

DIVERSE LANDSCAPES, DIVERSE WORKS: REFRAMING THE URBAN
TRANSFORMATION OF ÇİNÇİN THROUGH MUHTARS, HOUSEWORKERS,
THE USTA, AND THE KABADAYI

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TRANSFORMATION OF ÇİNÇİN THROUGH MUHTARS,
HOUSEWORKERS, THE USTA, AND THE KABADAYI**

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ABSTRACT

DIVERSE LANDSCAPES, DIVERSE WORKS: REFRAMING THE URBAN TRANSFORMATION OF ÇİNÇİN THROUGH MUHTARS, HOUSEWORKERS, THE USTA, AND THE KABADAYI

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This dissertation presents the sociospatial analysis of a radically transformed *gecekondu* (squatter housing) zone, Çinçin, through the work experiences of two groups of social actors, *muhtars* (neighbourhood heads) and houseworkers, and two well-known personalities referred to as the *usta* (expert craftsman) and the *kabadayı* (social bandit). Çinçin was one of the first marginal districts of Ankara occupied by Persian Roma in the 1920s; it became a part of the dense urban fabric of *gecekondus* during the urbanisation period and has faced radical urban transformation since 2005. The methodology varies, including auto-ethnographic mapping, in-depth and biographical interviewing, and literature analysis in order to combine collective spatial narratives and historical data. The concept of coupling diverse landscapes and diverse works is employed to draw a threefold interpretative framework: (I) the history of the land is the history of labour; (II) the division of land is also the division of labour relations; and (III) there is a dialectical relationship between work and urban transformation. Diverse works conceptualised by informants open a discussion about social actors in the making of diverse landscapes, unemployment, and the changing legitimacy of work. The stories of regular actors (*muhtars* and houseworkers)

and radical actors (the *usta* and the *kabadayı*) support the threefold framework of the study by unfolding the contradictions of urban transformation and the changing dimensions of work as a biopolitical and sociospatial construct. Ultimately, this research suggests that we need to analyse the dialectical relationship of urban transformation and work considering a multitude of actors in order to propose labour- and community- centred urban design strategies in our era of urban crisis, which is also a crisis of labour relations.

Keywords: Urban Transformation of Çinçin, Work, Muhtars and Houseworkers, Usta and Kabadayı

ÖZ

MUHTELİF İŞLER, MUHTELİF PEYZAJLAR: ÇİNÇİN'İN KENTSEL DÖNÜŞÜMÜNÜ MUHTARLAR, EV İŞÇİLERİ, USTA VE KABADAYI ÜZERİNDEN YENİDEN ÇERÇEVELEMEK

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Bu tez Ankara'nın radikal bir biçimde dönüşmüş bir gecekondu bölgesi olan Çinçin Bağları'nı (kısaltılmış ve yaygın kullanımıyla Çinçin'i), farklı sosyal aktörlerin muhtelif iş deneyimleri üzerinden sosyomekânsal olarak araştırmayı amaçlamaktadır. Bu aktörler iki grup altında ele alınmıştır: Muhtarlar ile ev işçileri ve bir usta ile bir kabadayı. Ankara'nın ilk kıyı yerleşim alanlarından birisi olan Çinçin'de 1920'li yıllarda İranlı Romanlar gayri resmi olarak ikamet etmiş, bu alan kentleşme döneminde yoğun bir gecekondu alanına dönüşmüş ve 2005 yılından itibaren de köklü bir dönüşüm geçirmeye başlamıştır. Kolektif mekânsal anlatılarla tarihsel veriyi bir araya getirmeye çabalayan tezin metodolojisi oto-etnografik haritalama, derinlemesine ve biyografik görüşmeler ve literatür analizine dayanmaktadır. Muhtelif işler ve muhtelif peyzajlar kavram ikilisi üçlü bir teorik çerçeve oluşturmak üzere kullanılmaktadır: (I) Yerin tarihi emeğin tarihidir; (II) kentin bölüşümü emeğin bölüşümüdür; (III) kentsel dönüşüm ve iş arasında diyalektik bir ilişki vardır. Katılımcıların betimlediği ve iş olarak kabul ettiği muhtelif işler sosyal aktörler, işsizlik, işin sosyal rolü ve değişen meşruiyeti ve de ev işçilerinin iş yerleri üzerine bir tartışma zemini yaratmaktadır. Alışıldık sosyal aktörlerin (muhtarlar ve ev işçileri) ve sıra dışı aktörlerin (bir usta ve bir kabadayı) anlatıları tezin ana iddiası olan kentsel

dönüşüm ve iş arasında diyalektik bir ilişki olduğunu; kentsel dönüşümün çelişkileri, işin biyopolitik ve sosyomekânsal boyutları üzerinden açarak desteklemektedir. Sonuç olarak bu araştırma, kentsel dönüşüm ve iş arasındaki diyalektik ilişkinin kentsel mekâna müdahale etmeden önce araştırılması gerektiğini vurgulamaktadır. Kentsel dönüşüm ve iş arasındaki diyalektik ilişkinin araştırılması aynı zamanda bir emek ilişkileri krizi olan kentsel kriz çağında, işin ve çoklu sosyal aktörlerinin kapsamlı kavranışı üzerinden emek odaklı kentsel süreçler önermek için eleştirel bir zemin inşa edebilir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Çinçin'in Kentsel Dönüşümü, İş, Muhtarlar ve Ev İşçileri, Usta ve Kabadayı.

To Doğa, Tuğba and Selma ...

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ABBREVIATIONS

TOKİ: Toplu Konut İdaresi. -Public Housing Development Administration-Turkey's government-backed housing agency.

TOKİs: in the meaning of TOKİ apartment sites. Those sites are generally composed of high-rise apartment blocks up to 10-12 storeys.

GLOSSARY

- ara and göz: -ara: recess; the entrance hall of gecekondur. -göz: section; main room of gecekondur.

- baba: father, in the meaning of crime boss, godfather. *Babas* as figures emerged after *kabadayıs*.

- daire: apartment unit.

- emlakçı: real estate agent.

- eşkıya: bandit (or *haydut*). Banditry (*eşkıyalık*) was emerged and practised within the agricultural production; toughness (*külhanbeyliği*) and kabadayılık (*tough guy*) were practised in town or city within the urban modes of production.

- gecekondur: squatter housing emerged during the urbanisation period in Turkey. -gecekondus: the plural form of the word is used in the meaning of settlement composed of many squatter houses.

- kabadayı: tough guy, however tough guy is not one to one translation. In the dissertation kabadayı is redefined as ‘social bandit.’

- kahvehane: tea and coffee place, coffee house.

- konu: shortened version of gecekondur, squatter house.

- külhanbeyi: tough. The word comes from a particular room of *hamams* (Turkish baths) called *külhan* (grate room). Comparing to toughness (*külhanbeyliği*), *kabadayıs* do not associate with a specific place in town or city for sheltering.
- mahalle: neighbourhood.
- merkez ilçe: central district.
- muhtar: officially elected neighbourhood heads in the rural and urban areas in Turkey.
- imam: Muslim leader.
- pavyon: night club
- semt: district.
- usta: expert craftsman.
- yapsatçılık: small scale independent enterprise for property developing. Composed of two different words: -yap: to build; -sat: to sell.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Research: *Muhtars*, Houseworkers, the *Usta*, and the *Kabadayı*

John Berger and Jean Mohr embarked on a journey in order to tell the stories of migrant workers immigrating from countries at the margin of the globalising economy, such as Turkey, Greece, and Portugal, to Western Europe within the first big international migration wave of the 1960s. They photographed and wrote about their journey in 1973 and 1974, and published it as a book project entitled *A Seventh Man* (2010 [1975]). They concluded the book with two side-by-side images at the end: “Old Altındağ” on the left and a physical examination room for the selection of “healthy factory-workers” on the right. The following passage was written for “Old Altındağ” by John Berger:

Villagers from Anatolia come to Ankara. On the city outskirts they build shacks to live in. The roof must be put up during the first night of building. If by morning there is a roof, the city authorities do not have the right to destroy the shack.¹ The shacks are without sanitation or water. For many, this is the first step towards emigration (Berger & Mohr, 2010 [1975]: 232-233).

These two images at the end of the book, as a form of visual and textual storytelling of labour relations on the global scale, contrast the results of becoming a migrant factory-worker in another country for an unknown period or settling in the city and facing the difficulties of new urban conditions and unemployment in the era of urbanisation between the late 1940s and 1980. On the left page, we see the abrupt slope of a dense *gecekondu* district looking topographically precarious. On the right,

¹ This is what *gecekondu* means as a word in Turkish. *Gece*: Night; *kondur*: build; *gecekondu*: build at night.

we see a dramatic depiction of bodies of labourers reflecting the precariousness of emigration. Berger and Mohr emphasise that the bodies of labourers are replaceable parts of the production machine, giving us an immediate reflection of the interconnection between biopolitics and the reproduction of labour relations from a broader perspective of political geography and immigration. Marginal countries² provided this cheap human labour power for the accumulation of capital. But what about the ones who stayed, as on the left page? (*Figure 1.1*).

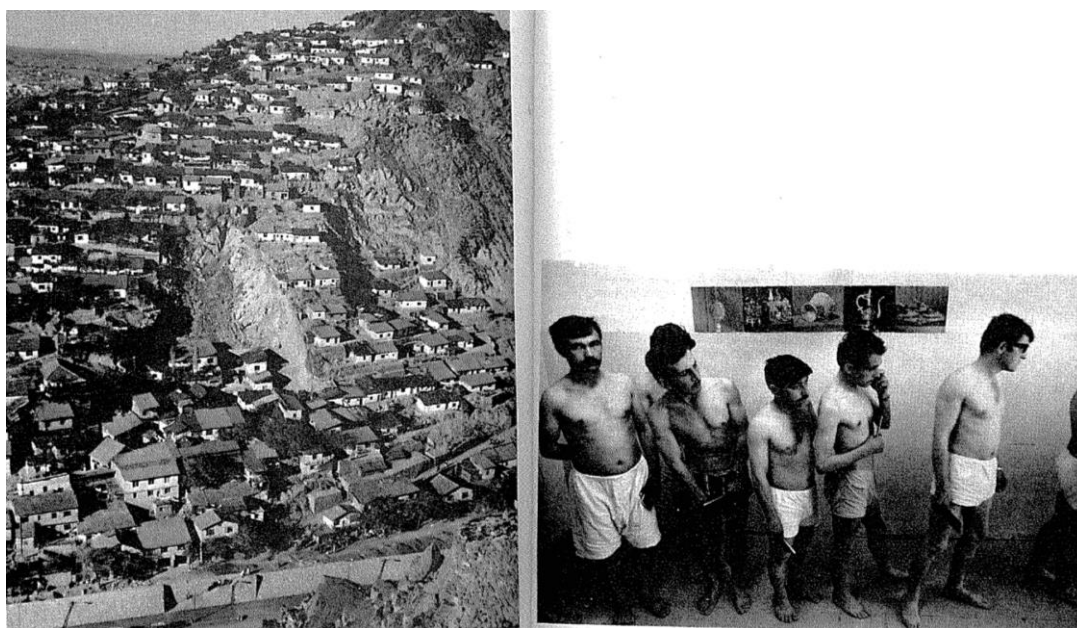


Figure 1.1. Villagers from Anatolia. The last two pages of John Berger and Jean Mohr's book, A Seventh Man: A Book of Images and Words about the Experience of Migrant Workers in Europe, London and New York: Verso, 2010 [1975]: 232-233.

Çinçin Bağları, or Çinçin, as residents widely refer to it, is a part of Old Altındağ; hence, it is located within the area pictured above on the left page. Çinçin was one of the first marginal districts of Ankara, occupied by Persian Roma in the 1920s, and it has been associated with unemployment and criminalisation ever since (Şenyapılı, 1981: 170). The district became a part of the dense urban fabric of *gecekondus* during

² Countries on the margins of the globalising economy.

the urbanisation period with the rest of the Old Altındağ area and it has faced radical urban transformation since 2005 through the collaboration of the Altındağ Municipality and TOKİ.³ The concluding illustrations of Berger and Mohr's book represent the departure point of this research, with a similar focus on work as a biopolitical and sociospatial product. However, I would like to extend the issue into the relationship between urban transformation and work. With this aim, the present research is grounded on the fundamental concept of labour, which is at the centre of the historical materialist approach elaborating the relationship between labour and nature.⁴ Marx states (1961) that labour and nature have an interconnected relationship; when labour is materialised, nature is transformed (180). In light of this definition, work could be basically defined as an institution of the activity of labouring, an institution relating human relations with labour relations.

The conceptualisation of work has been a recent debate shaped around contemporary and emerging modes of labour, and changing concepts since the 1960s.⁵ Sean Sayers (2007) elaborates that Marx and Engels defined work by concentrating on different kinds of work in the scope of the production relations of the middle and late 19th

³ TOKİ: *Toplu Konut İdaresi* or the Public Housing Development Administration. TOKİ is Turkey's government-backed housing agency, which became the principal actor and institution in the urban transformation of *gecekondu*s in the 2000s. TOKİ gained the authority to use public land without charge in 2003 and to plan and develop *gecekondu*s by taking over the housing duties of the Ministry of Public Works and Housing in 2007 (Batuman, 2018: 75). TOKİ projects are generally named as urban gentrification, urban cleansing, or urban renewal projects. Although the building model of *yapsatçılık*, which means property development as a small-scale enterprise in Turkish, had a special place in the transition between *gecekondu*s and apartments since its emergence in the 1970s, it was used as a principal model neither in Çiğir's *gecekondu* neighbourhoods nor in the rest of Old Altındağ. There are various possible reasons for that, such as the high poverty level and the high density of *gecekondu*s, which hindered the collaboration of contractors and multiple title owners. Therefore, Old Altındağ remained a *gecekondu* zone with increasing marginalisation. In 2005, TOKİ initiated the urban transformation in collaboration with the government and Altındağ Municipality. Hence, there has been an ongoing rooted transition from *gecekondu*s to TOKİ apartments in Çiğir since 2005 until the present.

⁴ Stefania Barca, "Laboring the Earth: Transnational Reflections on the Environmental History of Work," *Environmental History* 19 (January 2014): 3-27.

⁵ Krishan Kumar, "The Social Culture of Work: Work, Employment and Unemployment as Ways of Life." Kenneth Thompson (Ed.), *Work, Employment and Unemployment: Perspectives on Work and Society*. Philadelphia: Open University Press (1989 [1984]): 2-17.

century. Different kinds of work of that era were the direct appropriation of nature, such as hunting or fishing; agricultural work; and craft and industrial work (Sayers, 2007: 431-454). Nevertheless, the recent debate on work is shaped around the claim that production relations have been changed at the roots in our globalising world. The number of manual workers has diminished; some types of work were lost; newly emerging types of work mainly depend on communicative labour. Production processes have gained speed and mobility, and there is the crucial issue of the global fragmentation of labour, which makes the market uneven on a more uncontrolled scale. Furthermore, the sociospatial dimensions of work have changed. For instance, some workplaces have been replaced with the virtual space of online shopping. Work, workplace, and urban space have all been transformed under the changing production relations. It is claimed that work as human agency and its relationship with urban space has become a more complex issue in the world.⁶

*Gecekondu*s are a crucial and widely studied urban phenomenon in Turkish urbanisation history as they are also part and parcel of the complicated relationship among work, labour power, and urban transformation. At this point, the primary research problematic arises: **How could we reframe a radically transformed urban fabric of *gecekondu*s through the work of multiple social actors?** There is reciprocal movement between the fieldwork and the theoretical framework, which led me to posit another question: **How could we re-conceptualise “work” through multiple social actors of an urban district of *gecekondu*s under radical change?**

Based on various research strategies, such as mapping auto-ethnographic field trips, semi-structured and biographical interviewing, and literature analysis, I will first

⁶ Pointing out Herbert Marcuse’s analysis of production and labour relations in the 1960s, Neil Brenner (2017) claims that there is still a problem of defining urban agents and agencies for revolutionary change. Hence, the working class is “no longer operating as it clearly did in the formative period of capitalist industrialisation” (Neil Brenner, 2017: 32).

propose an interpretative theoretical framework bringing together three interconnected field notes that turned into a threefold claim:

(A) First, I will depart in the claim that **the history of the land is the history of labour**. *Gecekondus* in the urbanisation history of Turkey were elaborated as self-organised settlements that emerged within the socioeconomic consequences of changing labour relations—that is, within the shift from agricultural production to urban modes of production. The first outcomes of *gecekondus* research framed *gecekondus* as landscapes of labouring that emerged during the urbanisation period between the late 1940s and 1980.⁷ With the help of this perspective, we could interpret the relation between land and labour through two different approaches to the concept of labour. First, labour is a human capacity, since labouring *gecekondus* refers to the alternative and communal ways of making space at domestic and neighbourhood levels. Second, labour relations are material forces among humans. As capitalist production accumulated by the exploitation of “cheap labour”,⁸ *gecekondus* were providing a stock of cheap labour.⁹ In other words, those settlements were functioning as an apparatus of the reproduction of cheap labour during the urbanisation and industrialisation processes. This reproduction was filling the need for labour-power mostly for insecure, unrecorded types of work excluded by the market economy.

In order to elaborate on labour and labour relations as capabilities and material forces, a myriad of other critical crossings could be drawn between land and labour. Labour is biological because it is an activity depending on human effort, and it is sociospatial because it is an activity of production of nature and it takes place in a social space. Hence, the reproduction of labour relations and “work, employment, and

⁷ Kemal Karpat, 1976; İlhan Tekeli, 1976, 1977, 1982, 2006; Önder Şenyapılı, 1978; and Tansı Şenyapılı, 1981.

⁸ Jason W. Moore, 2018: 237-279.

⁹ Önder Şenyapılı, 1978.

unemployment” as products of labour relations are both biopolitical and sociospatial.¹⁰ A fluid definition of work thus appears. Work is a historically produced institution of labour relations with biopolitical and sociospatial dimensions.¹¹ In this research, I deliberately distinguish between labour and work, following the meta-theoretical position of Hannah Arendt in *The Human Condition* (1998 [1958]). Arendt challenges the Marxist glorification of all labour against divisions of labour, claiming that this position might generate an abstract grasp of labour mystifying the human experience of work and binding various emerging types and processes of work. Arendt redefines work and labour as interrelated human activities, stating that “the human condition of labour is life and the human condition of work is the world” (Arendt, 1998 [1958]: 7).

(B) In this line, the attempt to problematise work together with its biopolitical and sociospatial dimensions would help to explicate the second claim: **The division of land is also the division of labour.** In the case of *gecekondus*, “unskilled labour-power” (*yeteneksiz işgücü*) is a label used for a group of urban inhabitants. All of the divisions of labour, including unskilled/skilled, material/immaterial, and manual/intellectual, are mechanisms of the market economy, producing non-market, marginalised types of work as well as the market economy. According to Krishan

¹⁰ There is a crucial path from Foucault to Deleuze and Guattari in the conception of biopolitics. This is also a path from the structural to post-structural philosophies of the 1970s and 1980s. According to Antonio Negri and Michael Hardt (2001), the core problem of the Foucauldian conception of biopolitics was ignoring the radical ontology of various agents and agencies of variant types of labouring. Unlike Foucault, Deleuze and Guattari looked at the ontology of the body; however, Negri and Hardt claim that their interpretation remained abstract, since those have been interpreted in a positive way through the conceptions of “desire” as a human drive or aforementioned “nomadism” as a positive human situation. The conception of biopolitics in this path was a shift from “Foucault’s historical epistemology with an implicit negativity” to “Deleuze and Guattari’s ontology”, which might unnecessarily be giving a positive attitude that might lead to a misconception of the body as a sociospatial and historical becoming. According to Negri and Hardt, there is a reconciliation in this path because of not considering radical actors of labour relations, which is a great change since the late twentieth century (Hardt and Negri, 2001: 45-50). In this line of thought, a goal of research might be articulating the recent debates around the spatial thinking of work, labour, and biopolitics (Robert Young, 2003; Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri, 2001).

¹¹ Krishan Kumar, 1989 [1984]: 2-17. Also Tanıl Bora, Aksu Bora, Necmi Erdoğan, İlknur Üstün, *Boşuna mı Okuduk? Türkiye’de Beyaz Yakalı İşsizliği*. İstanbul: İletişim Yay., 2011: 15.

Kumar (1989 [1984]), the divisions of labour reproduce an uneven distribution of all work, giving “interesting/creative/skilled” work¹² to a small, privileged part of the population and toil and precarious work to the rest.¹³ There is an unevenness in the distribution of work, as there is an unevenness in the distribution of urban land. Furthermore, work is linked with “employment” and “job” as an economic necessity through which an individual identifies herself/himself in our contemporary era. Hence, the concept of work is reproducing unemployment and the share of all work at the discursive level (Kumar, 1989 [1984]: 2-17).

What kinds of work do residents living in the Çiğin *gecekondus* perform? The participants of the fieldwork, most of whom are still living in the remaining *gecekondus*, narrate urbanisation and the urban transformation history of Çiğin through their divergent histories of searching for a job in the city, unstable work life, coping with different conditions of being unemployed, and witnessing modes of unemployment and unrecorded, insecure types of work. They have their own particular conceptualisations of “works”,¹⁴ which have strong and contradictory reflections on the urban transformation. More than *gecekondu* as a house or *gecekondus* as a neighbourhood, the informants explain urban transformation through the changes in their work lives, the ever more difficult conditions of finding a job, the struggles to pursue a practice as work, and the transformation of their daily relations of work lives and workplaces.

¹² Which is reproduced through the autonomy of agents.

¹³ It is widely discussed that the precariousness of white-collar workers is increased together with the precariousness of both blue-collar and subaltern groups such as unrecorded migrant workers in our era of urban crisis. The building sector, the conditions of construction workers, and the rise of the exploitation of architect-workers are discussed in this framework to point out that diverse labourers share the same exploitation of labour and the exploitation of nature. Peggy Deamer, *The Architect as Worker - Immaterial Labor, the Creative Class, and the Politics of Design*, New York and London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2015.

¹⁴ Here, the plural use of *işler* rather than the singular version *iş* can be seen as a hint of the informal type of work. In English dictionaries, “works” also refers to a more informal use of “work”. <https://www.dictionary.com/browse/works>, Accessed September 19, 2019.

Deciphering the collective narratives of the Çinçin residents with a focus on work, labour, and land, I employ a coupled concept: Diverse landscapes, diverse works. “Diverse works” herein refers to the works conceptualised by the informants, and those open a discussion about regular and radical actors, unemployment, social roles, and the changing legitimacy of works, as well as the workplaces of houseworkers. Diverse works are various types of earning a livelihood, including self-employed and/or non-market types of work, most of which are temporal, insecure, and therefore precarious works. There are regular and radical actors of diverse works. All of the narrated material in this dissertation is set around what informants call “works” (*işler*) in their daily lives. Through work, they also define their spatial identity. It is here that they reproduce and reconfigure Çinçin as a landscape.

(C) These two claims serve as a ground for the third claim: **There is a dialectical relationship between work and urban transformation, between “diverse works” and Çinçin *gecekondus* as “diverse landscapes”.**¹⁵ When urban space is transformed, diverse works are transformed, and when diverse works are transformed, urban space is transformed, too. The dialectical relationship between urban transformation and work at this point serves briefly as an attempt to look at the reciprocal relationship between diverse landscapes and diverse works within all layers of economic-political and sociospatial processes, such as emerging changes, interrelations, unities, oppositions, and contradictions in the sociospatial relations of the district.

Different *gecekondu* districts have different urbanisation and urban transformation dynamics.¹⁶ Therefore, it is not possible to generalise *gecekondus* as “diverse landscapes produced by diverse works” for all districts. Here I should also mention

¹⁵ “Diverse landscapes and diverse works” is translated into Turkish as “*muhtelif peyzajlar ve muhtelif işler*”.

¹⁶ Oğuz Işık and Melih Pınarcıoğlu, *Nöbetleşe Yoksulluk Sultanbeyli Örneği*, İstanbul: İletişim Yay., 2018 [2001].

the ethnic diversity of Çinçin. Çinçin Bağları's remaining *gecekondus* are not recently occupied by one primary ethnic group, although it is written that Roma and Kurdish populations were dominant in the 1970s.¹⁷ Several neighbourhoods of Çinçin have had several diverse communities in terms of cultural and ethnic background, depending on where the origin of the family is. The informants who participated in this research were born either in Çinçin as the second or third generation of massive rural migration during the urbanisation period, or they immigrated from the villages of Bayburt, Yozgat, Sivas, Kars, Erzurum, Kayseri, and Ankara (such as Haymana). There are also still Roma residents living in the remaining *gecekondus* or moved to the newly built TOKİ apartments as former land-owners. The informants make the common statement that their family's origin has already lost its importance; the first and second generations of rural migrants identify themselves predominantly through "being from Çinçin" (*Çinçinli*).¹⁸ Since diverse landscapes are produced by diverse "works" (*işler*) defined by Çinçin residents, Çinçin as diverse landscapes of diverse works could open a further discussion about the possibility of living together under conditions of unemployment, uneven distribution of labour-power, marginalisation, and criminalisation.

Another critical observation during the fieldwork is that most of the informants refer to "respected" social figures to represent Çinçin as "a place that should be known through hardworking people, and people who could have proper and respected jobs. Çinçin should not be known only through the thieves and drug gangs", as it has been popularly represented in the media. Moreover, they refer to various labourers of Çinçin who are "musicians starting their music life in Ulus *pavyons* [night clubs], lawyers, representatives working in political parties, all of whom lived in Çinçin once".¹⁹ The informants also underline "social figures" of the past such as *kabadayıs*

¹⁷ Yılmaz Güney, *Soba Pencere Camı ve İki Ekmek İstiyoruz*. İstanbul: Güney Filmcilik, 1980 [1977].

¹⁸ This is also reported in Yaşar Seyman's documentary book *Hüznün Çoşkusu Altındağ*, 1986.

¹⁹ Interviews, 07.07.2019.

(tough guys, “social bandit”),²⁰ *muhtars* (neighbourhood heads), and revolutionists from the ‘68 generation as a part of this genre. Other widely referenced actors are construction workers, artisans, paper collectors, informal caretakers of cemeteries, repairers, workers of industrial sites (*Siteler*) and hospitals, and paid houseworkers, who may be working inside or outside of Çinçin. Although most of the diverse works of Çinçin are insecure, unrecorded, non-market jobs, the presented fieldwork supports the claim that “work is a historical institution, a sociospatial construct through which an individual identifies herself/himself in the society and their communities” (Kumar, 1989 [1984]: 2-17).

To elaborate on “diverse workers”, I would like to refer to one of the pioneering studies encapsulating the *gecekondu* phenomenon through its interrelation with labour relations: Tansı Şenyapılı’s research published in 1981 entitled “Gecekondu: ‘Çevre’ İşçilerin Mekânı”, the title of which is translated into English as “Gecekondu: The space of marginal workers”.²¹ Although the title is translated as “marginal workers”, in Turkish Şenyapılı uses the idiom of “*çevre işçi*”, which could also be translated as “peripheral worker”. This is because Şenyapılı makes a differentiation between the central worker (*merkez işçi*), peripheral worker (*çevre işçi*), and marginal worker (*marjinal işçi*), claiming that *gecekondus* became spaces of peripheral workers (in 1981) more than marginal workers as they were at the beginning of urbanisation in the 1950s (Şenyapılı, 1981: 19).

The number of marginal workers decreased and peripheral workers increased approaching 1980, which is accepted as the end of the urbanisation period, dependent on the massive displacement of rural workers. According to Şenyapılı, central workers are regularly waged, insured, “highly skilled” (which implies workers who received

²⁰ Tough guy is one-to-one translation of *kabadayı*; however, I will use it close to Eric Hobsbawm’s conceptualisation of social bandit. Eric J. Hobsbawm, *Bandits*, New York: Dell Publishing, 1971 [1969].

²¹ Tansı Şenyapılı, 1981: 17-53.

an education and entered a profession), organised, long-term workers. Central workers take part in large-scale production with modernised techniques, producing goods with high market values. Peripheral workers do not have professions, engaging in service work or producing goods through small-scale production processes without modernised techniques. Nevertheless, peripheral workers might also be producers of basic technological goods. To exemplify, peripheral workers are painters, repairmen, junkmen, shoemakers, grocers, glaziers, quilt makers, tin-men, welders, greengrocers, and other similar small-scale makers and artisans (Şenyapılı, 1981: 18-19). Marginal workers are more on the edges of the economy compared to peripheral workers. Marginal workers have the most precarious, temporal, and non-market types of work, such as informal cemetery caretakers and porters. Those works entail flexibility, insecurity, and circulation at a high level (Şenyapılı, 1981: 26). In addition to these brief definitions, Şenyapılı rejects “informal labour” or “informal work”, stating that non-market types of work are also a part of the economy. Moreover, a formally working tea-server might have the same rights and obligations that a peripheral worker has even though s/he is employed as a central worker. Therefore, the separation of informal and formal labour/work is a sector-based approach limiting the grasp and experiences of work (Şenyapılı, 1981: 19).

According to this classification, I met central, peripheral, and marginal workers in Çinçin, as well as unpaid houseworkers who are not counted as workers, and other social actors whom I did not conceptualise directly as “workers”. However, these actors have their own unique conceptualisations of “works” and work-related issues such as unemployment, crime, and resistance against the exploitation of labour. Hence, I employ the coupled concept of “diverse landscapes and diverse works” rather than using the conceptualisations of central, peripheral, or marginal work. None of these concepts expresses the diversity of “works” self-conceptualised by the informants, opening a discussion about regular and radical actors, unemployment, criminalisation and resistance, and the changing legitimacy of works, as well as the workplaces of *houseworkers*.

In this context, I mainly focus on four different social actors: muhtars (neighbourhood heads), houseworkers (*ev işçileri*), the *usta*, and the *kabadayı*. In the dissertation, I make use of their statements. They have a special place in the making of Çiğın Bağları and they were still living in Çiğın *gecekondus* during my 2019 summer fieldwork. *Muhtarlık* (the institution of neighbourhood representatives) and housework are regular neighbourhood-related works that turned into a target of urban politics. Regular actors, *muhtars* and houseworkers, narrate the contradictions that emerged during the urban transformation through their roles and changing work lives in the production of urban space. The *usta* and *kabadayı*, meanwhile, achieved social positions whose labels are ascribed by others. They were active mainly in the 1950s and 1960s as antiauthoritarian figures. The *usta* and *kabadayı* enabled a discussion of the changing legitimacy of diverse works, the social roles of these radical agencies, and their relationships with sociospatial transformation.

The social space is being reproduced through labour relations and diverse works are producing and reproduced by the sociospatial relations in Çiğın. Hence, there is an interrelationship between land and labour in terms of the production of space. Therefore, the urban transformation initiated with the association of the Altındağ Municipality and TOKİ in 2005 in Çiğın was not only an intervention into the landscape, but also into the diverse works of *gecekondus*. In brief, I aim to perform a sociospatial analysis and narrate this analysis as a process. I also aim to document the particular district known as Çiğın Bağları or Çiğın, which is an experienced place that does not have a corresponding formal designation. In other words, this is an attempt to demystify Çiğın by approaching urban history and theory through micro-spatial histories.

1.2. Methodology: How Will I Work?

One of my friends who also works on the sociospatial histories of cities asked me once why I chose Çiğir to focus on.²² I was unable to answer her question immediately, but while I was searching for an answer, I recalled one memory: It was my first visit to the Ankara Castle in 2014. The Ankara Castle is an attraction point in terms of representing the long history of the city in all directions. Other visitors were photographing mostly the southern and western parts of Ankara from the top. I found myself contemplating the opposite side, northern Ankara, for the first time, where three hills of ruins were settled. These hills from left to right are Hıdırlıktepe, Yenidoğan Tepe, and the hilly part of Çiğir Bağları, all having an unhealthy look because of the mixture of the debris of demolished *gecekondus* together with the ongoing radical change from *gecekondus* to high-density multi-storied TOKİ blocks, particularly on the side of Çiğir. Hence, across all of these three hills, Çiğir had various spatial patterns standing nearby. However, they were also disintegrated from each other through sharp boundaries of the radically intervened landscape, such as the borders between newly built roads, parks, and gated sites and the remaining or half-ruined *gecekondus*, meadows, yards, trees, and narrow paths.

Contemplating the hills, I thought that similar to the destruction caused by wars, this massive demolishment as a part of the ongoing urban transformation projects in Çiğir could be a sign of an unnamed war: The Old Altındağ urban rent wars. However, perhaps what was more violating than the visibility of the massive demolishment and the prejudices about the deepening sociospatial segregation was the invisibility of the social consequences behind this view in the very centre of the city, the so-called old town or historic city centre of Ankara. I felt the responsibility to attempt to pass

²² I generally use the active singular person “I”, taking the responsibility in the construction of knowledge; “we” is used in order to refer to the actual togetherness of key informants and/or other participants and me in the field.

through and seek the invisible facts behind the visible, since I developed an interest in working on Çinçin with these insights.

After that visit to the Ankara Castle in 2014, the unhealthy view of Old Altındağ became less surprising considering the numerous examples of what I was calling unnamed urban rent wars, such as the processes of mega constructions and the other rooted interventions of the most recent government since the 2000s.²³ Four years later, in 2018, I started my first visits to Çinçin and talked with some of the residents living in the remaining *gecekondus*. On the one hand, they were briefly stating the negative consequences of the urban transformation. On the other hand, they were taking the urban transformation as a source of hope for changing their living conditions. In 2014, I had assumed that there would be two opposing sides in the unnamed urban rent wars, the *gecekondu* community and the state or the municipality. Thus, the Çinçin community should have opposed the radical urban transformation initiated by the Altındağ Municipality and TOKİ. However, in 2018 I had to admit that the Çinçin residents were not an opposing side. There was a problem in the analogy that I had made between wars and urban transformation as unnamed wars. While I would have suggested that there should be at least two opposing sides in a war, it was not that direct in the unnamed urban rent wars of Old Altındağ. Most of the residents were on the side of the government, the municipality, and TOKİ, supporting the urban transformation and even taking active roles in the processes. I was disappointed by this fact. It was a moment of facing the complexities of urban trajectories while I was searching for a methodology.

After unexpected field contacts, I choose to conduct fieldwork rather than taking Çinçin as a case study. Ironically, the word “fieldwork” makes sense in the research of Çinçin Bağları as one of the previously urbanised fields of Ankara. The word *bağ*,

²³ Bülent Batuman, *New Islamist Architecture and Urbanism: Negotiating Nation and Islam through Built Environment in Turkey*, New York: Routledge, 2018.

the singular form of *bağları*, means “vineyard” in Turkish. According to Tansı Şenyapılı’s research (1981), this district was composed of vineyards occupied by Persian Roma as low-income settlers in the pre-industrial period in the 1920s, before the urbanisation period. Then, with the urbanisation and industrialisation period, the district was occupied by rural migrants who reproduced the district as a dense urban fabric of *gecekondus* (170). Conducting fieldwork on a district that was a field once and then became a place of precarious dwellers looking for work in the city provided hints of connections between the insights of the research and the methodology, since *field* means a productive open land.²⁴ From the very beginning, the *fieldwork* opened an unexpected *ground*; it led me to change the direction of the research, and hence I started to concentrate on diverse works to generate a deepened sociospatial understanding of the site.²⁵

Starting the fieldwork in Çinçin had unique dynamics for me as an outsider and a female researcher. I would need to understand the daily life of a neighbourhood widely known and depicted as one of the most insecure places in the city. Thus, I problematised my position through the question of how I would work. At this point, feminist methodologies on spatial research were influential in my research. In light of the prominent literature, before deciding on certain methods and strategies of fieldwork, I planned two initial steps as a departure: (1) walking to and in Çinçin and (2) conducting a pilot interview in Çinçin. While I started entering the fieldwork step by step, I also tried to work on the historical data, bringing together the literature and analysing archives. Eventually, the methodology of the research became a matter of combining the ethnographic data with the historical data.

²⁴ And *field* means a productive open land. Field: (*noun*) Open land that can be cultivated. URL: <https://www.thesaurus.com/browse/field>, Accessed December 3, 2018.

²⁵ Maggie Berg and Barbara K. Seeber (2016) argue that proposing an understanding rather than a theory could provide grounds for further discussion “on a topic which has been in some sense known for many generations” (55). The authors argue this claim on conducting research, referring to Stefan Collini’s book, *What Are Universities For?* (2012), in their salient book *The Slow Professor* (2016).

There is not a stable and fixed position in the fieldwork. Therefore, the methodology has always been an inevitably open process, which I constantly questioned. In this section, I attempt to explain the process of the research with the methodology grouped into three categories as maps and mapping, invisible maps, and remapping. I used several maps and reproduced them by making collages to explore certain things on the maps such as transportation, the fabric of demolition, or transformation in time. Herein, mapping functions to understand the pieces of a landscape and location in the city. However, there are invisible maps as well as visible maps, or, in other words, sociospatial situations for the inhabitants that a map might not able to analyse and represent as a tool. Invisible maps are the analysis of narratives. Furthermore, I used remapping as a title in order to elaborate on how I organised and wrote my analysis with further materials.

I Maps and Mapping: From Historical Data to the Field	II Invisible Maps: On the Ethnographical Data	III Remapping: Organisation of Data
Literature Analysis: Chapter 2.1: Notes on the corpus of urbanisations of Ankara Chapter 3: Theoretical framework Chapter 4 and 5: On the works muhtarlık, housework, ustalık and kabadayılık	Feminist Research Methodologies Methods and Strategies: Semi-structured in-depth interviews and biographical interviewing. Key informants. "we"	Novels / Movie Photographs: Used deliberately only in the appendix and a few in the epilogue parts of the chapters.
Archival Research: Chapter 2.3. Where was Çinçin?	. Narratives of domestic life . Narratives of places and neighbours . Narratives of diverse works . Narratives of myths, humour and scenarios	
Auto-ethnographic mapping: Chapter 2.2. Where is Çinçin?		

Table 1.2. Methodology.

The first methodological particularity of the thesis is to combine collective spatial narratives and historical data, which are a limited source for Çinçin. Briefly, there is a variation of methods and strategies used in this research: analysing the historical data

(Old Altındağ and Çinçin, presented in Appendix D as a table); a meta-analysis of urbanisation (particularly in Chapter 2); the collecting of the maps of Çinçin and the mapping of specific issues (auto-ethnographic mapping in Chapter 2); and semi-structured in-depth interviews and biographical interviewing with the residents living in the remaining *gecekondus* (and a few residents who had moved to TOKİ housing).

1.2.1. Maps and mapping: From historical data to the field

Çinçin Bağları is recently not shown on a legal map; that is to say, it is a non-formal name of a place composed of various neighbourhoods' borders, the names of which have also been undergoing transformations. Hence, when I tried to understand where Çinçin is, there was not an easily accessible map revealing evidence that there *was* a place officially named Çinçin, Çinçin Bağları, or Çinçin Mahallesi (neighbourhood). Furthermore, I had never been to the other side of Bentderesi Valley, in the hills of Hıdırlıktepe, Yenidoğan Tepe, and the hilly part of Çinçin, before I had started this research. Therefore, it was a challenge to explore the ways of reaching the other side of Bentderesi Valley, to walk to and in Çinçin, to understand where Çinçin was, and to determine how to reach it and how long it took from the city centre of Ulus. In this context, my first approach to the site turned into an auto-ethnographic mapping that had products of the self-narration of walking to and in Çinçin in the form of text and mapping (Chapter 2.2: Where is Çinçin?).

Auto-ethnography here is considered as a process and product of sociocultural research based on “self-narrative” in order to be aware of my position as a researcher.²⁶ I interpreted it as both storytelling of the first contacts in the field and the scrutinising of the presence of my body in the story, which is a reflexive part and parcel of the

²⁶ Ellis, C., Adams, T. E., Bochner, A. P. (2011). Autoethnography: An Overview. *Historical Social Research*, 36(4), 273. // Denzin, N. K. (2006). Analytic Autoethnography, or Déjà Vu All Over Again. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, 35(4), 419. // Çağdaş, Ceyhan, Züleyha, Özbaş Andalı, Nalan, Ova (2017). Zamanın İzinde Kenti Deneyimlemek: Kent ve Bellek Üzerine Oto-Etnografik Bakışlar, *Moment Dergi*, [S.l.], v. 4, n. 1.

research. It is not just to map a recently ambiguous place as a location and land, but also an initial step to contact the field and to narrate this contact. This method is reflected in the following ethnographic research process conducted in light of feminist methodologies that also concern the positioning of the researcher from different perspectives. In this light, I tried to start with a brief autobiographical text via footnotes, through which I questioned my grasp of “*mahalle*” (neighbourhood) and then what I expected to find as Çinçin neighbourhoods and what particular neighbourhoods of Çinçin might mean for me (in Chapter 2.1: Where is Çinçin?).

The researcher’s background might also be crucial for the reader in order to clarify what the concept of “neighbourhood” could mean for an outsider and a female researcher who was born in a particular small-scale city in the late 1980s and witnessed the neo-liberal urban transformation processes of the late 1990s in the big cities.²⁷ Following the auto-ethnographic mapping, the presence of my own body always remained a part of the story while collecting, writing, and analysing the collective sociospatial narratives of Çinçin residents on work. My body was beyond “self”, having a reflective, changing positioning during the fieldwork. The auto-ethnographic mapping as a process and product had a continuum and shifted into the fieldwork, field trips with key informants, spontaneous encounters with informants, and collection of spatial narratives through interviewing, or, that is to say, in the deep excavation of the urban transformation of Çinçin.

This first mapping exercise as a product of the auto-ethnography raised another question about where Çinçin *was* in the past. There appeared a major gap regarding where Çinçin was in the past, and to find answers it was necessary to analyse the

²⁷ My own personal grasp of “neighbourhood” depends on being a female researcher, born and raised in Turkey, when and where the neighbourhood was being reproduced within particular cultures of particular communities identifying themselves through their neighbourhoods. This grasp of the neighbourhood would be different if this research were conducted by another person, such as a male researcher, or someone born and raised in a completely different geographical context in terms of urbanisation.

archives and documents of the municipality showing the changing borders of the districts of Altındağ. The location of Çinçin was also an inevitable part of the location of Altındağ, which once was a zone of various neighbourhoods (*semt*) known as “Old Altındağ” and then became a larger administrative district (*ilçe*) (Chapter 2.2: Where was Çinçin?). To understand the areas that people named as Altındağ and Çinçin, and when these names started to refer to different designations, I used open-access sources such as Open Street Map, Google Earth, Google Maps, and Yandex with their street view and timeline options. In addition, I used the Koç University VEKAM Archive, the TTK Archive, the National Library Archive, and documents such as maps, propaganda booklets, and research reports taken from the Altındağ Municipality encapsulating a period from the 1950s up until present.

1.2.2. Invisible maps: On the ethnographical data

“... the search for time lost is also a search for space lost.”
(Joëlle Bahloul, 1996: 8)

Attempting to understand urban processes through the ethnographic reading of a place, I essentially scrutinised feminist research methodologies specified for urban research. Feminist research methodologies emphasise two major questions in conducting research: Who is your subject? And in which ways do you conduct your research? These questions offer subsequent alternate research pathways according to each research’s own objectives and dynamics, while those are also questioned again and again within the awareness of unmarked, silenced, subjugated agents. The construction of knowledge could reproduce the socioeconomic order of society. Therefore, feminist research methodologies suggest that researchers need a radically open mind to not take part in the reproduction of discrimination.²⁸

²⁸ Rosemarie Buikema, Gabriele Griffin, and Nina Lykke, ed. *Theories and Methodologies in Postgraduate Feminist Research: Researching Differently*. New York: Routledge, 2011.

For the first question, problematising the choice of the research subject, feminist methodologies argue that the lived experiences of particular bodies should not be excluded. Although women have a unique place in terms of the production of a neighbourhood, feminist methodologies do not necessarily focus on the women as the subjects (Şentürk, 2015: 23). The new research agenda puts forward that gender is not the only dictated and constructed identity in the complexity of power relations. In this context, Doreen Massey (2004) conceptualises “identity” as a changing entity embedded in “place” and as multiple ongoing reproductions (5). In the fieldwork, I did not want to focus on only women; rather, I attempted to contact equal numbers of informants of both genders. With the help of this perspective, I had a focus group composed of women and held several meetings with women who were unpaid/paid houseworkers as one of the sets of the diverse workers of Çiğin.

Along these lines, having dialogues with women allowed me to make observations about the differences between different genders and to rethink the dynamics of conducting interviews. Housework is a work attributed to women and provides an understanding of *home*, as well as the thresholds between the inside and outside of the home; in-between spaces such as yards, stairs, paths, parks, and streets in Çiğin; and the transformation of housework as one of the important diverse works of Çiğin. Attempting to understand housework, I tried to meet women in their homes, mostly in their yards, individually and as a focus group at a wedding ceremony. Although the research focuses on a male-dominated world of works (*muhtars*, *usta*, and *kabadayı*), the women played the role of a touchstone, and particularly the focus group at the wedding ceremony, in terms of the investigation of Çiğin through housework and housework through Çiğin.

It is worth noting that my conversations with the women had specific differences compared to the men. In the first meetings, female informants seemed less communicable or unwilling to meet an outsider researcher, and they tried to persuade me to talk either with their children, who had at least graduated from high school, or

with their husbands. Most of the women told me that they were “uneducated”, which they put forward as an obstacle to interviewing with me. However, I thought that being in their homes was also a reason for both sides—the interviewee and the interviewer—to not feel open to dialogue immediately. Inside the home or the yard, they usually only meet their neighbours or relatives. Thus, meeting female informants for a second or third time was necessary to make them feel comfortable. However, I was sharing the same culture and gender, and after the second or third meeting, I inevitably developed a more subjective relationship with the women. I was invited to a wedding event, shared homemade food with the informants, and joined a community folk dance called the *halay*.

After listening to the first recorded meetings, I realised that most of the conversations with the women were much more fruitful compared to the men. The latter seemed more comfortable during the interviews and gave well-structured speeches in the first meetings. However, this openness could be defined as another kind of closure in the case of male participants, because they structured what they would tell me; hence, our dialogues became one-sided. Therefore, I also tried to meet the men more than once in order to understand what they did not talk about in the first meeting. Consequently, the feminist approach to the subject choice opened this perspective in my research through thinking about the differences between genders. In this way, I developed my strategy of meeting people more than once and meeting women in their homes, their homes also being their workplaces.²⁹

Since the very first years of my architectural education, I have deliberately preferred to experience sites during spatial research.³⁰ With the shift into feminist

²⁹ Didem Kılıçkiran’s research is influential as an example of spatial research problematising the ethnographic reading of a place. Didem Kılıçkiran, *Migrant Homes: Identities and Cultures of Domestic Space Among Kurdish and Turkish Women in North London*, Unpublished PhD Thesis (University College London, 2010).

³⁰ I studied the body and space relationship through questioning the situation of the body of the researcher in my MA thesis, focusing on the production of spatial representations as a process of two

methodologies, my position in a place/site as a researcher became one of my major concerns. The second question of feminist methodologies problematises the position of the researcher with the question of “in which ways do you conduct your research?” I preferred to proceed step by step for positioning as a researcher. As I stated before, I planned two major steps to enter the site through auto-ethnographical mapping: first, walking to and walking in Çinçin, and secondly, conducting a pilot interview to decide on other methods and strategies. These significant steps were helpful to decide the questions and figure out the reflections between the site and me.

Meanwhile, I started asking questions to the workers at my university about where they were currently living in order to reach key informants living in the Çinçin *gecekondu*s through the university as a shared environment. In a brief span of time, one of the student cafe workers introduced me to Osman (a pseudonym), a member of the janitorial staff. In his words, Osman is responsible for cleaning the architectural design studios of the Faculty of Architecture. He took me to Çinçin and introduced me to his community, always with the same explanation that “we were working together at METU”. He was eager to put effort into the research about his *home* and to take responsibility as a key contact. In Çinçin, his introduction transformed my identity as an outsider researcher into “an outsider worker” who was collaborating with “an insider worker”. We were both seeking to produce knowledge and write a micro-history of Osman’s and his community’s *home*, coming from the same workplace and “working together”. Osman’s unique approach of collaborative labouring provided an exchange between the informants and me, transforming my

performative faces: the act of researching and the act of representing. These two actions could be defined as interlaced parts of a nonlinear production process. Therein, the main problematic arises: how to research and how to represent a space. It could be claimed that representation starts within the act of researching. The act of researching is therefore a performance pertaining to the body of the researcher, who makes contact with the material existence of urban spaces. This contact has the capacity to break up the research habits and lead to distinctive investigations, and being bodily in urban space could open up new discursive spaces by breaking research habits (Gülşah Aykaç, 2013).

academic identity during the fieldwork and the subject-object relationship in a stimulating way.³¹

The other key informant was Mustafa (a pseudonym; the *usta*), who is also a significant participant of the research. I reached him through one of the urban initiatives I have been volunteering for. This initiative is linked with artists and underground groups such as graffiti communities who are interested in public art. A member of the group introduced me to Mustafa. Thus, two key informants were living in separate parts of Çinçin but did not know each other. They introduced me to their neighbours, who did not belong to one specific ethnic group or only one family. Therefore, the scope of the fieldwork is limited to people I could meet through key informants, and it is independent of a dominant ethnic/religious or cultural group.³²

In addition to the two problems of feminist research methodologies (the choice of the informants and self-positioning), there is another issue to be faced in the ethnographical reading of a place. It is the dilemma of ignoring or accepting the nostalgia in searching for “a lost place” through memory narratives. I was asking the informants to recall the past of Çinçin, which was not there anymore, and so I was aware that the narratives of the past times of Çinçin would unavoidably carry nostalgia. Nostalgia is criticised for its potential to exclude or manipulate the social facts of the past because it is (re)produced in the present. The present time and present conditions are also inputs for the interpretation of the past. Indeed, how memory and nostalgia articulate in the narrative of “now” is implicit in urban transformation. On

³¹ I would like to add a further note about Osman’s unexpected approach to our collaboration as a collective work. At the end of the term in 2018, we met at the faculty to plan field trips. Osman took me to one of the design studios, which he had just cleaned and locked in order to make it ready for the following term. He elaborated on his work and communication with the students (the social dimension of his work) in detail, as if I were a colleague who would take over the cleaning responsibilities one day so that we might exchange our works. It reminded me of Ursula Le Guin’s world of *The Dispossessed*, where the inhabitants could change their roles and works, sharing the responsibilities of service and academia (Ursula Le Guin, 1974). I felt similar heterotopic moments several times during the fieldwork thanks to Osman’s unique approach.

³² I thus note that this research is not a representative study.

that account, it is essential to grasp “a narrative memory as a collective translation of the past into the present” (Bahloul, 1996: 7).

The critique of the mystification potential of “nostalgia” raises another question: What else could mystify history? There is the fact that the abstraction capacity of meta-theory similarly has a danger of mystification. Besides, feminist researchers argue the general rejection of nostalgia through another perspective. According to Massey (1998), nostalgia is “a discursive right to space” which is a “construction of we-ness”, and therefore the construction of the spatial identity of a community (34). Hence, nostalgia could also be taken as a social, spatial, and collective belonging; it is a belonging to a place. Arguably, the fact of nostalgia could be neither ignored in collective spatial memories nor simply blocked out. In this research, therefore, nostalgia is an input that I seek to articulate in the urban history of a place to narrate a collective sociospatial identity and its relation with diverse works. Hence, I attempted to focus on the social actors, their acts in daily life, and their stated contradictions about the transformation in order to overcome the nostalgia for *gecekondus*. In this line, the active agency of multiple actors is discussed through the nostalgia for the bulldozer and the stories of *muhtars* and houseworkers in Chapter 4.

1.2.2.1. Further notes on first contacts and the pilot interview

During the first field trips to the site, I met Yasin (25.05.2018). He was sitting near one of the main roads in the semi-open yard of his *gecekondus* on a pillow. The yard was surrounded by two separate *gecekondus*. One of them was two-storied, and there was a large balcony on the second floor. The other was one-storied and smaller than the first. The entrance doors of both *gecekondus* were open. I stopped by Yasin’s yard on the sidewalk, had a rest in the shadow of a plum tree, and then asked him the address of the Gültepe *muhtarlık* office. As he understood that I was an outsider, he warned me not to walk through Çiğir Dörtüol, noting the increased drug gangs. He told me

that cars would stop near me to see whether I wanted to buy drugs or not. I then briefly introduced myself as a researcher and asked him for an interview, and he accepted an interview without recording. He quickly took another pillow from one of the houses and put it under the plum tree for me. I sat nearby him, and thus I conducted the first pilot interview. The most striking thing in this interview was Yasin's contradictory explanations. He told me that he preferred to move to a unit in one of the TOKİ blocks. Nevertheless, he also thought that Çiğir had increasing problems with crime after the demolition of the *gecekondus* and the construction of the TOKİ buildings, the process having been initiated in 2005.

