeri yaralandı. Yitirirken, 30 kişi de gözaltına alındı.

● Saat 20.30'da başlayıp 23.00'e kadar süren çatışma sırasında takviye kuvvet çağrıldı ve bölge Çevik Kuvvet ve panzerlerle çembere alındı. Çelik yelekli 3 slyası tim de teyakkuza geçirildi. Ancak, operasyon, Emniyet Müdürü Arda'nın teilsiz emriyle sabaha bırakıldı.

HABERİ 12. SAYFADA



Taşlı-sopalı çatışmada yaralanan polis memuru, arkadaşlarıyla hastaneye kaldırıldı. (Fotoğraf: Serdar AKINAN)

BUGÜN

"TEK VAKELİV ÇIĞDIK"

Fig. 29. Death of Hüsnü İşeri

Özal'ın Tunceli tavsiyesi:

"TÜS

● BÜYÜK TUSIAD ma için "Mutlak neş Tan nilliyorcu liyet'e." de bir ben der erkekçe
● Güneş T ken şöy ye'de ç şilderder kanı Ce ge girdi görüüle sindedi savcılı çlirmer

HAI

Çatışma sonrası gerginlik

Küçükarmutlu'da önceki gece yapılan operasyonda 1 kişinin ölmesi ve çok sayıda kişinin yaralanması üzerine vali ve emniyet müdürü arazi mafyasının suçluları aradığını belirterek, gecekondular ise bölge polisini arazi mafyasıyla işbirliği yaptığı gerekçesiyle suçluyor..

İstanbul Haber Servisi — Sarıyer Baltalimanı sirtarındaki Küçükarmutlu'da önceki gece 1 kişinin ölümü, çok sayıda gecekondunun sakininin yaralanmasıyla sonuçlanan olayla ilgili olarak İstanbul Valisi Cahit Bayar, "Devlet her yere girer" dedi. Bayar, "Ölüm olayını inceleyeceğiz. Polis olayı suçlu aramak için girmiş, ancak direnişle karşılaşmıştır" derken İstanbul Emniyet Müdürü Hamdi Ardalı da "Gazetelerde arazi mafyasından bahsediyorlardı, onun için girdik. Suçlu aramak olarak aradığımız adamlar. Bunları alabilmek için girdik oraya, mesele bu" diye konuştu.

Anakent Belediye Başkanı Nurettin Sözen, de "Küçükarmutlu'daki olay bizim söylediklerimizi adeta onaylamıştır. Hükümette ve valiyeye basıyormuzun nedeni budur. Orada bir kişi öldü, biz de silahlı olarak oraya yıkım için gidecektik. Polislin dogal arama yapması bile mümkün olmuyor. Devlete karşı kimse başedemez" dedi.

Başkan Sözen, bölgede yığınların devam edip edemeyeceği konusunda da "Yalnız onun meselesi değil. Mesam villaları sorunu da duruyor. Kanunsuz yapılarla gereken yapılacak" dedi.

Bu arada Sarıyer Cumhuriyet Savcısı Asım Kutur, polislin silah bulduğuna dair bir ihbar üzerine gece Küçükarmutlu'ya gittiğini, ancak gecekonduların "yıkım için" geldiklerini sanarak çatışma çıktığını söyledi.

Olayın tamamını bir yanlış anlamadan kaynaklandığını belirten Kutur, dñn 42 yaşındaki gecekondunun sakini Tokatlı, Hüsnü İler'in öldüğü yerde inceleme yaptı. Çevrede toplanan gecekondunun sakinlerini de polislin geçersiz kendilerini meydana toplayarak rasgele ateş edildiğini söylediler ve olay yerinde bulunan boş konutları gösterdiler. Olayın falanncı kurşunu ile vurularak ölen Hüsnü İler'in, Adli Tıp'taki cenazesi için ihbar ölümlüde toplanan çok sayıda akrabası da iki çocuk birtası Hüsnü İler'in karısı Gildane İler'in hastane doğuştan ilümlüdü belirttiler. Olaylar sonrasında yakalanan 20 gecekonduluç Şişli Etilal ve İhsan hastanelerinde tedavi edildi. Olayda yaralanan polis memurları İğnül Eryüz, Vilmaç Şentürk ve Komiser İbrahim Akoğlu'nun sağlık durumunun ciddiyetini koruduğu bildirildi. 17 polis memuruna da Şişli Etilal'de ayakta tedavi edildiği öğrenildi.