Consequently, the influences of feminist methodologies, initial historical research, field trips, spontaneous meetings, and the pilot interview helped me to decide on some further strategies. I decided to define a group of methods varying among semi-structured in-depth interviews and biographical interviewing. I used similar questions for both the semi-structured in-depth interviews and the biographical interviewing. The difference in biographical interviewing was that I wanted two particular characters, the *usta* and the *kabadayı*, to tell their life stories in detail. For the semi-structured in-depth interviews, I prepared four sets of questions and met informants to discuss them more than once whenever possible. Those questions were on:

- (I) Narratives of domestic life
- (II) Narratives of places and neighbours
- (III) Narratives of diverse works
- (IV) Narratives of myths, humour, and scenarios

As a strategy, I started the interviews by asking informants random biographical questions, such as where they were born or where they went to school, without following a set order. Questions such as these helped me to open new dialogues in moments of silence, or, in other words, when there was a need to ask a question. The

fourth set of questions on myths, humour, and scenarios was beneficial in this kind of situation (Appendix A: Table I).³³

As explained above, I attempted to reach informants considering balanced numbers in terms of gender. I used pseudonyms instead of real names to preserve the privacy of the informants. Furthermore, I targeted an age group between 35 and 75 to be able to talk about the urban transformation initiated in the early 2000s. I met with the informants either in their workplaces or houses, mostly when they were alone, and I was usually with one of two key informants, Osman or Mustafa. I did not hesitate to ask for an interview after meeting with a possible informant; however, asking for voice-recording during the interview was not easy. Whether recording or not recording, I always took notes during and after the interviews. I mostly interviewed residents living still in the remaining *gecekondu*s, small retailers, current/former *muhtars*, and houseworkers (Appendix A: Table II). However, I also had a chance to contact a few people living and working in the Gültepe TOKİ housing. I did not aim to compare these newcomers' living conditions with the residents currently living in the remaining *gecekondu*s. Nevertheless, these contacts helped me to understand where Çiğin is for the newcomers. In the administration office of Gültepe TOKİ Stage 1, I met two female officers who had moved to the TOKİ apartments to be close to their workplace. In the same administration office, one former *gecekondu* land-owner, recently living in the TOKİ housing and working as an apartment caretaker, also provided me with information on the spatial discrimination of former land-owners and newcomers living in the TOKİ buildings. By another chance, I had a contact with a research assistant, Murat, affiliated with METU. Murat (male, born in 1987) had been living in Gültepe TOKİ Stage 1 for the last ten years; he had moved to Gültepe from another neighbourhood together with his parents. He was one of the youngest informants, with whom I could talk more openly. Consequently, I need to emphasise

³³ I also made a list of YouTube videos, music clips, and documentaries about Çiğin Bağları: <https://www.youtube.com/playlist?list=PLNsILSmTAsZLujKYXO9OEadpov5zPKGOY>, Accessed: November 19, 2019.

again that I did not focus on a particular ethnic group and that I met most of the informants with the help of Mustafa and Osman, who did not know each other, living in the remaining *gecekondu*s in different parts of Çiğir. ³⁴ **The sociospatial analysis of the urban transformation of Çiğir is, hence, dependent on this scope of the ethnographic fieldwork** (Appendix A: Table II).

1.2.3. Remapping: Organisation of data

Apart from collecting the historical data and narratives, I also used photographs taken in the first field trips. Indeed, not to fix my position as an academic/outsider, I did not plan to take photographs at the beginning of the fieldwork. However, whenever I was taking photographs, I was entirely alone on the street and I used the camera of a mobile phone when I did not see any residents around. There are also a few photographs I took inside a *gecekondu* yard or an entrance. Those photographs belong to moments in which the owners of the houses explicitly offered that I could take photographs. I have added a few visuals used in popular media, such as screenshots of a rap musician's video clip. Popular media constructs the outsiders' and even insiders' perceptions of the district. I hope that my attempt to make collages combining images and text will stand out critically for the reader.

In terms of the organisation of the data, I was also concerned about writing for a broader audience. This research is an attempt to tell a particular urban history in the context of Turkish urbanisation and there are further notes in Appendix B. Appendix B could be seen as an extension of Chapter 2.1, which offers a meta-analysis of research on the urban history of Ankara. Those studies were conducted mainly by scholars from architecture and built environment faculties and partly from urban-related fields such as urban sociology and history, and were published in the 1970s

³⁴ Mustafa lives close to the Aktaş TOKİ sites and Osman lives close to Gültepe TOKİ Stage 3 and Çiğir New Dörtöl.

and 1980s. I deliberately used well-known Turkish novels and movies in order to start with cinematographic and literary images as entry points of the fieldwork's narration.

I attempted to analyse the histories of the elaborated works of *muhtarlık* (the institution of neighbourhood heads), *ustalık* (expert craftsmanship), and *kabadayılık* ("tough guys"), which emerged as a part of the sociospatial culture of Turkey, dating back to the late Ottoman Empire and even earlier. Linking those agencies with the urban history of Çiğir requires a sociological grasp of the present conditions of diverse works, through which I problematise the dialectical relationship between urban transformation and work. These elements serve as a remapping, combining historical and ethnographical data, and bringing maps, mapping, and invisible maps as collective spatial memories all together.

1.3. Outline of the thesis

In Chapter 2, I will first provide an overview of the literature on the urbanisation of Ankara, with further elaboration given in Appendix B. I will offer a meta-analysis of the first outcomes of *gecekondü* research specifically published in the 1970s and 1980s. Departing from a general and broader urban history of Ankara, my main aim in Chapter 2 is to approach one of the first marginal settlements of Ankara, Çiğir Bağları, as both a location and land. I will attempt to document Çiğir as an experienced place that does not have a corresponding official formal designation. There is a physical location that can be pointed out on a map; "Çiğir" is the non-official name of this location. It is located in different spaces by the media or authorities. Surprisingly, even the previous research done on Çiğir is based on assumptions of the location and designation of Çiğir without looking at how this place is constituted for its inhabitants. Within this aim, I pose two questions: Where is Çiğir, and where was Çiğir?

To that extent, before the fieldwork I expected that Çinçin would be a *mahalle* or an enclosed district having the sociospatial sense of a *mahalle*, a living unit in the city having its own identity and culture for its community, where an outsider could observe the sociospatial boundaries between the inside and outside of it. However, the political, socionatural, and sociospatial reproduction of the *mahalles* of Çinçin is not recently a story of a particular ethnic or religious community.³⁵ Through the first field trips, I observed that there is neither a recent *mahalle* life nor sociospatial boundaries of a *mahalle*; instead, there are boundaries scattered inside the district, grasped as sociospatial tension between *gecekondus* and TOKİ sites, between the ruins of demolished *gecekondus* and remaining *gecekondus*, and even between two *gecekondus* depending on where they were settled.

There was not a sense of a *mahalle* in the district. However, I heard different names of neighbourhoods during field trips and pilot interviews. Although many of those neighbourhoods did not exist in formal documents, what makes Çinçin Bağları unique is the spatial identity produced by diverse communities of those former neighbourhoods in the collective memories of the informants. Informants including land-owners living in the remaining *gecekondus* or former land-owners living in TOKİ housing, or the tenants of remaining *gecekondus*, gave the former names of their former neighbourhoods, all of which had a common point, which was “*being in Çinçin*”.

The second question, “Where was Çinçin?”, is an attempt to elaborate the unofficial location and existence of Çinçin through archival research. That research to locate the land reveals evidence that Çinçin was a part of “Old Altındağ” and was a district of grift neighbourhoods as socially produced territories. There were several neighbourhoods lost in the renaming/relocating/rescaling processes of urban

³⁵ However, there are narrations about the primarily dominant groups having been Kurdish and Roma at one point (Yılmaz Güney, 1980 [1977]).

transformation in 2007, 2014, and 2018. In the same chapter, there is also a detailed analysis of the webpage of the Altındağ Municipality documenting the construction processes of the Aktaş and Gültepe TOKİ projects, two mass housing projects initiated in 2005.

In Chapter 3, I will first document the field notes that highlight the statements of informants on their diverse works, since the field trips steered this research's primary focus to the "works" of informants and the conceptualisations around work. Interpreting those field notes, I will employ a coupled concept of "diverse landscapes, diverse works", offering a threefold framework with a focus on land, labour, and work: **(A) The history of the land is the history of labour**, and the labour relations are reproduced throughout the production of cheap labour. **(B) The division of land is also the division of labour**. *Gecekondus*, in this context, as segregated urban land, have been providing a stock of cheap labour. Work is a biopolitical and sociospatial institution of labour relations, and *gecekondus* serve as a mechanism in the production of labour relations and unpaid/insecure/"unskilled"/self-employed types of work. By these means, I will scrutinise the concept of "work", departing from Hannah Arendt (1998 [1958]) and contemporary thinkers such as Kumar (1989 [1984]), Jason W. Moore (2017, 2018), and Stephanie Barca (2014), all referring to the historical materialist approach to the concept of labour. Finally, I will claim that **(C) there is a dialectical relationship between urban transformation and work**. In this line of thought, I will focus on four specific social actors to interpret the interrelation between diverse landscapes and diverse works: the *muhtars* (neighbourhood heads) and houseworkers, and the *usta* (craftsman) and the *kabadayı* (social bandit).

In Chapter 4, I will discuss the contradictions of urban transformation through the stories of the *muhtars* (neighbourhood heads) and unpaid/paid houseworkers, both of whom have significant roles in the production of space. I will claim that the *muhtars* and houseworkers are regular actors of a neighbourhood "*mahalle*" in the context of Turkish urbanisation. There is a contrasting relationship between these

two: *Muhtarlık* is known generally as one of the most governmental works in a neighbourhood; it is a regularly waged work independent of political parties. On the contrary, housework is not even counted as work. I will bring these two types of work together to analyse the narratives of informants and focus on the contradictions of urban transformation. I will question how a multitude of actors initiated the urban transformation, how the government used these regular actors' social roles as a strategy to initiate the urban transformation, why almost all of the informants are willing to move to an apartment unit (*daire*) in the TOKİ sites, and how work and different dimensions of work are affected by the urban transformation.

In Chapter 5, I will focus on two other personalities, the *usta* (an expert craftsman) and the *kabadayı*. Unlike the *muhtars* and houseworkers, the *usta* and the *kabadayı* are radical actors. Through their life stories, I will question radical agencies; their relationships with the counter-hegemonic urban struggle history of the 50s, 60s, and 70s; the changing legitimacy of works; and their relations with criminalisation and unemployment under the urban transformation. While the informant *muhtars* and houseworkers give data about the current situation, the life stories of the *usta* and the *kabadayı* open grounds to problematise 1980 as a crack in the production relations and the production of urban space, and the urban transformation of the 2000s as a break in the urban history of diverse works. In Chapters 4 and 5, I will also briefly look at the historical backgrounds of *muhtarlık*, *ustalık*, and *kabadayılık* in the pre-industrial era, the late Ottoman Empire, and, for *ustalık*, even earlier, in order to deepen the understanding of Turkish urbanisation history and its relation with the emergence of various practices and cultures of works.

	Chapter II	Chapter III	Chapter IV	Chapter V	Chapter VI
C	Locating The Land: Where is/was Çinçin?	An Interpretative Framework: Diverse Landscapes, Diverse Works	The Muhtars and Houseworkers: Contradictions of Diverse Works Under Urban Transformation	The Usta and Kabadayı: Social Roles and the Legitimacy of Works	Conclusion
1	Notes on the corpus of urbanisations of Ankara	Cheap Labour: The history of land is the history of labour	Demolition from the nostalgia of dozer to the socioeconomic reality of poverty	Usta's resistance: Craftsmanship in Çinçin - "Call me Usta Again"	Summary of the research and findings - Limitations of research
2	Where is Çinçin?	From Cheap Labour to Diverse Works: The division of land is the division of labour	Muhtars becoming real estate agents - The Institution of Muhtarlık: Muhtars as leaders and mediators - Muhtarlık as a ground for the association	New Kabadayıs of Çinçin - Emergence of <i>kabadayıs</i> within urbanisation history - What does <i>yolunda</i> mean?	Overall assessment
3	Where was Çinçin? - Çinçin was a part of Old Altındağ - Çinçin was a district of grift neighbourhoods	Diverse Landscapes Diverse Works: Dialectical relation between urban transformation and work	Houseworkers' distinction of "kondu" from "daire" - In-between paid and unpaid housework		Implications: Landscape, work and the multitude of actors
E	Epilogue: Unexpected findings of first contacts	Epilogue: Meeting diverse works of Çinçin	Epilogue: "A long Story between Fate and Hope"	Epilogue: Urban transformation as a rupture	

Table 1.2. Outline of the thesis.

In this research, I mainly aim to explore the sociospatial history of a radically transformed *gecekondu* district, Çinçin Bağları, through the dialectical relationship between urban transformation and work. This dialectical relation might constitute an inclusive standpoint to problematise the bodies and spaces of multiple actors through revealing that the urban crisis is an inseparable part of the crisis of labour relations. Çinçin Bağları constitutes diverse landscapes produced by diverse works. The “diversity” herein is not recently ethnic or religious, as is widely perceived in the world; rather, it is a sociospatial togetherness of practices “constituted by stretched-out social relations”³⁶ over the landscapes.

³⁶ Doreen Massey, ed., *Space, Place, and Gender*, 1994: 22.

Ultimately, the research implicates that we (as agents producing the knowledge on urban space) need to investigate the dialectical relationship between the urban transformation and work in order to contribute to the sociospatial analysis of urban space, and to rethink about micro-spatial histories for labour-centred urban design strategies. This research is significant in architecture because it critically approaches urban space reproduced within economic, cultural, and social processes, which the research attempts to analyse by questioning the actors of works as a biopolitical and sociospatial institution.³⁷

³⁷ Although it is not a main aim of this dissertation project, the biopolitical dimension of work could also be articulated with the recent discussions about biopolitics and the agents of labour relations from a third point, the point of urban space. In this context, grasping work as a sociospatial construct could be a strategy considering that there are multiple dimensions and various actors in the production processes, and those produce not only goods but also space in alternative emergent ways. I also attempt to define work as a biopolitical construct since labour is a human effort, and it relates to biology, the body of the human. Therefore, the reproduction of labour relations is biopolitical. Not only unemployment, toil, and cheap and insecure types of work but also where and how those cheap labourers live in the city are unevenly distributed. Both work and urban space become a mechanism of the reproduction of this uneven distribution. There is a powerful link between work, biopolitics, and urban space.

CHAPTER 2

LOCATING THE LAND: WHERE IS/WAS ÇİNÇİN

In the centre of Ankara, the road named Bentderesi divides a hilly topography into two main pieces facing each other: Old Ankara and Old Altındağ.³⁸ Old Ankara refers to the historic downtown of the city, the centre where the city was founded. Old Altındağ,³⁹ on the other hand, is one of the first margins of Old Ankara. It was a peripheral district occupied by the Persian Roma in the 1920s and was transformed into a dense urban fabric of *gecekondus* between the late 1940s up till 1980 through the massive rural migration. Although the occupiers of *gecekondus* could get their land titles in the 1950s, 60s and later, Old Altındağ had remained as a marginalised district until the early 2000s, having almost same dense urban fabric of *gecekondus*.⁴⁰ Coming up to the 2000s, Old Altındağ has been relocated, renamed and rescaled within the processes of a radical urban transformation conducted by TOKİ (*Toplu Konut İdaresi* - Public Housing Development Administration, Turkey's government-backed housing agency). The urban transformation project was initiated in the part of Çinçin Bağları -or Çinçin as its shortened name- in 2005. Çinçin does not recently appear as the designation of a district in Old Altındağ officially. Therefore, there is a significant difficulty in this research: locating the land, that is to say, locating Çinçin Bağları as a lived place that does have a designation in Old Altındağ.

³⁸ The research written in this part is supported by Koç University/ VEKAM (Vehbi Koç Ankara Research Centre) 2019 Research Awards. Referred archival materials are used with the written permission of the institution.

³⁹ Recently "old" is used because Altındağ became the name of a larger district which will be elaborated soon.

⁴⁰ Tansı Şenyapılı, *Gecekondu: 'Çevre' İşçilerin Mekânı* [Gecekondu: The space of marginal workers]. Ankara: Middle East Technical University Publications, 1981:170.

One of the most contested spatial issues of our era is perhaps "neoliberal urbanism" in the world since there are negative consequences of urbanisation processes amongst human/non-human existences in relation with the transformation of the environment. Neoliberalism emerged in the late 1970s, could be defined basically as a "theory of political economic practices" leading us to name the world as a global village. It is originated in the claim that "human well-being can best be advanced by" free individual entrepreneurship, developed private property rights and free markets, all of which should be established, controlled and governed sufficiently (Harvey, 2005: 2). In Turkey, 1980 is accepted as an economy political fracture which initiated the processes of neoliberalism and neoliberal urban transformation.⁴¹ Although the 1990s are captured as the decade of liberalisation of the economy, the mode, scale and speed of neoliberal urban politics have so far changed in the 2000s through the building processes of mega projects, aggressive urban transformation processes of the districts of low-income residents, and industrialisation of low-dense cities by deep exploitation of nature in Turkey (Kuyucu & Ünsal, 2010: 1479).

As a part of these "transformed" mode of neoliberal urban politics of the 2000s, the urban transformation of Old Altındağ as one of the densest and largest *gecekondu* districts of Ankara was initiated in 2005. I mention this process as a "deep" or "radical" intervention because it was composed of processes of displacement, massive demolition and construction of high rise multi-storey TOKİ blocks in Çiğir Bağları. These processes required to relocate, rename and rescale neighbourhoods in the district. As a result, the neighbourhoods of Çiğir have been mostly disappeared. Although Çiğir still refers to the same *land*, the districts and neighbourhoods are either disappeared or not referring to the *location* they did once. It is ambiguous where Çiğir is and where Çiğir was. Hence, Old Altındağ has started to be represented by only Ankara Castle where is also named Old Ankara; and Çiğir Bağları has started

⁴¹ Tansı Şenyapılı, "Charting the 'Voyage' of Squatter Housing in Urban Spatial 'Quadruped'" *European Journal of Turkish Studies* [Online], 1 | 2004.

to be represented by only Gültepe Neighbourhood which is totally transformed into TOKİ sites and rescaled over the small-scale neighbourhoods.

Within this light, I attempt to mediate to the researches on urbanisations of Ankara in the first part enhanced with detailed footnotes and mappings added to the Appendix B. Therein; I offer a meta-analysis of the urbanisation period for a broader audience who would like to find specific information; for instance, the formal regulations in the urban history of Ankara. I also noted critical political and urban trajectories to finally claim that Old Altındağ has long been targeted as land for getting urban rent. However, the main aim of the chapter is far from elaborating "*gecekondu* as a phenomenon." The main corpus of this chapter is composed of the second and third parts of it, through which where I approach Çiğir as both a *location* and *land* and trying to document a lost and mystified place throughout two questions: Where is Çiğir and where was Çiğir? *Locating the land*, in other words, is methodologically stepping in the field.

2.1. Notes on the Corpus of Urbanisations of Ankara

To mediate the corpus of urbanisation(s)⁴² of Ankara from a general and broader perspective, and for a broader audience, two different research interests could be briefly stated: On the one hand, Ankara is widely focused as a city reproduced within the processes of West-European and West-American modernisation programs, a "modern" capital in the making of the nation-state.⁴³ On the other, there are numerous

⁴² The plural form, urbanisations, is used in order to emphasise that "urbanisation" is not only one total process.

⁴³ Tipps (1973) defines modernisation as a "series of transitions from subsistence economies to industrialised economies," including different kinds of social and political transitions such as "transition from non-secular to secular, Islamist to democratic governance" (p. 204). Modernisation of Turkey as social and economic transition processes had many steps of building a new Ankara as the capital of Republican Turkey. Ankara was expected to represent the progressive features of this process; hence the city was precisely planned as a modern capital within governmental regulations, these regulations are an inseparable part of the city to understand the history of it in a continuum. Indeed, to take one step backwards, it is also discussed that Ankara had been one of the most important cities of the Ottoman State. However, it was negatively affected by the unfortunate regression of wool trade and a great fire. Within the establishment of the new nation-state in 1923, the young government started to make investments to Ankara together with sociospatial reforms to produce a modern city as the capital

researches in urban studies, political science, architecture and urbanism on Ankara *gecekondus*. Those two major research areas have intersections. However, they also differentiate generally in two main aspects: Focused periods and focused subjects. In terms of focused periods, the former research area, "Ankara modernisation research," mainly scrutinises two consequent periods: the period between the late 1920s to the 1930s as the period of the establishment of republican Turkey, and the late 1940s as the beginning of post World War II and the beginning of urbanisation processes of Turkey. The latter research area, "Ankara *gecekondus* research," principally scrutinises the urbanisation period (between the late 1940s to 1980); urban transformation processes (from the 1980s up till present); and particularly neoliberal urbanisation (between the 1990s and 2000s).

In terms of the focused subjects, the former research area mainly problematises "common people" who are middle-class citizens and intellectuals taking a role in the processes of modernisation. The latter unfolds the urban history within the history of "the other"⁴⁴ actors, citizens and workers. Although the city has been losing its identical features belonging to the historical periods of modernisation and urbanisation

of Republican Turkey. Ankara's economic welfare had radically changed through investments. Therefore, 1923 has been addressed as a key date for Ankara in terms of gaining the economic power back (Kaçar, 2010: 44). To briefly summarise this period, in the first two decades of the republic, the city was planned by various actors including planners, architects and artists some of whom was forced to immigrate from Europe such as Germany and Australia as a result of Nazi Party pressure. Under these circumstances, the first two plans of the capital city were shaped through the works of Carl Christopher Lörcher and Hermann Jansen; the former worked on Ankara City Plan between 1923 and 1929; and the latter between 1929 and 1939 (Cengizkan, 2006 [2005]: 27). Hence in the late 1920s and 1930s, the city gained its appearance with a principal Northern-Southern axis with two centres as Ulus in the North (the old city including the citadel) and Yenışehir (meaning the new city) in the South (Şenyapılı, 1981: 168).

⁴⁴ Tahire Erman, "The Politics of Squatter (Gecekondu) Studies in Turkey: The Changing Representations of Rural Migrants in the Academic Discourse," *Urban Studies* 38, no. 7, (2001): .999, <http://home.ku.edu.tr/~dyukseker/erman3.pdf> Accessed October 19, 2019.

Rewarding researches of Funda Şenol Cantek and Selda Tuncer crucially situate Ankara as a modernised capital with particular extensions of gender, class and silenced subjects: Funda Şenol Cantek, "*Yaban"lar Ve Yerliler: Başkent Olma Sürecinde Ankara*, Istanbul: İletişim Yay., 2016 [2003]. Selda Tuncer, *Women and Public Space in Turkey: Gender, Modernity and the Urban Experience*, London: I.B. Tauris & Co Ltd, 2018.

periods since the late 1980s; an urban experience in Ankara would still give a sense of all periods. What an outsider such as a visitor or an insider such as a resident would experience in the daily life of Ankara could be understood through these two folded areas with entangled layers.

One of the most highlighted claims in the literature of urbanisation of Ankara is that the sociospatial segregation of the city, in other words, the segregation of the "marginal" and "central" is legitimised through the first governmental plans of capital Ankara.⁴⁵ Furthermore, the following institutional plans deepened this sociospatial segregation.⁴⁶ This segregation depending on spatial segregation of labourers was both between Ulus (old city centre, meaning "nation" as a word) and Yenışehir (new city centre, meaning "new city" as a word) (Şenyapılı, 1981: 168); and between Old Altındağ as one of the first *gecekondu* districts of Ankara and the rest of the city. While the researches generally capture the modernisation of the late 1920s and "urbanisation" emerged in the late 1940s, "urban transformation" came along to the research agenda within the political repression in 1980, and "neoliberal urbanisation/urban transformation" in the 1990s and 2000s. In this context, 1980 is accepted as a fracture in the shift of capitalist modes of production; it was a shift into the neoliberal urbanisations which would change its mode in the 2000s in Turkey (Şenyapılı, 2004). After 1980, marginal Old Altındağ became "marginalised" with a deepened segregation. The marginalisation is, hence, a historical crack and a sociospatial change between the periods of urbanisation and neoliberal urban transformation. Ankara became a city of expanding sociospatial tensions at the level

⁴⁵ And Old Altındağ, including Çiğir, was accepted as one of the first margins of Old Ankara, as it is elaborated in the following part named *Where was Çiğir?*

⁴⁶ In terms of the formal and institutional urbanisation, after the first two related Ankara City Plans of Lörcher and Jansen, the third plan "Yücel-Uybadın Ankara Plan" went into operation as a winner project of city planning competition in 1957. In the Yücel-Uybadın Ankara Plan, neither the expansion of the urban fabric of *gecekondus* nor the increasing infrastructural and social problems weren't stated as a critical issue in the urban agenda. On the contrary, it is claimed that this macro plan provided the first legitimate ground for the following reclamation plans of the 1980s, which would incite the competitive urban rent and land interest of *gecekondu* neighbourhoods soon (Günay, 2006 [2005]: 81).

of public space for common people and at the level of *gecekondu* neighbourhoods for whom so-called "the other" actors. Since social research has started to focus on particular urban cases and districts to capture the change after 1980 (Şatiroğlu, 2011: 352).⁴⁷

The urbanisation period depending on the "rural, massive migration"⁴⁸ or the emergence of *gecekondus* and "marginal workers" was elaborated as a performance of the production of the urban fabric. Following the urban trajectories in the 1970s and 1980s, the first outcomes of *gecekondu* research came along. Scholars such as Kemal Karpat (1976), İlhan Tekeli (1970, 1976, 1977), Önder Şenyapılı (1978) and Tansı Şenyapılı (1981) analysed *gecekondus* as an emergence within economy-political consequences of the change of production from rural to urban modes. The research agenda of "gecekondus as a phenomenon" briefly demonstrates that in the urbanisation process, *gecekondus* were functioned as a place providing a stock of cheap labour. Therefore, *gecekondus* became a sociospatial apparatus of reproduction of cheap labour in the city; and even for the city, since *gecekondu* residents laboured in the construction process of it. In this genre, Tansı Şenyapılı (1981) put one step further and defined *gecekondus* -pointing out not to a single house but the neighbourhoods- as the places of "marginal workers," referring directly to the specific workers such as

⁴⁷ The notion of *varoş* came into the corpus, referring to a new form of *gecekondu* and/or articulating to *gecekondu* as a phenomenon. Before 1980, *varoş* had a similar literal meaning with ghettos, but it mainly defined the neighbourhoods formed out of the city wall. However, in the late 1980s, *varoş* became a new phenomenon. *Varoş* implied that *gecekondus* were becoming slum settlements in order to define increasing marginalisation of particular districts (Ayşen Şatiroğlu, 2011: 352).

⁴⁸ There could be a tendency to think that the emergence of *gecekondus* was a result of rapid growth within massive rural migration. The question then comes whether the urbanisation could be designed as slow processes within the growing industrialisation or not. Engels suggested in the late nineteenth century that if the sociospatial exploitation is an inherent part of the capitalist mode of urbanisation, then, it could be claimed that the problematic of *gecekondus* as an emergent condition does not have a vital link with the speed of urbanisation. To put it differently, the rapidity of massive displacement in Turkey might have created a traumatic effect on the society, but the variety of forms of slums, squatters and *gecekondus* would inevitably emerge under the urban circumstances. The "city" was becoming "urban", and the *gecekondus* had emerged as an inherent part and parcel of this process. Both Tansı Şenyapılı (1981) and Önder Şenyapılı (1978) highlighted *gecekondus* on this political economy base.

pedlars and porters (For further elaboration see Appendix B: Mapping Şenyapılı's (1981) research).

Gecekondu as a single house is differentiated from the variations of slums and squats in the world, in terms of construction and organisation of a house. *Gecekondu* settlements are also compared with similar examples in the world, and it is claimed that there are similarities between *gecekondus* in Turkey and squatter settlements in Latin America, Asia and North Africa in terms of the organisation of the environment. However, the phenomenon of *gecekondus* distinguishes from any close examples through the ways of urban integration. The urban integration of *gecekondus* had both political and sociospatial dimensions in Turkey (Karpas, 1976: 6).

From the very beginning of the first decades of massive migration, the inhabitants of *gecekondus* were performing their old sociospatial habits, creating interpreted rural ways to integrate urban life. For instance, they continued rural domestic works such as vegetable gardening or poultry raising, which were also necessary to reduce living expenses and survive within a limited, unstable income (Karpas, 1976: 30). More and above, the *gecekondu* communities had engaged political organisations (hegemonic and counter-hegemonic) at the neighbourhood level to integrate to the urban life (Şenyapılı, 1981:45). Thus, political activism and the interest in politics became implicit parts of the production of space. Some *gecekondus* districts became distinctive places in the history of urbanisation. Particular religious and/or ethnical minority communities and not only massive but also "chain" migration histories of those had an essential impact on the counter-resistant organisations which another set of research in the corpus *scrutinises*.⁴⁹ At this point it is worth noting that the global

⁴⁹Recent notable works on the issue: Burcu Şentürk, *Bu Çamuru Beraber Çiğnedik: Bir Gecekondu Mahallesi Hikâyesi*, İstanbul: İletişim, 2015. Yelda Yürekli, *Küçük Moskova: Tuzluçayır*, İstanbul: İletişim, 2016.

In the stated period of urbanisation, the counter-resistant *gecekondu* neighbourhoods of Ankara were mainly echoed in the media as "the homes of anarchists." Activists from the 68-generation were already

urban crisis of the 60s and 70s was a part of increased sociospatial segregation and uneven urbanisation; hence the 70s was a universal shift to the era of neoliberalism and the "posts." It was a shift from slavery to post-slavery, colonial to postcolonial, industrial to post-industrial, Taylorism to Post-Taylorism (Kumar, 2005). To that extend, the marginal Ankara in the 1960s and 1970s was also interpreted as a unique sociospatial performance of the production of the urban fabric in articulation to the politics.⁵⁰

At the end of urbanisation period, the line between informal and formal urbanisation was blurred; or between society and government. Indeed, since the beginning of urbanisation period, political figures approached *gecekondu*s as a political game to gain power in the elections. *Gecekondu* communities were active agents, and they played this game to gain housing rights such as bringing infrastructure to their neighbourhoods, taking their land titles, and so on.⁵¹ Therefore, it is a common situation in Turkey to find former *gecekondu* neighbourhoods or streets named with the first names and surnames of politicians of the era. The political agenda has also

living at those neighbourhoods, and some of them moved to *gecekondu*s in order to establish neighbourhood organisations within the waves of the 68-Student-Movements. Herein, it could be claimed that the association with crime and fear of the marginalised Ankara juxtapositions with the worldwide raising identity politics at the late 60s and 70s when the worldwide researchers started to discuss common urban conditions such as peripheral urbanisation, suburbanisation and uneven urban politics. Although the identity politics and the character of diversity are different and more intricate than the US and Europe (so-called west) in Turkey, following the same path in the world scale, the narratives of Ankara *gecekondu*s provide fragments of the history of counter-resistant communities, repositioning against the urban crisis of the 1970s.

⁵⁰ The concept of labour is used as a capability. Since, Işık and Pınarcıoğlu (2018 [2001]) claim that *gecekondu* inhabitants had to face unemployment, homelessness, discrimination and lack of wealth. Under these conditions, they learned how to produce and reproduce informal networks within their communities in different manners such as finding marginal works, building a house, expanding and renting a house to a newcomer, finding a *contractor* (*müteahhit*) to build an apartment in the land of *gecekondu* after demolishment. This transformation and change of the roles in the community are explained as "poverty in turn" which led the poverty handover to a newcomer and/or to a more disadvantaged person as a way of improving their wealth (p. 49).

⁵¹ Sencer Ayata, 1989; Tahire Erman, 1998, 2001; Oğuz Işık, Melih Pınarcıoğlu, 2018 [2001]; Tansı Şenyapılı, 2001.

been rapidly changing after 1980.⁵² It was a transition to "neoliberal, export-oriented, privatisation model, flexibilization of markets, social policies structured by market forces" (Şenyapılı, 2004). In terms of formal urban regulations, the decade of 1980s could also be highlighted that the municipalities took all of the authority in making master plans in 1984.⁵³ As a significant governmental regulation, Ankara Metropolitan Municipality made a master transportation plan and initiated construction processes of the metro station in Kızılay Square in 1985 (Günay, 2006 [2005]: 81).⁵⁴

In the 1990s, one of the most significant political consequences was the rise of non-secular governments in the world. In this context, Bülent Batuman (2018) links the urbanisation history of Turkey and capital Ankara -representing the hegemony of political power- with neoliberal and "Islamist politics" raised in Turkey in the 1990s.⁵⁵ Before the establishment of *AKP* (The Justice and Welfare Party),⁵⁶ the municipal

⁵² After 1980, particularly public spaces were also reproduced within the political agenda. An extraordinary transformation of central squares of Istanbul and Ankara turned the public places into isolated places, cut them from the historical and political contexts of the cities (Batuman, 2012 [2002]).

⁵³ It should be noted that Uybadin-Yücel Ankara Plan (1957) was Ankara's third master plan following Lörcher's and Jansen's plans. The plan was criticised for neither proposing a scenario for uneven development nor problematising the *gecekondu*s and disadvantaged communities forming the margins of Ankara. The fourth plan of Ankara entitled "Ankara 1990 Master Plan" was a work of Ankara Metropolitan Planning Bureau. Having a role in the making of city profile between 1968-1984, this planning bureau was effectively working integrating research in their work and problematising the *gecekondu*s as a part of "modern" Ankara. However, in 1984 the municipalities took all the authority in making a master plan (Günay, 2006 [2005]: 81).

⁵⁴ Kızılay Square (the second city centre) has gained a new discursive spatiality since the 1980s, representing that there is no possibility for the opposition, public expression, protest or counter-hegemonic act in the public spaces (Batuman, 2012 [2002]: 68).

⁵⁵ Batuman (2018) uses the concept of "Islamist politics" stating that it is a deliberate choice distinguishing the concept from "Islamic" or "non-secular." His conceptualisation of Islamist politics refers to the discursive production that is manipulating the common religious believes and myths to empower and pursue hegemony of the government (Batuman, 2019).

⁵⁶ Founded in 2001, The Justice and Welfare Party, *AKP* has won pluralities in the six legislative elections, those of 2002, 2007, 2011, June 2015, November 2015, and 2018, and three local elections in 2004, 2009 and 2014. The Turkish parliamentary election of 2018 took place on 24 June 2018 as part of the 2018 Turkish general election, with a presidential election taking place on the same day. *AKP* has lost Ankara Metropolitan Municipality in the local elections in March 2019; the elections were reran and *AKP* lost Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality in June (BBC News, "Turkish local elections 2019," Accessed October 19, 2019, <https://www.bbc.com/news/topics/cwwwnvp4e4pt/turkish-local-elections-2019>).

elections of Ankara and Istanbul was taken by RP (Welfare Party) in 1994, for the first time by a non-secular party, then *AKP* founded in 2001 and remained as the main authority in the municipalities until 2019. Batuman briefly claims that Islamist politics, specifically on mass housing waged rooted changes in the society and environment (2018).⁵⁷

As a turnout in the mass housing policies, the government made TOKİ became the principal institution in the urban transformation processes of *gecekondu*s since the 2000s. TOKİ gained the authority to use public land without charge in 2003. In 2004, new legislation was enacted by the government giving TOKİ power to design urban transformation project's scale and form (Keskinok, 2019b: 68); and to plan and develop *gecekondu* districts by taking all the duties on mass housing from the Ministry and Public Works in 2007. TOKİ had already built a large number of houses, mostly multi-floored apartments in gated sites in 2007 (Batuman, 2018: 75). Although the building model of *yapsatçılık* (small scale independent enterprise for property developing) had a special place in the transition between *gecekondu* to the apartment since its emergence in the 1970s, it was used as a principal model neither in Çiğir *gecekondu* neighbourhoods nor in the rest of Old Altındağ. *Yapsatçılık* might not be used because of the high levels of poverty and/or high density of *gecekondus*, which hindered the association of private contractors (*müteahhit* in Turkish) with multiple title owners. Therefore, Old Altındağ remained as a *gecekondu* zone with an increasing marginalisation until 2005 when TOKİ initiated the urban transformation processes in collaboration with the Altındağ Municipality.

⁵⁷ Batuman (2018) elaborates the transformation of the built environment by contextualising its multifactorial relation with politics taking Turkey as a case. Filling a gap in the history of architecture and urbanism, Batuman takes Turkey in comparison with other countries under the rule of Islamist governments such as Kazakhstan, Azerbaijan, Turkmenistan, Saudi Arabia and Iran, and in a historical continuum since the end of Cold War marking it as times of the juxtaposition of global interconnectedness with the rise of Islamist politics (Batuman, 2018: 99; Aykaç, 2019).

Tarik H. Şengül (2009 [2001]) extends the economy-political and sociospatial discussion of the emergence of *gecekondu*s of the 1970s' and 1980s' into the urban transformation processes initiated by the government in the 2000s. Şengül claims that the hegemony of "exchange value" dominated the grasp of a qualified urban space grounding in the "use value." To put it in other words, urban development seeking for an unlimited profit of dominated sociospatial values of urban space. Hence according to Şengül, there emerged sociospatial contradictions with deepening issues such as urban poverty, social exclusion and exploitation (Şengül, 2009 [2001]:149-152).⁵⁸

From a general grasp, new politics on housing have been targeting the old squatters' demands to uprise their social status and wealth, claiming to change the identity of *gecekondu*s from "insecure" and "dirty" to "secure" and "clean." However, the related researches⁵⁹ reveal that urban transformation projects applied to *gecekondu* districts created new sociospatial inequalities and new modes of segregation for most of the cases, *as well as for Çiğçin*. I will capture this claim in the following parts of the research through the lens of work and labour (See also Appendix B: Mapping the political consequences of Turkey, for the extended notes on the literature).

2.2. Where is Çiğçin?

The area named Çiğçin Bağları or Çiğçin is settled in front of Ankara Castle in Bentderesi Valley. Çiğçin is defined as an old name of a neighbourhood, Gültepe Neighbourhood in recent documents of the Municipality and some of the academic research.⁶⁰ Çiğçin Bağları has a reputation of being the Wild West of Ankara (it is

⁵⁸ H. Tarık, Şengül. *Kentsel Çelişki ve Siyaset; Kapitalist Kentleşme Süreçlerinin Eleştirisi*. İstanbul: Metis. 2009 [2001].

⁵⁹ Kuyucu & Ünsal (2010); Kuyucu (2018); Işık & Pınarcıoğlu (2018 [2001]); Şengül (2009 [2001]).

⁶⁰ Highlighted researches and reports defining Çiğçin Bağları just as Gültepe Neighbourhood: (1) Ankara Kalkınma Ajansı, *Altındağ'ın sosyo-kültürel dokusu*, 2011 (There are contradictions about where Çiğçin is in the document); (2) Özlem Güzey, and Erman, Aksoy, 2017. (3) Meltem Yılmaz, 2010.

called either as "Texas of Ankara" *Ankara'nın Teksası*; or "Harlem of Ankara" *Ankara'nın Harlemi*) emphasising the potential of insecurity.⁶¹ Although it is prevalent in the media and popularly known as the former name of Gültepe Neighbourhood; recent legal maps of Altındağ Municipality don't provide any information about the exact designation of Çinçin and its spatial borders, nor there is a definition of Çinçin as a place existing at present or existed at past. Hence, Çinçin is "a socially legitimate and non-formal"⁶² or unofficial name of a place, rather than an official name of a district.

In addition to the lack of precise information about the district, I had never attempted to walk to the district named Çinçin. Therefore, the basic questions of where Çinçin exactly is; how to reach there from the city centre of Ulus; and what to expect about being in Çinçin as an outsider woman researcher were unanswered for me at the beginning of fieldwork. It was both a problem of sociospatial investigation and narrating this process. Because the narration of the field reproduces this particular place; it is demystifying the place. It articulates to the discursive production of Çinçin which is dominated by the representations of media and the municipality.

Henri Lefebvre (2016) elaborates that the production of space is both a material and a discursive production. The material production is the place itself with all of its material dimensions such as topography, landscape, the sound of the city, houses and cars inside, all human and non-human existences and their activities took in the place. The discursive production is the production of beliefs, representations and myths about the place establishing "the language of real-life" (Lefebvre, 2016: 33). At the level of an individual, the discursive production is also an ongoing, changing self-construction interrelated with personal histories. For this reason, as a researcher, I also decided to approach the question where Çinçin was through my personal history of grasping a

⁶¹ Particularly drug phenomena and theft.

⁶² Instead of "informal."

neighbourhood (*mahalle*). Hence first contacts with the field turned into an auto-ethnographic mapping which is both a documentation and an alternative reproduction of the space.⁶³

Sociospatial culture of some particular neighbourhoods (*mahalle*) is also a part of the migration and/or diversity history of the neighbourhood. The diverse character of the population of Turkey is ethnic, religious, and a complex mixture of these two rather than being racial (in general). The diverse population is composed of various ethnicities such as Kurdish and Cherkes communities; different religious groups such as non-Muslims and Alevis (a sub-group of Islam); or a mixture of those such as Kurdish-Alevis. The communities reproduce their identities and particular spatial culture at the neighbourhood level in cities, migrating from rural areas, towns, villages or small cities being less developed in terms of health, education and wealth. Thus, a neighbourhood (*mahalle*) in a city might be a production of a particular ethnic/religious culture, and this background reflects upon the politics of everyday life in Turkey.⁶⁴ Therein, the politics of everyday life might reproduce sociospatial

⁶³ Auto-ethnographic mapping in this research could be defined as both a departure of the research process shifting into the ethnographic research and a self-narration written through the text and mapping in this chapter. I elaborated my interpretation of this methodology in Chapter 1.2.1.

⁶⁴ I was born on a small scale and low-dense city called Çorum, located in the edges of Middle Anatolia and Black Sea Region in Turkey, in the late 1980s. My grandparents were workers, so my parents could not afford to move to big cities for their university education. They were both high school graduates and became both bank officers which was possible in the 1980s. Depending on this family background, I could define my family and even their families as middle-middle class based on the education and income levels. When I was 19 years old in 2005, I moved to İstanbul for undergraduate education at İstanbul Technical University, Department of Architecture. I witnessed Gezi Park occupy style mass protests in 2013 in İstanbul. In the following year 2014, I moved to Ankara to start the doctoral program at METU. I had a chance to live in different cities and in this brief urban background, particularly my childhood has provided me a strong perception of *mahalle* (neighbourhood) as a habitual unit produced by a communal spatial culture. (*Mahalle* is rooted in Arabic language meaning "each of the divided units of a city, town or village" in Turkish. kelimeler.gen.tr, "-mahalle," Accessed May 01, 2019. <https://kelimeler.gen.tr/mahalle-nedir-ne-demek-213938>).

In my childhood, our *mahalle* was convenient for playing in all of the corners outside. We were without the surveillance of our parents. Rather, we were protected within the general care of the community. In this community life, we were shopping from the neighbourhood's *bakkal* (small grocer) and weekly bazaars at the neighbourhood rather than bigger and chain malls that were already popping up in Çorum as well as larger cities in the 1990s. We also had small scale shopkeepers such as tailors and barbers, so we were frequently in dialogue and communication with our neighbours as a part of daily life, in the

boundaries of particular neighbourhoods.⁶⁵ On a general basis of the economy-politic order of nation-states, borders and enclosed sociospatial boundaries of particular neighbourhoods might be seen as a consequence and apparatus of segregation, depending on the reproduction of cheap labour. Since the minority communities are generally unprivileged groups whose labour is exploited more than the predominant groups of the population.

In Turkish, *halk* (people)⁶⁶ refers to this diverse and therefore culturally entangled character of the society composed of various communities and their distinctive cultures. The ethnic/religious cultures evidently reflect upon the communal construction of sociospatial identity at the neighbourhood level in the cities. In this light, as being an outsider researcher getting ready to step in Çinçin, I followed my own personal background shaping my own grasp of *mahalle*.⁶⁷ It is written that the population in Çinçin *was* primarily composed of the Roma communities and Kurdish communities in the 1970s (might be called as gypsies, *çingene* in Turkish);⁶⁸ and much before, in the 1920s, Çinçin was occupied by the Persian Roma.⁶⁹ Interestingly, the word *çingene* in Turkish originates in the Persian word "çingane." More and above,

circles of production, consumption and reproduction relations. Therefore, the conception of *mahalle* in my grasp has an interrelated relationship between the place and the community.

⁶⁵I was at the age of 13 when I had realised the fact that our *mahalle* was "progressive" in terms of gender issues comparing to one other neighbourhood on the other side of the road. When I passed that road with my bike, a middle-aged woman, whom I had never met, advised me not to "ride a bike in the streets, because I was a girl." Facing with gender discrimination as a child, I could recall that the road became a boundary for me to think about passing the other side with my bike. I had a sharp perception of the road as a spatial boundary between two neighbourhoods. Our *mahalle* ensured a politically produced freedom in the following years for me, in terms of being a young woman visible in the public sphere.

⁶⁶ Because of the diverse and integrated history of the population, *halk* is one of the Turkish words which is hard to translate directly into English. *Halk* is translated as "public, people, community and folk." <https://tureng.com/en/turkish-english/halk> Accessed, June 19, 2019.

⁶⁷ A habitual unit in the city, reproduced within a sociospatial culture of diverse communities, having sociospatial borders.

⁶⁸ Depending on Yılmaz Güney's book. Güney, 1980 [1977]: 15-16.

⁶⁹ Tansı Şenyapılı, 1981: 170.

"çinçin" as a word in Persian means "folded surface"⁷⁰ and hence, "çinçin bağları" means "vineyards of folded surfaces" fitting with the partly hilly topography of Çinçin Bağları and the history about Persian Roma. However, I couldn't find a source about current demographics explaining whether Çinçin residents are primarily a minority ethnic/religious group or not recently.

To be able to understand where Çinçin is, who lives in Çinçin, and whether there is a *mahalle* life or not, I decided to attempt to walk to and in Çinçin before conducting archival research. It was the beginning of summer and of May 2019 that I planned to step in Çinçin following three alternate routes in three following days. I attempted to use all kinds of public transportations which are *dolmuş*, public bus and metro, and I combined those with walking. I defined the routes on Google Maps with an attempt to use the "street view" mood of Google Maps. However, unfortunately, Hıdırlıktepe and Çinçin don't have street views on Google Maps as like as some of the other Ankara *gecekondu* neighbourhoods developed after Çinçin. For all of the routes, I had to choose day time, and I didn't prefer to be in Çinçin after sunset, because it was not possible to use public transportation, bus and *dolmuş*, between city centres - Kızılay and Ulus - and Çinçin after sunset (*Figure 2.1 and 2.2*).

The first target in the first route was Altındağ Theatre and then *Gültepe TOKİs* as the final point. From *Ulus Square*, I walked first to *Anafartalar Avenue*, and then to *Kevgirli Street*. Following the path, I reached at a large *dolmuş* station which was spread into the two opposite sides of *Bentderesi Avenue*, where is the beginning of *Bentderesi Valley*. The name of this avenue, *Bentderesi* is composed of two words: *Bent* means embankment and *dere* mean creek. Until 1957, *Bentderesi* had been used to be a valley with a creek from *Hatip Çayı* (Hatip Brook) ending in *Dışkapı*. Postcards from the 1930s show that there was a narrower road along with the creek. On the creek, stone and wooden bridges were placed. In 1957, however, *Hatip Çayı*

⁷⁰ چین چین (çin çin): full of folds or wrinkles. With the helps of native Persian speaker Ali Rad.

was closed through landfill after a flood (Figure 2.3 and 2.4). Since the brook disappeared, Bentderesi Valley in the shape of the former landscape of the creek splits into two main roads: One of the roads lays in-between *Hacı Bayram* and *Hıdırlıktepe*, the other in-between the Castle and *Hıdırlıktepe* (Figure 2.5).

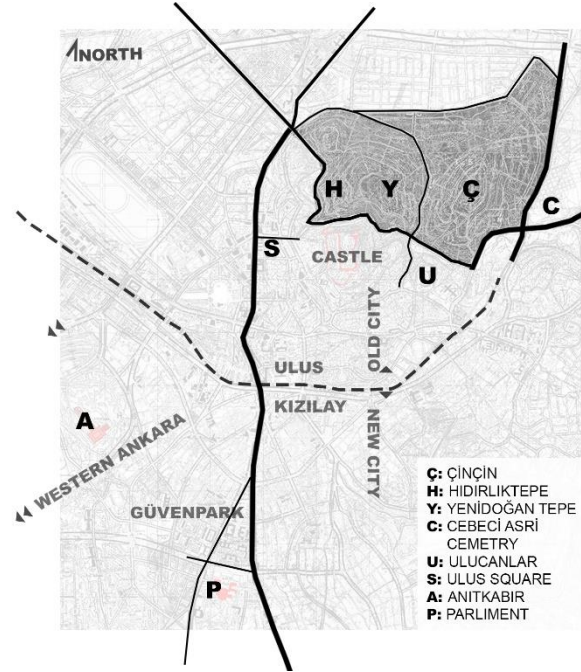


Figure 2.1. Çiğir in Ankara. Map by the author.



Figure 2.2. Highlighted roads and districts around Çiğir. Map by the author, reproduced from Google Maps 2019, also showing the latest situation of remaining gecekondus



Figure 2.3. Highlighted places around Çiğir. Map by the author, reproduced from Google Maps 2019, also showing the latest situation of remaining gecekondu.



Figure 2.4. Photograph 1927-1928, Hatip Çayı, (Hatip Creek). Koç University VEKAM Archive, No.0928.



Figure 2.5. Photograph 1930, Ankara Castle. On the left, Ankara Castle, Bentderesi (Tabakhane) Mahallesi (neighbourhood), gardens. On the right Hıdırlıktepe. Koç University VEKAM Archive, No.1266.

I choose the road between *Hacı Bayram* and *Hıdırlıktepe* (called Ş. Kaya Aldoğan Av.) to reach a main and crowded road called *Babür Avenue* where *Altındağ Theatre*, public hospitals, some institutions and three to five-storied apartment blocks were placed on. On the way to *Altındağ Theatre*, I was the only woman walking on the sidewalk for a while. Then I caught up another woman. She was middle-aged, carrying bags of vegetables and fruits which were a gift for her former neighbour in *Örnek Mahallesi*. She was very open to dialogue and accepted my offer to help her bags, and

we started to walk together. On our way, she told that her daughter had got "troubles" whenever she used public transportation to come back home from her university in the evening while they were living in *Örnek Mahallesi*. Therefore, their family decided to move from *Örnek Mahallesi*. It was a twenty-minute slow walk until *Altındağ* Theatre in *Babür Avenue* where she left me to move towards *Örnek Mahallesi*. The Northern side of *Babür Avenue* was *Örnek Mahallesi* while the Southern side was *Çinçin*. I followed *Babür Avenue* straight ahead until *Cebeci Asri Cemetery*. Then I found *Plevne Avenue* and walked down to the *Gültepe TOKİs*. After walking for ten minutes close to *Gültepe TOKİs'* gated sites, I took a *dolmuş* to go back to *Ulus*. Although it was a convenient route in terms of walking, I felt almost alone in all different streets except lively *Babür Avenue* where the hospitals and other institutions located (*Figure 2.5: Day.1/Route.1*).

The following day, I started at the same point to take the second route planned as two main actions: First taking a *dolmuş* to go inside *Çinçin* and then stepping out of the *dolmuş* in *Gültepe Neighbourhood Muhtarlığı* which is a spot close to the bus station of public bus route "EGO 456" serving between to *Kızılay Square* and *Çinçin*. Hence, I went to the large *dolmuş* station area in *Benderesi Av.* within the light of experiences of the previous day. I asked for *Gültepe Neighbourhood* to the *dolmuş* drivers. However, none of them understood where *Gültepe Neighbourhood* is. When I asked for *Çinçin*, they confirmed that they knew *Çinçin*, and they warned me that I should ask for *Çinçin* instead of *Gültepe Neighbourhood*. Thereafter, they sent me back to *Çankırı Av.* close to *Ulus Square* with a clear definition of *Çinçin dolmuş station*. I found two *Çinçin dolmuş* at the station. I settled in the *dolmuş*, paid two and a half Turkish Liras and told the driver to take me off in *Gültepe Neighbourhood Muhtarlığı*. Passengers were mostly going to the *Babür Av.* since many of them took off in the hospital. Approximately fifteen minutes later, the driver took me off somewhere very close to *Çinçin Yeni Dört Yol* and demonstrated in detail about how I could go to *Gültepe Neighbourhood Muhtarlığı*. I walked down the slope and reached the *muhtarlık*, continued walking, found the bus

station. I waited for the bus for ten minutes and took the bus with the number 456 back to Kızılay Square. The bus route passed through *Çinçin*. It was possible to see the three hills of Old Altındağ, Hıdırlıktepe, Yenidoğan Tepe and *Çinçin*, from various perspectives on the way back (*Figure 2.6: Day.2/Route.2*).⁷¹

In the third and the last route, I took the metro line called "Ankaray" from Kızılay Metro Station and took off at the last stop at "Ankara Dikimevi Metro Station" in *Cebeci Mahallesi*. From this departure, I walked to *Plevne Avenue*, passing some residential neighbourhoods in Cebeci. After a 15-minute walk, I reached at *Gültepe TOKİs* in *Çinçin*. I found the *muhtarlık* again and meet Gültepe Neighbourhood muhtarı, introduce myself as a researcher, my research topic and affiliation. I informed him that I would be conducting fieldwork at the area in the following weeks and eager to have an interview with him. I, thereafter, took the bus EGO 456 and went back to Kızılay Square similar to the previous day (*Figure 2.7: Day.3/Route.3*).