SABAH OPERASYONU ERTELENDİ — Sabaha ertelenen operasyon mahalle sakinleriyle güvenlik güçlerinin görüşmesinden sonra polis ablukası kaldırıldı. (Fotoğraf: Uğur Saner)

Dün gece yarısı polislin yaptığı aramada 1 kişinin ölümüyle tirmanan olaylardan sonra Emniyet Müdürü Hamdi Ardalı'nın emriyle geri çekilen çevik kuvvet grupları, yeni panzerlerle desteklenerek "geniş çaplı bir operasyon" gerçekleştirmek için sabah saatlerinde bekledi. Ancak durumun gergin olması göz önüne alınarak çembere alınan gecekondunun tepesinde yakutları ateşin etrafında toplanarak polise karşı önlem hazırlıklarına başladı. Meydanı sopa ve taş yağın ve çevreye dñre çekilme çivi serpeyerek bekleyen gecekondular sadece gazetecilerle görüşmeyi kabul etti. Zaman zaman ağıtların yükseldiği gergin bekleyiş sırasında gecekondular açığa oturları üzerinde uyumaya çalıştılar. Bu sırada hastaneye götürülmeyenlerin tedavisi de kendi aralarında yapılmaya çalışıldı. Sabah 08.30'dan sonra polislin bölgeye takviye geç

göndermeye başladı. Saat 09.00'da gecekonduların yanına gelen Beyoğlu - Fatih bölgesi bağımsız milletvekili Hüsnü Okçuoğlu, İçişleri Bakanı ve valiyi arayacağını söyledi. Okçuoğlu "Bu, antidemokratik, insanlık dışı bir tutumdur" dedi.

Bir süre sonra bir gazetenin teliziyile gecekondular ve polis yetkilileri arasında bağlantı kurularak her iki tarafın temsilcilerinin "tamamsız, orta bir bölgede" buluşarak karşılıklı uzlaşma sağlanması için görüş yapılması şğılandı. Polis birlikleriyle gecekondunun bölgesi ortasında kalan bir bakkalın önünde yapılan görüşmeye, gecekondunun temsilcileri Muammer Şişnek ve Keklik Yılmaz ile emniyet müdür yardımcılarını Muammer Öz, Baki Ersoylu, Siyasi Şube Müdürü Ergün İşık ve gazeteciler katıldı.

Gecekondulu sözöelleri, gece operasyonuna gelen güvenlik görevlilerinin kendilerine çok kötü davrandıklarını, bölgedeki polislin de arazi mafyasıyla işbirliği içinde olduğunu söyledi. Emniyet Müdür Yardımcısı Muammer Öz de gecekondunun temsilcilerine aksam gelen güvenlik görevlilerinin "sadece genel bir arama" yapmayı amaçladıklarını, bunun belediye yığını için bir hazırlık olmadığını kaydetti. Bunun üzerine gecekondunun temsilcilerinin evlerinde gizli-saklı hiçbir şey olmadığını ve polislin arama yapabileceklerini söylemesi üzerine uzlaşma sağlandı. Uzlaşmadan sonra Emniyet Müdür Yardımcısı Muammer Öz başkanlığında bir grup polis gecekondunun bölgesine çıkarak kısa bir tur attılar. Emniyet görevlilerinin bölgeye ayrılmamasına sonra da Küçükarmutlu'daki polis ablukası kalktı.

İstanbul Emniyet Müdürü Hamdi Ardalı da Cumhuriyet'in sorununu şöyle yanıtladı:

"Gazetelerde arazi mafyasından bahsediyorlardı. Onun için girdik. Sonra bizim girişimiz yanlış anlamış oradaki vatandaşlar. Mesele bu. Suçlular dediğimiz kişiler, arazi mafyası olarak aradığımız adamlar. Bunları alabilmek için girdik oraya. Silah bulduğuna dair herhangi bir ihbar yok. Ancak bizim kendi istibahlarımız var. Bundan sonra olacak herhangi bir şey yok. Vatandaş yanlış anlamadı. Bugün (dün) olayın esasını anlayınca bize yardımcı oldular. Bir, şimdiki tahkikata başladık. Arazî mafyası iddiaları sürültiler bakımından."

Ardalı, Cumhuriyet muhabirinin, "Yanlış anlaşılmasını önlemek için operasyonun gündüz yapılması mümkün değil miydi?" şeklindeki sorusuna, "Mümkündür, olabilir, bu da bir görüşdür tabii" yanıtını verdi. Olayla ilgili 27 kişinin gözaltında tutulduğu öğrenildi.

'Kaçak yapılanma'da hız rekoru

KEMAL KÜÇÜK

Boğaziçi'nin son yıllarda önce kaçak yapılanma "adağı" olan Küçükarmutlu, Baltalimanı sirtarında ve Sarıyer ilçesi sınırları içinde bulunuyor.