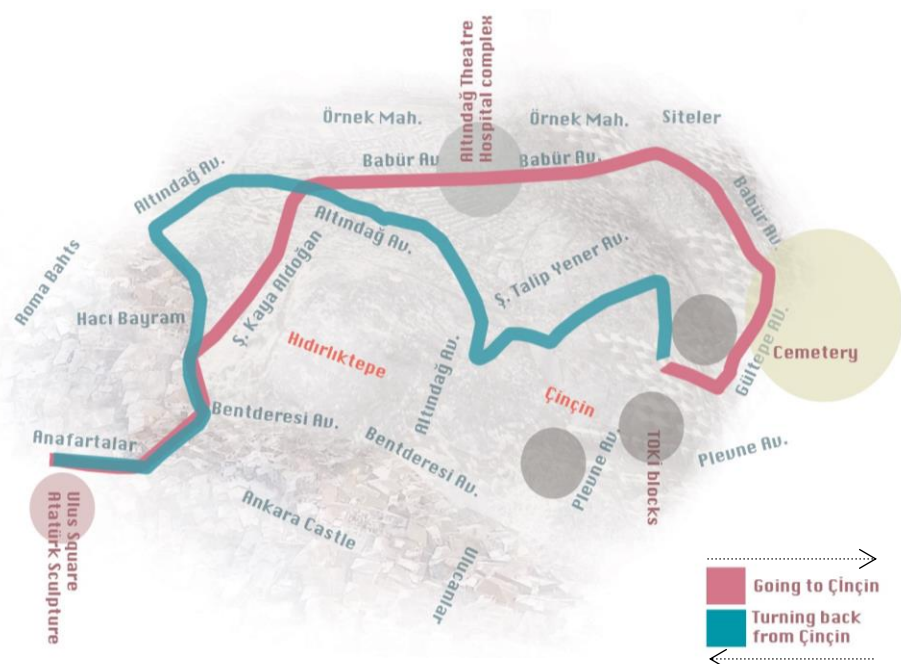


Figure 2.6. Day.1/Route.1, mapping by the author.

⁷¹ Through a further research, it is found out that there is one other public bus with a code "452" going into *Çinçin*, the centre of where is defined as *Çinçin Yeni Dörtöl* (Moovit, 2019).

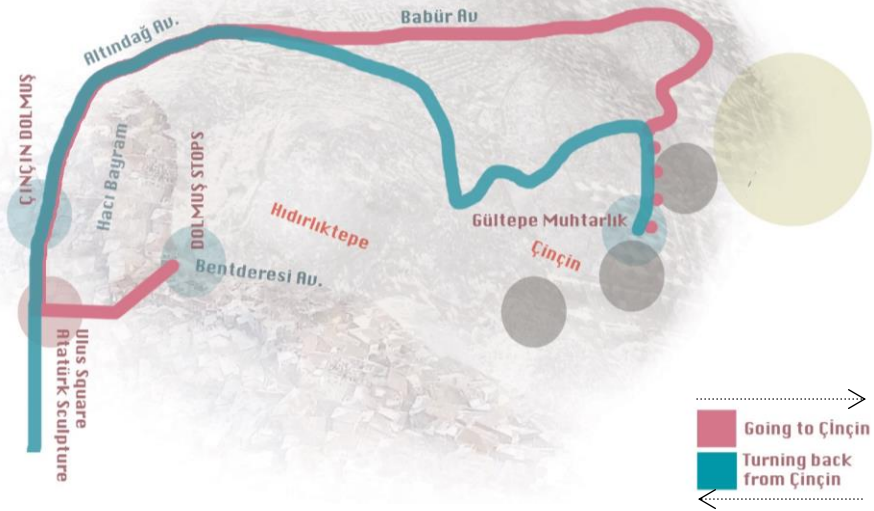


Figure 2.7. Day.2/Route.2, mapping by the author.

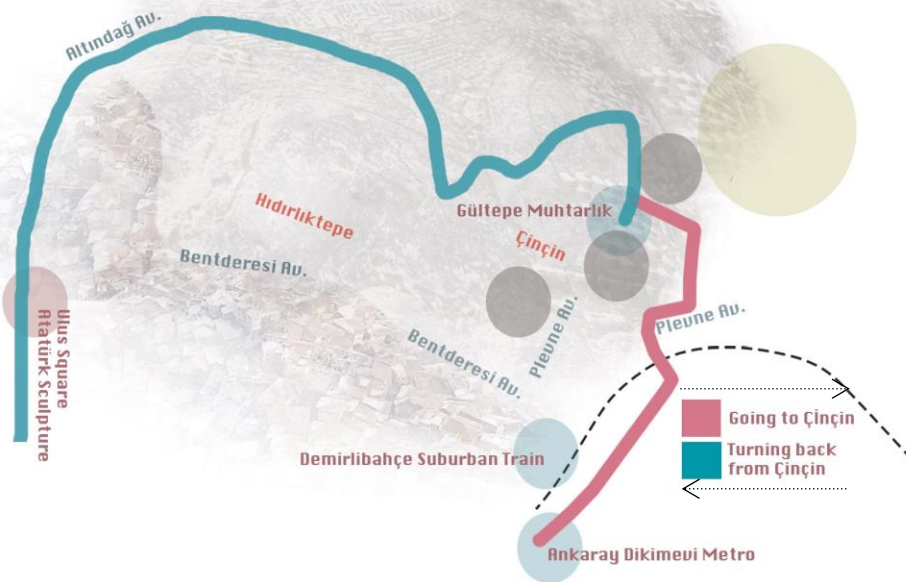


Figure 2.8. Day.3/Route.3, mapping by the author.

After first attempts to walk to and in Çinçin through three different routes and by various transportations, I experienced that Çinçin is walkable from two city centres, Ulus and Kızılay. It takes approximately twenty minutes from Ulus Square. Apart from walking, there are several ways, from several directions to reach the district. For these three days of discovering the ways of reaching Çinçin, I could also take public transportations *dolmuş* and bus.

During the trips, I experienced certain spatial boundaries when I was passing from one main road to the other. First of all, two main roads, Bentderesi and Plevne separates the area from the rest, since those function more for automobiles. Therefore, I was *almost* alone walking on the sidewalk, throughout these main roads. Except Gültepe Avenue laying between Cebeci Asri Cemetry and Gültepe TOKİs; the other main roads (Plevne Av., Bentderesi Av. and Ş. Kaya Aldoğan Av.) topographically touch the hills (Hıdırlıktepe and hilly part of Çinçin) at the ground level of the abrupt slope. Therefore, for a long-distance walking on the Plevne and Bentderesi Avenues, the *gecekondu* hills sharply rise, forming the sense of space on the ground level. This situation both gives a character to the hills and constitutes a spatial boundary.

Babür Av., on the other hand, is more pedestrian and there are several shops, one hospital campus, a public post office named Çin Çin Post Office, bus and *dolmuş* stops on it. However, if one passes one street to the Southern part of Babür Avenue, Çinçin starts with a chaotic view of a mixture of remaining *gecekondus*, a few apartments built by *yapsatçılık*⁷² model, gated sites of TOKİs and debris of demolished *gecekondus*. Passing to the side of Çinçin in the South was hence like passing a sharp social border. Therefore, I usually preferred to take Plevne Avenue to enter and exit Çinçin nearby Gültepe TOKİs. Rather than directly entering into

⁷² Building model of *yapsatçılık* means property developing as a small-scale enterprise. This model had a special place in the transition between *gecekondu* to the apartment since its emergence in the 1970s. However, it was used as a principal model neither in Çinçin *gecekondu* neighbourhoods nor the rest of Old Altındağ.

remaining *gecekondus* on Babür Av., I followed the slope up or down between Cebeci Asri Cemetery and TOKİs on Plevne Avenue.

During these three days, I also figured out that Çiğir New Dörtöl has been a central public space for the informants. It was claimed to be "the heart of Çiğir" (*Çiğir'in kalbi*) by *dolmuş* drivers, the *Muhtar* and residents whom I've met in the street during the field trips. They warned me not to walk through Çiğir Yeni Dörtöl concerning my security; although we were just three to five minutes walking distance away and Dörtöl didn't seem like a different place where we were. Some of the residents claimed that it was the most insecure part of Çiğir, and all the bad reputation was related with that place. As I realised, this was also a statement of hierarchy which puts their houses' location in a more secure and "less Çiğir place." According to the informants, there was a hierarchy even between two *gecekondus* due to their distances to Çiğir New Dörtöl, to main roads and Gültepe/Aktaş TOKİs. Being close to the main roads, and TOKİs was making their houses located in a "less Çiğir place."

Gültepe Neighbourhood was turned into gated TOKİ sites. There were strict spatial separations around those. For instance, the barbed tapes were typically surrounding the outer walls of the apartment sites. Barbed tapes were also used in the wall gardens of some of the remaining *gecekondus*, in order to separate them from demolished/half-demolished *houses*. In Çiğir New Dörtöl, most of the small shops such as *çiğ köfteci* (a traditional fast food) and *bakkal* (grocer) were closed, instead of them some new shops -a new *çiğ köfteci* shop and small-scale markets- were opened inside the TOKİs. Gültepe TOKİ Stage 1 was surrounded by locked gates in addition to the barbed walls, which provided a more defined closure and separation between inside and outside of the TOKİ site. It could also be demonstrated that those new shops in TOKİs were serving inside the TOKİ Site, for TOKİ communities; not for Çiğir residents living in the remaining *gecekondus*.

It was narrated in the novels that there was a distinctive "*mahalle*" (neighbourhood) culture in Çiğir (Seyman, 1986; Güney, 1977). The district was not what I expected with the grasp of the neighbourhood, *mahalle*. It was hard to be an outsider in a deeply intervened, half-ruined landscape where the residents living in the remaining *gecekondus* were in a fragile position between staying in and moving out of Çiğir. My observations show that there is a new kind of segregation unprecedentedly fragmented and spread over the district. On the one hand, there was still social and spatial segregation between all of the district surrounded by the avenues. On the other hand, I experienced new boundaries, passing one street to the other or one sidewalk to the other, walking inside the district around remaining *gecekondus*, ruins and TOKİs. The only segregation was not between TOKİs and the remaining *gecekondus*, but also between two *gecekondus* due to their distance to Çiğir New Dörtüol or main roads.⁷³

2.3. Where was Çiğir?

Neighbourhoods, *mahalles*, are residential units legally defined through administrative borders. Known as one of the first *gecekondus* districts of Ankara, neither Çiğir nor Çiğir Bağları is recently an official designation. In other words, in the municipal documents of Altındağ and Ankara, Çiğir Bağları is not marked as a place, a neighbourhood or a district composed of various neighbourhoods. However, it is socially and historically a legitimate name, since "Çiğir" is widely used inside the district; for instance, in the name of shops and offices such as Çiğir Çiğir Post Office (PTT). Moreover, there are *dolmuş* lines serving between Ulus and Çiğir and named *Çiğir Dolmuşu*. Besides, the district is popularly represented as Çiğir or Çiğir Bağları in the media. A quick internet search would provide propaganda

⁷³ After these first three trips, I always walked around with key informants, we had field trips, visits the neighbours, and we were together during several interviews. I considered my security as an outsider woman researcher. However, it was not because I felt threatened in the district. I found it more ethical for positioning as a researcher as an outsider, and more efficient to communicate with different residents by the help of two different key informants.

advertisements on the "urban cleansing" projects of Altındağ Municipality: "Once upon a time Çinçin" (Figure 2.8).



Figure 2.9: Once upon a time Çinçin. Dating back to 2012, the advertisement is showing the transformation as "Çinçin bir varmış, bir yokmuş," means once upon a time Çinçin. Okurama. "Çinçin Bir Varmış Bir Yokmuş." Accessed November 19, 2018.

After the first field trips conducted and written as an auto-ethnographic mapping in the previous part, the questions of where exactly Çinçin was and which neighbourhood/neighbourhoods it might be including became a more controversial issue. Almost all of the informants stated that Çinçin was a name of the district composed of various neighbourhoods, but not only one neighbourhood "Gültepe Neighbourhood." When I asked for the names of neighbourhoods, most of the informants living in Çinçin were confused about their own neighbourhood's latest situation in law, because the names and legal borders of neighbourhoods have been changing within the demolition/construction processes initiated in 2005. Another question inevitably raises: where Çinçin was.

I visited Gültepe Neighbourhood Muhtarlığı (neighbourhood head's office) to introduce myself and ask an address in June 2018; it was just before the Turkish parliamentary election took place on 24 June 2018 as part of the 2018 Turkish general

election. For that reason, the *muhtarlık* of Gültepe Neighbourhood was handing out elector papers for the upcoming elections. Çinçin residents were coming in and out to take their election papers.⁷⁴ The building of *muhtarlık* was a one floored and newly built private office nearby the first stage Gültepe TOKİ site. The residents occupied all of the four guest-seats, and there was a rapid circulation between newly coming visitors and formerly existing ones. The Muhtar was serving tea, cologne and snacks for the visitors. It was socially a very actively used place; however, the Muhtar was looking busy and complicated about the organisation of elector papers, trying to figure out misunderstandings about the addresses. Hence his desk seemed disorganised with plenty of papers covering all of the surfaces. As he explained, he was trying to group them due to the residents' addresses.

In a short time, I realised that the reason for complication was the changing names of neighbourhoods. One of the residents entered *muhtarlık*, told his name and address, with numbers rather than his street's or neighbourhood's name "TOKİ Stage 3 no 215."⁷⁵ Then he corrected to clarify: Former *Çalışkanlar* (name of a former neighbourhood which doesn't exist anymore) and new TOKİ 215. When the Muhtar seemed less busy, I could have introduced myself and informed about my research. Then I asked where exactly Çinçin is. The Muhtar gave a precise answer: "These TOKİs were all known as Çinçin at past. Now here is Gültepe Neighbourhood, not Çinçin anymore. And we are (Gültepe Neighbourhood) enlarging, all the other neighbourhoods too will be Gültepe Neighbourhood in the future." His answer about the enlarging borders of Gültepe Neighbourhood fit with the information in Altındağ Municipality's web-page. However, all the other informants were stating that Çinçin Bağları was composed of various neighbourhoods, although they were not aware which neighbourhoods were left legally and which neighbourhoods they were

⁷⁴ A piece of paper stating elector's name, address of voting and number of the ballot box. Indeed, it is not mandatory to take this paper to vote.

⁷⁵ Number identifying the apartment unit, it is a pseudo number to exemplify a similar number the resident gave.

currently living in. I thanked for the information and the chance of observation of work in the *muhtarlık*, finished the invited tea and left the *muhtarlık* with an unanswered question about where Çinçin was.

2.3.1. Çinçin was a part of Old Altındağ

If the topographical traces are followed to understand where Çinçin Bağları possibly was, it could be found out that Çinçin might be the area separated from Gülveren and Gülseren with Cebeci Asri Cemetery; from Örnek Mahallesi with Babür Avenue; and from Hıdırlıktepe with Altındağ Road. All of these neighbours surrounding Çinçin have different characteristics. The other side of Cebeci Asri Cemetery, Gülveren and Gülseren transformed mostly into TOKİ sites.⁷⁶ Örnek Mahallesi has a unique spatial pattern produced mainly through building cooperatives and *yapsatçılık* system, so the urban fabric is produced by neither *gecekondus* nor TOKİs, but typical apartment blocks arranged in a more organised landscape. Hıdırlıktepe and Çinçin are facing with Old Ankara -Ankara Castle- on the other side of Bentderesi Valley. Çinçin has both hilly and plain sites; however, Hıdırlıktepe is more like a separated mountain covered by the Altındağ Road and including two hills which are called as Hıdırlık Tepe and Yenidoğan Tepe.⁷⁷ Çinçin and Hıdırlıktepe had a similar characteristic in terms of their urban fabric produced by thousands of *gecekondus* at past. These hills still resemble with their unhealthy look, abrupt slope covered by the ruins of demolished *gecekondus* standing with the remaining ones.⁷⁸

Although Hıdırlıktepe standing nearby Çinçin is not also recently an official designation, it is referred more than Çinçin in the historical documents. "Altındağ"⁷⁹

⁷⁶ Hölscher, Lennart Cornelius, 2018.

⁷⁷ Where Hıdırlık Tepe Cami and Yenidoğan Tepe Cami are located on.

⁷⁸ It should be noted that in Hıdırlıktepe and Çinçin, there is not a population of forcibly displaced people from Syria and Afghanistan who has immigrated to Turkey in the 2010s.

⁷⁹ Altındağ means Golden Mountain; it comes from a rumour that gold was committed into the earth here by Armenian population in the Russo-Turkish War of 1877–78 (The War of 93). Yaşar Seyman, 1986:30.

was legally defined as a district in 1945 including ten neighbourhoods inside,⁸⁰ and before this definition in law, this hilly district was also known as Hıdırlıktepe colloquially. The socially legitimate name Hıdırlıktepe comes from Hıdırlık Tepe (*tepe* means hill in Turkish) which was a part of Timurlenk Tepe or Timur Tepesi.⁸¹ Ernest Mamboury wrote in his Ankara Traveller's Guide (2014 [1934]) that Hıdırlık Tepe was depicted as the Southwestern part of Timur Tepesi in Von Vincke's 1839 Ankara Map, and a tower was settled on Hıdırlık Tepe supported by a wall (p.192). Around the tower on this hill named Hıdırlık Tepe, Hıdırellez festivals were celebrated. Thus, the hill was a momentous ritual place for the city. Hıdırellez is a festival which has been widely celebrated in Anatolia pointing out the first day of summer, a shift between seasons. It is composed of rituals such as eating together, jumping over a burning fire, painting eggs and drawing wishes for future to come true, if those certain actions are performed within the community.⁸²

The ritual places to celebrate Hıdırellez are culturally significant in cities, towns and villages. It could be an area surrounded by nature like a creek, lake or a meadow or a sacred place like a place around a tomb (*türbe*). It is claimed that Hıdırlık Tepe was the latter, a tomb was settled on it since it was also known as Hızır Tepesi. The name Hızır Tepesi turned into Hıdırlıktepe after the proclamation of Republic. Evidently, in the light of Selcan Gürçayı Teke's research (2016), it could be stated that Hıdırlıktepe was a historically ritual place in a central location of the city. It was even referred to as a sacred ritual place in Evliya Çelebi's *The Book of Travels*.⁸³ Remaining parts of the tower accepted as the tomb (*türbe*) was still seen in the photographs in 1935, but afterwards, it was totally ruined.⁸⁴

⁸⁰ Ankara Şehri'nin, 1945: 25. Also see in Appendix, table of archival research.

⁸¹ Ernst Mamboury, 2014 [1934]: 149-159. Also see in Appendix, table of archival research.

⁸² Selcan Gürçayı Teke, 2016: 44.

⁸³ Ibid, 46-49.

⁸⁴ Ibid, 49. Teke (2016) emphasises that Hıdırlık Tepe was one of the very salient examples of ritual places in the central city that could be preserved as a cultural space. However, on the contrary, urban transformation projects blurring the history of Hıdırlık Tepe or Hızır Tepesi as a cultural space (p. 49).

Hıdırlıktepe being a historical name used much before "Altındağ" was used to refer the hilly district nearby Çiçin. It could be claimed that the history of "Altındağ" is in a continuum of the history of Hıdırlıktepe, taking its name from Hıdır or Hızır Tepesi which was the Southwestern hill of Timurlenk Tepe. There is a list of the legal processes of development and change from Old Altındağ to the Altındağ as a larger district:

- (1) "Altındağ" was first defined as a **district in 1945** through the increasing population of the marginal parts of the city (Ankara Şehri'nin, 1945: 25).
- (2) Following that, a **central district** named **Altındağ** was established within the law published **in 1953** (Muzaffer Ökçüoğlu, 1989: 34).
- (3) Considering that massive rural immigration during the urbanisation period which made its pick point between 1950 and 1960, Altındağ was elaborated as the second densely populated district in Ankara including more than 80 neighbourhoods **in 1974**. There were five main districts at that time: Old Ankara where Ankara Castle is settled on, Çankaya, Altındağ, Yenimahalle (Hamza Mızrak, 1974).
- (4) Coming to 1980, the hills had already taken its dense urban fabric. Administration of districts was rearranged and "**Altındağ Municipality**" was founded through the law on local administration and municipalities published **in 1984** (Hamza Mızrak, 1974:29).
- (5) In the first detailed map of Altındağ Municipality, Çiçin was not referred to as a place (*Figure 2.14*).
- (6) Recently, Hıdırlıktepe is named as "Old Altındağ" in some of the sources (Ökçüoğlu, 1989: 34). Furthermore, the district named Çiçin is accepted to be a part of "Old Altındağ" in various sources⁸⁵ as being a neighbour of Hıdırlıktepe and having

⁸⁵ Altındağ Belediyesi İmar Müdürlüğü, *Altındağ 2000: Dün, bugün, yarın*, 2000: 45; Yaşar Seyman, 1986.

a similar urban fabric of gecekondu. Altındağ, recently, is used for the name of a larger central district as Ankara has become a metropolis.



Figure 2.10: Ankara aerial photo, 1953. On the left a part of Old Altındağ or with its former name Timurlenk Tepe. On the right Ankara Castle, Tabakhane Mahallesi turned into a residential area. Besides, Ulucanlar Prison could be clearly seen on the right nearby Ankara Castle. The density of houses between Bentderesi Road and Hatip Çayı is remarkable. As it is elaborated in the archive, after a flood in 1957, Hatip Çayı was filled with concrete to prevent another flood, and it turned into the recent wide road Bentderesi Avenue. Koç University VEKAM Archive. No.0515.



Figure 2.11: Photographs Old Ankara and Old Altındağ. On the left: From Ankara Castle to Hıdırlıktepe/ Old Altındağ, 1926. Koç University VEKAM Archive. No: 1601. On the right: By Photo Celal. From Hıdırlıktepe/ Old Altındağ to Ankara Castle, the date is unknown. Koç University VEKAM Archive. No: 2873.

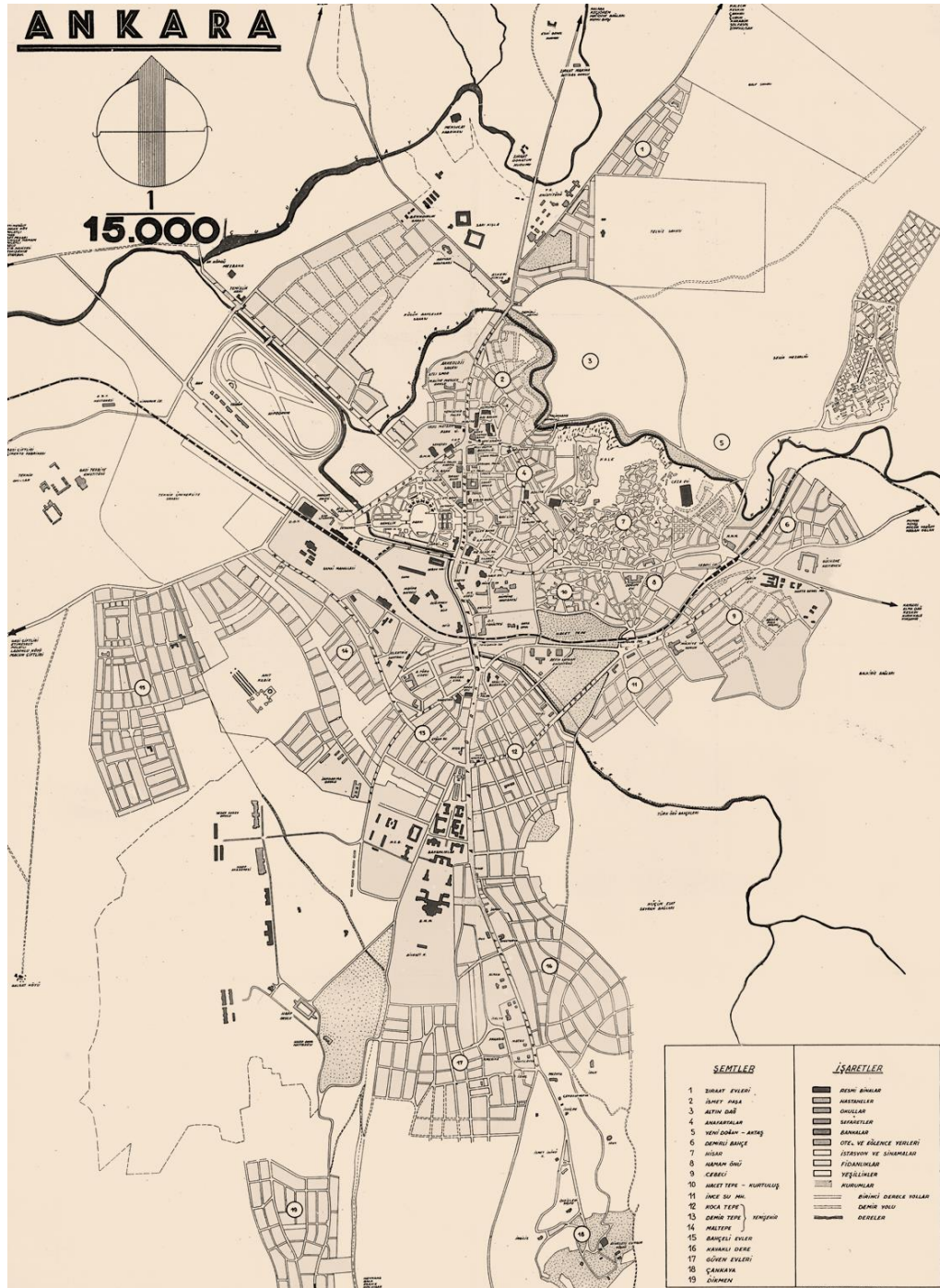


Figure 2.12: Map Ankara settlement plan, 1950. Koç University VEKAM Archive. No.H156. The area 3 is marked as Altındağ District (semt), covered by Altındağ Road. And the area 5 is marked as Yenidoğan-Aktaş District. However, Yenidoğan has parts on the other side of Altındağ Road in the first maps of Altındağ Municipality after its establishment in 1984.



Figure 2.13: Map MSB, 1959. Cropped from the map Ankara settlement plan by MSB (The Ministry of National Defence). Koç University VEKAM Archive. No.H035. Çiğin Bağları is marked as a place. Yenidoğan District is a part of Hıdırlıktepe. Çiğin Bağları is where the parcelling is ended, depicted as a unbuilt area. Atıfbey and Altındağ are marked separately. Aktaş is the other side of Yenidoğan Asphalt. The map is published by MSB; hence, it might be thematically produced. It is a more general map than the following maps published in 1967 and 1976 of MSB.



Figure 2.14: Map MSB, 1976. Cropped from the map Ankara settlement plan by MSB (The Ministry of National Defence). Koç University VEKAM Archive. No.H009. Çiğin is marked as a place in the maps of MSB published in 1959, 1967 and 1976. Different from 1959 map Yenidoğan is not a part of Hıdırlıktepe. And Çiğin is named as Çiğin Mahallesi (neighbourhood).

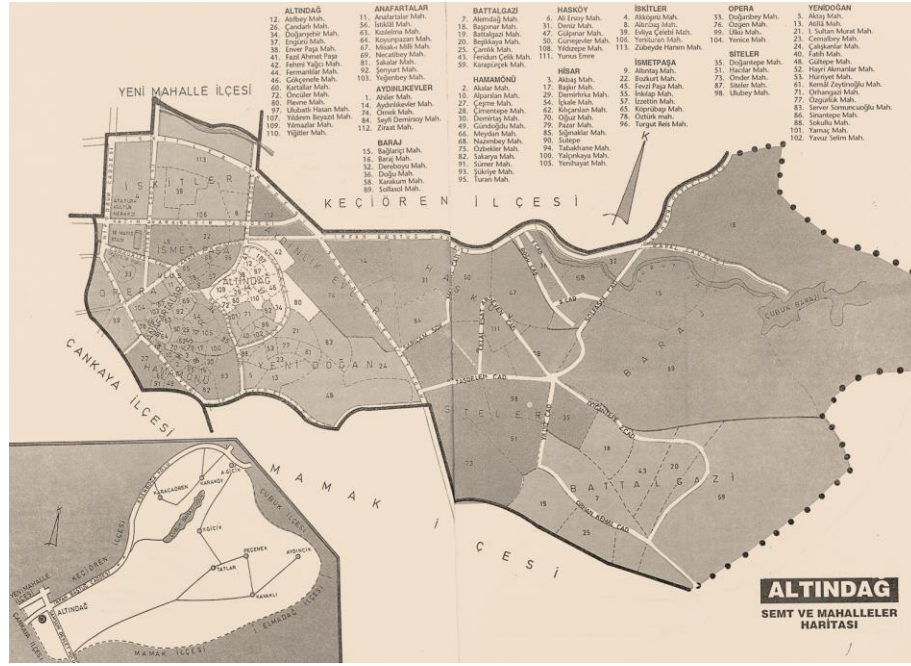


Figure 2.15: First districts and neighbourhoods of Altındağ borough, 1984. It remained same between 1984-1994. Altındağ Municipality's 1994 report, Ankara.



Figure 2.16: First urban transformation plan for Çiçin, 1994. Altındağ Municipality's 1994 report, Ankara.



Figure 2.17: Çiğin Bağları 2014-2018. Red line is drawn by the author. The map shows the change of neighbourhood names and borders as a result of the second relocating/rescaling/renaming strategy done in 2014. This map was taken from Altındağ Municipality's website in 2018 June. It was not accessible in October 2019 because Gültepe Neighbourhood was enlarged over Plevne and Aktaş Neighbourhoods. Hence during the research, two other neighbourhoods were lost. Altındağ Belediyesi, "Cadde ve Sokaklar." Accessed September 03, 2019.

The urbanisation history of Old Altındağ shows that the names of districts and neighbourhoods in this area were changing in time. Most of the neighbourhoods have disappeared with their names, the names of the districts were changed, the borders of smaller neighbourhoods have enlarged.⁸⁶ It becomes a complex issue particularly for this hilly area, recently called as Old Altındağ. There are only a few maps revealing evidence that there was a place named Çiğin Bağları (thematically mapped by the Ministry of Defence in 1959, 1967, 1976). It became a part of the marginal city, as a part of Old Altındağ dating back to the 1920s. Tansı Şenyapılı (1981) refers to Granville H. Sewell's research about Çiğin and defines the place as "the Northwestern side of Altındağ" where a group of gipsies from Iran had settled at the end of 1920. According to Sewell's research (1964), the stuff stolen from the central

⁸⁶ For instance, Atıfbey is re-named as Yıldırım Beyazıt, Altındağ is re-named as Atıfbey.

city could be found in Çiçin Bağları. Hence the popularity in crime also dates back to the 1920s. Soon after, Turkish Roma communities settled in Çiçin, joined the former group, and the population increased up to five thousand (Şenyapılı, 1981: 170).

It is widely elaborated by the corpus of the *urban history of Ankara as a modernisation project* that within the 1930s the central residential areas shifted to Yenışehir from Ulus. Old Altındağ pursued to provide a land stock for fragile, low-income communities with the capacity of cheap labour while sociospatial segregation between Yenışehir and Ulus was sharpening. Regarding Hatip Creek's risk of water flood, abrupt slope's risk of landfall, lack of infrastructure, the district was less valuable in terms of land interest and urban rent (Şenyapılı, 1981: 170). Ceren Aygöl (2014) elaborates Old Altındağ's history through analysing a series of interviews with Old Altındağ residents between 1940 and 1950 and claims that there was already strict sociospatial segregation in that period between Old Altındağ and the rest of the city (266). The segregation between Old Ankara and Old Altındağ, between marginal and central cities, has been gradually transformed into segregation between the marginalised and the rest within the urbanisation and urban transformation processes.

Old Altındağ could get infrastructural development very lately considering the increasing population in this area due to the massive migration during the urbanisation process. The first public foundations were built for transferring water up to the hills in Hıdırlıktepe in 1979 through the wide participation of Hıdırlıktepe residents in the construction process (Seyman, 1986: 37). The tiny road up to the Hıdırlık Tepe was the first road built between 1989-1994 climbing the hill.⁸⁷ It is a very late date considering the abrupt slope over which the residents had been carrying coal for heating during winter by human force until the road was built.⁸⁸ According to Yaşar Seyman (1986), this might be a reason why the more disadvantaged, more poor

⁸⁷ Altındağ Municipality, Altındağ' 94.

⁸⁸ Field trips, May-June 2018.

residents were inhabiting on the hills, being far to the public foundations and other sources at the bottom; and more wealthy part of the population was living at the bottom and plane parts of Çinçin (1986: 82).

The hills have also been strong topographical marks for the residents. The names of hills have remained the same with the mosques settled on.⁸⁹ The two hills recently, Hıdırlık Tepe and Yenidoğan Tepe, having Hıdırlık Tepe and Yenidoğan Tepe Mosques on, are shown as Hıdırlıktepe and Yenidoğan by Çinçin residents, from the top of the hill in the Çinçin side. Hence, there is a separation for Çinçin residents between Hıdırlıktepe-Yenidoğan and Çinçin caused by the topographical condition of Altındağ. Hıdırlıktepe, Yenidoğan and Çinçin are defined one by one in Altındağ Report 2011,⁹⁰ although it is a contradictory research report about the names and locations of these non-formal/unofficial places. Hıdırlıktepe, Yenidoğan and Çinçin are separate places, resembling each other in terms of the urban fabric of *gecekondu*s and also having unique dynamics and histories composing Old Altındağ's history altogether. Consequently, we claim that Çinçin Bağları was a part of Old Altındağ, standing nearby Yenidoğan Tepe and Hıdırlıktepe, having both hilly and plain lands, surrounded by Cebeci Asri Cemetery on the one side, Babür, Altındağ and Plevne Avenues on the others.

⁸⁹ Field trips, May and June 2018.

⁹⁰ *Altındağ Report 2011*: 20, 74, 77, 116, 161, 211. This report is depending on a survey research project conducted by the association of Altındağ District Governorship and Gazi University and the sponsorship of Ankara Development Agency, published in April 2011. There are contradictory explanations about which neighbourhoods are inside Çinçin. The report defines Çinçin as "one of the oldest gecekondu districts of Altındağ; including a few neighbourhoods such as Gültepe, Kemal Zeytinoğlu, Özgürlük, Server Somuncuoğlu" (2011: 20). However, in the other pages of the report, only Gültepe Neighbourhood is defined as Çinçin inside a parenthesis. It might mean that Gültepe is a neighbourhood known as Çinçin or Çinçin is one neighbourhood. However, Çinçin is a district of various neighbourhoods which are not existing anymore.

2.3.2. Çinçin was a district of grift neighbourhoods

There are two novels written about Çinçin: Yaşar Seyman's *Hüznün Çoşkusu: Altındağ* (*The Excitement of Melancholy: Altındağ*) published in 1986 and Yılmaz Güney's *Soba Pencere Camı ve İki Ekmek İstiyoruz* (*We Want Stove, Glass for Window and Two Breads*) published in 1977. Yaşar Seyman being the daughter of one of the *muhtars* tells Çinçin as a part of Old Altındağ depending on her lived memories at the neighbourhood and interviewing the residents who lived in Old Altındağ. Although Yılmaz Güney was not living in Çinçin, he interacted with Çinçin residents in Ulucanlar Prison. Hence, Güney tells the story of Çinçin interviewing imprisoned Çinçin residents, while Güney himself was a political prisoner.⁹¹ Both authors share a common point in their attempt to tell the history of a place which gained a reputation with crime and poverty. Moreover, both authors make an emphasis on the *location* and several underground neighbourhoods of Çinçin. It is an attempt to document the history of a place, tell the story of the "others." Yılmaz Güney emphasises Çinçin as a district of four neighbourhoods and locates it where we located in the previous part:

Çinçin Bağları has a particular place, particular importance in the police records in terms of disobedience. Composed of Çalışkanlar, Server Somuncuoğlu, Kemal Zeytinoğlu and Gültepe neighbourhoods, Capital Ankara's one of the biggest and poorest slum districts. (...) It is surrounded by Bloklar, Aydınlikevler, Siteler (industrial complex), Yeni Doğan and Asri Cemetery. Babür Road divides Çinçin into two unequal slums. One end of the road (...) extends to Dışkapı, one end to Plevne Road laying in front of Asri Cemetery. From Dışkapı to Çinçin, Çalışkanlar Neighbourhood and Asri Cemetery remain in the left, Server Somuncuoğlu, Kemal Zeytinoğlu and Gültepe Neighbourhoods in the right. The houses that generate all the neighbourhoods are similar in form and structure, with little or no distinctness. New Dörtüol (Yeni Dörtüol), which is considered to be the centre of Çinçin, is the most vibrant and beautiful part of the district (Güney, 1980 [1977]: 15-16).⁹²

⁹¹ Yılmaz Güney. *Soba Pencere Camı ve İki Ekmek İstiyoruz*, İstanbul: Güney Filmcilik, 1980 [1977]. In the book, it is referred to as Ankara Kapalı Cezaevi. To note, Ulucanlar Prison was functioned as a prison between 1925-2006 and was refurbished and opened as a "Prison Museum" with additional art and cultural centre in 2010 (Çaylı, 2011: 368-97). The prison museum will be an issue of the fifth chapter related to the Usta.

⁹² Translated by the author from Turkish to English: "*Polis kayıtlarında özel bir yeri, özel bir önemi olan kanunsuzluk yatağı Çinçin Bağları... Çalışkanlar, Server Somuncuoğlu, Kemal Zeytinoğlu ve*

Yaşar Seyman (1986) defining Çinçin as "Texas of Ankara" and as a part of Altındağ inhabited by people with criminal records, claims that Çinçin is composed of Çalışkanlar, Örnek, Server Somuncuoğlu, Kemal Zeytinpğlu and Gültepe Neighbourhoods (82-83). Hence, Seyman adds Örnek Neighbourhood in 1986 to other four neighbourhoods, although Örnek remains on the other side of Babür Avenue. The informants living along with the TOKİs and debris of demolished *gecekondu*s in Aktaş Neighbourhood also add two more neighbourhoods to Yılmaz Güney's list: Atilla and Özgürlük Neighbourhoods.⁹³ In search of Çinçin neighbourhoods, residents helped me to make a list of seven neighbourhoods all located inside the mentioned area. However, when I started the first field trips -in 2018 June- there were only three neighbourhoods: Gültepe, Plevne and Aktaş; which changed in the same year. Recently, there is only one enlarged neighbourhood, Gültepe Neighbourhood with a population of 22,768 in the same district.⁹⁴ It is evident that Gültepe, Plevne and Aktaş neighbourhoods were rescaled over the other small-scale neighbourhoods in 2007 and 2014; and then Gültepe Neighbourhood rescaled over Plevne and Aktaş in 2018. Therefore, there is a complicated history behind the lost neighbourhoods (Appendix C: A list of all *possible* Çinçin neighbourhoods).

Çinçin Bağları was a name of a district composed of small-scale *gecekondu* neighbourhoods. At present, it is a place composed of only one neighbourhood. Some of the neighbourhood's borders (Gültepe, Plevne and Aktaş in

Gültepe Mahallelerinden oluşan, Başkent Ankara'nın en büyük, en yoksul gecekondu semtlerinden biridir. Nüfusunun büyük çoğunluğunu şu ya da bu nedenlerle parmak izleri alınmış, önden ve yandan yüz resimleri çekilmiş, çeşitli ve karmaşık suçları içeren sabıka dosyalarına sahip Kürtler ve çingeneler meydana getirirler. Çevresi... Bloklar, Aydınlikevler, Siteler ve Yeni Doğan'la Asri Mezarlık'la kuşatılmıştır. Babür Caddesi, Çinçin'i eşit olmayan iki yoksul dilime ayırır. Çolak bir kol gibi kıvrılan caddenin bir ucu Dışkapı'ya, bir ucu Asri Mezarlığın önünden Plevne Caddesi'ne uzanır. Dışkapıdan Çinçin'e çıkılırken.... Çalışkanlar Mahallesi ile Asri Mezarlık sola, Server Somuncuoğlu, Kemal Zeytinpğlu ve Gültepe Mahalleleri de sağ yana düşer. Bütün mahalleleri oluşturan evler, biçim ve yapı olarak, az-çok ayrıcalıklarla birbirine benzer. Çinçin'in merkezi yeri sayılan Yeni Dörtöl semtin en canlı, en güzel kesimidir." (Yılmaz Güney, 1980 [1977]: 15-16).

⁹³ Bahar, Gül and Mustafa live in the borders of Aktaş Neighbourhood. Interviews June-July 2019.

⁹⁴ Altındağ Belediyesi, "Cadde ve Sokaklar," Accessed September 03, 2019.
https://www.altindag.bel.tr/#!cadde_sokak

2014; and Gültepe over Plevne and Aktaş in 2018) were enlarged; and the legal names and administrative borders of the rest were erased (Çalışkanlar, Server Somuncuoğlu, Kemal Zeytinoğlu, Özgürlük, Atilla). It could be seen as a new spatial organisation strategy since there is an establishment of a new urban fabric with gated, high dense, multi-storied TOKİ blocks. It is a deep intervention to the previous spatial organisation which had once established a distinctive language between the topography and built environment of Altındağ hills. TOKİ sites have produced a new urban fabric through changing the former landscape and so the sociospatiality of daily life. Çinçin was consisted of small-scale, grift neighbourhoods, narrow streets, paths and yards replacing with each other through a blurred grasp of where a path becomes a yard, where the borders of public and private spheres, outside and inside places of a house intertwine.

Grift neighbourhoods of Çinçin were also socially defined territories. Each small-scale neighbourhood had their own spatial identities, unique communities and commonalities. One of the residents, Halim, who was previously living in a *gecekondu* in Server Somuncuğlu Neighbourhood, gives information about his *mahalle* in detail while drawing an imaginary map emphasising the territories inside the neighbourhood. Territory, according to his map, was a smaller unit of his *mahalle*. For instance, lower-neighbourhood was a territory while the upper neighbourhood was another in the same neighbourhood. Territories were the production of the spatial organisation and proximity. Each house of the territories had visual communication; the residents saw each other in the course of daily life, encountering in the paths and yards, sharing some constructions such as toilets, coal bunkers or storages; and also playing and celebrating all together. Halim was telling while he was drawing his *mahalle*:

This was uncle Salih's home; it's already been demolished. This was our home in the corner. This was Cuma Fountain. We had a garden, nearby Zeki's house. I mean there were a lot of gecekondu's. Here was Uncle Ali's, who was a railwayman. This was Aunt Havva's. They were supporting Democrat Party, but we were Republican Public

Party. My parents were fighting with them sometimes in politics. This was Aunt Nermin's, and this was Aunt Fikriye's gecekondus. When you walk down, this is Osmans' territory. Everyone had a territory: territories and cross paths. We should pass each others yards and cross paths. So, everyone knew each other. It was like a castle. We were using the same toilets. This was our toilets and this was neighbours nearby. We had mutual collar storages. We were organising competitions between the territories. My territory was upper neighbourhood, Osman's was the lower neighbourhood. We all had different territories but celebrated weddings all together (Halim, Interview 09 July 2019).⁹⁵

While the previous spatial organisation of *gecekondus* was an association with the topography, TOKİs are a rejection of it. While the previous spatial organisation of *gecekondus* was a composition of landscape and production of life with human, non-human existences, TOKİs are composed of rarely used urban landscape elements such as pergolas, parks and green areas. While the former neighbourhoods were organised as proximate territories between places; between street and street, house and street, yard and street or between neighbour and neighbour, TOKİs don't have horizontal proximity, and it has established a new vertical order, new types of hierarchies between blocks and floors of a block, distance to remained *gecekondus* and Çiğcin New (Yeni) Dörtüol. Demolition of *gecekondus* brought demolition of neighbourhoods and territories including the paths, ways the residents pass through.⁹⁶ Because of the demolished paths, I experienced complications in finding my way down from the top of the hill during a field trip with one of the key informants Mustafa. As a part of our planned neighbourhood trip, Mustafa and I were walking around Çiğcin and talking to the neighbours living in the remaining *gecekondus*. We went to

⁹⁵ Halim moved out of the neighbourhood in 2010 after the increase of drug gangs. He was born in 1967 in Çiğcin. He uses "*mintika*" in Turkish meaning territory—Interviews 9th and 10th July 2019.

⁹⁶ When I visited Gültepe Muhtarlık I asked the address of Aktaş Muhtarlık. Gültepe's Muhtar attempted to define the address pointing out the top of the hill; however, he had a difficulty to describe the road I should walk by. Because the hill laying in front of us was composed of almost demolished *gecekondus*, and in ruins, the paths used as roads climbing up to the hill were disappeared. The Muhtar suggested me to climb a half reconstructed rocky road, still in the construction process, after checking whether my shoes were suitable for climbing. This rocky road had an extreme slope with debris laying on it. The Muhtar explained that it might have seemed hard to climb the slope, but *gecekondus* residents used to do this if there was no rain, because that was the only way (Field trip, June 2018).

the heart of Çinçin, Çinçin Yeni Dört Yol, had tea in one of the two *kahvehanes*⁹⁷ and then started to walk around until the highest part of the hill.

Mustafa claimed that there remained less than fifty *gecekondus* in the hill; almost eighty per cent were demolished. We were able to see at most ten *gecekondus* in the side facing to Yenidoğan Tepe. At the top, Mustafa showed me the debris of houses and told that there were many paths like labyrinths to go down the hill before demolition. We started to look for an alternative way and tried to calculate if it is secure to step into the debris to go down the hill or not. A group of barking dogs surrounded us at the top of the hill; while we were discussing walking down or not. Walking down was required to pass through the debris. Mustafa and I walked slowly and calmly from the only road without debris; it was the one we had come from. Mustafa informed that these "savage dogs" were "domesticated" before the demolition of *gecekondus* and each dog had a territory related at least with one *kondu* feeding and caring them. I was feeling threatened by the unexpectedly barking dogs. I felt insecure in the field for the first time, being threatened not by human but non-human inhabitants; because of the radical intervention to the habitat.

The emergence of *gecekondus* was an interpretation of rural production practices which had a harmony with non-human existences. Dogs were struggling to survive in a transformed and worsening habitat in terms of limited food supply and an unhealthy environment with full of debris and waste. As another fundamental non-human existence, the green pattern was also damaged. As we saw in the remaining *gecekondus*, almost all of the *gecekondus* had tiny yards and a fruit tree. Some of them had small planted areas and chicken coops. Dogs, other animals such as cats and chickens; and green pattern were implicit to *gecekondu* habitat before the demolition. During the field trips, I have always invited tea together with fruits from plum, apple or cherry trees in the yard or corner of a *kondu*. The

⁹⁷ Tea place or coffee house for men.

remaining *gecekondus* were kindly offering snacks for us as visitors with the help of its environment, which still survived.



Figure 2.18: From the yard of a ruined *gecekondus*. Screen shot from Turkish rap singer Ezhel's popularly known song about Çiçin. Ezhel. "Şehrimin Tadı." YouTube video, running time 4:13, publication date July 21, 2017.

Altındağ Municipality and the informants give vague and uncertain information on when each neighbourhood's borders and names were changed. But the Municipality provides a list which highlights two different years 2007 and 2014 stating that the borders and names of neighbourhoods and streets were changed (Appendix E). These two dates are also when with two massive demolitions was done by the association of TOKİ and Municipality. *Yapsatçılık* was applied just partly, to a small part, which kept Altındağ hills as a stock of a deeper transformation. In the district, two mass housing sites were built since 2005: Aktaş-TOKİs and Gültepe TOKİs.⁹⁸

Aktaş-TOKİs and Gültepe-TOKİs were built in three stages. According to Altındağ Municipality, Çiçin's massive demolition has been initiated in the place, formerly and recently known as Gültepe Neighbourhood in 2005. Between 2005 and 2017, more than 2000 *gecekondus* have been demolished in only Gültepe Neighbourhood (LinkA). Gültepe-TOKİs/Stage-1 was erected in 2009 (Link B). In Gültepe-TOKİs/Stage 1, named as Mevlana Site, 14 apartment blocks were built, each having

⁹⁸ However, the construction of Gültepe-TOKİs/Stage-4 has been conducted with the building contractors since 2017. Informants claim that Gültepe Stage 4 is the only luxurious building complex, settled in front of the Asri Cemetery. According to the informants, the contractors could have invested in this stage because the area has no spatial relation with the district behind it and turning its front face to the renovated road and the cemetery as a green "peaceful" landscape. Field trips and interviews, 25.05.18. Also, see LinkE.

16 floors. Only four of the blocks were given to former landowners of demolished *gecekondu*.⁹⁹ Gültepe-TOKİs/Stage-2 was constructed in 2010 with 664 new flats inside (Link C). Gültepe-TOKİs/Stage-3 was erected in 2014. In this site, 19 apartment blocks were built (Link D). The mayor of Altındağ Municipality claimed that none of the titleholders was mistreated in the first three stages of the radical transformation of Gültepe (Link E).

Aktaş-TOKİs was planned as of three sequential stages of destruction and construction. The first stage was initiated in 2006 one year later, the initiation of first stage Gültepe-TOKİs. The construction of Aktaş-TOKİs/Stage-1 was completed in 2007. In the first stage, a housing site composed of 9 blocks with 10 to 13 floors were erected (Link F and G). Aktaş-TOKİs/Stage-2, being composed of 1280 flats, was initiated in 2009 and completed in 2011 (Link H). Following the second stage project, Aktaş-TOKİs/Stage-3 was initiated in 2011 and completed in 2015 through the construction of 6 blocks, 342 flats (Link I). In the Aktaş-TOKİs project, only the title holders of demolished *gecekondu* who had at least 150 square metre land were entitled to exchange their *gecekondu* with a flat in the TOKİ blocks (Link F). Through building mass housing sites, TOKİs also built a new public space, some of which were inside the gated TOKİ sites. One mosque in Gültepe-TOKİs and one other close to Aktaş-TOKİs were built. In between places were turned into TOKİ-parks or green areas. Some institutions were built: One social and cultural centre for women, one kindergarten, two dormitories for university students. In addition, Altındağ District police department and muftiate (*müftülük*) was moved to Gültepe-TOKİs (Link A).¹⁰⁰

⁹⁹ This first stage TOKİs are named as Mevlana Site being the only site with a specific name than the ones with TOKİs and stages. Interview with the administration of Mevlana Site. Field trips and interviews 25.05.18. And also see Link B.

¹⁰⁰ Altındağ Municipality urban transformation web pages (Last Accessed to all links in 19 March 2019):

Link A: https://www.altindag.bel.tr/#!/gultepe_cincin_mah

Link B: https://www.altindag.bel.tr/#!/gultepe_cincin_mah_1_etap

Link C: https://www.altindag.bel.tr/#!/gultepe_cincin_mah_2_etap

Link D: https://www.altindag.bel.tr/#!/gultepe_cincin_mah_3_etap

Link E: https://www.altindag.bel.tr/#!/gultepe_cincin_mah_4_etap

Through analysing the website content in detail, two positive claims of the Altındağ Municipality about Çiğir's urban transformation could be highlighted. The first claim on the web page is that none of the titleholders was mistreated in the first three stages of Gültepe-TOKİs (Link E). However, the informants mentioned that more than half of the residents had to leave the neighbourhood between 2004 and 2014. Some of the residents had to leave because of being tenants at *gecekondu*s. Some of the titleowners into the TOKİs had to leave too; because of the debt system of TOKİ, which is similar to the mortgage system. Besides, the monthly apartment fee is an extra expenditure over the monthly budget of a *gecekondu* resident.¹⁰¹

The second claim is that the urban transformation project has been successful as a "cleansing" project, which means that it led the crime ratio decreased in Gültepe Neighbourhood. At the website, Çiğir was mentioned as Ankara's Texas, and it is claimed that "the district of Çiğir is "renamed" as Gültepe Neighbourhood to erase Çiğir's popularity in crime (LinkB). However, the residents emphasise that the drug phenomena became worse after 2005 within the demolition/construction processes. They mention that they couldn't prevent young people to associate with drug gangs sociospatially, because most of the residents had to leave and also, they lost their neighbourhoods and proximity providing to encounter each other. Moreover, according to Güzey and Aksoy's research conducted in 2014 and focusing on only Gültepe Neighbourhood as Çiğir, police records show that crime rates specifically on narcotics were increased between 2010 and 2013 in Gültepe Neighbourhood

Link F: https://www.altindag.bel.tr/#!aktas_mah

Link G: https://www.altindag.bel.tr/#!aktas_mah_1_etap

Link H: https://www.altindag.bel.tr/#!aktas_mah_2_etap

Link I: https://www.altindag.bel.tr/#!aktas_mah_3_etap

¹⁰¹ The administration office of Gültepe-TOKİs/Stage-1 inform that the monthly apartment contribution at their sites is 110 Turkish Liras (Interview 10.06.19). In addition, according to Güzey and Aksoy's research conducted in 2014 in Gültepe Neighbourhood at the TOKİs, the ratio of the title owners of demolished *gecekondu*s is 1% of the newcomers' population. Hence, some of the *gecekondu* owners who were tenants or not legal owners had to move out. Informants point out that forcibly displaced residents had been moving to new *gecekondu* districts, specifically the margins of Sincan and Karapürçek since the beginning of massive demolition.