Boğaziçi'nde 30 yıl önce kurulan Resitpaşa gecekondunun mahallelinin eklelerinde Boğaziçi Yasası'nın ekli Nazım Planı'nda da "düğürlümlü bölge ile görürlümlü bölge"nin ayırıcı çizgi üzerinde bulunan Küçükarmutlu, Boğaziçi'deki kaçak yapılanmada "hız rekoru" kıran bir bölge.

1985'ten sonra bölgedeki boş Hazine arazileri yanında, İTÜ ve Harp Akademileri'nin arazilerini bulduğuna geniş ve çarpık araziye başlayan kaçak yapılanma, en fazla İTÜ ve Hazine arazileri üzerinde yoğunlaştı. 1986 yılında Sa-

rıyer ANAP ilçesi delege seçimi sırasında dikkati çeken bölgede, eski Belediye Başkanı Ali Sandıkçı ile ANAP ilçe teşkilatı arasındaki "delege kapını yarışını, Armutlu'da kaçak gecekondular patlamasına yol açtığı yolumdaki iddialar yere halkı tarafından da "doğulanıyordu."

Sarıyer Belediyesi, 1989 yıl seçimlerinden sonra bir gñlde 30 gecekondunun yapılmaya başlatıldığı bildirildi. Önceleri zabıta tarafından sonra gecekonduların gñcede yenileniyordu. Arka arkaya 3 kez yıkılan yeniden yapılan gecekondulara devlet arazilerini satan bazı kişiler, gecekondularını "koruma garantisi" ile metre karesi 10 milyon lira istediği belirtiliyordu.

Sarıyer Belediye Başkanı İhsan Yalçın, giderek çoğalan gecekonduların güçlendiğini ve zabıta ile yıkım yapılamayacağını belirterek 1989 haziranında "Polis desteği olmadan artık yıkım yapılamaz. Ancak devlet de polis veriyor bize. Çevik kuvvet veriyor, ama arazileri koruyun deniyor" diye yakınıyordu. Yalçın bakkal davranışında isteksiz davranışını belirterek "Siz yavaş yavaş, ama halkla biz karşı karşıya geleceğiz diyorlar. Bir gün arazi bölgede oturan bir polis memurunu tespit ettik" diyor.

Sarıyer Belediyesi yanında Boğaziçi İmar Müdürlüğü'nü de "aynı türden" yakınmaları sürenken son olarak İTÜ'nü 1 milyon 500 bin metre karelik arazisinin işgal edildiğini saptanması üzeri-

ne İTÜ Rektörü, İhsan Kıyan Sarıyer Belediye Başkanı ve İstanbul Valiliği'ni suçlamıştı. Geçen yaz 1183 gecekondunun yıkıldığı Armutlu'da aynı konulardan yeniden yapıldığını belirten rektör Kıyan, "Tel çekmek istedik müteahhümlü kovaladılar. Tek sere askerler, mümkün olduğunda geniş bir yer çevirdi diyoruz. Bizden yer isteyen askerler" diye konuşmuştu. Belediye Başkanı İhsan Yalçın ise "Ben Don Kışot değilim. Babamın usadı yok burada. Vatayete yardım istiyorum. Sarıyer Kaymaklığı yazılarımızı vilayete iletmiyor" diye yanıt veriyordu.

Binlerce gecekondunun hızla yapıldığı Boğaziçi sirtarındaki Küçükarmutlu'ya önceki gün uzanmadık ilk kez çevik kuvvet "yıkım" için değil "arama gerekçesiyle" girdi.

Fig. 32. "Gecekonduların" in Küçükarmutlu



Fig. 33. Discussions on the issue of *Gecekondu* in DEMKAD publications



Fig. 34. Discussions on the issue of *Gecekondu* in DEMKAD publications

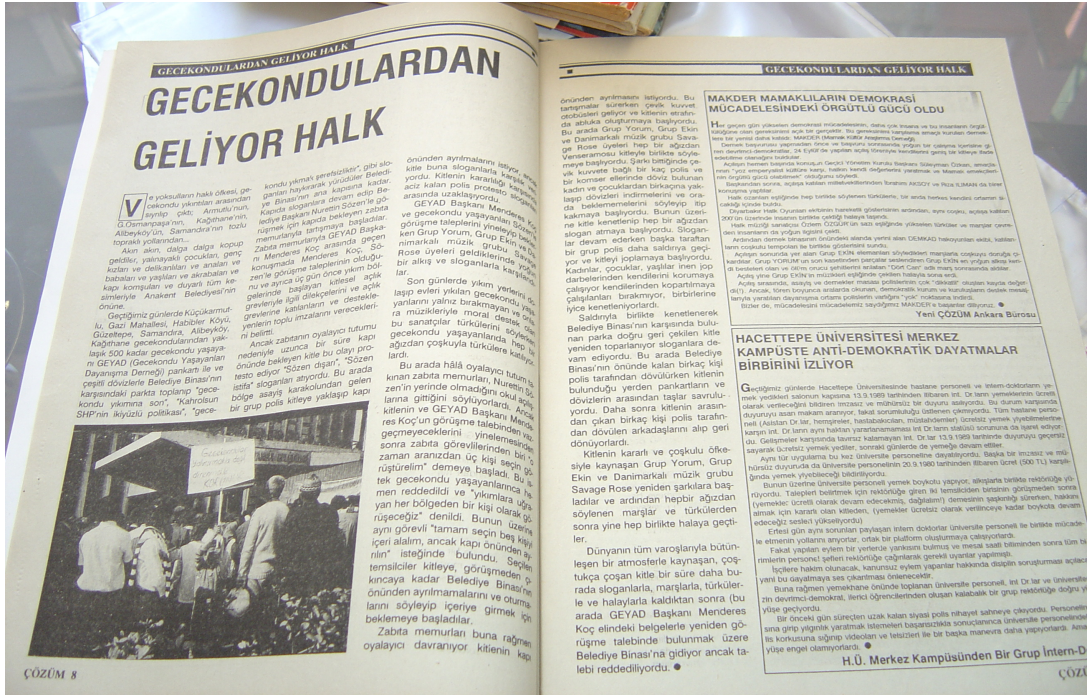


Fig. 35. Discussions on the issue of *Gecekondu* in DEMKAD publications



Fig. 36. Exhibitions against demolition in Küçükarmutlu



Fig. 38. Protests against demolitions

'EVLERİMİZİ YIKTIRMAYIZ'

İstanbul Boğazı'ndaki son kale Küçükarmutlu direniyor. Dozerli ekipler: "Yıkım yoktu. Yol çalışması yapacaktık" Halk kararlı: "Yol bahanesiyle evlerimizi yıkacaklardı"

VOLKAN ŞAHİN

İstanbul'da binlerce kaçak kondu var. Yetkililer hiç bir şey yapmıyor. Her seçim döneminde olduğu gibi kaçak binalar hızla artacak. Küçükarmutlu ise işler tersine döndü. Bu bölge hedef tahtası haline getirildi. Boğaz manzaralı semte Tekno Kent projesi yapılmak isteniyor. Yıllardır burada oturan çocukları büyütüp evlendiren halk ise bu projeye karşı çıkmıyor. Halk "Çalıştı k çabaladı k. Evlerimizi yaptık, şimdi de yıktırılmayı z" diyor.

Önceki gün Küçükarmutlu halkı, yol genişletme çalışması nedeniyle dozerli kepeçli ekipleri görünce şaşkınlıkla döndü. Ekiplerle tartışma başladı. Gerginlik artınca olaya 2 panzer eşliğindeki çekim kuvveti müdahale etti. Polis kalabalığı dağıtmak istedi. Gaz bombası kullandı. Ara sokaklarda barikat kuran gençler yaşlı bölge halkı taşlarla polise karşılık verdi.

POLİS HÂLÂ DERS ALMADI

Öğle saatlerinde başlayan olaylar gün geçeyince sınıra kadar sürdü. Polisin kullandığı gaz bombasından bir tanesi bir eve isabet etti. Küçük çaptaki yangın meydana geldi. Gaz bombalarından Küçükarmutlu Cemevi de nasibini aldı. Camları kırıldı. Bölge halkı önce polislin abartılı şekilde gaz bombası kullandığını belirterek şöyle tepki koydu: 1 Mayıs'ta Taksim'deki göstericilere aşırı miktarda gaz bombası kullanıldı. Bir kişi öldü. Polis bu olaydan ders almadı mı? Sağa sola bakmadan sürekli biber gazı sıkıyor, gaz bombası atıyor. Her gösteride birilerinin evlerinin camından ya da bahçesinden içeri gaz bombaları düşüyor. Polisin bu konuda daha dikkatli olması için daha kaç kişinin ölmesi gerekiyor"



İşte evleri yanan küçük bir çocuğun göz yaşları bölgedeki yaşanan acıyı anlatıyor.

Fig. 39. Protests against the construction of road



Fig. 40. Waiting in vigilance



Fig. 41. Gathering of people in “Güz Şenliği”



Fig. 42. Petition Protest at the Metropolitan Municipality - İstanbul



Fig. 43. Küçükarmutlu. A neighborhood of slopes



Fig. 44. Children of Küçükarmutlu

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