(Güzey and Aksoy, 2014: 11). There is a myriad of global case studies exemplifying that the urban transformation and demolition/construction processes are legitimised through crime and drug phenomena, which seems like fitting the situation in Çiğir too.

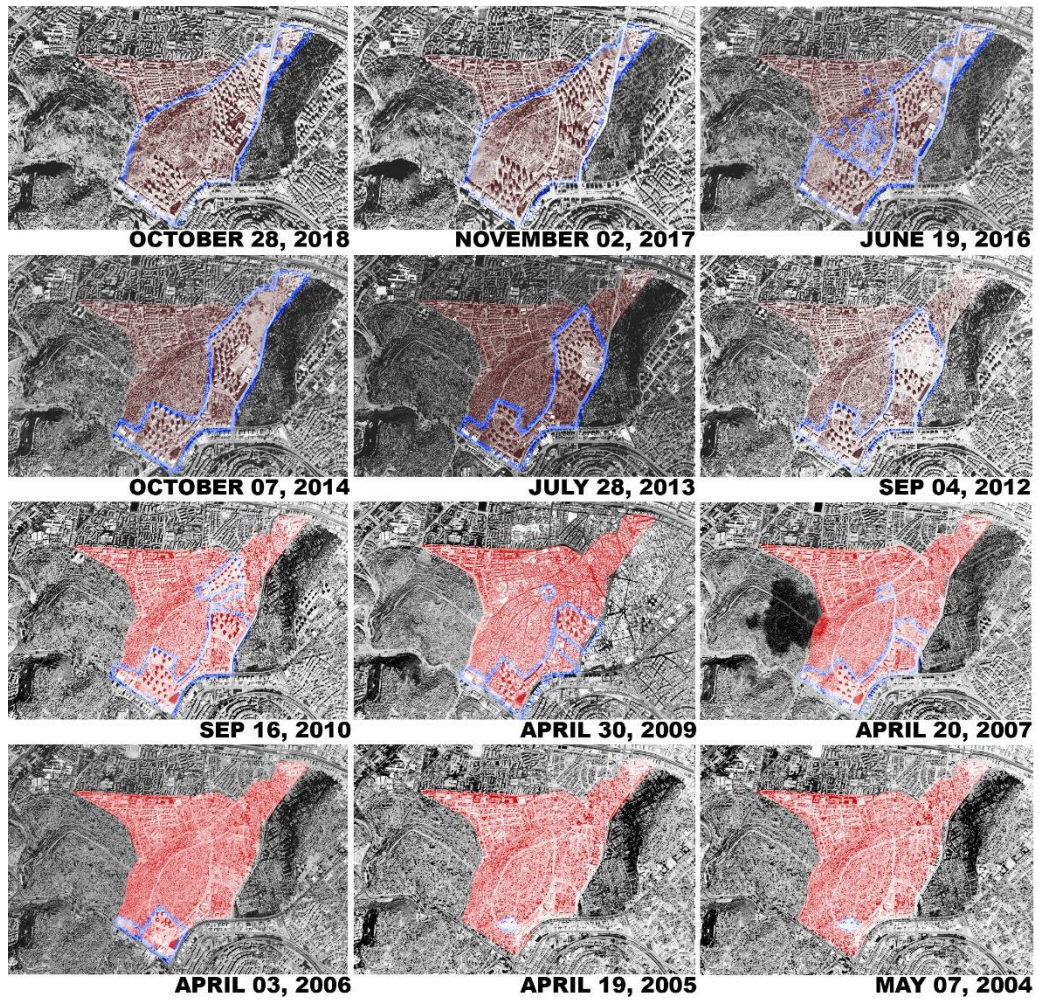


Figure 2.19: Google Earth Time-line. Mapping by the author.



Figure 2.20: Google Earth Time-line; 2020 and 2004. Collage by the author.

2.4. Epilogue: Unexpected Findings of First Contacts

çingene (in Turkish): gypsy coming from the word *çingāne* (چنگانه) in Persian
 τσιγγάνος (in Greek [tsingános]): gypsy
 چین (in Persian [çin]): wrinkle
 چین چین (in Persian [çin çin]): full of folds or wrinkles¹⁰²

How to locate an officially nonexistent land? I had two questions in sequence in this chapter to locate Çinçin as a place and a land: Where is and where was Çinçin? The search of the former question was also a process of stepping in Çinçin, which turned into an auto-ethnographical project. In this part, I tried to map that Çinçin is a central place in Ankara, almost twenty-minute walking distance to the historic downtown Ulus. There are various public transportations such as *dolmuş* and bus lines serving from Kızılay and Ulus. Depending on my background, I expected to find a sense of a *mahalle* as a habitual unit in the city, which has its own sociospatial identity and boundaries. However, there was not a sense of *mahalle in the district*. Although it was written that there were predominantly Kurdish and Gypsy communities (Güney. 1980 [1977]), there was not recently a particular dominant group in the district.

¹⁰²Dictionaries: <https://www.nisanyansozluk.com/?k=%C3%A7ingene>
https://dictionary.abadis.ir/fatoen/%DA%86%DB%8C%D9%86-%DA%86%DB%8C%D9%86/?fbclid=IwAR3GuVZq53cJc3oVR7bXL65LD6pEZuW3EX8ve6lBmqU3_069WoOuhP0xuHw Accessed December 19, 2019. Also thanks to Ali Rad for translation help from Persian to English.

However, I observed that the sociospatial boundaries were scattered inside the district. I felt spatial tensions between *gecekondus* and TOKİ sites; between debris of ruined *gecekondus* and remaining *gecekondus*; or between two *gecekondus* depending on where their location was due to the main avenues, TOKİ sites and Çiğir Yeni Dörtöl defined as "the heart of Çiğir." For instance, if a remaining *gecekondu* was far from Çiğir Yeni Dörtöl, it belonged to Çiğir less than a house located on Çiğir Yeni Dörtöl.



Figure 2.21: TOKİ sites. Photo taken by the author, June 2018, Çiğir Bağları, Ankara.

During the first field trips, it was noticeable that most of the informants had complications about which neighbourhood their house was located in, due to the latest official situation of the borders of neighbourhoods. Many neighbourhoods were not existing anymore; they were lost in the relocating/renaming/rescaling strategies of processes of urban transformation. However, informants mentioned names of several neighbourhoods for several times during the field trips and pilot interviews such as Çalışkanlar, Atilla and Server Somuncuoğlu Neighborhoods. They stated that different neighbourhoods were uniting in "*being in Çiğir*" at past. "Old Altındağ" was also a solid reference in the narratives, since informants were comparing the urban situation of Çiğir with Hıdırlıktepe and Yenidoğan Tepe, all of which belonged to Old Altındağ. In this light, I started archival research to understand where Çiğir was, which neighbourhoods were a part of Çiğir and what could be the former borders of

Çinçin. The research reveals that Çinçin was a part of "Old Altındağ" and it was composed of small-scale neighbourhoods as socially produced territories.

On the Northern part of Bentderesi Avenue, Altındağ Road covers a hilly area dividing a larger topography into two pieces and separates Hıdırlıktepe from Çinçin. Hıdırlıktepe being a part of Timurlenk Tepe was given as a name of the area much before "Altındağ." Old Altındağ was one of the first marginal settlements in Ankara, and it became a district (*semt*) in 1945; a central district (*merkez ilçe*) in 1953; and a densely populated district including more than 80 neighbourhoods in 1974. "Altındağ Municipality" was founded in 1984. In the first map of Altındağ Municipality (1984), Çinçin is not shown as a district or a neighbourhood, and the neighbourhoods of Çinçin were inside the borders of a district named Yenidoğan.

There are only a few thematic maps published by MSB (The Ministry of National Defence, in 1959, 1967, 1976) showing Çinçin Bağları as a place without borders. On the 1959 MSB Map, Çinçin Bağları is showed as an unbuilt green area with a few buildings. However, the 1976 MSB Map shows Çinçin as a "neighbourhood" which is not where Gültepe Neighbourhood is, but where Çalışkanlar Neighbourhood is. The Ministry of National Defence, since, named an area in Çalışkanlar (as a word meaning hardworking people in Turkish) Neighbourhood, where the 68 generation of Turkey had established a public centre for education (*halkevi*), arts and sports. As being one of the reliable sources about Çinçin, Granville H. Sewell's research (1964) locates Çinçin as "the Northwestern side of Altındağ" occupied by a group of gipsies from Iran at the end of the 1920s. Turkish Roma settled in the district, joining the Persian Roma (Şenyapılı, 1981: 170). At this point, it is worth noting that, Çinçin as a word might be coming from the Persian word "*çingane*." Moreover, "*çinçin*" means "folded surface" originated in Persian.

In search of where Çinçin was, I evidently found that Çinçin was accepted as a part of Old Altındağ; having its own particular character; therefore, informants distinguish

Çinçin from Hıdırlıktepe and Yenidoğan Tepe which are on the Western side of Altındağ Road. Besides, Çinçin was a district of grift neighbourhoods as socially produced territories (For the list of possible Çinçin neighbourhoods see Appendix C). This claim contradicts with some researches and non-academic sources as like as the information given in Altındağ Municipality's webpage proposing that "Çinçin was only Gültepe Neighbourhood." In 2018 Gultepe Neighbourhood is rescaled and enlarged over the other neighbourhoods.



Figure 2.22: TOKİ sites. Photo taken by the author, June 2018, Çinçin Bağları, Ankara.

First contacts with the site and archival research provided me to analyse and document where Çinçin Bağları is/was in this chapter. Findings summarised here have significance to document a place excavating recent legal maps, dates and recent condition in the field. All of these attempts, on the other hand, were also first contacts with the field. As a further matter, there were *unexpected* findings directed the following ethnographic fieldwork and led the research focus changed. I was asking questions about the location and land, and in the first pilot interview, I mainly asked questions about the house, neighbourhood and infrastructure. Although it was not a major concern, informants narrated their "works," employment statuses and the times they suffered from unemployment. They were telling the contradictions of urban transformation through work, more than through *gecekondu*s as a house or a settlement. I noticed that I started to write field notes about "works" after each

meeting, highlighting particular types of work, the culture of work-life in the district, employment, unemployment and the tension between unemployment and crime.

The former small-scale neighbourhoods as socially produced territories were producing social networks to sustain non-market and self-employed types of work. During the field trips, informants told that there were various artisans, pedlars, servants and owners of small shops such as coffee places (*kahvehanes*) who had lost their self-employed jobs after urban transformation process was initiated. Some small-scale community stores and groceries including the most famous small shop of the district *Çinçin Çiğköfte* were closed in the last five years in Çinçin New (Yeni) Dörtöl depicted as the heart of Çinçin (Çinçin'in kalbi). Therefore, Çinçin New Dörtöl became a marginalised place creating new hierarchies for the informants after the shops were closed. Locating Çinçin Bağları as a place was both an attempt to document and reproduce the district that has remained as an unofficial designation. In this process, consequently, I figured out that there was a relation between "works" and *gecekondu*s beyond urban phenomena. Hence *gecekondu* research of the 1970s and 1980s depicted *gecekondu*s as settlements emerged during the shift of labour relations and settlements as apparatuses of reproduction of cheap labour. On this exploration, the unexpected findings of the first contacts with the site will lead the research to draw an interpretative theoretical framework in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 3

AN INTERPRETATIVE FRAMEWORK: DIVERSE LANDSCAPES, DIVERSE WORKS

The geography of social structure is a geography of class relations, not just a map of social classes; just as the geography of the economy should be a map of economic relations stretched over space, and not just, for instance, a map of different types of jobs. Most generally, 'the spatial' is constituted by the interlocking of 'stretched-out' social relations (Doreen Massey, 1994: 22).

It is all a matter of what we choose to call work (Krishan Kumar, 1989 [1984]: 12).

After the first contacts with the field to explore Çinçin as a location and land, I develop an interest in how residents make an emphasise on their work. Since the beginning of the first contacts, I have taken notes on how they conceptualise "work" as a condition of employment/unemployment, non-market ways of earning money; and how work has a place in the production of Çinçin. Informants identify themselves through their work lives, starting to talk about the variety of jobs they had and underlying that they are recently doing "legitimate works." The world of work might look like it belongs to a world of men. However, female informants -women of Çinçin participating in the research- similarly identify themselves and their relation with urban transformation through paid and unpaid domestic work; taking an active role in the organisation of "home" and "neighbourhood," public and private spheres of the district. Therefore, women help to understand *gecekondus* as daily workplaces without any separation between leisure and work. Also, female informants refer immediately to their children's education level and current/future capacity of having employment; which is a critical point for the future of the family in terms of wealth and social status. Therefore, women are like a bridge between past and future, reflecting the

contradictions of transformation between *gecekondu* and *daire* (apartment unit in Turkish).

As an attempt to represent the district, both female and male informants tell the stories of "respected" social figures stating that "Çinçin should be known through hardworking people, those people could have had good jobs." "Çinçin should not be represented only through thieves and drug dealers as it was popularly shown in the media." There are several people, including Yaşar Seyman¹⁰³ who is a woman representative of the Republican Party and the daughter of one of the former *muhtars*, and Neşet Ertaş who was a famous musician worked at night clubs (*pavyons*) of Ulus and lived in Çinçin for years; and others who had become representatives of political parties, become attorneys, doctors, actors, authors, famous musicians. In this pool of "respected" social figures, the list is completed with unexpected people (for me as an outsider researcher). Those are *kabadayıs* (social bandits) such as Kürt Cemali and some of the popular *babas* (meaning gangsters emerged after *kabadayıs*), *muhtars* (neighbourhood heads) and revolutionists from the 68 generation who inhabited in Çinçin and Old Altındağ *gecekondus* during the era.¹⁰⁴

This general emphasis on different types of works is a part of sociospatial culture of Çinçin. Informants' effort to portray the district through different types of work exemplifies the corpus of urbanisations of Ankara published in the 1970s depicting *gecekondus* as emergent settlements which provided a stock of *cheap labour* and became an apparatus of reproduction of *cheap labour*. In this context, three field-notes which are three points made by the informants on work, are documented. These field-notes will be a guideline to draw an interpretative framework composed of three claims:

¹⁰³ See also Yaşar Seyman's book, 1986.

¹⁰⁴ Interviews June and July 2019.

(1) In the first stance, informants being mostly the second generation of *gecekondus*, tell the urbanisation and urban transformation history of Çiğir through their divergent histories which are histories of searching for a job and sustain life after sheltering in the district. The informants tell that they mostly had an unstable work-lives coping with different conditions of being unemployed in the city or having insecure employment, without worker rights, regular wage, insurance and a legal contract.

(2) In the second stance, the informants have their particular conceptualisations of "work." They refer to many non-market types of employment as "works," also mention "illegitimate" ways of earning livelihood which could be counted as a petty crime like pickpocketing. They make an emphasis on particular works have a special place in the making of Çiğir, its history and spatial identities such as *muhtars* and repairmen.

(3) In the third stance, informants' conceptualisations of work have strong and contradictory reflections amongst the ongoing urban transformation. More than *gecekondus* as a house or *home*, they were explaining the effects of radical urban transformation through the changes of their work lives and workplaces in the district. The relation between urban rent and *gecekondus* is secondary in their narrations. Moreover, a dominant number of informants living in the remaining *gecekondus* state that they have *hope*¹⁰⁵ to benefit from the rising urban rent.

Through this threefold interconnected field notes, the idiom of "works" rather than "work" could be highlighted in a very early stage of the fieldwork with an instinct to include different types of earning livelihood excluded by the formal market economy. The British and American English Thesaurus explain work (singular, noun) as "(A) labour, toil (B)productive or operative activity (C)employment. A plural form of the

¹⁰⁵ The myths about hope and fate will be elaborated in Chapter 4.

word is: "works:" a product of exertion, labour, or activity.¹⁰⁶ The plural form is used for discussing the contemporary market jargon and including non-market types of work which are indeed an inherent part of the market economy. In this chapter, I would like to elaborate these three field notes through a more deepened reading. I employ a concept couple "diverse landscapes, diverse works" and reconceptualise "work as a biopolitical and sociospatial product." These field notes will ground a threefold frame giving references to the world literature.

"Diverse works" are works defined by the informants which reproduce diverse landscapes; hence it is not only to define "different types of work" but also "economic, political and sociospatial relations" of work "stretched over space." Therefore, diverse works include multiple dimensions and multiple actors. Labour is central to the production of landscapes. Moreover, there is a dialectical relationship between work -as a biopolitical and sociospatial construct of labour relations- and landscape. Consequently, the changing dynamics of diverse works under urban transformation is an alternative ground to analyse urban transformation, its divergent actors, contradictions and consequences; which might provide a sociospatial frame to rethink on urban transformation. The conceptualisation of "diverse landscapes, diverse works" is, eventually, to open a discussion on particular actors and agencies in the production of space in Çinçin.

3.1. Cheap Labour: The History of Land is the History of Labour

There is a current inspiring research trend in the field of political ecology discussing that the history of land is the history of labour. Researchers following this trend put Marxist grasp of labour at the core of their research to focus on the history of "nature."¹⁰⁷ In the Marxist philosophy, labour and nature have an interconnected

¹⁰⁶ Source: <https://www.dictionary.com/browse/works> Accessed September 19, 2019.

¹⁰⁷ From a historical materialist perspective, pointing out that nature is a human production. Silvio Cristiano, ed. *Through the Working Class: Ecology and Society Investigated Through the Lens of Labour*. Venezia: Edizioni Ca' Foscari - Digital Publishing, 2018. // Stefania Barca, "Labouring the

metabolic relationship; nature is transformed when labour is materialised (1961: 180). On the ground of this critical relationship, Stefania Barca (2014) looks at particular workers and their sociospatial production relations within the contested environments. Barca explains that factory workers and field workers are seen as a silenced part of the production and reproduction processes of nature in the debates about the exploitation of nature by the hands of by firms, which defines firms as main agents of transformation. Indeed, factory/field workers are active actors of production through their activities of production. On the one hand, the workers have to deal with destroying their own *home*; on the other hand, they have to face with employment/unemployment conditions of the district they inhabit, while they are not seen as main agents and decision-makers of their environment. In this context, the participation of factory/field workers in the decision-making processes of the contested environments, the necessity of work and unemployment in the districts under transformation are undiscussed matters in the scope of debates about the exploitation of nature. Hence, the belonging between the workers and their environment/home are broken by their own labour (Barca, 2014: 4-5).

Although Barca positions far from workers of *gecekondus*, the lens of labour and work represents a common pursuit following this underlying claim: The history of the land is the history of labour, and workers are the main actors in the production of space. This could be a significant starting point to rethink on spatial issues. From that point, it could be claimed that labour is the strongest link between worker and land; it is where we could find manifold critical crossings in the history of urbanisation and particularly of *gecekondus*.¹⁰⁸

Earth: Transnational Reflections on the Environmental History of Work," *Environmental History*, 19 (2014) 3–27. // Jason W. Moore, "The Capitalocene Part II: Accumulation by appropriation and the centrality of unpaid work/energy," *The Journal of Peasant Studies* 45:2 (2018): 237-279.

¹⁰⁸ To understand the consequences of radical urban transformation of *gecekondus*, I will often prefer to use "land and landscape" rather than space, environment and nature, to underline the emergence of *gecekondus* as a matter of land title, land interest and urban rent.

The recent research agenda of political ecology on land and labour departs from Marx and Engels' conceptualisation of labour of the mid and late 18th century. In Marxian philosophy, labour is human effort shaping life, society and nature, which are produced and reproduced through the processes. Labour is, hence, an anatomical relationship with space and time; and it reproduces the anatomy -bodies- and its surroundings in the processes of production as life (Arendt, 1998 [1958]: 6-8). It is both biological as a human effort and sociospatial as an activity of human existences. The activity of labouring reproduces the bodies as individuals, communities as social bodies, material surroundings, sociospatial relations. To put it in different words, what different actors do in a day, where/how long they sleep, where/how they entertain in leisure, where/how they work, with whom they encounter in daily life, how they go to their workplaces and where/how/what they produce.

The researches on *gecekondu* also underlined labour and labouring activities as biological and sociospatial human activities. Aforementioned prosperous corpus of urbanisations of Ankara shows us that the emergence of *gecekondu* was analysed through its economy-political and ecology-political dimensions in the 1970s and the 1980s by the first outcomes of *gecekondu* research. One of the bold points made in this critical corpus was the depiction of "*gecekondu* as emergent landscapes of labour relations and landscapes of non-market/alternative ways of labouring." Although *gecekondu* phenomenon was not elaborated exactly through this conceptualisation, the research of era analysed autonomous, alternative, non-market activities in the production of space in the *gecekondu* districts (Karpaz, 1976; Önder Şenyapılı, 1978; Tansı Şenyapılı, 1981).

In this line, the history of *gecekondu* as landscapes of labour *could be rethought* through a grasp of "labour as a human capacity." Since *gecekondu* residents practised alternative and communal ways of production, produced their particular communal labour relations to survive and built a future in the city. *Gecekondu*s were self-organised settlements and building a neighbourhood was mostly an activity of

communal labouring which broke dominant processes of capitalist modes of building. In the urbanisation period, labouring was also a continuum of rural sociospatial production practices as a part of integrating into the urban modes of production. The researches stated in the 1970s and 1980s that the *gecekondu* communities applied their previous rural production knowledge to their new urban ways of living, to keep living expenses at a minimum. Small scale gardening and poultry raising work, repairing each other's houses and helping each other to build the roof at one night are immediate examples of this claim (Karpaz, 1976).

The act of labouring is the capability of a human. However, this remains limited to rethink *gecekondus* as a history of labour. There are both capabilities and forces of labour relations, which would lead to thinking on another perspective in the land/labour relationship emphasised in the *gecekondu* research through grasping labour relations as a material force. If labour is biological, because it is the human activity depending on human effort; and sociospatial because it is an activity of production of nature taking place in a social space, then, it could be claimed that the reproduction of labour relations is both biopolitical and sociospatial. Since the followers of Marx and Engels in *gecekondu* research in the 1970s and 1980s underline that *gecekondu* settlements were providing a stock of cheap labour and functioning as an apparatus of reproduction of cheap labour and the exploitation of labour (Önder Şenyapılı, 1978). Another contemporary political ecologist focusing on the relationship of land/labour, Jason W. Moore (2018) explains the issue of cheap labour as a central mechanism in the exploitation of human and in the labour-relations, and he further claims that cheap labour has been providing the accumulation of capital at the last five centuries of capitalism at the global scale.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁹ Jason W. Moore elaborates that the exploitation of cheap labour is a process of appropriation of the unpaid work/energy delivered by "women, nature and colonies." Jason W. Moore, 2018.

3.2. From Cheap Labour to Diverse Works: The Division of Land is the division of Labour

As a mechanism of reproduction of cheap labour, the emergence history of *gecekondu*s shows that the division of land is the division of labour. Production relations are shaped around an uneven distribution of land and labour. A privileged group of the urban population takes wealthy environments and interesting jobs; and leaves unhealthy, segregated environments, toil, lousy working conditions, temporal, insecure types of work and unemployment to "the other." To link cheap labour with the conceptualisation of diverse works; however, there is a need to rethink on the distinction of labour and work. First of all, in this research, I distinguish work deliberately from labour and conceptualise "diverse works" as a variety of works due to the collective narratives of informants. It is to rethink on the co-existence and transformation of non-market works, cheap labour, unpaid works, undefined house and care works, unemployment, insecure forms of employment and the invented versions of earning money in the following parts. I use labour and labouring, on the other hand, as an abstract and holistic expression defining communal activities and performances in the production processes of *gecekondu* neighbourhoods; albeit, there is special attention on "work" and the concepts and conceptualisations associated with work.

In the deliberate distinction of labour and work, Hannah Arendt's meta-theoretical standpoint in *The Human Condition* (1998 [1958]) is influential for this framework. Arendt briefly challenges the Marxist philosophy of labour, tracking back the theoretical shift of the distinction between labour and work. Arendt claims that the institution of slavery didn't need to make a separation between labour and work; since the system attributed all labour and work to the slaves, it excluded activities from the lives of non-slaves who were the free citizens. Therefore, the distinction between labour and work was not functioning as an instrument to generate cheap labour and reproduce the exploitation of labour. Instead, it was an inherent part of exploitative

social segregation itself. However, in the modern era, labour and work were distinguished, and since then, this distinction has been serving as an instrument of exploitation of labour (Arendt, 1998 [1958]: 84). In the contemporary labour relations, the distinction of labour and work is defined and applied through different sets of the division of labour: unproductive/productive labour, unskilled/skilled labour, intellectual/manual labour (Arendt, 1998 [1958]: 89).¹¹⁰

Recently, the distinction between unskilled and skilled labour is widely used in the evaluation of labour-power; it has become a part of our daily language. The cheap labourers are "the unskilled part of the population," mainly they are the settlers of *gecekondus*. This distinction is a way to legitimise the urban transformation projects through discrimination of the *gecekondu* communities diminishing the value of their labour and social status. It defines "skill" to define "unskilled" "cheap labourers." The "skill" of the "skilled workers" could be gained with education (got in vocational high schools or through master-apprentice relationship). However, education is not always enough to be a skilled worker having a secure, regularly waged employment. At this point, I would like to point Frederic Engels' seminal essay "The Housing Problem" in which he defines the distinction of unskilled and skilled labour and its acceptance in the society as a new device for the exploitation of cheap labour in the cities. Engels argues that the unhealthy settlements lacking basic human needs are discussed under the topic of "the housing problem." Indeed, the problem originates in the production relations which reproduces the uneven distribution of all work. The housing is a device of reproduction of cheap labour, a core mechanism in the production processes of labour-power (Engels, 1872).

Arendt elaborates that the matter of division of labour was initiated in the first distinction, the distinction of "unproductive" and "productive" and this diction was

¹¹⁰ Arendt analyses the "modern theoreticians of labour and work" referring to three thinkers: John Locke (1632-1704), Adam Smith (1700-1790) and Karl Marx (1818-1883) (Hannah Arendt, 1998[1958]: 89).

Marx's departure point in the contextualisation of working-class. The distinction of unproductive and productive labour depends on the product; therefore, it excludes a variety of works which do not have a durable good at the end of a labouring process such as servants' work. Marx rejects this division by putting the process over product; labour is, hence, the metabolism of the processes of human life. The second division, division of "unskilled" and "skilled" labour, has been still one of the most contradictory divisions as it is mentioned above. Its contradictions lay in the evaluation of "skill." The most precarious workers put their labour in life-threatening processes of production such as mine workers are counted as a workforce of unskilled labour. The third division, division of "manual" and "intellectual labour" is defined through the usefulness of human effort for the society, giving a special place to the activity of thinking which deepens all of the labour divisions in the benefit of the privileged part of society (Arendt, 1998 [1958]: 109).

Grounded in the divisions of labour, the concept of labour is generally accepted as "working by hands" or "manual labour," or else, it is defined as "intellectual, creative, communicative" labour. Moreover, "work" is much more related to types of employments in our contemporary era. Since, all of the divisions of labour reflect upon types and conditions of work, sociospatial segregation and division of urban space such as *gecekondu* neighbourhoods belonging to "unskilled" labourers. Therefore, as Arendt briefly points out, Marx rejects divisions of labour and glorifies the labour over work in the modern theory, emphasising labourer's painful effort, toil, lack of leisure, inhuman conditions of the workplace, exploited time, body and productivity (Arendt, 1998 [1958]: 93). However, Arendt challenges this position in the late 1950s, discussing that this position might mystify the human experience through abstracting the concept of work, its diverse versions and different human experiences of work. To that extend, Arendt goes back to the modern distinction of *labouring with the body* and *working with hands*¹¹¹ and offers a new approach that labouring with the

¹¹¹ Arendt (1998 [1958]) looks at the Greek origin of the word *εργασία*/ergasia (93).

body, including labouring with the head (thinking) and working with hands are broad definitions of processes of life. "Work is the world of things which we produce things." At Arendt's reconceptualisation, labour and work are interrelated human activities, "the human condition of labour is life, and the human condition of work is world" which we materialise (Arendt, 1998 [1958]: 7).

Arendt's approach is a phenomenological opening to direct the question on changing modes of production processes in the world. Arendt's discussion points out that the glorification of labour over work might lead to mystify labour through binding different types of work. This claim could be exemplified with housework. Unpaid housework is accepted as "domestic labouring" and attributed to women. It is indeed defined by the division of labour in family as an institution for both male and female members. Women's labour at home isn't evaluated as work, nor it produces any surplus-value, but it takes time and human effort.¹¹² As it is a significant claim in Marxist philosophy, the surplus is not in the value of goods, but it is inherited in human power,¹¹³ then unpaid housework should be counted as a work to prevent the exploitation of women labour under the patriarchal production relations. Tansı Şenyapılı's (1981) conception of marginal work of *gecekondu*s points out to non-market workers who are mostly unsalaried, depended on time to time self-employment, taking responsibilities and putting their effort without any laws, worker rights, unions or obligations. Moreover, non-market works is a large group in all market works:

Even today a large share of all work certainly a majority, in terms of labour-time expended- still goes on outside of labour markets: unpaid domestic labour, self-help, barter, petty commodity production, and more (Tilly and Tilly, 1998: 22).

¹¹² Gülnur Acar-Savran, 2003.; Stevi Jackson, 1992.

¹¹³ Arendt, 1998 [1958]: 93.

The capital accumulates by the division of labour, human activity, power and effort. The divisions of labour are mechanisms of the production of non-market works, and it articulates to the labour-work distinction, to give "interesting/creative/skilled" work to a little, privileged group of society, toil, precarious work to the rest. If non-market works is a large share of all work, there should be a particular focus on those undefined work, "informal" work and/or non-work. Krishan Kumar (1989 [1984]) studies on the social culture of work through framing contemporary concepts of work in the transformation which reproduces our life. According to Kumar, while "labour" is a general concept on the human capacity relating us with the rest of our nature and our own bodies, work is a changing concept under the changing production relations. Kumar also refers to Hannah Arendt's attempts to extend Marxist labour into the emerging human condition of our world in the late 1950s; and he puts forward two features of work: Work is a historical institution, and it is being reproduced historically under the circumstances of production relations. Hence, work today is accepted as "employment" and "job" which is a material necessity to sustain life through and a social necessity providing to identify an individual's self in the society (Kumar, 1989 [1984]: 1-17).¹¹⁴

At our age of globally rising unemployment and temporal insecure modes of employment, there is the strict separation between "work-as-job" and the rest. Analysing collective narratives of informants, I observed that variant types and concepts of work might be reproduced under particular sociospatialities as like as *diverse works* of Çinçin. Informants self-contextualise legitimate or illegitimate works or mention that some works were captured as legitimate for a particular time-

¹¹⁴ Kumar states for work-as-job that whether we talk about white-collar or blue-collar employees, there is a common phenomena dissatisfaction of work. The common dissatisfaction is stemming from the lack of practising responsibility and autonomy, surrounding us as alienated leisure and alienated work, which Kumar renames as the collapse of work (1989 [1984]: 11). Working at the same institution for one decade, for instance, is a very rarely found case in our post-industrial era.

period at past. It is the point where I start to discuss the diverse landscapes *diverse works* of Çinçin *gecekondus* under a radical transformation, unfolding multiple actors.

Why do I prefer to use diverse works rather than informal, marginal or peripheral work? First of all, there is a mixture of work and non-work defined as works by the informants (işler). Tansı Şenyapılı's research published in 1981 makes a differentiation between the central worker ("merkez işçi" in Turkish), peripheral worker ("çevre işçi") and marginal worker ("marjinal işçi") claiming that *gecekondus* are spaces of peripheral workers more than marginal workers as it was at the beginning of urbanisation in the 1950s (Şenyapılı, 1981: 19). According to Şenyapılı, central workers are regularly waged, insured, "high-skilled" (which means that workers who could get an education and profession), organised, long-term workers who are taking part in large-scale production with modernised techniques, producing goods with high market values. On the other hand, peripheral workers don't have professions, having service work or producing goods without modernised techniques, yet might also be producing small-scale essential technological goods. Peripheral workers are workers such as painters, repairers, junkmen, shoemakers, grocers, glaziers, quilt makers, tin-men, welders, greengrocers and other similar small-scale makers and artisans (Şenyapılı, 1981: 18-19). Marginal workers are more in the edge of economy comparing to peripheral and central workers. They have non-market, precarious and temporal types of works, with high levels of circulation such as informal cemetery workers and porters (Şenyapılı, 1981: 26). As another classification, informal work only defines the relationship between the market and the activity. Therefore, Tansı Şenyapılı rejects to use "informal labor" or "informal work" stating that non-market types of work are also a part of the economy. Besides a formal worker could be more insecure according to an informal worker in some of the cases (Şenyapılı, 1981: 19).

In the basis of such classification, I meet with both central, peripheral and marginal workers in Çinçin as well as non-workers (houseworkers) and other actors whom I

wouldn't conceptualise directly as "worker" however those actors have their unique conceptualisations of "works" and work-related issues. The narration in the dissertation is set around what informants call as "works" (işler) through which they also define their sociospatial identity. The narration is to question how the informants reproduce and reconfigure space through what they do in a day, how they participate in the urban transformation processes and how their works and conceptualisations of works are affected within these processes.

3.3. Diverse Landscapes Diverse Works: Dialectical Relation Between Urban Transformation and Work

I employ the concept couple "diverse works" (and I translated it as *muhtelif işler*) to reframe the actors of different types of works, and more and above, their sociospatial relations under urban transformation. It is worth noting Daniel Lerner's research (1958) on modernisation theory and urbanisation of Turkey. Although Lerner doesn't specifically mention that "work is an agency at the centre of urbanisation," he mentions different agents of Balgat, whose works are reproduced within the urbanisation. To shortly summarise, Lerner's seminal essay *The Parable* (1958) narrates urbanisation history of Balgat through two actors: the Muhtar - he used it as the Chief- and the Grocer (*bakkal*). Lerner focuses on the interviews and field notes about specifically these two characters conducted just before the urbanisation of Balgat when Balgat was a small village; there was neither a direct road nor public transportation connecting the district to the city in 1950. As Lerner highlights, the Muhtar in the field notes was depicted as a conservative figure criticising the "western" civilisation and modernisation; hence he had an unfavourable opinion against urbanisation and modernisation. The Grocer, on the contrary, was depicted as a symbol of a liberal figure glorifying modernisation, believing that it would open the lives of residents to the world.

Both works of *muhtar* and *bakkal* have different dynamics related to how they worked in the village under transformation. The role of Muhtar is explained as a continuum of the culture of "*hoca*" (Muslim religious leader) with a capacity of advising the community. The Grocer links the village to the new world outside through his market, and what he sells in his market. Just four years later in 1954, Lerner revisits Balgat to meet again with the Muhtar and the Grocer. He realises that one direct road was built and a public bus -which is also an investment of funds- has started to serve between the centre and Balgat various times in a day; since Lerner thinks that Balgat has already become a district of Ankara in 1954. In the district, Lerner finds out that the Grocer is dead; however, there are various other shops and markets, and new young shopkeepers having a similar positive attitude about modernisation. The "market" is multiplied in the district. The Muhtar is no longer against modernisation. Although he is complaining that he has lost his duties in the shift between being a rural *muhtar* to becoming an urban *muhtar* and doing almost nothing in a workday; he is not anymore against the modernisation because of the job opportunities of next-generation (19-42).¹¹⁵

In Lerner's essay, different actors of different works are reproduced within the new urban condition and the processes of transformation. Main narration is neither about the personalities of two particular characters, nor labour. However, two different works in the district are central to the narration to tell about a sociospatial transformation. Although Lerner's methodology of conducting ethnographic research is criticised by being "over-emphatic" in the production of the theory of modernisation by the post-colonial approach,¹¹⁶ his research points out that different works have principal agencies, sociospatial and cultural dynamics and a dialectical relationship with the production of space. When space is transformed, works are transformed too and vice versa.

¹¹⁵ Lerner's essay is further analysed in Chapter 4 on the part about Çinçin *muhtars*.

¹¹⁶ Modernisation as a synonym of development. Begüm Adalet, 2018.

There is one distinctive approach in the world literature, discussing urban transformation in relation with the transformation of labour relations and work: Richard Sennet's three books, *Stone and Flesh* (1994), *Craftsmen* (2008), *Together: The Rituals, Pleasures and Politics of Cooperation* (2012). Influenced by his teacher's book, Hannah Arendt's *Human Condition*, Sennett defines himself as a contemporary of Foucault interpreting "biopolitics," but differs himself from Foucault mentioning that Sennet changed his research direction in seeking to find the body and space relation through work and labour relations. Sennet looks for the possibility to find ways of living together in our age, when the modern division of labour, the lost of works and new types of works have weakened our capacity to encounter and cooperate in the cities (Sennet, 2012:7). Sennet finds the hope of living together in the agency of physical labour, the rhythm it generates in our daily life, in our active bodies that could be capable of transcending social bonds (Sennet, 1994, 2012). Sennet's research composed of flows of philosophical thoughts on urban history and theory will be referred in terms of production relations of craftsman, usta, in the fifth chapter.

3.4. Epilogue: Meeting Diverse Works of Çinçin

Diverse works inside Çinçin are a part of daily life located in two main places Çinçin Yeni Dörtüol depicted as the heart of Çinçin and Babür Street as the liveliest street with public transformation connecting to the city. Workers of Çinçin are primarily artisans and pedlars, owing to small shops or mobile vehicles which are still existed as a version of shopping at the neighbourhood level in Turkey in a considerably decreasing number due to the development of new bigger scale chain markets and malls and new online shopping trends. During the field trips in the district, the informants show small-scale shops (*dükkan*) such as small groceries (*bakkal*), barber shops (*berber*) and one *Çiğköfte* (*a traditional food*) shop in Çinçin Yeni Dörtüol closed as a result of urban transformation "destroying the life inside Çinçin." They also point out newly opened shops inside gated TOKİ sites, similar versions of small groceries, barbershops and ironically as being the first fast-food shop of TOKİs

one *Çiğköfte* shop inside Gültepe TOKİ/Stage-1. But those in TOKİs serve for the newcomers. Because many of TOKİs are gated and that condition makes the shops inside TOKİs unreachable for the remaining *gecekondus*. Two tea houses for men (*kahvehanes*), in Çiğın Yeni Dörtıol are referred as keeping the heart of Çiğın alive, there is a crowd in and out of those as they are still serving to a considerable amount of men. Small retailers and pedlars are somehow keeping the streets alive around these *kahvehanes*. We (key informants and me) encounter a pedlar selling fast food to the crowd. He stops by the *kahvehane* with an aged automobile, opens the car trunk and handles the sandwiches for men in the *kahvehane*.¹¹⁷

According to the informants, the closed shops are signing that the other shops are under the same threat of shut down. The Grocer and one Hardwareman in Babür Street tell that they are about to shut down their shops because TOKİ residents have not been shopping around in Çiğın, they even do not walk outside of their gated communities to communicate with current residents of the remaining *gecekondus*. Shopping was a cultural activity composed of various daily activities such as sitting out on the sidewalk in front of shops, having chat with customers and residents passing through and having tea with customers. Those activities are almost ended. Notably, the Hardwareman complains that he cannot keep working as a hardwareman without *gecekondus*. Because *gecekondus* as a private house requires to be repaired regularly and in the case of needs such as adding small constructions to the house like a stole, a storage room, or a pergola *gecekondus* might be renewed unlike a fixed apartment unit (*daire*) in the TOKİs.¹¹⁸

There are some works inside and outside Çiğın that are reproduced by the particular places in or nearby Çiğın. These are Asri Cemetery, public hospitals, Ulus night clubs (*pavyons*). Asri Cemetery still serves as one of the most "marginal" work

¹¹⁷ Interviews, 07.07.19.

¹¹⁸ Interviews, 15.06.19; 25.06.19; 07.07.19.

opportunities for Çinçin residents, for adults and children who have been working as non-formal "cemetery servants" who are watering the flowers and caring for the graveyards for some pocket money and immediate cash. Outside the district, Ulus and Siteler are central workplaces located nearby. Siteler was a crucial area providing unofficial works on mainly furniture production. Some of the informants tell that they started to work in Siteler while they were children who just immigrated from their villages to learn the crafts of wooden furniture production "in the big city," to get educated and get craftsmanship. *Siteler* has recently turned into a primarily stock and distribution area on furniture after the rise of serial furniture production in the mid-1990s. Thus, its capacity for manual work has become more restricted after the 1990s.

In Ulus, entertainment has a distinctive culture with the night clubs (*pavyons*) of Ulus.¹¹⁹ Ulus streets have also been providing demand for pedlars. Furthermore, Ulus is a place in the city where construction workers and musicians established some networks to distribute from a central area to the possible workplaces. Although these networks are more limited recently, there is still one street in Ulus where drum players are waiting in the sidewalk with their drumsticks, and the un-official clients can pick up these players paying them to play in traditional wedding ceremonies. Other widely referred diverse workers inside Çinçin are neighbourhood heads (*muhtars*), paper collectors (*kağıt toplayıcısı*), carpenters and painters generalised as repairmen (*tamirci*). There are also mainly referred actors who had temporal works like craftsmanship; or survived with the help of petty-crime outside the district (mainly through pickpocketing), but had a social role at the same time, particularly in the 1950s, 60s and 70s. Those were *kabadayıs* (tough guys, redefined as social bandits of the aforementioned era) and revolutionists (the 68-generation working at the district).

¹¹⁹ These clubs have been providing work for musicians and servants. Informants are proud that Neşet Ertaş as one of the famous Turkish musicians, worked in Ulus pavyons and lived in Çinçin in the seventies.

Moreover, housework is an integral part of narratives on "work," although unpaid housework is not accepted as work.¹²⁰

All in all, with the help of the threefold claims interpreted with historical data and initial field trips, I offer to reframe Çinçin as a radically transformed *gecekondu* district associated with criminalisation and unemployment in the following chapter. This interpretative framework is to analyse the sociospatial urban history of Çinçin Bağları not only as though the limits of *gecekondu* phenomena, but through diverse landscapes and diverse workers as main actors in the making of space. In this context, I will refer to various workers of the district, however, I will focus on only four social actors: The *muhtars*, houseworkers through focus groups and half structured in-depth interviews; and the *Usta* and the *Kabadayı* through oral history interviewing. The selection of these four actors evolved in the research process during the field trips. I recognised during the fieldwork that these four social actors compose a narration on diverse landscapes, diverse works under urban transformation.

The *muhtars* and unpaid/paid houseworkers are regular agents having significant roles in the making of the neighbourhood as a place. Besides, there is a notable relationship between these two: *Muhtarlık* is the most governmental work of a neighbourhood and housework is counted not as a non-work. I will attempt to analyse the narratives of *muhtars* and houseworkers to face with the contradictions of urban transformation, questioning why the informants are willing to have an apartment unit (*daire*) in the TOKİs, how the urban transformation was initiated, and how the government targeted these regular actors' sociospatial roles as a strategy to initiate the urban transformation. Unlike *muhtars* and houseworkers, the *Usta* and the *Kabadayı* are radical actors of Çinçin through whom I will question the capacities of alternative practices, their relation with urban struggle and counter-hegemonic resistance, their changing

¹²⁰ Interviews 02.08.19; 30.07.2019; 15.07.2019.

relationship with criminalisation, self-marginalisation and the crisis of unemployment. Although *muhtars* and houseworkers are giving data about the current situation, life stories of Usta and Kabadayı open ground to problematise 1980 as a crack and urban transformation as a cut in the 2000s. Also, I will look at the historical background of *muhtars*, *ustas* and *kabadayıs* in the pre-industrial era, the late Ottoman Empire or even dating back before for a broader understanding of Turkish urbanisation history. Eventually, I would like to approach Çinçin as diverse landscapes of diverse works. "Diversity" to that extent is not ethnical or religious as it is widely grasped; but it is the particular sociospatial togetherness of diverse actors who had the different type of works, who defined what they call as work and faced with unemployment and hardening conditions of work.

Three field notes evolved into a threefold claim to draw an interpretative framework which attempts to conceptualise "diverse landscapes, diverse works." I briefly state that there is a "dialectic relationship" between urban transformation and work; between diverse landscapes and diverse works under transformation. Dialectic relationship, herein, is a method of reasoning, not taking urban transformation as "a good or bad thing" in itself. It is to analyse the interrelationship between diverse works and diverse landscapes within all the political-economical processes, with changes, contingencies, interconnections, oppositions and contradictions. The dialectical relationship between work and urban transformation; and between diverse works and diverse landscapes is to approach a former *gecekondu* district, and a lived place beyond as *gecekondu* phenomena.

CHAPTER 4

THE MUHTARS AND HOUSEWORKERS: CONTRADICTIONS OF DIVERSE WORKS UNDER URBAN TRANSFORMATION

... where we find ourselves unable to eliminate contradictions through stratagems of theory or conceptual devices, what we have to do is to become conscious of them, to generate the strength to look them in the face, instead of arguing them out of existence by more or less logical procedures (Theodor W. Adorno, *Problems of moral philosophy*, 2000: 9).

An outsider travelling in Ankara, passing a hilly district in a car or a bus in the evening (because it would not be preferable to walk there after sunset), could see a private house is in a fire. While the flare, the lights of a few remaining houses and a few street lights lighten the rest of the place will resemble an abandoned neighbourhood, almost like a ruinscape heterogeneously covering the hills. This scenario might be actual anytime in the district recently named Old Altındağ, a burning house on the hills Hıdırlıktepe, Yenidoğan Tepe and the hilly part of Çiğir, known as the most insecure places subjected to a profound urban transformation since 2005.

Burning houses is a new tool in Çiğir for "urban cleansing," as informants tell. However, the fire is not suspiciously set by any agent to forcibly displace the residents.¹²¹ The primary actor of urban cleansing in Çiğir is the *gecekondu* resident, home owner's self. The residents of Çiğir owing the land titles prefer to burn their own houses and leave the district, in the case that they have no choice to give their

¹²¹ Fires of ethnic cleansing in the early twentieth century during the collapse of Ottoman is a well-known phenomenon. Norman M Naimark, *Fires of Hatred: Ethnic Cleansing in Twentieth-Century Europe*, Cambridge, London: Harvard University Press, 2001. Slum demolition is defined as "urban cleansing," "urban renewal," or "urban regeneration" projects. C. R. Sridhar. "Sky above, Mud below: Slum Demolition and Urban Cleansing." *Economic and Political Weekly* 41, no. 25, (2006): 2529.

land to a contractor (*müteahhit*) or sign to a TOKİ contract to own an apartment unit (*daire*) in Çiğın. There are requirements to own and move in a *daire* in the TOKİs:¹²² The resident should have the land title, TOKİ should offer the resident to make an exchange between the land and a *daire* in the TOKİs and if the resident could move to a *daire after the construction*, his/her household should have a regular salary or a budget to pay a deposit and monthly paid debt. To move out from the district and their *gecekondus*, the residents should find a way to earn their livelihood, for instance, a job which would cover the extra travelling cost from suburbs to the workplace, as most of the residents move to the new margins of the city.¹²³ Under these consequences, the residents of remaining *gecekondus* are in a precarious *in-between* situation between staying and moving out. The main reason for burning houses is because it is easier than demolishing the house. If the residents find a way to move out of Çiğın, they do not prefer to leave an empty house against emerging threats such as new "criminals" or "migrants."¹²⁴

Burning houses is like a final stage of life of a *gecekondus* as a house, remained as a *gecekondus* until the fire while the city is rapidly changing. Burning a house is replaced with the demolition by the dozer and the district police. The shift from the dozer to the fire proves the claim that *gecekondus* residents have been active agents of urban transformation. They are also active agents of their precariousness. Thinking *gecekondus* residents as active agents of urbanisation and urban transformation would provide us to face the socioeconomic reality of poverty. It should be the first step to approach the contradictions of processes of urban transformation in the radically intervened districts such as Çiğın. Then there is a need to face the fact that a majority

¹²² Özlem Güzey and Erman Aksoy, 2014.

¹²³ Primarily, Sincan and Karapürçek. Interviews with two officers at TOKİ, 10.06.19. And also with other informants (Table II in Appendix A).

¹²⁴ Although there is not an occupation by immigrants forcibly displaced during the immigration waves from Syria and Afghanistan in Çiğın Bağları part of Old Altındağ. Interviews, 2018 and 2019, (Table II in Appendix A).

of *gecekondu* residents have already preferred the ongoing radical urban transformation initiated in the part of Çiğir in Old Altındağ since 2005.¹²⁵

At this point, I will attempt to elaborate the contradictions emerged within the processes of urban transformation questioning how urban transformation has been initiated in Çiğir; what it has changed in the daily lives of *gecekondu* residents as active agents; and how the residents define the transformation of their lives. In this context, this chapter approaches to the contradictions of urban transformation through the actors of two neighbourhood-specific works having a particular place in the making of a neighbourhood, *mahalle*, in Turkish urbanisation history in general: The *muhtars* (official neighbourhood heads) and the unpaid/paid houseworkers of Çiğir. The analysis of the history of *muhtarlık* as an institution established for the administration of neighbourhoods in the cities and rural areas in the late Ottoman period reveals that *muhtars* have had a social power as being leaders and mediators between the government and their communities at neighbourhood level since the establishment of *muhtarlık*. This power of *muhtars* has been a focus of the latest government to legitimise the political consequences. However, the ongoing radical urban transformation changes *muhtarlık* as work and dissolve the neighbourhood, *mahalle*, as a socially, culturally and communally produced living unit. The social role of informant *muhtars* of Çiğir was targeted to initiate the urban transformation in Çiğir. Hence, I will narrate that the informant *muhtars* have worked as like as non-formal real estate agents, following their active participation to the mediation between Altındağ Municipality, TOKİs and Çiğir residents to initiate the transformation in the district.

¹²⁵ Işık and Pınarcıoğlu, (2018 [2001]) demonstrate why the *gecekondu* residents prefer urban transformation with the term "poverty in-turn" explaining that *gecekondu* is a commodity with exchange value and urban transformation provides a group to handle their poverty to the other (tenants, newcomers, migrants) in *gecekondu* districts (50). In Çiğir there is not such a situation; however, framing *gecekondu* residents as active actors represents a common pursuit.

Muhtarlık could be the most governmental, yet one of the most "formal" works of Çiğin. However, unpaid housework isn't widely grasped as "work." Houseworkers, the women of Çiğin, have a special place in the making of the neighbourhood in everyday life. After defining unpaid and paid housework, I will look at the houseworkers' spatial stories narrating the contradictions between *gecekondu* and *daire* (apartment unit) and two types of housework as *gecekondu's* housework and *daire's* housework. To that extend, I will question why the residents living in remaining *gecekondus* still use the idiom of *gecekondu*, although almost all of the *gecekondus* were legitimised during the late 1950s, and the residents could have taken their land titles in order to become legal owners of their houses. The houseworkers of Çiğin still name their houses as *kondur* or *gecekondu* stating a sharp distinction between a *gecekondu* and a *daire*, which reflects upon the distinction between paid housework of *daire* and unpaid housework of *kondur* in the narratives. The informants' hesitation on moving to a *daire* also provides insights that public/private separation of *daire* is stricter than in a *kondur*. Houseworkers use outside places of a *kondur* more actively during their daily work routines blurring the public/private segregation.

4.1. Demolition from the Nostalgia of Dozer to Socioeconomic Reality

In the morning a shanty town with roofs made out of plastic basins, doors out of old kilims, windows out of oilcloth and walls out of wet cinder blocks was born; it was close to the garbage dump, below the light bulb factory and pharmaceutical factory and across from plate factory in the middle of the pharmaceutical waste and mud... As men were holding their roofs to prevent them from flying, all the birds in the city gathered and flew to the shantytown made plastic and wood. They flew zigzag over the shanties and laughed at the roofs for aspiring to be birds and wanting to fly (From Latife Tekin's *Bercy Kristin Garbage Tales*, quoted in Mizanoglu-Reddy 1992:107).¹²⁶

¹²⁶ A part of the novel was translated from Turkish to English by Nilüfer Mizanoglu-Reddy and published in 1992. Latife Tekin, *Bercy Kristin garbage tales, Mediterranean Peoples*, Volume 60 1992: 107- 113.

Building a shelter rapidly in marginal locations of cities is narrated by Turkish author Latife Tekin in her surrealist novel *Bercy Kristin Garbage Tales*. The fragment quoted from the novel narrates the fragility of *gecekondu* phenomena which could be demolished anytime. The residents of *gecekondus* could come face to face with the demolition even during the process of building. The word of *gecekondu*, "built-in-one-night," exactly comes from this possibility of demolition. Because if the *gecekondu* residents couldn't build the walls and closed the cubical space with the roof at one night, the district police could demolish the construction at any time of the process of building.¹²⁷ Hence, from the very beginning of their production as a non-formal way of sheltering in cities, the possibility of demolition was implicit to *gecekondus*.

Although the demolition is an implicit feature of *gecekondus* and might be an inevitable end for an erected *gecekondu*, it has not always been a contrary fact for the residents of *gecekondus* since the beginning of the period of urbanisation. Işık and Pınarcıoğlu (2018 [2001]) elaborate on this situation of *gecekondus* between demolition and material existence of urban sheltering through the conceptualisation of "poverty in turn." Their research proposes that there could not be a total understanding of the urban history of *gecekondus* shaped around urban struggles against the demolition. Each district might have a different history. Moreover, in Işık and Pınarcıoğlu's research case, the demolition of *gecekondus* refers to the possibility of upraising one's social wealth and status or benefitting from the increasing urban rent and land interest for *gecekondu* residents, through handing poverty to the newcomers who are in a more precarious situation (Işık and Pınarcıoğlu, 2018 [2001]: 50). In the history of *gecekondus*, the image of "bulldozer" implying the demolition of *gecekondu* reproduces a nostalgic account of *gecekondus* and *gecekondu* residents, where the state and *gecekondu* residents' conflict. However, on the contrary, the

¹²⁷ Or they had to negotiate with the fuzz or police, controlling the security of the *gecekondu* neighbourhoods.

demolition of *gecekondus* is a part of a socioeconomic reality in the lives of *gecekondu* residents as active agents of *gecekondus*, in "our" global-capital world that a house is a commodity having an exchange value which could increase with rising urban rent and land interest.

In this line of thought, I would like to link the demolition of a *gecekondu* as a hope to benefit from rising urban rent to the diverse works through analysing a movie *Skimpy World -Düttürü Dünya-*(1988). If a movie is analysed through the literature and within the historical context of a place, it could be used as a visual document, as cinematic storytelling of the urban history. In this context, Çiğin residents told me that *Skimpy World -Düttürü Dünya-* (1988) is the only Turkish movie passing in Hıdırlıktepe nearby Çiğin in Old Altındağ showing the life of Ankara *gecekondus*.¹²⁸ More and above, the movie has reliable insights about work and hierarchies between different workers who are also unique characters of a *gecekondu* neighbourhood. The scenario is fictionalised around Hıdırlıktepe *gecekondu* communities and their life stories passing between *work* and *home* in the late 70s and early 80s. The movie ends with a scene of demolition of a *gecekondu* celebrated enthusiastically by the neighbours.

The main character Mehmet works at a night club (*pavyon*) as a low-paid clarinettist in Ulus. Mehmet lives with his family in a *gecekondu* owned by Mehmet's brother-in-law. Since the family is a tenant in their *kondü*, they are forced to move out by Mehmet's brother-in-law who is willing to demolish the house and erect an apartment in its site through the system of *yapsatçılık*. The landowner of the *gecekondu*, Mehmet's brother-in-law, works as a tea servant employed in one of the ministries in Yenışehir.¹²⁹ Although he is serving Turkish style black tea and his work is named *çaycı* (tea servant) or *odacı* (servant) in Turkish, he calls himself as "a *memur* of the

¹²⁸ Sinematürk, "Düttürü Dünya," Accessed May 01, 2018. <http://www.sinematurk.com/film/3109-dutturu-dunya/>.

¹²⁹ See also Chapter 2.1. Notes on the corpus of urbanisations of Ankara.

State" (*memur* means government official) to emphasise his privileged work. Being affiliated in a governmental institution of the state and working as *memur* is an excellent job opportunity in Turkey; because a *memur* mostly has a permanent contract, social insurance, regularly paid salary and specialised workers' rights such as good conditions of retirement, legal permission for specific urgent situations and paid vacation. The first governmental institutions of Turkish republican nation-state such as ministry buildings were built in Yenışehir and most of the administrative institutions have still been serving in Ankara. Therefore, Ankara has had a broad reputation of being "a city of *memurs*."

Mehmet's brother-in-law is proud of being *memur* because he has a legitimate and respectful work in Yenışehir. His work is stable unlike temporal, unstable and "marginal works" of *gecekondus*. There is an excellent tension between Mehmet and his brother-in-law. This tension stems not only from the issue of demolition but also from the hierarchy between two different works: the hierarchy between civil servant - *memur*- over clarinettist; between "peripheral work" over "marginal work."¹³⁰ The dialogues between two characters also give a hint about the hierarchy between the works is also spatial and reflects upon the hierarchy between Yenışehir and Ulus, new city and old city. Mehmet states this tension with ironic gestures: "My brother-in-law is a unique person, by gosh! He knows everything. He has dispatched the laws. It means a lot to be a servant in the ministries! The heart of Ankara!"¹³¹

¹³⁰ According to Tansı Şenyapılı's definition of peripheral work (Şenyapılı, 1981: 15-37).

¹³¹ Translated from Turkish to English by the author. It is not a word by word translation. The original expression in Turkish is: (Mehmet): *Benim kayınbiraderim bir tanedir vallaha. Her ... bilir. Kanunları yutmuş. Bakanlıkta odacı ne demek! Ankara'nın kalbi!* Starts in 00:30:11.



Figure 4.1. Screenshots from *Düştürü Dünya*, "Skimpy World" (1988) directed by Zeki Ökten. The left scene depicts Hıdırlıktepe of the 1980s. The right scene is Ulus Square and Zafer Monument as a landmark.

Mehmet is criticised about his marginal work by his wife, Gülsüm and his brother-in-law. His income is not enough to fulfil the living expenses of the family with five members, Mehmet, his wife Gülsüm and three children of them. Under social pressure, Mehmet starts to look for extra work to save money for expenses of moving out to another *gecekondu* again, as a tenant. If he couldn't do so, the family would have to stay at separate *gecekondus* with their relatives. However, Mehmet does not care about any critiques which belittle his work. He dreams of being a well-known composer and feels like a musician in his inner world. Hence the struggles to keep his temporal, low-paid and marginal work without any future guarantee.

Gecekondus of the early 1980s could be analysed from multiple critical perspectives in the basis of daily lives of diverse works through the movie. The scene which Mehmet's small daughter is dancing while his father performs with his clarinet in their *gecekondu* fades into another scene which a belly dancer is performing at the *pavyon*. The pass between two scenes could be read that *gecekondu* is an apparatus in the means of reproducing the sociospatial relations and pursuing the exploitation of the cheap labour (Figure 4.2). Another scene depicts an oil wrestler (*yağlı güreşçi*) performing with a chair. The wrestler should be performing with another wrestler in an open-air site where the audience could gather. It is a traditional sport conducted in

specific villages, towns and small-scale cities in Turkey. The exceptional performance with the chair at the *pavyon* is not regarded as unusual or "weird." The performance could be read as one of the transformed ways of social entertainment and ritual. At this point, one could find "ruralisation" and "urbanisation" at the same time in this scene. Ruralization of the urban could be attributed to the place: Night club, *pavyon*. And urbanisation of the rural could be attributed to the body and its action: The oil-wrestler and his performance with the chair (*Figure 4.3*).



Figure 4.2. Screenshots from *Düştürü Dünya/ Dancer at pavyon*, "Skimpy World" (1988) directed by Zeki Ökten. The sequential scenes depict *gecekondu*s as an apparatus to produce and reproduce human's daily life through a shift from the little girl dancing at *gecekondu* to the belly dancer dancing at the night club, *pavyon*.



Figure 4.3. Screenshots from *Düştürü Dünya/ Oil wrestler*, "Skimpy World" (1988) directed by Zeki Ökten. The scenes narrate the urbanised modes of entertainment and ritual and/or the ruralised modes of entertainment and ritual. Urbanisation and ruralisation herein shift in each other. What is urbanised and ruralised? The place, the bodies or actions?

The movie ends with the celebration of demolition in three places: *Gecekondu* neighbourhood, *pavyon* and Ulus. In the first place, in the *gecekondu* neighbourhood, the community gathers to watch the demolition. Only

one family member, Mehmet's politically active socialist, university student daughter,¹³² reflects sadness about the demolition. After a glance at her "educated" daughter's sad face, Mehmet suddenly starts to play his clarinet. His son joins him playing the tambourine, and the *gecekondu* community starts to dance altogether. They celebrate the demolition while a bulldozer is destructing *gecekondu*s. The song continues and the scene shifts into the second place, to the *pavyon*. The performance of Mehmet and his son continues to entertain the people on the dance floor, at Mehmet's marginal workplace. In the third place, Mehmet and his son keep performing their music, playing the same song in the early morning in Ulus Square, and they keep walking to the direction of Yenışehir. The *gecekondu* under urban transformation, the *pavyon* as a place of marginal work and the streets of Ulus as the public space of the old city. These three places host the continuous performance of Mehmet, the same long song, a continuous song which might be mentioning the continuum of demolitions and the endless expansion of the city to pursue the unlimited economic growth based on construction.

The cinematic storytelling of Old Altındağ *gecekondu*s puts in the picture that demolition is not necessarily a negative thing for *gecekondu* communities; instead, it is an economic fact as a part of urban rant and land interest. However, the urban transformation is a contradictory process with negative sociospatial consequences, and the contradictions should be questioned through work-related issues such as "the necessity of work" and "unemployment" which indeed are at the heart of the urban transformation and emergence of *gecekondu*s. The contradictions stem from social tensions and hierarchies in the movie. As like as the main character Mehmet, there are

¹³² Being an intimate part of the *gecekondu* life, political repression and the sharp atmosphere after 1980 military coup in the *gecekondu*s are also narrated in the movie. However, Mehmet is neither politically critical to the trajectories nor engaged with any political organisations in the neighbourhood. This disengagement is deliberately underlined through many scenes. Mehmet's only will for his future is an excellent composer, becoming famous and gaining legitimacy as a musician. For Mehmet, the upcoming demolition in their family agenda means the destruction of his family and giving up his future dreams which depend on his low paid, marginal and desired work at the *pavyon*.

more precarious individuals, who are mostly tenants at *gecekondus*, who have marginal works. The women of the movie are also in a precarious position in terms of work. In the movie, they are either working at the *pavyon* as a dancer or doing "unpaid" housework. The women put their effort into the organisation of daily life, which depends on surviving through temporal, insecure works under a contradictory, uneven transformation.

In this context, I will first scrutinise on the stories of *muhtars* of Çinçin to question the contradictions of urban transformation initiated in 2005. *Muhtars* are governmentally assigned neighbourhood heads witnessing daily life of their neighbourhood from below. When *muhtarlık* is considered as a work with a social role, and muhtars as social actors, it could provide an opening in order to look at the *gecekondu* residents as active actors of transformation. *Muhtarlık* has been transformed within the urban transformation, and the stories on this transformation show that *muhtarlık* was critical in the association between authorities and communities.

4.2. Muhtars Becoming Real Estate Agents

When I was planning to step in Çinçin, I was lost in the ambiguity on the location. Çinçin is recently not marked as a name of a district in the municipal documents such as maps or urban planning reports. Moreover, the information on the webpage of the Altındağ Municipality and academic researches were contradicting with each other. After first field trips and archival research, I finally figured out that there were *at least* five neighbourhoods accepted as neighbourhoods of Çinçin at past, and some of them were not existing anymore. Since, I do not get surprised meeting former *muhtars* of the formerly existent neighbourhoods in Çinçin, such as Server Somuncuoğlu and Çalışkanlar Neighbourhoods.¹³³

¹³³ When I started this research in 2018, there were Gültepe, Plevne and Aktaş Neighbourhoods; in 2018 Gültepe Neighbourhood is enlarged over Plevne and Aktaş Neighbourhoods. There is only

We, Osman and I, meet one of the helpers of current *muhtar* (*muhtar azası*)¹³⁴ Nejat in a current *muhtarlık* office, while he is sitting alone. I introduce myself as a researcher trying to analyse the urban transformation of Çinçin. The Muhtar's helper Nejat looks at Osman who accompanies me at the neighbourhood as one of two key informants, and Osman reintroduces me as "a student at METU where he also works, so we work together." Nejat turns back to me with a positive attitude, asks me first what I would like to drink, either soda or tea. The *muhtarlık* office is the second one I have been in Çinçin. There is one desk (desk of the *muhtar*), some shelves and five seats for the visitors. A photograph of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk hanged on the wall behind the desk and many photographs with the Mayor of Altındağ Municipality hanged on the other walls. A dozen of advertisements hanged on the entrance door of *muhtarlık*: "On sale from the property owner: 2+1 at TOKİ Stage/1, 120.000 TL."¹³⁵

Nejat introduces himself telling that he is currently helping *muhtar* since he was assigned as the first *muhtar azası*. Although helpers of *muhtars* are also elected with *muhtar*, they are not paid by the government, they volunteer. "We have been '*muhtars*' over twenty years in Çinçin," Nejat says, referring to the current *muhtar* and himself as "we." Before I start asking questions about Çinçin, he immediately starts telling about urban transformation:

There were thousands of gecekondus here. It was not possible to count how many. Five families were sharing a space as small as here; they were living in 10 square metres at most altogether. We, as muhtars demolished them all. If the Muhtar did not lead, none of the municipalities could demolish that gecekondus. The Mayor wanted us to convince people. We gave 3 (3000 TL) to some, 5 (5000 TL) to the

Gültepe Neighbourhood with a population of 22768 recently. Altındağ Belediyesi, "Mahalle Muhtar." Accessed December 19, 2019, https://www.altindag.bel.tr/#!mahalle_muhtar.

¹³⁴ Urban *muhtarlık* has one *muhtar* (the head) and four helpers (*muhtar azası*), composing the council of elder. Helpers of *muhtar* are also elected at the same time with *muhtar*. However, helpers are volunteers, they are unpaid, unsalaried; therefore, they are mostly retired from other sectors before they are assigned as helpers. <http://www.mevzuat.gov.tr/MevzuatMetin/1.3.4541.pdf> Accessed June 19, 2019.

¹³⁵ Nejat, Interview 07 July 2019.

*others. The tenant demanded 2000 TL from us to move out, and we paid. Some landlords demanded 5000-6000 TL, and we paid. We demolished the neighbourhood in that way.*¹³⁶

Nejat tells this quick summary of urban transformation from *their* side, that is to say, their *muhtarlık's* brief role in the urban transformation initiated in 2005. Then a tea-merchant serves tea for three of us and cut the word of Nejat. After teas are served, I deliberately wait for Nejat to complete his story, and we wait for a sensible time of silence. Nejat continues telling that although they helped the Mayor, the ongoing problems such as drug issue at the neighbourhood became a real problem after the demolition. He explains that the former *gecekondu* residents who could get an apartment unit in the TOKİs are still the same people, "people did not change, unemployed and pickpockets are living in those multi-storey buildings." Nejat adds that the newcomers could not harmonise with *gecekondu* people, who are "Çinçin people" and their culture; hence there is a tension between newcomers and landowners who could move in TOKİs inside the TOKİ sites. Nejat wants me to look at the balconies of some of the TOKİ blocks with carpets hanged on the balcony parapets, claiming that those belong to the former landowners who are segregated inside TOKİ sites, gathered in the same block.

According to Nejat, former *gecekondu* residents, "Çinçin people, "continue living as they live in the *gecekondus*. "You can also understand looking at the doorsteps of apartment units. If there are tens of slippers, not shoes but slippers, it is a Çinçin person's unit." I realise that the newcomers belong to Gültepe Neighbourhood (the only neighbourhood at the latest situation enlarged within urban transformation), not to Çinçin according to Nejat. As it was announced by the Municipality, the name of Çinçin wanted to be erased together with the label of the crime phenomenon. Nejat exemplifies his claim about the tension inside TOKİs between "Çinçin people" and

¹³⁶ Altındağ Municipality news about the demolishment mentioning the mass demolishment of "almost 45 thousand houses." Altındağ Belediyesi, "Çinçin'de Yıkımlarımız Devam Ediyor." Accessed July 03, 2019. <https://www.altindag.bel.tr/#!haberler/cincinde-yikimlarimiz-devam-ediyor>.

newcomers through a few more stories. Furthermore, he tells that newcomers are often coming to the *muhtarlık*, complaining about their neighbours who are "Çinçin people" and they seek for help to sell their units. Nejat asks a question not to take a response from us, but in order to emphasise a condition which he complains about: "What can we do? Are we real estate agents (*emlakçı*)?"

4.2.1. The Institution of Muhtarlık: Muhtars as Leaders and Mediators of Neighbourhoods

As Nejat exemplifies, coming to the *muhtarlık* of the neighbourhood for getting advise of the *muhtar* as a social leader and look for the solutions about neighbourhood-related issues are historically a part of *muhtarlık* as an urban institution. *Muhtarlık* refers to a formal and governmental institution in Turkey; *muhtar* has simple tasks in the organisation of a neighbourhood being the smallest habitation unit of a city (*mahalle*) or a village (*köy*). *Muhtars* are officially elected neighbourhood heads in each neighbourhood of cities and each village (*köy*). The former could be named as urban *muhtars* and the latter as rural *muhtars*. Political parties cannot maintain candidates as *muhtars*, but both urban and rural *muhtars* are elected in every five years during the local elections, and they are selected by their neighbourhood/village communities, independent from a political party. According to the law, urban and rural *muhtars* have different statuses and responsibilities in terms of local administration. Rural *muhtars* work with the village councils¹³⁷ on the crucial issues such as health, education and security of their whole villages.¹³⁸ There is a considerable number of *muhtars* in the cities too. Urban *muhtars* have fewer responsibilities in neighbourhood administration comparing to the rural *muhtars* in village administration. Instead of them, the municipalities take the responsibilities on essential issues such as health, education and security at the neighbourhood level. In

¹³⁷ composed by community council of elder and members (*ihhtiyar heyeti* and *aza*).

¹³⁸ According to the Village Law: Mevzuat Bilgi Sistemi, "237- Köy Kanunu." Accessed February 19, 2019, <http://www.mevzuat.gov.tr/MevzuatMetin/1.3.442.pdf>.

such issues, municipalities take full responsibility of the districts and the neighbourhoods under districts. For instance, Altındağ Municipality is responsible for the whole district of Altındağ, and responsible for Gültepe Neighbourhood, working in contact with Gültepe *muhtarlık*. As the smallest local administration unit of the city, urban *muhtars* recently have simple tasks such as giving a certificate of address, organising elections and elector lists.¹³⁹

According to the latest law on the municipalities, the responsibilities of an urban *muhtar* under the governance of district municipality are defined as:¹⁴⁰

- A neighbourhood is administrated by the *muhtar* and the council of elder.
- Establishment, abolishment, merging, separation of neighbourhoods within the municipal boundaries, determination and alteration of their names and borders should be decided by the Municipal Council (*belediye meclisi*), and the decision should be approved by the Governor (*vali*) with the opinion of the District Governor (*kaymakam*).
- *Muhtar* is obliged to determine everyday needs with the voluntary participation of the residents, to improve the quality of life of the neighbourhood, **to carry out relations with the municipality and other public institutions and organisations**, to provide opinions on the issues related to the neighbourhood, to cooperate with other institutions and to perform other duties given by the law.
- Within the boundaries of the municipality, a neighbourhood cannot be founded if the population is under 500.
- The municipality provides the necessary assistance and support in order to meet the needs of the neighbourhood and the *muhtarlık*; to solve the problems within the budgetary means. It considers the common requests of the neighbourhood in decision-

¹³⁹ which recently could be taken from online governmental services too.

¹⁴⁰ According to the Municipality Law: Mevzuat Bilgi Sistemi, "9469- Belediye Kanunu." Accessed February 19, 2019, <http://www.mevzuat.gov.tr/MevzuatMetin/1.5.5393.pdf>.

making processes; and attempts to ensure that the services are carried out in accordance with the needs of the neighbourhood.

Hence, both urban and rural *muhtars* have an essential social responsibility written in the law: Negotiation between municipalities and their community. This task has been at the heart of *muhtarlık* since its establishment in the second half of the 19th century, just before the political reforms made in the Ottoman State in 1839 (*Tanzimat*). Musa Çadırcı (1970) elaborates the history of *muhtarlık*, questioning the dynamics of the era it was established. Depending on archival research, Çadırcı claims that the first urban *muhtarlık* was founded in 1829 in İstanbul, Üsküdar, Eyüp; and the first rural *muhtarlık* in Kastamonu in 1833. The main reason for the establishment of *muhtarlık* was the mediation of the Ottoman State and the communities living in neighbourhoods in the cities and villages (Çadırcı, 1970: 410).

Muhtarlık was one of the attempts to organise more central governance, attach the rural and urban units directly to the state. İsmail Arslan (2017) indicates that before the establishment of the institution of *muhtarlık*, there was the dominance of the institution of *imamlık* (*imam* means the Muslim religious leader);¹⁴¹ hence, the establishment of *muhtarlık* started to provide a more secular, participatory governance comparing to *imamlık* which was depending on the dominant authority of *imam*, handing down *imamlık* from father to son (İsmail Arslan, 2007).¹⁴² Besides, during that time sociospatial structure of neighbourhood and village as habitation units were more closed to the outsiders, their borders were more defined through production relations, the spatial rhythm of cities and sociocultural diversity of Muslim and non-Muslim communities.

¹⁴¹ Working with the elders "*ihthiyarlar*" and chamberlain of the village "*köy kethüdası*" (İsmail Arslan, 2007: 238).

¹⁴² The institution of *imamlık* could not dominate the governance of a neighbourhood or village, but the Ottoman State gave a privileged place to its role in the community since imam's testimony was over the *muhtar*'s testimony in a case (İsmail Arslan, 2007: 247).

Daniel Lerner's research also looks at the social role of *muhtar* in the early 1950s -120 years after the establishment of *muhtarlık*- while there was a shift from pre-industrial to industrial era in Turkey. Analysing the field-notes of one of the young researchers in his research group named Tosun, Daniel Lerner develops an interest on the characters of the Muhtar and the Grocer (*bakkal*) of Balgat in Ankara, portrayed just before the urbanisation of the district.¹⁴³ In his notes, Tosun depicts the *Muhtar* as a conservative figure against "western" "modernisation" programs which initiated the urbanisation processes of Turkey through fundings and development projects such as the exportation of public busses and construction projects such as highways.¹⁴⁴ Contrasting with the Muhtar, Tosun depicts the Grocer as a liberal character, glorifying the "western" "modernisation." The Grocer was trying to communicate with the world "outside," trying to learn about western culture and goods. He attempted to open the vision of his community (Lerner, 1958).

Lerner decides to revisit the Muhtar and the Grocer in 1954, just four years after Tosun took the field-notes. However, Lerner meets another Balgat, already urbanised through a newly built road connecting the district to the centre. Lerner gets the news that the Grocer passed away and therefore he meets only the *Muhtar* again. His observations depict how the culture of a settlement rapidly changed through urbanisation (indeed he was theorising modernisation); since Muhtar changes his negative attitude against "modernisation." Because the Muhtar's family, the youth of Balgat, benefits from the increasing urban rent and development in the district. Lerner (1958) ends the *parable* pointing out that Balgat's people are connected with Ankara, and the work in the district changed. Although there are emerging types of urban modes of work, the *Muhtar* complains to lose his duties after urbanisation, doing almost nothing in a day. Not only people in Balgat but also Tosun, Turkish researcher

¹⁴³ Lerner uses the Chief instead of the Muhtar. Daniel Lerner, "The Grocer and The Chief: A parable." *The Passing of Traditional Society*, Free Press (1958): 19-42.

¹⁴⁴ Begüm Adalet, *Hotels and Highways: The Construction of Modernization Theory in Cold War Turkey*. 2018

in his research group, associated with another research in another continent of the world. It could be taken as an emphasis on the globalisation of production relations and the interrelated transformation of cities and work:

The ancient village I had known for what now seemed only four short years was passing, had passed. The Grocer was dead. The Chief - "the last Muhtar of Balgat" - had reincarnated the Grocer in the flesh of his sons. Tosun was in North Africa, studying the Berbers (Lerner, 1958: 42).

Begüm Adalet (2018) criticises Daniel Lerner's research in terms of being "over-emphatic" and constructing the modernisation theory, which helps to reproduce the hegemony of "western modernisation." According to Adalet, there is a nostalgic interpretation of "rural" (*ancient village*) and "culture" in the *parable*. "Modernisation" is narrated like a mechanism cutting the spatial culture of a village sharply, rather than a dialectical transformation. However, Lerner's approach has an important place in this research throughout two points: Firstly, Lerner mentions that the *muhtarlık* as an institution is produced in the continuum of the culture of "*Hoca*" (referring to *imam*) and therefore it had a capacity of advising the community. Secondly, spatial transformation changes the sociological dimensions of the institution of *muhtarlık*. Although Lerner mentions an end of *muhtarlık* with the emphasis of *the last muhtar*, the urban change transforms *muhtarlık*'s capacity of advising people, in other words, the feature of leadership in a community; and it reproduces the institution. At this point, I will claim that there is a dialectical relationship between work and space, reproducing each other under particular circumstances, and there is still the institution of *muhtarlık* functioning at the neighbourhood level.

The number of rural *muhtars* is decreasing together with the increasing numbers of urban *muhtars*, through the ongoing urbanisation of rural areas in Turkey. Recent research conducted by Tuna Emre Köklü and Hüseyin Gül (2017) underlines the changing dimensions of *muhtarlık* within the spatial transformation. Köklü and Gül

interview *muhtars* and they figure out that the *muhtars* in their focus group have two self-perceptions about their role: Advising capacity (leadership) and mediating capacity (mediatorship, negotiation between municipality and community). Half of the *muhtars* in the group conceptualise their work as a leadership and the other half as mediator. Köklü and Gül claim that being only the mediator limits the historically constituted institution of *muhtarlık*, extracting the capacity of leadership (Köklü and Gül, 2017).¹⁴⁵ In Lerner's essay, it might be what the Muhtar of Balgat complaining to lose after the urbanisation of Balgat: being "chief." However, in Çiğin, the *muhtars* both worked as leaders and mediators actively participating in the processes of urban transformation.

4.2.2. Muhtarlık as a ground for the association of the Municipality and Çiğin

Although the social power of *muhtarlık* over communities might have diminished since its establishment up till now, the latest Turkish government has been using the institution of *muhtarlık* and *muhtars'* capacity of leadership and mediatorship as a strategy in order to initiate radical spatial decisions at the *gecekondu* neighbourhoods; and to announce and legitimise political consequences. As it has been widely visible in the media, the Department of Home Affairs has been organising several "Muhtars Meetings" in the Presidential Compound¹⁴⁶ since 2015. According to the news, thousands of urban and rural *muhtars* have been participating in those events. Most of the *muhtars* participated more than once, some of them up to five times in the last three years. The Department of Home Affairs decides the participant *muhtars*, the frequency and topics of meetings and the frequency of participation without a statement of reason. Although the first meeting's central theme was: "The Vision of

¹⁴⁵ Tuna Emre Köklü and Hüseyin Gül, 2017.

¹⁴⁶ The Presidential Compound is officially named Presidential Külliye.

Being a Great State Starts from the Local,"¹⁴⁷ since the first meeting President Erdoğan has been giving a speech on the fascinating topics of political agenda, most of which have no critical links with local administration.¹⁴⁸ The latest meeting, being the 49th one and held in December 2018,¹⁴⁹ the President emphasised the importance of *muhtarlık* as an institution, stating that "the selected mayors from AKP are under the order of *muhtars*" and "*muhtars* have a very privileged place for AKP, they are even superior to mayors, district governors and governors from AKP."¹⁵⁰

Rural and urban *muhtars* are elected inside and by their communities. Therefore, neighbourhood or village communities usually select regarded, significant, beloved social figures. Although urban *muhtars* have less responsibility than rural *muhtars*, they might have a particular social status at their neighbourhoods. Çinçin *muhtars* tell that they are leaders of their communities based on daily life and daily urban struggles. What makes a *gecekondu* neighbourhood in Çinçin identical is not its legal administrative borders, since the borders are non-formal or under an ongoing change, but its communities. As Nejat briefly tells, the urban transformation was initiated through the roles of *muhtars* in Çinçin. *Muhtars* worked like a mediator and a leader persuading landowners to give their land titles to TOKİ, and if the residents could afford a monthly deposit, they might own a unit in the TOKİ blocks through a debt system. The *muhtars* also persuaded the tenants of the *gecekondus* -who were

¹⁴⁷ TRT Haber, "Külliye'de 29 toplantıda 11 bin 537 muhtar ağırlandı." Last modified November 03, 2016. Accessed February 19, 2019. <https://m.bianet.org/bianet/siyaset/171601-7482-muhtar-kulliye-yi-gordu-42-518-i-sirada>.

¹⁴⁸ Such as the meeting on "Peace for Academics Petition in 2016." TC Cumhurbaşkanlığı, "İmzalanan Bildiri." Accessed February 19, 2019. <https://www.tccb.gov.tr/haberler/410/38588/imzalanan-bildiri-elestiri-degil-teror-orgutu-propagandasidir.html>.

¹⁴⁹ News, 17 May 2019, News, 17 May 2019, "Erdogan expressed that they want to conduct the 50th Meeting of Muhtars only with the *muhtars* of Istanbul. Because they met with the *muhtars* in the nation's house and in the complex regularly, and they will continue to meet." CNN Türk, 2019, <https://www.cnnturk.com/turkiye/son-dakika-cumhurbaskani-erdogandan-onemli-aciklamalar170519>.

¹⁵⁰ (district governor and governor *kaymakam* and *vali* in Turkish).

economically more precarious than *gecekondu* landowners- to move out with a small amount of cash paid by the Municipality.

We meet one of the *muhtars* of former neighbourhoods, Hüsnü, in front of a carpenter, sitting with a group of men. We join them drinking tea and talking on the urban transformation. Hüsnü introduces Çiğcin as a place of revolutionists' in the 1970s and 1980s, telling about the organisation of the neighbourhood with community centre (*halkevi*), open-air cinemas (Sefa and Bahar cinemas showing political movies) and the solidarity of people. Hüsnü emphasises that the majority of Çiğcin residents were leftist and "although there are no activist people at the neighbourhood anymore, all of the *muhtars* are still left-oriented." I ask questions about the ongoing urban transformation under right-wing governance and his tones changes and gets more serious: "It would be a self-delusion if one claims that *we* did a wrong thing (*meaning the muhtars' role and act in the urban transformation was not wrong*). We, Çiğcin people, have been long suffering from poverty" (Interview, 07.07.2019).

The men sitting with us and listening to our dialogue starts to discuss the issue with each other. Some of the residents claim that the contractors (*müteahhit*) and *yapsatçılık* system would work better because many people could not move in TOKİs since they could not afford the debt. However, they claim, no müteahhiths could convince that much people in order to apply *yapsatçılık* system for a five or six floored apartment. Some of the informants also emphasise that the exchange value of apartment units in the TOKİs haven't increased in the last five years because of the expanding crime ratio. Hüsnü concludes the discussion: "The urban rent is not rising, but the drug rent is rising" And he adds:

Altındağ Municipality and TOKİs could not associate with our neighbourhood, a neighbourhood of all resistant people. But they (referring TOKİ and the Municipality) did not do well, many of the people are in worse conditions now. If you have money, you would better move out of Çiğcin, because after TOKİs, the drug problems became worse (Hüsnü, Interview, 07.07.2019).

As we visit the *muhtarlık* offices of Gültepe and Aktaş Neighbourhoods, I also observed that there are advertisements of apartment units in TOKİs for sale hanged on the entrances of small, one floored private *muhtarlık* buildings built by TOKİ. Nejat emphasises that *they* are not real estate agents; however, he also tells that *muhtars* have inevitably been helping people trying to sell their units since their association with the Municipality. Hence, the *muhtarlık* also is functioning like a non-formal real estate agency, as the *muhtars* worked as leaders and mediators in persuading the community to move out or sign TOKİ contracts particularly between 2004 and 2009. Nevertheless, the consequences of urban transformation were not as expected, neither for the residents still living in the remaining *gecekondus* nor for the ones who could move to the TOKİ sites. According to Nejat, the outcomes were not as expected from the sides of the *muhtars* as well, despite their help in the initiation of the demolition process, and beliefs on the urban transformation. Nejat tells that about one of the *muhtars* who is still living in a remaining *gecekondus*:

They (referring to the authorities at the Municipality) promised the Muhtar to show an affordable unit at the TOKİs. The Muhtar worked for two years to convince people, paying a small amount of money to make the residents move out, one by one in the name of Municipality. However, they (referring to the authorities at the Municipality) showed the Muhtar a unit at the basement of one of the TOKİs with debt around 20 thousand Liras. The Muhtar told them: "I do not want, it can be yours (!)" (Nejat, Interview, 07.07.2019).

Although "neighbourhood" as a socially, culturally and communally produced living unit of the city is getting transformed through rescaling strategies within the urban transformation processes; *muhtarlık* is still in the political agenda of the latest government representing the institution of *muhtarlık* as like as a non-formal local organisation of the government to announce political consequences since 2015. This exploration could also be discussed whether the government pursued their political power through their politics of mass housing in the sites of *gecekondus*. The fieldwork of this research exposes that there could be an interrelation between urban politics, urban transformation and the social roles of *muhtars*. However, not only the

neighbourhoods but also the social roles and works of *muhtars* were losing its capacity in the transformation processes.

4.3. Houseworkers' Distinction of "Kondu" from "Daire"

Since meeting with current and former *muhtars* of Çinçin, I have started to expect negative opinions against the debt system of TOKİ and positive opinions for the massive demolition and urban transformation similar to the former *muhtars'* opinions. "It would be great if any contractor (*müteahhit*) would take our land. TOKİ charges a lot. You could get a *daire* paying little or spending no money with the contractor." says Bahar, the Usta's, neighbour in Çinçin.¹⁵¹ It is our second meeting at her front yard, surrounded by lower masonry walls. It is a house built as *gecekondu* in the 1960s, and the land title was taken through paying a little amount of money to the municipality. The yard of *kondu* is a tiny open place with one plum tree, many flowers in pots and a cultivated corner with pepper, scallion, dill and tomatoes. On the left and right sides of the *kondu*, there are ruins of destroyed *gecekondus*.¹⁵² I see only one remaining *gecekondu*, Usta's house settled in the hillside, upper than Bahar's home; therefore, it is visible from Bahar's yard.¹⁵³

We, Bahar and I, are sitting on a bench in the veranda three steps upper than the ground level of the yard. It is sheltered with light material for sun protection. There is a threadbare carpet covering the floor. I left my shoes on the steps, Bahar wears slippers, and she takes off her slippers when she enters inside of the house. She is coming back and forth inside and outside of the house very often, willing to serve me tea, fruit and water. I recall a workshop owner's comment on slippers; he was claiming that "the

¹⁵¹ The character of Usta is narrated in the following chapter. The Usta was also second key informant.

¹⁵² The Municipality has started to remove the ruins in June 2019 in Çinçin. Hürriyet Haber, "Dönüşümden kalan moloz temizleniyor." Accessed September 03, 2019. <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/yerel-haberler/ankara/donusumden-kalan-moloz-temizleniyor-41237492>.

¹⁵³ Bahar, 52 years old, 30 and 31 July 2019.

only surviving shop will be the one selling slippers," because Çinçin women prefer to wear slipper instead of shoes.¹⁵⁴ Moreover, the helper of Muhtar, Nejat commented before that tens of slippers in the doorstep of an apartment unit inside TOKİs show that it is a Çinçin resident's unit. Wearing slippers might be preferable more than shoes in the *gecekondus* because slippers are affordable. However, there was another apparent reason. In Turkey, citizens do not use shoes inside a house in general, and the active movement of Bahar between inside-outside of the house fits the habit of using slippers instead of shoes.

Bahar moves between inside and outside places of the house, telling how they like to have time in their yard. The yard is an active space of the house. The rooms of *gecekondu* are not separated like bedroom, living room and guest room. A *gecekondu* has an *ara* (recess) and two *göz* (rooms) typically; former is the entrance hall, and the latter is a regular multifunctional room having a flexible usage due to the particular domestic needs of the household. Most of the *gecekondus* in Çinçin are "one *ara plus two göz*" (one recess and two rooms), *but* they also had a yard or sharing one yard and toilet/stock units with another *kondu*. Bahar and her family's *kondu* is one *ara* two *göz*, and there are one elder parent, Bahar and her husband and their three adult children at the same house. The girls and elder parent share one room (*göz*), Bahar and her husband have the other room (*göz*). Their son is used to sleep in the *ara*, which is also the living room. The kitchen is also in the same *ara* in a particular niche. There is one shared bathroom inside. Outside, the spacious yard with a veranda is the social place used actively. In the necessary activity of going inside-outside, the preference for wearing slippers is comfortable and practical.

The organisation and the housework of *kondu* are interconnected. The organisation of the house has a flexible inside/outside relation. Just before visiting Bahar, the Usta and I were lost at the top of the hill in Çinçin. Before the demolition of *gecekondus*,

¹⁵⁴ Interview, 29.07.2019.

the paths were turning into someone's yard, as we follow the ruins giving a clue about the former organisation of tiny stairs entangled with yards and *gecekondus*. Since if one *kondur* was demolished, its yard turns into a stock of debris and it gets hard to find another path to go down or up. We were trying to find our way down the hill, time to time passing over the debris carefully. Walking was getting harder, and we found ourselves in the narrow yard of Gül.¹⁵⁵ Gül was surprised for a moment, then said us hello friendly although she had known neither Usta nor me. Gül invited us water, introduced us her five years old grandson and showed a possible path to walk down the hill. This spontaneous meeting provided us to meet another informant. Hence, I would revisit Gül in the following days. The trip was a teaching experience to observe private/public grasp and inside/outside flexibility of *gecekondus* in the hilly side of Çinçin, where almost sixty *gecekondus* were remaining, and thousands were ruined.¹⁵⁶

The housework of *kondur* depends both on the spatial organisation of the domestic life and the urban fabric where the inside and outside relation intertwines. Bahar tells her daily life with full of housework and leisure using inside and outside spaces of the home actively:

I'm running about all day. I get up early in the morning. My children change clothes and go to work. Then, the housework is looking at me. I uncover the bedsheets, fix the living room, prepare breakfast for my husband, then I sweep the floor, cook for dinner, do the laundry and ironing. We have a bazaar in Gülveren.¹⁵⁷ We, my neighbours and I (women), go to Gülveren with our shopping trolleys. There is a park there; sometimes we walk there in the evening for fun. We are now four neighbours left at total. I go out after dinner, like 8-9 in the evening. We (women) make tea and coffee, we eat and drink outside in the street until 11 (pm). Young girls come to our veranda, and I go to the neighbour at the corner. Then everyone goes home to bed (Bahar, Interview, 30.07.2019).

¹⁵⁵ Gül, born in 1968, lives in Çinçin since 1988.

¹⁵⁶ Field trip 28.06.19.

¹⁵⁷ Almost fifteen minutes walking distance to Gültepe Neighbourhood, in another district.

The inside and outside places of a *kondu* are workplaces of houseworkers of Çiğin as Bahar elaborates. The housework is composed of activities both inside and outside of the *kondu*, interweaving into each other as like as the work time and leisure, the rituals of women and housework such as care work or cleaning. At this point, housework of Çiğin is also where the contradictions of radical urban transformation emerge. Since there is a sharp transition from *gecekondu* to TOKİ in terms of being a houseworker in a *kondu* or in a *daire*, this distinction not only comes from particular socio-spatiality of *gecekondus* where the private sphere of a house is broken by the entangled inside and outside spaces of a house; but also, from the contradiction between unpaid and paid housework; *kondu* and *daire* as bourgeois home.

4.3.1. In-between unpaid and paid housework

Considering the hierarchy between diverse works of Çiğin, the housework of *gecekondus* could be at the below, since it is not counted as "work" in general. Counting unpaid housework as work is one of the contemporary debates on different types of non-market works and the exploitation of cheap labour of women. From a broader perspective, Jason W. Moore claims that (2016) the exploitation of women labour is a fundamental condition of the exploitation of labour-power, putting "women" together with "nature" and "colonies" and making an emphasis on the "unpaid work:"

(...) the appropriation of "women, nature, and colonies" is the fundamental condition of the exploitation of labour-power in the commodity system (Mies 1986, 77). This is the disproportionality at the heart of capitalism between "paid work," reproduced through the cash nexus, and "unpaid work," reproduced outside the circuit of capital but indispensable to its expanded reproduction (Jason W. Moore, 2016: 91).

Gülnur Acar-Savran's research (2003)¹⁵⁸ elaborates unpaid housework as work, extending the discussion of the reproduction of exploitation of women labour. Unpaid

¹⁵⁸ Gülnur Acar-Savran, "Kadınların Emeğini Görünür Kılmak: Marx'tan Delphy'ye bir Ufuk Taraması," *Praksis* 10, (2003): 159-210 (The title of this article could be translated as: "Making the labour of women visible: Scanning the research horizon from Marx to Delphy"). Stevi Jackson,

housework is a non-market work depending on women labour, including a mixture of works such as caring elder and children, doing all service needs of the family members such as laundry, cooking and cleaning. In this line of thought, Gülnur Acar-Savran looks at the sociologist feminists problematising Marxist conception of labour in order to define unpaid housework as work (both in the bourgeois and working-class families). The sociologist feminists claim that the exploitation of women is the common ground for women from different socioeconomic backgrounds living both in the *gecekondu*s and the bourgeois home. The reproduction of capitalist modes of production relations is not only economical but also cultural and constituted within gender. The paid houseworkers are exploited in a similar way that they are exploited in their house through unpaid housework. Hence, housework is one of the cheap services conducted dominantly by women. Paid houseworkers usually work without any rights like health insurance, although their work is precarious in terms of accidents. On the other hand, the labour of unpaid houseworkers -in general- accepted as a "natural" division of labour inside the home, and it is exploited as like as cheap labour of a paid housework outside the home. This discussion on the reproduction of exploitation of women labour could generate a common ground for women to criticise "patriarchal capitalism." Determined by the supply and demand of paid housework, the encounter of paid and unpaid houseworkers *in the bourgeois home* is a contradiction of the exploitation of women-labour (Gülnur Acar-Savran, 2003, *the italic part is the original contribution of the author*).

The contradiction between unpaid and paid housework do matter in an environment of radical urban change which is a change from *gecekondu* to apartment unit. Although I did not ask for a focus group, I am invited for a wedding celebration by Osman's wife and daughters, and it turns into a focus group at the end of the celebration. I join the celebration, which is a gathering of women in the yard of

"Towards a Historical Sociology of Housework," *Women's Studies International Forum* 15, 2 (1992): 153-172.

Osman's *kondu*. In the yard, a dominant number of the women worked as paid houseworker temporally in their lives. The women inform that living in a house which is not a *daire* (therefore not a bourgeois house) a layout of a former *gecekondu* district becomes a critical distinctness for them; hence they encounter with unpaid houseworkers of *daire* (who is their patron) as workers and unpaid houseworkers of *gecekondu*.

When I reach the district by bus on a Saturday afternoon, two women at their early twenties come to the bus stop on Babür Street to accompany me on the way to the *kondu*. Osman thinks that I could feel insecure walking as a stranger inside their destructed neighbourhood. The celebration is in the yard of Osman and his family's *kondu* in between Çinçin Dört Yol and Babür Street. Osman, his daughters and wife share the same yard with three other elementary families. The yard is surrounded by two separate *gecekondus* and a coal bunker. When we reach the house, I find almost 20 women in the yard, preparing food and tea. Men are hanging out around the house, Osman says hello from the narrow balcony of one *kondu* above the yard, children are everywhere inside and outside, and the yard is occupied only by the women. The women are from every age; there is one university student studying law, two high school students, two employed young women at their early twenties, one is a governmental official, and the other is working in a kinder garden. They introduce the rest as their mothers and grandmothers. Women are talking both in Kurdish and Turkish. Therefore, I think that there is a cultural diversity both between generations and between the individuals. I immediately learn that they are almost all relatives from the villages of two districts Yozgat and Haymana, and "the grandmothers" moved to the district in the 1950s as the first generation of Çinçin *gecekondus*. They accept me as a curious visitor more than an outsider researcher with the help of the women in Osman's family who introduce me as Osman's colleague to others and the *halay*.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁹ A general name of folkloric ritual dances.

When I join the women who are dancing *the halay*, they comment on my visit: "We were waiting for a researcher from METU, but as I see, you are one of us."

I start to ask questions at the end of the wedding celebration when a couple of women decides to leave. I sit nearby the eldest woman Nesil, some of the women are repeating my questions one more time to Nesil, and then each question is answered by many of the women in the yard. When I ask a simple question, they are debating and looking for a shared answer. The house was built at the beginning of 1950s without permission through occupying the land and Osman's father in law could get the land title in the late 1950s.¹⁶⁰ The *gecekondu* is formalised; hence I ask them why they do not call it as a house or home (*konut* or *ev* in Turkish), why they do use *gecekondu* as an idiom? A loud debate starts in the group. All of the young women (aged between 17 to 21) tell me that they do not hide from their friends at work/school that they are living in "Çinçin," because Çinçin women have power in social relations,¹⁶¹ however they do hide that they still live in a *gecekondu*. Nesil adds that she is aged enough to move to a *daire* and she wants to end her life at her *home gecekondu*. According to Nesil, "the youth better deserves a *daire* (apartment unit)."¹⁶²

Although *gecekondus* are formalised, informants still emphasise that they used to say that they "live in a *gecekondu*," because "they do not live a *daire*." The remaining *gecekondus* were a layout of Çinçin as a chaotic *gecekondu* district, and those houses have remained as *gecekondu* in the rapidly transforming city since 1980; in the radically transformed area since 2005. I observed that the informants state a counter position between *gecekondu* and *daire* (not house [*ev*] or home [*yuva*] but

¹⁶⁰ The residents state that they have Menderes Tapusu (land title of Menderes, name of the Turkish Prime Minister between 1950–1960), because they got the land title through zoning amnesty announced during the Menderes Government (1950-1960).

¹⁶¹ Çinçin residents use the idiom "to have teeth" meaning to be powerful and resistant (physically and having authority in social relations). The idiom has a one to one translation in Turkish *dışlı olmak*. For English definition: <https://idioms.thefreedictionary.com/have+teeth> Last accessed 03 August 2019.

¹⁶² Interview, 15.07.2019.

apartment unit [*daire*]). *It is a historically constructed counter position coming from deep-rooted class discrimination. From the side of Çinçin houseworkers over 35 years old, it is also discrimination between being a paid and unpaid houseworker, since they go to "work" to daire of the bourgeois home. Daire distinguishes from kondu through the "contradictory encounter of paid and unpaid houseworkers in the bourgeois home."*¹⁶³

There is a critical distinctiveness of *gecekondu* for the houseworkers of *gecekondu* in terms of types of work. The unpaid houseworker of *daire* and the unpaid houseworker of *gecekondu* distinguish in the type of housework. The types of housework blur the borders between inside/outside of a house, private/public spheres of a neighbourhood. For instance, moving to Çinçin fifteen years ago from a village in Haymana, Ayşe tells that it was tough not to have running water in their houses, but they had foundations outside which made the neighbourhood a more open place for women and children:

There were neighbourhood fountains where women used to do the laundry. The carpets were washed around the fountain. We have always been outside from morning to midnight with our mothers during our childhood. Everyone was hanging out on the street or in their yards, drinking tea or cleaning (Ayşe, Interview, Interview, 15.07.2019).

As like as all diverse works of Çinçin, housework has also changed under the urban transformation. Bahar adds a responsibility of being an unpaid houseworker of the *gecekondus*: observing other *gecekondus*, neighbours, in order to protect them from thieves emerged after the massive demolition. "Since it was a grift neighbourhood at past, it was easier to keeping an eye on your neighbour's house," Bahar tells that while she is pointing out Usta's house as the only remaining *gecekondu* visible from her yard. She tells how she screamed once to frighten a group of young men away when she recognised them trying to steal the iron mesh window cover of Usta's *gecekondu*. Not only the proximity but also the blurred

¹⁶³ Gülnur Acar-Savran elaborates the contradictory encounter of paid and unpaid houseworkers, 2003.

inside/outside relation helps to keep an eye on the neighbours. Women are working and having leisure outside of the house, in the daily routines of housework. It comes up with the visibility of women and a rhythm outside of the house which makes the private sphere more public. As the borders between private/public entangle, the proximity and the rhythm outside of a house reproduce the space.

Although houseworkers inform that their existence and work radically changed after the urban transformation, and there is a sharp distinction between *kondu* and *daire*, they are aware that their situation is in between *gecekondu* and *daire*. Therefore, they state tell that their daughters' fate will be completely different. Many of the women talk about their daughters on issues such as the level of education, marriage or where they want to live in the future. After Bahar's and Nesil's personal histories of being houseworker in Çinçin I decide to revisit Gül, and I find her caring her five-years-old grandchild again in their yard where the Usta and I found ourselves accidentally during our field trip. She explains that her grandchild is her daughter's younger son, he gets bored at TOKİ Gültepe's green garden with a playground without sun protection or trees; thus, Gül takes him from the TOKİs in the morning and brings back at 5 pm every day. The child plays with wooden pieces in the corner of the yard, while a dog lays down nearby. Gül has a similar background with Bahar, she moved to Çinçin from a village and living in Çinçin over thirty years.

Our village is charming, but we were working hard under the sun in the field. Chickpea, melon watermelon, many lands, much work... We came here; for example, we have only housework. Housework is lighter than the village work. The village is better than the city in terms of weather, water, fresh cheese milk, plenty of oil, but it is tough to work there (Gül, Interview, 02.08.19).

The will of becoming an unpaid houseworker of *daire*, hence, has a link with the urbanisation history and with the shift from rural modes of production -in which

domestic labour of women is an essential element- to urban modes of production.¹⁶⁴ *Gecekondu* is not standing in the intersection of a counter position between urban and rural modes of labouring for houseworkers. It is like a temporal place between *gecekondu* and *daire*; it is an in-between place, a shift in the making of future, a shift that is expected to raise wealth and class as a socioeconomic category. The urban transformation has contradictions in terms of changing types of housework, sharpening spatial dynamics of inside/outside relations for women; yet it is an end of a home in between *gecekondu* and *daire*:

We got rid of the hard work of the field. Gecekondu's housework is easy. But daire (!) You will have to do serious cleaning in daire, here I do not need to clean the yard, for example, I give a broom to Murat (grandchild), and it is all. But of course, we gave our daughter, Murat's mother, in marriage to someone in the TOKİs. It is enough upgrading for us... (Gül, Interview, 02.08.19).¹⁶⁵

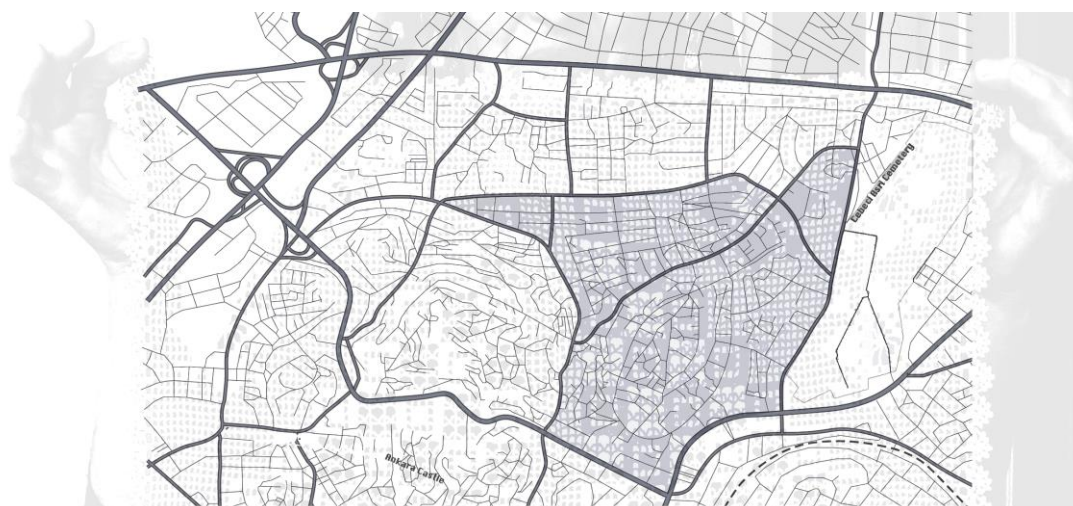


Figure 4.4. Collage map of Çiğir. By author for the presentation entitled "Neighbourhoods of Underground: Work under urban transformation in Çiğir". At Duke University, event organised by Turkish Circle, Durham NC/US. April 2 2019.

¹⁶⁴ Ferhunde Özbay, "Kadınların Eviçi ve Evdışı Uğraşlarındaki Değişme," In *1980'ler Türkiye'sinde Kadın Bakış Açısından Kadın*, edited by Şirin Tekeli, İstanbul: İletişim, 1990.

¹⁶⁵ "TOKİ'lere kız verdik."

4.4. Epilogue: "A Long Story Between Fate and hope"

Critical and historical approach questions when, where and even by whom the concepts and conceptualisations are used. Then the question arises whether we -as researchers- could use the same concepts and conceptualisations to analyse particular urban histories under recent trajectories or not. From this perspective, in the first stance, the idiom of "informal settlements" does not fit the history of *gecekondu*. As it was mentioned above under the first part of the chapter, Işık and Pınarcıoğlu (2018 [2001]) discuss the limits of "informal" and "formal" in the context of Turkey both for urbanisation and urban transformation processes and argue that the counter-position of informal/formal doesn't fit with the histories of *gecekondu* in Turkey. Moreover, dating back to the urbanisation process, *gecekondu*, in Turkey exemplify that informal and formal urbanisation histories have been shifting in each other in many different contradictory ways (2018 [2001]: 50).¹⁶⁶

The first *gecekondu* settlements could be defined as "built informally" to emphasise that the formal and governmental institutions didn't provide land or housing for the masses who had to move as a result of industrialisation, thus *gecekondu* communities developed their *informal networks* to build a home, find work and survive. Hence, *gecekondu* communities took the role, became active agents in the changing political and urban trajectories. Some of the *gecekondu* residents could get land titles or infrastructural improvements through associations between hegemonic agents and the communities. In this way, the shared interest of rising urban rent and getting political power between the formal and informal agents blurred the lines between "informal" and "formal" urbanisation histories in Turkey. *Gecekondu*, in a way, was a part of a political "game" depending on urban rent.¹⁶⁷ Hence, from the beginning of building *gecekondu*, the residents had the *hope* to improve their wealth and social status

¹⁶⁶ Işık and Pınarcıoğlu (2018 [2001]) also state that each history of *gecekondu* are unique and have differences. Hence it is not correct to generalise the histories of *gecekondu*. Hence in this dissertation, we prefer to define *gecekondu* as "self-organised" more than "informal" settlements, and deliberately use non-formal.

¹⁶⁷ Kemal Karpat claims that these political associations, whether it is hegemonic or counter-hegemonic, make *gecekondu* distinctive in other similar developments, shanty towns or squatter settlements in the world such as favelas in Brazil (Kemal Karpat, 1976: 4-44).

through becoming the active agents of urban rent; in other words, the urban transformation process.¹⁶⁸

The counter position of informal and formal could be argued from another perspective to provide a critical point. In addition to Işık and Pınarcıoğlu's research (2018 [2001]) claiming that this counter-position does not fit the divergent histories of *gecekondu*s, it could also be argued in the context of urban repression and urban resistance of our era. It is worth thinking that putting the concepts in opposing sides could be a reason for the tendency of glorifying one concept in contrast to the other. Furthermore, this tendency might be an outcome of the recent rising repression over the urban space and the need to favour the social resistance which was on the urban agenda in the sixties with massive protests and reborn in 2013 as Occupy-style movements in Turkey.¹⁶⁹ This tendency reproduced similar negative-positive oppositions between disorder/order, resistance/repression; to more extend, rural/urban, postmodern/modern in order to favour the emergent modes of social resistance. Hence the 68 generation examined the capacity of the *informal* urban movements and *social resistance* which might *disorder* the masses to defend educational, sociospatial human rights all around the world. The Occupy-style movements came to the agenda after the 2008 crisis established a similar wave in the glorification of informal.

The problematic of the counterposition of informal/formal stems from the reduction of the nature of sociospatial complexities which is also a reduction of the conception of multiple actors of *gecekondu* communities. *Gecekondu*s were self-organised settlements once, still having a limited self-organisation capacity to generalise the

¹⁶⁸ Indeed, the *gecekondu* as the house was immanently a commodity-in-transformation, unlike a durable social housing project. The residents built additional rooms and rent some of them to the newcomers after the first wave of massive immigration (Tansı Şenyapılı, 1981).

¹⁶⁹ In Turkey, the departure of 68 student movements was taken as 555 K, a massive protest organised with the acronym of 5 May at 5 pm in Kızılay took place in Kızılay Square in 1960. Althusser's reference to this movement in 1969: <https://www.versobooks.com/blogs/3851-louis-althusser-s-letter-on-the-may-events>.

history of *gecekondus*. However, the urban histories of *gecekondus* are divergent, more complicated than an entire history of the deliberate acts of the dominating political power and the deliberate/accidental disobedience of communities in response. The grasp of "informal" against "formal" strengthen the nostalgia of demolition of *gecekondus* (and the nostalgia of the dozer) and blurs the reality of socioeconomic poverty, regular and radical actors of lived places and different histories. *Gecekondu* residents might prefer the demolition and associate with the formal regulations. Home is the only hope to upgrade wealth and class as a socioeconomic category, like as any citizen buying a house in the developing districts of the city for getting profit. Buying a house is an investment for many citizens, whereas *gecekondu* is a political game since its emergence in the urbanisation period. *Gecekondu* residents are active actors of the processes of urbanisation and urban transformation.

To that extend, this chapter, briefly, aimed to face the contradictions of urban transformation through looking at them in the collective narratives of *muhtars* and houseworkers as social actors of two regular neighbourhood-related works. The narrations of *muhtars* and houseworkers about urban transformation provide evidence that there are not always two opposing sides as the state and the society, "informal" and "formal." Hence, the contradictions emerge not only in the processes of urban transformation between two sides; but also, in the sociospatial transformation of neighbourhood related works. The transformation of work and urban space reproduces informalities, unities and conflicts between governmental actors of decision-making processes, such as the municipality, and between *gecekondu* residents as active, social actors in the making of the neighbourhood.



Figure 4.5. From the windows of *kondu* and *daire*. Photographs taken by the author, June 2019, Çiğin Bağları, Ankara.

Although the residents prefer urban transformation as the chance to upgrade their wealth, the transformation leads to a more precarious life in the district, especially for the remaining *gecekondus*. The *muhtars* and *houseworkers*'s regular works in the making of the neighbourhood have been part and parcel of the radical urban transformation; since these works have also been transformed radically within the sociospatial change. Both *muhtars* and the *houseworkers* narrate urban transformation's negative impacts on their daily lives through what work they do. The *muhtars* had an active role in initiating the urban transformation as being leaders and mediators of their communities. However, the neighbourhoods of the district are dissolved and lost in the processes of relocating/rescaling/renaming. Together with the neighbourhoods, the *muhtars* of former neighbourhoods lost their jobs, and their relations with their community changed. Some of the informant *muhtars* started to work as like as non-formal real estate agents.

Having the same idea on urban transformation, the *houseworkers* of Çiğin living in the remaining *gecekondus* stated sharp discrimination between *gecekondu* and *daire*. The women of Çiğin, as the workers of the house are either unpaid *houseworker* of their *kondu* or temporal paid *houseworkers* of *daire*. They define the urban transformation not through the home, but the transformation of *housework*. Although they have an in-between situation and like a bridge between *gecekondu* and *daire*, elder and youth, rural and urban modes of production; they tell that they would prefer *gecekondu*'s *housework* to a *daire*'s *housework*.

Hence housework of a *daire* is much harder. This statement comes from the contradiction of being an unpaid houseworker of *gecekondu* and a paid houseworker of the bourgeoisie house in the narrations. One other critical point women made was the interrelationship between housework and urban fabric of *gecekondus*. Informants define performances between inside and outside of the house; yard, street and home constitute a blurred relationship of public and private spaces. Therefore, the housework of *gecekondus* distinguishes from the housework of *daire* through the separation of public/private, leisure/work. The housework of *daire* is more laborious than the housework of *gecekondus*.



Figure 4.6. From the yard of a *kondu*. Photographs taken by the author, June 2019, Çiğir Bağı, Ankara.

The contradictions of urban transformation are stemming from the contradictions of diverse works under urban transformation. Hence diverse works and diverse landscapes reproduce each other dialectically. At this point, two works, housework and *muhtarlık* might be thought as one of the most governmental works and as non-work. These are regular works in the making of a neighbourhood. Both *muhtars* and houseworkers told their works as a part of the daily life of Çiğir. *Muhtars'* work with a social role was a target of authorities and houseworkers provide knowledge in order to understand being in-between *gecekondu* and *daire* from a sociospatial understanding of housework. It is evident that urban transformation within the dissolution of neighbourhoods, *mahalles*, reproduces these works, their social and cultural capacities and sociospatial dimensions.

When I decipher the dialogues with *muhtars* and houseworkers, I met frequently repeated words. I want to conclude this chapter through elaborating these words, which are also three myths unfolding the nostalgia of *gecekondus* as a phenomenon and the nostalgia of demolition by dozer: Fate, hope and home. For the informants who are mainly the second and third generation of rural migration and still living in the *gecekondus* of Çinçin, what *work* they do is their *fate*, because "if one was born to *gecekondus*" this person might be filling a gap in the non-market sector having a temporal, unpaid, insecure job-as-work or would be unemployed. The *land* is their *hope* because the increasing urban rent is capable of changing their *fate*. *Home*, however, is not existing at present; it belongs to a nostalgic past or the future, where one might overcome fate and hope becomes real. As Nejat tells, "*the urban transformation of Çinçin is a long story between fate and hope.*" Alternatively, it is a long story between **work** and **urban rent**.¹⁷⁰

¹⁷⁰ It is worth noting that "fate" is a discursively produced myth in terms of insecure employment. Fate was used by the government (*fitrat* in Turkish) indicating that the Soma Mine Disaster, where 300 workers -at least- lost their lives in 2014 was fate. The Guardian, "Turkey mine disaster," Accessed September 03, 2019. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/may/14/turkey-mine-explosion-rescue-operation-live-updates>.

CHAPTER 5

THE USTA AND KABADAYI: SOCIAL ROLES AND THE LEGITIMACY OF WORKS

During the fieldwork I could quickly encounter a former *muhtar* or a houseworker in the district; hence *muhtars* and houseworkers are regular actors of neighbourhoods of Çiğcin, taking active sociospatial roles in the making of the neighbourhood in Turkey, particularly in a diminished number of places where the neighbourhood, *mahalle*, is still practised as a socially produced living unit of cities. Unlike regular actors as *muhtars* and houseworkers, there are also radical actors of Çiğcin. Their stories also have strong links with urban transformation and diverse works, which I attempt to explore through biographical interviewing. Those actors are *Usta* (craftsman) and the *Kabadayı* (tough guy, representing here as like as "social bandit"¹⁷¹), Mustafa and Necmi. Mustafa calls himself as a revolutionist and active participant of the 68-generation; and Necmi as a thief, but not a regular thief, also a "social bandit," *kabadayı*, both agents have social responsibilities. Informants refer these two particular actors, *Usta* and *Kabadayı* as regarded, socially responsible and "legitimate" characters of "past," regarding the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s. In this context, I will question under which conditions these actors emerged in Çiğcin, what relation do they have with diverse works and landscapes, how these actors conceptualise their own "works," how these works produced sociospatial identity of a place and how/when these works became illegitimate for the residents.

According to the *Usta*, the 68-generation of Ankara was composed primarily of young students, since the majority of them were outsiders of *gecekondus*, belonging to the

¹⁷¹ Eric Hobsbawm, 1971 [1969].

apartments rather than *gecekondus*. However, they generated political organisations in *gecekondu* neighbourhoods, starting to live and work together with *gecekondus*' diverse workers, being a part of sociospatial labour culture, struggling against poverty and defending the urban rights of those communities. The necessary ground for the sixties and seventies' social resistance emerged through sociospatial performance in the production of Old Altındağ, and Çinçin as a part (particularly Çalışkanlar Neighborhood). The self-organised labour culture of *gecekondus* provided political engagement of *gecekondu* communities and led Çinçin became one of the places where revolutionists and *gecekondus*' diverse workers could live together.

The 68 generation has a global legacy in the world in terms of urban struggle concerning multiple actors of urbanisation. From a broader perspective, the global legacy of the 68-generation might draw a perspective linking labour and work. The urban crisis of the 60s and 70s was caused by increased sociospatial segregation and uneven urbanisation in Turkey and worldwide; it was also a shift from slavery to the post-slavery era in terms of labour relations. Hence, Usta's life story of the 1960s and 1970s shows us that the reproduction of labour relations is biopolitical and sociospatial; and *gecekondus* was a part of the uneven division of labour. The life story of Usta provides fragments from the history of counter-resistant communities repositioning against the urban crisis of the 1960s and 1970s in Çinçin, following a similar path in the world.

Identifying himself through his belonging to an ethnical minority group Abazins; rural migrant, worker and student, Mustafa, the Usta, states that he has been feeling belonged to the *gecekondus* since the sixties as being an "*usta*." At this point, I will elaborate on the agency of *ustalık*, craftsmanship as an urban praxis bringing arts and crafts together, having teaching tasks, making social and political values. In this context, I also will attempt to underline the dialectical relation between diverse works as "capabilities" and the transformation of production relations within the sociospatial

transformation as "forces." In-between capabilities and forces, the Usta narrates his resistance against the mechanisation of labour through pursuing craftsmanship as a praxis which could regenerate social activism and resistance in Çiçin *gecekondus*.

Called as Kabadayı Necmi or Necmi Baba, Necmi was a *kabadayı* at past still living in Çiçin. Like the Usta, he was also an anti-authoritarian actor struggling against the hardening conditions of *gecekondus*, taking social responsibilities in his community to organise daily life. I will first refer similar figures in the urbanisation history of Turkey and claim that *kabadayıs*, in general, emerged as a part of urbanisation and as a result of unemployment in the late Ottoman period. Similarly, the activities of Ankara Kabadayıs were at its pick point in the 1950s and 1960s, when *the gecekondu* districts in Old Altındağ as a dense urban fabric had its own "inside/outside" dynamics during the urbanisation period. In this context, it could be claimed that the myth of Robin Hood and "social bandits" against the authorities and state re-emerged in some particular districts of *gecekondus* as a part of urbanisation.

Necmi had several criminal records of pickpocketing outside Çiçin. It is hard to claim that Necmi's *Kabadayılık* was a "work;" however, he is still a popularly known social actor of Çiçin, subjected to petty crime. What makes *kabadayılık* related to diverse works is its relation to unemployment and criminalisation, relating it also with the current situation. Newly emerging "gangsters" (the youth groups) representing themselves as *kabadayıs* are claimed to be the new actors of increasing drug rent in the district. Consequently, oral histories of the Usta and Kabadayı show that radical social characters lost their links with the place through losing the legitimacy of what they did and conceptualised as work and also losing the social roles. The urban transformation of the 2000s was a turning point in these historical agencies, a turning point that initiated new tensions, new forms of segregation, marginalisation and discrimination inside the district.

5.1. Usta's Resistance: Craftsmanship in Çinçin

"And here is the friend of Denizler!" says the tour guide woman. I notice this introduction various times while we are sitting down in Mustafa's workshop place in Ulucanlar Prison Museum Art Street.¹⁷² Denizler, a well-known pioneering group of 68-generation, had been executed in that prison refurbished and turned into a "memory museum" with additional art and culture centre in 2010. Mustafa mostly responds to the introductions with a quick and constrained "yes" and sometimes "yes, yes, but I knew Deniz only"¹⁷³ and change the issue into his work, wood engraving, through which he represents himself as an *usta* (craftsman). There are other people whom I thought are regular visitors accompanying their friends or relatives who came to the museum for the first time. They point out Mustafa and introduce him to the new visitors "the Usta is one of the friends of Denizler," while they are passing through the always-open door of the workshop place. Although they express their interest with admiration and respect for the aged and talented craftsman, what I observe in those moments are the discomfort of Mustafa. I don't feel comfortable to share my observation about him and don't direct the question, why he doesn't prefer to be represented as a friend of Denizler. However, this visible gesture becomes understandable while he was telling about his work as a *vocation* in one of the meetings in Mustafa's *gecekondu* in Çinçin. He is about to move out of this house because of the demolishment and transformed environment of the neighbourhood.

¹⁷² Denizler is a name given to three young activists of the 68-generation, consisted by Deniz Gezmiş, Yusuf Aslan ve Hüseyin İnan. As like as tens of other political prisoners, Denizler were executed in 1972 during the repression of the late 1960s and 1970s in Ulucanlar Prison. Ulucanlar Prison was functioned as a prison between 1925-2006 and was refurbished and opened as a "Prison Museum" with additional art and cultural centre in 2010 (Çaylı, 2011).

¹⁷³ Mustafa would soon explain himself as a comrade than being a friend of Denizler. As he narrated "the fact about their relationship with Deniz" that he knew Deniz from high school at their neighbourhood in Sivas, then he met another Deniz as an active member of one of the left-wing, opposing political organisations. He tells that he learnt these two were the same person at the day Denizler were hanged in Ulucanlar Prison. So he doesn't define their relationship through friendship as he is being represented (Interview, 25.06.2019).

Originated in Persian, "usta" has a twofold meaning in Turkish. First one is master, having advanced knowledge on craftsmanship; and the second is a craftsman. Both meanings refer to having skill in working with hands; in other words, the ability to make things. The former meaning, master, also refers to be advanced to educate the specialised craft (*zanaat*) to apprentices (*çırak*).¹⁷⁴ One of the significant acts of usta, teaching, herein, contains not only how to work with hands or to use the tools with physical effort, but also how to conduct life with a moral and ethical understanding since craftsmanship transcends workshop place and making things good and turns into making a good life.

Usta is an autonomous, talented person capable of producing things with hands and thinking; so, to make things, and teach craftsmanship and morality to apprentices. Although physical labour, or working with hands restrained in our post-industrial era and the workshop place as the place of production evolved into a mechanical place with rising inequalities and precariousness; the master-apprentice relationship is still referred as a regarded, non-formal institution, providing gaining the skill of making things and good personality for apprentices.¹⁷⁵ Perhaps if Richard Sennet met this word, he would comment that it is similar to his definition of craftsman who is more than a "skilled" manual labourer:¹⁷⁶

Craftsmanship cuts a far wider swath than skilled manual labour; it serves the computer programmer, the doctor, and the artist; parenting improves when it is practiced as a skilled craft, as does citizenship (Richard Sennet, 2008:9).

¹⁷⁴ EtimolojiTürkçe. "üstad kelime kökeni." Accessed June 19, 2019.
<https://www.etimolojiturkce.com/kelime/%C3%BCstad>

¹⁷⁵ For instance, Osman moved to Çinçin from his village and becoming an apprentice in Siteler to learn the craft of wooden furniture in the 1980s.

¹⁷⁶ Craftsman means *zanaat* in Turkish, and it comes from the Arab origin of *ṣināʿa(t)* صناعة means producing with hands. URLs: <https://www.nisanyansozluk.com/?k=zanaat> & <https://www.etimolojiturkce.com/kelime/zanaat> Accessed June 19, 2019. Hence *usta* in Turkish closer to Richard Sennet's conceptualisation of craftsmanship, *zanaat*. Moreover, Mustafa was using Usta for himself rather than a craftsman (*zanaatkar*, *zannatçı*).

Twofold meaning of *usta* brings morality and craft together. Hence *usta* produces not only material things but also social and political values. Indeed, the *usta* with both meanings has a long tradition in Ottoman Empire dating back even before Ottoman Era coming from Akhsim and guild organisations. Nevim Tüzün (2018) summarises this history mentioning that "Akhsim" in Seljuks was evolved into guild organisations (*lonca teşkilatları*) in Ottoman Empire starting from the middle of 16th century up until the end of 18th century. Those organisations were closed in 1913 with the legislation during the late Ottoman Era. Guild organisations were efficiently functioned for at least two centuries, accommodating different types of occupations. It was an essential institution for getting an occupation and becoming an artisan "*esnaf*." The process of becoming an artisan depended on laws, and each occupation had different laws; hence they required different processes of training. Between *usta* (master) and apprentices, there was an in-between status named *kalfa*. *Kalfa* had the authority to open a shop at the beginning, but after a time, *kalfa* got the same status of *usta*. Guild organisations were organising the occupations, production and sociospatial relations of production relations.¹⁷⁷ Twofold meaning of *usta* who produce social, political and material values comes from this long tradition (Nevim Tüzün, 2018: 231-238). The relationship between morality and craft becomes central in Mustafa's self-narration of being an Usta of Çinçin. Nevertheless, it also has a reliable link with the 68-generation, and the counter-hegemonic, anti-authoritarian movements increased in the *gecekondus*.

Mustafa has been living in Çinçin as a tenant of a *gecekondur* since the beginning of the year 1980. He emphasises 1980 as "the year when he had gained his *freedom*" from the trials and imprisonment periods started in 1971.¹⁷⁸ He tells his life story in detail

¹⁷⁷ For instance, according to Nevim Tüzün's research, those organisations were distributing the works between communities and Muslim/non-Muslim separation was input in this distribution (Nevim Tüzün, 2018: 233).

¹⁷⁸ Within March 12, 1971, Coup, the political violence against opposing organisations, critical voices in art and literature and student groups were depicted in Turkish novel Füzün, *47'liler*, Istanbul: YKY, 2015 [1982].

from 1946 when he was born in a small village in Sivas in the Central Anatolia Region of Turkey. He belongs to an ethnical group called Abazins, which is accepted as a subgroup of Circassians, one of the largest ethnic groups in Turkey. Mustafa grew up in a low-income family, making their life by crop and animal husbandry. Moving out from village to the city for education, he had his secondary grade in Sivas and high school grade in Kayseri in boarding schools. Afterwards, Mustafa ended up in Ankara, in one of the *gecekondu* neighbourhoods in order to start college education at Ankara University. He was both a student in evening education and a worker in the construction sites to earn his living. Mustafa italicises being a worker in the student movements. He claims that it was a privileged situation since he took an active role in the 68 student movements as both a student and a worker.

During the 60s, identity politics were rising in the world and Turkey. The identity politics was depending on a complex migration history of ethnical/religious-cultural minority groups; hence, it is also a history of forcibly displacement. *Gecekondu* neighbourhoods of big cities gained a reputation that those were places of "unskilled," "villager" communities (as the jargon of the market economy defines it). Some of these communities were minority ethnic groups coming from rural areas with the waves of massive migration. In this line of thought, David Harvey (2017) puts forward that the 68 Student Movements was indeed a response to the crisis of urbanisation at the world scale.¹⁷⁹ Since, some of the *gecekondus* became centres of counter-hegemonic, left-wing political organisations, as they became places of the 68-generation at the neighbourhood level.¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁹ Vincent Emanuele, "Rebel Cities, Urban Resistance and Capitalism: a Conversation with David Harvey," accessed May 1, 2017, <https://www.versobooks.com/blogs/3088-rebel-cities-urban-resistance-and-capitalism-a-conversation-with-david-harvey>.

¹⁸⁰ Lefebvre's *Critique of Everyday Life* elaborates the grasp of Marxist alienation with a focus on different levels of life. Lefebvre attempts to discuss production relations, labour, society and individuals in modern life. It is a pioneering work in the rupture of the 1960s (Lefebvre, 1991 [1947]).

The student movements were spread all around the world. The urbanisation in Turkey was depending on the production of increasing urban fabric of *gecekondus*. Forcibly displaced, rural migrants from diverse ethnical, religious backgrounds were the subjects of the urbanisation. Urbanisation was at its pick point between 1960 and 1970 (Şenyapılı, 1981: 43-45). The *gecekondus* communities were the second generation of forcibly displaced rural immigrants during the 1960s, and they were facing with urban poverty and inequality. There are various examples such as Mustafa's village with a population of settled Abazins in Sivas, different villages had been hosting different ethnical/religious populations until urbanisation and industrialisation, and after urbanisation, this diversity of rural areas reproduced the cities as heterogeneous, diversified places together with the dense urban fabric of *gecekondus*. The newcomer minority ethnic groups were dealing with unemployment, and temporary, unsalaried, insecure non-market jobs while with new spatial forms of segregation in articulation to urban modes of production.¹⁸¹ The 68-generation of Turkey, then, is a generation who witnessed and/or experienced the emergence of *gecekondus*, deepened urban inequalities and unequal working conditions in the cities. In this line, the political and economic base of *gecekondus* at the neighbourhood level fit with the self-narrations of Mustafa. Mustafa first moved to another *gecekondus* neighbourhood in Ankara as a student and worker in the 1960s; often came to Çinçin during the student movements and moved to Çinçin after 1980.

Mustafa explains that the 68 movement in Ankara was initially a student movement in character, and it was initiated by students' occupation of the university place in order to claim fundamental educational rights for their departments. Then it spread out and turned into another mass resistance problematising the city, workers and inadequate

¹⁸¹ As the residents informed in Çinçin, first neighbourhoods which were smaller in scale and each had a dense number of *kondus*. They were organised around the ethnicity in the 1960s. For example, Bahar's neighbourhood consisted of people from Alevis Çankırı. The majority of the Roma community was occupying Gültepe. However, it always had been divergent because the neighbourhoods were shifting each other, and they found strong commonalities around diverse works which gave Çinçin its spatial identity. Interviews, June-July, 2019.

living conditions at the national level. Mustafa and his friends believed that the protest culture organised at universities could bring all youth together and change the uneven organisation of urban daily life. Mustafa was a student at the Department of History at that time and was at the centre of discussions as a student, worker and Abazin:

There were fundamental reasons to start the protests for the 68-generation at the university: They did not teach us pedagogy performance, and that is why we could not teach at high school level after graduation. We had to take the pedagogy education from another school (...) Moreover, our education in Ankara University did not have equilibrium with any university in Europe (...) We told these two reasons to the press who came to the occupied part of our university. But within a couple of days, we were blamed for being internationally linked terrorists in the media (Mustafa, Interview, 25.06.2019).

The occupation of Ankara University in 1968 was a critical moment for the 68-generation of Turkey. However, it had a vital antecedent protest named 555K, a mass protest organised with the acronym of 5 May (5th month of the year at 5 pm in Kızılay). 555K was regarded as an essential social opposition and resistance against the Menderes government took place in Kızılay Square in 1960. Althusser (1969) refers to Turkish Student Movements in one of his letters questioning the togetherness of students and working class. He claims that the student movements had already started before May 68 Paris movements referring to 555 K in Turkey.¹⁸² Since one could pretend that the condition for the occupation of universities already emerged during the protests of 68 student movements in Ankara, and the protests spread out the universities as occupying factories and neighbourhoods, that is to say, as a performance of occupation with full of action in the whole city. Specifically, in the *gecekondu*s like Çiğir inhabited by workers and marginal workers whose labour is cheap and precarious. Political engagement -whether it was counter-hegemonic or hegemonic- was already an emerged feature of *gecekondu*s in the 1960s to struggle

¹⁸² Althusser asks: "Who still remembers the magnificent Turkish student movement, crushed by the local fascist dictatorship?" Louis Althusser, "Louis Althusser's Letter on the 'May Events,'" Last modified May 25, 2018. <https://www.versobooks.com/blogs/3851-louis-althusser-s-letter-on-the-may-events>.

against inadequate life conditions (Karpas, 1976: 6). Rising identity politics and the socio-natural emergence of *gecekondus* meet at this point. Hence *gecekondus* had become the places of a particular kind of social resistance in the 1960s and 1970s. The social resistance became a performance of working together reproduced by *gecekondus*' emergent labour culture.

In this context, Mustafa tells those left-wing political organisations were focusing on three areas: (1) Factory workers and factories organised in rural and urban areas; (2) *gecekondus* and its marginal workers labelled as "unskilled population;" (3) students and schools (at the high school and university levels). *Gecekondus* had an essential part as an area of these organisations and at the same time, were places of counter-hegemonic resistant movements. Ali, the former director of a football team of one of the neighbourhoods, informs that one of the buildings of Çalışkanlar Primary school was used as a community centre:

Deniz was coming and teaching to our people about morality and life. They were knowledgeable. Most of the young people whom they reached gain success in many fields such as sports and folk dances. Many of the residents entered sports like taekwondo, judo, and they even won several awards. Denizler tried gecekondu's children to be well-educated people, good people. They tried to build a future (Ali, 07 July 2019).

However, Mustafa tells that there was indeed an inevitable tension between the subject and object of the desired "revolution," it was also the tension between students and *halk* (society), to put it in other words between possible leaders and workers. This tension was an inherent part of the discussions Mustafa involved in the sixties. Mustafa adds that the majority of students of the 68-generation were not born to *gecekondus* or living in *gecekondus*, unlike him. Most of them were the children of government employees; they were children of apartment units. Hence, he discusses that if the subject, the only agent, was the university students, and the object was the working class facing with rising sociospatial segregation and precariousness, *working*

together could not be possible. Therefore, *gecekondu*s were the places where they experienced to come together and work together:

We were in the middle of very productive discussions, on the revolution. What and how shall we work? People were smoking, and I could not take the floor. It was very noisy, and they were smoking and constantly smoking, talking and smoking. I told them loudly not to throw the ash to the floor and opened my hand. They didn't recognise that it was my bare hands; they stubbed their cigarette on my hands. One, two, three cigarettes. It hurt, but I didn't show any pain. Then I burned a cigarette and said to the guy who was speaking most to hand my ash, as it was his turn. He was surprised and realised that it was my hand that he stubbed his cigarettes before. Silence... Then I took the floor, showed my callous hands saying: "Look, this is the class distinction! I am a worker, and you didn't give voice to me, to a worker" (Mustafa, 25.06.2019).

Mustafa shows his hands smiling, and he mentions that this memory is the most significant memory about his own life for him, since he is still working hard. Through showing his insensitive hands as a sign of being manual worker, Mustafa reminds a problematic about which Judith Butler (2012) poses a simple question to discuss the morality behind political activism: "whose body?"¹⁸³ This question could be rethought through Mustafa's significant memory about 68-generation: Whose body is the resistance for? Whose body will resist? According to Mustafa, he could be both object and subject of resistance while he was an *usta* in the context of 68-generation. Therefore, *gecekondu*s brought two actors together through diverse works. Some of the diverse works were necessary practices emerged as an implicit part of labour culture of *gecekondu*s, such as woodworking of the Usta. Those works might get disappeared within emerging types of production, but on the contrary, had survived in

¹⁸³ Judith Butler, 2012, Adorno Prize Lecture. Butler's question is indeed departing from Adorno's question on moral philosophy: Can one lead a good life in a bad life? Both Adorno and Butler questions human action, body and resistance in different times and so in different contexts. In the sixties, Adorno states moral philosophy as a problematic issue because it depends on mores, which means "customs, traditions, widely accepted ways of behaving that is specific to a particular society, place or time" and since the popular customs are products of society, they could be dangerous for particular communities - and lead bad lives (Adorno, 2000:9). It could be still a very much inherent question of revolutions, democracies, modernisms, urban transformation. Butler (2012) responses to Adorno's question with another question which enlightens the processes of wars and invisible wars too as human action. Doing so, she attempts to put body as a basis and reconceptualises biopolitics as distribution of precariousness.

the context of *gecekondus* and became part and parcel of the 68-generation's political activism.

Peripheral and marginal workers put into the research agenda of *gecekondus* by Tansı Şenyapılı (1981:15-37) to elaborate the general condition of *gecekondus* depending on those diverse works some of which were unemployed or self-employed works, also temporal, unsalaried works. Marginal workers of *gecekondus* were workers at the margin of the market not of the city, since in the 1960s Old Altındağ was already a central district in Ankara. In the 1960s, the physical labour in the market sector was increasingly started to depend on the mechanisation of labour which was deskilling the human, labelling the "unskilled" part of the population, and unevenly sharing the works. The workshop place was transformed into a more segmented and hierarchical place, and the division of labour detached the morality from the processes of production so from work. However, the condition of working and living together in *gecekondus* was stemming from *necessarily* alternative practices of production, where the borders of material and immaterial labour were blurred. The 68-generation of Turkey reinvented this radical labour culture of *gecekondus*, as they were witnessing the change of labour relations in the 1960s. While the agency of Usta was fading out within urbanisation and new modes of urban production, it was one of the most important works in *gecekondus* attributed to craftsmen as working with wood and masters of other occupations such as repairman which separates in itself such as repairman of roof or painter. After moving to Çiğir in 1980, Mustafa worked as the Usta of Çiğir, mainly advanced in woodworking. He contextualises his work as his identity, belonging and resistance-itself whereas he tried to pursue it after 1980 until 2014.¹⁸⁴

¹⁸⁴ There is a novel about *gecekondus*, where one of the main characters is both an activist and usta: Hasan İzzettin Dinamo, *Musa'nın Gecekondusu*, Istanbul: May Yay., 1976.

It is significant to refer Herbert Marcuse's (1964) *One Dimensional Man* published in the 1960s at this point. Marcuse explains the conflict between "actual forces and capabilities"¹⁸⁵ in society, being highly influenced by the political activism of the era. Marcuse focuses on the possibilities of "hope" for change and resistance against the exploitation of human, which is the exploitation of the basic drives of the human body. According to Bloch, basic human drives are our existent *capabilities*, and history reveals that those could have re-emerged under different conditions and contexts (Jameson, 2005:1-9). Marcuse's approach stands in a critical position for us to shift the issue into the agents of labour and work. Analysing new industrial society of the 1960s, Marcuse claims (1964) that the apparatuses of technological and automated production unevenly distribute the occupations (*forces*), and in this way determine the body through desires, needs, skills (through *forces and capabilities*). He attempts to redefine transformed industry as "advanced industry" in a dialectical way; claiming that the industry is capable of making qualitative changes in the society, but that capacity could be broken by the existing forces and tendencies (xv).

Neil Brenner (2017) pursues Marcuse's dialectical analysis of the industry over the human body between forces and capabilities. Brenner points out that humanity still has a problem to define the agents of cities. It is still ambiguous who new "working class" is and if there is a working-class it is "no longer operating as it did in the formative period of capitalist industrialisation" (Brenner, 2017: 32). We, human becomings, are living in a world that factory workers and peasants still exist, not yet replaced totally with the machinery; however, artificial intelligence or new technological bodies are in our lives more than ever. There are still bold hierarchical power relations in daily life, for instance, between waged workers and their bosses; and there are various reflections of class relations depending on different ways of earning life. However, diverse works of Çiğdem reveal that the current production

¹⁸⁵ Marcuse, 1964: 142.

relations might not be solely understood through transformed co-existence of "class as a socioeconomic category."

Çinçin's diverse works could be alternative ways of working, having changing dynamics dialectically with the transformation of urban space, which led to the 68-generation, activism and *gecekondus* intertwine. These diverse works are composed of a variety of works which might be either an employment or a non-market job. However, if one changes its work, it is not always enough to change the social status that a class determines. Defining working-class most of whom are not factory-workers anymore is not enough to solve the ambiguity about work and our contemporary era. There are rather "works," new labour relations under sociospatial change, the changing agents and agencies of works, the formal and non-formal institutions of works through emerging modes of spatial dialectics. The spatial thinking of the multiple actors of different works could generate a sense about the uneven distribution of precariousness, as distribution of land and works. The land is part and parcel of the biopolitical reproduction of labour relations where labour relations are experienced both as capabilities and forces.

5.1.1. Craftsmanship in *gecekondus*: "Call me Usta Again"

Usta as a word has the meaning "having the skill to make things well" referring not only material qualities of things but also social and political values. The work of Usta exemplifies that the Usta's labour could be a subversive way of labouring in which moral sphere is practised as well as craftsmanship in the era of 68-generation. Since Usta's work was a "practice which comes through theory and life as the immediate, active reactions and situations" (Adorno, 2000:7); it was producing not only things but also social and political values. The *gecekondus'* works brought students and marginal workers, immaterial and material labour together. However, the life story of Usta is more than a solely glorification of physical labour with a capacity of moral sphere. Mustafa's, the Usta's story goes beyond those when we come up to Mustafa's

following years after 1980 up till 2014 in Çinçin. During those years, he was pursuing in living in Çinçin in a *gecekondu* as the Usta of Çinçin, making things, combining arts with craft and teaching. Since I attempt to understand what work he does recently and did before 2014 when he moved his workshop to Ulucanlar Prison Museum, how he works and worked, and even the details of daily life stories of work at past and present.

The Usta was an expert of woodworking in Çinçin in the 1980s, 1990s until 2014. In those years, the scope of woodworking in Çinçin was changing according to changing spatial organisation, scale and material necessities of a *kondü*. Unlike a regular apartment unit, *gecekondu* as a house had particular necessities and woodworking transformed into mainly making a new door or a window by wooden raw material. Although windows with plastic material took the place of wooden windows and the need for repairing those elements of the house was decreased, Usta was still repairing old wooden furniture or wooden construction of a roof to prolong their life in the last years of Usta's work life in Çinçin. And he tells that:

Some people had long dining tables, you know the ones come with a marriage portion, but the poor people coming to gecekondu did not know what to do with those tables unfitting the small rooms of gecekondu. They could not use the furniture like a dining table. Some used those as bed frame! I cut those tables, add two more legs, made smaller tables. I did this work for a long time (Mustafa, 25.07.2019).

Making dining tables smaller was a particular example of repairing furniture. Bigger dining tables that were with 12 chairs came to the neighbourhood in the 2000s. The Usta was used to help people to have smaller tables fitting to the small spaces of *gecekondus* for a while. Gecekondu is defined through *ara* (recess) and *göz* (section); former is the entrance hall, and the latter is a regular multifunctional room having a flexible usage due to particular domestic needs of the family it belonged. For instance, *göz* could refer to a place used as a kitchen and living room where could turn into a bedroom for some of the family members. Many of the *gecekondus* in Çinçin was "one *ara* two *göz*", but they also had a yard or sharing

one yard and one toilet/stock unit with another *kondu*. Comparing to *gecekondus* an apartment unit of TOKİs usually is standardised as living room, guest room, bedrooms, kitchen and bathroom without flexible usage, coded with numbers as 2+1 (meaning two bedrooms plus one living room). Since one *ara*, two *göz gecekondu* would not always suitable for a big dining table in terms of lack of space.

In addition to the particular works depending on *gecekondus'* changing needs, the Usta was also wood engraving and painting; bringing arts and crafts together, since he was making some decorative details in the wooden work without any demand. Usta and I, encounter Gül, her husband and their five-years-old grandchild spontaneously during a field trip in Çinçin. This meeting gives me a chance to observe their regard to the Usta. They mention him like one of the most important figures at their neighbourhood because of his desire to make things useful, go to residents' houses, remake their houses, having a pleasant dialogue with the residents, and more and above, teach children morality, woodworking and arts (referring to wood engraving). With those comments, the Usta starts to tell the stories of educating children and youth of Çinçin on art history, wood engraving and life in his *ara* where was also his workshop place, yet he still keeps some equipments. After visiting Gül and their small grandchild, he continues telling almost a dozen of short stories about Çinçin's children coming to his workshop. He mentions that he is still in touch with some of those children, almost all finished their high schools, even a couple finished universities and "now some have an occupation" (field trip, 25.07.2019).

Usta's resistance was against sociospatial exploitation of labourers as an activist student and worker in the 1960s and 1970s. After 1980 his resistance turned into pursuing being an Usta in Çinçin as he tells. Craftsmanship in a changing environment and changing needs of Çinçin residents was his attempt to pursue a moral practice through work, although his work became "underground" in time. Mustafa explains that moving out from Çinçin is recently a painful experience for him; however, he

already felt like that there was no need for him without moving in 2014 since the residents have started to move out Çinçin to margins of Altındağ Karapürçek in Northeastern Ankara and the margins of Sincan in Western Ankara. He couldn't have continued teaching wood engraving in Çinçin, and the link between him and Çinçin was broken when he stopped being an Usta at the neighbourhood. After a long hesitation, he talks about Deniz Gezmiş:

I heard about Deniz's execution, but I didn't know that Deniz was the one I knew from my childhood. How could I know, I knew him for a couple of years, his father was a friend of my father. One of my relatives told me very after his death. I felt despondent. And they provided a place there (in Ulucanlar Prison Museum where Deniz Gezmiş was executed). I had mental issues for 4-5 months after I started to go there. I never remember my dreams, sleep like a log, dreamless. But Deniz came to my dream, stand and looked at me, said nothing. I screamed and awakened with my noise. I never saw him in my dreams again, and I am now going there (Ulucanlar Prison Museum) and working there. He was executed there; I was messed up; it was not easy for me to go there at the beginning (Mustafa, 02.08.2019).

Mustafa is telling about his painful experience of working in Ulucanlar Prison Museum as an "artist," and the shift in his life from being an activist Usta in Çinçin to be an artist in Ulucanlar Prison Museums' art street. The Usta emphasises more than once that "*at least children of Çinçin he taught could visit him time to time in Ulucanlar,*" and "*he was teaching wood engraving to a couple of poor children of Aktaş*" a neighbourhood where is in front of the Ulucanlar Museum in walking distance. Since, in one of my visits, five children living in Aktaş neighbourhood enters the workshop place calling Mustafa as Usta. The Usta brings a box of candy, and the children take all of the candies filling all their pockets while telling their stories composed of beating some boys at the neighbourhood, girlfriends, success and failure at the courses at school to the Usta. Mustafa tells each child's backgrounds after they leave with a sensibility of their poverty and struggle to continue school.

The urban transformation initiated in 2014 was a cut in Mustafa's life since he lost a link with *ustalık* (craftsmanship) which was also a link with labour as a human

capability emerged within particular labour culture of *Çinçin gecekondu*. Craftsmanship as a moral practice for him was the activism itself. As I observe, Mustafa has been turned into a representation of the 68-generation in his new workshop place. The place, similarly, represents the 68-generation through frozen, nostalgic and manipulated images of past. Mustafa was about to move out of *Çinçin* during my fieldwork, and he tried to hide this fact by changing the subject in our first meetings. When he started to talk about moving out of *Çinçin*, he stated that would change the meaning of his life mixed with a moral praxis as being an *usta* of *gecekondu*. In our last meeting, I finally ask Mustafa Usta when things really changed in *Çinçin*; he responds: "You know (...) When people left *Çinçin*. Whose home should I repair now? Whom would I teach arts and crafts?"



Figure 5.1. Exhibited (frozen) bodies of the 68-generation. On the right the wax sculpture in Ulucanlar Prison Museum. Photo by the author, Ulucanlar Prison Museum, Ankara, 2018.

5.2. New Kabadayıs of Çinçin

Curious enough, results of a continuous observation and inquiry coincide in this fact: That all bandits are propertyless and they are unemployed. What they may possess is personal and comes only with the success of their reckless adventure (Usang LY, Quoted in Eric Hobsbawm, 1971 [1969]:71.)¹⁸⁶

The Usta has skills in arts and crafts, teaching and communication; therefore, he is also a social actor producing both proper goods for use, and social values for his community. Particularly active in the same time period, in the fifties, sixties and seventies, *kabadayılık* (social rowdiness) is also accepted as an agency having social responsibility in Altındağ *gecekondus*. *Ustalık* craftsmanship is associated with skill in arts and crafts, resistance and activism of the 68-generation; however, *kabadayılık* is associated with unemployment and crime. Both of them were practised actively during the urbanisation period, that is to say, the emergence of *gecekondus*. Although *kabadayılık* is not counted as work or job and it might have a link with crime and petty crime; the "revolutionist" *ustalık* (craftsmanship) of the 68-generation and *kabadayılık* (rowdiness) in Çinçin share commonalities. For instance, they are both accepted as anti-authoritarian practices, coping with the market economy and unemployment, having a feature of producing social values for the community; and more and above producing the criminalised image of the district.

In this context, I will elaborate on how *kabadayıs* emerged in marginal districts and in Old Altındağ as one of the first marginal districts of Ankara. *Kabadayıs* as social figures emerged within the consequences of the transformation of labour relations since they were mostly landless labourers living in the city from the late Ottoman Empire to the emergence of *gecekondus* in the urbanisation period. Before elaborating *kabadayıs* of *gecekondus* and the life story of Kabadayı Necmi, I would like to mention a stimulating novel written in Turkish about the mechanisation of

¹⁸⁶"An economic interpretation of the increase of bandits in China." (Journal of Race Development 8 1917-8:370, Quoted in Eric Hobsbawm, 1971 [1969]:71.

agriculture and its socionatural consequences amongst the people of the countryside in Turkey in the early urbanisation period: Yaşar Kemal's *Pomegranate Tree in the Mound* (*Hüyükteki Nar Ağacı*, 1982). Throughout the narrative, I will attempt to ground the discussion on the contingent relation between unemployment, work, crime and urbanisation. Secondly, I will look at *kabadayılık* as an emergent agency in the urbanisation history of Turkey; and finally, I will narrate meeting Kabadayı Necmi, who is represented as one of the last *kabadayıs* still living.

5.2.1. Emergence of kabadayıs within urbanisation history

In the novel *Pomegranate Tree in the Mound*, Yaşar Kemal (1982) depicts a journey of four male peasants from their village to a town seeking for agricultural temporal work. There are particular characters in this group of four actors. For instance, one of them is a child willing to work, save money and build a better future for himself. There is also an "*aşık*" in the group. *Aşık* is a musician and storyteller depending on a very rooted culture in Anatolia and lost in time, composing public stories and singing with his local musical instrument called *the saz*. There is an *aşık* culture, *aşık* might be one of the temporal, informal and marginal works related to performance and music. This group of peasants starts a disappointing journey from their small-scale village where they had been suffering from the lack of work and diminishing agricultural production. They travel to Çukurova, which is a more developed, central town in terms of agricultural production.

However, as they arrive at Çukurova, they come upon that there is no need for human labour anymore due to the investment of tractors. The investment of tractors was a part of the Marshall Plan, and it had severe effects such as lacking the demand for human labour in rural modes of production. In the first period of urbanisation, a half-decade before 1950, the rural migration started. Generally, the household heads (men/husband/father) migrated before moving with the whole family to earn family's keep, sent necessary money back to town and possibly settled in the city for the future

of the family in this pre-industrial period. They built their slum settlements articulating the previous slums without having inadequate infrastructure. Between 1950 and 1960, the second migration wave, which was highly intensive due to the former came. There were neither employment capacity nor housing stock for those newcomers too. The slum settlements became *gecekondus*, and they gradually formed the urban fabric with a dense view of houses, yards and narrow streets in the margins of the city (Şenyapılı, 1981: 43-45). Old Altındağ Hills and its fabric had been shaped in this way. However, not only big cities but also small-scale cities, villages and towns were also under urbanisation since the production relations were under change.

Production relations are sociospatial; in other words, the tension of change of production relations is not only spatial but also implicitly social. The journey of peasants becomes more disappointing when they have to face social exclusion and tyranny of landlords after dealing with the fact that they were replaced with the machinery. One of the landlords and his small community behave rude and disrespectful to the group on their way. The *aşık*, as a socially significant figure, is particularly belittled for the first time, he is not paid for his musical stories, so for his labour.

Later on their way, they meet a villager woman who advises them to find a particular "pomegranate tree" settled on a particular mound. The woman claims that the wishes for wealth and health come true if they could reach this teeming pomegranate tree depending on a locally known myth. The peasants lose their hope to find work, and they had complications and health problems on their journey; therefore, they decide to find the pomegranate tree as the last chance. At the end of their journey, unfortunately, they reach dried branches of the pomegranate tree in the depicted mound. The nature (pomegranate tree) and the culture of work (tractors and disrespect to the *aşık* culture) are transformed together. On the mound, the child runs away, leaving the group without any statement and with anger to the tyranny of landlords. They lose their last remedy and their hope to built a better future, and this situation is

depicted with the changing attitude of the child from innocence to hostility. Without talking loudly, the rest of the group thinks that the child goes back to take revenge from one of the landlords. The novel tells an integrated story of changing modes of labouring and surviving, loss of some works, change of sociospatial relations, change of nature. It ends with a precarious, unknown future associated with crime.

In the book, Yaşar Kemal puts the fragility of unemployed agents facing the change of production relations in the picture. Moreover, Kemal depicts the interrelation between the transformation of nature and work (urbanisation) through an emerging social crisis as torture, tyranny and exploitation. The change in production relations raises unemployment and sociospatial inequalities on the basis of the share of all work. In the fractures of the economic system, the mechanisms of reproduction of "cheap labour" are transformed as well as nature and the spaces we inhabit. On the one hand, crime and criminalisation rise as a fact in society. Since a part of society starts to toil more and more, the spaces of encountering between the divergent actors of different economic backgrounds are getting restricted; sociospatial segregation sharpens as the tension in urban daily life. On the other hand, crime and criminalisation reproduce some parts of the city as more "unhealthy" and/or "insecure" places for the rest. For the insiders of such places, their life units become more fragile and open to radical intervention to get urban rent. Herein, criminalisation emerges as a device for the reproduction of labour relations pursuing the sociospatial conditions of reproduction of cheap labour.

Kabadayıs, historically emerged actors, associated with crime and urban poverty in the cities of Turkey dating back to the late Ottoman Era. *Kabadayı* as a word is not one to one translation of "rowdy" in English. Besides, there are other similar agents called bandits (*eşkıya* or *haydut* in Turkish) and toughs (*külhanbeyi* in Turkish) in the literature. The existence of these agents reveals evidence that there was a variety of "uncontrolled" agents from the Ottoman Empire to the republican nation-state. These three different agents could be broadly defined as figures who resisted against the

uneven authority of the rulers, and tyranny; and/or who disordered their communities. According to Halil Soyluer (1995), these definitions include both positive and negative attitudes. Positive attitude approaches *kabadayıs* as heroes struggling for the sake of their communities, fighting for justice. Negative attitude approaches *kabadayıs* as criminals disorganising their community, generating tyranny, hierarchy and insecurity.¹⁸⁷ It is not possible to prove one attitude as a general social and historical fact, for instance, considering all Ankara *Kabadayıs* as heroes. However, it is a fact that there has been an ongoing sympathy to Ankara *Kabadayıs* in Çinçin, most of whom lived around Old Altındağ (Soyluer, 1995: 8). The informants make a list of regarded figures such as musicians, dancers, lawyers, representatives of political parties, and the list ends with people identified as the 68-generation and *kabadayıs* (Interviews, June-July 2019).

In order to understand the history of *kabadayıs*, it should be mentioned that there are differences between those three similar agents, bandits (*eşkiyalar*), toughs (*külhanbeyleri*) and *kabadayıs* in the urban history of Turkey. The first main difference is between banditry (*eşkiyalık*) and two others. Banditry (*eşkiyalık*) was emerged and practised within the agricultural production and therefore in villages; however, toughness (*külhanbeyliği*) and *kabadayılık* (rowdiness) were practised in town or city within the urban modes of production. Marxist historian Eric J. Hobsbawm (1971 [1969]) looks at "social bandits," distinguishing the term from similar agents through mentioning that bandits emerged under the relations of agricultural production in the village. Social bandit could be exemplified through the popularly known character Robin Hood who is a hero trying to make an even distribution of goods and sources between rich and poor; stealing from rich and bringing to the poor. Hobsbawm makes an emphasis that social banditry is a

¹⁸⁷ Serdar Öztürk, "Eşkiyalar, kabadayılar, külhanbeyiler ve silah toplama," *Bilgi ve Bellek* S.5, 2006: 138. In the article, Serdar Öztürk underlines two main sources in Turkey: Sabri Yetkin, *Ege'de Eşkiyalar*, İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 1996; İsmail Beşikçi, *Doğu Anadolu'nun Düzeni*, İstanbul: E Yay., 1990.

universally found phenomena in different geographies of the world throughout ages (15).¹⁸⁸ Hobsbawm further mentions that although social banditry is limited to places of agricultural production, it could have survived in the countryside of ethnic minorities enclosed by the changing modes of production until the mid 19th century and it disappeared within the rise of modernisation at the end of the 19th in Soviet Russia (1971 [1969]:11).

Unlike banditry, both toughness (*külhanbeyliği*) and *kabadayılık* (rowdiness) belonged to the city or town. However, these two agents have a more vague distinction in itself. According to Serdar Öztürk (2006), the history of toughness (*külhanbeyliği*) is either depending on the corruption and shutdown of the guild of janissaries,¹⁸⁹ (hence it might be dating back to the 19th century); or it is dating back much before, to the period of Sultan Mahmut in the Ghaznavid State (dating back to the period between 971 to 1030). According to the former claim, as a consequence of corruption and shutdown of the guild of janissaries in 1826, the community of janissaries became unemployed, and some of them started to live communally in a particular room of *hamams* (Turkish baths) called "*külhan*" (grate room).¹⁹⁰ In comparison with toughness (*külhanbeyliği*), *kabadayıs* do not associate with a specific place in town or city for sheltering. Öztürk (2006) analysis several examples from Turkish literature and finds out that there is a consensus on the negative grasp of toughness. Öztürk claims that toughness (*külhanbeylik*) was narrated as an untrusted institution,¹⁹¹ *kabadayılık*, on the other hand, was a trusted, resistant, non-formal institution (143).

¹⁸⁸ Eric J. Hobsbawm, *Bandits*, New York: Dell Publishing. 1971 [1969].

¹⁸⁹ Guild of janissaries is a sub-institution of Ottoman infantry guarding Sultan. It was established in the 14th century, closed in 1826. Serdar Öztürk, 2006: 141.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid.: 143.

¹⁹¹ It is claimed that the toughs even had a guild organisation once (Serdar Öztürk, 2006:141).

Eric Hobsbawm claims that social bandits emerged only in the context of agricultural production, so they lived within the peasant communities. Social bandits were landless peasants, suffering from poverty and exploitation of their labour by the rulers such as landlords.¹⁹² *Kabadayıs* of the city is depicted in a very similar way in the documentary books about actual *kabadayıs* lived in Ankara and Istanbul.¹⁹³ Similarly to Hobsbawm's social bandits, those books approach *kabadayıs* as landless labourers and social figures fighting for social justice for their communities. *Kabadayıs* lived in the marginal areas emerged as *gecekondus*. In the journalist Halil Soyluer's book entitled *Ankara Kabadayıları*, *kabadayıs* are narrated as figures who had to become *kabadayıs*, because those were uneducated, poor people living in the margins of the city, facing with landlessness and unemployment. Those people were stealing from "outside," from urban bourgeoisie; and bringing it back to their communities. Soyluer also mentions that none of the *kabadayıs* would have preferred to become *kabadayıs*; since all had a tragic end in their life stories (1995: 7-8).

According to Soyluer (1995), before the establishment of Republic, there remained two main landlords (*ağa*) in Ankara in the city, they were active for a while, and *kabadayıs* were emerged following this era of *ağas*. Soyluer documents thirty Ankara *Kabadayıs* in his book. It is worth noting that the commonality between those agents is the place where they inhabited. Soyluer claims that Ankara *Kabadayıs* were all from the places around Bentderesi Road and Hatip Creek since Old Altındağ is an inherent place in the history of Ankara *Kabadayıs* (1995: 8). Depending on the life stories of these *kabadayıs*, it could be claimed that they were active mostly in the 1950s. Their activities faded out in the 1960s and 1970s. The number of *kabadayıs* considerably diminished after 1980. However, they have survived until the late 1990s as *kabadayıs* of the margins of the city (Soyluer, 1995). Although there were similar agents during the late 1800s *kabadayıs* became radical agents

¹⁹² Eric J. Hobsbawm, 1971 [1969]: 24.

¹⁹³ Çınar Özkan, 2012; Yakut Devrim, 2014 [2013]; Halil Soyluer, 1995.

of *gecekondu* districts emerged during the urbanisation period depending on massive rural migration (in the period between the late 1940s to 1980). Besides Old Altındağ was the place of those *kabadayıs* who were propertyless and unemployed. Similar to the "social bandits" conceptualised by Hobsbawm, some of them belonged to ethnic minority communities such as Bosnian, Kurdish, Circassian migrants; differently from the "social bandits," they were "urban" actors instead of being peasants and villagers living out of the city.¹⁹⁴

5.2.2. What does "yolunda" mean?

I was born in this street, I grew up here, but my parents and their background is from Bayburt. I've never had a job; I could never eat halal; the conditions of life took me here, threw me up to the streets. (Kabadayı Necmi, July 2019, Çinçin)¹⁹⁵

We, Osman and I, find Necmi in the bus stop waiting for a bus to go to his daughter's house and he accepts to participate in biographical interviewing. For the interview, we are sitting on the grass ground of a small park on Babür Street. I see Osman giving Necmi 50 Turkish Liras quickly, but they both try to hide this change from me, and I act like I don't see, but later, I would learn that "the small amount money is for Necmi to invite himself tea soon." More briefly, it is to convince Necmi for the interview. This happens for the first time during the interviews, although I explain that it is for unpaid research at the university. For five minutes, Kabadayı Necmi hesitates to talk about himself, he tells that "he is an aged criminal, had sentenced imprisonment for three times because of pickpocketing" (therefore each was less than one year), and he asks why we want him to tell his life story. I explain the topic of the research and Osman adds that Necmi is a particular character for Çinçin, maybe one of the last *kabadayıs*, and finally we convince him to talk about his life story and memories about the district (July 2019).

¹⁹⁴ Halil Soyuer, 1995.

¹⁹⁵ Born in 1942, Interviews, 07.07.19 and 08.07.19.

Necmi breaths genuinely and starts telling his life story with a positive topic -that is his three children's occupations- emphasising that "he could at least sent his children to school, two of them even to university, since they could change their *fate*."¹⁹⁶ Necmi has two daughters and one son. One of his daughters is working as a nurse in another city, the other daughter and son work in the Ministries as governmental officials in Ankara. Necmi is still living in Çinçin with his wife in their *gecekondu* with cash help came from their children regularly. Necmi himself grew up in a more populated family in Çinçin:

I had a large family. I mean, I had my mother, my father, my sisters, my brothers. We were a populated family. They always preferred elbow grease (alın teri), they had moderate personalities. They were like that, but I was different. I had teeth (ben dişliydim); I was able to fight. I was a powerful young person in the sixties. In the end, we all suffered from unemployment (Kabadayı Necmi, July 2019, Çinçin).

Necmi was in his 20s during the 1960s; he witnessed the activities of the 68-generation in *gecekondus* as being another radical actor in touch with experienced Ankara *kabadayıs* as social figures of the district. However, he tells that the number of radical actors called *kabadayıs* diminished; while the number of newly emerging agents raised in Çinçin such as *babas* (the godfathers, mafia leaders) first, and then usurers, gangsters and drug dealers. Hence Necmi claims that there was a shift from *ağas* to *kabadayıs* and then to *babas*, and after the 1990s, the gangsters and finally drug dealers became dominant in Old Altındağ. He tells that his father and uncle's generation was the generation of *kabadayıs*. Necmi was in touch with *kabadayıs* such as Kürt Cemali when it was almost the end of the era of *kabadayıs*. Necmi refers to Kürt Cemali as an essential social figure of the district as like as most of the other informants do.¹⁹⁷

¹⁹⁶ See Chapter 4.4 on fate, hope, home.

¹⁹⁷ Interviews June, July 2019.

It is worth noting that Kürt Cemali (Kurdish Cemali) is one of the widely referred Ankara Kabadayıs living in Old Altındağ in the 1950s.¹⁹⁸ Analysing web sources, particularly digital archives of newspapers, I meet with the information that Kürt Cemali was a respected and trusted social figure for his community, killed by another *kabadayı* in 1962 in Ankara, after that, a remarkable number of people joined his funeral ceremony.¹⁹⁹ Kürt Cemali's life story as a social bandit has got attention in the social media when the theatre play *Ballad of Ali of Keshan (Keşanlı Ali Destanı)* is shown as TV series; since it is claimed that indeed, the 1960s' significant and famous epic theatre play written by Haldun Taner narrates the life story of Kürt Cemali of Old Altındağ.²⁰⁰

Although Kabadayı Necmi was not a popularly known *kabadayı* of the 1950s and 1960s in Çiğir such as Kürt Cemali, he has been accepted as one of the last living *kabadayıs* after 1980 in Çiğir.²⁰¹ Necmi is respected as a social figure; because he tells that "he was indigent, brave and physically strong; and never had a bad intention for his people *inside* his community." At this point, the myth of Robin Hood, which Eric J. Hobsbawm (1971 [1969]) points out in the history of social bandits, reappears in the narratives of Kabadayı Necmi through the segregation of inside/outside; Old Altındağ and new Ankara; margin and centre. Inside Çiğir, there were neighbourhoods as socially produced territories, unemployment and diverse works as alternative non-market practices. Outside Old Altındağ, there was a growing and developing city with emerging types of employment. Bringing from outside to

¹⁹⁸ Halil Soyluer, 1995: 144-149. For more information Sanatatak, "Kürt Cemali Nasıl Keşanlı Ali Oldu?" Last modified January 03, 2019. <http://www.sanatatak.com/view/kurt-cemal-nasil-kesanli-ali-oldu>.

¹⁹⁹ Sabah, "Türkiye'nin Ünlü Kabadayıları," Accessed September 19, 2019. <https://www.sabah.com.tr/galeri/yasam/turkiyenin-unlu-kabadayilari/15>.

²⁰⁰ Yaşam Kaya, 2011.

²⁰¹ Kabadayı Necmi also takes place in Yaşar Seyman's book with his real name.

inside was a tradition through pickpocketing, it was legitimate because it was resistance against sociospatial injustice from the side of Kabadayı Necmi.

Although Çiğın has a reputation of being Texas of Ankara, "Yolunda AŞ"²⁰² is the only movie screened in 2015 directly narrating the urban transformation of Çiğın through a similar Robin Hood myth.²⁰³ Main characters of the movie are young unemployed men struggling against one wealthy contractor who is the main actor in urban transformation processes (instead of TOKİ). It is a comedy film around a group of young men trying to protect their community against the debt system of the contractor. The young men are represented as heroes of the district in the movie. Many of the actors were chosen from the actual residents. I ask the opinions of informants on the movie, and almost all of them state that they watched the movie, and did not like it. Moreover, some of them state their anger about the main characters. They think that it is a false conception of Çiğın, "representing the neighbourhood through gangsters," but the young generation of Çiğın is not like "the generation of *kabadayıs*, in contrast, they have a responsibility in the increasing drug rent."²⁰⁴ Since "the urban rent is not rising, but the drug rent is rising," which is the real problem of the residents threaten them in daily life.²⁰⁵ As Necmi tells "new *kabadayıs* at home" appeared and those have become "a real problem" after the destruction initiated in 2005. To end our dialogue, I ask him what does "yolunda" means; he says that it a

²⁰² "Yolunda" could be directly translated as "on the road" or "on someone's road." It is a commonly used idiom in Çiğın, to refer light theft crimes such as pickpocketing.

²⁰³ "Yolunda AŞ" was first screened as internet series in 2013. Yolunda AŞ Dizi. "Yolunda AŞ." YouTube video, running time 4:48, publication date May 03, 2015.
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VibON09saIA&list=PLNsILSmTAsZLujKYXO9OEadpov5zPKGOY&index=5>

BBC also has a short documentary, "BBC/Ankara Çiğın Belgeseli." YouTube video, running time 4:26, publication date June 29, 2017.
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CaBHxeYjhS0&list=PLNsILSmTAsZLujKYXO9OEadpov5zPKGOY&index=5&t=0s>.

²⁰⁴ Interviews June, July 2019.

²⁰⁵ Interviews June, July 2019.

frequently used word, smiles and makes a move with his hand, touching his beard and then putting his hand to his pocket: "You know... It means finding your way..."

There is another popular reputation about the district, "Çinçin no entrance!" (*Çinçin girilmez!*). It is widely known and used in the media as well.²⁰⁶ This myth was also depicted in the movie "Yolunda AŞ." Informants tell that it was the situation in the 1960s and 1970s when residents were observing the police and "keep an eye on the street" hence the police could not have entered the district to take people from left-wing organisations or thieves stealing from outside of the district. Mustafa tells that it was indeed only possible in the hilly and highly gift parts (such as Özgürlük Neighbourhood (ironically *özgürlük* means freedom) and Gültepe Neighbourhoods) because the organisation of the houses was more gift than the plain areas of the district. "It was easy to escape from one roof to the other in the case police entered the area." However, they also had a small police centre in Çalışkanlar Neighbourhood. Although a more massive police centre was built at the end of Babür Avenue facing with Cebeci Asri Cemetery named Altındağ District Police Department, as informants narrate there is a new tension between inside and outside of the district because the crime ratio increased. More and above, there are new tensions inside the district, such as newly emerged radical actors, new *kabadayıs*.

After meeting Necmi, we are eating dinner at Osman's *gecekondu's* yard together with his two daughters, wife, parents-in-law and three further close relatives. Osman thinks that I should make more observations in Çinçin about culture and daily life; therefore he invites me for a gathering in an open-air place nearby Asri Cemetery, under a spacious tree where Osman and his friends are used to gathering, cooking meatball and drinking *rakı*,²⁰⁷ wine or beer like a ritual. He is telling about how they entertain

²⁰⁶ Aykut Gören, "Polisin Giremediği Çinçin Gül Gibi," Sabah, May 26, 2017.
<https://www.sabah.com.tr/ankara-baskent/2017/05/26/polisin-giremedigi-cincin-gul-gibi>.

²⁰⁷ A traditional drink with alcohol made by grapes.

under this tree, that it is a peaceful, silent and naturally beautiful place, better and cheaper than a *pavyon* place where they have to pay a lot. He, then, starts to tell about his friends in Çinçin and states that the cooker of their group was a usurer at past. Esin, the eighteen years old daughter of Osman, explains that their family do not like this man, except Osman, because he was doing "illegitimate works." Some other members from Osman's family communally state similar opinions. "But these are last times that we could gather in our place," says Osman. Because the only luxurious building complex is about to be completed on the other side of Gültepe Avenue in front of the cemetery. I ask the reason, and Osman explains that "newcomers would think that they are drug dealers, criminals."²⁰⁸

There was always a tension during the interviews about criminals and crime issue, which led Çinçin to gain its reputation of being Texas of Ankara. The research direction has changed since the informants told that there are diverse "works," Çinçin is not only a place of criminals but also different hardworking, respected people such as "lawyers, musicians, players, *kabadayıs* and *babas*." The list of different actors ending with *kabadayıs* help to excavate and rethink on *kabadalık* as an urban case in relation with unemployment and with a particular conception of "works" with a social role emerged within an inside/outside relation. However, informants think that new *kabadayıs* are not *kabadayıs*; since Çinçin is not existing anymore where multiple actors could live together once.

5.3. Epilogue: Urban Transformation as Rupture

The post-WWII condition of the world has been a centrepiece of urban studies. The 1960s are described as an era when human began to name the world a "global village," started to share economic, technological, political and cultural consequences beyond nation-states and experience urban transformation processes which were working as

²⁰⁸ Interviews June, July 2019.

economic and political apparatuses absorbing the capital accumulation at global and local scales. As David Harvey (2017) claims that the urban transformation in the world depended mainly on the economic developments which triggered uneven urbanisation.²⁰⁹ As one of the consequences, similar forms of political activism, mainly youth movements, were spread in the cities of different geographies and as well as in Ankara. In this era, there was a revival of Marxist thought in urban theory conceptualising the urban condition of the late 60s and 1970s. Moreover, the conceptualisations such as "daily life," "production of space," and "spatial alienation" have come into discourse again to question new urban conditions with an increased level of complexity and with multiple actors.²¹⁰ At the end of the 1970s, "neoliberalism" as an economy political practice has started to settle over the world with the growth of the building sector which would shape the twenty-first century's significant urban discussions (Harvey, 2005: 1-5).

In the case of Turkish urbanisation, "the 1960s" was also an era of anti-authoritarian practices becoming an inherent part of social resistance and urban struggle of diverse communities. Revolutionist *ustalık* and social *kabadayılık* were practised in the 1960s, and these radical agencies emerged in Çiçin *gecekondus*. Collective narratives of informants in Çiçin show that the *ustalık* and *kabadayılık* were practised within a social meaning at past, particularly during the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s. Therein, the date "1980" is not only as a crack in the labour relations and a crack between

²⁰⁹ Vincent Emanuele, "Rebel Cities, Urban Resistance and Capitalism: a Conversation with David Harvey," accessed May 1, 2017, <https://www.versobooks.com/blogs/3088-rebel-cities-urban-resistance-and-capitalism-a-conversation-with-david-harvey>.

²¹⁰ The revival of the terms of Marxist thought in urban practices recalls the possible critical links between the history of urban theory and the late 1960s and 1970s' self as a historical crack worldwide. The 1970s could be taken as a crack in the knowledge, in the disciplines of architecture, urbanism, geography and sciences linked with urban studies. It is a crack in the world history in terms of pooping up youth movements in different cities of the world. It is also a crack because spatial sciences have started to focus widely on a new line of thought shifting the discussion from the conditions of human, modern architecture and modern city to the conditions of new urban space, consequences of modernisation, the rise of post-colonial theories around the issues of urban transformation and silenced, exploited urban agents.

urbanisation and neoliberal urban transformation processes; but also a crack in the practices of diverse works which included radical actors such as *usta* and *kabadayı*.



Figure 5.2. From the streets. Photograph taken by the author, June 2019, Çiğir Bağı, Ankara.

Although those agencies emerged as anti-authoritarian practices of Çiğir *gecekondus* in the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s, the legitimacy of *ustalık* and *kabadayılık* has transformed since 1980. Looking at the collective memories of informants, oral histories of the Usta and Kabadayı and historical backgrounds of *ustalık* and *kabadayılık*, it could be claimed that these practices have not disappeared immediately after 1980. Instead, they were transformed within the contradictions of works under urban transformation. For instance, the Usta continued to work for the new requirements of *gecekondus* as well as pursued teaching youth woodwork. The Kabadayı continued pickpocketing outside the district, trying to pursue the myth of "Robin Hood" inside the district, reproducing his identity as an individual and the sociospatial culture of the district popular with *kabadayıs* of past.

The observations and interviews, on the other hand, reveals that the urban transformation projects initiated in 2005 became a rupture in the daily life of the district. Inside/outside dynamics changed, since there appeared new conflicts in the lives of these radical actors, together with newly emerging "radical" actors in the district. I attempted to narrate in this chapter that urban transformation as a rupture inside the district has reflected amongst the production of space. Hence there are new

potentials of criminalisation inside the district. For instance, the only gathering place of Osman and his friends near Asri Cemetery is lost after the construction of a new building complex settled in front of the cemetery. Because they thought that they would be criminalised by the newcomers. On the other hand, outside the district, the Usta is subjected to a new form of "marginalisation" within a nostalgic grasp of "history" in Ulucanlar Prison Museum where wax sculptures of the 68-generation are represented as nostalgic figures belong to the collective memory of the 68-generation. The Usta is represented as the friend of the members of 68 movements who were suffered in this prison where he has started to work, yet Usta mentioned that he lost a link with work as a capacity through losing the link with craftsmanship in *Çinçin gecekondus*.



Figure 5.3. Workshop in a kondu. Photograph taken by the author, June 2019, Çinçin Bağları, Ankara.

Ustalık and *kabadayılık* might not be counted as "work" as an economical category. However, those have strong links with the discussion around work and the dialectical relationship between urban transformation and works. *Ustalık* and *kabadayılık* are sociospatial constructs, including social roles of actors, since I met two particular characters having an identical place in the making of history of Çinçin according to the informants. Crime ratio has increased inside the district since 2005 together with the capacity of living together under hardening conditions of earning a livelihood. The interviews with *usta* and *kabadayı*, and other informants about *ustalık* and *kabadayılık*

provide insights that radical intervention to the urban fabric of *gecekondus* lead to new sociospatial tensions; if work, unemployment and radical actors accepted as doing legitimate "works" for the informants are not investigated within their sociospatial and cultural dimensions. Hence, the demolition initiated in 2005 transformed the lives of informants by eliminating the limited capacity of social roles of diverse works that emerged in the urbanisation period. Recently, there are "new radical actors" and new modes of threatening segregation. The spatial thinking of *ustalık* and *kabadayılık* with social roles pictures a growing precariousness of an intervened district. Consequently, both the Usta and Kabadayı stated that they lost their links with the place through losing the legitimacy of their works, which was the human capacity of what they were doing to survive and how they lived communally. Urban transformation initiated in 2005 was like a rupture deeply changing inside/outside dynamics of the district, yet reducing the capacity of social roles of radical actors.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

More and more people has started to live in the cities to make a future for themselves, hence the world is getting urbanised (UN report, 2018). Cities have been evolved to "urban agglomeration," and the global economy depends on the capitalist modes of agglomerated urban production. To put it in other words, we live in the mega cities proximate to each other, composing building masses in urban and suburban areas to articulate in the urban modes of production. In the twenty-first century, urbanisation as a model of global economy has yet brought a crisis with multiple layers. Urban crisis is a recent and contested topic particularly highlighted after the 2008 financial crisis which effected different parts of the world in different times and through similar consequences such as decreasing capacity of urban types of employment (Fujita, 2013: 1-7). Although urban agglomeration as an inhabitation unit provides society several jobs and a web of work; the urban crisis leads to deepen the exploitation of labour, intensified modes of urban poverty and uneven share of precariousness. The number of unemployed people, unrecorded and insecure types of work has increased; massive waves of immigration have produced new forms of injustice in terms of transnational labour relations. Sociospatial exclusion of a part of urban population labelled with crime is exposed to new fragile conditions in everyday life.

As a departure to reframe a radically transformed place named Çinçin, I attempted to approach to the urban space as a place of different types of work, not only as a place of "infrastructure" and "built" environment. At this point, the conceptualisation of "work" stands in a critical position. What is work? Urban space is an on-going product of labour relations at the levels of global and local. From historical materialist

standpoint, there is a dialectical relationship between "nature and labour;"²¹¹ and more specifically, there is a dialectical relationship between urban space as "historical nature"²¹² and "work as a sociospatial construct of labour relations."²¹³ However, it remains limited if the concept of "work" is used only in the meaning of a "job," or an "employment," or "profession;" hence work is widely accepted as an economical category in the society.

There are various types of labouring activities defined as "informal work" and "marginal work." Tansı Şenyapılı (1981) elaborates types of work under three different groups, those are central/peripheral/marginal work, in the context of Turkish urbanisation and in the context of *gecekondus* (squatter housing in Turkey). Indeed, Şenyapılı underlines that she doesn't prefer to use the idioms of "informal and formal" work to categorise different types of work. Because, informal and formal work/economy/labour only define the relation between types of work and market economy (1981: 19). For instance, a formally working tea server is a peripheral worker as well as a repairman who is an informal worker, working without insurance and a regular wage (Şenyapılı, 1981: 19). Due to this example, a "formal" tea server and an "informal" repairman are both peripheral workers, hence they might be sharing a similar precariousness.²¹⁴

²¹¹ A detailed conceptualisation through the case of field workers made by Stefania, Barca, 2014: 5.

²¹² Not to lead to the grasp of urban/rural separation, herein I refer to the Marxist conceptualisation of "historical nature," since both rural and urban space are internal products of human activity (Jason W. Moore, 2017: 254).

²¹³ Krishan Kumar's seminal article entitled "The Social Culture of Work: Work, Employment and Unemployment as Ways of Life" is one of the widely referred source in our research. Kumar is capturing changing conceptualisations and institution of work in this article: Krishan Kumar, 1989: 2-17.

²¹⁴ According to the aforementioned classification of Şenyapılı, central worker is educated (therefore accepted as "skilled"), unionised, producing goods which have high exchange value in the market, participating large-scale, serial production processes with modernised techniques. Peripheral worker is not using modernised techniques, producing in smaller quantities (maybe producing only for her/his neighbourhood), might not be educated (therefore don't have a profession), usually not unionised and might be producing service work as like as distribution of products. Marginal worker is on the edge of

In this research I met especially with two types of workers; peripheral workers and marginal workers, yet most of whom didn't make a separation between different types of works. Hence, there is not a similar categorisation in this research to conceptualise work. Because there is a multitude of different actors who themselves conceptualise their activities and practices as "works." There was a more intricate interrelation in the self-conceptualisations of works, opening a perspective about those multiple actors and the change of their spatial relations. Present/regular actors (as like as neighbourhood heads and houseworkers) and historical/radical actors (the *usta* (expert craftsman) and the *kabadayı* (social bandit)) had a special place in the making of Çiğin through temporal works, contradictions of the works and space, social capacities of their works, legitimacy and illegitimacy of works under urban change.

It appears as a need to conceptualise "works" of Çiğin considering that , "work is a historical institution," it is changing within the production relations (Kumar, 1989: 3). As widely debated since the 1960s, new types of work has emerged within the developing technology; due to the less need to manual work and more need to the communicative labour the traditional working-class (which might be defined as central worker) has been transformed; the exploitation of labour determining the class relations is a more ambiguous issue in our era. Unemployment becomes a critical common problem effecting mainly the young population in the world, whereas it is a problem about identity, since an individual defines her/his-self through what job s/he does (Kumar, 1989: 2-17). In this line of thought, I focused on the conceptualisation of "work" with its "multiple actors" who face the criminalisation, unemployment, and a deep urban intervention in the last fifteen years in a deeply transformed large *gecekondu* district.

economy, due to the first two groups, it takes most insecure, temporal types of work such as cemetery servants of Çiğin (Şenyapılı, 1981:19-26).

In this general perspective, this thesis briefly aimed to analyse the gecekondu district named Çiğir Bağı through work as a sociospatial construct; and more specifically through four actors (*muhtars*, *houseworkers*, the *usta* (craftsman) and the *kabadayı*) whose practices were accepted and conceptualised as "diverse works." All of these actors have an inherent relation with work related issues such as the social capacities of work and sociospatial dynamics of work; since informants narrated contradictions between diverse landscapes and diverse works under urban transformation. The main research question, in this context, was how to reframe a radically transformed urban fabric through multiple actors, problematising the dialectical relationship between urban transformation and work. There also raised another question which had a reciprocal movement with the main problematic: How could we define "work" and labour relations in the urban history of a particular district?

6.1. Summary of Research and Findings

Gecekondu is a particular, socially produced name given to the squatter settlements in Turkey. Concisely, *gecekondu* means "built at one night" as a word, comes from the history that the peripheral lands were occupied illegally by rural immigrants whereas they had to put up the roof of house during the first night of building, otherwise the district police could report the building to be demolished. *Gecekondus*, the plural form of the word, is used to refer self-organised neighbourhoods composed of a dense urban fabric of *gecekondus*, and emerged during the urbanisation/industrialisation period between 1945-1980 (Karpat 1976, Tekeli 1970, 1976, 1977, Önder Şenyapılı 1978, Tansı Şenyapılı 1981).²¹⁵

²¹⁵ Although most of the *gecekondus* districts are formalised through several zoning amnesty decisions until 1980, we still use the idiom "*gecekondu*" in our daily lives and deliberately in this thesis. Because, we observed that the informants still use the idiom of *gecekondu* for their houses which they legally own. There could be several reasons. First, the particular sociospatial organisation of life at domestic and neighbourhood level of *gecekondus* is very different from an apartment unit. Second, the fragility of *gecekondu* residents such as unemployment, non-formal types of works, discrimination and criminalisation makes them still "*gecekondu*" people. More and above, it is an input to understand the land in relation with work and works of *gecekondus* under urban transformation. The case of

The urban transformation of Çinçin as one of widely known *gecekondu* district of Ankara was initiated in 2005 through the association of Altındağ Municipality and TOKİ. Dense urban fabric of Old Altındağ *gecekondus* has started to be intervened in Çinçin part of the hilly district. The urban transformation project was composed of stages of two massive housing complexes and additional buildings such as primary school, mosque and dormitory. As a part of Old Altındağ, Çinçin Bağları has been popularly known as a place of criminals dating back to the 1920s (Şenyapılı, 1981:170). Although urban transformation of Çinçin was claimed to "clean" the district (from crime) by the Municipality, recent research proves that the crime ratio in Çinçin has been increased considerably after urban transformation was initiated (Güzey & Aksoy, 2014: 11).

When I conducted the fieldwork in 2018 and 2019,²¹⁶ Çinçin was a mixed environment of built TOKİ sites, ruins of demolished *gecekondus* and remaining *gecekondus* got stuck in-between ruins and TOKİs. Within the aim of analysing an unhealthy-looking urban condition, I attempted to combine communal spatial memories of Çinçin residents living mostly in the remaining *gecekondus* with the historical data such as maps and municipal documents. However, there was the difficulty to step in a radically intervened field known as an insecure place, as being an outsider woman researcher. The main research methodology is semi-structured in-depth and biographical interviews. I also developed various research methods and strategies mix to overcome the limitation of lacking data about Çinçin: mapping auto-ethnographic field trips and finding key informants living in the remaining *gecekondus*. Although there were aforementioned difficulties in conducting a fieldwork in Çinçin Bağları, I had benefited from the sociospatial researches using feminist research methodologies

houseworkers in the distinction of *gecekondu* and apartment unit (*daire*) is further interpreted under Chapter 4 in relation with work.

²¹⁶ Fieldwork was conducted in 2018 May-August and 2019 June-September. The fieldwork is supported by Koç University, Vehbi Koç Ankara Studies Research Center, Ankara Research Awards 2019.

(Buikema, & Griffin & Lykke, 2011; Kılıçkiran, 2010; Şentürk, 2015; Tuncer, 2015). In this light, I didn't only focus on gender identity; however, I tried to choose equal numbers of male and female informants which provided me to rethink on the concept of work in the dominating male world of market type of work and consider "housework" in the making of a neighbourhood. The observation of gender differences during the dialogs also helped me to find new strategies such as meeting women and men more than once in order to explore dialogical gaps in the interviews. Additionally, the key informants played a crucial role not to fix my position as an outsider researcher in the field. They broke the hierarchy of a fixed academic position in the field through grasping the fieldwork as a collective work. Feminist research methodologies helped me not only in the field, but also in the process of writing. I used a deliberate choice of writing with "I", in order to take the responsibility of production of knowledge and not to generate the hierarchal "royal we." In addition, I tried to integrate field-notes, photographs, sketches, and well-known novels and movies to underline that the production of knowledge is multiplied by various actors; and therefore, my choice of references depends on a variety of sources entangled with scientific knowledge.

Grounding on these various research methods and strategies, I first approached Çinçin as a lived place having a designation which might be the lacking part of a few researches about Çinçin. I exercised auto-ethnographic mapping which reveals that (I) Çinçin is a central place in Ankara, twenty-minute walking distance to the historic downtown Ulus. There are various public transportations such as *dolmuş* and bus lines serving from Kızılay and Ulus. (II) There are certain sociospatial borders. Two main roads Bentderesi and Plevne Av. separate the district from other districts. The topography of partly sharp slope also generates a spatial border between Bentderesi Av. and Çinçin. Although Babür Av. is pedestrian-friendly and surrounded by several shops, schools, hospital complex, five-storeyed apartments and houses, Çinçin's unhealthy urban condition composed of ruins of demolished *gecekondus* is visible from Babür Street. Hence the Northern part, Örnek Neighbourhood with cooperative housing blocks and the Southern part, Çinçin, had very different spatialities in terms

of urban fabrics. Babür Av., therefore constitutes a sociospatial boundary. (III) Çinçin Dörtüol (also known as Çinçin New Dörtüol) is depicted as the heart of Çinçin (*Çinçin'in kalbi*) by *dolmuş* drivers and the informants including one current *muhtar*. The informants pointed out Çinçin Dörtüol to relocate their houses as a more or less "Çinçin place." Since Çinçin Dörtüol, having a grocer, closed shops, two men's coffee shops on, produces a hierarchy as being the heart of Çinçin. (IV) The sociospatial boundaries are fragmented and scattered into the district. Barbed tapes surrounding TOKİ sites and some of the remaining *gecekondu*s shows that there is a tension about security between TOKİ sites and remaining *gecekondu*s; and even between two remaining *gecekondu*s due to exact position in the district. (V) More and above, the district does not carry a feeling of neighbourhood, *mahalle*, as a socially produced living unit in the city anymore. Informants living in the remaining *gecekondu*s state that they are in-between staying in and moving out of Çinçin.

Facing with the historic downtown named Old Ankara, Old Altındağ was a peripheral district first occupied in the 1920s by a group of the Persian Roma communities; and was transformed into a dense urban fabric of *gecekondu*s in the 1950s throughout rural mass migration of diverse communities (T. Şenyapılı, 1981). The year of 1980 is an economy political fracture in Turkey, since it is both accepted as the end of urbanisation depending on rural migration (Şenyapılı, 2004), and the departure of processes of neoliberal urban transformation in the world and slowly in Turkey (Harvey, 2005: 1-5). After 1980, *yapsatçılık* (small scale enterprise)²¹⁷ served as a dominant building model in the transformation of *gecekondu* districts, however it was not a dominant model applied to Çinçin and the rest of Old Altındağ. Therefore, Çinçin remained as a *gecekondu* district until 2005. The deep level of poverty and the density of *gecekondu*s might have prevented this kind of transition from *gecekondu* to low-dense apartments. Consequently, the radical urban transformation initiated in 2005

²¹⁷ *yapsatçılık* means small scale enterprise widely applied in the transition from *gecekondu* to apartment since its emergence in the 1970s in Turkey. It depends on the association of independent contractors and land owners.

through building high rise multi storey TOKİ blocks in Çiçin Bağları part of Old Altındağ.

As a tool and product of this radical intervention, the municipality relocated/ renamed and rescaled the district, and multiple neighbourhoods of Çiçin were lost. The attempt to designate Çiçin therefore required to investigate where Çiçin and Old Altındağ was. In this context archival research reveals that (I) Çiçin was a part of Old Altındağ and (II) a district of small-scale neighbourhoods as socially produced territories. There were more than one neighbourhood in the district. The legal borders and names of neighbourhoods were changed in 2007, 2014 and 2018. In 2018, there remained only Gültepe Neighbourhood with a population around 22 thousand.²¹⁸

These first field trips to *locate the land* opened a perspective on "works" which is an informal saying of types of work²¹⁹ and used by the informants in Turkish as "*işler*." Through meeting with different types of work in the district, I highlighted that (I) the residents told their life stories of searching for a work to sustain a life after sheltering in the *gecekondu* district. As being mostly the second generation of urbanisation, the informants mostly had an unstable work life which was associated with unemployment, toil and insecure jobs without any rights such as insurance, retirement or a regular wage. (II) However, the informants referred non-market jobs as "works." They had a unique conceptualisation of work, defining illegitimate and legitimate works such as *kabadayılık* (social bandits); and underlying some works having a particular place in the making of Çiçin, its history and spatial identity such as housework and *muhtarlık* (the official institution of neighbourhood heads). (III) These conceptualisations of works had strong links with the ongoing urban transformation as the informants narrated the urban change through the change in their works. The

²¹⁸ These neighbourhoods were *at least* Kemal Zeytinoğlu, Server Somuncuoğlu, Çalışkanlar and Gültepe Neighborhood. The other possible neighbourhoods of the district are listed combining interviews and historical data in the scope of Chapter 2. Locating the Land.

²¹⁹ <https://www.dictionary.com/browse/works> Accessed September 19, 2019.

informants stated that they mostly preferred to move in an apartment unit (*daire*) from *gecekondu*, because the urban transformation was a chance for them to upgrade their life. However, when the medium is "works," rather than their houses, they were more open to talk about urban transformation processes, the conflicts between agents, new threatening conditions on their lives and the change of their work and work-related spaces.

These three notes helped me to draw a threefold interpretative framework, conceptualising "diverse landscapes and diverse works." In this context, I brought three claims together in the same direction to the field notes: **(I)** The history of land is the history of labour: Labour is a human capacity; hence it is a biological concept. Human beings transform its surroundings and itself through labour articulating to the production relations (Marx, 1961:180). Labour is also a material force amongst labour relations, because the production accumulates through the generation and exploitation of cheap labour (Moore, 2018: 237-279). The emergence of *gecekondus*, generally, could exemplify both claims on labour. On the one hand, *gecekondus* were landscapes of alternative and communal labouring. On the other hand, those settlements were providing cheap labour and functioning as apparatuses of the reproduction of cheap labour during the urbanisation/industrialisation processes (Şenyapılı, 1978).

In this line of thought, to scrutinise on work in relation with Marxist conception of labour, I was highly influenced of meta-theoretical approach of Hannah Arendt (1998). Arendt distinguishes labour and work deliberately, not to mystify human experience of work and its processes. Krishan Kumar (1989) claims that the world of work the conceptualisations around work are changing. Production is getting more and more depended on "immaterial labour," and traditional grasp of working class is not applicable to our world. Therefore, he follows the attempts of Arendt to concentrate on "work" in the twenty-first century. Although "work" is accepted as employment or job widely in society; it is indeed a "historically produced institution"

of labour relations (2-17). Since, it could be claimed that if the history of land is the history of labour, the reproduction of work is both biopolitical and sociospatial.²²⁰

This perspective opens a ground for the second claim: **(II)** The division of land is also the division of labour. The interrelation of "cheap labour" and *gecekondus* could be further exemplified through variant works of *gecekondus* such as unrecorded, insecure, non-formal, self-employed works which are biopolitical and sociospatial constructs of exploitative labour relations. Those works, hence, are a part of economy although they are counted as non-work or non-market work (Tilly & Tilly, 1998: 21-22). There is an uneven share of all work, distributing toil, lack of leisure, lack of autonomy, insecurity, and poverty with a majority of population, including *gecekondus* people, labelling their labour as "unskilled." To make an emphasise the land/labour relation and work as an institution, I employed term couples "diverse works" and "diverse landscapes." "Diverse works" are variant types of earning a livelihood including not only market work, but also self-employed, non-market types of work which have reproduced Çinçin as a "diverse landscape." The diversity, herein, is related with diverse types of work, rather than ethnicity/race or religion.

In the third and last stance, as Çinçin residents conceptualise different types of works in their particular ways and in relation with the urban transformation, I pointed out that **(III)** there is a dialectical relationship between work and urban transformation; "diverse works" and Çinçin as "diverse landscapes." When urban space is transformed, diverse works are transformed too; and vice versa. However, these two

²²⁰ In the research, I attempted to define work also as a biopolitical construct. Labour is human effort, it is embedded in the biology, the body of human. Then, the reproduction of labour relations is biopolitical; since not only unemployment, toil, cheap and insecure types of work but also where and how those cheap labourers live in the city are unevenly distributed. Both work and urban space become a mechanism of reproduction of this uneven distribution. At this point, the research implicates that there is a strong link between work, biopolitics and urban space. There is a widely referred path in the conception of biopolitics from Foucault to Deleuze and Guattari, or from structural to post-structural philosophies in the 1970s and 1980s. Hardt and Negri (2001) argue that there is a reconciliation in this path because of not considering the radical actors of labour relations which changed since the late twentieth century (Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri, 2001: 45-50).

transformations have critical crossings such as the changing conceptualisations of legitimate and illegitimate works in time; or the reduction of social capacity of work. This threefold framework, and the last and main claim of thesis was supported by multiple actors in each chapter. I used this interpretative framework to analyse the radical urban transformation of Çiğir, focusing on four actors: Muhtars, houseworkers; the Usta and the Kabadayı.

Muhtars and houseworkers have a special place in Turkish urbanisation history in the making of neighbourhood. In Çiğir, I met current and former *muhtars* sitting in front of shops or in their *muhtarlık* offices. Urban *muhtarlık* is an institution established for administration of neighbourhood as the smallest living unit of the city in the late Ottoman Empire period (Çadircı, 1970). Muhtars are elected in every five years independently from political parties, inside and by their communities. Since its establishment, *muhtars* have social power, they are leaders and mediators between the government and their communities. It is noticeable that this power of *muhtarlık* has been a target of recent government, as they have been organising "Muhtar Meetings" to announce political agenda since 2015. Evidently, *muhtarlık* established as a neighbourhood related-work with a social role was targeted to initiate the urban transformation projects in Çiğir in 2005. Depending on interviews, the *muhtars* claimed that they took an active role to mediate Altındağ Municipality and Çiğir community, persuading *gecekondu* residents either to move out from the district for a small amount of money or to move to TOKİs with a debt system if they could afford. As themselves question, the informant *muhtars* have been working as unofficial real estate agents. Together with the loose of neighbourhoods in relocating/rescaling/renaming processes *muhtars'* relation with their community has been changed, their social power has got diminished. The dilemma occurred in their work which was reproduced as a part of daily life at the neighbourhood level.

Muhtarlık is one of the most governmental work of a neighbourhood in Turkey. The *muhtars* have a small amount of regular wage and their helpers are volunteers. In

contrast to *muhtarlık*, housework isn't even counted as a type of work, in the basis of a general grasp of the male world of work and market economy. It is a significant debate that housework is an unpaid work composed of a variety of tasks such as cleaning and cooking, care work of elder family members and children. It takes time and effort and institutionalised under marriage. With a departure on this claim, I observed that houseworkers of Çiğir narrate their district through their works inside and outside the district differentiated as paid and unpaid housework. Housework of a *daire* is a paid work for many of the informant women. It is a temporary, informal work without insurance outside Çiğir. Hence, the informants pointed out that they want to move to a *daire* mainly for their children who wouldn't be at least a paid houseworker. On the other hand, the difference between *gecekondu* and *daire* (an apartment unit) also stems from the spatialities housework. Because the housework of Çiğir *gecekondus* blurs the inside/outside separation of a house and leads Çiğir women be more visible and active in the making of neighbourhood. Therefore, houseworkers of Çiğir preferred *gecekondus*' housework which indeed defines their daily life, social relations with an entangled relation of work/ leisure and inside/outside of a house.

These two regular neighbourhood related works were investigated together to face with the contradictions of urban transformation. Supporting the main thesis that "there is a dialectical relationship between diverse works and urban transformation of Çiğir;" the collective memories and narratives of *muhtars* and houseworkers reveal evidence that (I) there is not always two opposing sides as state and society; the municipality and *gecekondu* community; or "informal" and "formal" modes of urbanisation. Since *muhtars*' social role at their neighbourhood was targeted by Altındağ municipality. Although the residents preferred radical urban transformation and narrated it as a hope to upgrade their wealth and social status shifting from *gecekondu* to *daire*, the transformation has led to a more precarious life in the district for the remaining *gecekondus*.

The *muhtars* and *houseworkers*' regular works in the making of neighbourhood were a part of this urban transformation; as those have also been transformed within the sociospatial change. (II) The contradictions of urban transformation emerged within the political, economical and social layers and work is a significant institution to explore. *Muhtars* and houseworkers works have a particular place in the making of neighbourhood, *mahalle*, in Turkish urbanisation history. (III) Particularly in the narratives of houseworkers and *muhtars*, I decoded that *hope*, *home* and *fate* were regularly used in the recorded interviews. I interpreted that those were used as like as myths in the abstraction of certain situations. "Hope" was used to talk about "benefiting from rising urban rent through using the *gecekondu* land." "Home" was not an existent entity in the lives of informants living in the remaining *gecekondus*. It either belonged to a nostalgic past or future, since the informants were in-between moving out and staying in Çiğir. "Fate" was what work informants did, since they were second or third generation of *gecekondus* and they had to witness with unemployment, toil, insecure and temporal jobs. *Gecekondu* was claimed to be a story between hope and fate by one of the *muhtars*, which I reinterpreted that *gecekondu* is a story between urban rent and work.

During the fieldwork, I met several former *muhtars* and houseworkers referring two particular characters; one usta (craftsman) who was a participant of the 68-generation and calling himself as one of the revolutionists being active between the late 1950s until 1980; and one *kabadayı* (tough guy, social bandit) who was active in the 1950s and 1960s. I conducted biographical interviewing with these two characters. Political and urban consequences of *gecekondus* such as communal labouring culture and unemployment produced a base for these agencies to emerge in Çiğir. Communal labouring capacity of *gecekondus* brought revolutionists and Old Altındağ people together; students and workers. The Usta, Mustafa pursued being a craftsman after 1980 in Çiğir. Usta's craftsmanship, skilled and self-employed manual work, was an alternative practice fitting with his understanding of the "revolution." Since the Usta could practice teaching arts and crafts to the youth, he was producing not only material

goods but also social and political values. Although the Usta had to fit with the needs of Çinçin after 1980, such as making big size wooden furniture smaller to fit in the small inner space of a *kondu*, he resisted against the mechanisation of labour and the lack of adequate income until the 2000s. After the mass demolition of the district, Usta moved his workshop place from *gecekondu* to an arts and crafts institution organised by the municipality, ironically, in a prison having a significant place for the 68-generation and turned into a memory-museum. Usta was about to move out from Çinçin during the fieldwork, he tried to hide this fact in the first meetings and then he stated that moving out of Çinçin would change the meaning of his life mixed with a moral praxis as being an *usta* of *gecekondus*.

Kabadayı Necmi's life story and historical background of *kabadayılık* reveal that *kabadayılık* was emerged under the political and economical consequences of *gecekondus*, and particularly unemployment and claimed to be practiced with a social role at the neighbourhood level similar to the revolutionary *ustalık*.²²¹ Kabadayılık was practiced around Altındağ *gecekondus* actively in the 1950s and 1960s, and diminished after 1980. As informants told, petty crime such as pickpocketing was not a case inside the district during the popular *kabadayıs* inhabited Old Altındağ. However, newly emerging agents representing themselves as *kabadayıs* were claimed to be unemployed young men becoming new agents of increasing drug rent. *Ustalık* and *kabadayılık* was accepted and respected at past. Although *kabadayılık* was associated with petty-crime, it was legitimate for the community, because of the social role. **(I)** Evidently, both the Usta and Kabadayı as radical actors of Çinçin stated that they lost their links with the place through losing their legitimacy of works, which was the social capacity of what they were doing to survive. **(II)** Urban transformation initiated in 2005 was a rupture changing inside/outside dynamics of the district, it reduced the capacity of social roles of radical actors inside the district. **(III)** The crime

²²¹ We accepted *kabadayılık* as one of the diverse works because informants accepted it. However, it is not possible to claim that all *kabadayıs* in Çinçin had a social role in the mentioned time period.

ratio has been increased in the district since 2005 with newly emerging actors; and the capacity of living together got diminished together with the capacity of social roles of multiple actors.

6.1.1. Limitations of Research

There are limitations I faced during the fieldwork. First of all, it was hard to reach quantitative and demographic data about the remaining *gecekondus* to support the fieldwork with the answers of sub-questions such as the number of remaining *gecekondus*, and gender/age /work information about each individual. Two key informants, Mustafa and Osman, directed the fieldwork. I could interview their relatives and neighbours living in the remaining *gecekondus*. By that means, this research is not representative; rather, I tried to combine narratives of interlocutors with the historical data focusing on the pre-urbanisation, urbanisation and neo-liberal urbanisation periods.

In order to analyse the sociospatial transformation initiated at the beginning of the 2000s, I defined a primary target group who would be at least 35 years old, and the interlocutors I could reach were generally second and third generation of *gecekondus*. I didn't have a focus on the youth -who were subjected more on criminalisation- and their spatial relations such as schools and youth clubs. Youth, the informal labour of underaged residents and their expectations for the future could provide insights on the changing production relations and work. Also, informants delineated the 1960s, 1970s and 2000s (in the continuum of the late 1990s); yet they did not delineate the 1980s. Indeed, there is a transformation between 1980 and the late 1990s before the mass demolition in 2005. The transformation in this period could be researched with the conceptualisations of displacement and marginalisation in a more sociological level. Therefore, the gap in the 1980s could be understood both as a limitation and a new problematic about Çinçin's urban transformation.

6.1.2. Overall Assessment

The dialectical relationship between radical urban transformation and work in Çinçin shows that the neighbourhood-related types of works with social roles could be a target of urban politics; since the informant *muhtars* and houseworkers narrated the contradictions emerged during the processes of urban transformation through their own roles and sociospatial dimensions of their works. On the other hand, radical agents of Çinçin, the *Usta* and *Kabadayı*, narrated the changing legitimacy of their works 1980; and the urban transformation of the 2000s was a rupture in the possibility of living together which was once established within a particular sociospatial labour culture. In this context, I attempted to posit a theoretical framework and offer to reframe the issue of transformation through "diverse landscapes and diverse works." Çinçin Bağları is a diverse landscape of diverse works produced by a multitude of actors dealing with changing production relations, marginal, temporal and insecure types of work, and unemployment.

How could I reframe a radically transformed urban fabric through these multiple actors? To answer this problematic, I followed my observations, experiences in the field work, and the information given by the informants. The informants I met during the fieldwork directed the process and focus of this research. They are labourers of Çinçin as *muhtars*, paid/unpaid houseworkers, *usta* representing revolutionary craftsmanship of the 68-generation and other diverse workers as artisans, grocers, pedlars, cemetery servants, workers of *Siteler* and hospitals, and in addition *kabadayı* representing unemployed youth with a social role of the 1950s, 60s and 70s. I focused on specifically four actors, *muhtars*, houseworkers, *usta* and *kabadayı*. Looking at these agents, it is possible to argue work as a sociospatial construct of labor relations which stands in-between work as a capability and work as a material force. Diverse works of Çinçin *gecekondus* have an important agency in the production of space whereas those are composed of mostly informal labourers who define themselves and cultural identity of the district through mostly temporal, insecure, non-market works,

changing conditions of unemployment and the diminished capacity of social roles of their works.

Production of space is both an ongoing production of material surroundings, physical objects, goods; and myths, beliefs, affections, sociospatial relations which steer our daily lives in the city (Lefebvre, 2016: 33). Hence, the main claim is that **there is a dialectical relationship between urban transformation and work** where we could find out the contradictions and conflicts emerged in the production of space after the radical urban transformation initiated in 2005 in Çinçin. These contradictions and conflicts reflected amongst the work lives; conceptualisations of works (legitimacy/illegitimacy of works or marginalisation of the actors); and sociospatial relations which define the inside/outside dynamics of the district where "people has long been suffering from unemployment and poverty." The history of Çinçin is history of labour whereas it is being reproduced within the urban transformation. Çinçin *gecekondus* are, in this context, diverse landscapes of diverse works; and the urban transformation could be analysed through the investigation of the interrelation between landscapes and works.

This research is significant in the field, because it offers to reframe *gecekondus* beyond an urban phenomenon and analyses sociospatial urban history of a particular district through the lens of "work." To that extend, this research aimed to further discuss "qualitative methodology" in spatial research. The qualitative methodology was both a tool of investigation narrating "research as a process" through text. It was an attempt to combine collective narratives with the historical data to document and rethink on a radically intervened place. As it was aforementioned, the fieldwork steered all the research process directing it to the "work" unexpectedly. In the second stance, the research implies that we need to criticise and steer alternative theoretical frames looking at the particular *gecekondus* districts where there is a multitude of actors. In doing so, the lens of work could be a departure to initiate labour-centred urban transformation policies which should include diverse agents and communities who are

active actors facing with poverty, unemployment and criminalisation in the *gecekondu*s so far. In this line, this research could be one of the grounds for future urban debate on new local urban conditions of urban crisis which is also a part of the crisis of unemployment, employment and labour relations.

6.2. Implications: Landscapes, Works and Social Actors

What could this framework, fieldwork and findings implicate for future urban research? From a general point of view, it could be argued that urban transformation and transformation of work are global material forces which will inevitably transform our lives and spaces we inhabit at local and global scales. Since, globally and locally transformed work within the transformation of production relations is also a spatial transformation reflecting to our urban experience, our habits and culture of everyday life. Hereby, I want to comment on one of the controversial design trends called "hipster." Hipster design targets and occupies the emptied factory or workshop places, or left industrial zones of the city, emptied because of the change of type of industrial production. It usually appropriates the materials of those factories, turns them into decorative design objects generating a particular kind of consumable aesthetics. Since, it turns the transformation's self into a commodity, totalising diverse cultures such as dominating tea gardens with "new generation" cafes. Although production of goods has gained speed and mobility and its place is not only the urban space but also the virtual spaces of online shopping; hipster design is ironically marketing handmade, homemade design objects, household enterprises, recalling for slow food and slowly brewed new generation coffee. Moreover, those new generation cafes generate the spatial culture of flexible, fragmented and mobile production relations (or types of work) for middle class who inhabit those places with their notebooks for long hours.²²²

²²² Tanıl Bora, Aksu Bora, 2011.



Figure 6.1. Migrant workers. John Berger, and Jean Mohr, 2010[1975]: 51. The photograph is depicting precariousness of bodies of unemployed migrants as replaceable parts of a global production machine of the 1970s.

Urban daily life is surrounded by new generation hipster cafes replaced with tea gardens and former coffee places which could have brought diverse actors together, producing a more inclusive publicity for people from different economic levels. However, neither urbanisation nor urban transformation are referring one total global process, produced through one neoliberal practise affecting human and non-human lives in a solely negative way. At this point, it is worth mentioning that different geographies have different urban histories and there could be particular urban transformation strategies and/or emergent relations. For instance, in Turkey there is still a culture of shopping which keeps former production relations and alternative practices alive, yet within a limited capacity. To that extend, what distinguishes a bazaar (*pazar* and/or *çarşı* in Turkish) or a small shop of an artisan (*dükkan*) from a shop in a shopping mall or virtual online shops? It is the urban culture of the former one makes. The processes of production and shopping/ stopping by a shop as a part of production relations reproduce urban daily life bringing different people from diverse

economical/cultural backgrounds together. The living units where are still called as a neighbourhood, *mahalle*, in Turkey usually have this sociospatial capacity in the continuum of diverse types of work

In this context, grasping work as a sociospatial construct could be a strategy considering that there are multiple dimensions and multitude of actors in the production processes which produce not only goods or products but also space in alternative emergent ways. Work is a historical institution and it is a biopolitical and sociospatial construct through which the urban researchers could explore the dynamics of urban space, constituting a common ground for multiple actors of society, different geographies, excluded and marginalised communities. There is a conflict between actual forces and capabilities of work; whereas there are lost works and landscapes, and lost sociospatial capacities of labouring which indeed is critical in the production of space. However, according to Ernst Bloch, history reveals evidence that basic human drives could have emerged in time under different conditions and contexts (Jameson, 2005:1-9). If work is one of the human capabilities, it could be a crack of the dominating political economy and market relations in the making of space. The dialectical relationship between work and urban space, then, could be a ground to establish alternative, non-market relations stretched over space; it could be where we -as citizens- could find cracks and regenerate capacities and capabilities of diverse landscapes, diverse works.

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APPENDICES

A. Tables of interviews

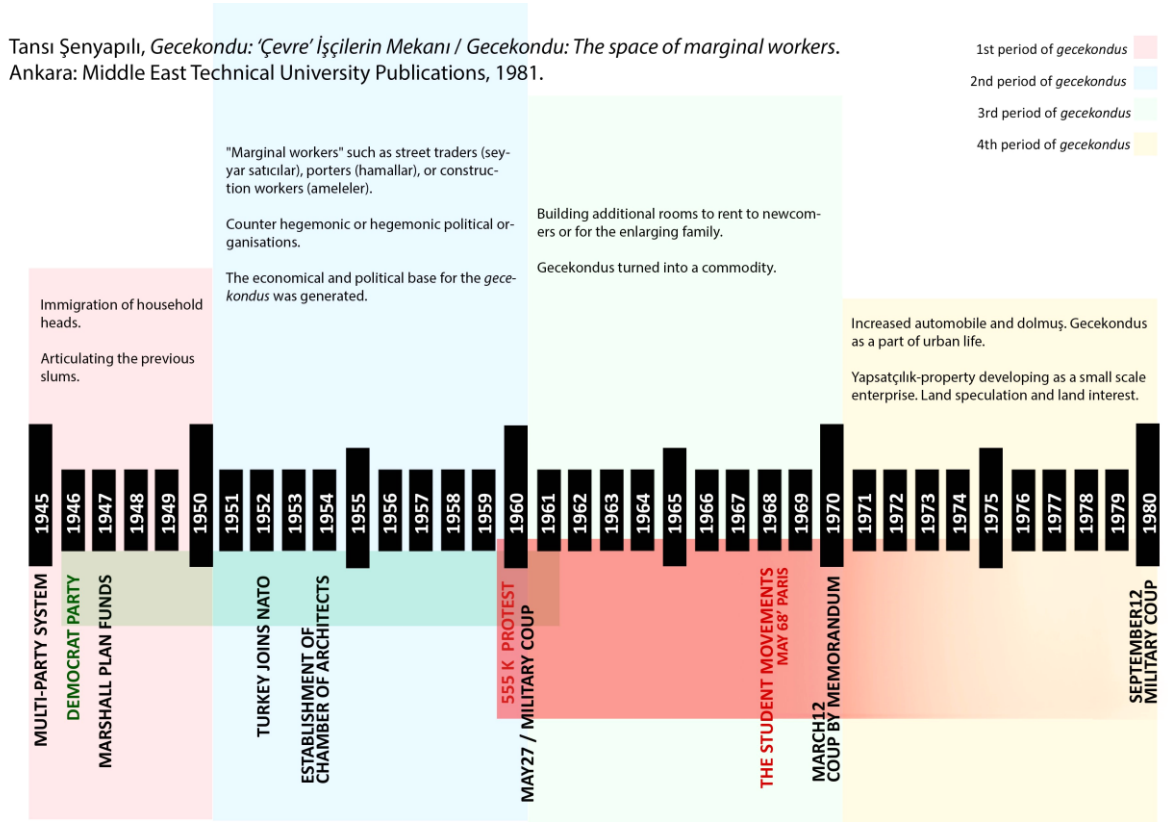
Table I: Questions for semi structured interviews			
Narratives on domestic life	Narratives on places and neighbours	Narratives on diverse works	Narratives on myths, humour and scenarios:
When did you move to Çiçin?	Where is Çiçin?	What do you do now/at past?	Have you watched the movie Düttürü Dünya?
Where/when did you born?	Where are we now?	Where did/do you work?	Where exactly did they live in the movie?
How many people do you live with?	How did the name of neighbourhoods change?	How did/do you work?	Do you know about Yolunda AŞ?
Could you tell about your children and partner?	Which name do you use to define your neighbourhood?	Could you define your work?	Do you know Yılmaz Güney's novel about Çiçin?
Are you the owner of your home?	How do you go to your work/Ulus/Kızılay?	Could you define the family members' work?	Do you know TRT's documentary on Nevzat Özbay?
When did you become the owner?	Who are your neighbours? Could you inform about your neighbours?	What do your neighbours do as work?	Who is the best known <i>kabadayı</i> in Çiçin?
Could you define your previous home/hometown and life?	Where did your ex neighbours move?	Can you define your one regular day from morning to evening?	What does "Çiçin no entrance!" mean as it is reflected on the media? When and why people use this idiom?
	Do you have your ex neighbours at the TOKİs?		What is the best thing about Çiçin?
	What do you think about criminal issues of Çiçin?		What is the worse thing about Çiçin?
	How are the rituals of entertainment at the neighbourhood?		
	How do you/your children define your home address when someone asks where you live?		
	How often do you go to Çiçin Dörtüol?		
	How did Çiçin Dörtüol change?		
	Which hospitals do you often go?		
	Have you ever visited Asri Cemetery? Why?		
	Who is your muhtar? Do you often visit muhtarlık office? Why?		
<p>Note: As a part of biographical questions, we asked education status, occupation, and more detailed questions about parents, siblings, children, neighbours' education, place of birth and etc. We asked women more questions about their children to open the dialog and about their daily life activities, since they don't count housework as a work and their work and leisure is more intricate.</p> <p><i>The fieldwork is approved by the Ethics Committee in Human Research at METU.</i></p>			

Table II: Interviews (Fieldwork: 2018 May-September—2019 June-September)							
Pseudo name	Date of interviews day.month.year <i>ur.</i> :unrecorded <i>r.</i> : recorded	Age/Gender	Born in	Lives in / since	Works	Family notes Home	Other notes
Kabadaşı Necmi or Necmi Baba	07.07.19 <i>r.</i> 08.07.19 <i>ur.</i>	1942 male	Çinçin	Çinçin, remaining <i>gecekondus</i> since he was born.	Unemployed. Rowdy having a social responsibility as defending justice inside the district.	Three children, one wife. All of the children (two daughters and one son) had formal employments. His son is a lawyer, one daughter is an officer and the other is a nurse.	Not defined exactly. He has associated with petty crime as pickpocketing. Yolunda AŞ.
Mustafa	15.06.19 <i>ur.</i> 25.06.19 <i>r.</i> 28.06.19 <i>r.</i> 02.08.19 <i>ur.</i> (except field trips)	1946 male	Kayseri	Çinçin, since 1980; <i>gecekondus</i> .	Usta craftsman	Lives alone, has one child (35 years old), but he got divorced in his 30s.	Key informant.
Osman	10.05.2018 <i>ur.</i> 15.05.2018 <i>ur.</i> 07.07.2019 <i>ur.</i> 25.07.2019 <i>r.</i> (except field trips)	1972 male	Yozgat	Çinçin remaining <i>gecekondus</i> since 1983	worked in woodworking in Siteler, currently works at METU as a cleaning worker.	Two daughters, both had high school graduation and have an employment as workers.	Key informant.
Bahar	29.07.2019 <i>ur.</i> 30.07.2019 <i>ur.</i> 31.07.2019 <i>r.</i>	1967 female	A village of Çankırı	Çinçin remaining <i>gecekondus</i> since she was 18, came after marriage	Unpaid and paid houseworker	Three children, all have an employment. Her husband is retired and she cares her mother-law.	Mustafa's neighbor
Gül	28.06.19 <i>ur.</i> 02.08.19 <i>ur.</i>	1968 female	Haymana	Çinçin remaining <i>gecekondus</i> since she was 20	Unpaid and paid houseworker	"Giving one's daughter to the TOKİs"	Randomly met during a field trip with Mustafa
Nejat	07.07.19 <i>r.</i> and <i>ur.</i>	1957 male	Ankara	Living currently in Çinçin since 1966 when he was at primary school.	Muhtar's helper. (Muhtar azası.)	Two sons both have an employment.	Orhan's friend "Are we real-estate-agents?"

Table II: Interviews (Fieldwork: 2018 May-September—2019 June-September)							
Artisan Haluk and Hayriye	07.07.19 <i>r.</i> and <i>ur.</i>	Haluk: 1952 male Hayriye: 1963 female	Haluk: Kızılca hamam Ankara , Hayriye: Çiğin	Haluk: Çiğin since 1977 Hayriye: since she was born	Artisan Hosiery, shopkeeper	Haluk is an artisan since 30 years in Çiğin at the same shop. Hayriye is the neighbour living in the apartment nearby Haluk's shop.	Orhan's friend -Mental map
Artisan Mehmet Hardware store	07.07.19 <i>r.</i> and <i>ur.</i>	1972 male	Erzurum	Çiğin since he was born	Artisan Hardware store	"After gecekondus there is no need for our shop."	Orhan's friend
Hüsni	07.07.19 <i>r.</i> and <i>ur.</i>	1953 male	A village of Ankara	Çiğin since 1959	Former muhtar currently works at a carpenter shop	-Comments about the 1960s and 1970s. - "Çiğin is a place which should be known through hardworking people, and people who could be able to have good jobs; not through thieves and drug gangs" - Orhan's friend	
Ali	07.07.19 <i>r.</i> and <i>ur.</i>	1965 male	A village of Ankara	Çiğin since he was born	Football trainer	- Comments about the 1960s and 1970s, and Çalışkanlar neighbourhood. - "Çiğin is a place which should be known through hardworking people, and people who could be able to have good jobs; not through thieves and drug gangs" - Orhan's friend	
Halim	09.07.2019 <i>ur.</i> 10.07.209 <i>r.</i>	1967 male	born in Çiğin gecekondus	Çiğin gecekondus until 2010. Moved to Tuzluca	Recently tour guide in the Municipality since 3 years	Working at the municipality and working as a pedlar. Have one daughter and one son (18).	- Orhan's friend - Mental map
Wedding gathering of women Focus Group	15.07.2019 <i>ur.</i> & <i>r.</i>	Variable	Haymana, Yozgat, Çorum Çiğin for youth	<p>It was a gathering started at 12 pm. ended in 8 pm. I stayed at the district for the first time after sunset. I turned back with a group of women who moved out to Sincan from Çiğin. There was a free bus because of 15th July celebration in Kızılay.</p> <p>Three women were at their 60s and 70s. There were also young women studying at university level, and their mothers at their 30s and 40s.</p> <p>In Orhan's <i>gecekondus</i> yard in Çiğin.</p> <p>Mostly unpaid and paid houseworkers except women under 30.</p> <p>Nesil and Ayşe gave a lot of information about housework, neighbourhood and current domestic issues.</p>			
Metin	25.05.18 <i>ur.</i>	male	Yozgat	Çiğin, remaining <i>gecekondus</i>	Muhtar	x Just observed the <i>muhtarlık</i> , talked about changing names and borders of the neighbourhoods.	

Table II: Interviews (Fieldwork: 2018 May-September—2019 June-September)							
Yasin	25.05.18 <i>ur.</i>	1955 male	A village of Ankara	Çinçin, remaining <i>gecekondu</i> .	Formerly pedlar.	Living with his daughter's family.	Pilot interview
Murat	04.07.2019 / <i>r.</i>	1987 male	Ankara	Çinçin since 2009 in TOKİ Stage 1	Research assistant at METU	Live at the neighbourhood since 2009 with his mother and father. Their own property, their first property. First TOKİ settlers.	Met at METU. He had never been in Çinçin New Dörtüyl Mental map.
Hasan	10.06.19 <i>ur.</i>	1965 male	Kayseri	TOKİ Stage 1 Former land owner of a <i>gecekondu</i> .	TOKİ officers at apartment management	Living with his wife. Having two sons.	Met randomly inside TOKİ apartment management office.
Two women at the TOKİ apartment management office	10.06.19 <i>ur.</i>	1983 and 1980 female	One in Ankara, one in Mersin	TOKİ Stage 1- works since two/ three years.	TOKİ officers at apartment management	One of the women also lives in TOKİ Stage 1. They told that there are four separate blocks for former land owners ("for <i>gecekondu</i> people")	Met randomly inside TOKİ apartment management office.

B. Mapping: Tansı Şenyapılı's *gecekondu* research and political consequences in Turkey



Mapping Şenyapılı's research (1981). Second period was the most intense period.

In the literature of *gecekondu*, Tansı Şenyapılı's research is one of the pioneering research (1981) briefly focusing on the "marginal" work and changing production relations in the expansion of *gecekondu*. Şenyapılı's temporalization will be elaborated in this part, since her research carries a special place in the conceptualisation of work, labor and *gecekondu*. Şenyapılı's research states four time periods within different urban conditions and economic trajectories shaping the urban fabric of *gecekondu*: 1945-1950, 1950-1960, 1960-1970, 1970-1980.

In the first period -a half decade before 1950- the rural migration had started. In that pre-industrial period, generally the household heads (men/husband/father) migrated before moving with the whole family to earn family's keep, sent necessary money back to town and possibly settled in the city for the future of family. They built their slum settlements articulating the previous slums without infrastructure. Between 1950 and 1960, the second immigration wave which was highly intensive due to the former came. There were neither employment capacity nor housing stock for those newcomers as well as the earlier ones. The slum settlements became squatter settlements (*gecekondu*) and they gradually formed the urban fabric with a denser view of houses, yards and narrow streets in the margins of city (Şenyapılı, 1981, pp. 43-45). Old Altındağ Hills and its fabric had been shaped in this way.

Between 1950 and 1960, during the second period, as a consequence of the rapid rise of industrialisation, the production modes required marginal labor. The migrants provided the low-cost labor to push up the process of industrialisation without any workers' right, organisation, institution or assurance. Therefore, the notion of "marginal" determined both the peripheral neighbourhoods as *gecekondu*s and the inhabitants as "marginal workers" such as street traders (*seyyar satıcılar*), porters (*hamallar*), or construction workers (*ameleler*). Counter hegemonic or hegemonic political organisations in these neighborhoods also had started to take action in this period in terms of claiming urban rights such as infrastructure, school and health centre. To gain power from a major part of population, the government provided these rights and they started to give land titles of the *gecekondu*s partly. Eventually, the economical and political base for the *gecekondu*s was generated between 1950 and 1960 (Şenyapılı, 1981, pp. 43-45).

In the third period from 1960 up to 1970, the inhabitants of *gecekondu*s mostly built within small gardens, openings or yards started to enlarge their houses through building additional rooms. Since the migration was going on, some of the rooms of *gecekondu*s were rented to the newcomers and in that way *gecekondu* turned into a commodity, an income. While the tiny *gecekondu*s were changing and getting larger, some of the older inhabitants were also changing their marginal jobs. Indeed it was not a change of class, but at least an improvement in the life conditions and social status. This flexibility of spatial change is taken as a contrasting, prominent feature of the *gecekondu*s in contrast with formal and institutional social housing projects for the formal workers, in Turkish word, *lojman*s (Şenyapılı, 1981, p. 47). The immanent flexibility, hence, occurred as the chance of improvement in social and economical status for an inhabitant.

In the last period, between 1970 to 1980, the need and capacity of urban transportation compound by the growth of cities. As a result, the number of automobile and *dolmuş* was increased, the networks of public transportation were developed, and those led the *gecekondu*s be an inseparable part of urban life. *Yapsatçılık* which means property developing as a small scale enterprise came along at the same time. Any free entrepreneur -*müteahhit* in Turkish- built three to four floored apartments in the sites of *gecekondu*s and through demolishing the one or two *gecekondu*s. Thus, the inhabitants of *gecekondu*s became the significant agents of land speculation and land interest in the last decade of urbanization due to the intense rural migration (Şenyapılı, 1981, p. 48). The transformation or the changing nature of *gecekondu*s within the processes of demolition and construction is still an issue essential to the *gecekondu*s as an urban phenomena.

Political Consequences:

The political repression of the 1970s turned into an apparent political violence between two coups: March 12 Coup in 1971 and September 12 Coup in 1980. Between 1950 and 1980, the migration was defined as massive, rural and chain. Indeed, the waves of migration from small cities to big cities included particular histories of domination of ethnic, religious and racial minorities, but the major causation was the shift in the production relations in the processes of urbanization. After the 1970s, within the raise of identity politics of the era, the migration has started to be defined as forced displacement within urban transformation, rather than rural migration within urbanization. Ankara from the establishment of republican nation-state up till present have been the face and place of political trajectories, thus the public spaces of Ankara have had a feature of representing the contradictions of Turkish politics. The major political and social events came within the 1970s wave of political violence

listed chronologically below to highlight the sharpening urban tension of Turkey, and to envision the public spaces of cities between 1970s and 2016:

- 1971 March 12 Coup, by memorandum.
- 1972, The execution of "Denizler" a group of three young men, Deniz Gezmiş, Yusuf Aslan and Hüseyin İnan who are the symbols of 68 generation in Ankara.
- 1977 1 May, The Taksim Square massacre. In Taksim Square, in the central square of Istanbul, random shots from the surrounding buildings and police intervention caused tens be killed and hundreds injured during the Labour Day celebrations. It is claimed that between 34 and 42 persons killed and 126 and 220 persons being injured caused by the panic and shots.
- 1978 December, Maraş massacre and 1980 May-July, Çorum massacre between Alevi and Sunni ethnic groups. Caused *Alevi*s to immigrate.
- 1980 September 12, The military coup by the leadership of Kenan Evren.²²³
- 1993 2 July, Sivas massacre, Madımak Hotel massacre. Caused *Alevi*s to immigrate.
- 1993–1999 Turkish Kurdish conflict turned into a war which destroyed over 3,000 Kurdish villages, causing at least 2 million refugees.
- 1980-1989 there happened murders of important political figures by unknown assailants.
- 1994 27 March local elections for Ankara. Melih Gökçek won election and became Mayor of Ankara as from the in secular islamic Welfare Party (*RP*). Then, he joined the [Justice and Development Party](#) (*AKP*) in 2004 and won the following municipal elections and kept being the mayor until 2017.

Rapidly changing political climate has created a violated effect amongst the daily life in the cities. The first half of the 2010s, we witnessed the occupy style protests and its embodiment in Turkey as Gezi Park Protests which created a hope for a more democratic production of public space standing in opposition to the formal-institutional regulations, deep neoliberal urban transformations such as mega projects and massive demolishment of TOKİs. However the repression and over-control came within the months after Gezi Park Protests through multiple trajectories. Social traumas such as the continuing forced-migration flows from Middle Eastern countries, and witnessing the new tension between migrants and locals in the cities, unexpected bombing attacks in the central places and a failed putsch caused a war-like fighting between the army and masses, new forms of mistrust and discrimination in the social space, unstable economy with the reports of an upcoming economical crisis. We still develop our tools to analyse Ankara under these consequences of the last decade. As one of the rare works with this attempt, Batuman's (2018) research demonstrates that the sociospatial urban tension took another feature: Vulnerability. Perhaps, it is not surprising that the urban transformation of Old Altındağ with an unhealthy view of ruinscape have become a contingent scene of Ankara recently.

- 2013 Gezi Park Protests: A wave of occupy movements reflected in the public spaces for months in various cities across Turkey. The generative protests began on 28 May 2013 against the urban transformation plan for Taksim Gezi Park, including Taksim Square and a big area. Due to the official news, three and a half million people are estimated to have taken part in hundreds of

²²³ Erik J. Zürcher, *Turkey: A Modern History* (London and New York: I.B. Tauris, 1993/2007).

demonstrations. Caused eleven people to be killed and more than 8,000 were injured because of police violation.²²⁴

- Ankara Bombings: Three suicidal bombing attacks took place in Ankara, several in Turkey. Several other suicidal bombings happened in several cities like Istanbul and Kayseri. The most traumatic attack was 10 October 2015 when two suicide bombings were detonated outside Ankara Central Railway Station, during a left wing demonstration, caused 109 civilians to die and hundreds to get injured who gathered for the demonstration.²²⁵ In the following bombing on 17 February 2016, at least 30 people were killed and 60 were injured in a car bombing attack to a convoy of shuttles carrying both civilian and military personnel in the traffic rush hour in a very central place.²²⁶ The third occurred on 13 March 2016 in Kızılay, Güvenpark Ankara. Again a bombing car blew up crashing a public bus. 37 people were killed and 125 injured, with 19 being heavily injured.²²⁷ The bombings in Ankara have affected the society and public space in a very negative way all over Turkey, especially in Ankara. The October 10 bombing was the deadliest terror attack in Turkish history. And 13 March bombing was very unexpected because it occurred in the very centre of the capital city, one of the most overprotected area by the police, and Sunday around six pm, any time. After the bombings the number of police in public space apparently increased.
- (1) On 11 January 2016, "1128 academics in Turkey and abroad signed a petition calling on Turkish authorities to cease state violence in mainly Kurdish populated areas," and a majority of them "have suffered insults, arrest, detention or suspension as a result of the ensuing smear campaign." The lawsuit processes are running on. Some of the academics left the country. Since, the academic community has been facing the different ways intervention and repression of the government in many aspects of production of knowledge.²²⁸
- 15 July 2016 failed coup attempt: During the failed coup attempt, over three hundred people were killed and more than two thousand were injured who were mostly civilians being called to defend the nation against the attempt (Batuman, 2018).

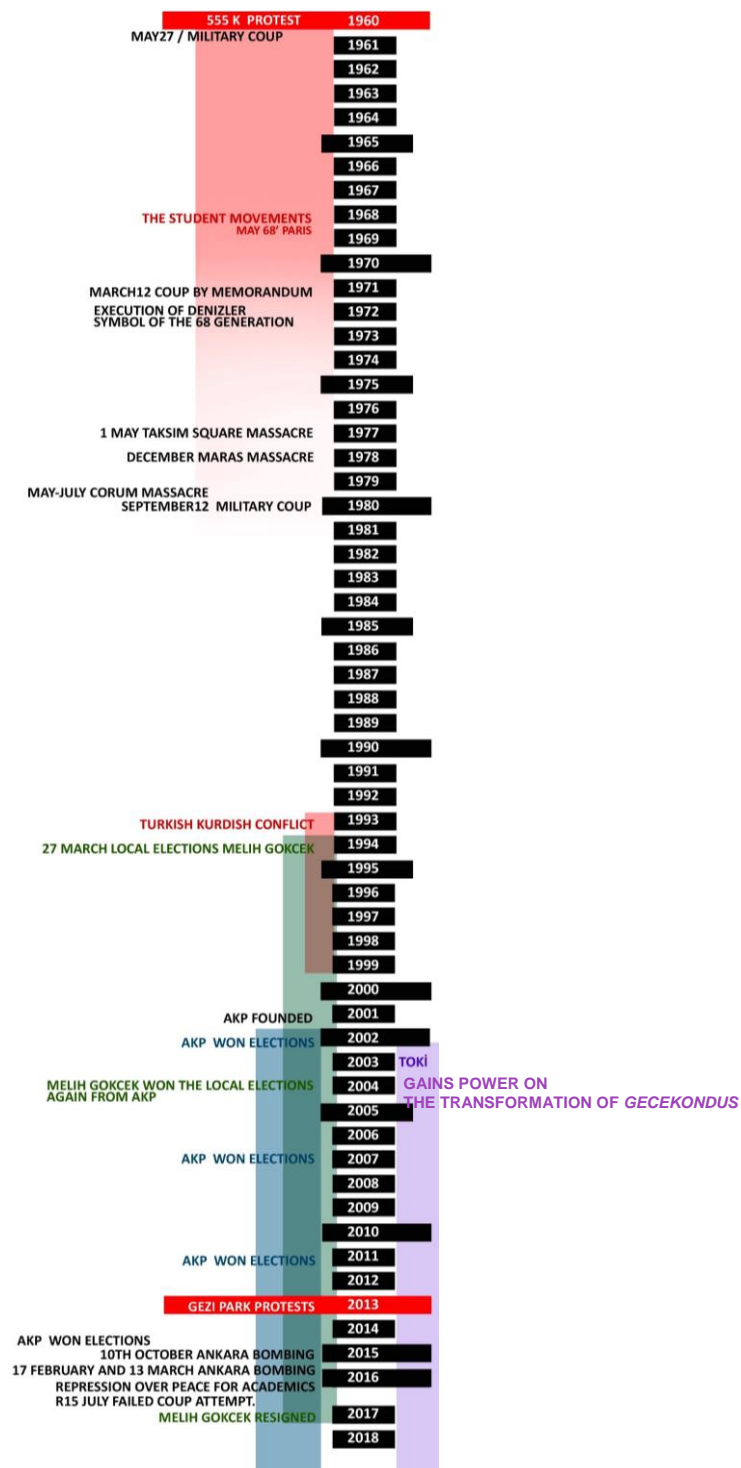
²²⁴ "Gezi Park Protests: Brutal Denial Of The Right To Peaceful Assembly In Turkey,". Amnesty International, accessed 3 May, 2018.

²²⁵ Serkan Demirtaş, "[Does Turkey have to learn to live with terror?](http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/opinion/serkan-demirtas/does-turkey-have-to-learn-to-live-with-terror-96501)" Hürriyet Daily News, retrieved 17 March 2016, <http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/opinion/serkan-demirtas/does-turkey-have-to-learn-to-live-with-terror-96501>.

²²⁶ Constanze Letsch, "[Up to 28 killed by Ankara car bomb targeting military personnel](https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/feb/17/ankara-explosion-turkey-injures-large-number-of-people-reports-say)". The Guardian, retrieved 17 February 2016, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/feb/17/ankara-explosion-turkey-injures-large-number-of-people-reports-say>.

²²⁷ "[Explosion in Ankara Kills at Least 34, Turkish Officials Say](https://www.nytimes.com/2016/03/14/world/middleeast/explosion-ankara-turkey.html?_r=0)". The New York Times, retrieved 18 March, 2016, https://www.nytimes.com/2016/03/14/world/middleeast/explosion-ankara-turkey.html?_r=0.

²²⁸ Bahar Baser, Samim Akgönül, Ahmet Erdi Öztürk, "'Academics for Peace' in Turkey: A Case of Criminalising Dissent and Critical Thought Via Counterterrorism Policy." *Critical Studies on Terrorism* 10, no. 2 (2017): 274-296. doi:10.1080/17539153.2017.1326559.



Mapping political consequences in Turkey, 1960-2018.

C. A list of all possible former neighbourhoods of Çiçin

N1| Gültepe Neighbourhood: Existing and enlarged its borders. First stage of TOKİs and first massive destructions started in this neighbourhood.

N2| Server Somuncuoğlu Neighbourhood: **Not existing anymore.** In between Çiçin Dört Yol and Babür street. Server Somuncuoğlu is name of a politician, representative from Menderes Government (Seyman, 1986: 84).

N3| Kemal Zeytinoğlu Neighbourhood: **Not existing anymore.** Kemal Zeytinoğlu is also a name of a politician, representative from Menderes Government (Seyman, 1986: 85).

These three neighbourhoods are depicted as the most famous neighbourhoods of Çiçin in terms of crime phenomena (Seyman, 1986: 85).

N4| Çalışkanlar Neighbourhood: **Not existing anymore.** Some parts of the neighbourhood joined to the enlarged administrative borders of Gültepe and some parts to Plevne neighbourhoods. Therefore it is hard to assume that recent Gültepe Neighbourhood is Old Çiçin Bağları. One of the informants told that Çalışkanlar Primary School's additional building was functioning like a public education centre (halk evi) during the left wing political organisations' activities in the late 1960s and early 1970s in Çiçin. It was a public centre where neighbourhood people were educated literature, cinema, sports, theatre and discuss the political philosophy. Çalışkanlar means hardworking people in Turkish.

N5| Aktaş Neighbourhood: Aktaş is an enlarged neighbourhood like Gültepe, and it might be including some of the former neighbourhoods of Çiçin.

N6| Atilla Neighbourhood: **Not existing anymore,** recently became Aktaş.

N7| Özgürlük Neighbourhood: **Not existing anymore.** Özgürlük means freedom in Turkish.

N9| Cemalbey Neighbourhood: **Not existing anymore.**

N10| Hürriyet Neighbourhood: **Not existing anymore.**

N11| Örnek Neighbourhood was claimed to be a Çiçin neighbourhood by Yaşar Seyman (1986:83). Although it had a very different history of development, some parts might be a close neighbour to Çalışkanlar Neighbourhood and had the same character.

- There were three neighbourhoods in the district which is located as Çiçin by its residents: Gültepe, Plevne, and Aktaş neighbourhoods in 2018. In the same year, Gültepe enlarged over Aktaş and Plevne. Since there is only Gültepe Neighbourhood recently.



Photo: Çalışkanlar Primary School. Photo taken by author in June 2018. One of the informants narrate that Çalışkanlar Primary School's additional building was functioning like a public education centre (halk evi) during the left wing political organisations' activities in 1960s and 1970s in Çiçin. It was a public centre where neighbourhood people were educated literature, cinema, sports, theatre and discuss the political philosophy. Çalışkanlar means hardworking people in Turkish.

D. Table of Archival Research

APPENDIX D					
TABLE III: Table of Archival Research on Çiçin Bağları					
Source	Date	Type	Title	Author/publisher	Summary
Koç University VEKAM Archive	1945	Book	<i>Ankara Şehri'nin Sınırları-Belgeleri ve Mahalle Bölge Teşkilleri</i>	Ankara: Ankara Belediyesi Yayınları.	<p>(-) First law defining the administrative borders of Altındağ District (<i>semt</i>).</p> <p>(-) There are no maps in the document. And there are no places named "Çiçin Bağları" or Hıdırlıktepe.</p> <p>(-) Yenidoğan and Altındağ are stated as neighbours (p.65).</p> <p>(-) There are five zones being not reconstructed due to the laws in the part of Old Ankara (p.25).</p> <p>Quotes in Turkish:</p> <p>"Şehrimizin (eski Ankara kısmı) mürekkebatından beş bölge vardır ki bunlara henüz imar eli değmemiştir. " "Altındağ (nüfus 14,116), Atıfbey (nüfus 7,354), Aktaş (nüfus 2,353), Yenidoğan (nüfus 9,053), Yenihayat (nüfus 4,396) (p.25)."</p> <p>"Altındağ mah. 10, Atıfbey mah. 6, Yenihayat mah. 2, Aktaş mah. 2, Yenidoğan mah. 6 bölgeye bölünmeleri tesbit edilmiştir. Meclisinizce bu teklif kabul buyrulduğu takdirde bu mahallelere bölgeler miktarınca, ayrı ayrı muhtar ve ihtiyar hey'etleri seçimi yapılmalıdır." 16 Nisan 1945 günü okuyup kabul edilmiş ve onaylanmıştır (p.43)."</p>
	1989	Book	<i>İlçemiz Altındağ</i>	Muzaffer Örkçüoğlu Ankara: Örkçüoğlu Yayınları.	<p>(-) Altındağ became a central borough (<i>merkez ilçe</i>) within the law published in 1 March 1953 (p.34).</p> <p>(-) Altındağ Municipality was founded within the law published in 23 March 1984 (p.29).</p> <p>(-) The map of Altındağ Borough is the same with the one in Altındağ '94.</p> <p>Source on the establishment of the Altındağ Municipality.</p>
	1994	Book	<i>Altındağ '94</i>	Ankara: Altındağ Belediyesi.	<p>(-) Ring-roads were built in Hıdırlıktepe between 1989-1994.</p> <p>(-) Ali Rıza Koç is the last mayor before Islamist parties would take the municipalities. Ali Rıza Koç worked as the mayor between 1989-1994.</p> <p>(-) Çiçin is not marked since the Altındağ Municipality was founded.</p>
	1996	Book	<i>Altındağ Belediyesi: 1995 yılı çalışma raporu 1996 yılı çalışma programı</i>	Ankara: Altındağ Belediyesi.	(-) M. Ziya Kahraman (RP) is the mayor.
	1998	Book	<i>Altındağ'ın manevi coğrafyası</i>	Ankara: Altındağ Belediyesi.	

APPENDIX D

TABLE III: Table of Archival Research on Çiçin Bağları

Source	Date	Type	Title	Author/publisher	Summary
	2000	Book	<i>Altındağ 2000: Dün, bugün, yarın.</i>	Ankara: Altındağ Belediyesi İmar Müdürlüğü	(-) TOKİ is still not the main actor in urban transformation projects.
	1950	Map	Ankara yerleşim planı // Ankara settlement plan	VEKAM digital archive No.H156	(-) Area (3) is marked as Altındağ and (5) is Yenidoğan-Aktaş. Not all of the zones are marked such as Atıfbey.
	1959	Map	Ankara yerleşim planı // Ankara settlement plan	By MSB, VEKAM digital archive No.H035	(-) Published by MSB (The Ministry of National Defense) Harita Umum Müdürlüğü. It is thematically produced. (-) It is a more general map than the following maps published in 1967 and 1976 by MSB.
	1967	Map	Ankara yerleşim planı // Ankara settlement plan	By MSB, VEKAM digital archive No.H036	(-) There is an area called Çiçin Mah. separate from Gültepe Neighbourhood. Published by MSB (The Ministry of National Defense) Harita Umum Müdürlüğü. Hence, it might be thematically produced.
	1976	Map	Ankara yerleşim planı // Ankara settlement plan	By MSB, VEKAM digital archive No.H009	(-) Similar to 1967 map, there is an area called Çiçin Mah. separate from Gültepe Neighbourhood.
	1926	Photograph	From Ankara Castle to Hıdırlıktepe	VEKAM digital archive No.1601	(-) Two men sitting on the wall. Ankara Castle, citadel and Timurlenk Tepesi (hill). (-) In the 1950s Timurlenk Tepe's name has been changed into Altındağ.
	-	Photograph	Altındağ and the first gecekondu	VEKAM digital archive, By Photo Celal. No.2873	(-) Two men in the garden. The date is unknown. From Hıdırlık Tepe to Ankara Castle.
	1927 1928	Postcard	Bentderesi	VEKAM digital archive No.0928	(-) Bentderesi. Hatip Çayı (Creek). In 1957, after a flood, Hatip Çayı was filled with concrete turned into the recent road Bentderesi Avenue.
	1930	Postcard	Bentderesi (Tabakhane) Neighbourhood (neighbourhood)	VEKAM digital archive No.1266	(-) On the left, Ankara Castle, Bentderesi (Tabakhane) Neighbourhood (neighborhood), gardens and on the right Hıdırlıktepe.
	1953	Photograph	Ankara'nın havadan görünümü // Ankara aerial photo	VEKAM digital archive No.0515	(-) Altındağ, Bentderesi Valley, Cebeci. Four years before Hatip Creek was filled with concrete.
Türk Tarih Kurumu Archive	2002	Book	Tarih İçinde Ankara: Altındağ	Altındağ Belediyesi	<i>Nothing distinctive in this book.</i>

APPENDIX D					
TABLE III: Table of Archival Research on Çiçin Bağları					
Source	Date	Type	Title	Author/publisher	Summary
National Library Archive	1971	Book Novel	<i>Çiçin Bağları'nda Dadaloğlu</i>	Handan Ertunç İstanbul: Fono Matbaası	(-) Short stories. The only Çiçin story is the one gave the book its title: pp. 35-39. (-) Çiçin is depicted as a mixture of gecekondu and apartments. (-) Dadaloğlu culture.
	1974	Book	<i>Ankara Şehri ve Altındağ İlçesi</i>	Hamza Mızrak Ankara : Çamsakız 1 Yayınevi	(-) Ankara has four main districts: 1- Old Ankara: Ankara Castle and around. 2- Çankaya: The biggest district. 3- Altındağ: Second biggest district with more than 80 neighbourhoods. 4- Yenimahalle.
	1998	Essay	Çiçin Bağları'nda değişen ne?	Musa Şen, Sevda Yüksel Öğretmen Dünyası Dergisi Mayıs 1998:11-12	(-) Not all of the population is gypsies. But <i>çingene</i> is used to bring someone into contempt, for everyone living in Çiçin.
	2010	Thesis	Halkla İlişkiler ve Kentsel Dönüşüm Örnek İnceleme: Çiçin Bağları (Göltepe) Kentsel Dönüşüm Projesi	Meltem Yılmaz Unpublished MA thesis Gazi University	(-) As it could be seen at the title, Göltepe Neighbourhood is taken as Çiçin Bağları.
Other (Databases reached from the libraries such as METU Library. In addition, Municipality archive, novels and other open sources.)	1934/2014	Book	Ankara Gezi Rehberi	Ernest Mamboury Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Basımevi	(-) Translated from French to Turkish. From the book of Ernest Mamboury, <i>Ankara Guide Touristique</i> . (-) Timur Tepesi and Hatip Çayı are depicted in the maps and explanations. Hıdırlık Tepesi is depicted as a part of Timur Tepesi (p.149; p. 159). (-) Mamboury also claimed that Timur Tepesi was drawn in Von Vincke's 1839 Ankara Map. Hıdırlık is in the Southwest part of Timur Tepesi and it is where a tower is settled on and this tower is supported by a wall (p.192).
	1964	Thesis	<i>Squatter Settlements in Turkey: Analysis of a Social, Political and Economic Problem</i>	Granville H. Sewell	(-) Published as a book in 1966. (-) Tansı Şenyapılı referred to the author and research in <i>Gecekondu: The space of marginal workers</i> .
	1965	Research Report	Ankara Çiçin Bağları Gecekondu Araştırması	İmar ve İskan Bakanlığı Mesken Genel Müdürlüğü Araştırma Dairesi-3	

APPENDIX D

TABLE III: Table of Archival Research on Çinçin Bağları

Source	Date	Type	Title	Author/publisher	Summary
	1977	Book Novel	<i>Soba Pencere Camı ve İki Ekmek İstiyoruz</i>	Yılmaz Güney İstanbul: Güney Filmcilik	(-) "Çinçin Bağları has a special place, a special importance in the police records in terms of disobedience. Composed of Çalışkanlar, Server Somuncuoğlu, Kemal Zeytinoğlu and Gültepe neighbourhoods , Capital Ankara's one of the biggest and poorest slum districts. Kurds and Gypsies who (...) are subjected to the criminal files containing various and complex crimes constitute the majority of its population. It is surrounded by Bloklar, Aydınlikevler, Siteler, Yeni Doğan and Asri Cemetery. Babür Street divides Çinçin into two unequal slums. One end of the street (...) extends to Dışkapı, one end to Plevne Street laying in front of Asri Cemetery. From Dışkapı to Çinçin, Çalışkanlar Neighbourhood and Asri Cemetery remains in the left, Server Somuncuoğlu, Kemal Zeytinoğlu and Gültepe Neighbourhoods in the right. The houses that generate all the neighbourhoods are similar in form and structure, with little or no distinctness. New Dörtüol, which is considered to be the center of Çinçin, is the most vibrant and beautiful part of the district (pp. 15-16)."
	1981	Book	<i>Gecekondu: 'Çevre' İşçilerin Mekanı [Gecekondu: The space of marginal workers]</i>	Tansı Şenyapılı Ankara: Middle East Technical University Publications	(-) "Altındağ'ın kuzey doğusunda Çinçin Bağları'nda ise 1920 sonlarında İran'dan gelen bir çingene kabilesi yerleşmiş ve Çinçin o yıllarda kentte hırsızlık ve suç düzeyinin yüksek olduğu bir mahalle özelliği kazanmıştı. Kentte çalınan malları burda bulmak olasıydı. Daha sonraları İranlı gruba Türk Çingeneleri de katılmış mahalle nüfusu 5000'e yükselmisti." p. 170. (according to Sewell's PhD research).
	1986	Book Novel	<i>Hüznün Çoşkusu Altındağ</i>	Yaşar Seyman İstanbul: Gür Yayınları	(-) 71 Çinçinli geleneğini yaratmak. KAÇTA SU GELMİŞ.
	2011	Research Report	Altındağ'ın sosyo-kültürel dokusu	Ankara Kalkınma Ajansı Araştırma Projesi	(-) It is very contradictory about where Çinçin is in the report.

APPENDIX D

TABLE III: Table of Archival Research on Çinçin Bağları

Source	Date	Type	Title	Author/publisher	Summary
	2013	Article	Ankara-Altındağ Tepesi Gecekondü Bölgesi'nde Mekansal Ayrışmanın Gözlenmesine Yönelik Bir Araştırma	Yasin Bektaş, Ceyhan Yücel, Megaron 2013 8(2): 115-129. DOI: 10.5505/MEGARON. 2013.98608	(-) Quote: "Kentsel dönüşüm projelerinde yalnızca fiziksel iyileştirme, bölgenin kullanıcı profili ve sosyo kültürel yapısına uygun olmamaktadır. Bunun için, buraya ilişkin çözümlerde sadece fiziksel yenilemenin daha ötesinde, bölgenin sosyal, ekonomik ve kültürel özelliklerine odaklanan projelerin üretilmesi gerekmektedir (p.128)."
	2014	Proceeding	Mekansal Ayrışmanın Değişen Niteliği	Yasin Bektaş, II. Türkiye Lisansüstü Çalışmaları Kongresi, Bildiriler Kitabı IV: 223-238.	(-) "Gültepe dönüşüm projelerine bakarak günümüzde uygulanan kentsel dönüşüm projeleri yeni bir ayrışma biçimi oluşturdu diyebilir (p.223)."
	2014	Thesis	Yoksul Kadınlar İçin 'Sıcak Yuva/Özgür Kent' Hayaliyle 'İmkansız Medeniyet' TOKİ: Feminist Sosyal Çalışma ve Kent İçi Yoksul Alanların Dönüşümü: Ankara, Aktaş Neighbourhood Örneği	Burcu Hatipoğlu Eren, Hacettepe Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Sosyal Hizmet Anabilim Dalı, Unpublished PhD thesis.	(-) "The findings of the research indicate that poor women perceive the neoliberal urbanization projects as 'warm home' and 'free city'. However, a deeper analysis indicates that poor women experience this process through 1) unequal patriarchal relations and homelessness resulting from poverty and security problems defined by gender relations, 2) marginalization due to the sexist and oppressive structure of the urbanization projects, 3) increasing conservatism in the public sphere, and 4) an unchanging fear in terms of security problems. This situation results in poor women's definition of the neoliberal urbanization process as an 'impossible civilization'. Within this context, the research concludes with suggestions in relation to the neoliberal urbanization process and how an urban structure should be developed upon the basis of gender equality in terms of fighting poverty." p. vii
	2014	Article	Geçmişte ve bugün Marjinal Olanın Yarını: yenidoğan ve Çinçin Bağları Üzerine The Future of Marjinals in the Past and Today: About Yenidoğan and Çinçin Bağları	Burcu Hatipoğlu Eren, İdealkent Dergisi/ Journal of Urban Research, 11, 2014: 268-285.	(-) A part of Atilla Neighbourhood was in Çinçin Bağları, but then included by Aktaş Neighbourhood. p.270 (-) Özgürlük, Cemalbey, Sokullu, Hürriyet Mahalleleri were in Yenidoğan (p.269).

APPENDIX D					
TABLE III: Table of Archival Research on Çiğin Bağları					
Source	Date	Type	Title	Author/publisher	Summary
	2014	Article	1940- 1950 Yılları Arasında Öteki Ankara: Altındağ On the Other Side of Ankara: Altındağ Between 1940-1950	Ceren Aygöl, (historian) İdealkent 11, Ocak 2014, ss. 250-267.	(-) The name of Altındağ (Golden Mountain) comes from a rumour, that gold was committed into the ground (p.254). (-) Analysis of Altındağ Röpotajları in the Newspaper of Zafer between the years of 1940 and 1950 , in this period there was a strict socio-spatial segregation between Altındağ and the rest of the city p.266.
	2016	Article	Değişen Kültürel Mekânlar, Dönüşen Gelenekler: Ankara'da Hıdırellez Kutlamaları ve Hamamönü Hıdırellez Şenlikleri, Changing Cultural Spaces, Transformation of the Traditions: Hıdırellez Celebrations held in Ankara and Hamamönü Hıdırellez Festivals	Selcan Gürçayı Teke, Ankara Araştırma ları Dergisi 4(1), 44-59, June 2016.	(-) Hıdırellez is a name of festival which has been widely celebrated in Anatolia, pointing out the start of summer. It is composed of rituals such as eating together, jumping over a burning fire, painting eggs and writing or drawing wishes for future to come true if certain actions are performed (p.44). (-) According to the belief Hızır visits certain places that those wishes were put during the festival such as a hill, or water, and takes the wishes to help them to come true. The place to celebrate Hıdırellez is very important. It could be a natural area or a sacred place like a place near a tomb <i>türbe</i> of a sacred figure (p.46). (-) In the centre of Ankara Hıdırlıktepe was such a place. It was even referred as a sacred place in Evliya Çelebi's The Book of Travels (p.48). (-) In 1935 the tomb <i>türbe</i> was still seen in the photographs but then it is totally ruined. p.49 (-) The author points out that it was important to pursue rituals in its place in terms of preserving "the cultural space" and Hıdırlık Tepe is one of the very salient examples of an area in the city that could be lived as a cultural ritual space. But on the contrary urban transformation projects don't define Hıdırlık Tepe as a cultural space. p.49 (-) The name of Hızır Tepesi turned into Hıdırlık Tepe after the proclamation of Republic (p.49).
	2017	Article	Gecekondu alanlarında uygulanan kentsel dönüşüm projelerinin meşruiyet zemini olarak yoksulluk ve suç	Güzey, Özlem and Aksoy, Erman KATÜ Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi 7 no 14, 2017:275 -295.	(-) focusing on only Gültepe Neighbourhood as Çiğin, police records show that crime rates , specifically on narcotics, was increased between 2010 and 2013 in Gültepe Neighbourhood.

APPENDIX D

TABLE III: Table of Archival Research on Çinçin Bağları

Source	Date	Type	Title	Author/publisher	Summary
	2017	Article	Kentsel dönüşüm projelerinin suç oranlarına etkilerinin değerlendirilmesi: Ankara/Altındağ örneği Evaluation of impacts on crime rates of urban regeneration projects: Ankara Altındağ Case	Mehmet Akalın Munzur Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi Cilt 5 Sayı 9: 5-33	(-) Research looks at 2012-2015 crime ratio. Quotes in Turkish "Bilhassa 2012'den 2013'e geçildiğinde narkotik suçlarda büyük bir sıçrama yaşanmış, diğer suçlarda ciddi bir azalma kaydedilmemiştir (p.30)."
	2017	Article	Kentsel Dönüşümde Karma Gelirli Konut Stratejisi ve Türkiye'ye Özgü Dinamikler: Ankara Altındağ-Göltepe Örneği Mixed-Income Housing Strategy in Urban Renewal Policies and Turkey-Specific Dynamics: Altındag-Gultepe Case, Ankara	Yasin Bektaş, Asuman Türkün, Cilt Vol. 12 - Sayı No. 2:263-279. DOI: 10.5505/megaron.2017.85570	(-) Taking Çinçin Bağları composed of five neighbourhoods referring to Yaşar Seyman's research. p.268. (-) Housing policies after 1980s in the world, attempted to plan projects that brings mixed-income groups together. Bektaş and Türkün took Göltepe TOKİ Stage 1 as a case study and conducted deep interviews with the residents who were newcomers and residents who were former gecekond owners in 2012 and 2015 (p. 263). (-) 4 blocks were belonged to the former gecekond owners and 10 blocks were belonged to the newcomers. The income is mostly 1001-2000 in these 4 blocks, and 3000+ in the rest p.270. (-) The increasement of the criminal cases, in 1990s the residents had started to move out and after transformation was initiated, the crime ratio was increased. p.268. (-) In conclusion, the mixed-income housing didn't work in Göltepe TOKİ Stage 1 because they didn't care the indictment system could effect the gecekond owners who moved to TOKİs and the tenants of gecekondus. The informal networking was broken by a really formal economical system, the indictment system (p.277). (-) "The current problems reproduced in a new spatiality" (in TOKİs) (p.277). (New varoş)

E. Changes to Neighbourhood Names

Güncel Mahalle Adı (30 Mart 2014 sonrası geçerli olan)	Eski Mahalle Adı (2007 öncesi geçerli olan)	Eski Cadde/Sokak Adı
PLEVNE	1. SULTAN MURAT	302
PLEVNE	1. SULTAN MURAT	342
PLEVNE	1. SULTAN MURAT	343
PLEVNE	1. SULTAN MURAT	346
PLEVNE	1. SULTAN MURAT	352
PLEVNE	1. SULTAN MURAT	355
PLEVNE	1. SULTAN MURAT	ALTINDAĞ
PLEVNE	1. SULTAN MURAT	AYDOS
PLEVNE	1. SULTAN MURAT	BABAHARMAN
PLEVNE	1. SULTAN MURAT	DOĞUŞ
PLEVNE	1. SULTAN MURAT	EFLATUN
PLEVNE	1. SULTAN MURAT	İNECİK
PLEVNE	1. SULTAN MURAT	ÖĞÜT
PLEVNE	1. SULTAN MURAT	ÖNSEZİ
PLEVNE	1. SULTAN MURAT	SERPMELER
PLEVNE	1. SULTAN MURAT	ŞAYAK
PLEVNE	1. SULTAN MURAT	ŞEHİT TALİP YENER
PLEVNE	1. SULTAN MURAT	ŞİLE
PLEVNE	1. SULTAN MURAT	TAKSİM
PLEVNE	1. SULTAN MURAT	TAKVİM
PLEVNE	1. SULTAN MURAT	TANIŞTIRAN
PLEVNE	1. SULTAN MURAT	TASASIZ
PLEVNE	1. SULTAN MURAT	TEL
AYDINLIKEVLER	AHİLER	ALTINPARK
AYDINLIKEVLER	AHİLER	ÇAĞDAŞ
AYDINLIKEVLER	AHİLER	ÇEVRELİ
AYDINLIKEVLER	AHİLER	EĞİLMEZ
AYDINLIKEVLER	AHİLER	EĞMELİ
AYDINLIKEVLER	AHİLER	EMNİYET
AYDINLIKEVLER	AHİLER	FİRÜZE
AYDINLIKEVLER	AHİLER	GAR
AYDINLIKEVLER	AHİLER	GÖKYÜZÜ
AYDINLIKEVLER	AHİLER	GÖNÜLLÜLER
AYDINLIKEVLER	AHİLER	GÜVEREN
AYDINLIKEVLER	AHİLER	HARMAN
AYDINLIKEVLER	AHİLER	İSTİNYE
AYDINLIKEVLER	AHİLER	KIRKTAŞ
AYDINLIKEVLER	AHİLER	SİMAV
AYDINLIKEVLER	AHİLER	ŞEHİT CEMALETTİN
AYDINLIKEVLER	AHİLER	ŞEHİT MUSTAFA BAŞ
AYDINLIKEVLER	AHİLER	UZAYAN
AKTAŞ	AKTAŞ	1
AKTAŞ	AKTAŞ	1
AKTAŞ	AKTAŞ	10
AKTAŞ	AKTAŞ	11
AKTAŞ	AKTAŞ	13
AKTAŞ	AKTAŞ	14
AKTAŞ	AKTAŞ	15
AKTAŞ	AKTAŞ	16
AKTAŞ	AKTAŞ	17
AKTAŞ	AKTAŞ	18
AKTAŞ	AKTAŞ	19
AKTAŞ	AKTAŞ	2

Recent/Former Neighbourhood Names

It is only one page of the list taken from Altındağ Municipality. It shows that renaming and rescaling processes of the neighbourhoods was done in two main dates as in 2007 and 30 March 2014.

F. Photographs





G. Ethic Committee Report

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28 Haziran 2019

Konu: Değerlendirme Sonucu

Gönderen: ODTÜ İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu (İAEK)

İlgi: İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu Başvurusu

Sayın Prof.Dr. Güven Arif SARGIN

Danışmanlığını yaptığınız **Gülşah AYKAÇ**'ın "Yeraltının mahalleleri: Kentsel dönüşüm altındaki işlerin arkeolojisi üzerinden Çinçin" başlıklı araştırması İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu tarafından uygun görülmüş ve **282-ODTÜ-2019** protokol numarası ile onaylanmıştır.

Saygılarımızla bilgilerinize sunarız.

Prof. Dr. Tülin GENÇÖZ

Başkan

Prof. Dr. Tolga CAN

Üye

Doç.Dr. Pınar KAYGAN

Üye

Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Ali Emre TURGUT

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Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Şerife SEVİNÇ

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Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Müge GÜNDÜZ

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SELECTED PUBLICATIONS:

JOURNAL PAPERS:

- 2019 Aykaç, Gülşah. "Book review: *New Islamist Architecture and Urbanism: Negotiating Nation and Islam through Built Environment in Turkey*." *Urban Studies*, 2019, 56(9): 1922–1925. DOI: <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/0042098018824063>
2018 Aykaç, Gülşah, and Sert, Esra. "Türkiye’de Mimarlığın Emek Süreçlerini Yeniden Tartışmak [Rethinking the Labor Processes of Architecture in Turkey.]" *Moment Dergi*, 2018, 5(2): 219-237. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.17572/mj2018.2.219237>

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- 2019 Aykaç, Gülşah. "Fate, hope and home: Reframing the recent urban transformation of Çiçin through the narratives of works." UAA |Urban Affairs Association, in 49th Annual Conference, Featuring Special Sessions on Claiming rights to the city: Community, Capital and the State, April 24-27, Los Angeles, California, USA.
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2017 Aykaç, Gülşah. "Overcoming urban alienation: Rereading the social history of ‘building home’ in the Tuzlucaşayır Neighbourhood in Ankara in the 1970s." In Cities Communities and Homes: Is Urban Future Livable? AMPS, University of Derby. 22 - 23 June, Derby, England. ISSN: [23989467](https://doi.org/10.1080/23989467) -Published as conference proceeding.

AWARDS AND HONOURS:

- 2019 VEKAM Research Awards 2019.
2018 Fulbright Visiting Researcher Scholarship.
2017 METU Graduate Courses Performance Award.